Explorations of Educational Purpose 18

Rachel Bailey Jones

Postcolonial Representations of Women

Critical Issues for Education

Postcolonial Representations of Women

EXPLORATIONS OF EDUCATIONAL PURPOSE

Volume 18

Founding Editor

Joe Kincheloe (1950–2008)

Series Editors

Shirley R. Steinberg, *McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada*
Kenneth Tobin, *City University of New York, USA*

Editorial Board

Barrie Barrell, *Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada*
Rochelle Brock, *University of Indiana, Gary, USA*
Stephen Petrina, *University of British Columbia, Canada*
Christine Quail, *State University of New York, Oneonta, USA*
Nelson Rodriguez, *College of New Jersey, USA*
Leila Villaverde, *University of North Carolina, Greensboro, USA*
JohnWillinsky, *Stanford University, USA*

Series Scope

In today's dominant modes of pedagogy, questions about issues of race, class, gender, sexuality, colonialism, religion, and other social dynamics are rarely asked. Questions about the social spaces where pedagogy takes place – in schools, media, and corporate think tanks – are not raised. And they need to be.

The *Explorations of Educational Purpose* book series can help establish a renewed interest in such questions and their centrality in the larger study of education and the preparation of teachers and other educational professionals. The editors of this series feel that education matters and that the world is in need of a rethinking of education and educational purpose.

Coming from a critical pedagogical orientation, *Explorations of Educational Purpose* aims to have the study of education transcend the trivialization that often degrades it. Rather than be content with the frivolous, scholarly lax forms of teacher education and weak teaching prevailing in the world today, we should work towards education that truly takes the unattained potential of human beings as its starting point. The series will present studies of all dimensions of education and offer alternatives. The ultimate aim of the series is to create new possibilities for people around the world who suffer under the current design of socio-political and educational institutions.

For further volumes:
http://www.springer.com/series/7472

Rachel Bailey Jones

Postcolonial Representations of Women

Critical Issues for Education

Dr. Rachel Bailey Jones
Nazareth College
4245 East Avenue, Rochester, NY 14615
USA
rjones3@Naz.edu

ISBN 978-94-007-1550-9 e-ISBN 978-94-007-1551-6
DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1551-6
Springer Dordrecht Heidelberg London New York

Library of Congress Control Number: 2011929212

© Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011
No part of this work may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, microfilming, recording or otherwise, without written permission from the Publisher, with the exception of any material supplied specifically for the purpose of being entered and executed on a computer system, for exclusive use by the purchaser of the work.

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer is part of Springer Science+Business Media (www.springer.com)

Contents

1 Introduction 1
Structure and Content 2
A Note on Colonial Terminology 5
My Positionality 6
My Colonial Education 7
Explorers, Conquistadors, and Imperialists 10
Women, Gender, and Sexualizing Empire 11
Knowledge Gained and Distributed Through Empire 12
The Hierarchies of Colonialism 12
Women Positioned in Relation to Empire 13
Colonial Regulation of Sexuality 13
Colonial Masculinity 14
Postcolonialism As a Strategy of Resistance 15
Transnational Feminisms 15
The Legacy of 9/11 18

2 Development of Feminist Postcolonial Theory 23
Postcolonial Terminology 24
Césaire: Native Critique 25
Fanon and Nandy: The Psychology of Colonialism 25
Said: The Culture of Imperialism 28
Bhabha: Identity in the Postcolonial 30
Postcolonial Research 31
Spivak and the Subaltern 32
A Critique of Western Feminism 33
Postcolonial Feminist Space 34
Feminist Nationalism? 35
Difference and the “Third World” Woman 37
Shohat and Transnational Feminism 37

3 Histories of Dominance, Colonialism, and Globalization 39
Terminology and Distinctions in Colonialism 39
Distinctions in Colonialisms 40

Direct and Indirect Rule 41
The Regulation of Race and Gender in Colonialism and Neocolonialism 43
Mythology of the "Dark Continent" 43
Women, Sexuality, and Motherhood in the Colonies 45
The Pseudo-science of Phrenology, Eugenics, and Representation . . 46
Anti-colonial Resistance 47
Contemporary Colonial Theme Parks 48
Global Relationships in the Shadow of Colonialism 49
Development Theory and Neocolonialism 49
Neocolonialism and Nationalism 52
Structures of Globalization 54
Identity Formation in the Context of the Global 57
Grewal: Transnational Connectivity 58
Diaspora Discourse 59
The Transcitizen 60
Cosmopolitan Identities 60
Hybrid Versus Essential Identity 62

4 Distorted Visions: Ethnocentric Forms of Education 65
Exhibitionary Pedagogy 66
The White Man's Burden and Education 67
The Regulation of Geography 68
Education As a Colonial Weapon 69
Language As a Tool of Oppression 70
Race in Colonial Education 71
European Women in Colonial Education 71
The Education of Girls in Sri Lanka 73
Colonial Miseducation: Hawaiian Women 74
The Colonial Legacy: Eugenics and Education 75
Travel As Colonial Pedagogy 76
Consumer Culture and Colonial Pedagogy 78
Anthropology's Colonial Pedagogy 81
American History of Colonial Education 83
Official Education and Colonial Pedagogy 84
Colonial Themes in Education 86
Theme: History As Linear Progression 86
Theme: Modernity As Rational Height of Progress 86
Theme: Pure and Authentic Cultures, Existing on Different
Levels of Progressive Timeline 87
Theme: The Importance of the Individual Actor 87
Theme: Denial of Socially Constructed Categories of Difference . . . 88
Patriotic Literacy 88
Native Americans in Textbooks 91
Global Colonial Education 94
Eurocentric Art Education 96

History As Linear Progression 97
Modernity As Rational Height of Progress 98
Artist As Individual Genius, Alone in His Studio 99
Pure and Authentic Cultures, Existing on Different Levels of the Progressive Timeline 99

5 History of the Visual Regime 101
Representing Self and Other 102
The Importance of the Visual 104
Smith's Visual Regimes 105
The Colonial Exhibition and Visualizing Difference 106
Empire on Display 108
Commercial Representation of Empire 108
The Cross-Cultural Look 109
Colonial Travel and Looking 110
Race, Sex, and Beauty in Empire 111
Selling Visual Colonialism 111
Aunt Jemima, Chiquita Banana, and Advertising Racism 112
National Geographic Sexual Regime 114

6 The Gendered Subject/Object in Popular Culture 117
No News Is Good News 118
Neocolonial Filmmaking 119
Disney and Youth Culture 120
Africa: Revisiting the "Dark Continent" 122
Island Natives 125
Arab and Muslims: The Neocolonial Harem 126
Asia: Concubines and Castes 127
Central and South America: Fiery Sexuality 130
Film Representations of the Historical Colonial and Postcolonial 131

7 Case Study: The Veiled Women in the Visual Imagination of the West 135
Alliance of Civilizations 137
Variations on the Veil 140
History, Islam, and the Veil 141
Divergent Paths and the Physical Seclusion of Women 144
European Travel and the Views of Women 145
Lord Cromer and the Battle for Egyptian Hearts and Minds 147
Colonial and Native Patriarchy 148
The Battle for Algiers, the Veil As Weapon 150
Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism and the Veil 152
Banning the Veil 153
Contemporary Muslim Women and the Veil 156
The Male Gaze 158
Photography and the Staging of Desire 159

Imagining Patriarchy . . . 162
The Afghan Girl . . . 162
Images Used in Service of War . . . 164

8 Possibilities for Subverting the Dominant Visual Regime . . . 169
Polycentric Aesthetic . . . 169
Visual Border Theory . . . 170
Marco Polo Syndrome . . . 172
Couple in the Cage . . . 173
Art Responds to Colonial Advertising . . . 174
Subverting Feminine Materials . . . 175
Revisiting the Violence . . . 177
Marjane Satrapi: Mass Produced Images of Resistance . . . 179
Mona Hatoum: Bodies Implied . . . 183
Postcolonial Mapmaking . . . 187
Nervous Conditions: A Postcolonial Education . . . 189
Activism and Art . . . 190
The Guerilla Girls . . . 192
Art for Pedagogy . . . 193

9 Creating Postcolonial Visual Pedagogy . . . 195
Problems with Multicultural Education . . . 195
Pragmatism and the Creation of Doubt . . . 197
Postcolonial Pedagogy . . . 201
Border Pedagogy . . . 204
Curricular Theoretical Framework . . . 206
Postmodernism . . . 207
Critical Theory . . . 207
Creating Curricula . . . 208
Visual Analysis . . . 210
Student Journaling . . . 213
Group Projects . . . 214
Imagining a Renewed Pedagogy . . . 215
Visionary Pedagogy . . . 216
Trends in Representation . . . 217
Breaking Down the Old, Building the New . . . 219

References . . . 221

Index . . . 229

Chapter 1
Introduction

The legacy of European and American colonialism is a shadowy presence in curricular materials that present difference through a lens of hierarchy and power relationships. Postcolonialism in education creates a break with colonialism and a critical revision of curriculum that is infused with inequity and hierarchy. The colonial and postcolonial are oppositions of perception, representing mindsets not time periods; they can exist in the same country, neighborhood, or person, irrespective of social or cultural position. To attempt to distinguish the colonial from the postcolonial is not a clear-cut project, but a messy, complex undertaking that is always open for revision and alteration. My use of the word "postcolonial" in the title of this book requires unpacking the terminology and questioning the "post." I do not believe that we are in a time period after or beyond colonialism; colonialism is alive and well, though usually it is called by a different, more benign name. For those of us in what has been called the west, the first world, the developed world, the north, or the colonizers, we are told that our technology and democracy make us shining beacons of hope for those "others," the non-west, third world, developing world, south, colonized. In our official education in schools and in our unofficial education in the media, the legacy of power and privilege centered in Europe and the United States during the colonial era lingers. Though colonialism has gone out of favor in rhetoric, similar exploitation of human and natural resources takes place in the name of emerging markets and transnational economics. And traces of the colonial are all around us, wherever we are positioned in relation to the myths of progress and development.

How has education been informed by the inequities of colonialism and what role can the postcolonial have in creating a more balanced understanding of global relationships and movements? While postcolonial theory has been popular and ubiquitous in many of the social sciences, education has been a field that has proven relatively resistant to postcolonial critique. So much of research in education deals with the practical, day-to-day concerns of the classroom. It is vital that, as we educate in an increasingly global and transnational context, we take the time to interrogate the historical links between colonialism and education and examine the ways that neo-colonial forms of power infuse our practice. The undertaking of colonialism relied on patriarchy, the holding of power by men, in order to establish and

R.B. Jones, *Postcolonial Representations of Women*, Explorations of Educational Purpose 18, DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1551-6_1, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

consolidate dominance over all colonized peoples; the two systems are intimately related. Therefore, it is important to use feminist theory to look at the intersections of race, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality in colonial and postcolonial ways of organizing the world. Despite some superficial gains in multicultural education, most students in the west learn about the world from the perspective of the European and American male. For example, while there have been colorful text boxes added to highlight important figures such as Martin Luther King, Jr., and Rosa Parks, the central story of American textbooks has not changed very much. This educational story, whether it is told in official school textbooks or in the unofficial education of the media, attempts to erase the complexity, violence, and exploitation of colonialism. It is easier and less controversial to omit the messy details of occupation and exploitation than to trace its legacy and continued presence. Neocolonial education makes a claim for innocence by omission; the nasty details of global economic imperialism and the role of the United States in foreign policy are glossed over in favor of patriotic myths. "Perhaps empire never ended, that psychic and material will to conquer and appropriate. . .What we can say for sure is that empire makes all innocence impossible" (Alexander, 2005, p. 3). I argue that empire attempts to cover its tracks through a claim to innocence, but it is knowledge of empire that renders innocence impossible. And it is this loss of innocence that is central to a feminist postcolonial education. To honestly confront histories of inequity and imbalance, the false claim to innocence and the hiding behind patriotic myths must be questioned.

Structure and Content

This book is my attempt to trace the history and contemporary traces of colonial education, specifically looking at the representation of women in colonial and postcolonial texts, media, and art. What does it mean to address the colonial and postcolonial in our contemporary age of transnational corporations and globalization? I believe one cannot discuss contemporary global relationships without acknowledging the history and continued legacy of colonialism. Additionally, I attempt to create a partial map of the postcolonial forms of representation that subvert the colonial hierarchies and assumptions. The project is huge in scope and vision, while limited by my own cultural position and the condensing of complex theoretical and historical realities into a relatively short space. I leave the project open for question, reconsideration, and revision.

In Chapter 2, I lay the theoretical framework for a critical examination of colonial structures and postcolonial reexamination. I introduce the complex theories of postcolonialism using accessible language and examples from global events. Important figures in the field of postcolonial theory such as Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, Edward Said, and Chandra Talpade Mohanty provide the organizing structure for this chapter. Some of these theorists work to deconstruct the knowledge and culture that created and maintained colonial power, while others begin to explore the complex psychological effects that colonialism left on the minds of the colonized. Spivak and Mohanty explore the history and legacy of colonialism and postcolonialism and

their effect on the enforcement of gender constructions. By questioning both western feminism and patriarchal postcolonialism, these theorists begin to explore the complexity of how transnational feminisms can inform both theory and practice. The basic concepts of transnational feminism are introduced and intersected with the postcolonial. The relatively new field of postcolonial pedagogy is introduced here and expanded upon in Chapters 8 and 9.

In mapping the complexity of the colonial and imperial power and influence, I focus on specific eras, geographies, and people in order to contextualize these large and abstract concepts. In Chapter 3, I begin to lay the historical foundations of colonialism, western imperialism, and globalization. The consolidation of empire led to the creation of racial categories of difference, pseudo-scientists found "proof" to order humanity in ways that made empire inevitable and necessary. How have these histories of unequal power relationships impacted the concept of gender and the representation of women in educational materials, popular media, and art? How has the movement of people affected and disrupted the history of western power? Colonial forms of identity that rely on strict hierarchies and dualisms are questioned by scholars advocating for new forms of identity based on global forces and transnational perspectives. This chapter introduces these ideas of identity formation and the continued problems posed by the legacy of colonialism on global forces.

Building on the historical and cultural roots of colonialism described in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 more fully explores the ways that biased and often racist notions of difference have entered into the classroom through forms of official and unofficial curriculum. Western patriarchal structures that supported colonialism and other forms of domination have also created the official state schooling system and curriculum. Colonial schools were constructed in order to distribute the official knowledge of empire; access to education and the language of power were controlled by administrations that were generally wary of resistance and revolt. Some European women traveled to the colonies as missionaries and educators and played a role in the establishment of limited schooling for girls. The colonial system of education officially ended with independence movements of the twentieth century; however, much of the knowledge created and legitimized during that period are still reverberating in official and unofficial forms of contemporary education.

How have the interests of the dominant culture created distorted images of women, the so-called third world, the primitive, savage, and irrational Other? How have the concepts of colonialism and patriarchy influenced the imaging of women in the pre-, colonial, and post-eras? In Chapter 5, I examine the historical representations of the idealized, white, western femininity and the non-white, non-western woman created by westerners for a western audience. How did representations reinforce and regulate the political and economic control of colonialism? The history of representation of women is rooted in the hierarchies that generally placed men as superior to women and colonizer as superior to colonized. The distorted visions of colonial education can be traced in contemporary textbooks that teach students about difference in problematic ways.

An important form of unofficial education about difference occurs through popular culture representations of cultural stereotypes and gendered characters. How

have recent images in popular culture reinforced myths of western superiority? How has gender been imagined and portrayed in popular movies, television, magazines, and news media? In what ways have these current and popular images informed the creation of educational materials? In Chapter 6, I look at a selection of American and global popular media and the representation of race and gender. My primary focus is on the area of films created by and for western audiences that involve characters from other geographies, including some films that portray more complex and challenging ideas of difference. I include a few films created outside of the west that have enjoyed moderate success in the United States. Most popular films rely on easily identifiable cultural stereotypes that reinforce the audience's preconceived notions. The Arab characters can be identified by their covered women and the camels used as transportation, those from Central or South America can be identified by their colorful clothing and their fiery sexuality. Films that feature complex representations of people who cross traditional borders or who cannot be identified as belonging to a certain culture generally are small, independent features that are not destined for a wide audience. When analyzing these films, I ask whether they challenge or intensify the unequal relationships of power that remain from the colonial era?

To contextualize the western creation of representations of difference in service of colonial power, in Chapter 7 I analyze a specific example of western colonial representation of the veiled Muslim woman and detail the postcolonial response and resistance. Western media has collapsed complex histories and identities in order to equate Muslim women with the practice of veiling that is seen as innately oppressive by many in the west. In this chapter, I briefly engage with feminist readings of the history of veiling and with the effect of European colonial administrations on women's lives. Colonial constructions of the veil as oppressive and the subsequent policies banning or limiting the use of the veil led to grassroots forms of resistance. I explore in some depth the history of western visual representation of Muslim women created by and for western audiences and how those visual representations created codes that still carry meaning in contemporary media images. What have we (as westerners) been taught about Islam and women in the official curriculum of schooling and in the unofficial curriculum of the media?

Chapter 8 addresses the postcolonial work of representation that is created by artists, transnational feminist organizations, and grassroots media outlets. While much popular media still create representations that display traces of colonial stereotypes and assumptions, there are individuals and groups who are actively trying to challenge the mainstream media's colonial education. How are these forces subverting the patriarchal representations of women that remain entrenched from colonialism? I look at transnational feminist artists who create work in a variety of media that actively critique the history of imbalances in global power and the regulation of women's roles within and across cultures. Many artists appropriate traditionally feminine materials and subject matter and use these in a way that subverts the assumed meaning.

The important work detailed in Chapter 8 is generally completed in the shadows and margins of cultural work, while the stereotypical mainstream media garners

most of public attention. Chapter 9 begins to explore the question of how the work of artists, alternative media outlets, and transnational feminist activists can be brought in from the margins and used to create pedagogies that confront the traditional, colonial representations of gender. I use several theoretical frameworks to inform my pedagogy, including pragmatism, postcolonialism, border pedagogy, and critical multiculturalism. The ideas of philosophers and curricular theorists provide a way forward in using visual representations to challenge current curricular models that carry on the legacy of colonialism. Images that address and subvert unequal relationships of power can be the foundation of an education of difference. I propose a form of curriculum based around the complexity of transnational individual and group experience and expression. Stereotypical notions of difference and the Other that have been the norm in western, specifically American, education cannot be supported when examining multiple, layered postcolonial expression. The current state of praxis in visual imaging offers critical insights into the possibilities for continued production and grassroots resistance to patriarchy. What new directions for representation are beginning to take shape in global popular culture and in the postcolonial work of the artists and organizers? How can education be created in response to these new directions in the visual; relevant pedagogy must constantly be reformed to address the increasingly rapid global change due to the flow of people and capital and the mixing of cultural knowledge and forms to create new ways of knowing.

A Note on Colonial Terminology

Terms and adjectives used in Europe and the United States to describe people who live outside Europe and the United States leave the west as central and reinforce the outsider location of other groups: non-western, third world (used in inferior relation to the first world), and underdeveloped. The terms all imply a hierarchy that places the west at the top and all others scrambling to achieve western status; the west is the norm by which all other cultures and peoples are compared. Colonial descriptions of the "native," "local," "primitive," "savage," and "exotic" were used to cast difference in a specific relation to power. Many of these adjectives are still used in travel shows and tourist brochures, unofficial forms of education about difference. The ideas that the "modern," the "civilized," and the "developed" only existed in Europe and the United States, and everyone else must be helped along the path to be more like "us" still remain in political and humanitarian discussion of difference. Even many geographical terms that are commonly used on the news are remnants of the colonial and "exploration" eras; the "Middle East" was so named by Europeans in relation to its distance from a European geographical center. Every term that describes difference, which distinguishes between cultures and people, has been touched and tainted by the colonial history of Eurocentrism and racial hierarchy. For this book, I choose to use many of the colonial terms in order to critique and hopefully subvert their racist and pejorative meanings; therefore the "native" of colonial history will not be placed in quotation marks in subsequent chapters, but

I continue to contest its meaning and usage. And while I acknowledge the problems of referring to Europe and the United States as the west, it is generally understood as a category of reference and is less cumbersome. While it is traditional to capitalize the word "west," I make a conscious decision to textually de-center the term by using a lowercase "w." I choose to use the colonized world and the third world as descriptors of the many countries and cultures that have been historically colonized, as some transnational feminist and postcolonial theorists (Minh-ha, 1989) have reclaimed it as a positive term of group definition and resistance to colonial terms of identification.

So how do I describe the countries that have been directly and indirectly colonized by European and American governments, corporations, and values? There is an absence of critically engaged terms that do not re-inscribe the very power structures I wish to question. The relationship of language to power and the extent to which those in power have controlled the linguistic representation of the other cannot be denied (Foucault, 1982; Bourdieu, 1992). So, as I continue in this task of mapping and critiquing the forms of colonial education in order to reach toward feminist, postcolonial forms of pedagogy, I struggle with the absence of language untouched by colonial power and hope to acknowledge and question this language and my own complicity in its continual usage (see Chapter 2 for discussion of postcolonial terminology).

My Positionality

The power of colonial discourse and education is enacted through its construction of an objectivity that denies the existence of power and privilege. As part of a postcolonial and postmodern form of critique, I must openly acknowledge my own cultural position. I have been schooled in Eurocentric, colonial ways of seeing and knowing the world; I have benefited from my position as a white, middle-class citizen of the powerful United States. In writing about colonial and postcolonial forms of pedagogy, I cannot deny or dislodge my own education and training. I have learned to privilege the western, rational, scientific, and the objective. In my attempts to unlearn and relearn the world from a critical, postcolonial viewpoint, I inevitably falter and fall back on my Eurocentric background. So, this book is an attempt to be critical of the Eurocentric forms of education and knowledge, while also functioning as a self-critical examination of my own complicity in these forms of knowledge. "For although no writing can escape interpretation and ethnocentrism, obviously not all openly interpretive and anti-ethnocentric writings are of equal importance" (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 71). In openly admitting my own colonial education and my position as a member of the dominant culture in the privileged context of the United States, I hope to avoid the colonial claim to objective truth.

With such an education, both formally and informally acquired, I attempt to deconstruct and reconstruct how those of us in the west can educate about difference without reliance on the hierarchies and easy binaries that are legacies of colonialism. The history of colonialism is full of complex structures of power and

resistance that refuse to be contained within a binary of oppressor/oppressed, or dominator/dominated. In all colonial geographies, there were those who were resisting and contesting the terms of power and knowledge. There were/are those within the west who function as anti-colonial and postcolonial theorists and activists. As Henry Giroux (2005) writes, "The west and otherness relate not as polarities or binarisms in postcolonial discourse but in ways that both are complicitous and resistant, victim and accomplice" (p. 19). The postcolonial offers a way to describe and engage with these issues of power in forms that acknowledge the complexity and messiness. With even commonplace categorical distinctions, the mark of colonialism remains. For instance, one of the racial categories on government forms is "White/Caucasian." The term Caucasian originated in the pseudo-science of a eugenicist who decided that the most perfect human skull originated in the Caucasus Mountains, so he associated this term with the "superior" race (see Chapter 3 for an in-depth discussion of the pseudo-science of craniotomy). With such a racist history of a commonplace term of distinction, colonial forms of education surround us. How can we escape and avoid such ways of organizing the world?

This hierarchy of global cultures is a remnant from colonialism and this imbalance is not diminishing despite the recent discussions about various forms of globalization. Though there have been an increasing number of theorists discussing how to dismantle differences in power and privilege, the complex ideas of postcolonialism have yet to be adopted on a larger scale. Education, with its increasing focus on diversity and multiculturalism, can (in an ideal world) be the vehicle for real, substantive change in the way we think about ourselves and our relation to difference. This text is an attempt to form connections between how colonialism created inequities in representations of gender and culture through forms of education, and how those who work within the discipline of postcolonialism form alternate representations of gender and culture. How can postcolonial and feminist critique inform our education and pedagogy?

My Colonial Education

In examining my position in relation to this text, I first need to think back to my own colonial education and the ways that I was schooled in the history of colonial domination and difference. In my own formal and informal education I learned ways to organize the world and to find my place among people of the world. Through my formal schooling, I learned that Christopher Columbus sailed the ocean blue in 1492 to discover America. I learned that my country was founded on ideals of freedom and equality that we were trying to spread throughout the world. In the 1980s, the prime years of my childhood, I learned about the evils of communism and the Soviet Union, a location of fear and nuclear weapons. The nuclear arms race was a source of great, mythical fear in my otherwise safe and privileged childhood. My curriculum told me that the violence and wars that were supported by my country were necessary for the defense of freedom and democracy. I learned that technology and science were invented in Europe and the United States, and that we were helping

the less developed people of the world to bring them up to our level. The car, the airplane, the skyscraper were all the examples of civilization that were being spread across the globe. My world was comfortably split into the black and white, good and evil, developed and primitive, which were shown in my textbooks and filmstrips.

The school I attended for my first 18 years was in a small, relatively wealthy town in upstate New York. The student population was homogenous, white, and middle class. There were a few students of color and a few students who lived in poverty, but most of the students looked and lived exactly like me. Difference was not part of my daily reality, and the school curriculum reflected the homogenous white population. I am a product of the multicultural education attempts of the 1980s and 1990s, when politically correct versions of textbooks were being created and when schools were affected by the call for more culturally sensitive curriculum. I remember cultural fairs in my education, where we would eat food from around the world and listen to global music. I remember, in fifth grade we were asked to study another country and write a report; then we all were to prepare a dish that represented this country to serve to our class. I chose England and made a trifle; how multicultural of me. The annual holiday concert would contain at least one Chanukah song and maybe even a Kwanzaa song, even though our chorus was still framed by two large Christmas trees. Bits and pieces from other cultures were sprinkled into my education, even though the main lessons still centered on the white leaders and historical figures of the United States and Europe. I experienced a superficial multiculturalism, one that continued the legacy of colonial ideas of difference but with a surface claim of celebrating diversity.

My informal education I received from the cartoons, toys, and movies of my childhood provided an even more simplistic and ethnocentric way to view the world. I loved my blond-haired, blue-eyed Barbie and Cabbage Patch Kid. Barbie, marketed as the paragon of femininity and beauty for girls, was my favorite toy. I collected many incarnations of Barbie and her all-American boyfriend Ken. The dolls then played leading roles in the dramas I created for them. I even owned the few multicultural versions of Barbie that were available, essentially the same doll with slightly darker skin and "exotic" dress. These darker friends of Barbie were marketed as the supporting cast in Barbie's glamorous life, the marginal dolls to the blonde center. Just as the dominant ideas of race were left intact, Barbie did not do much to challenge the traditional gender roles and expectations; I owned an elaborate kitchen set for the preparation of meals and a hair salon where Barbie could have her hair done. This informal education was supplemented by the western feminist perspective of my parents, which provided a critical questioning of my Barbie dolls and other colonial images of women I was exposed to in my childhood. Through my mother, I learned about the work of Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and other early American feminists; I remember with fondness playing with my suffragette playing cards. This foundation in western feminism allowed me to question the flood of colonial and patriarchal representations of women, but it could not protect me completely. For the many students who do not have the input of feminist parents to supplement their official and unofficial education, there is very little critical questioning.

I loved the movies *The Gods Must be Crazy* (1980), where the primitive African tribe was confronted with a Coca-Cola bottle that fell from the sky, and *Protocol* (1984) where blonde-haired, blue-eyed Goldie Hawn is kidnapped by this horrible Arab man and forced to be part of his harem of wives (see Chapter 6 for more on popular representations). On television, I learned about the generosity of wealthy white adults who adopt poor, minority children (*Diff'rent Strokes*, 1978–1986, *Webster*, 1983–1989), and I learned to laugh at the inept and strange-sounding foreigners (*Perfect Strangers* 1986–1993). The popular culture of my youth was an education in the ways to treat and react to those who were different from me; I learned that the people in movies and television with foreign accents or who were dressed differently were to be either laughed at or feared. The Soviet Union provided me with an easily identified enemy, and I went to sleep every night with a palpable fear of nuclear attack from a distant foreign land. Commercials and products taught me lessons in the superiority of western consumer goods and their ability to spread happiness throughout the world. I distinctly remember the Coca-Cola commercial that featured all different looking people coming together on a mountain top to sing about peace and drink Coke. Apparently all we needed to solve the problems of war, oppression, and poverty was for more of the world's population to enjoy a specific brand of soda together. My head was filled with conflicting messages: that we should celebrate the food and holidays of other cultures, that the enemy was foreign and easily identifiable, that I should fear different people and places, and that every problem in the world could be easily fixed in a 30-second commercial. The overarching message of all my official and unofficial lessons about difference was that I lived in the greatest, most democratic, most accepting country on earth and that my historical legacy was filled with courageous white male heroes who faced great challenges to create the world in which I lived.

My childhood education left me with a colonial legacy, a way of organizing my world that placed people and cultures on a hierarchy of value and development. It was not until my graduate work that I encountered the work of postcolonial and feminist theorists, activists, and artists. I was forced to re-evaluate the worldview I constructed in my childhood. Postcolonial and feminist theories have in common a critique of the easy divisions and hierarchies that structured my education. Why was I taught from a male-centered (androcentric) and western-centered (Eurocentric) perspective that allowed me to comfortably label and categorize people and groups based on their supposed deficiencies and differences? My education performed double duty: it taught me from a position that privileged western, male perspectives, while denying the power of its position. While I consider my schooling and media education to be based in the power inequities of colonialism and imperialism, I was not taught about European and American imperialism and the way that this form of power allowed the world to be named and organized in a certain way. The colonial, patriarchal forces of education have left me with scarred representations of women who are not like me (white, western, middle class). I am left at a loss to describe women who have been marginalized in my education.

Explorers, Conquistadors, and Imperialists

I have been taught about the mythic explorations of Christopher Columbus, Ferdinand Magellan, Amerigo Vespucci, to name a few of the many heroes of my history books. These men were presented to me as adventurous, curious, and brave, setting out into the dark unknown and claiming land and resources for the good of Europe. The good of Europe was taken to be the good of all "mankind" and the spreading of European civilization was supposed to bring light to the dark places and people on the map. My curriculum of these "explorers" was, of course, steeped in the colonial construction of civilization, with European men as the makers and agents of history. All other peoples of the world were only acted upon in my history books, they were the "natives" or the "primitives" who were not named and not given the power to shape the history. Sometimes extraordinary individuals from other cultures were named for either providing support to the explorers (Pocahontas, Sacagawea) or for leading battles against white settlers (Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull), but these were merely supporting actors in my curriculum and were used to prop up the superiority and righteousness of the European explorers and settlers. In a memorable piece of my unofficial colonial curriculum, the *Schoolhouse Rock* video entitled, "Elbow Room" showcased the need for and inevitability of Manifest Destiny. In the cartoon, Lewis and Clark bravely leave the overcrowded East Coast in order to find "elbow room" for other white settlers. In the catchy song that accompanies the cartoon, the lyrics say "the way was opened up for folks with bravery, there were plenty of fights to win land rights, but the west was meant to be; it was our Manifest Destiny!" (Ahrens, 1976). The nature of these "fights" is not discussed and the happy music glosses over any people who already felt they had a right to live on the land. The cartoon shows Lewis and Clark in a canoe, with Sacagawea at the helm, crossing the continent. The country is shown to be blank, but as Lewis and Clark cross the empty space and "discover" the land, suddenly trees, fields, and mountains spring up. This fits into the colonial idea that the land outside of Europe was empty and open for easy settling and exploitation by European explorers. Things that existed and known to the native population were said to be "discovered" only once seen and described by a European. As a catchy cartoon created and marketed as an educational tool for children, "Elbow Room" fits into official forms of education that teach children about the westward expansion of the United States. The sanitized version of this expansion traditionally takes the white settler's perspective and omits the bloodshed, spread of disease, and forced removal of American Indians. I remember being taught about Manifest Destiny, or the God-given right of European settlers to conquer and settle the land west to the Pacific Ocean, as just another fact of the history of my country. The forced removal and death of so many American Indians and the devastating effect on communities of women were not part of my official curriculum because these facts created negative images of the white explorers.

My education about colonialism and imperialism was similarly lacking in perspectives other than the triumphant American and European. While I learned that Americans were courageous and right to revolt against British attempts at taxation without representation, I did not learn about other forms of resistance to colonialism

around the world. In general, my memory of imperialism in my curriculum presented the European drive for colonies and raw materials as the inevitable and right course of global history. I was not taught that the European superiority was fabricated and supported by so-called scientists who created categories of race and difference in order to provide justification for violence and oppression. Many of my lessons in global history or politics were presented in relation to European interests and exploits. I did not learn about African kingdoms that flourished before the colonial period, the active roles of women in these societies, or how the Europeans arbitrarily drew borders to create colonial holdings that ignored tribal affiliations. I learned about the raw materials that made the African colonies profitable and desirable, but not about the violence and death that were European payments for the raw materials.

Women, Gender, and Sexualizing Empire

Just as the land outside of Europe was empty of people in my education, the land was also sexualized and feminized through the language of exploration and colonization. The "virgin land" was ripe for conquest by the male explorers, and in fact many expeditions did in fact also include the promise of sexual pleasure in foreign lands. The male crews of European ships were told of promiscuous native women who wore little if any clothing and would be sexually available. It was assumed that these women would lack the moral constraints of European women and would be willing to pleasure these men, or would be easily forced into doing so. Engravings from the times of these explorers show bare-breasted women greeting Europeans on these distant shores and highlighting the fruitful natural bounty of the environment. From the first contact of these "explorers" with other lands, women were described as being part of the natural bounty of the land and this continued in colonial representations of the foreign land as feminized and foreign women objectified as a natural resource.

Once the land was under European control and colonies were established, the experiences of colonized women varied greatly depending on geography, but they were generally treated as domestic help and/or sexual objects for their colonial masters. European ideas about ideal femininity that policed the strict lines between gender roles and behaviors were exported to the colonies. Especially in British colonies of the nineteenth century the Victorian ideal of the sexually pure wife and mother affected the rights and responsibilities given to women (McClintock, 1995). In some locations, pre-colonial women shared decision-making power with men and often had the right to own and inherit property. Once the imperial femininity was enforced, many women lost their rightful claims to property and were pressured to work inside the domestic space, caring for children and keeping house. For some women, colonization meant the combined force of native and colonial patriarchy that confined their behavior and roles to limited spheres. In Egypt, for instance, women lost educational rights under the British administration and were made the focus of nationalist independence movements that wanted a return to pre-colonial values.

Knowledge Gained and Distributed Through Empire

Before cultural contact or clash was commonplace, Europeans ordered their knowledge of the world around the people and things that populated Europe. The people were generally understood as belonging to different economic or social classes but belonging to a single group that was simply divided into parts that determined the type of labor and living one would make. Early European philosophers and scientists ordered the world according to their knowledge of the small area around them. As explorers set out to sail around the world, contact with different groups of people led to a crisis of knowledge; how could the Europeans fit the other people of the world into their existing paradigms? Scientists worked at organizing the world according to the evolutionary ideas of Charles Darwin, believing that these other groups of people could fit into charts of human evolution, with Europeans at the top. Racist sciences of craniotomy and eugenics attempted to prove the biological superiority of Europeans through measurements of dubious scientific merit.

An important form of gaining and consolidating colonial power was through the creation and distribution of specific, Eurocentric forms of knowledge and education. The scientific knowledge about race was distributed in colonial schools. Colonial administrators used language as a tool for control; the decision of who learned English, French, Dutch, etc., was based in the need to control access to the language of power. Geography was a subject that was shaped by the exploration and colonization of the world by Europe. Blank areas on maps were filled in as Europeans sailed the globe in search of resources to exploit; colonialism gave new names and borders to geographies that had previously been named and divided locally. Even today, most maps of former colonies show the legacy of this naming and drawing of borders; the subject of geography, and the politics it reflects, has yet to be de-colonized.

The Hierarchies of Colonialism

While the colonial period was represented by a confidence in European intellectual, economic, and moral superiority, the postcolonial can be represented by a critical questioning of this superiority and the legacy it has left on the psyche of native and conqueror alike. With continuing references to "savages," "primitive," and "civilization," popular culture and school curriculum have not reached the post, or after, colonial period. The psychological baggage associated with being either the bearer of all that is enlightened and moral, or being forever marked as primal, different, and other needs to be investigated in the ways it continues to influence how we educate and learn about ourselves and others. The ordering of cultures on scales of development and civilization still inform both official and unofficial educational materials.

Women Positioned in Relation to Empire

The hierarchy of empire was based on the superiority of western, male rationality that positioned the western woman, native men, and native women further down the evolutionary line. While western men were considered citizens of the world able to travel at will and be master of land and native alike, women of the west were seen as the support system at home to oil the gears of empire. Native women were seen as the lowest form of civilization and rationality, reduced to exotic objects represented in highly sexualized images. European women also traveled and lived as colonizers and missionaries in the colonies; they occupy a colonial space that has recently been the focus of feminist inquiry into the complex combination of sympathy and complicity that often informed these women in their writing about their colonial experience.

Women, as a category of study, has been used as a biologically essentialized category, assuming a uniform set of experiences and expectations that ignored the cultural context and intersecting forms of oppression. How can white, western women who have been part of the dominant culture in the colonial relationship be thought of in the same category as women who were thought of as inferior based on their gender and their ethnicity? Is it desirable or even possible to speak of women as a category of representation without reinforcing the false universal of global sisterhood? In setting up an analysis of postcolonial representations of women, it is necessary to investigate the terms of inquiry. Historically, women have been both oppressor and oppressed, colonial and postcolonial. It is the global development and operation of patriarchy that is a form of connection, a way to begin investigations into the intersection of gender, race, and power that are the center of this book.

Colonial Regulation of Sexuality

Part of the administration of many colonies relied on the regulation of sexuality, marriage, and reproduction. For the most part, this translated to the regulation and control of female sexuality in multiple ways. Ann Laura Stoler (1995) writes of the way in which "bourgeois bodies" were constructed in Europe and the colonies through this regulation of desire and sexuality. The European ruling class had to be distinguished from the native population of the colonies and from the working and poor classes back home and this was accomplished through European and colonized women's bodies (see Chapters 3 and 4 for in-depth examinations of colonial history and representations).

There was a European fear that placing Europeans in the colonies would lead to corruption, degeneration to the native state of being. The colonies were the first geographies where white, European women lived in close contact with people from other cultural and racial backgrounds. Histories of trade and exploration meant European men had long come into contact with difference and interacted sexually with those who were different. Colonizers feared that white women would become sexually deviant through contact with native women and men, which led to the first

laws about miscegenation. European men were afraid of female sexuality and the possibility of sexual relations between white women and other men, though many European men in the colonies engaged in sexual acts with female servants and concubines. Laws surrounding marriage in the colonies were gendered in a way that gave more freedom and right to European men. “A European man could live with or marry an Asian woman without necessarily losing rank, but this was never true for a European woman who might make a similar choice to live or marry a non-European” (p. 115). Women’s bodies were tied to the nation in very real ways, and the policing of these bodies was important to the maintenance of power and the protection of the image of the “motherland.”

Anxiety about sexuality and desire were not limited to the contamination of the supposedly pure sexuality of European women. Class, race, and gender were all factors influencing the fear of desire in the colonies, in which “sexual contamination, sexual abstinence, or spermatic depletion produced moral clusters of judgment and distinction that defined the boundaries of middle-class virtue, lower-class immorality, and the deprivations of those of colonial birth or of mixed-race” (p. 176).

Colonial Masculinity

While femininity and women’s sexuality were regulated in the colonies, masculinity and men’s sexuality were also constructed in specific ways. “Empire provided the fertile terrain on which bourgeois notions of manliness and virility could be honed and put to patriotic test” (Stoler, 1995, p. 129). European men were positioned in opposition to the irrational, sexually available, and mentally weak colonized population and European women. These men were to have the self-control and reason to rule those “lesser” populations.

“Colonial states and imperial cultures in the nineteenth century were consolidated through specific relations of ruling, involving forms of knowledge and institutions of sexual, racial, and caste/class regulations,” (Mohanty, 2004, p. 58). Ordering, categorizing, and creating boundaries of humanity was an important component in solidifying colonial power and keeping native populations divided. An example of colonial division of the native population is the modern state of Rwanda. When the Portuguese created the borders of this invented country, they also invented and highlighted differences between people. Natural tribal histories of the Hutus and Tutsis were used by the colonial power to create divisions and animosity in the local population, making it easier to consolidate power. The Portuguese chose the Tutsis as the more noble, educated, and cultured group. The Europeans felt that the Tutsis were descendents from Arab populations in Northern Africa, and therefore closer in racist myths of evolution to the Europeans than were the African Hutus. By creating this false hierarchy, the Portuguese made it easier to prevent unified resistance to their rule, and it left a devastating legacy of resentment. The genocide that ripped Rwanda apart in 1994 was marked by residual hatred that was constructed during colonialism. Most often, as was the case in Cromer’s Egypt, the colonial power worked with the native patriarchal structures in order to subvert any organized movement for women’s rights and maintain gendered boundaries.

Mohanty writes of the "English gentleman" (p. 59) in India as the culmination of the gendered and raced hierarchies of colonialism. In ruling India as a colony, the British created structures for education and employment of a civil servant class of Indians, giving the illusion of power and privilege while maintaining the all-white, European ideal of the educated elite. Even if the Indian student gained success in British education and bureaucracy, he could never change the color of his skin or the origin of the birth in order to reach the elite level of the truly powerful. "This definition of white men as 'naturally' born to rule is grounded in a discourse of race and sexuality that necessarily defined colonial peoples, men and women, as incapable of self-government" (p. 59). Victorian ideals of femininity gave the British gentleman complete claim to rationality, order, and mental clarity; women were given to hysteria, over-stimulation of the sexual organ, and an irrationality that made the ruling of nation and empire out of the question. Women were also associated with the private space of the home and were achieved status through their relationships to men and through the bearing and raising of children. Indian women, in the colonial hierarchy, were under the control and provenance of their husbands and fathers and therefore visible to colonial authorities. Thus, all levels of the British bureaucracy in India were filled with male colonialists and subjects, leaving subaltern women as outside of the mechanisms of power. The British authorities consolidated the power of Indian men in relationships of land ownership and the control of property.

Postcolonialism As a Strategy of Resistance

What effects remain from the years of exploration, exploitation, and control that constituted the years of European imperial domination? Though information and currency seem to flow through borders in the current age of globalization, the scars of racism, slavery, and cultural superiority linger. Postcolonial theory is, at its most elemental, the critique of European and American control of information and power over those who inhabit different geographic and cultural locations. The structure of European colonialism established a hierarchy of civilization, intelligence, and development that placed the west at the top and all others on various, lower levels of this hierarchy. The colonies were used for the economic gain of the European powers, but also for the collection and distribution of knowledge. Postcolonialism has been used to describe both the armed direct resistance to colonial control and struggle for independence and the theoretical critique of Eurocentric forms of knowledge that were built on the foundations of direct colonial control. This represents a strategic resistance to the narrow ways of viewing the world that imagine Europe and the United States as the center of the civilized world and all others as in some slower stage of development toward western ways (see Chapter 2 for a theoretical foundation of postcolonialism).

Transnational Feminisms

Patriarchy and feminism are terms that are fundamental to any discussion of the representation of women in any culture or across cultures. Patriarchy can be defined

as a society in which men hold the majority of political and social power. There are different forms of patriarchy throughout the world that range from more hidden forms of control to overt systems that legally give males the control and possession over women (for an expanded discussion of transnational feminist theory, see Chapter 2).

Feminism has evolved as a response to patriarchy, or the control over women's lives in multiple ways by males. The issue of women's suffrage, or the right to vote, was one of the first issues that questioned the power structure of patriarchy. Feminism is a concept that has been used to address the treatment and rights of women in many cultures. It originated as a term in the west, in Europe and the United States, and many have tried to apply the principles and concerns of white, middle-class, western women to those from other cultures and classes. For instance, middle-class white women from the United States might be primarily concerned with issues of access to birth control, salary differences, and overthrowing expectations of femininity and motherhood. These women who held positions of class privilege defined the earliest versions of feminism and assumed this to be a definition important to all women. These same issues may be lower on the list of concern for women who feel the intersecting effects of race and class as a daily reality. African American women in the United States have continually questioned the definition of feminism as a universal solution to the problems women face. Just as there are multiple ways of being a woman, many versions of feminism have evolved to address the pressing needs of women in multiple cultural locations. Those who deal with transgender and gay rights have used feminisms critique of traditional assumptions to break new ground for defining gender roles and have expanded the definition of feminism through their work. It has taken the hard work of many theorists and activists to question the assumption that the experience of European and American middle-class women is universal to all women around the world.

By integrating the ideas of postcolonial education with the work of transnational feminist theorists we can find a way to situate the representation of women within both the colonial and postcolonial systems of organizing the world. Women's bodies and images were used for very particular purposes during historical colonialism. In many ways the native woman was constructed as an exotic sexual object of desire for European men. In Orientalist paintings, artists created fantasy by imagining sexually available women in the harem, lounging and awaiting for male company. Gauguin famously painted the bare-breasted women he encountered in Tahiti, creating fantastical images of paradise. African women were imagined and represented as the most sexually available of all native women by colonial men, which was transferred to African slaves in the United States. Representations of these women focused on the racist construction of the evolutionary ladder of humanity that placed African women at the lowest rung of development, farthest from the pure sexuality of white, European women of the day. Feminist postcolonialism, a connection of imperialism and patriarchy that was articulated by Gayatri Spivak, connects issues of third world women, the transnational movement of capital and labor, and the gender oppression of the colonial legacy. Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2004), in *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*, elaborates on these

connections and extends postcolonial feminism to include issues brought up by global migration and recent disturbances to relationships of power.

The hierarchy of race that naturalized and provided "scientific" basis for white rule also assumed the white male as dominant with white female, native male, and finally native female on the bottom of colonial hierarchy. I am concerned with the cementing of patriarchy and fixing of gender as essential category of difference, particularly within traditionally Muslim countries since liberation from colonial power. How did the national liberation from colonialism reinforce gender oppression; how did the actions of colonial rulers set the stage for the throwing off white-rule and the entrenching of patriarchy?

Another important contribution by Mohanty to the discourse is the importance of feminist re-imagining of history through the perspective of marginalized women:

> Feminist analysis has always recognized the centrality of rewriting and remembering history, a process that is significant not merely as a corrective to the gaps, erasures, and misunderstandings of hegemonic masculinist history but because the very practice of remembering and rewriting leads to the formation of politicized consciousness and self-identity. (p. 78)

I would include in this remembering the visual expression of subaltern women artists who re-write masculinist, imperialist history through their bodies and art. Viewing expression as a form of political resistance and a means to embody postcolonial feminist theory is an important tool for my analysis of women's art.

Mohanty's writing about the hegemony of middle-class values as normative is echoed in the work of Inderpal Grewal (1998). In her essay "On the New Global Feminisms and the Family of Nations" she indicts the neo-imperialism of western feminism that uses the legacy of colonial oppression to further western dominance over third world women. "The dominant discourse in regard to international issues constructs U.S. feminists as saviors and rescuers of 'oppressed women' elsewhere within a global economy run by powerful states" (p. 511). From this perspective, when western feminists rally to rescue Muslim women from the oppression of the veil, they are simply playing into the discourse of American political and moral dominance (see Chapter 7 for extended analysis of western representation of the veil and Muslim women). It assumes that to be "liberated" means to be free from constraint in the American way, and re-inscribes myths of "backwardness" in other locations. This also factors in the treatment of "others" within dominant cultures. Women of color, immigrants, and the poor in the United States are subject to middle-class white definitions of liberation and charity. "Such a practice participates in a xenophobic, racialized American nationalism in which the whiteness, justness, humaneness of a homogenous 'host' nation is established through the presence of its barbaric immigrant or refugee others." (p. 516) Thus, to be part of the dominant American ideal, you must be a native-born, white, middle-class citizen, which excludes the experience of border-crossers and immigrants.

The Legacy of 9/11

The events of September 11, 2001, changed the public discourse about difference in the United States. Before that day, there was an increasing focus on multiculturalism and the need to rethink old ways of teaching, learning, and representing about difference. A lot of the literature about the possibilities of cosmopolitan identities and cross-border communication and collaboration was written in 2000, when hopefulness about the cultural effects of globalization was high. Seemingly overnight, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 led to a tightening of borders, increased surveillance and policing of difference, and wariness in discussing positive aspects of global identities. Though much of the increased fear of difference in the United States was, and still is, focused on Islam, there has been an increase in generalized nationalist xenophobia that needs to be addressed. What is the connection between fear and ignorance; why are we always more frightened in the dark? There is something about the lack of knowledge and understanding of difference that leads to a feeling of helpless fear. I have been shaped by the misrepresentations of the media; I have experienced a visceral reaction of fear when I encountered difference. In my state of willed ignorance, I retain the sense of identity built upon a history of American egoism and power. I am far removed from the world of oppression, hunger, pain, and fear in which most people live. My lack of empathy, my feelings of entitlement to security and centrality keep me shielded from the rest of the world, including those on the margins of my own daily life. The images and stories that I have heard about Muslim women are either sound bites, sensationalized for easy digestion, or stories that have been filtered through a western lens. I have heard Laura Bush and Cherie Blair speak for the horribly abused and covered women of Afghanistan before the United States' offensive in the country. I have read books by western women authors detailing the gender oppression of Islam. In all of the writing and talking about Muslim women, their stories and voices are still mostly silent. And so my fear-based reactions were based in an ignorance-based fear; for all the "information" that I had seen and heard understanding of this difference, I was still in the dark. The repetition of sinister, darkened faces of suicide bombers and the Muslim terrorists was at the base of my visceral reaction. The books I have read and the knowledge gained through study did not counteract this bodily urge to flee.

How have we come to this place of intolerant fear, where this Muslim woman creates in me such an automatic revulsion? I have been involved in the creation of art for most of my life, from scribbling on walls with crayons to my most recent work that involves working through issues of loss, memory, and family. I believe in the possibility of art to allow us to see things in new ways, from different perspectives. Though art comes in as many forms as there are individual artists, there is a thread of connection with all works. The artist creates the work from her/his own vantage point, creating personal expressions of her/his perspectives and theorizing of experience even in the most abstract of work. Can artwork be used as the central piece of pedagogies of difference that can address the continuum and move us into a space of critical, open dialogue with self and others? I imagine using artwork as the core curriculum of a responsible education that addresses difference. A responsible

education of difference needs to begin to address the reality of unequal relationships of power and oppression. Self-identity needs to be affirmed while creating questions of the certainty of definitions that construct the self in opposition to a nebulous, exoticized Other. What makes the current approach to difference irresponsible and how will the art-based pedagogy be responsible? I see three current themes in formal and informal approaches to difference in education in the United States: difference is celebrated as an exotic diversion to the everyday, it is used to maintain the power of the dominant culture over those who are different, or it is treated as a possible threat to the safety and security of our "American way of life." We celebrate our eclectic tastes when we eat at "ethnic" restaurants or display global knick-knacks in our homes. But real difference that confronts us with issues of oppression, anger, and distrust forces us into complex reexamination of our concept of self.

I would like this book to begin the process of imagining a form of globally responsible education that could address the dehumanizing, stereotypical representations of those whom we see as the "Other." The current formal schooling process in the United States either ignores difference of religion and ethnicity, or preaches a numbing tolerance that does not attempt to understand or hear the expression of others. Like individual attempts to tolerate, when tolerance is the goal of learning about others, differences that are based on unequal relationships of power and oppression are suppressed for a false sense of surface diversity. Informal education from the media and our government presents difference in a sensational way that emphasizes the threat and exoticism of difference, particularly in regard to the representation of Islam. Bold headlines connect the images of terrorists and suicide bombers to the greater concepts of Islam and to veiled women. The result of formal and informal education in the United States is a willed ignorance of other cultures and the historical foundation of foreign policy that has led to the current global dynamics.

I believe the use of contemporary art that exists in multiple cultural spaces at once, that crosses boundaries and borders offers the possibility to confront our biased views of those who are foreign to us. Increased globalization, travel, and communication lead to a feeling of shrinking distance. As real difference and distance contract, we feel increased vulnerability and construct imaginary differences between "us" and "them," built upon unequal power legacies of colonialism, patriarchy, and modernity. The visual images of this difference are embedded in the way we think, recalling the mental pictures that are associated with loaded words. "Mexican," "veil," "exotic," "Orient," are all words weighed down with layers of visual and verbal history that we carry with us in Europe and the United States. They are signifiers that at one time related to a real place and time, but have been overloaded with biased media and cultural meanings. My interest is in using my positionality as a western scholar to attempt to understand the layers of misrepresentation of the Other, specifically the discursive production of the colonized woman as object and subject, and to propose a way to re-invent our western way of seeing others through a pedagogy of dissent that involves the viewing and analysis of contemporary art.

Legacies of nationalism and imperialism have created unequal power relationships involved in representations of self/other. Those who wield power in global,

gendered relationships represent the rest of the world in the form of their choosing. Colonial power and exploitation by the west, traditionally Europe and more recently the United States, has taken control of creating the Other academically and artistically. These misrepresentations have been based on assumptions of western superiority and cultural biases that lead to a privileged position of "objective knowledge" about other cultures. Scholars who created the field of Orientalism believed in a superiority of European technology and knowledge. I am specifically interested in how western views of the colonized world, the third world, have informed western public perception about the nature and agency of those outside the imagined community of the west. Almost daily there is a new story of ways in which the issue of the woman's body is constructed as a site for political struggle. For example, the veiling or unveiling of women is currently being legislated in many countries, choice of dress and religious expression are denied to Muslim women in many cases without their consultation. How is the colonialist history of biased representation affecting these current debates and how are the images of the Other produced in the United States feeding into the fear of difference?

American global power has been built since World War II on this foundation of European scholarship and colonialism. Our sense of self as Americans is intimately connected to our military strength and ethnocentric views of the foreign. Benedict Anderson (1983) writes that "imagined communities" must be formed through invented connections; group identities are constructed through the lure of being part of an exclusive community. The creation of our national identity defines who is part of the community of the nation and who is on the outside. It is this creation of imaginary difference that separates one group from another. Nationalism takes physically nonexistent borders and transforms them into sacred lines of difference. When unequal levels of power are combined with the often-violent xenophobia of nationalism, individual humanity and empathy are lost in the frenzy to decide who belongs inside and outside the borders. The visual, pictorial representations of those left outside are created to enforce difference and deny the individual experience. Thus, we in the west have come to know the other visually as primitive, tribal, unclean, ornamented, and frozen in a nebulous past. In terms of the Muslim woman, we visually have been presented with the helpless victim, veiled and hidden. This is a visual affront to our very western idea of freedom, and allows us to distance ourselves from the women while pitying them for their cloth prison. This same western idea of freedom is not questioned for its role in the pressure on women to be overly aware of the space that our bodies take up while on public display and open to public comment (for a historical and theoretical analysis of western representations of Islam and women, see Chapter 7).

The public American relationship with the rest of the world has shifted since the events of 9/11. Many who felt comfortable about issues of American identity, safety, dominance, and believed in a worldwide admiration of all things American suddenly lost this sense of certainty. The world shrank overnight, and the lack of security that most of the world feels on a daily basis hit Americans all at once. This loss of confidence brought about an ugly wave of xenophobia, a crisis of identity that led to a sealing off from everything perceived as different and foreign. Fed by media fear

mongering, public opinion reflected this new fear of the foreign, and especially of all things Muslim. Bills that limited civil liberties at the expense of illusive security, like the Patriot Act, were easily passed. American fears of global terrorism and economic collapse have increased hostility toward difference of all kinds. Those on the outside are vilified and stereotyped, thoughts like “the Mexicans are going to come and steal our jobs,” and “the Muslims are going to terrorize us and threaten our very way of life,” run just under the surface of many conversations in public forums. This xenophobia is based in the colonial nature of our official and unofficial education that instills myths of cultural and racial superiority from an early age. As educators we need to confront this colonial legacy and to imagine new ways of creating curriculum based on the postcolonial critique of Eurocentric modes of knowledge creation. This book is designed to support and encourage this process of change; Chapters 8 and 9 lay out specific ideas about the design of discussion and projects based on postcolonial modes of thought.

Chapter 2
Development of Feminist Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial and postcolonial feminist theories form the theoretical foundation for my critical examination of colonial pedagogy and imagining a renewed postcolonial feminist pedagogy. The physical colonialism that officially ended in the mid-twentieth century in most locations produced organized forms of resistance that has variously been called anti-colonialism, postcolonialism, and nationalism. While anti-colonialism and nationalism are accurate labels for the independence movements and physical resistance to colonialism, postcolonialism is the term generally used to describe the work of scholars and artists who explore the legacy of colonialism. Postcolonial theory is a diverse field of inquiry that explores the physical, psychological, and cultural effects of the colonial systems on the colonizer and the colonized. Scholars working in this field also explore the structures of continued imperial systems that effect global relationships of power and the multiple forms of resistance to historical and current colonial and imperial systems. Early well-known scholars in the field (Césaire, 1972; Fanon, 1967; Said, 1978, etc.) articulated the psychological, academic, and cultural effects of colonialism from a male point of view. In this work, the colonizer and colonized were assumed to be male and the effects on women and their important roles in the resistance movements were marginalized or ignored completely. Since the 1990s, many scholars have used the tools of feminist critique to engage with the ideas of postcolonialism; this work connects the effects and continued legacy of colonialism to the power and conditions of patriarchy.

Ironically, we can trace the birth of the academic field of postcolonialism to structures created by European colonial administrations in order to establish and cement colonial control. At the root of many independence movements were leaders who used their colonial education in order to theorize resistance to the systems of power. This production of resistance was an unintended consequence of colonial education that was meant to support the colonial administration. European systems of education were set up in most colonies for a multiplicity of purposes. Often the officially stated goals of Eurocentric humanitarianism were to build western-style schools in order to spread the light of civilization to the dark places on the map. These schools also served a more pragmatic function in order to dissolve native culture and knowledge at an increased rate, supplanting them with European knowledge

R.B. Jones, *Postcolonial Representations of Women*, Explorations of Educational Purpose 18, DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1551-6_2, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

of the world. "In the system of education designed for India, students were taught not only English literature but the inherent superiority of the English race" (Said, 1993, p. 101). The brightest native students were sometimes given the opportunity to travel to the colonial center to attend university. Scholars who were educated within colonial schools led the intellectual charge against the systems of power and privilege of colonialism. Franz Fanon and Aimé Césaire, the products of these colonial educations, became eloquent and influential critics of colonialism as a system of control and provided the theoretical foundation for resistance movements during the anti-colonial movements. More recent theorists have built on the work of Fanon and Césaire to connect contemporary imbalances in global power to the histories of colonialism.

Postcolonial Terminology

The term postcolonial (post-colonial) has been the subject of academic debate in recent years. Some scholars (Appiah, 2004; McClintock, 1994) have questioned the use of the prefix "post" in describing the current era. Does "post" imply a break with the past and the entrance into a new era that has eliminated colonialism in its many forms? Does postcolonialism rely on a standard, linear view of time and progress that is based in colonial hierarchies and modernity? It has been suggested that the long and complex processes of decolonization have occurred inconsistently and in some case have not yet occurred. Does this mean that we need to discuss a form of neocolonialism, or simply plain colonialism? How do we discuss the situation in Puerto Rico, Hong Kong, and Tibet with reference to current-day colonialism? Are the inhabitants living under these forms of colonialism served by a focus on the postcolonial? How does this prefix relate to the popularized terms such as postmodernism, post-feminism, post-history, post-national?

Postcolonialism has been used in two major forms in academic writing and theorizing. The first use is in describing geographically specific locations of struggle and nationalist independence movements that succeeded in overthrowing direct colonial rule. Postcolonial in this form can literally be taken as an era following direct foreign occupation and rule. The term has recently taken root metaphorically to describe a specific form of critique that exposes colonial hierarchies and power relationships between the center (the dominant cultures in Europe and the United States) and the margins (minority voices in the center and cultures described as "third world" and "developing"). The metaphorical postcolonial writer, thinker, or artist is someone who develops an oppositional stance in the face of racist, elitist, Eurocentric ways of thinking. The use of the term in this way, referring to the specific struggles against foreign rule by a colonial power but expanding the term beyond specific cultural or geographic locations, also broadens the possibility for the term colonialism. When the term colonial is used in obvious reference to the specific histories of domination and oppression but is expanded beyond the specifics to refer more generally to a way of thinking and acting that affirms hierarchies and imbalanced relationships of power, then current ways of acting, writing, and educating can be considered

colonial. Lòpez (2001) describes two elements of the postcolonial: (1) "a reckoning with the colonial past" (p. 23) that includes examining the legacy of colonialism on the colonized and revising the history of colonial centers to include new understanding of the colonial past, and (2) "an analysis or articulation of postcolonial diasporas" (p. 24) that encompasses the hybrid and multiple identities of those both physically and metaphorically in motion. To discuss a postcolonial pedagogy, one must engage both with the historical legacy of colonialism and with the formation of new, less fixed identities.

Césaire: Native Critique

First published in 1950, Césaire's (1972) *Discourse on Colonialism* is a call to arms for native resistance to colonialism. Written in the midst of nationalist struggles for independence, the text is an angry indictment of European colonialism and its exclusive claim to civilization. "First we must study how colonization works to *decivilize* the colonizer, to *brutalize* him in the true sense of the word, to degrade him, to awaken him to buried instincts, to covetousness, violence, race hatred, and moral relativism" (p. 35). Instead of buying into the civilizing mission of colonialism, Césaire turns the critique of barbarism on the European powers and those that either approve or turn a blind eye to the cruelty and violence of occupation. The most "decivilized" act of the colonizer is to turn the colonized into a thing, a sub-human who does not deserve the rights and protection of humanity. The contact of colonialism is not human contact, "but relations of domination and submission which turn the colonizing man into a classroom monitor, an army sergeant, a prison guard, a slave driver, and the indigenous man into an instrument of production" (p. 42). By treating the colonized as sub-human, those in power were left dehumanized, filling in roles of domination that did not seek or reward human relationships. Effects of this power create a grand hypocrisy that hides acts of violent control under a façade of humanitarianism, also known as the "white man's burden." Even under the supposedly philanthropic guise of colonialism, the native is not allowed to be fully human; he/she is infantilized, adults turned into children who need the guidance and protection of the fully grown European. Césaire's argument is that in actuality it is the European who is degraded through colonialism; to hide behind a mask of rationality and civilization and then commit acts of cruelty is the ultimate form of dehumanization. It is an indictment of the west and a call to arms for those negatively impacted by the practice of colonialism.

Fanon and Nandy: The Psychology of Colonialism

Franz Fanon's work focuses on the psychological effects of colonialism in the years of the national liberation movement in Algeria. As a colonial subject, Fanon saw that there was a complex combination of feelings inspired by the way colonial powers constructed the image of the native as a lesser being. The colonized were told that, although they were inferior, they could be uplifted through colonial education and

civilization and could strive to become more like those who held power. He used his own experience as a citizen of the French colony of Martinique and his training as a psychiatrist to write about the dislocations and oppressions of colonialism. Fanon wrote not only of the external forces of colonialism that oppressed and restricted, he wrote of the psychological effects that colonialism had in the minds of the colonized. In many ways, he is the founder of historical and contemporary postcolonial discourse.

His seminal text, *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967), introduces the "self-division" created by colonialism, where the oppressed have two faces: one for the white rulers and another for fellow subjects. This division is the result of "various theories that have tried to prove that the Negro is a stage in the slow evolution of monkey into man" (p. 17). Fanon recognized the way colonialism created the hierarchy of humanity that collapsed time and space in evolutionary terms. This idea of the European colonial master as the product of evolution from the "primitive native" was pervasive in colonial times and affected the way in which the colonized were treated; many came to view themselves through this distorted, racist lens. This speaks to both a double consciousness and a form of internalized oppression, where the force of an oppressor affects the self-concept of the oppressed. When one is treated as inferior for so long, internalized oppression leads the oppressed to feel that they in fact are inferior.

For Fanon, there was historical weight to the color of his skin that meant no matter how educated he became in the best French schools he could never be "French". Though the French colonial powers promised to provide French education, French citizenship was limited by a national identity that was white. I am interested in Fanon's sense of homelessness and destabilized sense of self that can result from oppression and migration. In the past couple of years, this tension that separates those with darker skin tones from a real French identity has played out on the streets of Parisian suburbs. Growing tension and poverty in the mostly-immigrant communities of certain Parisian suburbs erupted in riots in 2005, after two teenage boys were killed after running from French police. There are stories of French citizens with foreign sounding names being discriminated against in the application for jobs and the rampant poverty and unemployment in the suburbs of Paris add to racial tension. While visiting a poverty-ridden area, former interior minister (now president) Nicolas Sarkozy said that, "crime-ridden neighborhoods should be 'cleaned with a power hose' and describes violent elements as 'gangrene' and 'rabble'" ("Timeline: French riots", 2005). The issue of urban crime is often linked in Sarkozy's speeches with tough talk about curbing immigration, conflating the issues of poverty, unemployment, crime, and difference. The overall effect of his words is that difference is to be feared and barred from French soil. Official policies of police conduct in the suburbs have led to a feeling of impersonal patrols, watching for trouble instead of ensuring the public good. Teenage residents of the mostly French-North African population of the Clichy-sous-Bois neighborhood, where the rioting began, have this to say about the police presence: "We don't want a police station here. Some cops are racist," "Riots are caused by police. They think we are all delinquents," "The cops don't respect us. They come in and smash doors. They systematically

suspect blacks and Arabs," "Some cops are aggressive and use racial slurs when they check you," (Astier, 2006, para. 3). Though these youth are French citizens by birth, they are marked with difference in name and appearance; the prospect for success in education and career are bleak.

Nationalist right-wing politicians in France have used the rioting as an excuse to tighten immigration laws and to curtail civil liberties in the poor suburbs. Like the backlash against immigration to the United States from Mexico, the fears and uncertainty of difference lead to increased legal regulation that promises to improve the lives of those in France by increasing policing and removal of those considered to be outsiders. Fear of changing social and economic circumstances is used to locate scapegoats in immigrant and urban areas; national identity is used as a weapon to separate and conflate the "pollution" of those who are different from the pure national identity and the societal ills that call for difficult change and self-examination. The French youth who participated in the riots understand that they will never be "French" enough to procure a decent job or to move out of the crime-ridden suburbs. In many ways, their violence reinforces the public's views of them as "thugs" and "hopeless." They are bound by a desire to be a part of a nation that defines itself against them. This marginalization has been foundational to the work of many postcolonial theorists, this sense of how isolation and oppression could be used to form oppositional communities and identities.

Taking up the psychological work of Fanon, Ashis Nandy (1983) wrote of the pycho-political causes and effects of colonialism on India in *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*. For Nandy, the psychology of the ruler and the ruled in colonialism is inseparable from the political and cultural dimensions. Though many define colonialism as the physical control of an external group of people over a native population, Nandy defines colonialism as primarily a mental and psychological process. Therefore, the end of physical colonialism does not mean the end of its subconscious effects, "colonialism never seems to end with formal political freedom. As a state of mind, colonialism is an indigenous process released by external forces" (p. 3). Contemporary forms of psychological colonialism still exist, not only in the western economic imperialism, but also in the mind-set of many in "Third World" or "developing" nations. "More dangerous and permanent are the inner rewards and punishments, the secondary psychological gains and losses from suffering and submission under colonialism" (p. 3). Not only do the colonizers attempt to convince the colonized that they are militarily and politically inferior, they pretend to occupy the moral and cultural high ground as well. The civilizing mission of colonialism was meant to make the native population discard their traditional ways of ordering and conceptualizing their lives in favor of western forms of rationality and secular divisions.

Nandy also writes of two different types of resistance to colonialism in its many guises: the accepted, domesticated form of opposition that uses western forms of critique; and the resistance that refuses to use western terms of opposition. In Audre Lorde's (1984) terms, the former group is attempting to use the master's tools to dismantle the master's house, while the latter is using pre-colonial native and newly formed tools of resistance. For Nandy, it is only the resistance that works

beyond the scope of western critique that can truly break down the more ingrained psychological forms of colonialism. "The West has not merely produced colonialism, it informs most interpretations of colonialism" (p. xii). We, in the west, feel comfortable with a certain amount of opposition, as long as it operates by our clearly defined rules of logic and order. The alternative forms of ordering of global relationships, "constructed by the savage outsider who is neither willing to be a player nor a counterplayer," (p. xiii) are unrecognizable to the colonial power and are therefore highly threatening.

Nandy expands on Césaire's notion of native-as-child by examining how the definitions of childhood and womanhood were reshaped in Europe during the colonial era. The feminization and infantilism of the colonized were related to movements in Europe to redefine the child in the seventeenth century as "an inferior version of the adult" (p. 14). This was part of the "Protestant Ethic" that meant it "became the responsibility of the adult to 'save' the child from a state of unrepentant, reprobate sinfulness through proper socialization" (p. 15). This concept of the child was transferred to the "primitive" native of the colony; just as it was the job of the parent and teacher to guide and educate the European child; it was seen as the responsibility of the European colonizer to shape and mold the native onto a higher level of civilization. This, according to Nandy, took two strands of change: the reforming of the "innocent but ignorant" childlike native through westernization, and repressing the "ignorant but unwilling to learn" childish native through crushing rebellion and the rule of law (p. 16). This works with the feminization of the native population to legitimate colonial rule. As the less rational, less developed, and more mystical culture, the native culture was thought as feminine and in need of masculine control and protection.

