



**PROBLEMATIC IDEAS OF RACISM, ALIENATION  
AND ACCULTURATION IN FRANTZ FANON'S  
"BLACK SKIN, WHITE MASKS"**

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WHITE MASKS"

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## บทคัดย่อ

ชื่อเรื่อง : ปัญหาทางแนวความคิดในเรื่องการเหยียดชาติพันธุ์ ความแปลกแยกและการเปลี่ยนวัฒนธรรมในหนังสือ “Black Skin, White Masks” ของ Frantz Fanon  
 โดย : นราสิทธิ์ เสนาจันทร์  
 ชื่อปริญญา : ศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต  
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ศัพท์สำคัญ : Fanon การเหยียดชาติพันธุ์ Black Skin, White Masks ความแปลกแยก การเปลี่ยนวัฒนธรรม

ในหนังสือ “Black Skin, White Masks” Fanon อ้างว่าคนผิวดำในยุคอาณานิคม ถูกคนขาวอ้างว่าคนดำป่าเถื่อนและไม่มีอารยธรรม จึงต้องถูกปกครองและสอนการพัฒนาอารยธรรมโดยคนขาว แต่กระนั้นคนขาวโดยแท้จริงไม่ต้องการให้คนดำเป็นเหมือนตนและอคติและวาทกรรมของคนขาวยังทำให้คนดำเกลียดวัฒนธรรมและรากเหง้าของตัวเอง ซึ่งก่อให้เกิดสภาวะลังเล (ambivalence) เพราะคนดำไม่สามารถทั้งพัฒนาตามคนขาวและกลับไปหารากเหง้าของตน จนทำให้เกิดอาการทางจิตในคนดำ

แนวความคิดในหนังสือเล่มนี้ถูกนำไปใช้มากมายในการศึกษายุคหลังอาณานิคม โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งในกลุ่มจิตวิทยา แต่อย่างไรก็ตามผู้วิจัยพบว่าการอ้างของ Fanon มีปัญหาทางกรอบทฤษฎี ขาดหลักฐาน ข้อมูล และการเก็บข้อมูลที่ชัดเจน โดยข้อมูลจากสาขาวิชาอื่นๆ ที่มีการทดลองและการให้หลักฐานที่ชัดเจนกว่าไม่ว่าจะเป็น กลุ่มวิชาวิวัฒนาการจิตวิทยา จิตวิทยาสังคม และจิตวิทยาข้ามวัฒนธรรม ให้ผลการศึกษาที่ต่างกับ Fanon ดังนี้

(1) การเหยียดชาติพันธุ์เป็นผลของวิวัฒนาการในระบบการป้องกันตัวเองของมนุษย์ และจะถูกกระตุ้นเมื่อการแข่งขันเพื่อแย่งชิงทรัพยากรมีความรุนแรง ซึ่งเป็นปรากฏการณ์ทางธรรมชาติในการแข่งขันระหว่างกลุ่มโดยไม่เกี่ยวข้องว่าจะเป็นคนผิวใด

(2) วิชาวิวัฒนาการจิตวิทยาอ้างว่ากลุ่มที่ใช้การเหยียดผิวและอคติมีแนวโน้มที่จะมีชีวิตรอดและสืบพันธุ์มากกว่ากลุ่มตรงข้าม และพันธุกรรมนี้ส่งต่อจากรุ่นสู่รุ่น และโดยธรรมชาติผู้คนมักจะมองเครื่องหมายภายนอก เช่น สีผิว ภาษา ในการจัดกลุ่มคนเข้ากลุ่มของตนหรือแยกกลุ่มศัตรู



(3) งานวิจัยหลายชิ้นได้แสดงให้เห็นว่ากลุ่มที่ถูกกดขี่ไม่จำเป็นต้องรู้สึกต่ำต้อยหรือเกิดอาการทางจิตเสมอไป การเหยียดจากกลุ่มตรงข้ามสามารถทำให้เกิดความแข็งแกร่งภายในกลุ่มของผู้ถูกกดขี่ได้ เพราะผู้ถูกกดขี่มีแนวโน้มจะใช้วิธีเดียวกันในการต่อสู้กับกลุ่มผู้กดขี่

## ABSTRACT

TITLE : PROBLEMATIC IDEAS OF RACISM, ALIENATION AND  
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"Black Skin, White Masks" is one of Frantz Fanon's most acclaimed books about effects of colonization especially the effect of racism resulting in alienation due to the black's attempts to acculturate white culture. In this book, Fanon claims that the white use racism to seize and colonize the black's power. The black, as a result, struggle in the stage of ambivalence that they cannot become white and cannot return to their cultural heritage because they have been internalized to hate their own culture. From this aspect, the black suffer from alienation due to ambivalence.

His ideas in the book are widely developed by many postcolonial scholars, especially in the field of psychological dealing with identity of black people. The researcher finds that his ideas are problematic from the methodology used by Fanon (Freudian's psychoanalysis) and lack of solid evidence, empirical data and test. Some data and results from social, evolutionary and cross-cultural psychology are used to compare with Fanon ideas in this research. The results are:

(1) Racism is a product of our evolved defensive mechanism stimulated when groups' competition is intense. It is natural that racism was a tool used in this period and any race can practice racism. Fanon shows only the effect in black but never show racism against the white in black's perspectives.

(2) Evolutionary psychology suggests the stereotyping groups tend to survive the most and this mechanism is evolved and inherited from generation to

generation. People also tend to use explicit marker such as language and skin color to identity their members.

(3) It is not necessary that the victim of racism must be ambivalent, hate their culture and become alienated; some data have showed that racism and promote inclusive fitness of the victims' group or identity because it can gather the victims in the same loop and they in turn will find positive aspects of their groups against the prejudice and compose negative aspects for the outgroup to fight back

## CONTENTS

	PAGE
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>I</b>
<b>THAI ABSTRACT</b>	<b>II</b>
<b>ENGLISH ABSTRACT</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>CONTENTS</b>	<b>VI</b>
<b>CHAPTER</b>	
<b>1 INTRODUCTION</b>	
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Statement of Problems	2
1.3 Scope and Limitation	3
1.4 Significance of the study	3
<b>2 LITERATURE REVIEW</b>	
2.1 Introduction	4
2.2 Racism	4
2.3 Ambivalence	5
2.4 Alienation	6
2.5 Acculturation	7
2.6 Internalization	8
2.7 Fanon's Influence	8
<b>3 SUMMARY OF THE BOOK'S CONTENTS AND IDEAS</b>	
3.1 Introduction to the Book	16
3.2 Negro and Language	18
3.3 The Woman of Color and the White Man	19
3.4 The Man of Color and the White Women	21
3.5 The So-Called Dependency Complex of Colonized People	23
3.6 The Fact of Blackness	25
3.7 The Negro and Psychopathology	27
3.8 The Negro and Recognition	33



**CONTENTS (CONTINUED)**

	<b>PAGE</b>
3.9 The Negro and Hegel	34
3.10 By the Way of Conclusion	35
<b>4 ANALYSIS</b>	
4.1 Problems in Methodology and Evidence	36
4.2 Origin and Evolution of Ethnocentrism	41
4.3 Natural Phenomena in the Conflict of Black and White	54
4.4 Effect of Racism and Ethnic Identity Formation in Racism Context	58
4.5 Internalized Acculturation	62
<b>5 CONCLUSION</b>	70
<b>REFERENCES</b>	72
<b>APPENDIX</b>	82
<b>VITAE</b>	88

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

Frantz Fanon (1925–1961) was a Martinique psychiatrist, but also considered a philosopher and revolutionist. His works mainly focus on psychology of people experiencing colonization and decolonization. His works also massively influence postcolonial studies and anti-colonial movement (Richards and Chew, 2010). One of his frequently quoted books “Black Skins White Masks” deals with alienation and internalization caused by cultural degradation resulted from racism of the colonization in the Antillean society. This book is considered one of the most influential books in postcolonial studies and the ideas proposed in the book are widely adopted by many scholars. For example, the writers of the postcolonial books such as Sherry Chew and David Richards (2010); Mrinalini Greedhary (2008); Homi K. Bhabha (1994); Derek Hook (2005); Floyd W. Hayes III and Richard Schmitt (2010); Ania Loomba (1998) all use Fanon’s (1982) concepts as important tools to study psychology, identity and alienation. There is even a key theoretical concept in postcolonial studies called Fanonism.

The researcher, however, finds that this book is problematic; some of the ideas are groundless in evidence. For example, Fanon’s use literature, story which is told by a few people and dreams of a few of his patients as evidence to support his theoretical claims about alienation and internalization of the black. Such evidence is unreliable because it lacks scientific proofs and systematic methodology for data collection. For example, Fanon analyzed dreams of his patients as evidence; however, his analyses were not falsifiable. He claims in this book that the alienation felt by the colonized is caused by the desire of wanting to be assimilated to the colonizer’s culture, and the desire is internalized by the colonizer using the idea of “savage” versus civilization. This desire, however, can be caused by the desire to have a better life due to their own free will. Using literature or characters in the literature, even though the writers claim that it is an autobiographical novel as evidence to support his

claims is also not tenable because the literature is not intended as presenting facts as such. It should be more scientific because it is psychological and Fanon claims that the data were gathered through clinical therapy which sounds scientific. Fanon also uses words such as neurosis and pathology which are scientific, but the method used to gather the data is not scientific. His claims turn out to be so unscientific because he has no evidence both statistical and empirical, logical data collection and testable results.

The present study wants to study Fanon's book 'Black Skins, White Masks'. It is important to identify the problems of this book because many postcolonialist scholars use this book as a framework to study the psychology and racism. For example, there are books use Fanon's ideas as the main theory of the books such as: *Frantz Fanon and the Psychology of Oppression* (1985), *Black Soul, White Artifact: Fanon's Clinical Psychology and Social Theory* (2002), *Frantz Fanon: Colonialism and Alienation* (1974), and *Black Skin, White Coats: Nigerian Psychiatrists, Decolonization, and the Globalization of Psychiatry* (2013). His ideas are massively adopted by the scholars of postcolonialism, which deals with the idea of culture, society and people's identity resulted from the effect of/after colonization, who use Fanon's proposed ideas in this book to study the social phenomena during the colonization periods and after independence of the colonies around the world. Many postcolonialists such as Homi K. Bhabha, Lidia Curti, Mrinalini Greedhary, Ashis Nandy, Elleke Boehmer, Anjali Prabhu, Ronald A. T. Judy, Lewis R. Gordon, Françoise Verges, Joan Phillips and Robert B. Potter use Fanon's ideas to analyze the effects of colonization in different places and times. It is hoped that the present study will help resolve some future problems of postcolonial studies caused by the misuse of Fanon's ideas.

## 1.2 Statement of Problems

Many psychological claims in *Black Skins, White Masks*, are not supported by solid evidence and empirical data. Methodology is also problematic because it is untestable.



### **1.3 Scope and Limitation**

The present study will focus on the book 'Black Skins, White Masks' and some social psychological concepts concerning human nature in light of scientific evidence. This research will also mainly focus on the concept of racism, acculturation and its result; ambivalence and alienation; Ambivalence, according to Fanon, results from the desire to adopt white culture and discard black culture of the black. The black, however, cannot completely adopt the white culture because the white create barrier for the black to do so. The black, therefore, cannot struggle in between the given cultures and cannot go completely to both culture. Similar to ambivalence, alienation deals with the feeling that the black cannot completely acculturate to the white culture while not wanting to return to their heritage. The black, therefore, are alienated by both white culture and himself.

This research will skip the sexual aspects showed in Fanon's book and the idea of psychological sexuality.

### **1.4 Significance of the Study**

The study reveals that many of Fanon's frequently used concepts proposed in "Black Skins, White Masks" are not well supported by evidence. The study results are expected to provide some guidelines for those who want to use Fanon's concepts to study social psychology of people affected by colonization in one way or another.



## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERLATURE REVIEWS**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The concepts of racism, internalization, ambivalence, alienation and acculturation are the most discussed concepts in the book 'Black Skin, White Masks', especially in postcolonial study concerning the colonized's identities (which will be discussed in the section of 'Fanon's Influence' later). The concepts are results of each other as Fanon claims; the colonizers used racism and internalization to claim their superiority over the black by claiming that the black's civilization is savage. Ambivalence results from the feeling that the black cannot completely be white and they cannot go back to their heritage because it is negatively internalized by the white. From this stage, alienation occurred, and all of these are the results of acculturation stimulated by racism and internalization. It is important, therefore, to discuss the nature and main idea of these concepts and how Fanon claims about them.

#### **2.2 Racism**

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century scientists believed that humans were separated into different race, which led into the belief that some races were more inferior to others, this is called 'scientific racism'. Racism is a belief or practice considering different races to be positioned and treated differently in society (Schaefer, 2008). The belief mainly concerns individuals of racial groups share inheritable traits, qualities or abilities to social profits. Racism normally comes along with stereotype and prejudice, although a person of prejudiced group can provide benefits for stereotyping group, they must face with the dilemma of genetic markers first.

Racism is often viewed as a political tool because politics advances racism to a group or nation agenda such as the Klu Klux Klan. Racism, therefore, occurs in every big form such as culture and politics (Hoyt, 2012; Tooby and Cosmides, 1988).

Scientific racism found its peak during 1940s or the World War II when the Nazi used scientific racism to justify their superiority. After the defeat of the Nazi, race now is not viewed as scientific categorization. Racism, however, still plays important role in modern era such as the ethnic war in Africa and black discrimination in America. There are still racist groups such as Neo Nazi, a white supremacist, or particular racial extremist group in every culture.

Some believe that people obtain racism in their mind through media and internalization by the elite (Schaefer, 2008). The stereotype about a given race is systematically composed by media, cultural, class and religious symbolism. Historically racism is believed to be the driving force behind slavery (Reily and et al., 2003) and ongoing ethnic wars in present days. Some scholars, however, believe that racism is the result of evolved mechanism resulted from group competition and is universal in human traits (Tooby and Cosmides, 1988; McDonald, 2002).

Racism can be dated even before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is found that racism was commonly practice in middle-east and African region during 14<sup>th</sup> century (Lewis, 1992). It is also evidenced in the Bible that Jewish people marginalized Samaritan people during the time of *The New Testament*. Even nowadays racism can be seen throughout the globe in many forms. World's turmoil is often stimulated by racism.

In '*Black Skin, White Masks*', Fanon claims that racism was the main tool used by the colonizers in order to gain their superiority. Racism was used through racial, cultural and superficially developmental comparisons. The colonizers or the white claimed that the black was more savage than them and need to be civilized in order to be advanced like the white at that time.

### 2.3 Ambivalence

Ambivalence is a psychological state occurring when a person has simultaneous conflict towards choices (Kaplan, 1972). Concisely, an ambivalent individual suffers from the having both negative and positive attitudes to some certain things.

There are several types of ambivalence. One is subjective ambivalence. Subjective ambivalence occurs when a person cannot evaluate some choices or objects



because of the interference of negative and positive attitude (Priester and Petty, 1996). Another one is objective ambivalence. Objective ambivalence occurs when a person simultaneously acknowledges the positive and negative sides of the same object. The main difference of subjective and objective ambivalence is that subjective ambivalence requires psychological experience as its main influence whereas objective ambivalence occurs when a person endorses both negative and positive attitudes towards the same object through psychological experience given by others' attitudes.

In *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon uses ambivalence in the sense that the black cannot decide to conserve their heritage culture or acculturate the white culture.

## 2.4 Alienation

Alienation is a term used in sociology and psychology. Alienation occurs in a person when that person does not share a common value or integration with a social group in where he lives (Ankony and Kelly, 1999).

Alienation can be caused by the feeling of powerlessness. Seeman (1959) states that an individual feels alienated influenced by powerlessness when he cannot determine the outcome of his behaviors. While the powerlessness regards to the tendency to control the outcome, the alienation regarding to the expectation of outcome is meaninglessness. The low expectation in outcome of person's behavior relates to the feeling of meaninglessness. Seeman also points out the "normlessness". Normlessness refers to inability to identify with norms and values of the dominant society. Normlessness is influenced when a person finds that social norms cannot guide his life or lead to a proper outcome. Normlessness can also lead to political alienation which refers to when a person cannot engage in political system and is excluded from the outcome of that system.

In psychology, alienation is mental disturbance occurring since childhood influenced by society of dysfunctional families and ontological insecurity (Johnson, 1975). This, however, could be considered as adapting stage to the new society, but it was diagnosed as mental disorder in 1960s (Johnson, 1975).

Fanon claims that the black suffer from the ambivalence that they cannot decide whether to choose the white or the black culture, the white culture rejects them while makes them hate their own culture. From this reason, the black feel insecurity in both culture and they become alienated.

