

From Impurity of Thought Toward the Glocalization of Whiteness in Spain

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Abstract

This paper is structured in three parts. Firstly, the introduction aims to visualize the trajectory of Spain's racial rhetoric in relation to whiteness, and its European counterparts' historical processes of racialization, thus offering an explanation to the acute lack of studies regarding Spanish whiteness. Subsequently, I offer a study that revisits the cultural, symbolical transformation following the *Transición Española* through *Amanece, que no es poco* (1988) to examine how Spain disregarded notions of *mestizaje* in this period, beginning to bound up Spanish whiteness with European multiculturalism, as much as with a long-imagined, Western modernity. The analysis demonstrates how Spain instrumentalized blackness merely as an ideological means to raise awareness of social distance in the Spanish white racial formation, while subsuming the experience of blackness into the cultural practices of whiteness. To conclude, I link the study to the present day's racial conceptions, assuming that, in a culturally globalized world, Spain may have decisively integrated into a *relatively* homogeneous, glocal sensibility of whiteness.

Key Words: Whiteness, Hispanic Whiteness, Racialization, Black Legend, Glocalism, Racial Formation, Spanish Film, *Amanece, que no es poco*.

“In the wider representation of whiteness,
the very struggle for whiteness is a sign of whiteness.”

(Richard Dyer, *White*, 2017. p. 208)

Impurity of Thought: Whiteness(es) and Spain

Extensive scholarly research exists in the field of Whiteness Studies regarding the American, Australian and South African white racial formations and representations.¹ However, critical studies of race on European whiteness(es)—except for some research on the United Kingdom—continue to be vague.² With rare, punctual exceptions, most critical commentators in the field of Hispanic Studies still seem to be devoting their scholarly agendas to examine the construction of subalterns' identities. The overwhelming emphasis that these studies have traditionally placed on the scrutiny of “an immigrant Other” is, to great extent, reasonable in the aftermath of the Second World War (1939-1945) and the subsequent rise of multicultural societies. Due to the atrocities of Nazism and Fascism—two ideologies which overtly propagated white supremacy principles—racial rhetoric of any kind regarding Europe became stigmatized. One of the consequences of this stigmatization of racial rhetoric was that European identities, as much as other Western nations, sought shelter in multiculturalism—the promise of a color-blind, more inclusive, tolerant and unprejudiced society—to regain the moral authority of historically white-

centered institutions. Accordingly, they eradicated any racial predicament from the public sphere. As result whiteness grew globally into a taboo in those historically white-dominated societies. Yet this historical process of stigmatization cannot be regarded as fully explaining the acute lack of whiteness studies centered on Spain. Rather, given that Spain's journey toward present-day multicultural societies followed a distinct, longer path compared to that of its European counterparts, Spanish white formation signals a much more complex, troubled history.

Traditionally, Spain had presented a situational rhetoric of racial exceptionalism establishing a twofold image of Spain as both alien and part of Europe, which constantly hindered European ideals of whiteness' racial purity. In turn, Spain's rhetorical ambiguity contributed to consolidate the long-lasting European conception of "a nation that is at once Orientalized and Orientalizing" (Martin-Marquez 9). This impure vision of Spain as a racial "other" in Europe could, in fact, be traced back to sixteenth century Italian imperia-phobia which morphed leading to the rise of European Hispano-phobia through the propaganda of the Black Legend.

The Black Legend, according to Stanley Payne, "había sido asumida por los intelectuales y artistas españoles, como puede apreciarse en los retratos de la España negra de pintores como Ignacio Zuloaga, José Gutiérrez Solana, y Darío de Regoyos" (20). Julián Juderías y Loyot (1877-1918) was a pioneer in denouncing this tendentious, historical propaganda about Spain thorough Europe which had now been absorbed by Spaniards too. In his book *La leyenda negra y la verdad histórica: Contribución al estudio del concepto de España en Europa, de las causas de este concepto y de la tolerancia religiosa y política en los países civilizados* (1914), Juderías y Loyot accurately described the distorted image of Spain which Europeans had had (and had produced) for centuries:

las acusaciones que en todo tiempo se han lanzado contra España fundándose para ello en hechos exagerados, mal interpretados o falsos en su totalidad, y finalmente, la afirmación, contenida en libros al parecer respetables y verídicos y muchas veces reproducida, comentada y ampliada en la Prensa extranjera, de que nuestra Patria constituye, desde el punto de vista de la tolerancia, de la cultura y del progreso político, una excepción lamentable dentro del grupo de las naciones europeas. (Juderías 5)

Paradoxically, despite the intention of Juderías y Loyot to eradicate this vision of Spain, his work circulated immensely contributing to the opposite. Acclaimed writers of the *Generación del 98* replicated the old tropes to explain Spain's presently decadence. For example, ten years after the publication of Juderías y Loyot, Ramón del Valle-Inclán literally wrote in *Luces de Bohemia* (1924):

“La leyenda negra, en estos días menguados, es la Historia de España. Nuestra vida es un círculo dantesco. Rabia y vergüenza . . . España es una deformación grotesca de la civilización europea” (217-218, 225). Almost a hundred years after Juderías’s book, proving the persistence of this theme in Spain, María Elvira Roca Barea’s study on the Black Legend has argued that similar derogatory tropes have historically been generated for every empire due to what she terms “Imperia-phobia.” According to Roca Barea

todas las leyendas negras se parecen, no solo las distintas versiones de la española . . . en realidad, son un conjunto de tópicos poco variados: inferioridad racial (sangre mala y baja), incultura y barbarie, orgullo y deseo de riqueza desmedidos, incontinencia sexual y costumbres licenciosas, Imperio inconsciente y poco más . . . su semejanza resulta de las circunstancias análogas que provocan su nacimiento: orgullo herido y necesidad de no sentirse inferior (o agradecido), y oligarquías regionales asentadas desde antiguo que se ven en peligro. (128)

There has traditionally been a profuse discussion regarding the origin of the Spanish Black Legend. Until the 1960s it was considered that the Black Legend found its origins in the Netherlands, as much as what it is Germany today. However, more recently, some scholars have argued that it had actually originated in Italy first and, then, had been reproduced and amplified in protestants regions during the European Religious Wars (See Sverker Arnoldsson, 1960). Meanwhile some others openly denied one single origin but parallel, simultaneous processes (See William S. Maltby, 1971). According to literary and historical evidence, it seems more logical to contend that the Spanish Black Legend firstly found predicament in Italy simply because the Spanish Empire initially expanded into the Mediterranean Sea. The entrenched prejudices against Spain of sixteenth century Italian humanism “proceden—Roca Barea explains—del malestar que surge en un pueblo culto, rico y que se considera heredero del imperio romano, cuando tiene que vivir en la órbita de un poder nuevo, el español” (158). Racism of any kind requires to build the fantasy of an-other’s racial impurity to assert one own’s moral authority, in turn, justifying cultural superiority. Ethnocentrism is thus at the heart of racism as a tool for establishing difference. Italian ethnocentric humanism grounded its anti-imperial prejudices in the Spanish miscegenation with Jewish and Moor bloods, as well as their alleged Spanish Gothicism (anti-roman, medieval, barbarian). Hence, “los españoles son malos cristianos, necesariamente, por su contaminación semita” (Roca Barea 129). Italian humanism used Spanish religious tolerance towards Jews and Moors as a source of weakness to develop their Hispano-phobic rhetoric. Subsequently, a linguistic racialization followed: the term “Marrani”—a term that Spaniards had long used to refer to Jewish *conversos*—became in the sixteenth century synonym for “Spaniard” in

Italy.³ This anti-Semitic rhetoric of Italian humanism toward Spain circulated widely across Europe. Thus, when the Spanish Emperor Carlos V advocated an *Universitas Christiana*—the ideal of unifying Europe religiously, administratively, and militarily under his reign to defend Christendom from the Ottoman Empire—several European regions opposed to annexation, giving rise to Northern European nationalisms which led to the Protestant Wars against Catholicism (roughly 1524-1648) promoted by the Lutheran Sacro Imperium, as well as Calvino and William of Orange in the Netherlands.

