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A Companion to Latina/o Studies

Edited by
Juan Flores and Renato Rosaldo



"Chico, what does it feel like to be a problem?" The Transmission of Brownness

José Esteban Muñoz

What does it feel like to be a problem? This provocative line in W. E. B. Du Bois serves as an opening to consider the complexity of racial recognition, commonality, and belonging. Although the lines are familiar to most who have ventured to think critically about race and racial formations in the Americas, they are nonetheless worth citing:

Between me and the other world there is ever an unmasked question: unmasked by some through feelings of delicacy; by others through the difficulty of rightly framing it. All nevertheless flutter round it. They approach me in a half-hesitant sort of way, eye me curiously or compassionately, and then, instead of saying directly, How does it feel to be a problem? they say, I know an excellent colored man in town; or, I fought in Mechanicsville; or, Do not these Southern outrages make your blood boil? At these I smile, or am interested, or reduce to the simmer, as the occasion may require. To the real question, How does it feel to be a problem? I answer seldom a word.¹

This notion of "feeling like a problem" jumps off the page for African Americans and non-African Americans who consider themselves problematic subjects — subjects that are coded minoritarian in my analysis. Certainly feeling like a problem is about feeling apart, feeling separate. However, in the spirit of African American studies' interest in the nature of double-voiced discourse and Du Bois' own theory on double consciousness, one can also ruminate on the ways in which feeling like a problem is also a mode of belonging, a belonging through recognition. Thus feeling like a problem is a mode of minoritarian recognition. Rather than to map belonging through exhausted narratives of identity there may be, instead, considerable value in thinking about the problem of feeling like

a problem as not simply an impasse but, instead, an opening. Thus I aim to take two tracks – one considers what it means to feel like a problem, the other considers the problem of feeling itself and how it functions in relation to belonging and knowing the other through what Teresa Brennan, in a posthumous text, described as the transmission of affect. More specifically I am interested in making sense of a certain modality of what I will call intraracial empathic projective identification. The larger analysis this essay is culled from hopefully represents an opening in thinking, an opening in theory and, ideally, an opening in feeling.

This essay is also meant to dwell on a field of possibility, what I would call the series of relays between the affective spike of what Blackness meant and continues to mean within the historical field of US culture and what Brownness might mean today. This writing turns to the force of African American studies, especially the component of that discourse that participates in a larger radical Black tradition. I employ that hermeneutic in the field of Latina/o studies which, in my estimation, is still emerging. While I refer to Latina/o studies enquiry as emergent, I nonetheless see it vectoring towards positivism and the empirical. While the empirical has its place and utility, I nonetheless see it as crucial that the far-reaching questions and heuristics that we invoke under the name of theory be applied to the experience and particularity of US Latina/os.

The problem of being a problem resonates within recent Latina/o studies discourse. Suzanne Oboler, in her important interdisciplinary study *Ethnic Labels, Latina/o Lives*, describes the meaning attached to the label “Hispanic”:

While advertising and business concerns are actively seeking entry into what they perceive as a “lucrative Hispanic market,” Hispanics are simultaneously being categorized as “low-income people” who confront “unusual unemployment.” Indeed, Latina/os are increasingly associated with high numbers of school dropouts, rising teenage pregnancies, crime, drugs, AIDS, and other social ills of this society, leading the New York State Governor’s Advisory Committee on Hispanic Affairs to state, “As the full public hearings revealed, and this report describes, the situation of majority of Hispanics in New York State is extremely troubling. The same basic issues emerge again and again.”²

In this passage Oboler is mimicking the sociological apprehension of the problematic nature of the Hispanic. They are problems on at least two levels. How can Hispanics be an ideal niche marketing target and, at the same time, be riddled by crime, drugs, and AIDS? This troubling nature – this notion of being a problem – is nonetheless useful if one were to put hermeneutic pressure on the very category of Hispanic or Latina/o.

