

THESIS

SAMANTHA STEPHENS AS THE THIRD-WORLD FEMINIST OTHER:

BORDER THEORY AND BEWITCHED

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ABSTRACT

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In this thesis I argue, using Samantha Stephens from the television show, *Bewitched*, as an example, that Third-World feminism can be expanded beyond identifications of ethnicity only in terms of physical appearance, in order to speak to experiences by women who are oppressed by dominant society in ways that are not easily recognizable. *Bewitched* presents a narrative of a Third-World oppressed experience, as defined by Gloria Anzaldua's *Borderlands*, Sonia Saldivar-Hull's *Feminism on the Border* and the collective "radical women of color" in *This Bridge Called my Back*. Samantha's experience as shown through this narrative is not a typical experience of oppression because her ethnicity is portrayed through the fictional idea of Samantha being a witch. The show very clearly defines Samantha's identity as a witch as a cultural and ethnic difference, which is different and opposite from the dominant mortal culture. Samantha's narrative relies on the conflict that is created when Samantha marries Darrin, a mortal. Several episodes set up Samantha's identity as a witch as an ethnicity that is oppressed by mortals, and most of these episodes rely on Darrin's experiences with Samantha's mother, Endora.

Endora and Darrin's interactions set up an "us vs. them" dynamic through the show, which parallels experiences of oppression in *This Bridge Called my Back*, which represents a collection of women who experience oppression in many different ways, because of their different identifiers, but who seek to understand each other and reach a common goal of equality. Samantha's experiences as a witch who must exist in a mortal world when she gets married, makes her narrative parallel with the ideas expressed in Gloria Anzaldua's *Borderlands*, because of Samantha's place living among two liminal spaces. This relates specifically to Anzaldua's experiences expressed through her book living on the

physical Borderlands in Southwest Texas, which further leads to a psychological border set up to distinguish and categorize places that are “safe and unsafe.” Samantha’s experiences are further complicated as she must face further oppression because of her place in a gender role as a 1960’s middle-class housewife. Samantha’s feminist struggles are comparable to Saldivar-Hull’s *Feminism on the Border* because her theory speaks to a complicated identity as a female and a Chicana.

And finally, I make the argument that through this analysis of Samantha Stephens’ Third-World Feminist struggles in *Bewitched*, we have a model in which to judge television more critically in order to reach a more fair look at disparate experiences. This look at *Bewitched* can also help to encourage a more authentic look at the historical past, because of its representation of the 1960s.

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INTRODUCTION

The modern television show *True Blood* just finished its fifth season in the summer of 2012 and totaled almost 5 million viewers. This show relies on the fictional depiction of a southern Louisiana town dealing with the idea of vampires not only being real but also going main-stream. The show relies on the phrase "out of the coffin" to describe the fictional, political state of the vampire race, an obvious nod to the very real phrase, "out of the closet," used to describe the current social and political state of homosexuality. Many gay rights organizations have spoken out against the use of the homosexuality parallel in *True Blood* and claimed that the show is not helpful toward the goal of raising awareness and equality among the gay community. The parallel between vampire issues and homosexuality issues allows the creators of *True Blood* to use a fictional setting and story line to make a very real statement about homosexuality, despite discussions of whether or not that political statement is actually beneficial to the social and political struggles of homosexuality.

In the same way that *True Blood* presents issues of homosexuality, the modern show *Mad Men* brings up issues related to 1960s gender roles and class relations. The show, although acclaimed for its historical authenticity, portrays the 1960s in a very white, middle-class setting. The show glamorizes the gender roles prevalent in the 1960s by viewing these gender roles through a modern lens, emphasizing the aesthetics¹ of the 1960s over the actual issues. *Mad Men* is among other recently aired shows that are set in the 1960s, including *Pan Am* and *The Playboy Club*, pointing to what I will argue is a recent trendy fascination with the past, especially the

¹ Although a discussion of the way the visual rhetoric, specifically of the 60s, affects the way that we actually view history would be very interesting, for this thesis I will not explore this theory in order to emphasize ethnicity and gender roles.