Martin Luther and Protestant Sacro Imperium's anti-Semitism were as profound as frequent. For example, in *Sobre los judíos y sus mentiras* (1541), Luther wrote:

Ya me he convencido de no escribir más sobre los judíos o en contra de ellos. Pero desde que me enteré de que aquellos miserables y malditos no cesan de ser un engaño para ellos mismos y para nosotros los cristianos. Yo he publicado este pequeño libro para que yo pueda ser encontrado entre aquellos que se oponen a las actividades ponzoñosas de los judíos y como alguien que advierte a los cristianos para que no bajen la guardia contra ellos. (1)

Although Luther acknowledged the legitimate rule of the Emperor Carlos V and loathed Spain, France, Bohemia, among others, for evicting the Jews, he had also absorbed the rhetoric of Italian Renaissance. This becomes evident in the following question, for example, when Luther purposely equates the alleged abuses of Spaniards in Italy with Jewish impunity in Europe: “¿Por qué los diabólicos judíos tienen impunidad para cometer crímenes entre nosotros y en nuestra contra? Sufrimos más nosotros a causa de ellos de los que sufren los italianos a causa de los españoles” (98). Accordingly, German humanism had learned from the Italians that the Spaniards were racially impure due to their Semite contamination and, obviously, this was their primary accusation during the first twenty years of the sixteenth century, when anti-Spanish propaganda was propagated in coalescence with anti-Catholicism. In 1531,

los príncipes protestantes forman la Liga de Esmalcalda. Pronto se les une Francia, lo que demuestra que el enemigo verdadero es el imperio y que las razones religiosas son en realidad una pantalla para encubrir una rebelión anti-imperial . . . El vínculo entre protestantismo y nacionalismo ha existido desde sus mismos principios. De manera que ser católico en Inglaterra, en Alemania o en Holanda, ha sido, por decirlo suavemente, muy problemático. (Roca Barea 190)

In the Netherlands Juan Calvino and William of Orange mimicked Germanic Lutheranism, while Henry VIII's Anglicanism confirmed the emergence of national churches in northern Europe as a political instrument to counteract Spanish hegemony in the continent. Given the origin of

northern nationalisms and Protestantism, Hispano-phobia became an integral part of the northern outlook. In England, “la hispanofobia se convirtió en parte constitutiva de la nación inglesa en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI, como de otras naciones europeas, . . . la construcción nacionalista exigía que para ser buen inglés había que ser anticatólico y antiespañol” (Roca Barea 225-226).⁴ Similar nation-building processes in opposition to Spanish hegemony occurred across the globe. Thus, besides Protestantism, the French Illustration, the Napoleonic wars, the War of Spanish Independence, the Bourbon Dynasty, the Latin American independences, and the Spanish-American War of 1898, all moulded the European understanding of Spain as inferior, and informed about their insidious, impure Spanishness.

To the gradual loss of control over physical territories, Spain began to lose the production of cultural hegemony. In the nineteenth century, France began to disseminate the image of Spain as an exotic, non-white, or at least, less white racial “Other. Note that “para la Europa de la Ilustración, los conceptos de raza y cultura van unidos. La cultura europea no solo es superior, sino que justifica la conquista y la explotación de las razas vencidas e inferiores, cuyas culturas son igualmente de segundo orden” (Fra-Moliner 50). Consequently, France produced the racializing discourse of “Africa begins in the Pyrenees” to recast Spain’s cultural backwardness, as well as Spaniards’ racial inferiority. Consequently, it was in this period when the anti-Semitic “marrani” trope morphed into an African trope creating the off-whiteness image of Spain.

The origin of this Africanizing expression has been attributed to M. de Pradt (Dominique Georges Frédéric) when, in *Mémoires historiques sur la révolution d’Espagne* (1816), he wrote: “c’est une erreur de la géographie que d’avoir attribué l’Espagne à l’Europe; elle appartient à l’Afrique: sang, moeurs, langage, manière de vivre et de combattre; en Espagne tout est africain” (168). At this junction, to understand Pradt’s reasoning the reader must be reminded to contextualize his words to two years after the Spanish War of Independence against Napoleonic France, as much as to Spain’s imperial decay, with it beginning to be reduced to a decadent, marginal power which had culturally and economically fallen behind. This backwardness, to a great extent in coalescence with Spain’s proximity to Africa, provoked the production of the aforementioned Spain’s off-whiteness image.

Be that as it may, this French blackening expression on Spain was widely propagated across Europe in the nineteenth century, for example, through the literary production of Victor Hugo (as well as travellers and Spanish Romantic writers)⁵ in the same fashion Italian Renaissance had circulated the anti-Spanish “marrani” rhetoric. The following extract from *Les Orientales* (1829) signals how well-established this trope was:

les couleurs orientales sont venues comme d'elles-mêmes empreindre toutes ses pensées, toutes ses rêveries; et ses rêveries et ses pensées se sont trouvées tour à tour, et presque sans l'avoir voulu, hébraïques, turques, grecques, persanes, arabes, espagnoles même, car *l'Espagne c'est encore l'Orient; l'Espagne est à demi africaine, l'Afrique est à demi asiatique*. (69; Emphasis added)

This process of racialization of Spain was important because, as Susan Martin-Márquez noted, “colonial powers attempt to gain control over the space of the Orient by ‘mapping’ it, both literally and *metaphorically*” (9; Emphasis added).⁶ In part, Spain’s inadequate response to, and absorption of, the long-standing tropes of the Black Legend(s) were to remain at the core of Spanish claims of racial exceptionalism. In this regard, José María Cordero Tórres explained how los franceses pusieron en circulación la frase que ‘África empezaba en los Pirineos’ ante la protesta de los españoles coetáneos. Pero, en un momento dado, los españoles cambian y empiezan a meditar las ventajas de ser africanos: Coello, Costa, Saavedra, Ferreiro, Reparaz, acogen con entusiasmo y exageración la tesis de la unidad hispano-marroquí . . . con la solitaria protesta de Maura Gamazo, la idea llega hasta nuestros días . . . perfeccionada y corregida. (6)

Nonetheless, Tomás García Figueras (1892-1981)—an Africanist writer, historian, who lived for thirty years in the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco—confronted the Africanization of Spain claiming that, in fact, “es más al sur, en el Sáhara, donde empieza verdaderamente África; en realidad, la afirmación de que Europa termina en el Atlas, en oposición a la de que África empieza en los Pirineos, es perfectamente exacta” (112). Joaquín Costa also nuanced the French off-whiteness rhetoric observing in *Los intereses de España y Marruecos son armónicos* (1906) that Spaniards had formed a wrong idea of Moroccans, “tan equivocada como la que tenían de nosotros los ingleses y franceses hace pocos años, y tal vez aún hoy . . . Marruecos ha dejado de ser un pueblo oriental. Ahora viene el hacer de él un pueblo occidental, y por decirlo así, europeo” (28). However, as the colonial presence of England and France consolidated in Africa, the rhetoric of racial ambiguity of Spain invigorated. At this juncture, it is noteworthy to establish that

in the aftermath of 1898, when Spain lost what remained of its credibility as a global force and imperial anxieties passed through one of their most critical phases, the scramble for Africa by the European powers left little to appropriate. Equatorial Guinea would become, along with Morocco, the essential locus for covering the economic and psychological trauma and contributing to the formation of a public imperial imaginary. (Sampedro Vizcaya 343)⁷

This “new” *locus* conditioned Spain to simultaneously position the nation on and off whiteness in order to simply justify colonial aspirations. In this sense, Spain also played a role in producing a problematic, ambiguous discourse of Spanish racial exceptionalism off-whiteness following the French rationale. Yet, beyond rhetoric, Spain’s political, geo-strategical and commercial interests has often been overlooked regarding the production of Spain’s rhetoric of racial ambiguity. As Emilio Castelar y Ripoll (1832-1889) revealed, Spain’s anxiety was over economy rather than race. This is so because Spaniards feared that England and France

sacarán del Norte de África los productos que hoy vienen a buscar a nuestros puertos, y nuestra agricultura, falta de mercados, se enflaquecerá y decaerá hasta el último extremo del enflaquecimiento y la decadencia. La cuestión de África es una cuestión de vida o muerte para nuestro porvenir, para el porvenir de esta heroica raza española. (150)

Likewise, Gabriel Maura Gamazo (1879-1963)—the son of the five times Prime Minister of Spain—saw in Spain’s colonial enterprises in Africa a critical matter for the very nations’ survival: “Harto tiene España a la espalda con un Gibraltar, para que vayamos a consentir que surjan, en un momento de debilidad nuestra, una legión de Gibraltares franceses detrás del Rif, y, como consecuencia, hoy o mañana, un segundo Gibraltar inglés en Tánger” (33). Juan Donoso Cortés (1809- 1853)—a conservative politician descendant, through his father Pedro Donoso Cortés, ancestry of Hernando Cortés—coincided in the absolute necessity to expand Spain’s territories in Africa because “Si asentar nuestra dominación en el África es para nosotros una cuestión de engrandecimiento, impedir la dominación exclusiva de ningún otro pueblo en las costas africanas es para nosotros una cuestión de existencia” (911). These three examples of Castelar y Ripoll, Maura Gamaza, and Donoso Cortés, may evidence how Spain—a country whose army was obsolete and devastated after the war of 1898—opted to continue to play the French “off-whiteness card” in the wake of the twentieth century to defend Spain’s geo-strategical and commercial interests in colonial Africa, aiming to gain access to greater material wealth.