Identity is indeed a problematic term when applied to Latina/os – groups who do not cohere along the lines of race, nation, language, or any other conventional demarcation of difference. Latina/o identity itself is thus a problem. It is perhaps within this very status as problem that we can begin to understand the

particularities of the system of belonging and recognition that I am pointing to as Latinidad. To this end Du Bois' rhetorical parry – what does it feel like to be a problem – is worth attending to closely. I contend that feeling like a problem, and its commonality, may provide us with an understanding of what I call feeling Brown. Feeling Brown is my attempt to frame the particularity of group identification that temporarily displaces terms like “Hispanic” or even “Latina/o.”³

Patricia Gherovici, an Argentine psychoanalyst and Lacanian clinician practicing in Philadelphia's *barrio*, rejects the more politically palatable term “Latina/o” for the word “Hispanic.” In her fascinating study *The Puerto Rican Syndrome*, Gherovici critiques the current mental health protocols and institutions currently in place to help disenfranchised poor groups in urban areas like the one she herself works with. Her thesis, that the mental health system is concerned with merely suppressing the symptomology of larger social ills, is worth citing:

In the barrio one finds all the hurdles one can expect when dealing with marginalized groups: urban poverty, alcoholism, drug addiction, disintegrating families, and the most extreme violence, encountered on a daily basis and manifesting itself in the most aberrant forms. This community provides a privileged context to explore how the American community mental health model can apply. In most cases, services available to the Hispanic community are geared toward simple symptom suppression. The model is functionalist, based on the idea of correcting symptoms with the goal of helping – or even forcing – the patient to comply with the model of capitalist productivity.⁴

It is therefore to Gherovici's advantage that she uses the label “Hispanic,” a word that does not blend as easily into a multicultural diversity management paradigm as the concept of Latina/o. “Hispanic,” as a term inflicted on communities by the US Census, shows the seams of the systemic state violence that has attempted to classify groups like those she studies and reproduce them as proper cogs in a larger underclass service economy. I understand and admire the conceptual force behind the maverick analyst's linguistic choice, yet I resist this tactic because I find the category of Hispanic so politically repellant and worry that it disrupts the reparative work that Latina/o studies needs to do in relation to the different communities it attempts to address.⁵ But Hispanic, in her distinct and strategic usage, does once again foreground Latina/os' status as a problem, which is again, the point of this particular meditation, after Du Bois and for Latina/o studies. Indeed, what does it feel like to be a problem?

Feeling Brown, the idea of feeling Brown, is my attempt to begin to conceptualize this mode of belonging that elsewhere I conveniently index as the concept of Latinidad. But feeling Brown is the phenomenon that underwrites this particular concept of Latinidad that I am attempting to describe. Feeling like a problem, in commonality, is what I am attempting to get to when I cite and exercise this notion of feeling Brown. The terminology I am invoking squarely indexes the quasi-militant Brown Power movement which, modeled after Black

Power, peaked in the 1970s along with other US civil rights struggles like Red Power or Gay Power. While the Brown Power movement is for most a historical footnote, it nonetheless captures a certain political utopian aspiration that does not cleanse the stain of feeling like a problem in the manner in which the cultural detergent of weak multiculturalism does. It also connotes a sense of group identification that I find similarly efficacious. Feeling Brown is feeling together in difference. Feeling Brown is an "apartness together" through sharing the status of being a problem.

Feeling Brown refers to what I describe elsewhere as a *manera de ser*,⁶ a way of being in the world. This is not the same as being seen or perceived as brown. Similarly to the field of visual ethnic recognition, within the affective register there are indeed varied affective shadings within Brownness, whether it be different national experiences among Latina/os or types of colorism that are akin to the physical biases that exists within Blackness. The visual and the affective are different identificatory routes. One can feel very Brown and perhaps not register as Brown as the dark-skinned person standing next to one who is involved in the endeavor of trying to feel white. The reverse is probably more common. The memoirist Richard Rodríguez has used the word as an organizing trope in his book *Brown*.⁷ My project differs from Rodríguez's in several ways. Most significantly I understand Latinidad's Brownness to be historically situated, while Rodríguez is at some point prepared to consider the unshaven Richard Nixon of the Nixon-John F. Kennedy debates as "the Brown" candidate. Rodríguez's identification with Brownness is always mediated with ethnic/racial abjection. When I invoke the concept it is connected to historically specific affective particularity. Brownness registers as a mode of affective particularity that a subject feels in herself or recognizes in others.

