

Homoeroticism, Phallicism and the Racialization of Black/Brown Males: A Historiography of Sexual Racism in America

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English Abstract

The dominant perception that feeds into common narratives about black and brown men today, in America, is that they are hypersexual, hypermasculine, hyperaggressive and dangerous males who are prone to perpetrating sexual violence against white women, particularly rape. This is the upshot of sexual racism within the patriarchal American empire where the “protection” of white women—who are regarded as conservators of the white race, is deemed to be of utmost importance. In this patriarchal system, white masculinity is regarded as the hetero-normative measurement of manhood, so all non-white male bodies are emasculated and are disposed through castration, lynching and death. It is through such emasculation that black and brown male bodies are homoerotically consumed by white males. This culture of homoeroticism is primarily aimed at both denying the masculinity and negating the being of black and brown males—it is a culture of sexual racism which contests the livelihood, possibility, agency and freedom of black and brown men by pathologizing and criminalizing them as rapists, brutes, and social deviants. Although, in popular imagination, such toxic portrayal of black and brown males as rapist is considered a myth, it continues to reverberate in popular discourse, political rhetorics and social policy. In this paper, I show how this popular pathological narrative about black and brown males as rapists is not just a mythic social construction—it is a view founded on a misandrist scientism, though developed within the white patriarchal American empire in the 19th century, continues to be the lens through which black and brown males are perceived.

Resumen en español

La percepción dominante que alimenta las narrativas comunes sobre los hombres negros y marrones de hoy, en Estados Unidos, es que son hombres hipersexuales, hipermasculinos, hiperagresivos y peligrosos que son propensos a cometer actos de violencia sexual contra mujeres blancas, especialmente violaciones. Este es el resultado del racismo sexual dentro del imperio patriarcal estadounidense donde la "protección" de las mujeres blancas, que son consideradas como conservadoras de la raza blanca, se considera de suma importancia. En este sistema patriarcal, la masculinidad blanca es considerada como la medida hetero-normativa de la virilidad, por lo que todos los cuerpos masculinos no blancos son emasculados y se eliminan a través de la castración, el linchamiento y la muerte. Es a través de tal emasculación

que los cuerpos masculinos negros y marrones son consumidos homoeróticamente por los hombres blancos. Esta cultura de homoerotismo está dirigida principalmente tanto a negar la masculinidad como a negar el ser de hombres negros y marrones; es una cultura de racismo sexual que impugna el sustento, la posibilidad, la agencia y la libertad de los hombres negros y marrones al patologizarlos y criminalizarlos. Violadores, brutos y desviados sociales. Aunque, en la imaginación popular, tal descripción tóxica de los hombres negros y marrones como violador se considera un mito, continúa reverberando en el discurso popular, la retórica política y la política social. En este artículo, muestro cómo esta popular narrativa patológica sobre los hombres negros y morenos como violadores no es solo una construcción social mítica, es una visión fundada en un cientificismo misandrista, aunque se desarrolló dentro del imperio patriarcal blanco estadounidense en el siglo XIX. Sigue siendo la lente a través de la cual se perciben los machos negros y marrones.

Resumo em português

A percepção dominante que alimenta narrativas comuns sobre homens negros e pardos hoje, na América, é que eles são machos hipersexuais, hipermasculinos, hiperagressivos e perigosos que são propensos a perpetrar violência sexual contra mulheres brancas, particularmente estupro. Este é o resultado do racismo sexual dentro do império americano patriarcal, onde a "proteção" das mulheres brancas - que são consideradas conservadoras da raça branca - é considerada de extrema importância. Nesse sistema patriarcal, a masculinidade branca é considerada a medida heteronormativa da masculinidade, de modo que todos os corpos masculinos não-brancos são emasculados e dispostos por castração, linchamento e morte. É através dessa emasculação que corpos masculinos negros e marrons são consumidos homoeroticamente por machos brancos. Essa cultura do homoerotismo visa principalmente negar a masculinidade e negar o ser de machos negros e marrons - é uma cultura de racismo sexual que contesta o modo de vida, a possibilidade, a agência e a liberdade de homens negros e pardos, patologizando e criminalizando-os como estupradores, brutos e desviantes sociais. Embora, no imaginário popular, esse retrato tóxico de machos negros e marrons como estuprador seja considerado um mito, ele continua a repercutir no discurso popular, na retórica política e na política social. Neste artigo, mostro como essa narrativa patológica popular sobre machos negros e pardos como estupradores não é apenas uma construção social mítica - é uma visão fundada em um cientificismo misândrista, embora desenvolvida dentro do império americano patriarcal branco no século XIX, continua a ser a lente através da qual os machos negros e marrons são percebidos.

[B]lack manhood generally is...in desperate trouble.
—Michael Awkward, “A Black Man’s Places (s) in Black Feminist Criticism” (1996)

Though there is much that has been written and said about Latino men...much of what has been written is negative, stereotypical and unsupported by research.

—Alfredo Mirandé, *Hombres Y Machos: Masculinity and Latino Culture* (1997)

Introduction: White Masculinity and the Struggle for the Supremacy of the Phallus

Sexual racism in America has its roots in the genocidal logics of castration, lynching, disposability and death which is devised to maintain the hegemonic structures of white patriarchy that gives social, economic, and political power to white males. In this sense, patriarchy is a system that privileges white males and white masculinity through the constructing of social realities in terms of social hierarchies of dominance and sub-dominance. What this implies is that, patriarchy functions as “a system of white male domination that utilizes racism, capitalism, militarism, and sexual violence to subjugate the multiple others created as degradations of western man.[1]” This category of the “other” seen as a degradation of the western man is socially engineered to maintain white male dominance as heterosexual normativity and all the social, economic, political advantages and power that comes with it. Other masculinities, like black and brown masculinities are therefore targeted and criminalized to ensure that they are non-competitive to the hegemonic masculinity and de-masculinized through extreme racist measures. This infamous strategy of demonizing the “other” is one that was predominantly utilized in 19th century ethnological theories of race in America to vilify non-whites (black and brown peoples[2]) in order to maintain the racial and structural hierarchies that puts the white race generally, and white masculinity, in particular, at the apex of human civilization. Sexual racism is a form of discrimination and hatred that is based on the racial codes of sexuality and differentiation that categorizes non-white males as man-nots and feminine while restricting manhood rights to the hegemonic or dominant white males. This sexualized hatred is racial and carnal hatred. To the extent that racism is a *fait accompli*. Whether directed against blacks or some other racial group; sexual racism, moreover, is the most degenerate and perverse form of sexual turn-on.[3]