After the Spanish Civil War, the Franco Regime embarked on a foundational process of ideological reaffirmation that sought political legitimization, as well as the renovation of national identity. To promote this “new” national identity successfully, Franco founded the *Departamento Nacional de Cinematografía* in 1939, appointed to Falangist Dionisio Ridruejo y Manuel García Viñolas. By creating this National Department of Cinematography, the Francoist Regime showed its acute intention of controlling the film industry in order to expand their political ideology, ideal social values, as well as their imperial racial imaginings. This propagandist process particularly heightened between 1939 and 1959, resulting in a proliferation of films that exalted

Spanish superior values. In doing so, Franco mimicked his Nazi German and Fascist Italian allies' strategy to indoctrinate the masses. Undoubtedly, José Luis Saenz de Heredia's *Raza* (1942)—as part of the so-called *cine alcazareño*—helped to shape this period's Francoist ideal nation in the public mind.⁸ The narrative, based on Franco's novel, encapsulated the dictator's vision of Spanish historical and moral duties bound in the concepts of racial exceptionalism and spiritual superiority. Imbued in this nostalgic narrative, the army and the church soon came to symbolize the nation's true spirit in addition to serving as the best epitome for the so-called "Spanish race."

Conversely, films emphasized the conception of a magnificent, exceptional, and united race making use of ordinary people, religious figures, and war heroes who sacrificed themselves in the name of the nation. Within two decades, Spanish production aimed to define the spirit of an age by which "the fate of Spanish cinema was to be the mirror of a race" (Taibo 27) narrating the motherland's history. Accordingly, the film industry acquired the moral duty of building models that would signpost Spanish racial virtues in tandem with traditional values. The subsequent national fervor led Francoist rhetoric to claim the Will of Isabelle of Castile as a historical right to rebuild the Spanish Empire in Africa and the Mediterranean.⁹

At first, the rise of fascism in Europe provided Spain with the ideological legitimation to satisfy imperial aspirations. In fact, Franco's negotiations with Adolf Hitler at Hendaya were fundamentally part of these imperial dreams.¹⁰ However, after the German defeat in WWII, Spain ideologically and racially "self-camouflaged" to avoid being overthrown in the rise of European democratic states. Thus, while the multicultural revolution began to reformulate the logic of European states, their structures, and their social practices, Spain—a dictatorship—remained excluded from all international organizations during the European post-WWII reconstruction period. Hence, internationally isolated and unable to follow the democratic processes toward multiculturalism, Francoism conflated an amalgamation of parallel, contradictory counter-discourses to preserve Spain's moral authority.¹¹ The Francoist regime found in Portugal's Lusotropicalist model a legal stratagem that sought shelter from the United Nations' push for decolonization in Africa. Therefore, Spain skewed its national rhetoric to endorse the propagation of Hispanotropicalism aiming to regulate the status of overseas colonies in Africa as national provinces.¹² Moreover, to make these cultural transformations effective, the Franco Regime reshaped the ideals of a grandiose imperial past which promoted *simultaneous* national narratives that emphasized the strength of racial fusion such as, for example, the "Reserva espiritual de occidente" image in Europe, the discourse of *hispanidad* in Latin America, the use of hispanotropicalism in Equatorial Guinea, and the claim of Spain's brotherly ties regarding North Africa.

One example of the conflated, contradictory array of racial discourses produced by Spain—perhaps the clearest illustration, but certainly not the only one—arose when “Spaniards claimed an African past in Morocco and denied it in Equatorial Guinea” (Tofiño-Quesada 146) to justify colonialism.¹³ This twofold discourse signals how Spanish whiteness has traditionally been “situational,” that is, conceived as a highly rhetorical, cultural tactic of assimilation of non-whites aiming to subsume their racial difference’s experiences into the margins of Spanish whiteness, thus totalizing, silencing dissidence (Persánch, *Blancura situacional* 2016). In essence, Spain’s situational rhetoric aimed to capitalize on its colonial legacy of *mestizaje* in order to legitimize neo-colonial enterprises. Nonetheless, in practice, Francoist film production reproduced schemes of White supremacy portraying non-white stereotypes as either the black savage (uncivilized, irrational, dangerous, lazy, and intellectually inferior), or the good savage (happy, obedient, and infantile). While this was in fact a Western phenomenon, Spain added a religious component to already racialized narratives contributing towards the imbrication of a strong messianic appeal in Spanish whiteness grounded in the Francoist crusade “*Contra la tiranía de los sin Dios*” to save Christian civilization. This national, racial discourse prevailed until Franco’s death.

This introduction—by no means intended to be exhaustive but to provide a concise survey—has aimed to help to visualize the trajectory of Spain’s racial rhetoric in relation to whiteness, and its European counterparts’ historical processes of racialization, thus offering an explanation to the acute lack of studies regarding Spanish whiteness. Altogether, I have suggested how Italian humanism, central and northern Protestantism, the French Africanization rhetoric of Spanish Whiteness, as much as Spain’s colonial legacy, all contributed to largely shaped an ambiguous conception of Spanishness that has often been held off-whiteness. What follows is a study that revisits the cultural, symbolical transformation following the *Transición Española* through *Amanece, que no es poco* (1988) to examine how Spain disregarded notions of *mestizaje* in this period, beginning to bound up Spanish whiteness with European multiculturalism, as much as with a long-imagined, Western modernity. The analysis demonstrates how Spain—regardless of the new multicultural ideals—instrumentalized Ngé Ndomo’s blackness merely as an ideological means to raise awareness of social distance in the Spanish white racial formation. Specifically, the essay proves how Spanish film continued to replicate colonial tropes using blackness in order to redefine Spain’s white national identity, while silencing the black subaltern voice by subsuming the experience of blackness into the cultural practices of whiteness. The essay also shows how this film strengthened the problematization of the presence of blackness regarding national identity coding hierarchical structures which

established patterns of racial behavior that privileged the centrality and subjectivity of whiteness. To conclude, I will link the study to the present day's racial conceptions, assuming that, in a culturally globalized world, Spain may have decisively integrated into a *relatively* homogeneous, glocal sensibility of whiteness.

The White Man has hanged too in *Amanece, que no es poco*

Spain, a country that had long been shaped “as the dark child of Europe and the light child of Africa” (Piedra 304), and whose access to Europeanness had been troubled—racialized—by European Imperia-phobia and Hispano-phobia, was no longer a dictatorship. With the advent of “democracy”—understood here not as formal democracy but uniquely as the granted right to individual freedom (freedom of the person in going and coming, equality before the courts, security of private property, freedom of opinion and its expression, and freedom of conscience subject to the rights of others and of the public)—the Spanish film industry, as it had happened during dictatorship, continued to go hand in hand with politics because “Spain needed a new democratic national cinema which would announce and explain to the world at large the death of old Spain and bring the nation together” (Triana-Toribio 109). Under the new “democratic” paradigm, Spanish filmmakers sought to redeem the past by constructing anti-hero narratives that primarily exalted individual liberties (the liberty of an individual to exercise freely those rights generally accepted as being outside of governmental control). This meant a liberation from traditional, master narratives bringing about, for example, the sexual boom of *destape* films as a political experience intricated in a whitening process. Moreover, not only did this new paradigm promote the circulation of films which had been banned during the dictatorship, but it also endorsed the adaptation of leftist literature to celluloid. Spanish cinema now “had to fulfil a national and transnational role . . . *good* films had to be constructed in terms that could travel” (Triana-Toribio 113; Original emphasis). In this *transnational* process, filmmakers reversed Francoist tropes mocking the Spanish grandiloquence of its imperial past to export a modernized image of Spain. As a result, Spanish cinema came to narrate the nation's history through individual stories which were highly allegorical in nature, and which *in appearance* moved away from conservative, imperial, colonial, heroic, messianic, sacrificial, grandiose whiteness.

José Luis Cuerda belongs to a generation of Spanish filmmakers whose works are conventionally grouped under the cinematic *Tercera vía*: “un cine que pretende reflexionar sobre algunos aspectos de la vida española, con un tratamiento sencillo . . . una especie de propuesta de encontrar una salida digna al cine español tanto desde un punto de vista industrial como

temático” (Caparrós Lera 57).¹⁴ This *tercera vía* promulgated a cinema for social reflection that presented political, historical reverberations in everyday life.

Amanece, que no es poco is a surreal comedy structured as a road movie, “a film genre in which the main characters leave home to travel from place to place, typically altering the perspective from their everyday lives” (Danesi 256). However, Cuerda altered this concept to make the main characters return—not leave—home. This modification symbolized the return of exiled republicans to Spain. As such, they—Teodoro (Antonio Resines), a Spanish professor at the University of Oklahoma and his father, and Jimmy (Luis Ciges)—are the main characters serving to reveal the locals’ peculiar way of life, rewriting Spain and recasting Spanishness.