Said: The Culture of Imperialism

While Fanon's major contribution to an understanding of postcolonialism lay in his psychology of oppression, Edward Said (1978) worked on the cultural and academic regimes of truth that naturalized superiority of European power through the discourse of Orientalism. During the era of physical colonialism European authors, artists, and academics created work that represented the colonized land and people for European audiences. One example of this representation was the field of Orientalism that was institutionalized in university departments and a genre of painting. Said defines Orientalism as:

> A *distribution* of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological historical, and philological texts; it is an *elaboration* not only of a basic geographical distinction (the world is made of up of two unequal halves, Orient and Occident) but also of a whole series of 'interests' which, by such means as scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description, it not only creates but also maintains. (p. 12)

This imagined geographic space of the Orient, which historically included the Muslim and Arab worlds, was the projection of European ambition and fantasy

that carried the weight of academic truth. European scientists, authors, artists, and scholars worked with colonial political regimes to create a full picture of the Orient as exotic, irrational, and inferior to the European. Those involved in this created an academic field called Orientalism that resulted in the emergence of western experts in the field who published books, ran conferences, and taught courses in the region of the world. A handful of influential Orientalists controlled the formation and direction of western views about a complex and disparate group of cultures and geographies. Many of the scholars in the field collapsed all Muslim and Arab cultures into a monolithic Orient that functioned as true based on the supposed expertise of those in the west.

Said's theory of the imperial regime of truth that created an elaborate Other was hugely influential in the contemporary work of postcolonial visual theory. For my purposes, the weight of Oriental visual representation is vital to understanding the history of western representation of women in non-western contexts and how these images function as truth. By positioning the representation of women in other cultures within an academic discourse, the Orientalist scholars created myths and stereotypes of these women that have been accepted as true and are very difficult to deconstruct. Said's critique of this academic discourse inspired many postcolonial scholars to question the construction of difference in western academia and to create alternate representations.

Said (1993) extends his work in *Orientalism* in a text entitled *Culture and Imperialism*, in which he focuses on the role of culture in creating and maintaining imperialist mental and physical structures. He writes that culture, in the form of written, visual, or performed art, creates group and national identity. "In time, culture comes to be associated, often aggressively, with the nation or state; this differentiates 'us' from 'them,' almost always with some degree of xenophobia" (p. xiii). Associations with cultural texts lead to associations with national or ethnic group, and, in some cases, with the project of empire. The stated rationale for imperialism in many school textbooks is the drive for natural resources and wealth. While this might be true, the building and sustenance of empire requires an overarching attitude that supports the subjugation of other people. Said's argument is that culture, in the form of novels, was vital in creating the imperial mindset, of selling empire to those in London, Paris, or other colonial center. For England, this mindset created the British Empire out of a collection of randomly collected colonial holdings; this grand idea was something to inspire patriotism and unity for the British, while simultaneously inspiring a more focused resentment and resistance within the colonies. For the imperial project, cultural works hold power because the often subtly support the imperial mission of subjugation while denying any connection to political or nationalist interests.

The role of culture in sustaining empire is intimately connected to the role of education in the imperial project. Colonial schools taught students in the language and culture of the colonizer, which transmitted certain imperial points of view. "In the system of education designed for India, students were taught not only the English literature but the inherent superiority of the English race" (p. 101). Cultural works used in colonial education tried to justify the colonization through the subtle language of

cultural superiority. Decisions made in colonies to educate the local population in the colonizer's tongue and with the colonizer's cultural texts were conscious choices believed to share the "light of civilization" and create loyal subjects of empire.

In this text, Said also deals with the continuing process of de-colonization of the land and of the mind. "One of the first tasks of the culture of resistance was to reclaim, rename, and reinhabit the land" (p. 226). In the process of gaining independence, former colonies had to re-create a damaged national and cultural imagination; however, powerful nationalist forces often usurped this process of reforming group cultural identity and created a new nationalist system of corruption and inequality that merely replaced the colonial version. "The national identity struggling to free itself from imperialist domination found itself lodged in, and apparently fulfilled by, the state. Armies, flags, legislatures, schemes of national education, and dominant (if not single) political parties resulted," (p. 264). The important process of reclaiming authentic cultural history was often interrupted in the struggle for independence and liberation in favor of practical and military concerns.

Bhabha: Identity in the Postcolonial

The recent work of Homi Bhabha (1994) in *The Location of Culture* is foundational in its conception of the colonial/postcolonial theoretical split and the use of language that has defined the contemporary field of postcolonialism. The theoretical split that Bhabha articulates is the shift from focus on "fixity" to "hybridity." Fixity, as described in the text, describes the way that natural, unchanging essences were ascribed to groups of people during colonialism. Europeans were supposedly the natural bearers of rational civilization, while all others existed farther down the evolutionary ladder of humanity. The white colonial powers created the myth of unchanging racial essence and hierarchy, a form of social Darwinism that presented the European as the evolutionary pinnacle of civilization and order. The continuation of this colonial myth is present in the current goal of "liberating" and "democratization" that the United States has set for the Middle East, Central and South America. The implication is that we (in the west) have a monopoly on rational, democratic liberty that we can share with or enforce on the rest of the world. The native other was and is represented as naturally savage, chaotic, and lesser. The postcolonial discourse represents a deconstruction of the myth of fixity. Bhabha contrasts the colonial idea of fixity with the postcolonial idea of hybridity. This term describes the way that socially constructed identities are not fixed, but constantly changing and evolving in complex ways. Uncertain spaces open up between traditional centers; in these spaces, postcolonial identity formation begins to occur based not on fixity but on movement, migration, and negotiation. Bhabha names this space as the hybrid; his uses of the liminal and the interstitial both refer to the openings between spaces of certainty. The use of these terms signals a break with essential colonial categories. "This interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy" (p. 5). Those who critique the continued legacy of colonialism in international

political and economic relations use Bhabha's terminology to mark the shift from a reliance on western constructions of truth and certainty to a transnational, more fluid definition of truths and uncertainty.

There has been some criticism of Bhabha and his use of the hybrid as the postcolonial identity formation. In celebrating hybridity, space must be left for the discussion of continuing unequal relationships of global power. Though many people define themselves in more complex, global terms, there are still very powerful people and groups with an interest in maintaining fixed group identities. Corporations and governments in the United States and Europe still hold direct or indirect power over much of the globes resources; when the hybrid is celebrated, the critique of continued imperial power is often left out. Also, a critique of the hybrid identity as the marker of the postcolonial condition does not leave room for formerly colonized cultures to claim or reclaim independent cultural or national identities.

Postcolonial Research

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) writes in *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* about how to create postcolonial forms of research that does not exploit or oppress groups of people on the margins of colonial forms of knowledge creation. Smith believes that in representing indigenous cultures, many western researchers and scholars have historically appropriated cultures and ways of knowing and used western lenses and measurements to create distorted research. The author lays out colonial constructions of space and time that inform the historically biased research. A colonized idea of space rests on the precise measurement and division that Smith attributes to a reliance on mathematics. "This language of space influences the way the West thinks about the world beyond earth (cosmology), the ways in which society is viewed (public/private space, city/country space), the ways in which gender roles were defined (public/domestic, home/work)" (p. 51). This conception of space labels and sorts areas in a hierarchical fashion, with manmade or altered space holding more importance than natural space. Colonizing forces entered natural landscapes that were inhabited, named, and utilized in certain ways. To control the local population and to establish colonial power, the natural land was renamed and altered in significant ways. "The landscape, the arrangement of nature, could be altered by 'Man': swamps could be drained, waterways diverted, inshore areas filled, not simply for physical survival, but for further exploitation of the environment or making it 'more pleasing' aesthetically" (p. 51). Colonial use of space was about control and divorcing the people from their land.

Related to the colonial understanding of space, Smith writes about the way that time was used by colonial powers to control and manage local populations. As with space, western time was/is comprehended through its precise measurement and management. Europeans organized time into distinct units for work, leisure, and sleep; when confronted with cultures that did not divide or measure time in the same way, colonizers equated this difference in time to a difference in morality and

effort. "The belief that 'natives' did not value work or have a sense of time provided ideological justification for exclusionary practices which reached across such areas as education, land development, and employment" (p. 54). Colonial powers did not value different notions of time that were more flexible and not determined by a reliance on the precise divisions of the clock. The difference was used as an excuse for oppressive practices and prejudicial treatment.

Spivak and the Subaltern

In her essay "Can the Subaltern Speak" Gayatri Spivak (1994) was one of the first theorists to draw connections between the feminist and the postcolonial. Knowledge created during the colonial era and in the colonial paradigm centers the male experience; most postcolonial work that critiques the colonial does so from a male perspective as well. Women, as either colonial or postcolonial subjects, or as postcolonial actors, have been marginalized or completely omitted. Spivak confronts the construction of the postcolonial subject as male as a continuation of imperial patriarchal domination. The colonial subject has traditionally been assumed to be male; the forms of resistance that involved women working to end colonial rule has been marginalized in postcolonial arguments.

Spivak uses the term "subaltern" to identify groups of people who have been marginalized by dominant western forms of rule, whether through the physical occupation of colonialism or through the economic and cultural imperialism of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century. She is not focused on concrete gender relations of colonialism, but on the postcolonial theoretical assumption of masculine subject. Work that has traced the history of colonialism and the resistance that eventually brought the system down has traditionally focused on the male experience: the male colonialist ruler, the male colonial subject, and the male groups of people who formed organized resistance. We have been told stories from the male point of view, from both the ruler and the ruled. Early postcolonial work by Césaire, Fanon, and others assumes a male subject and audience. Theorists like Spivak have only recently examined the effect of colonial rule on the particular experience of women. By centering the subaltern woman as subject of her work, Spivak brought the experience of women into the postcolonial spotlight; contemporary texts in postcolonial studies frequently address the issue of gender in some way. Her assertion of marginalized women as subjects of history is a major step in the previously male-dominated literature on the colonial legacy and postcolonial theory.

While postcolonial theory generally assumed a universal male subject, feminist theory has assumed a universal white, western female subject. Western liberal feminism that gained immense attention and popularity in the 1960s and 1970s carried with it a sense of universal womanhood. Generally led by white, middle-class women in Europe and the United States, this movement claimed to speak for all women and a universal critique of patriarchal systems of power and privilege. Speaking from a central, western cultural position afforded these women a form of privilege over both women of color in the west and women in the derisively labeled

"third world." The sense of knowing what was best for women as a group led to alienation of those who did not feel that liberal feminism spoke to the specificities of geography, culture, and needs of women who were left on the periphery of this discourse.

The claims of liberal feminists mirrored the liberal colorblind approach of the same time period in dealing with race and racism. To say that one does not see color, that we are all human beings and without difference, is to speak from a position of racial power. Most people who say that color does not matter are white and have not experienced the daily realities of racism. To argue for universal experience based on a common gendered or racial identity reflects an ignorance of one's own context and position within the colonial hierarchy of humanity. The colonial history of domination and exploitation still factor in the lives of most women around the world. The colonial mark on education continues to affect the way gender is constructed and represented. Connecting the postcolonial critique of universal white experience to the feminist critique of universal male experience can produce very interesting examinations of the intersections and negotiations of race, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality in identity formation.

A Critique of Western Feminism

Many scholars who have experiences that are different from the middle-class, white feminists of the first and second waves have connected this liberal feminism to the hierarchies for race and class cemented during colonialism. Feminist theorist Chandra Talpade Mohanty (2004) wrote of decolonizing feminism through the questioning of traditional ways that feminists in the United States and Europe have defined their experience as universal to all women. What is known as liberal feminism in the west was assumed to have the one solution to issues of patriarchy and oppression, regardless of cultural geographic location. In many ways, these western-centric views of oppression and liberation privilege middle-class, white, western women as the category of analysis. The term "woman" was defined by some as a category of essential oppression, flattening the experience of women of color and poor women in the west along with those living on the periphery. The privilege of class, race, and nationality of the women were not taken into consideration as mitigating factors of experience. Mohanty works with issues of western feminism and its role in the maintenance of biased and victimized representations of women in other cultures. In *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*, Mohanty (2004) highlights the relationship among white masculinity, colonialism, traditional forms of patriarchy, and the continuing dominance of middle-class values. White males were considered to be the norm that left all others abnormal and inferior in some way. The hierarchy of race that naturalized and provided "scientific" basis for white rule also assumed the white male as dominant with white female, native male, and finally native female on the bottom of colonial hierarchy.

The west/rest divide creates a false sense of easily definable identities for women whose lives are hybrid and complex. There is no easy formula to identify what it

means to be "liberated," "empowered," or "repressed" in diverse cultural contexts. It is always easier to generalize our own experience than to consider different forms of agency and negotiation as valid and empowering. Groups of women around the world use their particular cultural contexts and needs in order to create feminist activism. This activism may take forms that are quite different than those recognized in the Unites States or Europe. Many grassroots women's organizations in Latin American, for instance, focus on women's agency through the family relationships. Groups of mothers often gather to protest against war or injustice. Some Muslim feminists argue for women's rights within an Islamic context rather than try to fit into the mold of western feminist movements. Western feminists might not feel comfortable with a group that focuses on the biological and traditional role of woman as mother or those that use religion as the basis for their work. While feminist theory in the United States and Europe has often been predicated on the idea that there are no essential differences between men and women, many in other contexts use gender difference as a source for strength and activism.

Western feminism's insistence on erasing gender difference is an ethnocentric perspective that fails to consider the lived experience and colonial legacy of many women. Smith (1999) writes of her own indigenous Maori culture and of other indigenous cultures with similar beliefs in gender that differ from western feminisms. For Smith, the recent feminist beliefs in gender neutrality and erasing difference rely on the legacy of western patriarchy, where women were considered to be property of men and were confined to domestic roles. "Indigenous women would argue that their traditional roles included full participation in many aspects of political decision making and marked gender separations which were complementary in order to maintain harmony and stability" (p. 152). In the pre-colonial era, many indigenous people lived in more egalitarian communities that were disrupted and re-ordered according to European notions of gender inequality. Therefore, Smith argues, many indigenous feminists do not want to replicate western feminist universalism or gender neutrality, but call for a return to the traditional, egalitarian, and gender-specific roles and culture of the past.

Postcolonial Feminist Space

Theorists who question the ethnocentric forms of feminism that claim to speak for all women have extended Mohanty's critique of the Eurocentric view of western feminisms in multiple directions. Within the discourses of western feminisms, the idea of gendered space has been very powerful and influential. Many writers have used the generally accepted notion of the division between a male public space and a female private space. Rosaldo (1974) referred to the domestic space as feminine and the public realm as masculine, making a clear hierarchical distinction between the spheres of influence; the public realm included cultural, political, and economic decisions and exercised control over domestic space of women. For many feminists since the 1970s, this dichotomy between the female/male and domestic/public made sense and explained the entrenchment of patriarchal power. More recently, feminists

of color have challenged this western feminist idea claiming that it is tied to the western, white, middle-class perspective. Blunt and Rose (1994) describe the ways in which this construction of gendered space is specific both to the middle-class idea of domesticity and a white notion of the sanctity of the private. “The elaboration of the private as a domestic haven of feminine grace and charm, and of the public arena of aggressive masculine competition, is increasingly seen as a development that enabled the bourgeoisie to distinguish themselves from other social groups” (p. 3). The formation of the middle class relied on the creation of private, domestic space where women socialized, entertained, and raised children while men were outside of the home working. Those in lower classes could not afford this luxury of space that defined what it meant to be a proper “lady.”

Blunt and Rose also point to the raced component of this idea of space; for black communities, distinctions that separated the public from private did not have much meaning and “the private was understood as a place, often a neighborhood, beyond everyday encounters with white racism” (p. 4). The critique of the public/private space divide, while critical for the evolution of the women’s movement in the United States, must be viewed in light of the privileged social and racial position of the theorists. Spaces, like identities, are more complex, contextual, and contested than the simplistic binaries critiqued in western feminism. Postcolonial feminist theorists stress the notion of the “politics of location” first elaborated by Adrienne Rich, focusing on the complexity and diversity of geographic and social location of women and gender that cannot be separated from discussions about race, imperialism, sexuality, and power.

Feminist Nationalism?

Throughout the colonial and modern eras, the very idea of national identity was built on policing the border between gender roles. Until the women’s movements of the twentieth century, to be a national citizen one had to be male; women were seen as reproducing the national stock through proper breeding but were not considered to be worthy of citizenship. Though real women were marginalized in the colonial center, the metaphorical woman was used as the ultimate symbol of nation and empire. For England, the British Empire was visually represented in advertisements and on currency as Britannia, a stately woman draped in cloth, holding a Union Jack shield and wearing a helmet as if ready for battle. For the modern American imperialism, the symbol is Lady Liberty who stands for liberty and democracy and is used in marketing campaigns for the expansion of empire. Why is the woman used as a symbol of nation and empire, while simultaneously the feminine is degraded and marginalized in these very institutions? McClintock (1995) writes of the paradox of the modern nation “veering between nostalgia for the past and the impatient, progressive sloughing off of the past,” (p. 359) that came to be gendered in specific ways during the imperial era. Women, like Britannia, were used to represent the stable, timeless, national tradition; men, in contrast, represented the idea of national progress, movement, and expansion. This division solved the paradox of nation by

allowing men to be the national actors while maintaining the traditional, pure nation embodied in womanhood. "Women were not seen as inhabiting history proper but existing, like colonized peoples, in a permanently anterior time within the modern nation" (p. 359).

This gendered metaphor for national tradition fit conveniently into women's role as the guardian and reproducer of the national stock. As the figural and literal mother of the nation, women's sexual practices and reproduction have been highly scrutinized. In the United States during the era of slavery and Reconstruction, white men had license to engage in (consensual or forced) sexual relations with slaves and women of color because it would not "pollute" the white nation because the men did not give birth. Anti-miscegenation laws were aimed primarily at policing the sexuality of white women and therefore the reproduction of white national identity. A more contemporary example of this disturbing form of nationalism occurred during the Balkan War that involved Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, and United Nations Peacekeeping forces from 1991 to 2001. Nationalism on multiple sides of the conflict that conflated women's reproduction with the project of genocide led to (what some allege) the systematic rape of women in an attempt to destroy another national identity (Volkan, 1997). This is a persistent and disturbing form of patriarchal nationalism that views women as walking reproductive systems and denies any active participation in the formation or evolution of the national project.

In response to this gendered nationalism that equates women with the continued purity of the national identity, McClintock proposes a form of feminist theory of nationalism that would include four propositions: to examine the ways in which theories and systems have been gendered to marginalize women; to make visible women's "active cultural and political participation in national formations" (p. 357); to critically deconstruct the relationship of nationalism to social structures; and to attend to "the structures of racial, ethnic, and class power that continue to bedevil privileged forms of feminism" (p. 357). In theorizing forms of nationalism, McClintock argues, male theorists tend to ignore the specifically gendered structures that position women in specific and marginal spaces. This call for a feminist theory of nationalism requires a transnational perspective; one that engages specifically with issues of class, race, and power in ways that western feminism has not.

Forms of anti-colonial nationalism also need to be questioned for a general failure to engage with gender in critical ways. For many independence movements, the goal was to restore a national identity that was taken away by colonial powers; including traditions and practices that were lost during the colonial period. In the case of some traditionally Muslim countries, the nationalist independence movements were positioned in opposition to European modernity, including what was viewed as an exclusively European feminism. The reclaiming of national tradition and identity meant for some a return to indigenous patriarchal practices that had been supplanted by European patriarchal practices. If women questioned their position within the anti-colonial struggle, they were often accused of being aligned with the colonizer. Women who actively struggled for independence alongside men are often written out of the history of these movements.

Difference and the "Third World" Woman

"As you can see, 'difference' is essentially 'division' in the understanding of many. It is no more than a tool of self-defense and conquest" (Minh-ha, 1989, p. 82). The critique of western feminism must include the attempts to be inclusive of other women, alternatively named "Third World" women or women of color. In *Woman, Native, Other*, Trinh T. Minh-ha writes of the tokenism of many feminist events where there is one woman of color invited to participate in order to fill the difference quotient. Women of color are brought to the feminist table, and expected to be grateful for the opportunity and to follow the lead of those already seated. Being granted this position as the token voice of difference is supposed to lead to a "sense of specialness." "One cannot help feeling 'special' when one figures among the rare few to emerge above the anonymous crowd and enjoys the privilege of preparing the way for one's more 'unfortunate' sisters" (p. 86). The sense of being special underlines the fact that most feminist conferences, texts, and courses have centered on the concerns of the western woman, assuming those concerns to be universally applied. Minh-ha writes of how this false universal womanhood relates to the false universal man standing in for all of humanity, just as use of the term "man" is assumed to mean human, "'woman' more often than not reflects the subtle power of linguistic exclusion, for its list of referents rarely includes those relevant to Third World 'female persons'" (p. 97).

Minh-ha stakes a claim for the use of Third World as a descriptor of those who have been dispossessed and categorized negatively by those in power. To describe groups of people as "non-western" relies on a negative comparison to the west, leaving the west as the center and everyone else on the margins. The third world can be a politically charged and unifying category; it also can function as a threatening entity to those in the west whose hold on power may be eroding. In the United States, the center of the neocolonial globe, we are constantly told in the media to beware of the new global power in India and China; we are taught to be afraid of this threat to our place atop the global order.

Shohat and Transnational Feminism

Ella Shohat (1998) blurs traditional discourse lines by combining a postcolonial, feminist, and visual culture critique of historical colonialism with contemporary globalization. In her "Introduction" to the book *Talking Visions: Multicultural Feminism in a Transnational Age*, Shohat traces the gendered history of exploration and colonialism to the contemporary American economic and cultural domination in globalization. "The 'voyages of discovery' initiated a process of massive movement of material resources and human labor across the Atlantic from the 'Motherland' to the 'virgin land', which required fertilization and fecundation" (p. 49). The language and image of modern forms of discovery are still gendered and sexualized; western conquests of mental and physical territory are in progress around the globe. The fantasy aspect of the scenes is made acceptable by the exotic romanticism

of Orientalism, where the foreign is sensualized and the East is feminized. Other lands that were the focus of European expansion and colonialism were gendered as female; the constructed gender role of women in Europe placed them in need of protection and guidance from men. Referring to lands as “virgin,” and with feminine pronouns, European imagination of the foreign reinforced the need for guidance, control, and taming by the rational (i.e. male) European powers. The scenes of women are then doubly sexualized by being romantic, sensual visions of the foreign and by being female bodies in visually available images. The exotic and feminized foreign is used to sell products and the US military invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Images of veiled women were used to provide rationale for military action; Laura Bush and Cherie Blair used their positions as wives of world leaders to call attention to the plight of the Afghan women (Donnell, 2003). Conquest is couched in language of gender liberation, the cover of “freedom” that attempts to justify our invasion of sovereign states.

Shohat calls for a “transnational imaginary” (p. 46) to add life to what she calls “inert, static maps chartered by ethnic studies, area studies, women’s studies, and gay/lesbian studies.” The current neo-imperialism of global capital requires imaginative acts that go beyond traditional boundaries of nation, which create liminal spaces of inquiry. Artistic expression of hybrid and transnational experience functions in this liminal space created by the movement of capital and people. I am struck by the increased xenophobia and contraction that has been a response to this increased movement, and believe that those cultural producers who create across boundaries can call this fear of difference into question. “An ideological construction of ‘here’ and ‘there’ obscures the innumerable ways that women’s lives are imbricated in the forces of globalization” (p. 47). This “transnational imaginary” is a space that is created by artists who work across borders; they question the flow of capital and the western hegemony of meaning and knowledge.

Chapter 3
Histories of Dominance, Colonialism, and Globalization

For postcolonial theory is designed to undo the ideological heritage of colonialism not only in decolonized countries, but also in the west itself.
(Young, 2001, p. 65)

In this chapter I attempt to lay the historical foundations of colonialism, western Imperialism, and globalization. Many scholars have explored the complex history of colonialism and I do not intend to provide a synopsis of the entire history. I organize this chapter into four distinct sections: terminology and distinctions in colonialism; examples of the regulation of race and gender in colonialism and neocolonialism; the ways that global relationships are affected by the legacy of colonialism and the trends in globalization; and finally how new forms of identity are developing within the context of globalization. Even though some argue that we are now in a postcolonial era, the European and American colonial history reverberates in global relationships and representations. The "post" in postcolonial does not, for me, mean that we are in a period of time after colonialism, but that we are developing ways of thinking that enable us to confront politically western colonial power and privilege. While colonial power was generally held by the west at the expense of many countries and cultures throughout the world, the postcolonial approach is not bound by the traditional borders of the nation-state. Postcolonial theorists and activists work transnationally, across traditional borders, to uncover and subvert colonial legacies and imperial policies. How has their work on the histories of unequal power relationships impacted the concept of gender and the representation of women in educational materials, popular media, and art? How has the movement of people affected and disrupted the history of western power?

Terminology and Distinctions in Colonialism

To locate postcolonialism and its relationship to the representation of women, I first need to understand the complexity of the term colonialism. Though many countries around the world occupied and ruled over other lands for their own gain, I choose to focus on colonialism as it was and is practiced by countries of Europe and the

R.B. Jones, *Postcolonial Representations of Women*, Explorations of Educational Purpose 18, DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1551-6_3, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

United States. Even within these more specific locations, colonialism meant very different things to different groups of people.

Distinctions in Colonialisms

The meanings of colonialism and imperialism have become so generalized and interchanged that the distinct meanings of each is blurred and sometimes erased altogether. Why are we discussing postcolonialism and not postimperialism? In *Postcolonialism: An Historic Introduction*, Robert J.C. Young (2001) clearly sets out the historical differences between the terms. He claims that colonialism directly described the physical foreign lands that were settled and/or ruled by European powers. Imperialism is an overarching political theory of primarily economic (but also sometimes political) domination and control that radiates from a center outward to diverse geographies. Colonies were the product of practical reasons of creating greater markets for trade, dealing with perceived population control issues, or finding and exploiting deposits of natural resources. Thus, colonialism was practiced in a heterogeneous manner with very different organizational forms. Imperialism evolved into three distinct systems of global creation and maintenance of power: the French, British, and American forms.

The French Imperial system was the first to define its primary goal as a civilizing mission, the spreading of French culture, language, and education to the uncivilized peoples of the world. This was an imperial doctrine of assimilation that was based on the recognition of the humanity of native peoples and their potential to take on and appreciate French culture. The French believed that all people could benefit from what they saw as the superiority of French civilization. "As a result, the French colonies offered the best educational and cultural facilities, while at the same time also demanding that the colonized subject renounce his or her own culture and religion to benefit from them" (Young, 2001, p. 30). Though this assimilationist view of empire showed a level of equality in its belief that colonized peoples could partake in French culture, it also proved to be the harshest system of undermining and dissolving native cultures.

The British imperial system was based on a view that some people were naturally inferior and less advanced than others. This racist view meant that the "primitive" people of the empire could never achieve a British refinement, so there was no need to establish a way to assimilate the natives. "The British system of relative non-interference with local cultures, which today seems more liberal in spirit, was in fact also based on the racist assumption that the native was incapable of education up to the level of the European—and therefore implied perpetual colonial rule" (Young, 2001, p. 33). This system, though based on assumptions of natural inferiority and primitive cultures, ended up protecting local customs, language, and forms of education in a way that set it apart from the more direct and centralized French system.

As a later form of imperial control that began in the post-World War II era and continues today, American Imperialism represents the shift from direct colonial

management over foreign lands and peoples to a more subtle form of economic influence and management. This form of imperialism sometimes referred to as "neocolonialism," (Young, 2001, p. 42) recognizes the shifting western global dominance from overt, political power to the covert power over international markets and resources. This type domination turned former political colonies into the "underdeveloped" sources of raw material and labor for the "developed" west. "In the neocolonial situation, the ruling class constitutes an elite that operates in complicity with the needs of international capital for its own benefit" (Young, 2001, p. 45). In the early and mid twentieth century many of the newly liberated colonies that successfully struggled to be free from the burden of European rule faced this new type of economic imperialism; there was movement from foreign to local rule without a change to a local control of resources.

Colonialism, according to Young, means the physical and political control of a group of people by a foreign power. I extend this definition to describe the management and distribution of knowledge and representations of the world that began during physical colonialism but persist in the unofficial and official colonial forms of education today. The colonial mindset is one that rests on the innate superiority of western civilization over all others. It has its roots in the physical control over colonies by European powers, and is especially visible in the relationship of Europe to the people and civilizations of Africa.

Direct and Indirect Rule

The shift from earlier forms of colonialism changed "from the zeal of a civilizing mission to a calculated preoccupation with holding power, from rejuvenating to conserving society, from being the torchbearers of individual freedom to being custodians protecting customary integrity of local tribes" (p. 286). Though still marketing colonialism to the populations in Europe as a mission to civilize the savages and bring the light of western civilization to the "dark" places on the map, the African colonies were run with more pragmatic concerns of the extraction of wealth and the consolidation of power. The earlier colonial holdings outside of Africa were set up under a system of direct rule, where European governors, institutions, and forms of citizenship were imported to the colony. Direct application of the systems and laws of the colonizing country meant that those who could conform to the biased views of civilization could assimilate into the system. This could be seen in the British rule in India, where the training of an educated civil servant class had access to British schools and institutions. "Although 'natives' would have to conform to European laws, only those 'civilized' would have access to European rights" (p. 16). Most "natives" did not meet the European idea of civilization, and therefore were left without rights in this system. The direct rule required large amounts of capital and labor to gain control over the land and the local populations. "For the vast majority of natives, that is, for those uncivilized who were excluded from the rights of citizenship, direct rule signified an unmediated-, centralized- despotism" (p. 17).

Indirect rule, a form of colonialism that required fewer resources for management, set up two separate systems of law and citizenship, one for the European rulers and gentry, and a separate form of the local population. Indirect rule allowed for some local tribes to keep their established culture and land, while using local leaders and chiefs to govern and extract profits. Mamdani writes of the two systems of rule as forming two parts of the whole ruling colonial system in most of Africa. “Direct rule was the form of urban civil power . . . Indirect rule, however, signified a rural tribal authority” (p. 18). In the urban centers, European presence was the greatest and facilitated a more direct form of governance, while in the rural areas the form of indirect rule was a more efficient means of controlling the native population. Both forms of rule left the hierarchy of power, with the colonizer on the top and colonized on the bottom, firmly intact; both systems benefited the Europeans and their allies in the wealthy elite while further impoverishing the land and people of the country. Mamdani names the forms as centralized and decentralized despotism (p. 18) to reflect the fact that both systems were two sides of same colonial coin.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many Europeans were losing the stomach for empire and for the violence that had been associated with its operation. As resistance in Europe and in the colonies began to mount, the colonial powers began to create more decentralized regimes, where the violence and brutal maintenance of the colony was delegated to local tribal chiefs. The “native question” was the seemingly innocuous name given to the colonial need to subjugate and stabilize the population under outside European control. Mamdani’s (1996) text, *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*, concentrates on the institutions of late colonialism in Africa that attempted to answer the “native question” through a form of “institutional segregation,” that can also be called apartheid or differentiation (p. 6). This represents one of the two major philosophies of how to deal with native populations. The two forms were elaborated by Lord Hailey:

> The doctrine of identity conceives the future social and political institutions of Africans as destined to be basically similar to those of Europeans; the doctrine of differentiation aims at the evolution of separate institutions appropriate to African conditions and differing in both spirit and in form from those of Europeans. (quoted in Mamdani, p. 7)

As this quote details, the shift in colonial administration meant that Europeans no longer believed in the spreading of “civilization” to those who lived in the colonies; the idealistic notion of creating Europeans from native peoples went out of favor, leaving the creation of separate institutions for the colonial and colonized populations. This was a result of the shift from direct to indirect colonial rule.

The historical, specific colonial encounter has to be complicated by the variety of locations and types of European rule. Anne McClintock (1994) separates colonial power into the categories: internal colonization, imperial colonization, deep settler colonization, break-away settler colonization. She also separates the use of imperial power (that can be used to describe contemporary forms of cultural and economic imperialism of the United States) from the holding of physical colonies. White break-away settler colonies include Canada, the United States, Australia, and

New Zealand as famous examples of one type of colonial relationship. In this form, white natives of England left for various reasons to settle abroad on land occupied by a native population that was marginalized by the white settlers. The British rule in India differed in context and content from their rule in Africa and Asia. "In the Indian subcontinent the colonial experience seems to have affected the cities only, in Africa it worked hand in hand with evangelical Christianity," (Mishra & Hodge, 1994, p. 288). The presence or absence of valuable raw materials impacted the economic value of a colony and the level of financial exploitation of the native population. Racist ideas about the dark, primitive nature of African countries influenced the tone of European colonies on that continent. The dehumanizing racist notions of Africans also led directly to the trans-Atlantic slave trade that connected various colonies through the traffic of human commodity.

The Regulation of Race and Gender in Colonialism and Neocolonialism

I now turn to examine a few specific examples of the impact of historical colonialism on both the colonized and the colonizers. For while it is impossible to discuss all of the different contexts of colonialism, it is important to look more closely at a few examples of how the regulation of race and gender led to a consolidation of power and knowledge in the hands of the west.

Mythology of the "Dark Continent"

In the countries of Europe, before explorers were sent forth to find new trade routes that could lead to the acquisition of valuable resources, very little was understood about what existed across the seas. Maps were drawn that showed the known territories of the world, with edges of the map containing sea monsters and danger. The unknown was a place at the edge of the map that was to be feared, and it was associated with darkness and lack of vision. In the 1300s the landmass known as Africa was part of this great dangerous unknown to the people of Europe. "Ranulf Higden, Benedictine monk who mapped the world in 1350, claimed that Africa contained one-eyed people who used their feet to cover their heads" (Hochschild, 1998, p. 6). The blank areas of the map were filled in with fantastic monsters and creatures that differed in action and form from those in Europe. Africa, in particular, remained a mystery and an opposition to the well-explored lands of the known world. Beginning in 1482 with explorer Diogo Cão, the Portuguese began the first encounters with sub-Saharan Africa (p. 7). In encountering the well-ordered Kongo Kingdom, the Portuguese traders had to reassess the danger and mystery of this unmapped land. The civilization of the Kongo was found to be large and organized, and that did not fit with the predictions of Europeans like Higden. Because many of the traditions seen in the Kongo were new to the explorers, they had to be tamed and labeled in order to fit the European map of humanity that was being formed. During the age

of exploration, Europeans came into contact with many new civilizations of people, geographical forms, and natural life that raised questions about their control over knowledge and education. How could these new forms of life and land be worked into the current European ways of understanding the world?

The need to take control of these new experiences was met with an academic branch of imperialism that included the documenting, cataloging, and most importantly, the naming of the new forms by European adventurers and scholars. Places and animals that were known and previously named by local populations were "discovered" and re-named by westerners. This symbolic discovering reinforced the idea that "true" knowledge can only be held and created by those in the west who were assumed to be the height of rational civilization. "Despite its aura of certitude, classification is never a neutral act. Naming is a form of exercising power, and the ways that things are named often reflect the outlook of the namer" (Ewen & Ewen, 2006, p. 61). Once plants and animals were organized into distinct species and forms, the classification of humanity was, for scientists of empire, the next logical step in naming and organization. People who were encountered in exploration and colonialism were placed in clear hierarchies based on their supposed inferiority to the European. The pseudo-sciences that confirmed racial prejudice also aided the colonizing efforts across the globe by "proving" the lack of sophistication and evolution of colonized peoples. Civilizations "discovered" in Africa were placed at the bottom of this racial hierarchy, assumed to be closer relations to the animal kingdom than other people. This placement gave European explorers and colonialists the "right" to divide the continent in the name of European superiority and to order and name the blank places on the map. The division of Africa by European officials was based on the ideas of greed for raw materials, and by the "white man's burden" of bringing civilization and order to the savage humans of the "dark continent." After the division of Africa into portions for each European power, the rule and "taming" of the land commenced in earnest. Since France and England, the major colonial powers, held well-established colonies in India, Indochina, and elsewhere, the system of governance in the African colonies began with a later form of rule, named "decentralized despotism" by Mahmood Mamdani (1996).

Before official political colonization, slave traders in the Kongo Kingdom practiced an early form of economic imperialism. Native populations were decimated as local men gathered and sold civilians to European slave ships bound for Brazil and the Americas. The independent kingdom that was ruled by King Affonso I in the early sixteenth century was left disorganized and scattered by the effects of the slave trade (Hochschild). This represented an early form of pillaging of the continent that would lead to the claiming and division of people and land in the "Scramble for Africa," and the deadly colonization of the Kongo (renamed the Congo by Europeans) by the Belgian King Leopold II. The story of greed and violence that the Belgian Congo Free State embodies is truly the story of one man obsessed with money and power. As a young ruler, King Leopold II was consumed with finding a colonial holding to exploit for his country's power and his own increased wealth. The eager young ruler had a hard time finding land to claim for Belgium because by the late 1800s most of the Earth's surface had been mapped, named, and claimed

in one form or another for a colonial power in Europe. After trying to pry colonies away from Spain and Portugal, in the 1870s Leopold looked to the mostly unclaimed geography of Africa, "about 80 percent of the entire land area of Africa was still under indigenous rulers. It was ripe for conquest," (Hochschild, p. 42). Leopold claimed the land now re-named the Congo for Belgium and used ruled the colony with conceit and unimaginable violence.

Women, Sexuality, and Motherhood in the Colonies

It is impossible to separate the history of colonialism from the history of patriarchal control of European societies at the time and the translation of this male rule onto the colonies. King Leopold's extreme use of force over the Congolese cannot be separated from his personal sexual relationships with young girls and women in Europe, some as young as ten, whom he paid to be his sexual partners (p. 88). These acts of sexual power are related to the acts of racial violence visited on his subjects in the Congo. The two situations were both ways for Leopold to exhibit his manly virility at the expense of feminized and supposedly weaker people; in colonialism, the sexual and political power of the colonizer form a complex relationship. In histories of colonialism traditionally written from a male point of view that focus on power relationships between men, this relationship among power, sex, and race has not been highlighted. Recent scholarship in feminist colonial history (Stoler, 2002; McClintock, 1995) has re-examined colonial relationships through the lenses of colonized and colonial women.

To police the slippery borders between European and colonized populations, administrations created regulations that attempted to control sex, marriage, and reproduction of both colonial and colonized populations. In early periods of many colonial occupations there were regulations against the immigration of European women; private companies like the Dutch East Indies Company had policies requiring the hiring of bachelors (Stoler, 2002). The rationale for not allowing European women in the colonies was complicated, arguments ranged from the expense involved in paying for family life to the protection of the health and purity of the women. In any case, these bachelors were encouraged sometimes officially, sometimes unofficially, to take concubines from the local population in order to provide both sexual and domestic service. The colonial men lived with these concubines in various arrangements that involved varying levels of emotional attachment. In the Dutch colony of Java, marriage between European men and Javanese women was prohibited but unofficial long-term sexual relationships were encouraged in order to provide a stable home environment and to discourage the use of prostitutes that led to the spread of venereal disease (p. 48). These relationships proved to be more complicated than purely sexual arrangements; some concubines wielded a considerable amount of power within the home and a few even helped in the running of businesses. Often, the relationships resulted in children of mixed parentage who blurred the line between the colonizer and colonized and forced administrations to develop policies to exclude these children from the benefits of European citizenship.

These complications, and changing attitudes about the sexual morality and purity in Europe, led to the gradual increased presence of European women in the colonies.

The presence of European women led to more strict boundaries between populations and the increased reliance on European cultural and moral codes of behavior. This focus on morality coincided with the rise of the eugenics movements in Europe and the United States and a use of scientific language to prohibit sexual relations. The promotion of "good breeding" promoted certain classes of European colonials while establishing more strict prohibitions against the relations between races and classes. Relationships between races and classes were thought by followers of the eugenics movement to "contaminate" the purity of the European elite and produce genetically "degenerate" offspring. The language of the movement was gendered; European women had a special role to play in maintaining the purity of the race through their roles as wives and mothers. "They were to 'uplift' colonial subjects through educational and domestic management and attend to the family environment of their men" (pp. 63–64). These women were expected to bring European domestic civilization to the colony and provide a moralizing influence on their husbands. As part of this process of increased immigration of European women to the colonies, colonized women lost the influence and position some held through their roles as concubines. Now relegated to the service of white women and children, these women were officially marked as inferior by the language of contamination and purity that entered colonial discourse in the early twentieth century.

The Pseudo-science of Phrenology, Eugenics, and Representation

Many of the enduring racial categories that are used to divide the world are the remnants of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach's *Treatise on the Natural Variety of Mankind* from 1795. A collector of skulls from around the globe, Blumenbach decided that the most "perfect" example of human form was represented by the skull of a female from Georgia, thus he decided that the Caucasian race, which he invented, was the first and ideal race of humans. He named two races that were midway down the ladder of evolution, the Americans (natives of the Americas) and the Malay (those from the Pacific islands). Blumenbach also created categories and places on the bottom of the evolutionary hierarchy for the Mongolians (those from East Asia) and the Ethiopians (Africans). His "taxonomy of the five human varieties could be visualized as a pyramid. At the top, characterized by their whiteness, stood the Caucasians, a vision of humanity as it was meant to be" (Ewen & Ewen, 2006, p. 67). He believed that all humans had a common Caucasian ancestor and that as the groups moved to other continents they "degenerated" into darker, less perfect races. Though the scientific value of racial designations has been refuted in the twentieth century, Blumenbach's ideas on the ordering of humanity were highly influential in the nineteenth century pseudo-science of eugenics and more subtle forms of racial stereotyping that persist in the twenty-first century.

Samuel George Morton's (1839) *Crania Americana* was the fulfillment of the pseudo-science known as craniotomy, with overtly racist overtones and goals.

Morton was also a collector of human skulls. He believed that through measuring the angles of the skull and the volume of the skull's cavity, he could determine the intelligence and character of groups of people. Morton's obsession was the collection and measuring of example skulls from American Indians that were used as "proof" of the savage nature of these groups. The final form of this use of a language of science to confirm racist beliefs and the rightness of colonialism, eugenics was intended not only to rank humanity in order from pure to degenerate, but to engineer the procreation of various groups. Like the shaky scientific forms that preceded it, eugenics meant to "prove" the inferiority of certain races and types of people in order to maintain the Euro-American hold on power at home and abroad. American eugenics had a close relationship to the curators of natural history museums and the educational displays of humanity that were meant to showcase the evolution of humanity. The American Museum of Natural History in New York City had a particularly close relationship to the field of eugenics, hosting the Second International Congress at the museum in 1921 (Ewen & Ewen, 2006, p. 279). The proponents of eugenics saw correlations between the evolution of plants and animals and the "evolution" of humans into different geographic and racial groups. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the United States was experiencing increased diversity due to immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe and the incorporation of former slaves into cities across the country. Eugenics offered "native" Americans a way of establishing and affirming racist views of superiority under the guise of scientific authority.

Eugenics claimed a relationship between the breeding of human traits and the engineered breeding of animals and plants. They argued that criminals, those of "feeble mind," and people of "inferior" race or ethnicity should not be allowed to breed and continue their hereditary lines. Some pushed for the confinement and separation of people from these "unfit" groups; others wanted to perform involuntary sterilization in order to prevent what was described as a "degeneration" of the "superior" race of white native-born Americans. Many of us associate the work of these "scientists" with a foundational part of Adolf Hitler's genocidal plan in Nazi Germany. But the popularity and acceptance of this eugenic work in other parts of European and the United States is less well known. It is an ugly part of western colonial thought and racism that was used to educate those in the west about supposedly neutral scientific issues.

Anti-colonial Resistance

Throughout the years of colonialism, the native populations who were displaced, renamed, captured, enslaved, or ruled over did not passively do so without various forms of resistance. Long before the anti-colonial movements led to independence in countries in Africa, Asia, and the Americas, individual and groups of natives practiced subtle and overt resistance to the control by others. Despite the attempts by Europeans to erase history and culture and to make the hierarchy of civilization seem universal, many of those informed of their "inferiority" refused to agree

to their servitude. An example of organized resistance over a long period of time occurred in South Africa, where groups of women worked to overturn colonial laws that required black South Africans to carry passbooks in public. Beginning as early as 1913 with a march of six hundred women in Bloemfontein, this organized resistance brought attention to the anti-colonial struggle and to women's political will (Young, 2001). The Pass Laws symbolized the evils of the colonial regime and the non-violent protests by groups of women continued throughout the mid twentieth century. This movement culminated in 1963, when the Women's League, the women's branch of the African National Congress (ANC), and the Federation of South African Women worked together to organize a national protest of twenty thousand women in Pretoria (p. 367). These protests were organized through grassroots meetings that relied on a great number of women using their combined voice to bring about change.

One of the most famous leaders of resistance movements to colonialism, Gandhi worked against British rule through a call for a return to native customs and a reliance on non-violent tactics. Though he lived for many years in South Africa and received his law degree in Britain, Gandhi rejected the trappings of modernity in rejecting the colonial administration. One of his most visible tactics was to dress in the simple white cloth of the Indian peasant, visibly marking his rejection of the western business suits he wore during his education. As his resistance progressed, Gandhi moved from a white robe to a simple, white loincloth. In meetings with European leaders, he presented a stark contrast to the formal expectations of the event through the presentation of his nearly nude body (Young, 2001). Gandhi's use of native peasant dress also subverted the strict masculinity that was constructed by the British both at home and in the colonies that portrayed any variance from the norm as feminine weakness. Rejecting both the violence and business suits associated with masculinity, Gandhi embraced the traditional Indian acceptance of gender ambiguity.

Contemporary Colonial Theme Parks

The term colonialism is used and understood in complex ways and its meaning changes based on context. In the United States, the colonial period conjures up images of Colonial Williamsburg as a historical theme park that erases the violent and exploitative meanings of the word. Today, tourists flock to Williamsburg to see townspeople dressed in bonnets and hoop skirts, eat rabbit cooked in a cast iron kettle, and to have their photograph taken with their hands and head in the reproduction stocks. This represents the whitewashed fantasy of colonial America, reproduced without reference to the violent occupation of Native American land. The historical village of Colonial Williamsburg is designed to be educational and entertaining, but the other major tourist attraction in town is pure entertainment that also uses the romanticized colonial period as a draw. Busch Gardens Europe is a theme park that is based on a sanitized version of colonial Europe with roller coasters, attractions, and beer gardens serving Busch brands of beer. Busch Gardens also operates

a theme park in Florida that is supposed to give tourists an African experience. Until a few years ago, this park was called the “Dark Continent,” a direct reference to the colonial discourse in Africa, where the Europeans supposedly brought the light of civilization to the “dark continent.” This park also features roller coasters, beer tents, and shows that are very loosely based on the tourist idea of Africa. Like tourism to the continent of Africa, the park focuses on the animals that inhabit the land, not the people or cultures that can be found in Africa. Turning colonial Europe and the westernized version of Africa into commercialized theme parks made for thrill rides and beer consumption trivializes the very ideas of history and cultural difference. They create spectacles that take the place in the public memory of historical and colonial fact.

There are other ways that the era of colonialism is sanitized and glorified in the contemporary popular culture in the west. Schools host Colonial Days and students are taught about the romanticized version of colonialism that the thirteen original colonies represent in patriotic American history. Much of the rest of the world associates colonialism with the exploitation of natural resources and people in countries like India, Egypt, and Algeria (to name just a few). Of course these colonial relationships are also romanticized in films like *Out of Africa* (1985) and in restaurants and hotels that sell colonial charm. The era of colonial rule is marketed in many locations for the tourism industry; this is the colonial global theme park that markets the supposed romance of colonialism to (mainly white) travelers. Many African safaris are meant to recreate the colonial era of the white canvas tents, the luxurious catered meals, and the African servants on the African savannah. Colonial era hotels lure western tourists to relive the glamour and service that colonialism could offer the white rulers and settlers. The use of the colonial to market tourist destinations, to frame amusement parks, and to sell clothing obscures the historical violence of the colonial era.

Global Relationships in the Shadow of Colonialism

The legacy of colonialism and the economic and cultural power that Europe and the United States gained as a result of colonialism deeply affect the relationships between countries and peoples on the global level. Colonized countries could not recover from years of physical and economic exploitation overnight and in some ways the economic inequities of colonialism have become more pronounced since independence.

Development Theory and Neocolonialism

Since the independence movements, where geographic colonies gained their right to self-rule through various levels of armed and nonviolent struggle, several theories have been established in the west to describe the conditions that were left in the colonial wake. One of the most popular theories that is popular in the discourse about international politics and aid is development theory. Development, “which is

a way of describing the assumed necessity of incorporating the rest of the world into the realm of modernity, that is, the western economic system, in which capitalism produces progressive economic growth" (Young, 2001, p. 49). This is the idea that there is a simple way to place cultures on a measuring line, ranking them from undeveloped, underdeveloped, developing, to developed. The developed world is the first world, the nations that were the colonizers and remain in economic control in former colonies, while the rest of the world's nations fall somewhere down the line of development, implying a lack of industrial and economic sophistication. With this theory, the hierarchy of civilization that was constructed during colonial times remains relatively intact, just the vocabulary has changed:

> The notion of stages of development, in which non-western countries would pass through the same phases as has occurred in the history of Europe, was based on the same sort of assumptions as the earlier ethnocentric anthropological notion of different races and culture being unequal in achievement, but all progressing on the same line of mental development. (Young, 2001, p. 53)

The progress of a country is still based on a singular scale of measurement that places Europe and the United States at the top, as the modern ideal for which all others should strive. The "solution" to the problem of underdevelopment came in the form of organizations like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank that run development projects in the third world under the direction and control of the first world corporations and governments. Under the guise of providing for development, these organizations have created vast amounts of third world debt, that leave the governments in those countries beholden to American corporations and their interests. Many have critiqued the very notion of development as focused on Eurocentric ideas of linear progress that are tied to industrialization and that ignore other forms of environmental and social development (Grewal, 2005; Shiva, 1989). Relationships between people and between people and their natural environment have been of no consequence in the calculations of development that rely on measures of economics and industrialization.

As a direct challenge to development theory, dependency theory arose to critique the Eurocentric idea that "underdeveloped" countries were to blame for their supposed shortcomings. Dependency theory describes how the "development at the centre is brought about at the expense of underdevelopment at the periphery through exploitation through trade," (Young, 2001, p. 51). In other words, the first world has been responsible for the siphoning off of resources from the third world and it to blame for the economic impoverishment. More recent critiques of both development and dependency theories have been launched that questions the ideas of a stable center and periphery. "The problem with dependency theory, though reversing the structure of blame for underdevelopment from internal to external factors, does not really challenge the fundamental distinction of stasis vs. change," (p. 54). The idea that modern, first world countries are changing and developing at a rapid pace, while others are "traditional" and frozen in an underdeveloped past needs to be challenged through more complex ideas of development. Since independence, some former colonies have prospered economically while others have

become poorer. Some have developed in other ways, not becoming more westernized, but by embracing different definitions of development. Young describes one of these forms as "popular development" that is created, "from below rather than above," (p. 55). Popular development is based on grassroots organization of people who wish to see development linked directly to the needs of local populations, rather than to the needs of transnational corporations.

The world today seems to be getting progressively smaller through the processes of globalization, with increased access to travel, information, and consumer goods that cross and sometimes transcend national borders. But, the way we relate to others is based on a global history of interaction that relied on creating a system of global power that was unequal. Historically, the "west" which consists of the United States and Europe, has controlled the flow of technology, information, and goods. That control was built on the creation of a hierarchy of societies that constructed the "non-west," all those outside of the United States and Europe, as less advanced, less civilized, less rational, and less capable of development. Civilization, rationality, and development are terms that have been defined by those in the west in a certain way that excludes alternative forms of thinking and behaving from having value. The postcolonial era has seen a rise in the assertion of a singular notion of citizenship and a backlash against those who attempt to legitimate alternative, multiple identities. With the dissolution of physical colonial rule, Eurocentric ways of knowing, through cultural and intellectual hegemony, were cemented in relation to the rest of the world. Amin Maalouf (1996) writes of this dominance:

> The emergence in the West in the course of the last few centuries of a civilization that was to set physical and intellectual standards for the whole world, marginalizing all other civilizations and reducing their status to that of peripheral cultures threatened with extinction. (p. 69)

Positioning themselves at the center of the universe, the height of civilization, rationality, and intelligence, the colonial powers created a hierarchy of cultures that has been tenacious. Those who control the vast majority of global wealth and resources are afraid of losing their control and seem increasingly less willing to share. A fear of loss of scarce resources is stoked on news programs about the lack of oil and the threat of third-world development (for example, the idea that the Chinese are going to surpass the west in demand for resources in the near future). As immigrants from former colonies and third-world nations seek to enter the first-world, backlashes about purity of national identity (often centered around an official national language) are an attempt to "defend" first-world nations from change and difference. In addition to the rise in arguments for national purity, recent years have seen the rise in many different exclusive forms of attachment that rely on simplified definitions of identity (through religion, ethnic group, etc.). The commonality in these flattened notions of self and group is a refusal of the multiple and hybrid in favor of a singular attachment that clearly defines who is allowed inside the group and who is left out.

The central concept of identity, of chosen associations, is critical to understanding many related global events of the past few years. When Danish newspaper

Jyllands-Posten published cartoons depicting the Prophet Mohammed, the ferocity of backlash from the Muslim world was surprising to the Danish newspaper and many in Europe and the United States. There were calls for freedom of the press and the right to criticize:

> But the right to criticize someone else has to be won, deserved. If, in general, you treat another with hostility and contempt, your slightest adverse remark, whether justified or not, will be seen as a sign of aggression, much more likely to make him obstinate and unapproachable than to persuade him to change for the better. (Maalouf, 1996, p. 42)

The re-publication of the cartoons in newspapers across the world shows the lack of sensitivity to the group identity and pride of the majority in the Muslim communities who believe it a grave sin to depict the Prophet in any visual form. Already feeling under threat from the west through economic and military power and influence, the attack of Muslim identity has been flamed since 9/11, the London Tube bombings, and the US military offensives. The publication of the cartoons cannot be divorced from the context of perceived western fear and aggression toward Islam, "But these cartoons depicting Muhammad as a terrorist are utterly inaccurate, feeding into an Islamophobia that has been a noxious element in Western culture since the time of the Crusades" (Armstrong, 2006, para. 2). Just as in George W. Bush's unfortunate call for a "crusade" against those who perpetrated the attacks of September 11th, the publication of the cartoons opened old wounds for those who feel that Islam is misunderstood and vilified in the west. This insensitive re-production of the cartoons was met with widespread protest within Muslim communities in the west and in traditionally Muslim countries. While the vast majority of protesters were peaceful, extremists used the cartoons as an excuse to encourage violent retaliation against perceived western targets.

Neocolonialism and Nationalism

While for some, the increased contact and movement of people across borders has created forms of transnational connection, for others it has increased the fear of difference and the desire to police borders and boundaries more vigilantly. On the highly contested border between the United States and Mexico, private citizens have taken the law into their own hands. Calling themselves the Minute Men, these Americans carry arms to the border and keep watch for border crossers from Mexico. The drive to purge the country of "illegal" immigrants reaches a fever pitch during election cycles as each of the candidates try to position themselves as the one who would be toughest on immigration. The exclusive American citizenship is tightening as fear is rising. Even though more and more Americans speak Spanish as a first or second language, the drive to define an English-only curriculum is gaining momentum. The political issue of "illegal" immigration in the United States has become a debate around the politics of language, race, and gender. Because the people wishing to enter the country speak Spanish, they are not wealthy, and they are not white they are seen as a threat to what is called "our way of life." We have been sold the idea of a scarcity of resources and convinced that the "illegal"

immigrant is going to come and take what is ours, leaving us with less. The psychological work of Vamik Volkan on the creation of national identity and the roots of ethnic conflict inform the current climate of fear and aggression in the United States. The terrorist attacks of September 11th fit Volkan's (1997) description of a "chosen trauma." It is defined as, "a shared mental representation of the event, which includes realistic information, fantasized expectations, intense feelings, and defenses against unacceptable thoughts" (p. 48). The nation has been rallied around the shared mental image of the airplane crashing into the Twin Towers. When a justification for tightened borders, violence, racial profiling, or curtailing of civil liberties is needed, the image of September 11th is called forth. The shared feeling of helplessness that is invoked provides a reason to rally around the imagined patriotic identity of "American." It is a psychological feeling that we are all in this together and that those on the outside are trying to destroy what we stand for and what we have. The psychological theories behind the imagined borders of national identity and the creation of vulnerability help to explain how this climate of fear is created and manipulated. The unique and special American-ness was not created overnight in 2001; it has been created through the combined political power of the United States since World War II that has spread American military might around the globe and the American consumer culture that has spread the American dream into minds around the world. While it has been marketed at home and abroad as a bastion of democracy, freedom, and prosperity, America has become a rallying cry for those who feel powerless or oppressed by economic imperialism and the widening gap between the very rich and the extremely poor.

The struggle over personal and group identity is a central factor in the increased movement, communication, and fear that are the results of global forces, including neocolonialism. The discussion of any current forms of globalization and global events must be couched in an exploration of identity formation and attachment to various communities and groups. Identity is at the heart of how we see ourselves in relation to others and how we then interact within and outside of our communities. Identity is also inextricably linked to the histories of oppression and struggle that created colonial forms of relationships; it is a product of negotiation between how we see ourselves and how others have constructed us. There exists a tension between those who are comfortable with uncertainty, feel able to adjust to change, new environments, and communities and those who feel tense and fearful of change and therefore cling to a singular sense of identity. I think of these conflicting trends as either an inclusive or exclusive sense of identity. Several descriptors have been used to discuss the group of people who have an inclusive, more fluid construction of identity: cosmopolitans, diaspora discourse, and transcitizens to name a few. I look at the hybridity and fluidity in these identity constructions in relation to the other trend in contemporary response to global forces: the tightening, closing in, of exclusionary identity claims such as nationalist, religious fundamentalist, and extremist groups that build their sense of self around who they exclude from the group. How has the experience of uncertainty been utilized by leaders of nations, extremist groups, and reactionary political parties to create an imagined sense of group unity that is built on the denial and removal of difference? What are the

common threads in the different theoretical descriptors of those who have a more inclusive, global consciousness and how can the more flexible notion of citizenship and group identity be used to allay fears of difference and change? I am especially interested in how globalization and identity formation have affected and reinforced the colonial hierarchy that we are taught in our official and unofficial education. In what ways has the increasing movement of people and information led to renewed desire to label and order the world according to colonial divisions?

Structures of Globalization

Globalization is a complex catch-all term that has been used to describe the growth of transnational corporations (which generally move production to where the labor costs are cheapest, while bringing the profits back to the wealthy west), increased communication through global media organizations and the Internet, movement of people through global tourism, diaspora, migration, and the rise in those labeled "refugees," and the apparent growth of power in international political and non-governmental organizations. The term cannot contain all of these elements without losing all meaning, and must be broken down into its various components in order to make sense of the changes in global relations. Cultural critic and artist Gomez-Pena (2001) writes of the benign side and the dark side of globalization that affect different populations very differently. The privileged, First World elite gets to experience the benign form of globalization through global commerce, tourism, and increases access to cheap consumer goods. The other, darker side affects those who live in colonized geographies, where entrance to the global party is denied based on the unequal relationships of power and privilege. "Entire Third World countries have become sweatshops, quaint bordellos, and entertainment parks for the First World . . . the only options for participation in the 'global' economy are as passive consumers of 'global' trash or providers of cheap labor" (p. 10). The darker side of economic globalization means that side effects of human misery and poverty are not considered as part of the bottom line. Those in power use the supposed leveling effect of globalization to declare a premature end to racism, sexism, and poverty and to dismantle aid programs designed to help those marginalized within the First World and in the Third World. For Gomez-Pena, globalization has created a "global mall" that markets exotic difference as a source of cool as a part of "corporate multiculturalism" that uses racial and ethnic difference when profitable while at the same time increasing the disparities in wealth and power.

Grewal (2005) writes of the problems in using globalization, as it "was a fuzzy and somewhat misleading term, because it universalized what could be better understood as the movements of discourses and practices within specific transnational connectivities and the histories of these movements" (p. 124). How could the same term adequately represent the experience of the executive officers of a huge multinational corporation, of the laborer working in the company's factory, of the grassroots Internet organizer, and of the person seeking refuge from a civil war? These diverse experiences and differing levels of power and privilege cannot be contained within

a single word. Before I dismiss globalization as a useless and “fuzzy” term, I would like to look at the work of Arjun Appadurai (1994, 2006) and Zygmunt Bauman (2000) in order to discuss overarching themes that have theorized under the heading of “globalization.” The way that globalization is described in its many guises is linked to the colonial and postcolonial representation of difference.

What are the historical and theoretical backdrops for our current forms of globalization? I choose to situate the large category of globalization within Appardurai’s (1994) two theoretical frameworks: on the level of discourse he writes of megarhetoric and micronarrative, and on the level of organizations the split is between vertebrate (highly structured organizations with chains of command) and cellular (small, loosely organized groups that react to change quickly) structures. Not all people, events, and interactions that make up globalization fit into these binaries that divide structures and events into generalized categories, and room will be created for the messy in-between spaces as well. The larger economic and political shifts of globalization can be understood by the organized, centrally controlled vertebrate structure of state and corporation and its use of megarhetoric to control discourse and influence public opinion. Smaller-scale, grassroots globalization use the micronarrative of “unofficial” discourse, spreading messages through music, art, and the Internet. Cellular in structure, the grassroots or no-roots structure is not tied to one specific nation-state. Cellular forms grow and reproduce quickly, are mobile and multiple. The shifting of global discourse, on the level of “megarhetoric” and of “micronarrative,” has left a great number of Americans feeling that they are on the losing end, losing jobs, wealth, and power to those in the rest of the world. Globalization before 9/11 could be easily broken up into Appardurai’s categories of mega and micro level actions and players. The events of 9/11/01 suddenly made the micro-level player, the person who acts without cover of flag and country, central to the nationalist discourse of fear.

In *The Fear of Small Numbers*, Appadurai (2006) coins the term “cellular globalization” as a new way to imagine the non-state and cross-state actors in contemporary terms. Terrorists who have broken roots to place and time, who are not wearing uniforms or identifying themselves in advance, these are now powerful actors on the global stage. Nation-states, with the need for megarhetoric and bureaucratic machines, move slowly compared to the uprooted and transnational terrorist. The certainty of who is the enemy has eroded, and the fight against the unknown cellular elements has created a tense climate with an alarming fear of difference. All levels of difference have taken on the potential for terror. Those who speak other languages, whose skin is a darker shade, who wear foreign clothing are suspect as potential threats to our “American way of life.” Fear of the unknown has exploded into color-coded warning systems, and thoughts that the man of nebulous foreign descent in front of you on the airplane could be a hijacker. Being different has morphed into being suspect. The definition of what it means to be and to look “American” is narrowing, leaving more people on the periphery.

While the movement of capital beyond national borders led the charge to modern globalization, movement of people and information are the developments that more directly affect cultural representations. The shift from acquisition of land

and goods to the freedom of movement of money and goods is the shift from the national to the transnational, what Zygmunt Bauman (2000) named as the shift from "heavy capitalism" to "light capitalism." The heavy, colonial period focused on the accumulation of power and land. Empires were built on the expansion of physical control, the British sought to plant the Union Jack in as many soils as possible. Land, and control over the people who lived on that land, was the colonial fixation. The knowledge created about the hierarchy of humanity and the superiority of European civilization was in service to the acquisition and consolidation of land. "Territory was the most acute of modern obsessions, its acquisition among the most compulsive of modern urges" (p. 114). In the final stages of "heavy" modernity, capital led the charge to mobility and the weakening of national sovereignty. Nationalist resistance movements and other global forces were breaking down the physical colonialism where European countries officially controlled and occupied other lands. The western control over lands and people transitioned into a "light" form of colonialism that did not (always) involve the use of tanks and armies, the transnational economic and cultural imperialism took the place of the "heavy" physical colonialism. Part of the power of "light" imperialism is the illusion of freedom: the freedom to buy and consume western goods. But behind this illusory freedom, corporate CEO's and western governments control the movement of capital and use international debt as a means to create power. Transnational capital defies borders and national laws, breaking down the divisions laid down in the heavy, accumulation of land and colonies. Bauman contends that the shift in contemporary power "consists in one's own capacity to escape, to disengage, to 'be elsewhere'" (p. 120). The corporate leaders can move very easily across borders and continents, while those who work in the factories are more rooted in their place. Money and privilege give those at the top of the global system the freedom to be transnational in a way that those who live from day to day and are considered to be "developing" cannot. The global poor who try to move across borders for refuge or work are often refused entry at the highly policed borders. While some people slip easily between countries, others are seen as a threat to security based on their level of wealth and the color of their skin. It is much easier for some to be "global citizens" than others. While the wealthy CEO's can move factories and businesses as will, and the middle-class American can be a global tourist seeking out difference for fun, others who have no choice but to move, whether because of safety or the need to earn money, are constantly questioned or turned away. Movement is a neocolonial form of status, and those who move freely across borders have the power to construct identities from various locations.

Contemporary forms of globalization are led by the information exchange on the Internet, global media conglomerates, and this more liquid movement of capital. The global space available for expression and organization of the Internet is reaching and being used by more people daily, though access to technology is still very much affected by social and geographical location. Some feel that the Internet represents a possible source of grassroots organizing that could reach global levels; others fear that the technology gap is making the rich richer and the poor more entrenched in their poverty. Arjun Appadurai (1998) stresses the two factors of

mass mediation (the increasingly global movement of information) and mass migration (the global movement of people) as features of contemporary globalization that challenge a hegemonic American culture of global capital. Even mass media and official government rhetoric are not consumed intact by passive groups; people receive, interpret, and reform information and communication in multiple and unpredictable ways. For Appadurai, the global media is not creating a homogenized, Americanized hoard but is fostering opportunity for imagination, resistance, and agency. This strain of globalization theory emphasizes the micronarrative, small-scale change, and the in-between spaces where cultures collide and transculture is produced. There are many people who do not fit into either the vertebrate or cellular structures of globalization; most of us operate in the messy area outside of official organizations. We consume media from many locations, think and create responses to interchanges that cannot be easily categorized. This "megarhetoric" is the official face of globalization on all sides, the transnational corporation that has factories in the third world and capital wealth in the first, and the Presidential press conferences that set the official tone for national identity, and the released videos of terrorist leaders. Leaders of vertebrate nation-states and corporations officially release megarhetoric, but cellular forms of globalization, such as Al Qaeda, also release these grand public pronouncements. Micronarrative forms of global communication are more intimate and creative forms of mingling that create hybrid identities and grassroots organizations that escape the borders of nation-state.

Identity Formation in the Context of the Global

While some are creating transnational communities using new technology, many people are moving toward more restrictive definitions of community and nation. I can identify three distinct forms of identity construction that are occurring in this era of global interaction. The first is an exclusive identity that privileges a single connection to nation, region, or religion and tightly controls the entrance into the community. Most major world religions have seen some rise in groups that preach a return to a more "pure" and exclusive definition of faith. Recent elections in Europe have shown that, politically, right wing parties who favor strict control of immigration and a narrow definition of citizenship have been gaining momentum. These official imagined communities of the nation-state and of religious groups seem to be moving further toward binary definitions of good/evil, us/them, and those who are inside/outside of the community. The second form of identity construction is for those who are excluded and marginalized in these more tightly policed communities. Those who do not have the power, money, or ability to move freely and who do not feel validated in their current location must define themselves in relation to the community that excludes them. Those who function between and within official communities but who retain ties to multiple, other, smaller communities seem to display an alternate path to identity formation. Appiah (1998) writes of the relationship of identity formation to the communities in which we live. It is within existing social structures that we define how we think of ourselves and whether we are constituted

in relation or opposition to the social order. Those who are forced to live on the margins of society have to create strategies for connection and survival that are defined *against* the dominant culture of exclusion. The example of French youth who feel excluded from true French citizenship based on their race and religion is illustrative of those who are forced to the margins. Without hope for job success and social mobility, these youth are stuck on the literal outside of Paris and the figurative outside of the society. Others who choose to live at the margins, or are able to move between margin and center, are able to form identities that are oppositional to the dominant, unitary definition of self in relation to the group. Four theoretical frameworks for this form of inclusive identity are: transnational connectivity, diaspora discourse, the transcitizen, and the rooted cosmopolitan.

Grewal: Transnational Connectivity

A focus on the colonial and postcolonial as geographically specific movements retains the central position of Europe and does not fully reflect the multiple forms of power and agency. If these ideas of the colonial and the postcolonial are unmoored from specific global locations and used as conceptual categories of analysis, identity as a category can be more fluidly examined. Just because a person is from a former colony does not make their position or actions postcolonial, just as it is possible to act and critique from a postcolonial position as a privileged white, middle-class American. The histories of geographical colonialism must be considered in the discussion of global identity formation, but it does not determine the webs of affiliation that can be built across and within traditional boundaries. Contemporary identities are negotiated through the histories of colonialism and American economic imperialism. However, there are many forms of influence that cannot be contained in the colonial/postcolonial binary.

In *Transnational America: Feminisms, Diasporas, Neoliberalisms*, Inderpal Grewal (2005) writes of the production of identities in the postcolonial era. She argues that, "gender, race, class, and nationalism are produced by contemporary cultures in a transnational framework that is linked to earlier histories of colonization" (p. 27).

Identity has been framed in three categories: the stateless, universal, global subject, the national, geographically bound subject, and the hybrid subject who straddles borders and exists in multiple geographies at once. With the global forms of media and consumerism, it is hard to imagine national identities that are not touched by the global, and while some have announced the end of the nation-state, it is also not likely to find many who do not identify with a nation-state. Identity and attachment are complicated by citizenship and the idea of the rights that accompanies citizenship.

Grewal writes of the "transnational connectivities" that represent the multiple effects of the globalized media, corporations, grassroots organizations, governments, and the movement of people across national borders. The effects of global forces are not easily understood or categorized; the fluid nature of identity must be

viewed in the context of interpersonal, intercommunity, and international relationships. Once the category and social construction of gender is added to this complex web of connection, creating community across traditional boundaries of the nation-state becomes more interesting. Can there be a transnational community of women that transcends the colonial history? Can gender be ignored as a category of identification? How can we explore the multiple connections without privileging race, nationality, gender, over other forms of community and without getting lost in the complexity of it all? Finally, how can we look at discourses of diaspora, cosmopolitanism, and the transcitizen without relying on the west as the center and focus of our work? European and American power were entrenched in the colonial period and critiqued in the postcolonial. Few of the colonial or postcolonial theorists actually move the center of the discourse away from the west, leaving all others to be compared or linked in struggle with a hegemonic west. Grewal believes that the concept of the "transnational connectivities" is a way of creating a multiplicity of centers that does not privilege one geography or connection at the expense of others.

