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Clones in Blackface and Drag: The Promise and Privilege of the Feminist Biotechnological Imaginary

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the visual culture of the feminist biotechnological imaginary, a technofeminist belief that a feminist society could be technologically engineered at the biological level. In the United States, many second-wave feminists embraced the possibility that reproductive technologies might facilitate women's liberation from biological determinism. The idea that biology could become a tool for self-fashioning and diverse community building rather than a fixed determining force resulted in gender and race becoming mutable categories. Both race and gender became subject to technological intervention as well as technologies in themselves. Within the visual culture of the feminist biotechnological imaginary, images of clones served to examine the tension between unity and diversity in the feminist movement. Working in this context, the white women-identified artists Lynn Hershman Leeson, Cindy Sherman, and Eleanor Antin constructed representations of themselves in drag and blackface. I argue that these representations related to the visual culture of feminist clones and undermined gendered power structures while ultimately reinforcing existing racial ones.

INTRODUCTION

In 1973, *The Lesbian Tide*, a Los Angeles-based publication known as the first national lesbian news magazine, dedicated its summer issue to coverage of the West Coast Lesbian Conference at UCLA. Reading the issue now offers a fuller picture of a conference that has entered the history of feminism as an origin point of trans-exclusionary radical feminist (TERF) rhetoric due to feminist activist Robin Morgan's keynote, in which she railed against the attendance of the transgender lesbian singer Beth Elliott.[1] Within the issue, articles addressed that confrontation and others. Members of the Black caucus wanting to workshop the issue of racism within lesbianism clashed with those wanting entertainment and culture rather than "political squabbling,"[2] while mothers and non-mothers disagreed over childcare responsibilities.[3] These clashes speak to what Mary Daly labeled the "tension between unity and diversity" in second-wave feminism, perhaps especially within the lesbian feminist community.[4]

While *The Lesbian Tide* made it clear that the lesbian feminist community was deeply divided over issues of race, motherhood, and what it meant to be a woman, the front cover seemed to tell a

different story.[5] It featured a photograph of attendees commingling, laughing, and hanging a banner stating, "Welcome Sisters to the West Coast Lesbian Conference" (fig. 1). It was captioned, "Cloning of a Nation!" Given the popular understanding of a clone as "a person regarded as an exact copy of another" and gay men's use of the term to refer to themselves as such, we might understand the cover as an erasure of the diversity within feminism that was in evidence at the conference.[6] In equating feminist ties to the familial bonds of sisterhood, or even more extreme, the self-doubling of cloning, the cover appeared to gloss over feminists' approximate and at times tenuous connection to one another with an appeal to biological likeness.

Figure 1. ***The front cover of*** **The Lesbian Tide,** ***May–June 1973.***

Clearly, the essentialist logic that governed the continued oppression of women based on reductionist characterizations of their identities and social roles operated within the movement. Essentialism both within feminism and in society at large had its basis in the idea that nature or biology determined one's destiny. Whether it was white feminists' unwillingness to embrace the Black caucus's fight against racism as part of their own struggle, the belief that only a child's birth mother was responsible for childcare, or Morgan's insistence that Elliott was not born a woman and therefore was an interloper in the feminist movement, the perceived threat of biological difference created various exclusionary tendencies in the movement.

Conversely, feminist anti-essentialist approaches sought to unfetter gendered social roles from biology. Simone de Beauvoir's statement "one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman" was a key tenet.[7] On one hand, the work of separating biology from social identities required a theoretical reorientation to subject formation.[8] On the other, feminist groups developed various social praxes aimed at empowering individuals and building alternatives to patriarchal social structures. These initiatives included building community health centers, fighting for reproductive rights, and

critiquing media representations. Many of these practices derived from feminists' earlier participation in the New Left and the civil rights movement and intended to redress social injustices related to race and class as well as gender. By the 1970s, many anti-essentialist feminists looked to technologies as powerful tools for social advancement. As the feminist science and technology studies (STS) scholar Michelle Murphy has delineated, the do-it-yourself (DIY) ethos of the women's health movement desired to "seize the means of reproduction" and give women greater control over their bodies via technologies.[9] Within this framework, biology was a social factor to be addressed with education, public services, and technological intervention, rather than the defining factor of womanhood.

In considering *The Lesbian Tide*'s reference to cloning *as a technology*, we gain insight into feminist, particularly lesbian feminist, hopes that technologies, placed in the right hands, might advance women's social status and dismantle patriarchal structures. While on one hand feminists critiqued technology as a product and tool of the patriarchy and its structures of capitalism, war, ecocide, and misogyny,[10] anti-essentialist technofeminists cautiously embraced the possibility that technologies might advance their cause. This viewpoint was most notably articulated over a decade after the West Coast Lesbian Conference in Donna Haraway's "Cyborg Manifesto," in which she proposed that the figure of the cyborg, while not feminist in its initial formulation, had the potential to serve feminist aspirations chiefly by giving the lie to the dualisms plaguing Western culture: human/machine, nature/culture, man/woman, etc.[11] While not promising a panacea, Haraway suggested the figure of the cyborg could challenge essentialist characterizations and short circuit the concept of identity altogether by maintaining difference within one body.

The promise of reproductive cloning, a type of asexual reproduction, featured prominently in what I call the feminist biotechnological imaginary, a subset of technofeminism focused on potential uses for recent advances in reproductive technologies and genetic engineering (now known as biotechnology).[12] In the early 1970s, as the public became aware of the potential practical applications of these new avenues of biological research, some feminists incorporated the future-oriented nature of biotech research into their own utopian visions. This imagined feminist society relied on clones not for their uniformity, but as an alternative to heterosexual reproduction. The capacity to alter life in accordance with non-patriarchal social, cultural, and political forms appealed to the sensibility of anti-essentialist technofeminism. Thus, a feminist stance attempting to distance itself from biology in fact celebrated the latest in biological research. In the feminist biotechnological imaginary, the body became subject to technological change as well as a technology itself, rather than the product of deterministic biological forces. Crucially, it was considered important that feminist communities have access to and control of these technologies outside of a biomedical and institutional context. This was meant to be a grassroots movement that valued access over mastery and encouraged a playful celebration of amateur engineering.

The visual culture of the feminist biotechnological imaginary provided an arena in which the push-and-pull forces of unity and diversity in the feminist movement could be explored. This visual culture arose in concert with its development and dissemination in feminist countercultural zines and all-women's small press publications. Rather than borrow from the visual culture of scientific diagrams, imaging, or illustrations, however, these images were congruent with their milieu of DIY publishing in that they were playful, simple, and amateurish. In particular, the figure of the clone offered a compelling model though which to explore questions of gender, race, and motherhood and their relation to individuality and political solidarity. Often appearing in blackface and drag,

these clones were visualizations of difference within likeness, or vice versa, likeness within difference.