## 2.5 Acculturation

Acculturation is a process of cultural and psychological change when an individual encounter new society or culture (Sam and Berry, 2010). The changes resulted from acculturation can be found in tradition, social pattern and identity in group level. In individual stage, acculturation results in psychological well-being. This term can be dated to 2370 B.C in Sumerian inscription or even in the Bible when the Jewish tried to adopt some of the dominant culture while preserving their traditional religious practices (Gadd, 1971). Acculturation was forced to use with the natives during colonization. At the present day, immigration is one of the key factors in acculturation because people can freely immigrate to a new country in where they encounter new cultural pattern.

Berry (1997) found that there are four stages of acculturation which are (1) Assimilation, when an individual adopt the dominant culture completely over their original heritage (2) Separation, when an individual rejects the dominant culture in order to preserve their original heritage (3) Separation, when an individual can both adopt the dominant culture and preserve some aspects of their cultural heritage (4) Marginalization, when an individual rejects both dominant and heritage culture.

In Frantz Fanon's *'Black Skin, White Masks'*, the black tend to adopt the assimilation strategy because, as claimed by Fanon, they encounter the internalization that their heritage culture is savage and underdeveloped. In order to gain access to development and well-being, they must assimilate the dominant culture. The black, however, as claimed by Fanon, cannot do so because white's prejudice and stereotype hinder them to become completely adopted, which led them to psychological alienation.



## 2.6 Internalization

Internalization refers to an integration of values, attitudes or belief into a person's mind or identity. Some theorists believe that internalization can use to predict and guide a child's behaviors through socialization (Deci and Ryan, 1985). Theorists believe that a child's identity develops at the age three. (Emde and et al., 1991). Internalization can be used by deliberated psychoanalytical and behavioral methods.

Internalization is commonly found in religious practices or in general moral conversion of a person (Doran, 2011: website). Internalization requires learning (ideas or skills) in order to be successful. Internalization is also a tool in acculturation process of the dominant culture in order to conquer to the dominated.

In '*Black Skin, White Masks*', Fanon claims that the black were internalized through media and values since childhood to assimilate and follow the white culture, and it led the black to psychopathology and alienation. Internalization was the key factor driving the black's neuroses.

To sum up, in '*Black Skin, White Masks*', Fanon claims that racism was used to internalize the colonized through the reason of savage versus civilization; the white claimed that the black were savage and need to be guided with white's civilization. In order to do this, they needed to acculturate white's culture. The black, however, could not completely adopt white culture because the white never wanted the black do so; the white wanted only power and resource. From this aspect, ambivalence occurred in the black's mental states; they cannot be white and cannot return to their heritage because the internalization made them feel disgusted their heritage. Since they could not be and return, they struggled in between these two cultures. Alienation, therefore, occurred during this stage.

## 2.7 Fanon's Influence

Frantz Fanon is a widely acclaimed figure studying effect of colonization, namely postcolonialism. His works, especially for *Black Skins, White Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth*, are claimed to be one of the foundation works in postcolonial studies. *Black Skins, White Masks* is claimed to be the most influential book for

studying the colonized's identity and psychopathology associating with racism and alienation. David Richards (2010) claims that *Black Skins, White Masks* is "one of the most influential and foundational texts of postcolonialism was predictable, since it 'defied all academic and scientific conventions' in combining an 'experimental exploration of the author's subjectivity' (p. 10). Henry Swartz and Sangeeta Ray (2004) claim that *Black Skins, White Masks* "offers the crucial insight that the identity of neither party to the colonial relationship is "originary" Rather, each side needs and depends on the other in order to constitute itself (if only by distinguishing itself from what it is not), whether as colonizer or colonized. From this perspective, the "familiar alignment of colonial subjects – Black/White, Self/Other – is disturbed... and the traditional grounds of racial identity are dispersed" (p. 458). Stuart Hall (1990) states that Frantz Fanon has showed how the identity of the colonized is degraded through the perception (which is absolutely influenced by the attitudes) of the white, and that is the source of identity conflict in colonial area. Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti (1996) say that "Fanon has been crucial to our understanding of the internal traumas of identity which are associated with colonisation and enslavement" (p. 69). They claim that Fanon points out that the identity of the colonized is problematized through objectification, which is one of the terms in racism. Objectification occurs when a group of people is regarded as things, not human. For example, the black are regarded as things such as savage, brutal, lustful. Objectification is not turning people to things, but perceiving them as something having no human relationship. For example, a normally perceived person is regarded with some attributes provided by the attitudes of people towards his culture, he, however, is also perceived as human being. An objectified person is perceived to have only the attributes of the stereotypes without humanity.

Mrinalini Greedharry (2008) claims that "It seems obvious that any investigation of the relationship between postcolonial theory and psychoanalysis must begin with the work of Frantz Fanon. For some commentators, this is largely because of his psychoanalytically influenced book, *Black Skins White Masks*" (p. 15). Ania Loomba (1998) claims that *Black Skins, White Masks* is widely discussed in postcolonial studies especially in the topic of gender, racism, alienation and psychopathology. Elleke Boehmer (2005) states that "Fanon, a key theorist of anti-



imperial nationalism, rightly observed that the colonized man breathed the ‘appeal of Europe like pure air’” Ashis Nandy (2010) claims that “Frantz Fanon was one of the first to point out the psychological dominance of the European middle-class culture in the colonies” through his psychological influential book *Black Skins, White Masks*. Anjali Prabhu (2007) says that *Black Skins, White Masks* has been canonized in the study of hybridity in postcolonial criticism. Floyd W. Hayes, III (1996) shows that the oppression of the black people in both the past (during slavery and colonization) and the present (of his time in which he uses the violence conducted by the Alabama Governor George Wallace, which occurred in 1995, one year before his text was published, as the supporting evidence) are coined with Fanon’s ideas. Heyes argues that “Fanon declared that black people are ... oppressed by western, that is, white, civilization. He characterized this civilization as a fundamentally anti-black world where the structure of white superiority encouraged the oppression, dehumanization, exploitation, degradation, and hatred of black people”. Heyes also claims that Fanon is “one of the most profoundly influential thinkers of the second half of the twentieth century”. He also claims that the method of oppression such as dehumanization and oppression pointed out by Fanon occurs in wherever black racism happens in America since the past until now. Richard Schmitt (1996) states that Fanon’s analysis of psychological racism in *Black Skins, White Masks* shows the most important factors causing racism. Racism, even though, has many aspects, types, method, and practices, the exact aim, however, is to objectify people. Ronald, A. Judy (1996) claims that Fanon has showed the cause of the psychopathologies are the symbolizations of the black. The black identity is symbolized by the European as evil, lower and savage things. When the black’s ego identifies itself with imperial’s discourse, alienation occurs because the black will hate his race and turn against it. The black also suffers from the oppression since the past and it becomes his traumatic scenes. Lewis R. Gordon (1996) argues that Fanon declares that the mainstream psychoanalysis cannot explain the black identity under anti-black world because the mainstream psychoanalysis was conducted under the white world, and the anti-black world is the white. Theory about human science also cannot explain the black under anti-black world, Gordon claims. Fanon has showed that, Gordon claims, in a racist society the logic of anonymity is broken down. Anonymity “... is the mundane ability to stand

for another in the realm of understanding. In one sense, we are all like everyone else. But in another sense, there is no one like us" (Gordon, 1996). Anonymity prevent the claim that everyone is the universally same. A Thai person might be regarded as stereotypical Thai, but in the relationship with others he is also a unique human being; to see every black are to see all the black. Gordon states that Fanon argues that the body politic of the black does not stand in symbolic level, but in negative material level; a Thai person might be regarded with the stereotypical attributes of Thai, but also himself have his unique life. The black, however, is not the symbol of crime, but he is crime in the eyes of the colonizers, as Gordon claims. Francoise Verges (1996) claims that Fanon is a very important figure starting the 'Decolonized Psychiatry'. Fanon claims that to cure the psychopathologies in the black, one must change the social and cultural structure influenced by the white's discourse. Black's alienation is not an individual question, but the question must be asked regarding the culture and society given.

Bulhan (1985: 192) elaborately links Fanon's concept of alienation with the data of the black Americans suffering from psychopathology during the time in which racism was highly problematic in the society. Bulhan claims that

"According to Fanon, it is particularly when the black person is cut off from his community and thrown into the white world that structural, institutional, and personal violence intensifies and the psycho-existential crisis unfolds with poignancy. The black person seeking his destiny in a country in which whites are the majority learns quickly that his self and most concretely his body are under constant assault."

Bulhan claims that the black in the American society at that time were both powerless and poor. The lower economic and political status leads to inferiority. With racial difference the black are both inferior and alienated. The black, therefore, were the most psychopathologically vulnerable citizens in American society.



Bulhan (1985: 184) gathered the data of psychology research in America during the years of his book (1960 – 1985), and it shows that the black has more psychological problems than the white, as he claims that:

“A body of data on mental disorders shows that blacks, in comparison to whites, are more frequently institutionalized and for more severe disorders. They are also kept longer, given less therapy and more drugs, and assigned less qualified therapists. Consistent with the data on violence, black males between the ages of 18 and 44 are the most ostensible casualties of social inequity, in carcerative abuse, and professional bias. It is unclear whether the excessive admission rates for blacks indicate actual psychopathology, misdiagnosis, therapeutic inequity, or systemic gerrymandering of blacks with the help of the mental health establishment. It seems reasonable to assume that the serates reflect a combination of these, and more fundamentally, the social oppression that is the bedrock of greater stress, ethnocentrism, and professionalbias.”

Bulhan connects the data with Fanon's concept of alienation; the black are internalized that he can become the white by acculturating to the white culture, but he cannot completely be the white, and he cannot go back to his original identity because it is made negative by the white's stereotype and racism. The alienation, therefore, causes psychopathology in black, and it is especially severe if a black are put in a racist society. Alienation, Bulhan claims, therefore, is the source of psychopathology of the black in a racist society. The one who firstly introduced this, Bulhan states, is Fanon.

Joan Phillips and Robert B. Potter (2006) conducted a research using Fanon's framework of alienated and ambivalent identity. They interviewed black people of the Caribbean migrating to UK, and later return to their homelands finding

that they suffered from alienation in the white society. As they claim:

“Bajan-Brits of the black skin–white mask identity inhabit an in between liminal space based on difference; a social location/identity based on the experience of the (post)colonized living in the world of the colonizer. Moreover, the paper argues, it is precisely this postcolonial existence – dominated by an ingrained understanding and knowledge of racism and racial inferiority (Fanon, 1967) and of the disadvantages inherent in their extant social location – which provides the impetus for these young returnees’ emigration to the Caribbean in the first place.”

They also adopted the term epidermal schema proposed by Fanon; when the black of Caribbean descent born in UK realizes their racial skin, the epidermal schema caused by internalization starts to attack their identity and causes alienation and ambivalence.

Finally the interviewed immigrants returned to their homeland because they finally realized that their identity is hybrid, not genuine. As Phillips and Potter claim:

“Our research suggests that our informants’ decision to return to Barbados was based on the recognition that their hybrid identity, while offering a counter-discourse to white hegemony, conferred no advantages in the English patriarchal system. Rather, the black skin white mask hybrid identity of the Bajan-Brits was in itself a liminal existence based on alienation and othering.”

*Black Skins, White Masks*, is an extremely influential book in social psychology; his ideas are mentioned in a social psychology book called *Group Conflict and Social Psychology of Racism*, psychoanalysis, psychiatry, body and identity politics especially concerning the relationship of the colonizers and the colonized.



It, absolutely, is one of the foundation books for studying postcolonialism as suggested by many postcolonial scholars showed above. His ideas in *Black Skin, White Masks* are mentioned and adopted in many books, especially postcolonial studies. Those who want to use and study postcolonial theory, therefore, are inevitable to adopt Fanon's ideas in *Black Skins, White Masks* to study the phenomena of ex-colonies. *Black Skins, White Masks*, in conclusion, need to be investigated carefully its ideas are questionable. For example, Fanon lacks of scientific evidence, qualitatively and quantitatively. Some might argue that the dreams of the patients are the evidence of this book. Dreams, however, cannot give a genuine meaning of what it stands for and it is falsifiable. Using literature also is not enough to proof the majority of the black's psychopathology. Even though it can be argued that the literature used in *Black Skins, White Masks* is autobiographical. The author himself cannot be the represent of the whole black's psychopathology. After searching through the research database, Fanon's ideas, in addition, are found fewly in scientific psychology researches such as social psychology, evolutionary psychology or cognitive psychology. His ideas, however, are massively adopted by postmodern psychology and postcolonial psychology. The comparison, therefore, between his ideas and the studies having scientific methodology will be interested.

Hilton (2011) claims that Fanon is notable in analysis of the oppression and its influence in the oppressed psyche in the oppressed. He claims that Fanon's ideas can be generalized throughout the mentality of the oppressed during colonization around the globe, and in his article he uses Fanon's theory with the Native American. He claims that Fanon is the first who study the etiology of oppressed mental disorders. Hilton suggests that the colonized around the world are destined to commit destructive acts amongst themselves resulted from colonial oppression suggested by Fanon.

Even though Fanon claims in *Black Skin, White Masks* that he studied only the black in Antillean and Martinique society, Fanon, uses vague words such as 'black' and 'white', 'the colonizer' and 'the colonized', 'color of people' and 'European'. These words can be generalized to the whole population of African, black immigrants, the colonizers and Europeans. Even the term itself is inappropriate with the whole population of the Antillean society. Some of the scholars, as mentioned above, tend to use his ideas spacelessly and timelessly. For example, Bhabha adopts Fanon's ideas on



Indian society. Fanon's ideas, therefore, should be investigated with the comparison with other scientific psychological research to compare the result of findings.



## **CHAPTER 3**

### **SUMMARY OF THE BOOK'S CONTENTS AND IDEAS**

This chapter contains analysis of Fanon's book with contrast with scientific evidence. While Fanon tries to suggest readers that the phenomena since the colonial times the white master or practice racism severely to the black and the black were the victim of racism and became pathologized. The black were prejudiced until they hated their own culture and tended to see their fellow black as savages and it affected the blacks, and created psychopathology, which causes alienation and ambivalence in black's identity, that rooted down until nowadays, many results, however, in psychological experiments and studies show the contrary. Racism, ethnocentrism, xenophobia or stigmatization result from our evolved mechanism, and it not only lead to pathology, instead it can lead to self-enhancement and inclusive fitness in a suppressed group. It is, importantly, universal; not only the whites can do it but also people of every skin color show this tendency for racism and not only the effect of racism can be pathology of the society; it can create self-esteem and strong group identity too. The next section will discuss the problems in Fanon's methodology first as his approach lacks scientific evidence.

#### **3.1 Introduction to the Book**

'Black Skins, White Masks' main content is about alienation and internalization of the colonized caused by the white culture and the internalized desire to acculturate to white culture, as claimed by Fanon. Fanon used psychoanalysis and some psychoanalytical theory such as those of Freud, Lacan and Satre to analyze the psychological experience characterized by dependency and inferiority complex of the colonized (mainly in Antillean) in the colonial context. Fanon claimed that the colonized lost their cultural originality due to desire to be like the colonizer, but it is impossible for them to achieve that goal. Also they are rejected by the white. This results in alienation. Fanon also claimed that that desire is not out of the free will of

the colonized but it was internalized in the black psyche. Free will in this context means that Free will here means that the black chooses to follow the white out of their free will according to their reasons. The internalized will means that they choose to follow the white because they are internalized that their culture and society are savage and uncivilized, therefore they believe that to follow the white is to get rid of their savageness.

The colonizers use the ideal of civilization, which claims that the black are savage and need to be civilized by the white's guidance, to claim to rule to the colonized. Fanon uses his patients' dreams, literature such as poetry stories told by people and himself as main evidence. Throughout the book Fanon mostly uses binary opposition such as black and white, civilized and savage or superior and inferior to compare the psychological relationship between the black and the white. The book is separated into 8 chapters; Chapter I, "The Negro and Language", which is about how a black adopts the white culture and forsakes his own cultural heritage, mainly focusing on how language and other cultural aspects affect the psychology of the black in the course of assimilating themselves to the white culture. Chapter II, "The Woman of Color and the White Man" mainly focuses on the psychological relationship with the interference of alienation caused by the colors of black women and white men. Chapter III, "The Man of Color and White Woman" is similar to the previous chapter but with different concept due to different of gender focused. Chapter IV, "The So-Called Dependency Complex of Colonized Peoples" concerns how dependency complex is claimed to occur in black people, how it is caused and how it affects. Chapter V, "The Fact of Blackness", focuses on the experience of being 'black' in the context of racist society and how the 'epidermal schema' occurs and affects the mind of the black. Chapter VI, "The Negro and Psychopathology" is about how the neurosis, inferiority and alienation are generated and how they affect people and their identity in the society. Chapter VII, "The Negro and Recognition" is about how to reclaim and cure alienation and internalization. Chapter VIII, "By Way of Conclusion" concludes the book and shows Fanon's expectation for the black society.



