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I Own This Body & I Own This Revolution: The Importance of Self-Representation in the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements

A crowd gathers around the Frederick Douglass statue on West Chester University's campus. To the left of me stand three White women spanning three generations. To the right of me stand three Black women, students at the university. Across the quad are several Black women, huddling together to keep warm. At the head of the movement are several Black men, hoods up, standing tall, heads down, flanking a poster that reads, "What is our worth?" I imagine a black silhouette attached to the word *worth*.

Many marginalized individuals in America often ask this question of value. At the Ferguson¹ rally students on the West Chester Campus must return to the inquiry as the indictment of Ferguson police officer, Darren Wilson, falls short-- buried alongside the body of Michael Brown, an unarmed Black teenager whose character has been misconstrued by the media (Harris-Perry, MSNBC).

Once again, a movement is happening. As a result of the Ferguson injustice, coupled with countless other acts of police brutality against Black males, protestors in Los Angeles, St Louis, and Chicago draw attention to the parallels of racial inequality and economic inequality on Black Friday (Malo). Two hundred protestors invade a New York City department store on Black Friday to "draw attention to what they say was an unwarranted killing and a miscarriage of justice" (Malo). Protestors on college campuses and in metropolitan cities walk peacefully to remind others of the value of life, the worth of young Black bodies.

¹ On August 9, 2014 in Ferguson Missouri, an unarmed Black teenager by the name of Michael Brown was shot dead by White Ferguson police officer, Darren Wilson. This sparked outrage in the black community of Ferguson and the nation. Protests continue after a jury of nine white members and three Black members declined to indict officer Wilson.

These acts of demonstration are an amalgamation of old and young, tired and hopeful, rage and self-possession. All of these people join together because Black men are dying, police officers are slaying, and American citizens are forced to think of the past and its link to our present: slavery, the Civil Rights Movement, the Black Power Movement, Emmett Till, Trayvon Martin, Jordan Davis...

We return to the revolutionary movements that erupted in the mid '50s and into the late '60s where the Black individual in American society was no more than a body, a commodity used to serve those with privilege. Intertwined with the urgency of defending not only the Black body but also the Black mind was a new sense of self. A self that has full control over its representation, its body, its words, and the revolution unfolding in front of news cameras and developed in dark photography studios. Despite the prior civil rights leaders' attempt to shape and represent the Black body and mind in the highest regard, those in charge of media often misrepresented the new, refined, and goal-oriented Black individual in America. Because of this misrepresentation American society continues to turn victims into suspects and the only people willing to dismantle the perception of Black people as suspects are Black, revolutionary activists, not unlike the activists of the Civil Rights Era. Thus, Black leaders of that era become a prototype for contemporary leaders in this current fight for Black worth, respect, and justice. The need to represent the self was crucial to the movement then and will be crucial to the movement now.

The Body Politic: Who Owns This Vessel?

The body is internal and external, personal and shared. Thus, those who claim their bodies are often faced with the choice to either put their bodies on the line to bring about great, utilitarian, social and political change or to keep their bodies away from an ever-changing societal system in which an individual lives in. However, the body cannot distinguish itself from

the social constructs of society, nor can it be solely a conduit for change. A balance between the personal and the shared is necessary because the body is both communal and private; it must give to the world and be nurtured by its owner.

Ruth Chadwick, writer, professor, and researcher of English and Philosophy, states "at one extreme we have an individualistic account that holds that we have complete rights...over our own bodies. At the other we have a collectivist account which takes away our freedom to deny the use of our bodies when they are needed for the pursuit of social goals" (Calder 95). Chadwick offers her readers the conundrum that activists must face daily. It is true that we, humans of the twenty-first century, have "complete rights over our bodies". We are in charge of our movements, where we place our bodies and, ideally, what is done to our bodies. That power allows us to call ourselves individuals. But, Black people in America have never, truly, owned the Black body until recently. Ownership of the Black body by White affluent men during slavery meant that women had no sexual agency; men had no control over where their bodies were placed-- be that on plantations or hanging from Poplar trees. Yet, with the abolishment of slavery, and the end of involuntary servitude post slavery, Black individuals are forced to decolonize and scratch away the mental mark of inferiority embedded in the Black individual's psyche. The process of decolonization allowed Black individuals the freedom to reclaim their bodies and once that reclamation happened many Black people could not separate their bodies from the struggle of their people. Through protesting and speaking on the injustices of the Black masses, Black people of past and present adopt the collectivist account that Chadwick references. The oppressed understand that in order to truly have control over the body, they must have control over their image in a nation that has defamed and disgraced their entire existence.