American popular culture is beamed and posted to computers, movie screens, and televisions around the world, leaving few untouched by Hollywood's ideas of success, happiness, and cultural biases. Passive, unthinking audiences do not unconsciously consume this American media glut; it is reconfigured, challenged, and remade through diverse cultural lenses. If this is not a case of absolute cultural hegemony, this resistance and negotiation must be theorized to understand how connections and forms of community are changing as the world and technology change.

Diaspora Discourse

This connection to imagined community could be framed by the discourse of diaspora, a way to theorize the global connection of people who share emotional and psychological ties to a region, homeland, or religion. The movement of people has been described in many ways, leading to discourses on travel, tourism, exile, immigration, and diaspora. While traditionally used to describe the global communities of Jews with attachments to a Jewish homeland in Israel, the discourse of diaspora has been expanded to describe any community of people who live in one place and have plans to return to a "home" elsewhere. "Diaspora cultures thus mediate, in a lived tension, the experiences of separation and entanglement, of living here and remembering/desiring another place" (Clifford, 1997, p. 255). Those living as a minority in a dominant culture that does not validate their identity or experience use connection to their other "home" as a source of identity affirmation. This home, according to Clifford, can be a physical location or a shared sense of religion or group identity. "Islam, like Judaism in a predominantly Christian culture, can offer a sense of attachment elsewhere, to a different temporality and vision, a discrepant modernity" (p. 257). This sense of diaspora can be made more real in the current age of technological communication that can directly connect villages in Lebanon to communities in New York City or London. As an example of this conception of transnational

community, the work of artist Emily Jacir can be examined within the diaspora discourse; though not born in Palestine, her ties to the Palestinian community in exile is stronger in her work than her sense of herself as an American. Though, her upbringing in New York clearly re-defines her relationship to the Palestinians living elsewhere.

The Transcitizen

Another way to conceptualize the combined movement and attachment of people and communities is to speak of a form of "transcitizenship" (Miron, Darder, & Inda, 2005). Without decrying the death of the nation-state (as some have been eager to do), cultural theorists feel that there needs to be a new way to define the citizen that encompasses the multitude of geographies and cultures that many are negotiating in the twenty-first century. The transcitizen is a way to define those who exist in more than one cultural location at once. With the instantaneous communication made possible by the Internet, immigrants, migrants, and travelers can form ties to their new geographic and cultural locations while retaining continuous relations to their home, or homes. "Rather than displace the meaning of place, the processes of globalization and transnationalism propel local actors through their vast social networks to fully engage in the politics of place making" (Miron et al., p. 289). Thus, Mexican immigrants to the United States can live and work in California, consider their village in Mexico "home," speak Spanish at home, English at school, and be re-defining their relationship to each space with their living within the other. These transcitizens are creating third spaces that exist outside of nation-state citizenship, forms of grassroots cultural citizenship that blur notions of fixed identity and a bland American monoculture of assimilation.

Cosmopolitan Identities

I have been arguing that we all have allegiance to layered, multi-faceted identities that begin with the first layer of self-identity and then are expanded to include physical community of family and friends, then to imagined community of nation, religion, etc. If this is so, is it possible to have an even more widely defined imagined community of humanity? Can there be transnational and transreligious feeling of connection? This is the question asked by those who write of cosmopolitanism; the sense that there is a growing number of people for whom identity is both rooted in a "home" country and community, but also movable and applicable in many different geographies. Cosmopolitanism is different in scope and sentiment than internationalism, which would include ideas of international institutions (the United Nations) and international law. The inter-national by definition pertains to the relations and actions of nation-states, re-inscribing the importance of the nation while encouraging a higher-level dialogue. The concept of cosmopolitan is much more flexible, applicable to individuals who have a sense of global ties and movement, and to

larger communities that have transnational communication and connection. Appiah (1998) writes of the "rooted cosmopolitanism" of his father, who "thought there was no point in roots if you couldn't take them with you" (p. 91). Part of the appeal of cosmopolitanism is that it offers a way to conceptualize identity that values and reaffirms individual sense of self and community while expanding the notion of community to those very different from oneself. It is the idea of a person "attached to a home of his or her own, with its own cultural particularities, but taking pleasure from the presence of other, different, places that are home to other, different, people" (p. 91).

Originally used by Kant (2001) the term "cosmopolitan" denoted a universal application of European morality and values with the goal of global peace. The term has been taken out of its Eurocentric roots and used to describe the varied experiences of "exile, immigration, migrancy, diaspora, border crossing, pilgrimage, tourism" (Clifford, 1988, p. 363). This then is a term that has the possible flexibility to apply to many different versions of transnational movement and attachment to multiple geographical locations.

For Mignolo (2000), the cosmopolitan is linked to modernity and colonialism in ways that have not been thoroughly interrogated. He calls for a renewed, critical cosmopolitanism through engagement with relationships of colonial difference; there cannot be a global form of universal citizenship that does not privilege the west. Any discussion of the global must include acknowledgement of the continued unequal relationships of power that began as colonial projects. Pollack, Bhabha, Breckenridge, and Chakrabarty (2000) also critique the cosmopolitan as a Eurocentric, western invention that is important enough to be recast in a way that does not assume the universal or re-inscribe the center/margin divide of colonialism. Unlike some proponents of cosmopolitanism, the authors are not ready to throw out the national and declare a postnational world; nationalism can be the cause of exclusionary ethnocentrism and war but it can also be the cause of anti-colonial struggle and grassroots activism. Their call is for a tentative, transitional cosmopolitanism that does not claim to erase national or ethnic histories in its acknowledgement of the transnational. It is also a call to theorize the global underclass created by international political organization and transnational capital. "Cosmopolitans today are often the victims of modernity, failed by capitalism's upward mobility and bereft of those comforts and customs of national belonging" (p. 582). Those left between nation-states, the refugees and exiles, are not cosmopolitan by choice but by circumstance that leaves them without national identity in a world still very much defined by national borders.

Inderpal Grewal (2005) also complicates the idea of the cosmopolitan by questioning both its Eurocentric and patriarchal histories. The origin of the term assumed, as I noted earlier, a type of universal that was based on the values and culture of the west. It also assumed a male subject, who could disconnect and reconnect to various cultures and traditions at will; falling into this category is the adventurous and unique western woman who left her traditions behind to travel the world. As in many discourses, the subaltern, or third world women were left out of the discourse of the cosmopolitan,

> Western modernity, by depicting the intrepid western nineteenth-century woman as "world traveler" and savior of her less civilized "sisters," produced the white, female subject who could be the nationalist and the internationalist, unlike the "third world" woman who could never escape her culture. (p. 59)

While the western woman was given the possibility of being a cosmopolitan subject, the level of tradition and cultural authenticity describes third world women. When or if they travel, it assumed to be part of the movement based on migrant labor or on refugee status. The level of theorizing or being capable of seeing beyond cultural ties has not been granted to third world women in many postcolonial discourses. There has been movement to create a form of postcolonial feminist cosmopolitanism, through the subverting of the "binary of tradition and modernity as the central metaphor for understanding progress and development" (p. 59) when creating transnational feminisms.

Grewal writes of the representation of Asian women in American popular media in the twentieth century that relied on the colonial ideas of tradition and modernity; narratives of women who moved from east to west were shown to be moving from oppression to liberation, from patriarchy to freedom.

Hybrid Versus Essential Identity

In many ways, this cosmopolitan sentiment is directly related to Bhabha's liminal space and hybridity, the mixing and multiplying of cultural and community identifications. In *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha (1994) defines his conception of the colonial/postcolonial theoretical split and the use of language that has defined the contemporary field of postcolonialism. The theoretical split in discourse that he articulates is the shift from focus on "fixity" to "hybridity." "Fixity, as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism, is a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition" (p. 94). In the colonial era, difference between cultures and races was solidified as an eternal fact of nature. The white colonial power created the myth of unchanging racial essence and hierarchy, a form of social Darwinism that presented the European as the evolutionary pinnacle of civilization and order. The continuation of this colonial myth is present in the current goal of "liberating" and "democratization" that the United States has set for the rest of the world. The implication is that we (in the west) have a monopoly on rational, democratic liberty that we can share or enforce on the rest of the world. The native other was and is essentialized and fixed as savage, chaotic, and lesser. The postcolonial discourse represents a deconstruction of the myth of fixity. Uncertain spaces open up between traditional centers; in these spaces, postcolonial identity formation begins to occur based not on fixity but on movement, migration, and negotiation. Bhabha's idea of hybridity is important in understanding how the postcolonial breaks with the colonial in the understanding of identity and community. The myth of the "pure" culture, nation, or race has been challenged by the idea of hybrid identities that are formed from different elements of cultures and nations. In

the university and in theory, the postcolonial ideas of identity hold sway; however, in the media, politics, and education of many the colonial myths of fixed, stable, and pure cultures and nations still exists.

The colonial myth of essential difference is used today to support the "clash of civilizations" (Huntington, 1998) that pits the United States and Europe in eternal struggle with other forms of civilization. It is this fixity that builds higher walls at borderlines to police those who are allowed to enter and those who are excluded. It is in the best interest of politicians and media outlets to support the myth of essential difference. Public support for spending billions of dollars on foreign wars relies on the idea that there are groups of different, dangerous people out there who wish to do us harm. Reasons to fear this difference and to act aggressively play out every evening on television sets and through politicians. There seems to be an endless variety of ways to create and act on hostility toward those who are different. The official national and terrorist rhetoric of forces of good versus forces of evil create an atmosphere of extreme emotions and opinions. Inclusive identities that connect communities of difference seem difficult to maintain in the climate of heightened tension and uncertainty. Global events and increased migration and communication seem to be driving many Americans toward a greater fear of difference and a strengthening of ethnocentric and uber-patriotic rhetoric. In light of these escalating tensions and rhetoric of political and religious leaders about the need for exclusive definitions of group and individual identity, the potential role of the diaspora community, the transcitizen, and the rooted cosmopolitan needs further examination. These inclusive definitions of self and group are communicated through micronarrative: the Internet blog, the novel, the rap lyrics, or the piece of visual art. The spaces that are opened between official centers from these forms of expression offer a chance for a redefinition of what it means to a citizen of multiple communities at once.

European colonialism and the continued unequal power relationship of western capitalism and military intervention in the rest of the world (particularly in the Muslim world) rests in the essential national identities that position the west as a more "advanced" and "developed" civilization. The British colonial control of Egypt and the French regime in Algeria are two examples of the long lasting influence of colonialism and postcolonial struggles to redefine national identities. In his essay, "Algeria Unveiled," from 1959 (cited in Bailey & Tawadros, 2003), Franz Fanon wrote about the tactic of the French colonial administration in Algeria to break the indigenous culture. He argued that the strategy was to break Algerian culture by convincing, through coercion or threat, the women to unveil and thus be "liberated" and agents of European freedom within their homes and communities. "The dominant administration solemnly undertook to defend this woman, pictured as humiliated, sequestered, cloistered. It described the immense possibilities of women, unfortunately transformed by the Algerian man into inert, demonetized, indeed dehumanized, object" (p. 75). The tactic was similar to the tone of the British occupational authority in Egypt: you are barbaric and backward because you refuse your women the freedom of dress and movement that European women have. The goal was to induce feelings of guilt and shame in native culture, a realization that

European culture has much more to offer and the superiority should be peacefully accepted. "It was the colonialist's frenzy to unveil the Algerian woman, it was his gamble on winning the battle of the veil at whatever cost, that were to provoke the native's bristling resistance" (p. 77). By attempting to enforce the superiority of French culture, the colonial authority ignited and unified the resistance to their rule. Algerians who were not militantly opposed to occupation viewed the attack on Algerian customs as an attempt to impose cultural values from the outside.

Fanon writes of a "counter-acculturation" (p. 76) that feeds resistance to the attempted outside modification of cultural customs and mores. The ways of dressing, communicating, and moving within a national culture are tied to the perceived identity and value of that culture. When the French tried to do away with the custom of women veiling in public, they tapped into and invigorated a national spirit and sense of imagined community against the change. The discourse of the veil is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, but it is an example of a native custom that was under threat from European colonial powers. The threat of loss led in many cases to the entrenchment of traditional values, and in the case of the veil, to a new sense of urgency and importance of holding tight to national and cultural customs. But, it is important to note that the meanings of such cultural practices were and are not static and uncontested from within. During the Algerian resistance to the French, women used their veils as cover to carry illegal weapons to nationalist fighters. The donning of the veil in public was a form of resistance on its own for many women, a reclaiming of cultural authenticity in the face of European domination.

Chapter 4
Distorted Visions: Ethnocentric Forms of Education

Building on the historical and cultural roots of colonialism described in Chapter 3, this chapter explores more fully the ways that biased and often racist notions of difference have entered into the lives of students through official and unofficial forms of curriculum. Western patriarchal structures that supported colonialism and other forms of domination have also created the official state schooling system and curriculum. How have the interests of the dominant culture created distorted images of women, the so-called third world, the primitive, savage, and irrational Other? While the official curriculum is suffused with the dominant perspectives of ethnocentric white history and culture, it is in the unofficial curricula of the media, the museum, and the tourism industry that many of us see and learn about other people and other parts of the world. To create a fuller picture of how we, as Americans, come to see the world through a colonial lens, we must examine both the official and unofficial forms of education about difference. If colonial and postcolonial can be used to describe actual, physical locations that have been colonized and metaphorical states of organizing and understanding the world, then colonial and postcolonial education can be described in more than one manner.

The education of native children and settlers in colonies was one form of colonial pedagogy. The term "colonial pedagogy" can also be used to describe the whole program of knowledge creation and distribution that relied on the existence of European expansion and exploitation. The citizens of European countries needed to be convinced of their superiority and the righteousness of the colonial cause in order to lend support to their government. This form of colonial education relied on the creation of a strict hierarchy of humanity that placed the white colonial officials and white settlers on a higher evolutionary plane than the natives of the cultures to be exploited and controlled. Another facet to colonial education was the suppression of native culture and the establishment of an appreciation for the superiority of British/French/Belgian culture. It was an obvious pedagogic challenge to convince people that the cultural practices and their ways of living are less developed, sophisticated, and important than those of the western foreign powers.

While the term colonial refers to a specific historical period of European and American expansionist imperialism, I want to suggest a different use of the adjective colonial in my construction of colonial pedagogy as type of educational discourse that transects historical periods and continues to the present day. Colonial pedagogy

R.B. Jones, *Postcolonial Representations of Women*, Explorations of Educational Purpose 18, DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1551-6_4, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

involves a particular perspective on viewing global relationships and hierarchies and a specific way of constructing knowledge of the world based on the inequities of historical colonialism. The writers of texts and curators of museums collected and organized subjective facts about the nature of civilization and savagery during the global European exploration; these facts were then presented as the official knowledge about people of the world by. While the official belief in the hierarchy of humanity has been rejected, the knowledge forms from colonialism and the Eurocentric nature of how we view difference is still unofficially with us. Colonial pedagogy functions today as a continued hierarchical view of the world that privileges western knowledge, rationality, science, and civilization as superior and authentic in comparison to the rest of the "developing" world. The rest of the world is expected to develop into something more western, as their existing culture and ways of knowing are dismissed as "primitive," "superstitious," or "unsophisticated".

The formation of postcolonial pedagogy, therefore, does not suggest a clean break with the colonial ways of knowing. Hierarchies of cultural forms and the continued use of educational forms that center knowledge produced in the west and from Eurocentric perspectives mean that the postcolonial is not a new era that suddenly uproots the old ways. Instead, it is a call to reconsider, question, and critically analyze the continued ways that education has been used in the service of power. The postcolonial pedagogy is an educational stance of resistance that is being constructed in the margins of the educational materials produced in recent years. Postcolonial is an adjective that describes a mindset of critical reflection into the entrenched hierarchies of power and knowledge that have shaped and continue to shape how we view others and ourselves. Within this emerging discourse, the power and privilege of the western way of ordering and understanding the world are explicitly named and critiqued. The avoidance of controversy and supposed neutrality of Eurocentric curricula can be replaced with a concrete explanation of the history of colonialism and the construction of the global hierarchy of evolution.

Exhibitionary Pedagogy

The creation of borders between cultures, nations, and races led to policing the location of difference. Education has historically been a way to know oneself through discovery and ordering of the other. When encountered with difference, education helps to make sense of the new experience and bring it into order with previous knowledge. "Travel, as a way of finding oneself through a greater knowledge of the other, brings us to perhaps the busiest intersections between education and imperialism" (Willinsky, 1998, p. 78). Historically, encounters with difference led to the tightening of borders and identities; difference was used as a way to justify exclusion and exploitation. European exploration of distant lands provided the European with a way to order the world and his (because knowledge and order were almost exclusively male) place within it. The urge to be able to know and classify everything

in the world drove the classification of other geographies and peoples. Along with greed and the urge to Christianize, explorers wished to name and mark all lands and people so that there were no gaps in the creation of maps.

Global travel not only filled in blank spaces on European maps, it provided encounters with civilizations and peoples who lived in very different environments. The notes of these expeditions and the living humans brought back as "specimens," to European courts and laboratories created the curriculum that delineated the borders of difference. "The themes of discovery, conquest, possession, and dominion are about ways of knowing the world, of bringing it to order, of surveying, mapping, and classifying it in an endless theorizing of identity and difference" (p. 85). Explorers and scientists felt that by organizing the people of the world into knowable categories and into hierarchies of civilization they could retain control over the world. These lessons learned about difference in the age of exploration and during colonialism are still with us in a multitude of ways. Curricula of difference still rely on the ideas of the primitive, the savage, and the enlightened white scientist and explorer who bring sense to a chaotic and mysterious world. We are still taught about the world from the eyes of European explorers, using their names for people and places (for instance, the stubborn use of Columbus's erroneous term "Indian" to describe the indigenous people of the Americas). Textbooks and popular culture still rely on the hierarchy of civilizations (with varying degrees of subtlety) to represent the world.

The White Man's Burden and Education

Colonial forms of education rely upon the discourse of the White Man's Burden, the idea that it is the role and burden of the "civilized" to bring the light of civilization to the rest of the world. To be educated in western civilization was a peripheral colonial goal of colonial powers, but a central concern of educators and philanthropists. Only education had the power to lift cultures out of their lowly state, while they simultaneously cemented the knowledge of western superiority. Though generally expressing ethnocentric good intentions, the colonial educator sets forth to enlighten and to save the "savage" peoples of the world from themselves. While colonialism exploited natural resources and people in the colonies, it was the idea of White Man's Burden that led to the creation of colonial schools and the imposition of European culture. It was the "gift" of colonialism to strip away native ways of living and supplanting them with the light of "civilization." This is a pervasive discourse, that it is the moral duty of those with power (generally still white) to bring order and civilization to the poor, darker skinned people of the world. I think of the many varieties of "save the children" commercials that depict brown and black children walking or limping through dirt streets, often without shoes and with disheveled hair and clothes. The white television audience, sitting in their comfortable couches, is meant to feel guilty and pledge to feed/medicate/educate these poor children of the world. Parents of the children are never featured in these commercials and it can be

presumed that they are either negligent or nonexistent. Like the Europeans who felt that it was their burden to save the rest of the world, these commercials reinforce a sense of superiority while playing on middle-class guilt.

An emerging field in schools of education throughout the United States is urban education. Though urban centers and the schools within them present unique challenges and opportunities for educators, many speak and write of the need to save urban students from their dismal conditions. Using the deficit model of education, some who argue for urban education believe it is their job to rescue students from their home lives and families. In many ways this echoes the job of colonial educators, going bravely into the wild of the colony in order education and, therefore, save those who were different from themselves. This is the White Man's Burden syndrome that is affecting many conversations about the direction of urban education that perpetuates the discourse of brave white educators going into the dangerous urban areas to save minority children from their culture. For those who function with this syndrome, the term "urban" is codeword for African American, and it often conceals a thinly veiled racism and white privilege. There are also more critical strains of urban education, which resist and critique the deficit model of education. Postcolonial forms of education that actively address imbalances in power and privilege can inform more critical perspectives of urban education.

The Regulation of Geography

The ways in which we are educated about the world around us are entrenched in the colonial hierarchies. We are taught about distant cultures in ways that naturalize their difference; therefore, Africans are poor and starving because their land is barren and they are under the control of despotic leaders, not because of the ravages of European colonial rule and the economic exploitation of neocolonialism. News stories of the civil wars, coups, and famine form the bulk of information that Americans are given about the continent. We are led to believe that these events are the inevitable outcome of living in Africa; the unspoken message is that Africans are inherently more violent and unstable than the rest of the world. The "underdeveloped" nations of the world are presented as frozen in time and lacking the resources and ingenuity to develop, rather than addressing the continued exploitation of the resources and finances in the Third World to benefit the First. Women from other cultures are shown as necessarily oppressed and victimized, denying the agency of grassroots women's organizations. These representations of difference that hide or omit the history of colonialism, sexism, and racism do not occur by accident. They have been part of educating about difference since the days of European exploration, "historically produced within imperial regimes, regulated as a body of knowledge, and taught to succeeding generations of students under the rubric of geography" (Willinsky, 1998, p. 155).

Contemporary textbooks that teach students about world history and geography generally present European exploration and imperialism as forms of natural curiosity about the outside world. Columbus, Vespucci, and Magellan are heroes

of this version of history, discovering and naming lands as a seemingly inevitable outcome of European scientific and military achievement. It has been said that winners write history and in the case of European expansion, those who have written records control the memory of events. Indigenous civilizations were at the mercy of the weapons and misperceptions of these voyages and their captains. Violence and greed that were visited upon native populations that were "discovered" are omitted in the curriculum, hiding the root causes of much poverty and imbalance of wealth and power in the contemporary world. Imperialism is generally presented in an "objective" way that presents the European reasons for this expansion and control of other peoples. By removing the violence, emotion, and legacy of exploration and colonialism, the curriculum naturalized the suffering of some people and the wealth and prosperity of others. The overt mechanisms of this colonial pedagogy functioned so well that they are now invisible. Classification and sorting of humanity that occurs in natural history museums and other areas of "pseudo" science rely on the racist organizational systems of colonialism, but are presented as the natural way of understanding the world.

Education As a Colonial Weapon

Access to education, and decisions over the curriculum available were important tools of control in the colonies. Some administrations skeptical about educating the colonized, fearing that knowledge would lead to resistance. Others encouraged education in the languages and knowledge of the imperial center as part of the creation of an educated class loyal to the administration. Very specific forms of education evolved within different physical colonies that functioned to maintain the ruling class in various ways. Those in charge of keeping colonial power in the hands of white elite had to control the production and distribution of knowledge. Through official forms of colonial education, the ruling class attempted to transmit values while also censoring information that could be used to foment resistance. Though the forms of education varied as widely as the geography of colonies, in most forms there is contradiction at the heart of the enterprise. To supplant native culture with European values and culture, certain forms of knowledge and skills must be given to the native population. In India, for instance, the British created an education to foster a class of civil servants. This involved training and education in British culture and language, but only up to a point. The education was designed to stop short of creating a critical consciousness that might create problems for the authority of British rule. The education was carefully planned to create an Indian class that aligned itself with the British authorities, while at the same time enforcing the distinction between the ruling and the ruled.

For indigenous groups, colonial education (in the form of mission schools, and later public schools) meant a denial of language, culture, and tradition. To be educated in the colonial system meant that one was schooled in the knowledge and values of the colonizer. "Numerous accounts across nations now attest to the critical role played by schools in assimilating colonized peoples, and in the

systematic, frequently brutal, forms of denial of indigenous languages, knowledges, and cultures" (Smith, 1999, p. 64). And to be allowed this colonial education was seen as a privilege not granted to the many indigenous people who were deemed to be unreachable or unworthy (Smith, 1999). The curriculum in these schools was based on the discoveries, exploitation, and "scientific" ordering of people that resulted from imperial expansion. Indigenous students were not only taught the language and culture of the colonizer, they were taught that the subjugation of their people was justified by a natural and technological inferiority. As an example of this, Native American children separated from their parents and sent to boarding schools were taught to celebrate the very treaties and government that pushed their tribes off of land and into repressive reservations (Adams, 1997). The students attending these boarding schools were considered privileged to learn the customs and knowledge of the white man, while being forced to cut their hair, change their names, and lose their language and religion. Across the colonial world, indigenous students were offered this "privilege" of becoming "civilized" by being educated out of their "savage" culture and into that of their oppressor.

Language As a Tool of Oppression

In South Africa, the battle between the British and the Boers (settlers of Dutch decent) led to battles over the language of authority. The issue of language and power came to a decisive head when the apartheid government, in 1976, ruled that black schoolchildren would be taught in Afrikaans, a language that most children did not speak (McClintock, 1995). It was the language of the oppressive and racist government, of the white minority who were frantically grasping at their waning power. This attempt to control the language of instruction, and, therefore, to deprive the black majority of education in a comprehensible language led to mass walkouts and demonstrations by black students. The first of these walkouts took place on June 16, 1976, in Soweto (the most famous of the black townships established during apartheid in South Africa). Students organized, outraged by the government's attempts to control and censor their culture and education, and marched to Orlando Stadium in protest. "The children's defacement of exercise books and the breaking of school ranks presaged a nationwide rebellion of uncommon proportion" (p. 330). This was a battle over the right to cultural authority and an important front in the resistance to colonial apartheid. Education was used as a cultural weapon and as a public statement about the imposition of language and power.

The relationship among education, language, and power in colonial states is a recurring theme that played a critical role in the forms of official education offered to native populations and to the way that those in the Europe came to know the world and their place within it. By replacing native languages with the language of the colonizer, official colonial knowledge was off limits to those who did not take on the language of power. In order to be educated into the class of civil servants in India, Indians had to attend school in English. To be sent to Paris to finish your colonial education that began in a French colony, one had to be fluent in French. Many

nationalist resistance movements reclaimed native languages in order to reclaim national and cultural identity after experiencing a colonial education in European languages.

Race in Colonial Education

Language was an important tool of colonial educational power and was often tied to race in explicit ways. Writing about colonial education in the Dutch colony on Java, Stoler (2002) shows how the "purity" of Dutch race and language were connected to the need for European education. There was a fear of contamination of the Dutch child living in the colony from contact with Javanese servants and nursemaids; a related fear involved the path of mixed race children who were seen as corrupted by their native mothers' customs and language. Schooling in this context was meant to distinguish and protect the supposed purity of the European colonialist by removing the children from the home environment where they were exposed to Malay and native customs. Though the practice of using Javanese nursemaids was the social norm, changing theories of European childhood and motherhood at the turn of the twentieth century led to increased pressure on Dutch mothers to raise their children apart from the influence of the nursemaid.

In the mid to late eighteenth century, a prevalent social arrangement in the colony involved a Dutch man living with and having sexual relations and even marriage with servants. This led to a considerable population of "Indo" children, living between the culture of father and mother and not fully belonging to either. There was a debate in the colony about whether to attempt to educate and "European-ize" children of mixed race (derisively called Indos) or to exclude them and leave them to adopt native ways. There was fear that those with one Dutch parent (almost always a father) and one Javanese would, despite education, revert to native ways and make trouble for the colonial administration. The fear was not just of physical racial difference, but of a difference in sentiment that would keep these children from being patriotic Dutch citizens and from being able to socialize in European circles. "While some efforts were made to integrate mixed-blood children into European schools, this was often in the face of strong resistance from those parents who refused to have their children in close proximity to lower-class and 'mixed-blood elements'" (p. 131). Knowledge of Dutch became the official stand-in for the inclusion of race as a category of educational access; some elite schools only admitted children who could speak fluent Dutch by age seven, denying access to those from mixed race homes who spoke primarily in Malay at home.

European Women in Colonial Education

Though the administration of the colonies was primarily a male enterprise, the area of education was one place where European women made an impact in the "civilizing" mission. The accounts of women who traveled to the colonies to start schools or to teach offer a layer of complexity to the story of white presence in

colonial geographies. As marginalized members of their own society, many women were more sensitive to the oppressive effects of colonial rule. Some of these women were driven to educate by a sensitivity to the racism inherent to colonialism, others could not escape their European cultural lenses and taught the colonial curriculum that supported empire. Willinsky (1998) writes of several British women who operated successful schools in colonial India, such as Annette Ackroyd who, "on arriving in India set up a small school for a dozen or so young women in an effort to blend feminist concerns with an equally determined effort to redress colonialism's racial injustices" (p. 104). Another British woman, Margaret Noble, taught Indian women and converted to orthodox Hinduism, taking the name Sister Nivedita (p. 104). These women offered a more sympathetic European presence in the colony, attempting to live with and understand their Indian pupils. In many colonies, the schools opened by European women offered young women opportunities for education that they would not otherwise have received. In some locations, however, colonial administrations took away forms of education available to women. In Egypt, the British administration under Lord Cromer increased tuition and reduced access of education for girls (Ahmed, 1992). Even in the instances where education for girls was improved, there was a sense of the "White Woman's Burden," that European women felt the duty to uplift and improve their colonized students through education. Women were thought to be more morally pure than men and able to spread their European sensibilities to their students. Many of the women who traveled the empire as teachers did so as part of a missionary project to both educate and Christianize the colonized. "Christianity took advantage of imperial conquest to achieve its own form of global expansion, and it sought, in ways that could be generous and brutal in turn, to use education to make Christians" (Willinsky, 1998, p. 94). As with other forms of colonial education, the students educated in mission schools often used their knowledge to become leaders in the struggle for independence. "Schooling for women and the colonized made it possible for some to challenge the self they were intended to learn to be" (p. 106). Even colonial education that was meant to teach the glory and superiority of the patriarchal colonial power or of Christianity could be used to critique and organize resistance to that very power.

The story of European colonialism becomes complicated when discussing European women who traveled to the colonies and represented their experience with the natives. These women were in a strange position of being subject to European patriarchal expectations for ladylike behavior and simultaneously negotiating their identity as women in relation to native women in the colonies. As European women, these travelers were seen to be more pure and moral than their male counterparts and used this moral assumption to write sympathetically of colonized peoples, while espousing colonial attitudes toward difference. Mills (1994) describes the travel writing of Mary Kingsley, a middle-class British woman traveling in West Africa in the late 1800s, who took the high moral ground in criticizing the British government's actions toward native subjects while simultaneously writing in profoundly racist, imperial language. "Kingsley considered black people inferior to white people and wrote extensively of their childlike nature and difference from a superior Western norm" (p. 40). Women who wished to travel through colonial

land generally felt the need to justify their travel through a sense of greater duty or purpose (McEwan, 1994). Because of great constraints on the "proper" behavior for a lady in Victorian England, traveling for adventure was thought to be a male prerogative that was unsuitable for women. McEwan writes of three British women travelers in West Africa in the late 1800s and early 1900s: Mary Kingsley who spent 18 months in West Africa; Mary Slessor, a Scottish missionary who spent about 40 years in Nigeria working against the practice of polygamy; and Constance Larymore who spent time in Nigeria as the wife of a colonial administrator. For Slessor, the travel was justified through her relationship to the church and to God; for Larymore, she was traveling as the dutiful wife; and for Kingsley the travel was the fulfillment of her father's work. These women provided, through their writings, western descriptions of African women, a form of representation that was all but ignored by earlier male colonialists and travelers. And while some of their descriptions were more nuanced than the colonial discourse of African savagery and oppressive practices, their writings did not escape the racial hierarchy that infused the colonial era and made them complicit in the imperial project. The West African cultural practices of polygamy, secret male societies, and infant marriages were represented by Europeans as examples of the savagery and uncivilized nature of the people. Kingsley, however, understood the complexity of these situations that in some cases could be beneficial to women. She recognized that many of the women involved in the polygamous marriages were as happy, or happier, than British married women.

McEwan writes that these British women were not allowed the authority to write in scholarly or scientific ways; rather, they had to conform to the Victorian expectations of feminine writing, focusing on narrative description of people and daily life. The three women reminded their audience of their femininity; for instance Kingsley wrote of her observations of a gorilla, "The old male rose to his full height (it struck me at the time this was a matter of ten feet at least, but for scientific purposes allowance must be made for a lady's emotions)" (quoted in Blunt, 1994, p. 58). This reminder of her emotional state was a part of her perceived need to highlight her femininity as she took on the traditionally masculine role of traveler and adventurer.

The Education of Girls in Sri Lanka

Writing about the specific context of the education of girls in the Sri Lankan colony, Swarna Jayaweera (1990) presents an analysis of the British motives and methods for European women educating girls in the colony. While British schools for Sri Lankan boys focused on preparing a local elite to work with the administration, the schools run for girls focused on socializing and preparing them for marriage and family life with a foundation of British, Christian morality. British colonial schools shared a close working relationship with missionaries in the country and were infused with the gender roles and subordination of women that was the norm in Victorian England. Sri Lankan tradition gave women greater freedom in marriage and divorce and more rights in owning and inheriting assets and property. Women also traditionally worked outside the home in farming or local industry,

violating the Victorian division of space and the domestic expectations for women. "Missionaries and other westerners deplored the informal attitude to marriage and what they perceived to be sexual laxity," (p. 325) that gave women more control over their relationships. Education was a powerful tool used to "enforce Christian principles of morality, the concept of a monogamous family and male head of household and the domestic virtues of a Christian wife" (p. 325).

While the imposition of the colonizer's language was used in some colonies as a form of cultural weapon to obliterate native languages, in Sri Lanka access to education in English was offered only to the urban elite. The colonial administrators believed in training a local, westernized elite that would help to consolidate British power over the rest of the population. English became a tool for social advancement in the colony and the unequal access led to a widening gap between the poor rural Sri Lankans and the urban elite. In fact, many elite colonial schools offered instruction only in English; these students did not become proficient in their native language. Jayaweera concludes that the British colonial education led to a wider gap between rich and poor, and more pronounced differences between the expected gender roles of men and women. The goal was to "produce in Sri Lanka the Victorian family with its strongly marked features of Christian patriarchy, the exclusive domesticity of women and the dichotomous division into a male breadwinner and a dependent wife" (p. 330). As in other colonies, the British education and gender roles were not accepted without agency and resistance on the part of the colonized. Some of those who passed through the educational system agitated for a return to the national culture and language and critiqued the adoption of European ways. Grassroots movements resisted the colonial administration and education. The Ceylon Social Reform Society began in 1905 with the stated purpose, "to encourage and initiate reform . . . and to discourage the thoughtless imitation of unsuitable European habits and customs" (quoted in Jayaweera, p. 327). Part of this resistance was to the imposition and policing of strict gender roles that were not part of traditional relationships in Sri Lanka.

Colonial Miseducation: Hawaiian Women

Another example of how colonialism changed and degraded the position of women in pre-colonial societies is detailed in Kaomea's (2006) study of the way contemporary Hawaiian students are taught about the history of Hawaiian women. Textbooks and state-sanctioned curriculum in Hawaiian Studies teach students that before the arrival of European missionaries, the women of Hawaii were horribly oppressed by the male-dominated society; the narrative continues with the missionaries saving these women from their repression through westernization and the ending of traditional practices. Through examination of missionary accounts and other historical sources, Kaomea proves this narrative to be a mythical colonial invention. As in Sri Lanka, women in pre-colonial Hawaii generally played more influential roles in their relationships than the average European woman. "It was through the imposition of Euro-American constitutions, laws and churches that Hawaiian

women were gradually disempowered as their public voices became increasingly limited," (p. 341). Women who had traditionally been involved in political and religious public life were expected by the missionaries to conform to Euro-American standards of femininity, which required them to serve in the domestic sphere. Before interacting with the population, missionaries expected to find Hawaiian commoner women to be "servile, degraded, and over-worked" (p. 341) and viewed it as their role to save and liberate women from this harsh treatment. These expectations proved to be false, and instead the missionaries accused the women of being "lazy, promiscuous and lamentable unconcerned with promoting domestic comfort and harmony" (p. 342). Through a system of informal, religious education, missionary wives attempted to train Hawaiian women in "proper" feminine roles of preparing food, cleaning house, and sewing clothing. Their efforts did not produce much effect, as the Hawaiian women were skeptical of this created work that would tie them to the home and completely change their lives and social structure. Despite the historical realities of women's lives in Hawaii, the current curriculum retains the colonial idea that the missionaries liberated Hawaiian women from their overworked and degraded existence. The reliance on this Eurocentric myth gives students a distorted vision of their history and produces the Euro-Americans as saviors and heroes of the Hawaiian people; it denies the complexity of colonial history, patriarchy, and the lived experience of women. Colonialism is justified through this narrative that also serves to further contemporary interests of dominant white American culture in Hawaii.

The Colonial Legacy: Eugenics and Education

The hierarchies of colonial education left a legacy of inequality that has marked the development of American schooling systems in the 20th and 21st centuries. While the sorting of students based on gender, ethnic, and racial divisions has become more subtle, the idea that these socially constructed differences affect intelligence and ability is tenacious. At the end of the 19th and early part of the 20th centuries, the pseudoscience of eugenics played an important role in the American educational system. The idea of genetically inferior classes and races of people seeped into the organization of schools. In attempts to quantify the supposed genetically programmed intelligence, social scientist and professor of education at Stanford University Lewis Terman used the idea of the Intelligent Quotient (IQ) and a simple test to measure the IQ of individuals and groups of people. Originally developed in Europe by Alfred Binet, Terman popularized the idea of IQ testing in the United States. The idea of a single definition of intelligence, transmitted genetically at birth, is directly related to eugenic notions of good breeding. In writing about the idea of IQ, Terman (2007) put forth the idea that some people are just inherently less intelligent and that, "one meets this type with such frequency among Indians, Mexicans, and negroes," (p. 91). For the creators of the original IQ tests, race and class played large roles in the expectations and therefore in the results. Convinced of their own scientific neutrality, the test designers used culturally biased test questions. The

results of these biased tests allowed for the “scientific” measurement and ranking of groups on a scale from least to most intelligent.

The results from the biased tests led to the tracking of students either into advanced classes for the “gifted and talented,” into the “regular” classes, or into industrial tracks that led directly to working in factories or other manual jobs. Many Mexican-American school children were given an IQ test in English as early as kindergarten, even if they were not yet fluent in the language. Great numbers of Mexican-American students were tracked on this data into remedial and industrial courses. The movement toward IQ testing and categorization was “scientific” means of enforcing racist hierarchies that already existed in education. Now that the difference between groups could be “proven” through testing, categories of failure and success, intelligence and lack thereof, became entrenched and institutionalized. The “science” of eugenics was used globally to justify colonial occupation, and in the United States eugenics-based testing was used to justify institutional racism and the separation of students into segregated schools and tracks. Though critiques of culturally biased test questions eventually changed the form of IQ testing, the idea of biologically determined levels of intelligence is generally accepted. There have been more recent “scientists” using testing data to draw conclusions about the intelligence and ability of groups. Popular and controversial, Richard Herrnstein and Charles Murray’s (1994) book *The Bell Curve* brought back the major beliefs of eugenics in education for a new generation of teachers and students. The text directly connects intelligence (as shown through test scores) to ethnicity and race in ways that are reminiscent of the eugenicists of nearly a century before.

Travel As Colonial Pedagogy

As the original tourists, male explorers sailed dark and stormy seas to have new experiences and bring home proof of their “adventures.” Western explorers, artists, writers, and more recently middle-class tourists have followed in the footsteps of explorers and conquistadors in order to experience new and “exotic” locations and people. Since airplane tickets have become economically available, foreign travel has become the newest form of status for middle-class Americans and Europeans (and more recently Japanese and Chinese tourists). There is a status in getting the most stamps in your passport and checking off major cultural sites on a list of what you should see. The recently published bestseller by Patricia Schultz (2003), *1000 Places to See Before You Die*, gives a literal checklist to the status-seeking traveler. It attempts to choose the most important, exotic, and famous global locations for travelers who wish to be “cultured” and to possess the ordered, classified global knowledge that began in colonialism. Not coincidentally, many of the sites listed in the book are western colonial or economic sites that represent the global reach of western power and privilege. Many references speak of the romance and glamour of the colonial past: “this hotel will always be the elegant grand dame, a lovely and refurbished survivor of the colonial era,” (p. 396), “what better way to absorb the city’s colonial past than beneath the gilded, coffered ceiling of the Peninsula’s

exquisite lobby," (p. 308), and "since the British traveled so extensively during colonial days, shopping in England is like shopping the world" (p. 28). The last quotation describes the occupation and exploitation of colonialism as "traveling" of the British, innocently denying the violence, wealth, and power that the British used and gained during the colonial era. Many of the sites listed are western hotels built in "exotic" destinations; they represent an oasis of "first world" comfort, values, and standards in the unpredictable "third world." Just as Columbus, de Gama, and Magellan sailed into the unknown to bring home riches and knowledge, the western tourist is beckoned to fly out into world and bring home proof in the form of souvenirs, passport stamps, and photographs. Popular culture is overrun with travel magazines, travel television shows, and travel books that provide Americans advice about how to best view and capture the most superficial elements of foreign cultures. In tourist destinations, Americans flock to the all-inclusive resort. They are picked up from the airport, whisked past any contact with locals and ensconced in bland yet luxurious resorts. These destinations often provide a sanitized version of the local culture that has been cleansed of signs of poverty, crime, politics, and the local population. Americans are offered all of the comforts of home with the allure of a tropical beach and a new passport stamp. Vacations are packaged so that one can get the valuable passport stamp and the ability to brag about being a foreign traveler, while never having to interact with the local population or see poverty. This is the central idea of colonial tourism, bringing all of one's biases and perceptions to another location without being at all affected or changed by the different culture and people.

Another more disturbing form of tourism has become increasingly popular for western men searching for the sexualized exotic experience (Alexander, 2005). Sex tourism takes several forms, but it relies on the bodies of other women (and sometimes young men) for the pleasure of the western male tourist. With this form of tour, there are not cultural or natural sites to be checked off one's list, but there is a different sense of conquering the foreign body. Even mainstream forms of tourism are highly sexualized and based on the fulfillment of fantasy; the advertisements for tropical resorts often play on the sexualized bikini-clad bodies of women to draw the consumer into the fantasy.

The colonial practice of sexualizing the exotic other and of feminizing the landscape lives on in the tourist industry. To encourage the white tourist to leave their privileged lifestyle and comfort behind, those who market the "Third World" must create a veneer of exotic, natural, adventurous, yet safe destination. In general, the people shown in commercials or brochures for vacations are either sexualized locals or other white tourists, relaxing or engaging in exciting play. Any of texts or images that displays the daily life of local citizens, the political situation of the region, or the dirty drive of industry are removed from the marketing. In writing of the western gay tourism industry, M. Jacqui Alexander (2005) identifies four ways the colonial functions in tourism. The first is through the reliance on colonial geographies, where former colonies are referred to in tourism literature through their connection to their European colonizing nation. Second, "the writer, the imagined reader, and the reader as a potential tourist consumer are all positioned as white and Western,"

(p. 83). Along with the presumption of whiteness, there is an appeal to exploration, to be among the first to "discover" the hidden and authentic places on the globe. Thirdly, advertisements and tourist guides market the local people as simple and friendly, a form of colonial characterization of the native populations as "backward" and "childlike." Alexander lists the fourth and final colonial function of tourism to market the foreign as a natural paradise, "premised as a specific kind of experience that least resembles daily life and in an artificial context in which almost everything is sanitized, paradise itself is sold as quintessentially natural" (p. 84). The tourist resorts are almost Disney-esque in their artifice and their ability to cater to the fantasies of Americans on vacation. Brochures and websites sell the tropical fantasy of white sand beaches, fruity drinks with umbrellas, and bikini clad locals waiting to serve. The fantasy has very little to do with the culture and daily life of people living in these tropical destinations.

While the exotic and different are appealing to the white western tourist, this difference is not as appealing when it is moved from a foreign destination to the home neighborhood of the west. Difference that is courted in the tropical resort, in the sexualized Tahitian women, or the "primitive" African villages are meant to be visited, photographed, and then left behind once the tourist returns home. The "friendly natives" lose their mythic appeal when requesting American citizenship, or when forcing the white westerner to question their position as privileged traveler and worldly adventurer. This education about difference that places the foreign, exotic lands and peoples at a great distance might satisfy the basic superficial ideals of multicultural education, but it does nothing to break down the colonial ways of thinking and conceptualizing the other.

Education about foreign cultures has followed the same course as the tourist industry. The foreign is celebrated for its exotic difference and we are taught to be fascinated with the exterior markings of difference. Students are armchair travelers when we study the customs, dress, and language of other cultures. Western scholars and travelers who write the textbooks generally focus on the exotic difference of cultures, highlighting the idea of traditional customs and perpetuating the notion of separate, distinct nations and peoples who have not had contact with one another. In most textbooks the idea of colonialism is briefly touched upon, just as in the *1000 Places to See Before You Die* book it is turned into a romanticized period devoid of violence and power. It is learning about different people without changing the underlying relationships of power and privilege.

Consumer Culture and Colonial Pedagogy

With increasing focus on the global production, marketing, and movement of consumer product, what and how we purchase and consume products has become as important site of unofficial education about difference. Like the tourist pedagogy, the lessons learned about difference in the west from the products associated with the other are steeped in colonial vocabulary and biased representations. As important to the spread of knowledge through consumption is the marketing and

sale of western consumer culture across the globe; few cityscapes are free from the golden arches of McDonald's, the green mermaid of Starbucks, and the friendly colonel on the KFC sign. Transnational corporations would like to center the global identity on the consumption of the same food, music, and apparel. Selling cultural ideals through products is not a new phenomenon, but the global reach of this marketing is relatively new. Choice between brands of consumer goods has replaced choice of democratically elected leaders as the rallying cry for freedom. The western ideals that are branded and sold across the globe reinforce this desire for choice of product as liberation. This cross-cultural marketing is not received in the same way in different contexts; there is resistance to the powerful consumer messages in many cultures around the globe. Youth cultures continually adopt and alter western apparel and goods for their own means of expression.

Western chain stores, such as Pier 1 Imports, sell the "exotic" as decoration to American consumers. Zebra striped vases, bamboo furniture, and Oriental rugs are on sale to those consumers who wish to show their global savvy through their choice of home décor purchase. As with tourism, these global products lend the owner a sense of elite status, of having a worldly appreciation. These are souvenirs for the armchair traveler; you do not even have to leave the comfort of your local mini-mall to have these exotic markers of different cultures in your own home. Americans can buy the world through these objects, while difference becomes kitsch, something to display on a mantle or to decorate a table centerpiece. As children, we have toys, books, and movies that represent exotic difference to us in bright colors. Often difference is presented to children through animals that represent different areas of the world. Disney's *The Lion King* and *Jungle Book* (and their accompanying toys and books) show children an Africa and India that are basically devoid of people. The animals are given personalities and voices, while the native populations are erased and voiceless. Elephants, zebras, and lions decorate the aisles of western toy stores, but African people are mostly absent.

On the other side of this global consumer pedagogy, the rest of the world learns about America and the mythical American dream through consumption and the marketing of goods. Television shows reveal the mythic high level of luxury and consumption in the United States; "Cribs" on MTV showcases the gold-plated fish tanks and multiple Porsches of music superstars for today's youth, just as "Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous" revealed the lavish parties and yachts of the super rich in the 1980s. American consumer culture has convinced many around the world that we "need" to purchase and consume in order to construct our global identity. In business terminology, there is no Third World, only emerging markets ripe for increasing profit margins. Yet, while it is partly American popular culture and advertising that has convinced the world that each adult should own their own car, the American government and scientists are horrified by the prospect of every Chinese adult owning a car. Scientists are horrified at the environmental damage that would be the result of millions more cars on the road and the government is scared that the demand for oil would affect American supply. While we, as Americans, expect to be able to drive and consume, we do not want others to follow in our footsteps. It is hard to ignore the colonial legacy of Americans who claim to know what is best for the

rest of the world. We have caused the most environmental damage through massive consumption of resources, but we would like to tell other, "emerging markets" how they should consume responsibly.

The history of colonialism and economic imperialism has led to the current state of globalized economics; natural resources (including human labor) are still taken from the third world, packaged in the first world, and then sold globally at prices that result in huge profits for first world companies. Politics and the need for resources were incentives for the colonial powers, and they are central to the decisions western politicians make on the global stage. Specifically the need for a cheap oil supply has led to imperialist actions by recent presidents and their military decisions in the Middle East. Certainly, the power and scope of American political and military power cannot be separated from the spread of our consumption and the emerging markets. "American corporations used the imperial power of the United States to create markets by utilizing neo-imperial inequities and practices" (Grewal, 2005, p. 94). But this marketing and consumption does not occur in a vacuum; it is reshaped, contested, and resisted in cultures and countries around the globe. Youth culture in Japan, for instance, is a unique mixture of appropriated western apparel and icons with Japanese music, animation, and history.

Grewal (2005) writes of the global consumer culture of Barbie and the negotiations and complexities behind the launch and sale of Barbie to the Indian consumer. Barbie is famous for its place as the consumer icon of American femininity; generations of American girls have dressed up, named, and created situations for their Barbie's. I owned many of the dolls, most of them the prototypical white, blonde-haired, blue-eyed version. During my childhood in the 1980s Mattel started producing more "ethnic" dolls, so that suddenly Barbie had a black friend, an Asian friend, etc. My favorite doll was a Polynesian doll, complete with long, shiny black hair, and came in "exotic" dress. The "ethnic" versions of Barbie retained her tiny waist, straight hair, and idealized white features, even as they sold romanticized versions of difference to young girls. There was also a series of dolls from around the world, wearing stylized "traditional" outfits and freezing the various women of the world in time and geography. Even the production of Barbies sold in the United States is linked to the global marketplace in the use of cheap labor. "Most Barbies sold in the United States through the 1990s were made in China, Malaysia, and Indonesia, with plastics made in Taiwan from oil bought in Saudi Arabia, hair from Japan, and packaging from the United States" (p. 97). This side of the traveling Barbie is hidden in marketing of the doll in the United States.

When the Mattel Corporation moved into the Indian market, the doll did not experience great success. Grewal tracks the changes made to Barbie after its initial failure to capture the imaginations of Indian consumers. The colonial legacy of the British in India has left the hierarchy of skin tone in place; the lighter skin is idealized, while those with darker skin are assumed to be of lower status. Because of this fascination with whiteness, the white skin of Barbie had to compete with light and white skinned dolls already lining the toy shelves in India. "Most (or all) locally manufactured dolls had pink or white bodies, so that Barbie's whiteness was not a unique or novel feature" (p. 93). New tactics were employed, based on Mattel's

extensive market research; Barbie was re-dressed into a "traditional" Indian sari and given jewelry that would identify her as Indian by dress, though still thoroughly American by brand.

In many geographic locations, American corporations have attempted to create hegemonic American consumer culture; there has continually been a process of cultural negotiation that creates different versions of the brand for consumers who do not want to give up their regional and national identity to be part of the transnational consumer culture. In the McDonald's in Moscow, the food can only be paid for in rubles while American dollars are accepted for most other goods and services. In Paris, the McDonald's restaurants serve beer in order to suit local palates. These are small attempts on the part of one mega-corporation at providing regional distinctions to a transnational brand while not altering the underlying business model that adds to colonial imbalances of wealth and power.

Anthropology's Colonial Pedagogy

Anthropology is an academic field specializing in the representation of culture and social interaction; many anthropologists have created important and insightful works that look at cultural difference in complex ways (see Geertz, 1977; Douglas, 1966; Clifford, 1988; Levi-Strauss, 1961). Others used anthropologies lens to describe cultures in ways that reinforced the superiority of western cultures. In *Woman, Native, Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism*, Trinh T. Minh-ha (1989) describes the way that anthropology as a discipline has created the lenses through which westerners view other cultures, but also the lenses through which other cultures have come to view themselves. Language is an important form of power that has been utilized to describe and control difference. Minh-ha writes specifically of the way that white anthropologists have used terms such as "primitive," "savage," and "native" in ways to separate and degrade other cultures from the western norm. "You can no doubt capture, tame, and appropriate it to yourself, for language as a form of knowing will always provide you with Your other" (p. 53). Through the act of labeling other people and cultures, the anthropologist claims an expertise about a culture. As the expert with the specialized knowledge, the anthropologist claims to understand a culture better and more significantly than those who live the culture. As a social science, the modern anthropologist strived for an elusive objectivity; a term that Minh-ha relates to the turning of research subjects into objects or things. Objectivity is a western idea and ideal, an attempt to not let one's privileged perspective be revealed as a subjective position. Power is hidden under the guise of objectivity. The aim of the discipline of anthropology, according to Minh-ha, is the cataloging and creation of "scientific" knowledge by white men for the benefit of other white men. The cultures that are studied are generally not given a voice in the text; to do so would be to compromise the objectivity of the endeavor.

Anthropology specializes in creating knowledge about specific cultures, those that are farthest in form and function from the west. It is not about examining ourselves or those close in habit to us, but the "primitive," and "noble savage" who

can reveal, through our objective observation, the origins of humankind. This represents, then, a form of education about difference that affirms the western sense of superiority and the hierarchy of civilization that places the west at the top of the evolutionary ladder of being. By defining the other's primitive nature through the science of anthropology, we in the west can secure our place and justify our privileged position. Though described by some in the field as a conversation between cultures, Minh-ha writes of anthropology as a form of scientific gossip, or "a conversation of 'us' with 'us' about 'them' in which 'them' is silenced" (p. 67). It is a one-sided conversation; white westerners writing for themselves about the other.

A direct result of western anthropological practices, the ethnographic film has educated Westerners about "primitive" others for many years. The films generally represent tribal cultures in a documentary style with a detached, objective voice-over. This voice-over describes the life and activities of the natives in pseudo-scientific terms, clearly separating those who are the object of study from the western producers and audience. Contemporary ethnographic films shown on American television on the Discovery Channel, Travel Channel, or the National Geographic Channel continue the presentation of the "primitive" cultures of the world for the "civilized" western audience. A few of the newer shows change the paradigm by replacing the detached narrator with westerners who attempt to join the local culture and form more intimate connections. One example of this updated paradigm is "Going Tribal," a show hosted by Bruce Parry, a former British soldier and adventurer, presented on the Discovery Channel. The show claims that Parry "tests the physical limits of living with ancient tribes in some of the world's most remote areas" (Life in the Jungle, 2008, para. 1). Parry moves in with a group of people for a month and attempts to learn their language, customs, and beliefs. This is no longer the strict relationship of observer/observed that was present in the traditional ethnographic film. The western audience identifies with the western host, who in turn identifies with the local group. It blurs the boundaries between primitive and civilized in interesting ways. Parry's self-deprecating humor and willingness to look foolish ease his relationships with the group as he attempts to move from outsider to insider. However, by searching for so-called ancient tribes that have little contact with the western world, the show celebrates the same ideas of the noble savage and the glory of "first contact" that have been present in colonialism and the ethnographic film.

A similar show, entitled "Mark and Olly: Living with the Kombai," presented on the Travel Channel shows two British adventurers attempting to live with and join tribes. Mark and Olly wanted to "track down and live with the remarkable Kombai tribe, a people whose way of life has changed little since the Stone Age" (Living with the Kombai, 2008, para. 1). This quest to capture the tribal life that exists in the "Stone Age" is part of the legacy of colonial adventure and the "discovery" of the New World in the fifteenth century. This installment of the program (there is a second season entitled "Mark and Olly: Living with the Mek) is set in the jungle of Papua New Guinea, a favorite location for anthropologists and filmmakers for many years because of its "primitive" population. The channel's website lists the show under a heading of "The World's Lost Tribes" and describes this as "the first Western

expedition to find and live with" these tribes (World's Lost Tribes, para. 1). Like the discovery of the new world by Christopher Columbus that was already populated by groups of people, these descriptions are ethnocentric and problematic. For whom are these tribes lost? And, why do these British men have the right to search and "find" them? The first episode follows the white, European adventurers through a jungle trek and to an encounter with possibly violent native men, dressed in traditional reeds and feathers. We, the presumed white, western audience know this scene well and experience the rush of excitement in the first contact with these "primitive" men. Though, like Parry, Mark and Olly seek to live with the tribe and take on many of their cultural ways, is this really an improvement over the old, objective British narrator in the ethnographic film? Or, is this just a new variation on the same theme: the white, informed explorer sets of to discover, observe, document, and learn about the mysterious ways of people lost in the depths of evolutionary time?

American History of Colonial Education

While learning about difference is an important part of a colonial education of difference, the actual categorization and treatment of difference in schools has been vital in the construction of racial and gendered difference. The creation of public education in the newly formed United States was based on educating citizens to participate in democratic processes, like voting. Citizenship and voting were restricted greatly to exclude women, African Americans, Native Americans, and many non-white immigrants. So, while all white boys received an education at the common schools of the late nineteenth century, the right to an education was defined and limited by race and sex. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), led by General Richard Pratt, set up a series of boarding schools whose aim was to "Kill the Indian in him and save the man" (quoted in Tyack, 2003, p. 32). The Native American children were taken away from their tribal reservations (some were voluntarily sent by parents, others were coerced) and "educated" in order to become closer in culture and appearance to the white man. This proposal for dealing with the "Indian problem" through assimilation and education was seen as a liberal alternative to the policy of killing off the Native American population. Educational historian David Tyack (2003) labels this "pacification by pedagogy," which "sought to destroy one identity and impose another, a campaign notable for illusory optimism and draconian arrogance" (p. 34). Joel Spring (2001) delineates steps that the boarding schools used to deculturate (or take away the culture) of Native American students; first there was a policy of "segregation and isolation," in remote rural locations that reduced chance of escape. The students then experienced a "forced change of language" that forbade any use of their native language or expression of their culture and religion; the next steps in the process are the use of curriculum and textbooks that "reflect the culture of the dominant group" and the use of teachers from the "dominant group" (p. 177). By both attempting to erase students' ties to their homes and families and asserting the knowledge and culture of the dominant white American group, those in charge of the boarding schools felt they were preparing the students to enter mainstream

white culture. In the colonial language, they were moving students along the cultural timeline from "savagery" to "civilization." Just as the British used the light of "civilization" to justify colonial holdings, the government of the United States justified the forced assimilation of Native Americans as the spreading of "civilization." Of course the Native Americans were not the only group segregated and discriminated against in the educational system. During the era of slavery, any form of education or literacy was illegal for slaves; the act of reading was seen as a powerful tool that could lead to rebellion. In the Northern states, and in the Southern states after the Civil War, African Americans were likely to be sent to segregated schools that were lacking in funding and basic supplies.

History resonates in the contemporary educational issues of funding and segregation in urban schools. Inequities that divide students along lines of race and social class directly relate to colonial hierarchies of race and the different forms of education available to those who were considered superior and inferior. Many educators are concerned about a process of re-segregation that is resulting in what Jonathan Kozol (2006) calls an apartheid school system. Poor, mostly minority, inner city children attend poorly funded, substandard schools, while wealthy, mostly white, suburban children attend well-funded, exemplary schools. Because the majority of educational funding comes from the local property taxes, schools located in wealthy suburban areas with high tax bases are well funded, can afford high quality teachers, and consistently perform well on high stakes standardized testing. These schools generally offer state-of-the-art facilities and technology, multiple computers in every classroom, and large sports fields and swimming pools. Urban school facilities are generally older, in need of repair, and lacking the technology to serve students in meaningful ways. More importantly, the pedagogy in these different locations often differs significantly. Kozol observed many classrooms and noticed that the urban schools often focused on a military-style discipline, which discouraged fun and freethinking. Children were more likely to be taught using rote memorization, worksheets, and test preparation booklets, while students in the wealthier schools were more likely to be involved in progressive, hands-on, experiential curriculum. The situation is creating a colonial system of education: during official colonialism of previous centuries the colonizer received a different, superior education than the colonized; today, the wealthy students in the United States are receiving a superior education than those who live in poverty.

Official Education and Colonial Pedagogy

In addition to the multiple forms of unofficial colonial pedagogy that teach us about difference, official curricula in schools teach about difference in important ways. Official ways of teaching and learning have yet to be de-colonized; as part of the official education given in schools, students learn from textbooks that teach Europe and the United States are the centers of history and all others fall to the margins. Generally, in American textbooks, imperialism is removed from its bloody, violent,

exploitative history and left as a neutral time period alongside other neutral periods (Loewen, 1995). Social studies class is the place in schools that focuses on different cultures and countries, generally with a positive viewpoint of American and European history. Global colonialism is presented as just another historical time period when different cultures interacted. The colonial history of the United States is the focus of discussions on white colonial settlers, with the American Revolution as the focus of anti-colonial resistance. It is the story of resistance of white Americans against the white Europeans; the subaltern perspective is quiet or nonexistent, erased from social studies curriculum. By focusing on the white perspective of the colonizer and the colonial settler, the power of constructed hierarchies of cultures is hidden from students. The relationship between European settlers and the Native Americans already living on the land is not characterized as colonizer and colonized. The white settlers are presented as the victims of British taxation without representation, and their seizure of Native American land is generally presented as the God-given and rightful expansion also known as Manifest Destiny.

Historically, American history textbooks have been mirrors of society that change and evolve as society's (represented by the majority) values change, though change is often glacial in the billion dollar textbook industry. Textbooks developed today at least attempt to offer some version of multicultural history, though the extent that this actually disrupts or revises the ethnocentric master narrative in the texts is debatable. Francis FitzGerald (1979) writes of the history of American history textbooks from their beginnings until the mid-1970s. She writes about the complete erasure of race as a category of identification up until the 1940s; African Americans are only mentioned in reference to slavery not in contemporary terms. "In the vast majority of books, there were only the 'slaves'—slaves who had appeared magically in this country at some unspecified time and had disappeared with the end of the Civil War" (p. 83). Not only was slavery removed from the context of colonialism and the trans-Atlantic trade of human cargo, the books discussed slavery as a happy and fulfilling time for slaves. When political pressure and the Civil Rights Movement of the mid-sixties forced the inclusion of positive representations of African Americans, the texts chose a few token figures to highlight while retaining the, literally, white-washed history. Most texts singled out George Washington Carver (the inventor of peanut butter) and Ralph Bunche (a mediator and undersecretary at the United Nations) while ignoring all others. "These black instant celebrities seemed to have come from another country or another planet, since there was otherwise no other mention of blacks in America" (p. 84). Though increased pressure led to a more complete revision of the history textbooks in the 1970s to include the Civil Rights Movement and other important figures in black history, the accusation of tokenism in textbooks continues to this day.

American students are taught to glorify the white settlers, exemplified by the Pilgrims and the myth of the first Thanksgiving. Every American student that I have encountered remembers making cutouts of Pilgrim men dressed in black outfits and black tall hats with large metal buckles, Pilgrim women in long black dresses with white aprons and bonnets. They also cutout Indians with feather headdresses; all are mythical creations of American patriotic, colonial history. White explorers are

also glorified for their so-called bravery and adventurous spirit. Columbus Day, celebrated by schoolchildren throughout the land, is homage to a genocidal and power-hungry man. "Christopher Columbus introduced two phenomena that revolutionized race relations and transformed the modern world: the taking of land, wealth, and labor from indigenous peoples, leading to their extermination, and the transatlantic slave trade" (Loewen, 1995, p. 60). Children are taught of his glory and memorize the poem that begins . . . "In fourteen-hundred and ninety-two, Columbus sailed the ocean blue . . ." that many of us remember for the rest of our lives. Though more honest revisions of the representation of Columbus have appeared in college classes and scholarly work, the vast majority of young Americans learn of the mythic and heroic figure without any of the genocidal, racist messiness.

Colonial Themes in Education

In examining American history, world history, and art history textbooks designed for students in the contemporary United States (for example, the American history textbooks entitled *The American Pageant*, 1987, by Bailey and Kennedy, *Triumph of the American Nation*, 1982, by Todd and Curti), I have identified themes that continue the legacy of colonial education in today's schools. These themes are remnants from the height of European colonialism that continue to be written into curriculum in more nuanced ways.

Theme: History As Linear Progression

In colonial education, there is a specific sense of linear time that informs the writing of history. Within this linear framework, humankind has been on an upward, evolutionary journey from the primitive cave man through to the industrialized, modern world. Those who are left outside of this singular narrative of progress, by choice, geography, or through colonial oppression, are said to be relics of a distant, more primitive past. In American history textbooks, groups who seemingly stood in the way of this progress were either killed or removed in order for history to continue its march upward. Native Americans who were living in harmony with the natural world had to be displaced so that towns, farms, and eventually factories could be built in the name of progress. Not only is this described as inevitable in many textbooks through the colonial idea of Manifest Destiny, it is generally seen as the right thing to do in order to build a new nation.

Theme: Modernity As Rational Height of Progress

Time is marching onward and upward, toward a specific colonial vision of progress that certain groups have privileged access to and others do not. The height of this linear timeline of history is European and American modernity, with the focus on objective, scientific, secular thought and a drive toward automation and industry. In

colonial pedagogy, students are taught that groups of people who value nature over industry, religion over science, and human relationships over technological advances are left behind on the march of progress. At the height of European imperialism in the nineteenth century, colonizers saw their task as the "white man's burden," to control nature, bring technology, and use the natural resources for industrial production. The very ideals of modernity were used as justification for the continued expansion of empire; "civilization," meaning western modern civilization, was supposedly a universal good that was offered to the "uncivilized," meaning all other forms of civilization through colonialism. Textbooks tend to focus discussion of colonialism on these modern drives to turn raw materials into industrial goods and to bring infrastructure and order to the colonized.

Theme: Pure and Authentic Cultures, Existing on Different Levels of Progressive Timeline

Along with a linear conception of time that is leading toward a more advanced and modern future, colonial education teaches students that cultures exist independently from each other and have static, contained histories void of meaningful interaction. In global history textbooks, the chapters and units are generally divided by geographical region or individual country. The focus is on what happened within the borders of that nation, rather than on the continuous state of movement, interaction, and negotiation that made up global history. It is in the best interest of those who hold power to make it seem as if history can be neatly divided by geography and time period into easily digestible sections. Taking the Native Americans and colonial white settlers as an example, textbooks tend to discuss the clash between these two distinct cultures, but do not focus on the many white settlers who voluntarily decided to live with the Native Americans for ideological reasons. The only stories of mingling or mixing that students learn involve Native Americans who leave their own culture to aid and guide the white settlers through the dangerous new world, like Sacagawea. American history textbooks also hide the reality of relations between slaves and slave owners, including Thomas Jefferson's offspring that were the concealed result of his relationship with female slaves. The messiness and complexity of this history does not fit with the colonial vision of individual cultures and nations.

Theme: The Importance of the Individual Actor

Within the textbooks that I examined, there is a focus on the remarkable individual as historical actor. Within American history, Christopher Columbus, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln are three individuals glorified through the text. Individuals are also vilified in these texts; Stalin, Hitler, and other villains are shown as existing and acting outside of their societal context. This relies on the more general western, modern cultural focus on the individual at the expense of the communal or collective. Societies that value the community as a whole are lumped together as

vestiges of a tribal past. American history textbooks in particular focus on the individuals who "tamed" the land and the indigenous population in order to create and shape the country. The mythic heroes who are beyond reproach are the focus of these texts and the pursuit of individual rights and freedoms is the ultimate good.

Theme: Denial of Socially Constructed Categories of Difference

Colonial forms of education naturalize distinctions of difference and do not focus on the way imperialism, modernity, and science created the categories of race and gender through practices and norms. The idea of race did not exist until white colonizers and settlers needed justification for systems of slavery and oppression. To make the wholesale enslavement and oppression of a group of people seem natural and morally right, Europeans created an intricate hierarchy of race and then found "scientific" proof of the supposed inferiority of these groups. As previously discussed, craniotomy was a pseudo-science that used measurement of human skulls to chart intelligence of entire groups of people that happened to support the exploitation and racism that existed socially and politically at the time. Eugenics used biological concepts of breeding and genes to determine the quality people and those who were genetically inferior and should be barred from reproducing. Science education does not engage with the thorny history of pseudo-science that used the language and techniques of science in the service of racist systems. Social studies textbooks often gloss over racism as a subject altogether; if the texts discuss racism historically, race is discussed as a real category of difference that has always existed.

Gender is often ignored completely in textbooks, silently supporting colonial patriarchal structures that have shaped history and culture. In fact, women are often relegated to textboxes or short sections about women's experience. The main narrative in history books tells the story of male politicians, generals, and artists without discussing why women are conspicuously absent. Social construction of gender roles, both expectations for femininity and masculinity, and the complexity of gender across cultures and geographies are not part of colonial education.

Patriotic Literacy

Heroes and mythical figures are pedagogical tools to create a mythical American patriotism in students. Textbooks have been crafted around the exploits of Presidents and generals, highlighting the values of exploration, courage, individuality, and valor in battle. History, the well-worn saying goes, is written by the winners, while those who are in the minority or living in poverty are not represented by textbooks. Historically, groups that were not part of the dominant, white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture have been Americanized through school curricula. This fashioning of the national identity around the dominant culture meant and still means that the majority defines what it means to be "normal" at the expense of those who are different. Race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and ability were all regulated through

a school system that favored white middle- to upper-class males at the expense of all others.

Celebration of holidays such as Memorial Day, Columbus Day, Thanksgiving, and Christmas in schools was encouraged in the early twentieth century as a way to make immigrants and Native Americans develop an emotional connection to the nation-state through the creation of childhood memories. Children across the country continue to stand, place their hands over their hearts, and recite the words of the Pledge of Allegiance while staring at the American flag. I remember this ritual that was enforced on a daily basis; the meaning of the words and the purpose behind the ritual were not explained to me. The controversial line, “Under God” was added to the Pledge during the Cold War, when we were fighting the “Godless” communists and must pledge our allegiance not only to the nation-state, but also to the God that we were told blesses our nation alone.

