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The Spectacle of Black Violence: Historicizing Worldstarhiphop.com

One video on YouTube.com entitled *Ratchet Gas Station Fight* shows two girls standing at a gas station in front of a car arguing and they end up physically fighting; one is black and the other is white. The most interesting and rare part is that a friend turns around after trying to break the girls up, looks into the camera and begs for the cameraman to not videotape it. Although I have seen 60 videos of black men and women fighting¹ over the course of my research, this was the first time someone addressed the camera asking for the person to NOT film the fight. By addressing the camera, the girl acknowledged that this fight was not a show or spectacle, which many fights on Worldstarhiphop.com and YouTube.com have become. This phenomenon of blacks recording each other fighting has become a negative and normalized situation.

Worldstarhiphop.com is an online hub where people view videos of negative representations of blacks. These videos include sexual and violent content along with videos of destruction or looting by black people. We live in a society in which blacks have access to devices like cell phones, cameras and social media accounts which they use to freely express who they are and share it with the nation. Unfortunately, many blacks are using this freedom of access to portray themselves in a negative way, sometimes even in an illegal way. Not only do they portray themselves negatively, they also continue the cycle by exploiting each other and teaching the new generation of black children to do the same. This is more than just a spectacle; it has become a way for blacks to communicate with each other and express how they feel. I

¹ See Appendix for chart of videos and descriptions.

argue this freedom of negative representation is the result of a very long history of forced representation of Blacks, Africans, and African Americans. The forced representation I have studied are in the forms of museums, human zoos, and World's Fairs. These older forms of representation raise similar questions as do the freedom of negative representation exhibited by blacks today. For example: who controls the image of those on display? Is the representation negative or positive?

Part 1: Creating the "Other"

Many of us now understand why the term "colorblindness," when discussing race, is a problem; it discourages difference. Difference is actually not a bad thing; it should be celebrated not ignored, glossed over or exploited as it was in the 19th century. During that time, people tried to understand difference through a scientific lens; this only reinforced the belief that whites were superior and therefore non-whites were different and inferior. In museums, World's Fairs and human zoos, non-whites were exhibited as a spectacle for the entertainment and consumption of Caucasians. This way of "studying" different cultures created the "Other."

It is important to begin analyzing the negative representation of black people by analyzing the negative representations of minorities in the 19th and 20th centuries, since we have learned throughout history what representation means, why it is important, who gets represented and how they are represented. The American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) was founded by Albert S. Bickmore in 1869. Of course slavery and the colonization of other countries had already occurred before this time, but this Museum is an important factor for anthropology (a newly formed science at the time), as well as a factor in the exhibiting of "Others" and the introduction of anthropology to the American people. There were many opinions on what the Museum's true purpose and intention should be. The major arguments were entertainment versus

science. Morris K. Jesup, the president of AMNH in 1892 said its purpose was to provide “recreation, entertainment and education which serves to elevate and ennoble their life and character” (Griffiths 7). According to Jesup, the original purpose of the museum was to teach people about cultures outside of their own, while also allowing visitors to be entertained. It did not take long though for the numbers of people in attendance to become more important than the purpose itself. The museums needed to “entertain” their visitors which began the process of exploiting and presenting the “Other” in a more visually pleasing manner. Even the AMNH director of 1917, Frederic A. Lucas, said: “when we are competing with every form of amusement in the city it is harder to get an audience” (Griffiths 6). Already, we can see a shift from the visitors of museums being “taught” (according to Jesup) and being entertained/observant (according to Lucas). This shift is important because it affected the way statues and wax figures, (which represented the different cultures), and eventually live people, were to be viewed. Instead of learning from other people’s differences, the purpose of the museum shifted to observing and judging other people’s differences. Still, while people worked on trying to make the Museum more amusing, others focused on the experience each visitor was *supposed* to have inside. Alfred Wallace wrote in an article in 1869 called *Museums for the People*, that the largeness of the Museum along with the vast number of objects distracts visitors so much so that they continually look for the next object, losing focus on just one. (Griffiths 13). Along the same line, Thomas Greenwood proposed in 1888 that the Museum should implement “folding screens” so visitors can literally immerse themselves into the object in front of them without being distracted by objects and people in their peripheral view; this way, visitors almost forget they are in a museum (Griffiths 13). This tension with trying to *present* the “Other” is

what started a long history of forced representation. This is how we shift from wax figures to live bodies which were used to *perform* for everyone to see.

The French film entitled *Venus Noire (Black Venus)* (dir. Abdellatif Kechiche, 2010) told the true story of Saartje Baartman or ‘Sarah.’ She was a Khoikhoi woman born in Eastern Cape of Africa in the late 1700’s. At the age of 16 she was sold into slavery and was moved to Cape Town. On October 22, 1810 she signed a contract to travel with William Dunlop and Hendrik Cezar, two Englishmen that said she would tour with them for five years not only as a servant but an entertainer.



Image 1: Venus Noire 2010. Screen Grab.

She traveled with them for several years as an oddity because of the shape of her body which Europeans were not used to. In 1814 she was sold to Reaux and traveled in Paris with him as her “trainer.” During the shows he would order her around to perform certain dances, often half-naked, and other activities, the same one would with a pet. The movie made it clear that the “trainer” had power over the knowledge of the audience. The reaction of the audience matched the words of the trainer. He exhibited Sarah as an animal, so that is how the audience saw her. When she did something well, the trainer asked the audience to applaud or cheer to get her to do

more. In Sarah's case and cases like hers in which minorities were exhibited in front of a majority white audience, the way to view African women was *taught*.

Similar to the small fairs and shows Sarah performed in, World's Fairs created debates on how different cultures should be represented. In her book *Wondrous Difference*, Alison Griffiths wrote that "If anthropology sought to foster greater understanding of world cultures and sow the seeds for a more relativist understanding of cultural difference, the context in which it attempted to carry out this mission was hardly conducive for this kind of learning" (Griffiths 47-48). As Griffiths shows, some anthropologists truly had good intentions for "studying" other cultures; the problem was how it was brought about and the easy access non-anthropologists had to these other cultures to exhibit them in any way they chose. For example, in Sarah's case, Reaux, Dunlop and Cezar found a way to profit off of her difference through entertainment, whereas when Sarah died, one professor used her same body which had at one point been on stage performing as a way to teach other white men about Sarah and her culture; (the professor used that opportunity to compare Sarah to other animals and compare her genital area to other white women's genital area, while at the same time trying to express that blacks and Africans do not deserve the inferiority and mal-treatment that has been forced on them). In this case, (and similar ones) some men wanted to truly learn about Sarah, although they went about it in the wrong manner; other men took Sarah and saw her as entertainment. This shows how easy it was for people to exhibit Sarah and project their beliefs about her to an audience; Sarah did not get to show *anyone* who she truly was, the audience only saw her as either a show or a study.