In support of Chadwick's observation, Calder, writer of *Ownership Rights and the Body*, offers an astute reflection, "For either way, according to both options the human body is presented as 'a set of resources, to be exploited either by the individual owner or by the

collective' " (Calder 95). Calder's attention to the word *exploit* depicts a negative image of ownership over the body. Exploitation suggests that the body is vulnerable and used either by its owner or by the collective against its will. The exploitation of the body is both involuntary and inevitable. In essence, the use of the word *exploited* offers little regard for freedom or choice. If exploitation is inevitable, then the owner should have the option to choose whether or not they want to be the one to *exploit* their bodies or if they will allow others to exploit their vessel. When we think about this choice and connect it to the Black masses then we expose something enlightening: agency. If Calder's assessment is correct, that our bodies will always be used for something, then the Black masses choice to use their bodies for social, political and economic reformation in a nation of oppression is quite revolutionary. The masses have taken something negative, the exploitation of their bodies for the White man's economic gain, and turned it into something positive, the freedom and justice of Black bodies in America. Overall, the word *exploited* does not recognize the utilization of a body as positive and awe-inspiring. Therefore, the word *exploited* should be absent from collective movements that strive for equality, justice, and worth because individuals have the power, the choice and the agency to put their bodies on the line for the betterment of their circumstance.

Chadwick and Calder's in-depth, philosophical analysis of the body as both private and public offers a fresh perspective on the Black body during the Civil Rights Era and in modern-day movements. As Chadwick's emphasis on ownership and Calder's emphasis on exploitation mirror the conundrum that Black activists face daily. If Black activists lend their bodies to social movements then they also lend their bodies to the ridicule of the oppressor's gaze. This gaze conjures up many suppressed emotions of Black activists, as the Black body in bondage during slavery was also subjected to the same unwarranted attention.

The Black body, which was once exploited for economic gains by way of slavery, sharecropping, and even domestic work, straddled the fence between communal and personal.

Because of this longstanding servitude, which allowed for objectification of the Black body, the ownership rights over the Black frame are often indistinguishable²: does the government own the Black body? Does the oppressor own the Black body? Do Black individuals own themselves? Are Black individuals required to put their body on the line to better the social and political conditions of their people?

Calder's piece references this ambiguity. Calder suggests that objectification leads to distortion, "it is when the body becomes objectified, thing-like, that our relation to it becomes distorted and problematic. To *make* someone's body thing-like in this way would thus constitute a sort of harm" (Calder 96). One can attest that prior to the Civil Rights Era the Black individual was synonymous with property: American property, the master's property...

Property, or possession, dehumanizes the Black individual and regards him/her as an inanimate object that may be manipulated to suite the needs of the landowner. Therefore, slavery reduces the Black human to a "thing-like" object that later becomes a nuisance once these "objects" develop a voice and demand reformation. It seems that once Black individuals adopt agency by placing their bodies on the line for revolution their oppressors become uncomfortable. They cannot accept the fact that Black Americans no longer wish to be second-class objects of exploitation. Like a spoiled child who does not want to relinquish his toy, the oppressor will always fight for what he thinks is rightfully his (Blake). Therefore, the media becomes a new tool to keep the status quo, as mass media has the authority to influence many. Through this medium the oppressors keep their power and the oppressed are forced to relinquish theirs

Furthermore, the "harm" that Calder speaks of correlates to the misrepresentation of Black bodies in the media and the abuse of black bodies throughout the years: lynching³, raping,

² Although Locke claims that "because every man has a property in his own person, the labor of his body, and the work of his hands, are properly his" Black Americans, who are products of slavery and displacement, know that this sentiment is not entirely true...even in the twenty-first century.

³ James Allen's (2000) *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America*, a collection of late 19th- and early 20th- century postcards featuring the bodies of lynching victims as souvenirs.

shooting, beating⁴.... The depiction of Black men and women in the news and on primetime television continues to objectify and, in some ways, criminalize Black people. Yet, when the Black individual develops agency and understands his/her worth, the real change can begin despite the misconstrued depiction of Black people in mass media. The ownership question of who is entitled to the use of the Black body is no longer in question. The animated Black individual is bound to create some social change by way of his/her body.