In examining five American history textbooks that were used in New York state social studies classes, the patriotic agenda of the textbooks becomes obvious. By examining the covers and titles of the books, the reader already knows what the content of the text will be. On the cover of *The American Pageant* (1987), written by Bailey and Kennedy, there is a painting with at least 30 American flags framing a historical scene of an American street. On *Triumph of the American Nation* (1982), by Todd and Curti, there is the silhouette of a soaring eagle framed with stars; we know from the title that the book focuses on glorifying the national identity and celebrating the superiority of the American way. Even the more recently published textbooks include patriotic imagery on the cover, with the American flag as the background for all but one of the books. Only one of the texts, *Creating America* published in 2005, show images that represent the ethnic diversity of the nation on the front cover.

Within the pages of these textbooks, the dominant colonial story of American history is generally told without debate. *The American Pageant* is one of the most colonial in tone and content. On the first page of text it starts with,

> The American Republic, which is still relatively young when compared with the Old World, was from the outset richly favored. It started from scratch on a vast and virgin continent, which was so sparsely peopled by Indians that they could be eliminated or shouldered aside. (Bailey & Kennedy, 1987, p. 1)

The authors announce the elimination of the Native Americans with joy; their removal left the “virgin” land open for the great American experiment in democracy. The authors write lovingly of Christopher Columbus, calling him, “a man of vision, energy, resourcefulness, and courage” (p. 4). As one of the valiant explorers who “discovered” this virgin land, Columbus is introduced early in the text and given a glowing review. Again on page seven of the text, the land is referred to as, “virtually uninhabited, with whispering primeval forests and sparkling, virgin waters.” The colonial myths of feminized, empty lands open for European exploration and settlement are alive and well in this textbook. By describing the land as uninhabited, the text erases the well-developed culture and societies of Native Americans. The authors write of the “plantation colonies” of the South and observe that their, “long,

lazy rivers invited penetration of the continent" (p. 19). The language of penetrating the virgin territory of the "New World" presents the sexually available land to the male European explorers and settlers ready for conquest. Empire building is both honored and praised in the text as a form of European right, and the story is told through the vantage point of the British colonialists.

Slavery and the years leading up to the Civil War are a major feature of this text, though the tone seems a bit ambivalent about the issue of the abolition of slavery. The major chapter describing the Civil War calls it the "War of Southern Independence" (p. 414), and writes that, "many observers conceded to the South the superior moral cause, despite the dark stain of slavery" (p. 419). Sympathy for the Southern cause in the Civil War seems to inform a paragraph that imagines the things that might have pushed the outcome in the South's favor, describing the "might-have-beens" as "fascinating" (p. 420). The book does refer to slavery as "brutal" (p. 357) and "savage" (p. 359), and paints a nasty picture of the practice, while simultaneously showing sympathy for the Southern cause.

In *Triumph of the American Nation* (1986) by Todd and Curti, the text begins with a discussion of the "first Americans" (p. 3) that begins to describe Native American tribes as varied cultural forms with different beliefs and practices. While this is a rather enlightened step for an American textbook in the 1980s, the Native Americans remain marginal to the dominant story of European exploration and expansion. The journeys of Columbus are described free from violence or controversy. The issue of colonialism is treated as just another time period in the development and "triumph" of the American nation. A colony is defined as "a land settled by people from another country that remains under the control of that country" (p. 17). This definition does not make much sense, and certainly removes any negative connotations from a loaded word that has historical context and significance. The colonial period in the text is the stage for a democratic revolution, not the quest for power and resources at the expense of indigenous populations. The death and violence directed at Native Americans by the colonial settlers is not discussed in detail and is glossed over in the grand narrative of the rise of dominant American society.

While colonialism takes a backseat to the Revolutionary War and the Declaration of Independence, the text gives more attention to American imperialism of the early twentieth century. The issue of imperialism is presented in a matter-of-fact tone that described the European and American imperialism as justified by the Industrial Revolution, describing the colonized as "underdeveloped regions" (p. 631) that apparently were open and available to provide resources to fuel the industrialization. "Factories needed raw materials in ever-growing quantities. Manufacturers, to keep their factories operating, had to find new markets for their finished products" (p. 631). The tone of the passages on imperialism makes it seem as if it were the inevitable course of history that more "developed" nations would take control of "underdeveloped." In presenting the specific case of the American colonization of the Philippine Islands, the authors quote President McKinley's rationale for this move, "There is nothing left for us to do but to take them all, and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them" (p. 638). The text does not critique this reasoning as false or racist, writing only that, "President McKinley's

motives were better than his knowledge of the facts" (p. 638), making it seem as if his motives were moral and just. Students can assume, from this passage, that the people of the Philippines were uncivilized heathens waiting to be saved by American occupation. The discourse of imperialism presented to students provides rationale for the colonial and patriarchal powers' occupation and exploitation of people and land.

As an example of a postcolonial direction forward, *Creating America* (2005) begins to deconstruct the dominant, patriarchal, ethnocentric story of American history. Not only does the text devote the first chapter to describing the complex societies of Native Americans before European incursions, the second chapter describes the civilizations in Africa where slavers captured Africans to be sold as slaves in the Americas. This expansive, transnational view of American history decenters the European experience as the norm by which all others are judged. The text introduces controversial aspects of history that are generally ignored in curriculum, for instance there is a quote from a Creek and Cheyenne woman, Suzan Shown Harjo, about the continued celebration of Columbus Day, "we have no reason to celebrate an invasion that caused the demise of so many of our people and is still causing destruction today" (p. 52). This text is an attempt to address the ethnocentric bias of previous books and is a step in the direction of postcolonial history. End of chapter questions encourage students to think critically about history from different, multicultural perspectives and to question the dominant historical paradigm. Even in this more critical textbook, the women's movement of the 1960s receives less than one page of attention and the entire coverage of Mexican Americans, Chicanos, Native American, and women's civil rights movements spans a mere four pages of the 900-plus page book.

Native Americans in Textbooks

Historically, American students have been taught about difference from the dominant, white, male perspective. The one "American" perspective has been that of the European white settler who colonized the land beginning in the sixteenth century and continues to be a colonial power over Native American nations. A discussion of colonial education cannot ignore the subjugated people of American history who are still represented by flattened, stereotypical representations. History textbooks have been the particular sites of controversy over representation. There has always been debate over whether to include history from multiple cultural perspectives or to focus on the patriotic perspective in order to unify students as Americans.

Despite the progress toward multicultural texts and multiple perspectives, the resulting textbooks do not address the historical use and misuse of power and the way that stereotypical ways of representing difference continues. For Native Americans, textbooks still give students a colonial education about the history and contemporary lives of Native Americans. The first problem in most textbooks is the discussion of Native Americans as a single and unified group of people, who think, act, dress, and behave in similar ways. The amazing complexity of tribal

differences and relationships has been distilled into a single Native American history and perspective. Even when textbooks attempt to capture the colonization of land and peoples by American settlers, the resulting analysis allows the American republic off the hook and does not mention genocide as an outcome. James Loewen (1995) writes of the many plagues that affected the population of Native Americans after white contact, leaving the land much more open for conquest. Before contact with Europeans, there was an estimated population of 14 million indigenous people in the United States and Canada; by 1880, only 250,000 survived (p. 83). The multiple plagues are not mentioned in textbooks that discuss the empty, virgin land ready for white settlement. Loewen notes that all of the college students he has questioned about the settling of North America describe the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock as the first settlers. "'Settlers' were white, a student once pointed out to me. 'Indians' didn't settle" (p. 76). American history textbooks have so strongly promoted the myth of the Pilgrims finding empty land that students tend to not question the idea that Columbus "discovered" America and the Pilgrims "settled" the land.

The Pilgrims and the myth of the first Thanksgiving represent how American students come to see themselves in relation to other cultures and people. "More than any other celebration, more even than such overtly patriotic holidays as Independence Day and Memorial Day, Thanksgiving celebrates our ethnocentrism" (p. 93). Students learn that God was on the side of the Pilgrims, and by extension on the side of white Americans. This is the lesson of Thanksgiving as a constructed holiday to promote national unity. Abraham Lincoln proclaimed it a national holiday during the Civil War to increase patriotism and cement ties to the Union (p. 95). Like the lessons learned through Columbus, our colonial education stresses the mythical aspects of history at the expense of historically marginalized groups. The drive for unifying, patriotic stories has cemented an intolerance of difference and ethnocentric attitudes about who has rightful claims to the values and direction of the land.

Native Americans in textbooks, as in popular media, generally are depicted in the distant past. Shown living in "traditional" dwellings like the teepee, and wearing "traditional" costume, the Native Americans we learn about in our official education are relics of a long-gone era. The paintings and photographs of Native Americans in textbooks show traditional dress and dwellings, highlighting the past achievements of tribal leaders like Sitting Bull. More recent textbooks do present the forced removal of Native Americans from their land as part of the Trail of Tears, but few mention the trade in Native American slaves that adds complexity to the relationships between races and cultures. No culture was left unchanged after the interaction between people, even though our education tries to convince us otherwise. "Textbooks completely miss the this side of the mutual accommodation and acculturation process" in favor of "a moving line of white (and black) settlement—Indians on one side, whites (and blacks) on the other" (pp. 107–108). This line, which marked the difference between "civilization" and "wilderness" for those living on the privileged East coast, moved as Native American tribes were removed from their land and pushed onto increasingly smaller reservations. This line is a

work of fiction, a denial of all the intercultural exchange and the numerous black and white individuals who chose to join tribal communities. The images in the texts often depict Native Americans invading white homes and focus on the white fear of this difference; this denies the reality of white violation of Native villages and homes. Students learn of the violence of Native Americans against the white settlers, but not of the mass murder of Native Americans in the name of Manifest Destiny.

These books leave the situation and lives of Native Americans in this painful past. Issues that contemporary Native Americans are facing on or off the reservation do not fit with this traditional representation and therefore are omitted. The Native American rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s, the occupation of Alcatraz and Wounded Knee by activists are not highlighted or are covered in minimal ways. The American Indian Movement (AIM) led by activist Russell Means brought attention to the way life on the reservation had affected the diverse tribes, and the neglect and civil rights abuses by the federal government. In 1969, thousands of Native American activists claimed the abandoned island of Alcatraz as Indian land; the occupation lasted for almost 2 years and brought the nation's attention to the cause. After the occupation of Alcatraz, a new group of activists called the Alcatraz-Red Power Movement (ARPM) became more aggressive in their occupation of government offices and land. The resistance came to head in November of 1972 when activists took over the federal government's Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in Washington, DC, taking secret government files and damaging property. This radical activism is not part of the official education in American history. Conflicts that place the federal government and patriotism in a bad light are omitted from textbooks. If the textbooks have to admit to any faults of the American government, it is left safely in the distant past. We are not taught about the contemporary realities for the tribes living on reservations or about the United States government's continuing efforts to take away land rights. Native American culture is not shown as dynamic and evolving, instead it is shown within a historical time warp. The historical views of the "noble savage," as the gentle, heroic Indian or the "hostile savage," the warlike, scalping warrior are both historical caricatures of complex people. The major figures taught in American schools are the Native Americans who aided the white colonialists in some way. We learn of Squanto, Sacagawea, and Pocahontas and the ways in which their actions saved or aided white expansion. From the written records that show only the settler's perspective, we are led to believe that the recorded perspectives are the true ones. Native American leaders who resisted white expansion into their tribal land are either omitted or shown to be violent and brutal in their "massacres" of white settlers.

An interesting case study in the representation of Native Americans in history books that has leaked into the popular imagination is the mythical love story of Pocahontas and John Smith, animated for children in Disney's *Pocahontas* (1995). The myth states that Pocahontas falls in love with Jamestown settler John Smith and ends up throwing herself on him in order to save his life. It is taken from a primary source, Smith's writing of 1624, where he recounts the tale of young and beautiful Pocahontas saving his life. In her book, *Pocahontas and Powhatan Dilemma*,

Camilla Townsend (2004) writes of the impossibility of any form of love between the prepubescent girl and the scruffy settler. The writers of American history took up Smith's story as an example of a helpful and friendly Indian who aided in the settling and development of America. Only recently have historians tried to recreate the possible perspective of Pocahontas and have found little evidence for any love affair or life saving event.

Disney, looking to highlight a new multicultural sensibility, took John Smith's account of his love story with Pocahontas and tuned it into a box office success. The film was cross-marketed to children (especially little girls) through the sale of Pocahontas themed Nestle chocolate bars, Barbie dolls, Halloween costumes, coloring books, and many others. Just as with their other films, Disney attempted to enter every aspect of children's lives through the product tie-ins with Pocahontas. The animated version of the historical 11-year-old girl was a much older, fully developed woman. Her breasts were quite large, featuring cleavage in most scenes, and her waist is tiny. She is Disney's Native American bombshell, showing a new level of independence compared to other Disney princesses while simultaneously displaying a heightened sexuality. The legend of Pocahontas, a palatable myth of the "good" Native American who aids the English settlers and brings peace, crosses over from the official to unofficial colonial curriculum. Like most other representations, the myth leaves Native Americans frozen in the past, without acknowledging the agency and resistance of activists or the realities of life on the reservation. The story sexualizes Native American women as part of the colonial paradigm, which exoticizes sex and sexualizes the exotic. It also lets the United States government off the hook for genocide, by making the villain of the story a British governor and leaving the legacy of the settlement and European presence in the "new world" unexplored in favor of a romantic ending.

Global Colonial Education

If American history textbooks create a distorted sense of the history of colonialism and the treatment of native peoples, global history books lay out imperialism and colonialism on a worldwide scale that manages to deny the dehumanizing violence and oppression present in colonies. The period generally referred to as the "age of imperialism" is covered in global history textbooks aimed at American high school students. *World History: The Human Experience* by The National Geographic Society, Farah and Karls (1997) is a recent global history text designed to be culturally sensitive and represent multicultural perspectives. The book cover features the logo of the National Geographic Society and recognizes the society as a co-author. Using the cultural capital of National Geographic connotes a text that will explore the world through a certain, authoritative lens. Blurring the line between entertainment and education, the National Geographic Society prides itself on providing a window on the world to the readers and viewers of its multi-media empire. In the text there is a great deal of attention paid to colonialism and imperialism. In the chapter entitled "The Age of Imperialism," the authors write of the

core reasons for European expansion as political rivalries within Europe, a drive for new markets, adventure seeking for European settlers, and the goal of civilizing the "savages" (pp. 705–706). The rationales are presented in an unemotional, supposedly objective manner that highlights European motives without discussion of the racism and prejudice that informed imperialism. In discussing the expansion of colonies, the authors do not mention any local resistance to the occupying forces. The only thing to constrain the expansion, according the Farah and Karls, were other European colonial armies competing for land and power. Under the heading "Desire for New Markets," the authors write "Rubber, copper, and gold came from Africa, cotton and jute from India, and tin from Southeast Asia" (p. 705). This section suggests that these materials simply sprang forth from these lands and that no form of exploitation, land appropriation, or forced labor were involved in the mining and sourcing of these raw materials. In the section, "Seeking New Opportunities," the authors write of Cecil Rhodes as a shining example of European adventure and enterprise. "Perhaps the most spectacular success story of the era belonged to Cecil Rhodes, a British adventurer who made a fortune from gold and diamond mining in Southern Africa. Rhodes went on to found a colony that bore his name: Rhodesia" (p. 705). By celebrating Rhodes, the text ignores the violence and greed that plagued diamond mining in Southern Africa and the racist ideas held by Rhodes about the superiority of the British people.

The final rationale given for imperialism is the "'Civilizing' Mission," described as based in European religious and humanitarian ideals. The text states as in a matter-of-fact way, "other Europeans also believed that Western civilization was superior to the civilizations of colonized peoples" (p. 706). In describing social Darwinism as part of the civilizing mission, the authors write that they "believed that white Europeans were the 'fittest' people in the world and that Western nations had a duty to spread Western ideals and traditions to 'backward' people living overseas" (p. 706). Though put in quotation marks, the adjectives "fittest" and "backward" are not explained or critiqued. The tone of this section does not question the validity of arguments of superiority and inferiority; it merely presents the "facts" as seen through western eyes.

In *World History: Patterns of Interaction*, authors Beck, Black, Krieger, Naylor, and Shabaka (2005) take a broader, global view of empire, detailing the empire building in Asia, the Americas, India, the Muslim world, and Africa that occurred long before European imperialism. The text highlights the movement, meeting, and blending of cultures throughout history. In a short section entitled "Cultural Blending" (p. 512) the authors write of the many reasons that blending occurs including movement along trade routes, travel, or the expansion of empire. Instead of the traditional history textbook that focuses on sovereign nation states, this book details the benefits of cultural blending, stating that "societies that are able to benefit from cultural blending are those that are open to new ways and are willing to adapt and change" (p. 512). This is a postcolonial turn away from rigid definitions of static cultures in the direction of the hybridity theorized by Bhabha (1994). This theme of hybrid cultures and interaction run throughout the text and the authors go to great lengths to provide information about not only the practice of slavery in the

Americas, but also the resistance and rebellion that resulted from the practice. Some of the features in this text are remnants of the colonial education: Columbus and his three voyages are mentioned without reference to the violence he inflicted on the native populations; many perspectives from minority or oppressed groups are placed in text boxes outside the main narrative; and the perspective of non-western women are not highlighted.

In the chapter in this text entitled "The Age of Imperialism" the story of empire building is told in a different and critical way. The "Scramble for Africa" (p. 773) section begins with the idea that Europe ignored the "claims of African ethnic groups, kingdoms, and city-states" when they split the continent into colonies (p. 773). In the following pages that describe the colonization of the African interior, the text describes the horrors of colonialism, the racism and brutality of the Europeans who extracted resources from the land. The control of the Congo by Belgian's King Leopold II is omitted or mentioned in passing in traditional textbooks. Here, the text exposes the real motives of Leopold and states that, "at least 10 million Congolese died due to the abuses inflicted during Leopold's rule" (p. 774). By including the violent realities of European rule in Africa, this book begins to deconstruct the colonial education that denies the controversial, violent aspects of history in favor of sanitized versions. A final, but essential, piece to the postcolonial pedagogy of *World History: Patterns of Interaction* is a section about the "Belief in European Superiority" (p. 774). This section firmly assigns responsibility to European imperialism in the creation of a hierarchy of cultures with Europe at the top. It describes social Darwinism as based in racist ideas of difference, and quoted Cecil Rhodes description of the expansion of the British: "more territory simply means more of the Anglo-Saxon race, more of the best, the most human, most honorable race the world possesses" (p. 775). Unlike other global history textbooks that honor and highlight Rhodes as an entrepreneur and successful statesman, this text presents Rhodes as a racist colonialist who firmly believes in the superiority of European, especially British, culture. In tone and content, this textbook is different from others I have examined and those that I experienced in my own colonial education. It begins the process of deconstructing Eurocentric narratives of history by including alternative perspectives and by taking a critical stand against the abuses of European racism and imperialism.

Eurocentric Art Education

Official education in difference relies on both the visual and textual representation of difference. Visual representations of difference are reproduced on the pages of social studies textbooks and are present in the textbooks created for visual arts education. The way that art is presented in these textbooks demonstrates how students are introduced to different cultures at an early age. I believe that the art classroom, like the traditional social studies classroom, is built on a foundation of Eurocentric myths of cultural superiority. There is a failure in art education to create a truly diverse multicultural curriculum, specifically regarding the treatment of non-western artists and

artwork. The philosophy behind multicultural art education is to create an appreciation and understanding of difference, but the reality often results in furthering the distance between “us” and “them.” When European and American art (referred to as western art) is presented to students, the individual artist is given a prominent role; the piece of art is contextualized through historical and biographical information. When art from non-western sources is presented in the texts, it is usually identified by country or tribe of origin and not connected to the major art movements of the west.

I consulted three texts that aim to teach art concepts to elementary students to get a concrete sense of the representation of difference in art education. While not comprehensive in scope, these texts provide a snapshot of the type of curriculum presented to elementary art students. The textbooks that I consulted are *Art: Meaning, Method and Media* written by Guy Hubbard and Mary J. Rouse (1981), *Art in Action* by Guy Hubbard (1987), and *Portfolios: State of the Art Program* by Robyn Montana Turner (1998). These texts show that while attempts at diversity have improved in the past 30 years of art education, the grand Eurocentric myths of art education still exist. Lessons and projects are still based on the timeline of progress that foregrounds the contribution of western artists and movements. This kind of curriculum freezes other, non-western, cultures in a romanticized past and re-inscribe the Eurocentric themes I identified in the history textbooks for students.

History As Linear Progression

The linear timeline of art history is an invention, created by art historians to give shape and impose an organization on artists working in similar spaces and time periods. I remember looking at art history timelines in as an art student in elementary and high school, beginning with Egyptian Pyramids and Greek marble statues, there was a large section on pre-history that included a couple of African masks and Incan clay pots. Once pre-history gave way on the timeline to history, the line was straight and western, focusing on the individual geniuses who created great works of art and made up the major art movements. We memorized the names of Monet, Van Gogh, Picasso, Pollock, and even a few women artists like O’Keefe and Nevelson. We did a few projects that were based on “African Art” or “Indian Art,” but did not learn the names of any artists, and the only timeframe we were given for the creation of the work was a nebulous time in the past. In *The Predicament of Culture*, James Clifford (1988) writes “The non-Western artifacts on display [in museums] are located either in a vague past . . . or in a purely conceptual space defined by ‘primitive’ qualities: magic, ritualism, closeness to nature, mythic or cosmological aims” (p. 201). When the pre-history of non-western art was juxtaposed with the history of the West, it was easy to believe that the only artists still creating art in the contemporary era were privileged westerners.

Ella Shohat and Robert Stam (1998), in their essay “Narrativizing Visual Culture: Towards a Polycentric Aesthetics”, name a Eurocentric art history that assumes a universal appeal and application of European movements and stages. “Traditional

art history, in this sense, exists on a continuum with official history in general, which figures Europe as a unique source of meaning, as the world's center of gravity, as ontological 'reality' to the world's 'shadow'" (p. 25). This continuum of art history is re-enacted in art classrooms, in which the art of non-western cultures is defined in relation to the west and on the periphery of the official art timeline.

This mythic Eurocentric progression is presented as fact in the textbooks created for the elementary classroom. Even in more recent texts that make efforts to be diverse and inclusive, the force of this myth is present. In *Portfolios: State of the Art Program*, the art textbook written in 1998, there is an art timeline that attempts to be culturally inclusive. The timeline begins with 3000 BC, with separate colorful lines for "Ancient Egypt," and the "Indus Civilization," and then starting around 1500 BC. the Chinese Dynastic eras are given a line. This global focus of the timeline starts to become overshadowed by the large "Medieval Period," "Renaissance," and "Enlightenment" line that begins in 400 AD and is three times as thick as the other global lines of art history. By 1800 AD all other lines drop away, and we are left with a single line that is entitled "Modern Era of European and American History." By examining this timeline, one could conclude that all non-western art was created before the year 1800, and the Modern Era has been a unified, uncontested progression of European and American art.

Modernity As Rational Height of Progress

The Eurocentric timeline of art history that presents all contemporary art as western and all non-western art as existing in the distant past is reinforced by the forms of art that are reproduced in art textbooks for children. Grand myths of cultural superiority focus on the west's scientific rationality and individualism compared to the "traditional" cultures that focus on ritual, costume, and community. The art chosen for these texts follow this line of reasoning. Western art is represented by a variety of paintings and sculptures created by the masters: Van Gogh, Matisse, Seurat, and Kandinsky. Objects used in ritual and community gatherings represent non-western and indigenous artists: masks worn for ceremony, costume used in communal dance, and small sculptures used for religious ceremonies. Western progress is juxtaposed with non-western "primitivism" that not-so-subtly reinforces center/periphery binaries. "Primitive" is a loaded label that carries specific connotations within the art world. Lucy Lippard writes in 1990:

> It has been used historically to separate the supposedly sophisticated civilized "high" art of the West from the equally sophisticated civilized art from other cultures. The term locates the latter in the past—usually the distant past—and in an early stage of "development" implying simplicity on the positive side and crudity or barbarism on the negative. (p. 24)

In the art textbook by Hubbard (1987), *Art in Action*, there is a lesson on mask making using cardboard and found objects to create masks inspired by the two examples from Zaire and the Iroquois. The text informs students that, "Masks are very important objects in primitive cultures. Many primitive peoples believe that spirit powers

dwell in all natural things. Every mask contains its own spirit" (p. 114). There are several problematic points in this lesson: re-imagining sacred masks using cardboard, the assumption that there are "primitive" cultures and people and that this concept of the primitive is universal to those not of European descent. "The value of exotic objects was their ability to testify to the concrete reality of an earlier stage of human culture, a common past confirming Europe's triumphant present" (Clifford, 1988, p. 228). The fetishizing of the "primitive" in non-western works of art supports the Eurocentric hierarchy of cultures that places the west on the highest rung of an evolutionary ladder.

Artist As Individual Genius, Alone in His Studio

Western ideals of rationality rest upon the celebration of individuality and the private space. When most of us think of an artist, we picture Pablo Picasso or Vincent Van Gogh. This artist is European or American, male, and a troubled genius who channels his pain through art. Disconnected from the outside world, this genius creates masterpieces alone in his studio with only his inner demons as company. This is a grand cultural myth that is reinforced by Hollywood movies about the lone male artist: Pollock (2000), Lust for Life (1956), and Surviving Picasso (1996). In this myth reliance upon others, showing vulnerability, and acknowledging outside inspiration are seen as weakness. Again, Clifford (1988) writes of the focus on individual: "The European bourgeois ideal of autonomous individuality was widely believed to be the natural outcome of a long development, a process that, although threatened by various disruptions, was assumed to be the basic, progressive movement of humanity" (p. 92). Once established, the myth of the lone genius artist is reproduced within art textbooks. The genius Euro-American artist is juxtaposed against all non-western art that is shown as created for tribal and communal purposes. This is reinforced by the caption that accompanies the artwork. Western art is generally given an exact date of production and an individual artist's name. Non-western art is almost always given an approximate date of production and attributed to the country or tribe as producer. The implication in this form of attribution is that those outside of Europe or the United States who create art do so only as part of larger groups.

Pure and Authentic Cultures, Existing on Different Levels of the Progressive Timeline

Like other forms of colonial education, Eurocentric art education relies on the idea of pure, authentic, distinct societies that create art in cultural vacuums. Interactions have occurred throughout history based on movement of people on trade routes, voyages of "exploration," European expansionist Imperialism, migration, exile, and diaspora. These layers of movement have resulted in hybrid cultural production and complex identities that are not easily untangled. In Eurocentric art history and education, separate chapters and lessons are based on the false assumption of discreet

national cultures. The lessons and units that focus on non-western art emphasize the oddity and difference of the art and the cultures that produced the work. In the *Art in Action* textbook, the heading for the section on the art from the rest of the world (outside Europe and the United States) is titled, “Voyages of Discovery” (Hubbard, 1987, p. vi), alluding quite literally to the supposed “discovery” of the Americas by European explorers. In the only lesson about non-western art in the earliest textbook *Art: Meaning, Method, and Media*, the title is “Art from Other Lands.” The text informs students that, “Often, art from other parts of the world will look strange to you” (Hubbard & Rouse, 1981, p. 84). The work from the entire world is consolidated into a short lesson and the only description given to the work is that it “might look strange.” The rest of the book contains reproductions of art from Europe and Euro-Americans, never mentioning the influence of other art traditions. The West is normalized and accepted to be the center of art creation, all others are different, primitive, strange, and far removed from anything modern or western.

The only influence that is traditionally acknowledged is the “inspiration” that European modernists (specifically Picasso) “borrowed” from the abstracted aesthetics of African masks. The Modernists took what is referred to still as the “Primitive” art of Africa and elevated it to masterpiece status through their European re-imagining. The focus of multicultural art education that freezes non-westerners in the past and reify the center/periphery binary are mirrored in the overall treatment of diversity in official school curriculum. The simplified versions of culture that are offered in schools do not reflect the hybridity of postcolonial theory and the transnational movement of globalization. Postcolonial theorists working with the legacy of colonialism and the complexity of hybrid identities can inform a renewed pedagogy of difference that does not rely on the Eurocentric myths that are prevalent in social studies and art textbooks.

Chapter 5
History of the Visual Regime

How have the systems of power in colonialism and patriarchy influenced the imaging of women in the pre-, colonial, and post-eras? Images have the power to shape perceptions and can be manipulated to create specific stereotypes about groups of people. I look generally at the historical representations of the non-white, non-western woman. Images of women during slavery, Reconstruction, and at the height of European colonialism reinforced the hierarchy of men as superior to women and of white, European as superior to "native." These images have been reproduced in textbooks and posters for educational purposes; we need to examine the ways in which such biased depictions historically helped to create ethnocentric attitudes toward difference.

An important part of the power imbalance of colonialism's legacy is the visual and textual representation of gender. Certain visual codes have been used to represent the difference between the west and the rest and to distinguish between genders. These codes become part of our unofficial education about the world; by understanding the codes, we can begin to build a pedagogy that challenges assumptions. I believe that images created by and for the west have misrepresented other cultures in order to support the colonial project; that begs the question, what does it mean to misrepresent? If every depiction involves interpretation, there is no basis for an objective representation of the material world. Is it ever possible to have an unbiased illustration of an event, person, or culture? Specifically in regard to the textual and visual representation of difference, is there a way to represent without reversion to stereotype and generalization? Stereotypical representations of women have been created and reproduced throughout history. Reinforced by visual advertisement and the mass distribution of popular culture imagery, certain visual codes developed to facilitate easy readings of the meaning of images. Those codes and themes have become second nature. For instance, the use of white to represent purity and goodness, black to represent dirt and corruption in advertisements of the 1800s continues in marketing today. Certain codes of meaning are present in the level of dressing and undressing present in images. Women have been shown as either motherly, virginal, or highly sexualized in ways that leave little room for the complexity of identity in women's actual lives.

R.B. Jones, *Postcolonial Representations of Women*, Explorations of Educational Purpose 18, DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1551-6_5, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

Representing Self and Other

Representation is the re-presentation of an original, a presentation. One or many people experience the object, person, or action that make up the presentation. This experience is interpreted by the observer(s) and filtered through their lens(es), affected by the history, biases, and preconceived notions of the one who is experiencing. After observation and interpretation, this experience is re-presented. The form of this re-presentation can be verbal, textual, visual, or any combination of these forms, connecting to shifting cultural concepts. This representation is interpreted by those who view, listen, or read it and then represented again. Each re-presentation of the original is filtered through the observer's lens, thereby altering some quality of the original through each representation. The further in time and distance one is from the original presentation, the more layered and filtered the representation is likely to be. It is like a photocopy of an original document. Each generation of copy loses some of the quality of the original, details are blurred, and focus is lost.

Representation can be broken up into three layers, each farther from the original presentation and therefore more likely to misrepresent: representation of self, representation of imagined self, and representation of self-and-other. The least filtered re-packaging of original, expressing a direct material reality of experience, is the representation of self. Similar in function to the self-portrait, representation of self is the most direct reflection of an occurrence because it is the expression of the person who is subject of the piece.

The second layer, less directly related to the real, is the representation of imagined self. In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson (1983) writes of the imagined national community that involves the creation of far reaching commonalities among diverse groups of people. I extend the term "imagined community" to any felt common bond that is not based on the face-to-face meeting of people. Religious affiliations, ethnic ties, global humanity, along with nationalism, are all examples of imagined communities. Most human affinities beyond family relations are based on constructed similarities. These community ties overlap and overlay, though there usually exists a hierarchy of attachment. I consider myself to be a part of many communities at once, but I would privilege immediate family and global human over nation, religion, and regional communities. Representation of imagined self, then, presents another person or culture while privileging the ways in which "they" are similar and in community with "me." While this is not a direct form of presentation, the imagined self displays difference with respect and an aim of reinforcing imagined communal ties.

The final layer, and the most likely form of misrepresentation, is the representation of self-and-other. It is the interpretation of experience with the expressed goal of highlighting the difference of those outside the imagined community. This reinforces binary oppositions of "us" and "them," strengthening internal community ties while distancing those on the outside. Self-and-other would include the pseudoscientific representations of eugenics, craniometry, and ethnology that sought to create naturalized distinctions of European racial superiority. Difference is presented as

essential and as hierarchical. The historical engine of European colonialism was reinforced by images of Africans that visually created the myth of the "savage" that required the civilizing influence of colonialism.

Michel Foucault (1972) theorizes how the force of cultural myth creates what is understood to be true and real in different cultures. "Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true," (p. 73). In European colonial centers, the superiority of European civilization was a regime of truth; it was accepted by the majority as fact. Images are part of this regime of truth; certain images are accepted as objective and real because of the cultural myths that they support. Those within a culture who hold positions of power have the ability to control the presentation and distribution of images. As media outlets have been consolidated in fewer and fewer hands in recent years, the number of people deciding the form of representation and the variety of representations have shrunk. The force of ethnocentric myth is increased when the number of available images of difference declines. Those with the power of distribution have decided what it looks like to be "American," "Muslim," "terrorist," and "patriot," in our cultural imagination. Unequal global power relationships, based on historical imperialism and current American economic imperialism, allow certain cultures to "be imagined" by others, coding difference in the form of their choosing. The coding and meaning of difference combines Barthes' (1972) theory of semiotic myth and Foucault's theories of discourse and power to create the "regimes of representation." With such a weighted, mythical history of imbalanced power relations, and a regime of representation that sought to legitimize colonialism, slavery, and western economic imperialism, is it possible for western representations of others to avoid this history?

One well-explored example of a western regime of representation is that of Orientalism, expounded upon by Edward Said (1978). This was an all-encompassing popular and academic regime that represented the diaphanous East as an essential and unchanging whole, both exotic and dangerous, alluring and backward. The relationship of material living conditions were obscured by the myth of Orientalism, replacing attempts at realistic representation with fantasy. Orientalism is an example of the third representational layer: the representation of imagined other. Those from the East were seen as outside of the community of Europe, civilization, and the academy and the re-presentations of experience were framed to highlight the differences and the superiority of the west. In *The Predicament of Culture*, James Clifford (1988) poses the question, "Should criticism work to counter sets of culturally produced images such as those of Orientalism with more 'authentic' or more 'human' representations? Or if criticism must struggle against the procedures of representation itself, how is it to begin?" (p. 259). Is it possible to replace flawed colonial images with more realistic, "authentic" representations? Or is it the process of representing other cultures in general that is flawed and needs to be deconstructed? The easiest way to avoid misrepresentation is to avoid representing others altogether, but that is neither possible nor desirable in the increasingly interconnected world. Clifford maintains that it is because of the unequal historical context of representation that we need to critically continue the quest for more

"human" forms of imaging others. "It is more than ever crucial for different peoples to form complex concrete images of one another, as well as of the relationships of knowledge and power that connect them; but no sovereign scientific method or ethical stance can guarantee the truth of such images" (p. 23). The ideal way to resolve the problem of packaging difference is to only use self-representations, the closest form to the original.

The history of colonial images and representations of difference create a system of visual codes that continue to shape the way we (western, white) view those who are Other. Traces of the primitive, savage, uncivilized Other can still be found in the news media, films, and other images of difference. "It is impossible to start afresh, as if it were outside of the history of such images: representational systems are not so easily undone" (Kaplan, 1997, p. 19). Since we cannot ignore the history of colonial visual regimes, we must interrogate and deconstruct them in order to acknowledge their continued power and presence.

The Importance of the Visual

To allow a person to create the expressions of their own experiences instead of speaking for them is one step in creating a more "realistic" representation of difference. But, often representation stands in for the real and interpretations are viewed as objective fact. This begs the question, what is meant by "real"? How can we distinguish between what actually happens and what is performed or presented? And is there a different level of accuracy expected for images that are presented as "news" and those, which are presented as "art"? There are theorists who question the very nature of the real, and suggest that everything is simulation. In *On Photography*, Susan Sontag (1973) writes of our changing relationship with reality and image. She contends that as images are becoming more prevalent and more life-like, they are taking the place of the very reality they originally depicted. In her terms, "a society becomes 'modern' when one of its chief activities is producing and consuming images" (p. 153). Though the image-world is not a modern invention, we have come to a greater acceptance and expectation of a reality interpreted through images, specifically photographic and digital images. Through media saturation, the mental images and memories of events that I have are based on the way these events were represented in the newspaper and on the television. In some ways, images take the place of real experience, "images that have extraordinary powers to determine our demands upon reality and are themselves coveted substitutes for firsthand experience" (p. 153). Digital images can take us to areas that in "reality" are unavailable, the inside of a human colon, the surface of Mars, the inside of other people's bedrooms. Original experience is being gradually overtaken by experience of an already imagined world. It is becoming more difficult to separate what is real and what is created to seem real.

Reevaluating her previous stance on the real world/image world relationship, Sontag is less inclined to relinquish the real in *Regarding the Pain of Others* (2003). She writes that only those of us privileged enough to seal off the pain and suffering

of the world into the television, into images, are able to deny the difference between the image and real worlds. The majority of the world's population feel the pain of hunger or war, and do not confuse the images of war on CNN, or in *Saving Private Ryan* with the daily reality of experience. "They do not have the luxury of patronizing reality" (p. 111). Sontag's earlier work that announced the imprisonment of reality through images is opened to a more complex understanding of the relationship between the real and the visual. Contextually based, the consumption of images and their correlation to one's reality is not simple or predictable.

In the complex realm of visual representation, I do not believe that there can be an absolutely "true" representation of the real. Through the coding of signifiers, the interpretation of each viewer, the representation will always be a copy of the original. So, in one sense there are only mis-representations. Regimes of representation that rest on imbalances of power, myths of naturalized and hierarchical difference are likely to present distorted images of others. Acknowledging the history of imbalance and exploitation, which representation of other cultures aided in creating, is a step in the direction of greater parity. An understanding of visual theories of representation and the cultural codes that are at work in images is a form of education that could lead to more informed consumption and analysis of visual events.

Smith's Visual Regimes

It is useful to examine theoretical explanations for the mechanisms by which colonial power was represented in visual terms and how the legacies of colonialism and struggles for independence have used visual signs to communicate shifting relationships of power. In his essay, "Visual Regimes of Colonialism," Terry Smith (1998) writes of a three part process of visualization that colonial powers used to establish and consolidate control in a colony: calibration, obliteration, and aestheticization. The first step in establishing colonial authority is calibration, which includes, "mapping of oceans and landmasses, measurement of distances and of governmental and property boundaries, surveillance of peoples" (p. 483). Putting down official borders, creating or changing names of roads, bodies of water, and towns to colonial names, all create a grand map that is necessary to control of land and the people who inhabit it. The visual creation of maps that held the colonial names and borders lent an aura of authority and permanence to these re-named geographies. Once the maps were drawn, the newly colonized geographies were taught as fact in colonial and European schools. Obliteration is the second of Smith's stages in the visual regime of colonialism, and it involves the literal or figural destruction of native people and culture. "These practices range from actual, brutal murder to an equally potent imaginary Othering" (p. 484). In some colonial settings, as in the British colonies in North America, the indigenous population was obliterated through a long process of murder, physical removal to distant lands, and education to obliterate culture.

The third stage, and the most purely visual, is aestheticization with involves creating a beautiful and exotic façade that covers the actual brutality of maintaining colonial power. "It spun charming appearances as garlands over the instrumental

actualities of establishing colonies in foreign climates, of creating systems of control, of building ordered socialities" (p. 484). By creating visually pleasing buildings, gardens, and artwork, the colonialists created visual regimes of beauty that replaced natural plants and disorder with pruned hedges and imposed order; the replacing of visual signs altered the very definition of what was and was not beautiful. The three stages work together to establish and normalize control, to destroy native culture and then to cover up the destruction with a benignly beautiful face. Orientalist paintings and the reproduction of sanitized versions of colonial holdings for exhibition fall into this third stage of aestheticization. The fantasies of artists who imagined the exotic interior of the harem, the topless Polynesian woman, the veiled woman coyly returning the gaze of the artist/viewer, and the photographs that allowed imagined scenes of bare-breasted women to be sent home to Europe were all a form of aesthetic façade. They projected visually what the colonial power wished its colony to be, and in doing so took the focus away from the first two stages of Smith's visualization, where power was used to gain control and to destroy native ways of seeing and being seen.

The Colonial Exhibition and Visualizing Difference

Western representation of the Other gained legitimacy as a system of spectacle during the years of European exploration and expansion. Columbus infamously paraded through the streets of Spain with "native specimens" gathered in his exploits. Crowds of Spaniards gathered to watch this other, lesser form of humanity. By gazing on these people as a more "primitive" reflection of the self, the western audience was able to confirm their position as the pinnacle of human evolution and achievement. The great western exhibitions during colonialism were a form of public education that showed off the spoils of empire in order to reinforce the social hierarchy in the public imagination. The panorama showed in great detail the western image of foreign lands, so that the general populations of London and Paris did not have to travel to far-flung colonies to see the exotic on display. The poor British classes were shown the spectacle of imperialism at the Great Exhibition of 1851 and were comforted by the notion of their superiority to the vast number of the world's inhabitants, even if at home they were assured of their inferiority to the middle- and upper-class British. It was one of the ways to create and maintain popular support for the imperial enterprise. It showed off the economic spoils of foreign lands while quenching public thirst for the exotic Other that confirmed one's own place at the top of the imperial chain of being. Display of female "native specimens" added the element of sexuality; the European audience could confirm the purity and morality of European women as compared to the mythical sexuality of those displayed. The European exhibition of natives initiated a way of representing difference that is still very much entrenched in the visualizing of the Other. In the mid to late nineteenth century, when Gerome was creating his sexualized paintings of women in Algeria, the colonial powers were displaying their spoils in the form of the colonial exhibition. European governments wanted to parade the advantages and exoticism of

the far-flung colonies for their populations at home. Colonial expositions that drew great crowds to displays of the human and non-human spoils of conquest served as the precursor to the study of other cultures through the lens of ethnography. The power and privilege of Europeans to display others in manners of their choosing and to organize and name the parts of the world that they "discovered" created a form of pedagogy about the world that entrenched the imbalances of colonialism.

The display of people in cultural institutions in the west was accompanied by the display of artifacts and goods that were the material documentation of colonialism. The combined effect of the ordering and display of the foreign objects created what Timothy Mitchell (1998) theorized as the "exhibitionary order" of colonialism (p. 495), which created a systematic visual order of objects. "What reduced the world to a system of objects was the way their careful organization enabled them to evoke some larger meaning, such as History or Empire or Progress" (p. 500). Cultural artifacts, tools, and ways of living were taken out of context and displayed for European audiences in a manner that was intended to illustrate the rightness of the colonial project. Colonial exhibits, such as the Algerian Pavilions at the Paris Colonial Exposition of 1900, constructed miniature exotic locations for the pleasure of the European spectator. The pavilion was meant to transport the French public to a reproduced version of Algeria, complete with Algerian colonial subjects roaming the sets. "Such visual and textual installations in the colonial pavilions were designed to convince spectators of the particular colony's economic worth and potential and of the good sense of the colonial enterprise in general" (Benjamin, 2003, p. 109). No one event captured the relationship of Orientalist art to the colonial power of France more than the exhibitions that allowed the French citizens to be transported, through artistic visual facsimile, to the colony as those in power wished to imagine it.

Orientalist paintings and colonial exhibits that celebrate the exotic fantasy of difference are part of a tradition of those who have the power and resources representing all others in forms of their choosing. The history of western popular attraction to simplified, exotic representations of difference has been explored by theorist/artist Coco Fusco (1995), *English is Broken Here: Notes on Cultural Fusion in the Americas*. One of Fusco's theoretical contributions to the field of postcolonial visual culture is the connection between the ugly history of ethnographic display and contemporary artistic appropriation and multiculturalism. "Performance Art in the West did not begin with Dadaist 'events.' Since the early days of European 'conquest,' 'aboriginal samples' of people from Africa, Asia, and the Americas were brought to Europe for aesthetic contemplation, scientific analysis, and entertainment" (p. 41). Fusco labeled this in the title of her essay, "The Other History of Intercultural Performance," referencing the cultural "borrowing" that is so prevalent in the history of western art. Fascination with the exotic other was presented in starkly racist terms in the colonial period and was exploited in the work of modern artists such as Pablo Picasso who was fascinated by African aesthetics and appropriated forms without credit. This "intercultural performance" is still an issue in recent moves to display art from artists of color and from artists of the Third World and the East.

Empire on Display

A major part of the educational mission of colonialism was to teach people how to think about the world and how to place people, places, and things in ordered arrangements. Many of the ways we organize knowledge, from the museum to the encyclopedia, were used to catalog knowledge created during the colonial period. The museum collected plants, animals, crafts, etc. from the farthest reaches of the globe and provided each of these with a place in the order of things, a label that identifies the object of study in a particular way, and a grand building to provide the requisite level of authority. Once a piece of pottery or plant had been given a name by European scholars and labeled in the museum, their origin and location in the hierarchy of ideas was firmly set. Spoils of empire were both the result and "proof" of hierarchy of humanity. Museums of "natural history" included exhibits on the more "primitive" forms of humanity, set up in detailed displays for the colonial public. Many museums of natural history still house the spoils of colonial power, the labels and ownership of the artifacts determined long ago by scientists and scholars of Europe. In recent decades, those who have a stake in their history have questioned the control of certain cultural artifacts and remains that are housed in European and American museums. For instance, the Egyptian government has requested the return of several mummies and artifacts that were "discovered" by European archeologists and displayed as property of the western museum. Several First Nations and American Indian groups have demanded the return of human remains and cultural artifacts housed under glass in Canadian and American museums. Many museum labels still list the wealthy western benefactors of the piece as the rightful owner, without reference to how the piece was acquired and whether there is a dispute over ownership.

Commercial Representation of Empire

The imperial male experienced a double sensation of fantasies of unlimited power and expansion alongside the fear of the unknown boundaries. This fear of the unknown played into the feminization of unknown land, thus entitling the male explorer to ravage and possess the land. "Virgin" land was in need of seeding and taming, just as the real women encountered by explorers and colonialists were freely raped and taken as possessions. Empty spaces on the maps of imperialism were marked with images of monsters and cannibals, representing the fear of the mysterious along with the need to control and "civilize" the edges of the map for the sake of economic and moral imperatives (McClintock, 1995, p. 27).

The subordination of race, class, and gender during European imperialism depended upon each other for meaning. Patriarchy that regulated gender roles in Europe was expanded to regulate racial relationships in the colonies; white men held control of the family in Europe and over the racial hierarchy that constructed colonized peoples as children in need of discipline and order. Mapped onto the "Family of Man," each branch had its place, and necessarily existed in order to sustain

and hold up the branches above. Power was sustained and reproduced through the branches of the tree that showed one's place on the evolution of humanity.

The patriarchal control in colonialism based on the familial relationships in Europe also used the realm of domesticity to consolidate their racist rationale for exploitation. Soap and the cleansing of the great, unwashed masses was a shift from scientific racism to commodity racism (McClintock, 1995). Just as darkness was a more primitive, savage property than whiteness, cleanliness was constructed in a very specific, European way that meant industrialized cleaning products were the tools of civilization. White clothing, sparkling white complexions matched the supposed purity of thought and rationality of mind of the imperialist. Women's sexuality was seen as the most primitive, dirty force in empire, and white rule was supported by the claims of excessive sexual desire and excessive nudity and genitalia of other women. African women were singled out as the most licentious of all, and therefore the closest in form to the animal kingdom. The famous case of Saartjie Baartman, the so-called Hottentot Venus, who was displayed and examined as a caged animal and scientific oddity in Europe, was deemed an example of the "unnaturally" large female genitalia of a certain race of African women. Baartman was brought to England in 1810 and was put on display as a living ethnographic exhibit (Hudson, 2008). Billed as the "Hottentot Venus" as a parody of the equation of the Venus with ultimate beauty, she was meant to represent the opposite of refined British ideas of beauty. Visitors were fascinated with the size of her buttocks and were able to touch her for an extra fee, she was clearly presented as a sexualized figure to be ogled:

> When the "Hottentot Venus" performed her ethnographically-sanctioned strip-shows in London and Paris, the invitations to sexual stimulation were bald, and the outcry against these shows reflected anxieties about public decency as much as humanitarian concerns about the mistreatment of Africans. (Hudson, p. 25)

Her case is not isolated in the history of ethnographic display, but it is a particularly tragic example of the intersection of science, spectacle, and racism. Once public opinion in England was mobilized against the blatantly racist display, her white handlers moved Baartman to Paris, where she was displayed and also examined by famous scientists of the day, including Georges Cuvier. The scientists used their racist lenses to confirm Baartman as an anatomic type that fell far down the ladder of evolution. By creating anatomical drawings and observations, these scientists gave an air of authority and truth to the racism inherent in the display of Baartman. In an ultimate act of inhumanity, Cuvier dissected Baartman's body after her early death and preserved her labia in a jar that was kept in the Musee de L'homme in Paris until the end of the twentieth century.

The Cross-Cultural Look

Thinking in terms of visual representation of other cultures, the ability to see and be seen are functions of power relationships. In *Looking for the Other: Feminism, Film, and the Imperial Gaze*, feminist film theorist E. Ann Kaplan (1997) writes of

the difference between the gaze and the look. The gaze implies an unequal power relationship and an element of desire, the male gaze directed at women is thought of as a specific and disempowering form of sight. Those with power can direct the gaze at those with less power. Power is often used in order to make others available for constant viewing and inspection, or to control the time and place of availability to sight. The urge of the colonial powers to unveil women is part of this powerful gaze, the power to demand sight of other's bodies. So within patriarchy, the male gaze is directed at women and within colonialism, colonialist gaze is directed at the colonized. Often, the male and imperial gaze are overlapping or intersecting when sight is directed at the other. Looking, however, describes a relationship of sight in which there is an idea of returning the look, or looking back. Kaplan names this the "looking relation" (p. xviii), where being looked at is acknowledged and can be resisted. While the gaze implies a person turned into an object, looking implies a thinking, responsive subject. While many of the colonial representations of women relied, and still rely, on the white male gaze, the idea of postcolonial representations of women uses the looking relation in order to return the look and question the very ability to see and be seen.

Colonial Travel and Looking

An important form of colonial and postcolonial sight is employed during travel, when one encounters difference and must reconcile this difference with one's own identity. Colonial forms of travel and tourism focus on the white traveler/explorer's gaze at the "natives" and the recognition of their superior difference, using the gaze to position and represent the native as inferior and savage. European colonial travelers created paintings, photographs, and other forms of visual representation that highlighted the exotic difference of people, especially women, in the colonies. These visuals were produced as proof of the travelers experience in other lands and then sent home to Europe. These works of art and documentation were the only form of difference that many Europeans experienced and therefore held the power to mediate knowledge and understanding. By repeating similar visual codes, these artifacts of travel built the colonial regime and strengthened the support for colonial exploits abroad. Contemporary western travelers still use visual representation of the exotic difference they experience to use as visual proof of the authenticity of their travels. The digital photograph has replaced the painting and early photographic techniques in the production of colonial travel imagery. With this new technology, images can be produced and shared around the globe in seconds, changing the relationship of time and space in representations.

Postcolonial forms of travel undermine the traditional white, western gaze through returning the look or critically theorizing experience. Kaplan describes a "diasporan aesthetics" (p. 19) that connects visual and artistic creation from around the world into communities of representation. The technology of representation lends itself to new forms of visual communication; digital photographs produced in multiple geographies and positions can be uploaded to websites and seen by anyone

with Internet access. Creative postcolonial production and sharing of representations present shifting, hybrid subjects that defy easy categorization or control. While colonial representations sought to create stable, monolithic visual types and categories, postcolonial representation seeks to disrupt types and categories and replace them with contingent and contextual experience.

Race, Sex, and Beauty in Empire

The visual regime of colonialism was created using specific ideas of race, sex, and beauty that was gendered and positioned certain women as beautiful and pure and others as ugly or highly sexualized, and unclean. Images created of women reinforced the power and position of empire; European women were imagined as the heart and soul of the empire, giving their men a reason for going forth and spreading "civilization." In Victorian Britain, specifically, white women were idealized and treated as asexual pinnacle of femininity. Colonized women were imagined as either sexually available, promiscuous or as tied to domestic servitude. Images created by European artists during the colonial period marked the visual difference between European women and colonized women. From Gerome's lavish, sexualized harems, to the tropical sexuality of the Tahitian women in Gauguin's paintings, many images in the visual regime were exotic titillation for European men. African women were imagined as promiscuous and sexualized, but in a way that was so different, so "primitive" that they were outside the realm of European sexual imagination.

Selling Visual Colonialism

In her book *Imperial Leather*, McClintock (1995) writes of the use of British commercial media as a form of colonial education in order to support the imperial cause. She connects the popular colonial myth of the "white man's burden" to the advertisements for Pear's Soap. The advertisements for this particular soap used images of pure whiteness combined with femininity and innocent childhood to create connections between whiteness, cleanliness, purity, and Pear's soap. One advertisement from 1886 features a chaste British woman washing her hands at a basin with copy that reads, "Soft, white, beautiful hands," and "Prevents redness, roughness, and chapping." The soap is linked to maintaining soft, white skin, assuming that this is the ultimate good. Some advertisements more explicitly reference the hierarchy of race in empire. In one, a white boy in a clean white apron is helping to wash a black boy in a tub that has "Matchless for the Complexion" inscribed on the side. In the second panel, the black boy has been magically turned white from the neck down, thanks to the wonder of Pear's soap. "The magical fetish of soap promises that the commodity of can regenerate the Family of Man by washing from the skin the very stigma of racial and class degeneration" (McClintock, 1995, p. 214). Several advertisements from the same era depict white children in the bathtub, one shows a small child climbing into the tub ready to wash with Pear's and another shows a small

white girl bringing a puppy to a white boy sitting in the tub. Neither of these images gives much information about the actual product, but the associate this childhood innocence with the brand. Another advertisement connects the pure femininity and the innocent childhood, depicted two women bathing a small child set in ancient Rome. The Pear's logo and the words "pure, fragrant, durable" are carved into the marble bath podium. This advertisement adds the element of the classical era, the birthplace of western civilization to the brand message.

The Pear's advertisement that most closely links the pure whiteness of the soap to the work of empire features an elderly white ship's captain washing his hands and looking out a porthole. The text in the ad reads, "The first step towards lightening The White Man's Burden is through teaching the virtues of cleanliness." Obviously, this man is on his way to administer the British Empire and to address his white man's burden of lifting the "savages" into civilization. The white colonizers are clean and righteous, while the colonized are clearly wallowing in filth. The ad continues, "Pear's Soap is a potent factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as civilization advances, while amongst the cultured of all nations it holds the highest place- it is the ideal toilet soap." Again, the text reinforces the connection of whiteness and civilization that are bringing light to the "dark corners of the earth." The purity and cleanliness represented by the soap is a form of civilization that can be spread to the impure and unwashed of the empire. This is the washing/whitening of the "savage," salvation through domesticity.

Other British advertisements from the late imperial era used race and empire as the subject of campaigns to sell consumer goods. An advertisement for the Frank Rippingille Stove Company shows Queen Victory handing out stoves to a line of stereotyped representations from all corners of the empire, with caricatures of African tribesmen first in line. The text reads, "England's Gift a Blessing to All Nations," referencing the White Man's Burden of spreading civilization and the wonders of consumer products to the corners of empire. An ad from the same era for Huntley and Palmers Biscuits feature a group of British colonialists sitting down to a proper cup of tea in the middle of the Indian jungle. It appears that they have just come down from their luxurious perch atop several large elephants to be served tea and biscuits by an Indian servant. The ultimate symbol of British civilization, the high tea, can be transported to even the wildest ends of empire. These images, repeated with minor variations, of imperial grandeur and of British superiority and generosity begin to function as fact in the public imagination.

Aunt Jemima, Chiquita Banana, and Advertising Racism

Stereotypes of femininity have been used for selling products since the birth of advertising. Images of white femininity were used to sell both domesticity and purity, while images of women of color were used to sell the exotic or the domestic. The figure of Aunt Jemima, still in use in advertising today, is a glaring example of how an image infused with societal views about race and gender was used to embody the values of a product and, simultaneously, a deeply racist culture. Aunt

Jemima originated from a white character of a black mammy that was popularized during Reconstruction, when white fears of freed slaves manifested into caricatures of black stereotypes that were ridiculous and yet disarmed the fear by belittling the object of fear. Like many of the racist images created during Reconstruction, the mammy was part of minstrel shows performed by white actors in blackface. The original figure of Aunt Jemima was brought to life by former slave Nancy Green, dressed in a headscarf and apron that identify her with the domestic space of slavery. She was a smiling figure ready to cook and clean for her white master.

The debut of Green as living trademark for a brand of pancake flour was part of the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago in 1893. This was the same fair that exhibited living artifacts from around the world as examples of the progress of mankind from savagery to civilization. Aunt Jemima fit right in with the other living exhibitions, bringing the racist myth of the mammy to life in order to sell pancakes. The figure represented many stereotypes of African American women that were popular in the blackface minstrel shows and in the white popular imagination of the late 1800s. Because her image reinforced many of the racist assumptions of the day, Aunt Jemima and her pancake flour became very successful for the R. T. Davis Milling Company. Her likeness appeared in cartoons, saltshakers, banks, and in doll form. The dolls were sold with Aunt Jemima carrying a white baby, obviously content to care for her master's babies. Written dialogue and audio advertising that featured Aunt Jemima in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century display racist use of language to show her lack of education and position in society. In one ad the type reads, "Temtilatin,' appetitin' Aunt Jemima Pancakes sho' hits the spot!" another "Lawsee! Folks sho' cheer for fluffy, energizin' Aunt Jemima Pancakes." The white owners and advertisers put these words in her mouth because it made the white consumer feel more comfortable in their social position.

During the twentieth century, Aunt Jemima has received several image makeovers that reflect the changing public tolerance for blatantly racist imagery. She gradually lost some weight and her skin was lightened, but it was not until the early 1990s that her image was dramatically changed. In honor of Aunt Jemima's 100th anniversary, the marketers removed her trademark bandanna, made her much slimmer, and gave her a set of pearl earrings. The pearls and the collared shirt represent a middle class woman, modern yet still tied to the domestic arena of cooking and baking. Why alter the iconic and racist image 30 years after the Civil Rights Movement? It seems to be a delayed response to concern over the history of Aunt Jemima and yet the makeover does not address the racist legacy or the continued use of an African American woman to sell pancake mix.

Chiquita Banana was an advertising icon created in the 1940s that depicts a sexualized, Latina woman who happily and seductively sells bananas to American consumers. Though the banana industry is rife with exploitation of resources and political controversy, but through the use of a non-threatening female banana figure this controversy is hidden. Originally, the advertising icon was a female banana, with sexy legs, dressed in a ruffled skirt and wearing heavy eyeliner and lipstick. There is a history of feminizing and sexualizing inanimate objects in order to sell products, and the exotic sexuality of this singing banana sends strange messages

that conflate the consumption of food and women. The character was introduced to the public in a series of short films that advertised products before movies. In a blatantly colonial and racist film, entitled *Chiquita Banana and the Cannibals* (1947), the film opens with a racist caricature of an African man that is drawn in a way that blurs the line between man and monkey, pouring salt and chopping carrots into a large pot filled with a refined Englishman. Enter Chiquita Banana, singing her familiar jingle with lyrics that instruct the cannibal, "if you'd like to be refined and civilized, then your eating habits really ought to be revised," as she magically turns his "primitive" pot into a modern oven. This commercial not only shows the sexualized Latin woman, but also showcases the most racist representation of colonial Africa. In 1987, around the same time that Aunt Jemima received her image makeover, Chiquita Banana was changed from a personified banana into an actual female. Many of the distinguishing features of the icon remained the same: there was still a sombrero brimming with fresh fruit, a ruffled dress, sexy makeup, and body. Having changed the image into an actual human, the company had to give her a skin tone and ethnic identity, emphasizing her as a Latina brand logo.

National Geographic Sexual Regime

An important popular source of images about difference is *National Geographic* magazine. *National Geographic* is part of this troubled legacy of western representation of the native other. Much like the grandiose expositions of the past, the photographs and descriptions of foreign, exotic natives helps the westerner to situate their (our) place in the hierarchy of civilizations. The supposedly "enlightened" audience for the magazine is a section of the public with a curiosity about the rest of the world that *National Geographic* seeks to fill in particular way. Discussing the history of the magazine, Lutz and Collins (1993) write, "*National Geographic* helped white, upwardly mobile Americans to locate themselves in a changing world, to come to terms with their whiteness and relative privilege, and to deal with anxieties about their class position, both national and international" (p. 38). As with the "scientific" investigation into the body of the Hottentot Venus, the display of difference held within the glossy pages of *National Geographic* have an aura of expertise, of detached, rational "scientific" inquiry. During the formative years of the magazine, early in the twentieth century, the images provided a new way to view the world for white Americans who could not afford to travel the world. The colonial idea of the white explorer was not hidden in the early images; white journalists were shown in photographs being carried across rivers on the backs of African porters. The difference between the westerner and the native populations was highlighted through the direct contact of figures in images. The American reading public was able to visualize the "primitive" other in the pages of the magazine and could place themselves as more developed and civilized.

The magazine is a major source for the American public for images of other women. "For the overwhelmingly white readers of the *Geographic*, the dark-skinned women of distant regions serve as touchstones, giving lessons both positive and

negative about what women are and should be" (p. 166). As in many popular representations of women, the role of woman as mother has always been highlighted in the magazine's pages. Mothering is seen as a universal role for women, representing the reproduction of and connection to the natural world and the continuation of tradition. To showcase this commonality is part of the magazine's larger goal of hiding the production of western power through the creation of a non-threatening family of man. "Photographs of women become one of the primary devices by which the magazine depicts 'universal human values,' and these include the values of family love and the appreciation of female beauty itself" (p. 167).

The images also created a form of sex education for the reading and viewing public; women shown in the magazine were often shown in indigenous dress with breasts exposed. My own education of difference from *National Geographic* formed an important part of my childhood and my sexual education. I remember secretly grabbing my parents' copies of the magazine and taking them to a private place. The images of bare-breasted native women gave me my first taste of sexuality; I developed a strange fascination with these supposedly educational images. There is a distinction between indigenous nudity and sexualized nudity, but the images in the glossy pages of this magazine blur this line. Editors of the magazine claim that these images of breasts simply show traditional forms of dress, but the editors choose these images and there can be a sensual agenda behind these choices. There are no large, glossy images of elderly or unattractive women's breasts; those highlighted are generally young, pert, and beautiful by the magazine's standards. Lutz and Collins write about the preference of the editors for choosing images of bare-breasted Tahitian women over women from other, less sensualized geographies of the world. Exotic sensuality of these topless women cannot be ignored in the discussion of how we learn about difference and how we learn about sexuality. The colonial sense of sexuality that places the white male in the position of watching and viewing the native other for his pleasure is recreated in these images of "scientific" nudity. The consumption of these images in the west popularizes ideas about more lenient sexual mores of other lands, leaving the viewing public fantasizing about the readily available women in places like Tahiti.

Western representation of the native Other in popular media relies heavily on the imperial legacy of representation in service of empire. The form of representation in *National Geographic* involves the interpretation of experience with the expressed goal of highlighting the difference of those outside the imagined western community.

Chapter 6
The Gendered Subject/Object in Popular Culture

How have recent images in popular culture reinforced myths of western superiority? How has gender been imagined and portrayed in popular movies, television, magazines, and news media? In what ways have these current and popular images informed the creation of educational materials? I am especially interested in the representation of difference in films created as part of the mainstream Hollywood machine and in those created by smaller, independent, or foreign producers. Films have a particular place in the popular imagination and often they form the major experience that Americans have with those who come from different racial or cultural contexts.

Just as colonial pedagogy is still under construction, through its focus on reaffirming the hierarchy of humanity and the stereotyped notions of difference, colonial media is still the norm for mainstream, western media production. Nightly newscasts focus primarily on the west and the celebrity-crazed culture that has taken over the public realm. Stories that highlight non-western countries or stories are rare (especially coverage of Africa) and those that are told generally revolve around American interests abroad. Stories on Africa that do appear do not generally disrupt the colonial mindset of Africa as an uncivilized, primitive land. Without reference to the European colonial powers and policies that divided and ruled in Africa, we hear of the civil wars, famine, the despotic leaders, and our prejudices about the entire complex continent are affirmed. Stories of the Middle East (the name itself a remnant of colonialism) give the perspectives of the American military and its occupation in Iraq, or the rise of Islamic extremism and terrorism. Short segments on foreign destinations are all that most Americans hear of the world and the diverse populations and cultures. Hierarchies and stereotypes remain unchallenged in this form of newscast. One of the lessons we learn from this news is that the United States is a central actor on the world stage, and if something important is happening abroad then it must be proof of their need for our military/humanitarian intervention.

R.B. Jones, *Postcolonial Representations of Women*, Explorations of Educational Purpose 18, DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1551-6_6, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

No News Is Good News

The paradox of the twenty-first century news media is that with increasing access to television and Internet news programming, fewer and fewer large media corporations create this programming. American news media is especially limited by the ownership of outlets by the same five or so major corporations. Some stories are covered on every television channel and Internet site, while others are ignored completely. The sensational stories of a murdered child, beauty queen, missing blonde college student, or scandal involving public figures hiring prostitutes are covered to the point of exhaustion.

Domestically, stories of protest against the government or corporations rarely are covered in any meaningful way by major networks. After the terrorist attacks of September 11th, 2001, major networks covered the story from similar angles. The only images of Muslims on the major networks were either the grainy photos of the terrorists and Bin Laden or scenes of Muslims in foreign countries cheering and celebrating the attack. Instead of leading to public healing and tolerance, this coverage encouraged the backlash against Muslim in America. Many Muslims, or those perceived to be Muslim, were attacked or threatened after 9/11. In my own media consumption of the attacks, I only saw one network that showed the perspective of Arab and Muslim Americans in a complex and sensitive manner. MTV News created a special broadcast in the days following the attack that focused on the experience and reaction of Arab and Muslim American teenagers. Cameras followed young people through their daily lives and interviewed them about how the terrorist attacks affected the way that their fellow Americans treated them. The special was an hour-long documentary that did not try to present simple conclusions or easily digestible messages. Though generally dismissed as catering to the baser instincts of young people and glorifying sex and conspicuous consumption, MTV produced the most balanced and interesting news response to the tragedy. The complexity of multiple perspectives does not translate to the sound bites edited together to make a thirty-minute nightly news broadcast.

In the lead-up to the war in Iraq in 2003, millions of Americans gathered in Washington, DC, and around the country to protest the drive to war by the George W. Bush White House. Those around the world watching news coverage of the lead-up would have believed that the majority of Americans supported this war and the fabricated reasons behind it. Apparently afraid of questioning national security and appearing unpatriotic, major networks beat the war drums, creating flashy graphics and titles to accompany their coverage of the military maneuvers. Pictures of millions of people in the streets protesting the war do not make for such interesting graphics; corporations that pay for advertising have an interest in presenting the image of unity and strength.

If protests against American military intervention and occupation are not covered by the mainstream media, then protests against the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank are even more invisible. People gathering to protest transnational corporations present a direct threat to the mega corporations that control the news. Grassroots organizations and community-building activities are not

popular news stories. Watching the news on CBS, NBC, ABC, and CNN provides an interesting lesson in how Americans learn about other countries. Seemingly confirming the stereotype that Americans are ignorant and uninterested in cultures, there is a general lack of news coverage about those who are different. Most stories about the world outside of the United States and Europe promote a fear of difference through representations of social unrest, civil war, and terrorism.

Neocolonial Filmmaking

Popular culture created in the United States takes the stereotypical news coverage of the media and distorts difference even further, producing and marketing caricatures out of geographic and cultural difference. Through television and film representations, American culture and interests are often glorified at the expense of all others. In many action movies, the military is shown as a brave, moral, force of protection and liberation, while the villains and enemies are easily recognizable by their clothing, accents, and skin color. The Arab/Muslim (conflated in films) terrorist out to destroy the American way of life has replaced the cold war villain of choice, the beefy Soviet thug. In romantic dramas, exotically different women provide sensual lovers, but are rarely shown as true loves. Often, western romances showcase the exotically romantic physical location of other countries, while focusing on a western couple placed within the romantic location; locals form just part of the exotic backdrop to the unfolding romance. Comedies rely upon the stereotypes of cultural difference to create humorous situations. American comedies often show other cultures in order mock differences, thereby reinforcing ethnocentric assumptions. The world of the Hollywood blockbuster is not one that is thought by cultural critics to be culturally sensitive or aware. Many people, when confronted with the biased representations, dismiss the stereotypes and biases displayed in these films as mere escapism, as entertainment that has little to do with how we actually view and interact with those from different backgrounds or cultures. Those working in the field of film studies and cultural studies have asserted that films consciously and subconsciously influence perceptions of audience members (Shohat & Stam, 1994; Shaheen, 2001). The films not only mirror the stereotypes and assumptions of the culture at large, but also reinforce and shape these ideas. Examining the history of film reveals a similar history of intolerance and stereotypes. I have chosen a precious few examples of these films that I remember watching uncritically as a child and a few that are more recent entries in this category.

Contemporary films and news stories that are remnants of the colonial era have in common a flattening of cultural difference and a focus on the discourses of progress, savagery, superiority, and inferiority. Films that contrast the modern west with another culture generally rely on the easy distinctions between the developed, educated, rational westerner and the traditional, simple, and irrational other. The films exploit colonial myth of pure, distinct cultures that do not leave room for hybrid identities. Audience members have an easy time distinguishing between members of different cultures; they have distinct forms of dress, language, or accent

and have obviously different cultural practices. In *Protocol*, one can easily identify the point at which the action moves to fictional Middle Eastern Ohtar by the sudden profusion of sand, camels, and women dressed in burqa. The characters in *The Gods Must Be Crazy* are separated by not only skin color but also by the "traditional" dress of the bushmen compared to the modern western shirts, pants, and shoes of the white heroes. Films such as these focus on the romantic involvement of the white heroes and heroines; those who are culturally and/or racially different are the sidekick, the villain, or the innocent comic foil. In keeping with the formula for Hollywood success, most popular films do not attempt to make meaningful statements on controversial topics like race and colonialism. It seems easier, and has been economically successful, for the producers and directors to present romance and intrigue without social commentary (Shaheen, 2001).