Simultaneously, a tendency emerged among white women artists to represent themselves in drag and blackface. With a focus on the artists Lynn Hershman Leeson, Eleanor Antin, and Cindy Sherman, this article connects their serialized self-representations in blackface and drag to the visual culture of the feminist biotechnological imaginary. All three artists began working at a moment when advances in genetic engineering and reproductive technologies confirmed that the processes of life itself, rooted in DNA, were mechanical, and therefore could be manipulated and engineered. Even more provocatively, either implicitly or explicitly, each artist has addressed changing understandings of the relationship of genetics to identity. Hershman Leeson has done so most directly in her film *Teknolust*, in which the protagonist, a geneticist, clones herself, and in her recent forays into bioart, including the construction of a DNA-based archive, *Lynn Hershman Data Storage* (2018). Antin's *Blood Box of a Poet* (1965–68), stores a series of glass slides containing a drop of blood. Each slide is catalogued and associated with a name of a contemporary artist, performer, or dancer, provoking the viewer to consider the relation of biomaterial to Romantic notions of the creative soul. Least explicitly of the three, Sherman's *Disgust* series challenges viewers to understand photographic representations of viscera, the inner material of the body, as representations in a similar vein to her portraits.[13]

I argue that Hershman Leeson, Antin, and Sherman's self-representations in drag and blackface cannot be separated from the biotechnological imaginary: feminists began to imagine the creation of a utopian feminist society through the engineering of the body. While the technologies that Hershman Leeson, Antin, and Sherman used were decidedly not high tech, their self-representations using wax casting, photography, audio tape, and video nonetheless presented the body as fundamentally technological rather than natural. In addition to taking back control of media-based representations, these doubles affirmed the biological self as a tool of self-determination and constructed political solidarity.[14] The construction of diverse images of self and the plasticity of biology mutually reinforced each other. This study is not meant to justify the use of blackface as a liberatory tool. Rather, it means to map out the context in which white women-identifying artists began using blackface as part of a feminist assertion of women's control over the tools of reproduction.

In connecting various instances of feminist representations in blackface and drag across art and visual culture, this article examines a feminist biopolitics of race that privileged white access to power, even as it attempted to imagine a non-hierarchical, diverse feminist community. Recent scholarship has begun to examine various instantiations of feminist biopolitics of race. Kyla Schuller and Jules Gill-Peterson's special issue of *Social Text* dedicated to "the malleable body" explores the centrality of plasticity not only to the feminist and queer imagination, but also to current biopolitical control.[15] Camisha Russell in *The Assisted Reproduction of Race* points to the biopolitics of race operating through the lens of personal choice, a bastion of feminist thought.[16] Julia DeCook identifies in Haraway's cyborg figure a centering of whiteness and Western values.[17] Looking to a history of white women-identifying artists performing in drag and blackface in the 1970s, this study traces the intertwining of emerging beliefs about the technological body with feminist notions of racial and gender identity, both personal and political. I consider how within the feminist biotechnological imaginary, representations of race and gender ultimately reinforced existing racial power structures while undermining gendered ones.

PICTURING FEMINIST CLONES

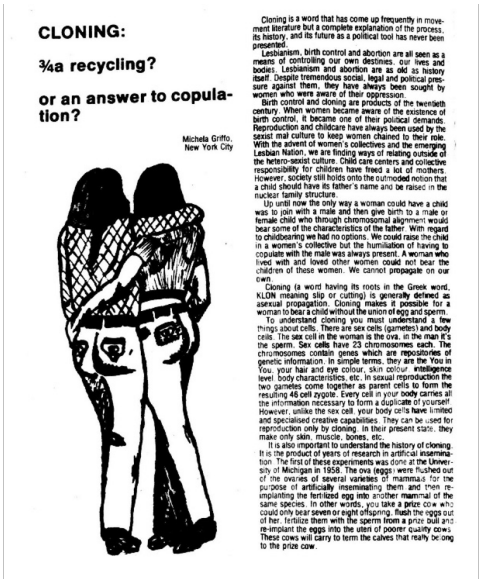
The popular visual culture of cloning that developed in the second half of the twentieth century reflected the general fear of reproductive technologies and the power women might derive from them. While Aldous Huxley's novel *Brave New World* (1932) described a class-based society made up of clones of both genders, in the latter half of the century, there emerged a preponderance of all-women societies made up of identical clones.[18] Cloned femmes fatales appeared repeatedly in the science fiction genre, beginning with novels such as Poul Anderson's *Virgin Planet* (1959) and expanding into films such as Hershman Leeson's *Technolust* (2002). The cover of the 1971 special issue of *The Atlantic* dedicated to "the future of childbearing" reveals the general assumptions that were developing around cloning.[19] It featured a group of clear plastic figurines meant to represent a group of serially produced women. That they are women is indicated by their breasts, although they lack other culturally specific indications of femininity. In the context of the issue's content, the cover illustrated the fear that cloning would lead to a society made up of identical, industrially manufactured women devoid of personality or substance. Notably, with the exception of *Brave New World*, the clones described in these fictions are always white (or clear, in the case of *The Atlantic* cover), suggesting that access to reproductive technologies was reserved for white individuals.[20]

In 1969, on the back of the FDA approval of the birth control pill nearly a decade before, news of inroads in embryological research pointed to a coming leap forward in reproductive technologies. Reports of Dr. Robert Edwards, Professor Barry Bavister, and Dr. Patrick Steptoe's research on in vitro fertilization at Cambridge University drew considerable attention.[21] In *The Atlantic* special issue, journalist Edward Grossman predicted that reproductive cloning, in vitro fertilization, and artificial wombs would alter the human condition more radically than evolution had since "sea creatures grew lungs."[22] He argued that whether such technological advancements would benefit women remained to be seen.

In a radical departure from the general cultural fear of cloning, feminists and in particular lesbian separatists described cloning as a liberatory technology.[23] Feminist author Mary Phoebe Bailey reported in 1972 being called a fascist for her embrace of test-tube babies as an answer to the problem of procreation in all-women communities.[24] Citing *Brave New World*, her male accusers argued that feminism and reproductive technologies would bring about Huxley's dystopia, although Bailey remembers thinking how "great it would be to be a woman living in such a universe."[25] In the early 1970s, Michela Griffo, a co-founder of the lesbian separatist group *The Furies*, was the major voice advocating for cloning in the feminist alternative press. Griffo celebrated cloning as a means to reproduce while avoiding sexual relationships with men and urged women to take control of the technology before it became a patriarchal tool.[26] Likewise, in her feminist manifesto *The Dialectic of Sex*, Shulamith Firestone emphasized that reproductive technologies could facilitate women's liberation from the repulsive oppression of pregnancy, but only in a society that was already freed from patriarchal control.[27] Alongside lesbian feminist social structures like communalized childcare and same-sex parenting, cloning promised to separate reproduction from essentialist understandings of motherhood and give women autonomous control over their ability to reproduce.

