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How Far Have We Come? A Comparison of Jamaican Representations in Cool Runnings and Luke Cage

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Dedication

For my mother, Carmen Russell.

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by

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THESIS

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Abstract

Representation of minority groups in popular media has been the cause of many debates in recent years. There has been outcry against the lack of diverse representations, and the kind of representation of minority groups. When powerful media organizations are representing minority groups, imperialism and post colonialism become part of the conversation. To look at the representation of minorities, I examined the representation of Jamaicans in two popular texts. The first is *Cool Runnings*, a 1993 film, and the second is season two of *Luke Cage*, a Netflix series released in 2018. In both of these instances, Jamaicans and Jamaican culture are represented in problematic ways. Using media analysis and postcolonial theories, I examine how the use of language, music and other aspects of culture are used in order to showcase Jamaican culture and investigate the use of stereotypes that are used for Jamaicans. Katz's model of minority media representation and Stuart Hall's theories on postcolonialism and media are the lenses through which these aspects will be examined. Ultimately, I argue that representations of Jamaicans and other minorities are rooted in power structures that can be examined through the lens of post-colonialism and representations of minorities are a display of the power that Hollywood yields.

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Chapter 1: Representation and Jamaican Identity in Luke Cage and Cool Runnings

Representation has become more important in the media. Minority groups are not only demanding representation, but accurate representation. Representations are also often insensitive, inaccurate, or disrespectful. Over the years, people have become more educated on the topic of representation, but it is not clear if that education has translated into action. Minorities are already disenfranchised and disrespected in society and that leads to how they are treated and how they are represented. Hollywood and other U.S. American media have a worldwide influence. Many other countries have their own entertainment industry, like Nollywood in Nigeria and Bollywood in India, but they do not have the reach and influence that U.S. American media have. Many people get their idea of the world from how they see it represented in the media. Representation is very important because it can reinforce ideas or give new ideas about how people should be treated.

Jamaican culture has been one of these minority groups represented at least on occasion in Hollywood media. A small island in the Caribbean, Jamaica's influence is far reaching. People as far as Japan have embraced Jamaican cultures, particularly the dancehall culture. Icons such as Bob Marley and Usain Bolt help to further solidify Jamaica as being a cultural powerhouse in different facets of life. When representing Jamaicans in Western media, it is often done in a way that positions them as the "Other" and through the use of visual cues, shows Jamaica as a colonial paradise (Walters & Cassel, 2016). Separating Jamaicans from the "norm" of U.S. Americans is done through the use of stereotypes. The use of stereotypes that are rooted in colonial thinking are often cases of inferential racism. Stuart Hall (1990) uses inferential racism to refer to the "apparently naturalized representations of events and situations relating to race, which have racist premises and propositions described in them as unquestioned assumptions" (p.

12). This is different from overt racism, because it is not done outright and it may not even be done intentionally to be racist, but it occurs because of the ideologies of the society that the artifact is produced in. Ideologies are how people in a society make sense of the world around them and their place in the society. Being in a society that encourages and perpetuates the racist ideologies of "othering" can lead to the separation of groups both consciously and unconsciously.

Another issue faced when Jamaicans are represented in Western media is when different Caribbean cultures are merged. Different islands in the Caribbean, although having some shared similar backgrounds, are extremely different in culture and history. However, as Stuart Hall says, "to the developed West, we are very much the same. We belong to the marginal, the underdeveloped, the periphery, the Other" (Hall, 1989, p. 36). The difference of identity is ignored and all people from that region are classified as one and the same, but separate and different from the norm that is U.S. American. Cultural identity is never stagnant or fixed; it changes constantly and evolves. However, many representations of Jamaicans and the Caribbean are shown in a way that is "fixed in some essentialised past" (Hall, 1989, p. 70). Caribbean people are positioned as primitive or stuck in a past that was, and continues to be, a colonial paradise. Furthermore, language is an important part of any cultural representation. However, in U.S. American media, the Jamaican language, patois, has often been butchered to the point of almost not being recognizable by Jamaicans. Hill (1998) posits that underrepresented languages are often portrayed as "mock languages." That is, they don't follow the rules of the language, but instead are based in the most recognizable stereotypes of the language. An example of this for patois is the constant use of "yah mon" or "no problem mon." These are instantly recognizable as quintessentially Jamaican, despite not really being said in everyday conversation between

Jamaicans and is just for the benefit of tourists. Many representations of Jamaica for foreigners is one of a place that is for the pleasure of the visitors, with no regard for the lives of the people who live there. The Western media perpetuates the idea that Jamaica is a non-stop party with marijuana, liquor, and no consequences (Hernandez-Ramdwar, 2005). Another stereotype that has been prevalent in Western media is about the use of marijuana in Jamaica. There are many instances in media representations of the Jamaican drug dealer who specializes in trafficking marijuana (Ceccato, 2015). Many Jamaicans are stereotyped as marijuana smokers and criminals because of this depiction of them in media. Along with the portrayal of criminality with drugs comes the portrayal of Jamaicans as violent and Jamaica as an extremely dangerous place. There are three stereotypes of Jamaicans that are usually used in media: subservient characters, the violent criminal, and the drug dealer (Cecccato, 2015). Characters are shown as being accessories and serving the (usually white) dominant characters, being violent and the antagonist, or being involved in the drug trade. Usually, all of these end up with the Jamaican characters being defeated by the main characters.

There are many different representations of Jamaicans in different Hollywood productions, but one of the earliest and most popular representations is *Cool Runnings* and one of the more recent ones is *Luke Cage.* Both *Cool Runnings* and *Luke Cage* were built around Jamaican characters and Jamaican culture. While there are many television shows and movies that have aspects of Jamaican culture, it is usually limited to a few characters or a few scenes. For example, in *Meet Joe Black*, Brad Pitt speaks with a Jamaican accent for about three minutes. In *Half Baked*, Dave Chappelle pretends to be Jamaican to try to escape from being in trouble with a drug boss. It was done in a way that was supposed to be comedic and unbelievable and lasted about one minute. *How Stella Got Her Groove Back* contained a lot of scenes filmed

in Jamaica and had Jamaican characters, but the story was around Stella, who is American and the idea of Jamaicans were just as supporting characters and as a tourist fantasy. *Cool Runnings* and *Luke Cage* were partially filmed in Jamaica, showing Jamaicans as the main characters with the knowledge that it was supposed to be representing everyday Jamaican life and not just a random exotic location meant for tourists and visitors. *Cool Runnings* was chosen because it is one of the most well-known examples of a Hollywood depiction of Jamaica and Jamaicans. People constantly use it as a reference point after hearing I am from Jamaica, so it would be one of the best movies to start at. It also was completely built around Jamaicans, that is, they were not background players in the movie. *Luke Cage* was chosen because it was one of the few modern artifacts that also feature Jamaican main characters. Also, it was done by other minorities, so I wanted to see if that would make a difference in the portrayals.

Overview of *Cool Runnings*

The 1993 film *Cool Runnings* was loosely based on a Jamaican bobsled team. It followed the journey of three Olympic hopefuls and a push cart driver from Kingston, Jamaica. After falling during the finals of the 100m race at the Jamaican Olympic trials, Derice Bannock misses out on his Olympic dreams, so he goes looking for them elsewhere. He gets in contact with a past Olympian, American bobsledder Irv Blitzer who is now living in Jamaica, having retired after being caught cheating during a bobsled race in a previous Olympic championship. He recruits the help of the two other Olympian hopefuls who fell during the race and his best friend Sanka to be a part of the bobsled team. They are trained by Irv for a few months in Jamaica before going off to Calgary to compete in the Olympics. Many of the other traditionally successful bobsled teams ridicule them and nobody takes them seriously because they are the first bobsled team Jamaica has ever entered, and Jamaica has no snow. They suffer a crash and end up carrying

their bobsled across the finish line to much applause and respect from those competing and spectating.

Overview of *Luke Cage*

Luke Cage is a Marvel series released on Netflix in 2016. This series represented what was supposed to be a turning point for U.S. American media and a statement to the political climate because of the lack of inclusion in Hollywood media. Hollywood media disregards minorities, so having a show about an African-American superhero was almost signaling a change to that norm. The producers wanted to display African-American culture and life from their point of view and feature it to show that it could be profitable and watchable. Luke Cage is a wrongfully convicted and now released criminal who works at a barber shop. He is a large black man who is seen wearing a hoodie. The fact that he is bulletproof is even more of a political statement because of the amount of young African-American men being shot and killed due to racism and police brutality. The cast and crew is majority people of color, mainly African-Americans and Latinx. In the first season, an explanation for how Luke got his powers is given. In prison, he falls in love with the prison psychologist, Reva Connors. He is forced into a prison fighting ring in exchange for the promise of her safety. He ends up being the best fighter in the prison, even before he acquires his powers. This leads to the anger and jealousy of a prison guard who controls rival fighters and he attempts to kill Luke. Reva enlists the help of a scientist, Noah Burstein, to try to save Luke's life. Not only does he live, he obtains super strength and bulletproof skin in the process. He moves back to Harlem and ends up becoming the local superhero. There are two main antagonists, one of whom is Luke's adopted brother and the one who framed him and got him sent to prison. By the end of the season, his brother is dead and Luke has reached an agreement with the second antagonist, Mariah Stokes. Mariah becomes

incredibly important in the second season, released in 2018. The second season features a Jamaican villain, Bushmaster. Bushmaster, born John McIver, is an U.S. American born Jamaican who moves back to the U.S. as an adult to seek revenge. His parents were killed and he was shot as a child because of a disagreement between his family and the Stokes family. The only member of the Stokes family he knows is still alive is Mariah Stokes, a powerful figure in Harlem, and somebody Luke crossed paths with in the first season. Bushmaster uses obeah, a Jamaican form of voodoo, and nightshade to give him special powers. He and Luke have some very intense fights throughout the season and he becomes one of the main antagonists in the second season. During this season, Bushmaster tries to kill Mariah and take over Harlem many times and eventually, he succeeds. However, Mariah and Luke both try to put an end to Bushmaster's reign. Before the end of the season, Bushmaster is beaten, having been poisoned by his use of nightshade to give him supernatural strength and speed.