Some independent films have found some success in representing more complex relationships with difference. Films such as *Mississippi Masala* (1991), while moderately successful at the box office, ultimately do little to break through the blockbusters that sell stereotypes. The audience who pays money to see the violent action of *300* is not, generally, the same group who would be interested in more nuanced films that do not provide easily identifiable types. Why are so many people drawn to the familiar parochial characters and relationships in film? In the film *Mississippi Masala*, a young Indian American woman falls in love with an African American man and must contend with cultural and societal expectations and the attempts to regulate her behavior. The film shows the complex realities of intercultural dating, without simplifying or watering down the emotional conflicts that arise for border crossers. Racism is also explored in complex ways; neither Indian nor black family is pleased with the interracial relationship and the pressures of sustaining such a relationship in Mississippi, where race is an essential identifying factor, proves extremely difficult. This film reminds us that as in the realm of multicultural pedagogy, there are filmmakers and producers creating important and complex work in film and popular culture, and they provide the hope that things can be different.

Disney and Youth Culture

It has become virtually impossible to think of childhood without thinking of Disney. There are the theme parks, where guests spend a fortune to escape reality in the "Magic Kingdom" that sells fantasy at a high price. Going to the theme parks requires either a fairly wealthy family or saving and sacrifice; the poor families are left out of the magic and fantasy. To bring the "magic" to the rest of the country and world, Disney has entered theaters, living rooms, and playrooms through their television channel, animated and live action films, and toys. The power of the Disney Corporation to take over children's popular culture and memories is undeniable and is consolidated through two corporate strategies. Disney has created a brand that stands for the very essence of childhood innocence, making those

who cannot afford or choose not to participate in the consumption to feel that their children are missing out on an important stage. The branding of innocence also functions to derail a critique about any Disney product; it is just innocent childhood fun without any political or social effects. Secondly, the strategy of cross-marketing and product tie-ins mean that the Disney message affects children in almost every aspect of their lives. The television shows and films are just the first steps on an all-out marketing bonanza. Taking *Beauty and the Beast* (1995) as an example of the marketing bonanza, we can see the connections that Disney forms to kids, especially girls through their marketing of the Disney princesses. First, children see the film, then play with the Belle doll, dress up as Belle for Halloween, go to eat at Burger King and receive a figurine from the film in their kid's meal. There are also coloring books, storybooks, activity books, and interactive websites that encourage children to identify with the characters in an emotional way. It becomes impossible to separate your memories of childhood from your memories of Disney.

Of course, the unofficial education offered by Disney is not as innocent as its marketing would have us believe. The way that other cultures, races, gender, and sexuality have been represented in Disney films and cartoons serve to support colonial hierarchies and notions of inferiority and superiority (Giroux, 2001a). Beginning with the passive domesticity of Snow White, little girls have been schooled in how to be feminine through the Disney princesses. There is an official website created by Disney devoted to Snow White, Aurora (from *Sleeping Beauty*), Cinderella, Ariel, Belle, Jasmine, Pocahontas, and Mulan where little girls can enter the world of each princess, take a quiz to see which princess she is most like, and parents are offered parenting tips on how to "help your child feel like a princess." Girls are encouraged to emulate and look up to these animated princesses in order to form their own ideas about femininity and romance. We learn from Snow White to be meek and to take pleasure in cooking and cleaning; from Aurora we learn that finding love can magically save life and reverse curses; from Cinderella we learn that beauty can lift one out of poverty and find true love; from Ariel we learn to literally give up your voice in order to find love; Belle teaches us that a violent and angry man can be changed into a prince through kindness and love. The three most recently added princesses, Jasmine, Pocahontas, and Mulan, are different than their predecessors. These characters allow us to see how Disney represents the intersection of race and gender to create exotic, non-white femininity. Jasmine, in particular, shows an exoticized sexuality that plays on the western erotic stereotypes of Arab women. She is dressed in what looks to be the costume of a belly dancer, with her midriff exposed to highlight her tiny waist and full hips. Jasmine portrays the historical western fascination with the harem and the supposed easy sexuality of the women in the harem. She is the epitome of the Orientalist fantasy that has been cemented through repetitive images showing the exotic sensuality of Muslim and Arab women throughout the history of western representation.

Aladdin (1992), the Disney movie starring Princess Jasmine, showcases the colonial education that exists in "innocent" children's cartoons. The film not only stereotypes the sexuality of Arab women but also presents negative stereotypes of Arab culture and society that reinforces the colonial mindset. The film highlights

the superstition, irrationality, dishonest, and violent stereotypical traits that were enumerated by Lord Cromer (1908) in his racist diatribe about his colonial subjects in Egypt. For instance, Aladdin, the hero of the film has lighter skin, no beard or turban, and an American accent. Disney producers "paint all the other Arabs as ruthless, uncivilized caricatures" (Shaheen, 2001, p. 51). All other men in the film, particularly the villains, have darker skin, turban, and thick accents. In the opening song of the film, controversial lyrics caused an outcry from Arab-Americans. The original line, performed by Robin Williams in the role of the genie, in the theatrical release of the song "Arabian Nights" was, "Where they cut off your ear/if they don't like your face/It's barbaric, but hey, it's home" (p. 51). After the outcry over the repetition of violent racist stereotypes, the lines were changed to, "Where it's flat and immense/And the heat is intense/It's barbaric, but hey, it's home," for the release of the film on video. The loaded adjective barbaric was not removed. The studio did not address other critiques of the film's racism in subsequent versions. Especially in the heightened patriotism in the United States in the wake of the first Gulf War, the repetition of these racist representations of Arabs in *Aladdin* left Arab-Americans hurt and angry. Though Disney did not change most of the racist aspects of the film, they obviously were affected by the outrage. Before beginning their next attempt at a multicultural film, they went through 3 years of diversity training (p. 52).

Africa: Revisiting the "Dark Continent"

American television and mainstream films produced about people from different, "third world" locations confirm the stereotypical view of others that we receive from the nightly network news. Images of Africans typically highlight the "primitive" tribal cultures juxtaposed with the "advanced" civilization of the west. We are encouraged to think of the evolutionary timeline that equates geographical distance to the temporal advancement of humanity. Going to the "dark continent" is to travel back in time, to view one's own distant past. Often the exotic fascination with this primal mythic difference is mixed with a fear of being consumed, often literally, by these "savages" who do not share the values and mores of modern civilization. In television documentaries and popular film, the African person is generally shown to be on the same level of advancement as the famous wildlife of the continent. In the genre of wildlife documentary, the generic British gentleman creates a voiceover to describe the herd of elephants, the fresh kill of the lioness, and the laughter of the scavenging hyena. The same voiceover style is used for documentaries detailing the cultural life and habits of African tribes. In effect, the people of the various civilizations and countries of modern Africa are not only flattened into one another, but also equated with the movements and life cycle of the animals. Westerners who travel to African countries as tourists are more likely to visit national parks and see the animals than have interest in visiting local villages or observing cultural practices. The fascination with the "big five"—elephants, lions, leopards, water buffalos, and rhinoceroses— draws tourists to the land of safari. Disney's only film set

on the continent of Africa focuses on wildlife, personified and animated to tell the story of the lion king. The people of Africa are nowhere to be found in the *Lion King* (1994), just as the people are often absent in tourist brochures and safaris. Stories about Africans are not popular with magazine readers and filmgoers (Lutz & Collins, 1993).

Two examples of a popular western film about Africa are ones that I remember fondly from my childhood: *Out of Africa* (1985) and *The Gods Must Be Crazy* (1980). Both films have white Europeans or white African settlers as the main characters, but one attempts to show the highly developed social culture of the African bushman (the name itself a derogatory remnant from the colonial history) juxtaposed with the sometimes ridiculous "civilization" of modern, westernized African cities. In *The Gods Must Be Crazy*, one of the main characters is a bushman, though we learn of him through the narrator who is one of the British gentleman. The film starts off as form of stylized documentary about village life for the bushmen. We learn that they do not know of personal property, violence, or crime. They share all resources with the village and the community is more valued than the individual. This idyllic scene of life in tune with nature is then juxtaposed to the cars, traffic, and cubicle of the modern African city. In this comparison, traditional tribal life is romanticized, while the western values of the city are ridiculed. As we cut back to the village, we are shown a white pilot throwing a glass soda bottle out the window of his airplane. The bushman finds the bottle and assumes it is a gift from the gods to his people. As the first form of property introduced to village life, the soda bottle soon causes greed; some hoard the bottle and refuse to share. This western consumer object shatters tribal harmony, as siblings fight and hit each other over the head with the glass bottle. This theme of idyllic traditional African life and the disorder brought about by the soda bottle can be viewed as a commentary on the ravages of western civilization. Since the days of colonialism, westerners have hailed their/our advanced state of development and the need to industrialize and commercialize the globe.

Several elements of *The Gods Must Be Crazy* are stereotypical of African tribal life; the bushmen are represented as held in a static, blissful past. The white man and his Coke bottle represent the developed future, as the panoptic time of McClintock is on full display. The black Africans who live in the modernized, westernized cities are shown to be constantly scheming for power and literally tripping over each other to plot, assassinate, and steal. In the end, it is predictably the white male protagonist who must save the day, and the white woman, from the perilous black African armed militia. The bushman, rather than a main driver of the love story between the white leads, is a representative of the idyllic, traditional African past. This is part of the colonial myth of the childlike innocence of native peoples before contact with the outside world. It is the same myth that fascinates western television audiences who are taken with white explorers into the depths of the Papua New Guinea forest (touted as the last of the undiscovered people and places) to make contact with fearsome tribes of headhunters. We watch as the tribe members display their wariness of the white television crew, then as the crew slowly gain trust through the magic of the mirrors shown to these "primitive" people for the first time. For some reason, the western viewing audience remains fascinated by the myth of the

remote, "primitive" tribes who are untouched by western civilization. The exotic difference and the "unspoiled" locals drive the ethnographic filmmakers. There is always a sense of disappointment when the locals turn out to be wearing western t-shirts, when the women's breasts are covered, and when the magical mirror has been seen many times before. Westerners, weary from the gadgets and stress of our civilization, long to see "authentic" cultures that can speak to our ancestral past, to a time that was more simple and uncluttered. Though the overall effect of the film is an attempted critique of modern commercialism and the globalization of western-style capitalism and greed, colonial representation of the bushman as the noble savage is the undercurrent. Even well-intentioned efforts at critique of modern western cultural influences in Africa are marred by the persistence of the colonial influence.

A classic film about the continent of Africa is *Out of Africa* (1985) that showcases colonial relationships and the romance of white Europeans in Africa. The film is based on a memoir by the same title by Isak Dinesen. In the original memoir, Dinesen writes critically of colonialism and other white settlers in Kenya. She feels an emotional closeness to the land and the Kenyans, for whom she feels a paternalistic need to provide food and medical treatment. Contradictions in her writing have been pointed out, "how despite her love for Africa's terrain and wildlife, she nevertheless expropriated thousands of acres, and for a time, hunted animals for sport," and "her maintaining friendships and social ties with some of the white settlers even though she condemned them . . . for their racism and abusive treatment of the African people" (Cooper & Descutner, 1996, p. 230). Despite these contradictions, the focus of the memoir is on Dinesen's relationships with and the lives of local Kenyans. Unlike the unreflective racism of most colonial settlers, her writing shows a complex understanding of race; she refers to the Masai and the Kikuyu tribes and does not flatten all Kenyans under one label. The film adaptation does not focus on the critique of colonialism or the strong relationships formed with Africans. Instead, the film is centered on the relationship between Dinesen (Blixen in the film) and the English Denys Finch Hatton, who plays a minor part in the book. Cooper and Descutner point out that the positive anti-colonial and pro-Kenyan views that Dinesen expressed in her memoir are placed in the character of Finch Hatton, making Dinesen/Blixen a less sympathetic figure inferior to her male lead. The film's hero is Finch Hatton, the white man in Africa who defends the cultural freedom of the Kenyans and lives in harmony with nature and with the people. She is portrayed as dependent on the men in her life to save her from multiple situations. "While Dinesen's own narratives seek to subvert the constraints of patriarchy, Pollack's translation [to film] reaffirms the naturalness and rightness of the patriarchal order" (p. 247).

Meryl Streep plays Karen Blixen, an accidental colonialist in Kenya who finds herself the mistress of a large and unsuccessful farm in charge of many local Africans. In the story, which centers on the love affair between Blixen and Denys Finch Hatton (played by Robert Redford), the native Africans are peripheral to the love of the white safari hunters and colonial farmers. In the opening scene of the film, Blixen enters into a bad marriage with a cheating husband who takes her to

the wilds of Africa where he owns colonial property. It is a world of white-gloved African servants, mosquito nets, and dangerous animals that tests the mettle of the well-to-do woman from Denmark. We, the western audience of the film, are obviously meant to sympathize with Karen Blixen in her new and confusing surroundings. We pity her failing marriage and her loneliness among the colonial elite. When Finch Hatton arrives in her life, we root for a budding romance to save her from the loneliness and isolation of colonial farm life. She tries to tame the natural land through her attempts at growing coffee and her encounters with local wildlife. Ultimately, the wildness of the land overpowers Blixen and she must return to Europe. The film does attempt to show the local Africans, "my Kikuyu" according to Blixen, in a favorable light, though this portrayal leans in the direction of the "noble savage" stereotype. They are kind and hardworking, but also servile and uneducated. Colonialism is romanticized and cleansed of its brutal and violent realities through this narrative. We sympathize with the colonizers, seeing the Kenyans as childlike dependents on the kindness and wealth of the Europeans.

Island Natives

Several American films in the past several decades have shown the colonial representations of people living on tropical Pacific islands. Some focus on the remoteness and emptiness of the land (*The Blue Lagoon*, 1980, *Cast Away*, 2000), and others focus on the people who live on these islands who appear to be frozen in the distant past. In the remake of the 1933 original *King Kong* (2005), director Peter Jackson presents a rehashed version of the white heroine confronted with primitive local islanders. Even though the remake was made over 70 years after the original, the colonial fantasies are even more exaggerated. The natives on mythical Skull Island are primitive and threatening to Carl Denham and Ann Darrow, the white director and actor on the ship, the S.S. *Venture*. The islanders live in a time capsule, sharing the island with dinosaurs and a giant gorilla, worshipped as a god and known as Kong. Frozen in the past, the people are so far down the evolutionary ladder that they are sharing land with dinosaurs. The local tribe kidnaps the blonde, fair actress Ann Darrow and then ritually prepares her for human sacrifice to the giant ape; apparently Kong has a thing for blondes. This scenario of the hulking black beast sexually coveting the white woman is one of the ultimate colonial myths. "A blonde captive, in the lust-driven hands of a dark and barbaric people, awaits a dreadful fate that preoccupies the deep unconscious of western Civilization: the ravishing of a white woman by a hulking black monstrosity" (Ewen & Ewen, 2006, p. 446). The black beast is ultimately captured by Denham and displayed for money in New York City, echoing the actual colonial practice of displaying racial and ethnic "types" to reinforce racist hierarchies in the public imagination. Kong escapes from the theater, kidnapping Ann and bringing her to the top of the Empire State building. Killed by the artillery of military planes, the ending of the film represents the triumph of western imperial technology and military over the colonized, primitive people of

the world. The original film was created during the height of the eugenics movement in the United States and it fit right into the ideas of white racial superiority that was the focus of the movement. It is a comment on the continued legacy of the racist ideas of colonialism that the 2005 remake of the film was relatively unchanged and drew the same racist conclusions. Director Peter Jackson chose to include the stereotyped islanders and the beautiful white heroine who creates feelings of lust in the great Kong. The ridiculous comedy, *Joe Versus the Volcano* (1990), features islanders who need a human sacrifice to appease the gods. Both of these films rely on stereotypes of these islands produced during European exploration and colonialism of natives who practice human sacrifice and cannibalism.

Arab and Muslims: The Neocolonial Harem

Representations of Arabs and Muslims highlight the difference of religion and dress that fascinate westerners. These groups are portrayed as violent and repressive, a fierce enemy whose respect for life and the western idea of freedom is always in question. The film *Protocol* (1984), starring American golden sweetheart Goldie Hawn, is a vivid example of these stereotypes. Relationships of gender and culture are highlighted in the portion of the film that is set in a Middle Eastern harem. As part of a political deal, Hawn's character Sunny Davis is kidnapped and shipped to a fictionalized Arab country to be part of the harem of the Emir (played by American actor Richard Romanus). Stereotypes of Arab culture abound in this comedy that relies on emphasizing the wide gap between American and Arab societies for cheap laughs.

In *Protocol*, the main story revolves around a fictional Middle Eastern country, Ohtar, and the desire of the US government to establish a strategic military base on its soil. This country represents all of the stereotypical ideas about the Arab world. There are the deserts, camels, oppressed veiled women, and the mystical, irrational royal advisor that make up the landscape of the outlandish comedy. Sunny is sent on a "diplomatic" trip to Ohtar while in actuality is an arranged marriage to the Amir in exchange for the military base. During her brief stay in Ohtar, Sunny is dressed in an elaborate burqa, taken on a camel ride through the desert, and shot at by extremists involved in a coup. The film is a ridiculous representation of the colonial stereotypes of the Arab world used for comic effect. Using Orientalist fascination with the exotic harem, the film reinforces the stereotypical ideas that westerners have held about the Arab world for centuries that focus on the sexualized female body available for use by men. Sonny is basically sold into the Amir's harem by the US government.

Two recent films offer problematic and stereotyped view of difference related to the Arab world. *300* is an American action film that focuses on the geography and people of ancient Persia (*300*). In *300* (2006), we are presented with a mythical ancient world where masculinity is highly regulated through physical strength, the ability to inflict pain and harm on others, and by putting women in their proper and subordinate place. The ancient setting cannot excuse this modern, colonial representation of difference in religion, race, and gender. Spartans are white, heroic,

and European in contrast to the Persians who are called beasts, shown to be villainous, dark skinned, and different. The film places the righteous muscular masculinity of the Spartan, who claim to be the holders of reason, in contrast to the feminized sculptors and artists of Arcadia, and the dark, menacing masculinity of the Persians. The women, who are supporting cast only, are highly sexualized most often shown half clothed, or engaged in sex that fortifies the men for war. Male council members silence the queen while attempting to speak in defense of her king. Later, we see the queen giving over her body to a traitorous council member in order to try and protect her man, her sexuality has a power that her voice is denied. Only by allowing herself to be raped, the queen is allowed to speak. King Leonidas, after proving his masculinity in bed, attempts to turn away a soldier because he is not old enough to "have felt the warmth of a woman." The prerequisite for battle is the sexual experience with a woman. A dying white boy says of the Persians, "they came from the blackness . . . attacked us with their fangs and claws," suggesting that they are not human like the Greeks; a soldier describes them as "motherless dogs," the narrator as "soulless."

When we finally see the Persian forces and their king, Xerxes, we see a creature, not fully man, who wears make-up, plucked eyebrows, elaborate facial jewelry, and long feminine nails. Though his appearance is highly feminized, the king towers over Leonidas and possesses a deep, masculine voice. His questionable sexuality and his position is somewhere between man and woman, a position that is the symbol of deranged and abnormal masculinity. Xerxes forces are as abnormal as his sexuality; every Orientalist stereotype is part of the army made up of Indians, Africans, and Arabs who display visual markers of difference. Some of his forces are actual monsters with giant size and deformed arms and faces. In a memorable scene, we witness the harem of Xerxes; nude women kiss each other and writhe on the floor, inviting sexual conquest. Here, too, the line of sexuality is blurred and highlights the deviant gender and sexuality of the Persians compared to the strict heterosexuality of Sparta. This is, of course, the ultimate western colonial fantasy, the harem of sexually available, exotic, nude women who seek only to provide sexual pleasure; we never hear the voice of any of these exotic women. This trope is easily recognizable from Orientalist paintings of the nineteenth century where Muslim women are shown in the harem and the baths, touching each other and highlighting their exotic sexuality. The film *300* provides a recent example of the colonial education that very much informs popular culture in the west, highlighting the hierarchy of humanity that places the superiority of European culture and sexuality while reinforcing the old stereotypes of Muslims and Arabs as cruel, animalistic, highly sexualized, and irrational.

Asia: Concubines and Castes

Many films made for western audiences that are set in Asia center on the beauty, passivity, and sexuality of women. A popular stereotype is the Chinese Doll, a beautiful, passive sexual object ready to be obedient for her man. In *The Quiet*

American (2002), an adaptation of a Graham Greene novel originally published in 1955, the main plot involves a British journalist named Thomas Fowler and an American CIA agent named Alden Pyle in political intrigue around the time of French withdrawal from Vietnam in the mid-1950s. Pyle arrives in Vietnam and befriends Fowler, claiming to be an optometrist working for an American aid agency. As the drama unfolds, Fowler and the audience discover that Pyle is much more powerful and involved than he admits, which leads to his eventual murder at the hands of communist approved by Fowler. Two western men are the protagonists, representing different types of the colonial presence in Vietnam. Fowler believes he holds the moral high ground with his interest in local people and culture; he has a live-in Vietnamese lover, Phuong, who is less than half his age. Though he eats at local restaurants and keeps a lover, he does not try to fully belong; he never learns any Vietnamese, he speaks only English and the colonizer's language, French. Fowler represents the colonial obsession with the exotic difference and sexuality of other, less "civilized" locations. Pyle and his American associates represent the colonialism that is interested in controlling the political and economic resources of another country. In the Cold War era, Pyle thinks he is fighting for democracy by getting involved in the struggle between Vietnamese communists and French imperialists. He tells Fowler very clearly that Americans are not colonialists, but what he is involved in American imperialism thinly veiled by the rhetoric of defending democracy.

Exotic feminine sexuality is at the heart of the film. Both men, though different in their relationship with Vietnam, fall in love with the same young Vietnamese woman. The tagline for the film is, "In war, the most powerful tool is seduction," hinting that at the root of the political drama is the sexual tension of the love triangle. At the beginning of the film, Phuong is living with Fowler in an arrangement that means she will never be able to marry. Fowler is married to a devout Catholic woman in London who refuses to grant a divorce, and by living with a westerner Phuong ensures that no Vietnamese man would marry her. This is the ultimate colonial male fantasy: the young, exotic woman available only to him for sexual pleasure and the stable wife back in the mother country who cannot interfere with the affair. Fowler is living this fantasy, which can only be taken away by another, younger colonialist looking to fulfill the same fantasy. The first time Pyle sees Phuong he falls in love at first sight and decides to ask her to marry him. The tension between the men is rooted in the competition for colonial fantasy embodied in young Phuong, who represents the colonial myths of Asian female sexuality. Physically, she is petite, thin and has long silky black hair; sexually she is aggressive, while socially she is passive and docile. This film is a recent adaptation of a novel written in 1955 in a very different global and cultural context; the choice to make the film in 2002 and retain the stereotypes of exotic feminine sexuality make it an important example of the way that Asian women are portrayed in Hollywood.

Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom (1984) was a popular Hollywood film that portrays many ethnocentric Asian stereotypes, particularly of Indian culture and spirituality. Indiana accidentally ends up in the Indian countryside with his young

Chinese sidekick Shorty and the stereotypically prissy and squeamish American lounge singer Willie. He is asked by the poor, superstitious villagers to save their village and children from an evil priest who's stolen a sacred stone and all of the children to an abandoned palace deep in the jungle. Once Jones's trio arrives at the palace, the outrageous stereotypes really begin in earnest. At the first night's dinner, the first course is a large snake, cut open to reveal squirming baby snakes, which are eaten alive by the Indian dinner guests, to the obvious horror of Willie. The second course is large beetles, popped open and eaten with delight. The horrified American woman requests soup and is served a steaming terrine that when stirred reveals eyeballs floating in the broth. The final course is a monkey head, opened in front of the diners to reveal chilled monkey brains. As the blonde-haired, blue-eyed heroine, Willie represents the expected horror of the American audience in reaction to the strange and exotic foods that are presented as traditional Indian delicacies. The film presents disgust as the obvious and rational reaction to the presentation of such food.

After following the necessarily deadly secret passageways, Indiana witnesses a religious ceremony that involves the sacrifice of a human being, whose beating heart is ripped out of his chest by the priest. The removal of his heart does not kill the victim and his lowered into a pit of lava and burned to death. The ritualized drinking of blood and the injuring of effigies that result in harm to human bodies accompany this mysterious and violent religious ceremony. By presenting this religion as a traditional part of Indian culture, the filmmakers emphasize an invented cultural difference that depicts Indians as irrational, exotic savages. It reinforces the colonial hierarchy that contrasts the rational, scientific west with the irrational, spiritual east. The eventual victory of Indiana Jones over this evil Indian cult restores the order of rational over irrational, west over east.

Films made for western audiences that involve Indian characters generally focus on the role of castes and tradition in Indian culture. *Monsoon Wedding* (2001) is a film directed by an Indian-born woman, Mira Nair, that crossed over into the margins of western cinema audiences. The film blends tradition and change, and both reinforces and challenges stereotypes of Indians. The plot centers on the arranged marriage of Aditi and Hemant, a stereotype that represents a reality for many in India, and the elaborate ceremony planned by Aditi's family from an upper caste. Older generations voice traditional views on skin color, gender, and caste while those of the younger generation express different attitudes. Several times older female relatives praise the bride for her fair complexion, representing the idea that those with pale skin are more valued and attractive. The traditional idea of the necessity of arranged marriages, accepted by the parents of the bride and older relatives, is questioned by the bride's cousin Ria who would rather move to the United States to pursue a career than settle down and get married. She is asked repeatedly when she is going to get married and have sons, which is the traditional path for an Indian woman of her age. Varun, younger brother of the bride, struggles against traditional masculility as his parents disapprove of his desire to become a chef and to dance; his father wants to send him to a boarding school to "toughen him up."

The film does not rely on the replaying traditional stereotypes found in western representations of India; it blends certain elements of tradition with contemporary and transnational elements. Some of the characters attending the wedding are part of the Indian diaspora and returning to India from the United States or Australia for the wedding. The dialogue moves freely between English and Hindi just as the traditional food is mixed with Scotch, reflecting the hybrid identities that make up the Indian diaspora. The characters of the film, especially the younger generation, are border crossers who move between Indian and western, tradition and change, English and Hindi. The film presents the complexity of identity without trying to simplify or make easy judgments.

Central and South America: Fiery Sexuality

Contemporary popular film representations of Latin America have focused on the fiery food, female sexuality, and creativity of the people and cultures. In *Frida* (2002), a controversial film based on the life of legendary Mexican artist Frida Kahlo, the focus of the plot is Frida's sexual adventures with philandering husband Diego Rivera and other men and women throughout her life (including Josephine Baker and Leon Trotsky). While the sexuality of the artist may relate to her life's work as a painter, the film relies on sexual relationships to drive the plot. We see her exposed breasts many times throughout the film, though it is not vital to the plot. Her tumultuous relationship with Rivera is central and the driving force in the film. Kahlo's painting is present as a backdrop, colorful illustrations of her passionate loves and life. The obsessive focus on the sexual exploits of the artist and the marginalizing of her art and intellect fits into the stereotypes of Mexico, Central and South America.

When the movie was filmed in English with mainly American actors, many in Mexico were horrified. The politically radical Rivera and Kahlo were famously critical of "Grinlandia" (Kahlo's term for the United States) and the imperial drive of the United States in the Americas. Many felt that to be filmed in the language of the oppressor would have caused Kahlo great pain and that it was a disservice to her legacy. Her passion for her native language, dress, and culture are showcased in the film that is paradoxically filmed in English. There are few Mexican actors in a film that glorifies many aspects of the culture and is shot in Mexico. On the positive side, when we are shown the artist at work and when her paintings are brought to life in beautiful detail, the film succeeds in honoring the creativity of Kahlo. Many of her paintings focus on the betrayal of her body, broken and scarred in a bus accident in her youth. Beautiful images of a body trapped in braces and casts in an attempt to limit the pain that she endured for most of her life. While the film represents a strong, intelligent Mexican woman artist, it makes her life palatable to American audiences by producing the story in English and by creating her as a bisexual sex symbol for consumption by western audiences.

Even in films produced in Central and South America, this representation of women's fiery sexuality and passionate irrationality are present. In the Mexican film *Like Water for Chocolate* (1993), the audience is presented with magical realism where the food creates violent emotional and physical reactions. Does this movie present an alternative critique of western cinematic themes of a linear narrative, a strict barrier between fantasy and reality, and a repressive feminine sexuality? Or, do these elements merely serve to reproduce the stereotypes of this region of the world that are easily recognizable? The film can be analyzed through either lens.

In the film, the story revolves around Tita, her mother, and older sisters living on a ranch on the Mexican border with Texas. As a young woman, Tita falls into passionate but forbidden love with Pedro, a local boy. Being bound by tradition, as the youngest daughter she is forbidden to marry or have children because she must care for her mother until death. In the film, passion literally results in fire. After eating one of Tita's dishes infused with her forbidden passion, sister Gertrudis begins to sweat and when she enters the shower, her body steams and sets the wooden shower on fire with her passion. Later, when Tita and Pedro finally give into their passion, sparks literally fly from the building in which they have sex. At the end of the movie, Pedro dies from a great bolt of passion when he finally can be with his love; Tita commits suicide by eating matches that literally set her on fire and engulf them both in flames. Doctor John represents the Anglo culture, a Texan who helps to deliver Rosaura's children and falls in love with Tita. John is reserved, rational, and lacks the passionate fire of the Mexican characters; he also seems to be incapable of inspiring love or fire in Tita. The comparison in the film between Mexican and Anglo is stark, confirming stereotypes about rationality and passion. However, it is not John for whom the audience relates; the main theme is the passion and magic of the Mexican culture and the power of several generations of women who use food to express and inspire emotion.

Film Representations of the Historical Colonial and Postcolonial

In stark contrast to the representation of race in *Out of Africa, King Kong*, and other films with colonial mindset, the film *Rabbit Proof Fence* (2002) shows the racism behind colonization. Because it is based on historical people and events, this film has a different agenda than *King Kong* and other fictional accounts. The film, set in Australia in 1931, is based on the true story of three young girls who live in the aborigine community of Jigalong with their extended families. Molly, younger sister Daisy, and cousin Gracie are "half-castes," with white settler fathers and aboriginal mothers. Mr. Neville, the Chief Protector of Aborigines in Western Australia, orders the removal of half-caste girls to the Moore River Native Settlement, for their own "protection." At the settlement, and others like it, the children were given a rudimentary form of education while being trained to work as domestic servants. The children were forbidden to speak in their native language or to practice customs of their families or communities. Though the white Australian media has debated

the truth of Neville's quotations in the movie, his character embodies the white colonialist attitude toward the colonized population in many parts of the world. He believes that by removing the children from their native families and educating them in the joys of white civilization, he is helping to lift them up out of their "primitive" state. As Protector of Aborigines, he feels that it is his job to protect them from themselves. The film forces the audience to question why one form of civilization is called advanced and superior to another that is under threat of being wiped out. Neville considers the Aboriginal communities that live in close family units and are able to survive off the harsh land of the Outback, as "backward" and existing in an earlier evolutionary state. When the officials from the Moore River Native Settlement need to find runaway girls who try to return home, they must rely on the superior tracking skills of Moodoo, an Aboriginal man forced to serve the administration as some sort of punishment. This superior ability to track and live in the Australian countryside is not acknowledged in the film by the white authorities, it is merely exploited for their own gain. Two of the three young girls (Molly and Daisy) somehow manage to elude Moodoo and, after nine months of walking, find their way home to Jigalong. Once home, they go into hiding but are not free from the "protection" of Neville and the authorities. The voiceover reveals that once Molly grows up and has children one of the girls is taken from her to a settlement for education and her family never sees her again. The practice of removing half-caste children from their families continued in some parts of the country until 1971 and it was not until February 13, 2008, that the new Australian Prime Minister, Kevin Rudd, issued a formal apology to what was known as the Stolen Generation.

The Last King of Scotland (2006) set in the country of Uganda in 1970, the year of the military coup that brought Idi Amin to power. The protagonist is Nicholas Garrigan, a young Scottish doctor who travels to Uganda in order to serve in a rural clinic. The film showcases the tensions between the colonial mindset and the post-colonial independence movements. Amin worked for the British colonial army as a child and the film claims that the British government helped him gain power. The film highlights Amin's claims to be a president for the people, for black power in Africa, yet he is supported and financed by the former colonialists. A British commissioner represents the colonial mindset in the film when he says to Nicholas of Amin, "He's got a firm hand, the only thing an African really understands." The British in the film carry the traces of the white man's burden of colonialism, in Uganda to help install a leader friendly to the British cause. Though official colonialism has ended, the white presence in Africa and the underlying belief in the superiority of European civilization remain. The film asks questions about the complicity of colonial powers in the rise and corruption of post-independence African leaders. In many ways, independence offered a failed promise to many countries of a new beginning that would bring prosperity and the end to colonial repression. Too often, and certainly in the case of Uganda and Idi Amin, the post-independence governments were influenced by the example of colonial opulence and used power to concentrate wealth in the hands of the few at the expense of all else.

The film mixes fiction in the character of Garrigan with historical events in the rule of Amin. We are shown several actual historical events that occurred during

Amin's reign, the expulsion of Indians from Uganda and the highjacking of an Air France plane by Palestinians that landed in Uganda and was supported by the Ugandan leader. As a leader, Amin began as a charismatic man of the people, promising better lives for the average citizen, but in the film we see his decent into paranoia, torture, and mass murder. Though the film is set in Amin's Uganda, the main character and the one with whom we are sympathetic is a European doctor who acts in morally questionable ways. Why did the producers choose to create a fictional Scottish doctor in order to tell a story of Uganda in the 1970s? If an African doctor had been the hero, barely escaping with his life at the end of the film, would white audiences have embraced the film?

Chapter 7
Case Study: The Veiled Women in the Visual Imagination of the West

In other chapters in this book, I look quite generally at the history of colonialism and its effect on the representation of women. In this chapter, I analyze a specific example of western colonial representation of the veiled Muslim woman, and detail the postcolonial response and resistance. What have we been taught about Islam and women in the official curriculum of schooling and in the unofficial curriculum of the media?

Though there have been a proliferation of images of this simplified archetype of difference since September 11th, the role of the veil in Islam and in colonial and postcolonial discourse has a long, complex history. How did it come to pass that western representations of Muslim women cannot be discussed without recourse to the veil as ultimate cultural signifier? What is signified by the image of a veiled woman depends on your cultural position and the historical moment. While it is impossible to encapsulate all divergent historical meanings and uses of the veil, I would like to attempt an abridged account of how the veil has been used within Islam and by the west with various motives and intentions. This history leads me to the current events that have reaffirmed the veil as central to the discourse of cultural difference. In the past few years there has been a surge in the attempt to legally control the covering or uncovering of women's bodies. Western European countries have been criticizing and banning the wearing of veils; officials are legislating cultural symbols in an attempt to control intercultural relations. At the same time, the governments of some traditionally Muslim countries have been moving toward more conservative positions on the veil; strains of fundamentalist Islam are pressing for mandatory covering of the face in an attempt to "purify" the women in the religion from the corruption of western influence.

The centering of the woman's body as focal point in discourses on modernization, oppression, and cultural authenticity rely on established patriarchal structures. Patriarchy is not a European invention, nor a phenomenon that is unique to any culture. Though they have been expressed differently in varying geographical and religious contexts, systems of gender-based laws and codes can be found in most societies. During colonial times, the male elite of Muslim countries worked with the European men in charge of the administration of the colony to determine the role that women would play in the modernizing and "civilizing" of the country. Postcolonial

R.B. Jones, *Postcolonial Representations of Women*, Explorations of Educational Purpose 18, DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1551-6_7, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

nationalist movements have been led, for the most part, by small groups of men who use the woman's body as a stage to re-enact cultural authenticity that was stolen during the colonial period. Women have not been silent witnesses to patriarchy, and have taken part in various forms of private and public resistance to the male imposition of ideology onto the female body. I discuss a few of these forms of resistance alongside the colonial and native forms of patriarchy that have centered the veil in discourse.

Banning of the veil has occurred many times throughout history. Secularization and westernization in Turkey led Ataturk to regard veiling as an extremist symbol of Islam. As part of westernization efforts by Shah Pahlavi in Iran, backed by the United States and Britain, women were officially discouraged from veiling. The current battles began to heat up when the French outlawed the wearing of the veil to school as part of a ban on "conspicuous" religious symbols in September of 2004. The veil has been the focus of attempts to legislate cultural unity through banning the wearing of the potent religious symbol. Once again, the covering and uncovering of Muslim women's bodies is at the center of media attention about cultural diversity and difference. The instilling of the body and a piece of cloth with such intense meaning is a remnant of the colonial discourse of the veil.

Since the invigorated focus on Islam in the west that was the result of the events of September 11th, Islam and its practices (assumed to be unitary) regarding the treatment of women have been under increased scrutiny. In her essay, "Visibility, Violence and Voice?" Alison Donnell (2003) writes of the stereotyped representation of Muslim women in west as an "icon of oppression—an embodiment of the rationale for the continuation of George W. Bush's war without end, a strategic figure constantly evoked as a visual reminder of the incommensurability between Western and Islamic societies" (p. 134). We have been assailed by images created by and for the west of veiled women in Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, and elsewhere and the media has taught us that we should feel pity, and shame that these voiceless, oppressed women have been abandoned by the west. Donnell questions the obsession with the veil as ultimate signifier of difference and oppression in the west, "the veil is so easily translated into a visual vocabulary of oppression that it is difficult to divert attention on to the more pressing issues for women in many Muslim countries" (p. 124).

I do not want to deny the reality of gender oppression that occurs in concrete ways in most societies, but the reflexive equating of veil to oppression is a problem that is a remnant from colonial discourse and used as an imperialist weapon for the constructed west. The pressing issue is how western media and politicians are using the Muslim woman's body to control the discourse over cultural symbols and freedom of expression. The same governments that denounce the Iranian regime for enforcing the wearing of the veil are making gains in enforcing the removal of the veil. Both situations involve the enforced robing or disrobing of women whose voices are not included in debate.

The history of western imagination of the veil is long and complex, inextricably linked to the idea of Western rationalism and liberalism in opposition to the (inferior) religiosity and tradition of the rest of the world. It is a part of the paternalistic

way of dealing with the rest of the world that was perfected during colonialism; we (western, rational, modern) know what is best for you (non-western, irrational, primitive). Notions of what freedom means in the west, notably the freedom to see and be seen, are not universally applicable. Muslim women who are not available to be seen in public are a direct challenge to our western idea of freedom. When it is asserted by many Muslim women that the veil might be chosen, critically considered, and understood to offer freedom of a different sort, accusations of internalized oppression are leveled. The veil has become an easy visual equivalence for cultural backwardness, a form of shorthand to represent Europe's "enlightened" cultural standing. At the height of colonial power, even those Europeans who fought against women's voting and educational rights in their home countries, championed the unveiling of women as a great leap forward, toward greater westernization.

Alliance of Civilizations

Current representations of Muslim women created by and for the west are based in the political situation created by September 11th and the American reactions to this event. The concept of "official nationalism," defined by Benedict Anderson (1983), is "an anticipatory strategy adopted by the dominant groups which are threatened with marginalization," (p. 101). It is a defensive strategy of the powerful who feel that their tight grasp on dominance is threatened. The extreme forms of patriotism that surface at times of war or after terrorist attack are natural extensions of this fear-based nationalism. Since the terrorist attacks of September 11th, President George W. Bush has led a return to a form of nationalist protectionism that has polarized the United States and the globe. He has set up a "you're either with us or against us" binary, separating the world into clear sides. Those who follow and support the administration without question on one side, and those who question or push for alternate solutions are on the side of the terrorists. Most outside the US recognize the rhetorical strategies of Bush as creating a special uniqueness to American identity at the expense of the rest of humanity. In a speech on October 17, 2001, Bush stated, "The evildoers have struck our nation, but out of evil comes good. We are a good, kind-hearted, decent people, and we're showing the world just that in our compassion and our resolve" (Bush, 2001). The rhetoric is not just of special uniqueness of Americans, but of an ultimate struggle between forces of good and evil. Though in many speeches Bush states that we are not fighting a war against Islam, the overall impression is that "us" (the American, the Christian, the rational westerner) are irredeemably good and that "them" (the Other, the Muslim, the irrational easterner) are irredeemably evil and focused on the destruction of everything good and pure. The borders of nation are reinforced as those within and without are more clearly defined through official state speeches and laws.

Samuel Huntington (1998) has described the increasingly violent and polarizing rhetoric as a "clash of civilizations," an inevitable result of the incommensurable differences between the west and the Muslim world. This theory of clashing requires

a belief in the idea of distinct, isolated cultures that are homogenous and unified. Huntington also relies on the idea of cultural stasis, where the backbone of any of the world's cultures is essentially stable and defined. To counteract this idea of inevitable clash, the United Nations formed a high-level study group to explore the historical, cultural, and political foundations of the rising tension and rhetoric of the imaginary divide between the west and Islam. The group, named "The Alliance of Civilizations" in a direct response to Huntington, released their findings in a report on November 13th, 2006. The report confirms many of my own thoughts about the root causes in the rise of tension. Breaking down the foundations of conflict by region, the group distributes cause and effect without letting any global power, specifically the United States, off the hook. On page nine, the report discusses the rising "Islamophobia" in the west, which has been fueled by political rhetoric of "Jihadists," and "Islamic Fascism."

One of the major historical causes of current global tension outlined in the report is European colonialism and the continued unequal power relationship of western capitalism and military intervention in the rest of the world (particularly in the Muslim world). The British colonial control of Egypt and the French regime in Algeria are two examples of the long lasting influence of colonialism and postcolonial struggles to redefine national positions. In his essay, "Algeria Unveiled," from 1959 (cited in Bailey & Tawadros, 2003), Franz Fanon wrote about the tactic of the French colonial administration in Algeria to break the indigenous culture. He argued that the strategy was to break Algerian culture by convincing, through coercion or threat, the women to unveil and thus be "liberated" and agents of European freedom within their homes and communities. "The dominant administration solemnly undertook to defend this woman, pictured as humiliated, sequestered, cloistered. It described the immense possibilities of women, unfortunately transformed by the Algerian man into inert, demonetized, indeed dehumanized, object" (p. 75). The tactic was similar to the tone of the British occupational authority in Egypt: you are barbaric and backwards because you refuse your women the freedom of dress and movement that European women have. The goal was to induce feelings of guilt and shame in native culture, a realization that European culture has much more to offer and the superiority should be peacefully accepted. "It was the colonialist's frenzy to unveil the Algerian woman, it was his gamble on winning the battle of the veil at whatever cost, that were to provoke the native's bristling resistance" (p. 77).

Fanon writes of a "counter-acculturation" (p. 76) that feeds resistance to the attempted outside modification of cultural customs and mores. The way of dressing, communicating, moving within a national culture is tied to the identity and value of that culture. When the French tried to do away with the custom of women veiling in public, they tapped into and invigorated a national spirit and sense of imagined community against the change. The discourse of the veil is discussed in more detail in Chapters 3 and 4, but it is an example of a native custom that was under threat from European colonial powers. The threat of loss led in many cases to the entrenchment of traditional values, and in the case of the veil, to a new sense of urgency and importance of holding tight to national and cultural customs. But, it is important to note that the meanings of such cultural practices were and are not static

and uncontested from within. During the Algerian resistance to the French, women used their veils as cover to carry illegal weapons to nationalist fighters. The donning of the veil in public was a form of resistance on its own for many women, a reclaiming of cultural authenticity in the face of European domination. Leila Ahmed (1992) writes of the centrality of the veil in the struggle between colonialist and nationalist discourse in Egypt. The colonialist discourse reinforces the "Western narrative of Islam as oppressor and the West as liberator" (p. 54), while the nationalist discourse focuses on the veiling of women as an authentic cultural and religious symbol that is a form of resistance to western imperialism. Historically, European leaders focused on removing the veil because they believed that by promoting western "liberation" for women, they could degrade the native culture and undermine the morale in the colony. It was one of the more subtle forms of degradation of national culture that that was meant to maintain control and win converts to the colonial government. This issue of western paternalistic views of what is "best" for Muslim women is a continuing source of cultural and political conflict.

The report of the Alliance of Civilizations group also stresses the importance of the historical creation of the Israeli state by the United Nations in 1948 for current west/Muslim tension. Resulting in the displacement of Palestinians and Israeli occupation of land outside the 1948 decree, this conflict resonates throughout the region as a source of antagonism and tension. "This occupation has been perceived in the Muslim world as a form of colonialism and has led many to believe, rightly or wrongly, that Israel is in collusion with 'the West'" (Alliance report, 2006, p. 9). It is seen by some as a continuation of the humiliation and powerlessness of colonial influence in the Middle East; European and US support for Israel at the expense of Palestinian land and people continually re-opens the wounds of colonial occupation and the perceived assault on Muslim identity.

Another historical event that is influential in the current global tension is the overthrow of the democratically elected leader of Iran with great help by the CIA in 1953. This event and the installation of a brutal, oppressive, but western-friendly Shah is an event that most Americans do not remember at all, but is one that has formed part of the current Iranian consciousness of national identity and of western influence. This historical event highlights to Iranians (and to many outside the United States) that the foreign policy of the United States in the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries has little to do with grand rhetoric of "liberty," and "democracy." National interest based in geo-political and economic dominance is the determined goal of US relations with the rest of the globe, and those on the ground in Iran have a memory of this relation in action.

With the memory of US support for tyrants and the lack of support for democracy that is not in their interest, many in the world see the officially stated goals of the invasion of Iraq as thinly veiled lies. The official name, "Operation Iraqi Freedom" and the oft-stated goal of "spreading democracy throughout the Middle East" ring hallow outside of the cable news organizations and White House press conferences. The US government appears to believe that they work beyond the scope of international law, while simultaneously accusing other countries of breaking these laws. "In the context of relations between Muslim and Western societies, the perception of

double standards in the application of international law and the protection of human rights is particularly acute" (p. 9).

The report also details trends in the Muslim world that are feeding into the increasingly tense rhetoric of clashing civilizations. The apparent rise of fundamentalist groups and regimes that spurn western influence and urge return to a purely Muslim past are based in the nationalist struggles for independence. Postcolonial political leaders who came to power in the mid-twentieth century generally pushed modernization and secular government. These governments failed to provide the prosperity and stability that was promised to their people. In this void of leadership, some religious organizations "gained credibility and popular support in part by providing sorely needed social services, especially health and primary education, to deprived sectors of society" (p. 10). An example of this type of religio-political organization is Hezbollah that provided medical care and rebuilding efforts to war-torn areas of southern Lebanon after the Israeli-Hezbollah conflict of summer 2006. In impoverished areas, with little in the way of governmental support or service, the groups that can provide for basic needs gain the trust and confidence of local populations.

The report also addresses the role of media in both the western and Muslim discourse of difference and global relations. Media frame the debate in many Muslim countries over the role of women in Islam and in society. While the report insists that these debates must be solved internally within Muslim societies, the west can avoid detrimental effects by fueling anti-modern sentiments. "Propagation by Western media and official authorities of over-simplified explanations that either blame Islam as a religion or that falsely pit secularists against religious activists has a detrimental effect" (p. 11). The overly sensationalist tone of news programs and the patronizing and hypocritical tone of the US government involving women's issues abroad only serve to polarize the issue. For instance, the US turns a blind eye to the treatment of women in "friendly" nations of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, but briefly focus on the treatment of women in Afghanistan when needed to support military offensives.

Variations on the Veil

Like most forms of dress, the style, color, shape, and coverage of the veil varies by geographic and cultural location. Though it is now almost exclusively associated with Islam, veils have been worn historically by those of all religions living in what is now referred to as the Middle East. In much of the recent western attention to the veil, there has not been discussion of the complexity and variation of meaning and coverage in different forms of veiling. There is large distinction between a headscarf covering only one's hair and the full *burqa* that is a thick cloth covering of the entire body, with only a mesh panel for the eyes. Many of the distinctions in veiling are based on cultural norms of various societies; women choose levels of covering based on many factors to make fashion, political, or religious statements. In "The Language of the Veil," Ahdaf Soueif (2003) writes of the various meanings

of different styles of veils in historical and contemporary Egypt. In 1906, the author details three different styles of veil that were class dependent: the "yashmak, which was drawn across the face under the eyes and connoted the aristocracy," the "*bisha*, which could be casually thrown over the whole face and was class neutral," and the "*burqu*, a rectangle of the same fabric as fishnet stockings" favored by the working or lower middle classes (p. 113). The amount of coverage was tied at this time to class; in contemporary Egypt, the Soueif writes that women's amount of veiling or lack of veiling is tied both to class and the political and religious location of the women. Those who wear the *hijab*, "a long loose garment topped with a large plain scarf securely fastened so no hair, ears, or neck show through" (p. 116) are in the majority and are considered the average Egyptian woman. Some wear western styles and are judged as wealthy and westernized. Others choose to wear the *niqab*, "a black *hijab* outfit with a think, black cloth over the face and a narrow slit to see through" (p. 119) and they are presumed to be political Islamists who oppose secular governments and desire an Islamist state. There are many variations on this culturally meaningful wearing of veils, and the complexity belies the diversity of opinion and situation of women in traditionally Muslim cultures.

History, Islam, and the Veil

Much has been stated and written about the origins of the wearing of the veil in Islam and the statements of the Prophet about a required covering. Governments and religious leaders offer broad edicts about how Muslim women should dress, many purportedly based on strict readings of the Quran. All that has been written is the result of the multiple interpretations of statements and actions from hundreds of years ago. Two relatively recent texts that attempt to examine the history of the veil from a feminist perspective are useful in understanding the complex relationship between Muslim women and the veil: *The Veil and the Male Elite* by Fatima Mernissi (1992), and *Women and Gender in Islam* by Leila Ahmed (1992). Both of these texts attempt to reclaim women's rights to education and equality by examining the history of the Prophet Muhammed. Mernissi (1992) believes that a case for an Islamic feminism can be built by looking back to the origins of Islam and by rereading the Quran through a feminist lens. She also tries to refute fundamentalist claims that all efforts toward women's rights are forms of westernization that dilute traditional Islam. She maintains that Muslim women can be assured that "the quest for dignity, democracy, and human rights, for full participation in political and social affairs of our country, stems from no imported western values, but is a true part of the Muslim tradition" (p. viii). The work of Ahmed and Mernissi stands in stark opposition to the association in the west of Islam and the oppression of women.

What events led to compulsory veiling of women, what was the relationship of the Prophet Mohammed to the role of women and their seclusion? From available historical documentation of (what is now referred to as) the Middle East before Islam, it seems as if the veiling of women in public was a cultural expectation for

most cultures of the region. Christians and non-Christians who lived in the Middle East, whether in the Mediterranean Byzantine or in Mesopotamia, were subject to the prevailing patriarchy and the misogynistic views on women's behavior and place. Ahmed (1992) writes of the women in Byzantine society, "barring some general disaster, women were always supposed to be veiled, the veil or its absence marking the distinction between the 'honest' woman and the prostitute" (p. 26). These statements about the Christian Middle East echo some of the practices that today are associated with Islam exclusively. As in many, if not most, historical locations, women were viewed as primarily reproductive vessels, property of their male relatives and husbands. According to Ahmed's historical research and interpretation, the misogyny of the pre-Islamic Middle East and Mediterranean was at a surprising level and ferocity. According to Christian teachings of the day, sexuality was shameful and dirty and women represented the ultimate symbol of sex and temptation. "Merely seeing a woman represented danger—and therefore the veil, concealing clothing, and strict segregation became increasingly emphasized" (p. 35). In this view of women's powerful sexuality that required veiling, or covering up, the men were in need of protection. The weakness of desire was believed to be with men, but it was enacted on the bodies of women who were covered from view so that their sexuality would not tempt and taunt the men around them. It is important for the discourse of the veil that the Prophet was born into a world that so devalued women and preached their seclusion and that this fact is rarely mentioned in regard to the current veiling practices associated with Islam.

The life of Muhammed has been documented in many forms and lives on in his sayings, *Hadith*, that form the backbone of the Quran. Volumes can and have been written about his life and founding of Islam, so I would like to focus on one prominent relationship that helped to shape the verses and teachings on women: the relationship of the Prophet and his third (and many say favorite) wife, 'Aisha. In a marriage arranged by her father, 'Aisha was around 9 years old when she was betrothed. Several incidents involving this favorite wife coming into contact with men other than the Prophet were the possible motives for the seclusion of Muhammed's wives. Early in the marriage, 'Aisha was trusted to aid soldiers on the battlefield and to move about in public with her head uncovered. Ahmed writes of "the famous necklace incident":

> Aisha was left behind at a campsite because she had wandered off looking for the beads of her necklace. Returning the following morning, her camel escorted by a young man, she was suspected by the community, and finally by Muhammed, of infidelity. (p. 51)

Scholars believe that the jealousy resulting from this incident led directly to the seclusion of 'Aisha and the other wives. During the Prophet's lifetime, it was only his wives who were secluded and veiled. In his compound they had their own space that was separated from the multitude of visitors to the Prophet. Many of Muhammed's sayings stressed the equality under god of women and men, and in many ways his views on gender were revolutionary when examined within his cultural setting. Some speculate that the ordered seclusion was a result of jealousy and was only ever meant to apply to the Prophet's own wives. Ahmed and Mernissi

believe that it was the men surrounding the Prophet who led to the expansion of seclusion and veiling to all women in Islam and to the role of women as inferior to men. Like the teachings of Jesus, those of Muhammed were interpreted within particular geographic and cultural settings and were therefore influenced by patriarchal views on gender that were entrenched and not easily disposed of. “The egalitarian conception of gender inhering in the ethical vision of Islam existed in tension with the hierarchical relation between the sexes encoded in the marriage structure instituted by Islam” (Ahmed, 1992, p. 64). The vision of greater equality between men and women was stressed in Muhammed’s teachings that focus on the similarities of the sexes spiritually. Another goal of the Prophet was to counteract what he viewed as superstition regarding women and sex that were prevalent in pre-Islamic society. Records of women living in Zoroastrian-practicing areas of Iran show that they were removed and kept apart from the community during menstruation and after giving birth because these processes were believed to be impure (Choksky, 2003, p. 57). Women might have felt relief in converting to a faith that does not consider them to be inherently dirty or impure. “Islam stresses the fact that sex and menstruation are really extraordinary (in the literal meaning of the word) events, but they do not make the woman a negative pole that ‘annihilates’ in some way the presence of the divine and upsets its order” (Mernissi, 1992, p. 74). For Muhammed, the biological realities of menstruation and sex were not viewed as impure or unnatural. While the original sayings and texts of Islam stressed the equality of women and men in areas of faith, the teachings and laws about marriage and seclusion have direct correlation to the practices of the men who gained the power of interpreting the faith after the Prophet’s death.

Though the more progressive views on gender in the Quran have not been adequately addressed in public discourse on Islam, it is true that Muhammed did require the seclusion of his wives. Though this requirement may not have been meant for all women, the application of it as a requirement for women of faith does have its basis in the Hadith. The Quran states, “And tell the believing women to lower their gaze and be modest, and to display of their adornment only that which is apparent, and to draw their veils over their bosoms . . .” and “Tell thy wives and daughters and the women of the believers to draw their cloaks close round them (when they go abroad). That will be better, so they may be recognized and not annoyed” (cited in Bailey & Tawadros, 2003, p. 162). These translated passages from the Quran seem to recommend covering and modesty, but are vague about the amount of covering required and the necessity to cover ones head and face. The openness of the passages on veiling in the Quran have led to differing levels of veiling and unveiling in different geographic locations and times. There are Hadith (claimed to be directly quoted from the Prophet) that are clearer in their attitude toward women. Many believe that the Hadith that demote and degrade the role of women to be misquotes, taken out of context and used to further certain agendas. One Hadith, cited in Mernissi, states: “Those who entrust their affairs to a woman will never know prosperity” (p. 49). Another Hadith that made Mernissi uncomfortable in her religious upbringing attributed this statement to the Prophet: “the dog, the ass, and woman interrupt prayer if they pass in front of the believer, interposing themselves between him and

the *qibla*" (p. 64). In this supposed quote, the woman is equated with animals, and on unequal spiritual footing of men. Though this is directly challenged by other, more equitable Hadith, the quote has been reprinted and valued as true.

After Muhammed's death, 'Aisha took a prominent role in the shaping and growth of the religion. She was consulted about the sayings and prayers of her husband: "'Aisha's transmitted hadith to several of the foremost early Muslim traditionists. Some 2,210 hadith are attributed to her" (p. 73). The close and intellectually stimulating relationship was obviously valued by the Islamic scholars who sought out 'Aisha's help. Widowed, 'Aisha did not fade into the backdrop, but defended her interpretation of the Prophet's life and faith through political speeches and her most (in)famous act of leading troops onto the battlefield in the Battle of the Camel. 'Aisha was, "responsible for the blood spilt at the Battle of the Camel, which set in motion the split of the Muslim world into two factions (Sunnis and Shi'ites), a battle where she herself was in command," (p. 6). Extremely important in the history of the faith, this woman's actions in warfare and politics cannot be ignored. After her death, the men who took over control of the two major divergent factions in Islam utilized more conservative and patriarchal interpretations of the Quran.

Divergent Paths and the Physical Seclusion of Women

As Islam spread to multiple geographies and classes, the way in which the call for veiling and seclusion were realized necessarily shifted and evolved. Within the working and poorer classes, men did not have the luxury of building separate rooms and chambers to keep women hidden from view within the home; at most the women's area was separated by a piece of cloth, or curtain (Ahmed, 1992). Many of the poorer women in the Mediterranean Middle East (the area with the most recorded information) and beyond had to work within and without the home to provide for their families. For them, the call to seclusion was secondary to the need for survival and for the care of their families. However, as in most areas of study, the recorded history of poorer women is virtually non-existent and the views of these women and reflections on their relationship to the veil can be only guessed. There is much more information about the lives of upper-class women from the eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries. It was in the elite upper classes that the spatial seclusion became the norm. "*Hareem*, from the word *haram*, 'sacred and forbidden,' refers to those apartments that were most particularly forbidden to other men—those in which his women resided" (Ahmed, 1992, p. 117). Women were allowed to spend time in the company of other Muslim women, and often seem to have gathered in women's chambers for socializing. The harem was an important space for discussing daily events and cultivating friendships between women. In addition, women of a certain class went to public (single-sex) baths, *hammams*, though more conservative religious men had reservations of the women's baths based on the level of nudity and the presence of non-Muslim women.

European Travel and the Views of Women

The traditional physical seclusion of women within the home meant that male European travelers to Egypt, for example, did not have access to women within the privacy of the women's chambers, or harem. Denial of sight and experience led to an imagined harem space, which was pictorially realized in Orientalist paintings. The very separateness created sensual fantasy, much like the veil in public led to a desire to unveil. Both practices of harem and hammam have been imagined in European writings and images as places of female sexuality on display, lounging semi-nude women in darkened chambers. There is an undercurrent in these imaginings of sexual promiscuity, of nude women lying together, and bathing in front of one another. In the fantastic images produced by artists such as Frenchman Gerome, the male artist is privy to a secret and forbidden world of female sexuality when he creates his harem or bathing scene. Reina Lewis (1996) writes of this in *Gendering Orientalism*, the "erotic charge of the harem has two main trajectories: the fulfillment of seeing the forbidden faces and bodies of Muslim women; and the fantasy of one man's sexual ownership of many women" (pp. 111–112). Women, veiled and unavailable for western male viewing in public spaces, are imagined to shed all inhibitions and covering when in private spaces. The veil and the harem, then, play supporting roles in the fantasy of uncovering and conquering visually the elusive Muslim woman. While in reality the harem was a social space for women to gather, drink tea, and discuss issues of the day, the western fantasy of this space was different. Actual harems were focused on the building and sustaining of relationships between women, while the fantastic imaginary harem was so powerful because of its focus on the relationship between multiple women and the absent, but imagined, man. In some ways the construction of the harem as a space where women waited, sexually charged but powerless, for the man who had complete control over them is the fantasy of absolute control. As some European women were calling for greater freedoms and gaining power in the public realm, the harem provided a control fantasy where women could be imagined as totally passive and willing to submit to male gaze and power. "Paintings, photographs, and literature usually stressed passivity and stillness—not the stillness of inner content, but the stillness of women waiting for the man who was the sole reason for their existence" (Graham-Brown, 1988, p. 74).

European colonialists and travelers were fascinated with the differences in these cultures, especially the practice of women's veiling in public. Much of the recorded sentiments of travelers are about the culture and women of Egypt around the nineteenth century. Many of these accounts stress the fascination with dress, and often allude to the provocative nature of the veiled woman. Claude-Etienne Savary was a French traveler who spent several years in Cairo before the Napoleonic expedition of 1799. He recorded, rather matter-of-factly, his impressions of Egyptian women as compared with the place of women in France. "How different in Egypt, where they are bowed down by the fetters of slavery, condemned to servitude, and have no influence on public affairs. Their empire is confined within the walls of the harem" (Savary, 1799, p. 155). He makes clear that he believes women to have no influence

over events that occur outside of their secluded chambers, which he compares to a form of slavery:

> The women of low rank, whose clothing consists of an ample blue shift, and long drawers, cover their faces with a bit of cloth, having holes opposite the eyes; the rich wear a large white veil, with a black silk mantle, enveloping the body like a domino, so that one would think them in a masquerade. (p. 54)

Savary offers one of the more unembellished views of the visual presence of Egyptian women, with his description of the types and colors of veils detailed in a rather straightforward manner. French novelist and traveler in Egypt, Pierre Loti writes of the allure of the veiled woman in order to keep the Egyptian women from adopting European dress, "Why cannot someone tell these poor little women, who have it in their power to be so adorable, that the beautiful folds of their black veils give to them an exquisite and characteristic distinction . . ." (cited in Bailey & Tawadros, 2003, p. 166). Loti is more overt in his fascination with the sensuality of Egyptian women, hidden from his view except for flashes of skin when their covering moves or falls. Frenchman Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire viewed the veil as an advantage for "ugly" Egyptian women looking for a husband:

> Here you never know the face of the woman you are going to marry, and the surprise of the husband when he sees for the first time the face of his wife after the wedding feast, if it is occasionally a pleasant one can often be very painful . . . But thanks to the veil, the woman has been married; at least she is sure that her ugliness will not force her to remain an old maid. (cited in Bailey & Tawadros, 2003, p. 164)

In this more pragmatic, if not less disturbing, view of the practice of veiling, Saint-Hilaire writes of the covering of faces as an alluring alternative for physically unattractive women looking for a husband.

The imperialist western gaze is complicated when the gender of the traveler is changed; simple equating of the male gaze with imagined sexual pleasure is not sufficient to describe the experience of European women. Unlike male travelers, the women who ventured into Muslim countries could quite easily gain access to the secluded areas of the harem and experience firsthand what life was like for Muslim women. While the experience is still filtered through European lenses, complete with preconceptions and biases, these versions of harem life and of the wearing of the veil offer more realistic accounts. In contrast to male descriptions of harem, women who actually visited these spaces found them to be not dissimilar to the drawing rooms of Europe. They were locations of socialization, gossip, and the development of personal relationships. Unlike the flattened account of Savary, where women's seclusion equated with a form of slavery, those who spent time inside harems gave more nuanced pictures of power relationships. "Neither do the accounts of these 'insiders' give the impression that women were entirely passive or helpless. Rather they suggest that the limits of women's power and influence depended mainly on their age and status in the household" (Graham-Brown, p. 80). Female British traveler Grace Ellison writes in 1915 of the male fascination with the veil from a more critical perspective: "It makes the woman at once the 'forbidden fruit,' and surrounds her with an atmosphere of mystery which, although

fascinating, is neither desirable nor healthy. The thicker the veil, the harder the male stares." (cited in Bailey & Tawadros, 2003, p. 176). Ellison experienced firsthand the male reaction to the veiled woman in public; she walked in public in full cover with Turkish women and felt the stares and attention. Other European women travelers gave nuanced accounts of the condition of women in Muslim societies. Lucy Garnett, a British writer and traveler, wrote of the variation and diversity present in the lives of Middle Eastern women depending upon their social position. Graham-Brown (1988) writes of her conclusions that "neither in the West nor in the East was the subjugation of women absolute" and that they take different forms, "in the West the constraints imposed on women were mainly legal ones, while in the Middle East, they related mainly to custom and socio-economic conditions" (p. 21). Unlike many of the European male travelers of the time, Garnett wrote of similarities in women's roles and positions in the west and east. She experienced the varying levels of independence and seclusion of women based on their economic and social locations.

It does not seem surprising that the European traveler's most often mentioned feature of Muslim women is the veil. It is, for most, the only view that they had of women since they were denied access to private women's spaces; most were driven to fantasy by the inability to penetrate the inner sanctum of the harem. Ellison, as a woman, was allowed greater access to the lives of women in Turkey and was able to write of the veil from a more complex perspective. But, the general tone of most European travel writing in the nineteenth century was of fascination with the mystery of Muslim women and their hidden world and faces behind the veil.

Lord Cromer and the Battle for Egyptian Hearts and Minds

I would like to scrutinize in some depth the attitudes of Lord Cromer, the British administrator to the Egyptian colony, toward the native population. The British in Egypt, under the heavy-handed administration of Lord Cromer, used Orientalist "knowledge" of native peoples in many situations to stress the inferiority of Egyptian culture. In his book, *Modern Egypt*, originally published in 1908, he has a chapter entitled "Dwellers of Egypt," in which he lists in forty-three pages of text the innumerable ways that Egyptians are different and inferior to the British. The statements, which are based on hearsay or personal observation, are presented as rational facts that could be scientifically proven. Cromer's views are worthy of review as an example of the racist, paternalistic rhetoric of European colonialism in the Muslim world. Much of his rhetorical abuse of the Egyptian people is recognizable today, in more nuanced terms, in discussions of Islam. This chapter is the only place in the tome where Cromer discusses his views on Muslim women, and here it is only one in many forms of proof of the general inferiority of Islam and Egyptians. Cromer also takes the time to state how the "noble" British cause of colonialism is intended to civilize the people of Egypt. The chapter begins with a reminder that when the first Englishman "had planted his foot on the banks of the Nile, and sat in

the seats of the faithful . . . he came not as a conqueror, but in the familiar garb of a savior of society" (p. 123, Vol. II).

The remaining pages show the reader how much the Egyptian society needed the British savior, all the while denying the fact that this colonial enterprise had anything to do with self-interest or resources. "It is for the civilized Englishman to extend to them [Egyptians] the hand of fellowship and encouragement, and to raise them, morally and materially, from the abject state in which he finds them" (p. 130, Vol. II). Cromer writes that the civilizing work of the colonial project will be much harder here than in India, as Egyptians are "the rawest of raw materials" (p. 131, Vol. II). "Want of accuracy, which easily degenerates in untruthfulness, is in fact the main characteristic of the Oriental mind" (p. 146, Vol. II). Lord Cromer seems genuinely perplexed as to why the Egyptians are skeptical of British desires to do away with their cultural beliefs and customs and replace them with small-scale replicas of British society.

Treatment of women is one area of Cromer's critique that, when viewed in conjunction with his other statements of native inferiority, adds to his overall mission of saving the Egyptians from themselves. He lists two issues of "degradation" of women that he feels are of utmost importance for the overall civilizing mission: veiling and seclusion, and polygamy. On the veil he writes, "the face of the Moslem woman is veiled when she appears in public. She lives a life of seclusion." As a result, "by confining the sphere of women's interest to a very limited horizon, cramps the intellect and withers the mental development of one-half of the population in Moslem countries" (p. 155, Vol. II). Though disguised in language of equality for women, his statements about Egyptian women have been interpreted as aimed at further eroding native cultural traditions. For, at the same time that Cromer bemoans women's veiling as a hindrance to their mental development, he enacts laws that restrict women's access to education. Ahmed (1992) writes of Cromer's advocacy for Egyptian women:

> The Victorian colonial paternalistic establishment appropriated the language of feminism in the service of its assault on the religions and cultures of Other men, and in particular on Islam, in order to give an aura of moral justification to that assault at the very same time that it combated feminism within its own society. (p. 152)

Gathering from his activities in Britain in opposition to women's suffrage, Cromer was neither a feminist nor a promoter of women's rights. By placing his critique of the veiling of Muslim women at the end of a laundry list of subjective and racist statements about the inferiority of Egyptian men, one can deduce that the administrator chose the unveiling of women as a cause that would showcase European rational superiority.

Colonial and Native Patriarchy

Though countries practicing Islam since its inception had contact in one form or another with Europe, the expansion of Europe's empires that went hand-in-hand with the increased desire for inexpensive raw materials led to increased contact

and mixing of European culture and mores. There were negative effects for women from the increased importation of European goods, which decreased the value of rural women's labor, and more positive effects in "the social institutions and mechanisms for the control and seclusion of women and for their exclusion from the major domains of activity in their society were gradually dismantled" (Ahmed, 1992, p. 127). Two of the most visible and focused upon areas of change and debate on women's issues were the availability and access of education for women and the wearing of the veil.

How did the veil change from an object of sensual fascination for European travelers into the ultimate symbol of backwardness and oppression? In her much reproduced and influential essay, "Discourse of the Veil," Ahmed (1992) lays out a rationale for why the veil became the one symbol for women's oppression by the European colonial powers in the Muslim world. She believes that attacking the practice of veiling was an attempt to consolidate colonial power; rhetoric about "improving the status of women entails abandoning native customs was the product of a particular historical moment and was constructed by an androcentric colonial establishment committed to male dominance" (p. 165). Before the entrenchment of colonial power in places like Egypt, the wearing of the veil was a cultural code that was more based on tradition and class distinction than on any idea of oppression. From the records, it appears that women of the Muslim world were more concerned with other, more substantial, issues of gender inequality. In the nineteenth century a main concern for women was the lack of state-sponsored education. Gains in this area are generally attributed to the travels in Europe and the influence of European ideas of education for girls and included the establishment of a medical school for women in 1832 and then state-sponsored primary and secondary schools for girls in the 1870s (Ahmed, 1992).