A historiography of sexual racism in America must take into cognizance, white peoples’ long history of racism and slavery which thrived on the exploitation of black and brown bodies for the satisfaction of white appetites and desires—homoerotic consumption. Vincent Woodard in *The Delectable Negro* provides a succinct definition of homoeroticism. In his view, homoeroticism implies same sex arousal and draws attention to those political, social, and libidinal forces that shape desire and, ultimately the homosexual act. It includes racial assumptions, political aspirations, gender codes, philosophical frameworks, and cosmologies that dictated the feelings of arousal on the part of European and white Americans toward black males and hunger for black male flesh. Woodard argues that such white-homoerotic desires for black male flesh was made possible by the social imagining of non-white males as signifying the lady of the races.”[4] It is an extreme form of sexual racism. As Calvin Hernton, correctly points to

in *Sex and Racism in America*, asserting that “the first focus of such racism is the physical body—skin color, facial features, hair, physique, particularly the ass, and most of all the sexual genitalia of both males and females of the black race.”[5] The parasitic sexual or homoerotic involvement white males have with black and brown males (or subjugated males), is conditioned by homoeroticism—it is basically the entanglement of white males with non-white males based on sexual consumption and the destruction of the emasculated physiological masculine body. I consider such homoerotic consumption as a product of a deep psycho-sexual neurosis which culminates in an extreme sexual infatuation with such bodies to the extent that its destruction brings the white male to the climax of sexual and social enjoyment. Diane M. Sommerville, in her monumental work, *The Rape Myth Considered: The Intersection of Race, Class and Gender in the American South, 1800-1877*, also points to this condition of the white man’s neurotic condition. She observes that sociologists, psychologists, physicians and historians, have analyzed and scrutinized the white [southern] man’s preoccupation with black male sexuality, frequently referred to as the “Southern Rape Complex.” The use of this terminology more strongly conveys the belief that such an anxiety, again, based in the illogical, was a form of mass psychosis.[6]

In this period, the homoerotic attraction which the white dominant male projects unto the bodies of black and brown males is simultaneously grotesque and absurd because it emits two forceful polar emotions: attraction and disgust. Black and brown males are subjected to dehumanization and victimization by the white patriarchal society because they are, on the one hand, categorized as undesirable elements that threaten both the power-status of the hegemonic white male including the purity of the white race, due to the ever-lingering ‘menace’ of cohabitation with white women. But on the other hand, they constitute the objects of both the white man and the white woman’s sexual fantasies, based on the sexually desirable features of their physical body like strength, sturdiness, savagery, and brute-like nature. So, the white patriarchal society is able to homoerotically consume black and brown male bodies to satisfy both desires: to satisfy the white man’s passion for destruction and sexual consumption—this passion for destruction and homoerotic satisfaction ultimately rests on the image of the phallus. Essentially, sexual racism devolves into the struggle of the supremacy of the phallus—phallicism.

In the white patriarchal culture, the male genitalia or phallus is regarded as the most important albeit superficial marker of masculinity. The dominant white male regards the phallus as an object of worship or veneration, especially as symbolic of power or of the generative nature. This power extends to the social, political, and economic domain as well; the phallus is able to create families, build dynasties and control systems of wealth based on manhood rights. From an anthropological standpoint, that form of erotic worship is that in which procedural adoration is paid to the generative power as symbolized by the sex organs or the act of sexual intercourse. So, the white dominant male attributed the right to sexual intercourse, “penetration” and procreation to himself, and denied such powers to non-hegemonic males or subordinate

males in order to sustain his socio-political power, unrivalled dominance, and advance his sexuality; thereby ensuring the expansion of the white race. What follows from this white misandric construction of sexual authority is that black and brown males, who are perceived as threats to the reign of the white man's phallus are either emasculated through castration or demonized as super-masculine beasts, brutes and rapists in order to set them up for the most gruesome killings through lynchings. The "phallus" signifies the domain of the negated Being; this is what Tommy Curry refers to as the man-not in his seminal work on black males. It is pertinent to state that "the thing whites fear the most about blacks is that blacks have an uncontrollable urge to mate with the sisters and daughters of white men. White men, especially Southerners, are afraid of the so-called superior, savage sexuality of the black male, and they are dead set against any measures that will lift the African-American's status, because they are certain that such measures will bring the black man one step nearer to the white woman's bedroom." [7] Such assumptions helped to reify the mythic imagination of the black rapist which is also extended to Latino males, as Joseph Cervantes points out in "A New Understanding of the Macho Male Image: Explorations of the Mexican American Man;" Latino males, regardless of ethnic background, have historically been viewed as hypersexualized, aggressive men who are prone to fits of anger, alcohol abuse, and involvement in multiple sexual affairs and rape. [8] Thus, the sexuality of both the black and brown male, is affirmed and negated simultaneously: this is what some masculinity scholars have termed as the double-bind. It is a reference to the dualism of existential absurdism which portrays black and brown males as the caricatured man and the man-not.

The homoerotic attraction that the white man has towards black and brown male's genitalia is fatal. It often leads to bodily destruction, mutilation, castration, and death. Both the white man's (including the white woman's) gaze is dangerously fixated on the size of the genitalia of non-white males, which is often a product of libidinal/penile envy and homoerotic fantasy morphed into deep racial hatred and interpreted as a threat to the manhood of the dominant white male patriarch and disguised as a moral quest to preserve the racial purity of the "stainless" white race. According to Diane M. Sommerville, white men, unconsciously jealous of virile black men, assuaged these jealousy pangs by projecting rabid and extraordinary sexual potency unto black males. [9] White people—men as well as women—want to see the black man's genitalia. They want to see this "clothed African savage" naked. [10] They want to see and consume the black man's genitalia in order to derive homoerotic satisfaction, and at the same time maintain a dreadful distance from this object of the savage's body especially the fact that the size of the black male genitalia was viewed and constructed as a bad object. It indicated animalism and degeneracy of African descendants. [11] This homoerotic lure is what William Pinar regards as a form of psychosexual exploitation. He maintains that there was a specific, if unnamed psychosexual exploitation as the white man obsessed over the black man's sexuality, his body, his phallus, "his" alleged desire for the white "lady." While both black women and men were sexually violated by white men, the black man's subjugation was, by definition, homosexual. That is to say, in addition to

assaulting his dignity as a human being; his stature as father and husband was also denied—in fact, the white-male sexual subjugation of black men necessarily threatened his sexual identity.[12] William Carrigan and Clive Webb in their work on the lynching of Latinos in the U.S. points to a similar kind of homoerotic lure expressed by the white folks towards brown male bodies—a sexual fixation that is driven by deadly passions to cut off brown male genitalia in order to achieve their effeminization. The effeminization of Mexicans encouraged Anglos to accuse them of such crimes as cheating at cards or cowardly acts of murder. At the same time, it also diminished their sexual menace to white women.[13]

It suffices to say that homoerotic lure of both white male and white females towards black and brown males is crystalized in the contradiction of effeminization and hypermasculinity. In this case, black and brown males were trapped in what Anthony Lemelle in *Black Masculinity and Sexual Politics*, has regarded as a double bind—they are regarded as feminine on the one hand and hypermasculine on the other hand. While writing about subjugated black masculinity, Anthony Lemelle asserts that “black masculinity was socially constructed by the deployment of two gender/power strategies: on the one hand, black males were expected to perform the hypermasculine role; on the other hand, they were expected to be feminized vis-à-vis white males.”[14] However, both brown and black males are denied manhood rights based on the struggle for the supremacy of the white phallus. For instance, whites conceive of the black male predominantly in genital terms—that is, a “bull” or as some kind of “walking phallus”[15] that has no potency and can ever be actualized in terms of sexual intercourse and procreation. In Alfredo Mirandé’s *Hombres Y Machos*, a seminal work on the racialization of brown masculinities, we see that this type of sexual racism is also perpetuated against Latino males such that the notion of masculinity that determines manhood rights by the phallus was imposed on Mexican males through colonization as highlighted by the gendered notions of Mexican identity. The dominant discourse of the nineteenth century drew distinctions between “masculine” and “feminine” races. Mexicans were classified according to the latter category.[16] This indicates that the bodies of black and brown male were regarded as an embodiment of the ‘undesired other’ or ‘undesired sex.’ This explains why black and brown male bodies were constricted to the zone of homoerotic and homo-consumption by powerful white males within the American patriarchal empire. Therefore, it is important to keep in mind that such powerful white males did not merely want to protect their daughters and sisters from the lust of black males, as many race scholars often recite the ideology. Rather, they were primarily interested in the social, economic, and political domination of black males[17] and brown males. What this denotes is that the goal of homoeroticism and castration of subjugated males is for domination and the sustenance of the supremacy of the white phallus. This is the ultimate end to which the stereotyping of black and brown males as rapists is intended to satisfy—to satisfy the need for homoerotic economic, social, and political consumption and for the maintenance of the supremacy and purity of the phallus. In what follows, I show how the image of black and brown

males as rapists was scientifically produced in the 19th century to sustain the hegemony and dominion of the phallus—the genitalia of the white male patriarchs.