Hence the figures of clones depicted in the feminist press differed greatly from those found in science fiction. An illustration accompanying a reprint of Griffo's "Cloning" article in *The Circle* serves as an example.[28] The illustration depicts two women walking together, arms lovingly slung

over each other (fig. 2). Similarly clothed and echoing one another's stance, they are nevertheless differentiated. The woman on the left has her arm around the other's shoulder, while the woman on the right has her arm around the other's hips. They both wear masculine-reading clothing, jeans and boxy shirts, although one is diamond-patterned and the other striped. The figure on the left has long hair, one strand hanging down her back, while the other appears to have shorter hair. In the context of the article, we are prompted to think of them as either the product of cloning or as a couple who will use cloning to reproduce. In either case, unlike the common understanding of a clone as an identical double, they are similar yet distinctive. Of similar height, walking in stride, it is a loving image. They appear as equals, having abolished the hierarchical structure of heterosexual relationships. For the lesbian feminist community, cloning did not represent the creation of identical conformists, but rather the creation of a loving feminist community through technology. In this context, *The Lesbian Tide*'s "Cloning of a Nation!" pronouncement sounds less like a dystopian science fiction novel and more like a celebration of technofeminist principles.



CLONING:

¾a recycling?

or an answer to copulation?

Michela Griffo,
New York City

Cloning is a word that has come up frequently in movement literature but a complete explanation of the process, its history, and its future as a political tool has never been presented.

Lesbianism, birth control and abortion are all seen as a means of controlling our own destinies, our lives and bodies. Lesbianism and abortion are as old as history itself. Despite tremendous social, legal and political pressure against them, they have always been sought by women who were aware of their oppression.

Birth control and cloning are products of the twentieth century. When women became aware of the existence of birth control, it became one of their political demands. Reproduction and childcare have always been used by the sexist mal culture to keep women chained to their role. With the advent of women's collectives and the emerging Lesbian Nation, we are finding ways of relating outside of the hetero-sexist culture. Child care centers and collective responsibility for children have freed a lot of mothers. However, society still holds onto the outmoded notion that a child should have its father's name and be raised in the nuclear family structure.

Up until now the only way a woman could have a child was to join with a male and then give birth to a male or female child who through chromosomal alignment would bear some of the characteristics of the father. With regard to childbearing we had no options. We could raise the child in a women's collective but the humiliation of having to copulate with the male was always present. A woman who lived with and loved other women could not bear the children of these women. We cannot propagate on our own.

Cloning (a word having its roots in the Greek word, KLON meaning slip or cutting) is generally defined as asexual propagation. Cloning makes it possible for a woman to bear a child without the union of egg and sperm.

To understand cloning you must understand a few things about cells. There are sex cells (gametes) and body cells. The sex cell in the woman is the ova, in the man it's the sperm. Sex cells have 23 chromosomes each. The chromosomes contain genes which are repositories of genetic information. In simple terms, they are the You in You; your hair and eye colour, skin colour, intelligence level, body characteristics, etc. In sexual reproduction the two gametes come together as parent cells to form the resulting 46 cell zygote. Every cell in your body carries all the information necessary to form a duplicate of yourself. However, unlike the sex cell, your body cells have limited and specialised creative capabilities. They can be used for reproduction only by cloning. In their present state, they make only skin, muscle, bones, etc.

It is also important to understand the history of cloning. It is the product of years of research in artificial insemination. The first of these experiments was done at the University of Michigan in 1958. The ova (eggs) were flushed out of the ovaries of several varieties of mammals for the purpose of artificially inseminating them and then re-implanting the fertilized egg into another mammal of the same species. In other words, you take a prize cow who could only bear seven or eight offspring, flush the eggs out of her, fertilize them with the sperm from a prize bull and re-implant the eggs into the utert of poorer quality cows. These cows will carry to term the calves that really belong to the prize cow.

Figure 2. Michela Griffo, "Cloning: A Recycling? Or an Answer to Copulation?,"* The Circle*: A Lesbian Feminist Publication (1974).

For feminists who continued their work with the New Left and the civil rights movement, one of these principles was the rectification of social injustices based on race and class. Images of feminist clones appeared in this context as well. For example, the Gay Women's Liberation Group, founded in 1969 as the first lesbian feminist collective on the West Coast, "devoted itself exclusively to work by lesbians disenfranchised by race or class."[29] The group established the first women's bookstore, A Woman's Place, and the first all-woman press, The Women's Press Collective in Oakland. "Dear Sisters," a poem in their first publication, *Woman to Woman* (1970) depicted a serialized line of women alternating in a black and white pattern (fig. 3). Differing in color but united by repetition, the figures suggested the principle of yin and yang, a wholeness made up of contradictory forces. Facing each other with lips touching, they embodied a loving union. The image suggested a sexual union of Black and white women who would rely on cloning to reproduce, thus passing down their difference to the next generation, thus maintaining diversity within an all-women community.

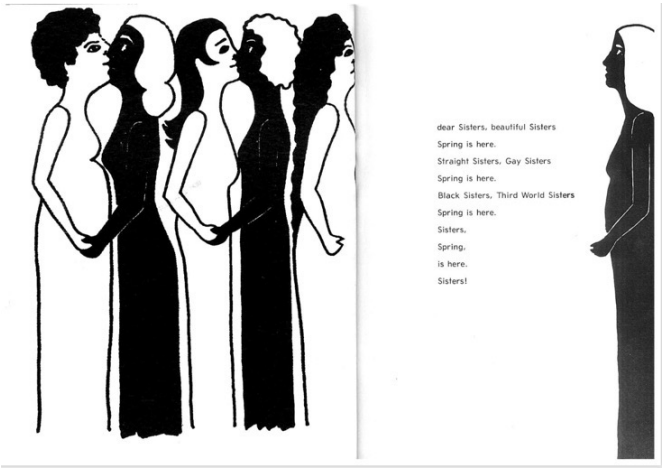


Figure 3**. Illustration in* **Woman to Woman: A Book of Poems and Drawings by Women** ***(Oakland, CA: Women's Press Collective, 1970).