The same way it was easy for non-anthropologists to exhibit "Others" in any manner they chose, it is also easy for people to videotape, edit and distribute videos of blacks fighting so viewers see the fight the way the cameraman intended. For example, most of the videos of fights

on YouTube and Worldstarhiphop begin when the fights begin; we as viewers hardly ever know why the people are fighting. It allows the cameraman to control the image of the fighters. It is important to remember YouTube and Worldstarhiphop are free and accessible to anyone! Most of the time, these videos give free access for viewers to make comments, which gives a lot of room for those with racist opinions about the behavior of the fighters to be vocal about their opinion with the protection of anonymity. This is a very clear example of the racial superiority that people tend to feel when they have access to these types of videos and have been taught that the behavior in the videos is animalistic, rather than true human emotions being expressed. For example, sometimes the videos have the word “Bully” in the title, which allows viewers to try and figure out which fighter is the bully and which fighter is being bullied. It is easy to then characterize the fighters as either a victim or a culprit rather than in the case of other videos that show blacks yelling and fighting with the reason for the fight being unclear. When the reason is unclear, it is easier for people like the man below to characterize the fighters as “savage” because it seems they are fighting for no reason.

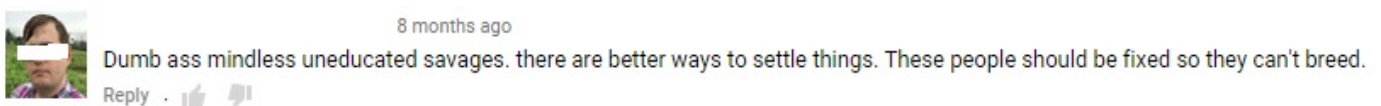


Image 2: Comment on YouTube.com for Girl Fight in Bronx NYC- Best Friend Steals IPod and Gets Beat Up

World’s Fairs attempted to successfully offer fun activities and rides while also offering scientific explanations. For example, at the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago the Anthropology Building was home to the Laboratory of Physical Anthropology in which Caucasians could walk through and view the *perfect* human measurements of other Caucasians, automatically comparing themselves to these measurements (Griffiths 49). This shows an obsession not only with minority bodies but with bodies in general, including white ones. The

difference in this case, is the white bodies are being studied for perfection, whereas the bodies of minorities are meant to expose and elevate this sense of difference compared to white bodies. Still, most of the time even the exhibits and activities meant for scientific study were made to entertain visitors. Griffiths says: "The object... was not to understand Brazilian culture but to perform it...the spectacle of the "Other" that is thus celebrated and observed in passing" (Griffiths 53). This is the problem with the World's Fairs of the 19th century; how do you take something seriously like studying other cultures, when it is right next to a game or ride meant for fun? It is now normal to view violence, especially the violence of minorities, online; and for many people it is actually *fun*. This lack of seriousness is what contributed to the idea that minorities were inferior to whites and therefore can be treated as less than them. Griffiths even says it was not rare for visitors to shout racial slurs and become violent towards the people being exhibited (Griffiths 63).



Image 3: George Dawson, "St Giles Fair Box", Oxford, photograph, 1898. *The Invention of the Savage: Human Zoos*

P.T Barnum is a great example of taking the serious act of studying cultures and turning it into an event meant for fun. He was one of the most famous exhibitors, known across America for his Greatest Show on Earth. Two of his shows in 1883 "Congress of Nations" and

“Ethnological Congress” presented “genuine ethnological curiosities” with “representatives...from every accessible people, civilized and barbarous, on the face of the globe” (Griffiths 55). One of his exhibits within these two shows was titled: “100 Uncivilized, Superstitious and Savage People.” He not only exhibited minorities but also dwarves, bearded women, a tattooed man and more. It is hard to imagine what Barnum meant by “civilized” when he capitalized on the “uncivilized.” Since Barnum ‘collected’ so many different types of people with different backgrounds and body types, he created a sense of what is defined as “normal.” white Americans, with “normal” body types were excluded from being “different” which means there was no reason to exhibit “normal white Americans.”

Technology also played a role in differentiating serious scientific study and exhibits meant for fun. The 1893 Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition held two different viewing technologies; one was the peephole kinetoscope designed by Thomas Edison and the other was a projection of “animal motion studies” by Eadweard Muybridge. Edison’s kinetoscope was initially designed for entertainment; a person could look through the peephole and see flashing images of man’s body or a short film, for example. Muybridge’s projection of large animal and human bodies in motion was meant for scientific study.

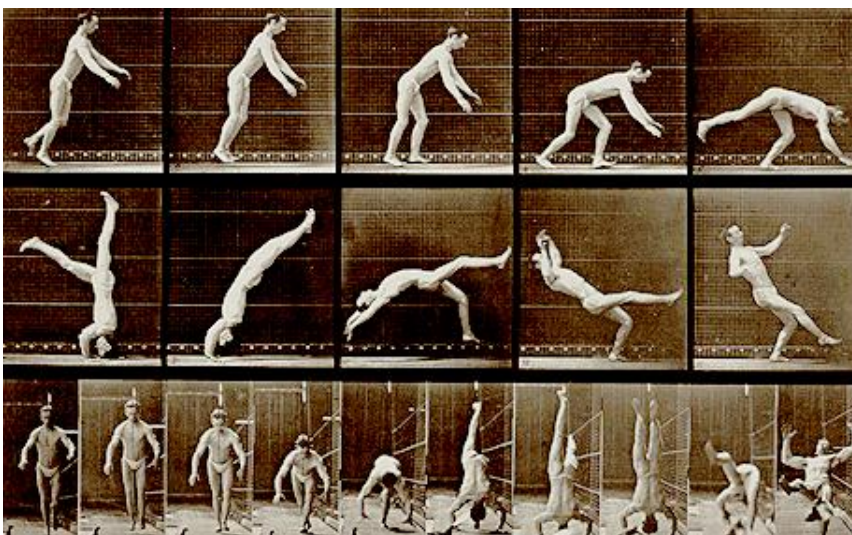


Image :4 Eadward Muybridge. Action: detail from Eadweard Muybridge's 'Head-spring, a Flying Pigeon Interfering.' www.telegraph.co.uk, 2010.

During this fair, however, the two switched the purpose of their machines; Edison's became more scientific whereas Muybridge's giant photographs became forms of entertainment. Edison's kinetoscope could only be used by one person at a time; entertainment is supposed to be enjoyed as a group, which is why Muybridge's photos were considered *entertaining*. Since his photos were so large, more than one person could view them. Muybridge's photos of large bodies is a good example of this stressor of body study during that time. The men in the photographs were sometimes fighting; one could see the movements of the body clearly. Both the men and women in these pictures were half or nearly-naked to emphasize their bodies.

