

W.E.B. Du Bois's Double Consciousness Discourse in Film

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W.E.B. Du Bois, African-American sociologist, historian, philosopher, and commentator on race issues, first introduced his signature concept, “Double Consciousness,” in 1897.¹ The notion of “double consciousness” is discussed throughout *The Souls of Black Folks*, especially in chapter 1, “Of Our Spiritual Strivings,” where the notion is introduced for the first time in the book. Du Bois notes that “After the Egyptian and Indian, the Greek and Roman, the Teuton and Mongolian,” African-Americans are

born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world, – a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, – an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.²

1 The concept appeared in Du Bois’s article in *Atlantic Monthly*, “Strivings of the Negro People.” The draft was revised as chapter 1 of the classic of African-American literature, *The Souls of Black Folk*, published in 1903. *The Souls of Black Folk* is an anthology of Du Bois’s essays on race, fiction, and autobiography.

2 W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Penguin Books, 1996 [1903]), 5. Hereafter abbreviated as *Souls*.

As many scholars have pointed out the complexity and ambiguity of his logic,³ Du Bois seems to define double consciousness in several different ways in *Souls*, and the multiple definitions or implications are embedded or interconnected with each other in the concept. But Du Bois's core definitions of double consciousness are blacks' double identity and the existence of a white gaze as an element in people's psychological makeup.

As for "the second-sight" or "the eyes of others" discourse, Du Bois defines the white gaze — "the eyes of others" — in various ways. He problematizes not only the "pity," and "amused contempt" of whites' gaze, but also their bystanders' stance toward blacks' plight, or their perspective as assessors of blacks' "soul" and abilities. The white gaze is an oppressive or racist power that sees or alienates blacks as "others," and deprives them of "true self-consciousness." As Du Bois laments, "Why did God make me an outcast and a stranger in mine own house?" after he received the devastating impact from his discovery of difference in his childhood,⁴ he/she is determined to be an outsider in his/her own house (America), and his/herself as a black is regarded as an outsider from "the eyes of others" — in his/her own psychology. This example shows that the double consciousness concept is not just an abstract metaphor or psychological trait, but portrays the social structure. The "American world" that "yield[s] him no true self-consciousness" signifies black alienation in America where he/she resides, and embeds the need to establish independent view toward oneself without being disrupted by whites' negative views toward them.

Also, Du Bois describes about the effect of the massive power of "prejudice" on African-Americans in Chapter 1 of *the Souls*:

But the facing of so vast a prejudice could not but bring the inevitable self-questioning, self-disparagement, and lowering of ideals which ever accompany repression and breed in an atmosphere of contempt and hate.

3 For example, Keith E. Byerman argues that the concept is "richly ambiguous" in *Seizing the Word: History, Art, and Self in the Work of W.E.B. Du Bois* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994), 15.

4 *Souls*, 5.

Whisperings and portents came borne upon the four winds: Lo! We are diseased and dying, cried the dark hosts; we cannot write, our voting is vain; what need of education, since we must always cook and serve? And the Nation echoed and enforced this self-criticism, saying: Be content to be servants, and nothing more; what need of higher culture for half-men? Away with the black man's ballot, by force or fraud, — and behold the suicide of a race!⁵

Here “the eyes of others” deprives African-Americans of self-respect, opportunity (of self-development and employment), and even basic political rights. This is Du Bois's concrete illustration of the relationship between the inner psychology of African-Americans and the external reality that they confront. So by defining the nature of the gaze, Du Bois emphasizes the importance of self-respect.

Other than these definitions of “the eyes of others,” Du Bois implies the gaze as “an unasked question” at the beginning of Chapter 1 of *Souls*:

BETWEEN ME and the other world there is ever an unasked question: unasked 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?⁶

So the multiple nature characterizes “the eyes of others.”

If we pay attention to his quoting Byron's line, “Hereditary bondsmen! Know ye not/Who would be free themselves must strike the blow,”⁷ Du Bois's formulation of the concept embeds the need to reject the power of whites' gaze. Also, what whites should do, Du Bois argues, is to modify their perspective. In short, Du Bois's concept reveals those oppressive discourses

5 *Souls*, 10.

6 *Souls*, 3.

7 *Souls*, 36.

and at the same time presents counter discourses to the existing dominant discourses.

On the other hand, the double identity (“twoness” discourse) of the double consciousness basically signifies the conflict of one’s consciousness between being African-Americans (not Americans) and Americans at the same time. His illustration of blacks’ dilemma in defining their own identities in his article “Conservation of Races” (1987) supports the twoness dilemma in the double consciousness concept:

Here, then is the dilemma, and it is a puzzling one, I admit. No Negro who has given earnest thought to the situation of his people in America has failed, at some time in life, to find himself at these crossroads; has failed to ask himself at some time: What, after all, am I? Am I an American or am I a Negro? Can I be both? Or is it my duty to cease to be a Negro as soon as possible and be an American?⁸

Also, since two selves signifies “two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals,” the polar construction of identity in African-American psychology always functions to tear at his/her identity. Du Bois’s careful positioning of “twoness” – an African one and American one – in one identity shows the complexity of his logic.

Many researchers regard the part quoted above (the direct introduction of “double consciousness”) as the definitive statement that directly explains the concept for the first time. But in order to find Du Bois’s messages contained in the concept, we should pay attention to the succeeding part as well:

The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife – this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro souls in a

8 Du Bois, “Conversation of Races,” in *The Oxford Du Bois Reader*, ed. Eric J. Sundquist (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 23.

flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face.⁹

Here Du Bois shows the need to “merge” double selves in one’s identity in order to create a new identity, but his resolution transcends choosing either a black or an American alternative. He advocates the need for having two identities or perspectives as distinct forms, emphasizing the importance of each characteristic of the roles of two selves as having “a message for the world” and “too much to teach the world and Africa.” Also, Du Bois emphasizes how the complexity of race consciousness produces difficulty in such practical aspects of the lives of African-Americans as economy and politics.

After explaining the basic notions of double consciousness in the former paragraph, Du Bois puts up a concrete motto for improving blacks’ conditions: “to be a coworker in the kingdom of culture, to escape both death and isolation, to husband and use his best powers and his latent genius.”¹⁰ From these accounts, we can see that his description of the concept of double consciousness focusing on blacks’ identity and psychological mechanism was a preliminary move to provide a practical prescription for uplifting blacks, and for improving economic and political conditions.

This motto and the dilemma derived from “the twoness” also relate to the “waste of double aims” discourse:

The would-be black *savant* was confronted by the paradox that the knowledge his people needed was a twice-told tale to his white neighbors, while the knowledge which would teach the white world was Greek to his own flesh and blood. The innate harmony and beauty revealed to him was the soul-beauty of a race which his larger audience despised, and he could not articulate the message of another people. This waste of double aims,

9 *Souls*, 5.