Accordingly, race operated as an aesthetic signifier of difference, marking bodies in opposition to one another. Ironically, race in this instance functioned under the same logic as it had under segregation, although to a different end. The unnamed speaker of "Dear Sisters," in differentiating her "Black Sisters, Third World Sisters" from the non-racialized but presumed white "Straight Sisters, Gay Sisters," implements blackness to uphold the default position of whiteness. While the Gay Women's Liberation Group and the poem "Dear Sisters" did not wish for a segregated feminism and acknowledged the oppression Black Americans faced, the group had no intention of speaking to the politics of race within feminism. This silence speaks volumes, revealing a feminist biopolitics of race that privileged whiteness. Through the technofeminist desire for socially transformative technologies, Black men and women's identities were instrumentalized in the service of the anti-essentialist cause. By the same token, the artists' self-representations in blackface discussed here ignore the violence perpetrated by blackface and the real differences in the lived experiences of white and Black individuals.

"Under the Hood": DIY Cloning

Critics and scholars have pointed to the highly constructed nature of Hershman Leeson, Antin, and particularly Sherman's self-representations from structuralist, postmodernist, and feminist perspectives.[30] In her influential reading of Sherman's 1970s photography, Rosalind Krauss described the *Untitled Film Stills* series as a study of representation itself, "a concatenation of signifiers … encouraging us to look under the hood."[31] Working from the structuralist principle that images, like texts, are a construction connecting a signifier and signified rather than a natural likeness, Krauss described Sherman's images as working to get "under the hood" several times throughout the essay. In likening the artist to a mechanic or an engineer, she foreclosed social and biographical readings of Sherman's work in favor of a hyper-focus on image-making.

While my own argument hinges on the social and biographical aspects of artistic production, I take from Krauss's essay the phrase "under the hood" as an astute observation of the feminist DIY ethic that undergirded the biotechnological imaginary and the artistic practices I discuss here (although I acknowledge I am deliberately misreading Krauss's intent). This ethic was not one of professional

precision and certitude, but closer to that of a tinkerer or an enthusiastic amateur. Technofeminists valued an engineering praxis that was anti-establishment, playful, and had a low barrier to entry. For artists, embracing incomplete, fragmented, and approximate forms of media-based making rejected the traditional patriarchal model of artistic expertise and mastery.

I argue that in their blackface and drag representations, Sherman, Hershman Leeson, and Antin were tinkering not primarily with the construction of images, but playfully using their bodies as raw materials to construct different identities with the aid of technologies. Unlike portraits, in which a representation as likeness attempted to authenticate a true, singular, interior self, these repeated acts of self-representation found difference within likeness.[32] In the spirit of the biotechnological imaginary, they rejected the essentialist idea that long-evolved biological traits would determine one's identity. Working across various media, these artists engineered imperfect and differentiated reproductions, producing clones of themselves that were puzzlingly diverse.

Of the three, Hershman Leeson's cyborgian wax figures present most obviously as clones. A series of skin-like wax casts created from the mid-1960s through the 1970s, they are copies of the artist's face that take on various identities with the addition of wigs, jewelry, makeup, and paint.[33] As wax casts, they are uncanny in their faithful reproduction of the artist's facial contours and skin texture, yet due to their skin color and accessories, they read as differing in social class and race. As they have tended to be exhibited singly in recent decades, their insistence on difference within the repetition of sameness has been lost. That Hershman Leeson thought of these figures not only as artistic reproductions of herself, but as biological reproductions, is evidenced by *Progeny* (1965; fig. 4). Not only did she explicitly title the work to indicate as much, but in producing multiple fragments of an identical body part, she presented her own body as a substance to be copied, fragmented, and arranged as needed. From her mouth and chin she fashioned green, brown, gold, pink, and beige reproductions. One, wearing a mustache, was gendered male, suggesting that in concert with wax as her medium, from her female-identified body she could autonomously produce all manner of biological possibilities.[34]

Figure 4. ***Lynn Hershman Leeson*****, Progeny,** ***1965, 2021, wood, wax with lipstick. Dimensions variable. Image courtesy the artist, Bridget Donahue, NYC, and Altman Siegel, San Francisco. Photo: Robert Divers Herrick.***

Similarly, Sherman's *Bus Riders* series (1976) capitalized on the indexicality of her medium to undermine traditional notions of self-portraiture as a search for a singular authentic self.[35] In this series of fifteen black-and-white photographs that was printed in 2000, she used her body to craft a wide range of new identities. With clothing, wigs, gestures, everyday objects like books and grocery bags, and the use of blackface and drag, she produced individuals distinguished by age, race, gender, and class. Unlike her later photographs, notably the *Untitled Film Stills* begun the following year, the *Bus Riders* series produces an imagined community of people sharing a public space, whereas later, her figures exist in isolation. Seeing these figures in community highlights Sherman's body as the common material from which they emerge. Thus, we understand these diverse individuals to have developed from a common bodily material that metamorphoses to serve Sherman's desired outcome—the emergence of difference from her biological self, the ultimate creative material. Additionally, these figures were photographed with the notable presence of the shutter cable she used to take the photograph. Sherman thus draws a line both literally and figuratively between the technical aspect of image-making and her bodily labor of reproduction.[36]

Unlike Hershman Leeson and Sherman, Antin performed her blackface and drag self-representations over decades, first as the Black Movie Star in *Black Is Beautiful* (1974), and then in her performances though the 1970s and 1980s as the Black ballerina Eleanora Antinova, the Black King, and the Black Nurse. She documented these performances using photography, video, and diaristic writing, and created films as well. These documents were often compiled into archives that acted as artistic objects in their own right. For example, *Recollections of My Life with Diaghilev: 1919–1929* (1973–79) is an archive of fictional autobiographical texts, drawings, and photographs collected during the Black ballerina Antinova's travels with the Ballets Russes. These documents might trick the viewer into accepting them as evidence, as indexical traces left by the actions of a real ballerina named Antinova who lived and died. Yet Antin and Antinova never fully separate into individual beings. They are doubles differentiated primarily by race, indicated by the difference in skin tone that Antin achieved by darkening her skin in a decidedly unconvincing approximation of a Black woman's skin tone. Antin's interest in the relationship of archive to identity aligns her work with contemporaneous conceptualist works like Vito Acconci's *Diary of a Body* (1969–73) or Hans-Peter Feldmann's *All the Clothes of a Woman* (1973). Yet unlike Acconci or Feldmann, Antin brought a specifically feminist mindset to her construction of her self-doubles in blackface and drag. Acconci's documentation of chaotic and aggressive actions (like shoving his genitals between his legs or squeezing his chest to form breasts) and Feldmann's precise and analytic photographing of isolated articles of clothing contrast with Antin's imaginative and amateurish actions. This is not to claim that Antin's self-identification as a woman determined her method; rather, she had adopted a feminist working technique that valued imprecision, simple materials, and a playful approach to making.