Before the intrusion of British colonial power in Egypt, women were interested in increased access to education, to issues of voting, and of access to publications for and by women (inspired by European feminists but altered by Egyptian women to fit their own cultural context). With the British administration in Cairo, the central issues of women's equality were to be boiled down to a single issue: the wearing of the veil. It was not the women of Egypt who centralized the veil and the uncovering of their heads as the most important reason for their oppression: it was the British authority with the support of a number of Egyptian elite. By narrowing the focus of the rights of women to one native tradition, the British effectively took attention away from their cutting back of women's education and made an effective assault on Egyptian cultural traditions.

British focus on the veil was reinforced by important essays written by prominent Egyptians who affirmed the importance of unveiling women to the notion of "progress." Qasim Amin (2003a) was a controversial figure involved in women's issues during the colonial era in Egypt. A wealthy man of social standing and with ties to the British, Amin wrote an essay entitled "Women and the Veil" in 1899, which has been both hailed as an early work in Muslim feminism and critiqued as an attempt to curry favor with those in power. Many of the arguments that the text makes for unveiling do not appear to be made for a genuine interest in seeing gender equality. To begin with, Amin writes that he considers veiling to be

"one of the permanent cornerstones of morality," and that the level of uncovering makes it "difficult for a Western woman to guard herself from sensuous desires and unacceptable shameful feelings" (p. 168). When Amin does get into his reasons for objecting to the practice of veiling, many of the arguments are directed toward male interests. Two sections of the text deal with the veil hiding the identity of a woman so that she may assume a fraudulent identity. In the first, he mentions how difficult it is for men to complete business transactions with women who they cannot see. "It is a very peculiar and difficult thing to prove the identity of a woman who is present but totally covered from head to foot or concealed behind a curtain or door" (p. 169). Secondly, he writes of how in a court of law, women who are allowed to testify wearing a veil over their face are not identifiable and therefore more able to commit fraud. Later in the same essay Amin reiterates the erotic fascination with the veil that so captured western male travelers. In reference to a "thin, white, gauze face cover" and the veil, he writes: "These two coverings are in reality part of the ornaments worn by women that incite an onlooker's desires. They prompt him to discover more of what is concealed after he has been tempted by the large area exposed" (p. 172). While arguing for the unveiling of Egyptian women, the author is indicting women who veil as fraudulent, sexually provocative dupes. In an essay entitled "A Woman's Obligation to Herself," Amin (2003b) more overtly attacks Egyptians in general and Egyptian women specifically for their uncivilized manners including veiling. "Those for whom Amin reserved his most virulent contempt—ironically in a work ostensibly championing their cause—were Egyptian women" (Ahmed, 1992, p. 157).

At this point in history the veil was already the central issue of western powers in deciding whether women were being oppressed in Muslim cultures. The elite Egyptians who were benefiting from British rule were the first to match the call for unveiling, and those women who were of the upper classes were the first to shed the veil. Famously, Huda Sha'wari, founder of the Egyptian Feminist Union, attended the International Women's Alliance in Rome (Ahmed, 1992) and as she stepped of the train in Cairo ceremoniously removed her veil. While this was Sha'wari's least radical challenge to entrenched patriarchy, it was the most publicized. With close ties to European feminists, many Egyptians associated feminism with westernization and colonial power, and therefore it was seen by some as a hindrance to independence from Britain and the nationalist enterprise. When nationalists needed to prove their independence from Europe and their commitment to Egyptian culture, the veil was invoked as a symbol of "authentic" Muslim femininity. As a result of the colonial period and ensuing nationalist struggles, the centralized discourse was of the veil either as ultimate symbol of oppression or as ultimate symbol of authentic native culture.

The Battle for Algiers, the Veil As Weapon

The period in Algerian history of French colonialism and nationalist struggle for independence is another cultural example of the relationship of colonial administration to the veiling of women. In some ways analogous to the British

administration's focus on the veil, the French were less paternalistic in their rhetoric for unveiling. While the British framed the argument as a call for increased freedom and movement for Egyptian women, the French were more open in their desire to damage native culture. In his essay "Algeria Unveiled," Franz Fanon (2003) wrote in support of the Algerian cause about the colonial assault on cultural symbols. "The officials in the French administration in Algeria, committed to bring about the disintegration, at whatever cost, of forms of existence likely to evoke a national reality directly or indirectly" (p. 75). As in Egypt, the veil was centralized in the colonialist discourse of control; it was the most visible symbol of native cultural difference. As the earlier European traveler's reaction to the veil reveal, the western male associations with the veiled women involve complex mixtures of fascination, sexual arousal, pity, and fear of the unknown. "Unveiling this woman is revealing her beauty; it is baring her secret, breaking her resistance, making her available for adventure" (p. 77). In order to consolidate power, the French were bent on controlling visual accessibility of the colonial subjects. The difference between the colonial situations in Egypt and Algeria is the fact of armed resistance and ground battle between the French military and organized armed groups fighting for national liberation. While in both cases the desire of the colonial administration to erode cultural traditions led to nationalist sentiment, the more militant French occupation met with armed resistance.

Algerian women played important roles in the armed resistance to the French, reclaiming the covering and uncovering of their own bodies as powerful tools of subversion. During the French crackdown on the city of Algiers all native citizens were the subject of suspicion and bodily search. Some women, working for the revolutionary cause, adopted European style dress in a visual signal that they were a supporter of westernization and the French cause. With their bodies conforming to the French standards of femininity, women were allowed to pass through checkpoints without harassment: "Carrying revolvers, grenades, hundreds of false identity cards or bombs, the unveiled Algerian woman moves like a fish in the Western waters" (p. 80). These women who cross freely through checkpoints turn around the colonial obsession with the veil and the woman's body as an uncomplicated source of cultural meaning. Previously held ideas that women who veil in public are necessarily traditional and in opposition to the French regime and that those who wear French dress, revealing face, hair, and parts of bodies are siding with the occupiers were proven to be dangerously wrong. Eventually, this subversion was detected, partially through admissions of militant women who were forced to speak under torture (Fanon, 2003). Again, Algerian women's relationship to the veil had to shift to accommodate the practical necessities of the insurgency. No longer protected at checkpoints by appropriating the dress of the colonial power, women began to use the full body cover as a hiding place. Hidden from view, the women's bodies were accompanied by weapons, taped close to the body so that the hands could remain free. "For the hands must be free, exhibited bare, humbly and abjectly presented to the soldiers so that they will look no further" (p. 85). The battle for Algerian independence is an interesting counterpoint to the conventional western attitude that equates the veil with oppression and silence. Women strategically used

the displaying of their own bodies in forms of violent resistance. This case does not invert the connection of seclusion and the veil into an automatic connection of resistance and the veil; it opens up another layer of complex history that cannot be ignored in the contemporary movements to ban the veil or to save the oppressed Muslim woman.

Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism and the Veil

I briefly mentioned the role of the western-backed Shah Pahlavi in Iran in the mid-twentieth century and his imposed ban on the wearing of the veil. It is an important historical continuation of the discourse of the veil that began in the colonial period. In attempting to retain close ties with Europe and the United States, the Shah wanted to do away with the most visible symbol of native culture, and the one that was already invested with deeply coded meaning:

> The *chador*, forbidden by Reza Shah as part of his enforced program for emancipating women, and associated with the backward and downtrodden during the Pahlavi era, was later used as an emblem of revolutionary protest by women of all castes and classes who marched against the Pahlavi regime. (Sullivan, 2000, p. 245)

Declaring the veil illegal in 1936, the government faced challenge and resistance by a great percentage of women, especially those who lived outside of major urban areas (Ettehadieh, 2004). The policy was made to seem successful through media censorship and staged gatherings of supporters. "Whenever governors were unsuccessful, they contemptuously blamed local peoples as 'backward, wild, unintelligent, barbarous, and dirty' and said that they were unappreciative of what was being done for them and understood only force" (Ettehadieh, 2004, p. 99). Like the British administrators in Egypt, the western-backed regime in Iran felt that it knew what was best for women and used force and police power to unveil women "for their own good." By denying the expression of religious identity, the regime actually encouraged revolutionary feeling in those who deeply resented the forced westernization and the perceived degradation of Iranian native culture.

Women opposing the regime joined forces to create the Women's Organization of Iran (WOI) in the two decades leading up to the revolution. WOI evolved throughout its existence, but generally used a feminism based on the teachings of Islam to argue for greater equality for the women of Iran. For the women who formed this organization, Islam was a vehicle for the expression of women's agency. The religion could be reinterpreted to offer equality and a powerful voice for women. The group set up family welfare centers in rural areas to connect with women on a grassroots level. Secretary-general of WOI, Mahnaz Afkhami (2004) writes that the "centers built legitimacy for the organization at the grassroots level and within communities where problems of illiteracy and strict control of women's movement outside of the home made other ways of reaching out to the masses of women impractical" (p. 133). A lesson of the work of this organization and its effectiveness is that the process and work of grassroots women's movements must be committed

to working with all classes of women to improve living conditions. Top-down pronouncements, especially those that have to be enforced through police action, do not take into consideration what most women (especially poor, rural, or uneducated women) need or want for their lives. When the Shah was overthrown during the Islamic Revolution of 1979, women who had organized around a concept of Islamic equality for women demonstrated in the streets wearing veils as symbols of revolutionary resistance. They were reclaiming the potent symbol of anti-westernization that had gained more symbolic power during the banning. The story of the Shah and the Islamic Revolution is an example of how the veiling of women has been centralized in the western discourse of women in Islam, but that more substantive issues of women's rights to education, employment, voting, and equitable marriage and family laws have been generally more central to Muslim women's organizing and calls for change.

After the revolution, the Islamic regime betrayed its promises for more equitable legal and cultural treatment of the women who were active in support of the cause. Many of the gains that WOI had worked so hard to achieve (such as the Family Protection Law, which gave women greater rights within marriage, to divorce, and for child custody) were suspended by Khomeini.

Banning the Veil

One lesson of the revolutionary action fomented by the banning of the veil in Iran is that the removal of religious symbol does not necessarily lead to a lessening of religious sentiment, or to a loss of desire to use the symbol. The work of the WOI in Iran during the banning of the veil shows that the removal of a piece of clothing is not necessarily an indicator of women's legal and economic freedom or equality. Conversely, the forced removal of veils led to an increased desire to wear them as an expression of cultural pride and religious freedom. In the past 3 years, the attention to and fascination with the veil has taken on new importance. Wearing the veil has become the most visible marker of cultural difference in Europe and the United States, a walking symbol of Islam. Since the renewed centrality of Islam in the west after the September 11th attacks, Muslim women have become targets of racist slurs and aggression and of government statements and policies aimed at addressing cultural difference. In the name of secularism and religious freedom, policies that ban the wearing of the veil (or certain types of veil) have proliferated.

Turkey, a majority Muslim state, led the governmental policy charge when in 1997 officials passed bans on the wearing of the hijab in schools (by teachers and students), public institutions, and the military. Since the rise to power of Ataturk in 1923, Turkey's official stance has been a strict separation of church and state, and a policy of westernization that includes the ban on headscarves. Fears of rising political parties with Islamist ties have brought the government in Turkey to a point of national tension over the hijab. In 2003, the government held national celebrations to mark the 80th anniversary of the Turkish republic formed under Ataturk. President Ahmet Necdet Sezer refused entry to the celebration to any woman wearing hijab,

including the wife of Prime Minister Erdogan. Turkey seems to be in the throes of an identity crisis at the national level and while the terms of that crisis are being decided and argued over by the dominant patriarchy in political power, it is the bodies of Turkish women onto which the crisis is enacted. In political attempts to join the European Union, Turkey has been ignoring the call of many Turkish Muslims for a more open environment in which to express their religious beliefs. As Amin Maalouf (1996) wrote, "For . . . Turks, modernization has constantly meant the abandoning of part of themselves. Even though it has sometimes been embraced with enthusiasm, it has never been adopted without a certain bitterness, without a feeling of humiliation and defection" (p. 72).

While the ban has been the source of tension in Turkey, most of the debate around banning the veil has taken place in countries of Western Europe, where the Muslim population is in the minority. In 2000, France passed an official ban on "obvious religious symbols" in schools, including the headscarf. President Jacques Chirac claimed that the ban was an attempt to preserve the secular nature of France, which he felt was at risk from religious political parties and Islamist minorities. "UMP deputy Jerome Riviere (of Chirac's party) says France's secular nature was being challenged by a small minority of hardline Islamists, and he insists the law is not about suppressing religious freedom" (Wyatt, 2004, para. 9). It is interesting that the fear of growing Islamist political organizing is countered by a government ban on the wearing of the veil in schools. Official rationale behind the ban is that it will lead to a more unified, secular France where school children will unite in community without the barriers of religious difference. The implication is that if one does not wear overt signs of difference on one's body the underlying difference will disappear. As if the clothing worn is the only sign of difference, or that one's identity is so tied to clothing that removing one will result in the shedding of the other. Government statements also implied that the (white, male) leadership in France was doing this for the Muslim girl's own good, basically stating that they know what is best for these students even if they do not yet realize it for themselves. Many in the government worry that the ban will further separate the growing Muslim communities in France from the rest of the country, and segregate Muslim girls in private religious schools. Protests within France and in other Muslim communities across the globe have demonstrated the controversial nature of such a ban. Those who doubt that integration and assimilation to French secularism can and should be forced through legal action question the logic of the French government's rationale for the ban. Weeks before the French ban was to take effect, two French journalists, Georges Malbrunot and Christian Chesnot, were taken hostage in Iraq. The group that held the men claimed that they would only be released when French President Chirac repealed the ban on wearing headscarves in schools. The removal of the ban became associated with the hostage taker's plea and with extremism in general. Proponents of the law gained support as a result, and moderate Muslims were forced to come out in support of the French government in the condemnation of the terrorist act of kidnapping.

Recent events in England have brought the debate over veiling into the headlines of British papers. Again, much like the bans in Turkey and France, male politicians

are making public statements and policies that directly affect Muslim women without including the voices of those most directly affected in debate. This past fall, British ex-foreign minister Jack Straw made comments about the "visible statement of separation and of difference" (Straw, 2006) implying that he felt the veil represents the lack of community unity in Britain. Straw conducted several interviews in October 2006 stating his concern over women's ability to conduct meaningful conversations while veiling their face. He seemed to be frustrated that he could not read the body language of a woman who came to meet with him. He extended his discomfort in this conversation to what he believes is a barrier to the creation of community. "Would she, however, think hard about what I said—in particular about my concern that wearing the full veil was bound to make better, positive relations between the two communities more difficult" (Straw, 2006). Straw laid the blame for poor community relations squarely at the feet of women who cover their faces in public. He stated, rather explicitly, that these women are selfishly choosing their personal religious beliefs over the good of the community at large. Just as the issue of the veil has stolen focus away from more pressing issues of women's safety and education in Muslim cultures, the veil has made it more difficult to hold nuanced conversations about the role of religious freedom and symbols in secular western cultures. Jack Straw was quoted in all major western news outlets, but very few solicited responses to his remarks by Muslim women who choose to veil.

These incidents of banning the wearing of the veil have at their root a question of national identity. Immigration and increased religious diversity in France, Britain, and other countries in the west have forced governments to think about how to negotiate the increased diversity and a growing nationalism that resents this diversity. Western fears of terror acts, perpetrated in the name of Islam, have been fueled by the attacks of September 11th in New York, the London tube bombings, and the Madrid train bombings. Western European banning of the veil is playing out in response to a sense of rising Islamic fundamentalism in the west and in traditionally Muslim countries. Government pronouncements about the veil, clouded with rhetoric of diversity and intercultural understanding, cannot help but remind me of the paternalistic writings of Lord Cromer whose efforts to unveil the women of Egypt were part of a greater civilizing mission. Again, the persistently patriarchal power structures in Europe are using the veiling of women as general critique of Muslim "difference." Response to this recent call is reminiscent of the anti-colonial nationalist movements that saw unveiling as a form of elite westernization and an assault on cultural practices. "Now, in the name of 'purifying' the Muslim nation from internal corruption, and in the name of countering the oppression of Western imperialism, religious fundamentalists posit women as key players in their whole project" (Skalli, 2004, p. 54). Many theorize that the rise of fundamentalism has its roots in the collusion of western imperialism and the westernized elites in many Muslim countries. The unveiling of women is, as it has been established, felt by many to be a form of corruption and an assault on Islam. Every law or statement that is made in Europe or the United States that critiques the wearing of the veil is fuel for fundamentalist arguments about the attack on Muslim women.

Contemporary Muslim Women and the Veil

By centering western fascination with the veiled Muslim woman in my writing, I am in some ways reinforcing this fascination and focus. But I hope to use this history of centrality of the veil in patriarchal discourse as a backdrop in which to discuss the much more complex gendered reality of women in Islam, and the resistance and agency that has been marginalized in Western popular discussion of the religion. In her autobiographical work, *A Border Passage*, Leila Ahmed (1999) writes of her experience of coming to the United States for the first time in 1979 and being a panelist on the subject of women and Islam. While she was prepared to talk about the complexity of the history and negotiation of gender relations, the mostly white audiences wanted only to discuss how horrible Islam is and how oppressive and restrictive the practices of the faith were for women. "The implication was that, in trying to examine and rethink our traditions rather than dismissing them out of hand, we were implicitly defending whatever our audience considered to be indefensible" (p. 292). She witnessed how western women were free to question and reinvent their cultural practices, "we had to abandon ours because they were intrinsically, essentially, and irredeemably misogynist and patriarchal in a way that theirs (apparently) were not" (p. 292). Ahmed's feelings of white feminists' antagonism toward Islam mirrors the attitudes of early European feminists who believed that Muslim women had to work outside of the framework of their faith, to give up their cultural identity in order to be truly "liberated." For mainstream feminism in the United States in the 1970s, there were few nuanced interpretations or thoughtful analysis of the social and cultural status of Muslim women. Popular in media in 1979 focused on the American hostages held by students involved in the Islamic Revolution, and the uninformed fear and mistrust of Islam was rampant. The situation is in many ways analogous to the level of fear and ignorance of Islam in the wake of the September 11th terrorist attacks. Though thoughtful and informed scholarship has been written about gender and Islam since 1979, the vast majority of Americans still equate Islam with veiling, and therefore with oppression of women. While the whole history and relationship of gender and Islam has been collapsed in mainstream discourse into a single issue of veiling and the complexity of types of veils, women's reasons for veiling remain unexamined.

In her essay, "We Wear the Mask," from 1998, Coco Fusco relates a story of her encounter with European liberal feminism and the complex mixture of moral judgment and exotic fascination that was expressed about Muslim women:

> I heard too many horror stories about Muslim treatment of women that often began with comments about chadors, and led to assertions that "traditional" men didn't allow their women to be feminists (European style). But in Germany I was also told that the latest craze for middle-class European women trying to "get in touch with their bodies" was belly dancing class. (p. 113)

While selectively using parts of the "exotic" culture of the East, these western "enlightened" women were denying any complexity or agency to those who practice

Islam. The relationship of western, liberal feminism to Islam is not unique; the understanding of complex cultural and social conditions of "other" women has been notoriously lacking. Postcolonial feminist critique has addressed the willed ignorance of liberal feminism to the nuanced, geographically and class specific situations of so-called third world women. The cause of most non-white women has too often been viewed as a single issue that is of peripheral concern to the post-industrial west, or it is turned into an international cause with fleeting obsession and media coverage that is forgotten as soon as the next cause comes into view. Despite the increasingly complex scholarship on gender and Islam, many self-declared feminists in the west still refer to practice of veiling as necessarily problematic and oppressive. The intransigence of western simplification of such a geographically and culturally contingent form of dress is discussed in the work of transnational feminist theorists. Mohanty (2004) discusses how many western feminist readings of the veil collapse historical and cultural context in their assertion that veiling equates with sexual control and oppression. "However, it is the analytical leap from the practice of veiling to an assertion of its general significance in controlling women that must be questioned" (p. 34).

While I have discussed the underlying historical and cultural attitudes toward veiling, the veil as an important and tenacious visual code in the representation of Muslim women deserves greater focus. In the following chapter, I trace the western, male visual imagining of the Muslim women from the Orientalist painters of the nineteenth century to contemporary visual images of Muslim women in the western media. The focusing of the colonial discourse on the veil was reflected in the visual representation of women and the fascination with the coding of the veil as both sensual and oppressive to varying degrees throughout the course of the visual discourse.

Western representation of the Muslim woman is a form of visual discourse that operates within a larger cultural discourse of Islam and difference. The images provide the tools for imagination and fantasy, and those fantasies in turn provide the impetus for the reproduction and repetition of predictable images and assumptions. Resistance to native and colonial forms of patriarchy in subtle and more overt ways was present at the time of creation of these images. This resistance to patriarchy was not, however, part of the western fantasy of the exotic woman of the East, and therefore was not represented in western paintings or photographs. More recent photographs of Muslim women in resistance have been circulated in the west, but the great majority of representations and the ones that capture the popular imagination are of powerless, oppressed women who seemingly are waiting to be uncovered and saved by the west. Even in the most recent images of the Afghan woman covered in burqa, there is a fascination with the covering of the woman's body and the possibility of revealing the hidden. There is a history of western fascination with the exoticism of the unavailable foreign woman that extends back to the images created in the colonial era. "The popular image of slave girls, harems, and concubines nonetheless continued to horrify and titillate Western critics of the Muslim world throughout the colonial period" (Harlow, 1986, xv).

The Male Gaze

The artists and photographers of these images are the producers and controllers of the gaze, a sexualized, fetishized form of looking that seeks to make available the women pictured as objects of desire. Laura Mulvey's (2003) work on the gaze is useful in understanding the sexual power of these representations. The ability to represent women in the style and dress of one's choosing is an act of power where "the actual image of woman as (passive) raw material for the (active) gaze of man" (p. 52). Passivity of the female form as object is reinforced in western images of the veil. The underlying message of many of these images is that the male artist/viewer has the power to remove the covering and reveal what lies beneath. The creation of images of women in Muslim cultures by western men has a long history, becoming increasingly popular with the Orientalist painting in France during the colonial era (mainly late nineteenth century), continuing with the advent of photography into the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Since the veiling of women in public and the prohibition against revealing oneself to men outside the family were and are common cultural practices in many Muslim societies, the images are a result of fantastic imagination, monetary compensation, or negotiation with male relatives of the woman. All of the images, then, have an air of the forbidden, the coerced about them. Women made available to the gaze of western men are forms of fantasy, of submission to the pleasure and power of the men who captured (stole?) their likenesses for western audiences. "The dominant narrative of the Muslim woman in Western discourse from about the eighteenth century to the present basically states, often in quite sophisticated ways, that the Muslim woman is innately oppressed" (Kahf, 1999, p. 177). The public veiling of women in places such as Algeria and Egypt during the colonial period was seen as both a source of wonder and frustration to the colonizer. Covering of the body hinted at the female form underneath, but did not allow for visual access. Unveiling occurred either in the artistic imagination, the paid studio model, or the use of sheer power and force.

This imagined geographic space of the Orient was the projection of European ambition and fantasy that carried the weight of academic truth. The academic studies, the artistic creation, the fiction and literature created about the Orient formed a regime of truth describing an entire region of the world. Said wrote of an "imagined geography," that was generated through the combined efforts of Orientalist scholars and artists. In the time of the Crusades, the Muslim world was a vast, powerful yet nebulous force felt to be encroaching on Europe. Fear of invasion, of a loss to Christianity, led to aggression and bloody massacres. "The Islamic lands sit adjacent to and even on top of the Biblical lands; moreover the heart of the Islamic domain has always been the region closest to Europe, what has been called the Near Orient or Near East" (Said, 1978, p. 74). For the time period between the Crusades and before the physical colonialism of Muslim territories by Europe, Islam was not forgotten in European imagination. The fear of strong empires and close geographies kept Islam and the people who followed the faith in a place of fear and uncertainty. When European powers had the physical force and political will to expand via colonial rule, countries such as Morocco, Algeria, and Egypt were under physical control

and attempted control of native culture and religion. Colonial rule entailed not just physical control, but a drive to create knowledge about the controlled population. "Once again, knowledge of subject races or Orientals is what makes their management easy and profitable; knowledge gives power, more power requires more knowledge, and so on in an increasingly profitable dialectic of information and control" (Said, 1978, p. 36). This was a form of regime of truth, beliefs, and prejudice that were stated and willed to be fact. Colonial knowledge rested on a combination of real observation, imagined inferiority, and artistic fantasy.

Visual representations of Muslim women contain specific visual codes whose meanings for the west were solidified during the colonial era. It is useful to examine theoretical explanations for the mechanisms in which colonial power was represented in visual terms and how the legacy of colonialism and struggles for independence have used visual signs to communicate shifting relationships of power. This colonial obsession with the unveiling of Muslim women is not easily understood by only a desire to dominate. The images of women, produced during and after colonial times, play on the veil as not only symbol of degradation but also as sexually inviting, a form of teasing that invites the uncovering of hidden worlds. The sensual exoticized veil cannot be ignored as the counterpoint to the veil as a symbol of oppression. European artists who traveled during colonial occupation played on the difference in dress of women in order to titillate their European audience.

In French Orientalist painting there were three themes that were artistically reimagined through decades and movements in the depiction of women in the Orient. The themes of the odalisque, the harem, and the bath showed women in various states of undress and availability for gaze and presumed sexual pleasure. The odalisque is shown as a singular, mostly nude female figure lying prone on lavish tapestries and pillows. "Ideal figure above all others, the odalisque is the very symbol of the harem, its highest expression . . . She is its hidden, yet available, core, always throbbing with restrained sensuality" (Alloula, 1986, p. 74). The background sometimes features a musician or servant, but the sexually available woman, seemingly waiting to be possessed by the artist and viewer, dominates the foreground. The harem scenes involve groups of women, usually more covered than the odalisque, in private rooms engaging in social activities. The bath is a theme that again employs the uncovered woman as sexual symbol. In the paintings of baths, the seduction of the viewer is subtler because the women depicted are engaged in the activity of bathing, but this often involves physical contact with other bathing women or with servants. All of these themes involve the artist/viewer peering into a private, forbidden space where they would not be allowed to go in real time and place.

Photography and the Staging of Desire

The use of images in the stated or implied service of colonial power continued in the 1960s, with photography replacing grand Orientalist painting as the documentary and artistic media of choice. Intimate scenes of the interior of the harem or of

the lifted veil did not disappear with photographic representation. The use of photography meant that the imagination of artists had to be replaced with either staged scenes of women unveiling or with women who were uncovered through the use of force.

The debate over the veil rests on the intersecting ideas of visibility and power. A visual expression of the unequal power is the role of the gaze; part of the power of colonialism was the gaze of the colonizer. There was a specifically exoticized and sexualized gaze directed at the veiled woman during the colonial period. Malek Alloula (1986), in *The Colonial Harem*, uses a specific example of French postcards of Algerian women to illustrate his theory of the "colonial phantasm" (p. 3). The colonial phantasm is the sexualized vision, in which the European colonialist is the definition of masculine domination looking to the feminized East for submission. "There is no phantasm, though, without sex, and in this Orientalism a confection of the best and the worst—mostly the worst—a central figure emerges, the very embodiment of the obsession: the harem" (p. 3). Echoing the genderized language of colonialism discussed by Shohat, the colonial phantasm is the sexualized vision, in which the European powers are the definition of masculine domination looking to the feminized East for submission. The women of all colonial lands were sexualized, but the colonial harem was the ultimate sexual fantasy for those with power. The Algerian women were veiled, unavailable to the penetrating gaze of the colonizer, refusing to submit. "The photographer will respond to this quiet and almost natural challenge by means of a double violation: he will unveil the veiled and give figural representation to the forbidden" (Alloula, 1986, p. 14). He could subject the "natives" to constant scrutiny and surveillance, but he remained both central and hidden from view. There is a weakness in the inability to hide from view, to be on constant display (as in ethnographic displays of the nineteenth century). To be constantly available for the gaze of others is a form of subjugation. One way to subvert the unequal gaze is to cover oneself from view, to deny the availability of one's body to the gaze of others. The use of the veil is a denial of unconcealed sight that reveals the flesh to the viewer, a refusal to be constantly available for visual inspection. Alloula writes that this denial "brings to the photographer confirmation of a triple rejection: the rejection of his desire, of the practice of his 'art,' and of his place in a milieu that is not his own" (p. 7). This barrier to this western sense of sight, where women's bodies are expected to be readily available for inspection, increases the desire of the photographer/western male to uncover and view the bodies covered by veils. Another subversion of the gaze is to return it: to reclaim the right to represent one's body and experience.

In the context of the postcard photograph of Algerian women, the photographer attempts to satisfy his desire through re-creation and staging. Photographers produced studio postcards that sent images purported to be Algerian women in all manner of unveiling, feeding the sexual fantasy and colonial phantasm. These are images of inviting, exotic, usually covered woman, unveiling for your gaze and inviting your interest. The photographs were used as images on postcards for sale to westerners as a way to send a piece of the exotic home. Alloula reproduces many of these postcards and writes of the fabricated nature of these images in *The Colonial*

Harem. These images, possibly more than any other, are unashamed manipulation of western sexual fantasy with the "Femme Arabe," the covered yet sexually available woman. Here, the only parts of this woman's body available for plain view are her eyes staring at the artist/viewer and her uncovered breasts. This photograph, and others like it, are obvious set-ups, constructed to fulfill western fantasy. It is highly suspect that a woman who would cover her face and body in public would willingly reveal her breasts to a western photographer. It is pure fiction, keeping myth of sexual and cultural potency of the colonist alive. Alloula describes the fantasy of revealed bodies:

> But this space, transparent now, where bodies are taken without any possibility of refusal, where they abandon themselves even more if that is possible, is the *very space of orgy*: the one that the soldier and the colonizer obsessively dream of establishing on the territory of the colony. . . (p. 122)

The sexual nature of colonial control, the feminization of the native, and the patriarchal fantasy of forced availability come together in photographs, like the staged images on postcards. Unlike Orientalist painting, there is no pretense of artistic mastery in these images. The colonial phantasm of the forbidden-made-available is reproduced in postcard form and sent to Europe as proof. "The postcard authorizes and ensures *the return of the repressed*; it is its ideal mediation since it does not surround it with any clandestinity; on the contrary, it displays it everywhere and draws all eyes to it" (p. 120).

As colonial regimes were falling around the world, French military photographer Marc Garanger was ordered to take photographs of Algerian women to create colonial identification cards that could be checked by authorities to monitor movement and activity. The acts of unveiling these women and taking their photographs were a small piece of the greater French colonial project in Algeria. In the early 1960s organized opposition to French rule was gaining power and military strength. More than the practical goal of controlling movement through the use of identity cards, the photographing of these women was meant to humiliate them and their families, degrade native cultural traditions, and assert French power. Traditionally veiled, the women were forcibly uncovered for their photographs by this French military photographer. Garanger was greatly disturbed by his orders and described them as, "an obscene physical attack" and he believed that "the women had been raped twice; the first time was being forced to unveil and the second was having their photographs taken" (Al-Ani, 2003, p. 103). The result is a powerful and disturbing series of images entitled *Femmes Algeriennes* from 1960. The Algerian women were veiled, unavailable to the penetrating gaze of the colonizer, refusing to submit. "The photographer will respond to this quiet and almost natural challenge by means of a double violation: he will unveil the veiled and give figural representation to the forbidden" (Alloula, 1986, p. 14). If one did not know the story and context behind this series of photographs, they could easily be mistaken for artistically created images of exotic women for *National Geographic* or for a western exhibit entitled "Women of the Arab World." The particular violence in the colonial act of unveiling, of forceful taking of the image of these women's faces, lends a tragic

undertone to the representations. And yet, the staring of the woman into the camera, the engagement with the artist/viewer is strikingly similar to the other images created by western artists of Muslim women.

Imagining Patriarchy

The use of images to serve colonial structures of power is not an isolated form of western imagining the Other. Transnational feminist theorists, like Grewal, Mohanty, Shohat, work with issues of western feminism and its role in the maintenance of biased and victimized representations of women in other cultures. The hierarchy of race that naturalized and provided "scientific" basis for white rule also assumed the white male as dominant with white female, native male, and finally native female on the bottom of colonial hierarchy. This hierarchy led to a collusion of colonial and native patriarchy in passing laws that controlled the movement, education, and dress of women. Artistic and media images of Muslim women have in common the normative position of the white male as controller of the gaze. This general, normal white male is the painter carefully creating the sheer fabric that falls from a breast. He is the photographer who pulls away the veil and forces visual availability. This western, white male is the assumed producer and consumer of these images. I extend Mohanty's work to examine how this hierarchy has been utilized in media representations of Muslim women since 9/11.

The representation of Muslim women by western artists and journalists is located in a complex web of local patriarchy and western patriarchal ethnocentrism. Without denying the agency and ability to resist patriarchal structures, the production and reproduction of media and artistic images that purport to represent a unified vision of Muslim womanhood have been circulated. Response or resistance to these stereotypical images has been quietly ignored. Ahmed theorizes the ways in which colonial and native forms of patriarchy functioned to center the Muslim woman's body and issues of the veil in the nationalist and colonial discourses. The oppression of women within many contemporary states that profess Islamic laws and values is a reality, patriarchy under the cover of religious law. These focused discourses on women's bodies influenced the history of western representation of the Muslim world that created distorted scholarly and popular images of the East.

The Afghan Girl

One of the most famous western images of a Muslim female from the past 30 years is the *National Geographic* cover image of a young Afghani girl from 1985. The image became iconic, representative of the American fascination with difference, youth, femininity, and the pain of war. The girl was photographed in a refugee camp; an anonymous image of suffering that was lauded for its beauty. Photographer Steve McCurry gained fame and the girl in the famous image remained un-named. She became known as the "Afghan Girl," an object of fascination and exotic mystery.

The question of how the image was obtained, whether the girl knew of *National Geographic* and why this stranger was so close to her are not addressed in the magazine. Questions of the girl's identity became a cultural obsession; interest in the individual in photograph eclipsed any interest in Afghanistan as a nation or culture. Uncomfortable questions of why the image was of particular fascination to the *National Geographic* audience were not posed. The girl is young and intense; the initial impression is of striking natural beauty. Her eyes, the most discussed part of the image, are a piercing blue-green. Were they so intriguing because they set this girl apart as more western (there is a fetishizing of blue eyes in the United States, especially in little girls)? This was no run of the mill refugee, with brown eyes and dark skin, used to manipulate the guilt of western privilege for charitable causes. Like many of the images I have chosen for this chapter, the girl is wearing a veil, but it was pulled away from her face, framing her hair. Was the veil pulled away by force, or is that its normal state? How did the white, male stranger convince this girl to sit for what was her first photographed image? Did the fact that this is the only, therefore special and unique, image of her add to our desire (the lack of cameras and images connects to our cultural interest in the "primitive" Other and the idea of first western contact).

After US military offensives made it possible, a *National Geographic* team traveled to Afghanistan and searched for this girl in the image. Intent on figuratively and literally uncovering this woman, the team took many trips to refugee camps in the war-torn country to make connections. The pseudo-scientific reputation of the magazine lent the search for the "Afghan Girl" an air of rational scientific discovery; as if the team were searching for life on Mars, or a new species of fish. Since the search was undertaken by such an esteemed publication for the public good of knowledge, the ethical implications of uncovering and exposing this woman were not debated. "*National Geographic* identifies itself as a scientific and educational institution, and it is located in a long tradition of travelogue as it sends its staff on expeditions to bring back stories of faraway people and places" (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 1). The expedition to track down the elusive woman was "necessary" for scientific reasons and the "unveiling" of the hidden life and identity of the girl in the photograph. Eventually tracked down to a remote village, the mostly male *National Geographic* team attempts to convince the male members of Sharbat's family to allow the white, male stranger in to her private space to see her unveiled face. What made the American journalists feel that they had the right to demand to see this woman, stripped of her accustomed and preferred covering? The defiance in Sharbat's eyes in both photographs, but particularly in the later image, shows a woman who is unsure of the situation she has been placed in and a possible anger at the intrusion of the stranger. In the article about the search, author David Braun plays up the western fascination with the veiled woman and the achievement of uncovering her and revealing the "truth":

> Because Sharbat Gula lives a traditional Muslim life behind the veil, she was not allowed to meet men outside her family . . . When Sharbat agreed to have her picture taken for the second time in her life, she came out from the secrecy of her veil to tell her story. (Braun, 2003)

The text plays on western romanticism of the veil, as Gula "came out of the secrecy of her veil," to reveal herself for the select readership of the magazine. There is a sense of victory, of taming the wild beast, of climbing Mount Everest in the magazine's description of Gula. In taking the second photograph of the women, the magazine's team succeeded in overcoming great odds, perilous journeys, and possible failure.

The cover image for that issue of the magazine featured Sharbat in full burqa, a mesh fabric screen covering her eyes. She is holding the image of herself as a young girl. The image forces the viewer to question how this beautiful young girl became this (obviously) oppressed woman, covered and hidden from our gaze. It promises that the mysterious woman beneath the burqa will be revealed for our inspection and curiosity in the pages of the magazine. The publicity and popularity of the Sharbat Gula photographs is representative of the image of Afghan women post-9/11.

Suddenly burqa wearing women were on the cover of magazines and newspapers around the United States, when the issue of the Taliban's treatment of women existed for years in western anonymity. In Inderpal Grewal's (1998) essay "On the New Global Feminisms and the Family of Nations," she indicts the neo-imperialism of western feminism that uses the legacy of colonial oppression to further western dominance over third world women. "The dominant discourse in regard to international issues constructs US feminists as saviors and rescuers of 'oppressed women' elsewhere within a global economy run by powerful states" (p. 511). According to Grewal, when western feminists rally to rescue Muslim women from the oppression of the veil, they are simply playing into the discourse of American political and moral dominance. The case of Sharbat Gula illustrates the complexity of this issue; *National Geographic* believe they are doing a great service to this woman and her country by removing her veil and exposing her identity to the world. In the end, the result is that the fame of the magazine is increased and the cause of American military action is furthered. Gula is still living with her family, her male relatives making decisions for her, and her country is sliding back to the Taliban and into war.

Images Used in Service of War

US interest and representation of Islam as a threatening, unitary force began in earnest during the Islamic Revolution of 1979 in Iran and the ensuing hostage crises of US embassy employees in Tehran. Before these events, issues of the Islamic world were confined to how our Cold War and energy interests were playing out. In *Covering Islam*, Edward Said (1981) writes of the distorted image of Islam in the United States and the relationship between academic and media representations and US foreign policy interests, "that a confrontational political situation has been created, pitting 'us' against 'Islam'" (p. 40).

Representation of Muslims in the US media following the hostage crisis is starkly similar to those following September 11th. Suddenly in both cases, after years of neglect from the American public, Islam and what it meant to our interests were

on the center stage of television news broadcasts. In 1979, American mass media collapsed the whole of the diverse and divergent Muslim world into images of the Ayatollah Khomeini and the crowds chanting, “Death to America.” Twelve years later, in 2001, American mass media collapsed the Muslim world into those who were members of terrorist groups such as al Qaeda or those who fund terror:

> In no really significant way is there a direct correspondence between the “Islam” in common Western usage and the enormously varied life that goes on within the world of Islam, with more than 800,000,000 people, its millions of square miles of territory principally in Africa and Asia, its dozens of societies, states, histories, geographies, cultures. (p. X)

Even though the number of Muslims and the diversity of geographic and cultural locations have expanded greatly since the revolution in 1979, the coverage of Islam in the popular culture of the United States is stubbornly simplistic and stereotyped.

Nicholas Mirzoeff’s (2006) concept of the “image weapon” that he applies to the photos taken of prisoners in Abu Ghraib can be used to describe the images of veiled women that are used as cultural “image weapons” in the battle for the public space. The idea of the image weapon is that in the contemporary era of information overload, easily reproducible and translatable images have become tools of propaganda and support for war. The war-without-end on terror that has been waged on behalf of “freedom” has been supported and waged in the media along with the realities of bombs and ground troops. The veiled woman as image weapon is an interesting case of war mongering, in that it represents visually that which is un-representable. It is visualizing the covering of something that is implied but not seen. Mirzoeff (2006) describes the visual subject as, “a person who is both the agent of sight—regardless of his or her biological abilities to see—and an object of certain discourses of visuality” (p. 2). The veiled women is shown as the ultimate object of the viewer’s sight, reduced to an article of clothing, an inanimate object that stands in her agency or identity.

If one type of image stood in for the flattened, stereotyped image of all Muslim women post-September 11th, it would be the Afghan woman in full burqa. Although there is not one single photograph that captured the imagination of the public in the United States, there was a flood of two types of images that either depicted groups of burqa-clad women in various situations, or a single woman removing or peering out from underneath the garment. The following two examples are samples of a multitude of images from western news outlets. These images of floating cloth, concealing bodies underneath have become commonplace and convenient shorthand for the complicated issues of gender and the Taliban. One does not need to read the accompanying article with the image of completely covered women walking down a dirt road and a headline of “Liberty for Afghan Women.” We can assume that the very fact of their visual concealment means that liberty (as defined in the west) remains a distant reality for these women. This image from the BBC online was accompanied by a short piece written by correspondent Kate Cl ark (2001). She attempts to understand local women who claim that improved access to education and reduction in poverty are real advances, despite the continued covering of women in public. Clark comes to the conclusion that, “In the long run, girls’ education is

probably the most important freedom of all" (2001, para. 12). It is a rare moment in western media where other forms of freedom are given precedence over the removal of the veil.

The Orientalist fantasy of the coquettish Muslim women peeking out from underneath her veil to look coyly at the artist/viewer is alive and well in more current images of fascination. An image taken from a website that details daily news reports from Afghanistan deploys this visual convention of the veil. The text that accompanies it says, "Afghanistan's educated women were the first to drop the burqa when the Taliban were forced out and they too detest the garment but recognize that for many the time is not right to hang it up" ("Afghanistan's Educated Women", 2006). But the image does not seem to show a woman who detests wearing the burqa. The unnamed Afghan woman is peeking out of her covering, with a look at the photographer that is reminiscent of the Almeh of Orientalist painting.

The images represent the overall message of the US government after the terrorist attacks of September 11th: the Taliban is oppressive to women as represented by these visual barriers, these burqas, and that the American military defeat of the Taliban is symbolically removing all burqas, unveiling the beautiful faces of Afghan women. The expectation of many was that once the Taliban fell all women would drop their veils immediately and savor the freedom brought to them by the American military. Western onlookers and journalists were shocked to discover that most Afghan women stayed covered, even as they exercised newly granted rights of suffrage and education. This paradox, of remaining in burqa while at the same time experiencing greater freedom, confounded western expectations. In an article posted on the MSNBC website, entitled "Afghan women change, but the burqa stays," NBC News producer Kiko Itasaka (2004) expressed the general shock of the continued sight of women walking around Kabul in full covering:

> Yet the status of women has improved since Taliban times. Women can walk around, unaccompanied by males, and they are allowed to work. They are free to roam in public without fear of being arrested or beaten for wearing high heels or seeming to walk in a provocative manner. Yet the burqa still prevails and for some women, it is a form of protection. (para. 6)

When an American thinks of Muslim women, what mental image is conjured up? The academic works of Orientalist scholarship and the recent media images of the Muslim woman have created two distinct images. One is the sexualized, exotic woman of the harem who is mysterious and yet readily available for the male gaze and sexual pleasure. The barely covered sensual *Almeh* and the traditional themes of the odalisque, the harem, and the bathing in French Orientalist painting represent this category of Muslim femininity. The other image is the poor, abused victim who is forced to hide herself behind the chador and who has no sense of agency or hope for release. Both images are misrepresentations, creating caricatures of Muslim women; they are both productions of the male fantasy that construct female sexuality as dangerous, exotic, and controlled absolutely by men. Western feminism has traditionally reinforced these ideas of Muslim women, judging all women by the western standard of liberation.

With such a complex and layered history, the visual discourse of the Muslim woman in the west forms stubborn cultural codes. The visual representation of a veil is so marked with cultural baggage that any contemporary images that involve gender and Islam are necessarily informed by the ideas of oppression and victimhood and yet an underlying sensuality and lustfulness. "How does one begin to deconstruct the barrage of mediated images and strip away culturally reinforced prejudices?" (Bailey & Tawadros, 2003, p. 26). In the following chapter I look at four contemporary artists who have relationships to both traditionally Muslim cultures and to the west. Visual expression that is created by the object of Orientalist art, women who have cultural relationships with Islam, can create a visual form of dialogue that has the possibility of questioning the stereotypical codes. It would be a monumental task for a single artist or set of artists to be able to subvert and counteract the several-hundred-year history of Visual Orientalism, but I believe there are pieces of art that can disturb easy conclusions and pose questions about the visual equivalence of Islam and oppression.

Chapter 8
Possibilities for Subverting the Dominant Visual Regime

Mainstream media and educational outlets generally offer flattened images of difference, presented in ways that create strict lines between different groups of people and do not threaten or challenge those with power. These, luckily, are not the only forms of representation available and many of those marginalized by mainstream media confront the assumptions and stereotypes by creating artwork or events that present complex, border-blurring representations of identity. This chapter addresses the postcolonial work of representation that is created by artists and transnational feminist organizations. How are these forces subverting the patriarchal representations of women that remain entrenched from colonialism?

Polycentric Aesthetic

Ella Shohat and Robert Stam's (1994) idea of a "polycentric aesthetic," is useful in thinking about art from multiple cultural locations. The "polycentric aesthetic" de-colonizes the visual by breaking apart the myth of linear progression of art history in which Europe is at the center and all others on the periphery. It opens up myriad centers of important art production and highlights artists who work at the borders of nations, discourses, and identities. Like the production of knowledge, the production of artwork has been informed by the history and legacy of colonialism; art of quality was assumed by many to be the product of European and American male artists. It was not until the 1990s and 2000s that major international art festivals like the Whitney Biennial, the Venice Biennale, and Documenta began to meaningfully engage with art created by postcolonial and feminist artists.

Homi Bhabha's postcolonial concepts of hybridity and liminal space form connections between the artists and theory. The feminist art criticism of Fusco and Lippard provide models of analysis and critique for artwork that deals with issues of gender and sexuality. They provide insight into how women are subverting the patriarchal gaze through the imagery of art. This also provides a perspective on the meaning of the postmodern in art and the place of the multicultural in the contemporary art world. How do these artists use traditional and habitual ideas of women, place, and identity in order to transform and re-present them? In what ways do the

R.B. Jones, *Postcolonial Representations of Women*, Explorations of Educational Purpose 18, DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1551-6_8, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

visual elements confront viewer's assumptions about difference and representation? How does the artist's position of hybridity, living between cultural frameworks, inform their work?

Visual Border Theory

A constant thread in postcolonial representations is the movement between cultures and across borders. The work is both rooted in cultural specificity and striving to speak to the transcultural movement inherent in this era of globalization. The contemporary problem of identity formation within globalization is addressed by the work of cross-cultural artists and grassroots activists. While the colonial visualizing of flattened difference encourages an exclusive national, cultural identity that fortifies the walls separating "us" from "them," the expression of these artists can speak to a more inclusive, rooted cosmopolitan identity. I am interested in how the border theory of Anzaldua, Hicks, and Gomez-Pena informs the physical and mental border crossing that is the backbone of the four women's experience and expression. The feminist art criticism of Lippard and Shohat also crosses and transcends national borders in ways that can help to make sense of the possibility for artwork to create change.

Lucy Lippard's (1990) feminist art criticism is a reconstruction of the artworld as polycentric, rebuilding the canon through multiple cultural locations of art creation. She critiques the ethnocentric American attitude toward difference: "Some of our national imperviousness can be blamed on the manic pace at which we absorb culture; on the inadequate, biased information we receive from the trade media; and on the invisible processes of hegemony itself, which blinds us to the unfamiliar by conflating all 'otherness'" (p. 156). The speed and bias of the presentation of information feeds this exclusive American identity, in which difference is constructed as both inferior and fearful. Lippard believes in the possibility of breaking apart this monolithic exclusive idea of American identity through contemporary art, that "this art, its layering and fragmentation, suggest the necessity to rethink the assumptions that have led us to this precarious point," (p. 245). Neshat's re-imagining of the heavily coded veil as a site of agency is one way of fragmenting assumed meanings through art. Once the normed, monocultural fabric of patriarchy is torn, space is created for the voices and locations that had been marginalized. The singular is replaced by the multiple, mono with poly.

The collage aesthetic is a visual metaphor for the crossing and mingling of cultural codes that occur in the work of the artists in this chapter:

> I've always claimed that the collage aesthetic—also the core image of postmodernity—is particularly feminist. Collage is about gluing and ungluing. It is an aesthetic that willfully takes apart what is supposed to be and rearranges it in ways that suggest what it could be. (Lippard, p. 25)

Shohat calls for a "transnational imaginary" (p. 46) to add life to disciplines of study that have become separated from each other and from the world outside the academy. The current neo-imperialism of global capital requires imaginative acts that go beyond traditional boundaries of nation, which create liminal spaces of inquiry. Artistic expression of hybrid and transnational experience functions in this borderless space created by the movement of capital and people. I am struck by the growing xenophobia and contraction that has been a response to this increased movement, and believe that those cultural producers who create across boundaries can call this fear of difference into question. The borders that are built between people and cultures create the false idea that people have static identities; globalization and cultural movement affect many women's lives in ways that national borders cannot contain. This "transnational imaginary" is a space that is created by artists who work across borders; they question the flow of capital and the western hegemony of meaning and knowledge. Shohat (1998) writes of the effect of this slippage of certainty with an understanding that by acknowledging the transnational we cannot ignore the continued gaps in power and privilege.

These theorists explore what it means to live, write, and create between cultural spaces. According to Emily Hicks (1991), "The border writer, as translator, understands that art is not a representation of reality that lies beyond itself, but rather a nonlinear movement among the fragments that constitute it" (p. 67). The border writer of Hicks writes not to mirror any single notion of reality, but to create collaged texts that blur the western distinction between "reality" and "magic." In border writing, the text and reader are deterritorialized, displaced from a stable sense of identity and identification. The work of art is also deterritorialized through the relationship of art and viewer. Original intentions of the artist must be negotiated within the cultural context of the viewer and new meanings are constructed between the work and the viewer.

Guillermo Gómez-Peña's (2005) radical performance art and personas are situated at the psychological US–Mexico border. He creates an "inverted cartography" (p. 8) and a "reverse anthropology" (p. 246) where he swaps center and margin in order to critique Eurocentric patriarchal power structures. Through performance he asks, "What if Latinos were in power and could decide the terms of the debate? What if the United States was Mexico? What if imagination was a form of political praxis?" (p. 246). His work questions the very presence of borders that separate people and privileges one side of the border over the other. Gloria Anzaldua (1987) writes of the mestiza as a way of thinking that is formed through the movement across within traditional borders, "The new *mestiza* copes by developing a tolerance for contradictions, a tolerance for ambiguity" (p. 101). Mestiza is a term used to describe a mixed, hybrid identity that specifically exists at the borders between Mexican and American cultures. A renewed transnational mestiza feminism has to displace the center, not to create a new and improved center, but to expand a multiplicity of centers. The artists described in this chapter share a tolerance for the unknown, for doubt and uncertainty that can be the result of movement across psychological and physical borders.

Marco Polo Syndrome

The act of creating contemporary art that deals with specific, non-western cultural geographies is in many ways a perilous enterprise. If one creates work that does not deal directly with cultural symbols in an expected way, then the work is deemed culturally inauthentic. If one creates work that directly relates to stereotypical or expected cultural symbols, then the work can be accused of reinforcing ethnocentric beliefs of the exoticized Other. Art critic Gerardo Mosquera (2005) coined the term “Marco Polo Syndrome” to describe these western and Eurocentric ideals in the world of contemporary art that complicate the production and reception of art made outside of western centers of culture. “What is monstrous about this syndrome is that it perceives whatever is different as the carrier of life-threatening viruses rather than nutritional elements” (p. 218). Within the confines of this syndrome, art created by those outside of the west (sometimes referred to as the Rest) is either disregarded as derivative of greater western products, or is valued as exotic, “authentic,” creations of the Other. If the artist does not appropriately reference “traditional” visual codes and represent his/her culture the way that it is imagined in the west, then the artwork is deemed unauthentic and not valued in the establishment. The African artist is expected to use patterns, colors, and references to the African tribal art on display in ethnographic museums, women artists are expected to use gendered codes of representation in their art. If the work does not conform to expectations, the artist has a harder time-finding success.

An example of the Marco Polo Syndrome is the work of Shirin Neshat, an Iranian American artist working with expected visual codes of veiled women. Some have critiqued her work as re-inscribing western myths and fascinations with the exoticized foreign woman. “Does she fix and formalize the litany of Islam as being innately oppressive of women? Or is she merely creating icons for voyeuristic western audience, reinforcing their preconceived views, titillating their fashionable curiosity?” (Milani, 2001, p. 7). The answer to these questions depends on the viewer’s past experience with images of Muslim women in the context of media representations and interpersonal contact. Those of us in the west who have been fed stereotypical media images, have been steeped in the notion of poor, voiceless Muslim women. Muslim women have historically been made available to the gaze of western men through fantasy, imagined as a submission to the pleasure and power of the men who see through the veil. In the Visual Orientalism of representation, the focus was on the forbidden, hidden women who are uncovered for the artist/viewer. Neshat builds upon this history, as she has been exposed to western media representations of Muslim women as well as being object of this gaze. This forms an ambivalent mixture of self-reflexive critique and a deepening of the Orientalist gaze. On first glance, Neshat’s work can fit nicely into this prepared location of exoticized, sexualized, voiceless femininity. And, in fact, many American art critics view her work as a reinforcement of all they already “know” about the Muslim woman. Because Neshat was a female artist of Iranian background, the western critics and audience easily accepted her use of veiled women as the primary subject of her art.

She was working in visual codes that were "authentic" to her social location and fulfilled the expectations of those who viewed her work.

Shirin Neshat left Iran to study art in 1973 in the United States and was unable to return until 1990, due to complications that resulted from the Islamic Revolution in 1979. The years of her absence were turbulent and full of change in Iran that Neshat was forced to watch from her location in California. Neshat viewed the years leading up to the Islamic Revolution, the hostage crisis, and the long Iranian war with Iraq through the filter of American media outlets. Neshat felt a deep rupture upon return to Iran after a long absence. The place of her memory did not exist and she used her artwork as a site of struggle to understand the disconnect she felt. The Islamic Revolution had transformed the land of her birth and new codes about gender were in place that seemed foreign to her memory of Iran. Her work is a product of the disconnect that she felt in moving across borders and cultures. The work that Neshat created in response to her disconnect, to the feeling of returning to a home that is newly foreign, deals with female resistance, action, and agency despite (or because of) being fully covered by long black veils.

The success of Neshat cannot be separated from her reliance on expected visual codes of representation and her easy identification as an artist who can be categorized as a Muslim woman artist. Other contemporary artists are more hesitant to be boxed in by categories that tie them to their gender and place of origin. Artist Shahzia Sikander refuses to be labeled as a Muslim or Pakistani woman artist; she prefers to create her own labels based on the complexity of her experience of moving between cultures. Her work does not use the obvious visual codes of gender or identity that form the core of Neshat's work. Sikander has found success, but it has taken a different, less direct path than the success of others who embrace the labels.

Couple in the Cage

The question of cultural identity and stereotypes is at the center of a lot of postcolonial artwork that engages with global forces and colonial histories. As the world becomes more transnational, fear of change has led many to hold on even tighter to ideas of what is truly "American," ideas of cultural purity, and a resentment toward the foreign "Other" that could change ways of life. Fusco (1995) writes of the cultural forms of fear that cause a restriction of acceptable forms of expression. "Protectionist measures are frequently couched in the moralistic language of guilt and blame, or they depend on static notions of authenticity to determine group membership and valorize certain forms of expression" (p. 74). When a group feels threatened from without, there is renewed focus on who belongs in the group and who is on the outside of the group. This certainty of "us" vs. "them" becomes a more important division in imagination as the real borders and boundaries become softer and more open. A pragmatic loosening of certainty and rightness becomes more difficult and yet more necessary when fear causes a closing of possibility.

A work that has caused political and cultural disturbance and dismantling is the performance work entitled *Couple in the Cage* (1992) by collaborators Coco Fusco and Guillermo Gomez-Pena. The two artists created a fictional newly discovered culture and performed as two of the "undiscovered Amerindians" in a portable display cage. Fusco and Gomez-Pena presented a parody of the historical display of living ethnographic exhibitions; though they were supposedly "primitive," they used many modern items such as a radio, television, drank Coca Cola, and wore Converse sneakers. The parody brought together disparate cultural artifacts in order to convey the ridiculousness of exhibiting people in a cage. They brought the performance into sites of cultural display and natural history museums. Fusco writes, "Our original intent was to create a satirical commentary on Western concepts of the exotic, primitive Other" (Fusco, 1995, p. 37); the performance work conceived as a satirical comment became much more disturbing when many audience members bought into the fiction of the performance. Many viewers took the performance as a real ethnographic exhibit, buying into the fictional culture and language that the artists created. The faith that people place in history museums as sites of "truth" became apparent during performances in the cage when viewers confronted with the disturbing sight of people displayed like animals in a zoo.

Almost everyone who viewed the performance was disturbed in some way; some because they believed that these "natives" were being caged and displayed against their will, others because they knew the fiction of the display and were angry at the artists for misrepresenting themselves to the public, and some who were disturbed because of the sad history of ethnographic display that the artwork referenced. The work opened up the continuing colonialist mindset that imagines the non-white, traditional, less fully evolved Other as existing in a distant, static past. "Our experience in the cage suggested that even though the idea that America is a colonial system is met with resistance—since it contradicts the dominant ideology's presentation of our system as a democracy—the audience reactions indicated that colonialist roles have been internalized quite effectively" (Fusco, 1995, p. 48). People were disrupted, pushed, and shoved; the certainty of ideas about others was rubbed to the point of painful rawness. This was not an aesthetic experience in the same way of viewing a beautiful painting; the performance caused physical disgust, yelling, crying, and real anger. For some, this visceral reaction to the piece could have caused a reaffirmation of the things they already believed; but for others, the response must have called into question how they view others, why they fear difference, and hopefully caused a small opening for possibility.

Art Responds to Colonial Advertising

Postcolonial artists often appropriate culturally relevant symbols or images and reinvent in way that disrupts or disturbs the originally intended meaning. For example, artist Bettye Saar appropriates the cultural image of Aunt Jemima in order to confront and unpack the layers of racist and sexist meaning that have been inscribed

on the image. The colonial history of the image of Aunt Jemima was explored in a previous chapter; many artists have engaged with this history to create pieces that challenge the image of happy servant, passively pleasing her white masters. In *The Liberation of Aunt Jemima* (1972) Saar takes an image that is part of our everyday, cultural landscape and shifts the meaning in order to force us to question the habitual consumption of the image and its underlying meanings. For many years, I made pancakes and used syrup that had the smiling face of Aunt Jemima on the product. This breakfast ritual became an unexamined part of my visual landscape. It really was not until I came across *The Liberation of Aunt Jemima* that I really started to question the cultural assumptions that are part of her image. The artist's image shows Aunt Jemima wielding a shotgun in one hand and a broom in the other. There is a small painting of the original mammy figure holding a white infant, partially covered by a black power fist. Traditional symbols of obedient servitude are juxtaposed with images of struggle and resistance, directly challenging the image of Aunt Jemima that, until the late 1980s, still graced boxes of pancake mix. Many people buy products that feature racist, sexist advertising icons such as Aunt Jemima, Uncle Ben, and Chiquita Banana every day, not thinking or realizing the implications of the images and brand names. Even without investigating the history of this marketing image, Saar's mixed media piece creates a bodily feeling that makes it difficult to unconsciously open a pancake box again.

Chiquita Banana as an advertising icon and the stereotypes that she represents have also been subject to critique by artists who play on the representation of Latin American women as sexualized, fruit-wearing performers. Carmelita Tropicana is the stage name for performance artist Alina Troyano who uses humor to question painful, entrenched stereotypes. Born in Cuba, the New York-based artist uses her work to comment on the politics of being a Latina, lesbian, exile negotiating identity in a culture filled with negative stereotypes. In *Milk of Amnesia* (1994), Tropicana performed an imagined return to her homeland of Cuba that blurred the boundaries between white/Latina, dreams/reality, and truth/fiction. She used the persona of Tropicana to engage with the cultural stereotypes that are remnants of colonialism and also with the policing of heterosexuality in representations of Latinas. Guillermo Gomez-Pena and his collaborators in La Pocha Nostra also engage with Chiquita Banana along with many other advertising and media icons representing the Latino/a in the public imagination.

Subverting Feminine Materials

Several women artists working around the globe have used traditionally feminine materials, techniques, and imagery to subvert expected ideas about prim and proper femininity. By reclaiming these seemingly innocent materials, artists make important political statements about gender, sexuality, race, and violence. Informed by feminist questioning of traditionally feminine roles, the work also questions the colonial ideals of domesticity that placed colonized women in the role of nursemaid,

cook, and maid. The domestic space is not just gendered; it is raced through this history of colonial domination. Several women artists from Central America have created interesting work using these traditional materials. In *Death Sentences (Sentencias de Muerte)* from 1994, Priscilla Monge used the traditionally feminine craft of embroidery to mark stretched linen with text "inspired by the nineteenth-century penal code in Costa Rica" (Pérez-Ratton, 2007, p. 128). Embroidered text usually is sentimental; by using the technique to create text that reflects violence and punishment, Monge questions the nature of femininity in relation to the state's structures of discipline. Karla Solano uses the needle and thread in her video from 2004, *Home*, in which she embroiders a small house with a cloud and sun into the flesh of her palm. The black thread only passes through the first layer or two of skin, not creating any blood. It is jarring to see this happy, child-like image of home sewn into skin in an act one would expect to create pain and blood.

Ghada Amer is a contemporary artist who appropriated an iconic woman's craft to create complex and disturbing imagery. She uses embroidery, an accepted form of expression for women that is usually used to create decorative pillows, handkerchiefs, or pretty framed pieces commemorating the birth of a child. Amer transforms this traditional craft into a subversive question by the subjects she chooses to embroider. Her images are of pornography, explicit sexual acts that are delicately sewn into cloth. The form of thread and cloth seduces the viewer to take a closer look and then provides a disruption of expectation upon inspection. The surprising imagery makes one uncomfortable, the prim and feminine lady is not supposed to have knowledge of sexual acts; the sexual use of the woman's body is supposed to be a masculine pursuit. Women are expected to be demur and too naïve to understand the realities of sex. Pornography, with its graphic representation of the female body and sexual acts, is traditionally made by men for other men to enjoy. Colonial myths about women placed them in one of two distinct categories, either the asexual, pure, virginal European woman, or the promiscuous, amoral other woman, who were either from a poor class or colonized. Victorian women in England were supposed to be asexual while they hosted teas and practiced feminine arts, like embroidery. By creating pieces that blur the line between naughty and nice, virgin and whore, Amer questions the colonial dichotomy that separated women into distinct categories based on their ethnicity and class position. The fact that Amer was born into a Muslim culture that is stereotyped in the west to produce passive, victimized women provides another disruption between the accepted and the actual.

Other women artists have subverted the traditional feminine roles of preparing and serving food by using edible materials in the creation of their work. *Gnaw* (1992) is a classic feminist work by Janine Antoni, in which the artist created two giant, modernist cubes in chocolate and in lard. Exhibited in the sanitized space of a gallery, the pieces became a performance when the naked artist began to literally gnaw at the two edible cubes. Playing with the idea of women's obsession both with eating chocolate and with controlling their weight, Antoni's piece confronts the disordered eating that informs many women's relationship with food. For another piece, *Lick and Lather* (1993), Antoni cast fourteen busts of herself, seven in chocolate, and seven in soap. For this performance, the artists licked the chocolate busts and washed her body with the soap; as she ate and cleaned her body was literally

disappearing. In addition to commenting on the connection of women and food, here Antoni plays with the colonial legacy of pure, clean femininity represented in the pure white soap. Xenia Mejía used the traditional corn tortilla as part of her installation entitled *Memories (Memorias)* from 1996. The tortillas are places on skillets that line the floor of the installation, with the silkscreened faces of homeless children staring up from each tortilla. Mejía placed baby bottles filled with milk on a shelf on the wall. The use of the feminine materials with the images and objects associated with childhood makes a powerful statement about motherhood and poverty. In *Eat Your Heart Out* (2001), artist Elzbieta Jablonska created a performance where she literally prepared and served massive amounts of food. By removing the traditionally feminine role of cooking food from the kitchen and placing it in the gallery, the artist forces the audience to rethink this accepted everyday ritual. Tania Bruguera used her body and food in a more disturbing way in her piece from 1998, *The Burden of Guilt (El peso de la culpa)*. In the performance, the naked body of the artist is partially covered by the opened, bloody corpse of an animal, which hangs by a rope around her neck. This plays on the patriarchal idea of the woman's body as meat, available for consumption.

The domestic space of motherhood is also appropriated and questioned in postcolonial feminist artwork. Victorian obsession with childhood and the role of the mother to subsume her identity for her children influenced colonial ideas of proper motherhood that were enforced in many colonial geographies. Motherhood as an idealized state, with a single image of the perfect, selfless, loving mother is a remnant of Eurocentric ideas of gender distributed globally during colonialism. Many artists directly engage with this idealized vision, altering it in subversive ways. Japanese artist Hiroko Okada produced an alternative image of childbearing in *Future Plan #2* (2003), which features two young men with large, pregnant bellies. Other works in this series feature pregnant men in fertility clinics and shopping for baby clothes. Separating the act of pregnancy from the body of women questions the entire historical rationale for assigning women to specific, domestic roles. Several artists question the idealized image of a young, attractive mother breastfeeding her baby. Catherine Opie's *Self-Portrait/Nursing* (2004) is a large, colorful photograph of the artist breastfeeding her baby. Opie's tattooed, scarred, large body and short hair disrupt the ideal image of motherly care. *Mothers* (2000) by Mergi Geerlinks is another large color photograph of a woman nursing a baby; this composite image shows the head and neck of an elderly woman seamlessly merged with the torso and breasts of a younger woman. Both of these artists question the image of maternity that is presented in mainstream, western media by presenting unexpected visions of breastfeeding.

Revisiting the Violence

Quite a few postcolonial feminist artists use acts of violence, or imagined violence acted out on the bodies of women as a way to challenge the historical record of abuse and violence perpetrated against women. For some it is a catharsis, for others a way of punishing oneself for other's sins. Some artists represent women's

bodies in pieces, taken apart and left dismembered or reconstructed in monstrous ways. Others bind or restrain the body, still others use blood as a potent symbol of the violence. Ryoko Suzuki's *Bind* (2001) series of photographs feature a woman's face tightly bound with red cord. The binding squashes her nose, eyes, and lips, leaving angry red lines across her face. A video entitled *I Am Milica Tomic* by Milica Tomic (1998–1999) is a short video, depicting a single, traditionally beautiful woman standing against a black background. She repeats the phrase, "I am Milica Tomic. I am..." finishing each time with a different nationality and speaking in a different language. As the video plays, the woman's body and face are shown cut, slashed, and wounded without showing the actual violence. By the middle of the video, the woman is bleeding and her white slip dress is stained with blood, but she is smiling and staring peacefully into the camera. Just as mysteriously, the wounds disappear one at a time until she returns to her original state. The video was created in response to the violence that embroiled Belgrade during the series of wars that signaled the break up of Yugoslavia. It is a commentary on the arbitrary nature of nationality and the ways that nationalism can lead to violence and war. Tomic visits the violence of the world outside her doorstep onto her own body as an act of witnessing and remembering. In another piece, *Belgrade Remembers...* (2001), the artist staged her own hanging in Terazije Square in Belgrade to reenact the violence of the Nazi's hanging of five members of a resistance group in the same square in 1941. Israeli artist Sigalit Landau created a video, *Barbed Hula*, in 2000 as a protest to the violence of checkpoints and borders between Israel and the Palestinian territories. Her naked body is shown decapitated, her head above the video frame, and hula hoping in front of the ocean. On closer inspection, the viewer can see that the traditional plastic hula-hoop has been replaced by a circle sculpted out of barbed wire that is piercing and wounding the skin as it moved around the torso.

Prolific and disturbing, artist Regina José Galindo creates performances that trace the violent past of Guatemalan homeland and performances that trace the violence against women. For *We Don't Lose Anything by Being Born* (2000), the artist "sedated herself, was put in a body bag, and was thrown onto the municipal dump" in Guatemala City (Pérez-Ratton, 2007, p. 139). The work related to the history of violence and loss of innocent lives in her country. To protest the 2003 presidential campaign of General Efraín Ríos Montt, implicated in massacres by the military in the 1980s, Galindo dipped her feet in blood and walked several blocks in Guatemala City. The blood leaves traces that cannot be easily erased, like the murders of citizens by the military. In a performance from 2006, the artist sat in front of viewers with her legs exposed and carved the word "perra," which means whore in Spanish, into her flesh. "This word has been found on the bodies of brutally murdered women in several Latin American cities, the best known cases being Guatemala City and the northern Mexico town of Cuidad Juarez" (David, 2006, para. 1). In this piece she literally replaces her body with those of the murdered women in order to bring attention to the killing of women and their labeling as "whore." In possible the most controversial of all of her work, *Himenoplastia (Hymenoplasty)* from 2004, is a video of the artist undergoing a hymen reconstruction surgery, a brutal, bloody procedure that landed her in the hospital. Women and girls seek out the procedure in

order to be married as a virgin, or because prostitutes can ask higher prices if they are a virgin. Galindo critiques the patriarchal assumptions behind this unnecessary surgery by bringing attention to its practice. The artist experiences this pain in order to show the pain of others.

> When I do what I do, I don't try to approach my own pain as a means of seeing myself and curing myself from that vantage; in every action I try to channel my own pain, my own energy, to transform it into something more collective. (Galindo quoted in Goldman, 2006).

By experiencing the pain of others, Galindo (and many other feminist artists) recreate the violence against women and people of color that goes unreported, uninvestigated, and remains invisible.