This body obsession expressed through Muybridge's photographs, especially with women, can be seen in videos today on YouTube and Worldstarhiphop. In a YouTube video called *Ghetto Girl Fight on the Street*, a crowd gathers and cheers as two black girls fight each other. One of the fighters had a short, tight dress that raised above her butt revealing her underwear during the fight. The woman filming made sure not only to show that in the video, (at one point she even pans the camera from the fighter's faces to their butts to show they are still undressed), but at one point she even tells the girl, "Yo yo, your booty showin'." It was clear seconds after the video started that her underwear was showing, yet the camerawoman made sure to say that so we as viewers remember that while watching the fight. This is a clear example of the emphasis put on bodies, especially bodies of minorities in movement. This is a pattern I found in many of the videos online; in fact most of the videos in which "the body" was emphasized or mentioned in the title portrayed *women* fighting. It is important for viewers to see the movement of *both* the male and female bodies during these fights as well as the sounds of the hits; *but* when there are women fighting, the body is often discussed. This same phenomenon of body obsession for women is reflected within the lives of Sarah and William Henry Johnson.

Johnson, a.k.a Zip, was exhibited in the “What Is It?” show in 1860 run by P.T. Barnum.

Johnson was a Black man from the U.S. who was sold to P.T. Barnum at the age of four. He then began traveling with Barnum as the “missing link” (Blanchard 76). Barnum had him dressed in a fur suit, grunting, to make him seem even more animalistic. For scientists, the “What Is It?” show was a study that they took seriously, whereas for the common visitor, William, a.k.a Zip, was strictly entertainment². The way Sarah and William were exhibited were very different; William was actually dressed in a fur suit to cover his human body whereas Sarah was barely dressed in order to emphasize hers.



Image 5: YouTube.com, “Ghetto girls fight till naked in the park.” Screen Grab.

If the representation of minorities weren’t controversial enough, human zoos of the 19th and 20th centuries became popular, ending in the late 1950’s or 60’s. Zoos are typically meant for the enjoyment of the visitors to experience *animals* they do not interact with daily. *Human* zoos were created with the same concept in mind; millions, (possibly over half of a billion) visited

² There were many theories during the 19th century which attempted to explain race scientifically. The “What Is It?” exhibit provided many scientists the opportunity to discuss race further; comparing Johnson to the theories available at the time.

these zoos throughout Europe and even in New York³. They featured minorities from many different parts of the globe; any non-European/ white race was at risk of being exploited in these zoos. The zoos were constructed like miniature habitats to replicate the race of the people being exhibited in them. There were Moroccan villages, Indonesian villages, Senegalese villages and many, many more. The people in these zoos were paid and came of their own will, but that did not stop visitors from believing these caged people were of lesser value; it did not stop them from feeding them like animals or even yelling racist things to the people being exhibited.

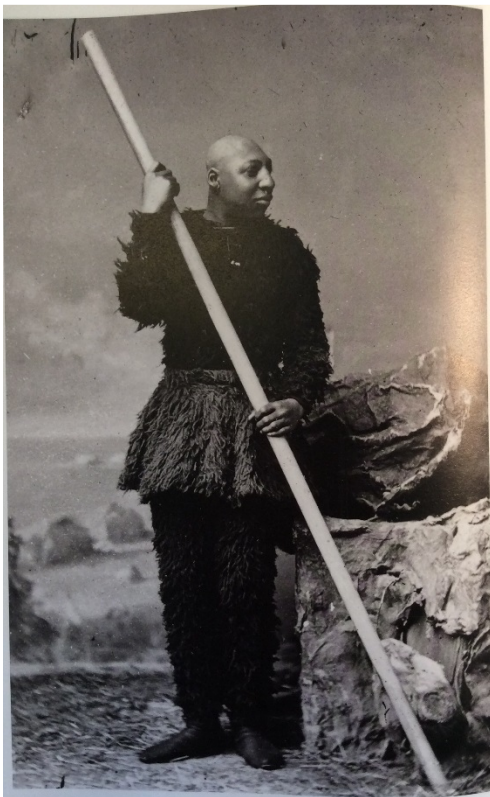


Image 6: Currier & Ives Lithograph, "What Is It?" location unknown, print, 1860

Museums, World's fairs and human zoos caused great tension with the representation of minorities. While some struggled trying to understand *how* minorities should be represented,

³ The first human zoo in New York was at the Bronx Zoo, possibly in 1906 featuring Ota Benga, a Congolese pygmy put on display with monkeys. Popularresistance.org

(entertainment or scientific), few challenged the need and appropriateness of representing minorities. It is clear what many anthropologists and entertainers had in mind when they chose to exhibit certain minorities; what needs to be discussed is how their choice to represent them in the manner they did affected black Americans. After doing extensive research, it is easy to see the surprising and yet obvious connection between museums, (in which wax figures of minorities were exhibited by white Americans), and Worldstarhiphop, (in which *black* Americans are choosing to negatively represent and *exhibit* each other).

Part 2: The Tension with Representation

Can you imagine going home and *seeing* your brother hanging in a tree dead? Or even walking up to a glass box and seeing your daughter dead? In both of these sad situations, the viewing of dead bodies was deemed *normal*. This section discusses the overlap and controversial issues that arose because of this body obsession humans developed. What is outlined in this essay is a history of spectacle abuse which was caused by the exploitation done to minorities. There is no doubt that minorities were affected by this. Many blacks took this abuse as fact and allowed it to determine and define their character. This is why we have Worldstarhiphop today in which blacks are choosing to represent themselves as aggressive, which is what whites and Europeans were taught they were.

From the museums to Barnum's shows, it is clear to see humans naturally had a fascination with bodies in general. Barnum's bodies came in different races, heights and forms. The bodies in the museums and the perfect bodies in the exhibitions were constantly on display. Even Muybridge's bodies were enlarged and displayed so everyone could see the different movements of the body. Even stranger was The Morgue, which was built in Paris in 1864; its purpose was for the public, friends and families to try and identify bodies of those who had

passed but they were unsure of who they were. At first, people would line up and view the body one by one. It then turned into an event, similar to a fair, with (at one point) over 150,000 people visiting on especially important days (Schwartz 298). Its design for spectacle allowed the Morgue to be known as a theater and a very popular location in Paris (Schwartz 299). The Morgue literally presented bodies as a spectacle; what makes this event so unique from the other representations of bodies was the fact that the bodies in the Morgue did not move, dance, or perform; they simply sat or lay there with pale faces. This is unlike the videos today, for example, in which Blacks are fighting each other; the emphasis in these videos is on the movement of the bodies and the sound of the hits or slaps. This really shows that people's mindsets during that time were focused on studying bodies in general; it was one thing to see the bodies perform like Sarah or offer a theoretical explanation like William, but to have these bodies, mainly *white* bodies, sit there and not perform proves that going to these types of events was more about what the *viewers* got out of the performance/display, rather than what the performers could *teach* the viewers.