Like Hershman Leeson and Sherman, Antin created diverse identities from her own body in concert with various media. Antin's personae more fully inhabit a world imagined by the artist, yet she does not disappear into it. She is also at pains to show herself at work. Most notably, Antin reminds us of her inexpert labor in her video *Caught in the Act* (1973; fig. 5). Performing as the white ballerina, she reveals herself as an amateur. The camera pans out from her body, frozen in fifth position en pointe, to reveal the stick held by an off-camera assistant that she relies on support herself. Unlike a real dancer, Antin's body is not capable of such a feat of strength and balance on its own. Yet as the white ballerina, her technological reproduction, she succeeds. This entanglement

of failure and success in the act of self-reproduction is a topic I address in the following section in conversation with the use of blackface.

***Figure 5**. Eleanor Antin,* **Caught in the Act,** *1973. Single-channel video, black and white, sound; 36:00 minutes. Courtesy of Electronic Arts Intermix (EAI), New York.*

FEMINISM IN BLACKFACE

Within the feminist biotechnological imaginary, race became a tool to alter one's identity rather than an underlying basis for it. Homing in on instances of white artists using blackface parses out shifts in feminist attitudes toward biology that were rooted in anti-essentialism and technological developments. These self-doublings in blackface demonstrate white feminists' desire for socially transformative technologies that would offer women complete control over their own reproduction.

The goal of this scholarship is not to justify blackface as a liberatory practice. Rather, this introductory study aims to unpack the multilayered background out of which feminist blackface appeared, aiming to outline a biopolitics of race that operated within second-wave feminism's desire for technologically generated social change. I argue that within the feminist biotechnological imaginary, race was preserved as a biological category and functioned as a tool, what Beth Coleman describes as a "levered mechanism ... that creates movement and diversifies articulation."[37] In this case, the movement that blackface articulated was a major shift in the understanding of biological identity from a static and long-evolved trait to a temporary and manipulable feature, not in the sense of a bodily form, but rather as a technological affordance, a potential utility.

The Metamorphosis of Blackface

Scholarship on blackface in American popular culture has delineated its shifting manifestations over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[38] While white people have continuously altered their bodies to represent Black people, their manner and motivations have transformed alongside changing scientific and social understandings of race. For the purposes of this study, the metamorphosis of blackface in countercultural performances is the most historically relevant.

Music theorist and historian Sumanth Gopinath has named the countercultural use of blackface the "minstrel avant-garde" or "radical minstrelsy."[39] In traditional minstrelsy, black caricatures based on racist notions served as comic entertainment, assertions of white supremacy, and devaluations of Black identity. In radical minstrelsy, the appearance of actors in blackface served primarily to shock the white audience. For example, Gopinath interprets the San Francisco Mime Troupe's 1965 performance *A Minstrel Show, or Civil Rights in a Cracker Barrel* as a Marcusian attempt at the desublimation of the white audience's latent racism.[40] Ethnomusicologist Patrick Burke reads Grace Slick's televised performance in blackface with her band Jefferson Airplane in 1968, followed by her appearance in blackface while giving the Black Power salute on the cover of *Teenset*, as an attempt to cast herself as an authentic political revolutionary. This practice goes back at least to the Beat Generation's appropriation of Black jazz musicians' style and mannerisms.[41] Her action appropriated a concern for representation from the civil rights movement for her own self-promotion.

Within the art world, there was a similar concurrence of artists using blackface. Bruce Nauman's 1967 series of films transferred to video, *Art Make-Up: No. 1 White, No. 2 Pink, No. 3 Green, and No. 4 Black* featured the artist shown from waist up in the process of covering his body with the respective paint colors. Nauman later acknowledged the connection to blackface, stating, "And I suppose it had whatever social connections it had with skin color and things like that."[42] Nauman repeated the theme in his video *Clown Torture* (1987), in which a white man dressed as a clown in whiteface tells a minstrelsy joke. The Berkeley-based artist Harold Paris made a similar film, *Fact* (1970), shot in Brussels, Belgium, concurrently with his solo exhibition, *Voices of Packaged Souls* at Galerie Withofs. The film featured a white man in blackface tied to a Black woman in whiteface (fig. 6). In these performances, the male artists focused on race as a surface difference that could be easily manipulated.

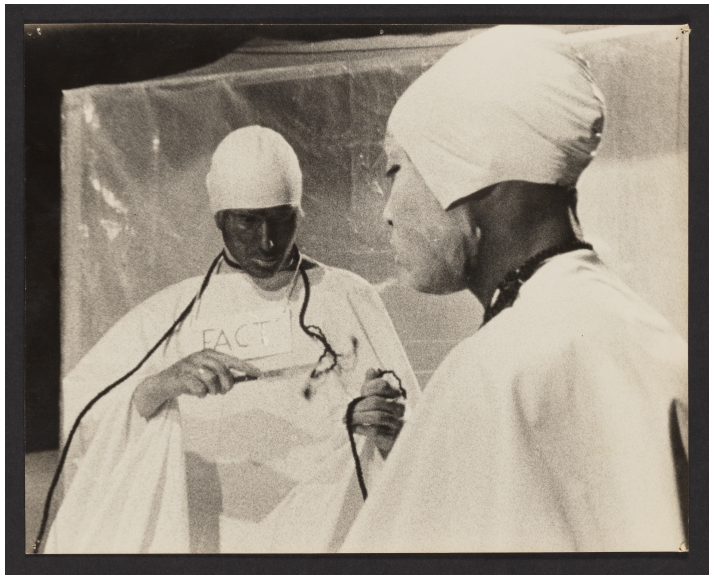


Figure 6. Harold Paris,* Fact, *1970. Cinematic directing by Jean-Antoine. Opening event for* Voices of Packaged Souls *presented at Galerie Withofs, Brussels, 1970. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

In this moment Black performers and artists were also appearing in blackface not as it was used in the minstrelsy tradition, but in a transmogrified form that linked the manipulability of race and gender. The Cockettes and the related The Angels of Light, performance groups who showed at the Pagoda Theater in North Beach in the late 1960s and early 1970s, played with the notion of racial authenticity in their gender- and race-bending performances. Performance artist and scholar Malik Gaines argues that in The Cockettes' performances, in which men dressed as women and both Black and white performers appeared in blackface and yellowface, the self became a creative amalgam resistant to any singular authoritative significance.[43] Literary scholar Susan Gubar has focused on three self-identified Black women artists and performers who appeared in blackface and drag: Adrian Piper, Anna Deveare Smith, and Faith Ringgold. Gubar links what she calls their "racechanging" with the desire for new racial paradigms that eliminated hard and fast racial categorizations.[44] Furthermore, she links their "dialogue between gender and race" to a feminist desire to "reinvent" gender.[45] While Gubar's study focuses on Black women-identified artists, this article considers the contemporaneous use of blackface and drag by white women artists. In contrast to Gubar, I argue that the use of blackface neither eliminated nor blurred racial categories.