This project then calls upon some psychological stratagems to offer a heuristic that is attuned to the place and particularity of minoritarian subjects within the social. Like Gherovici, I understand the underlining problem to be a capitalist ethic that attempts to "manage" groups through socially toxic and racist protocols. Multiculturalism, as many have explained, is the most recent attempt to deal with what we can identify – over a hundred years later, echoing Du Bois – as the problem of the color line.

As I proceed I should clarify that feeling Brown, the theoretical hermeneutic I am offering, is to some degree an internally conflicted term since I am more nearly speaking of affect than feeling. For example, I am persuaded by Teresa Brennan's description of the breakdown between affect and feeling. While she wrote that "there is no reason to challenge the idea that emotions are basically synonymous with affects (if more an evidently physiological subset) or that moods and sentiments are subsets referring to long lasting affective constellations,"⁸ affect's valence, as opposed to feeling, has a more energetic nature. This is to say that affect connotes a projection out, one's affect is transmitted and depletes or energizes the social sphere. Yet feeling Brown, for me, begins to get to the question of group identification, a concept that my interdisciplinary analysis

strives to address. Feeling is meant to index a communal investment in Brownness. Brownness is a value through negation, the negation projected onto it by a racist public sphere that devalues the particularity of non-Anglo Americans. This negation underwrites racialized poverty while supporting other asymmetries within the social. Owning the negation which is Brownness is owning an understanding of self and group as problem in relation to a dominant order, a normative national affect. Brown feelings are the glue that coheres group identifications.

Brown feelings are historically situated and while Brown in this analysis is linked to Latinidad, Brownness and its relation to Blackness is not simply about Latina/o group identification. Vijay Prashad takes another track in his book *The Karma of Brown Folks*.⁹ In that text he thinks through the place of another mode of Brownness, one more nearly associated with a model minority version of Brownness. Like me, Prashad turns to and restructures Du Bois' question to ask, in relation to South Asians in the US, what does it feel like to be a solution? Which is to say that in the US national imaginary the racist imagination frames South Asians in a radically different fashion. I nonetheless cite Prashad's different Brownness to point to the way in which group identifications play a larger role in the nation-state's understanding of normative national character or affect. While these Brownnesses mean radically different things on the register of difference, they both do the work of shoring up normative national affect through their deviations.

Group identification, as described by the Indian-born post-Klein theorist W. R. Bion, is crucial to this notion of feeling Brown.¹⁰ Bion's notion of projective identification, his unique elaboration on Klein's formulation, especially his description of emphatic projective identification that is almost directly oppositional to the psychotic's projective sadism, is key to understanding Brown feelings. Projective identification, a concept whose initial formulation was suggested in the work of Melanie Klein, was primarily a primitive defense employed by the subject to cast off aspects of the self that were toxic. This notion in Klein, perhaps one of her most popular contributions to psychoanalysis, described the mechanism in which the infant dispelled aspects of the self, "bad feelings" (hate, envy, greed) onto the other.¹¹ In its initial articulation the mechanism known as projective identification linked to pathological practices, most specifically a sadism arising out of what is known in Kleinian thought as the schizoid/paranoid position. Most often it has been associated with negative personality traits. In Lacan's project, one that emphasized the oedipal in ways that Klein resisted, projection is always neurotic. Bion described another moment, a secondary moment after the abnormal and sadistic aspects of projective identification. He termed this moment normal projective identification, which he understood as being related to empathy, what he called putting oneself in the other's shoes. It is this notion of emphatic projective identification that I find most useful when describing the coherence of groups and the transmission of affect that facilitates modes of belonging. There is something innately emphatic about this shared affective construct that I am calling Brownness, this response to a

certain negation within the social that corresponds to this question of feeling like a problem.

Much has been written about the *The Souls of Black Folk's* structure of address. The text is indeed a call for white sympathy, since it addresses a white liberal subject who is potentially receptive to the idea that the color line is indeed the structuring antagonism of the twentieth century. But, following Bion and others, I read the text as performing a secondary function that is not a call for interracial sympathy but, instead, the work of elaborating intraracial empathy. That is precisely the use value of *The Souls of Black Folk* here and now and within the context of Latina/o studies and the project of imaging and elaborating a politics of Black feeling. The *souls* of black folks are plural. Du Bois described Blackness via the metaphor of soul – thus rendering the African diaspora as a less than corporeal entity. This depiction resonates alongside the then nascent idea of the psychic.