I have already briefly discussed the racial slurs visitors would yell to the performers in the human zoos; this vocal expression is similar to the comments that are often beneath the videos of blacks fighting. Under each video, there is almost always a racist comment. The comments are usually about blacks being subhuman because they are fighting each other and behaving in what they consider to be an animalistic manner. For example, there is one video of two little black girls fighting⁴. They weren't serious, in fact they were smiling; but it was clear they knew what a fight between two black girls should look like because they used similar moves found in other videos of girls fighting. Although this display of a new generation of fighters and exploiters deeply saddened me, the comments under the video are worse. One person was truly

⁴ See Appendix for description of video *Little Girls Fighting*.

angry that they were playing; she wanted to really see the girls “go at it”. Another viewer brought up the point that the girls were not even fighting; they were simply “grabbing each other.” She then noted that the girls are “cute” but they “CANT FIGHT” as in they should not fight because they are young and innocent girls. Finally, one commenter questioned why we were encouraging girls to fight like this in the first place. These three commenters represent the diverse opinions found under these videos. Some, like the last person mentioned, understand that not only should these girls *not* fight but these girls should not be *encouraged* to fight. What was interesting about the first commenter who was angry about the lack of “fight” in the video was she distinguished this video from others like it by saying the video of the little girls was a “performance” rather than a real fight. The terrifying thing is this woman was *hoping* to see these little girls truly fight. Finally, there is the person in the middle who acknowledges that they do not consider the girls really fighting, then tells them they are cute (presumably because they are play-fighting) then says they should not fight at all. This is the result we have after spending centuries being entertained by “Others” in museums, world’s fairs, human zoos and lynching shows; these videos could be made for educational purposes but instead are made and therefore consumed for entertainment.



Image 6: Comment on YouTube.com for Little Girls Fighting.

There are also similarities between the showmen and trainers during World’s Fairs and the cameraman of the videos on Worldstarhiphop. Both have power over the knowledge of the audience/ viewers. Most of the videos on Worldstarhiphop always begin when the fight begins.

There is hardly ever a narrative to explain why the two people are fighting. Because the cameraman did not make that knowledge accessible to us as viewers, we are left to understand and process what s/he has given us; which we process as entertainment. If the cameraman were to explain why the two people are upset with each other it would then be easier to see them as humans who are angry and hurt rather than two “animals” fighting just to fight. Instead, what we have are videos where the cameraman is unseen, most of the time, but is almost always heard, encouraging the fight to continue or encouraging the fighters to hit harder. The video *Ugly Hood Fight Tondefworld.com*⁵ shows several girls fighting and the viewer can clearly hear the camerawoman say to “whip dat hoe ass.” Again, we, the viewers, have no clue why the women are fighting and why the camerawoman is rooting for a specific girl. This is almost an exact replica of the kind of shows during World’s Fairs and the knowledge the audience was given and left to process. During the World’s Fairs, the audience gained the knowledge that was taught to them. It is very unlikely they felt the need to search out for the truth of these representations. That means they understood the shows to be true. The title of the shows during World’s Fairs are also very similar to what we can find on Worldstarhiphop today. Titles of exhibits like “What Is It?”, “Krao The Missing Link” (a young girl from Thailand was exhibited as the missing link between humans and monkeys), or “Samoa Tour” all tell you what to find and what to gain within each show or exhibit. In the “What Is It?” show, the audience is expected to question what they are looking at and try to figure it out. In the “Samoa Tour”, viewers are expected to find Samoans in their “natural habitat.” These titles are similar to the ones today: “Another Fight In The Hood” “Worldstar!!!! B*tch Gets Beat With A Blowdryer” and “Savage: This Guy Continues Attacking Dude After Knocking Him Out & Causes Him To Have A Seizure.” They are all titles of videos on YouTube or Worldstarhiphop featuring black people fighting each

⁵ See Appendix for chart and description of video 6.

other. Each title above tells the viewer what they should look for or find special about that particular video. During World's Fairs and today we, as viewers, are not supposed to attend those shows or watch these videos hoping to learn. In spite of the title, visitors did not go on the "Samoa Tour" to learn about the way of life of Samoans and hope to gain knowledge; they went on that tour to see people and even mock people who were different than them. This is clear because of the way minorities were presented; audience members were intrigued with the difference of minorities and clearly felt superior (since they would feed people in human zoos as well). This is the same as the videos today; we are not meant to learn how to fight or defend ourselves, neither are we supposed to watch those videos hoping for a good story with a fairy-tale ending or to feel sympathy for the "loser" of the fight. We are supposed to watch those fights to be entertained and even mock how ridiculous the fighters look. While judging the fighters, viewers are also subconsciously judging the *movement* of the bodies in the videos. For women, it is noted if her body shows more than usual during the fight, for men the force and power of the hits matters more.

Part 3: "Well we fooled 'em for a long time, didn't we?"

William Henry Johnson, a.k.a Zip, a.k.a "What Is It?" continued to perform in the exhibit until his death in 1926; he was eighty-two years old. It is believed that while on his deathbed he said to his sister: "Well, we fooled 'em for a long time didn't we?" Interestingly enough, William said this allowing us to assume *he* had power over his image because he willingly performed.

The other factor of this kind of spectacle abuse, (now found through Worldstarhiphop), is the race of the cameraman; s/he is most likely black, which calls into question the seriousness this phenomenon should be given if blacks themselves seem to perpetuate this stereotype. This

section explains how the effects of forced representation caused blacks to take responsibility over the way they represent each other. Although it may seem blacks had that kind of freedom, the racist system that continued to develop after the human zoos had already affected the way they saw, and continue to see, each other.

Blacks have been taught for centuries what they are and how they should be treated and represented. When you hear something long enough, you begin to believe it of course. This isn't the case for every single black person; there are some who understand their value and understand better ways to communicate and represent themselves. So if there are Blacks who understand this, why does this cycle continue? First, The chapter *Negroes Laughing at Themselves?* In the book *Migrating to the Movies* by Jacqueline Najuma Stewart gave really great points about what caused and affected black spectatorship. Stewart argues that blacks tried to "reconstitute and assert themselves" (Stewart 94), when it comes to the racist social cinema system. She said one of the factors of the negative black spectatorship was the expectations blacks had for one another; this was obvious during the Great Migration to Chicago from 1916 to 1919; Black migrants from the South poured into Chicago at very high rates. The blacks that were already established clashed with the new migrants who had a different background and upbringing being in the South. Chicago began implementing social rules to keep the new migrants in order and out of the way of the whites as well as save the social status of the blacks who were already established there (Stewart 99-100). This type of rule could be seen in the theaters; whites often complained about the "smell" of blacks and had them moved to the back of the theater. Stewart argues that being physically "segregated" interrupted the cinematic experience for blacks, an experience that whites had access to (Stewart 108). This is an example of the many social rules

that told Blacks, especially new migrants, where they belong in society, causing tension between black people.