The following three sections of *I Own This Body & I Own This Revolution* discuss the reconstruction and self-representation of the Black male body and how these new constructions are misrepresented in the media and in mainstream America. By analyzing and juxtaposing excerpts from *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* with articles from *New York Times* circa 1964 and The Black Panther Party's propaganda tactics/mission statements with published articles of the party in *The Philadelphia Daily News* circa 1970 it will become evident that despite the Black male's effort to represent the Black individual in the highest regard, the media continues to misrepresent Black males as criminals instead of revolutionists.

Malcolm X: Refining the Black Male

Malcolm X is a perfect example of how effective conscious reconstruction and self-representation can be in America. His past persona, before he joined the nation of Islam, was the product of conditioning, as presented in the first ten chapters of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (X and Haley 1-171). A younger Malcolm was burdened by the past of his people, where his internal struggle mirrored the external turmoil between whites and blacks post slavery. Yet, these same external pressures--welfare, poverty, the conditioning of black minds, and the need to fulfill the "no-good" black male archetype--inevitably introduced Malcolm to the nation of Islam and texts on philosophy, rhetoric, and black nationalism.

⁴Rodney King vs. The City of Los Angeles...among other incidents

By reading and digesting texts such as *Wonders of the World*, Will Durant's *Story of Civilization*, H.G. Wells' *Outline of History*, W.E.B. Du Bois' *Souls of Black Folk*...Malcolm X began to decolonize his mind and reinvent his persona to match the royalty and richness of those before him (Haley 178). These crucial texts served as a foundation for his reconstruction--the skeleton of the body-- while the Nation of Islam became the flesh of the body-- the core and the spirit of the individual. Thus, the new Black male, as portrayed through Malcolm X, is refined, intelligent, aware, confident, spiritually centered, and ready to shed light on America's crimes against the Black individual. As stated in the Epilogue of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, Malcolm says "Only persons really changed history [are] those who changed men's thinking about themselves..." (Haley 396).

As a pioneer in the Civil Rights Movement, and the inspiration behind the Black Power Movement, Malcolm becomes one of the few people to "really change history" by changing his own view of the Black body and encouraging others to reassess their views on the Black body in America. He acts as a blueprint for the refined Black male who uses his body for great social and political gains without relinquishing his rights to his frame.

Malcolm X maintains ownership of his body and his mind in several ways: he is active in the creation of his autobiography, he writes all of his speeches and delivers them with his own inflections, and he defends his religion and his place in American society. Writer Bill Youssman states,

To be able to tell someone's story is to hold power over how that person, and the causes for which they stood, will be understood by future generations. Malcolm X agreed to collaborate with Alex Haley on the production of an autobiography at least partially because he wanted to gain some power over his own image which was under constant attack from mainstream politicians and the media (Youssman, 4).

Youssman's offers evidence that supports Malcolm X's need for self-representation when he states that X "agreed to collaborate with Alex Haley...because he wanted to gain some power

over his own image". This attained power not only allows Malcolm to be an active force in his representation but also combats the negative images and depictions of X that the media publishes.

More evidence that supports Malcolm's desire to represent himself amidst disdain from the media is found in the epilogue of Malcolm's autobiography. Haley notes that Malcolm "was most aware of the national periodicals' power, and he had come to regard me, if still suspiciously, as one avenue of access" (Haley, 392). Malcolm's aim to utilize the media in order to publicize the Nation of Islam and to highlight the burden of the Black male in America was conscious---just as conscious as his stance, his words, his presentation, and his attire. This consciousness, heightened after the reformation of his image, is in high contrast to a younger Malcolm. In the *Autobiography of Malcolm X*, an older and more self-aware Malcolm loses himself as he recalls his early Harlem days. X suddenly begins to scat-sing, pop his finger, and lindy hop around (Haley, 398). This contrast--dignified versus silly-- suggests that the reconstruction of the Black male is a union of past, present, and future. While the Black male can become self-aware and make conscious decisions to change their actions and the face they show the world, their past is still an essential part of their identity. They do not lose all they were before their change, but they do gain maturity and insight by shifting their focus from a past of ignorance to a future of promise. For with time, the past and the present will be able to merge and live soundly in an American society where the black body is not constantly scrutinized or held hostage for being both serious and silly, ignorant and dignified.