Race Science in 19th Century America: The Mapping of Sexual Violence unto Black and Brown Male Bodies, 1848-1930

The foundation of this imagination that describes black and brown males as rapists was laid in 19th century race science in America. During this time, the scientific enterprise was deployed to codify sexual racism of whites in America such that black and brown males were depicted as hideous rapists who have no control over their sexual organs. This was a methodic rather than a mere stereotypical agenda. During this period, the dominant portrayal of black and brown males was that of the brute—caricatured portrayal of black and brown men as innately savage, animalistic, destructive, and criminal—deserving punishment, including death. This brute is a fiend, a sociopath, an anti-social menace. Black and brown brutes were depicted as hideous, terrifying predators who target helpless victims, especially white women. George T. Winston, writing in 1901, paints this picture vividly thus; “when a knock is heard at the door [a White woman] shudders with nameless horror. The black brute is lurking in the dark, a monstrous beast, crazed with lust. His ferocity is almost demoniacal. A mad bull or tiger could scarcely be more brutal. A whole community is frenzied with horror, with the blind and furious rage for vengeance.”[18] This image of the dreadful rapist is also extended to Latino males as well. In a very insightful study documenting the lynchings of persons of Mexican origin or descent in the United States, between 1848-1928, William Carrigan and Clive Webb, writes about how white people saw Latino males as degenerate and brutal rapists often used to justify lynchings.[19] The terrible crime most often mentioned in connection with the black brute was rape, specifically the rape of a white woman. White people typically viewed blacks in this way; that is, as a kind of sexual animal lacking those capabilities of the repression that the white associated with “civilized beings.”[20] This fear (that the black would act out those sexual fantasies that the white himself presumably repressed) could well serve to trigger the anger of the white Southerner; this view of the black was incorporated into Southern thinking, rounding out the image of the black as more “animal-like,” lower in the evolutionary scale, and more subject to the lustful passions of the beast than the white.[21] Thus, the logic of castration was invented as a scientific experimentation that seeks to de-man black/brown males. By castration, white men will completely retain all access to black/brown women because black/brown men would have been effeminized.

In the mid-nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century, much of the virulent, anti-black propaganda that found its way into scientific journals, local newspapers, movies and best-selling novels focused on the stereotype of the black rapist. The claim that black and brown brutes were raping white women in epidemic numbers, became the white public’s rationalization for the lynching of black and brown males. Medical practitioners were fast to diagnose this as a neurotic condition, only

suffered by black and brown males. For instance, Dr. William Howard, writing in the respectable *Journal of Medicine* in 1903, claimed that “the attacks on defenseless white women are evidence of racial instincts (in blacks), and the black birthright was sexual madness and excess.”[22] Thus, lynching was initially thought to be necessary, by many whites, to preserve the racial purity of the white race, especially through the preservation of the sexual purity of white women. The notion of the primitive sexuality of the black male was concretized from a myth into specific anatomical and physiological details—his penis was larger, his sexual capacity greater, his desire harder to satisfy. [23] The brute caricature was a red herring, a myth used to justify lynching, which in turn was used as a social control mechanism to instill fear in black communities—ultimately the goal of such anti-black misandric practice was to ensure the dominance of the hegemonic white male.

The predominant notion provided by medical scientists (mostly white males) in the 19th century concerning rape is that of a neurotic diagnosis of madness on the part of colored males which demands urgent medical surgical procedures to be cured. They alleged that black and brown males suffered from a neurotic paralysis that prevents them from controlling their sexual appetites and libidinal instincts which makes them a grave danger to white women who were socially constructed, in a fashion consistent with patriarchy, as ‘pure,’ ‘chaste,’ conservators of the white race. So, in order to protect the white race from being colorized or adulterated through sexual penetration of white women by the savage colored men, white men resorted to lynching of black and brown males. Lynchings was aimed at achieving two main purposes: de-sexing and depopulating the colored races through death which prevents the procreation of colored babies and thereby promotes the supremacy of the white race. By 1890s, white American scientists had spent nearly a century attempting to prove that racial hierarchy was biological and permanent. They invariably described people of African descent as irrevocably inferior in mind and body and thus placed them at the bottom of this natural order. Moreover, by the turn of the century, they characterized black bodies not just as inferior but also as threatening.[24] In *Measuring Manhood: Race and the Science of Masculinity*, 1830-1934, Melissa Stein, reports that the year 1893 proved a watershed moment in the history of lynching. It saw the first modern spectacle lynching, as historians have come to characterize the brutal, ritualized torture and murders, most frequently of African Americans, in front of large, enraptured and often cheering crowds. For instance, the lynching of Henry Smith, accused of raping a four-year old white girl, took place on February 1, 1893, in Paris, Texas, and was attended by approximately ten thousand people, thousands of whom had come by train from neighboring counties and states to witness Smith burned alive.[25] This type of brutal killings against brown males is also reported by William Carrigan and Clive Webb, in their historical study about the lynchings of persons of Mexican descent in the United States. A notable case is one that occurred on November 16, 1928, where four masked men tore into a hospital in Farmington, New Mexico and abducted one of the patients as he lay dying in bed. The kidnappers drove to an abandoned farmhouse on the outskirts of the city where they tied a rope around the neck of their captive and hanged him from a locust tree. The

dead man, Rafael Benavides, had been admitted to the hospital with a serious gun wound less than twenty-four hours earlier. His wound was inflicted by a sheriff's mob pursuing him for an alleged sexual assault upon a white farmer's wife.[26]

These incidences depict the brutal nature of the sexual violence perpetrated by white people against non-white males; it also provides a critical historical lens to survey the pathologized lens of hypermasculinity and hypersexuality through which black and brown males are perceived in contemporary society. The perception of black males as studs supreme meant that white women had to be protected from the potentially sexually aggressive subhuman. This perception of the black male slave as stud supreme, along with a resulting paranoia that black male slaves would rape white women led to numerous lynchings and other heinous crimes against black male slaves. The perception of the sexual prowess of black males persists to this very day.[27] In a speech given to the Southern Society for the Promotion of the Study of Race Conditions in 1900, Clifton R. Breckinridge, said of the black race, "when it produces a brute, he is the worst and most insatiate brute that exists in human form." [28] This descriptions about black and brown males as animals, bulls, bucks, and dangerous beasts are provided to justify the heinous acts of lynchings. Black men in particular were described as overly libidinous and aggressive prone to a racially specific perversion that drove them to rape white women. In fact, American medical scientists played a key role in constructing the popular image of black men as a sexual menace and grounding such in the physical body; in turn, the negative assessment of black men was often used outside the scientific establishment to justify lynching.[29]