While these two texts are on very different topics, they are both iconic in their own way. *Cool Runnings* is one of the first things foreigners think of when they speak about Jamaica and the Marvel Cinematic Universe has become one of the largest franchises over the past decade. *Luke Cage* has an overall score of 89% on the ratings aggregate Rotten Tomatoes, making it the best reviewed Marvel series on Netflix (Clark, 2018). They were produced twenty-five years apart and both provide representations and indications of how Jamaican culture is represented by the U.S. American entity that is Hollywood. By looking at the way Jamaicans were represented, there can be comparisons and contrasts made to analyze if the level of representation has changed and if so, what changes have been made. It can be an indicator of the respect and care that is given to minorities for their representation, especially in a climate that demands the accurate, respectful representations that people deserve.

It is especially interesting to see if there is any difference between the representations given by a white director and producers versus people of color, despite both being in positions of power. It is important to note that Luke Cage's production staff and actors were so important because it was a reaction to the fact that people of color don't get the kind of representation that shows the talent and diversity in Hollywood. People of color, even U.S. Americans, are the "Other" in the United States, so it is interesting to analyze how the "Other" represents another marginalized group.

Theory and Research Question

To understand the treatment of representations of Jamaicans, the theories of cultural imperialism, Hall's theories on post-colonialism and Katz's model of minority representation in media will be necessary. Imperialism and post-colonialism are important to understand how U.S. American cultures interacts with Jamaican cultures, especially in political and economic circles. Jamaica was formerly colonized by the Spanish and British, with the strongest influence being the British. There are many lasting forms of this colonization, including the way Jamaican courts, schools and businesses are run. However, the United States is also a very strong power in the world today. Different entities in the United States, including Hollywood, tap into colonization and imperialism during their showcasing of other cultures, including using stereotypes. There are different ways to understand how minorities are represented and why producers choose to show certain portrayals of people and cultures.

Katz's model of minority representation states that we should look at how media are produced, who is producing it and who it is being produced for. All of these play a role in how people are represented. If a minority is being represented, are they being shown through the eyes of an outsider, who may have more power than them? Are they being shown for the

entertainment of those outsiders? These kind of questions are important in understanding how minorities are represented and the kind of treatment they get. Therefore, I propose the following research questions:

RQ1: How are Jamaicans represented in U.S. American popular culture?

RQ2: What are the differences and similarities between the representations?

For this study, I will provide a literature review (chapter 2) that encompasses aspects of Jamaican culture, including language and obeah and the theories of imperialism, post-colonialism and representation. The next section will show why the use of rhetorical criticism is important to this study (chapter 3). Next, there will be an analysis of Cool Runnings followed by an analysis of Luke Cage to show how Jamaicans are represented (chapter 4). Finally, I will compare and contrast these two representations to understand any changes made and what this means under the theories of imperialism and post colonialism and how they tie to representation (chapter 5).

Chapter Two: Review of Literature

Representation in Media

Representation is defined as "the social process of making images, sounds and signs stand for something in film and television" (Turner, 2006, p. 38). There are other aspects of representation, such as in audio media like music, but where visual cues and representations are given, the visual representations are especially important (Batson-Savage, 2010). This is because visual cues give people the idea that what they are seeing is valid and accurate, even if it isn't. Batson-Savage (2010) also posits that representation is also linked to power. The entities in Hollywood have the power to represent people unchecked, and if the group that is represented raises concerns, they are often dismissed. Hooks (2009) states that because of the lack of awareness and consequences when portraying minorities, these representations are careless and need to be questioned carefully. While these statements were mostly referring to white Hollywood, it is important to understand as well that even in black cinema, there are aspects of the same kind of ideas that have been formed. Even minority groups can be problematic in the ways that they represent other minorities, especially when they hold a position that is more dominant. They have absorbed the structure of the world and build it into the representations. Hooks (1994) says that "black independent cinema is not necessarily free of the dominant white, male, heterosexual hegemony that has succeeded, at one point or another, in colonizing us all" (p. 26). These ideologies are so ingrained in society that they become inevitable in representations, especially when there are other minority groups being represented. Minorities are typically represented through the use of stereotypes and the ideologies already held by societies, so when the representations are given, those ideologies are built on and perpetuated.

Racist and stereotypical identities can even be believed by the people who are incorrectly represented if they are constantly seeing themselves represented that way.

There are three issues related to representation in cultural production: numerical representation, quality of representation, and centrality of representation (Erigha, 2015). Numerical representation is the number of persons involved in the on-screen and off-screen production. Often times, the amount of people involved in the production is not proportional to the population. The quality of representation takes into account the type of roles that these characters embody, especially whether the characters are multi-dimensional or if they fall back on clichés and stereotypes. The centrality of representation refers to how close the marginalized groups are to the core of the institutions. That is, are they on the periphery of production or are they directly involved in the production?

Before getting into understanding how Jamaican culture is represented, it is important to understand what representation of a minority group means and how it is done. Representations are constructed images that form shared cultural meaning because of the ideological connotations that the images carry (Fursich, 2010). They convey the idea of how people should be treated based on the information that is given. Using Katz's (2011) model of minority media representation, there are three main concepts that make up minority media representation. These are media by, media of, and media for. When looking at media by, not only is the identity of the producers important, but the assumptions that they make about their audience also plays a big role (Dayan, 1998). The idea of power comes into play when someone can decide who is represented and how they are represented (Couldry, 2000). People who have the power can produce and distribute the ideas that become dominant in society. When producers make any kind of text or media, they do so with a certain audience in mind (Dornfeld, 1998). They tailor

the text to fit the assumptions that these people already hold or to make it more palatable to them.

The second concept in Katz's model of minority media representation is "media of." That is, who is being represented in that text. Stereotypes are often a common trope for producers when representing a group. Stereotypes are used to identify and show the "authenticity" of a representation. Stereotypes are also used because they are familiar to audiences and reinforce ideas. However, this is harmful because stereotypes separate people. They fix the group being stereotyped as the "Other." They are not allowed to be the norm. Stereotypes are an attempt to position a colonial subject in a certain light so the people in power can know them thoroughly (McRobbie, 2005). It is a way of showing the differences between what's "normal" and what is "savage." Stereotypes bleed into our social systems and structures in society that cause people to further separate and distance themselves from one another.

The final part of Katz's model of minority media representation is "media for." Media is made for consumption. The consumption of this media plays a role in how people are socialized and how they treat people. The world is "getting smaller" because people have the access to cultures and people that they wouldn't be able to without mainstream and alternative media. One can get to learn and view other people over the internet and in the media that are accessible to people worldwide. This is incredibly important because people often form ideas and learn how to socialize and interact with groups even before meeting anyone from that group. How we are treated is dependent on how we are represented, and much of the views that people hold come from representation (Dyer, 2002). Producers making media for a certain group of people will more than likely reinforce the ideas that the group already holds. This is important in understanding how and why Jamaican culture is represented the way it is by foreign entities.

Representation of Jamaican Culture

Jamaicans have been represented in different texts outside of the ones mentioned in this paper, and there are often similarities in these representations. It is not uncommon for Jamaicans and other West Indians to be represented as being out of place in white or mainstream U.S. American spaces (Everett, 1995). Showing Jamaicans as not being able to fit into American society shows further separation between West Indians and "the norm." There are also representations of Jamaicans being highly spiritual, but not always in a way that is "acceptable" in U.S. American or British culture, that is, not spiritual within Christianity. Jamaicans are shown to be in touch with spirits and the afterlife in a way that is not deemed correct and is frowned upon. An example of this is through the use of Obeah, which is seen through the foreign lens as being some kind of voodoo. Obeah can be traced back to the West African roots that were planted in Jamaica. It can be mostly understood as using the supernatural in combination with nature to influence people and events (Barima, 2017). Obeah is another form of West African culture that was demonized and looked down upon by the ones who colonized them, and that lasts throughout Jamaican society today. It was outlawed in 1760, in response to Tacky's Rebellion (Paton, 2009). It was led by the Gold Coast slaves, who were feared by their masters because of their great fighting and military expertise (Newman et al. 2013). The slave masters feared their use of Obeah because the Maroons, who were slaves who escaped to the hills used spiritual arts and military arts to protect and defend themselves. People who practice Obeah have to have the natural ability to channel supernatural forces. They are knowledgeable about herbs and plants that can lead to desired effects (Bilby & Handler, 2004). Often times, they may not need to even invoke supernatural ability in order to help with certain ailments. When represented

in foreign media, Obeah is seen as primitive or demonic: an idiotic or evil counterpart to Western medicine.

Another aspect of Jamaican culture and religion that is often represented is Rastafarianism. Rastafarianism originated in Jamaica in the 1930s with the belief that former Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie, is the black Messiah (Barrett, 1997). Rastafarians are usually noticeable and identified by their dreadlocks and the fact that they don't eat meat. However, with dreadlocks becoming a fashion statement, it is impossible to say that everyone with dreadlocks is a Rastafarian. Being a Rastafarian in Jamaica is something that carries a lot of pain within Jamaican history. They were marginalized in Jamaican society: seen as dirty or unprofessional because of their hair and thought to be menaces to society. In 1963, a campaign to eradicate Rastafarians in Jamaicans began (Campbell, 2014). This was known as the Coral Gardens incident because of the town where it started. Rastafarians were subject to police brutality, imprisonment, and murder strictly for being Rastafarian. Being a Rastafarian has been more than just having dreadlocks, but people equate Rastafarian with Jamaican and dreadlocks. There is often mention of a Jamaican being Rastafarian because of the fact that they have dreadlocks even if they aren't actually subscribing to the Rastafarian religion.

