

Afro Images: Politics, Fashion, and Nostalgia

Angela Y. Davis

Not long ago, I attended a performance in San Francisco by women presently or formerly incarcerated in the county jail in collaboration with Bay Area women performance artists. After the show, I went backstage to the “green room,” where the women inmates, guarded by deputy sheriffs stationed outside the door, were celebrating with their families and friends. Having worked with some of the women at the jail, I wanted to congratulate them on the show. One woman introduced me to her brother who at first responded to my name with a blank stare. The woman admonished him: “You don’t know who Angela Davis is?! You should be ashamed.” Suddenly a flicker of recognition flashed across his face. “Oh,” he said, “Angela Davis—the Afro.”

Such responses I find are hardly exceptional, and it is both humiliating and humbling to discover that a single generation after the events that constructed me as a public personality, I am remembered as a hairdo. It is humiliating because it reduces a politics of liberation to a politics of fashion; it is humbling because such encounters with the younger generation demonstrate the fragility and mutability of historical images, particularly those associated with African American history. This encounter with the young man who identified me as “the Afro” reminded me of a recent article in the *New York Times Magazine* that listed me as one of the fifty most influential fashion (read: hairstyle) trendsetters over the last century.¹ I continue to find it ironic that the popularity of the Afro is

1. See Carrie Donovan, “Fifty Who Mattered Most,” *New York Times Magazine*, 24 Oct. 1993, pp. 122–23. The caption for the photograph reads: “Angela Davis (b. 1944): photo-

attributed to me because, in actuality, I was emulating a whole host of women—both public figures and women I encountered in my daily life—when I began to wear my hair natural in the late sixties.

But it is not merely the reduction of historical politics to contemporary fashion that infuriates me. The distinction of being known as “the Afro” is largely a result of a particular economy of journalistic images in which mine is one of the relatively few that has survived the last two decades. Or perhaps the very segregation of those photographic images caused mine to enter into the then-dominant journalistic culture precisely by virtue of my presumed criminality. In any case, it has survived, disconnected from the historical context in which it arose, as fashion. Most young African Americans who are familiar with my name and twenty-five-year-old image have encountered photographs and film/video clips largely in music videos and in Black history montages in popular books and magazines. Within the interpretive context in which they learn to situate these photographs, the most salient element of the image is the hairstyle, understood less as a political statement than a fashion.

The unprecedented contemporary circulation of photographic and filmic images of African Americans has multiple and contradictory implications. On the one hand, it holds the promise of visual memory of older and departed generations, of both well-known figures and people who may not have achieved public prominence. However, there is also the danger that this historical memory may become ahistorical and apolitical. “Photographs are relics of the past,” John Berger has written. They are “traces of what has happened. If the living take that past upon themselves, if the past becomes an integral part of the process of people making their own history, then all photographs would reacquire a living context, they would continue to exist in time, instead of being arrested moments.”²

In the past, I have been rather reluctant to reflect in more than a casual way on the power of the visual images by which I was represented during the period of my trial. Perhaps this is due to my unwillingness to confront those images as having to some extent structured my experiences during that era. The recent recycling of some of these images in

graphs of her in the 60's with her untamed Afro stirred black pride. Politics became fashion” (p. 123).

2. John Berger, *About Looking* (New York, 1980), p. 57.

Angela Y. Davis is a professor in the History of Consciousness program at the University of California, Santa Cruz. She is the author of *Angela Davis: An Autobiography* (1974), *Women, Race, and Class* (1981), and *Women, Culture, and Politics* (1989).

contexts that privilege the Afro as fashion—revolutionary glamor—has led me to reconsider them both in the historical context in which they were first produced (and in which I first experienced them) and within the “historical” context in which they often are presented today as “arrested moments.”

In September 1969, the University of California Regents fired me from my post in the philosophy department at UCLA because of my membership in the Communist Party. The following summer, charges of murder, kidnapping, and conspiracy were brought against me in connection with my activities on behalf of George Jackson and the Soledad Brothers. The circulation of various photographic images of me—taken by journalists, undercover policemen, and movement activists—played a major role in both the mobilization of public opinion against me *and* the development of the campaign that was ultimately responsible for my acquittal.