10 *Souls*, 5.

this seeking to satisfy two unreconciled ideals, has wrought sad havoc with the courage and faith and deeds of ten thousand thousand people, — has sent them often wooing false gods and invoking false means of salvation, and at times has even seemed about to make them ashamed of themselves.¹¹

In these passages on various twoness dilemma discourses, Du Bois emphasizes the effect of the twoness in lessening African-Americans' power, talent and ability.

Originally, Du Bois formulated this concept in a particular situation surrounding African-Americans from Reconstruction to the turn of the century, although the concept existed in fragmentary forms among African-Americans much earlier. Du Bois argues that African-Americans have had to cope with oppression and discrimination since before the creation of the nation, leaving them with the problem of constructing a “truer self” than has been possible in the past.

Du Bois also introduces the concept as a slogan that would enable the oppressed to challenge several different kinds of dominant discourses. He weaves his messages for readers into the concept, providing the means to help explain the structure of social relations surrounding the problems of African-Americans in the United States.

I regard the concept not as one influenced or formulated by earlier or contemporary thinkers, but as an intersection of multiple discourses around 1897. I assume that Du Bois's concept engages those discourses and at the same time presents counter discourses to the existing dominant discourses.

Now at the beginning of the 21st century, more than one hundred years has passed and social conditions have changed, but Du Bois's concept has survived and has been widely influential in studies of social relations and artistic representations.

As I mentioned, Du Bois problematizes whites' perspectives as onlookers of blacks' condition or plight and provoked the readers' serious consideration

11 *Souls*, 6.

of the race issue in writing *The Souls of Black Folk*. His famous line, “the problem of the Twentieth Century is the problem of the color line,” also signifies his calls of readers’ modification of their onlooker stance on race issues.¹² He appealed to both African-American and non-African-American readers in writing “suppose *and* suppose” what the experience of the race problem is like.¹³ This study shows one way to fulfill Du Bois’s wish – exposing various readers to the race problem.

One of the purposes of the present study is to consider fully what Du Bois’s sense of double consciousness is. Recall that Du Bois problematizes whites’ perspectives as onlookers of blacks’ condition or plight and provoked the readers’ serious consideration of the race issue in writing *The Souls of Black Folks*. It is necessary to show that the concept or fragments of the double consciousness discourse exist in various representations.

In a “Forethought” of *Souls*, Du Bois suggests that we “receive my little book in all charity, studying my words with me, forgiving mistake and foible for the sake of the faith and passion that is in me, and seeking the grain of truth hidden there.”¹⁴ As Du Bois promotes the readers’ consideration of the meaning of his words, we need to reconsider his sense of double consciousness in the hidden truth.

In this study, I examine how Du Bois’s double consciousness discourse is woven into other authors’ narrative structures, images, concepts, and the construction of subjectivity. I also explore how certain kinds of texts portray conflicts that Du Bois regarded as double consciousness over time.

In order to accomplish these aims, I consider film texts. Around the turn of the century when Du Bois introduced the concept, new kind of text – moving pictures – emerged. As time passes, media have become diverse and changed forms. Since the present study aims to establish the genealogy of the concept, it is helpful to see the discourse over time and to see film as the products of cultural time.

12 *Souls*, 1.

13 Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois: A Soliloquy On Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its Century* (New York: International Publishers, 1997 [1968]), 183.

14 *Souls*, 1.

Although uncountable number of studies or studies in diverse disciplines utilizes the double consciousness concept as a theoretical construct,¹⁵ films would enable us to examine new aspects of the concept. Films present slices of our daily lives or sense of values to us. They show us that Du Bois's double consciousness discourse, its fragmentary implication, and messages are embedded in our daily lives in familiar narratives. Storylines, words, characterization, and images of these kinds of texts embed double consciousness discourse. Furthermore, in the case of films, not only words or plots, but also visual or audio signs and images, pacing, facial expression, time, and movement embed these values. Thus, we can expect that in the construction of images in film we should find the function of the discourses which we cannot find in the exploration of texts that merely consist of words. Since the concept relates to one's consciousness, we should pay attention to the non-verbal expression of the concept.

Although the world represented in the films is different from reality, the filmmakers' choice of topics and shots reflects values of the times when those were made. The present study does not focus mainly on filmmakers' inten-

15 As the examples for artistic representations, Patrick Roney discusses the need to deploy the double consciousness concept as a theoretical framework in reading ethnic writings in Afro-American literature ("The Paradox of Experience: Black Art and Black Idiom in the Work of Amiri Baraka," *African American Review* 37. 2/3, Amiri Baraka Issue. (2003): 407-27). Marc Singer argues that two comics, *Black Lightning* and *Xero* utilizes the double consciousness concept in order to "construct their models of racial identity" ("'Black Skins' and White Masks: Comic Books and the Secret of Race," *African American Review* 36.1 (2002): 107). Mar Gallego examines how African American writers such as James Weldon Johnson, George Schuyler, Nella Larsen, and Jessie Fauset responded to the notion of double consciousness (*Passing Novels in the Harlem Renaissance: Identity, Politics and Textual Strategies*. (Hamburg: Lit Verlag Munster, 2003)). John Sheehy thinks that James Weldon Johnson's novel, *Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* uses "two-ness" of Du Bois' double consciousness concept ("*The Mirror and the Veil: The Passing Novel and the Quest for American Racial Identity*," *African American Review* 33.3 (1999): 406). As for studies of social relations, Jonathan Zimmerman argues that Black Peace Corps had the dualism of the concept and it signified the "class assumptions of Peace Corps officials." ("Beyond double consciousness: Black Peace Corps Volunteers in Africa, 1961-1971," *The Journal of American History* 82.3 (1995): 31). Robert W. Williams examines Du Bois's own educational philosophy by utilization of the theoretical framework of the double consciousness concept ("W.E.B. Du Bois and the Socio-Political Structures of Education," *Negro Educational Review*. 55.1 (2004): 9-26).

tions or personal ideology in making films, but on how images function for constructing values and how audiences could perceive them. The audiences' perception of the image might be different from what the directors intended, and audiences change our time.

I use French philosopher Gilles Deleuze's cinema theory in *Cinema 1* (1983) and *Cinema 2* (1985), which emphasizes the relation between images and the audience's perception of images, as a tool to analyze film texts. Among his concepts, I will deploy his theory of affection-image, time-image, and sensory-motor-schema.