First we have expectations among blacks, (from other blacks and whites) then we have fear. The book *African American Childhoods* by Wilma King explained how children were affected by the violence they saw for years even after slavery was abolished. We have heard of lynching, shootings and all of the ways some whites attempted to trick and kill blacks for very minor offenses; what I did not consider were the feelings and possible psychological damage children had after living with this kind of fear. I did not think about the strong possibility of a Black person being murdered every day and children watching. King wrote about one young Black male who was blamed for molesting a little girl (who had been bribed by her older brother to say that). He was taken by a mob, hung, and then shot at even after he was dead (King 151). The mob had called their various friends and family to *watch* the murder. A young Black boy around the same age was forced to watch the murder as well; his parents said he could barely sleep and would sometimes wake up screaming. Another story she explained was of three white girls and two black boys who were playing a kissing game; they were very young. People were angry with this and had the boys thrown in jail. While in jail, the officers beat them and dressed up like the Ku Klux Klan to terrorize them (King 149). I have known about the KKK but I never knew about the small ways people used the KKK to terrorize blacks. I am sure there were endless stories of blacks being threatened in various ways. King also gave the example of Millie Bates who saw the Ku Klux Klan kill her friend Dan. After they killed him and hung him in the tree, they would not let the family take him down; he hung there until his body fell apart (King 145). This is a kind of spectacle that people may not have gathered for but it was there 24/7, that way if a person wanted to see the body, it was available. Blacks were affected negatively by

these years of violence because it *happened to* them; they were the ones who were mentally and physically hurt. This chapter really made me think about the videos I'm watching; how did we go from whites enjoying the "spectacle" of death with blacks being forced to watch or *be* the spectacle to now, blacks enjoying and participating in the violence of each other? Whites had the privilege (throughout the years) to forget their past, especially since blacks did not always use their voice (or have the freedom to use it) to fight back and acknowledge what whites had done to them.

As it is in life, violence in media is normal for Americans. Sue Tait, author of *Pornographies of Violence* discusses the other forms of violence in media we are exposed to. She writes that, as a nation, we not only view and distribute images of violence in the form of black violence, we also see white violence. Her article analyzed the raw videos of war that are leaked online or the executions of hostages that are taped and distributed through different media forms. It specifically discussed the website Orgish.com which I would call the white version of Worldstarhiphop. Orgish.com is a hub for people to view horrible videos of death, suicide and other gore related images. It is referred to as gore porn because of the physical revulsion or pleasure a person gets when watching it. The same way a person physically reacts to porn, they can also physically react to gore; again, this is our fascination with bodies, which we find in film as well. The opening scene in *Venus Noire* is of a classroom filled with white men and a scientist or professor is at the front of the class talking about Sarah, who has died. He begins passing around her vagina in a jar to compare it to the European woman's vagina. The problem is when an audience is in place, they do not always receive the information the "teacher" may have intended. In the video *One on One Fight On A Court Ends With Respect*⁶ although the title

⁶ See Appendix for video 2 description.

suggests the fighters should be applauded or celebrated because they respect each other in the end, the video is still all about the fight, which is what many will focus on while watching the fight as well. The professor was trying to prove that no matter what differences Sarah had compared to European women and men, she and other blacks and Africans still deserved equality. However, it would be challenging to accept that since the professor spent the majority of his time comparing Sarah to European women and animals. Similarly, some argue Orgish.com is a hub in which people can face the horrible *realities* of death. Yet, most of the viewers treat it as a space for entertainment, not life lessons. Again, the teachers and distributors may have one thing in mind in regards to how their content should be discussed yet that does not control the audience's reactions and beliefs based on the information given. As much as some may try to change the discourse regarding certain subjects (in this case, violence), there will always be others who see violence as only one discourse; something meant for entertainment. This is partially because we have been taught to view certain *types* of violence as entertainment and others as repulsive. For example, a fight between two strangers may be entertaining but the death of a loved one should be respected and mourned.

The representation of blacks in later films during the 80's were not as forced; many actors and actresses chose to take some of the stereotypical roles they were given for various reasons, but that did not mean they were oblivious to what was happening with race in Hollywood. The film *Black Hollywood: Blaxploitation and Advancing an Independent Black Cinema* by Reggie Nashville was a documentary with interviews of many black Hollywood actors and actresses during the 80s. They discussed what it was like to be a black person in Hollywood during their time. They brought up interesting situations that mirrored what is happening today with the representation of black youth. The women talked about how they were

chosen to play these characters with stereotypical roles. Rosalind Cash admitted that as a teen she often played prostitutes in films but also said, black women would *accept* those kinds of roles and then see themselves on TV and feel embarrassed. She said the roles black women had were prostitutes, gang bangers and very uncomely characters. This is exactly what is happening in these videos of girls fighting. They sometimes undress themselves, assumingly making themselves more intimidating. They are loud and “unruly.” Sometimes they are aware of the camera and will look into it smiling. This tells me they are putting on a performance, acting in a way they know will please the camera and ultimately the viewers watching. Diahnne Abbott talked about how she would be turned down for roles because she is *too* attractive (she is light skinned). This tells me the way people want to see blacks *represented* is very strict; they have to be clearly black, dark skinned or brown skinned. The negative representation of blacks is reserved for brown and dark skinned people where there can be a clear distinction between white and black behavior rather than having people who do consider themselves black, although they are very light, can pass for white and therefore subconsciously say whites can behave this way too. Jim Brown believes the only reason black people are together in America is because of discrimination and if there wasn’t discrimination there would be no reason to stick together. He says we are missing our true culture; we don’t have a grandfather to tell us who we are and where we come from and what we do. We don’t have this anymore because of the breaking and mixing of families and tribes during slavery. He also said we then began to divide among our own race; light skinned versus dark skinned people. He said there were black colleges in the South in which in order to be accepted, applicants had to send a picture to the school and would be accepted if they had lighter skin and “good hair.” All of this is going against the unity we need in order to have a better community of support and representation. It also shows the kind of

representation some blacks were taught; lighter is better; with different shades and races comes different expectations in behavior.

Today, there is clearly an expectation for black people; both within the community and outside of the black community. In a YouTube video called “Squad, put em in a coffin,” Vonmar, a young black up-and-coming rapper from Chicago known as the “Internet Prankster” is seen destroying store property and pranking innocent bystanders. Vonmar has become infamous on social media by destroying store property, pranking people by grabbing their heads unexpectedly and finally performing his famous ‘Put em’ in a Coffin’ prank where he jumps back onto stocked tables or even sunbathing men while yelling “Put ‘em in a coffin!” Vonmar has been arrested repeatedly but this does not stop him from performing these “pranks.” He says he wants to be famous like the people from Jackass who were famous for pranking others. ‘Put ‘Em in a Coffin’ is a phrase that was popular for several months back in 2014, mainly among young, minority youth. Boys and girls walk into stores like Walmart or Target and have friends videotape them as they dive backwards into neatly stuffed boxes of store items creating a mess and causing destruction. In one video, a cashier threatened Vonmar saying he would call the police. This did not threaten Vonmar at all; in fact he told the cashier to call them and implied that nothing would happen because he is Worldstarhiphop famous. Vonmar clearly believes it is destruction and bad behavior that creates fame and because he specifically mentioned Worldstarhiphop, which is a hub for “everything” black culture, then he must believe for blacks, destruction and bad behavior causes fame. This is similar to William Henry Johnson’s situation; he and Vonmar are both willingly participating in this kind of performance although the difference is Johnson seemed to understand his performance was not a testament to his true character whereas Vonmar seems to really believe that type of negative behavior is what makes him black.