Blackface, Play, and Power

Unlike the performers and artists using blackface as a statement against their audience's latent racism, the blackface representations discussed here were not primarily concerned with overturning ideas about racial difference. Scholars have rightly focused on the relation of self to other in Antin's use of blackface. Art historian Huey Copeland and feminist scholar Michelle Meagher argue that Antin's self-representations in blackface explored the possibility for the self to inhabit the other.[46] Cherise Smith relates Antin's performances to the feminist consciousness-raising technique, which explored the social construction of the self.[47] Ultimately, Smith argues that Antin performed as Antinova in order to reclaim her own othered identity as a Jewish woman in a white patriarchal society. It was only recently that white society accepted ethnic Jewish people as white, a fact that Jewish supporters of the civil rights movement pointed to in describing their motivations for participating.[48]

The trouble with such art historical interpretations is that they stop at identifying race as a social construct. Certainly, as Jewish women, Antin and Hershman Leeson were aware of the fact that their appearance as white women was contingent on the social transformation of Jewish identity. As I have argued, Antin, Hershman Leeson, and Sherman's self-reproductions in blackface must be understood in the context of the technofeminist desire to "seize the means of reproduction" with a playful, DIY, anti-institutional attitude.[49] Within this schema, blackface served as a tool that white women artists could employ in the labor of self-reproduction. While they rejected the notion of essentialist identities and desired to create diversity within likeness, they preserved the idea of racial difference by juxtaposing white and Black identities. To inhabit a white women's body (however recently considered as such) and self-represent in blackface was to assert the same playful access to technologies of transformation that technofeminists described in relation to cloning. Whether race was a social construct or a biological fact was irrelevant. Life was subject to technological intervention and was itself a technology, able to be manipulated and effect change as needed—a powerful tool indeed.

This power, however, is difficult to discern when faced with the playful, inexpert, and nearly childlike nature of these artists' blackface representations. Unlike the blackface used in the minstrelsy tradition, these representations did not caricaturize or exaggerate Black features.

Instead, the artists simply created darker-skinned versions of themselves. For example, in her numerous performances as the white Ballerina and the Black Ballerina Antinova, Antin's skin tone is a slightly darker shade than her own (fig. 7). Her reproduction of herself as the Black Ballerina is cavalier and without concern for verisimilitude.

Figure 7. Eleanor Antin being Eleanora Antinova in* Before the Revolution *from* Recollections of My Life with Diaghilev 1919-1929*, 1976–78. Tinted silver gelatin photograph. 14 x 11 inches. Courtesy the artist and Ronald Feldman Gallery, New York.

Sherman's *Bus Series* figures are even more flagrant in their childish construction. In several areas, she failed to completely cover her extremities in pigment, allowing the skin at her feet and the tips of her ears to peek through. Her incomplete transformation signaled that she was temporarily playing at being Black as part of a larger project to stretch her identity to its limits.[50]

While Hershman Leeson's self-representations lacked the imaginative complexity of the identities presented in Antin's performances and Sherman's photography, the bodies represented in her wax casts exceeded the others' commitment to the malleability of the body. Hershman Leeson paired certain casts called the *Breathing Machines* with then futuristic technologies of audio cassette tapes and motion sensors. The tapes featured recordings of Hershman Leeson's breath and voice that activated when the sensors were triggered. Made up of different types of material, chiefly the lifelike substance of wax and commercially available audio cassette tapes, the *Breathing Machines*

cannot rightly be considered fully human figures. Rather, they are like cyborgs, partly machine and partly biological, not distinguishable as one or the other.[51]

In the case of the blackface *Self-Portrait as Another Person* (1966–68), race operates as another difference, one possibility among many, both biological and technological (fig. 8). The *Breathing Machines* are not threatening, however, like the femmes fatales clones in her film *Teknolust*. Instead, they appear to be sleeping and are awkward in their construction. The wax is inconsistent in texture and the addition of the cassette players results in disjointed figures. Obviously not produced in a standardized industrial manner, these cyborgs are decidedly homemade.

Figure 8**. Lynn Hershman Leeson,* **Self-Portrait as Another Person, 1966–68. Wax, wig, makeup, tape recorder, Plexiglass, wood, sensor, sound. 20 x 15 3/4 x 3 1/8 in / 50.8 × 40.01 × 7.94 cm. Courtesy of the artist, Bridget Donahue, NYC and Altman Siegel, San Francisco.*

This naïve approach, in which the artists thought of blackface as existing on a blank slate, was a privilege of living as a white woman. The future-oriented nature of the feminist biotechnological imaginary allowed the artists to act with blinders on, ignorant of blackface's history of violence and its role in the formation of racial hierarchies in the United States. To play is to act without a fear of failure. To play at being Black allows one to fail at fully inhabiting Black individuals' social lives. In a drag performance, to play at being male allows one to fail at fully inhabiting a masculine experience of social life. The consequences of these failures are not equal. To fail at fully inhabiting Black lives and their histories is to recapitulate racial hierarchies that in part were constructed by white bodies asserting their own whiteness by imperfectly occupying Black bodies.[52] While presenting themselves in drag worked to undermine the boundaries of gender, these artists'

blackface representations maintained existing hierarchies of race. In the feminist biotechnological imaginary, the only identities with the power to transform themselves were white women.

Arguing that feminism was key to Black liberation, Audre Lorde memorably remarked, "black feminism is not white feminism in blackface."[53] Her point was that Black women maintained their commitment to Black liberation alongside their feminist struggle. Denunciations of the racist logic that existed within feminism have been widely published since the 1980s.[54] Earlier voices, including the Black caucus at the West Coast Lesbian Conference, had already pointed out the problem of a white, upper- and middle-class conformity in the feminist movement.[55] Lorde and others' keen observations are what the white feminists I refer to in this study neglected to acknowledge. In imagining they had the power to technologically engineer a utopian society, white women erased the struggle for Black liberation in favor of a feminism that was by default white, even if in their own estimation, they were representing it as diverse.

CONCLUSION: INTELLIGIBILITY

In this article, I have discussed white women artists' self-representations in drag and blackface in relation to the visual culture of the feminist biotechnological imaginary. I argued that reproductive technologies played a central role in the feminist biotechnological imaginary, the idea that a feminist society could be engineered at the level of individuals' biology. Within this framework, gender and race were understood not as long-evolved traits, but as manipulable features that might contribute to both self- and social transformations.