I will analyze film texts of various subject matters, directors and genres (such as so-called "race films") over time. I also examine how white directors or black directors construct double consciousness discourses. For example, as films on mulatto,¹⁶ passing, and interracial relation discourse, I will see *Imitation of Life* (1934, 1959), and *Pinky* (1949), the first film that takes up interracial romance in Hollywood.

I also analyze two African-American directors' films in 1990s, Spike Lee's *Jungle Fever* (1991) and John Singleton's *Boyz N the Hood* (1991). These films present new kind of the double consciousness discourse emerged in the rise of black middle class and polarization of blacks in America. *Within Our Gates* (1920) and *Bamboozled* (2000) shows the linkage between the concept and gender issues. *Bamboozled* also features black buppies' dilemma who reside in two worlds and indicts TV's function as "the eyes of others" on American citizens. I will use these films, *In the Heat of the Night* (1967) and *Guess Who's Coming to the Dinner* (1967) in order to see portrayals of power relationship of the concept.

I will not necessarily do a thorough analysis of each text, but I will exam-

16 "Tragic Mulatto Myth" is named for light skinned people from African American communities who have difficulty in defining their own identity and usually come to a bad end. Among those difficulties, "passing" – as white – may be one of the central issues.

Du Bois takes up the double identity issue in discussing the concept of double consciousness where doubleness signifies black/white and black/American alternatives. Given the symbolic dilemma between black and white, an exploration of the similarity and difference between divided race discourse and mulatto discourse should provide insight in understanding Du Bois's formulation of the concept.

ine how elements of certain kinds of texts are drawn into conflicts that Du Bois recognized as double consciousness. The examples, then, are meant to illustrate selected discourses over time rather than to assume that the discourses are stable in particular texts.

Many studies have explored race consciousness in visual images. Michael Harris analyzes stereotypical images of blacks in paintings.¹⁷ Donald Bogle and others discuss stereotypes in film and television.¹⁸ Some have explored double consciousness in film texts by analyzing the plot. For example, James C. McKelley takes up “two-ness” in Spike Lee’s film *Do the Right Thing*.¹⁹ But there is still much to be done in the analysis of double consciousness discourse in terms of its visual construction.

For example, Deliah in a film *Imitation of Life* (1934)²⁰ and Pierre in *Bamboozled* (2000)²¹ are different in terms of time, gender, job, class, and educational background, so they should not be compared in a simple way. But even a seemingly successful middle class black male, Pierre, survives in white America by degrading his black identity as Deliah accepts her image as an unintellectual black in the 30s. This shows the persistence of the waste pre-

17 Michael Harris, *Colored Pictures: Race and Visual Reprisal*. Foreword. By Moyo Okediji. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

18 Donald Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films*, 3rd ed. (New York: Continuum, 1994).

19 James C. McKelley, “The Double Truth, Ruth: *Do the Right Thing* and the Culture of Ambiguity,” *African American Review* 32.2 (1998): 215–27.

20 *Imitation of Life*, dir. John M. Stahl, 111 min., Universal Studios, 2002, videocassette. *Imitation of Life* is a film adaptation of Fannie Hurst’s novel, *Imitation of Life*. A white widow, Beatrice Pullman (Claudet Colbert) keeps running maple syrup business after her husband’s death and lives with her little daughter, Jessie. She hires an African-American woman, Delilah Johnson (Louise Beavers) as a maid and lets her mulatto daughter, Peola, live in her house. Beatrice finds that Deliah’s pancake is delicious, so she decides to use her family recipe and opens “Aunt Deliah’s Pancake House.” Beatrice’s business turns to a big success, but Deliah remains to be Beatrice’s maid receiving 20 percent of the profits. As Peola grows up, she starts to abhor her own black heritage intensely, and tries to find the place where she can live as a white.

21 *Bamboozled*, dir. Spike Lee, 135 min. New Line Studios, 2000, videocassette. Pierre Delacroix, a writer for TV (Damon Wayans) is asked to make a minstrel show in the new century by his white boss, Dunwitty (Michael Rapaport). Portraying Pierre’s agony, the film takes up an issue of TV’s creation of racism.

dicted by Du Bois's double aims discourse, and shows that even hard work or the existence of a black middle class at the beginning of the 21st century does not fully solve the African-American dilemma. In the next section, we need to see how the double consciousness discourse is embedded in various films over time.

Double Consciousness in Film

(1) Double Consciousness Discourse and Films on Mulatto/Passing/Interracial Relations

First, I will examine "the eyes of others" discourse in the two versions of *Imitation of Life* that take up mixed race identity issues and interracial relations. In the 1934 version of *Imitation of Life*, when Jessie, a white daughter of Bea, first calls Peola, a mulatto daughter of Deliah (Louise Beavers), "black," Bea admonishes Jessie, and Peola bursts into tears. When Jessie answers, "I didn't mean anything," a medium shot of her blank face watching Peola is shown. This is Du Bois's sense of the "eyes of others" in which Jessie deprives Peola of "true-self consciousness" and is a bystander who looks on. Peola's self-image is influenced by Jessie's view toward Peola.

In his cinema theory Deleuze defines the "affection-image" – mostly close-up – as having a "quality or power," and explains that "it is potentiality considered for itself as expressed."²² Jessie's blank face has certain power and emphasizes the lack of the sense of guilt in alienating Peola mentally as "other" or an outsider in a house (America).

In *Imitation of Life* in the late 1950s – the time of the rise of the civil rights movement – visual expression of a white girl's "eye" toward a mulatto girl such as Sara Jane was almost absent.²³ When Susie Meredith (Sandra Dee), a sixteen-year-old white girl, asks Sara Jane Johnson (Susan Kohner), an eighteen-year-old mulatto, if her boyfriend is "colored" or not,

²² Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 1: The Movement-Image*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Barbara Habberjam (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), 98.

²³ *Imitation of Life*, dir. Douglass Sirk, 124 min., Universal Studios, 1959, videocassette. In this 1959 version, Sara Jane, a mulatto, replaces Peola.

Sara accuses her of asking an improper question.²⁴ Susie withdraws her question regretfully. Her question proves that she has “the eyes of others” toward Sara Jane, a mulatto girl, but the absence of any visual construction of her “eye” toward blacks lessens the impact of the coldness or cruelty of white gaze found in the 1934 version. The rise of the Civil Rights Movement made whites to judge their own political correctness, hindered the strong expression of those eyes, and the strong resistance to those eyes were portrayed.