The film is a depiction of rural Spain. Cuerda rooted it in the Spanish tradition of absurd humor, drawing on, for example, Miguel Mihura’s plays (1905-1977), Miguel Gila’s stand-up shows (1919-2001), and the influence of directors like Luis García Berlanga (1921-2010) and Rafael Azcona (1926-2008). According to Cuerda, due to this sarcastic, absurd humor, *Amanece* . . . appeared to be placed “. . . entre la nada lógica y la realidad” (Cuerda en Guillén Cuervo, *Versión española: Amanece* . . .). Out of this conception, Cuerda developed a surreal comedy deploying absurd situations that parodied the present implying a severe criticism of the past. This absurd humor was his vehicle with which to ridicule the pseudo-magnanimity of politics, degenerate the harsh national-Catholicism, mock conservative values, reveal the heavy weight of history in daily life relations, and denounce the omnipresence of the *de facto* powers throughout the history of Spain. Thus Cuerda attempted to portray a trustworthy reflection of Spanish society: he reflected the persistence of national-Catholicism including a parish priest who still governs the daily life of the village; he decried the lack of culture of the masses that childishly cheer on the authorities which manipulate and oppress them; he alluded to the Spanish picaresque tradition in several of his characters, such as Cascales (Enrique San Francisco), a white character with the awareness of being a character who tries to swap his role with that of others; he also exposed the false appearances of Spanish democracy by making the people of the village vote to decide on the mayor, the teacher, the whore, the adulteresses . . . and to even decide if the Americans were allowed to stay in the town, or whom they preferred to serve as law enforcement officers. In short, Cuerda used the film to manifest the falsity of the filmic representation of Spanish reality, as well as to question the myth of democracy that the *Transición* had brought to Spain.¹⁵

Among the characters Cuerda chose to include in the film, we find Ngé Ndomo (interpreted by Cuban actor Samuel Claxton). With the inclusion of this black character in a remote village of Spain, Cuerda signaled a political change symbolizing the opening of national

borders and represented the cultural incorporation of Spain into Europe after forty years of dictatorial isolation. Furthermore, these changes enforced a variation in representation to modernize—as a euphemism for Europeanizing and vindicating Spanish whiteness—the racial conception of the Spanish public mind. Cuerda’s inclusion of Ngé Ndomo also granted the director the means to maintain a dual discourse. Cuerda’s representation of blackness highlighted the fact that both Spain and Europe’s racial models were ambivalent and dichotomous, resulting in hierarchical subjection of black bodies and minds.

Cuerda’s depiction stressed how the discourses of Spain and Europe, past and present, were essentially one and the same. On the one hand, the presence of a black man in the narrative attested a process to redefine Spanish white Europeanness, moving away from Francoist hispanotropicalism and the said amalgamation of conflated discourses. Where and when a black character had a voice for the first time in Spanish film is hard to say, as whites appeared in black faces naturally in the Western cinematic traditions, where the actual black actors were pure ornament. Here, Ngé Ndomo’s blackness was the representational tool with which to assimilate Spain culturally into the post-WWII European postmodern discourse of white tolerance for ethnic diversity and respect for minorities. It is this discourse that propelled Spain towards the realization of a multicultural society. On the other hand, making use of Spanish traditional ambivalence regarding Europe, Cuerda also posed a veiled counter-discourse against the European racial model. The disrupting presence of Ngé Ndomo’s blackness revealed how the European discourse of white tolerance reproduced the very colonial tropes they appeared to contravene. This racial tension is seen from the opening scene when Teodoro and Jimmy express their surprise at seeing a black person in Spain. Naturally, they assume that he must not be a Spaniard. Thus Ngé Ndomo serves from the very beginning to naturalize a racial discourse of whiteness that circulates between the Spanish, European, and transatlantic traditions:

Teodoro: Anda, coño, padre ¡Ahora un negro!

Jimmy: Déjame a mí, déjame a mí. Buenos días, *good morning. My name is Jimmy*, mi nombre es Jimmy. ¿Habla usted español?

Ngé Ndomo: Es lo único que hablo.

Jimmy: Buenos días, yo me llamo Jimmy y mi hijo se llama Teodoro.

Ngé Ndomo: Yo me llamo Ngé Ndomo.

Jimmy: Éste es mi hijo Teodoro. Es profesor ingeniero en Oklahoma. Está de año sabático, ya sabe, trabaja seis y descansa uno. Yo soy su representante.

Ngé Ndomo: ¿Y cómo les va a los compañeros por Oklahoma? ¿Siguen con el algodón?

(Cuerda, *Amanece . . .*)

This connection between a “disoriented” black man settled in a remote Spanish village with the slaves of the Southern United States invites us to rethink how the discourses on whiteness could be understood as a global ideology that is grounded in racial, as well as cultural, processes of Western homogenization at the expense of blackness.¹⁶ The apparent, natural transit Ngé Ndomo enables between the local and the transnational could help us reexamine how the vestiges of colonial history lie entwined in contemporary, democratic, “white societies.” Particularly, “the democratic Spain of the post-Francoist period is far from having freed itself completely from nostalgic attitudes towards colonial Guinea, which continued to operate at several political and public levels” (Sampedro Vizcaya 347). In *Amanece . . .*, Ngé Ndomo became the bodily materialization of a colonial echo who shadowed the Spanish fantasy of racial reconciliation that the idyllic *Transición* professed. He likewise disrupted the Spanish collective amnesia regarding the woes and atrocities of colonialism. In this further fragment from the latter scene, Jimmy insists in interrogating the presence of Ngé Ndomo in a white village:

Jimmy: Pero usted Ngé, ¿De dónde es?

Ngé Ndomo: Yo he nacido aquí en este pueblo.

Jimmy: ¿Pues estamos en un poblado negro?

Ngé Ndomo: Que va hombre, que va. Aquí el único negro soy yo. Yo heredé de mi padre el nombre, la raza y el acento. Y de mi madre los dos apellidos y el lugar de nacimiento.

(Cuerda, *Amanece . . .*)

The exogenic conception of blackness is noteworthy as well as the explicit contrast made between “pueblo” y “poblado.” Uttered by Ngé Ndomo and Jimmy respectively, this contraposition underlines a colonial trope by which a dividing line is established between white, civilized towns, and underdeveloped, savage, black villages. Ngé Ndomo’s attire—dressed in a worn away, wool shepherd khaki vest *which leaves his black torso visible down to his waist*, a handkerchief around his neck, khaki pants, and a shepherd leather pouch of the same color—visually reinforces the conception that links blackness to backwardness. “Clothes—as Richard Dyer noted—are bearers of prestige, notably of wealth, status and class: to be without them is to lose prestige. *Nakedness may also reveal the inadequacies of the body by comparison with social ideals*” (146; Emphasis added). Hence, in the Spanish mind the presence of Ngé Ndomo’s inadequacy of the body disrupts the social ideal of a territory that is being racially redefined as an absolute white space.

According to Homi Bhabha, “space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and out, inclusion and exclusion” (2). The presence of hybrid identities like Ngé Ndomo’s in perceived homogeneous societies contributes to inquiry as to the limits of master narratives. In turn, these complex hybrid figures “crean nuevos signos definitorios y cuestionan la idea de homogeneidad en la sociedad, articulando a su vez una nueva hibridez cultural a nivel global” (Corbalán 195). Thus Ngé Ndomo’s blackness and hybridity (“Yo heredé de mi padre el nombre, la raza y el acento. Y de mi madre los dos apellidos y el lugar de nacimiento.”) become the means to biologically and culturally redefine the white, majority society to which he belongs, and Spanishness. In this regard, Paul Gilroy suggests that

all blacks in the West stand between (at least) two great cultural assemblages, both of which have mutated through the course of modern world that formed them and assumed new configurations. At present, they remain locked symbiotically in an antagonistic relationship marked out by the symbolism of colours which adds to the conspicuous cultural power and their central Manichean dynamic—black and white. These colours support a special rhetoric that has grown to be associated with a language of nationality and national belonging. (1-2)

We detect another colonial reverberation that threatens to neutralize Ngé Ndomo’s pernicious blackness in the way that Jimmy racializes him. Note that Jimmy—a white Spaniard—uses the word “negro” when referring to Ngé Ndomo. This use supposes an ethnocentric synecdoche which projects social distance of blackness regarding a normativity of Spanishness that is conceived white. Ngé Ndomo’s response, calling Jimmy “hombre,” is of equal significance. The interaction reveals a racial, Western attitude towards black objectification whereas whiteness is simply humanized. Taking this argument further, the conception of whiteness as an unracialized, extemporal ideology demolishes the rigid cultural dialectics between an old fashioned, hierarchical Spanish hispanotropicalist model for assimilation, other European colonial models, and the supposedly modern, progressive, post-WWII multicultural ideal. In fact, the persistence of whiteness across cultures equates all discourses simply as branches that derive from a common ideological white root. The capabilities of whiteness to morph culturally, socially, ideologically, and institutionally over time while maintaining its discursive centrality, historical normalcy, cultural invisibility, universal agency, social privilege and institutional power, shatters any contemporary fantasies of reconciliation and equality installed in the Western cognizance. Cuerda’s prolongation of colonial tropes during this historical period exemplifies these intrinsic

synonymies in the construction of structural power. Beyond the neutralization of blackness, plausibly, as a constitutive vestige of both Spanish and Western identities, Jimmy racializes Ngé Ndomo twofold: firstly, as a racial other and, again, as a foreigner, regardless of what Ngé Ndomo says. Moreover, the film also evidences a neat instrumentalization of Ngé Ndomo's blackness to foster a white racial formation in the Spanish public. For example, we find a dialogue between Cascales and Ngé Ndomo that corroborates the latter statement:

Cascales: Ngé, te cambio el personaje.