### 3.2 The Negro and Language

In this chapter, Fanon claims that the black use language as a tool to gain the white culture, or in Fanon's words, to become whiter. As he claims

"To speak a language is to take on a world, a culture. The Antilles Negro who wants to be white will be the whiter as he gains greater mastery of the cultural tool that language is."  
(p. 25)

The black trying to use the white's language (in the book it is French) will forsake and disdain his mother tongue. The native language, as Fanon claims, is used by the middle class black only with their servant and is forbidden in school. Fanon claims that this cultural degradation is the result of colonization. The result caused by the missing of local cultural originality. The master narrative of the Negro history has been rewritten by the white and set the goal for civilization for the black. Fanon uses stories as proofs; a story of a Negro student who came back home and pretended to forget his native language or a story of a soldier who loves to convey orders in French (p. 11). Fanon states that, in addition, the Negroes who came back from France will boast of how civilized the France is. This, as Fanon argues, is to complete the cycle after a Negro acculturate French culture; He gains the language then they will add experiences of living in French to make them completely possessed the white culture, and it is clearly showed in the book that Fanon does not use this to black individuals but the black population; he uses the word 'black' and "Negro" throughout his book. In Antillean society a Negro who can speak French fluently will be called 'became whiter'. The black, however, cannot completely develop the French because the interference of mother tongue and their racial originality. They, therefore, fall into the dilemma of impossible transformation. It, furthermore, causes the black to become inferior because they don't just try to adopt but they follow the white's steps and surmount the white culture as superior than them. This makes impact on the white's prejudice that the black are lower and savage and need to be civilized. The prejudice is based on the white's belief that the black are black because of their sins; they are the



lowest evolution of human species (p. 8), as Fanon claims. The image of the mother-tongue-interfered white language of the black are used as the image of defected black and stereotype such as in the movies for hilarious purpose. Fanon claims that this is the “*extremely dangerous foreign bodies*” injected by the white into the black because it causes alienation and dislocation in the black (p. 23); they cannot completely become the white but also feel unwanted by the white because of their originality. The black need to be praised for his level of assimilation. As Fanon says

“It is understandable that the first action of the black man is a reaction, and, since the Negro is appraised in terms of the extent of his assimilation, it is also understandable why the newcomer expresses himself only in French. It is because he wants to emphasize the rupture that has now occurred. He is incarnating a new type of man that he imposes on his associates and his family.” (p. 24)

To sum up this chapter, Fanon claims that the assimilation to the white culture by the black cause the black alienation. This shows in the defected language use of the black. It emphasizes on the negative images caused by stereotype and prejudice of the white. The root of all of this is caused by colonization because the colonizers claim that the black are savage and need to be civilized, and the civilizing tools are their culture. Such civilizing process gradually eradicates the knowledge of local originality in the black’s mind. Then the black are struck in the middle of nowhere; he must walk an endless road with no return.

### **3.3 The Woman of Color and The White Man**

As the name suggests, this chapter discusses the relationship of the black women and the white men. Fanon investigates this kind of relationship in the scope of psychoanalysis, psychologically racial relationship in the frame of inferiority and superiority. Fanon put the men on the top of women. He claims that the men will give some social position to the women they love (p. 30). In this relationship, however, the

interference of racial difference causes inferiority complex in the black women greatly. Fanon uses the book "Je suis Martiniquaise" (I am a Martinican Woman) by Mayotte Capécia as the main source of evidence and analysis in this Chapter. The book tells the story about the writer herself and her relationship with her white husband. In the book Capécia describes the Caucasian appearance of her husband adorably. Fanon states that this is an example of the black women's obsession of white men; she loves him because he is white and belongs to superior race. As he said

"Mayotte loves a white man to whom she submits in everything. He is her lord. She asks nothing, demand nothing, except a bit of whiteness" (p. 29)

Fanon claims that the goal of the black women is to whiten the world (p. 33). In the relationship of black women and white men the women do not try to negrify the white men but to make themselves become white. This causes alienation because in the white society she will exist in the binary opposition; inferior and superior, and this causes great difference. Fanon supports this by a survey showing that black women tend to choose white men as their couples, and some stories of black women who will choose a Negro according to 'how black he is'. This happens because, as Fanon claims, the phobia of inferiority in the black cause them to avoid it, and they turn to follow the superior, Fanon calls this 'ego withdrawal' (p. 35). In this relationship the white men have all the virtuous characteristics such as dignity and the black women must try hard to be worthy of him. Fanon, moreover, claims that there are 2 types of black woman in European society; the black and mulatto. The black must try to turn white, and the mulatto not only must try to turn completely white but also try not to fall back to blackness. In turn the black women will hate their blackness. Fanon claims that racial hatred is not innate in humans but it is constantly cultivated (p. 37). This hate is caused by racial degradation. Fanon claims that the black are enslaved by inferiority, and the white are enslaved by superiority (p. 42). In this context, the black put himself into 'a complete situational neurosis. The black (in this case Fanon use the word 'man of color' which can be interpreted as every race except the white) always runs away from his presence of color, and it causes alienation



in every effort he does. His attitudes cause him alienation whether towards the black or the white. Not only the black want to be white, but also he wants to revenge, as Fanon claim. He states the story of a black medical student who never be recognized as a human being by his white professor (p. 43). One day he was enlisted in military service. He desired to be served and feared just like what he felt towards the white men. This is the process of vengeance towards his *imago*; the term that was coined by Jacque Lacan, it means the image that people identify and strive to conform to form their identity. The black's imago is the white. This imago, however, causes alienation in him and serves as his superiority. Ambivalence occurs here as the black want to both revenge and conform to this imago. In the case of women, however, the black women imago has two different existences; the white as the imago to which she wants to turn, and the black to which she wants to evade.

### **3.4 The Man of Color and the White Women**

This chapter, as the name is coined, discusses the relationship of black males and white females. Fanon overtures this chapter by describing his mental state that sometimes he wants to be white. If a black man is loved by a white women, it is a proof that he is worthy of the white world. Fanon, same as the previous chapter, uses an autobiographical novel by Rene Maran as the source of evidence. In the book, Jean Venue, the black protagonist, proposes Andree Marielle, his white lover, propose to her and ask permission with her brother. Her brother accepts with one condition that he must not be 'black', mentally and culturally.

Fanon claims that this procedure of acceptance is similar with the situation of colored students in France society (p. 50). They are accepted not as genuine Negroes but something less 'black' if they are appropriate to be so. The society stereotypes black as savage but the students are civilized in their culture then they are not black, just 'extremely brown'. Fanon claims that most of the black men who have forsaken their originality tend to marry white women not because of love but for the sake of cultural revenge (p. 54). The aim for this revenge is to eradicate the cultural prejudice from which the Negroes have suffered for long. In the case of the black

women they want to deracialize their race, in the case of the black men, however, they want to deracialize the white. This type of neurosis is abandonment neurosis.

Abandonment neurosis, which is similar to autism, as Fanon states, relates to obsession with the past with frustrations, gaps and defeats (p. 53). It paralyzes enthusiasm for living. The negative aggressive type of autistic mind tends to go back and obsess with past and present failures or disappointments, lock himself in secret mental area of disillusion. Fanon claims, however, that this type is different from a genuine autistic person. The abandonment neurosis aware of its secret zone, it harvests and defends every intrusion. He views everything in terms of himself and does not allow any positive experience to compensate his disappointed past. The abandonment neurosis causes feeling of impotence in relationship of life and people, and a complete rejection of responsibility. This concept, Fanon claims, suits perfectly with psychological characteristics of Jean Venue, whom Fanon uses as the representative of the black men in their relationship with white women and white society.

A person suffering from abandonment neurosis always fears with everything. He doubts he will be loved or not. In the case of Jean Venue, he doubts because of his color. He fears that the other will love and recognize him without realization of his color. Jean Venue will repay whatever the white men give him because he does not want to feel obligated, inferior and in debt to the white men. Fanon states that the reason for studying this book is to understand the psychological elements that can alienate the black. He explains that:

“The neurotic structure of an individual is simply the elaboration, the formation, the eruption within the ego, of conflictual clusters arising in part out of the environment and in part out of the purely personal way in which that individual reacts to these influences.” (p. 59)

Under the society of color repression, Jean Venue's neurosis arises because the society in which he lives alienates him.



### 3.5 The So-Called Dependency Complex of Colonized People

This chapter, Fanon deals with the work of Octave M. Manoni, who wrote the book *Prospero and Caliban: Psychology of Colonization* (1956). Manoni studied the psychology of the colonized people, he claims that the colonized people have dependency complex (p. 56). Fanon claims that the problem of colonialism is not consisted only interrelation of historical condition but also human's attitudes toward these conditions. Manoni claims that the inferior and dependency complex were implanted in the colonized since their childhood (p. 56). Fanon claims that the colonial condition is the confrontation of 'civilized' and 'savaged' and it colonial condition, or the racism. The colonial condition creates "the mass of illusions and misunderstandings that only a psychological analysis can place and define" (p. 62). While Manoni claims that racism structure in South Africa occurs differently in the different classes of people. For example, the middle class, small traders, petty officer show the most racist behavior, Fanon argues that racism exists not because economic structure but because the whole structure in South Africa is a racism structure (p. 64); The black are allowed to build their own civilization only under the guidance and the authority of the white, and with a minimum contact between the races. The colonized's civilization, therefore, never becomes their distinctive civilization, but with the white interference, and never become a complete culture because of the differences and marginalization between the races, which is the claims that the white race is higher than other races. Manoni claims that the exploitation and racism in colonial context is different from other racisms. Fanon, however, claims that exploitation and racism in colonial context is identical to every form of them. The Europeans, however, are responsible for the racism existed in colonial situation. Fanon uses Jasper's metaphysical guilt to explain his claim. Jaspers' concept deals with the feeling of guilt that one feels responsible for fellow one; the least of my actions involves all mankind (p. 66). Then Europeans share the feeling of guilt caused by other Europeans from the different generation such as genocide of Jew. Manoni claims that the inferiority complex occurs only in a minority group of different color in very exceptional cases (p. 66). Fanon argues, however, the inferiority complex occurs in every black people. He claims that

“in Martinique there are 200 of whites who consider themselves superior to 300,000 people of color. In South Africa there are two million whites against almost thirteen million native people, and it has never occurred to a single black to consider himself superior to a member of the white minority” (p. 68)

While the white consider themselves superior the every black, every black, therefore, consider themselves inferior to the white. This causes inferiority complex in every black, as Fanon suggests. Fanon argues that the identity of *Malagasy* (in this case Fanon use the word ‘Malagasy’ in the sense of ‘The internalized, stereotyped and colonized Malagasy’) exists in the relationship with the Europeans. The colonization fractured the psychological structure of the natives. Invasion cause the alterity of the black to be the white; the black must turn white in order to be civilized, and this affects the whole society as Fanon claims that there is a relation between consciousness and the social context. What severely damages the psychological structure of the black are “to have discovered first (by identification) that he is a man and later that men are divided into white and black. Fanon explains that what shifts the dependency complex to inferiority complex is:

“If the “abandoned” or “betrayed” Malagasy continues his identification ... he begins to demand equality ...

The equality he seeks would have been beneficial before he started asking for it, but afterwards it proves inadequate to remedy his ills – for every increase in equality makes the remaining differences seem the more intolerable, for they suddenly appear agonizingly irremovable this is the road along which [the Malagasy] passes from psychological dependence to psychological inferiority” (p. 72)

From the start, the black needs help from the white. Later they demand equality in their relationship. It, however, proves that they are totally different and



later it causes inferiority because now they know they will never reach the destination coined by the white. The Malagasies live in Malagasyhood because the white have come and separated the man of color. The white men impose discrimination and prejudice on the black and they suffer from it. The black must try to turn white to prove that he is a human.

Manoni, however, argues that only those needing for dependency can be colonized. He also argues that the arrival of the white was unconsciously expected by the black because everywhere there were many tales of strangers arriving from the sea and bringing wondrous gifts. The white men, therefore, answer unconsciously to the authority complex whereas the Malagasies answer for the dependency complex. Fanon argues that the dependency complex is possible if one lives in inferior society. Manoni also uses dreams of his patients as evidences that the black unconsciously disgust their race. All of the dreams the patients confront with black figures such as bull, ox and Senegalese soldier. Some of them later are rescued in the dreams by white figures. Manoni claims that these dreams show the hate and fear for the black. The only way to redeem the black are to consciously awake them from this unconscious desire for turning white, Fanon claims. He also claims that the economic and social structures conflicts individual sexuality and the dreams depend on the culture in which one lives (p. 79).

In his work, Manoni defines the term "Prospero Complex" which its name is derived from a character in a Shakespeare's work. Prospero Complex is the sum of "delineate at the same time the "pictures" of the paternalist colonial and the portrait of "the racist whose daughter has suffered an [imaginary] attempted rape at the hands of an inferior being".

Fanon claims that the colonizers lack of awareness of the other human's world in which others should be respected. The colonizers cannot accept other men as they are so they act to change others to be like them.

### **3.6 The Fact of Blackness**

In this chapter Fanon explores his mental state to describe the experience of being a black person under racist society, with some black poetry. Fanon claims that



the black cannot experience his true existence in other's mind. The black must exist as a prejudiced black, especially in his interaction with the white (p. 83). Inferiority of the black are caused by how the black are perceived through others' eyes. How we perceive our body is not from our consciousness, but from third person's consciousness. One's behavior is imposed and composed of the relationship of oneself and the context.

Fanon points out that the recognition of the racial identity is not natural that individual was born with, but on the epidermal stage; a stage when people feel the existence of their skin colors caused by stereotype and racism (p. 84). Firstly we have corporeal schema; the essential sense that "we have of ourselves as physical presences; a sense which enables us to interact and engage with the world around us. Racism fractures this ability in engaging with others at a fundamental level by substituting a 'corporeal schema' with a racial epidermal schema" (p. 84). Fanon exemplifies this at the moment that a boy shouts at him "Look, a Negro!", and then he realized his racial identity. Epidermal Schema, thus, deals with the sense of a person's presence based on his or her skin, or more precisely, color, and then it shifts the color to be alienated and turns the person into an object of fear.

The colonized had never before felt they were different from the white because of the skin color until they were made to feel so by the white. This causes the colonized to feel inferior. Racism made the colonized suffer epidermal schema. Epidermal schema triggers all of the negative stereotypes caused by the white in his mind. Epidermal schema also kindles the attributes which can be related not only to contemporary but also to all the attributes can be dated in the past. Fanon, for example, claims that after his epidermal schema originated, he feels inferior in his race which was the race of savage and slave, and he feels, from the Jaspers' concept of guilt, responsible for his ancestor (p. 84). His feeling consists of hate, shame and anger. Fanon claims that the stereotypes such as Negro is savage, uncivilized and sinful were made irrationally (p. 93). He said in psychoanalysis what fractures the mind of the child is rational, for the adult is irrational. The stereotypes, therefore, severely damage the black's mental state and cause inferiority complex.

Fanon claims that the white, or especially the racists, never want intimation between races. He points out a quote from Jon Alfred Mjoen's book "Harmonic and

Disharmonic Race-crossings" that says the interaction between race can make mental and physical level low (p. 91). Fanon claims that if one hates some race, he will inevitably hate another race. He claims that the term negritude is the root of the black degradation because in this term the white are on the superior position and the black are negativity. The negativity opposes to rationalism. Negritude, therefore, is the root of the psychological problems. The dilemma affecting the black causes, however, anti-racism within the black; the black to be recognized as a man, opposing to the white that he wants only type of men existed. Everywhere the black go, he will see himself everywhere inferior; in theatre he sees a Negro as a villain, in magazine he sees a Negro as a savage. The black feel this because the concept of guilt of Jaspers as the black will identify inferiority in every fellow black. In showing a prejudice in one Negro, it will affect the whole.

To reclaim the confidence back, Fanon proposes the term 'black consciousness'. The term is about to focus on being black and take whatever it gives, not by the white. He claims black consciousness does not try to take universality, like the white, but it needs to claim its own sense of being. Fanon also claims that one way to understand black experience is through poetry. Fanon uses many works of Jean Paul Satre which describes the emotion of the black in colony, mostly about anger and sadness of being subjugated.

### **3.7 The Negro and Psychopathology**

Fanon claims that psychoanalysis can provide a methodology to study neurosis of a given group, and it can represent its family. It can help to discover the psychic structure a repetition of a conflict occurring inside one's mind. A structure of a family has connection with a structure of a nation. If a child is separated from parents' nurture, he will find himself in the same principle educated by the parents. Social authority is assimilated by a person if one finds that it has similar structure with his family. Fanon claims that behavior towards authority is learned, and it is learned through the concept of family.