It would not make sense for blacks or anyone to glorify bad behavior unless they believed that was the way to communicate and represent who they are. As a result of being forced into exhibitions and World's Fairs, as well as being shown in human zoos for centuries, blacks did not have the opportunity to continue developing a good communal system in which they support one another. This lack of support meant blacks turned on each other to survive.

Part 4: Black Identity: Schooling Unnecessary Toughness

What this essay has revealed is a certain identity within the black community. It is clear they know how they are seen and therefore represent themselves the way they do, the same way Sarah and Johnson performed understanding they represented negative behavior for blacks and Africans. Loudness and aggressiveness may seem like a negative attribute to many people today, but for some blacks, it is a defense mechanism and a way to be bold and opinionated, which are both good qualities when used correctly. This identity blacks seem to have adopted raises serious questions about authenticity in the black community, especially among the black youth. Several authors have written on this black youth identity mainly with regard to school, (since school is the main area black youth interact daily with each other and other races).



Image 7: YouTube.com "Caught On Phone: 2 Arrested After Brawl Breaks Out At Randallstown High School Graduation In Baltimore + Aftermath!" Screen Grab.

Joy L. Lei, an assistant professor in the Department of Education and the Program in American Culture at Vassar College conducted research from 1997 to 1999 at a high school she called Hope High School on the Asian male population and the Black female population. Her article is entitled: *(Un)Necessary Toughness?: Those "Loud Black Girls" and Those "Quiet Asian Boys."* Lei's article suggests there is a mindset in which some of us, including myself at one point, subconsciously connect loudness with violence. I used to feel fear when I would *hear* black girls in the hall laughing or shouting loudly although there was no logical reason to connect the two. Lei interviewed Ms. Corwin, an ESL teacher at the school who said: "I think they're viewed as loud...large and loud" (Lei 162). The teacher's choice to add a physical word like "large" when discussing someone's voice says there is something physical about the voice. This only adds to the negative stereotype of black women since it seems many black women are loud. Lei also references Sue Jewell, author of *From Mammy to Miss America and Beyond*, who said: "the mass media has systematically portrayed cultural images of African American females based on myths and stereotypes that evolved during slavery, in which African American women represent the antithesis of white American conception of beauty, femininity, and womanhood" (Lei 163). This is why we view the videos on Worldstarhiphop in disgust, especially the black females in the videos; they are loud; yelling and cursing, which adds to their physical "largeness" which then becomes intimidating and "un-lady-like." It is easy for people who distribute the videos to label them "ghetto" and "ratchet" even though the videos are really portraying deep emotions of anger, sadness, and confusion. Our society has taught us, unfortunately, that loudness equals ratchet behavior instead of joy (black girls laughing in the hallways) or anger (blacks fighting each other in videos). One Black female student in Lei's study said loudness for

her meant being herself and having fun; she was not trying to be a nuisance or even intimidating, she was just trying to be authentic (Lei 164).



Image 8: YouTube.com “Netta Vs HunnyBun.” Screen Grab.

What these videos prove is many blacks, it seems, have adopted the negative stereotypes attributed to them. This can be seen in the screen grab above from the video *Netta Vs Hunnybun*, the woman in blue was okay fighting without her pants, (again as viewers, we don’t have a narrative), but in the video she had time to walk away and grab clothes and come back. In the black community, it seems more normal to finish a fight or engage in a fight than worry about the way you look during the fight. Erving Goffman wrote on how we interact with each other and the different decisions we make physically during the interactions to bring about certain results. He defines *face* as “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact” (Goffman 222). In the case of these fights on Worldstarhiphop, the boys and girls in the videos act in the way they are *expected*. They take on the identity in that particular situation, fighting, that they have been taught to take on; whether that is truly who they are or not. Goffman also says: “He may want to save his own

face because of his emotional attachment to the image of self which it expresses, because of his pride or honor, because of the power his presumed status allows him to exert over the other participants, and so on” (Goffman 226). This is where we can see a clash between identity and authenticity. Each time black youth fight, there is a high degree of saving face; each person wants to be the “winner” but it is assumed the desire to win stems from this pressure to sustain a certain identity, weakening the authenticity of the fight.

The camera weakens the authenticity of the black identity as well. When a person observes a fight and pulls out a camera they have immediately fed into the cycle and realize there is a pattern of behavior in that specific situation; this makes the fight a performance instead of a situation that has to be dealt with. Goffman also says: “When a person treats face-work not as something he need be prepared to perform, but rather as something that others can be counted on to perform or to accept, then an encounter or an undertaking becomes less a scene of mutual considerateness than an arena in which a contest or match is held” (Goffman 233). We, as viewers, often expect and even hope to see a “good” fight when we view videos on Worldstarhiphop or YouTube. What we do not expect is to see the true pain, emotionally, behind the fight; we are rarely given the reason the two people are fighting let alone the sadness the fighters have *because* of what was done to them, (talked about, cheated on, and lied to, etc.). For example, one video, *Another Fight in the Hood*⁷, shows two black boys fighting. The viewer does not find out until after the fight ends that one of the boys was fighting because someone stole the money he was going to use to buy his son shoes; that is a very logical reason to be angry. In this case, the viewers finally get to see this deep anger and sense of desperation; it is no longer a “ghetto” fight but rather someone defending their family. As for the camerawoman, she

⁷ See Appendix for video 30 description.

was still stuck on the idea that the two men were fighting; she made sure to record the fight and the crowd; at one point she even joyfully addressed her Mom who came outside to not only watch the fight but tape it as well. This is what Goffman was referring to when he discussed being “counted on” to perform; the camerawoman knew to pull out her phone and focus more on the physical fight rather than getting the truth of the fight, although it was finally revealed.

This shows a moral tension within the black community. We can assume that the woman recording the fight did not know why the men were fighting until he explained it; even if this were true, she did not change her tone when realizing the truth. This is because Pedro A. Noguera, author of *The Trouble with Black Boys...And Other Reflections On, Race, Equity, And The Future of Public Education* realized that this tension of identity within the black community begins with the black youth. He says: “Adolescence is often a difficult and painful period for many young people. And for young people struggling to figure out the meaning and significance of their racial identities, the experience can be even more difficult” (Noguera 5). Being black, (as well as other minorities), in America is something we are reminded of every day. When young minorities come to the realization that they are *minorities*, a.k.a different from everyone else, they then have to work to figure out what that means and which direction they want to take it in. If they try and be successful they may be called a traitor by their people and may even have to change who they are, (as Asia described earlier; she could not be herself by being loud because it disturbed people). Noguera also says: “John Ogbu and Signithia Fordham...argue that Black students and other “nonvoluntary minorities”...come to equate academic success with “acting White.” For these researchers, such perceptions lead to the devaluation of academic pursuits and the adoption of self-defeating behaviors that inhibit possibilities for academic success” (Noguera 9). A perfect example of these self-defeating behaviors would be the creation and distribution of

these videos. Those videos are about the black image/identity; they have nothing to do with success, (although the videos impact the success of the performers in some way).