In terms of “twoness” discourse, both of the scenes mentioned above embody Du Bois’s twoness dilemma of the mulattoes. In the 1934 version, when Jessie calls Peola, “black,” Peola is shocked and cries. Since they live together in the same house, and since Peola is a light-skinned girl, Jessie’s view toward Peola as a black is an unexpected thing for Peola. Although Peola and Jessie have grown up in the same house and study together, they live with Du Bois’s sense of “the veil” between them where racial oppression functions as an unseen power. Jessie’s word instantly deprives Peola of her place in the house. Thus, Peola’s burst into cry embodies the twoness dilemma — “What, after all, am I? Am I an American or am I a Negro?” — derived from the co-existence of her light-skinned appearance and black heritage. Although the question of a white girl, Sara Jane Johnston, does not discriminate Susie Meredith harshly, Susie’s “twoness” dilemma does not disappear.

Second, I will examine “twoness” — alternative discourse in *Pinky* (1949) that takes up identity issue of a mulatto.²⁵ When Pinky’s lover, Tom visits her, he pulls her hand. A long-shot of Pinky’s back sees her grandmother surrounded by laundries in the background. Pinky once tries to go to the grandmother’s place, but Tom pulls her to the foreground. Pinky is taken in the direction which she does not see. Here Pinky’s identity is torn in opposite directions — grandmother on the background and Tom on the foreground. The grandmother who is washing represents Pinky’s life as an African-

24 Sara Jane replaces Peola and Susie Meredith replaces Jessie in 1959 version.

25 *Pinky*, dir. Elia Kazan, 102 min., 20th Century Fox, 1949, videocassette. A nurse in Boston, “Pinky” Johnston (Jeanne Crain), is a light-skinned black woman and has passed for a white. She comes back to her home in Mississippi and meets her grandmother Dicey (Ethel Waters). Pinky hopes to marry her white lover, Dr. Thomas Adams (William Lundigan), but he does not know her racial identity.

American in the Deep South, and Tom who takes Pinky away in a car represents Pinky's life as a white in the North. In this scene, the polar makeup of identity or psychology of a mulatto works to tear at her identity.

Third, I will examine how mulatto's passing as a white in films embody "the eyes of others" discourse. In *Imitation of Life* (1934), when Deliah visits Peola's classroom, she quickly hides her face from her mother. The appearance of a black mother results in disclosure of Peola's passing for a white. A boy says, "Gee, I didn't know she was colored" and Peola walked to the door with heavily angry face being strongly conscious of other kids' eyes toward her. But in the 1959 version of *Imitation of Life*, which is made after the prohibition of public school segregation in *Brown vs Board of Education* (1954), when her mother comes into the classroom, Sara Jane Johnson (Karin Dicker) first looks around for other students' reactions to her and then hides her face with a textbook. Both 1934 and 1959 versions show the heroines' consciousness of themselves influenced by whites' gaze toward them. But in the later version, other students' remarks toward Sara are omitted.²⁶ The white gaze in the 1934 version is portrayed in a more straightforward way than in the later version.

In *Pinky* (1949), when Tom, Pinky's lover, hears Pinky assuming her black identity, the camera follows Tom's reaction – a medium shot of him walking slowly in Pinky's wooden house in the South. Tom does not see Pinky, but is looking at the floor while hearing her voice. The scene is drawn out for effect and portrays Tom's fear or hesitation about hearing some facts and makes the audience anticipate that he would not fully understand or respect her racial identity. Although Tom does not see anybody, the presentation of his attitude constructs his gaze. Pinky is given no reaction shot. Tom's expression of "the eyes of others" is not so harsh, but his embarrassment is expressed in an explicit way.

(2) Power Relations of Double Consciousness Discourse in Films

In this section, I will analyze the portrayals of the double consciousness

26 In the 1934 version, Bea suggests that Deliah send Peola to a school in the South where she does not need to suffer whites' reactions to her.

discourse in films that take up various kinds of power relationships – the dialectics between the assessor (seer) and the assessed (seen) in order to understand in what way race in the double consciousness concept effects power relationship.

In *Imitation of Life* (1934), the mulatto girl, Peola says to a white girl, Jessie, “You gonna get ‘D’ again.” Two girls are talking about the coming exam at school. After this, Peola cries because Jessie calls her “black.” Peola and Jessie first reside in the world where a merit system works while they are talking about studying. But different criteria – biological distinction or race – hinders Peola from being recognized as meeting the rational criteria of a merit system, and makes her assessed by Jessie. In other words, race reverses their relationship between being assessed/assessor.

In *Guess Who's Coming to the Dinner* (1967), the protagonist (Sidney Poitier) waits for his father's judgment on his proposal to his fiancée.²⁷ But, *Jungle Fever* (1991) creates a black who assesses whites in a harsh way.²⁸ In constructing a white woman's passivity and blacks' contempt of her, *Jungle Fever* reversed the seer/seen power game. At the same time its visual construction betrays the power relationship and affirms whites' advantageous status in contrast to blacks.

In reversing this seer/seen situation between two races, Spike Lee's film *Jungle Fever* (1991) shows the reverse of power relations between the two races. While portraying interracial issues, the reverse happens most by anti-essentialist criteria in this film. In terms of class, educational background, ability, marital/single status, work place pecking order, and gender, the film defines Angie as having inferior status to Flipper, and in all aspects black characters humiliate or attack her, as do her father and brother. Near the ending of their relationship, Flipper rejects Angie's whiteness, rejects having

27 *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*, dir. Stanley Kramer, 108 min., Columbia Tristar, 1967, videocassette. An American girl (Katharine Houghton) hopes to marry an African-American medical doctor (Sidney Poitier). The film portrays the reaction of the girl's parents (Spencer Tracy and Katherine Hepburn).

28 *Jungle Fever*, dir. Spike Lee, 132 min., Universal Pictures, 1991, videocassette. The film mainly takes up an interracial relationship between an African-American architect (Wesley Snipes) and an Italian woman (Annabella Sciorra).

a baby who has white blood.

Then, does the film present the successful case which Du Bois advocated in formulating the concept of double consciousness? Is Flipper successful in terms of becoming an active seer or assessor of whites or of surpassing “the eyes of others” — white gaze? The point is that the protagonist, Flipper, does not choose his position as an overseer, but is forced to be in the situation where he is an assessor of a white secretary.²⁹ Even though he becomes a boss of a white woman, becomes her lover and abandons her, the visual construction portrays his surrender to her.³⁰ The more the plot, setting, and words emphasize Flipper's higher status, the more the visual construction of Angie's predominance over Flipper becomes impressive. Thus, this technique presents the protagonists' surrender to the massive power of “the eyes of others” — a white supremacy discourse. Flipper's compelled reversal of the seer/seen power relationship emphasizes the power of “the eyes of others” as Du Bois originally defines it, and that the merit system does not overcome “the eyes of others” discourse even in the 90's film.