Despite the effort to portray a confident and aware figure to the world, the mass media and the government was able to take Malcolm's conscious reconstruction and misconstrue his aims and desires. Talk shows and newspapers of 1964 and earlier scrutinized the moral character of Malcolm X, as seen in the New York Times article, *To Arms with Malcolm X* (Lippman). In the 1964 New York Times article, the writer describes Malcolm as "the embittered racist" and a

"demagogue" (New York Times, 1964). This sensational and highly editorialized article not only violates several guidelines of journalism, but also misrepresents the Civil Rights leader. Haley states " 'the extremist' or 'demagogue' accusation invariably would burn Malcolm X. 'Yes, I'm an extremist. The black race here in North America is in extremely bad condition. You show me a black man who isn't an extremist and I'll show you one who needs psychiatric attention!' " (Haley 401-402). Additionally, Malcolm spoke on his misrepresentation in the media, "If you're not careful," he said, "the newspapers will have you hating the people who are being oppressed, and loving the people who are doing the oppressing" (Safi).

In accordance with the *New York Times* and their less than authentic article, Mike Wallace's 1959 documentary about the nation of Islam, *The Hate that Hate Produced*, proved to be another example of the "white media" that often "overstated [Malcolm's] commitment to violence and portrayed him as an advocate of racial hatred" (Ling 53). Despite the manipulated and heavily construed depictions of Malcolm in the '60s, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* acts as a self-representative emblem, an extension of Malcolm's body and mind, and the catalyst behind other revolutionary organizations, such as The Black Panther Party.

The Black Panther Party: Party Propaganda Persuades or Dissuades?

Inspired by the tactics and confidence of Malcolm X, The Black Panthers used self-representation and ownership of the mind and body as the basis for their party. Their use of party propaganda, which was handed out to those living in Black communities and published in The Black Panther Party newsletter, was an inventive way to not only recruit new members but to raise awareness of the social injustices Black people faced then and continue to face now, especially pertaining to police brutality and unjust laws.

As advocates for the community and avid defenders of self-image, the Black Panther Party published several photographs not unlike *Huey P. Newton Enthroned*, circulated several

editions of their newsletters, and played a huge role in protecting the Black community from police brutality and unfair treatment due to misconception and marginalization.

The self-produced artwork and photographs of the Black Panther Party allowed the organization to have control over their image as avant-garde defenders of the Black race. *Huey P. Newton Enthroned* is a prime example of the party's self-possession and power. Newton sits

upon a wicker chair, a throne that symbolizes power and prestige in several nations across the globe, and straddles a spear in one hand and a gun in the other. He dons the traditional Black Panther Party attire, all black and loosely fitted clothing. He is a man that transcends time, crossing the border from his past--the primitive spear of Africa-- and entering the new-age fight

for freedom--the gun of America. The spear and the gun metaphor, not unlike Malcolm X's conscious merging of the "no good" archetype and the enlightened follower of Islam into a spokesman for the ignorant and the aware, suggests that the refined Black male learns from his past in order to better his future. Additionally, *Huey P. Newton Enthroned* is a controversial photograph, as a Black man with weapons and power threatens and frightens the oppressor to its core. But to the Black masses this image is a symbol of reformation, power, and determination to fight for freedom and justice in a nation that has criminalized the Black male solely off of the color of his skin and the determination in his voice.

In addition to the propaganda photographs, the BPP's community newsletters were a projection of community concerns, as they housed the intellectual thoughts and concerns of the party and the Black community. The organization's control over these published words and

The Black Panther Party Ten Point Program

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.
6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.
8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.
9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.
10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace.

Figure 1 Darlene Dancy, <http://blackhistorymonth2014.com/192/black-panther-party/>

messages allowed for accuracy, as the newsletters were not edited by an entity outside of the party. This is self-representation at its finest.