The contemporary relevance of this research became suddenly apparent when during the writing of this article, Hershman Leeson's *Self-Portrait as Another Person* went on view in her solo exhibition *Twisted* at the New Museum in New York City. Placed amidst her other *Breathing Machines* and wax-cast sculptures, the blackface self-representation was not named as such, indicating that erasures of histories of blackface, Black liberation, and Black experience were not confined to second-wave feminism, but are ongoing. Unlike the (delayed) critical evaluation Antin and Sherman's blackface representations have faced,[56] Hershman Leeson's has garnered very few mentions.[57]

Both issues—white artists' inability or unwillingness to comprehend their relation to ongoing legacies of racism and the illegibility of blackface to contemporary art critics and scholars—speak to a historiographical challenge that applies to but is not specific to blackface and its histories. How do we look back and speak to the specificities of a time and place whose languages and modes of thought are in some ways familiar and recognizable but in other ways are lost? Furthermore, how do I, as a white art historian, account for my own oversights and erasures of Black histories? With this initial accounting of the multilayered embeddedness of the biopolitics of race, what had been illegible to white women artists but forcefully apparent to Black feminists can now begin to contribute to a dialogue about the ethics of representations of racial difference.

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ENDNOTES

[1] Alyssa A. Samek, "Violence and Identity Politics: 1970s Lesbian-Feminist Discourse and Robin Morgan's 1973 West Coast Lesbian Conference Keynote Address," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 13 no. 3 (2016): 232–49; Susan Stryker, *Transgender History: The Roots of Today's Revolution* (New York: Seal Press, 2017), 103–5.
[2] "Black Caucus Position," *The Lesbian Tide* (May–June 1973), 19.
[3] Ann Davis, "Whose Children Are They?," *The Lesbian Tide* (May-June, 1973), 11, 18.
[4] Mary Daly, *Pure Lust: Elemental Feminist Philosophy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984), 353.
[5] Throughout this article, I will use the term "woman" not as an essentialist and fixed category, but as a cultural identifier.
[6] *Oxford English Dictionary*, "clone," n.
[7] Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), 301.
[8] One may point to a diversity of approaches to this theoretical problem from historical materialist, structuralist, and psychoanalytic perspectives. By way of overview, see Shelley Mallett, "Burying Lazarus: A Feminist Psychoanalytic Critique of the Death of the Subject," *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Anthropology* 37 (April 1995): 82–100.
[9] Michelle Murphy, *Seizing the Means of Reproduction: Entanglements of Feminism, Health, and Technoscience* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012). Regarding social justice and public health initiatives, see also Alondra Nelson, *Body and Soul: The Black Panther Party and the Fight against Medical Discrimination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013); Jennifer Nelson, *More Than Medicine: A History of the Feminist Women's Health Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2016).
[10] See Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology, and the Scientific Revolution* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980).
[11] Donna Haraway, "A Manifesto for Cyborgs: Science, Technology and Socialist Feminism in the 1980s," *Socialist Review* 80 (1985): 65–107.
[12] My term builds on Sarah Franklin's "genetic imaginary," in which "life itself is dense with the possibility of both salvation and catastrophe," and Deborah Lynn Steinberg's "bioimaginary," the affect and desire that surround genetics as a scientifically and culturally significant practice. See Sarah Franklin "Life Itself: Global Nature and the Genetic Imaginary," in *Global Nature, Global Culture*, eds. Sarah Franklin, Celia Lury, and Jackie Stacey (New York: Routledge, 2000), 198; Deborah Lynn Steinberg, *Genes and the Bioimaginary: Science, Spectacle, Culture* (New York: Ashgate, 2015).
[13] So-named by Rosalind Krauss, *Cindy Sherman 1975–1993* (New York: Rizzoli, 1993), 192–206.
[14] Teresa de Lauretis, *Technologies of Gender: Essays on Theory, Film, and Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987).
[15] Kyla Schuller and Jules Gill-Peterson, "Introduction: Race, the State, and the Malleable Body," *Social Text* 38, no. 2 (June 2020): 1–2.
[16] Camisha Russell, *The Assisted Reproduction of Race* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018).

[17] See Julia R. DeCook, "A [White] Cyborg's Manifesto: The Overwhelmingly Western Ideology Driving Technofeminist Theory," *Media, Culture & Society* 43, no. 6 (September 2021): 1158–67.
[18] Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World* (New York: Bantam, 1932). Huxley did not use the term "clone," since its meaning as I use it here did not yet exist. Instead, he referred to his clones as twins.
[19] Although PARS International, the reprint and licensing agency that represents *The Atlantic*, was willing to license an image of the cover, the requested fee was prohibitively expensive; therefore, I regret that the image does not appear in this article.
[20] Octavia Butler's 1987 novel *Dawn* would serve as an instructive counterexample.
[21] "Who's Necessary?," *San Francisco Examiner,* Sunday, Feb. 23, 1969, 18; Walter Sullivan, "Implant of Human Embryo Appears Near," *The New York Times*, Thursday, Oct. 29, 1970, 1, 18.
[22] Edward Grossman, "The Obsolescent Mother," *The Atlantic*, May 1971: 39–50.
[23] Feminist hopes that reproductive technologies might alter women's social situation have existed at least since the early twentieth century. In 1900, after the physiologist Jacques Loeb proved reproduction was a mechanical process by initiating artificial parthenogenesis in sea urchins, he received letters from feminist organizations asking when mechanized human reproduction without men might be possible.[23] The issue arose again in 1955, when British zoologist Dr. Helen Spurway publicly suggested that human parthenogenesis might be possible. American author and suffragist Charlotte Perkins Gilman had made the connection between women's autonomous control of reproduction and a utopian feminist society in her novel *Herland*, 1915. Jill Johnston's book *Lesbian Nation*, 1973 reiterated Perkins Gilman's premise and asserted that human parthenogenesis was a natural biological possibility. Johnston's assertion represented an essentialist take on women's reproductive autonomy.
[24] Mary Phoebe Bailey, "Pratt: A Four-Syllable Word Meaning Nothing," in *The Lavender Herring: Lesbian Essays from The Ladder*, eds. Barbara Grier and Coletta Reid (Baltimore: Dianna Press, 1976), 270–78.
[25] Ibid, 314.
[26] Michela Griffo, "Cloning: A Recycling? Or an Answer to Copulation?," *The Furies* 1 no. 4 (1972), 1. The essay was re-published in: *Her-Self* 2, no. 1 (March-April 1973), 9, and *The Circle: A Lesbian Feminist Publication* (1974), n.p.
[27] Shulamith Firestone, *The Dialectic of Sex* (New York: William Morrow, 1970), 206.
[28] Rensenbrink, 301.
[29] Bertha Harris, *Lover* (1976; repr., New York, New York University Press, 1993), xxxi.
[30] See, for example, Douglas Crimp, "Pictures," *October* 8 (Spring 1979): 75–88; Krauss; Amelia Jones, "Roberta Breitmore Lives On," in *The Art and Films of Lynn Hershman Leeson: Secret Agents, Private I*, ed. Meredith Tromble (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 105–11; Jones, "Time Traveler: Eleanor Antin as Mythographer of the Self," in *Eleanor Antin: Historical Takes*, ed. Betty-Sue Hertz (San Diego: San Diego Museum of Art, 2008), 93–99.
[31] Krauss, 32.
[32] Catherine M. Soussloff defines portraiture as necessarily intending to capture an external likeness as well as an interior spirituality. Soussloff, *The Subject in Art: Portraiture and the Birth of the Modern* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2006), 5.
[33] Occasionally other body parts like feet or hands appear. She sometimes also used her daughter and her friend Eleanor Coppola as models for her casts.