Related to the Rastafarian religion is the use of marijuana. Rastafarians believe that marijuana is a holy herb and that it even grew from Solomon's grave. Smoking it is supposed to bring them closer to enlightenment and is used as a form of meditation (Benard, 2017). Rastafarianism got put more onto the world stage through the rise of reggae music and musicians like Bob Marley. Marley's lyrical rhetoric was extremely powerful in spreading the messages of resistance and hope and the Rastafarian beliefs (Haner, 2007). Many pictures and videos of Bob Marley show him smoking marijuana and he spoke openly about using marijuana. Many forms

of media link marijuana to Jamaicans because of the popularity of Bob Marley, reggae and Rastafarianism. There is usually a disconnect in how the media represent Rastafarianism and the truth of the Rastafarian culture. In popular culture, Rastafarianism is just about smoking marijuana and often ignores the spirituality and the resistance to political and social injustice (Frank, 2007).

Jamaicans are also often fixed within its colonial history. For example, the infrastructure that is often shown is either extremely primitive, or showcases colonial style buildings that are remnants of colonization. Doing so solidifies ideas that Jamaica is still in the past and exoticizes the place and its people or reinforces its colonial legacy. The idea of the beaches, laid back attitude and no worries or cares reinforces the feeling that Jamaica is this island that caters to the whims and relaxation fantasies of colonizers and tourists. The people in Jamaica are also fixed as being exoticized and sexualized. This stems from the colonial perspective when the colonizers were trying to find and justify differences between them and the people they were subjugating (Gordon, 2012). This is problematic in many ways. For men, it positions them as needing to be contained in Western spaces (Gordon, 2012) because they can't control themselves around women. Men are shown as being womanizers and having a lot of sexual prowess and always ready to engage in sexual activity. When shown in Jamaica, the men and women as sexual bodies are shown to be there for the pleasure of the tourists and visitors, but in foreign countries, they are shown to be seductive and sexually immoral and using their sexuality in manipulative ways.

Jamaicans are also shown as extremely violent and being purveyors of evil (Vickerman, 1999). They are shown to be gangsters or thugs, especially when they are in foreign countries. For example, the "rude bwoy" ideology is pervasive in the media, the violent gangster lifestyle that people associate with Jamaica. Men are often shown in this way (Gordon, 2012). This idea

of the rude bwoy actually came out of the rebellious behavior that Jamaicans undertook to fight for their freedom and rights from a society that had put them on the outskirts (Gordon, 2012). In many films, Jamaicans are shown to be incredibly aggressive and violent, often running gangs, breaking the law or generally being unruly and antisocial (Batson-Savage, 2010). These stereotypes are exaggerated when there is a character speaking patois and wearing Jamaican colors and dreadlocks. All of these features together are an attempt to lend an aura of authenticity through the combination of multiple stereotypes.

The Jamaican language is an important part of the representations. People use language to perform their identity and form bonds with each other through communication (Mair, 2003). In Jamaica, the official language is Standard British English, like the rest of the English-speaking Caribbean. However, there is a dialect that is also spoken, known as Jamaican Creole, or patois. While this dialect has standards and rules, it is not recognized as an official language by most people, and is incorrectly said to be "English with a Jamaican accent." While many Jamaicans can and do speak Standard English, many others only speak patois. The British colonized Jamaica in 1655 and theirs left the strongest mark on Jamaican society and way of life. The slaves that the British brought in came from West African countries like Ghana and Nigeria. In the Caribbean, there were large numbers of slaves as compared to masters, so they were not able to learn English as easily, and did not have to because so many of them spoke the same language (Holm, 1988). The different words and grammar forms were passed down for many generations, and by the time they merged with English, they were still able to keep a lot of their African roots. Examples of these are how body parts are referred to, such as saying "foot back" or "hand middle" and in adjective reduplication, which is repeating an adjective to show emphasis (Roberts, 1988).

In the present day, we can see the differentiation between who uses patois and what form of patois is used and the regional differences. People from outside of Kingston are easily recognizable by the way they speak and the words they use (Harry, 2006). Jamaicans and other members of the Caribbean can easily tell the difference between accents and words used and use this to identify where people come from. People from outside of the Caribbean often believe that everyone sounds the same. However, in representations, there are few very accurate representations of patois and the Jamaican accent. The use of "mock languages" surface a lot because producers of media fall back on the stereotypes that people hold about the Jamaican accent and language. "Wah gwan," "bomboclaat," and "no problem mon" are Jamaican phrases that are so iconic that by inserting any of these into any speech, one can attempt to pass it off as being authentically Jamaican. These representations that are given of Jamaicans and other minorities are deeply rooted in a system of power that goes back to colonialism and imperialism.

Post Colonialism and Imperialism

Colonialism plays a big role in representation because it is a question of power. A country like Jamaica that has not only been colonized by the British and the Spanish, but also through U.S. American presence. U.S. Americans were some of the first tourists to come to Jamaica (Maragh & Houston, 2018). In fact, the majority of the tourists still come from the United States (Jamaica Tourist Board, 2016). U.S. American media that come out of Hollywood is arguably the most popular worldwide and has the biggest impact. Cinema is extremely important because throughout history, it has been used by the colonizers to put their "empire on display" (Shohat & Stam, 2014). Cinema was used to show off the countries and the people that were colonized, and stereotypes in representation were born out of this.

The way that people are represented are based on the producers' positions. These are known as enunciations and these are the positions from which we speak and write (Hall, 1989). The position that Hollywood producers have is a position of power and this power is demonstrated because they have free reign to represent anyone, especially minorities, however they choose. By showing Jamaicans in a primitive way, the colonialist position of the Hollywood producers are brought forward. Many members of former colonized countries face cultural identity struggles with the postcolonial development (Hall, 1989). The two ideas of cultural identity are either one shared culture of collectiveness or the artificially imposed cultural identity that comes from generations of colonization. The representation of this idea is hard to recognize for people who aren't from that culture, and without allowing them to represent themselves, there is a depth of character that is being excluded. The representations that come out of a colonialist position of power are usually artificially imposed cultural identities.

Cultural imperialism has been used to describe the effect that Western media has on foreign audiences. (Salwen, 1991). That is, that imperialism can still be seen in the present day through the use of media to shift ideas about culture and people. There is the use of media to impart one dominant culture's culture on to another less dominant culture. This can even happen to the culture that is being represented, which contributes to the cultural identity struggles that these less dominant cultures face. These media can play a role into how people from other cultures are treated. For example, many countries, including Jamaica are on the list of countries that need a visa to travel just about everywhere. This is because of the idea that Jamaicans in foreign countries are involved in criminal activities and that they are burdens or menaces to the societies that they try to visit. A visa is supposed to cull out the unworthy from entering the country. Cultural imperialism has influenced the ways that people see others from cultures they

may not interact with or get a chance to interact with. It can also have an impact in the way people view themselves. That is, they may start to believe the way they are represented and feel the need to portray that in their reality. If they are not able to live up to it, they can end up having feelings of insecurity and inferiority of truly belonging.

Postcolonialism and cultural imperialism have impacted the ways people are represented and the way people are viewed. Postcolonialism is the framework that decides how minorities are portrayed because of the concept of power that is involved in choosing the representations. Cultural imperialism imparts ideas of a dominant culture, such as American culture through the use of Hollywood, onto smaller cultures, including the culture that they are representing. Jamaican culture is no stranger to the international media scene and the way that Jamaicanness is represented has had some similarities over the years, mostly leaning on stereotypes and ideas of primitive behavior in comparison to the more civilized dominant cultures.

Chapter Three: Methodology

The theory of generative criticism is a form of rhetorical criticism that posits that audiences have certain expectations for certain situations (Foss, 2004). It is a nine-step process that allows the researcher to discover commonalities among texts and artifacts. The steps are encountering a curious artifact, coding the artifact in general, searching for an explanation, creating and exploratory schema, formulating a research question, coding the artifact in detail, searching the literature, framing the study and writing the essay. Generative criticism can be used to discover overarching themes that can be interpreted and analyzed for deeper meaning. Looking at how a group is represented can be done using generative criticism by finding themes in the representations. I chose to use generative criticism to look at the different categories that were represented in the portrayal of Jamaicans in *Luke Cage* and *Cool Runnings.*

The *Luke Cage* series is on Netflix. The second season is thirteen episodes, each about forty-five minutes long. I watched all the episodes, and looked closely at all the representations of Jamaicans, including how other characters in the series referred to them. I made notes and created codes about each instance that stood out, including the use of language and the accents. Afterwards, I went through and was able to identify the different themes that each code fit into. Some codes did not fit into any theme, and therefore were excluded. The larger themes that were included in the construction of the Jamaican identity were music, Obeah, stereotypes and language. Under music, codes such as the use of Jamaican artistes and reggae music were very important in the production of the show. Some stereotypes throughout the show were womanizing, poverty in the life of Jamaicans, the idea of masculinity and skin color, and relating Jamaicans to Rastafarianism. The codes that fit into Obeah included the trope of good versus evil, depending on who is using Obeah and the use of popular Jamaican places and names to

construct the idea of authenticity. The codes for language were mainly the incorrect phrases or words that were said. There was a lot of repetition in this category, so I didn't include every instance of issues that arose. *Cool Runnings* was available for streaming on the HBO Go service. It is only an hour and a half long, but there was still enough content to fit into two themes of language and stereotypes. The main difference between *Cool Runnings* and *Luke Cage* is that there were continually different acts in *Luke Cage* to comment on, but in *Cool Runnings*, the same themes were reiterated over and over. Like in *Luke Cage*, language was one of the main problems, but everything got repeated a lot. A major part of language in *Cool Runnings* was also the suppression of natural Jamaican accents when Jamaicans spoke. In stereotypes, there was the use of color, i.e. everyone was wearing colors related to Jamaica, the womanizer stereotype and the idea of primitive living and poor infrastructure.