In the black, however, a normal black child growing up in normal family will encounter with distorted and internalizing society caused by the white. Neurosis is



created in a black child's mind in this context (p. 110). Fanon quotes Freud about traumatic experience that individual characters link to traumatic experiences aroused by the context he lives. Consciousness, however, will defend itself from this trauma, but it still exists under the repressed sub consciousness. It will find a way to come back. Fanon claims, quotes Rene Menil, that in the black's consciousness neurosis was implanted in the form of authority during slavery, which was common in conquered city (p. 112). Fanon argues that even though a black child that has never experienced any real traumatic or violent experiences caused by the white such as seeing parents abused by the white or has no any relationship by the white, the neurosis still can occur (p. 113). He explains this idea that every must exist the collective catharsis; a catharsis that a group of people use to release the expressed experience. In the black case, he claims that magazines or stories serve this purpose (p. 148). In the black society, however, the magazines are put together by the authority of the white. Magazines portray the black as evil, sinful and savage. This affects the colonized people; it causes alienation which is to hate their true heritage. "Since there is always identification with the victor, the little Negro, quite as easily as the little white boy, becomes an explorer, an adventurer, a missionary "who faces the danger of being eaten by the wicked Negroes" (p. 113). Fanon argues. This becomes the collective unconscious mental life caused by colonial effects and series of traumatic experiences. The problem is the colonized are always the colonized; they want to be like the colonizer. It causes the colonized to feel inferior. They want to imitate the white, but they are the colors, they cannot reach the destination, only keep feeling inferior.

Fanon claims that social behavior is the sum of family behaviors. In colonized society, the white family system is projected (p. 115). The black child follows the same course of the white family (p. 115). The nation system which is related to family system in Antillean is different; the family structure identifies with French structure. The family, however, still represents, in some vein, the same Antillean structure before colonization. A black, therefore, must choose between his family and European society in which he identifies the white structure. As a result, a black tend to choose the European and rejects his family. Fanon claims that while the psychoanalysts use Oedipus complex to study their patient, it is inapplicable in the black.



Fanon claims that every feeling of the Antillean is produced by cultural situation (p. 118). The cultural tools such as books, newspapers and schools can shape "one's view of the world of the group to which one belongs." In Antilles, view of the world is influenced by white culture because the black have no voice to protest. If an Antillean goes to France, he will face the problems of alienation in interaction with genuine white society because in his society Negroes will compete with each other to become white, but in French society he encounters with what he wants to be, but it hinders him to be so. Fanon points out the example of an experiment that a black child entering a theatre to watch Tarzan identified himself with the protagonist against the Negro (p. 118). The white audiences, however, identified him with the antagonistic Negroes. This can cause alienation because what the black identify rejects them. When a black contacts with the white world, his ego is weakened. "The black man stops behaving as an actual person" (p.119); a person who acts as he is. He will set his new goal to follow the other; the white. His new goal is to achieve worthy praise from the white. Fanon claims that Negro is phobogenic.

Phobia is a kind of neurosis deal with fear of an object or situation outside an individual and it must have some certain aspects that arouse an individual's fear. Only contact can cause anxiety, the source of phobia and contact is linked to sexuality. A person who has phobia of Negro, therefore, links Negro to sexual promiscuity; women fear for raping while the men is repressed homosexual, as Fanon claims. He claims that at dances white women of them show gesture of flight when they were asked to dance by a Negro. Fanon argues that "in relation to the Negro, everything takes place on the genital level" (p. 121) because the main stereotype of the Negro is related to sexuality. For instance, the white think that Negroes have 'tremendous sexual power' and they might intercourse all the time in savage jungles, their penis must be evil. Fanon claims that his Negrophobic European patients have abnormal sexual life; some of them lost their husbands. When Negroes come to their thought as they try to find new object of sexual investment, the image of Negroes often relates to super sexual power.

In the case of white men, Fanon claims that Negrophobic men feel sexually inferior comparing their sexual organs with Negroes'. In the relationship of white and black men, because, as Fanon claims, the ideal of the white are an infinite virility, and

the Negroes are viewed as symbol of penis, the white men, therefore, seek sexual revenge (p. 120). Fanon says that it is important to view the racial situation psychoanalytically of individual consciousness, not universal viewpoint (in term that every man of each society has different traits from each other.), and sexual phenomena are one of the key sources for helping this understanding (p. 123). Fanon claims that the Negrophobia can be found on an instinctual biological level (p. 124). The Negro hinders the closing of the white men's postural schema; a schema that organizes and modifies "the impressions produced by incoming sensory impulses in such a way that the final sensation of body position, or of locality, rises into consciousness charged with a relation to something that has happened before (Head, 1920)" A person's postural schema can be destroyed if they find an appearance of another body that can exceed their body abilities. If a Negro is attacked, it is his personality killed. When a person having no racist bias, Manoni claims, quoted in Fanon, is confronted with the question of will they marry his daughter to a Negro or not. He will lose all critical sense and turn to racism as defensive mechanism because it disturbs certain unpleasant feeling which links to incestuous feeling. This aspect links to the Negro because, Fanon claims, a white father is afraid that the Negro will seduce his daughter to sexual universe in which the father does not share Negro's attributes. Fanon claims that:

Every intellectual gain requires a loss in sexual potential. The civilized white man retains an irrational longing for unusual eras of sexual license, of orgiastic scenes, of unpunished rapes, of unrepressed incest. .... Projecting his own desires onto the Negro, the white man behaves "as if the Negro really had them." (p. 127.)

The Negro, therefore, becomes the phobic object of sexual desires. Because of this phobia, the white harassed the black by using negative attitude and it affects black's mental states.

Manoni, as Fanon quotes him, says that sexual excitements are connected with aggression and violence. Fanon, in addition, claims that in this stereotype the



Negro is the master victim (p. 127). Fanon claims that 60 percent of his 500 patients, after he added the word Negro during his therapy, link Negro to the image of biology, penis, strong, athletic, potent, boxer Senegalese troops, savage, animal, devil, and sin. When the words 'handsome Negro' are uttered, the imaginary of rape occurs (p. 128). When the white and the black encounter each other, the white will turn their defense mechanism against the black 'sexual beast'. Jealousy, moreover, plays important role in the hate of Negro (p. 128). Fanon claims that many white women whom he had known and have Negro lover never return to white men because the myth of Negro's sexual potential (p. 132). In the white men, thus, this feeling turns into jealousy, then hate. Fanon claims that the guilt of being former slave-owner makes the white to make an excuse by describing the Negro as animal. The white feels frustrated by the appearance of the Negro inspiring by the guilt; he seeks to return that frustration to the Negro. Fanon, quotes Wolfe, claims that the book dealing with racial conflict became best-seller because the content arouses his masochism about the Negro, but he is not aware of it (p. 134). As the white perceive the Negro as sexual instinct beyond prohibition and morality, white women perceive them as the key to unlock the door to "the realm of orgies, of bacchanals, of delirious sexual sensations." Fanon claims that:

"There is first of all a sadistic aggression toward the black man, followed by a guilt complex because of the sanction against such behavior by the democratic culture of the country in question. ... In any event, it is the only way in which to explain the masochistic behavior of the white man."  
(p. 137)

The Negro, therefore, becomes the victim of the white and catharsis to release his repressed desires and behaviors. Fanon uses idea of Freud's female sexuality that the stage of female sexuality, clitoral, clitoral-vaginal, purely vaginal, causes her in a passive conception and aggression. It doubles Oedipus complex, in both active and passive sexuality. Fanon claims that firstly "the little girl sees a sibling rival beaten by the father, a libidinal aggressive. At this stage ... the father, who is now the pole of her libido, refuses in a way to take up the aggression that the little's



unconscious demands.” (p. 138). She needs a depository of this sexual aggression. The Negro, therefore, is predestined to this depository. When a woman imagines fantasy of rape by a Negro, it fulfills her private inner wish. Fanon claims, quotes Henri Barak, that the Jew also suffers with the same prejudice; Barak’s patient transferred his inner sexual aggression and pervert to the Jew. The Jew also has to assimilate to the white culture, as Satre, quoted in Fanon, claims, because The Jew suffers the same prejudice; Jew is evil and ugly. While the Negro, however, suffers from the sexual prejudice, the Jew suffers from intellectual prejudice; the white thinks that the Jew is smart but they are a lair so they will take all of the wealthy of the nation. “In order to react against anti-Semitism, the Jew turns himself into an anti-Semite” (p. 141), Fanon claims. The Jew and the Negro are the scapegoat of hate; to dissolve racial hate one must renounce scapegoat complex.

Fanon criticizes Jung’s collective unconscious. Collective unconscious is the idea of people in same group who share the same traits or behaviors. Fanon, however, argues that it is the sum of prejudice and only collective attitudes; The Jew hundred years ago might have different collective unconscious from the Jew in nowadays (p. 145). He argues that collective unconscious is not a collection of innate shared by people of a given group. Habit is different from innate. It is acquired (p. 145). Collective unconscious, therefore, is acquired habits influenced by cultures. If a Negro living in France embraces the myths and prejudices of racist European, he will acquire the collective unconscious portraying racial hate against the Negro. The white try to destroy the black culture because, in psychoanalysis, if one encounters something strange, he will get rid of it. In the encounter of white and black cultures, therefore, the black are lowered because the color black itself represents dark and evil things. This is the claim of the Europeans to suppress their strange encounter, and they impose this prejudice on the black to suppress them. Fanon claims that the collective unconscious is just “unreflected imposition of a culture’. It is not strange, therefore, that an Antillean taking white collective unconscious is racism against their own race. The anima, feminine side of human’s personality, of the black are white woman, in the same vein the animus, masculine part of human’s personality, is always the white man.

Each individual must blame his instinctual drives to something. Collective scapegoat is needed, and it must be opposite to its cultural ideals. In case of the white, its ideals are progress, civilization, liberalism, education, enlightenment, refinement (p. 150). What is the opposition of these is the force that opposes against them. The black are the suitable object because the black are savage, uncivilized and uneducated comparing to the white, as they claim by comparing to their culture. The black, moreover, receive the burden of original sin; to be condemned as the sinful creature (p. 148). This function is caused by the white. The black who adopt white culture has tendency to do so. From this reason, Antillean society is a neurotic society. People of its society recognize themselves as Negroes. By collective unconscious, he feels he is racially sinful, and everything opposite to the feeling is white. The Negroes, therefore, will order themselves to take the white culture to take morality. Antillean, therefore, is made white by collective unconscious of the group of individual mind aiming for one destination; white. Even intellectuals instead of trying to assert black intellectuals, they assert white intellectuals such as Montesquieu or Claudel, as Fanon claims, to shift people's attention from their color to their white intelligence. To gain morality requires the vanishing of things linked to immorality; black and darkness. The Negroes, therefore, compete with himself.

Fanon states that the resolution to resolve this inner conflict is to avoid the cultural imposition. One must see through this absurd imposition caused by inhuman myth and imagination; pay no attention to both the color of skin and assimilation to the white culture. There are no problems of the Negroes, but "rather of Negroes exploited, enslaved despised by a colonialist, capitalist society that is only accidentally white." From this reason, any contact of cultural imposition can cause neurotic society. The myth can cause authentic alienation in wherever it happens (p. 151).

### **3.8 The Negroes and Recognition**

Fanon claims that the neurosis structure reflects the goal of one's mind, or more precisely, it is caused by one's mind's goal. Whenever one contacts with other people, the question of self emerges. The eyes of others are the determination of self's value. If unpleasant feeling is reflected by the eyes, the person reflected will try to



change the current self's value because what one wants to see in the eyes of the others is reflection that pleases oneself; Narcissus complex. Fanon claims that "Everything that an Antillean does is done for the Other. Not because Other is the ultimate objective of his action ..... but, more primitively, because it is the Other who corroborates him in his search for self-validation." (p. 165.) In this process, an Antillean compares himself with both black and white fellow. Antillean society, therefore, is the society of comparison. An Antillean will find himself in between of black and white. The white are described in superior term whereas the black in inferior term. If the goal is the desire to be pleased by the eyes of the Other, an Antillean, therefore, will choose to follow the white as he wants to be recognized in pleasant feeling. It is the society, thus, that cause this neurosis of comparison because, as Fanon argues, the cause of the neurosis does not embodies in individual's mind, but in society. Fanon claims that the inferiority complex of the Negro was not caused in the colonial time, but long since in the past. He quotes Birchfeld's book, who uses the Spanish play "*El valiente negro de Flandres*", to show that inferiority complex of the Negro occurred long before colonization. The black character, Juan de Merida, disgusts his blackness, and later seeks to be white. A black does not seek to compare himself with the white, but with his fellow against the white pattern.

This chapter is also divided in sub-chapter.

### 3.9 The Negro and Hegel

Fanon claims that, use Hegelian idea, if a man is not effectively recognized by the other, his action is devoted for it. In the aspect of the black and white, the white *master* recognizes the Negro as a slave or inferior being because it makes him feel superior, the black, however, wants to be recognized (p. 169). In Hegelian idea, identity of oneself is in the process of reciprocity with the other through recognition and mediation; each individual must recognize each other in order to exist. If one resist from another one, the resisted will risk itself to threaten other in order to be recognized (p. 169). Human reality, therefore, as Fanon argues, "can be achieved only through conflict and through the risk that conflict implies (p. 169). This risk means



that I go beyond life toward a supreme good that is the transformation of subjective certainty of my own worth into a universally valid objective truth.” (p. 170).

The Negroes were historically slaves. Their identification with others' perceptions is not independent recognition. Negroes' freedom, as Fanon claims, can be allowed only through the master's allowance, and they assume only the master's attitudes through this allowance. The Negroes, therefore, can be recognized and recognize other in some constrained perspectives (p. 171).

### **3.10 By the Way of Conclusion**

This chapter discusses about the conclusion of this study and Fanon's attitude towards colonization and alienation in the black people of how to get rid of it and his hope for the solution. Fanon claims that alienation is the characteristic of intellectual (p. 173). If one assimilates European culture in order to eradicate his racial origin, he will be alienated. This is caused by the exploitation from one race to another race by the civilization claiming that it is more superior to another. Mostly it comes from middle class civilized people, using Marxism, because middle-class forbids all the development except their own interest. The only solution for this is to fight or denies it. The disalienation can be achieved through refusal of any definitive identity; denying that color of skin or race contributes specifically definitive attributes. More precisely, the black should not follow the white definition and accept that the color of skin is not defection of them, and forget what the past tells us; if in the past the Negroes were slaves, it does not have any effect to the present (p. 173). Fanon claims that he wants to eradicate the alienation and enslavement of the man of color, especially in psychological aspect (p. 180). He claims that the men of color are enslaved because the alienation, internalization and degradation of their race. Even though in physical form they are free, but mental form they are enslaved (p. 180).

## CHAPTER 4

### ANALYSIS

#### 4.1 Problems in Methodology and Evidence

Throughout the book Fanon (1986) conducts questionable methods of his studies. Even though this book is claimed to be a clinical study (p. 5), Fanon's approach, which mostly is analysis of dreams and situations, is questionable. Fanon often claims that the pathology of the black claimed by him is cultural and social (p. 181, 145, 149, 150, 165 for the example of explicit claims, but this is scattered implicitly throughout the book), however, his approach and evidence are implausible. His evidence consists of patients' dreams analysis, words from various people and literature.

In the first chapter, Fanon analyzes the story told by people of the blacks who try to master in French language (p. 12). Fanon claims that the black do this to acculturate French culture, forsake their mother tongue and learn French to become "whiter". The interference of mother tongue, however, causes psychopathology in the black as they can never become completely white. Fanon composes this analysis without the statement of proper investigation or organized methodology to study the effect of language claimed by him, moreover, he lacks of specific theoretical frameworks to support of the claimed aim of the language acquisition. In that time the French language of the colonizers was the official language, trying to master French, therefore, can be interpreted that the blacks want to learn in order to gain access to some benefits in society, not only to acculturate white culture. The evidence such as the story told by others and literature cannot generalize or prove the situation of the whole society. As Fanon (1986) states:

"Every colonized people—in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality—finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated above his jungle



status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle. (p. 9)"

Many linguistic or social psychological results show that people tend to learn second language in order to gain access to resource and information to develop their life, not merely to change their identity. The colonization perhaps stimulated the colonized to do so in order to adjust to new society. At least proper methodology such as interview, group test or simulated situation could have been used to support his claims. The story of the black who misuse the language is gathered only through a few people. If Fanon focused on gathering this information from this small group of people, he will get only this specific and narrowed information. A study or experiment would properly show more various results and it can prove his idea better than his data collection because anecdotal evidence can be analyzed in many different way and the author cannot validate or control the subject to follow the scope of the research.