Ngé Ndomo: Tú eres lo más bajo y miserable que hay en la tierra. Las serpientes usarían tu sombra. *Y ni siquiera eres negro, ¿Cómo vas a hacer mi personaje?*
(Cuerda, *Amanece* . . . Emphasis added)

Ngé Ndomo confirms, therefore, how Cascales/Spanishness is being construed white in absolute terms. Conceived as a joke within the limits of Cuerda's surreal and absurd humor, the scene could raise a smile from the audience. Yet it is appalling to realize that Ngé Ndomo is doomed to play the only role for which he is deemed suitable, that of the black character while Cascales—a blue-eyed, blond, white Spaniard—may aspire even to play the role of a black character. This notion, while echoing the past of a blackened conception of the Spaniard which is now significantly refuted, also reflects upon the fluidity and malleability of whiteness attached to its capability for social mobility, when compared to the restricted opportunities for black people in modern, “white contemporary societies.” Far from being anecdotal, Cuerda's approach involved national interests as it consolidated a racial ideology. Barbara Jeanne Fields defines an ideology as

the descriptive vocabulary of day-to-day existence, through which people make rough sense of the social reality that they live and create from day to day. It is the language of consciousness that suits the particular way in which people deal with their fellows. It is the interpretation in thought of the social relations through which they constantly create and re-create their collective being, in all the varied forms their collective being may assume . . . As such, ideologies are not delusions but real, as real as the social relations for which they stand. (134)

In turn, the ideology of race (racism) is imbued with a set of socially constructed categories that are legitimized institutionally as part of a greater national discourse. Of course, this ideology is vast, much as these categories are represented in an array of cultural forms that are socially naturalized and individually rendered as “normal” (only at times truly negotiated). In sum, racial categories are a system of beliefs articulated in an all-embracing (social, political, and cultural) discourse that classifies humans in such a way as to justify the distribution of wealth, rights and privileges. Hence, the ideology of race builds a paradoxical trap, for it is a system that replicates

the same social conditions and structural practices that it claims to fight against. In this sense Ngé Ndomo's interactions with both Jimmy and Cascales show that racial categories transcend the reductionist conception of racial materialism. Seen from this angle, imbued in a whiteness-blackness dialectic, race ideologies shape whiteness as an identitarian axis helping to preserve the limits among distinct groups, functioning to regulate the several degrees of non-whites' social distance regarding their proximity to "white normativity." Only then, one can then infer the reasons for Cuerda's characterization of Ngé Ndomo defaults in a pastiche of colonial stereotypes that indeed verge on whiteness.

Due to the latter explanation regarding racial ideologies, whiteness and normalcy, the cultural practices exercised by Cuerda do not suppress the process "by which social, economic and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meanings. Crucial to this formulation is the treatment of race as a central axis of social relations which cannot be subsumed under or reduced to some broader category or conception" (Omi y Winant 16). Quite to the contrary, as Cornel West rightfully argues,

non-Europeans are walking abstractions, inanimate objects, or invisible creatures. Within all three white supremacist logics—which operate simultaneously and affect the perceptions of both Europeans and non-Europeans—black, brown, yellow, and red peoples personify Otherness and embody alien Difference. (23)

Among the representational uses practiced by Cuerda, Ngé Ndomo's blackness is objectified as a walking abstraction that stands for an exoticized body, an inanimate, animalized sexual myth, and a culturally problematized, socially stigmatized Other. For example, in the following scene Ngé Ndomo poses in the mountains at night surrounded by goats while muttering to himself: "¡Quieta! Anda, que no debe estar bonito esto: la cabra ahí quieta, y yo aquí de perfil como un Masai . . . Pues no viene nadie a verme" (Cuerda, *Amanece* . . .). The scene continues with a dialogue between Ngé Ndomo and a *guardia civil*:

Ngé Ndomo: ¿A usted le gusta la estampa que hago yo allí con las cabras?

Guardia Civil: Hombre, claro que me gusta. Son muy bonitas, muy curiosas.

(Cuerda, *Amanece* . . .)

On the one hand, Ngé Ndomo shows his yearning to be liked as well as his need for the white observer's approval. Both aspects prompt the audience to guess the black man's position in the white village while revealing his lack of agency among the locals. On the other hand, Ngé Ndomo's racial isolation in a village of whites alienates him so far as to pretend that he is a Masai in Africa, instead of being in the mountains of Spain; that is, imagining himself as an inhabitant

of southern Kenya or northern Tanzania. This self-demarkation undermines his actual Spanishness. Consequently, Ngé Ndomo's actions reveal how deeply he has interiorized "his" racial difference despite having been born a Spaniard and, therefore, postulating himself as the abstraction of an *imagined* African other.

Conceived as a parody, Cuerda's representation exceeded Ngé Ndomo's physical materiality. A parody, paraphrasing Linda Hutcheon, entails a critical mimesis by which the individual dissociates himself from easily recognizable identities, thus escaping from the rigidity of the social categories, an escape that allows the subaltern to reaffirm his difference positively against the social structures that exclude him (183-185). However, by parodying primitivism *through* the black character, Cuerda did not reaffirm Ngé Ndomo's blackness positively; rather, he used it to question the European racial discourse that Spain was absorbing, stipulating the impossibility of cultural assimilation of the blackness in western societies. In fact, Cuerda's representational use underscored the rejection of blackness exercised by a white, dominant society several times throughout the film.

In another scene, Ngé Ndomo is explaining to Teodoro and Jimmy—the characters through which the spectator experiences the life of the village—that everyone is at mass but him. To justify his absence, Ngé Ndomo says: “Yo no voy porque soy catecúmeno, y *no me dejan entrar*” (Cuerda, *Amanece . . .* Emphasis added). As a catechumen, Ngé Ndomo is a “persona que se está instruyendo en la doctrina y misterios de la fe católica, con el fin de recibir el bautismo” (DRAE). Such religious instruction—as his mother later explains—has already taken thirty years. This exclusion has three implications: firstly, it evidences how the church—an institutional, moral authority—had essentially segregated Ngé Ndomo from birth; secondly, it expresses an incompatibility between the Christian faith and blackness; lastly, as this white village celebrates mass daily, the black man is *de facto* spatially and culturally alienated from society. It is also acutely significant that Ngé Ndomo opts to lie to Teodoro and Jimmy to mitigate the fact and consequences of institutional racism. Cuerda alerted us in this fashion how racism becomes a taboo under the European racial model, one that remains latent in stigmatized bodies silencing their subaltern voices. Nevertheless, in a later scene, Cuerda did expose the naked truth through a conversation with Álvarez (Chuz Lampreave), his white mother:

Álvarez: Ahí viene tu pretendiente, y lo que no puede ser, hijo, es que te pasees a la luz del día del bracete de la mujer de otro, como un pagano, luego te quejas que llevas treinta años de catecúmeno. A este paso no vas a entrar nunca en el seno de la Iglesia.

Ngé Ndomo: No es por eso por lo que no entro madre. *No entro porque soy negro.*

Gabriela: Eres minoría étnica.

Ngé Ndomo: Bueno, *minoría étnica y negro como un tizón.*

(Cuerda, *Amanece . . .* Emphasis added)

The fact that both his mother and girlfriend classify Ngé Ndomo belonging to an ethnic minority exemplifies the hazards of European discursive euphemisms. This occultation of the cultural problematization of blackness behind a white, euphemistic, European discourse becomes recurrent. In another instance, Gabriela (Rosalía Dans) reiterates: “de todas formas, tú eres un poco llorón porque el respeto que se tiene hoy por las minorías étnicas . . . fíjate el comportamiento que tengo yo contigo *delante de todos por ejemplo*” (Cuerda, *Amanece . . .* Emphasis added). In response, Ngé Ndomo reproaches his girlfriend for her hypocrisy, making explicit how he actually feels:

Gabriela: Quítate del medio, que después del susto y del ridículo que me hiciste pasar delante de todo el mundo por tu culpa.