Lastly, the Black Panther Party's *Ten Point Program*, influenced by Malcolm X's *Ten Point Platform*, explicitly states the aims and mission of the Black Panther Party. The members of the Black organization acted as spokespersons who addressed and articulated community concerns. By leaving little room for implication and using direct language to draw attention to the needs of black, impoverished, urbanites the party was able to shape the goals, wants, and needs of a people with little room for misinterpretation

Somehow, despite the party's careful construction of the organization and those that the organization aimed to defend and represent, the media was able to misinterpret the party's aim and exploit the male members of the activist

group. On August 31, 1970, the *Philadelphia Daily News* "published a photograph, snapped by Elwood Smith, of several Black Panthers being forced to strip by gun-wielding Philadelphia Police officers. Within days, Smith's image



Figure 2 Photo by Elwood Smith, *Philadelphia Daily News*, Special Collections Research Center, Temple University Libraries, Philadelphia, PA

became known as 'that photo' and was widely recognized throughout the city" (Maurantonio

500). Nicole Maurantonio of *"That Photo": Journalism and Bearing Witness to History* draws distinct parallels between police brutality and the historical rituals of body trauma with regards to the Black body.

Without citing 'history' outright, the *Daily News* granted Smith's photograph triggered a collision between past and present--a collision that would be evidenced in the responses of readers. Invoking discourses surrounding a past of racial violence perpetrated by Whites against Black bodies, *Daily News* readers discursively linked the Panthers' strip search to historic rituals of bodily trauma such as slavery, lynching, and other modes of state-sponsored violence (Maurantonio 502).

Maurantonio states that the photograph published by the *Daily News* triggered discourse about this nation's relationship with race relations and, more specifically, the Black body. The oppressive, historical "rituals of bodily trauma" enforced by those with power not only retards the progression of the Black male as a representative for himself but also reverses the efforts and strides Black individuals have made to portray themselves as worthy and dignified. Again, the Black male, and virtually all Black individuals, must remind themselves that there is a thin line between exploiting their own vessel and allowing others to exploit their sacred space of reformation (Calder 95). Through objectification and humiliation, the oppressor reminds the revolutionaries to "stay in their place".

Aside from the emasculation of Black male bodies in the image and the *Daily News* statement that defends the publication of the photograph, which states that the shot "expressed in a single click of the camera lens...the feeling blacks have spent millions of words saying about police treatment of their people," *that photo* was juxtaposed with headlines about--and photographs of--slain officers (Maurantonio 501, 509). Thus, there is an inconsistency where the interpretation of *that photo* becomes just as ambiguous as ownership rights of the black body. The media and journalists allow the ambiguity to dominate instead of painting a clearer picture of the party and its aims⁵. Thus, by placing *that photo* alongside images of slain police officers many, especially those who supported Rizzo, felt that officers were abiding by the law and protecting themselves against unruly, militant, Black nationalists. However, the mission and foundation of the Black Panther Party was not to kill and "terrorize" but to uplift and fight for the underrepresented, Black urban community.

The Philadelphia *Daily News* photograph and its position in the overall layout of the paper is a great example of how the media portrayed the Black Panther Party as terrorists,

⁵ Newspapers rarely documented the free breakfast programs for children or other community support programs.

murderers, and radical extremists. Much like their predecessor, Malcolm X, the BPP also felt that "the white power structure has deliberately conspired to destroy the Black Panther Party.

Instances of exorbitant bail, dead and imprisoned leaders, beating and harassing of Panther members all help reinforce the idea of a conspiracy" (*Conflict and the Black Panther Party* 113).

While prior analysis and use of Smith's photo in the *Philadelphia Daily News* justifies the BPP claim to unfair treatment and misrepresentation by the hands of biased and irresponsible journalists, Kathleen Brosnan's review of Jane Rhodes' *Framing the Black Panthers*, also explores how commercial mass media, and some aspects of Neo Journalism, contributed to the misconception of the reformed Black male as aggressive and threatening. Brosnan states that Rhodes, "interrogates how the New Journalism, which was an explicitly political blend of contemporary vernacular with interviews, research, and a flair for vivid imagery, provided its own type of media coverage of the Panthers. Still, most Americans relied on images filtered and promoted by media that were entirely white-controlled—even those of the New Journalists" (Brosnan 1495).

Additionally, in Cedric Johnson's review of *Panther Nostalgia as History* Johnson mentions Bloom and Martin's ideas of the "good sixties, bad sixties" paradigm where

the heroic non-violent resistance and 'beloved community' idealism of the civil rights movement are valorized, but the later turn to black militancy and anti-war struggles is seen as violent and destructive. The bad-sixties trope still lives--for example, the 2013 film *Lee Daniel's The Butler* caricatures and demonizes the Panthers (Johnson 113).