From this methodological approach, I was able to see the way that Jamaica and the Jamaican identity was constructed by the producers of these texts. For *Luke Cage*, I used music as an identifier because music plays a large part in the production of the artifact. Both seasons used music to signify and identify different persons, identities, and situations. Music is an important part of any production in a movie or television show because music gives an idea of the mood of the scene. For this section, I looked at the music used as well as who the music was by. For *Cool Runnings,* color was used a signifier, but it could also fit into the stereotypes of what people think Jamaican culture is, so it was put into that section. Because both artifacts involved speaking, language was another important aspect. In watching both texts, I wrote down the aspects of language that didn't fit with how patois sounds and is used. Both these sections could be very long because of the accents being wrong, so instead of repeating things, I just pointed out the larger errors and commented on the language. Obeah was a big part of *Luke Cage*

because that is how Bushmaster got his powers. There was an aspect of superstition and religion in *Cool Runnings* as well, but nowhere near as much. Also, the part of *Cool Runnings* that looked into these things fell under the stereotypes of Rastafarianism. The section on stereotypes had the most because both texts used clichés and stereotypes to lend an aura of authenticity to the representations. By looking at it through the lens of post colonialism and imperialism, I was able to see how the power dynamics played a role in how the representations were portrayed.

Chapter Four: Analysis of Artifacts

This chapter will look at the main themes that came up in each artifact. *Cool Runnings* was a Walt Disney production directed by Jon Turtletaub, a white U.S. American director, loosely based on the story of the first Jamaican bobsled team. The story and script were written by two U.S. Americans, Michael Ritchie and Lynn Siefert. The five main characters were the four members off the bobsled team and their coach. The four actors who played the team members were Leon Robinson, Doug E. Doug, Rawle D. Lewis and Malik Yoba. They were fairly popular African American actors at the time and none of them have any Jamaican heritage. The role of the trainer was played by John Candy, a very popular white U.S. American actor at the time the film came out. The secondary characters on the island were played by Jamaican actors, some of whom were popular in Jamaica because of their roles in various soap operas.

Luke Cage was a Netflix production based on the Marvel comics of the same name. There were numerous directors throughout the season, mostly minorities, including women of color, all U.S. American. The main Jamaican character was played by Mustafa Shakir, a popular African American actor. The majority of the speaking roles were given to African American actors, with one or two very brief speaking roles given to Jamaicans during the scenes set in Jamaica.

In both artifacts, the main Jamaican characters were played by African American actors who already had some popularity. Also, they both had no Jamaicans involved in the directing or the production. It was all done by U.S. Americans who were part of the Hollywood scene. While the majority of *Luke Cage* was filmed in the United States, centering it around a Jamaican character placed Jamaicanness at the center of the show. There were some Jamaican actors involved, but they weren't given main roles and none were involved in actually writing or

producing. The next section will examine exactly how Jamaican culture was represented in the two artifacts.

Cool Runnings

Language

Language is one of the main identifiers of "Jamaicanness" throughout the movie. The actors who play Jamaican characters employ something that is supposed to be a Jamaican accent, but in fact isn't. An example of this is when anyone says "morning." Jamaicans pronounce the word like "mawning", removing the "or" sound. In the movie, the "or" was emphasized so much that the word ended up sounding like "mourning." Another incorrect pronunciation was of the word "derby", which would have been pronounced exactly like it is spelled, but it was pronounced "darby" in the movie. A lot of the words the actors said in the movie sounded like they had a British or Irish accent. This is actually not surprising that they would do that, because people outside of the Caribbean tend to compare Jamaican accents to Irish accents. Some examples of this are heard in words such as "chance" which was pronounced "chaunce" and "lines" which was pronounced "loines." Jamaicans also tend to ignore the "er" sounds at the end of words, instead pronouncing them with an "a" at the end. During the film, the Jamaican characters emphasized the "er" sounds in words. Also, words with a "th" sound become a "d." One example of a word containing both these sounds is father. In Jamaica, it becomes "fada," however in the movie, it was pronounced "fawther," which again leans more towards a more British inflection. Another part of the accent that is very off is the length of the words. Jamaicans, especially Kingstonians, tend to speak very quickly. Understandably, in the movie, they wouldn't want to speak too fast because they won't want to make the words unintelligible,

but they ended up dragging the words out in such a way to suggest an accent that does not seem Jamaican, particularly when heard or viewed by Jamaicans themselves.

The main reason why the accent sounds so fake and forced is because it is. None of the main the characters were actually Jamaican. All four members of the team were played by U.S. American actors. This is an example of not allowing Jamaicans to tell a story that is literally about them. The voices of the minorities, in this case Jamaicans, were put aside for the voices of people in power. It is very hard to mimic a Jamaican accent, and even harder to understand the differences between the accents that exist within Jamaica. It was almost a mockery of the language and moves into the territory of being insulting, such as blackface is. Using someone else's accent like a costume, especially when it's done incorrectly and with no respect for the culture is deeply harmful and offensive to people from that culture. It adds insult to injury when there are actors from that country who could have been given the roles. There were a few Jamaican actors involved in the production, but even their accents were subdued and sounded like what Jamaicans would call "twanging." This was especially noticeable when Charles Hyatt, who played Whitby Bevil, spoke. He played the head of the athletics federation and the father of one of the bobsledders. He is also shown to be one of the wealthier people in the movie. He dragged out a lot of his words and over enunciated most of his words. This is when Jamaicans force an accent, namely U.S. American (Westpahl, 2015). Many Jamaicans associate speaking Standard English with the U.S. American accent, so when they try to speak without using patois, it ends up sounding like they are forcing a U.S. American accent, which of course, doesn't sound remotely U.S. American. Usually, this is done by people who only grew up speaking heavy patois, and not by people who have the ability to speak Standard English, but occasionally, there will be instances of people doing this to be better understood by foreigners. By doing this, the

actors themselves are participating in the dismissal of authentic Jamaican voices. This could be for two reasons. One could be them doing it themselves because they feel like the culture and accent is not palatable enough to be broadcast to the international, namely, the U.S. American audience. Another is that they were told by the people in charge to change the accent. Either way, this is problematic in the portrayal of Jamaicans in the movie and shows that colonialism and imperialism can be so deeply ingrained in the people of a country that they think their own culture needs to be changed to be acceptable. Also, by using the Jamaican accent as a prop, it is leaning into almost blackface. It is not natural and to use the accent for furthering an agenda or to gain more popularity and authenticity presents problems with regards to the respect that Jamaican people are given. It is like mocking the culture, even if it is not intended to.

Stereotypes

One of the most prevalent stereotypes throughout the film was the fact that everyone says "yah mon." While Jamaicans do often say "yeah man", it is not as emphasized or dragged out so that it sounds like the stereotypical phrase. Just about every Jamaican character says this in the film. Another stereotypical phrase that is uttered is "no problem, mon." Even the U.S. American character, Irv, puts on a "Jamaican" accent when he says it. These two phrases have long been related to Jamaicans, and tourists can often be found sporting items of clothing with the phrases accompanied by a man with dreadlocks to prove that they have been to Jamaica. While Jamaicans have been able to reclaim these phrases for profit, it is still harmful to hear it in a way that mocks the accent and the culture. Saying "yeah man" and "yah mon" are extremely different. "Yah mon" is distinctly used to associate oneself with the Jamaican culture, and in this movie is used like a costume and play the caricature of the typical Jamaican man. As mentioned above, caricatures are harmful and insulting because it makes a mockery of a culture and makes

something that is extremely important seem comical and reduces the culture to a series of easily interchangeable tropes.

Another stereotype used throughout the movie is the use of colors. Red, green and gold or black, green and gold are used to signify Jamaica. These color schemes are incredibly important to Jamaicans. The black, green and gold are the colors of the national flag. Black depicts the strength and creativity of the people, gold, the wealth and sunshine and green for hope and agriculture (Jamaica Information Service, 2019). Red, green and gold are related to the Rastafarian religion, which is also related to Jamaica. The Rastafarian religion began in Jamaica in the 1930s (Horst, 2014) and has since spread throughout the world through reggae music, namely with Bob Marley. These two color schemes have deep meanings for Jamaicans, but in *Cool Runnings*, again it felt like a caricature of trying to be too Jamaican. Just about everyone in the film was constantly wearing one or the other of the color schemes. Buildings and cars were painted red, green and gold. The color schemes were splashed across the landscape. While it is not completely impossible to see these color schemes worn casually or see a structure painted with them, it is not as prevalent as the film would have the viewers believe. By constantly incorporating these colors in the scenes in Jamaica, the producers of the film are trying to reinforce the idea of Jamaica through the use of something that is stereotypically Jamaican.