Lynchings often involved castration, amputation of hands and feet, spearing with long nails and sharpened steel rods, removal of eyes, beating with blunt instruments, shooting with bullets, burning at the stake, and hanging. It was, when done by southern mobs, especially sadistic, irrespective of the criminal charge. Most white southerners agreed that lynching was evil, but they claimed that black brutes were a greater evil.[30] In the same period, Latino males were also killed for appearing to constitute a threat to the dominant white male's social power and hegemony. For decades, lynch mobs terrorized persons of Mexican origin or descent without reprisal from the wider community. The more critical attitude taken by the Anglo establishment created a political climate less tolerant of extra-legal violence.[31] Between 1848 and 1928, mobs lynched at least 597 Mexicans.[32] Although, it is possible to imagine that the numbers could be slightly higher than these, given the fact that there were some methodological problems in the records of the victims of lynchings. In 19th century lynching records, Mexican victims were erroneously classified as whites. But it is pertinent to state that even when one considers the methodological problems in compiling accurate data on lynching, it is clear that Mexicans suffered from mob violence in smaller numbers than African Americans. Between 1882 and 1930, it is commonly noted that at least 3,386 African Americans died at the hands of lynch mobs. What research has revealed, however, is the fact that the danger of lynching for a Mexican resident in the United States was nearly as great, and in some instances greater, than the specter of mob

violence for a black person in the American South. Due to the smaller size of the Spanish-speaking population, the total number of Mexican victims was much lower, but the chance of being murdered by a mob was comparable for both Mexicans and African Americans.[33]

In the later parts of the 19th century, scientists thought that lynchings were not so effective to deal with the problem of rape so they proffered castration as a more effective alternative because at this time, rape was now seen as a neurotic condition that requires medical treatment. During this period, musings about black rape were followed by published scientific studies in various fields that set out to examine and quantify the “Negro rape problem scientifically.”[34] At the beginning of 1893, numerous medical scientists began to suggest that castration would be more effective, humane, and progressive than lynching for dealing with the “Negro problem.” The “castration remedy” represented a culmination of racial scientists’ long-standing use of gender, sex, and sexuality to bolster their claims about the innate and permanent inferiority of black people.[35] The diagnosis that was scientifically agreed to be effective to achieve prophylactic and therapeutic outcomes in combatting this issue, was castration. This scientific agreement was documented in the most prestigious scientific journals during that period. In a scientific essay titled: “Castration of Sexual Pervert,” published in *The Texas Medical Journal* in 1912, F.E. Daniels states that the key question that informs the paper is this: “should insane criminals or sexual perverts (like the Negro) be permitted to procreate?” This question is a blend of scientism with phallicism. He goes on to pontificate that the scientific fact is, that perversion of the organic nature and appetites is a part of the very essence of insanity.[36] The thought he is advancing here is that non-white males suffer from a ubiquitous medical condition that has to do with the admixture of sexual perversion and insanity. He maintains that with regard to sexual crimes, a healthy person dominated by a powerful sexual impulse, may commit some act to shock a civilized community—a rape for instance.[37] Essentially, he considers the black male-brute as the embodiment of insane sexual instincts that portends catastrophic consequences for the white community. Therefore, F.E. Daniels recommends castration as a remedy for rape. He writes that, “to the cause of so much rape by Negroes in the South [medical scientists] advises castration as a remedy; [they] would castrate the rapist, thus rendering him incapable of a repetition of the offense, and of propagating his kind, and turn him loose—on the principle of the singed rat—to be a warning to others.[38] The rationale for this was obvious; because scientists saw black men’s alleged propensity toward rape as rooted in the body, specifically the sexed body, they recommend a bodily—and distinctly genital—solution.[39]

Similarly, Hunter McGuire and G. Frank Lydston, who are both medical doctors scientifically proved that the white man cannot perpetrate rape—so rape is a sexual crime that only non-white males can commit. In their view, “rape, however, under the stimulus of this abnormal passion, is not so liable to be perpetrated by the white man for the reason that certain inhibitory influences, such as pride, fear of punishment and ordinary self-control, are more effective in the white than in the black race.”[40] They

justified castration by comparing black male genitalia with that of the bull; stating that the *furor sexualis* in the negro resembles similar sexual attacks in the bull and elephant, and the running amuck of the Malay race[41] and they were very clear on the fact that castration was the only one logical method to solving the problem of rape. Castration was seen as the summit of effeminization and the consequences of projected hypermasculinity. In *Hombres Y Machos: Masculinity and Latino Culture* Alfredo Mirandé, also shows how white Americans hold up this sort of negative, pathological and toxic masculine perception about brown males and how this is used to justify the fact that they deserve the most gruesome form of bodily mutilations. Both castration and lynching show the practice of homoeroticism and human consumption by both white males and females from the 19th century to the turn of the century.

This misandric science is the source of the myth of black and brown men as rapists that is commonly propagated in the popular imagination in the United States today. So, the myth of the black/brown rapist is not merely a fictive construction, it is a scientific construction. It is a scientific construction that informs social stereotypes that considers black and brown males in terms of toxic masculinities. In a very insightful essay titled; "Rape, Racism and Myth of the Black Rapist," Angela Davis provides a poignant analysis about how this negrophobic and misandric scientific notions about black rapists is a mere conjecture propagated to justify the racialization of non-hegemonic masculinities within the American patriarchal culture. According to Davis, "in the history of the United States, the fraudulent rape charge stands out as one of the most formidable artifices invented by racism. The myth of the Black rapist has been methodically conjured up whenever recurrent waves of violence and terror against the Black community have required convincing justification." [42] Meanwhile, the portrayal of black men as rapists reinforces racism's open invitation to white men to avail themselves sexually of black women's bodies. The fictional image of the black man as rapist has always strengthened its inseparable companion: the image of the black woman as chronically promiscuous[43]; the white man projects onto the black male the uninhibited sexuality that he has enjoyed with black women. This self-righteousness puts all the blame on the black, quenching the white's own sense of guilt. Thus, every time a black man is suspected of sexual interest in a white woman, the white man's defensive self-righteousness leads him to a violent response.[44]

Ties that Bind: Sexual Racism and the Crisis of Black and Brown Males' Existence

From the foregoing, it is apparent that both black and brown males are caught in a tragedy of existence, a double-bind where they are both regarded as overmasculine, oversexualized males that are psychologically programmed to rape white women, while at the same time, they are confronted with the tragedy of living in a patriarchal American society that subjugates sub-dominant males by emasculating them, using all forms of institutional structures of power to ensure that they are de-man and cannot lay any claim to manhood. The ties of the crisis of existence that confronts black and brown

males overdetermines their livy in serious ways such that it poses a huge challenge to the growth of the Black family and the Latino family. Contemporary imagination that describes Latino males as bad *hombres* is founded on such mythic stereotype about the brown male rapist. This is a narrative that is prevalent in popular media and American politicians perpetrate this dangerous stereotype to appeal to the racist instincts in white people in order to gain political advantage in a society whose fabric is laced with racism. Even though it is clear that the hypermasculine descriptions is nothing but a myth, this belief is recurrently perpetuated because in a racist and patriarchal society, there will always need to be those who will be at the bottom of the society's wells to be mapped as alterities and as the negative images of the dominant culture. This is why brown and black males are castigated in this way as criminals, gangsters, and rapists. In fact, the demonization of Latinos as rapists is an age-long tradition of American white culture. The idea that Latinos are 'bad hombres' and fundamentally devious perverts hell-bent on sexually violating white women is welded on the American psyche even though it's based on falsehoods.