1960s which is venerated as vintage². Despite the obvious similarities between *Bewitched* and *Mad Men*³, and other 1960s-set television shows, *Bewitched* is an authentic 1964 television show that deals not only with the ethnic issue of Samantha as a witch, but also with the role forced upon her as a woman after she gets married, that of a 1960s housewife.

Bewitched made the same kind of fictional parallel to real issues that *True Blood* and *Mad Men* do almost 40 years later. *Bewitched*, through its fictional portrayal of a witch-mortal mixed marriage explores ethnic issues from 1964 through 1972 when ethnic politics⁴ were at their height. Despite the similarities between *True Blood* and *Bewitched*, *Bewitched* presents an ethnically political agenda in a way so subtle that the show was able to reach a mainstream, prime time audience, whereas *True Blood* only reaches a more elite HBO audience. In the same way *True Blood* and *Bewitched* are related in dealing with political issues, *Mad Men* and *Bewitched* are related in their shared setting. *Bewitched* is a more authentic portrayal of the 1960s than *Mad Men*, so audiences should look to its value in presenting the less glamorous struggles of a 1960s housewife who is placed in a strict gender role, and also deals with the struggle of being an ethnic and cultural other, as presented by the ideas expressed in *This Bridge Called my Back*⁵. The modern shows *True Blood* and *Mad Men*, although aired in a time that should be less destructive for gender and ethnic issues, only reinforce gender and social stereotypes. *Mad Men* glamorizes the gender roles of the main character's wife, a stay-at-home

² I define vintage for the purposes of this thesis as relating to trends of the past, and our modern interest in the selected past, especially related to the time period of the 1940s – 70s.

³ *Mad Men* and *Bewitched* have a similar premise in that both main male characters work for advertising agencies on New York's Madison Avenue the 1960s, and that their stories revolve on the working man's relationship with his stay-at-home wife.

⁴ I use this term to refer to the issues of ethnicity that surrounded the political agenda of 1960s society. The significance of the time period related to *Bewitched* is explained later.

⁵ Although the term "Other" is defined in other theories, especially Orientalism, the use definition I chose for this thesis is based on experiences of women who define themselves in *This Bridge Called my Back* as Third-World others. The work of these women will be explored and defined later on.

mom, and the working women of the office who must use their sexuality to survive in the still male-dominated workplace. *True Blood* tells the story of a young woman who has the potential to be a strong female character, but falls short when she must rely on the male characters to help her survive. *Mad Men* and *True Blood* are taken more seriously than *Bewitched* because they use drama to drive the conflict of the shows, while *Bewitched* is taken less seriously because it uses a sitcom-style delivery to make obvious statements about ethnicity and gender roles. Although *Mad Men* and *True Blood* could be considered more serious overall, I will argue that *Bewitched* is more complex in its discussion of these same issues of ethnicity and gender than *Mad Men* and *True Blood* attempt to argue.

In this thesis I will argue that as a cultural medium the television show *Bewitched* makes intentional statements about issues of ethnicity and gender, portrayed through the main character, Samantha, whose identity as a witch places her as an ethnic Third-World other. The personal experience portrayed by Samantha Stephens, as created by the writers of the show, is one that deals explicitly with issues of ethnicity as Samantha's passes⁶ as another ethnicity, and with issues of gender, because of Samantha's place as a 1960s housewife. The show's narrative deals with the conflicts that Samantha, a witch, faces after she marries Darrin, a mortal. Samantha and Darrin decide that she will no longer use witchcraft, hiding part of her identity in order to pass as a normal 1960s mortal housewife. The passing narrative, created based on Samantha's experience, becomes more complicated when Samantha has a daughter, Tabitha, who has dual identities, that of a witch and of a mortal. Samantha's conflict then becomes not only about how to pass as a mortal herself, but about teaching her daughter how to pass. The main conflicts that drive the narrative occur because of the agreement between Samantha and Darrin based on

⁶ "Passing" refers to the racial issue of people of color who look more white who can "pass" as white in order to diminish oppression that would normally occur because of their race.