In chapter two, the evidence is, almost the same with the first chapter, story told by others. This chapter, moreover, focuses on the book "“Je suis Martiniquaise” (I am a Martinican Woman) by Mayotte Capécia”. The method is the same; Fanon analyzes the psychopathology showed in the book and the story of how black women disgusted their fellow black men using psychoanalysis, mainly those of Freud’s. The questions about the evidence are the same with the previous paragraph, the literary evidence, however, is also invalid to prove the psychological traits of the people of the black society. Even though the book is an autobiography novel, but the feeling or thought or psychological traits of a person cannot be generalized for the assumption of the black. As he claims:

“In this chapter devoted to the relations between the woman of color and the European, it is our problem to ascertain to what extent authentic love will remain unattainable before one has purged oneself of that feeling of inferiority or that Adlerian exaltation, that overcompensation, which seem to be the indices of the black Weltanschauung. For after all we have a right to be perturbed when we read, in *Je suis Martiniquaise*: “I should have liked to be married, but to a white man. But a woman of color is never altogether respectable in a white man’s eyes. Even when he loves her. I knew that.”<sup>1</sup> This passage, which serves in a way as the conclusion of a vast delusion, prods one’s brain. One day a woman named Mayotte Capécia, obeying a



motivation whose elements are difficult to detect, sat down to write 202 pages—her life—in which the most ridiculous ideas proliferated at random. The enthusiastic reception that greeted this book in certain circles forces us to analyze it. For me, all circumlocution is impossible: *Je suis Martiniquaise* is cut-rate merchandise, a sermon in praise of corruption.” (pp. 28-29)

“In this chapter devoted to the relations between the woman of color and the European”. This line can be interpreted clearly that Fanon is trying to use the book as a main source to describe the plural black women and Europeans, without any experiment or investigation to prove his analysis. Even though he provides some stories in the relationship of some black women and white men, it does not show that the black women really want to marry white men in order to gain access to assimilate to white culture; they could have wanted to gain social benefits in the given societies. Fanon also does not provide any opposite to his claim; black women want to marry fellow black men to preserve their heritage culture, and this idea is supported by evolutionary psychology which will be discussed in the next section.

The third chapter, the same with the previous chapter, deals with the psychopathology in the relationship between black men and white women. Fanon’s approach is exactly the same with the previous chapter; based on an autobiography novel and stories of relationship of black men and white women. The arguable aspects are similar to the previous chapter; an autobiography novel cannot be used to generalize or claim that people in the same society share the same psychological traits; stories are only circumstantial, not valid. The ideas resulted from analysis in this chapter will be discussed in the next section simultaneously with the second chapter.

The fourth chapter, Fanon argues against Manoni’s book “*Prospero and Caliban*”. Manoni claims that the black have inferiority complex, and it is implanted in the black since their childhood. The method of Manoni is observation and dream analysis. Fanon argues against Manoni by only using his own analysis in deconstructionist ideas. While Manoni tended to claim his idea on groups of people in different social classes and statuses, Fanon claims that the inferiority complex scale is societal and cultural. Fanon, however, has no valid evidence to support his arguments, only his own ideas. Historical evidence might be valid to be used in this type of analysis, Fanon, however, should provide more result from experiment or study to

prove the effect of racism. Whatever approach Fanon uses to argue here should be supported by evidence. The ideas related to racism proposed by Fanon will be argued and discussed in light of the results from psychological experiments in the next section.

The fifth chapter focuses on daily experience of the black in a racist society. Fanon mostly uses philosophy especially in Lacan's mirror stage, which means that that an individual form his identity through the reflected image of himself in other, and Hegellian idea of identity formation, which states that "mind externalizes itself in various forms and objects that stand outside of it or opposed to it, and that, through recognizing itself in them, is "with itself" in these external manifestations, so that they are at one and the same time mind and other-than-mind. This notion of identity in difference, which is intimately bound up with his conception of contradiction and negativity, is a principal feature differentiating Hegel's thought from that of other philosophers."

The problem is that in almost the whole chapter Fanon uses himself as evidence with some poetry of the suffering of the black people. His experience only cannot generalize to the whole population and the poetry by some poets cannot represent the psyche of the black. As he says

““Dirty nigger!” Or simply, “Look, a Negro!”

I came into the world imbued with the will to find a meaning in things, my spirit filled with the desire to attain to the source of the world, and then I found that I was an object in the midst of other objects. Sealed into that crushing objecthood, I turned beseechingly to others. Their attention was a liberation, running over my body suddenly abraded into nonbeing, endowing me once more with an agility that I had thought lost, and by taking me out of the world, restoring me to it. But just as I reached the other side, I stumbled, and the movements, the attitudes, the glances of the other fixed me there, in the sense in which a chemical solution is fixed by a dye. I was indignant; I demanded an explanation. Nothing happened. I burst apart. Now the fragments have been put together again by another self.

As long as the black man is among his own, he will have no occasion, except in minor internal conflicts, to experience his being through others. .... For not



only must the black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man.” (p. 83)

One of the problems is that this chapter is too emotional, almost like a literature, very inconsistent with the other chapters. At least an interview of the black participants will be appropriate to support Fanon's claims. The original French name of this chapter can also be translated into “The Living Experience of the Man of Color”. The story, however, mainly focuses on Fanon's thoughts and feelings only. Even though he provides some other stories and poetry, it does not further extent his claims.

The sixth chapter, perhaps the most important chapter of the book, deals with the psychopathology of the black observed and analyzed by Fanon. Effect of media and Freudian psychoanalysis are used in this chapter. No experiment or study, however, is provided to support the claims of effect of media (the magazines, reviewed in chapter 2). The family structure and cultural situation affected by colonizers' family and cultural structure are claimed to be the cause of the psychopathology, but no valid evidence provided. No experiment testing that alienation is really caused by racism as Fanon hypothesizes. Fanon throughout this chapter uses Freudian's sexuality, Oedipus complex and dream analysis to interpret the black psychopathology. The very problem is that Freudian method now is proved to be invalid. Most of the psychology departments in American and European universities do not teach Freudian anymore, even though Freudian ideas are still taught in some fields such as literature because Freud's theory is lack of empirical research or data, too metaphorical and untestable. (Cohen, 2007). If dreams are caused by our unconsciousmind, the root of the unconscious then varies on each individual. Dreams also are groundless evidence that they can be interpreted in many different ways and are untestable. For example Fanon claims that his patients dreamt of being rescued by white figures, and he claims that this because the blacks want to be the white. White here may not only be the colonizers because human tends to see white associated with better aspects than the black color. Some of his patients dreamed of being endangered by black figure such as ox and a Senegalese soldier. Ox is naturally black therefore it cannot be only the represent of the black people. At that time the turmoil of Senegal is intense and his patients might dream of the Senegalese soldier as literally dangerous



Senegalese soldiers, not a representative of the negative stereotype of the black. Fanon, after studying his patients, claims this situation to be cultural. Those who came to his clinic might suffer from mental illness, but this cannot be applied to those who did not. The effect of racism causing inferiority complex also should be discussed some scientific or empirical data would be appreciated.

In this chapter, Fanon's claims will be discussed with findings about the effect of racism, prejudiced identity and ethnocentrism behavior in social psychology, evolutionary psychology and other fields in the next section.

In the seventh chapter, Fanon suggests of how to regain confidence in black identity. This chapter is acceptable because he provides the way in philosophical terms using Hegellian idea. The question of, however, whether it is applicable to human lives should be discussed. Fishbein (2004) finds that, through his experiment, education can eradicate prejudice and racism. It would be better if Fanon provide a research in this kind to make his claims, that the black are pathologized and mesmerized to follow the white culture and hate his own heritage, and finally become a mental slave to the white civilization, valid and applicable because it can show statistical data and core idea that can be applicable to different individuals of the black instead of using a story or a person's dream to justify the pathology of the blacks.

In the next section, scientific methodology will be discussed to show that many social psychologists have found contrast evidence to Fanon's claims.

## **4.2 Origin and Evolution of Ethnocentrism**

People think ethnocentrism and racism are learned habit; an individual learn this hatred since childhood because of the context or society in which he lives. As Fanon claims that the white use racism and ethnocentrism to make their righteousness of extraction of resources and power from the black, and also makes children growing up in white ethnocentric context hate their own race. Many evolutionary and social psychologists and sociobiologists argue that this kind of habits is inherited and evolved through generation, and it can occur in any different skins or different racial groups

Psychologists argue that people inherit diverse behaviors through natural selection and survival (Goetze, 2004; McDonald, 2007; Workman and Reader, 2001, Kurzban and Leary, 2001), as explained by McDonald (2007):

Over thousands and millions of years, our ancestors had to solve the problems of living. These problems were recurrent—they happened over and over again. The result was that natural selection equipped people with a large number of mental mechanisms for coping with these problems—mechanisms for recognizing faces and facial expressions, cooperating with others, interpreting threats, learning language, finding mates, and much else. Without this vast array of evolved modules, we could never do so many of the things we do effortlessly and routinely—literally without thinking about it.

Ethnocentrism is a universal trait of human in both threatening and threatened group and it is an element in ingroup favoritism and outgroup hostility (LeVine and Campbell, 1972). Ethnocentrism is a form of competition that members of each group distinguish outgroup and ingroup by common cultural aspect and observable physical (Guibernau and Rex, 1990; cited in Axelrod and Hammond, 2003).

“The evolved function of this assumed folk sociology is to identify the social groups in the social environment of each of us. Given the importance of social life during the evolution of human beings (e.g., Dunbar, 2003), the capacity to map the social world was most likely selected for. According to Hirschfeld, one aspect of this hypothesized folk sociology is that it essentializes whatever groups are salient in a given social environment. When societies are divided along racial lines, our folk sociology not only attends to those racial groups, but also essentializes them.” (Kelly, Machery and Mallon, 2010)

Kurzban and Leary (2001) argue that racial categorization is a cognitive system trying to track and create coalition, which race is one of the aspects the system picks to create coalition. They also found in their experiment that skin color categorization was influenced by coalitional determination. In their experiment, subjects are presented with a fictional verbal exchange between the members of two basketball teams and with pictures of these members. Subjects are then given each sentence in the exchange, and asked who uttered it. Because subjects tend to confuse individuals who have been categorized as belonging to the same group, the resulting



patterns of mistaken ascriptions are taken to indicate how members of the two teams are being categorized by those subjects. For instance, if subjects racially categorize the individuals involved in the verbal dispute, then when they make mistakes, they should be more likely to ascribe a statement made by a white character to another white character than to a black character. The results of this experiment were as follows. When coalitional membership (*viz.* membership in each basketball team) is not emphasized, subjects implicitly racially categorize the individuals involved in the verbal exchange. What Fanon claims that the white use skin color to racialize the black (and other race such as those anti-Semite) is normally natural. It does not happen in the conflict of white and color but human and human. Fanon should provide more evidence on how the black stereotype and marginalize the white because, according to researches, the black can do the same with the white.

Grouping is normal function used by human to ensure survivalability. McEvoy (2002) found that ethnocentrism is a cultural meme, which is social behaviors reproduced and inherited by gene from generation to generation, but it is inherited through evolutionary process of gene, and it is not only social dysfunction and pathology. Goetze (2004) state that "were other humans and especially other humans who were organized as a group for the purpose of predatory mayhem. Behaviors that served as responses to threats from other humans may have been necessary for immediate survival and became adaptive as threat circumstances were repeated over the generations". Ethnocentric individuals, in where it is occurred, tend to survive and reproduce than non-ethnocentric individuals because ethnocentric individuals will group and strengthen their group to overcome outgroup hostiles, especially when the competitions of resources or high resource shortage come. Since humans are hunter-gatherer species, and the highest developed species, the competition has been shifted from human-animal to human-human. (Hampton, 2010) explains:

"Accordingly, the hunter-gatherer form of living can be seen as a set of selection pressures and those selection pressures have shaped a mind that is adapted to respond to them. The claim is that the modern mind is, essentially, a hunter-gatherer machine by virtue of the fact that it evolved to guide its possessor through that particular form of subsistence. In addition, the forms of social life that are either conducive to, or are a product of (or some combination of the two), hunting and

gathering also create social problems that the mind is adapted to negotiate... This suggests that we will behave differently towards kin than we will towards non-kin. And natural selection tells us that we will seek and, if at all necessary, compete for resources that support and promote survival and reproduction."

The following is what Fanon says about the black's hatred towards their culture

"The black schoolboy in the Antilles, who in his lessons is forever talking about "our ancestors, the Gauls,"<sup>9</sup> identifies himself with the explorer, the bringer of civilization, the white man who carries truth to savages—an all-white truth. There is identification—that is, the young Negro subjectively adopts a white man's attitude. He invests the hero, who is white, with all his own aggression—at that age closely linked to sacrificial dedication, a sacrificial dedication permeated with sadism. An eight-year-old child who offers a gift, even to an adult, cannot endure a refusal. Little by little, one can observe in the young Antillean the formation and crystallization of an attitude and a way of thinking and seeing that are essentially white. When in school he has to read stories of savages told by white men, he always thinks of the Senegalese. As a schoolboy, I had many occasions to spend whole hours talking about the supposed customs of the savage Senegalese. In what was said there was a lack of awareness that was at the very least paradoxical. Because the Antillean does not think of himself as a black man; he thinks of himself as an Antillean. The Negro lives in Africa. Subjectively, intellectually, the Antillean conducts himself like a white man. But he is a Negro. That he will learn once he goes to Europe; and when he hears Negroes mentioned he will recognize that the word includes himself as well as the Senegalese. What are we to conclude on this matter?"

Fanon tends to convince readers that racial hate comes from learned behavior, but it is natural behavior consisted in our brains. The historical records have showed that the black people suffered from the tribal wars when each group invaded and slaughtered. In pre-colonial time African people suffered from drought, tribal war and disease which led to migration to another land occupied by other tribes. The confrontation became continuous tribal wars. Slavery introduced firstly to African by the Arab also led to kidnapping family's or tribe's members which led to wars. There are still wars continuing in African which mainly concern tribes and ethnicity



such as ethnic conflicts in Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi are a great example of ongoing ethnic warfare in Africa (Daniel, 2012). With or without colonization, ethnic or racial conflicts occur throughout the time. Colonization can stimulate it but it does not create any distinctive features to ethnic or racial conflicts. Colonization somehow is in the same theme with migration, which caused the tribal wars in African in pre-colonial time. What Fanon claims, that the white practice racism to the black and it results in identity conflicts, is not the only cause in the black psychopathology; if he claims that the racism and ethnocentrism cause mental illness, the black in intensively tribal wars also the same because in conflicts the ethnocentrism mainly used to convince a group's members to go to war.

Since humans identify their in-group members by using explicit markers such as skin color, facial structure and language, it is unlikely that the black will be internalized through medias easily; the media can change and people's understanding, attitude and knowledge can interpret freely but those markers thought to be biological cannot easily change; therefore it is inconvincible that the black identify themselves with the white.

Human groups, thus, become diversified, and they tend to identify the members by external aspects. Human groups had been separated for thousands of years, and during this period they have evolved distinctive genes which contain genetic interest different for each group; people have the same genetic interest in group and ethnicity the same way parents have genetic interest for their children: In raising their children, parents ensure that their unique genes are passed on to the next generation. "But in defending ethnic interests, people are doing the same thing—ensuring that the genetic uniqueness of their ethnic group is passed into the next generation. When parents of a particular ethnicity succeed in rearing their children, their ethnic group also succeeds because the genetic uniqueness of their ethnic group is perpetuated as part of their child's genetic inheritance. But when an ethnic group succeeds in defending its interests, individual members of the ethnic group also succeed because the genetic uniqueness that they share with other members of the ethnic group is passed on. This is the case even for people who don't have children: A person succeeds genetically when his ethnic group as a whole prospers." (McDonald, 2007).

Van den Berghe (1981) and Johnson (1986) argue that humans use visible markers, which are ethnic features, language and other cultural patterns. As the world has progressed, the threat that humans use against each other has changed from violence and physical fatality to political ideology, social norms and discourse. Humans use social norms, political ideology and cultural beliefs of a given group to form their identity; they even contribute to group welfare at the cost of an individual. Supported by Goetze (2004) that in an experiment the presence of threat did not invoke intolerant status in the group, however when social norms were broken by outsiders, the intolerant degrees are raised. People will recognize others as hostile when their social ideology and social norms are violated by the presence and behavior of others, including skin colors. From this perspective, it is no wonder that why political-word-choice related to kin such as brother in arms, brother sister, motherland which appeal to solidarity of people in a nation are common throughout the world. "Perhaps ethnocentric moral systems thwart compassion for the foreign groups, allowing aggression" (McEvoy, 2002). Ethnocentrism "results in a dualistic, Manichean morality which evaluates violence within the in-group as negative, and violence against the out group as positive, even desirable and heroic" (Van Der Dennen, 1987). As McEvoy explains the origin of xenophobia and ethnocentrism:

"It would be expected, in a circumstance of on-going tribal warfare, slave taking and cannibalism that individuals within the group would be favored who were somehow predisposed to fear and be distrustful of strangers and foreigners. Xenophobia could have had its inception in such circumstances. Conversely xenophobic behavior would be maladaptive in certain circumstances. It might, for example, thwart inter-group trading or cooperation for example. It would also be likely to reduce the variation in a population's gene pool". (McEvoy, 2002)

Or by Rosenblatt (1964) and Van Der Dennen (1987) (Quoted in McEvoy, 2002)

The biochemically paranoid human immune system holds a good analogy for xenophobia (Rosenblatt, 1964). "Just as the body is better prepared to avoid destruction by foreign substances as a result of a generalized tendency to resist the impingement of foreign substances," writes van der Dennen (1987), "so an individual



or a society may be better prepared to avoid destruction by aliens as a result of a generalized tendency to distrust, avoid, or reject foreign-seeming individuals.”