At this particular moment, when, as I have argued, Latina/os and Hispanics are described as sociological problems, it seems that imagining a psychic life that is structured around intraracial projective empathy is especially a boon. Antonio Viego's work on psychoanalysis and its potential utility for Latina/o studies is of exceptional importance on this front. In his book *Dead Subjects: Towards a Politics of Loss in Latino Studies*, Viego makes the argument that the concept of Latinidad must attend to the mostly neglected realm of the psychic if it is to ever offer a useful diagnosis of the contest between self and other that structures the social and consolidates identitarian categories.¹² More specifically, Viego has argued for the use value of a Lacanian understanding of the subject which does not make the same mistakes as American ego psychology, a mode of psychology that posits the potential for a therapeutic conclusion to analysis based on the principle of a whole subject. He persuasively argues that

We need to question further the assumption that the solution to psychological trauma should be to fill out the ego more, plug up the holes, amplify and lengthen its reach. Minoritized folk, in particular, too often instantiated as lacking in the social, must learn to imagine alternative ways of making life pleasurable, tolerable – new ways of accessing the dialectical movement of desire, without being convinced that building the ego's defenses is the answer.¹³

The counsel offered by this Latina/o studies psychoanalytic thinker is key to the project of imaging Brown feeling. Being “instantiated as lacking” is indeed the condition of Brownness, which is the condition of feeling like a problem. This status of “problem” cannot simply be projected out, dismissed, dumped on the other. Indeed, a more reparative move is required, which is, more nearly, holding on to the problematic, fractured, and negated status of self within the social and working through such a position, striving to find new ways of living in the world that are pleasurable, ethical, and indeed “tolerable.” I am not suggesting that one needs to simply disavow one's status as injured or traumatized by

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the state, or that one simply give up on imagining political transformation. More nearly, I am suggesting that we be attentive to the psychic vicissitudes of our belonging in difference, which I describe as feeling Brown, and working through that position, not grasping for an ego ideal that, as Viego explains, always leaves us disappointed.

A "group investment" in Brown feeling requires a certain transmission as affect and this happens through various sensory circuits. In Du Bois the most pertinent example is that of the sorrow songs. The sorrow songs are those songs sung by slaves that, on one level, painted a picture of happy servants and the salvation promised by servitude and God. Yet Du Bois' reading practice, which has been this essay's interpretive compass, reads these songs for meaning that is not manifest on the level of content but, instead, on the level of affect:

What are these songs, and what do they mean? I know little of music and can say nothing in technical phrase, but I know something of men, and knowing them, I know that the songs are the articulate message of the slave world. They tell us in these eager days that life was joyous to the black slave, careless and happy. I can easily believe this of some, of many. But not all the past South, though it rose from the dead, can gainsay the heart touching witness of these songs. They are the music of unhappy people, of the children of disappointment; they tell of death and suffering and unvoiced longing toward a truer world, of misty wandering and hidden ways.¹⁴

I step from these lines in Du Bois and turn to my own "archive of feeling," to invoke Ann Cvetkovich's useful phrase.¹⁵ Within my own fragmented memory narrative that I call upon to understand my connection to some of my nodes of communal belonging, which are belongings in feeling, a particular moment resonates powerfully for me: an early televisual representation of Brownness in the form of the television program *Chico and the Man*.

Airing on NBC from September 1974 to July 1978, *Chico and the Man*, starring Freddie Prinze and Jack Albertson, was set in the *barrio* of East Los Angeles. *Chico and the Man* was the story of two men from radically different cultural backgrounds who grew to respect each other. Chico, the enterprising young Chicano, was determined to go into partnership with cranky, sarcastic, cynical Ed Brown. Ed's character resonated alongside the racist humor/racist as object of humor paradigm pioneered on CBS's *All in the Family* through the character of Archie Bunker. Ed operated a small, run-down garage and spent most of his time complaining and alienating people. Chico cleaned up the dilapidated garage, making it into a functional business. He moved into a beat-up old truck in the garage. His efforts brought in new customers. Chon Noriega has suggested that the show transformed the concurrent Chicano movement into a "domestic comedy located in someone else's house-cum-business."¹⁶