A film in 2000 shows non-verbal expression of Du Bois's sense of relationship between assessor and being assessed. In *Bamboozled* (2000), after Pierre sits in the conference room, a montage of high-angle shots of him (which is close to a crane shot) and low-angle of his boss, Dunwitty, starts. Dunwitty accuses Pierre of being late to the meeting. As this plot explains, the director's choice of angles of two characters determines their relationship, Dunwitty having Du Bois's sense of “the eyes of other,” assessor or seer, and Pierre as the one assessed or seen.

Although these films have been made in different times, all of these emphasize race as more fatal factor than one's ability in power relationship.

29 Flipper wanted an African-American secretary, but his bosses find an Italian woman. When Flipper claims, his bosses refuse it because it will result in “reverse discrimination.”

30 In later scene, a medium shot of Angie and a close-up of Flipper (back light) are shown. The succession of these two shots, Flipper as shadow and Angie as shining white emphasizes the difference of conditions between two. Bell Hooks points out Lee's beautifying white woman. But the present study regards it not only as Lee's beautification of white woman, but as differentiation of two races and whites' advantageous point in contrast to blacks. (“Ice Cube Culture: A Shared Passion for Speaking Truth,” *Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representations* [New York: Routledge, 1994], 125–144. 128).

(3) “The Eyes of Others” Discourse and Films on Stereotype of African-Americans

In this section, I will examine how films directed by both African-American and non-African directors have expressed “the eyes of others” discourse over time.

For example, in *Imitation of Life* (1934), a white widow Beatrice called “Miss Bea” (Claudet Colbert) asks her housekeeper Aunt Deliah (Louise Beavers) to smile, saying, “Big One.” Deliah’s smile imitates a “Mammy” image.³¹ Although most of Miss Bea’s manners toward Deliah are not overtly racist, what she makes Deliah do is to accept a stereotypical image of African-Americans. Deliah is induced to conform to the expectations of “the eyes of others” of the double consciousness concept. Bea’s establishment of the “Aunt Delia’s homemade pancake” results in her economic success using blacks’ stereotypical image. So in this case Du Bois’s definition of “the eyes of others” functions as whites’ economic exploitation of blacks.

But, in the 1940s, conditions were different from the 1930s. The 1940s was called the peak of the black press. Several anti-discrimination activities were instituted such as prohibition of discrimination in the U.S. army during WWII.³² Donald Bogle points out that NAACP criticized the stereotypical portrayal of the Uncle Tom figure like the character in *Song of the South* (1946).³³

In *Pinky* (1949) when the title role, Pinky Johnson (Jeanne Crain) confesses she is not a white but an African-American in front of her lover, Thomas Adams (William Lundigan), he says, “Poor Pat.”³⁴ Pinky reacts, “I’m not looking for pity.” This is Du Bois’s idea that one of the characters of whites’ eyes is pity on African-Americans, who need to reject the influence

31 Donald Bogle argues that “Louise Beavers’ Deliah was a combination of tom and aunt jemima magnified and glorified in full-blown Hollywood fashion.” (*Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks*, 59). The word “tom” is derived from Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. “Tom” signifies a man who accommodates to the interests of whites.

32 George Hill and Spencer Moon, *Blacks in Hollywood: Five Favorable Years in Film & Television, 1987-1991* (Los Angeles: Daystar Publishing Company, 1992), 11.

33 Bogle, 136.

34 Pinky calls herself Patricia in passing for white in the North.

of this gaze on them.

As I mentioned before, *Pinky* is the first feature film taking up interracial romance.³⁵ As Bogle points out, the use of a white actress for the mulatto character, Pinky, signifies a compromise.³⁶ But, the character of the heroine is portrayed as independent in order to reject the whites' negative assessment or pity on blacks.³⁷

In the 1959 version of *Imitation of Life*, Annie Johnson (Juanita Moore) remains a servant, but she does not conform to a stereotypical image. That is, while the coding of the image changes over time, the effect does not.

(4) "The Eyes of Others" Discourse and Films on "Contempt" or Resistance to "the Eyes of Others"

This part focuses on "the eyes of others" discourse in films that portray contempt on African-Americans. I will analyze films directed by both African-American and non-African-American directors.

When a small white child Jessie in *Imitation of Life* (1934) meets Deliah, an African-American woman for the first time, she calls her "horsie." Deliah does not get mad at this contemptuous remark. Rather, she enjoys this small baby's remark. In this film Donald Bogle regards Deliah as "a conscious apotheosis of the tom spirit."³⁸ The characterization of Deliah is a submissive woman who did not resist "the eyes of others."³⁹

35 Bogle, 120.

36 Bogle, 152. The director of the film, Elia Kazan himself confesses in 1971 that he felt "there was some essential cop-out in casting a white girl in the lead" (131), and reveals his dissatisfaction of "the blandness of the leading lady" and "something black about that film." Interview with Byron Stuart and Martin L. Rubin, in *Elia Kazan Interviews*, eds., William Baer (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000), 132.

37 The director Elia Kazan said that the film was "a conventional picture" and "there were a lot of cliches in it" in terms of treatment of blacks. He calls his film *Baby Doll* the best in terms of portraying blacks who scorn the whites (201).

38 Bogle, 59.

39 Bogle defines the year 1934 as a time "when a new social consciousness had infiltrated the motion picture industry. Already Roosevelt's election, the New Deal, the growing liberalism of the country, and the Depression itself had brought to American films a new world view and a new social order whereby many of the old racial proprieties were starting to be discarded." Also, Bogle calls *Imitation of Life* "an outgrowth of this new conscious liberal spirit" (57).

In *Pinky* (1949), when the police finds that Pinky is a black, she was taken to the police. Pinky tells the police officer that since she is colored, “You [the police officer] don’t believe me.” The police officer says to her, “You’ve had advantages which are denied to most members of your race” such as a scholarship in the North. When a Doctor asks Pinky, “Have you ever given a Hypo?” she answers, “I am a graduate nurse.” These whites’ remarks suggest Du Bois’s notion of a lowered expectation in “the eyes of others,” and Pinky’s reaction results in her resistance against their gaze. Whites’ actions, laying false charges on Pinky and whites’ remarks construct whites’ values.

In the 1960s, a black FBI agent, Virgil Tibbs (Sidney Poitier), orders a white police man to call him “officer” in *In The Heat of the Night* (1967).⁴⁰ In *Jungle Fever* (1991), when the boss of the protagonist, a black middle class architect, Flipper, says, “Afro-American,” Flipper corrects it, “African-American.” When one of the white staff calls Pierre Delacroix “Pierre” in *Bamboozled* (2000), he tells the staff to call him, “Mister Delacroix.” In these plots, blacks reject “the eyes of others” – whites’ assessment of them – embedded in their way of addressing blacks.