Humans show xenophobic tendency since the age of being infant (Freedman, 1961). To ensure the survival of their own people, it is less possible that the black want to be white, especially when the white reject them because it is obviously compromising their group's survivalability. Language, as Fanon claims that some black learn French in order to be 'whiter', is one of ethnic feature that each group can use or learn another group's language to ensure their survivalability; they can learn French in order to gain access to information of the enemy, not only to adopt culture.

This mechanism requires no rational calculation, but it responses to emotional stimulation (Goetze, 2004). The ingroup-favoritism and outgroup-hostility, therefore, do not require rational idea but it can consist of arbitrary attributes given to a group by its members, this especially becomes stronger when competitions for resource become intense. This kind of behaviors is “universal across cultures and group conflict conditions would constitute considerable support for believing them to be part of an evolved psychological mechanism” (Goetze, 2004). The hatred for outgroup is not a cultivated behavior from free agents, but it is evolved mechanism; automatic and irrational, and it is natural for human to place themselves in a group to empower or create a strong identity based on their genetic preferring. Humans, somehow, instead of being learning animate, our mind possesses huge amount of information-processing system to solve social and adaptive problem automatically (Tooby and Comsides, 1992). “Taken together, these considerations suggest that there exists a collection of distinct, domain-specific psychological mechanisms that have evolved to solve adaptive problems associated with sociality. We argue that there are a number of systems that are designed to exclude others from social interactions and that they differ from one another in important ways” (Kurzban and Leary, 2001). Warnecke, Masters and Kempster (1992) found in their experiment, which presented a sound or voice of the same ethnic to their subjects, and foreigners' sounds. Their subjects, as expected, responded negatively to the foreign sound, but when the picture of the owner of the given sounds is showed, subjects' negativity declined. This aspect points out that there is a preemptive and preoccupied evolved mechanism

dealing strange things not experienced before. Even neuroscience researches support this claim; Ito and Urland (2003), in their experiment, tried to investigate the time course in which racial categorization occurs. They gave participants faces of both black and white of both genders, and the participants must categorize the pictures into 'Gender' and 'Race'. They found that their participants categorized faces in race first and in 120 milliseconds. The participants even constantly showed the tendency toward racial categorization even when they were told to focus on other social base aspects such as genders and ages. Zarate and Smith (1990) found that racial categorization is succeeded by quick stereotype. Since racialization is automatic and naturally selected process, the phenomena occurred in Fanon's book is not unique to human history. Fanon also tries to distinguish things into of black and white in binary opposition. The black children, therefore, impossibly adjust their behaviors towards white and anti the black. Even though they identified with heroic action portrayed by the white, those children might identify with the action, not skin color. Behavior and genetic feature are learned to be different things.

McDonald (2007) claims that ethnocentric behaviors are results of natural selection which selected specialized modules to solve problem automatically, and the problem of groups conflict in the past specialized our brain to function automatically towards xenophobic and ethnocentric behaviors. Our genes have evolved moral systems and it becomes a part of brain; prefrontal cortex, which is used in moral judgment including racial issue; or more precisely, it deals with decreasing of negative attitude towards different races. Prefrontal cortex, however, requires times and experience. An experiment found that when their subjects were showed faces of different race in millisecond, or in subconscious level, the subjects showed negative attitudes towards the faces. When the showing time, however, was extended to conscious level, prefrontal responded and the negative attitude decreased; the negative racial attitudes, therefore, are automatic, and humans show this behavioral tendency since childhood (McDonald, 2007). These show why some people show xenophobic behaviors and tend to be preoccupied by racial categorization behavior to people of different group before they could receive any information regarding to other groups. Or as Rushton (2005) explains:



“...because fellow ethnics carry copies of the same genes, ethnic consciousness is rooted in the biology of altruism and mutual reciprocity. Thus ethnic nationalism, xenophobia and genocide can become the ‘dark side’ of altruism. Moreover, shared genes can govern the degree to which an ideology is adopted (e.g. Rushton 1986 and 1989a). Some genes will replicate better in some cultures than in others. Religious, political and class conflicts become heated because they affect genetic fitness. Karl Marx did not take his analysis far enough: ideology may be the servant of economic interest, but genes influence both. Since individuals have a greater concentration of genetic interest (inclusive fitness) in their own ethnic group than they do in other ethnic groups, they can be expected to adopt ideas that promote their group over others.”

Humans can learn negative attitude towards another group in group conflicts. The moral system, however, can decrease it when humans are exposed to different social situation opposing to the propaganda. From this aspect, when black children learn that the black are savage in white magazine, their daily lives in black society can show different aspect; they can learn good behaviors from the people in the society by themselves and it will stimulate their prefrontal cortex. Their hatred for their own race cannot occur when the combination of the automatic ethnocentrism behaviors and experienced stimulated prefrontal cortex takes place. In Thailand the stereotype of the elite does not work against people in rural area, it even creates stronger inclusive fitness among the red shirt. This is obviously contrast with Fanon’s claims.

This mechanism evolved in human’s gene because humans were constantly experienced conflict and competition of groups (tribal war and civil war), and defending groups’ interest led to evolved mechanism responsible for ethnocentrism (McDonald, 2007). The white did not practice and start slavery; it existed long before colonization. Ellis (1997) Ellis argues that slavery had existed before the arrival of Europeans. The Arab ran an organized slavery in the Middle Age regardless of race. Native Americans also practiced slavery before the arrival of Europeans. In Africa, ironically, those who sold the black to the Europeans were also the black. There are records of African tribal wars. Zayde Antrim (2013: website) states that:

“Not only was slavery an established institution in West Africa before European traders arrived, but Africans were also involved in a trans-Saharan trade in slaves along these routes. African rulers and merchants were thus able to tap into preexisting methods and networks of enslavement to supply European demand for slaves. Enslavement was most often a byproduct of local warfare, kidnapping, or the manipulation of religious and judicial institutions. Military, political, and religious authority within West Africa determined who controlled access to the Atlantic slave trade. And some African elites, such as those in the Dahomey and Ashanti empires, took advantage of this control and used it to their profit by enslaving and selling other Africans to European traders.”

Or by an article in *The Economist*:

“In Africa, slavery was accepted as the norm in most societies. Before Europeans arrived, and long after, millions of Africans were marched north across the desert by Arab traders. Most had been taken in war. The guns given in exchange helped wars to multiply and grow larger. Prisoners who might earlier have been absorbed into the victor's army or workforce, or killed, were now fed to European and American ships seeking human cargo, from Gambia round to Mozambique. Other Africans were sold as slaves because they owed a debt; some even by their own families. Some, like Equiano, were simply grabbed; though only in the early years by Europeans, because that upset relations with the African coastal kings, who wanted to keep control of the trade.”

If Fanon claims that the black “After having been the slave of the white man, he enslaves himself. (p. 148)” or in the other hand, Fanon claims that the neurosis of the black was implanted since slavery (p. 112) then the black's neurosis was implanted by the black themselves even before the arrival of the colonizers. There are several tribal wars going on in Africa such as Rwanda genocide and Congo. These two are just some of the worst happened after independence.

Humans, of both threatened and threatening group, perceive the lost and gain of resources and powers of groups as common fates. This evolved behavior, thus, can be rapid and automatic, even preconscious (Axelrod and Hammond, 2003). When people group with the same visually genetic similarity to strengthen their inclusive fitness, the reproduction of the similar people can be rapid.



Ethnocentric gene, therefore, can spread rapidly, making human to choose a member or join a group according to genetically related group over random group of people (Silverman, 1987). In kin selection, humans tend to favor over similar kin because people within the same group or gene pool tend to share more heritable components, which mean important genotype for reproduction (Rushton, 2005), supported by Van Den Berge (1981) that primary objective of humans species is not to produce, but to reproduce to ensure our survival. Social psychology experiments show that subjects respond differently to racially familiar and unfamiliar faces (Fiske, 1998). For example, subject can better recognize the familiar face of a member of a given group (white, black) automatically (Platz and Hosch, 1988; Bothwell, Brigham and Malpass, 1989). Black and white response differently to their ethnic ingroup and outgroup members. From these reasons, since all humans are the same species that function through organization of body and brain, but humans somehow have different external aspects. The xenophobia, therefore, can occur between human, just the same when humans encounter unfamiliar things, fear occupied.

The results in social psychological and evolutionary psychological researches show the same behaviors as response subconsciously to expression of fear and evolutionarily prepared sources of fear such as snakes and spiders (Doux Levin, 1996; Öhmann and Mineka, 2001; Whalen and et al., 1998; quoted in Kurzban and Leary, 2001; McDonald, 2007). Hart and et al. (2000; quoted in McDonald, 2001) found that after the experiments subjects still habituated the mechanism of threat detection. Human is sensitive to facial resemblance as genetic similarity, and they use it as identification for a ingroup member. Axelrod and Hammond (2003) found that "90% of same color interactions being cooperative, and 84% of the different color interactions being non cooperative" and separation of outgroup and ingroup can promote cooperation for both sides. Important results of social identity research have showed that social identity formations are a psychological adaptation designed for group competition. It can occur throughout the variables of ages, social classes, nationalities and ethnicities (Bourhis, 1994). Ethnocentric behaviors can even occur without explicit markers which are skin color, facial structure, language etc. (Axelrod and Hammond, 2003). If we take out the aspect of skin color, the competition of black

and white in Fanon's time can be mere group competition, and if we put the skin colors back, it is mere explicit markers used to identify members by group.

Ethnocentrism, therefore, comes from evolved mechanism of human's psychology in competition for resource between groups. "The powerful emotional components of social identity processes are very difficult to explain except as an aspect of the evolved machinery of the human mind" (McDonald, 2001).

Social identity formations become intense and strong in time of resource competition or other perceived sources of threat (Hogg and Abrams, 1987; Hewstone, Rubin and Willis, 2002) pointing that this is an evolved mechanism of adaptation stimulated during the threat of resources. A common fear of human is perception ethnic strangers (Horowitz, 1985). Johnson (1995) claim that external threat (whether it is real physical threat or merely the presence of competitors) seems to reduce internal division and stimulate perceptions of shared interest among group members. This shows even in evolutionary research of advanced animal species, such as chimpanzees (van den Dennen, 1991). The emotional elements, which are automatic and preoccupied of social identity processes can be explained as evolutionary machine of human's mind. The tendencies for humans to place themselves a group to assume powerful emotional tools (involving the important of conserving a group identity, and distress at losing it) are the best and easy tool to occupy members' mind in advancing towards the same goal. It is also showed in anthropological research that the tendencies to positively view ingroup as positive and superior are universal (Vine, 1987). The tendency for outgroup-hostility is also automatic and spontaneous, even in minimal group competition context (Otten and Wentura, 1999). Groups create their distinction positively differing from other group in order to claim their righteous on claiming resources (Horowitz, 1985). Each group will develop positive distinction to empower their self-esteem (Aberson, Healy and Romero, 2000; Rubin and Hewstone, 1998). Within group there is more cohesiveness in contrast with outgroup in which there is more hostility and distrustful identification. Protection of group interest is more important for humans than for individual interest when it comes to the issue of common fate. Humans are afraid to be excluded from the group more than to lose self interest, even sometimes an individual must pay with one's life, therefore it comes suicide bombers (McDonald, 2001) As McDonald (2001) states:



“For example, in the ethnically divided societies of Asia and Africa, ethnic groups typically form political parties to advance their interests within the current institutional structure (Horowitz, 1985: 293). Behaving adaptively in this institutional structure requires domain-general problem solving mechanisms. These mechanisms generate explicit plans based on assessments of the current situation, making alliances, rallying ingroup members, and obtaining resources. Similarly, the interests of minority groups in contemporary Western societies are typically advanced via knowledge of the political and legal process: developing mechanisms for raising money; utilizing and creating social science research to influence media messages; rallying ingroup members and manipulating ingroup and outgroup members; utilizing the internet, etc. Classical conditioning, another domain-general mechanism (MacDonald and Chiappe, 2002) may also be important. Johnson (1997) proposes that manipulation of kinship terms to increase allegiance to ingroups relies on classical conditioning of relationships whose emotional power derives from their being rooted in kinship recognition mechanisms (e.g., motherland, brotherhood).”

Fanon might perceive the conflict during the time that the white had arisen to the highest point, but it does not necessary that when a group is surmounted on the highest, the suppressed must be exactly pathologized and inferior. The stage of the black appeared in Fanon's book, therefore, can be the stage of development of black's inclusive fitness because with the threat and suppression a group can gradually create inclusive fitness from shared victims. With the white's stereotype people can create some attitudes and aspects to confront with the opposite's prejudice. Alienation and ambivalence, therefore, can be the first stage but it cannot the only stage of the suppressed group.

Not only a group try to eradicate and overcome another group in competition, it also sometimes try to assimilate members of opposite group to expand it capacity, especially in multi-ethnic conflicts (McDonald, 2001). Stereotype, racism, discrimination and ethnocentrism are invented to create boundary of group, and each groups will try to expand that boundary for their sovereignty. Discrimination in favor of ingroup and against outgroups seem to benefit people genetically. “Obviously, in multi-racial, multi-ethnic states, social identity mechanisms may often result in maladaptive behavior, because ingroups and outgroups can be manipulated by the

media, ethnic leaders, and other elites.” (McDonald, 2001). From this aspect, it is true that Fanon says white hinder the black to completely adapt their culture, but the black, as rejected by the white, and with the aspect of ingroup favoritism, are not only be left in the stage of ambivalence and alienation; they can return to their culture to expand their boundary by creating the same stereotype or strong ethnic identity. The black are victims, but not forever victim of the white.

From the ideas of evolutionary psychology, we can see the big picture that ethnocentrism, racism and xenophobia result in our evolved mechanism and universal; nobody is evil and nobody is virtuous. Racism does not only create it victim but it can create its enemy; the victimized population can arm themselves with gradually created self-esteem to oppose the opposite in this group conflicts. Since it is natural, each side can use it to stimulate its inclusive fitness. Time and era are only stimulation to the traits. This can explain the conflict of black and white during Fanon’s time which will be discussed in the next section.

#### **4.3 Natural Phenomena in the Conflict of Black and White**

As showed in the previous section, all humans have tendency to become ethnocentric resulted from our evolutionary mechanism. The conflict of white and black, therefore, if we skip the wickedness of the white’s racism and look down to the scientific theme, is a mere group competition. Hirschfield (1996) claims that every particular group, in which all members come to an agreement of shared ideal, goal and belief, will agree and create a discourse to suppress and avoid contact with poor exchange partners, which can be the possessor of the desired resource or a competitors. Socialization involves in cultural transmission of stigma to create inclusive fitness and unity (wicked or not) based on a certain shared ideas. Other people who do not meet with the ideas will be excluded and perceived as competitors. The excluded people will face adaptive problems. It, however, can lead to evolution of psychological mechanism later. Not only resources groups seek, but also reproductive advantage (Kurzban and Leary, 2001). It is evidenced throughout our historical record that raping was always involved in wars. Fanon also speaks about this where a black man and woman marry white partner for benefit. Because of that time’s



superficial advancement of the white, some of the black might think of it as a social advancement.

The fundamental point is that a conflict of reproductive resources in the past caused mechanism that influences people to form group and exploit members of outgroups (Tooby and Cosmides, 1988). The superficial culture and life pattern of the black in the past might be uncivilized to the white. The white, therefore, saw this was drawback for their reproductive opportunity. The blacks, thus, were excluded and suppressed in order to conquer valuable land and resources without sharing it to the black. Even though Fanon claims that at that time the blacks were suppressed and lack of identity and cultural confidence. McDonald (2001) found that 90 percent of modern blacks have more confidence and think their culture is much more worth preserving. This implies that 1. After being suppressed, the blacks mechanism is evolved or 2. What fanon claims about psychopathology and effect of racism is no longer existed, even though he did not live long enough to recrystallize his ideas, those who adopt his ideas should reconsider what Fanon has left for them; they can reevaluate Fanon's ideas or reestablish them. Ethnocentrism, anyway, serves to protect group's integrity and it is part of our evolutionary progress.