Related to this is also the style of dress. A few characters in the movie were wearing what is traditional African clothing. Derice's mother was always in African prints and head wraps tied in the traditional African style. It is again possible to see people wearing this kind of clothing, but they would be Rastafarian. Nowhere in the film was it mentioned or implied that anybody was Rastafarian, with the exception of Sanka's dreadlocks. And it must be noted that he was not one of the characters adorned in traditional African clothing. There is a strong African influence

in Jamaica due to the large number of slaves that were brought there. By incorporating the traditional African garb, Jamaica is further tied to its colonial roots and since it is being told by a person from a colonial power, it can be tied to colonialism and racism through the enforcement of stereotypes. It is harmful to use costume and dress to reinforce the stereotype of the exotic other. Because they did not do the research to see the traditional Jamaican dress and patterns, they tied it to the closest example, which was African.

We can see another stereotype based on Rastafarianism was when Irv said the prayer for the team before they competed. At the end of the prayer, he invokes the blessing of Haile Selassie. Haile Selassie was an Emperor of Ethiopia who is regarded as God by Rastafarians. This nod to a Rastafarian belief, where again, none was mentioned, is another tactic to tie this movie closer to Jamaica. The fact that it was said by a white, U.S. American, non-Rastafarian is twisting the knife a little deeper. It mocks the religion for the sake of trying to be more authentic. It instead comes off as offensive. The Rastafarian religion is one that people have been persecuted for being a part of. People were, and continue to be, denied jobs, housing and even have been killed for being Rastafarian (Campbell, 2014). By throwing bits and pieces of the religion around, it reduces the struggle of these people to nothing more than a quirky way to show that there is a white man who is willing to accept the Jamaican culture.

Another stereotype of the buildings and infrastructure was the "National Stadium." In the film, the stadium where the Olympic trials took place was not reflective of what the National Stadium would have looked like at that time. The National Stadium was built in Kingston, Jamaica in 1962 for the Central American and Caribbean Games. It was also host to the 1966 Commonwealth Games. To be the host of such international events, the stadium has to be of world class standards. In the movie, the stadium looks like it would have been a community

space. The “stands” were makeshift bleachers that couldn’t hold anywhere close to the 35,000 people that the National Stadium can hold. The track was rolled and pressed dirt, as was evident when Derice fell and dust clouds filled the air. Starting in the 1970s, standard tracks were made out of chevron, which is a rubber like material that certainly would not raise any dust. By not showing the level of infrastructure that Jamaicans have access to, the producers solidify Jamaica as a primitive country, as is believed by most foreigners. The dust clouds come across as extremely primitive because it brings up a time before people had access to materials that are used to reduce dust, such as chevron or asphalt. It further positions Jamaica as being stuck in the past and in a colonial view.

This idea of primitive living is reinforced when Sanka tells Yul that everybody ends up in a “shanty” or a “one room hut.” You would be hard pressed to find any Jamaican calling any living area, no matter how small or modest a “shanty” or a “hut.” These are words that the persons in power use to describe the houses that they expect Jamaicans to live in. Here we have a stereotype being enforced through the language used. Also, even though it is said that Derice is from Kingston, it shows him living in a small house near the beach, which is not possible in Kingston because it is located near a beach. It is true that poverty is a reality for many Jamaicans, and that sport can be a way out, but by using the language of the colonizers to describe a reality that is not their own, they perpetuate harmful stereotypes and again don’t privilege the voices that are living the reality that is being discussed. However, this film does something that not many do, and that is to show that there are affluent Jamaicans, as is in the case of Junior’s family. This goes against the stereotype that all Jamaicans are working poor and the only people who have money are the tourists. However, the plot makes even this problematic. Junior’s father is the head of the athletics committee in Jamaica, but thinks his son is too good to participate in

athletics because they have money and they can afford to send him overseas to work in an office. Many people believe athletes of color, particularly from "third world countries" use athletics as a way out of poverty and because they don't have the education to go to school or work. By showing the wealthy man who is fine being in charge of athletics, but thinks it's beneath his family, the producers push the narrative that athletics is for a certain group when it comes on to people of color.

The behavior of some of the Jamaican characters are also stereotypical. One of the first ones is the trope of the Jamaican womanizer. Derice is part of a kissing booth to raise money for the team to go to the Olympics even though he has a wife. He is seen deeply kissing an attractive woman and staring at her, love-struck, after she leaves. When he looks around, he sees his wife in front of him and she drags him off angrily. Previously, Derice was shown as very in love with his wife, with not a hint of unfaithfulness, but he is at the forefront of an endeavor that is clearly cheating. Jamaican men have long been lauded for their skills at seducing women and for having multiple women. Stereotypes that perpetuate this are leaning back into the colonial view of black, African men as being lustful and dangerous and this story being told by a colonial force is harmful to say the least. Believing that Jamaican men are promiscuous and unfaithful not only increases the amount of sex tourism in Jamaica, but also causes many women to believe that Jamaican men are actually all unfaithful. Jamaican men who marry or enter a relationship with foreign women often complain about the woman not trusting them and that causes a lot of strain in the relationship.

Another idea that was reinforced is the fact that Jamaicans are fast. Three of the men on the team are Olympic level track stars. In reality, the team was actually recruited from the Jamaican Defense Force (the Jamaican army). While in the 1990s, there was no real domination

by Jamaican athletes like Usain Bolt, there were a number of athletes who were well known in the sports world. It has always been said that for an island of Jamaica's size, the number of world class sprinters that have been produced is remarkable. A stereotype doesn't have to negative to be harmful. Stereotypes can set the bar too high for members of a group to feel like they belong or feel like a good representation of themselves. They are alienating and position a group as the other. Model minority stereotypes make people believe that a minority group is only acceptable if they have something "valuable" to contribute. Being fast or athletically gifted provides entertainment so it can be commodified and is valuable. It leads people to treat minorities like they only deserve respect if they fit this mold.

The final stereotype that is shown is after Sanka's speech about needing to behave like Jamaicans and not like the Swiss and being true to themselves. The next day, the Jamaican team shows up to the Olympic venue on the back of a pickup truck, loudly singing "Jamaica we have a bobsled team." Why does their "Jamaicanness" have to be loud and boisterous and demanding to be the center of attention? It felt like they were putting on a performance and entertaining the other (white) athletes. Many foreigners see Jamaicans as being very entertaining and this felt like it was pandering to that idea of the exotic islanders being a source of entertainment for their white masters.

Overall, Cool Runnings was composed of many Jamaican stereotypes that perpetuate and exacerbate the positioning of Jamaicans as the colonized other. It used infrastructure to show that Jamaica is a primitive country devoid of technology and the amenities that other countries have. The use of colors played into the idea of knowing and defining Jamaica as it is seen through the eyes of foreigners, especially colonial powers. Stereotypes help to fix the identity of people in the eyes of those who think they know them and further widen the distance between us and them.

Stereotyping positions the persons being represented as the "Other" and the mostly white U.S. American as the norm. Even when stereotypes aren't negative, they can be harmful because of the expectations they set for success, based on one single attribute. Also, people of the group being represented who do not fit into the stereotypes can feel like they don't properly belong to their culture because. Colonialism has led to many identity issues for people because they don't fit into the colonialist's views and stereotypes and have to try to navigate their own identity, but are not given the opportunity to do so. The stereotypes in *Cool Runnings* are a prime example of not allowing the Jamaicans to explain and show their own identity, and instead having to go with the identity created for them by people of power.

Luke Cage

Music

Music is an important element in *Luke Cage*. Since the conception of the show, there has been a point of displaying African American music and artists. One of the main locations is Harlem's Paradise, a nightclub whose ownership is a cause for arguments and violence between major players because it is thought that the person that owns the club also owns Harlem. Harlem's Paradise is the stage for many performers, some of whom weren't very well known before their *Luke Cage* debut. The importance of music displaying African American artists and music fits with the theme that the show had started on, which was centering African American culture in a time when most shows have a majority white cast and crew. Music is also used to identify character backgrounds and set the stage for many important scenes. The score of a scene can drastically alter the mood and change the meaning, so music is something that is very important in production.

One of the first songs that is played in the second season, and the first Jamaican song is Gregory Isaac's "Night Nurse." This song plays during the scene where Luke's girlfriend Claire is taking care of his wounds. This is an example of using music to identify and solidify someone's character background. Claire is a nurse, and playing the song during her taking care of Luke is reinforcement of her position in his life as his lover and also his caretaker when he's injured. "Night Nurse" speaks about a man calling for one specific woman to take care of him. Again, this leads to Luke and Claire's relationship. It also sets the stage for the viewers to let them know that there will be a Jamaican theme throughout the show. Continuing with the Jamaican music as an identifier, it becomes even more obvious the first time we are introduced to Bushmaster, the antagonist. When he is shown on screen for the first time, there is a reggae instrumental being played, ostensibly to show that he is Jamaican. Using reggae music to introduce Jamaican characters happens multiple times throughout the show. It even uses Jamaican music to show when Luke is going to the "Jamaican side" of Harlem.

There is also the use of music to show that Bushmaster has taken over Harlem's Paradise. Throughout the season, there are only U.S. American artists performing at Harlem's Paradise, and they play blues, hip-hop and rap music. However, in episode seven "On and On," Bushmaster is in control of Harlem, having taken over from Mariah. Instead of a U.S. American artist performing, it is Stephen Marley, one of Bob Marley's sons and a well-known reggae artist. This solidifies the fact that it is now a Jamaican in charge of Harlem's Paradise, and therefore, Harlem. At the end of Bushmaster's stint in Brooklyn, he is left beaten and broken and has to go back home to Jamaica. While leaving, "Redemption Song" by Bob Marley is playing. This song signifies that he can go start over and come back to be a better man.