Conclusion

It is impossible and unjust to view these videos as simply a “black” problem. We have to look at these videos through a historical lens in which we take what happened for centuries to minorities into consideration when thinking about why these videos exist. It seems, some people, even blacks are beginning to understand that these videos are a problem. One person on YouTube, created a video called *Love Thy Neighbor: or else. Ugly vicious Girls fight*. The video is almost three minutes long and shows a physical fight between two black women. It is not until the very end of the video that the publisher puts “Love Thy Neighbor” on the screen. His description of the video says “...Please Love each other people. Love is the best weapon in a fight. No one wins in the end.” It is safe to assume the publisher uploaded the video to make viewers aware that this phenomenon is a problem, but the publisher did not hide the identity of the women in the video and he also did not provide information on *why* this phenomenon is a problem. This means all he really did was provide viewers with *another* “ugly hood fight.” These videos have to be explained with historical context in order for people to understand why it should be viewed negatively. The history of forced representation through the exhibiting of “Others” in World’s Fairs, human zoos and even museums *greatly* affected minorities, mainly Black and African American people. The behavior shown in these videos continues to be taught today by black people to more black people which gives the illusion that blacks are the ones perpetuating the behavior. What really affected what we see today was the idea of difference; trainers in World’s Fairs and anthropologists in museums made it clear that there was a difference between minorities and whites/Europeans. Instead of celebrating this idea, many felt

superior, believing that difference equated to inferiority. The other factor is that our society trained many of us that in certain situations, loudness equates to aggressiveness which is then interpreted as inferior behavior. This is why we still see racist comments beneath the videos. This is a major problem. Although, everyone is entitled to express their emotions, the black women and men seen in these horrifying videos are trying to deal with a situation in which they felt they were wronged and so they react with violence. Fighting may not always be the best solution to deal with a problem, especially if the people involved did not try and discuss the issue first, *but*, taking advantage of a person in that type of frustrating situation that is portrayed in these videos, and then even talked about in a blithe manner is clearly something that history has taught many of us to do. There is also an issue with the sexist discourse towards the black *female* fighters; their bodies are discussed much more. The movement and shape of their bodies gives them their identities; if they are barely dressed and fighting then they are considered “ghetto” whereas a black man performing the same action may be considered “tough” or “a real man.” We have to remember to not force certain identities on people. These videos are very important to discuss and take seriously because it represents more than just an obsession with bodies; this is perpetuating a race issue in our country. We continue to exploit blacks and judge their behavior when this behavior is just the result of the kind of abuse blacks and other minorities endured. We take these videos as truth; many people believe blacks are aggressive and are dangerous, they also believe what they see in these videos on YouTube and Worldstarhiphop represent inferiority. We have to change our mindset on what negative behavior deserves, especially when we think of the history behind the behavior.

To try and combat this phenomenon, I have created a short video that quickly explains this history of forced representation and how it led to the freedom of negative representation

exhibited by black people through Worldstarhiphop. I plan to share this video through social networking sites so it can reach a broader audience and people will be aware of the harm this cycle of negative black representation is causing. Some have already attempted to make videos about this problem but they blame the black community rather than discuss the history that caused this. My video quickly explains the history that *caused* this problem. Explaining the history will allow people to understand *how* this phenomenon occurred and with this knowledge we will be able to fix this problem. *Knowing* what it really means to watch these videos will help people understand why they should not encourage the creation and distribution of these videos that only perpetuate negative stereotypes of black people.

Appendix: YouTube & Worldstarhiphop Videos Chart

Video Name	Location of Fight	Gender of Cameraman	Gender of Fighters	Cameraman Involved?	Crowd	Who vs. Who	Narrative	Winner
1. Wild For This: Guy Records a Silly Ratchet Fight	Neighborhood	Male	Female (2)	Yes (Visible, Comments, Interacts, Encourages Fight, Tries to Break it Up)	None	Enemies ?		Neither
2. One On One Fight On A Ends With Respect	Basketball Court	Male	Male (2)	Yes (Comments)	Large	Friends		Neither
3. Sometimes It Get Like That: Friends Square Up and Throw Some Crazy Hands In The	Road	Male	Male (2)	Yes (Encourages, Tells them how to fight)	Large	Friends		Neither

Middle of the Road (Fight Ends With Respect)								
4.Girl Fights Her Friend for Having Sex With Her Boyfriend	Bedroom	Male	Female (2)	Yes (Tells them not to grab hair)	Small/Personal?	Friends?		Neither
5.Ghetto Girls Fight Till Naked In The Park	Neighborhood	Male	Female (2)	Yes (Laughs, Tells others not to get involved?)	Large	Enemies ?		Yes
6.Ugly Hood Fight tonedefworld.com	Neighborhood	Female	Female (2)	Yes (Tells them what to do, what not to do)	Small/Personal?	Enemies		Yes
7.Netta Vs HunnyBun	Neighborhood	Female?	Female (2)	Yes (Going on Worldstar, makes comments)	Medium/Personal	Baby Momma ? Enemies ?		Yes
8.Group Fight at Union Station! Pt 2!	School?	Male	Male (many)	Yes (Laughing way too hard)	Large	Boy Group Enemies ?		Yes
9.Little Girls Fighting	Neighborhood?	Female	Female (2)	Yes (Tells them when to stop)	Small?	Friends? Sisters?		Neither
10.These Girls Fighting Over Shoes Really Tho!?	Neighborhood	Male	Female (2)	Yes! (Encourages them, shows camera blood)	Large?	Enemies		Neither
11.Black Girls Fighting in the Hood	School	Male	Female (many)	No, Comments Can't be heard by others?	Large	Girl Group Enemies ?		Neither
12.Midnight Vs Pillsbury	Street	Unsure	Female (2)	Unsure (Too many voices)	Large	Enemies ?		Yes
13.No F*cks Given: Kid Starts A Fight By Slapping A Dude's Girlfriend On Her ASS	Grocery Store	Unsure	Male & Female	No	Medium	Couple vs. Random Kids		Neither
14.Lights Out: Street Fight Turns Into A Mean Knockout!	Street	Male	Male (2)	Yes (Laughs, says he won't put on social media out loud)	Medium to Large	Enemies ?		Yes
15.Neighbor Street Fights Women			Female (2)		Small	Enemies		Neither
16.Girl Fight In the Middle of The Street YouTube	Street/neighborhood	Male	Female (2)	Yes (Shouts "worldstar" repeatedly)		Enemies		Neither
17.Caught on Cell Phone: 2 Arrested After Brawl Breaks Out At Randallstown High School Graduation in Baltimore +	Graduation	Female	Male (2)	Yes (Shouting)	Large	Enemies		No, are stopped before they can finish