Samantha's otherness and are complicated further as Samantha deals with issues of ethnicity, class, and gender, as affected by her place as a woman in a 1960s mortal household.

Walter Metz, in his book *Bewitched: TV Milestones Series*, also argues that Samantha's struggles are based on ethnicity, class, and gender. He writes, "although Samantha, as a witch in a mortal world, clearly belongs to an out-group, *Bewitched* refuses to firmly situate the specific reasons for Samantha's out-group status. In separate episodes, it is intimated that her 'deviance' from the modern society represented by Darrin has to do with, variously, racial, class-based, and or/gender identity" (74). Although I agree with Metz's argument on some level, I will expand it even further to argue that Samantha's oppression based on ethnicity, class, and gender are simultaneous in that all of these issues are connected and that this connectivity leads to the main conflicts of the show as well as a willful political statement about ethnicity, class, and gender based on the context of the 1960s. I will also expand on the argument of "in-group/out-group" that Metz identifies in order to argue that Samantha's place is not just as another ethnicity but as the othered ethnicity from dominant society, which in this case is mortal.

Bewitched spanned an eight-year time period, from 1964-1972, and during that time aired 254 episodes, all situated within a 60s to early 70s political context⁷. The show follows the lives of Samantha and Darrin Stephens, a seemingly normal 1960s couple, who we quickly learn are not normal. The show mainly situates itself around the couple's marriage, and, after we find out that theirs is a mixed marriage⁸, the show features several magical and mortal characters that are

⁷ Important historical events that have influenced my understanding of an early 60s and 70s political context include the Civil Rights Movement (1955-1968), the Cold War (roughly 1946-1991, although social issues involving the Cold War are portrayed in the show), JFK assassination (1968), and the Second-Wave Feminist movement (beginning in the early 1960s).

⁸ I present Samantha and Darrin's marriage as mixed in reference to their varying cultural and ethnic identities, while still recognizing that Samantha's ethnicity is fictional. The use of the term is to identify the parallel between Samantha and Darrin's marriage, and actual issues involving ethnicity in the 1960s. *True Blood* parallels vampire issues and homosexuality issues in this same, fictional way.

affected and who affect Samantha and Darrin's marriage. We are introduced to Samantha's mother, Endora, in the pilot episode when she appears in the couple's honeymoon suite to voice her dissatisfaction that her daughter, a witch, married a mortal. This very first interaction, in which Endora uses her witchcraft to confuse and inconvenience Darrin, sets up the conflict between Endora and Darrin, based on Endora's disapproval of Darrin as a mortal. Endora is established as the villainous other who intends to hurt the dominant group. The show also relies on another character who is neither magical nor mortal, Samantha's Aunt Clara. Aunt Clara is an elderly witch who has lost her ability to do witchcraft and is therefore looked down upon by her magical peers. This sets up the idea that magical powers are important to witches, and that those who do not possess powers are not included in the culture, making it an exclusive and at times elitist group.

In order to make this argument about Samantha's passing narrative, I will also place Samantha as a Third-World other based on the theories that Gloria Anzaldua describes in *Borderlands*, Sonia Saldivar-Hull expands on in *Feminism on the Border*, and are contextualized in *This Bridge Called my Back*. All of these theories and combined narratives create the language I will use to describe Samantha's experience through the show. Several characteristics connect Samantha's experience to that of a Third-World other, and these characteristics become common themes that drive the conflict of the show. Samantha's hidden identity as a witch sets up a theme of secrecy throughout the series. The issue of Samantha's true identity is dealt with through her interactions with Darrin's family, friends, and clients of his advertising firm. The show usually involves the conflict of Samantha and Darrin covering up mishaps created by Samantha's family and her othered ethnicity, but on several occasions the show also creates

what-if scenarios that explore the hypothetical question of how the dominant culture would react if it found out Samantha's identity.