Today in the U.S., we see in popular imagination the propagation of the (il)logic of black and brown bodies as threatening beasts of burden, especially the stereotypes that they constitute a threat to white women—a vestige of the 19th century sexology and race science. As a result of such stereotype, social scientists and practitioners have perpetuated many myths, and distortions about black men. As a subject of research, the black male has been cast in a restricted role set that, to a large extent, has been pathological in nature. Moreover, the black male has been projected as psychologically impotent and castrated, dependent, incredulous, nebulous, irresponsible, and suspicious.[45] The black male has been described as a virulent rapist, a criminal, a misogynist, a suicidal militant, and patriarchal which are all based on concocted falsehoods. It is such propagation of falsehoods that made Angela Davis observe that “given the central role played by the fictional black rapist in the shaping of post-slavery racism, it is, at best, irresponsible theorizing to represent black men as the most frequent authors of sexual violence.”[46] But such negative representations serve a useful purpose for the racial imagination of white racial superiority and for justifying or rationalizing the incarceration and deaths of black and brown males who are considered extremely undesirable elements in a racist society like that of the U.S. The point being made here is that such mythic representation of black and brown males tends to bolster the image of the white-male supremacy, especially the contrast often drawn between the dominant white males and the sub-dominant non-white males as social deviants and toxic males who are prone to crime. Media sensationalism tends to racialize crime, creating the impression that African Americans, especially black men are dangerous. However, official government statistics tell a different story.[47]

The U.S. Department of Justice, FBI uniform crime reporting (UCR) breaks down the arrests for rape for 2013. It shows that whites accounted for 66 percent of all sexual assaults documented while blacks accounted for 31 percent. Along ethnic lines, the percentage of non-Latinos is three times more than that of Latinos. This ruptures the

myth that black and brown males target white women to sexually assault. The fact is that 93 percent of all sexual assaults are intra-racial. This means that white men are the primary perpetrators of sexualized violence against white women.