[34] Pamela Lee has argued that in juxtaposing wax, traditionally a natural material made of beeswax, with media technology, the *Breathing Machines* challenge distinctions between traditional artistic materials and new media. Lee, "Genealogy in Wax," in *Lynn Hershman Leeson: Civic Radar*, ed. Peter Weibel (Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2016), 56–63.
[35] Hauser and Wirth, Sherman's representative, declined to grant permission to publish these images; therefore, I regret that they do not appear in this article.
[36] Art historian and curator Lauri Firstenberg has argued that the shutter cable in this series demarcates a theatrical space, revealing the constructedness of gender and race. I add that the cable draws a literal and metaphorical connection between the body and technology and makes clear the transformative power that Sherman harnesses over her own body through this connection. See Lauri Firstenberg, "Autonomy and the Archive in America: Reexamining the Intersection of Photography and Stereotype," in *Only Skin Deep: Changing Visions of the American Self*, eds. Coco Fusco and Brian Wallis (New York: ICP and Harry N. Abrams, 2003), 327–328.
[37] Coleman, 181.
[38] See Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Michael Rogin, "'Democracy and Burnt Cork': The End of Blackface, the Beginning of Civil Rights," *Representations* 46 (Spring 1994): 1–34; Susan Gubar, *Racechanges: White Skin, Black Face in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
[39] Sumanth Gopinath, "Reich in Blackface: *Oh Dem Watermelons* and Radical Minstrelsy in the 1960s," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 5 no. 2 (2011): 180.
[40] Ibid., 174. The performance was accompanied by Robert Nelson's film from the same year, *Oh Dem Watermelons,* with soundtrack by Steve Reich.
[41] Patrick Burke, "Tear Down the Walls: Jefferson Airplane, Race, and Revolutionary Rhetoric in 1960s Rock." *Popular Music* 29 no. 1 (January 2010): 61–79.
[42] Bruce Nauman, quoted in an oral history interview by Michele D. DeAngelus, May 27–30, 1980, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-bruce-nauman-12538.
[43] Malik Gaines, *Black Performance on the Outskirts of the Left: A History of the Impossible* (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 150–54.
[44] Susan Gubar, *Critical Condition: Feminism at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 44.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Huey Copeland, "Some Ways of Playing Antinova," in *Multiple Occupancy: Eleanor Antin's "Selves,"* ed. Emily Liebert, (New York: Wallach Art Gallery, 2014), 30–40; Michelle Meagher, "Improvisation within a Scene of Constraint: Cindy Sherman's Serial Self-Portraiture," *Body & Society* 13 no.4 (2007): 1–19.
[47]Cherise Smith, "The Other 'Other': Eleanor Antin and the Performance of Blackness," in *Enacting Others: Politics of Identity in Eleanor Antin, Nikki S. Lee, Adrian Piper, and Anna Deavere Smith* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 79–134, especially 91.
[48] Ibid., 83. On the acceptance of those of Jewish ancestry into the socially constructed category of whiteness in the twentieth century, see Henry Cohen, *Justice, Justice: A Jewish View of the Negro Revolt* (New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1968); Karen Brodkin, *How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says about Race in America* (Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994); Lisa Bloom, *Jewish Identities in American Feminist Art: Ghosts of Ethnicity* (New York: Routledge, 2006).
[49] Murphy.

[50] Firstenberg refers to this incomplete transformation as the "camping of race." As with the presence of the shutter cable in this series, I argue that the incompleteness points to the power of bodily transformation that Sherman harnesses through her creative practice. Firstenberg, 328.
[51] Cyborgs appear repeatedly throughout Hershman Leeson's career and were often named as such. Furthermore, Hershman Leeson and critics and scholars of her work have argued that the cyborg offers a foundational logic to her artistic practice. See, for example, Hershman Leeson, "Romancing the Anti-Body: Lust and Longing in (Cyber)space," in *Lynn Hershman: Captured Bodies of Resistance*, ed. Ryszard W. Kluszczyński (Warsaw: Centre for Contemporary Art, Ujazdowski Castle, 1996), 11–26.
[52] Lott.
[53]Audre Lorde, "Sexism: An American Disease in Blackface," in *Sister Outsider* (1984; repr., New York: Penguin Books, 2020), 49.
[54] Joan Gibbs and Sara Bennett, *Top Ranking: A Collection of Articles on Racism and Classism in the Lesbian Community*, 1980; Cherríe Moraga, Gloria Anzaldúa, and Toni Cade Bambara eds., *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Watertown, MA: Persephone Press, 1981); Barbara Smith, ed., *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology* (New York: Kitchen Table, 1983); Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider* (1984; repr., New York: Penguin Books, 2020).
[55] Mary Ann Weathers, "An Argument for Black Women's Liberation as a Revolutionary Force," *No More Fun and Games: A Journal of Female Liberation* 1, no. 2 (Feb 1969): 66–70.
[56] Margo Jefferson, "Playing on Black and White: Racial Messages through a Camera Lens," *The New York Times*, January 10, 2005; Seph Rodney, "Cindy Sherman in Blackface," *Hyperallergic*, October 29, 2015, https://hyperallergic.com/246851/cindy-sherman-in-blackface/.
[57] Emily Holmes, "50 Years of Lynn Hershman Leeson's Trick and Tech Art Innovations," *Hyperallergic*, May 9, 2017, https://hyperallergic.com/377762/50-years-of-lynn-hershman-leesons-tricks-and-tech-art-innovations/.

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