These two observations, (Rhodes, Bloom & Martin) mention that the role of mass media was crucial to the party--to attract attention to the alarming poverty rates of Black people in urban settings among other things--but media, then and now, portray the party as one dimensional

(militant, threatening and aggressive) instead of multi-faceted and dynamic⁶. Because the media is constructed, and represents an America that is highly constructed, its aim is to uphold the status quo where Black bodies are objectified and the Black mind is regarded as irrelevant or even non-existent. Therefore, to change the perception of this degradation, the Black body must own its vessel and utilize it for the betterment of the movement: placing it in party propaganda, placing it in courtrooms and rallies, placing it on talk shows that misrepresent and ridicule, and placing it in front of camera lenses to be redistributed and reviewed by the masses.

Conclusion--The Black Body Now: Targets of Slander or Symbols of Change?

I arrive at Sykes just in time. The die in begins, and I throw my body down, lying against the cold floor by the entrance door. I am to become the dead body of Michael Brown that lay on the concrete ground of Ferguson for four hours before he was removed. I allow people to walk over my frame as I lay. The vibrations from the chants "Black Lives Matter" "No Justice, No Peace, No racists police" and "I Can't Breathe" sends shocks of disbelief to the body, conjuring up years of pain. I begin to cry. And in the aftermath of the two hour protest, some of my peers felt the need to post hateful comments about the Black body in America: "you guys made better slaves than protestors" and "we should have just picked our own damn cotton..."

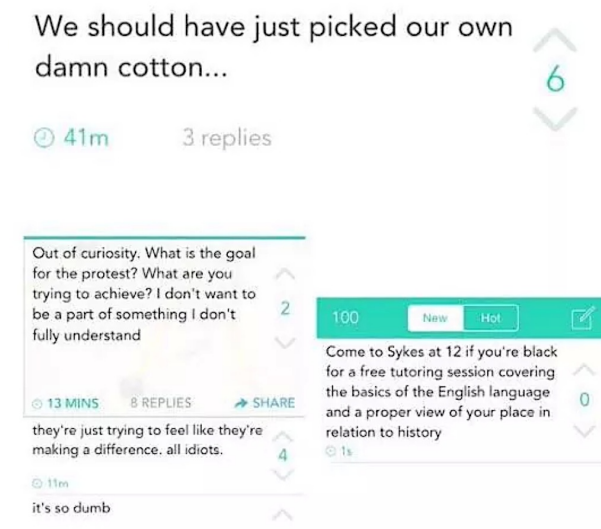


Figure 3 West Chester University students take to social media to articulate their feelings on the Black Lives Matter Protest. Friday, December 5, 2014

⁶ Bloom and Martin capture important advances within the party, especially its movement from masculinist rhetoric and a martial style of politics, to a more progressive organization that supported gender equality and women's leadership, declared solidarity with the gay liberation movement, and demanded that cadre cease using sexist and homophobic language (Johnson, 112).

It is clear, that decades later, the Black body has not shaken its negative stigmas: militant, threatening, aggressive, built only to serve and to be silent. However, with the increasing number of Black men incarcerated and deceased due to police brutality and racial profiling, the Black community is tired of being subservient and silent. We are not invisible.

In order to manifest change, and be both seen and heard, a system must be put into place so that the Black body is no longer a target for abuse and hate but a symbol of change and hope. Therefore, the tactics of Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party may be of use in today's movements. History does, in fact, repeat itself. Hence, the defamed Black individual of the twenty-first century must redefine oneself: decolonize the mind, become aware of one's roots, and own one's intellect as well as one's body. By way of ownership, Black communities across the nation can frame their own narrative and represent themselves in the highest regard.

This positive self-representation will be no easy feat as the media continues to portray Black victims of police brutality as suspects. In order to deconstruct the objectification of the Black body the



Figure 4 WCU Students take the protest into the streets, chanting "Hands Up Don't Shoot" December 5, 2014

Constitution, which is the foundation of the American government and society, must be dismantled and rebuilt in order to protect and defend *all* American citizens, not just White men. It seems that today's movements must borrow from the past, as those blueprints and prototypes need to resurface so that the Black masses can finish what their ancestors started years ago; they have put their bodies on the line to

generate change and we must put our bodies on the line to generate change. Use the Black body to bring about great social and political transformation and the body will become both personal and communal because if one owns their body, one is fully capable of owning the revolution.

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