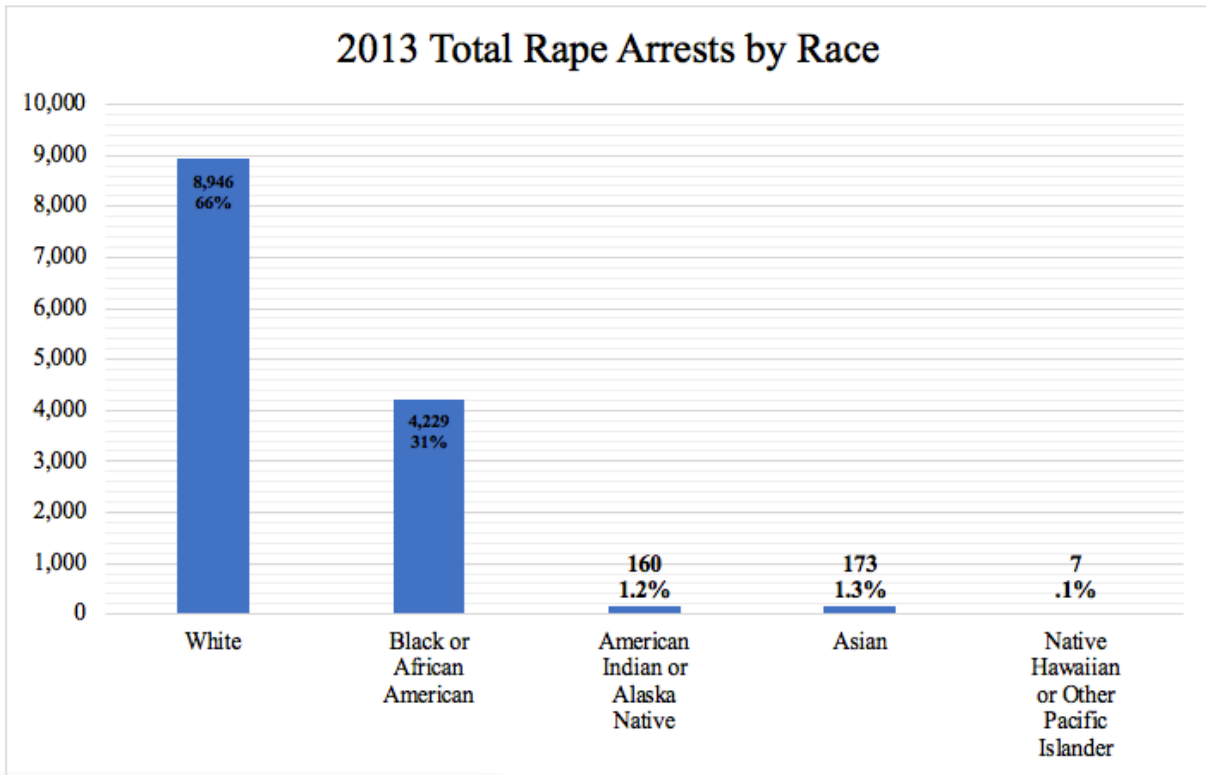


Fig 1: U.S. Department of Justice, FBI Uniform Crime Reporting on Rape for 2013

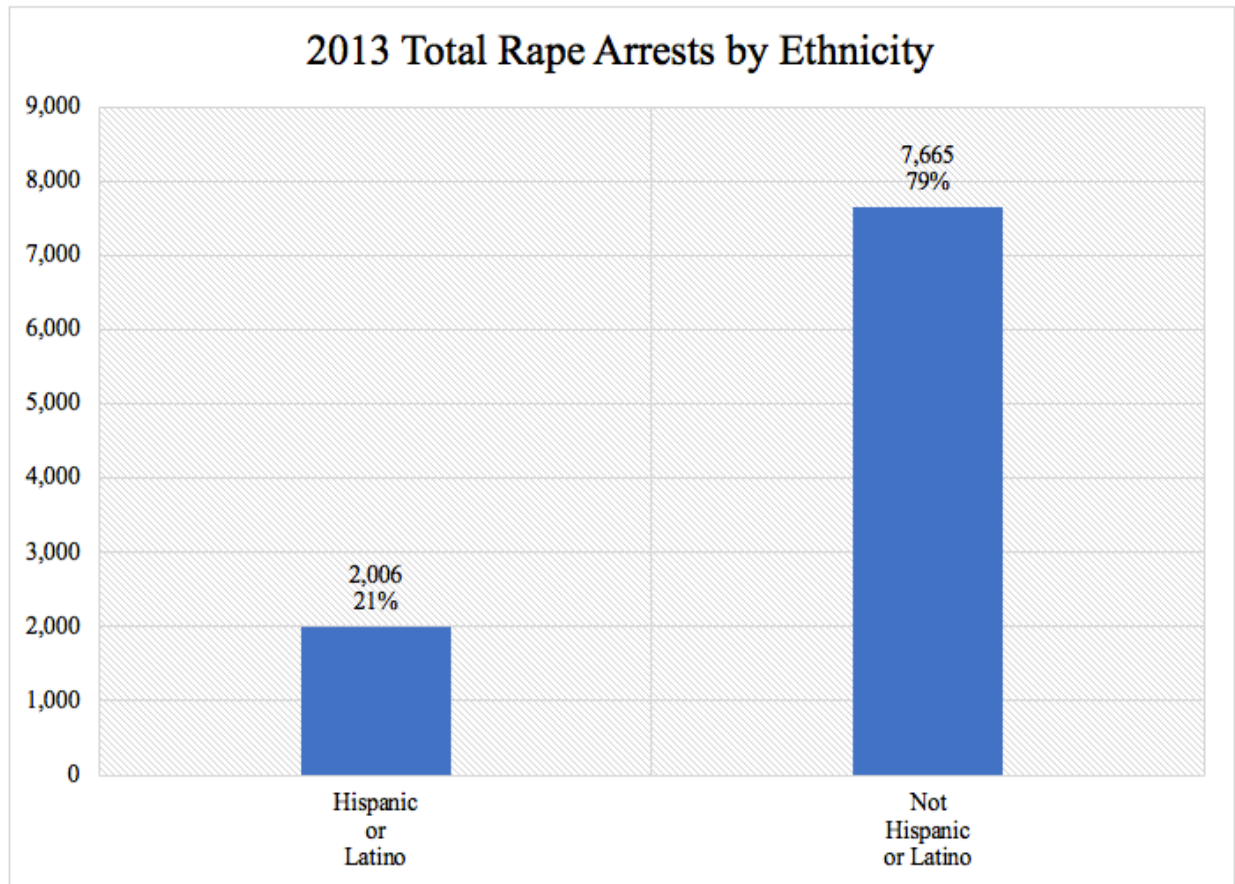


Fig 2: Fig 1: U.S. Department of Justice, FBI Uniform Crime Reporting on Rape for 2013

Given these statistics, it is clear that white racial historical fear of Black and Latino rapists lurking in bushes, waiting to attack white women, has no basis in fact. The myth is appropriated nonetheless to reify white racist beliefs. The myth of the black and brown rapist was created by white racial science to justify the mass incarceration and killing of black and brown men. It is in the myth of the black rapist that we see the intersection of sexual violence and racism as perpetrated by the white race. This form of sexual racialization is designed to control and exploit one group of people—the subordinate group of males for the benefit of the hegemonic white male social group. In spite of the fact that black and brown males are not the ones with the highest rates of rape in the United States, they continue to be the most demonized groups based on sexual violence. This demonization of black and brown males is characteristic of the oppressive strategies of white hegemonic masculinity and white institutions of power—to conjure negative perceptions of subordinate males—in order to nullify the assumed threat they pose to white domination. This is essentially why negative perceptions of

black and brown males are generated through the sexual racism of the white race against groups of oppressed males. This negative perception does not require facts to be true; all it requires are stereotypical and fabricated views about the hypermasculinity and hypersexuality of black/brown males.

One notable negative perception of brown males is in the bastardization of the notion of the machismo. In the view of white Americans, the concept of machismo entails a characteristic of hypermasculinity and oversexuality which makes Latino males very dangerous to the white race. A defining characteristic among Latino males based on some combination of myth, stereotype or anthropological observation, has been the label of macho, or machismo. This description refers to a culturally expected and stylized set of behaviors from Latino males to engage in actions and behaviors that distinguish them from other males with respect to hypersexual and aggressive behaviors, and a propensity to defy relational rules in a permanent partnership.[48] The mapping of hypermasculine categories unto the bodies of Latino males in this manner is to make them seem dreadful and undesirable when compared to white males. This is reminiscent of the strategies for domination employed by the white male patriarchy to subjugate non-white males right from the 19th century. Such strategies of oppression and subjugation are still in force today; it is primarily what shapes how sub-dominant males, like brown and males, are viewed in all facets of the American society, including the popular media, academia, business world, politics, governance, policing, and so on. Most of the negative categories mapped unto the bodies of brown and black males in America stems from the racial fears and moral degeneracy of the white race. Therefore, in Latinos, white Americans have a group of people on which to project their racial fears for the future. While the negative characteristics often associated with Mexican/Mexican- American men were evident and described Latinos as domineering, aggressive, fearless, authoritarian, promiscuous, and viral.[49]

This negative perception of black and brown males is what makes them easily disposable—this is why black and brown males are murdered by institutions of the state like the police while most Americans view such deaths of most black and brown males as a consequence of their criminality, toxic masculinity and in terms of the alleged danger they pose to the society. For instance, Anglo stereotypes of Mexican males therefore emphasized their supposed lack of traditional masculine virtue. Mexican men were denied the attributes of honor, honesty, and loyalty. Instead they were defined as unprincipled, conniving, and treacherous and dangerous.[50] Marin, in his study of stereotypes and how this overdetermines the existence of brown males writes that “data from very recent studies show, for example, that Chicanos are considered lazy, cruel, pugnacious, ignorant.”[51] Within the American society, the notion is accepted that black men harbor irresistible and animal-like sexual urges, the entire race is invested in bestiality.[52] These negative attributions that are ascribed to black and brown males, in the final analysis, is designed to set them up for death. What has been shown in this essay is that the negative social perception that black/brown males are criminals, deviants, brutes, and dangerous rapists is grounded in 19th century scientific race

science of sexuality—sexual racism. This is what informs the disposability of black/brown males to achieve institutional decimation that reinforce the notion of racial sacrifice aimed at maintaining the hegemony of white masculinity and white supremacist institutions. In my view, one of the urgent tasks of black and brown intellectuals in the academy today is to make interventions in the area of black and brown male studies focused on both the rupturing of the negative stereotypes projected onto black and brown male's bodies and the creation of an alternative discussion of black and brown masculinity with a human face— a non-toxic description of the humanity of black and brown males.

Conclusion: Transcending the Realm of Toxic Masculinity: The Essentiality of Black/Brown Male Studies

This paper has exposed the historical grounding of the negative stereotypes and veils of toxic masculinity mapped onto the bodies of black/brown males in 19th century ethnology and sexual-racial science in America. It also highlighted the primary purpose for this anti-black/brown misandric practice—which was essentially for the white race, and more specifically, for white males to continue to maintain racial superiority in an American society where genocidal logics of castration, lynchings, mass murder is employed to achieve political, economic and dominance. Such negative stereotypes are constructed in popular American imagination about black and brown males in order to mask their suffering within in a society that offers political, economic and social jurisprudential freedoms based on the dynamics of sex and gender. Thus, this essay calls for the need to develop black/brown male studies that will seriously take into account the sufferings and vulnerabilities that are mostly ignored in discourses on sexuality and oppression in mainstream gender studies.

In this regard, black and brown male studies need to provide a solid basis for studying the livity, vulnerabilities and possibilities of black/brown males in ways that transcends this realm of toxic masculinities that is projected onto the bodies of these racialized males. There is a need to move away from the negation of black and brown males to a more positive and affirming image of their masculinity. Joseph Cervantes highlights this need in his study of Latino men. He opines that Latino men have an image of manhood to uphold which is different from the socially constructed nature of masculinity. Manhood tends to imply a cultural expectation that Latino males must be more in control and authoritative than females. This cultural role is embedded in the expectation that Latino males tend to view themselves as needing to be protectors of their respective families and significantly less prepared to view themselves with weakness.[53] We can no longer rely on mainstream social and gender theories on masculinity that seek to construct non-white males as toxic and as predatory. As the case of Latino male understanding of masculinity shows, there are different conceptions of manhood that goes beyond the monolithic emphasis on the phallus as social stereotypes about non-white males tends to show. More so, Latinos are diverse in their

interpretation and demonstration of manhood and thus generalizations about machismo behaviors are not valid. This suggests that the concepts of machismo are interwoven with religious and spiritual connotations and expectations that have direct application in a male's participation in his respective family and community. Thus, exaggerated aspects of Latino manhood behaviors appear to be the result of an impaired or oppressed ability to perform the necessary and related aspects of one's psychological and social role as a man.[54]