Twenty-five years later, many of these photographs are being recycled and recontextualized in ways that are at once exciting and disturbing. With the first public circulation of my photographs, I was intensely aware of the invasive and transformative power of the camera and of the ideological contextualization of my images, which left me with little or no agency. On the one hand I was portrayed as a conspiratorial and monstrous Communist (that is, anti-American) whose unruly natural hairdo symbolized Black militancy (that is, antiwhiteness). Some of the first hate mail I received tended to collapse “Russia” and “Africa.” I was told to “go back to Russia” and often in the same sentence (in connection with a reference to my hair) to “go back to Africa.” On the other hand, sympathetic portrayals tended to interpret the image—almost inevitably one with my mouth wide open—as that of a charismatic and raucous revolutionary ready to lead the masses into battle. Since I considered myself neither monstrous nor charismatic, I felt fundamentally betrayed on both accounts: violated on the first account and deficient on the second.

When I was fired by the UC Regents in 1969, an assortment of photographs appeared throughout the year in various newspapers and magazines and on television. However, it was not until felony charges were brought against me in connection with the Marin County shoot-out that the photographs became what Susan Sontag has called a part of “the general furniture of the environment.”³

As such, they truly began to frighten me. A cycle of terror was initiated by the decision of the FBI to declare me one of the country’s ten most wanted criminals. Although I had been underground for over a month before I actually saw the photographs the FBI had decided to use on the poster, I had to picture how they might portray me as I attempted to create for myself an appearance that would be markedly different from

3. Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York, 1977), p. 21.

WANTED BY THE FBI

INTERSTATE FLIGHT - MURDER, KIDNAPING ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS

Photograph taken 1969



Photograph taken 1970



FBI No. 867,615 G

Alias: "Tamu"

DESCRIPTION

Age:	26, born January 26, 1941, Birmingham, Alabama	Eyes:	Brown
Height:	5'8"	Complexion:	Light brown
Weight:	145 pounds	Race:	Negro
Build:	Slender	Nationality:	American
Hair:	Black		
Occupation:	Teacher		
Scars and Marks:	Small scars on both knees		

Fingerprint Classification: 4 M 5 U a 4
1 17 U

CAUTION

ANGELA DAVIS IS WANTED ON KIDNAPING AND MURDER CHARGES GROWING OUT OF AN ABDUCTION AND SHOOTING IN MARIN COUNTY, CALIFORNIA, ON AUGUST 7, 1970. SHE ALLEGEDLY HAS PURCHASED SEVERAL GUNS IN THE PAST. CONSIDER POSSIBLY ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

A Federal warrant was issued on August 15, 1970, at San Francisco, California, charging Davis with unlawful interstate flight to avoid prosecution for murder and kidnaping (Title 18, U. S. Code, Section 1073).

IF YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING THIS PERSON, PLEASE NOTIFY ME OR CONTACT YOUR LOCAL FBI OFFICE. TELEPHONE NUMBERS AND ADDRESSES OF ALL FBI OFFICES LISTED ON BACK.

J. Edgar Hoover

DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535
TELEPHONE, NATIONAL 8-7117

Entered NCIC
Wanted Flyer 457
August 18, 1970

the one defined as armed and dangerous. The props I used consisted of a wig with straight black hair, long false lashes, and more eyeshadow, liner, and blush than I had ever before imagined wearing in public. Never having seriously attempted to present myself as glamorous, it seemed to me that glamor was the only look that might annul the likelihood of being perceived as a revolutionary. It never could have occurred to me that the same "revolutionary" image I then sought to camouflage with glamor would be turned, a generation later, into glamor and nostalgia.

After the FBI poster was put on display in post offices, other government buildings, and on the television program, *The F.B.I.*, *Life* magazine came out with a provocative issue featuring a cover story on me. Illustrated by photographs from my childhood years through the UCLA firing, the article probed the reasons for my supposedly abandoning a sure trajectory toward fulfillment of the middle-class American dream in order to lead the unpredictable life of a "Black revolutionary." Considering the vast circulation of this pictorial magazine,⁴ I experienced something akin to what Barthes was referring to when he wrote, "I feel that the Photograph creates my body or mortifies it, according to its caprice (apology of this mortiferous power: certain Communards paid with their lives for their willingness or even their eagerness to pose on the barricades: defeated, they were recognized by Thiers's police and shot, almost every one)."⁵ The life-size headshot on the cover of the magazine would be seen by as many people, if not more, than the much smaller portraits on the FBI poster. Having confronted my own image in the store where I purchased the magazine, I was convinced that FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover had conspired in the appearance of that cover story. More than anything else, it seemed to me to be a magnification of the wanted poster. Moreover, the text of the story gave a rather convincing explanation as to why the pictures should be associated with arms and danger.