Ngé Ndomo: ¿Y por qué te hice yo hacer el ridículo?

Gabriela: Porque sí, porque parecía yo también una cualquiera. Allí con la Susan esa esperando que bajaseis el alcalde y tú.

Ngé Ndomo: ¿Y qué tiene de malo eso? ¿O es que te da vergüenza esperar a un negro?

Gabriela: No digas tonterías.

Ngé Ndomo: Porque tú mucho “minoría étnica” y mucho camelo, pero luego te da vergüenza esperar a un negro.

Gabriela: Déjame en paz.

Ngé Ndomo: Para los coitos sí que valgo ¡Eh! Y para bailar para Changó.

(Cuerda, *Amanece . . .*)

Together with white cultural prejudices and social hypocrisy regarding Ngé Ndomo, Cuerda introduced the trope of an exotic blackness. Note that “Changó (Shangó) is the owner of fire, lightening, thunder, and war, but he is also the patron of music, drumming, and dancing. He represents male beauty and virility, passion and power” (Duncan n. pag.). Ngé Ndomo’s characterization subscribes to the Orisha’s meaning, as when the black character tells Carmelo “El borracho” (Miguel Rellán) that “yo le doy a tu mujer unas aportaciones sexuales muy buenas” (Cuerda, *Amanece . . .*). Even his white mother appears fascinated by Ngé Ndomo’s sexual attributes, something that she proudly acknowledges as a trophy to her neighbor:

Vecina: Parece que a tu muchacho se le va aclarando el color del cuerpo.

Álvarez: No sé qué decirte, como no sean las palmas de las manos o las plantas de los pies . . . porque el resto . . . si le vieras las ingles.

(Cuerda, *Amanece* . . .)

While the white, female neighbor's irony signals Ngé Ndomo's acculturation in the practices of whiteness, his white mother responds with a corporeal synecdoche that fixes Ngé Ndomo's racial difference as an insuperable, biological fact: Ngé Ndomo is black, totally, and authentically black, full stop. Besides his overt sexualization, white characters reiterate Ngé Ndomo's blackness as a source of problems. Ngé Ndomo's relationship with his uncle Pedro (Alberto Bové) perhaps synthesizes the white problematization of blackness in western societies. When Pedro learned of his sister's pregnancy, he lamented: "Calabaza: se acaba un nuevo día y como todas las tardes quiero despedirme de ti. Quiero despedirme y darte las gracias . . . yo no puedo olvidar que *en los momentos más difíciles* de mi vida: cuando mi hermana *se quedó preñada del negro*" (Cuerda, *Amanece* . . . Emphasis added). In his monologue, Pedro links his most difficult moments in life to his sister's sexual miscegenation and unborn child's blackness which is animalized using the word "preñada." His attitude reflects Spanish acquired racial anxiety over *mestizaje*, which is not perceived as being at odds at all with Spanish colonial history in Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa. As evidence of this shift in a racial model, Pedro's attitude persists with the passing of years. In the following scene, we see Ngé Ndomo coming downstairs as he runs into Pedro:

Pedro: ¡Coño! ¡El negro!

Ngé Ndomo: Me cago en mi nombre. ¿Es que no se va a acostumbrar nunca este hombre? ¿Es que tiene que dar un respingo y echar a correr cada vez que me ve?

Álvarez: Tu tío es un campesino Ngé. *No puedes tenerle en cuenta esas cosas.*

Ngé Ndomo: Es que son cuarenta años viviendo juntos.

Álvarez: Pues a su edad, si no lo ha aceptado, ya no lo acepta, para que nos vamos a engañar.

(Cuerda, *Amanece* . . . Emphasis added)

The justification that Ngé Ndomo's white mother finds for Pedro is his humble, uneducated social class. Note that Álvarez explicitly substitutes the words "actitudes racistas" with "esas cosas," lessening the importance of her brother's racist behavior. This reasoning indicates how racist claims can be easily diverted into other overlapping categories such as class or education, in the same way the specificity of whiteness as a racial category is immediately replaced by those of ethnicity and nationhood. Furthermore, the presence of Pedro in *Amanece* . . ., because of his

racist attitude toward, and unconcealed fear about Ngé Ndomo, along with his racial anxiety, manifests how rapid social changes in Spain affected

muchos españoles, sobre todo los que carecen del necesario nivel cultural, social y educacional para adaptarse a estas nuevas formulaciones culturales, se encuentran desorientados y enajenados de una cultura nacional en la que el ser español ya no está basado en una cómoda homogeneidad blanca y católica, sino que ha sido trastocado y abierto a la fuerza por la heterogeneidad y la hibridez . . . la perspectiva blanca, ibérica, católica ‘dominante’ sobre el mundo es cuestionada y desafiada: ya no es el centro desde donde se construyen, se juzgan y se dominan los márgenes, sino que el centro mismo es racializado como solo uno de los componentes del círculo. (Davies 106-108)

Therefore, paradoxically, when Spain was redefining the nation as purely white, the presence of Ngé Ndomo in *Amanece* . . . postulated the acquisition of a decentered whiteness: with the opening of Spanish borders and the Europeanization of the nation, as well as Spain’s economic integration in international markets; and because of transnational, intercultural dialog, Spain was simultaneously forced—after forty years of dictatorship and lengthy history of racial “impurity of thought”—to accentuate whiteness while renegotiating Spanishness/Whiteness as a manifold space whose limits could become alterable and highly unstable. This idea of a decentered whiteness also permeates the last scenes analyzed in this essay. Toward the end of the film, Ngé Ndomo joins the mayor of the village to share the gallows. The black man for the first time shares the same space, a fact that perplexes the white mayor. In this surreal moment, with ropes around their necks, the black and white characters hold a conversation before the entire village:

Alcalde: Sé que lo haces para que no esté solo.

Ngé Ndomo: La soledad es muy mala señor alcalde.

(Cuerda, *Amanece* . . .)

The fact that the mayor *knows* why Ngé Ndomo wants to die highlights the notion of white ethnocentrism: the white mayor projects his beliefs as knowledge, and therefore silences the black character’s motives. Furthermore, the white mayor assumes that the black man wants to keep him company as an act of solidarity in his inability to conceive that Ngé Ndomo is as desperate as he is. Plainly, the white mayor thinks that the black man acts thus to keep him from feeling alone, which is how Ngé Ndomo feels in this white village. As the scene continues, Ngé Ndomo even seeks the white mayor’s approval to committing suicide together: “a no ser que le moleste que siendo yo negro . . .” (Cuerda, *Amanece* . . .). The white mayor responds that it is foolish to think that he would be bothered by dying alongside a black person. He consequently

exempts himself from being racist. However, while trying to convince Ngé Ndomo that he should not hang, the mayor reasons why he would not mind sharing the gallows with a black person:

Alcalde: ¿No estuvo Jesucristo en el Gólgota clavado con dos ladrones? A parte de que hoy se tiene un respeto imponente por las minorías étnicas. Por eso me extraña que quieras colgarte conmigo. Pues a ti, Ndomo, no te falta de nada. Hasta tienes una novia guapísima . . . y blanca.

(Cuerda, *Amanece* . . . Emphasis added)

The comparison of Ngé Ndomo with the thieves of Golgotha explains the sacrifice he—the white man—makes by sharing his fate with a black man, paralleling what Jesus underwent on the cross for sinners. Cuerda's continued, intentional use of blackness underpins his view of Spanish modernity, as well as accentuate the white Europeaness of Spain. Moreover, “though infrequent, the recourse to crucifixion can be a key moment in establishing the moral superiority of not specifically Christian characters” (Dyer 150). Given the history of slavery, hanging here might be understood as “an-Other” symbol for crucifixion regarding black moral authority over whiteness. The last remark of the white mayor concerning Ngé Ndomo's girlfriend (“Hasta tienes una novia guapísima . . . y blanca”) suggests a complete negation of the existence of racism in Spain. This negation of racism reinforces the notion of Spain as a modern, multicultural nation. Additionally, the white mayor may be in fact indicating to Ngé Ndomo how the white female body could be the path for him to access his hoped-for social, material well-being. In other words, Cuerda suggested that Ngé Ndomo must be integrated into society legally through marriage and abdicate his blackness, thereby whitening his descendants so that they may have an opportunity of social mobility.

Lastly, the instrumentalization of Ngé Ndomo symbolized the return of a spectre of color which echoed Spanish colonialism in a period of racial, national amnesia. His black body ambiguously entailed an indication of colonial past as much as an annunciation of future immigration. In the latter sense, Ngé Ndomo was merely the tool to reflect upon the transformation of Spain in its gradual integration in Europe while transitioning between whitenesses. The white totalization of the black experience caused the spatial and temporal dislocation of blackness forcing the disintegration of Ngé Ndomo's African-ness while refuting his Spanishness, one that was now conceived unquestionably white, European and modern.