Marjane Satrapi: Mass Produced Images of Resistance

Marjane Satrapi left her home in Iran as a result of the Islamic revolution of 1979 and returned later to reclaim a sense of home. The work of this artist reflects an internalized displacement, after the revolution she no longer felt "Iranian," but she never truly can be accepted as "French" because of her cultural histories and the difference in physical appearance. A recurrent theme in the work of many postcolonial artists is the negotiation of the familiar and the foreign, of searching for a sense of home.

Satrapi works in the "low" art form of the graphic novel; her work is mass-produced and viewed by a much wider audience that the other artists discussed in this chapter. From one perspective, the lack of variety in media used by Satrapi could be viewed as a barrier to tracking her evolution as an artist and the means of critiquing established visual codes. But her mass appeal and the intricacies of her text and images provide a different, but not less effective, way to use contemporary expression to subvert popular media images. Satrapi created the *Persepolis* series about her own experience as a girl living in Iran before, during, and after the Islamic revolution. In the first book, *Persepolis: The Story of a Childhood*, Satrapi (2003) vividly depicts the rule of the Shah, the excitement and disillusionment of the revolution, and the realities of living under the strict public rules of Ayatollah Khomeini all through her own lens as a young idealistic girl. A secondary theme running throughout the book is the influence of European and American popular culture and political imperialism on life inside Iran. Satrapi's stated goal in writing of her childhood experience was to dispel negative feelings of westerners toward Iran, and to show that there is as much complexity, expression, and resistance in Iran as there is in Europe or America. Her work shows how the official state megarhetoric (Appadurai, 1996) is filtered and re-formed through the micronarrative of her adolescent imagination. Mass media and official government rhetoric in Iran were not consumed intact by passive groups; Satrapi and her family receive, interpret, and reform information and communication in multiple and unpredictable ways. The work dispels myths of unitary ways of life, expressing the fractured and collaged memories of political events enmeshed with family relationships and the tribulations

of adolescence. As opposed to official megarhetoric, the images and text of Satrapi show the blurring of borders between east/west, personal/political, and repressive regime/moments of creative expression.

Satrapi shows, through vignettes from her memory, the corruption and violence of the western-supported Shah. In "The Bicycle," her parents discuss the burning of the Rex Theater in Tehran, where four hundred people were locked in the theater and burned to death as police were instructed to stand by and watch (pp. 14–15). Events like this and other abuses of power led Iranians, including Marjane's parents, to demonstrate in the streets of Tehran against the Shah. Many women protested in veils, demanding the right to expression of religion and tradition. The demonstrations were met with gunfire from the military, which only increased the revolutionary fervor. In "The Party," Satrapi's drawing of those murdered by the Shah's regime (p. 40) is a stark stacking of bodies, mouths agape, illustrating the shocking brutality that was leading toward revolution. The next drawing shows a line of the walking dead (all look eerily the same) pushing at the back of the Shah, attempting to force him, literally, out of the frame. This section of the book tells a side of Iranian history that is covered up in the west, that in fact there was good reason for unrest over the Shah's regime and its western supporters. The images and text show that the by the elite intelligentsia (like the Satrapi's) supported the overthrowing of the Shah, and that the revolution was not made up of zealots. One powerful image of a mass of people expressing pure joy is accompanied by the text, "The day he left, the country had the biggest celebration of its entire history" (p. 42). A sense of hope for the future is portrayed in this section; in "Heroes," Satrapi writes of the 3000 political prisoners released after the Shah left power, and illustrates crimes of two prisoners who were imprisoned for being communists and revolutionaries.

Unlike the western media representation of the revolution, the goals of Iranian revolutionaries were complex: some wished to end the abusive control of the Shah to create a more open, equal society, and others blamed the abuses on the western "decadence" that the Shah celebrated and wished to see a society built on Islamic law. As a witness to the struggle over the ideals of the new republic, Satrapi writes of the confusion she felt as the promise of the popular revolution was turned into a power play for the creation of a religious state. She noticed that seemingly overnight the way men and women dressed became ideological identifiers. Her drawings of "The Fundamentalist Woman v. The Modern Woman" and "The Fundamentalist Man v. The Modern Man" (p. 75) illustrate how important small changes in dress were to the judgment of your values. The "Modern Woman" wore the obligatory veil, but let "a few strands of hair show" and the "Modern Man" tucked in his shirt and shaved his beard, as "Islam is more or less against shaving" (p. 75). There is an understanding by Satrapi as a young girl that the visual markers of difference had greater significance in post-revolutionary days. She attends an anti-veil demonstration with her mother and witnesses unveiled women getting attacked and beaten for their show of resistance.

Satrapi's memories evolve from confusion over the direction of the country and lives of those in Iran to the confusion of war. Like many wars, the one in the 1980s

between Iran and Iraq led to increased nationalism. National borders and identity were celebrated and reinforced through the chosen trauma of the Iraqi attacks on Tehran. Much like the patriotism celebrated after the attacks of 9/11, it is when the national tent is torn that societies rally around their leader and are increasingly exclusive in their definition of community (Volkan, 1997). The Iranian regime used the trauma of war to recruit citizens to the regime's cause. Marji, who was disturbed by the religious laws put into place after the revolution, felt extremely proud to be Iranian and wished to be a fighter pilot in the military so that she could personally bomb the Iraqis. This nationalism slowly faded to exhaustion over the prolonged war, the countless deaths, and bombings on Tehran. The drawings on one page illustrate the contradictions of Satrapi's life in this time. On page 102, the larger drawing on the top of the page shows abstracted bodies, with martyr's keys to heaven around their necks, blasted and blown across the box by bombs and death. The smaller bottom box shows an adolescent Marji at a punk rock party, slam dancing joyfully with friends. The juxtaposition of bodies exploded in war and those contorted in dance provides a sense of the disparate parts of life in Tehran during this long, bloody war.

Some stories that Satrapi relates show how she had a "normal" adolescence despite the enforced veiling and the raging war around her. "The Cigarette" shows her making friends with an older group of girls who encourage her to cut class. They try to rebel and skirt the rules, at risk of detainment by the Morality Police, just as most adolescents rebel and break rules. These moments of banal humanity showcase the micronarrative that is constantly evolving and unraveling in people's lives despite the presence of major political events. But, like many of the stories in the book, this one is interrupted by political realities and Satrapi's realization that the war with Iraq was being unnecessarily drawn out in order to gain support for the regime. Her drawing of the regimes call that, "to die a martyr is to inject blood into the veins of society" (p. 115) is of the "Iranian Body" being injected with blood. She realizes that her patriotism and commitment to the war was in support of a regime she does not support.

Throughout the first book, American and European influences are portrayed both as attractive because they were forbidden, and as unwanted imperial invaders. An example of the latter is in the drawing depicting "2500 years of tyranny and submission" (p. 11) showing the long line of invaders into Persia/Iran, ending with Uncle Sam. The forbidden, and thus tempting, features of the west in the book relate to the popular culture that was deemed "decadent" by the regime. In "Kim Wilde" Satrapi's parents go to Turkey and smuggle home posters of western pop stars that were unavailable in Iran:

> Signs of European and American influence abound throughout *Persepolis*-tee shirts emblazoned with the Bee Gees logo, wall sized posters of Iron Maiden, cassettes of music by Kim Wilde become key details in Satrapi's illustrations; one can see these signs as surface manifestations of complicated colonial and imperial histories, and Satrapi's representation of her own investments in these cultural icons highlights Persepolis' subtle critique of the forces that work to suppress any manifestation of pop music as well as the forces that work to cast such productions as the gold standard of cultural currency. (Tensuan, 2006, p. 947)

This ambiguous relationship of imperial western influence and the fantasy of popular culture seem to entice Marjane in this first book, though they are mostly the abstractions of the west as seen through commercialized notions of freedom through pop culture references. The more substantive cultural negotiations occur in the second book, when Satrapi is physically confronted with the realities of living in the west. At the end of *Persepolis*, we are left with the image of her leaving Iran and her family to live in Vienna, Austria.

Satrapi left Iran at fourteen, after being expelled from several schools in Tehran for defying the teacher's orders and slapping a principal. In leaving the morality police, the harsh regime, and the dress codes she also left her family and her childhood. *Persepolis 2: the Story of a Return* (2004) opens with "The Soup": Marjane is in Vienna and we see her initial excitement at the consumer goods that she could not purchase in Iran. "The first aisle I headed for was the one with scented detergents; we couldn't find them in Iran anymore" (p. 6). But, the expected sense of freedom in Vienna, her city of exile, was muted by the loneliness of displacement. At the boarding house run by Austrian nuns her roommate spoke only German; she had no friends at her new school and felt the pain of being alone and different. One day, she is reprimanded by one of the nuns for eating food out of a pot. The nun says, "It's true what they say about Iranians. They have no education." (p. 23). When she counters with "you were all prostitutes before becoming nuns," (p. 23) Satrapi is kicked out of the boarding house, in a scene very similar to her expulsion from Iranian school. It is a lesson in the limits of freedom; the rules and attitudes of those in charge can be just as nonsensical and capricious in Vienna as in Tehran.

The strain of living between cultures and struggling with her self-identity as a teenager made Satrapi's time in Vienna extremely challenging. In "The Vegetable," she illustrates her physical awkwardness and the tension of trying to fit into her new culture while being unable to forget her home. "The harder I try to assimilate, the more I had the feeling that I was distancing myself from my culture, betraying my parents and my origins, that I was playing a game by somebody else's rules" (p. 39). She was trying to live a double life, hiding her Iranian identity from her Austrian friends and hiding her desire to assimilate and her loneliness from her parents. The imagined freedom of living in Europe is tempered by the reality of new cultural rules and often-Eurocentric attitudes toward Iran. When her mother came to visit, she shared her feelings about traveling in Europe: "Now as soon as they learn our nationality, they go through everything, as though we were all terrorists. They treat us as though we have the plague" (p. 49). The emptiness of Satrapi's life in Vienna overwhelms her and she ends up homeless with life-threatening bronchitis. At this point she chooses to return to her home and family, flawed and rigid as that home might be. She sums up her decision while looking at her re-veiled image in the mirror, "... and so much for my individual and social liberties ... I needed so badly to go home" (p. 91). There is no easily drawn conclusion for Satrapi about her different lives in Tehran and Vienna; both offer unique forms of connection and repression, and neither completely fulfills her desire for home and an elusive sense of liberty. In her return to Tehran, Satrapi renews connections with old friends and illustrates the contradictions of having a vibrant social life within a strictly policed state. "Our

behavior in public and our behavior in private were polar opposites. . .this disparity made us schizophrenic" (p. 151). This text is describing two large drawings of the group of female friends dressed in black coats and veils for movement in public and then the same group relating openly without prescribed covering in private.

The two book series, viewed in the context of their publication in France during the time of the law banning the headscarf, presents a personal story of experience that is intricately connected to the greater political and cultural stories. In 2000, France passed an official ban on "obvious religious symbols" in schools, including the headscarf. President Jacques Chirac claimed that the ban was an attempt to preserve the secular nature of France and to increase national unity. The implication of this ban was that if we all dress alike, then we will all get along and share common values. Satrapi's time spent in Vienna, without wearing a veil, illustrates how cultural prejudice transcends the wearing of "traditional" or religious symbols. While western media outlets were showing flattened images of veiled women as victims and in need of saving, Satrapi showed the complex agency of women within Iran and the often-ambivalent relationship with Euro American ideals of liberty. "In *Persepolis* drawings of veiled women refuse that stereotype of the nondescript archetypal Muslim woman. Rather, Satrapi's female figures are human, and full of character and individuality even with the veil" (Whitlock, 2006, p. 965).

The movement and negotiation of cultural locations present in the *Persepolis* series is related to the identity formation in Appiah's (1998) concept of the "rooted cosmopolitanism." Through her travel between Iran and Europe, Satrapi gains a sense of community that is both rooted in specific geographic locations and yet not tied down to the notion of nationality. Her struggle to find herself is described as a difficult process of growth and movement. The search is challenging in different, but real, ways in Iran and Vienna. "Satrapi is just as critical of the narrow, rigid vision of the nuns in her Austrian boarding school. Her description of alienation at home and exile abroad resonates beyond her personal history" (Daftari, 2006, p. 21). Satrapi's expression of this exile is captured in the graphic novels *Persepolis* and *Persepolis II*. The work upsets expected ideas of western freedom, describing the nuances of transition and loss of home.

Mona Hatoum: Bodies Implied

Mona Hatoum's work is inextricably linked to her forced exile as a child and her chosen exile as an adult to study and produce art. She lives and works within and between multiple cultural locations. Her family was forced to live on the margins of society when they were exiled from Palestine at the formation of the Israeli state; they had to create strategies for connection and survival that were defined within their identities as exiles in a strange land. When, in her career as an artist, she chose to live at the margins, able to move between margin and center, she purposely formed a counternormative identity that was oppositional to the dominant, unitary definition of self in relation to the dominant exclusive identity. Hatoum

(1997) relates her childhood of exile from Palestine to Lebanon at the creation of the Israeli state and migration to London for art school to her artwork: "It comes into my work as a feeling of unsettledness. The feeling of not being able to take anything for granted, even doubting the solidity of the ground you walk on" (p. 134). The history of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict and the experience of exile are tied intimately to her family's experience. Hatoum's mother wrote in a letter to her (that was later part of a video piece) of the trans-generational trauma of being separated from home and the displacement of feeling like an outsider in one's new home. "Can you imagine us having to separate from all our loved ones, leaving everything behind and starting again from scratch, our family scattered throughout the world, some of our relatives we never saw again to this day?" (cited in Ankori, 2006, p. 123). Critic Gannit Ankori uses two forms and definitions of the term "disorientation" to describe the work and the effect on viewers when experiencing Hatoum's expression. "The first component relates to the artist's early childhood experiences of being born to displaced and dispossessed parents, who were abruptly transformed into isolated members of a scattered and shattered community" (p. 123). In this sense, much of the work can be viewed as an attempt to create discomfort and disorientation in the viewer, through unsettling performance in which the artist's body becomes the physical expression of psychological turmoil, or through more nuanced objects that appear familiar but are altered to create an ominous feeling of threat. The second and more theoretical use of "disorientation" that Ankori names "Dis-Orientalism" relies on the description of Orientalism by Edward Said as the form of creation of systematic and complete knowledge of one part of the world (the Orient) by a more powerful, hegemonic part (the Occident):

> The implications proposed by this neologism are intentionally multivalent. They include the suggestion that the creation and study of Palestinian art entail the dismantling of an exclusively Western perspective or "scopic regime"... The term Dis-Orientalism also alludes to a literal (i.e. geographical) "loss of the orient". (pp. 21–22)

Twice exiled, once forcibly out of Palestine, then by her choice to attend art school in Europe, Hatoum and her family physically "lost the orient." The first meaning of disorient is the literal loss of one's sense of direction and stability, and the second is the geographic loss of home that is theoretically based on the work of Said.

The effect of this forced exile from their home in what was Palestine is clearly seen in the work of Mona Hatoum, particularly in her earlier pieces that have a raw immediacy that is easily read. In her early performances, Hatoum literally unsettled her viewers through politically didactic messages about oppression and the ravages of war. "In her early performances Hatoum embodied the two major stereotypical roles that the west attributes to Palestinians: the role of 'terrorist' and the role of 'victim'" (Ankori, p. 126). In 1984, her work entitled *Them and Us... and Other Divisions* involved the artist dressed all in black and wearing a black hood (the type typically associated with terrorists) and crawled on her stomach through a London square, crowded at the time with professionals and passers-by. The piece ended with Hatoum scrubbing a step with blood-red paint and setting fire to newspapers that covered a wall and revealing racist graffiti scribbled underneath. In this piece, she

became the “terrorist” and “victim,” spattered with red paint and crawling through the crowded square. The onlookers were forced to acknowledge her presence and reconcile the seemingly threatening figure prostrate in front of them:

> By showing how fear and xenophobia transformed human beings such as herself into homogenized, threatening “others”, these performances protested against the dangers of racism and questioned deeply-rooted assumptions about the very categories that divide people into “them and us”. (p. 127)

In several other performances from the mid-1980s, Hatoum’s body became the ultimate symbol of suffering. *Under Siege*, from 1983, involved the artist entering a small translucent stall filled with clay and struggling with standing and falling within the stall for seven hours as gallery patrons entered and left the space, the sound of recorded war reporting and revolutionary songs filling the gallery:

> As a person from the “Third World”, living in the West, existing on the margin of European society and alienated from my own . . . this action represented an act of separation . . . stepping out of an acquired frame of reference and into a space which acted as a point of reconnection and reconciliation with my own background and the bloody history of my own people. (Hatoum, 1997, p. 122)

Other performances from that time involved blood, entrails, and other gore that spoke to the horror of forced exile and war. *The Negotiating Table*, from 1983, might be the most extreme and most blatant critique of the Palestinian condition and the civil war in Lebanon. In this performance, the artist covered her body in entrails, blood, and bandages; she then was wrapped from neck to toe in a plastic body bag and blindfolded. This gruesome sight was carefully placed on a formal wooden table, with empty chairs waiting to be filled. The sound tracks for this piece were “speeches of Western leaders talking about peace” (Hatoum, 1997, cited in de Zegher). The juxtaposition of the bloody body and the sterile negotiating table was an overt commentary on the violence perpetrated against innocent civilians in Lebanon and the megarhetoric of leaders hallow calling for a surface peace. The piece forced viewers to question the relationship between official global relations and the bloody reality of war and globalization as it affects average citizens. It is the government’s official statements of nationalist identity that create the exclusive communities that must be purged of “outsiders.” While the leaders often fuel the flames of interethnic hatred, their hands are literally clean of blood as they negotiate at clean tables in posh hotel rooms.

Hatoum’s more recent body of work shifts from didactic performance to subtle installation or discrete object, where displacement is the product of the unexpected materials used and the openness for viewer interpretation. Two floor pieces that were created within a year of each other represent Hatoum’s shift from using her own body as vehicle for politically overt performance to the implication and assumption of a body present in seemingly everyday objects that are created with unexpected materials. *Prayer Mat* (1995) is a play on the traditional Muslim prayer mat used in five-time daily ritual prayer where the body is facing Mecca. The intention of the mat is to provide a soft ground on which to kneel and prostrate oneself in prayer. Hatoum’s version looks benign enough from a distance, but when examined more

closely reveals a painful and impossible object. The mat is made entirely out of sharp pins, points facing up. Embedded within the mat of pins is a compass:

> Hatoum's unadorned and ascetic carpet is a foundation that deceives the body, wounds the flesh and inflicts physical pain. It thus reflects the anguish of exile as well as the pain of realizing that although you may face the orient—you can never go home again. (Ankori, 2006, p. 125)

The use of the compass both references the directional focus of Muslim prayer and the use of a compass to "orient." Similar in design, *Doormat* (1996) looks like an ordinary mat with the word "Welcome" spelled out in large capital letters. But, like the prayer mat, this doormat is made entirely out of pins. This piece directly relates to the exile of Hatoum's family in Lebanon and her own presence in England. *Doormat* references the false welcome that is given to many exiles and refugees, an initial response of openness that is soon replaced by disregard or open hostility. Realities of entering a new place and then feeling the pain of separation, of not fitting in, of loneliness are imagined as I could not help but imagine my own bare foot stepping on that doormat. The bed of pins also is a reference to the cultural stereotype of the "Oriental" lying on the bed of nails without doing himself harm.

In *Recollection*, from 1995, Hatoum's installation consisted of the artist's hair collected over 6 years and hung in strands from the ceiling and rolled into perfectly round hairballs that littered the floor. "While connoting beauty and identity, the most delicate, eroticized and lasting of human materials is also considered unclean, as 'matter out of place'" (de Zegher, 1997, p. 93). The hair separated from the body becomes read as dirty, contaminated but is made beautiful through Hatoum's careful preparation. A woman's hair is fetishized in most cultures, viewed as sexually suggestive. The displacement of the viewer entering *Recollection* is a subtle, and implied form of disconnect leaving the viewer to construct meaning and reexamine beliefs.

Hatoum created other pieces using hair in discrete objects, continuing the play on Muslim and western fascination with women's hair as sexual symbol. "Hence many traditional patriarchal cultures require women to cut or cover their hair, as a means of repressing and controlling the female body and its sexual nature" (Ankori, 2006, p. 139). Two objects combining hair and fabric speak most directly to the specifically Arab history and representation of women and the veil. Without imaging a human figure, Hatoum implies the body through the use of long strands of (presumably) female hair. In *Keffiah*, from 1993 to 1999, the artist appropriated a traditional headscarf worn by men in the Middle East. "The keffiah . . . has developed a macho aura in the Palestinian culture of political resistance" (Bhabha, 2006, p. 34). This article of clothing is a cultural symbol of the male resistance to Israeli occupation. In place of the traditional black sewn geometric pattern on the scarf, Hatoum used long strands of dark hair to sew into the fabric and create a pattern reminiscent of the original. The use of women's hair embroidered into this masculine symbol creates an interesting disconnect, of combining the male and female, of imagining a Palestinian man wearing this scarf with long hair falling from it. It can be read as a reclaiming of the female resistance and agency that is not the focus of Palestinian

groups; it can represent a question of women's presence or absence in the mediated images of the Palestinian struggle:

> The macho style is an externalized response to the powers of oppression and domination; but it is also a form of domination turned inward, within the community, poised against the presence and participation of women, whose voices are repressed or sublimated in the cause of the struggle. (p. 34)

The keffiah is thus a symbol of male resistance to outside domination and also a macho symbol of the cultural domination of women. By feminizing this object, Hatoum is questioning the denial of women's oppression within the greater struggle for Palestinian independence.

In one of her most recent pieces, *Hair Veil*, from 2003, Hatoum most literally references the visual discourse of the veiled Muslim woman. The piece consists of a length of white cotton fabric embroidered with single, delicate strands of human hair in a grid-like pattern. In a way, this visually references her earlier work of embroidering hair in *Keffiah*, but the hair in this piece is much more delicate and the pattern less formal. Instead of the groups of heavy black strands of hair in the earlier work, *Hair Veil* was created by intricate weaving of a single strand of hair to create an overall pattern. The visual effect seems much more meticulous and time consuming, causing me to think of the hours Hatoum must have spent carefully threading and sewing with a single strand of hair, careful not to break the delicate human thread. Again, the body is absent in Hatoum's recent work, but is implied and represented by the hair that at one time was attached to a body. With the simplicity of *Hair Veil*, Hatoum poetically questions the covering of women's hair by literally re-inscribing the forbidden hair into the cloth that is meant to cover it. The historical discourse of the veil shows that many have defended the practice for the protection of men against the overpowering sexuality of women. The hair, viewed as the cornerstone of sexual power, is covered in order to keep men's desirous feelings at bay. By weaving the sexually powerful hair into the veil, Hatoum is reclaiming the potent symbol of women's sensuality.

Postcolonial Mapmaking

Several contemporary artists have subverted the traditional arts/sciences of geography and cartography that were used to visualize, label, and contain colonial spaces in the service of exploitation and power. European explorers and conquerors renamed islands, rivers, continents in their own honor, claiming discovery and ownership over land that was generally already occupied. These same men sexualized and eroticized the landscape, writing of virgin land, penetration, and referring to natural features as feminine and in need of conquest and control. The artists who engage actively with this history question the supposed objective scientific creation of maps and their continued prominence and use in the contemporary world.

Irish artist Kathy Prendergast created a powerful critique of European male cartographers in her series from 1983 entitled *Body Map Series*. The meticulous

drawings were created in the style of early cartographers, drawn and labeled in a detached and objective fashion. In *Enclosed Worlds in Open Spaces* (1983), Prendergast drew a female torso from neck to thighs, labeled with geographical features and split into quadrants to facilitate easy measurement of distance between places. The breasts are labeled as volcanoes, the stomach as a desert, and the area around the torso is the water around the body/land, complete with depictions of boats sailing the currents. Catherine Nash (1994) writes of her work and its connection to colonial geography in an essay entitled, "Remapping the Body/Land: New Cartographies of Identity, Gender, and Landscape in Ireland." Nash clearly connects the drawings of mapped female body parts to the exploration and conquest of Europeans before and during colonialism. "Both the representation and control of female biology and the role of geography in the exploration, alteration, and control of territory is highlighted in the quiet violence of these images" (p. 234). This connection is even more visible in the other, more detailed, drawings in the series. In *To Control a Landscape-Irrigation* (1983), Prendergast draws a side view of the breasts/volcanoes and details a complex series of wheels and mechanisms that could be used to control the fiery landscape and create a system of irrigation. The drawing is reminiscent of both a cartographical drawing and a biological illustration of the woman's body, made visible and controllable.

Artist elin o'Hara slavick subverted objective mapmaking and contemporary forms of imperialism in her series *Protesting Cartography or Places the United States has Bombed* (1998–2005). The series of 60 drawings are beautifully drawn and filled with bright, inviting colors and patterns, which belie their true intention described by accompanying text. The words detail the subjects of the drawings as geographical locations where the United States has dropped bombs, the beautiful, colorful maps disrupted by dots and concentric circles that represent the site of the bombing(s). Through public rhetoric about protecting the world for freedom and democracy, the United States has kept its imperial goals and practices obscured from view while creating a nationalistic fear of outsiders. The artist writes of her goals in creating these drawings:

> I suppose I want to instill fear back in to us, but not fear of the peripheral world. We should be afraid of ourselves. Maps are preeminently a language of power, not protest. I offer these maps as protests against each and every bombing. (Slavick, 2005, para. 5)

By depicting the geography from overhead, in clinical line drawings taken from military surveillance photographs, slavick subverts the idea of objective surveillance by infusing the line drawings with emotional color and line. These drawings reveal the subjective truths behind the lines and labels of maps that tell very little about the actuality of a place and its history. Slavick (2006) writes of the overtly activist political aims of the work that makes visible the violence visited upon the land and people from bombs that supposedly promote freedom and democracy, "by illuminating US foreign policy, by making it visually accessible and by graphically revealing its part in the dire situation in which we find ourselves today" (p. 247). Like the work of Prendergast, Slavick's work directly confronts the legacy of colonialism and systems of labeling and organizing space in colonial ways. And though not overtly

feminist in nature, the drawings offer a critique of the traditionally masculine drive toward war and destruction of land that has been feminized and violated.

Nervous Conditions: A Postcolonial Education

Several artists and authors have directly engaged with the effects of colonial forms of education on the struggle for identity in the postcolonial subject. For many, to become educated is associated with assimilation to colonial ideals and with the loss of culture and tradition. Novelist Tsitsi Dangarembga (1988) wrote her first book, *Nervous Conditions*, about the subject of the psychological colonialism of education in Southern Africa in the 1960s with a focus on the changing roles and condition of women. The character of Tambu, the narrator, lives on a rural farm in Zimbabwe with her parents, older brother, and younger sisters. Her family struggles to subsist with unpredictable farming, where drought and crop failure are regular occurrences. The extended family's patriarch is Babamukuru (Tambu's uncle), who was taken under the wings of British missionaries as a young man; he proved to be obedient and smart at the mission, where he was given privileges and education from the white missionaries. He was chosen to travel to South Africa to complete university and later was sent to Britain to complete a master's degree. Babamukuru represents the African who has found great success in complicity with colonialists, he has "progressed" into modernity while the rest of his extended family live traditionally. Tambu's family speaks Shona, live in thatched-roof houses, and eat *sadza*, a traditional staple; her uncle, aunt, and cousins speak English, live in European brick houses, and food that they learned to prepare and enjoy in Britain. In a memorable scene, Tambu recounts the day her uncle, aunt, and cousins return to the rural homestead from Britain. Her cousins, Chido and Nyasha, are dressed in unusual, stiff clothing and do not want to socialize or dance with their cousins. After spending several years in Britain, they barely remember their original language or traditional ways, they are stuck between two worlds and represent hybrid the dilemma of postcolonial identity. In the novel, education is the vehicle out of the poverty and tradition and is given to this family by the graces of Babamukuru, and by extension by the British Empire.

The educated patriarch runs a mission school and chooses Tambu's brother, Nhamo, to attend the school, leaving Tambu to stay on the homestead and help her mother with farming and running the house. When Nhamo returns home on holiday, he has changed into someone different who does not want to speak Shona and participate in daily life, he acts as if he is better than the rest of his family because he speaks English and has become used to eating with a fork and knife. After Nhamo falls ill and dies at the mission school, Tambu's mother believes it is the modern ways of the school that have killed him and is horrified when Babamukuru decides to take her eldest daughter to the school to become educated. Once educated, Nhamo become distanced from his family and was seemingly killed by the British ways he learned and she fears the same fate will meet Tamba at the mission.

The character of Nyasha represents the postcolonial struggle against the psychological colonization to which her father has succumbed. She questions the privileges that are given to her because of her father's position and relationship to Europeans. She also questions the obedience that is expected of women in her household, actively disobeying her father on many occasions; she expresses her opinions and critiques when she is expected to be silent and docile. For her non-traditional femininity she earned a reputation of being a bad girl, loose, and proud; all things that cause social ostracizing and create tension with her father. Nyasha has a complex relationship with European ideas; in England she saw a different way for girls to behave, with freely expressed opinions and a less rigid social hierarchy. However, she also sees the evils of colonialism and the danger of becoming too close to the whites with money and power. When Tambu is given the opportunity to study at a prestigious convent with white nuns, Nyasha encourages her not to go. "It would be a marvelous opportunity, she said sarcastically, to forget. To forget who you were, what you were and why you were that. The process, she said, was called assimilation" (p. 182). She saw that a few intelligent, but docile Africans like her father were chosen to be assimilated and become links between the white and African communities. In order to be favored by the whites, one had to forget one's identity and opinions; in order to be useful in the colonial system, one had to know one's place and not try to challenge the status quo.

The novel does not attempt to simplify the postcolonial condition; each character struggles to find balance between desires for women's rights, education, wealth, and the need to remain true to their family, tradition, and culture. In many ways it is this struggle that Nyasha and Tambu face throughout the novel that brings meaning to the postcolonial. Both young women push the boundaries of their gender roles in different ways; Tambu asserts herself to her father in her need to be educated, while Nyasha disobeys her father's strict rules for how a daughter should behave on many levels. In one of the most dramatic scenes of the book, Babamukuru slaps his daughter during an argument, saying "You must learn to be obedient" (p. 117) and Nyasha responds by punching him in the face. "Babamukuru bellowed and snorted that if Nyasha was going to behave like a man, then ... he would fight her like one" (p. 117). Instead of taking her beating and submitting to her father's power, Nyasha physically challenges him and is beaten quite badly. It is a challenge that many women face in the postcolonial struggle for identity, how to negotiate their own feminist beliefs that challenge cultural patriarchy with their cultural identity that is constructed in opposition to colonialism. Tambu wants to remain true to her mother and culture, yet she wants to become educated and questions the expectation that she will become a wife and mother.

Activism and Art

Some artists have engaged with political issues in their work; Goya illustrated scenes of the brutality and violence in the Peninsular War in a series entitled *Disasters of War* from 1810 to 1820, Picasso created his masterpiece *Guernica* in 1937, the same

year as the bombing of a village during the same Civil War. These modern, male European artists used their work to bring attention to the horrors of war. Most of the famous, modern artists distanced themselves from engaging directly in political issues. One of the important differences in the split between the modern and postmodern periods in art is the level of engagement in political and social issues in works of art. The use of art as an organized form of activism critiquing political and cultural structures gained momentum in the 1980s and has influenced the contemporary work by transnational groups of artists and individuals working to create social change.

Gran Fury was a group based in New York City in the 1990s that used public art in the form of billboards, posters, and flyers to create change in perceptions of sexuality and AIDS. One of the most famous works by the group was an advertisement placed on city buses that showed three couples kissing: one straight, one gay, and one lesbian. The text reads, "Kissing Doesn't Kill: Greed and Indifference Do" with "Corporate greed, government inaction, and public indifference make AIDS a political crisis" in smaller font beside the image. The work was created in response to the erroneous myth that AIDS could be spread through contact with saliva through kissing. "Equally as important, it affirms the power of queer desire in the face of an ongoing epidemic, insisting that lesbians and gay men fight the efforts of the larger culture to render their sexuality—and their desiring bodies—invisible" (Meyer, 1995, p. 52). In the face of fear about the AIDS epidemic combined with the problem of homophobia, the group created bold, graphic pieces meant to get attention and possible change minds.

The Border Art Workshop/Taller de Arte Fronterizo (BAW/TAF) was formed in 1984 by artists David Avalos, Victor Ochoa, Isaac Artenstein, Jude Eberhart, Sara-Jo Berman, Guillermo Gomez-Peña, and Michael Schnorr and worked with issues raised by living in a border zone. Based in Southern California, the group focused mainly on the highly contentious border area between the United States and Mexico. In *End of the Line* (1986) the group organized a performance piece at the end of the border fence running between San Diego, California and Tijuana, Mexico (Border Art Workshop, n.d., para. 7). Artists performed simultaneously on both sides of the border, making a statement about what has been constructed as a hostile line separating two very different groups of people. By drawing attention to the border as a site of peaceful artistic collaboration, the artists tried to create a space for dialogue that could counter mainstream media and political rhetoric about the border as war zone. For later work, the group worked more transnationally to engage with other forms of physical and mental borders that separated people. In 1993, artists traveled to Australia to collaborate on *Discoveries* with teenagers from Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam living in Sydney as refugees. Conducting a community workshop, the group and the teenagers engaged in issues of colonial legacies and the racism and exclusion they had felt in Australia. For these refugees, they were not living in a physical border zone, but they encountered mental borders because of racial and cultural difference.

After leaving the BAW/TAF group, Gomez-Pena worked with Roberto Sifuentes and Nola Mariano to found La Pocha Nostra another collective of artists working on

issues relevant to activism in border zones. In their manifesto, the group writes, "Our common denominator is our desire to cross and erase dangerous borders between art and politics, practice and theory, artist and spectator. We strive to eradicate myths of purity and dissolve borders surrounding culture, ethnicity, gender, language, and métier" (What is Pocha?, n.d., para. 1). The group of performance artists works with postcolonial and feminist theory to create work that challenges assumptions and hierarchies. A current project that the group is performing is entitled *The New Barbarian Collection* (2008). In this piece, the group creates a parody of a high fashion runway featuring "designer primitives" that play on and subvert stereotypical ethnic dress. "This performance explores the bizarre relationship between the post-9/11 culture of xenophobia and the rampant fetishization of otherness by global pop culture" (Pocha Projects 08, 2008, para. 1). It explores the contradictions between the rhetoric about multiculturalism and global understanding and the ongoing war on terror that uses fear of difference to gain support for military action.

The Guerilla Girls

At the forefront of feminist organizations using visual representation and art as a weapon of resistance against patriarchy, the Guerilla Girls began in the 1980s as a loosely organized group of women artists challenging sexism in the New York art scene. The group's calling card was (and is) a gorilla mask worn by all members when making public appearances and represented on posters created by the groups. One of the earliest posters features the title, "How many women had one-person exhibitions at NYC museums last year?" (1985), and lists that the Guggenheim, Metropolitan, and Whitney museums each had zero, while the Modern had one. The goal of this and other early posters was appeal to the insulated New York City art world and to bring more attention to women artists working in the area. A poster from 1989 features, "The Advantages of Being a Woman Artist," and lists "working without the pressure of success," and "being included in revised versions of art history." A personal favorite poster reads, "Do women have to be naked to get into the Met. Museum?" (1989), and features Ingres' reclining odalisque with a fierce gorilla head. Once the group started getting mainstream media attention, they gained fame and expanded their scope to other locations in the art world and to other feminist political issues including abortion rights, homelessness, and war protests. The posters and performances, which felt raw and immediate in the 1980s and 1990s, have become more mainstream and slick in presentation and some question whether the message has been diluted to the point of irrelevance.

Thoroughly rooted in the ideas of western feminism, the group focused and performed mainly in the United States for the first 20 years of its existence. Beginning in 2002, the work began to be exported to museums and public performances in Europe then later in Turkey and China (Chronology, 2008). Even though the Guerilla Girls have worked in a more international space, the content of the work has remained relatively stable and has not directly engaged with critiques

of postcolonial and transnational feminists who feel marginalized by the focus on western women and issues. Though the continued relevance of their message may be questioned, the impact of the group on the formation of and attention given to feminist activist groups cannot be denied.

Since the founding of the Guerilla Girls, many feminist collectives have formed to highlight subversive art and performances that question colonial ideas of hierarchy in race and gender. LTTR is, according to their website, “a feminist genderqueer artist collective with a flexible project oriented practice” (About LTTR, 2007, para. 1). The group publishes a journal that includes artwork and writing critical of the dominant, hetero-normative culture and hosts performances and events. This group has a more radical orientation than the Guerilla Girls, working underground to bring together “radical communities whose goals are sustainable change, queer pleasure, and critical feminist productivity” (para. 1). The group’s website features a variety of artwork that questions normative assumptions; one notable piece is a parody of the Guerilla Girls by Ridykeulous entitled, “The Advantages of Being a Lesbian Woman Artist” (2007). A theme in much of the group’s disparate work is the critique of the western feminist assumption of a unified, heterosexual, white subject.

Art for Pedagogy

As a result of the work of these disparate visual artists and writers, we can begin to define and illustrate the basis for a postcolonial pedagogy that opens up spaces for rethinking the colonial, Eurocentric curriculum that remains the standard for most students. Though diverse in materials and methods, the artists discussed in this chapter have in common a questioning of the static view of culture and gender that typifies the colonial worldview. In terms of creating pedagogy, the artwork form the foundation of a curriculum that identifies stereotypes and biases and breaks them apart through exposure representations that do not conform to the predictable visual codes that stereotype people based on race, gender, and sexuality.

Chapter 9
Creating Postcolonial Visual Pedagogy

How can the work of artists, alternative media outlets, and transnational feminist activists be used to create pedagogies that confront the traditional, colonial representations of gender? Images that address and subvert unequal relationships of power can be the foundation of an education of difference. I propose a form of curriculum based around the complexity of transnational individual and group experience and expression. Stereotypical notions of difference and the Other that have been the norm in western, specifically American, education cannot be supported when examining multiple, layered postcolonial expression.

Problems with Multicultural Education

In the post-September 11th era, increased attention has been place on the relationships between difference and fear. Muslim women have been visualized in the American media as stereotypically oppressed and voiceless, and women from other cultures continue to be exoticized and sexualized in the popular imagination. In the current global context of increased communication and connection, the representations of women still rely on the colonial constructions of race and femininity. What role can education play in addressing the issues raised by the historical and cultural representation of the Other woman as western object/subject? Is there a way to create a responsible pedagogy of difference that could allay fear and avoid reliance on tired ethnocentric stereotypes? Historically, American schools and curricula have intentionally worked to develop a national identity. Joel Spring (2004) emphasizes how our schools create a unified American sentiment. “In the shared experience of schooling, students engage in the rituals of statehood through flag salutes, anthems, nationalist songs, and marches” (p. 10). Schools have been the natural breeding grounds of xenophobic, nationalist feelings that are systematically reinforced through lessons on American history and geography. “Students are taught to think of those living within the territorial boundaries of their state as their *people* while all those outside the state’s boundaries are the *others* or *foreigners*” (p. 10). Exclusionary identity production has been one of the more overt goals of American education for a good portion of its history. The creation patriotic curricula attempted

R.B. Jones, *Postcolonial Representations of Women*, Explorations of Educational Purpose 18, DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1551-6_9, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

to Americanize immigrants from various cultural backgrounds; the multiple cultures of those living in America were either ignored or outwardly despised. Education was one vehicle for the destruction of Native American culture in the boarding schools (Adams, 1997). Values of the various Native American tribes centered on the communal good, respect for nature, and tribal oral traditions were devalued as different than the official American identity. In the early 1900s an influx of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe were sent to schools where Christian holidays were celebrated in classrooms; Christmas trees were decorated at schools and vacations were organized around the Christian calendar. Generally, American schools have dealt with difference by either ignoring its existence or by actively trying to eliminate it. While the Progressive movement, led by John Dewey in the early twentieth century, introduced the idea of respecting individual difference, serious challenges to the traditional approach to difference in American education did not take hold until the civil rights movements of the mid-twentieth century. The realities of economic globalization and mass migration, along with social justice movements of the 1960s and 1970s, have led to calls for an education that would prepare Americans to live and work with difference.

As schools are pressured to adopt "Multicultural Education," there are several approaches to difference that are traditionally added to the existing curriculum. Most early attempts at creating multicultural education represented difference in superficial ways that left the dominant discourse intact. The curricula centered on the experiences of middle- and upper-class white, Protestant, males. In my education, I remember having colorful text boxes on the page margins of social studies books that described the achievements of model minorities like Martin Luther King, Jr., Betsy Ross, Pocahontas, and others. These boxes were added into the dominant narrative as extras; they did not disturb the traditional story on those pages. We studied difference, but mostly during Black History Month and Women's History Month. Encounters with difference were marginalized, just as the text boxes were marginal to the main story of the textbooks.

Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) propose five frameworks for educational approaches to multiculturalism: Conservative Multiculturalism/Monoculturalism, with a focus on assimilation to the dominant culture; Liberal Multiculturalism focusing on a bland uniformity that ignores difference and issues of privilege; Pluralist Multiculturalism focused on exoticized difference; Left-Essentialist Multiculturalism, where certain facets of difference and identity are thought of as natural and unchanging; and Critical Multiculturalism, a form that studies difference in terms of power and privilege with a goal of social justice and equity. The two forms of multiculturalism that I have observed in my experience and research into curriculum are Liberal and Pluralist Multiculturalism. There is either a highlighting of difference (Pluralist) that reinforces a cultural hierarchy (by focusing on the "traditional" against our "modernity," for example) and the idea of pure, distinct cultures. Or, we erase all difference (Liberal) and claim that we are all part of a universal human family with no unique or important aspects. These attempts at "multicultural education" fail to address actual human experience of oppression, struggle, and interaction. There needs to be a move toward the Critical

Multiculturalism that honestly addresses imbalances of power and wealth while not exoticizing difference. The unofficial education we receive from media images of the Other and the news stories of terrorist plots contribute to our dehumanizing fear. Media and political notions of the group make difference seem innate and entrenched in static cultures. The current education Americans are receiving about those who are different, from the unofficial education of the media, presents a distorted image of the Arab as terrorist, victimized, and violent, of the African as primitive and tribal, of the Asian as docile and hardworking. Stereotypes that make easy categorization of those outside the national community are at the center of distorted colonial education. A vital goal for postcolonial education is to challenge these assumptions and disrupt easy distinctions and divisions.

The infusion of postcolonial theory into multicultural education is meant to break apart the static, essential categories of knowledge and difference. Though, like any new form of pedagogy, change away from the traditional curriculum can be painful and unpredictable. While not a panacea to educational ills, postcolonial pedagogy can be an important step in unlearning the Eurocentric legacy of colonialism. In "Postcolonialism and Comparative Education," Leon Tikly (1999) highlights two forms of response to the Eurocentrism of colonial curriculum that create different problems for education. The first approach involved "substituting one conception of reality and 'truth' with another, black or non-European view" (p. 614). This substitution of one master narrative with another, marginalized master narrative does not question the very nature of essential categories of difference and the idea of one, stable form of truth. The postcolonial emphasis on negotiated, hybrid forms of identity and the cultural construction of truth and knowledge are missing in this form of curricular substitution. A second, problematic form of attempted curricular change relates to the addition of extra material that reflects marginalized groups to the standard curriculum. This additive approach, which is prevalent in textbooks and state and national standards, does not challenge the master, Eurocentric narrative and notion of truth; it merely adds images and text boxes that make the material appear to address multiple points of view.

Pragmatism and the Creation of Doubt

While a critical multiculturalism seeks to alter the Eurocentric canon of education by infusing traditionally marginalized scholars and perspectives, the challenge to pedagogy is to alter perceptions of self and other in meaningful ways. I do not believe that students will give up their learned assumptions from official and unofficial colonial educations through merely being exposed to new and different ideas. Something needs to move us from our comfortable positions, where groups of people securely fit into neatly defined categories. Learning must involve experience and action in order to move us. Pragmatic philosophy in its root form was first elaborated by American philosophers Charles Sanders Peirce and William James in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that influenced the educational

philosophy of John Dewey. It is based on the notion that we should learn and change through acting in the world and through experience, we should then reflect upon our actions and experience and be open to doubting and changing beliefs based upon what we saw and felt. In his work entitled *Pragmatism* from 1907, James wrote on the contingency of opinions and how humans reconcile the long held opinion with new information:

> The individual has a stock of old opinions already, but he meets a new experience that puts them to a strain. Somebody contradicts them; or in a reflective moment he discovers that they contradict each other; or he hears of facts with which they are incompatible; or desires arise in him which they cease to satisfy. (James, 1997, p. 101)

These scenarios lead us to reexamine long held opinion and alter it to accommodate new information. This process is based on a level of active reexamination of habit, where no idea is immutable and everything is in flux and open to reconsideration. Peirce also struggled with the issue of belief, and the human tendency to form an impression and hold tightly to it once formed. The exclusive, nationalistic identity is based on this hardening of belief that is antithetical to pragmatism. "The feeling of believing is a more or less sure indication of there being established in our nature some habit which will determine our actions" (1997, p. 13). Habitual thought and action lead to the hardening of belief, and Peirce advocated doubt as an "uneasy and dissatisfied state" (p. 13), an irritant to dislodge the habitual. In many ways, this notion of doubt and the experience of exile perform the same function of interrupting the comfort and routine of daily life.

The major gap in this form of pragmatism is its lack of attention to issues of race, gender, and unequal relationships of power. Basic tenets of the philosophy can be applied to the writing and creation of contemporary artists to create a form of feminist, postcolonial pragmatism. I explore this possibility through the work of the artists in Chapter 8 who address issues of gender, ethnicity, and power and frame their work within this idea of an "uneasy and dissatisfied state" of the postcolonial pragmatic. The pragmatic can be applied to the artwork of feminist postcolonial artists to create a form of feminist, postcolonial pragmatist pedagogy. Much of the provocative contemporary art created by people of color and women on the margins provides not only an aesthetic experience with the beauty of visual elements but also a political and cultural view that can disturb dominant western beliefs. It is pragmatic to use art as a form of experience to question the habitual and the commonplace.

John Dewey (1934), directly influenced by the work of James and Peirce, wrote in *Art and Experience*, "the enemies of the esthetic are neither the practical nor the intellectual. They are the humdrum; slackness of loose ends; submission to convention in practice and intellectual procedure" (p. 40). Dewey wrote at length about the ways that familiarity and habit lead to a sense of removal, of apathy, for life and experience. It is much easier to go along on a daily routine, not encountering people or things that will undermine the correctness of your beliefs. Many of us try actively to avoid experiences that would throw our ideas into question. Maxine Greene (1995) writes in *Releasing the Imagination*,

> At the very least, participatory involvement with the many forms of art can enable us to *see* more in our experience, to *hear* more on normally unheard frequencies, to *become conscious* of what daily routines have obscured, what habit and convention have suppressed. (p. 123)

Dewey and, later, Greene argue that art is one form of experience that can disrupt the habitual and cause doubts to arise about the certainty of daily life. They share a sense of pragmatic possibility for individual change through the experience of expression:

> Art throws off the covers that hide the expressiveness of experienced things; it quickens us from the slackness of routine and enables us to forget ourselves by finding ourselves in the delight of experiencing the world about us in its varied qualities and forms. (Dewey, 1934, p. 104)

The aesthetic experience, then, can cause a forgetting of the self through the expression of another in art. A pragmatic grounding of the aesthetic in one's own experience can use a framework of personal history to understand new forms of expression. The aesthetic can provide a different way of seeing the world, shedding new light on parts of life usually ignored and taken for granted. In order for this to be transformative, and not a reinforcement of assumptions, encounters with representations of difference in art must be grounded in experience.

For Dewey, and to a lesser extent for Greene, the aesthetic disruption is an individual experience with the possibility to create change in the self. This idea of the aesthetic lacks the political agency and social connection of contemporary postmodern art. The modern conception of the art object is one of perfection of form; the modern artist is a solitary genius creating in a contextual vacuum of his studio. In Dewey's time, the modernist school was at its height with artists such as Pollock, deKooning, and Picasso creating masterpieces alone in their studios. As we learn from the Eurocentric myths of art education, the artist in the modern age is almost always white, male, and western. So, while Dewey's connection of art and pragmatism links the creative with the contingent, the possibility for disruption of habit lacks involvement a bigger cultural or political possibility. I believe that artists like Satrapi, Hatoum, and Fusco who cross borders and engage with the political can expand Dewey's (1934) notions of the aesthetic and pragmatism.

Many contemporary artists remain in the modernist paradigm, of the lone genius creating masterpieces for transcendence. But, there is a movement within the art world to include more voices from the margins of the dominant culture. Since the 1970s, feminist artists and artists of color have been turning experiences of oppression and exclusion into powerful art that critiques the dominant ideas of truth, beauty, and what is considered to be "good" art. Many of these artists intentionally use their art to question or disturb the status quo. They use the power of the aesthetic experience as a connection of the artist, art, and viewer in a visceral expression of experience. The creation and viewing of meaningful art is a bodily experience. The art that disturbs conventions and loosens the "humdrum" is often felt as a bodily revulsion, while a visually stunning piece of art might create a feeling of serenity or elation in the body. It is this embodied experience that visual art, and especially art from the margins, can add to an understanding of pragmatism. It is another vehicle

for diverse experience, and another way disturb the "everydayness" of life. Lippard (1990) writes that, "If we are not moved, if we stand still, the status quo is our reward" (p. 11). She writes from the context of the postmodern, postcolonial aesthetic that includes more diverse voices and art made by those on the margins of the modern art world. From this perspective, Lippard envisions this moving experience of art differently than Dewey and Greene, for whom art moves in a lofty, transcendental way. In order to create change, contemporary art does not merely hope to inspire, it tries to push, shove, sometimes shocking one out of habits. "Yet I am inclined to welcome any approach that destabilizes, sometimes dismantles, and looks to the reconstruction or invention of an identity that is both new and ancient" (Lippard, 1995, p. 14). Here, artists are given the power not only to disturb and shake loose, but also to entirely dismantle accepted ways of thinking and being. The aesthetic is not just a way to frame experience through expression and therefore help the artist to re-form her identity; art can affect the consumer through the upsetting of tightly held views and closely guarded identities.

While modern artists created aesthetic experiences in a decontextualized studio, contemporary postmodern artists often appropriate culturally relevant symbols or images and reinvent in way that disrupts or disturbs the originally intended meaning. This opening to other experiences and voices is a pragmatic loosening of old, stiff boundaries. Lippard (1995) writes of this revolutionary impact when she states that, "the power of the feminist movement lies in the fact that everything is open and possible now, that no one art can be imposed" (p. 59). Increased disruption of the accepted, the habitual, and the commonplace is directly related to increased possibility for change and openings for new forms of expression. "Breaking through the frames of presuppositions and conventions, we are enabled to recapture the processes of our becoming" (Greene, 1995, p. 130). Art that stretches the conventions to the point of rupture, causes bodily reactions, and calls into question long-held beliefs. It can also create spaces of opening for even more diverse expression for others, what Greene calls the "processes of our becoming" (p. 130). Feminist art and the feminist art criticism of Lippard effectively allow others to imagine new ways of being. I return to Dewey, "Expression is the clarification of turbid emotion; our appetites know themselves when they are reflected in the mirror of art, and as they know themselves they are transfigured" (p. 77). It is through the transformation of emotion into art that we see what can be, and come to reform our knowledge, ideas, and beliefs based upon this expression.

What, in the end, is the force that creates in people the desire for change? If it is easier to hold onto one's beliefs and avoid growth or change, what can open them up to explore other ideas and reexamine the things they are certain of? Dewey thought that the arts were a way to transform ordinary experience into opportunity for change. Greene (1995) reminds us that, "it may be the recovery of imagination that lessens social paralysis we see around us and restores the sense that something can be done in the name of what is decent and humane" (p. 35). It is creativity and imagination that can transform experience into a response in the viewer that can shake off the years of habit and unconsidered ways of being. Contemporary art from multicultural and feminist sources are posing new and uncomfortable questions about

tradition that need to be disrupted. Many of the tenets of modernity—rationality, universal truth, objectivity, and the prominence of the western and the masculine—are critiqued and questioned in the representations created by postmodern and postcolonial artists.

Postcolonial Pedagogy

Pragmatic philosophy connects production of doubt to the possibilities of using the aesthetic to create change. The focus of this philosophy on the modern and the western leads me to postcolonialism in order to develop a pedagogy that creates uncertainty and questions traditional hierarchies that create global inequity. Tikly (1999) lays out three qualities that must be present in the design of postcolonial pedagogy. The first is the opening up of the canon of great knowledge and work to the necessary inclusion of traditionally marginalized scholars. The canon, which has traditionally been constituted by and with European and American male scholars, informs the creation of curriculum.

The second aspect of postcolonial curriculum creation is a critical examination of the process that creates the canon and curriculum. "This necessarily involves focusing on the production, distribution and legitimization (canonization) of 'official knowledge'" (p. 615) that takes place across a complex web of institutions: schools, universities, publishing houses, and governments. To reform this process of legitimizing and distributing other forms of knowledge, this process and the people who hold power and influence in the process have to be investigated. Whose interests are served by the continued presence of Eurocentric knowledge in the canon and the curriculum?

The third aspect requires a postcolonial curriculum to explore the relationship of western, official forms of knowledge to ways of knowing produced by other cultures and civilizations. In order to do this, we must "recognize . . . how the very notion of 'westernness' is itself a construct and how western forms of knowledge and 'civilization' are directly indebted to older, non-European forms" (p. 615). The figures and events that appear in textbooks and curricula are not part of some apolitical, objective process of deciding what is the most important knowledge. This must be constructed by scholars who operate within certain cultural locations, and is therefore partial and subjective in its scope. An important example of this de-centering of western knowledge and practice is the work of Luitel and Taylor (2010) that examines the move toward an essentialized, western mathematics curriculum in Nepal and the tension between preserving local knowledge and practice while negotiating the western canon. Together, these three aspects of a postcolonial curriculum suggest a starting point for the deconstruction of western master narratives and singular versions of knowledge and truth but they do not illuminate the way toward reconstructing curriculum in a postcolonial way that does not just substitute other singular truths or add marginalized voices.

An important theoretical work in the area of postcolonial pedagogy is *Reading and Teaching the Postcolonial: From Baldwin to Basquiat and Beyond* by Greg

Dimitriadis and Cameron McCarthy (2001). The authors create tools to identify works of postcolonial art, and use them as educational texts. In the world of art education, the recent theoretical focus has shifted to connecting the multicultural and the postmodern art. Some radical art educators have been advocating a replacement of the emphasis on western modern art created by mainly white men with multicultural postmodern art created on a more diverse and global scale. Artist and educator Amalia Mesa-Bains (1996) writes of introducing deeper engagement with multicultural art in the classroom, a "multiple aesthetic," (p. 38) that breaks down traditional curricular boundaries. Dimitriadis and McCarthy join this call for a new engagement with colonial legacies of power, oppression, and the postcolonial through seminal works of art.

The authors set up criteria for postcolonial works of art that privilege struggle and border crossing, teaching through their expression of the "postcolonial imagination" (p. 19). This theoretical connection between postcolonial art production and pedagogy is an important tool for my analysis of the work of postcolonial feminists artists working to challenge the dominant, colonial discourse. The diverse origins and materials of the artists belie their common connection in using biographical expression of experience to illuminate global issues of power, and in dismantling easy assumptions:

> Transcending these binary oppositions allows these artists to rework the center-versus-periphery distinction that has so undergirded the iconography and social sciences of Western intellectuals, in order to look beyond its strictures to new histories, new discourses, new ways of being. (p. 24)

A framework for how a postcolonial pragmatic can be applied to pedagogy is rooted in the work of Dimitriadis and McCarthy (2001) for education based on "the postcolonial imagination" (p. 15). The postcolonial imagination is neither a utopian denial of pain nor a backward looking laundry list of historical wrongs. It includes multiple artistic interventions and collaborations that speak to individual difference and systematic imbalances of power, while providing space for imagining change. "Educators need to rearticulate a dialogue between the educational enterprise and the world of unequal center-periphery relations in which we live" (p. 15). This is a radical re-envisioning of education that replaces standardized curricula with engagement with postcolonial works of art that express complex experiences of suffering, resistance, and resilience. Easy answers in the back of textbooks would be replaced with student-generated questions that deal with the complex messiness of daily life and do not have prescribed answers. "We see a pedagogy that is enmeshed in individual biography, exceeds concerns of particular disciplines, engages with the popular, links the local with the global, and is intensely concerned with social change" (Dimitriadis & McCarthy, 2001, p. 48).

I believe that artwork can be used in formal and informal educational settings to deconstruct habituated ways of seeing and representing other cultures. The emotional response of fear that I felt in my own body at the sight of the woman in *burqa* and the fear I saw in my friend's eyes when discussing Islam needs to

be counteracted by a form of education that can speak emotionally and resonate physically. As Dewey and Greene wrote of the power of the aesthetic, artwork has the ability to connect on a visceral level with the viewer, going beyond cerebral arguments. Using the art of those who inhabit multiple cultural perspectives can tear holes in the biased view of the Other that has been constructed in the American mind. It has the possibility to imagine a different way of relating to others, to create spaces for empathy and connection, and ultimately a more inclusive construction of identity.

An important aspect of a new pedagogy of difference would be to include cultural production and construction with analysis and deconstruction. Dimitriadis and McCarthy name this the "participatory model" of education that relies on acts student creation to make meaning. "When we take such an approach, we cannot prefigure what the world will look like, and instead must engage with multiple kinds of audiences in an increasingly unpredictable public sphere" (p. 107). Life outside of the school walls would become an important source of material for classroom knowledge building. I do not believe that artistic criticism and production can be an educational panacea, but it offers a way out of the prescribed and can provide an opening of possibility for change. Lippard (1990) writes of contemporary artists who use creation to question the current order. "Recognizing the failure of the melting pot and the stubborn survival of cultural heterogeneity, these artists are considering anew the prospect of a society that is cooperative rather than co-optive, syncretic rather than synthetic, multicultural rather than melted-down" (p. 152). Art can be a powerful form of pedagogy, a location where meanings are constructed and mixed and where identities can be expressed and questioned.

"Exposure to and understanding of difference must be allowed to expand and help rehabilitate the role of the communal imagination. We dream, we see, and only then do we think and act" (Lippard, 1990, p. 244). The work of postcolonial imagination as pedagogy requires a releasing of certainty about answers and knowledge, not a loss of center but an acknowledgment of countless centers where hybridity and mixing is the rule. It involves a privileging of individual voice as part of a greater whole; a whole that is constantly changing and in need of revision. Shohat and Stam (1994) propose a "polycentric multiculturalism" to counteract the traditional center/periphery binary. "Within a polycentric vision, the world has many dynamic cultural locations, many possible vantage points. The emphasis in 'polycentrism' for us, is not on spatial or primary points of origin but on fields of power, energy, and struggle" (1994, p. 48). I wish to extend this to include a polycentric pedagogy, which does not assume one or even multiple centers of knowledge production. Colonial knowledge radiated from one center, Europe, and was seen as filtering down to those in the colonies. Colonized subjects did not create knowledge; those who lived in the colonies were expected to receive one form of knowing through colonial education. In a polycentric pedagogy, centers and peripheries are blurred by the validation of expression, exchange, and experience.

Border Pedagogy

As the postcolonial strives to make the connection between power and knowledge visible, border theory and the creation of border pedagogy creates uncertain spaces for the negotiation of difference. In some ways, border pedagogy shares philosophical precepts with postcolonial pedagogy; both have the goal of critiquing and subverting colonial, Eurocentric subjects and methods. However, while the postcolonial keeps the colonial central to its critique, border pedagogy engages the legacy of colonialism while looking to a new paradigm for understanding difference and relationship. Henry Giroux (2005) argues for the border as a central metaphor because it, "signals forms of transgression in which existing borders forged in domination can be challenged and refined" (p. 20). Borders can be the physical separation between nations and groups of people or borders can be mental barriers set up to keep things in separate categories or compartments. Famously contentious borders between the United States and Mexico and between Israel and the Palestinian territories create real spaces where different cultures and languages come into contact. Many artists and educators have found these borders to be fruitful sites for expression and the creation of pedagogy. By delineating either a physical or mental border, they create the possibilities for crossing, moving, or erasing the border.

Colonial education reinforces borders between cultures and ways of knowing, creating artificial separations between disciplines and groups of people. Physical borders are given greater importance through the myth of separate, distinct cultures. Academic disciplines are physically separated into different buildings with theoretical walls built to keep the ways of thinking distinct. In universities, interdisciplinary work in areas of Women's and Gender Studies and African American Studies are marginalized in the system that relies on the strict policing of borders.

What, then can border pedagogy offer teachers and students if the goal is to de-colonize education? I see border pedagogy as a fruitful mix of politically engaged pragmatism with postcolonialism, it seeks to disrupt and move students from their comfortable positions and assumptions through an honest examination of the relationship among knowledge, power, and privilege. Traditional, colonial curriculum is used as a source of critique of the master narrative; students are taught to question any knowledge that pretends to be apolitical, objective truth. The borders between official knowledge and dangerous, marginalized knowledge are the territory for student engagement. By opening borders, "students cross over into realms of meaning, maps of knowledge, social relations, and values that are increasingly being negotiated and rewritten" (p. 22). As border-crossers, students must become co-authors of a curriculum that does not offer easy answers.

Border pedagogy, as articulated by Giroux, must be based on the idea that culture, the politics of representation, and popular culture are fertile grounds for re-imagining pedagogy. Colonized forms of representation created by the dominant culture have historically created racist, sexist, and ethnocentric stereotypes that must be engaged as part of the curriculum. It must "acknowledge and critically interrogate how the colonizing of differences by the dominant groups is expressed and sustained through representations in which the humanity of the other is either ideologically

disparaged or ruthlessly denied" (p. 25). Representations, either in art, advertising, or media photography can be used as sources of critical questioning and for tracing the history of domination and subordination.

The border between official and unofficial education is a terrain that border pedagogy engages in the critical study of popular culture and its relationship to the ways in which students construct meaning in their lives. Schools and educators have traditionally bemoaned the influence of popular culture in student' lives, how television and video games have become more important than books and homework and how this is all leading to the downfall of education. While educators might grudgingly acknowledge the influence of popular culture, it has not been considered a suitable source of curriculum. In order to meaningfully disturb the assumptions and stereotypes to which students have been exposed in popular culture, curriculum must use the popular as a source of material for critique. Part of what is so powerful about popular culture is its manipulation of our emotions and desires; we feel strangely attracted and attached to the characters on television or the films of our youth. This attachment is not only mental, we feel physically and emotionally attached. Popular culture is a form of experience that can be used to create pragmatic border pedagogy, to move and disturb us in a way that traditional school curriculum cannot. Using popular culture for border pedagogy means not only examining the power relations at the heart of cultural production, but also the various ways that culture is received and resisted by various users and communities.

Gomez-Pena (2001) labels contemporary popular culture the "mainstream bazaar," a location where the border between fiction and reality is continuously blurred. Video games offer ever increasing levels of digital reality, the characters and environments seem more vivid and real than the "real" world. First-person games allow the player to feel as if he/she is actually interacting with the characters, shooting guns at the enemy, or attending rock concerts. With the increasing popularity of "reality television," with its scripted drama and edited characters, what can be considered real anymore? The border between public and private is also blurred with these reality television shows that film people living out their daily lives for the world to see; on the Internet we can find sites to show us the inside of people's bedrooms and bathrooms, and can read the intimate details of total strangers' lives. In the "mainstream bazaar" every action is taken to the extreme to garner more ratings or website hits.

This hyper-sexual, -violent, -real world of popular culture offers greater choice of distraction and allows students to enter into worlds that seem more fascinating and real than the world of the classroom and school. There is an urgent need to use the classroom to engage with these alternative realities where students create meanings and identities in the borders between fantasy/reality and public/private. Education has created another border between school/popular culture that vilifies the popular and keeps all knowledge and meaning constructed using popular culture outside of the school building. Teachers are constantly taking away students' comic books, Yu-gi-oh cards, and other artifacts of the popular; references to the popular are either discouraged or punished. Unlike traditional forms of education that deny the validity and meaning of the popular, border pedagogy needs to use the emotional power

to create curriculum that is relevant to students' lives and that can disturb other rigid borders between us/them, center/margin, and colonial/postcolonial. This is not meant to romanticize popular culture as a site without problematic representations or as a cure-all for ethnocentrism in education; it must be used critically for both its libratory and restrictive effects.

Putting border pedagogy into curricular practice is a challenge that forces us to re-examine many educational practices and norms. To engage both physical and mental borders, the classroom must be organized in very different ways than the traditional classroom. Based on the banking method of education, where the teachers have all of the knowledge and they impart this knowledge to students in a one-way transaction, traditional classrooms are organized around the teacher as omniscient supreme leader. Border pedagogy forces a de-centering of the teacher and a reorientation toward the students' questions and production of new knowledge. "Border pedagogy must provide conditions for students to engage in cultural remapping as a form of resistance" (Giroux, 2005, p. 25). To "remap" culture, students must be exposed to the old cultural maps that lay out difference in Eurocentric ways. This pedagogy is not about replacing one master narrative of truth with another, more critical version; it will not be successful if students are told what to think. New strategies of critically examining visual and textual representations of difference need to be taught so that students are the ones doing the work of critique. For example, in learning about the representation of African Americans in the United States, students would study the cultural context of Aunt Jemima and the way her image represents racist stereotypes and assumptions of the day. Then in remapping this representation, students would be artists and scholars, like Bettye Saar, who critique this image by creating subversive images.

Curricular Theoretical Framework

In proposing a hybrid curricular form that is based on the analysis of multiple sites of creative production, I have found useful the work of several intersecting curriculum theorists. Many recent and contemporary theorists working in the field of curriculum base their work in the postmodern, postcolonial, and pragmatic critique of Eurocentric, Enlightenment-based knowledge of self and other. In addition to the work of Dimitriadis and McCarthy (2001) and their creation of postcolonial curriculum based on the analysis and study of postcolonial works of art, there are several theorists whose work informs a postcolonial, border pedagogy. In re-imagining education, some debate whether we should work within the current system and try to tweak things in order to make small gains, or should we dare to imagine a completely different way of educating that starts from a new paradigm. I propose that we need to dream about a system that is completely new and different, while simultaneously working within the system we have to create as much change as possible.

Postmodernism

Kerry Freedman (2003) suggests "five conditions of the curricular process" that she feels are foundational to the creation of a postmodern curriculum. These conditions are necessary if one wants to re-think traditional curriculum production. In discussing the first stipulation for a postmodern pedagogy "curriculum is a form of representation" (p. 109), Freedman means that curriculum does not just transmit knowledge; it also represents the cultural values and beliefs that hold importance for the greater culture. When multicultural units celebrate the exotic native costume and traditional rituals of another culture, the values of American cultural superiority and modernity are reinforced. Freedman's second condition that "curriculum is like a collage" (p. 110) emphasizes the hybridity of knowledge formation; like cultural forms, no knowledge form is unitary and sealed off from influence. Thirdly, "curriculum is a creative production" (p. 110); even static, state-mandated curricula cannot remain unchanged and inert when implemented in unique, living educational settings. A form of postmodern curriculum would embrace the dynamic atmosphere of the living classroom and actively involve students and teachers in the analysis and production of knowledge. The fourth condition is that the curriculum and those who shape it are subjective; the Enlightenment notion of objective truth is a fallacy and needs to be honestly admitted and addressed in the postmodern curriculum. "Curriculum could be seen as a collage-like combination of information-like other aspects in life, which is necessarily ambiguous and suggestive of multiple meanings" (p. 111). This creative collage is much like the liminal spaces of ambiguity and uncertainty that postcolonial and pragmatic pedagogy suggest. Freedman's final condition is that curriculum should be "transparent" (p. 111) to those who implement it and to the students and teachers who are co-creators in the knowledge production.

Critical Theory

The work in critical pedagogy of Henry Giroux and Maxine Greene inspired me to critically examine the ideology at work in present curriculum models. Traditional lessons with Tyler-based behavioral objectives and rigid forms of assessment favor those who come to school with a certain cultural capital. It rewards students who have money and privilege, those who can be docile and accepting. Our educational system is set up to either reward or blame the individual student or family for any deviance from the norm, rather than looking at the ways in which societal or structural forces create difficult situations in schools. We hear about students who act out, have emotional difficulty, or who do not have parental support at home as if every student and parent act in a vacuum of power and privilege. Critical pedagogy exposes the value system behind our "neutral" curriculum and also helps me to realize that there is hope for change. Giroux (2001b) believes that this hope could be

rooted in a citizenship education with an emphasis on the values of critical thinking and democratic inquiry:

> If citizenship education is to be emancipatory, it must begin with the assumption that its major aim is not “to fit” students into the existing society; instead its primary purpose must be to stimulate their passions, imaginations, and intellects so that they will be moved to challenge the social, political, and economic forces that weigh so heavily upon their lives. (p. 201)

The goal, then of citizenship education is not to teach students how things are, but how things might be different. It is this ability to see the world in a different way that Maxine Greene (1988) defines as necessary to achieve a freedom for inquiry and imagination: “It is not simply a matter of motivation or interest. In this context, we can call it a question having to do with freedom or, perhaps, the absence of freedom in our schools” (p. 124).

The arts and humanities have the potential to show a world that might be, the possible. Specifically, if the visualizing of difference in mainstream media forecloses multiple interpretations, relying on simplified binaries, then artwork used as the foundation of a curriculum of difference highlights the multiple readings and complex interpretations. For critical theorists, education is either a repressive or emancipatory experience; it is never neutral. My pedagogical goals are to expose and analyze the biased representations of difference in order to create more nuanced readings of expression of experience.