The role of the Chicano Chico was played by the troubled Puerto Rican comic Freddie Prinze. Prinze, who eventually took his own life, grew up in poverty and

struggled with drug addiction and mental illness until his death. Indeed, he perfectly embodies the figure of Latina/o as problem that I have described at the beginning of this essay. While the show's troubling premise and Prinze's tragic iconicity shadow this, the explication of the transmission of Brown affect hinges on the application of a Du Boisian sonic filter as applied to the show's theme song. The *Chico and the Man* theme song was recorded by the Puerto Rican born folk/pop crossover artist José Feliciano. The tune functions for me as a sonic equivalent to a screen memory. The song's content, on the level of narrative, is somewhat uplifting. The lyrics echo the show's narrative premise:

Chico, don't be discouraged,
The Man he ain't so hard to understand.
Chico, if you try now,
I know that you can lend a helping hand.
Because there's good in everyone
And a new day has begun
You can see the morning sun if you try.
And I know, things will be better
Oh yes they will for Chico and the Man
Yes they will for Chico and the Man.

Most listeners of the spare and haunting pop tune would notice the disjunctive relationship of the lyrics to the sonic performance. Some of this has to do with context: this is a show where a white man regularly makes some racist joke about Latina/os and a young Puerto Rican retorts with the catch phrase he popularized, "Lookin' Good." *Chico and the Man* was a show about a sly Latina/o who charmed a constantly irritated white racist. On the level of sound Feliciano's low voice does not bubble with the enthusiasm the lyrics suggest. Though Chico is being asked to resist being discouraged and the promise of a new day hangs in the air the song, nonetheless, indexes the fact of feeling like a problem. The narrative indicates that Chico is indeed a problem that the man does not understand. What does it feel like to be a problem, Chico? This is the question that echoes in my head and it is one that helps one approach this question of Brown feeling.

In my own memory, and in the here and now, I do not hear Feliciano's song as one of uplift, but instead as something else. I hear something that I want to identify as akin to Brown feeling, this commonality in feeling like a problem. Sorrow songs are of course specific to an African American experience rooted in chattel slavery and later forms of racial violence. By discussing the mass mediated music of José Feliciano I do not mean to discuss it as the same. More nearly, I am interested in the way in which this commoditized musical expression can be understood to function or perform its affective particularity in a similar fashion as that of the sorrow songs.

Still thinking about the blind Puerto Rican singer and his career I turn to one particular affective spike in his life. On October 1968 José Feliciano sang a

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stylized version of the national anthem during a nationally televised baseball game that incited an uproar and a stream of complaint.¹⁷ The familiar lyrics became something else through the brown singer's voice. The performance was slow and plaintive. The public responded with scorn to the browning of the national anthem, which is to say the manifesting of sorrow and disappointment that the minoritarian subject feels in relation to the normative affective protocols that make one feel Brown. The song sings America in a way that neither Walt Whitman nor baseball fans ever wanted to hear, it sings America Brown.

Feliciano's performance severely damaged his rising career trajectory. His styling integrated rhythm and blues traditions alongside the folk acoustic genre. This hybridization functions on the level of soundscape. Returning to Brennan, the question of transmitting affect is especially pertinent in this instance. Brennan argues that the visual should not be considered the primary conduit for the transmission of affect.¹⁸ Affect travels through other routes, like smell or sound. Franz Fanon theorized that racism was often first manifest as a complaint about the other's smell.¹⁹ One can argue that smell, like sound, is mostly a transmitter of the other's particularity.

Jimi Hendrix and Marvin Gaye were both performing stylized versions of "The Star Spangled Banner" at roughly the same time. But their versions were not transmitted on national broadcast television like Feliciano's and the performative effect of those performances did not disrupt the public sphere in the same fashion, with the same intensity. If we think about the scene, both visual and more importantly sonic, of that 1968 baseball game, and look and listen beyond the scorn of disgruntled All-American baseball fans, we are left to wonder what other work that performance did. I want to suggest, echoing J. L. Austin's notion of a performative utterance, that this performance was a "Brown utterance" that represented a still nascent articulation of a particular mode of belonging-in-difference or particularity²⁰ for people who felt Brown – for people who knew their self and recognized each other through a particular negation, a negation that is enacted by failing to conform to the affective protocols of normative cultural citizenship.