The photograph on the cover of my autobiography, published in 1974, was taken by the renowned photographer Phillipe Halsman.⁶ When I entered his studio, with Toni Morrison, who was my editor, the first question he asked us was whether we had brought the black leather jacket. He assumed, it turned out, that he was to re-create with his camera a symbolic visual representation of Black militancy: leather jacket (uniform of the Black Panther Party), Afro hairdo, and raised fist. We had to persuade him to photograph me in a less predictable posture. As recently

4. See "The Path of Angela Davis: From Promising Childhood to Desperate Flight," *Life*, 11 Sept. 1970, pp. 20-27. During the early 1960s *Life* magazine had a circulation of approximately forty million people. See Gisèle Freund, *Photography and Society* (Boston, 1980), p. 143.

5. Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York, 1981), p. 11.

6. See Angela Davis, *Angela Davis: An Autobiography* (New York, 1974).

as 1993, the persisting persuasiveness of these visual stereotypes was made clear to me when I had to insist that Anna Deavere Smith rethink her representation of me in her theater piece *Fires in the Mirror*, which initially relied upon a black leather jacket as her main prop.

So far, I have concentrated primarily on my own response to those photographic images, which may not be the most interesting or productive way to approach them. While the most obvious evidence of their power was the part they played in structuring people's opinions about me as a "fugitive" and a political prisoner, their broader and more subtle effect was the way they served as generic images of Black women who wore their hair "natural." From the constant stream of stories I have heard over the last twenty-four years (and continue to hear), I infer that hundreds, perhaps even thousands, of Afro-wearing Black women were accosted, harassed, and arrested by police, FBI, and immigration agents during the two months I spent underground. One woman, who told me that she hoped she could serve as a "decoy" because of her light skin and big natural, was obviously conscious of the way the photographs constructed generic representations of young Black women. Consequently, the photographs identified vast numbers of my Black female contemporaries who wore naturals (whether light- or dark-skinned) as targets of repression. This is the hidden historical content that lurks behind the continued association of my name with the Afro.

A young woman who is a former student of mine has been wearing an Afro during the last few months. Rarely a day passes, she has told me, when she is not greeted with cries of "Angela Davis" from total strangers. Moreover, during the months preceding the writing of this article, I have received an astounding number of requests for interviews from journalists doing stories on "the resurgence of the Afro." A number of the most recent requests were occasioned by a layout in the fashion section of the March 1994 issue of *Vibe* magazine entitled "Free Angela: Actress Cynda Williams as Angela Davis, a Fashion Revolutionary." The spread consists of eight full-page photos of Cynda Williams (known for her role as the singer in Spike Lee's *Mo' Better Blues*) in poses that parody photographs taken of me during the early 1970s. The work of stylist Patty Wilson, the layout is described as "'docufashion' because it uses modern clothing to mimic Angela Davis's look from the '70s."⁷

Some of the pictures are rather straightforward attempts to re-create press photos taken at my arrest, during the trial, and after my release. Others can be characterized as pastiche,⁸ drawing elements, like leather-

7. "Free Angela: Actress Cynda Williams as Angela Davis, a Fashion Revolutionary," *Vibe* 2 (Mar. 1994): 16.

8. I use the term *pastiche* both in the usual sense of a potpourri of disparate ingredients and in the sense in which Fredric Jameson uses it. "Pastiche is, like parody, the imitation of a peculiar or unique style, the wearing of a stylistic mask, speech in a dead language: but it is a neutral practice of such mimicry, without parody's ulterior motive, without the satirical

jacketed Black men, from contemporary stereotypes of the sixties-seventies era of Black militancy. They include an arrest scene, with the model situated between two uniformed policemen and wearing an advertised black satin blouse (reminiscent of the top I was wearing on the date of my arrest). As with her hair, the advertised eyewear are amazingly similar to the glasses I wore. There are two courtroom scenes in which Williams wears an enormous Afro wig and advertised see-through mini-dresses and, in one of them, handcuffs. Yet another revolves around a cigar-smoking, bearded man dressed in fatigues with a gun holster around his waist, obviously meant to evoke Che Guevara. (Even the fatigues can be purchased—from Cheap Jack's!) There is no such thing as subtlety in these photos. Because the point of this fashion spread is to represent the clothing associated with revolutionary movements of the early seventies as revolutionary fashion in the nineties, the sixtieth anniversary logo of the Communist Party has been altered in one of the photos to read "1919-1971" (instead of 1979). And the advertised dress in the photo for which this logo is a backdrop is adorned with pin-on buttons reading "Free All Political Prisoners."