Flipper in *Jungle Fever* (1991) has a drug addict brother, Gator (Samuel Jackson). Flipper is asked by his mother to look for the missing Gator. Flipper starts walking on the streets crowded with drug addicts, drug sellers, prostitutes, and delinquent teenagers. This scene starts with a close-up of a fundamentalist woman preaching loudly on the street. The camera is situated at her feet and the low-angle shot of her signifies Flipper’s viewpoint. This technique results in emphasizing Flipper’s psychological distance from this woman, and constructs Flipper’s view of her not as his people but as “other.” After the camera catches him looking up at this woman, there is a close-up of Flipper’s surprised face and moves its position 45 degrees following him turning toward the street. Flipper’s exaggerated facial expression (surprise at or contempt for the street people) and the camera’s following his

40 *In the Heat of the Night*, dir. Norman Jewison, 109 min., MGM/UA Studios, 2002 (1967), videocassette. The film is a mystery in which an African-American detective, Virgil Tibbs (Sydney Poitier) and a white sheriff, Bill Gillespie (Rod Steiger) search for the criminal.

change of direction emphasize his shock and how he is amazed to see the corruption of the street people. Although Flipper is a black, his view of these street people is close to Du Bois's sense of "the eyes of others" – white gaze – toward blacks. The gaze signifies his contempt. The class difference between Flipper and other blacks produced new kinds of seer and seen relationship among blacks. This technique also shows his hesitation before he starts walking on the street and the difference between Flipper and other people.

By the late 20th century filmmakers such as Quentin Tarantino had created scenes in which racial epithets appeared in casual conversations. For example, in his *Pulp Fiction* (1994)⁴¹, his black and white characters are comfortable in using racial slurs and we see a glimpse of the black wife of one of these characters as a counter-image coded as justification for freedom from restraint on racial slurs.⁴¹ Spike Lee's *Bamboozled* (2000) intervenes in this discursive situation. An African-American film director, Spike Lee's film, *Bamboozled* (2000) also uses the technique of inserting a shot that reveals whites' "eye" toward blacks, but with a difference from *Mississippi Burning*. Dunwitty (Michael Rapaport), a network executive and boss of the protagonist, Pierre Delacroix (Damon Wayans), a Harvard-graduate working as a writer for a broadcasting network, asserts that he has a right to use the word "nigger" because he has an African-American wife and "nigger" is just a word.⁴² Pierre replies, "Well, I would prefer if you did not use that word in my presence." Dunwitty says, "Oh, really?" as if Pierre's comment is an unexpected one. In the next shot, from Pierre's point of view, Dunwitty ridicules Pierre, repeating "Nigger, nigger."

This technique portrays Dunwitty's ridicule through exaggerated acting,

41 *The Pulp Fiction*, dir. Quentin Tarantino, 2 hours 34 min., Miramax Home Entertainment, 1994, videocassette. The film portrays multiple stories of violent crime starring John Travolta (as a leading man), Samuel L. Jackson, and Uma Thurman. The unique strategy of combining several stories and gathering those into one end was characteristic, and Tarantino and his cowriter Rofer Avary won for Best Original Screenplay of Oscar. The title *Pulp Fiction* derives from pulp magazines and crime novels in the mid 20th century.

42 In this scene, they are talking about Pierre's projects. Dunwitty turns down Pierre's proposition of having a show featuring a black middle-class family living in a white neighborhood. Dunwitty promotes Pierre to write situations that feature stereotypical images of blacks. Dunwitty's phrase signifies Lee's response to Quentin Tarantino's film *Pulp Fiction* (1994).

intensifying Pierre's imagination and his perception of Dunwitty's contempt of him and African-Americans. Dunwitty's use of the word "nigger" itself denotes his derogatory view of Pierre and African-Americans, and signifies "the eyes of others" – whites' contemptuous view of African-Americans. For him, political correctness is no longer fashionable and he is free to use the word as he pleases. So in terms of the meaning of Dunwitty's use of the word, the shot of Dunwitty's exaggerated ridiculing is reality.

Geneva Smitherman argues that:

Compared with many other forms of discrimination, that found in discourse may appear to be less harmful. However, though it differs from the kind of physical violence against blacks and other minorities that was outlawed (but hardly eliminated) only a few decades ago, its consequences are no less painful.⁴³

Dunwitty's comment that "'nigger' is just a word" shows his white ignorance of the word's damaging effect on African-Americans.

The next shot is a time-image in which Pierre beats Dunwitty, saying, "Whitey, whitey, whitey," but since the following shot returns to the normalcy of their conversation scene, the audience realizes the shot portrays not an actual attack but the virtual attack that plays itself out in Pierre's imagination.⁴⁴ In reality, Pierre does not beat his boss, and the shot reveals his unconscious desire or intense drive to strike back at "the eyes of others" – the other's contempt. The insertion of Pierre's imaginary shot breaks the "sensory-motor schema," mixing an interiorized impulse with exterior control. According to Deleuze, sensory-motor-schema "grounds narration in the

43 Geneva Smitherman, "Discriminatory Discourse on Afro-American Speech," in Geneva Smitherman-Donaldson and Teun A. Van Dijk, eds., *Discourse and Discrimination* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988), 11.

44 As for time-image, Deleuze explains that "In cinema, Resnais says, something ought to happen 'around the image, behind the image and even inside the image.' This is what happens when the image becomes time-image" in Gilles Deleuze, *Cinema 2: The Time-Image*, trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Galeta (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 125. Time-image breaks up continuity of illusion of reality in classical films.

image,” producing a series that leads the narratives flow.⁴⁵ Dunwitty’s racism is broken, even if only imaginatively this time. So by breaking the sensory-motor schema, audiences experience the sudden switching of their perception from an objective view of two men’s conversation to Pierre’s view.⁴⁶ This technique helps the audience experience “the eyes of others.” Audiences may perceive that Dunwitty’s ridiculing – his close-up – is not directed toward Pierre, but toward the audience themselves.

This technique also enables viewers to experience the dual structure of Pierre’s perception of reality. But the boundary between the actual (his control) and virtual (his rage) images is blurred in this case because Dunwitty’s use of the word “nigger” and his ridiculing mean the same thing. The film’s technique enables the audience to experience what it is like being exposed to “the eyes of others.” Du Bois problematized the white bystander’s relation to blacks’ plight. So the film’s technique to make the audiences experience “the eyes of others” itself signifies double consciousness discourse.