Within the Latino cultural paradigm, work has been done to contest the false categorization and demonization of brown males as hegemonic machismos. The work Alfredo Mirandé is doing with the concept of machismo as it pertains to Latino males is relevant here. According to Mirandé, although machismo[55] was associated with the sexual sphere during the colonial period, once independence from Spain was attained, it was transferred to the political arena as symbolized by the caudillo, or political strongman.[56] This notion of machismo within the context of Spanish colonial exploitation was laced with a negative connotation of hypermasculinity, aggressive maleness, genital prowess and other patriarchal categories. It became the lens through which Anglos view Latino males as dangerous super-men. But Mirandé, in his study of Latino males, presents a positive understanding of macho-male or machismo within Mexican culture. In his study, the view of the machismo that is found in Mexican popular culture, particularly in film and music, is one that reflects a more positive, perhaps idyllic, conception of Mexican culture and national character. Rather than focusing on violence and male dominance, it associates macho qualities with the evolution of a distinct code of ethics. *Un hombre que es macho* is not hypermasculine or aggressive, and he does not disrespect or denigrate women. Machos, according to this positive view, adhere to a code of ethics that stresses humility, honor, respect of oneself and others, and courage. What may be most significant in this positive view is that being "macho" is not manifested by such outward qualities as physical strength and virility but by such inner qualities as personal integrity, commitment, loyalty, and most importantly, strength of character.[57]

On the part of black males, Tommy J. Curry, in his path-breaking book, *The Man-Not: Race, Class, Genre and the Dilemmas of Black Manhood* has also stressed the need of studying black males in a manner that affirms rather than negates their being. According to Curry, "the most immediate task before the Black thinker is the construction of new concepts that can support the meanings of the actualities set before them in our own realities, and in those instances where our language, the grammar of our world, cannot support the weight of his reality, those structures, and their cultural representations must be dissolved, because black men and boys cannot continue to exist as caricatures where their humanity is weighed against the mythologies which hold them to be rapists, criminals and aspiring patriarchs aiming to rule both women and society." [58] This suggestion is a radical break from the pathological ways by which black males are studied using mainstream gender and social theories that diminish the actual vulnerabilities of black males, over-determine their lives and set them up for

death through the mapping of negative stereotypes unto their bodies. There is need to emphasize black men as good fathers, because “so little attention has been given to black men as fathers and husbands that they have been referred to as the “phantom of American studies.”[59] The visualization of black male studies must focus on black boys/men as creative geniuses, give attention to their health status, including the socialization of black men as good family men, fostering healthy father-child interactions, psychological and social coping patterns of black males—and to do this in a way that moves beyond stereotypes.

Thus, the philosophical import of this essay is to confront this historic caricatured portrayal of black/brown males as toxic men in America which continues to have contemporary inimical effects on their existence. I have shown, in this essay, how the homoerotic consumption of the powerful white male patriarch is deeply influenced by phallicism—an anthropological characterization of nonwhite bodies based on the assumed menace of the of black/brown males’ genitalia and how this is at the center of the sexual racialization of black and brown males. The taxonomies and iterations of black and brown masculinities in American gender and social theory intersects with the genocidal logics of castration, lynching, domination and white racial supremacy. This paper advocates the need to create black/brown male studies that will respond or discountenance the toxic and caricatured portrayal of black/brown males in the historiography of sexual racism against in America. The necessity of black/brown male studies rests on its potential to liberate the image of black/brown males from the destructive stereotypes of white hegemonic masculinity.

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Notes and References

[1] Tommy J. Curry expresses this view while writing about the eschatological dilemmas involved in the rape of black males and the inability of popular imagination to perceive Black male sexual vulnerability under racism. He goes on to argue that patriarchy and the sexual violence it perpetrates, has been made possible only through particular colonial violence and neocolonial economies of white nations and white supremacism. See. Tommy J. Curry, *The Man-Not: Race, Class, Genre and the Dilemmas of Black Manhood*, Temple University Press, 2017.

[2] In the case of Latinos, the imposition of the category of the “other” on their livity, helps to fuel this myth that portrays immigrants as contaminating the racial purity

of the white race by miscegenation and gaining both political and economic advantage over and above white Americans. In *Whiteness on the Border* Lee Bebout states that in the U.S., whiteness is constructed against a Mexican Other as a competition of racialized masculinities. Mexicanness is also juxtaposed to and fashions Americanness. This results in not simply imagining whites to be American but the converse as well: to be American, one must be white. Each of the examples above illustrates a conflation of ethnoracial and national identities wherein whiteness is Americanness and that which is Mexican is rendered Other. See. Lee Bebout, *Whiteness on the Border: Mapping the U.S. Racial Imagination in Brown and White*, New York: New York University Press, 2016, p.3. Louise Newman in her book on the racial origins of Feminism also highlighted the comparison of the “other” in terms of population and dominance. She opines that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, whites worried incessantly about their falling birth rates in comparison to the much higher birth rates of nonwhite peoples. Which means they worry about the categorized “other” outnumbering the white race and becoming hegemonic. See Louise Michele Newman, *White Women’s Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 90.

[3] Both the white woman and the white man are complicit in sexual racism. While the black man is portrayed as a great “walking phallus” with satyr-like potency, he is denied the execution of that potency, he is denied the most precious sexual image which surrounds him—the white woman. The myth of the sanctity of “white womanhood” is nothing more than a myth, but because this myth is acted upon as if it were real both by blacks and whites alike, then it becomes real as far as the behavior and sensitives of those who must encounter it are concerned. See. Calvin C. Hernton, *Sex and Racism in America*, New York: Anchor Books, 1965, pp. 5-6.

[4] According to Vincent Woodard, defines the word “homoeroticism” in his study as serving as a referent for a large set of same-sex desires and intimacies that include romantic relationship between men, same-sex incest in the context of plantation patriarchy, the romanticizing of and exoticization of whiteness, and literal and metaphoric cannibalism, among other things. See Vincent Woodard, *The Delectable Negro: Human Consumption and Homoeroticism within U.S. Slave Culture*, Justin A. Joyce and Dwight A. McBride, Eds. New York: New York University Press, 2014, pp. 14, &14-15.

[5] Calvin C. Hernton, *Sex and Racism in America*, p. xiii.

[6] Diane M. Sommerville, *The Rape Myth Reconsidered: The Intersection of Race, Class and Gender in the American South, 1800-1877*. PhD Dissertation, The Graduate School—New Brunswick Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, October 1995, p. 10.

[7] In addition to the concrete discriminations and injustice heaped upon black people by both individually and institutionally expressed racism, white people are socialized—the culture teaches and they learn—to believe in a battery of superstitions and stereotypes about the flesh of black people. Racism teaches whites to feel that black people are sexually dirty, vulgar, beastly, unnaturally endowed, and promiscuous. In a word, blacks are felt to be biosexually preternatural. These superstitions and

stereotypes translate into fears that become dynamic in the emotional makeup of white people, so that black people are experienced and perceived as threats to white racial purity, as well as to the white power structure itself, the government, the home, the family, and even the future of white people not yet born. See. Calvin C. Hernton, p. xiii, 5.

[8] Joseph M. Cervantes, "A New Understanding of the Macho Male Image: Exploration of the Mexican American Man" in M. Englar-Carlson & M. A. Stevens, Eds., *In the Room with Men: A Casebook on Therapeutic Change*, Washington, D.C: American Psychological Association, 2006, p. 197.