Throughout the season, there is also a set of original dancehall and reggae songs, written and recorded just for the show. One of these is called "Bushmaster's Bullets" and it is played while Bushmaster removes bullets from his chest. Each of the songs is written for specific scenes and are named as such. Using dancehall and reggae throughout the season is an attempt to lend authenticity and reinforce the Jamaican aspect of the series. However, in the case of the original soundtrack and score, it is not exactly authentic. The songs were written and produced by an American duo, Ali Shaheed Muhammad and Adrian Younge. This is an example of using elements from a culture for profit and production without allowing the creators of the culture to be a part of it and profit from it. It also positions the original producers and creators of the culture to be less influential than the dominant culture. Because this was an original soundtrack, they wouldn't need to worry about needing the music to be popular to be recognized, so there was no reason to not include Jamaican artists and producers, even if they were not as well known.

Language

The way language is used in Luke Cage became deeply problematic as the second season began, and continued. Many Jamaicans were frustrated by the way in which language was conveyed, because it was so stereotypical and inaccurate (Domise & Taylor, 2018). Upon hearing there would be a main character from Jamaica, many of us were even more excited, however, from the first episode, it was clear that none of the main characters were actually Jamaican, and that no Jamaicans were involved in teaching the actors the language and speech patterns. Some Jamaicans on social media said they had to turn on subtitles to understand what was going on, while others referred to the language as "Ja-Fake-Ans." Bushmaster's first line is "where's 'Arlem?" He said this to his Jamaican counterpart, Sheldon. There were a few things

wrong with these two words. For one, a Jamaican would say "weh 'Arlem deh?" to ask about the location. Secondly, the actor dragged out the "ar" sound at the beginning of 'Arlem. Jamaicans don't elongate their vowels as dramatically as he did. There was a trend of dragging words out to sound more exotic. For example, the word "woman" was pronounced as "womb-man", while Jamaicans actually pronounce it by just dropping the "w" and keeping the short "o" sound. The characters tried to sound more authentically Jamaican by ending sentences with the phrase "you know," a phrase which is shortened by Jamaicans to "enuh." It is said short and fast, but the actors dragged out each word. Jamaicans have a habit of stringing two words together and shortening them, a phenomenon the actors could not grasp. An example of this is the way Jamaicans say "for him." For becomes "fi" and the "h" is dropped from him, so the one word sounds like "feem." Whenever the actors said "fi him" however, both words were clearly enunciated and separated.

Bushmaster's character also had a habit of adding "eh" at the end of phrases and questions like asking "yuh waan fi test me, eh?" There are a few Caribbean countries where this is normal, but not in Jamaica. Caribbean accents and mannerisms are not interchangeable, but to outsiders, they may sound almost the same. This could have been avoided by having Jamaican members be a part of the production and as speech coaches or as consultants. Instead, Jamaicans say "eeh" as a sign of disbelief or as an exclamation to provide emphasis. For example, a Jamaican would say "yuh stupid eeh!" showing that a person is extremely stupid and they can't believe it. Another basic rule that Jamaicans have is not pluralizing things when speaking patois. Instead of using the plural form, they use the singular form but add "dem" at the end. In the first episode, "Soul Brother #1," the head of the Jamaican gang before Bushmaster, Nigel, is trying to make a deal about supplying guns. He said "fi yuh guns." Again, there is a lot to unpack in these

three words. Firstly, a Jamaican would have said “gun dem.” Secondly, the possessive “fi” isn’t necessary when using “yuh” as a possessive.

Another rule that Jamaicans have when speaking patois has to do with the past tense. Instead of using the past tense, Jamaicans just add “did” before the present tense verb. During Nigel’s conversation about the guns, he said “fi mi bredren fought Reyes in the past.” This is another example of “fi” being unnecessary, the “dem” missing after singular noun to show that it is being pluralized and now we also see that the use of the past tense is wrong. It should have been “did fight.” Another mistake showing this was in episode three, “Wig Out,” where Sheldon says “Reyes fi dead.” Saying it like this means that Reyes needs to die, but he meant it as saying that Reyes had already died.

There are so many subtle nuances and ins and outs to speaking patois and sounding authentically Jamaican. However, many foreigners never actually hear Jamaicans speaking raw patois, and if they do, they think it sounds unintelligible. This could have been remedied by using subtitles, as is done when traditional colonizing languages are used. Patois is a language, but because it is not given that respect, they don’t treat it as its own language. A lot of the issues with pronunciations in the show had to do with dragging words out. This tends to happen when Jamaicans who aren’t able to speak Standard English try to speak for foreigners to understand. They speak slowly and pronounce each syllable, so it is patois, just slowed down and with a “twang” added. The twang is to try to make the accent sound more U.S. American for the hope of it being able to be easily understood by the foreigners. The producer of the show leaned towards making the language more palatable to U.S. American viewers by making it sound like what they think Jamaicans sound like. It is highly likely that they have never heard Jamaicans speaking Standard English to each other, without the twang. There also were no speech coaches

involved in the production to teach the actors the proper pronunciation or the grammar and context that words are used in. Furthermore, the producers, directors and actors believe that true patois is unintelligible so they can't use it. This is problematic because when a script calls for French, Spanish, German or any other colonial language, producers will use the correct language and put subtitles, but a dialect from a supposed third world country isn't deserving of the same respect. They are able to make their own idea of Jamaica and Jamaicans by ignoring the voices of actual Jamaicans, even in the backlash. Producers of the show accused people of being "haters" when they criticized the show and said that they couldn't use actual patois because it would be unintelligible and said that Jamaicans should be happy they are just getting the representation (Domise & Taylor, 2018). Dismissive attitudes like this towards the members of a group show the lack of respect that they are given by the dominant society. Instead of dismissing people's thoughts about this, they should have been more sensitive and acknowledged where they went wrong with the intention to do better in the future. Also, in communities of color and minorities, there is still a hierarchy of cultures and nationalities. There can be levels of anti-blackness, such as preferring lighter skin color and looser curls over darker skin and kinky hair. There is also the idea of people from "third world countries" such as in the Caribbean or Africa being lesser than people in the United States, even though African-Americans, Caribbean people and Africans share some history. The culture from the "third world countries" aren't given the same kind of respect by Hollywood as American culture is given.

Stereotypes

Stereotypes are used in order to position a set of people and show that they are fully known by the person portraying and talking about them. Throughout *Luke Cage* season two, there are numerous stereotypes that the producers fall back on when representing Jamaicans.

This is even more interesting because the character Luke Cage is supposed to be a response to the stereotypes of the black man in U.S. America. By using stereotypes to define the Jamaican characters and way of life, the producers position themselves as the dominant culture and Jamaicans as the "Other." One of the stereotypes reinforced throughout the show is a perfect example of why the language and accent was treated the way it was. In episode two, "Straighten it Out," Shades said to Mariah that he "can't understand a word of what these guys are saying half the time," when referring to negotiating with the Jamaican gang. In episode four, "I Get Physical," Comanche, an American gang member says he "can't tell if Bushmaster is singing or talking." Reasons like this are why the language isn't given the respect it deserves and why producers tend to not care if they are authentic or not. They don't see the language as separate from English. Instead of seeing it as its own language, when Jamaicans speak patois, they view it as an inability to speak English, therefore beneath the English language and not deserving of respect.

Using stereotypes to position the subject as the "Other" happened a lot during the show. One of the first instances is in the first episode, "Soul Brother #1," when a U.S. American gangster refers to Jamaicans as "ganja smoking blacks" and shows that they are separate from him, a "real black man." In episode ten, "The Main Ingredient," Mariah calls Bushmaster a "rasta nig" even though he doesn't have any dreadlocks. Rasta is used again to identify the Jamaicans in episode four, "I Get Physical," when the U.S. American gangsters said they were going to "slap the shit out of some Rastas," even though again, there are no members of the gang who have dreads, much less to be Rastafarian. They are using the stereotypes of Jamaicans smoking weed and having dreadlocks to separate them from African Americans. They also don't see the difference between just having dreads and being Rastafarian. Dreads can just be a

hairstyle, but being Rastafarian is an entire religion. One U.S. American with dreadlocks is mentioned and even he is tied to Jamaicanness, despite not being Jamaican. His sister is telling Luke that he was shot by police because he had dreads and the police thought that he was Jamaican. Luke just feeds into the stereotype even more by saying "I'm sorry about your bredren." Bredren is a Jamaican term used to refer to a friend, not a brother, but it is a stereotypical Jamaican term, so it is used. This could have been a moment to show the dangers of stereotyping, but instead was used to show even more stereotyping.

Several more stereotypes are placed on the Jamaican characters. In episode three, "Wig Out," Bushmaster wakes up with two women in bed with him. This is a stereotype alluding to the idea of Jamaican men being womanizers and extremely virile. It is a play on the idea from slavery that black men were sexual fiends who could not be satiated. It started in colonialism and continues today. Black men were seen as a menace to the pure white women because of their insatiable sexual appetites and their inability to control themselves around women. Also, the white men and women believed that black men had larger genitalia than white men. This has passed down as the belief of the womanizing black man who is able to satisfy many women. Another stereotype that was seen when referring to Bushmaster was after he beat Luke in a fight and Luke was talking about his speed. His friend replies, "Well, he is Jamaican." Even before the rise of Usain Bolt, Jamaicans have been known for producing numerous sprinters, more than should be normal for a country of its size. As discussed in the *Cool Runnings* analysis, stereotypes don't always have to be negative to be harmful. In fact, many Jamaican men take pride in the stereotype of being womanizers and great lovers, but that doesn't mean that this is something we should encourage. Jamaicans are also extremely proud of the fact that Jamaica produces so many people who dominate the Olympic sprint world, but not every Jamaican

relates to that life or is even interested in it. Seeing themselves reduced to being "fast" takes away from everything else that Jamaicans can offer and are capable of. Also these stereotypes lead to people being viewed as single traits and doesn't give the person as a whole any respect.