(5) “The Eyes of Others” Discourse and Gender

In Oscar Michaeux’s film *Within Our Gates* (1919)⁴⁷, the heroine, Sylvia Laundry, “a schoolteacher from the South,” suffers the danger of being raped by a white man. Although their circumstances are different, Lee and Michaeux portray the same plight of African-Americans caused by the effect of “the eyes of others” in terms of gender identity.

Another expression of whites’ gaze toward blacks is shown in the presen-

45 Deleuze, *Cinema 2*, 32. Deleuze explains the sensory-motor image as one that “linked a perception-image to an action-image; it already modeled the first on the second and extended the one into the other” (*Cinema 2*, 45).

46 This scene is a cross-cutting of their bust shot.

47 *Within Our Gates*, dir. Oscar Michaeux, 79 min., The Library of Congress Video Collection, Volume 1, 1919. *Within Our Gates* is one of the earliest feature film made by an African American director, and depicts race relations including rape and lynching in the early 1900’s. Sylvia Landry, an African-American woman from the South, loses her adoptive family and is raped by a white man. She travels north to seek the patron of a school for black children. Because of the director’s indictment of racism, the film is often regarded as a response to Griffith’s *Birth of a Nation*.

tations of another stereotype in *Bamboozled* (2000). All commercial messages for Pierre's TV minstrel show feature stereotypical and negative portrayals of African-Americans. One of those, an appearance of a hypersexual woman, is based on the directors' assumption about contemporary whites' assessment of African-American women. A shot of the President's back (Clinton) applauding her performance on TV signifies another characteristic of the white gaze in Du Bois's sense. This shot is used to confirm the white gaze toward a black in the previous shot and is an indirect indictment of American racism on a national level.⁴⁸

Although their circumstances are different, Lee and Michaeux portray the same plight of African-Americans caused by the effect of "the eyes of others" in terms of gender identity.

But *Jungle Fever* (1991) reverses this structure. The interracial relationship between black middle class architect, Flipper Purify (Wesley Snipes), and his Italian working class secretary, Angie (Annabella Sciorra), revolves around the seer/seen problem in Du Bois's concept of double consciousness. When he finds Angie's attention to the color of his skin, their relationship starts, and when he says, "I don't love you [Angie]. I was curious," it ends.

Flipper and Angie work together every night at their office. One day,

48 Spike Lee says both TV and cinema have been "guilty." He mentions that the motive for making *Bamboozled* (2000) was "to show that from their birth these two great mediums, film and television, have promoted negative racial images," and that "You have to understand that these mediums are not separate from society." He thinks "Racism is woven into the very fabric of American society. . . ." ("Thinking about power of images: An interview with Spike Lee," *Spike Lee Interviews*. Interview with Gary Crowdus and Dan Georgakas [Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002], 204.) Lee does not link his view of functions of the medium and Du Bois's double consciousness. But, I argue that Lee's making *Bamboozled* itself signifies participation in Du Bois's double consciousness discourse, especially in construction of blacks' "message for the world" discourse. In showing how devastating the effect of media could be on blacks' minds, how media subtly fixes negative image of blacks on non-black audience, and in the way these discourses were made, Lee's film shows "the world" how injustice (Du Bois's sense of the "Devil" who "work" to make people believe that blacks are "the worst") is practiced under the guise of cultural productions in America. Although I discuss TV commercial scenes of *Bamboozled*, as Lee suggest "from their birth (of TV and film)," the last sequences of the film which succeedingly demonstrates minstrel or stereotypical black inferiority image in films fit Lee's intention most. Actually, this last sequence functions as Du Bois's sense of "the message for the world."

Flipper asks her if she is seeing his “color of skin.” Flipper’s awareness concretizes his awareness of “the eyes of others” – white gaze – in Du Bois’s definition. But, against Flipper’s words, the visual constructs Flipper as “the eyes of others” and Angie as the one who is seen. A medium shot of Flipper watching Angie starts the scene, and a medium shot of Angie typing (Flipper’s point of view) without awareness of Flipper’s cross-cut. Angie is shot from Flipper’s POV⁴⁹, and the person who sees the other first is always Flipper. Angie finds Flipper’s eye, and reacts to him every day. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. points out that Flipper was an exotic object for Angie.⁵⁰ And at the same time, the film later makes Angie a white exotic object for a black man, Flipper.

(6) Double Consciousness Discourse in Contemporary African-American Directors’ Films

First, I will analyze “the eyes of others” discourse in Spike Lee’s portrayal of a black middle class TV writer, Pierre Delacroix, in *Bamboozled* (2000). When an African-American TV writer, Pierre, receives an Emmy,⁵¹ he plays several black personas who are assumed to be favored by the audience – white America. Du Bois points out that the blacks’ eye toward themselves are mostly whites’ eye or an assessment of them, and he advocates the need for blacks to have an eye which can see themselves by their own criteria in order to keep self-respect. While Du Bois assumes that this degradation of black psychology occurs on an unconscious level, Pierre intentionally makes use of this function for his image, making of a successful black in the new century. In other words, assuming how whites would see him, he calculates how he should behave.

Also, after he receives the Emmy, he gives his statue to the presenter. Although the presenter refuses, Pierre gives it again, and the presenter sobs. While conversation between Pierre and the presenter (bust shot of two on the

49 Point of view.

50 Henry Louis Gates, Jr., “*Film Views: Jungle Fever Charts Black Middle-Class*. By Angst,” Review of the motion picture *Jungle Fever*, *New York Times*, 20:1, 1991, June 23.

51 Emmy Award.

same screen) on the stage goes on, a voice-over of Pierre, “the Grateful Negro,” comes up in a dramatic way. This voice-over signifies his assumption of the audience’s assessment of him at the moment – Du Bois’s sense of “the eyes of others.”

When Pierre receives the Emmy, (slight) aerial and long shot captures his romping about on the stage, tap dancing, and imitating Michael Jackson’s moon walk on the left side of the screen. The two presenters see him from the right side. While Pierre is dancing and talking to the presenter, Mira Solvino (real actress Mira Solvino) who graduates from the same university (Harvard) as he does, Pierre’s voice-over, “Dancing Fool. Hollywood’s favorite Negro,” is heard. Again, this voice-over signifies his assumed or desired audiences’ assessment of him – Du Bois’s “the eyes of others.” Aerial and long shots emphasize the audiences’ psychological distance from Pierre or their view of him as the “other” – bystander discourse in double consciousness. The distance between Pierre and the two presenters on the stage also emphasizes the distance between black and white – the isolation of Pierre in America.