(Conclusions) Toward the Glocalization of Spanish Whiteness

Certainly, Spain changed decisively after the country's economic, political, military, and cultural integration in Europe as of the 1980s, proving that "the reality is that the European Union seeks to push Spain to demonstrate its Europeanity by closing the gates to the millenarian African migration . . . to be as European as possible" (Toasije 349-350). The racial discourse of *Amanece* . . . anticipated how multiculturalism and race relations would become the experience of Spain's everyday life due to the influxes of immigration. However, given that almost three decades have passed since *Amanece* . . . , it is not only fair to wonder but vital to respond to how—if so—these representational uses of blackness and Spain's process of white racial formation have changed over the subsequent decades. Significantly, only two years after *Amanece* . . . , Spain proved to have absorbed the European multicultural discourse offering centrality for the first time to a black character in Montxo Armendariz's *Las cartas de Alou* (1990). A boom of immigration cinema immediately flourished in Spain expressing the same anxieties other European nations had been long voicing since the end of WWII. In this fashion, Spain also joined Europe figuratively through developing a common white gaze. Thus, as argued in "Identidades fantasma: alteridad étnica y regional en *Las cartas de Alou*, *Catalunya Über Alles!* y *Flamenco*" (2014), in Spanish cinema of the 1990s through the early 2000s

los inmigrantes y la españolidad étnica gitana encarnan la existencia de alteridades espectrales, ausentes en su presencia, negados en su existencia y olvidados por conveniencia. El cuerpo blanco se transforma en símbolo de poder y privilegio frente a la alteridad estigmatizada. De esta manera, el blanco, como entidad relacional no marcada, se concibe como individuo y norma de carácter universal, al tiempo que racializa a la alteridad no blanca y establece la ficción de una jerarquía natural. (Persánch, "Identidades fantasma" 158)

This could be so because—as shocking as it may sound—not a single black filmmaker has, to my knowledge, directed a Spanish film production. If one exists, she or he is so marginal that no one knows about it (not even the internet search engines are able to find any independent "Afro-Spanish" filmmakers!). In other words, Spain neither knows "Spanish" Spike Lee nor Sidney Poitier. Afropean cinema is, simply, not a phenomenon in Spain (yet?). Films remain white, and extremely so. Whether by excluding black characters from the cast or removing their voices through the types of instrumentalization this essay has examined, the Spanish film industry is yet to address the question Armando Buika raised during the Goya Ceremony of 2017:

'Soy actor, negro y español, ¿Por qué tengo que hacer siempre de inmigrante?' . . .
'Buscamos a actores negros para interpretar a dos antagonicos secundarios. Se

trata de personajes sin diálogo, de aspecto rígido e intimidante.’ Esta es la norma entre las agencias de *casting* españolas que ofertan papeles para personas negras. Nunca son protagonistas y apenas se escapan de estereotipos como el de inmigrante irregular o, como en el ejemplo, de figura secundaria y amenazante. (Zas Marcos n. pag.)

Perhaps, one could venture an answer to this question, assuming that, in a culturally globalized world, a *relatively* homogeneous sensibility of whiteness may have emerged. The glocalization of economy, politics, *and* culture may well be mediating how Spain—as well as many other nations—deals with racial discourses of both normalcy and difference. The term “Glocalization” refers to the simultaneous occurrence of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies in contemporary social, political, and economic systems. The term, a linguistic hybrid of globalization and localization, was popularized by the sociologist Roland Robertson and coined, according to him, by Japanese economists to explain Japanese global marketing strategies. In practical terms, glocalization

represents a challenge to simplistic conceptions of globalization processes as linear expansions of territorial scales. Glocalization indicates that the growing importance of continental and global levels is occurring together with the increasing salience of local and regional levels. Tendencies toward homogeneity and centralization appear alongside tendencies toward heterogeneity and decentralization. But the notion of glocalization entails an even more radical change in perspective: it points to the interconnectedness of the global and local levels. (Blatter n. pag.)

This fluid translocation between global and local frameworks of representation regarding race may be redefining whiteness as a glocal ideology which regulates, at large, the several degrees of non-white social distance regarding their proximity to white standards of moral values and culture. In today’s world, racial ideologies circulate transnationally more than ever, triggering global responses and effects. Consider as just one example of many, the response to the terrorist attacks of the twenty-first century and, as relatively recent exemplar, the Paris terrorist attack of November 13th, 2015. The killings of innocent people in Bataclan mobilized western civic societies and political leaders under the motto “*Je suis Paris*.” Over the course of events, the Western discourse produced a palpable racial undertone that equated “terrorism” with “radical Islam”—or plainly Islam—over the subsequent weeks. Such discourse was absorbed quickly by the “global mind,” having the immediate effect of racializing violence as an irrational feature of Arab countries. This example is significant to illustrate how today, racial ideologies circulate

transnationally between diverse cultures, making local events global and, in turn, serving to unify Western principles, ideologies and goals through the lens of whiteness faster than ever before, thus demonstrating the fact that “whiteness is based on its historical duration and its ideological coherence and effective power” (Hartigan 498). A similar process may be occurring regarding cultural representation when Europe and the United States widely distribute their “must-see-movies of the year” in film festivals like Cannes, the Golden Globes or the Oscars. More so, when Spain’s culture has even started to be produced in English—the allegedly preeminent language of whiteness—, for example, in films like *Goya’s Ghost* (2006; Dir. Miloš Forman), *Vicky, Cristina, Barcelona* (2008; Dir. Woody Allen), *Finding Altamira* (2016; Dir. Hugh Hudson), and *The Man Who Killed Don Quixote* (2018; Dir. Terry Guillian), or series like the Emmy-Nominated *Genius: Picasso* (2017-2018; Dir. Keneth Biller), to name but a few, all including Spanish characters in both leading and supporting roles. Weather this *relatively* homogeneous glocal sensibility will continue to gradually strengthen ties or not, only time will say. Nonetheless, to me, in the view of Spain’s trajectory, this process concerning the glocalization of whiteness in Spain seems irreversible.

Notes

¹ See the introduction to this special issue “Another Turn of the Screw Toward Hispanic and Lusophone Whiteness Studies.”

² For studies on whiteness in the United Kingdom, see, for example, the publications of Peter Jackson (1998), Paul Gilroy (2004), Steve Garner (2009; 2012), Kristoffer Halvorsrud (2017) and Alastair Bonnett (1992, 1993, 1994, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2000, 2008, 2011).

³ According to Marcos R. Caña Pelayo’s study, although the term “Marrano” is found as early as 1380 in Juan I’s texts, “No existe, pese a ser un debate mantenido durante muchas décadas, un consenso entre los investigadores acerca del adjetivo marrano, empleado como despectiva manera de señalar a los judíos recién convertidos al cristianismo. Buscando el origen de la palabra, algunos autores han apostado por ubicar sus comienzos en el árabe (*murain*, que vendría a significar “hipócrita, o el propio término *mumar*, con el que los islámicos señalaban a los apóstatas). Por el contrario, otros autores han buscado en la propia lengua hebrea el origen del insulto, señalando que la expresión mara ata o maharanna ata, de origen arameo, invocaciones al Señor, y de marrar o errar en su elección de credo. De hecho, hay incluso corrientes que han expuesto que la posibilidad más sencilla sea recurrir al propio castellano, aludiendo al insulto debido a su negativa a comer cerdo” (36).

⁴ According to Roca Barea, “Durante la época vitoriana se produjo una reescritura completa del periodo isabelino, etapa que pasó a considerarse como el momento cumbre del nacimiento de la Iglesia nacional y, por tanto, de la nación inglesa. Aquí se afianzaron los tópicos de la leyenda negra creados durante las guerras de religión y más tarde en la forma remozada que les dio la ilustración. Pasaron a formar parte indisoluble e indiscutible de la historiografía oficial de Europa, tal y como ha pasado al siglo XX y XXI” (226).