Creating Curricula

There are multiple theoretical perspectives that inform the creation of what I could name feminist, pragmatic, postcolonial, postmodern, critical, border pedagogy, but that title is a bit cumbersome to be useful. I will refer to this as feminist border pedagogy with the understanding that it tentatively attempts to address all of these complex theoretical constructs. What these pedagogical theories have in common is a need to change the existing forms of education to create more democratic classrooms that engage with difference in more creative, critical ways. To create a new educational paradigm, the old habits and ways of teaching and learning must be undone. In many ways, I am an educational idealist; radical change will never occur if we all limit our imaginations to working within the current systems. Therefore, I imagine a form of education that is not based on high-stakes standardized testing, but on more authentic, individualized assessment of student and teacher learning. Because this education is based on exploration and experimentation with new concepts and ways of knowing, there would be no standard textbooks with an answer-key in the back. Students would design their own group and individual projects that connect the classroom to the “real world” in meaningful ways. So much of what we expect students to do in classrooms today amounts to “busy work,” worksheets and exercises designed to cover the standard curriculum and to pass local and state tests. This work generally has little connection to the world

outside the school building and to students' interests and lives. Sensing the irrelevance of their education, many students disengage and drop out, barely pass, or mindlessly complete the work so they can move on to the next step.

A renewed education, based not on disconnected standards but on real local and global issues that affect students' lives, would create relevance and a more personal rationale for being in school. Another aspect of the traditional education that needs to be broken down in order to create feminist border pedagogy is the separation of knowledge and learning into distinct disciplines. Based on the colonial ordering of knowledge, math, English, social studies, science, art, and technology are separated into different classrooms and units in schools, making it very hard for students to form connections among their classes and to create integrated knowledge of the world. Outside of the school building, these artificial distinctions and separations do not exist, so why do we cling to them in education? Scientists do not make discoveries outside of the social and political conditions of their context, artists cannot create work without chemistry and physics, and everyone must use language and symbol systems for written and verbal communication. In my ideal curriculum, all teachers in the school building would be involved in planning a truly integrated curriculum and would team-teach courses that focused on the connections, rather than the separations, among ways of knowing. My vision for education is an integrated, project-based relevant curriculum that is created by collaboration among teachers, students, and community members. This education would necessarily question the Eurocentric colonial forms of education that have remained the standard in social studies, science, art, and English classrooms.

In addition to these structural changes in the organization of the school and curriculum, a feminist border pedagogy would use several key pedagogical tools that would re-center student learning on this integrated, relevant curriculum. The importance of new curriculum rests not only in the reorganizing of schools in more democratic ways, and the construction of units and lessons that de-center the dominant, white, male perspective; in order to be feminist and postcolonial, the practice of teaching must change in order to value everyone's voice and to provide multiple ways to gather and compile knowledge. Teachers would no longer stand at the front of the class lecturing, assigning homework, and giving written tests to students. The interests and knowledge that students bring into the school will be valued in the feminist border pedagogy that is rooted in individual and group experience. Dialogue, with the teacher as facilitator and participant, is the primary mode of communication in this model. Relevant topics for the curriculum will be decided on as part of group discussion; the teacher will play a role in suggesting and refining student ideas into meaningful projects. Instead of the teacher controlling access to information through lecture, all class members will gather information as a part of the project research process and disseminate their findings to the rest of the group. And the whole group will decide on the amount of work that needs to be completed outside of class. Instead of tests that are standardized across states or even classrooms, assessment would be determined by agreement between students and teacher and would be open for creative or more traditional methods of assessment. For example, some students might prove their understanding of their learning through writing and performing a

play based on the content of the curriculum, others might write a formal research paper, and still others might create a website designed to inform the community about issues brought up in their work. I imagine three pedagogical tools to rest at the heart of this new curriculum: (1) analysis of visual materials, including colonial art and advertising, films showing both colonial and postcolonial representations of difference, and feminist, postcolonial artwork that subverts the colonial images; (2) student journals that allow for the expression of learning through informal writing and visual expression; and (3) completion of group projects, which bring the information gathered in class into practical relationship to issues affecting the greater community.

Visual Analysis

I propose a curriculum that is based on the examination and analysis of selected visual images, where students are the originators of questions and are actively engaged in a search for answers. In the contemporary world, we are bombarded with images from every direction; the combined force of television, the Internet, video games, and the increasingly prevalent advertising billboards of all shapes and sizes means that students must be taught to critically analyze images. For the most part, we unconsciously absorb these images and their subtle and not-so-subtle messages. In this increasingly visual world, visual literacy can be a tool for students to deconstruct the messages embedded in images and can also help students to become active producers of images in order to "talk back" to the mainstream visual regime.

In designing curriculum with the analysis of visual representations as a central feature, my objective is to utilize the theoretical foundations described earlier in this chapter to create concrete educational activities. The visual forms the foundation of a feminist, postcolonial pedagogy that involves students in the questioning of assumptions and the critical analysis of Eurocentric media representations of difference and the patriarchal systems that support their production. The purpose of this visual literacy is to increase a student's ability to critically question and analyze stereotypical media images of difference and to analyze contemporary works of art that subvert the stereotypical codes in order to use their understanding of visual codes to design a creative visual project that addresses the representation of difference. Though the subject for this lesson is the Western representation of race and gender, the critical visual literacy used in this context can be applied to the visualization of difference in multiple forms.

Visual literacy traditionally has involved three stages reading images: the aesthetic appreciation of color, shape, line and the design elements of an image; awareness of deception and digital or manual manipulation of images; and the production of images (Messaris, 1994). Aesthetic appreciation is the form of visual literacy generally taught in art history and studio art classes; this is a modernist approach to the visual that does not engage with the complex cultural and political implications of images. The second stage of reading images for the manipulation of cultural codes is the critical part for feminist border pedagogy. Images, whether

created as works of art or for mass distribution through media, are never neutral aesthetic events; they are created for a purpose and often challenge or reinforce assumptions about difference.

By focusing on uncovering and analyzing stereotypical visual codes, the goal is to create a pragmatic sense of doubt and uncertainty in the truth claims of the media images. Student experience with the colonial images of difference in the media is an important component of connecting the material in the lesson to the relevant extracurricular student knowledge. Students will research stereotypical images of third world women to critically explore how representations create assumptions about race and gender. In bringing up stereotypical views and deciphering the visual codes that are historically and culturally based, students will examine how they have formed their views of difference. Then we will read and view texts created by the border-crossing artists.

The curriculum is built on a foundation of visual culture; students will learn how to analyze media images using the visual analysis techniques based on visual semiology. They will learn to recognize visual codes that repeat in multiple images and discuss their interpretations of the meanings embedded in these codes with other students. For the media analysis I would ask students to conduct web research and watch for newspaper or magazine images depicting race and gender difference to bring into class. The students would have time to interpret the images and compare them with others that were brought into class. After informal discussions about trends and observations, the students would be introduced to more formal tools of visual semiotic analysis. Important theories of visual semiology and analysis can be introduced in accessible ways for high school students who already have definitions of myth and stereotype.

Stuart Hall's (1997) essay entitled "The Spectacle of the Other" builds on the use of visual codes to construct cultural myth into a discussion of visual representations of difference and stereotype. Hall extends the semiotics of cultural images to a system of representation, where meanings build and interact with other images. Hall writes,

> But at the broader cultural level of how "difference" and "otherness" is being represented in a particular culture at any moment, we can see similar representational practices and figures being repeated, with variations, from one text or site of representation to another. (p. 232)

The play of meaning, inter-textuality, constructs what Hall names as a regime of representation. While meaning of visual signs may slip and change, the repetition of loaded markers of difference create a layering and sedimentation of meaning. Students will compare the representation of women across a variety of images and media to understand how a subject is constructed through the repetition of cultural codes. In addition to paintings and photographs, students will watch clips of films that present colonial representations of race and gender. They will look for a "racialized regime of representation" (p. 249), which is created through repetitive representation of ethnic or racial difference that serves to naturalize difference and freeze groups of people in a place of inferiority. The visual distinction of race is a signifying myth, the forms of difference in images evoking cultural concepts

of superiority/inferiority. Myth functions to turn socially and historically created classifications and difference into biological, natural fact. The myth of the victimized, oppressed Muslim woman or the passive, submissive Asian woman colors any interpretation of an image of women from other cultures. Automatic assumptions about the woman are made, agency is denied, and ideas about the openness and freedom of the West are reinforced. Through analyzing repetitive visual images of race and gender, students would be encouraged to describe the Western myth of the exotic, primitive women and how it has been constructed to appear natural and eternal.

In adapting Rose's (2001) tools for decoding visual images, there are several categories of codes that students will be encouraged to question. The age, gender, race, ethnicity, and body type of people represented in images often are used to create manipulate the message. Are traditional gender roles represented, with women involved in stereotypically domestic activities or shown in passive positions? Are men active, tough, or working in the public realm? Are people of different races depicted in stereotypical roles or positions; are Africans shown in tribal dress or involved in ritual; or are African Americans shown in athletic performance? Also of importance to the decoding process are the setting and type of activity represented in the image. Are Arabs always shown riding camels through the desert; are Japanese shown exclusively using high tech equipment; are Pacific Islanders shown lazing on an idyllic beach? The repetition of these codes adds up to reinforce ethnocentric ideas about difference. Understanding the stereotypical codes and being able to identify their use in contemporary images is an important tool for students to possess in this visually saturated world.

The force of cultural myth and the regime of representation are related to an imbalance of power in discourse as theorized by Michel Foucault (1972). "Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true," (p. 73). Those within a culture who hold positions of power have the ability to control the presentation and distribution of images. As media outlets have been consolidated in fewer and fewer hands in recent years, the number of people deciding the form of representation and the variety of representations have shrunk. The force of ethnocentric myth is increased when the number of available images of difference declines. Those with the power of distribution have decided what it looks like to be "American," "primitive," "terrorist," and "patriot," in our cultural imagination. Unequal global power relationships, based on historical imperialism and current American economic imperialism, allow certain cultures to "be imagined" by others, coding difference in the form of their choosing. The coding and meaning of difference combines Barthes' theory of semiotic myth and Foucault's theories of discourse and power to create the "regimes of representation."

Students would read about these unequal relationships of power and analyze how this power is visualized in media representation. As a class, we could create a display of the stereotypical media images that we have researched and would add to the board as new images are discovered. This could be a physical board in the classroom

or a website or Wiki created by the class that could reach a larger audience and continue to be updated even after the class ends. Even after the "official" lesson is completed, the analysis and discussion of the visual codes can continue as new images and observations are brought in and posted.

In addition to analyzing media representations of difference, students would be introduced to the work of postcolonial, feminist artists who engage with the regimes of representation that bear the trace of colonialism. The graphic novel, *Persepolis*, by Satrapi (2003) showcases complex ideas of difference in an accessible format. Students will reflect on how Iran was/is portrayed in American media as part of the "Axis of Evil," how gender oppression and agency are represented, and how that compares to the story of Marji and her family. The illustrated narrative makes it difficult to think in terms of us versus them, or freedom versus repression; students will be encouraged to rethink the simplified, biased media and film representation after experiencing the postcolonial representation of identity in *Persepolis*.

Student Journaling

An important component of the curriculum would involve the creation of student journals that would be a place for exploration and questioning without too many preset limitations or guidelines. At the beginning of the journaling process, the teacher as facilitator has to frame the purpose and questions to be explored in the pages; without any guidance students might feel overwhelmed and unsure of the way forward. Until students have become proficient in the act of critical self-reflection, the teacher needs to give prompts, ask questions, and encourage students to delve beyond the surface of their histories. The journals are an important source of self-reflection and an opportunity for students to examine their own colonial education. Students will start a journal with an entry about all of the assumptions and previously held ideas they have about difference, gender, and about global relationships of power. This will be a form of self-ethnography as students write about the official and unofficial forms of colonial education they have received and the effect of this on their ideas about difference. As the process of analyzing media representations and reading historical and cross-cultural texts evolves, students will use their journal to keep track of impressions, new observations, and any alterations or doubts that they might have about their previously held views. Students will collect representations of difference from the media, popular culture, and history in their journals, both to illustrate their reflections and to analyze the content of the images. The journal writing is to be shared in small groups of students in order to discuss similar impressions and differing interpretations of images or texts. As the process of journaling continues, students will be expected to comment on visual imagery examined in class and to make connections across various assignments and disciplines.

Group Projects

Students would spend some of their time in the classroom working on the planning and implementation of group projects in collaboration with community members. The projects would be based in a foundation of critical postcolonial pedagogy and students would be expected to examine the legacy of colonial power and social inequities in their community. Teachers would be facilitators and advisors to the groups, working with students to identify areas of concern that are relevant to the course material, the students' lives outside of school, and the greater community. Part of each project will be to identify the topics of the projects and to make contact with community members who can provide guidance or assistance in the completion of the project. One purpose of the collaboration with fellow students and those outside the school is to cross the traditionally rigid borders that separate students as individuals and what happens inside the building from the events and issues of the "real world" outside of school. In crossing these borders, students have to work with people who are different in sex, race, and age, forcing them to negotiate their assumptions about difference that are traced in the self-ethnography of the journal. The projects will also cross the borders of disciplines that have been separated in schools, but not in the world. An example of a possible group project could focus on an environmental issue in the region, like the effects of industrial waste on local ecosystems and local populations. This project would obviously involve scientific work, but it would also require the group to write letters of inquiry and reports, study the social effects of environmental policy, and to make recommendations for political and social change. Another project could focus on immigration in the local area or state, the political and media rhetoric about the dangers of immigration, and the real lives of those immigrating to the area. This project would necessarily engage social policies on immigration and the borders that communities build to determine who is included and who is excluded. It would also necessitate work in the mathematical use of statistics and the access to and practice of health care. In addition to working across borders separating the disciplines, all of the projects would have real consequences that would engage students and would have applications and effects in the "real world." The assessment of the group projects would be different for each group and decided upon in discussion with the teacher. Some groups would present their work through the creation of a website or film, others might present findings in front of political bodies, or publish articles in local newspapers.

The combined work of critical visual analysis, self-reflective journaling, and relevant, active group projects could create the conditions for a postcolonial, border pedagogy that questions traditional hierarchies of power, including the roles of teacher and student. By creating pedagogy that engages with colonial representations of difference, gives students the space to create self-ethnographies and reflections on their assumptions and biases, and uses relevant, collaborative group projects, schools can create polycentric pedagogy; power and privilege can be challenged through this critical, democratic curriculum. The next chapter outlines examples of teachers and activists who have implemented versions of pedagogy

that questions traditional centers, hierarchies of power, and assumptions about difference.

Imagining a Renewed Pedagogy

In diverse fields of study, from math, English Literature, to art, and political theory there have been major advances in the interest and application of the feminist and postcolonial in rethinking old, colonial ways of thinking. The field of education, especially in the day-to-day running of schools, is generally slow to react to theoretical advances. As a former art teacher in an elementary school struggling to raise test scores with inadequate funding, I understand that most superintendents, principals, teachers are overwhelmed with the practical details of working within the current system as best they can. Many days, I left school exhausted and happy to have completed another day without incident. As a first year teacher, my grand plans from graduate school to create units and lessons that deconstructed Eurocentric art education too often took a back seat to more immediate concerns. Even as I became a more experienced teacher and began to work some critical lessons into my classroom, I was dispirited by staff meetings where the primary focus was always on the many state tests given to students throughout the school year, especially the end of year tests given to third and fifth graders. These high stakes tests would determine whether students would continue on to the next grade or be retained; they also determined whether the teachers in the school would receive a bonus check for the year or not. With so much at stake for students and teachers, preparing for tests often took precedence in curricular decisions, over concerns for cultural diversity. Certainly the multiculturalism that I experienced in the field was of the surface variety; teachers were not given the freedom or time to create more in-depth, critical forms of multicultural curriculum. Understanding this pressure to teach to the test and the lack of time or energy to question the system, I know how difficult it is to turn theoretical work in education into curricular reality. And yet, there are teachers working in the field in very interesting, subversive ways. There seems to be momentum at the grassroots level to question and work around the high stakes testing that has resulted from the No Child Left Behind Act signed in 2001. So, while I do believe this text to be idealistic in some ways, to imagine a form of educating that does not work within the current system of "accountability," I feel there cannot be change unless we dare to imagine how things could be different.

The postcolonial remains at the margins of theoretical work in the field of educational studies, considered by some to be too esoteric or complex to have a practical impact on schooling. Others argue that the critique of power and Eurocentrism at the heart of the postcolonial is too important to be left in the realm of theory. Kanu (2006) believes in using the postcolonial to create "curriculum as cultural practice" that focuses on the cultural contexts and beliefs that are acted out in classrooms. We are not going to move past the current reliance on colonial forms of education until we are able to honestly examine our own biases and imagine the creation of new curriculum based in the postcolonial. I believe that we do not give teachers

and students enough credit; students and teachers would respond if the curriculum provided opportunities for relevant, critical analysis, reflection, and projects. Schools need to give teachers and students the freedom to co-create curriculum that matters, that is not based on state and national standards devoid of context and connection. The important feminist, postcolonial work that authors, artists, and scholars are doing in the field need to be brought into schools to reinvigorate stale curriculum that leaves the master narrative of the white, male historical actor in place.

The current state of praxis in visual imaging offers critical insights into the possibilities for continued production and grassroots resistance to patriarchy. What new directions for representation are beginning to take shape in global popular culture and in the postcolonial work of the artists and organizers? How can education be created in response to these new directions in the visual; relevant pedagogy must constantly be reformed to address the increasingly rapid global changed due to the flow of people and capital and the mixing of cultural knowledge and forms to create new ways of knowing.

Visionary Pedagogy

Though the mainstream trends in representation paint a bleak picture for the possibility of postcolonial critique and pedagogy, there are hopeful pockets of educational theory and practice. There is a brave group of educators working on the margins of the school system to create meaningful, postcolonial and feminist education for students. In *Echoes of Brown*, Michele Fine et al. (2004) worked with other educators to create truly interdisciplinary border pedagogy for a group of public school students in New York City. The project involved students working outside of school hours with historians to research the history of school segregation and the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision of 1954. Simultaneously, the students worked with poets, dancers, and artists to create choreographed spoken word pieces based on their own experience of school, seen through the lens of the historical *Brown* decision. This project involved the critique of racist, colonial structures continuing to influence schooling along with the active creation of artistic pieces that allowed students to work collaboratively with each other and with community members on meaningful projects. "In a scholarly and aesthetic experiment that challenges the boundaries of time, geography, generation and discipline, we braided political history, personal experience, research and knowledge gathered from a generation living in the long shadow of Brown" (p. 5). This project represents the possibilities for a border pedagogy that engages directly with the structures of power and privilege in ways that cross cultural and disciplinary boundaries. The challenge is to take this relatively small project and integrate its principles into curriculum that reaches a much larger audience.

Many visionary educators are making small gains in public school classrooms, creating curriculum that challenges the colonial education of the traditional classroom. The authors writing for the publication *Rethinking Schools* are practitioners engaged in postcolonial, border pedagogy (even though it may not

be named as such). Linda Christensen (2003) describes her work in the article "Unlearning the Myths that Bind Us," in which she leads her students in the viewing and critique of children's cartoons. Taking seemingly innocent media and uncovering the hidden colonial messages, students look for stereotypical representations of gender, ethnicity, race, etc. This curriculum crosses the border that traditionally separates the school building from popular culture and questions the mindless consumption of children's media. In "Once Upon a Genocide: Columbus in Children's Literature," Bill Bigelow (2004) directly questions the way that Christopher Columbus is presented in traditional, colonial curriculum. Represented as a brave visionary and explorer, Columbus is glorified in most children's literature in ways that ignore and hide the truth of his violent encounters with and enslavement of the population of "Indians" he finds on the land he "discovers." Bigelow's critique of children's literature can be the foundation of a postcolonial curriculum where students engage in the recovering of the multiple sides of history that are hidden by a colonial, Eurocentric perspective.

Postcolonial educational scholar John Willinsky (2006) describes the way that he practiced postcolonial pedagogy with a group of twelve grade students at a high school in Vancouver. After many years studying and writing about the ways that forms of schooling and education were vital tools in the regulation of colonial power, Willinsky had the opportunity and challenge of creating postcolonial curriculum for students. In entering the senior English classroom focused on poetry, he decides to involve the students in the creation of postcolonial curricular materials to replace or supplement the decades-old poetry textbook that the class had been using. The class collaboratively created a new poetry anthology that would include poems written in other languages and translated into English in order to more accurately represent the multicultural and multilingual realities of postcolonial Vancouver. Poetry selected by diverse members of the class included poems written by famous poets in Chinese and Arabic languages and less traditional poetry in the form of rap lyrics. The use of rap lyrics, with their explicit reference to drugs and violence and the underlying misogyny of some songs, challenge Willinsky's commitment to radical approaches to postcolonial curriculum. The urge of many educators is to censor voices that do not conform to the safe, standard colonial curriculum, and by taking the risk of allowing marginalized student and literary voices into the classroom Willinsky lets go of the bland predictability of the traditional, teacher-centered curriculum. Postcolonial pedagogy does involve risk, when systems of power are criticized and when the representation of race, gender, and sexuality is challenged there can be powerful and possibly uncontrollable results.

Trends in Representation

While there are many artists and organizations working towards creating complex, postcolonial, feminist representations, the trends in mainstream representation seem to be creating flattened, racist, and sexist images. In the American media,

stereotypical images of gender are increasing the pressure to be masculine or feminine in specific and simplified ways. The prevalence of women's and girls' bodies used to sell products seems to be increasing, sex, as represented by these gendered bodies, sells and the critical feminist voices are not a part of the mainstream. On television shows marketed to young people, there is a focus on superficial, commercialized femininity. *My Super Sweet 16*, a popular show on the MTV network, showcases a young person from a wealthy family preparing for (almost always) her sixteenth birthday party. On the show, buying expensive jewelry, revealing dresses, and choreographing elaborate performances sends a message that popularity and femininity rely on being rich, pretty, and having material possessions. Popular dolls, like the Bratz, marketed to young girls sell the same superficial qualities. While the Barbie doll featured an unrealistic body with tiny waist and large breasts, the Bratz take this distorted body to new heights. With extremely large eyes and lips featured on a large head, the dolls have tiny bodies that can be dressed in all sorts of sexy clothing. There are evening gowns with slits up to their tiny thighs, belly-baring tops, and tiny mini skirts for these fashion-crazed toys. These dolls are marketed as highly sexualized characters interested only in fashion and makeup, encouraging young girls to develop similar interest in their appearance.

These shows and dolls are part of what Ariel Levy (2005) has referred to as a new "raunch culture" that has emerged in the United States in the twenty-first century. The feminists of the 1960s who fought for women's rights to control over their bodies and choices have devolved into hollow calls for "girl power," where power means the opportunity to expose one's body and become an object of superficial sexual desire. Levy writes of the cultural phenomenon represented by the Girls Gone Wild empire, where generally drunken young women expose their bodies for a camera crew in exchange for a souvenir hat or t-shirt. Many see this as a form of empowerment for women, giving up political and intellectual gains for the power to control sexual desire. The success of the Girls Gone Wild videos have spawned numerous copycats; what used to be the marginalized world of pornographic actors is now the domain of the "average" college student taking part in what is seen by some as a rite of passage.

While the trend in mainstream representation of women in the west is toward a highly sexualized raunch culture, the representation of women from other cultures created for the west is influenced both by this sexualization of the woman's body and by the simplified, exotic images of difference. The "raunch culture" has taken on global proportions as the Internet has facilitated the representation of sexualized women's bodies from around the world. While the Internet has also facilitated grassroots organizing on a global level, it is pornography and exposed women's bodies that have been among the most popular features of the web. The colonial history of representing non-western women as exotic sexual objects ready for conquest continues in the electronic age. Postcolonial border pedagogy using artwork as its foundation is needed to counteract the trends toward flattened, sexualized images of women.

Breaking Down the Old, Building the New

Real student engagement with expressions of diverse experience can have the pragmatic power to dislodge, or at least to shake, the firm assumptions constructed and intensified by stereotypical cultural and media images of those who are different. The forms of pedagogy that either reinforce or challenge stereotypical representations based in the colonial hierarchies of race and gender can influence how we construct our identity in relation to others. Official and unofficial education affects how we determine community connection and how we determine who is part of our community and who will be excluded. Nationalist and patriotic rhetoric that are part of the schooling process encourage the exclusive identity that establishes firm boundaries between Americans (special, entitled, free) and everyone else (different, lacking, jealous of our freedom). Certain forms of difference are seen as particularly suspect or dangerous: Mexicans are threatening because they want to sneak through our borders and steal our jobs and prosperity; Muslims or Arabs (conflated in US media representations) are menacing because the hate American freedom and want to destroy us. These cultural myths of difference are unchallenged in the current multicultural tolerance model.

Traditional multicultural education re-inscribes the center/periphery binary by celebrating a bland tolerance to the exoticized visions of difference. We are encouraged to "deal with" and "learn to live with" those who are culturally different as long as they are kept outside of the privileged center of knowledge and power. Honest conversations about the unequal global relationships of power, the legacy of western colonialism, and the economic imperialism of the United States do not occur when tolerance is the goal of multiculturalism. Instead of confronting the issues of power that determine the flow of money, information, and people, tolerance encourages a forgetting, a white-washing of unpleasant realities in service of the phrase, "why can't we all just get along?" A postcolonial pragmatic pedagogy must engage with the thorny issues of cultural stereotyping, imbalances of power, and the critical analysis of biased representation.

Images created for and by the west have represented women historically as either exotic, sexualized objects of desire or exotic, covered objects of pity. With renewed focus on the foreign since the attacks of September 11th, there is an urgent need for a postcolonial pragmatic pedagogy that can honestly address the relationship between stereotypical, biased media images of difference and the exclusionary feelings of fear that have controlled the popular discourse about other cultures in the United States. Students need to engage with difficult questions about why the vast majority of media images women involve the same visual codes and the same underlying theme of exotic sexuality or voiceless oppression. Using visual and media literacy tools of analysis, students can critically analyze the dominant media discourse that creates the object of our fears and pity.

References

About LTTR. (2007). Retrieved August 18, 2008, from http://www.lttr.org/about-lttr

Adams, D. W. (1997). *Education for extinction: American Indians and the boarding school experience 1875–1928*. Lawrence, Kansas: The University Press of Kansas.

Afghanistan's Educated Women. (2006, August 14). Retrieved from the e-Ariana website: http://www.eariana.com/ariana/eariana.nsf/attachments/ afghan-woman-8-14-6.jpg?OpenDocument

Afkhami, M. (2004). The women's organization in Iran: Evolutionary politics and revolutionary change. In L. Beck & G. Neshat (Eds.), *Women in Iran: From 1800 to the Islamic Republic* (pp. 107–135). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Ahmed, L. (1992). *Women and gender in Islam*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Ahmed, L. (1999). *A border passage*. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux.

Ahrens, L. (1976). Elbow room [recorded by Sue Manchester].

Alexander, M. J. (2005). *Pedagogies of crossing: Meditations on feminism, sexual politics, memory, and the sacred*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Alloula, M. (1986). *The colonial harem*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Al-Ani, J. (2003). Acting out. In D. Bailey & G. Tawadros (Eds.), *Veil: Veiling, representation and contemporary art* (pp. 90–107). London: Institute of International Visual Arts.

Alliance of Civilizations. (2006, November 13). *Final report of the high level group*. Retrieved from Alliance of Civilizations website: http://www.unaoc.org/

Amin, Q. (2003a). Women and the veil. In D. Bailey & G. Tawadros (Eds.), *Veil: Veiling, representation and contemporary art* (pp. 168–174). London: Institute of International Visual Arts. (Original work published 1899)

Amin, Q. (2003b). A woman's obligation to herself. In D. Bailey & G. Tawadros (Eds.), *Veil: Veiling, representation and contemporary art* (pp. 174–175). London: Institute of International Visual Arts. (Original work published 1900)

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities*. New York: Verso.

Ankori, G. (2006). *Palestinian art*. London: Reaktion Books.

Anzaldua, G. (1987). *Borderlands/la frontera: The new mestiza*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Press.

Appadurai, A. (1994). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. In P. Williams & L. Chrisman (Eds.), *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory: A reader* (pp. 324–339). New York: Columbia University Press. (Original work published 1990)

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Appadurai, A. (1998). Here and now. In N. Mirzoeff (Ed.), *The visual culture reader* (pp. 173–179). New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1996)

Appadurai, A. (2006). *Fear of small numbers*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Appiah, K. (1998). *Ethics of identity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Appiah, K. A. (2004). Language, race, and the legacies of the British Empire. In P. D. Morgan & S. Hawkins (Eds.), *Black experience and the Empire* (pp. 387–408). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

R.B. Jones, *Postcolonial Representations of Women*, Explorations of Educational Purpose 18, DOI 10.1007/978-94-007-1551-6, © Springer Science+Business Media B.V. 2011

Armstrong, K. (2006, February 3). *Viewpoints: Cartoon row*. Retrieved from BBC News website: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4676632.stm

Astier, H. (2006, October 30). *Suburban gangs defy French police*. Retrieved from BBC News website: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6096706.stm

Bailey, T., & Kennedy, D. (1987). *The American pageant: A history of the republic* (8th ed.). Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company.

Bailey, D., & Tawadros, G. (2003). Introduction. In D. Bailey & G. Tawadros (Eds.), *Veil: Veiling, representation and contemporary art* (pp. 18–39). London: Institute of International Visual Arts.

Barthes, R. (1972). *Mythologies*. New York: Hill and Wang.

Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid modernity*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Beck, R., Black, L., Krieger, L., Naylor, P., & Shabaka, D. I. (2005). *World history: Patterns of interaction*. Evanston, IL: McDougal Littell.

Benjamin, R. (2003). *Orientalist aesthetics: Art, colonialism, and French North Africa, 1880–1930*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Berner, F., Harris, E., Kilik, J. (Producers), & Harris, E. (Director). (2000). Pollack [Motion picture]. USA: Sony Pictures Classics.

Bhabha, H. (1994). *The location of culture*. New York: Routledge.

Bhabha, H. (2006). Another country. In F. Daftari (Ed.), *Without boundary: Seventeen ways of looking* (pp. 30–35). New York: Museum of Modern Art.

Bigelow, B. (2004). Once upon a genocide. In L. Christensen & S. Karp (Eds.), *Rethinking school reform: Views from the classroom* (pp. 89–102). Milwaukee, WI: Rethinking Schools.

Blunt, A. (1994). Mapping authorship and authority: Reading Mary Kingsley's landscape descriptions. In A. Blunt & G. Rose (Eds.), *Writing women and space: Colonial and postcolonial geographies* (pp. 51–72). New York: The Guilford Press.

Blunt, A., & Rose, G. (1994). Introduction: Women's colonial and postcolonial geographies. In A. Blunt & G. Rose (Eds.), *Writing women and space: Colonial and postcolonial geographies* (pp. 1–28). New York: The Guilford Press.

Border Art Workshop. (n.d.). Retrieved August 20, 2008, from http://www.borderartworkshop.com/BAWHistory/BAWhistory.html

Bourdieu, P. (1992). *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Polity.

Braun, D. (2003, March 7). *How they found National Geographic's "Afghan Girl"*. Retrieved from the National Geographic News website: http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2002/03/0311020312sharbat.html

Bush, G. (2001). *Presidential speeches*. Retrieved from the White House website: www.whitehouse.gov

Césaire, A. (1972). *Discourse on colonialism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Choksky, J. (2003). Women during the transition from Sasanian to early Islamic times. In G. Neshat & L. Beck (Eds.), *Women in Iran from the rise of Islam to 1800* (pp. 48–67). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Christensen, L. (2003). Unlearning the myths that bind us. In L. Christensen & S. Karp (Eds.), *Rethinking school reform: Views from the classroom* (pp. 126–137). Milwaukee, WI: Rethinking Schools.

Chronology, Guerrilla Girls. (2008). Retrieved August 18, 2008, from http://www.guerrillagirls.com/info/index.shtml

Clark, K. (2001, May 17). *'Liberty' for Afghan women*. Retrieved from BBC News website: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1336495.stm

Clifford, J. (1988). *The predicament of culture: Twentieth century ethnography, literature, and art*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Clifford, J. (1997). *Routes: Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Cooper, B., & Descutner, D. (1996). 'it had no voice to it': Sydney Pollack's film translation of Isak Dinesen's out of Africa. *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 82, 228–250.

Cromer, E. (1908). *Modern Egypt* (Vol. II). New York: The Macmillan Company.

Daftari, F. (2006). Islamic or not. In F. Daftari (Ed.), *Without boundary: Seventeen ways of looking* (pp. 10–27). New York: Museum of Modern Art.

Dangarembga, T. (1988). *Nervous conditions*. New York: Seal Press.

David, M. (2006). *Regina Jose Galindo*. Retrieved June 11, 2008, from http://www.artnexus.com/NewsDetail/16226

de Zegher, C. (1997). Hatoum's *Recollection*: About losing and being lost. In M. Hatoum (Ed.), *Mona Hatoum* (pp. 88–105). London: Phaidon Press Limited.

Dewey, John. (1934). *Art as experience*. New York: Minton, Balch & Company.

Dimitriadis, G., & McCarthy, M. (2001). *Reading and teaching the postcolonial: From Baldwin to Basquiat and beyond*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Donnell, A. (2003). Visibility, violence and voice? Attitudes to veiling post-11 September. In D. Bailey & G. Tawadros (Eds.), *Veil: Veiling, representation and contemporary art* (pp. 120–135). London: Institute of International Visual Arts.

Douglas, M. (1966). *An analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo*. New York: Routledge.

Ellison, Grace. (2003). An Englishwoman in a Turkish harem. In D. Bailey & G. Tawadros (Eds.), *Veil: Veiling, representation and contemporary art* (p. 176). London: Institute of International Visual Arts. (Original work published 1915)

Ettehadieh, M. (2004). Origins and development of the women's movement in Iran, 1906–1941. In L. Beck & G. Neshat (Eds.), *Women in Iran: From 1800 to the Islamic Republic* (pp. 85–106). Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Ewen, E., & Ewen, S. (2006). *Typecasting: On the arts & sciences of human inequality*. New York: Seven Stories Press.

Fanon, F. (1967). *Black skin, white masks*. New York: Grove Press.

Fanon, F. (2003). Algeria unveiled. In D. Bailey & G. Tawadros (Eds.), *Veil: Veiling, representation and contemporary art* (pp. 74–85). London: Institute of International Visual Arts. (Original work published 1959)

Farah, M., & Karls, A. B. (Eds.). (1997). The national geographic society. *World history: The Human experience*. New York: Glencoe/McGraw Hill.

Fine, M., Roberts, R., Torre, M., Bloom, J., Burns, A., Chajet, L., et al. (2004). *Echoes of Brown: Youth documenting and performing the legacy of Brown v. Board of education*. New York: Teacher College Press.

FitzGerald, F. (1979). *America revised: History schoolbooks in the Twentieth century*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Foucault, M. (1982). *The archeology of knowledge* (A. M. Sheridan-Smith, Trans.). London: Tavistock.

Foucault, M. (1972). Truth and power. In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *Foucault reader* (pp. 51–75). New York: Random House.

Freedman, K. (2003). *Teaching visual culture*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Fusco, C. (1995). *English is broken here*. New York: The New Press.

Garcia, J., Ogle, D., Stevos, J., & Jordan, W. (2005). *Creating America: A history of the United States*. Evanston, IL: McDougal Littell.

Geertz, C. (1977). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.

Giroux, H. (2001a). *The mouse that roared: Disney and the end of innocence*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Giroux, H. (2001b). *Theory and resistance in education: Towards a pedagogy for the opposition*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group.

Giroux, H. (2005). *Border crossings: Cultural workers and the politics of education*. New York: Routledge.

Goldman, F. (2006). Regina Jose Galindo. *Bomb, 94*. Retrieved June 11, 2008, from http://www.bombsite.com/issues/94/articles/2780

Gomez-Pena, G. (2001). *The new world border: Prophecies, poems, and loqueras for the end of the century*. San Francisco: City Lights Publishers.

Gómez-Peña, G. (2005). *Ethno-techno: Writings on performance, activism, and pedagogy*. New York: Routledge.

Graham-Brown, S. (1988). *Images of women: The portrayal of women in photography of the Middle East 1860–1950*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Greene, M. (1988). *The dialectic of freedom*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Greene, M. (1995). *Releasing the imagination: Essays on education, the arts, and social change*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Grewal, I. (1998). On the new global feminism and the family of nations: Dilemmas of transnational feminist practice. In E. Shohat (Ed.), *Talking visions: Multicultural feminism in a transnational age* (pp. 501–530). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Grewal, I. (2005). *Transnational America: Feminisms, diasporas, neoliberalisms*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Hall, S. (Ed.). (1997). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Sage.

Harlow, B. (1986). Introduction. In M. Alloula (Ed.), *The colonial harem* (pp. ix–xxii). Minneapolis, MN: The University of Minnesota.

Hatoum, M. (1997). Under siege. In M. Hatoum (Ed.), *Mona Hatoum* (p. 122). London: Phaidon Press Limited. (Original work published 1983)

Herrnstein, R., & Murray, C. (1994). *The bell curve: Intelligence and class structures in American life*. New York: Free Press.

Hicks, E. (1991). *Border writing: The multidimensional text*. Minneapolis, MN: Regents of the University of Minnesota.

Hochschild, A. (1998). *King Leopold's ghost: A story of greed, terror, and heroism in colonial Africa*. New York: Mariner Books.

Houseman, J. (Producer), & Minnelli, V. (Director). (1956). Lust for life [Motion picture]. USA: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer.

Hubbard, G. (1987). *Art in action*. San Diego: Coronado Publishers.

Hubbard, G., & Rouse M. (1981). *Art: Meaning, method and media*. Chicago: Benefic Press.

Hudson, N. (2008). The "Hottentot Venus," sexuality, and the changing aesthetics of race, 1650–1850. *Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature*, *41*(1), 19–41.

Huntington, S. (1998). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. New York: Touchstone.

Itasaka, K. (2004, July 7). *Afghan women change, but Burqa stays: New generation pushing boundaries in traditional style*. Retrieved from MSNBC website: http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/5333221/

James, W. (1997). What pragmatism means. In L. Menand (Ed.), *Pragmatism: A reader* (pp. 93–111). New York: Vintage Books. (Original work published 1907)

Jayaweera, S. (1990). European women educators under the British colonial administration in Sri Lanka. *Women's Studies International Forum*, *13*(4), 323–331.

Kahf, M. (1999). *Western representations of the Muslim woman: From termagant to odalisque*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Kant, E. (2001). Idea for a universal history with cosmopolitan intent. In A. Wood (Ed.), *Basic writings of Kant*. New York: Random House. (Original work published 1784)

Kanu, Y. (2006). Introduction. In Y. Kanu (Ed.), *Curriculum as cultural practice: Postcolonial imaginations* (pp. 3–29). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Kaomea, J. (2006). *Na wahine mana*: A postcolonial reading of classroom discourse on the imperial rescue of oppressed Hawaiian women. *Pedagogy, Culture, & Society*, *14*(3), 329–348.

Kaplan, E. A. (1997). *Looking for the other: Feminism, film, and the imperial gaze*. New York: Routledge.

Kincheloe, J., & Steinberg, S. (1997). *Changing multiculturalism*. London: Open University Press.

Kozol, J. (2006). *Shame of the nation: The restoration of apartheid schooling in America*. New York: Three Rivers Press.

Levi-Strauss, C. (1961). *Triste tropiques* (J. Russell, Trans.). New York: Criterion Books. (Original work published 1955)

Levi-Strauss, C. (1992). *Tristes tropique*. New York: Penguin Books USA.

Levy, A. (2005). *Female chauvinist pigs: Women and the rise of raunch culture*. New York: Free Press.

Lewis, R. (1996). *Gendering orientalism: Race, femininity, and representation*. New York: Routledge.

Life in the Jungle. (2008, July 2). Retrieved from Discovery Channel website: http://dsc.discovery.com/fansites/goingtribal/about/about.html

Lippard, L. (1990). *Mixed blessings: New art in a multicultural America*. New York: The New Press.

Lippard, L. (1995). *The pink glass swan: Selected feminist essays on art*. New York: The New Press.

Living with the Kombai. (2008, July 2). Retrieved from The Travel Channel website: http://www.travelchannel.com/TV_Shows/Living_with_the_Tribes/ci.Living_with_the_Kombai_Tribe.show?vgnextfmt=show&idLink=8e23d45822af7110VgnVCM100000698b3a0a____

Loewen, J. (1995). *Lies my teacher told me: Everything your American history textbook got wrong*. New York: Touchstone.

López, A. J. (2001). *Posts and pasts: A theory of postcolonialism*. New York: State University of New York Press.

Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches*. Berkeley, CA: The Crossing Press.

Luitel, B. C., & Taylor, P. C. (2010). "What is ours and what is not ours?": Inclusive imaginings of contextualized mathematics teacher education. In D. J. Tippins, M. P. Mueller, M. V. Eijck, & J. Adams (Eds.), *Cultural studies and environmentalism: The confluence of eco-justice, place-based (science) education, and indigenous knowledge systems* (pp. 385–408). The Netherlands: Springer.

Lutz, C., & Collins. J. (1993). *Reading national geographic*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Maalouf, A. (1996). *In the name of identity: Violence and the need to belong*. New York: The Penguin Group.

Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and subject: Contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

McClintock, A. (1994). The angel of progress: Pitfalls of the term 'post-colonialism'. In P. Williams & L. Chrisman (Eds.), *Colonial discourse/post-colonial theory* (pp. 291–304). New York: Columbia University Press.

McClintock, A. (1995). *Imperial leather: Race, gender, and sexuality in the colonial conquest*. New York: Routledge.

McEwan, C. (1994). Encounters with West African women: Textual representations of difference by white women abroad. In A. Blunt & G. Rose (Eds.), *Writing women and space: Colonial and postcolonial geographies* (pp. 73–100). New York: The Guilford Press.

Merchant, I., Wolper, D., Balsan, H. (Producers), & Ivory, J. (Director). (1996). Surviving Picasso [Motion picture]. USA: Warner Bros.

Mernissi, F. (1992). *The veil and the male elite: A feminist interpretation of women's rights in Islam*. New York: Basic Books.

Mesa-Bains, A. (1996). Teaching students the way they learn. In S. Cahan & Z. Kocur (Eds.), *Contemporary art and multicultural education* (pp. 31–38). New York: Routledge.

Messaris, P. (1994). *Visual literacy: Image, mind, and reality*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Meyer, R. (1995). This is to enrage you: Gran Fury and the graphics of AIDS activism. In N. Felshin (Ed.), *But is it art? The spirit of art as activism* (pp. 51–84). Seattle, WA: Bay Press.

Mignolo, W. (2000). *Local histories/global designs*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Milani, F. (2001). The visual poetry of Shirin Neshat. In S. Neshat & F. Milani (Eds.), *Shirin Neshat* (pp. 6–13). Milan: Edizioni Charta.

Mills, S. (1994). Knowledge, gender, and empire. In A. Blunt & G. Rose (Eds.), *Writing women and space: Colonial and postcolonial geographies* (pp. 29–50). New York: The Guilford Press.
Minh-ha, T. (1989). *Woman, native, other: Writing postcoloniality and feminism*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
Miron, L., Darder, A., & Inda, J. X. (2005). Transnationalism, transcitizenship, and the implications for the "New World Order". In C. McCarthy, W. Crinchlow, G. Dimitriadis, & N. Dolby (Eds.), *Race, identity, and representation in education* (2nd ed., pp. 289–306). New York: Routledge.
Mirzoeff, N. (2006). *Invisible empire: Media battlefields, image weapons and militarized heterosexuality*. Unpublished manuscript.
Mishra, V., & Hodge, B. (1994). What is post(-)colonialism?. In P. Williams & L. Chrisman (Eds.), *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory: A reader* (pp. 276–290). New York: Columbia University Press.
Mitchell, T. (1998). Orientalism and the exhibitionary order. In N. Mirzoeff (Ed.), *The visual culture reader* (pp. 495–505). New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1992)
Mohanty, C. (2004). *Feminism without borders: Decolonizing theory, practicing solidarity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Morton, S. G. (1839). *Crania Americana*. Philadelphia: J. Dobson.
Mosquera, G. (2005). The Marco Polo syndrome: Some problems around art and Eurocentrism. In Z. Kocur & S. Leung (Eds.), *Theory in contemporary art since 1985* (pp. 218–225). Cambridge, MA: Blackwell. (Original work published 1992)
Mulvey, L. (2003). Visual pleasure and narrative cinema. In A. Jones (Ed.), *The feminism and visual culture reader* (pp. 44–52). New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1989)
Nandy, A. (1983). *The intimate enemy: Loss and recovery of self under colonialism*. Delhi: Oxford University Publishers.
Nash, C. (1994). Remapping the body/land: New cartographies of identity, gender, and landscape in Ireland. In A. Blunt & G. Rose (Eds.), *Writing women and space: Colonial and postcolonial geographies* (pp. 227–250). New York: The Guilford Press.
Peirce, C. (1997). The fixation of belief. In L. Menand (Ed.), *Pragmatism: A reader* (pp. 7–25). New York: Vintage Books. (Original work published 1877)
Pérez-Ratton, V. (2007). Central American women artists in a global age. In M. Reilly & L. Nochlin (Eds.), *Global feminisms: New directions in contemporary art* (pp. 123–143). London: Merrell.
Pocha Projects 08. (2008). Retrieved August 18, 2008, from http://www.pochanostra.com/home/
Pollack, S., Bhabha, H., Breckenridge, C. A., & Chakrabarty, D. (2000). Introduction. *Public Culture*, *12*(3), 577–589.
Rosaldo, M. Z. (1974). Woman, culture, and society: A theoretical overview. In M. Z. Rosaldo & L. Lamphere (Eds.), *Woman culture society* (pp. 17–42). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Rose, G. (2001). *Visual methodologies*. London: Sage.
Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Random House.
Said, E. (1981). *Covering Islam: How the media and the experts determine how we see the rest of the world*. New York: Pantheon Books.
Said, E. (1993). *Culture and imperialism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
Satrapi, M. (2003). *Persepolis: The story of a childhood*. New York: Pantheon Books.
Satrapi, M. (2004). *Persepolis 2: The story of a return*. New York: Pantheon Books.
Savary, M. (1799). *Letters on Egypt, containing, a parallel between the manners of its ancient and modern inhabitants, . . .* (3rd ed., Vol. 1). London: Printed for G. G. & J. Robinson.
Schultz, P. (2003). *1000 places to see before you die: A traveler's life list*. New York: Workman Publishing Company.
Shaheen, J. (2001). *Reel bad Arabs: How Hollywood vilifies a people*. Brooklyn, NY: Olive Branch Press.
Shiva, V. (1989). *Staying alive: Women, ecology, and development*. London: Zed Books.
Shohat, E. (1998). Introduction. In E. Shohat (Ed.), *Talking visions: Multicultural feminism in a transnational age* (pp. 1–64). Cambridge: MIT Press.

Shohat, E., & Stam, R. (1998). Narrativizing visual culture: Towards a polystyrene aesthetic. In N. Mirzoeff (Ed.), *The visual culture reader* (pp. 27–49). New York: Routledge.
Shohat, E., & Stam, R. (1994). *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the media*. New York: Routledge.
Skalli, L. (2004). Loving Muslim women with a vengeance: The West, women, and fundamentalism. In J. Kincheloe & S. Steinberg (Eds.), *The miseducation of the West: How schools and the media distort our understanding of the Islamic world* (pp. 43–57). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
Slavick, E. O. (2005). *Protesting cartography or places the United States has bombed*. Retrieved May 14, 2008, from http://www.unc.edu/~eoslavic/projects/bombsites/index.html
Slavick, E. O. (2006). Protesting cartography: Places the United States has bombed. *Cultural Politics*, *2*(2), 245–254.
Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
Smith, T. (1998). Visual regimes of colonialism: Aboriginal seeing and European vision in Australia. In N. Mirzoeff (Ed.), *The visual culture reader* (pp. 483–494). New York: Routledge.
Sontag, S. (1973). *On photography*. New York: Doubleday.
Sontag, S. (2003). *Regarding the pain of others*. New York: Picador.
Soueif, A. (2003). The language of the veil. In D. Bailey & G. Tawadros (Eds.), *Veil: Veiling, representation and contemporary art* (pp. 110–119). London: Institute of International Visual Arts.
Spivak, G. (1994). Can the subaltern speak?. In P. Williams & L. Chrisman (Eds.), *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory: A reader*, (pp. 66–111). New York: Columbia University Press. (Original work published 1988)
Spring, J. (2001). *The American school: 1642–2000* (5th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
Spring, J. (2004). *How education ideologies are shaping global society: Intergovernmental organizations, NGO's, and the decline of the nation-state*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
Stoler, A. L. (2002). *Carnal knowledge and imperial power: Race and the intimate in colonial rule*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
Stoler, A. L. (1995). *Race and the education of desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the colonial order of things*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Straw, J. (2006, October 6). *In quotes: Jack Straw on the veil*. Retrieved from BBC News website: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk news/politics/5413470.stm
Sullivan, Z. (2000). Eluding the feminist, overthrowing the modern: Transformations in twentieth-century Iran. In B. Smith (Ed.), *Global feminisms since 1945* (pp. 235–264). New York: Routledge.
Tensuan, T. (2006). Comic visions and revisions in the work of Lynda Barry and Marjane Satrapi. *Modern Fiction Studies*, *52*(4), 947–967.
Terman, L. (2007). *The measurement of intelligence (1916)*. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing, LLC.
Tikly, L. (1999). Postcolonialism and comparative education.
Timeline: French riots. (2005, November 14). Retrieved from the BBC News website: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4413964.stm
Todd, L. T., & Curti, M. (1982). *Triumph of the American nation*. Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers.
Townsend, C. (2004). *Pocahontas and Powhatan Dilemma*. New York: Hill & Wang.
Turner, R. M. (1998). *Portfolios: State of the art program*. Austin, TX: Barrett Kendall Publishing, Ltd.
Tyack, D. (2003). *Seeking common ground: Public schools in a diverse society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Volkan, V. (1997). *Bloodlines: From ethnic pride to ethnic terrorism*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
What is Pocha? (n.d.). Retrieved on August 10, 2008, from http://www.pochanostra.com/what/
Whitlock, G. (2006). Autographics: The seeing "I" of the comics. *Modern Fiction Studies*, *52*(4), 965–982.

Willinsky, J. (1998). *Learning to divide the world: Education at empire's end*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Willinsky, J. (2006). High school postcolonial: As the students ran ahead with the theory. In Y. Kanu (Ed.), *Curriculum as cultural practice: Postcolonial imaginations* (pp. 95–115). Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.

Wyatt, C. (2004, February 11). *French headscarf ban opens rift*. Retrieved from BBC News website: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3478895.stm

Young, R. (2001). *Postcolonialism: An historical introduction*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Index

A
Abortion rights, 192
Abu Ghraib, 165
Ackroyd, Annette, 72
Aesthetic experience, 174, 198–200
Aestheticization, 105–106
The Afghan Girl, 162–164
Afghanistan, 18, 38, 136, 140, 163, 166
African National Congress (ANC), 48
AIDS, 191
'Aisha, 142, 144
Aladdin, 121–122
Alcatraz-Red Power Movement (ARPM), 93
Algerian Pavilion, 107
Algerian postcards, 160–161
Alliance of Civilizations, 137–140
Al Qaeda, 57, 165
Amer, Ghada, 176
American history textbooks, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 92, 94
American imperial system, 9, 35, 40, 90, 128
American Indian Movement (AIM), 93
American Indians, 10, 47, 93, 108
Amin, Idi, 132
Amin, Qasim, 149
Androcentric, 9, 149
Anthony, Susan B., 8
Anti-colonial resistance, 47–48, 85
Anti-miscegenation laws, 36
Antoni, Janine, 176–177
Apartheid, 42, 70, 84
Area studies, 38
Art education textbooks, 97, 202
Assimilationist, 40
Ataturk, 136, 153
Aunt Jemima, 112–114, 174–175, 206
Authentic assessment, 208
Authentic representation, 103
Ayatollah Khomeini, 165, 179

B
Baartman, Saartjie, 109
Balkan War, 36
Barbie, 8, 80–81, 94, 218
Beauty and the Beast, 121
Belgian Congo Free State, 44
The Bell Curve, 76
Bhabha, Homi, 2, 30, 169
Binet, Alfred, 75
Black History Month, 196
Blumenbach, Johann Friedrich, 46
Border Art Workshop/Taller de Arte Fronterizo (BAW/TAF), 191
Border pedagogy, 5, 204–206, 208–210, 214, 216, 218
Border theory, 170–171, 204
Border writer, 171
Break-away settler colonization, 42
Britannia, 35
British imperial system, 40
Brown vs. Board of Education, 216
Bruguera, Tania, 177
Bunche, Ralph, 85
Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), 83, 93
Burqa, 120, 126, 140, 157, 164–166, 202
Bush, George W., 18, 38, 52, 118, 120, 123, 124, 136, 137

C
Cabbage Patch Kid, 8
Calibration, 105
Carver, George Washington, 85
Caucasian, 7, 46
Cellular structures, 57
Centralized despotism, 41–42, 44
Cesaire, Aime, 23–24, 28, 32
Chiquita Banana, 112–114, 175
Chirac, Jacques, 154, 183
Chosen trauma, 53, 181

Christmas, 8, 89, 196
Christopher Columbus, 7, 10, 83, 86–87, 89, 217
CIA, 128, 139
Civilizing mission, 25, 27, 40–41, 71, 95, 148, 155
Civil War, 54, 68, 84–85, 90, 92, 117, 119, 185, 191
Clash of Civilizations, 63, 137
Clichy-sous-Bois, 26
Coca-Cola, 9
Cold War, 89, 119, 128, 164
Collage aesthetic, 170
Colonial, 1–17, 20–21, 23–36, 39–51, 53–56, 58–59, 61–64, 65–92, 94–96, 101, 103–108, 110–111, 114–115, 117, 119, 121–129, 131–133, 135–139, 148–152, 155, 157–162, 164, 170, 173–177, 181, 187–191, 193, 195, 197, 202–204, 206, 209–211, 213–219
Colonial education, 3–4, 6–9, 23, 25, 29, 65, 69–75, 83–84, 86–88, 91–92, 94–96, 99, 111, 121, 127, 197, 203–204, 213, 216
Colonial education, Hawaiian, 74–75
Colonial education, Sri Lankan, 73–74
Colonial phantasm, 160–161
Colonial Williamsburg, 48
Colonizers, 1, 3, 13, 23, 25, 27–31, 36, 42–43, 45, 50, 69–70, 74, 84–85, 87–88, 112, 125, 128, 158, 160–161
Columbus, Christopher, 7, 10, 83, 86–87, 89, 217
Conservative Multiculturalism/ Monoculturalism, 196
Cosmopolitan, 18, 53, 58, 60–63, 170
Counter-acculturation, 64, 138
Couple in the Cage, 173–174
Craniotomy, 7, 12, 46, 88
Crazy Horse, 10
Cribs, 79
Critical Multiculturalism, 5, 196–197
Critical theory, 207–208
Cuvier, Georges, 109

D

Dangarembga, Tsitsi, 189
Dark continent, 43–45, 49, 122–125
Darwin, Charles, 12
Decentralized despotism, 42, 44
Decivilize, 25
Decolonization, 24
Deculturate, 83
Deep settler colonization, 42
Democracy, 1, 7, 35, 53, 89, 128, 139, 141, 174, 188
Democratic classrooms, 208
Dependency theory, 50
Deterritorialized, 171
Developed, 1, 5, 8, 28, 41, 50–51, 63, 65, 75, 85, 89–90, 94, 101, 114–115, 119, 123, 186
Developed world, 1, 50
Developing world, 1, 66
Development theory, 49–52
Dewey, John, 196, 198–200, 203
Diaspora, 25, 53–54, 58–61, 63, 99, 110, 130
Diasporan aesthetics, 110
Diff'rent Strokes, 9
Dinesen, Isak, 124
Direct rule, 41–42
Discovery Channel, 82
Disney, 78, 94, 120–122
Disney's *Pocahontas*, 93
Dis-Orientalism, 184
Documenta, 169
Dominant culture, 3, 6, 13, 17, 19, 24, 58–59, 65, 88, 196, 199, 204
Doormat, 186
Dutch East Indies Company, 45

E

Economic imperialism, 2, 27, 41–42, 44, 53, 58, 80, 103, 212, 219
Egyptian Feminist Union, 150
Ellison, Grace, 146–147
Empire, 2–3, 11–15, 29–30, 35, 40, 42, 44, 56, 72, 87, 90, 94–96, 106–109, 111–112, 115, 125, 145, 148, 158, 189, 218
Essentialism, 13, 62, 201
Ethnic studies, 38
Ethnographic display, 107, 109, 160, 174
Eugenics, 12, 46–47, 75–76, 88, 102, 126
Eurocentric, 6, 9, 12, 15, 21, 23–24, 34, 50–51, 61, 66, 75, 96–100, 172, 177, 182, 193, 197, 199, 201, 204, 206, 209–210, 215, 217
Eurocentric art education, 96–97, 99, 215
Exclusive identity, 57, 183, 219
Exhibitionary order, 107
Exotic, 5, 8, 13, 16, 19, 29, 37–38, 54, 76–80, 94, 99, 103, 105–107, 110–115, 119, 121–122, 124, 126–129, 156–157, 159–162, 166, 172, 174, 195–197, 207, 212, 218–219

Exploitation, 1–2, 10, 15, 20, 31, 33, 43, 49–50, 65–66, 68, 70, 77, 88, 91, 95, 105, 109, 113, 187

F
Fanon, Franz, 23–28, 32, 63–64, 138, 151
Feminism transnational, 3, 15–17, 37–38, 62
Feminism western, 3, 8, 17, 33–37, 162, 164, 166, 192
Feminist postcolonial education, 2, 16, 65, 189–190, 197, 217
Feminist postcolonial pragmatism, 198
Feminist theory, 2, 16–17, 32, 34, 36, 192
Femmes Algerienne, 161
First world, 1, 5, 50–51, 54, 77, 80
Fixity, 30, 62–63
French imperial system, 40
Frida, 130
Fusco, Coco, 107, 156, 169, 173–174, 199

G
Galindo, Regina Jose, 178–179
Garanger, Marc, 161
Garnett, Lucy, 147
Gauguin, Paul, 16, 111
Gay/lesbian studies, 38
Gaze, 106, 109–110, 143, 145–146, 158–162, 164, 166, 169, 172
Geerlinks, Mergi, 177
Gender neutrality, 34
Genderqueer, 193
Girls Gone Wild, 218
Globalization, 2–3, 7, 15, 18–19, 37–38, 39–64, 100, 124, 170–171, 185, 196
The Gods Must Be Crazy, 9, 120, 123
Going Tribal, 82
Gomez-Pena, Guillermo, 54, 170, 174–175, 191, 205
Goya, Francisco, 190
Gran Fury, 191
Great Exhibition, 106
Greene, Maxine, 198, 200, 207–208
Green, Nancy, 113
Grewal, Inderpal, 17, 58–59, 61–62, 80, 162, 164
Guerilla Girls, 192–193
Gula, Sharbat, 163–164

H
Hadith, 142–144
Hair Veil, 187
Hammam, 144–145
Harem, 9, 16, 106, 111, 121, 126–127, 144–147, 157, 159–161, 166
Hatoum, Mona, 183–187, 199
Heavy capitalism, 56
Hegemony, 17, 38, 51, 59, 170–171
Hijab, 141, 153
Hollywood, 59, 99, 117, 119–120, 128
Hottentot Venus, 109, 114
Hybridity, 30–31, 53, 62, 95, 100, 169–170, 203, 207

I
Image weapon, 165
Image-world, 104
Imagined Communities, 20, 57, 59–60, 64, 102, 138
Imperial colonization, 42
Imperial doctrine, 40
Imperialism economic, 2, 27, 41–42, 44, 53, 58, 80, 103, 212, 219
Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom, 128–129
Indirect rule, 41–43
Intelligent Quotient (IQ), 75–76
Internal colonization, 42
International Monetary Fund (IMF), 50, 118
International Women's Alliance, 150
Interstitial, 30
Inter-textuality, 211
Iraq, 38, 117–118, 139, 154, 173, 181
Islam, 4, 18–20, 52, 59, 135–144, 147–148, 152–153, 155–158, 164–165, 167, 172, 180, 202
Islamic Revolution, 153, 156, 164, 173, 179
Islamophobia, 52, 138

J
Jablonska, Elzbieta, 177
James, William, 197–198
Java, 45, 71
The Jungle Book, 79
Jyllands-Posten, 52

K
Keffiah, 186–187
KFC, 79
King Kong, 125, 131
King Leopold II, 44, 96
King, Martin Luther, Jr, 2, 196
Kingsley, Mary, 72–73
Kongo Kingdom, 43–44

L
Landau, Sigalit, 178
La Pocha Nostra, 175, 191
Larymore, Constance, 73
The Last King of Scotland, 132
Left-Essentialist Multiculturalism, 196
Liberal feminism, 32–33, 156–157
Liberal Multiculturalism, 196
The Liberation of Aunt Jemima, 175
Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous, 79
Light capitalism, 56
Like Water for Chocolate, 131
Liminal, 30, 38, 62, 169, 171, 207
Lincoln, Abraham, 87, 92
The Lion King, 79, 123
Looking relation, 110
Loti, Pierre, 146
LTTR, 193

M
Magellan, Ferdinand, 10, 68, 77
Mainstream bazaar, 205
Manifest destiny, 10, 85–86, 93
Marco Polo Syndrome, 172–173
Mark & Olly: Living with the Kombai, 82
Masculinity, 14–15, 33, 48, 88, 126–127
Mass mediation, 57
Mass migration, 57, 196
Master Narrative, 85, 197, 201, 204, 206, 216
McCurry, Steve, 162
McDonald's, 79, 81
Means, Russell, 93
Media literacy, 219
Megarhetoric, 55, 57, 179–180, 185
Mejia, Xenia, 177
Melting pot, 203
Mestiza, 171
Micronarrative, 55, 57, 63, 179, 181
Middle East, 5, 30, 80, 117, 120, 126, 139–142, 144, 147, 186
Milk of Amnesia, 175
Minute Men, 52
Miscegenation, 14, 36
Misrepresentation, 18–20, 102–103, 166
Mississippi Masala, 120
Modern, 5–6, 14, 19, 24, 35–37, 48, 50, 55–56, 59, 61–62, 81, 86–88, 98–100, 104, 107, 113–114, 119–120, 122–124, 126, 135, 137, 140, 147, 154, 169–170, 174, 176, 180, 189, 191–192, 196, 199–202, 206–208, 210
Mohanty, Chandra Talpade, 2, 14–17, 33–34, 157, 162
Monge, Priscilla, 176
Monsoon Wedding, 129
Morton, Samuel George, 46–47
Motherhood, 16, 45–46, 71, 177
MTV News, 118
Multicultural critical, 5, 196–197
Multicultural education, 2, 8, 78, 195–197, 219
Multiple aesthetic, 202
Musee de L'homme, 109
Muslim, 4, 17–18, 20–21, 28–29, 34, 36, 52, 63, 95, 103, 118–119, 121, 126–127, 135–141, 144–150, 152–159, 162–167, 172–173, 176, 183, 185–187, 195, 212, 219
My Super Sweet 16, 218

N
Nandy, Ashis, 25–28
National Geographic Channel, 82
National Geographic Magazine, 114
Nationalism, 17, 19–20, 23, 35–36, 52–54, 58, 60–61, 102, 137, 155, 178, 181
Native American boarding schools, 70, 83, 196
Native Americans, 47, 83–87, 89–94
The Negotiating Table, 185
Neocolonial education, 2
Nervous Conditions, 189–190
Neshat, Shirin, 170, 172–173
Niqab, 141
Noble, Margaret, 72
No Child Left Behind Act, 215

O
Obliteration, 105
Occident, 28, 184
Occupation, 2, 24–25, 32, 41, 45, 48, 63–64, 76–77, 91, 93, 117–118, 138–139, 151, 159, 186
Odalisque, 159, 166, 192
Official nationalism, 137
Okada, Hiroko, 177
Opie, Catherine, 177
Orient, 19, 28–29, 158–159, 184, 186
Orientalism, 20, 28–29, 38, 103, 145, 160, 167, 172, 184
Out of Africa, 49, 123–124, 131

P
Pacification by pedagogy, 83
Papua New Guinea, 82, 123
Paris Colonial Exposition, 107
F, Rosa, 2

Patriarchy, 1, 3, 5, 11, 13, 15–17, 19, 23, 33–34, 62, 74–75, 101, 108, 110, 124, 135–136, 142, 148–150, 154, 157, 162, 170, 190, 192, 216
Patriot Act, 21
Patriotism, 29, 88, 92–93, 122, 137, 181
Pear's Soap, 111–112
Peirce, Charles Sanders, 197–198
Perfect Strangers, 9
Perselopolis: The Story of a Childhood, 179
Persepolis 2: The Story of a Return, 182
Phrenology, 46–47
Picasso, Pablo, 97, 99–100, 107, 190, 199
Pilgrims, 85, 92
1000 Places to See Before You Die, 76, 78
Pledge of Allegiance, 89
Pluralist Multiculturalism, 196
Pocahontas, 10, 93–94, 121, 196
Politics of location, 35
Polycentric aesthetic, 97, 169–170
Popular development, 51
Pornography, 176, 218
Postcolonial
  education, 2, 16, 65, 189–190, 197, 217
  imagination, 202–203
  pedagogy, 3, 25, 66, 96, 193, 197, 201–204, 210, 214, 217
  theory, 1–2, 15, 23–39, 100, 197
  visual culture, 107
  visual pedagogy, 195–219
Post imperialism, 40
Postmodern curriculum, 207
Postnational, 61
Pragmatism, 5, 197–201, 204
Pratt, Richard Henry, 83
Prayer Mat, 185–186
Prendergast, Kathy, 187–188
Primitive, 3, 5, 8–10, 12, 20, 26, 28, 40, 43, 65–67, 78, 81–83, 86, 97–100, 104, 106, 108–109, 111, 114, 117, 122–125, 132, 137, 163, 174, 192, 197, 212
Progressivism, 35, 50–51, 84, 87, 99–100, 143, 196
Prophet Mohammed, 52, 141
Protocol, 9, 120, 126
Psychology of oppression, 28

Q
The Quiet American, 127–128
Quran, 141–144

R
Rabbit Proof Fence, 131
Raunch culture, 218
Recollection, 186
Regimes of representation, 103, 105, 211–213
Regime of truth, 29, 103, 158–159, 212
Rethinking Schools, 216
Rooted cosmopolitan, 58, 61, 63, 170, 183
Rote memorization, 84

S
Saar, Bettye, 174–175, 206
Sacagawea, 10, 87, 93
Said, Edward, 2, 23–24, 28–30, 103, 158–159, 164, 184
Saint-Hilaire, Barthelemy, 146
Sarkozy, Nicolas, 26
Satrapi, Marjane, 179–183, 213
Savage, 3, 5, 12, 28, 30, 41, 44, 47, 62, 65–67, 70, 73, 81–82, 84, 90, 93, 95, 103–104, 109–110, 112–113, 119, 122, 124–125, 129
Savary, Claude-Etienne, 145–146
Schoolhouse Rock, 10
Self-division, 26
Self-ethnography, 213–214
11-Sep, 18, 52–53, 118, 135–137, 153, 155–156, 164–166, 195, 219
Sex education, 115
Sex tourism, 77
Shah Pahlavi, 136, 152
Sha'wari, Huda, 150
Signifiers, 19, 105
Sikander, Shahzia, 173
Sister Nivedita, 72
Sitting Bull, 10, 92
Slavery, 15, 36, 84–85, 88, 90, 95, 101, 103, 113, 145–146
Slavick, Elin o'Hara, 188
Slessor, Mary, 73
Social Darwinism, 30, 62, 95–96
Solano, Karla, 176
Soviet Union, 7, 9
Soweto, 70
Spivak, Gyatri, 2, 16, 32–33
Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 8
Starbucks, 79
Straw, Jack, 155
Subaltern, 15, 17, 32–33, 61, 85
Suzuki, Ryoko, 178

T
Taliban, 164–166
Tehran, 164, 180–182
Terman, Lewis, 75
Thanksgiving, 85, 89, 92
Third world, 1, 3, 5–6, 16–17, 20, 24, 33, 37, 50–51, 54, 57, 61–62, 65, 68, 77, 80, 107, 122, 157, 164, 185, 211
Tomic, Milica, 178
Transcitizen, 53, 58–60, 63
Transcultural, 170
Transnational, 1–6, 15–17, 31, 36–38, 39, 51–52, 54–62, 79, 81, 91, 100, 118, 130, 157, 162, 169, 171, 173, 191, 193, 195
Transnational connectivity, 58–59
Transnational corporations, 2, 51, 54, 79, 118
Transnational feminist artists, 4
Transnational feminist theory, 16
Transnational imaginary, 38, 171
Travel Channel, 82
Tropicana, Carmelita, 175
Troyano, Alina, 175

U
Underdeveloped, 5, 41, 50, 68, 90
Under Siege, 185
Universalism, 34

V
Veil, 4, 17, 19, 64, 135–160, 162–164, 166–167, 170, 172, 180, 183, 186–187
Veiling, 4, 20, 64, 136–146, 148–151, 153–161, 163, 166, 181
Venice Biennale, 169
Vertebrate structures, 55
Vespucci, Amerigo, 10, 68
Visual codes, 101, 104, 110, 159, 172–173, 179, 193, 210–211, 213, 219
Visual culture, 37, 97, 107, 211
Visual literacy, 210
Visual semiology, 211

W
Webster, 9
West, 28, 31, 51, 72–73, 97–98, 100, 107, 136, 138–140, 142, 144, 146–148, 150, 152, 154, 156, 158, 160, 162, 164, 166, 185, 212
White man's burden, 25, 44, 67–68, 87, 111–112, 132
Whitney Biennial, 169
Women's History Month, 196
Women's Organization of Iran (WOI), 152–153
Women's studies, 38
World Bank, 50, 118
World history textbooks, 68, 86, 94, 96

X
Xenophobia, 18, 20–21, 29, 38, 171, 185, 192