Aftermath								
18. Savage: This Guy Continues Attacking Dude After Knocking Him Out & Causes Him To Have A Seizure	Parking Lot	Male	Male (2)	Yes (Comments)	Small	Enemies		Yes
19. Ratchet Fight Spoof	Neighborhood	Unsure	Male (2)	No	Small	Friends		Twerk Contest , No winner
20. Straight Up Hood Fight (2014)	Neighborhood	Male	Male (2)	Yes (says in beginning the camera is ready and he sees blood)	Small/Medium	Friends?	Narrative is given!	They Shake & End Fight
21. Juss Another Day IN The Hood (Fight!!!)	Neighborhood	Male	Female (2)	Yes (laughs, comments)	Gets bigger	Enemies	Narrative is given!	Yes
22. Hood Fight	Home	Male	Male (2)	Yes (laughs, comments)	Medium	Enemies	Narrative?	Neither
23. Bad Girls Club Fights	TV Show		Female s			Enemies		Neither
24. Worldstar !!!!! B*tch Get Beat With A Blowdryer !!!!!	Bedroom	Female	Female (2)	No	Small	Enemies		Yes
25. Bully Gets Beat Up	Playground	Female	Female (2)	Yes (Tells her how to fight)	Small	Enemies		Yes
26. Ratchet Girls Start Fighton Subway With The Wrong Guy	Subway	Unsure	Male & Female	No	Medium	Enemies / Stranger		Yes
27. Ratchet Gas Station Fight	Gas Station	Unsure	Female (2)	Yes (Comments)	Medium	Friends?		Neither
28. Ratchet Black Men and Black Women Fight Neighbors Acting Hood And Ghetto	Neighborhood	Male	Males and Female s	Yes (Comments cannot be heard)	Large	Enemies ?	Narrative is given by Cameraman ?	Neither
29. Hood Fight 2v1 - Daytona Beach Fight!	Street	Male	Male (2)	Yes (Comments cannot be heard)	Small	Friends		Yes
30. Another Fight In the Hood	Neighborhood	Female	Male (2)	Yes (laughs, comments)	Medium	Enemies	Narrative is given!	Yes
31. Hurt em: Man Gets Hit With A Quick 8 Punch Combo On A Bus In Philly	Bus	Male	Male (2)	Yes (laughs)	Medium	Enemies / Stranger		Yes
32. Girl Fight in Bronx NYC- Best Friend Steals IPod and Gets Beat Up	Neighborhood	Male	Female (2)	Yes (comments, adds sound effects)	Medium	Friends	Narrative given	Yes
33. 2 Girls Scrap After Eating Some Kung Pao Chicken In The Resturaunt	Restaurant	Male	Female (2)	No, (but turns the camera so we see him)	Small	Enemies ?		Neither
34. New Orleans Strippers Fighting	Street	Unsure	Female (2)	No	Medium	Enemies		Neither
35. Ghetto Girl Fight On The Street	Street	Female	Female (2)	Yes, (Comments on the	Medium	Enemies ?		Neither

				woman's butt showing)				
36. Best Girl Fight Ever	Street	Female?	Female (2)	Yes (Tells others to not get involved?)	Gets bigger	Enemies ?		Neither
37. Ratchet Fight in White Castle	Restaurant	Male	Female (2)	No (Comments after leaving?)	Small	Enemies / Stranger		Neither
38. Two Ratchets Fight at McDonalds!	Restaurant	Male (White)	Female (2)	No	Small	Enemies / Stranger		Neither
39. Love Thy Neighbor or else: Ugly Vicious Girls fight	Street	Male	Female (2)	No, (but turns the camera so we see him)	Gets bigger	Enemies		Neither
40. Two Boys Fight in Parking Lot	Parking Lot	Female?	Male (2)	Yes?	Medium	Enemies ?		Neither
41. Two Boys Fight in Bathroom	Bathroom	Male	Male (2)	Yes (Encourages, Tells them to fight)	Small	Enemies ?		Yes
42. Gaffney Fights	Park	Male	Male (2)	Yes (Comments)	Large	Enemies ?		Yes
43. Fighting After Da Spring Fest Dillon SC 2014	Street	Male	Male (2)	Yes (Comments)	Small	Enemies ?		No, are stopped before they can finish
44. Big Brawl in Jacksonville High School	Grocery Store Parking Lot	Male	Female (many)	Yes (Gives Commentary)	Large	Enemies ?		No, are stopped before they can finish
45. Damn: Customer Fights Barber For Pushing His Hairline Back!	Outside Barbershop	Male	Male (2)	Yes (Comments)	Small	Friends?		No, are stopped before they can finish
46. When Talking Sh*t Goes Wrong: Dude Fights Guy Double His Size For Talking Smack on Facebook!	Outside	Male	Male (2)	Yes (Comments)	Small	Friends?		Yes
47. Gave em The Business: Dude Fights Off 4 Guys Trying to Jump Him!	Neighborhood	Male	Male (4)	Yes (laughs)	Small	Enemies / Stranger		Yes
48. 2 Girls Scrap Over Another Girl! (One of them Says F*ck Her Shirt and Fights Shirtless	Neighborhood	Male	Female (2)	Yes (Comments)	Large	Enemies		Neither
49. She Held Her Own: Tough Girl Survives Fight With Three Other	Neighborhood	Male	Female (4)	Yes (Comments)	Large	Enemies ?		Yes

Girls, Fights With One Eye Closed								
50. Bully Picks A Fight With The Wrong One & Suffers The Vicious Consequences	Neighborhood	Female	Female (2)	Yes (Comments)	Small	Enemies		Yes
51. Dude Catches A Beating After Starting a Fight	Street	Male	Male (2)	Yes (Breaks the fight up, laughs, comments)	Small	Enemies / Stranger	Narrative given	Yes
52. When the Bullies Gonna Learn?: Girl Picks the Wrong One and Gets Rocked Tryna Pressure This Girl To A One On One	Street	Female	Female (2)	Yes (laughs, comments)	Medium	Enemies		Yes
53. Lights Out: Dude Talking Tough And Asking For A Fight Gets Knocked Out!	Street	Unsure	Male (2)	No (comments can't be heard)	Medium/Large	Enemies ?		Yes
54. That's What You Get: Bully Gets Popped Starting A Fight With The Wrong Kid!	Classroom	Unsure	Male (2)	No (comments can't be heard)	Medium	Enemies ?		Yes
55. Crazy: Female Gets Rocked Into A Window After Spitting in Man's Face	Store	Unsure	Male & Female	No	Small	Enemies / Stranger		Yes
56. Boobie Don't Play: Dude Gets Rocked After Trying to Swing On His Homie!	Neighborhood	Male	Male (2)	Yes (Tells them to stop)	Medium	Friends		Yes
57. Whipped Out That Mace Tho (bullard high school)	School Bus	Male	Female (4)	Yes (Comments cannot be heard)	Medium/Large	Enemies ?		Neither
58. Memphis Fight (Foote Homes)	Neighborhood	Male	Female (2)	Yes (turns camera around so we see him, comments)	Large	Enemies ?		Neither
59. This Dumb Fight	Neighborhood	Female	Female (2)	Yes (Comments, encourages)	Small	Enemies		Yes
60. Funniest Schoo Fight	Classroom	Male	Male & Female	Yes (laughs)	Medium	Enemies ?		Neither

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