People have tendency to identify themselves with groups and see it homogenous than they really are. People will evaluate ingroup positively while outgroup negatively (McDonald, 2001). There is nothing special when the white evaluate their group as virtuous and when Fanon writes about them as wicked and deceitful because Fanon somehow might identify himself with the black. The black identifying themselves with the white (as Fanon writes in his book about them; those who tried to marry whites, or possess white's language skills) might identify with the advantageous aspects of the white, but somehow were excluded by the white and became stigmatized. Those cases, however, are just some of the few. Fanon lacks evaluation of the mass population of the black. If he did so, as evolutionary theory suggests, he might find different results. The blacks living in France somehow might evolve and became identified by the group of the white because member identification sometimes can go deep down to genetic level when the mechanism can skip the superficiality. As McDonald (2001) explains:

"An individual, however, can choose freely to join or leave a group if interfering by calculated cost in time when a group in a competition seems to overcome and conquer most of the benefits, or an individual's common interest is calculated by rational mechanism (later after joining a group) to be not worthwhile... The point is that whatever the fuzziness that characterizes genetic distances, people can creatively decide how best to strategize to promote their genetic interests in the current environment"

"Each group nourishes its own pride and vanity, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities, and looks with contempt on outsiders. Each group thinks its own folkways the only right ones, and if it observes that other groups have other folkways, these excite its scorn" (McDonald, 2001). While the whites appeal to their civilization, Fanon appeal to victimness of the black. Sherif (1966) found in his experiment that his subjects who were boys from different genetic compositions and racial backgrounds developed groups and made negative evaluation to another group (See Sherif's "Robber Cave Experiment" for more information). If a member of the same gene become included with the opposite culture, he will find himself belong to that group and tend to share his nepotism with the new group. Genetic components are the first identification that automatic mechanism relies on before the evaluation of how each person can contribute to the group. This, however, is a difficult case because firstly that member must pass the genetic markers' hinder. Social identity research found that the extent that groups are permeable can influences ingroup and outgroup attitudes; while the permeability reduces conflict, impermeability can cause stronger violence (Horowitz, 1985). This explains why colonization resulted in much more violence because of the impermeability, and our psychological mechanism evolved from ancestral past responsible for it.

What Fanon claims, therefore, is a natural phenomenon of human throughout our evolutionary history; the white were not the master of racism, ethnocentrism and xenophobia. As he says

"I am not at all exaggerating: A white man addressing a Negro behaves exactly like an adult with a child and starts smirking, whispering, patronizing, cozening. It is not one white man I have watched, but hundreds; and I have not limited my investigation to any one class but, if I may claim an essentially objective position,



I have made a point of observing such behavior in physicians, policemen, employers. I shall be told, by those who overlook my purpose, that I should have directed my attention elsewhere, that there are white men who do not fit my description. (p. 23)"

"There is a fact: White men consider themselves superior to black men." (p. 3)

"No, speaking pidgin-nigger closes off the black man; it perpetuates a state of conflict in which the white man injects the black with extremely dangerous foreign bodies." (p. 29)

"In Martinique there are two hundred whites who consider themselves superior to 300,000 people of color. In South Africa there are two million whites against almost thirteen million native people, and it has never occurred to a single black to consider himself superior to a member of the white minority." (p. 68)

"The white man has never understood this magic substitution. The white man wants the world; he wants it for himself alone. He finds himself predestined master of this world. He enslaves it. An acquisitive relation is established between the world and him. " (p. 97)

"the Negro selects himself as an object capable of carrying the burden of original sin. The white man chooses the black man for this function." (p. 148)

It was implanted in our psychological state activated in group competition, considering colonial time was one of the biggest expeditions in our history. Expeditions, in which it is normal that a group of people (different race or not) come into contact and compete for resources. Black psychopathology is not only necessary to be caused through racism; racism can lead to self-esteem and inclusive fitness because it stimulates the member to find positive components against the stereotypes, psychopathology can occur but it is not the only stage for the suppressed. Later when the black experienced too much suppression and can evolve inclusive fitness (after so many tribal wars and group separation in the past), then the black came to liberation. The next section will suggest and explain that white's ethnocentrism does not create psychopathology and identity problems. It is supported by many social psychologists that racism and stigmatization can lead to inclusive fitness and strong racial identity, especially in group.

#### 4.4 Effect of Racism and Ethnic Identity Formation in Racism Context

In the book 'Black Skin, White Mask' Fanon claims that racism creates negative self-perception internalized in the black and it causes inferiority complex. It makes the blacks inferior and dependent, and finally causes psychopathology, alienation and ambivalence in the black. The black will perceived themselves as negative being and need to adopt white culture in order to be civilized (Information about this concept is discussed in Chapter II). This idea scatters in all chapters of the book. For example, the whites claim that the black are savage and sinful in chapter 1 (p. 8) In chapter 2 Fanon shows that black women tend to select a white male in order to avoid the prejudiced identity of the blacks, they also, moreover, disgust fellow black men (p. 35). Even in the relationship of black men and white women, the blacks choose white women for cultural purpose (p. 54). Fanon also states in chapter 3 that the racism cause the blacks culturally inferior (p. 62). Fanon proposes the term epidermal schema which occurs when a person acknowledge their negative attribute created by racism. This schema causes inferiority complex in the blacks (p. 84). Fanon also claims that the racism structure caused by colonization causes psychopathology in the black since childhood (p. 113). The psychopathology was implanted in the black since slavery and continues to affect the black until his time (p. 148). In conclusion, Fanon claims that racism, especially in cultural and social racism, can cause people in the whole society to be affected by psychopathology and it leads to inferiority complex.

Many psychological researches, however, show different results in the study of effect of racism and ethnocentrism (which is used by the white to surmount their status in order to gain power and control over the black). Some of the results are similar to what Fanon says, but that just a few. Levin (1996) finds that people conceive and perceive the concept of self in the relationship between individual and group level. There is a mechanism designed in humans to make us want to belong to a group (Baumeister and Tice, 1990) and exclude or exploit other members of social groups (Tooby and Cosmides, 1988). Stigmatization, therefore, is a form of discrimination that paves the way to exploitation resulted in our natural cognitive system. Stigmatization, however, does not occur only for exploitation. People of



subgroup are stigmatized because they are perceived to be poor exchange partner, even though they certainly have their value but it is not evaluated positively by another group. They, moreover, can just possess some aspects viewed to be avoided by other group, even though they perceive that aspects as valuable for ingroup (Kurzban and Leary, 2001). Stigmatization is natural mechanism that enhances (1) self-esteem (2) social identity particularly (3) society of a certain group. (Crocker and et al., 1998). Stigmatization, precisely, aim to enhance a group by comparing ingroup with outgroup, and it is universal. Every group is inspired by self-enhancement to function and move forward in intergroup behavior. This explains why Fanon emphasizes so much on the black should gain the confidence back in moving against the white. It is, therefore, unavoidably that people will relate themselves into a certain group, vice versa to that Fanon says individual psychopathology can lead to the social psychopathology, or even cultural. It, however, is a not only person perceiving racism can be inferior or psychopathological. Fanon claims that the black are caused inferior by perception of the negative stereotype. But Levin shows that in group conflict people of each group will compare themselves with the opposite by finding inferior aspect to create ingroup favoritism. The result also shows that "social identities based on race will trigger evaluative comparisons with other racial groups. Individuals are motivated to achieve a positive social identity by favoring their own racial group over other racial groups." Ingroup favoritism can be triggered when a given group perceives threat from other groups toward their resources and benefits. The blacks, therefore, will not only feel inferior or degraded as Fanon claims, they can also feel racially stronger in order to defend their resource. This is supported by Levin;

"Groups that are in the numerical minority are more likely to be optimally distinct because they offer both a sense of being similar to fellow minority group members and a sense of being different from members of the majority group; minority group members are therefore more likely to exhibit strong ingroup identity and loyalty."

Every individual in minority group of inferior group, therefore, is not necessary to feel inferior. They can feel strong and positive about their racial identity in order to fight against the white's racism, oppression and also inferiority complex. The complexes caused by colonization as claimed by Fanon are possible but only optional, not the only effect, or it can be a very first stage to develop strong identity. This might be the reason for liberation of African country by the black people because they can create strong ingroup favoritism and geographical advantage leads them to finally liberate themselves. Not only can the whites generate negative attitude toward the black, the black can also do too. People tend to evaluate outgroup population negatively (Levin, 1996), this is natural for every group. Fanon shows only the negative attitude of the whites but somehow he ignores how the blacks negatively perceive the white.

Fanon claims that his patient show "stronger" positive attitudes about the white. He, however, interview his patient in person, not group. Tajfel and Turner (1986) shows that in a result of their research, when 'solo status' occurs, individual tend to show polarized attitude towards outgroup member. If Fanon studies only those who has mental problem about racial identity, he, therefore, as the result shows, will get the polarized attitude, not medium or true when compare the group relation. There is one observation that a boy who is racially different from other in the class showed polarized attitude whereas when he is in his racial group he showed 'medium attitude' which tend to toward multicultural viewpoint (Verkuyten, 2004). This show that people's attitude is varies depended on the context and situation. In Fanon psychoanalytical therapy he tends to find the cause of the patient illness, he will seek only solo attitude of a patient which can be polarized, not an attitude that when a person is put in the social situation. Jaffe and Yinon (1979) also show the data that retaliation is stronger in a group relation than individual. So it means that if Fanon studies group attitude toward racism he might get a different result which is quite opposite to his finding in the book. Tajfel (1982) also supports that external conflict increases group cohesion. This result is found in many social psychological studies (Tajfel, 1982).

An evolutionary psychological study also supports this idea. Kinship bonding is activated "whenever humans recognize appropriate "markers" in others



such as ethnic features, language, and mere association (Van Den Berghe, 1981; Johnson, 1986). Even though there is no proof that skin colors result in genetic different, however our brains deceive us that this superficial component is 'genetic' because it is difficult to imitate. As McDonald (2001) argues:

"There was no natural selection for viewing ethnic groups or races as biological kinds, but the brain is fooled into supposing that different ethnic groups and races are biological kinds because they resemble natural kinds in several ways, including normative endogamy, descent-based membership, and the existence of culturally created phenotypic markers (scarification, forms of dress) that make different ethnic groups appear to be of a different kind."

Goetze (2004), in addition, states that kinship bonding is a kind of alarm mechanism that creates cohesive group defense when external threat from different group is identified. Arbitrary distinction, such as black and white, developed and savage, is sufficient to stimulate in-group favoritism (Ferguson and Kelly, 1964; Tajfel, 1982). In-group favoritism and out-group hostility is likely to be intensified when the external threats are found (Sherif, 1961, 1996; Brown, 1988). The arrival and colonial threat of the whites then can create stronger group identity and defensive cohesion, not weaken it through psychopathology. When individuals found themselves belong to an ingroup they have more tendency to contribute to collective welfare even it costs self-benefits (Brewer and Kramer, 1986; Kramer and Brewer, 1984). In-group cooperation impacts on identity (Howard, 2000). Goetze also claims, after providing many data from others, that this mechanism is universal across cultures. If the racism can strengthen group cohesion, therefore, it is likely that the black will unite stronger and create cooperation that will cause strong group identity. This is obviously contradicted with Fanon's claims.

If Fanon claims that the white used skin colors to differentiate and stereotype the black, then that Fanon claims that black want to acculturate because of internalization and racism is implausible. People validate group members by overt cultural trait, and skin colors are included (Bentley, 1987). Van Den Berghe (1996) and McDonald (2004) argue that something hard to imitate is considered cultural trait by humans. Heschl (1993) also found that people tend to identify with similar face and physical appearance, which means skin colors included. If skin color was used by the

white, it is not likely that the black will tend to acculturate, especially when other cultural traits are considered to be different from the black's traits. The cause of acculturation can be the desire for development and chances of welfare imposed by the white. Fanon's claims that the black want to acculturate because of wanting to adopt the white culture or turn white is not the only option. As he claims

"However painful it may be for me to accept this conclusion, I am obliged to state it: For the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white." (p. 4)

"The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle." (p. 9)

What proposed by social and evolutionary psychologists prove the cultural reason can be the least possible alternative. The black wanting to adopt white culture might see suitable profit for his identity or welfare.

#### **4.5 Internalized Acculturation**

Throughout the book one of the important ideas of Fanon is internalized acculturation. Fanon claims that the blacks are internalized to follow the white acculturation process because they perceive their culture as lower and undeveloped. They, therefore, need to be white in order to achieve developed identity. In psychological researches, however, show interesting results.

Erikson (1968) states that it is natural when a person contacts with a culturally new society or ideals, a person's identity tends to change. In the colonial context, whether racism is severe or not, it cannot help that a person will have new possibilities to change their identity according to their personal interests. While Fanon claims that acculturation is mass situation in the black, Schwartz and et al. (2006) in cultural acculturation of the people there is personal identity underlies that acculturation. Acculturation process and results in each individual, therefore, are different depending on a person; it can result in both preserving heritage or assimilate completely to the dominant culture (Lee, 2007), or result in mixed identity or multicultural identity (Berry, 1992).



How an individual deciding to acculturate depends various factors such as welfare, opportunity, education and experiences (Lee, 2007). Kurzban and Leary (2001) found that:

“People possess skills or attributes that make them more or less valuable to you. In the course of pursuing their own goals, these individuals generate externalities, by-products of their acts that have positive or negative effects on your goals. Those individuals who generate positive externalities are more valuable than those who generate negative (or no) externalities. This structure can lead to adaptations that cause people to seek out individuals who generate positive externalities as well as adaptations that cause individuals to cultivate skills that others find valuable and, moreover, are valuable in a way that others cannot duplicate. Thus, this model predicts that individuals should be motivated to display unique skills and abilities, making them better candidates for generating positive externalities and so more.”

Lee (2007) argues that in oppressing or racist society, an individual's decision to acculturate can be that that person does not perceive negative aspects of the new society when the factor of identity formation or acculturation shows in the contact with a new society, and many of these individuals idealize the new society in the way that it benefits them. This answers why found so many blacks wanting to acculturate because the explicit advancement in economy, technology and development of the white culture are exposed to them. Their acculturation thus is influenced by those aspects, not only by racism. Some might argue that Fanon's book was written in colonial time where racism was extremely strong and persistent. Liang, Li, and Kim (2004) found that persistent racism can convince an individual that no matter how much they assimilate to the dominant culture, they will not gain the benefit from the dominant. These people who perceive persistent racism, therefore, tend to preserve their heritage identity.

Landrine and Klonoff (1996) found that African Americans who were identified as being more traditionally oriented reported experiencing more racism. If the racism in colonial or Fanon's time was extreme, people thus would preserve their heritage culture, not assimilate to it. While Fanon claims that the assimilated black feel alienated because the prejudice still exists and affect them, Lee (2007) and Liu and et al (1999) found that the more a person assimilates to the mainstream culture, the less

they experience racism. Lee (2007) argues that understanding of race leads to perception of racism in the society. Kohatsu (1992) found that if people develop complex racial identity, they will perceive more racism than others. It is also evidenced by Sellers and Shelton's (2003) investigation that if people consider race as for significant identity formation, they will perceive more racism in their lives. This can explain why Fanon perceive racism in his society. It is because he studied the racial relation of the colonizers and the colonized in the sense that he tried to differentiate them. He, therefore, perceive racism and negative stereotype than others in his society, and it led him to study about this topic of racism. Alvarez and Helms (2001) also found that racial identity is one of the tools that minorities and the oppressed use to differentiate themselves from the oppressor and to overcome the negative stereotype.

Internalization is effective with the black's mental state, and it turns the black to be alienated, as Fanon claims. Lee (2007) found that there are different stages or types in identity of the internalized person. Lee argues that

"The Internalization stage has three identities, which are Black Nationalist, Biculturalist, and Multiculturalist Inclusive. At this stage, individuals hold Blacks as their reference group and at the same time engage in empowering others. Black Nationalists accept themselves as Blacks and work to empower the Black community. Biculturalists and Multiculturalists identify themselves as Blacks and at the same time identify themselves with one other group or multiple groups"

Atkinson and et al. (1989) and Helms (1990) claim that when a person contact with different culture, there will be five stages which are Conformity, Dissonance, Immersion-Emersion (or Resistance and Immersion), Internalization (or Introspection), and Integrative Awareness. They explain these five stages are:

"The Conformity stage is similar to the Pre-Encounter stage, in which minority individuals conform to the White culture



and at the same time minimize the importance of race. Individuals in the Dissonance stage are much like those explained by Cross's Encounter stage. These individuals develop a sense of confusion about their identities. They begin to feel uncomfortable identifying with the White culture and at the same time confused about identifying with their own racial group. In the Immersion-Emmersion of Helms' model and the Resistance-Immersion stage of Atkinson et al.'s model, individuals accept their own racial group and reject the White standards and values. Individuals in the Internalization (or Introspection) stage attempts to balance out the values that they have for their own racial groups and the White group. At the final stage of racial identity development (i.e., Integrative Awareness), individuals are able to have a meaningful racial identity and at the same time respect other racial groups."