In episode six, "The Basement," Jamaicans are compared to the pirates of the Caribbean and in episode eight, "If It Ain't Rough, It Ain't Right," the police call the violence "jerk flavored Hatfield and Mcoy bullshit." Jerk is an important way of cooking in Jamaica. It descends from slavery when the Maroons would season meat or vegetables with allspice, pepper, scallion, onions and some kind of acid (citrus, and more recently, vinegar) and smoke it over a pimento wood fire. This helped to preserve the meat and give it a distinctive flavor that is quintessentially Jamaican. Using these terms separate the issue from "regular" violence by using stereotypes and identifiers to position it as Jamaican. The stereotypes also extend to what people think of Jamaica as a country. Mariah tells Bushmaster that all Jamaica is known for is "Marley, marijuana and murder." These stereotypes are obvious throughout the show. Jamaicans are referred to as "ganja smoking blacks," one of the Marley sons is the only Jamaican performer and the main character is a gangster. Also, one of the episodes was actually filmed in Jamaica and there were some stereotypes included in that. Mabel Stokes says she doesn't like Jamaica because it "reminds her of the fields." This is alluding to the fact that Jamaica is a primitive country still stuck in times of slavery. One of her lawyers expresses his disbelief by saying "she must be smoking some of that shit they tried to sell me at the airport," again feeding into the stereotype that Jamaican lives are centered around weed. One of the final stereotypes is showing Jamaica as this exotic, primitive island filled with poor people. The Jamaican characters were either shown in the ghetto or living in huts in bushes. They showed a luxury villa, but only the U.S. Americans could afford to stay there while the Jamaicans were the maids and gardeners.

The final stereotype that was evident was that the Jamaican characters were all dark skinned, with the men being much darker than the women. There was one lighter skinned woman in the Jamaican camp, but she was American born. The dark skin being related to masculinity is something that has been passed down from slavery. Even darker skinned women are seen as being more masculine and rough, while lighter skin is associated with femininity and being more delicate. Of course, there are a large amount of Jamaicans of African descent, but there are also Jamaicans of every race and ethnicity. It is important to show that Jamaicanness isn't just dark skin and athleticism. To have all Jamaicans look the same doesn't show that there is major diversity and also excludes some people from what persons believe the Jamaican identity can be.

Stereotypes are harmful because they establish and reinforce certain ways of thinking, and interacting, with those who are stereotyped. Many of them are negative and can lead to people being hurt or harassed for something they may not even partake in. An example of this is the problem with positioning Jamaicans as being involved in marijuana and violence. This can lead to police harassment and struggles with being allowed access to certain places when people think that Jamaicans might draw negative attention to the area. Stereotypes also put pressure on people of the culture and may make them feel inadequate if they aren't able to live up to the standards set by the stereotypes. If a Jamaican isn't fast, does that make them any less Jamaican? Many people feel the need to go out of their way to fulfill stereotypes, especially if they don't fit into other stereotypes.

Obeah

Obeah plays a big role during this season. Bushmaster uses obeah and the herb nightshade to give him his supernatural speed and strength. Obeah is something that has been regarded as evil, but historically, it was said to be used to heal and help. In fact, Bushmaster's

first encounter with obeah was after he got shot by the Stokes family as a child. The woman his family took him to was a healer who used obeah to stop him from dying. Throughout the season, we are able to see him using obeah to heal himself and make himself stronger, even at the risk of making himself sick because he is using a deadly herb.

The first time we see him using obeah is in episode two, "Straighten It Out." During his ritual, there is a voiceover of the pastor preaching about a Bible verse that discourages people from taking vengeance because vengeance belongs to the Lord. This is alluding to the fact that Bushmaster is using obeah to get revenge on Mariah Stokes for what her family did to his. The pastor also speaks about vengeance and wrath poisoning the body and taking over somebody's soul. This references the fact that Bushmaster is using an herb that can poison him and that he is angry and wants vengeance. The second time Bushmaster is doing a ritual, there is a gospel song playing with the lyrics talking about chasing Satan out. These two audio clips being imposed over Bushmaster doing his ritual links obeah to Satan and evil. It positions Bushmaster's obeah usage in a negative light.

However, there is another obeah practitioner in the series: Mariah's daughter, Matilda. She owns and operates an herb store and performs rituals herself. She doesn't call it obeah because that is a term that is used by Jamaicans, but the rituals she performs have similarities to Bushmaster's. She even uses the same herb, nightshade. She uses the nightshade along with other oils and herbs to heal the pastor. While she is doing this, he speaks about her skill being a gift from God and looks on her with reverence. These two differences in the treatment of the same thing shows the differences in how the ritual is seen based on who is using it. This is a colonialist point of view: native traditions are seen as primitive, evil and related to Satan, but if the people in power take it for their own, they can make it be seen in a positive light.

Nightshade is an herb that is said to only be able to be found in the Blue Mountains, a famous mountain range in Jamaica that contains the highest peak on the island. Blue Mountain is well known for being where the coffee that Jamaica exports is grown. Throughout the series, Bushmaster struggles to find nightshade because it is said to need Jamaican soil and have the weather conditions be the same as in Jamaica. In fact, nightshade is native to only Europe and Asia (Largo, 2014). Furthermore, later on during the series, it is now established that they get nightshade from Nine Mile. Nine Mile is three hours away from the Blue Mountain range, but it is another famous place in Jamaican history. It was the birthplace of famous reggae singer Bob Marley.

The producers use familiar items and places to make them feel like they make sense to viewers. Nightshade is already known as a poisonous plant, so even though it is not native to Jamaica, it sounds familiar and people recognize it. By using two well-known places in Jamaica, the producers attempt to solidify the authenticity and familiarity for the viewers. This is where Katz's model comes into play. Producers make content for a certain audience so they try to tailor it for them. Accuracy isn't taken into account when wanting to have a certain narrative. Using familiar places, objects and symbols allows people to feel like what is being represented is accurate. If they were to use an unknown place and an unknown herb, it wouldn't have the same effect as using well known subjects. They have to position the identity of Jamaicanness in the viewers' minds. They were able to make up "facts" to try to raise the authenticity factor of the show. Familiarity leads people to think that what is being presented is actually true and authentic.

The Concept of Authenticity

In both these artifacts, there was an attempt to convey the idea of authenticity. Authenticity in the case of representations can be defined as the "faithful reconstruction or representation" (Van Leeuwen, 2001). This means that the producers were trying to show that they were giving an accurate and true representation of what Jamaican culture entails. They did this by using the language, music and stereotypes about Jamaican culture. However, instead of using these concepts and phenomena in a way that Jamaicans would use them, they used them in a way that was for the benefit of U.S. American viewers, to make it seem authentic to them. The language was meant to sound like what foreigners think Jamaicans sound like instead of determining how Jamaicans actually sound and how they interact with one another outside of the gaze of a foreign entity. The representation and the sound of the language may seem authentic to foreigners because that is how they may have heard Jamaicans sound when speaking to them or in the presence of a non-Caribbean person. This is a problem though because it does not give an accurate representation of how Jamaicans would interact with each other, which was the basis of many interactions in both artifacts.

The use of the contrived accent and dialect also completely ignores the concept of code switching. Code switching is the practice of altering one's accent or choosing different linguistic elements based on the context of the conversation (Nilep, 2006). Like many people, Jamaicans speak differently in different situations. When talking to a Jamaican or other Caribbean person, patois words and the Jamaican accent become more apparent, but for talking to a non-Caribbean person, these become tempered. Jamaicans who live in different countries become very good at this because it is necessary for their survival and assimilation into the society. By showing the Jamaicans only being able to speak in a certain accent and showing that they can't be understood

by others outside of the culture, they show the idea of Jamaicanness being tied to that accent and ideology and use that to build authenticity. It also ignores the capabilities that Jamaicans have to speak differently and navigate other cultures.

Even when Jamaicans are portrayed as living in the United States, there is the idea that Jamaicans are distinctly not of that country and are completely separate. While it is true that many Jamaicans hold on to their culture and are proud of doing so, their lives aren't built around them being Jamaican. The way that Jamaicans are portrayed show them to be working specific jobs, such as owning or working in a Jamaican restaurant and actually keeping themselves separate from everyone else. They aren't shown interacting with Americans willingly or even engaging in activities that Americans do. Producers use the idea of authenticity to show that the representation is accurate. They do this by conforming to the ideologies that people have built about Jamaicans like the belief that Jamaicans can cook or are fast or are involved in the marijuana business. There won't be a Jamaican as a police officer or as a teacher because that means showing their ability to belong to a community that is not Jamaican.

Also, the way people look is important when building authenticity. Many representations of Jamaicans show them as being dark-skinned or having dreadlocks. Jamaica has a history of slavery from the African continent, so many people are descended from Africans with dark skin. People think of the Caribbean as an extension of Africa and the people as extensions of Africans. However, while there is a large population of dark-skinned people in Jamaica, there are also many ethnicities who have Jamaican families that go back generations. There are descendants from India, China and countries in Europe as well. In fact, Jamaica's national motto is "out of many, one people," which shows that no matter where people may be descended from, or the color of their skin, they are still Jamaicans. Many Jamaicans don't see themselves represented on

screen. In both of these artifacts, the Jamaicans were all dark skinned. In *Cool Runnings,* the one white man in Jamaica was shown to be an U.S. American. There were no other ethnicities represented at all in any of the artifacts. The history of Jamaica is disregarded to build the authenticity based on what people already believe.