[9] Diane M. Sommerville, p. 14.

[10] The white woman notably participated in sexual racism evidenced by her fantasy of the black male as a sexual god which is a consequence of the neglect/deprivation by the white man. It was in this way, out of the sheer necessity for sexual release and expression, that the southern white woman fixed her fantasies upon the most feared sexual symbol of her times—the black man. Her preoccupation with rape (and is) not only a grotesque fantasy, but also an accurate index of her sexual deprivation. The black man became (and still is) the scapegoat of the ideology of sex and racism as it was (and is) accepted by the white woman in southern culture. See. Calvin C. Hernton, pp. 17, 39. This is also corroborated by Helen Deutsche, a notable historian in the psychology of women. Deutsche claims that white women were primarily responsible for sexual racism. In her words, "my own experience of accounts of white women of rape of Negroes...has convinced me that many fantastic stories are produced by the machosistic yearnings of these women." See. Helene Deutsche, *The Psychology of Women: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation*, New York: Grune & Stratton, 1944, p. 256.

[11] Anthony Lemelle, *Black Masculinity and Sexual Politics*, New York: Routledge, 2010, p. 38.

[12] William F. Pinar, "Black Men: You Don't Know who I am," *Counterpoints—The Gender of Racial Politics and Violence in America: Lynching, Prison Rape & The Crisis of Masculinity*, 2001, Vol. 163, pp. 856.

[13] William Carrigan and Clive Webb, "The Lynchings of Persons of Mexican Origin or Descent in the United States, 1848-1928," *Journal of Social History*, 37:2, p. 420.

[14] Anthony Lemelle, p.15.

[15] Calvin C. Hernton, p.38.

[16] William Carrigan and Clive Webb, p. 411.

[17] Anthony Lemelle, p. 6.

[18] George T. Winston, "The Relations of the Whites to the Negroes. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1901, XVII, pp. 108-109.

[19] William Carrigan and Clive Webb, p.411.

[20] Charles Herbert Stember, *Sexual Racism: The Emotional Barrier to an Integrated Society*, New York: Elsevier, 1976, p. 45.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Quoted in: G. M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914*. New York: Harper & Row, 1971, p. 279.

[23] Charles Herbert Stember, p. 57.

[24] Melissa N. Stein, *Measuring Manhood: Race and the Science of Masculinity*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015, p. 217.

[25] *Ibid.*, 217.

[26] William Carrigan and Clive Webb, p.411.

[27] Clyde Franklin, "Ain't I a Man? The Efficacy of Black Masculinities for Men's Studies in the 1990s," in Richard G. Majors and Jacob U. Gordon, Eds. *The American Black Male: His Present Status and His Future*, Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1994, pp. 274-275.

[28] Clifton R. Breckinridge, Speech of the Honorable Clifton R. Breckinridge: In Southern Society for the Promotion of the Study of Race Conditions and Problems in the South, Montgomery, Alabama, May 8—10, 1900. Richmond: B. F. Johnson Pub. Co., 1900, p. 174.

[29] Melissa Stein, pp.217-218.

[30] David Pilgrim, "Using Objects of Intolerance to Teach Tolerance and Promote Social Justice," Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia, 2000. <http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/brute/>, Accessed on May 5, 2017.

[31] William Carrigan and Clive Webb, p.411.

[32] In every publication and data summary of the Tuskegee materials, the lynching victims are divided into only two categories, "black" and "white". This neat binary division belies historical reality since the list of "white" victims actually included Native Americans, Chinese immigrants, Italians, and Mexicans. In order to determine that 50 of the victims recorded by Tuskegee as "white" were actually of Mexican descent, one has to peruse the original archival records. Tuskegee's binary division of blacks and non-blacks has been widely adopted by other groups collecting lynching data and by the scholars who have written about lynching. See. William Carrigan and Clive Webb, p.413.

[33] William Carrigan and Clive Webb, pp.413-415.

[34] Diane M. Sommerville, p. 43.

[35] Melissa Stein, p.218.

[36] F. E. Daniels, "Castration of Sexual Perverts", *The Texas Medical Journal*, Vol. XXVII, No. 10, 1912, p. 371.

[37] *Ibid.*, 375.

[38] *Ibid.*, 378.

[39] Melissa Stein, p.218.

[40] Hunter McGuire and G. Frank Lydston, *Sexual Crimes Among the Southern Negroes*, Louisville: Renz & Henry, 1893. p.6.

[41] *Ibid.*, 17.

[42] Angela Davis, *Women, Race & Class*, New York: Random House, 1981, p. 173.

[43] Charles Herbert Stember, p. 48.

[44] What the connection between the race science of the 19th century in America shows is the fervent effort to map sexual violence onto the bodies of black and brown bodies which overdetermines their existence. In this sense, Calvin Hernton is right to point out that one of racism's salient historical features has always been the assumption that white men—especially those who wield economic power—possess an incontestable right of access to Black women's bodies. This notion was also reinforced by Angela Davis when she avers that the white man, especially in the South, cannot seem to adhere to his own laws and customs prohibiting interracial intercourse—he insults, seduces, and rapes black women as if this were what they exist for. A preponderance of racial violence takes the form of sexual atrocities against not only black women but black men as well. See. Calvin Hernton, p.3 & Angela Davis, pp. 175, 182.

[45] Lawrence E. Gary, Ed., *Black Men*, London: Sage Publications, 1981, p.11.

[46] Angela Davis, p. 191.

[47] William F. Pinar, "Black Men: You Don't Know who I am," *Counterpoints—The Gender of Racial Politics and Violence in America: Lynching, Prison Rape & The Crisis of Masculinity*, 2001, Vol. 163, p. 857.

[48] Joseph M. Cervantes, p. 197.

[49] *Ibid.*, 200.

[50] William Carrigan and Clive Webb, p.420.

[51] Gerardo Marin, "Stereotyping Hispanics: The Differential Effect of Research Method, Label, and Degree of Contact," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 1984, vol. 8, p.17.

[52] Angela Davis, p.182.

[53] Joseph M. Cervantes, p. 211.

[54] *Ibid.*, 30.

[55] Mirandé provides a contemporary understanding of Machismo. While "macho" has traditionally been associated with Mexican or Latino culture, the word has recently been incorporated into American popular culture, so much so that it is now widely used to describe everything from rock stars and male sex symbols in television and film to burritos. When applied to entertainers, athletes, or other "superstars", the implied meaning is clearly a positive one that connotes strength, virility, masculinity, and sex appeal. But when applied to Mexicans or Latinos, "macho" remains imbued with such negative attributes as male dominance, patriarchy, authoritarianism, and spousal abuse. Although both meanings connote strength and power, the Anglo macho is clearly a much more positive and appealing symbol of manhood and masculinity. In short, under current usage the Mexican macho oppresses and coerces women, whereas his Anglo counterpart appears to attract and seduce them. Traditionally most of the generalizations concerning Latino culture and Latino men were derived from research typically carried out by white men who lacked genuine knowledge and understanding of the cultural patterns they observed. See. Alfredo Mirandé, *Hombres Y Machos: Masculinity and Latino Culture*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1997, pp.19, 66.

[56] *Ibid.*, 41.

[57] *Ibid.*, 67.

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[58] Tommy J. Curry, *The Man-Not*, p. 142.

[59] Lawrence E. Gary, p. 10.