This contradicts with what Fanon proposes. Fanon proposes that when a person comes into contact with a racist society, there will be one stage only for the black; alienation or inferiority. As he says:

"Every colonized people—in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality—finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country." (p. 18)

"It is because the Negress feels inferior that she aspires to win admittance into the white world." (p. 42)

"As long as he remains among his own people, the little black follows very nearly the same course as the little white. But if he goes to Europe, he will have to reappraise his lot. For the Negro in France, which is his country, will feel different from other people. One can hear the glib remark: The Negro makes himself inferior. But the truth is that he is made inferior. The young Antillean is a Frenchman called upon constantly to live with white compatriots. Now, the Antillean family has for all

practical purposes no connection with the national—that is, the French, or European—structure. The Antillean has therefore to choose between his family and European society; in other words, the individual who climbs up into society—white and civilized—tends to reject his family—black and savage—on the plane of imagination” (p. 115)

“We have just seen that the feeling of inferiority is an Antillean characteristic. It is not just this or that Antillean who embodies the neurotic formation, but all Antilleans. Antillean society is a neurotic society, a society of “comparison.” Hence we are driven from the individual back to the social structure. If there is a taint, it lies not in the “soul” of the individual but rather in that of the environment.” (p. 165)

“But—and this is a most important point—we observe the opposite in the man of color. A normal Negro child, having grown up within a normal family, will become abnormal on the slightest contact with the white world. This statement may not be immediately understandable.” (p. 111)

“The Negro is unaware of it as long as his existence is limited to his own environment; but the first encounter with a white man oppresses him with the whole weight of his blackness.” (p. 116)

“What am I getting at? Quite simply this: When the Negro makes contact with the white world, a certain sensitizing action takes place. If his psychic structure is weak, one observes a collapse of the ego. The black man stops behaving as an actional person. The goal of his behavior will be The Other (in the guise of the white man), for The Other alone can give him worth. That is on the ethical level: self-esteem.” (p. 119)

The models resulted from experiment showed above, however, found diversity in perception and creation of identity of people. Verkuyten (2004) found that people not completely conserve or assimilate to a culture, but they maintain each aspects in different degree varying on personal identity and perception of benefits each cultures bring. Hutnik (1991; quoted in Verkuyten, 2004) proposes four dimensions of acculturation, which are;

“Separation, where the identification is predominantly with one’s own ethnic group; assimilation, where identification



with the majority group predominates; integration (or hyphenated identity), where there is identification both with one's ethnic minority group and with the majority group; and marginality, where one identifies with neither the in-group nor the majority group."

Verkuyten used these models in his experiment on the topic of acculturation of minority or the oppressed and found that approximately 50% of the participants show separated identity, a few chose marginal and assimilative positions. This result contradicts with Fanon's idea that the black can only choose to assimilate, and Fanon's arguments based on psychoanalysis only, not scientific experiment which is more convincing.

Decision to adopt or retain new culture or heritage is independent (Abe-Kim, Okazaki and Goto, 2001; Ryder and et al., 2000). The subject can choose freely to retain or adopt according to individual's perception of benefits in doing so. Personal identity, which consists of set of beliefs, goals, values an individual possess, also has important effects in acculturation (Ketner and et al., 2004). Racism or internalization cannot force a person to adopt new culture. Racism, in contrast, which Fanon claims that it is the main engine driving internalization, can create strong group cohesion. Conflicts of personal and social identity can also intertwine in the ambivalence of acculturation, it, however, is just making decision process in acculturation (Bhatia and Ram, 2001). An individual also will not adopt or acculturate completely; he can also combine some aspect benefiting him, which results in multicultural identity (Lee, 2007). Those with multicultural identity act differently based on time and opportunity (Lee, 2007). Fanon should consider that when and where the black acts negatively towards fellow black, or where and when the black acts positively towards the white.

Markus, Steele and Steele (2001) found that people of the same nation or ethnicity can face different acculturation problems depending on the context. For example, black people facing acculturation problems in the colony can have different identity formation compared to the immigrant blacks. They can be voluntary immigrants who voluntarily adapt their identity or involuntary are assimilated to the

new culture. They are different products of the different situations. Under the umbrella, therefore, of white racism as Fanon claim cannot show the same pathology in the black, from the reasons above. As found by those researches, black in Antilles facing severe racism tend to preserve their heritage culture instead of rejecting it while those who tend to adopt white culture live in France. It is very contradicting to Fanon's claims. What makes those researches stronger than those of Fanon is that they have empirical data and valid data collection than Fanon whose method is too vague and untestable (dream, story and anecdotal analysis).

From this chapter, we have learned that while Fanon claims the white's racism causes the black to be alienated and ambivalent; the white claim that black are savage and uncivilized and need to follow the white authority in order to do so. The black want to acculturate the white culture in order to be civilized but the racism and the perception of the black in the white hinders the black to be completely assimilated. The black, in result, struggle in the ambivalent state that they cannot choose to be completely white because the white hinder them to be so, and cannot return to their heritage culture because they feel their culture is uncivilized and savage, as internalized by the white. This leaves the black in alienation stage because they feel they do not belong to any particular culture and it becomes psychopathology affecting the black identity.

Different findings, however, are showed by many researches in psychological studies such as social and evolutionary psychology. Racism, claimed by Fanon that it is mastered by white against the black, is naturally evolved mechanism in our brains stimulated when group competition is intense, and any people of ethnic or race can practice it against competitors. Stereotypes are tools in group conflict and it normally leads to inclusive fitness for both the suppressors and the suppressed; both groups tend to find positive attitude against the negative attitude given to them by the opposite.

Social psychological researches on ethnic identity have found that people's identities are not negatively affected by racism; it can create strong ethnic identity. Acculturation problems vary from the scale of individual to society. Different people from different society perceive different effect of racism. People also show different attitudes of ethnic identity when in solo status and in group.



There is no single effect claimed by Fanon. Fanon ideas should be revised or reevaluated carefully before applying it with various people, as done by some of postcolonialists or social psychologists. Fanon might be a prominent figure in black movement. Some of his ideas might be very effective that he has become such an important person in our history. His ideas in this book, however, should not be used just in accordance of his fame. It should be reconsidered to generalize black people suffered from the pathology. Even Fanon's intension was not to widely apply it, people using it should reconsider.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

In the book 'Black Skin, White Masks', the main idea of the book is that the black are internalized by the white through racism to hate their own culture and desire to assimilate to white culture. This causes alienation in the black because they cannot completely become white because the white only want to exploit the black instead of welcoming the black to their culture and see the black as an object to compare themselves with the black in order to make them feel superior than the black. The black, therefore, are alienated because they cannot return to their heritage because they already hate their culture while cannot completely assimilate to white culture. They are in stage of ambivalence. This, as a result, causes mental disorder in the black.

From many psychological studies, such as evolutionary psychology, social psychology and cross-cultural psychology, and some other fields of studies such as sociobiology suggest different result from Fanon's book. Evolutionary psychological and sociobiological researches find that racism is a product of natural selection and survivalism, and finally becomes evolved mechanism stimulated when group conflicts occur. Human uses explicit markers (language, skin color, cultural pattern) as an identification to distinguish group's member. Even though those markers are not genetic, but our brains tend to believe that it is genetic because it is difficult to imitate. Difficultly immitatable markers tend be perceived as genetics and group's markers. Racism is one of the xenophobic behaviors in our mind at it is automatic. It is, however, is controlled by prefrontal cortex and reduced when our brains can surpass the markers and superficial aspects, but this can happen when a member of opposite group conveys nepotism to the group. Racism, moreover, can create inclusive fitness because the suppressed group will find a positive aspect for their group to compete with the suppressing group. The suppressed group, therefore, is not necessarily psychopathologized and victimized.

Social psychological researches find that people tend to show xenophobic and racist behaviors when group conflict is intense. When acculturating to a culture,



people can have many stages, strategies and reasons in their motives, which is contrast to Fanon's claim that the black will be alienated and ambivalent in acculturation. Social psychological researches suggest that people can both assimilate to the dominant culture, preserve their own culture, both adopt and preserve both cultures or rejects both cultures. It is depends on the perceived benefits in the dominant culture for each individual. The researches also find that the more people are culturally conservative, the more racism they can perceive, whereas the less will perceive no racism. Attitudes of people about particular ethnic group also depend the context; people tend to show polarized attitudes about a given race (both positive and negative) when they are in solo status, whereas in group status they will adjust their attitudes towards their group.

From the reasons mentioned above, racism is not a learned behavior, but a trigger behavior, as suggested by evolutionary psychological and sociobiological research, it is an evolved mechanism equipped to deal with outsiders who can pose danger to the wellbeing of individuals whose survival can only be enhanced with forming a group. . Racism is not unique to any particular culture; throughout the history of mankind, some groups of people showed and practice more racism simply because of they could just find themselves in the position where they could do so, not because they were more innately evil than the others.. Psychopathology can be a stage but not the only stage. Fanon claims that the black are assimilated to the white culture and still suffer from psychopathology. This claim is in conflict with, social psychological research findings which suggest that the motives of people in assimilating a culture are various. Alienation and ambivalence are not the only results; people can have different stages of acculturation depending on a person's attitudes and a context where acculturation occurs. As he claims:

"However painful it may be for me to accept this conclusion, I am obliged to state it: For the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white." (p. 4)

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## **APPENDIX**



### Frantz Fanon's Biography

Frantz Fanon (1925 – 1961) was born in the French colony of Martinique on July 20, 1925. His family occupied a social position within Martinican society that could reasonably qualify them as part of the black bourgeoisie; Frantz's father, Casimir Fanon, was a customs inspector and his mother, Eléanore Médélice, owned a hardware store in downtown Fort-de-France, the capital of Martinique. Members of this social stratum tended to strive for assimilation, and identification, with white French culture. Fanon was raised in this environment, learning France's history as his own, until his high school years when he first encountered the philosophy of negritude, taught to him by Aimé Césaire, Martinique's other renowned critic of European colonization. Politicized, and torn between the assimilationism of Martinique's middle class and the preoccupation with racial identity that negritude promotes, Fanon left the colony in 1943, at the age of 18, to fight with the Free French forces in the waning days of World War II.

After the war, he stayed in France to study psychiatry and medicine at university in Lyons. Here, he encountered bafflingly simplistic anti-black racism—so different from the complex, class-permeated distinctions of shades of lightness and darkness one finds in the Caribbean—which would so enrage him that he was inspired to write "An Essay for the Disalienation of Blacks," the piece of writing that would eventually become *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* (1952). It was here too that he began to explore the Marxist and existentialist ideas that would inform the radical departure from the assimilation-negritude dichotomy that *Peau Noire's* anti-racist humanism inaugurates.

Although he briefly returned to the Caribbean after he finished his studies, he no longer felt at home there and in 1953, after a stint in Paris, he accepted a position as *chef de service* (chief of staff) for the psychiatric ward of the Blida-Joinville hospital in Algeria. The following year, 1954, marked the eruption of the Algerian war of independence against France, an uprising directed by the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN) and brutally repressed by French armed forces. Working in a French hospital, Fanon was increasingly responsible for treating both the psychological distress of the soldiers and officers of the French army who carried out

torture in order to suppress anti-colonial resistance and the trauma suffered by the Algerian torture victims. Already alienated by the homogenizing effects of French imperialism, by 1956 Fanon realized he could not continue to aid French efforts to put down a decolonization movement that commanded his political loyalties, and he resigned his position at the hospital.

Once he was no longer officially working for the French government in Algeria, Fanon was free to devote himself to the cause of Algerian independence. During this period, he was based primarily in Tunisia where he trained nurses for the *FLN*, edited its newspaper *el Moujahid*, and contributed articles about the movement to sympathetic publications, including *Presence Africaine* and Jean-Paul Sartre's journal *Les Temps Modernes*. Some of Fanon's writings from this period were published posthumously in 1964 as *Pour la Révolution Africaine (Toward the African Revolution)*. In 1959 Fanon published a series of essays, *L'An Cinq. de la Révolution Algérienne*, (The Year of the Algerian Revolution) which detail how the oppressed natives of Algeria organized themselves into a revolutionary fighting force. That same year, he took up a diplomatic post in the provisional Algerian government, ambassador to Ghana, and used the influence of this position to help open up supply routes for the Algerian army. It was in Ghana that Fanon was diagnosed with the leukemia that would be his cause of death. Despite his rapidly failing health, Fanon spent ten months of his last year of life writing the book for which he would be most remembered, *Les Damnés de la Terre*, an indictment of the violence and savagery of colonialism which he ends with a passionate call for a new history of humanity to be initiated by a decolonized Third World. In October 1961, Fanon was brought to the United States by a C.I.A. agent so that he could receive treatment at a National Institutes of Health facility in Bethesda, Maryland. He died two months later, on December 6, 1961, reportedly still preoccupied with the cause of liberty and justice for the peoples of the Third World. At the request of the *FLN*, his body was returned to Tunisia, where it was subsequently transported across the border and buried in the soil of the Algerian nation for which he fought so single-mindedly during the last five years of his life.

The pan-Africanism that Fanon understood himself to be contributing to in his work on behalf of Third World peoples never really materialized as a political



movement. It must be remembered that in Fanon's day, the term "Third World" did not have the meaning it has today. Where today it designates a collection of desperately poor countries that are the objects of the developed world's charity, in the 1950s and 1960s, the term indicated the hope of an emerging alternative to political alliance with either the First World (the United States and Europe) or the Second World (the Soviet bloc). The attempt to generate political solidarity and meaningful political power among the newly independent nations of Africa instead foundered as these former colonies fell victim to precisely the sort of false decolonization and client-statism that Fanon had warned against. Today, as a political program, that ideal of small-state solidarity survives only in the leftist critiques of neoliberalism offered by activists like Noam Chomsky and Naomi Klein.

Instead, the discourse of solidarity and political reconstruction has retreated into the academy, where it is theorized as "postcolonialism." Here we find the critical theorizing of scholars like Edward Said and Gayatri Spivak, both of whom construct analyses of the colonial Self and the colonized Other that, implicitly at least, depend on the Manichean division that Fanon presents in *Les Damnés*.

Thinkers around the globe have been profoundly influenced by Fanon's work on anti-black racism and decolonization theory. Brazilian theorist of critical pedagogy Paulo Freire engages Fanon in dialogue in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, notably in his discussion of the mis-steps that oppressed people may make on their path to liberation. Freire's emphasis on the need to go beyond a mere turning of the tables, a seizure of the privileges and social positions of the oppressors, echoes Fanon's concern in *Les Damnés* and in essays such as "Racism and Culture" (in *Pour la Révolution Africaine*) that failure to appreciate the deeply Manichean structure of the settler-native division could lead to a false decolonization in which a native elite simply replace the settler elite as the oppressive rulers of the still exploited masses. This shared concern is the motivation for Freire's insistence on perspectival transformation and on populist inclusion as necessary conditions for social liberation.

Kenyan author and decolonization activist Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o also draws on ideas Fanon presents in *Les Damnés*. Inspired mainly by Fanon's meditations on the need to decolonize national consciousness, Ngũgĩ has written of the need to get beyond the "colonization of the mind" that occurs in using the language of imposed

powers. Like Fanon, he recognizes that language has a dual character. It colonizes in the sense that power congeals in the history of how language is used (that is, its role in carrying culture). But it can also be adapted to our real-life communication and our “image-forming” projects, which means it also always carries the potential to be the means by which we liberate ourselves. Ngũgĩ’s last book in English, *Decolonizing the Mind*, was his official renunciation of the colonizer’s language in favor of his native tongue, Gĩkũyũ, and its account of the politics of language in African literature can fruitfully be read as an illustration of the abstract claims Fanon makes about art and culture in *Les Damnés* and *Pour la Révolution Africaine*.

Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith takes up Fanon’s call for artists and intellectuals of decolonizing societies to create new literatures and new cultures for their liberated nations. Applying Fanon’s call to her own context, Tuhiwai Smith notes that Maori writers in New Zealand have begun to produce literature that reflects and supports a resurgent indigenous sovereignty movement, but she notes that there is little attention to achieving that same intellectual autonomy in the social sciences. Inspired by Fanon’s call to voice, she has written *Decolonizing Methodologies*, a book that interrogates the way “research” has been used by European colonial powers to subjugate indigenous peoples and also lays out methodological principles for indigenous research agendas that will not reproduce the same dehumanizing results that colonial knowledge production has been responsible for

In the United States, Fanon’s influence continues to grow. Feminist theorist bell hooks, one of those who notes the absence of attention to gender in Fanon’s work, nonetheless acknowledges the power of his vision of the resistant decolonized subject and the possibility of love that this vision nurtures. Existential phenomenologist Lewis R. Gordon works to articulate the new humanism that Fanon identified as the goal of a decolonized anti-racist philosophy. Gordon is one of the Africana- and Caribbean-focused scholars in American academia who has been involved in founding today’s most prominent Africana-Caribbean research network, the Caribbean Philosophical Association, which awards an annual book prize in Frantz Fanon’s name. The Frantz Fanon Prize recognizes excellence in scholarship that advances Caribbean philosophy and Africana-humanist thought in the Fanonian tradition.



In Paris, the heart of the former empire that Fanon opposed so vigorously in his short life, his philosophy of humanist liberation and his commitment to the moral relevance of all people everywhere have been taken up by his daughter Mireille Fanon. She heads the *Fondation Frantz Fanon* and follows in her father's footsteps with her work on questions of international law and human rights, supporting the rights of migrants, and championing struggles against the impunity of the powerful and all forms of racism.

(Source: <http://www.iep.utm.edu/fanon/>)