The use of stereotypes is also meant to give validity to the representations. Stereotypes are meant to show the viewer that the subject is known. When used to construct authenticity, it is commodifying realness. That is, it refers to what is accepted as legitimately belonging to that group and how forces uphold and perpetuate this level of accepted representations of legitimacy (Nguyen & Koontz Anthony, 2014). In the cases of these artifacts, the stereotypes used were to show the realness of the Jamaican representations. However, these stereotypes serve to create the "ideal" Jamaican, even if the traits aren't necessarily positive. They distance the idea of Jamaicanness from the "norm" of U.S. American behavior. They also reduce and flatten the culture and complexities and nuances of Jamaican identity to a one dimensional view (Sowards & Pineda, 2011). The use of something like Obeah, while distinctly Jamaican, has been corrupted for the sake of drama and fetishism. The religion, Rastafarianism is used as a joke and an insult. Instead of respecting cultural practices and sacred religions, they are appropriated in ways that are disrespectful and harmful or the sake of providing legitimacy and authenticity. There are the beliefs that nobody will accept a representation of a Jamaican without violence, without Rastafarianism, without loud and boisterous behavior.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

In these two texts, there is evidence of the use of certain identifiers to display the idea of "Jamaicanness." In both of these, we see the problem of language being a major player in the representations. This was a problem mainly because of the lack of Jamaicans being involved in the production. However, *Cool Runnings* did a better job of including Jamaican actors. There was still a problem because the Jamaican actors did not embrace their own natural Jamaican accents. This could either be their own choice, or they were told not to. Either way, it shows a problem with how the accent is viewed by outsiders. Stereotypes were also big parts of both texts. The producers used stereotypes such as womanizing, primitive living and the idea of Rastafarianism to show the supposed authenticity of the Jamaican representations. The idea of primitive living in order to exoticize and keep the idea of Jamaica as a colonized space. Instead of showing the quality of Jamaican life, the producers made an attempt to position Jamaica in the view that many people outside already have of it. Again, *Cool Runnings* did do better by showing that there are Jamaicans who can be well off and affluent, but the producers also did show the exotic idea of people living in huts on the beach and the buildings that were shown were ones from the colonial era that were built by the British.

In *Luke Cage,* the use of music was much more pronounced than in *Cool Runnings*. This could be attributed to the fact that music has been important in the production of the series since the first season. Music played a big role in identifying the Jamaican characters and Jamaican ideas that were given throughout the season. One of the major problems throughout the series was the fact that the original soundtrack was Jamaican music, but not produced by Jamaicans. In *Cool Runnings,* the signifier used was colors. The black, green and gold of the Jamaican flag and the red, green and gold that is associated with Rastafarianism were seen throughout the movie,

but even more so in the scenes that were filmed in Jamaica. Signifiers are used to reinforce ideas about authenticity and identity that further distance minorities as being the other. They are shown as separate from the norm. *Luke Cage* also brought forth the use of obeah. This was shown to be something negative and evil when it was used by Jamaicans, but considered a gift and a talent when used by Americans. This positions Jamaicans as being negative in comparison to Americans. There was an instance of superstition in *Cool Runnings,* with Sanka kissing his lucky egg before competition. This was shown to be something comedic and ridiculous. Both these instances use Jamaican superstition in negative ways.

Masculinity was an important part of both artifacts because both were around the Jamaican male identity. The main similarity between both narratives was the stereotype of the Jamaican man as a womanizer. Masculinity in Jamaica is defined and is comprised of a few things, but one of the biggest ones is having a lot of women. In the case of Bushmaster in *Luke Cage,* he was in bed with two women, which shows his sexual prowess. The concept of Jamaican men being great lovers contributes to the romance tourism business where foreign women come to Jamaica for the sole purpose of having sexual encounters with Jamaican men. In *Cool Runnings*, Derice was cheating on his wife, just by kissing, but it also is a stereotype that Jamaican men can't be faithful, no matter how much the women do for them or how in love they are. Another aspect of masculinity seen was the athleticism and dark skin. The main characters of both artifacts were all very athletic. They more athletic the characters were, the darker their skin was. Bushmaster in *Luke Cage* had extremely dark skin and was incredibly muscular and able to perform amazing athletic feats. In *Cool Runnings,* the members of the bobsled team were all dark skinned, but the one who was most athletic with the biggest muscles was the darkest. Dark skin is by no means an anomaly in Jamaica, but it is important to show that there is a

diversity as well. As a light skinned Jamaican with loose curls, I've had many people, including other Jamaicans, tell me that I can't possibly be Jamaican because of my skin color. They don't see different Jamaicans represented in the wider media.

Through the idea of post-colonialism and imperialism, both of these were produced by an entity in power and the producers used that power to position the minority, in this case, Jamaicans, as being lesser. The lack of inclusion of Jamaicans in the telling of their own stories is an indicator of this. Jamaican characters and voices are not given the priority and they are not afforded the same level of respect as were the voices of the dominant group. The use of stereotypes are an imperialist technique to prove that they know who their subjects are and reinforce those ideas to the people who they made the texts for. It was explicitly said that for *Luke Cage,* the text was produced for non-Jamaicans, which is why the producers could not use authentic Jamaicans because of the accent. Stereotypes may not be overtly negative, and could even be seen as positive (like the fact that Jamaicans are fast), but they help to position the minority group as being separate from the norm, which dehumanizes them.

When thinking about how this plays into the importance of representation, it is obvious that even though a minority is being represented and this is good, there needs to be a lot of changes. When people are represented in popular media, it teaches people how to treat them and what to expect. By enforcing negative beliefs, it can lead to a lot of disrespect and erroneous ideas about people. When media are made of a certain group, they need to be allowed to have their voices heard, acknowledged and respected. Not only because they will allow the representations to be enriched and accurate, but because they are humans too. It can be seen that Jamaican voices are not seen on the same level as U.S. Americans, which also ties into the ideas of colonialism. In twenty five years, the colonialist perspective of representation doesn't seem to

have changed at all. There is still the use of certain stereotypical cultural signifiers in order to reinforce the idea of the Jamaican identity and stereotypes are rampant throughout both texts. There is a distinct lack of Jamaican voices in the production of these texts, which of course leads to caricatures of Jamaican cultures, but also shows that the Jamaican culture is being exploited and profited from without allowing Jamaicans to receive any of the benefits.

These representations have a lasting effect on people's perceptions of Jamaicans. As a Jamaican, I have heard how people connect what they consider Jamaicanness to representations such as these. I have heard that I am too light skinned to be a Jamaican, because every representation of Jamaican that people have seen is dark skinned. A common response that I hear to telling people that I am Jamaican is "no problem mon," with the fake Jamaican accent or asking why I don't have dreadlocks. People question if Jamaicans have internet and if all of us live on huts on the beach and sleep in hammocks. Another question I get a lot is people asking if I know where they can get marijuana, even if there was no mention of smoking. *Cool Runnings* is so popular that it is also one of the first things that people reference when hearing I am Jamaican. Lines from the movie are recited, people ask about the accuracy of the film and ask if I know any of the people in the movie.

Further Areas of Research

It would be interesting to see how Jamaicans are represented by other countries that have a history of a strong influence in media, for example, Great Britain and Canada, especially because there is such a large Jamaican community in those countries that has a huge influence on popular culture. The slang that is used in Canada, especially Toronto, and in England, namely London, is extremely Jamaican. Words and phrases like "man dem," and "wah gwan" are common in the street culture. Also, both places also have Carnival, which is a Caribbean event.

Drake, a Canadian rapper, uses Jamaican slang constantly and is always collaborating with Jamaican musicians, so his rise to popularity puts Jamaican culture in Canada more in the spotlight. Caribbean and Jamaican influence is pervasive in these societies and is part of daily life and culture. It would be informative to see how Jamaicans are represented in media by these countries and see if there are differences in the amount of Jamaicans involved in the production and in how the idea of Jamaicanness is constructed in countries that hold some power, but also have had Jamaican culture shape the popular culture.

It is also necessary to look at how Jamaicans represent themselves in their own cinema. There have been a few films coming out of Jamaica, by Jamaican producers, actors and crew. One has to look at how Jamaicans tell their own stories and if there is a difference in them representing themselves for Jamaicans and for a foreign audience, and the difference in those representations as compared to foreign made representations. Jamaican soap operas have been a part of Jamaican culture for many years, so that would be a good place to start. *Royal Palm Estate* is one such soap opera. The show started in 1994 and revolves around a family that descends from slave owners. It is also necessary to look at more recent artifacts to see if there have been any changes, especially because in the past, the colonial influence might have been much stronger. For example, the movie *Sprinter* was released in 2018 and tells the story of a young boy who hopes to escape a life of poverty through becoming a track star. This is a Jamaican movie done by a Jamaican cast and crew that reflects the reality of many Jamaican athletes and the dreams they have to find a better life.

Recommendations

For future representations, not only for Jamaicans, but other minorities, it is important to have the input of the people and culture being represented. Having them involved at all stages of

the production is very important for accuracy and respect. It is necessary for them to be able to tell their own stories and being able to be in control of the way they are seen. Another important thing to note is to make sure representations are well rounded. That is, they need to be able to show many different ideas of what a people are capable of. People can't be reduced to singular traits and tropes. Having an open mind and actually viewing minorities as people and not just their stereotypical culture is extremely integral to having respectful representations.

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Curriculum Vita

Israel Ramsay was born in Montego Bay, Jamaica on August 15, 1993, the first child for Richard Ramsay and Carmen Russell. She graduated from Wolmer's High School for Girls in 2009 and first attended the University of Technology in Kingston, Jamaica. In 2015, she started at the University of Texas at El Paso and graduated with her Bachelor of Arts in Journalism with a minor in Anthropology in fall 2017 while competing on the track team. In spring 2018, she began her Master of Arts in Communication while working as a graduate assistant in the UTEP Athletics department as the Life Skills Coordinator and a Sports Information Assistant. In 2019, she participated in the Graduate Research Expo held by the university.