Second, I will consider the “twoness” dilemma discourse in *Bamboozled* and *Jungle Fever* by comparing them with *Imitation of Life* (1934). The protagonist of *Bamboozled*, Pierre Delacroix, a black TV writer, is ordered by his white boss to write a “coon” show for TV in order to raise audience ratings. If he does not, he breaks his contract and will be sued by the company. He makes the show because he needs the job, but Pierre is condemned by his black friends. This embodies a kind of the “waste of double aim” discourse. Flipper’s having affair with the white secretary results in the loss of her job and his wife’s rejection. Flipper’s dilemma is also caused by his economic needs to keep his place in the white firm. These dilemmas embody the twoness discourse in which “[h]e simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face.”⁵²

But *Imitation of Life* (1934) does not present this dilemma. Deliah and Miss Bea’s cooperation in selling pancake flour using Deliah’s imagery as a

52 Du Bois, *Souls*, 5.

black woman of the South secures her financial condition. The film does not portray her black folks' exclusion of her. Although the picture of pancake flour is her "big smile," and her smile shines as a neon sign on the streets, no blacks condemn her permission of whites' consumption of a black stereotypical image in the Great Depression years. Instead, Deliah asks Miss Bea to have a gorgeous funeral in order to surprise her black folks, to nurture cultural pride and conceal or erase black condemnation. Lack of a serious black or white dilemma in *Imitation of Life* (1934) tells us that the serious dilemma and isolation of the protagonists in *Bamboozled* and *Jungle Fever* present the dilemma of new generations – black middle class called Buppies (black yuppies) that emerged since the civil rights era as a result of polarization between the middle and lower classes. Desire for upward social status provides the key to solve this difference. Deliah in *Imitation of Life* (1934) does not hope to earn big money and own her house from the pancake business. Her hope is to serve Miss Bea. Without resisting against the whites' stereotypical view of blacks, she creates a milieu where she can coexist with whites.

Third, I will analyze "the eyes of others" discourse in *Boyz N the Hood* (1991).⁵³ Tre's father, Furious Style (Laurence Fishburne), starts to lecture for Tre (Cuba Gooding, Jr.) and his friend Ricky (Morris Chestnut) in the Compton suburbs. When they get out of the car, Furious walks to the sign of an estate office (bottom of screen), and Tre and Ricky look in the opposite direction (up screen) at the street people in Compton. As Furious calls the boys, "Amos'n Andy," or "knuckle heads," and says, "it's 90s. We can't afford to be afraid of our own people anymore, man," the difference of physical direction between Furious and the boys signifies the difference of what they see. The direction which Furious sees signifies the future and what the boys see is

53 *Boyz N the Hood*, dir. John Singleton, 107 min., Columbia Pictures, 1991, videocassette. The film mainly focuses on a life of an African-American teenager in South Central Los Angeles, Tre Styles (Cuba Gooding Jr.) and his friends, a football player, Ricky (Morris Chestnut) and Doughboy (Ice Cube). Although Tre's father, Furious (Laurence Fishburne) and mother (Angela Basset) got a divorce, Furious keeps teaching Tre what the rules of life are. The film portrays crime, poverty, drug and violence surrounding the three boys. The director, Singleton, was a nominee for Best Director and Best Original Screenplay of Oscar for this film.

past. Furious plays a role as leader or even predictor of the future of blacks. The youths in Compton see Tre and Ricky as others, and Tre's and Ricky's looking back toward the youths shows their awareness of their gaze toward them. Originally, Du Bois's "the eyes of others" signifies white gaze toward blacks. But this scene shows that among blacks, the "eyes of others" discourse exists. Tre and Ricky are others for the youths in Compton. The difference of classes creates this discourse.

Fourth, I will examine "the eyes of others" discourse in *Jungle Fever* (1991). As Flipper walks by in a medium shot from left to right diagonally, a drug-seller talks to him, and teenagers on the sides of the street try to seduce him. The camera reveals Flipper walking in the foreground and street people in the background, people's reaction to Flipper with Flipper's viewpoint, and a close-up of many discarded drug syringes on the ground. Stevie Wonder's lyric about a boy born and "surrounded by four walls that ain't so pretty" in Mississippi, and his parents' trial to make him go in a good direction explains the landscape of the street. This technique distinguishes Flipper from street people in terms of moral, job and class, and defines them as the "other" for Flipper. Also, as the divide between Tre/Furious and Compton people shows, polarization of blacks after the civil rights movement – middle class and lower class (street people) – creates a new dichotomy within blacks in the scene, and the film portrays "the eyes of others" – street people's eyes on middle class blacks who are called "wanna be whites" or "buppies."

As Du Bois predicted in 1960 that although blacks' acquisition of the right to vote, "equal rights to education," civil rights, and "social equality" is "in sight," this situation would bring "not as many assume an end to the so-called Negro problems, but a beginning of even more difficult problems of race and culture."⁵⁴ The films portray a persistent dilemma illustrated in the concept of double consciousness even after the 60s, the civil rights era. Alienation of a black elite in *Bamboozled* (2000) in white America, and polarization of blacks in terms of class in *Jungle Fever* (1991) and *Boyz N the Hood* (1991), create a new kind of "eyes of others" among black community.

54 Du Bois, "Whither Now and Why," in *The Education of Black People: Ten Critique* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000 [1973]), 193.

Conclusion

The present study has shown how discourses and images relevant to the double consciousness concept of Du Bois have survived in film texts and how those are embedded in film texts. In doing this, I have discussed double consciousness discourse, not only in terms of race, but also in terms of other kinds of conflicts such as those based on class and gender.

I assumed that the concept has multiple definitions, implications, and messages, and emphasized the existence of fragmentary implications of the concept.

Films embed or hide fragments of the double consciousness discourse. The study of these texts identifies discourses of double consciousness in verbal and non-verbal construction of images. The interactions of characters' experience and the solutions to their problems are often the conflict and solutions that Du Bois defined as double consciousness. His definition, "the eyes of others," represents discourses related to social problems. Characters' remarks, action, and the visual composition of films construct the function of social situations.

I also found that the double consciousness discourse has functioned differently over time. For example, in the 1960s a new kind of dilemma of African-Americans emerged and new kind of double consciousness discourse arose. Social structure has been changed and the polarization of blacks after the civil rights era has created a new kind of "twoness" and "the eyes of others" in terms of class. In the 1990s and 2000s, films construct the dichotomy in double consciousness, black and white as seer/seen discourse. The need for the modification of whites' perspectives as bystanders toward the dilemma of most blacks persists in 1990s and 2000s. Black directors often use specific film techniques in order to make audiences experience what receiving Du Bois's sense of "the eyes of others" is like. Compared to the construction of the white gaze in films in the early twentieth century, the technique succeeds in encouraging audiences to conceptualize race problems in more sophisticated ways.