⁵ Many travelers romanticized Spain, Washington Irving (1783-1859), for example, wrote three fundamental works of the period that orientalized Spain: *Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* (1829), *Tales of the Alhambra* (1832) and *Moorish Chronicles* (1835), translated in Spanish as *Crónicas moriscas: Leyendas de la conquista de España*. However, as Bernabé López García noted: “el romanticismo hispano, a diferencia del extranjero, encuentra en suelo propio nuestro Oriente doméstico, que atrae también viajeros, escritores o pintores de otros países” (42). Thus “En esta lucha contra la oficialidad, otros orientalistas arabistas destacables como Pascual de Gayangos y Arce (1809-1897), José Moreno Nieto (1825-1882), Francisco Fernández y González (1833-1917) o Eduardo Saavedra (1829-1917) promueven una posición positiva de lo árabe que superen los prejuicios historiográficos, religiosos y raciales. Además del liberalismo político, en esta postulación arabista influye también el tardío romanticismo español de José de Espronceda (1808-1842), Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer (1836-1870), Rosalía de Castro (1837-1885), Gaspar Núñez de Arce (1834- 1903), Mariano José de Larra (1809-1837), José Zorrilla (1817-1893) y Moral, Ángel de Saavedra (Duque de Rivas) (1791-1865), que puso en circulación narrativas alternativas al moro de la tradición castellana como ejemplifica Martínez de la Rosa en su Abén Humeya de 1830 o El moro expósito (1834) del Duque de Rivas. Estas narrativas románticas son absorbidas de manera entusiasta por arabistas como Leopold Eguilaz o el mencionado Simonet, quienes publican *El talismán del diablo. Novela fantástico oriental* (1853) y *Leyendas históricas árabes* (1858) respectivamente” (Persánch, *Blancura situacional* 88-89).

⁶ While Martin-Márquez’s study unwarily built on Hugo’s vision establishing a dialogue with Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978) to explore the Spanish traditional, racial ambivalence regarding the processes which forged Spain’s national identity in relation to the Islamic and African heritage, María DeGuzmán had already inspected the representation of the Spanish figure in American literature proving the crucial American contribution to racialize Spain as “the blackened figure of alien whiteness” (1). In *Spain’s Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and Anglo-American Empire* (2005), DeGuzmán suggested that the Anglo-American literary production contributed to racialize and Orientalize Spain by taking “what Spanish empire had endeavored to expel (Moors, Gypsies, Jews) from the Iberian Peninsula and those whom the Spanish empire in the Americas had worked to death (Native Americans and Africans) and put them under the skin of, or transformed them into physical marks on, *the imagined body of the Spaniard*” (74-75; Emphasis added). From a psychoanalytic stance, DeGuzmán contended that such representations of the Spaniard enlightened more about the needs, anxieties, racial fantasies and fears of the United States over *mestizaje* than a factual image of Spanishness. However, the effects of this American racialization of Spain remain vigorously present as a piece of the giant jigsaw which problematizes Spanish whiteness.

⁷ To know more about how Equatorial Guinea, as an entity and as a point of reference, has been co-opted in the Spanish popular imaginary, through the representation and consumption of a range of historiographical sources and cultural icons that have, collectively, re-invented it as a racialized other, a space of difference and alterity. See Benita Sampedro Vizcaya’s study “Rethinking the Archive and the Colonial Library: Equatorial Guinea,” published in the *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3, Nov. 2008, pp. 341-363. DOI: 10.1080/14636200802563600

⁸ *Raza* exploited the formula of the so-called *cine alcazareño*, an Italo-Spanish “under-siege cinema” that came to symbolize the Francoist psyche. See the relevant study of Daniela Aronica *Censura y propaganda: El paradigma de L’assedio Dell’alcazar/Sin novedad en el Alcázar* (1940), de Augusto Genina, 2001.

⁹ See the detailed study of Gustau Nerín and Alfred Bosch Pascual—Prefaced by Paul Preston—in *El imperio que nunca existió* (2001) for further examination on the Franco Regime’s colonial ambitions in Africa.

¹⁰ Although what really happened during the negotiations between Hitler and Franco remains a *secreto de estado*, speculations claim two versions. One version alleges that they did not reach an agreement for Spain to join Nazi Germany in World War II due to the excessive demands that Franco made (regaining the sovereignty of Gibraltar once the UK was defeated, the incorporation of French Cameroon to Spanish Equatorial Guinea, and the annexation of French Morocco and part of French Algeria). The other version claims that Franco's real intention was to place a high bid so that Hitler would dismiss Spain's involvement in the war. As a matter of fact, though Spain remained officially neutral, Franco changed the Spanish time zone to align with the German time zone and allowed Spain to serve Germany geo-strategically. For further reading on this topic consider Stanley G. Payne's *Franco and Hitler: Spain, Germany, and World War II* published by Yale University Press in 2008.

¹¹ Although Spain did not follow the same path toward the multicultural society, it could be argued that the nation indirectly did experience a certain level of multiculturalism based on tourism influxes during the so-called *desarrollismo* in the 1960s. Spain, however, did not embrace a true multicultural transformation roughly until the 1980s—having already incorporated to NATO in 1982 and the Economic European Union 1986—and, most definite, by the 1990s when Spain received the first immigration influx since the Civil War.

¹² Gustau Nerín i Abad borrowed the term “hispanotropicalismo” from Gilberto Freyre’s “lusotropicalismo,” adopting it for the Spanish context. In his article “Mito franquista y realidad de la colonización de la Guinea Española,” he described this concept as a racial practice for the assimilation of colonial blackness in Equatorial Guinea. Nerín i Abad noted how Spain “procedió a fundir tres ideologías coloniales distintas: la hispanidad, el lusotropicalismo y el regeneracionismo de Joaquín Costa y de los africanistas civiles españoles del siglo XIX” (11). In practical terms, this ideology would encompass a very rare ideology of cultural absorption of blackness into the practices of Spanish whiteness by simultaneously making a cynical use of Equatorial Guinean blackness, and forcing cultural whitening over its African other. Susan Martín-Márquez nuanced that “although Nerín argues that *Hispanotropicalismo* did not emerge until the Franco era . . . in fact, the discourse had circulated among Spaniards since the prior century, as largely intact throughout the colonial period and into the postcolonial period” (72-73).

¹³ See Ignacio Tofiño-Quesada’s *Spanish Orientalism: Uses of the Past in Spain’s Colonization in Africa* (2003), where he sketched how Spanish orientalism projected a twofold fantasy that “both allowed the inherent [African] vocation argument and capitalized on European’s exoticized, Orientalized fantasy of Spain . . . Spain suffered from a kind of schizophrenic identity in which it was both ‘self and other,’ both Christian and Moorish/Islamic . . . (using the past and denying it at the same time) [which] has informed the identity of the country” (145-146).

¹⁴ *Tercera vía* was the term used to describe a Spanish cinematographic trend of the 1970s. It was promoted by pioneering producer José Luis Dibildos and directors like José Luis Garcé, Jaime de Armiñán, and Roberto Bodegas. The other two paths of Spanish cinema, according to Caparrós Lera, responded to political as well as intellectual ambitions: “exquisitez minoritaria” and popular “zafiedad” (57).

¹⁵ The chronology of *la Transición Española* has been said to be between 1975 and 1978, that is, since Franco’s death to the restoration of democracy with the Constitution of 1978. However, dating this period has proven problematic given that many people consider the *Transición* to really conclude when Felipe González—the first socialist president after a forty-year-right wing dictatorship—was elected in 1982; others extend this period to 1996, when José María Aznar’s right-wing *Partido Popular* returned to power “peacefully.” Moreover, perhaps a minority of the population and scholars claim that the *Transición* ended when the King Juan Carlos I, who had “brought democracy” to Spain, abdicated in his son Felipe VI as recent as 2014. Last but not least, Antonio Trevijano (1927-2018)—who promoted a rupture with Francoism at the time instead of implementing a reform for the conception of the Constitution of 1978—and his “Repúblico” Cultural Movement of Citizens of Libertad Constituyente, contend that the period of *Transición* will end when a Constitutional Republic be restored in Spain, replacing the current post-Francoist Parliamentary Monarchy. Due to this disagreement to fix the period, and inspired by Trevijano’s view, I understand the *Transition* to encompass several phases of an unfinished process: a legal and political phase of the transition, 1975-1978; a cultural and symbolical transformation of the transition, 1982-1995; a validation of the transition, 1996-2004; a revisionist period of the transition’s socio-political *status quo*, 2004-2011; a decadent period of the regime of the transition, 2012-2018). It is in these terms that I situate *Amance, que no es poco* within the context of a representational-cultural and symbolical transformation. For further information on this debate, see Antonio Trevijano in *La clave* (Antena 3, 1992), available on Youtube “500 claves de la Transición.” Libertad constituyente Tv. Jan. 16, 2013. Also consider Luisa Elena Delgado’s study on *La nación singular. Fantasías de la normalidad democrática española* (1996-2011). Siglo XXI, 2014.

¹⁶ This analysis remains even more pressing today after decades of a galloping globalization which has accentuated—as this presently paper contends—the processes of white homogenization in the West. For further discussion on this topic, see the conclusions of this essay, and consider recent publications such as “When Whiteness Means Imagining Blackness and Signifying Socio-Cultural Difference in ‘Cuando los hombres querían a las mujeres’” (Palgrave, 2018), and “The Rest in the White West: After the Empire is Buried, *Shadows of your Black Memory* are Born” (Brill, Forthcoming 2019).

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