The photographs I find most unsettling, however, are the two small headshots of Williams wearing a huge Afro wig on a reproduction of the FBI wanted poster that is otherwise unaltered except for the words "FREE ANGELA" in bold red print across the bottom of the document. Despite the fact that the inordinantly small photos do not really permit much of a view of the clothing Williams wears, the tops and glasses (again quite similar to the ones I wore in the two imitated photographs) are listed as purchasable items. This is the most blatant example of the way the particular history of my legal case is emptied of all content so that it can serve as a commodified backdrop for advertising. The way in which this document provided a historical pretext for something akin to a reign of terror for countless young Black women is effectively erased by its use as a prop for selling clothes and promoting a seventies fashion nostalgia. What is also lost in this nostalgic surrogate for historical memory—in these "arrested moments," to use John Berger's words—is the activist involvement of vast numbers of Black women in movements that are now represented with even greater masculinist contours than they actually exhibited at the time.

Without engaging the numerous debates occasioned by Fredric Jameson's paper "Postmodernism and Consumer Society,"⁹ I would like

impulse, without laughter. . . . Pastiche is blank parody, parody that has lost its sense of humor" (Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism and Consumer Society," in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster [Port Townsend, Wash., 1983], p. 114).

9. Jameson's essay has appeared in several versions. The one I have consulted is referenced in note 8. I thank Victoria Smith for suggesting that I reread this essay in connection with the *Vibe* story.

WANTED BY THE FBI

INTERSTATE FLIGHT - MURDER, KIDNAPING ANGELA YVONNE DAVIS

FBI No. 867,611 G

Photograph taken 1970



Photograph taken 1970



Alias: "Lain"

DESCRIPTION

Age:	26, born January 26, 1944, Birmingham, Alabama	Eyes:	Brown
Height:	5'8"	Complexion:	Light brown
Weight:	145 pounds	Race:	Negro
Build:	Slender	Nationality:	American
Hair:	Black		
Occupation:	Teacher		
Scars and Marks:	Small scars on both knees		

Fingerprint Classification: 1 M 5 Ua G
1 17 1

CAUTION

ANGELA DAVIS IS WANTED ON KIDNAPING AND MURDER CHARGES GROWING OUT OF AN ABDUCTION AND SHOOTING IN MARIN COUNTY, CALIFORNIA, ON AUGUST 7, 1970. SHE ALLEGEDLY HAS PURCHASED SEVERAL GUNS IN THE PAST. CONSIDER POSSIBLY ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

A U.S. warrant was issued on August 15, 1970, at San Francisco, California, charging Davis with (a) (b) interstate flight to avoid prosecution for murder and kidnaping (Title 18, U. S. Code, sections 1071).

IF YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING THIS PERSON, PLEASE NOTIFY ME OR CONTACT YOUR LOCAL FBI OFFICE. TELEPHONE NUMBERS AND ADDRESSES OF ALL FBI OFFICES LISTED ON BACK.

J. Edgar Hoover
DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535
TELEPHONE, NATIONAL 8711

Entered NCIC
AUG 11 1970
AUG 11 1970

The words "FREE ANGELA" do appear in the original *Vibe* article, but could not be reproduced here.—Ed.

to suggest that his analysis of "nostalgia films" and their literary counterparts, which are "historical novels in appearance only," might provide a useful point of departure for an interpretation of this advertising genre called docufashion; "we seem condemned to seek the historical past," Jameson writes, "through our own pop images and stereotypes about that past, which itself remains forever out of reach."¹⁰ Perhaps by also taking up Berger's call for an "alternative photography" we might develop strategies for engaging photographic images like the ones I have evoked, by actively seeking to transform their interpretive contexts in education, popular culture, the media, community organizing, and so on. Particularly in relation to African American historical images, we need to find ways of incorporating them into "social and political memory, instead of using [them] as a substitute which encourages the atrophy of such memory."¹¹

10. Jameson, "Postmodernism and Consumer Society," p. 118.

11. Berger, *About Looking*, p. 58.