I have no evidence that this belonging in Brownness was anything other than the potentiality I have proposed here. Yet that lack of empirical evidence is not the point of my avowedly idealist formulation. Du Bois, who studied philosophy with George Santayana at Harvard was, as literary critic Shamoon Zamir has argued, clearly a reader of Hegel's *Phenomenology*, who employed some of the idealist aspects of the German philosopher. According to Zamir, while Du Bois was not an "upbeat Hegelian" like many other American Hegelians, he nonetheless accesses "a complex model of thinking about consciousness and history" through Hegel.²¹ This Hegelian mode allows Du Bois to "conceptualize more clearly than before a sense of history and inheritance, of the pressure of the past on present action."²² Certainly, the life of Brownness requires a mode of analysis that can think about the intertwined nature of consciousness and history. Brownness is thus a mode of consciousness that responds to the

historical pressure of the historical. Zamir describes *The Souls of Black Folk* as a psychology of history. Theorizing Latinidad as Brown feeling is theorizing a shared and historicized affective particularity, which is also to say, to some degree, psychology. The transmission of affect is the mode in which historical consciousness is transmitted.

In this essay I have, following what I above called a Du Boisian compass, looked to Feliciano's musical performance as a powerful circuit of transmission for Brown feelings. It is my contention that Brownness can be heard in my remembrance of moments of childhood when not just another TV theme filled my parents' living room. It can be heard, more concretely, during those minutes in 1968 when a blind Puerto Rican man's mournful rendition of what is for many the national sorrow song was sung in a voice that sounded, to a nation in turmoil, like a problem.

Notes

- 1 W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Bantam 1989), pp. 1–2.
- 2 Suzanne Oboler, *Ethnic Labels, Latino Lives: Identity and the Politics of (Re)Presentation in the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), p. 14.
- 3 See José Esteban Muñoz, "Feeling Brown: Ethnicity and Affect in Ricardo Bracho's *The Sweetest Hangover (and Other STD's)*," *Theater Journal* 52 (2000): 67–79.
- 4 Patricia Gherovici, *The Puerto Rican Syndrome* (New York: Other Press, 2003), p. 21.
- 5 For more on the concept of reparative critical work, see Eve Sedgwick, "Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading, or, You're So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Essay Is About You," in *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), pp. 123–51.
- 6 Muñoz, "Feeling Brown."
- 7 Richard Rodríguez, *Brown: The Last Discovery of America*. (New York: Viking, 2002).
- 8 Teresa Brennan, *The Transmission of Affect* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 5–6.
- 9 Vijay Prashad, *The Karma of Brown Folks* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).
- 10 W. R. Bion, *Experiences in Groups and Other Papers* (New York: Brunner-Routledge 2004).
- 11 Melanie Klein, *The Selected Melanie Klein*, ed. Juliet Mitchell (New York: Free Press, 1986) is a useful introduction to Klein's project. Another good introduction is Meira Likiernan, *Melanie Klein: Her Work in Context* (New York: Continuum, 2001).
- 12 Antonio Viego, *Dead Subjects: Towards a Politics of Loss in Latino Studies*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).
- 13 Antonio Viego, "The Unconscious of Latina/o Studies," *Latino Studies* 1 (2003): 335.
- 14 Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, p. 182.
- 15 Ann Cvetkovich, *An Archive of Feelings: Trauma, Sexuality, and Lesbian Public Cultures* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).
- 16 Chon Noriega, *Shot in America: Television, the State and the Rise of Chicano Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), p. 70.
- 17 As of this writing the song can be heard by going to this web address: www.josefeliciano.com/downloads/starspangledbanner.mp3.
- 18 Brennan, *The Transmission of Affect*, p. 11.

- 19 Franz Fanon, *Black Skins/White Masks*. Teresa Brennan also makes an argument about the olfactory transmission of affect in *The Transmission of Affect*.
- 20 See J. L. Austin, *How To Do Things With Words* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962).
- 21 Shamooin Zamir, *Dark Voices: W. E. B. Du Bois and American Thought, 1888–1903* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 117.
- 22 Ibid.

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