Based on the idea that Samantha's ethnicity is something hidden and is something that Samantha attempts to deny, to herself, the dominant culture, and her own family, I will argue that Samantha's ethnicity as a witch, rather than that of a mortal, is her only identity. The writers complicate the idea of identity by giving her a new identity, that of a 1960s housewife.

Samantha's life becomes defined by the housewife identity she has chosen, and her actions are supposed to be reflective of that identity. Samantha must learn to cook and clean, not only to please her husband, but also to help further his career. Samantha is considered a housewife of a certain caliber, because of her husband's important position in his career, so hiding the identity that will not be accepted by the dominant culture becomes even more important since Darrin risks his job and his status within that dominant culture. Samantha adds to her housewife identity when she has a daughter and takes on the tasks of a mother. Hiding her ethnicity becomes even more difficult for Samantha because now she has to teach her daughter how to hide her ethnicity from the dominant culture and pass as a mortal child. Passing as a mortal is complicated by the added stress of Tabitha's magical powers that she does not know how to control, because as a child she does not understand passing. Since Tabitha has a mortal father and a witch mother, she has mixed-ethnicities, thus giving her dual identities to cope with, alike, and also different from, her mother's identity. Tabitha suffers because of her place as a mixed-ethnicity child within a dominant culture as she gets older and cannot have friends who could find out she is an other.

Although Samantha's narrative is a fictional representation of an ethnic struggle, it is still a representation of an ethnic struggle. *Bewitched* becomes important, mostly within its own historical context, because it makes political statements based on the time period when it

originally aired. Still, little scholarship exists that explores this show's effect on the political climate of the mid to late 1960s. How the show is viewed in a current context is also important to consider because *Bewitched* becomes a representation for modern viewers of the historically important time period that it represents. Through researching the writers, director, and star of the show, I will argue that their political statements were very much intentional and served a political agenda, but these willful statements become less important to the overall statement being made by the show's conflict about a mixed marriage of an ethnic other, and that of a woman placed in a strict gender role.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The theories I use to make my argument I relate specifically to three major works, which can serve to define the genre of study, although other scholars' work describe these theories as well. Popularized by Gloria E. Anzaldua's multi-genred book, *Borderlands*, border theory expands on the idea of living between a liminal space as a result of having multiple identities and the conflict that comes from being in that in-between place. For her book, Anzaldua draws on her personal experiences growing up on the Texas-U.S. Southwest/Mexican border, but she further draws on her personal experiences growing up in what she describes as "The psychological borderlands, the sexual borderlands, and the spiritual borderlands." The premise for her entire book is based on the idea of living between two cultures and of not fitting into either culture because of the fact that the other one also exists within her. She explains, "It's not a comfortable place to live in, this place of contradictions. Hatred, anger, and exploitation are the prominent features of this landscape" (Preface). This feeling of conflict because of a dual-identity relates to the experiences of Samantha and Tabitha and is a driving force in *Bewitched*. Just the idea that Samantha and Tabitha must keep their identities a secret from people who are close to Darrin, including his parents and his friend and boss, Larry Tate, exemplifies why the borderlands is an uncomfortable place for these two characters to live. Anzaldua says that these borders are set-up, physically and psychologically, in order to other a certain culture which is unaccepted by the dominant culture. As Anzaldua says in *Borderlands*, "Borders are set up to define the places that are safe and unsafe, to distinguish us from them." Samantha and Tabitha's ethnic identities are unsafe within the mortal world; therefore, they are expected to keep them a secret. The show frequently deals the hypothetical reactions of the mortal characters to Samantha's secret identity, and the story line of these episodes often involves exploitation of the cultural other, in this case,

someone who has magical powers. Although Samantha's identity is a fictional aspect of the show, it can be further connected to those who are not allowed to be a part of the dominant culture, according to Anzaldua, because of their place among borders. She says, again in reference to the borderlands, "The prohibited and forbidden are its inhabitants. *Los atravesados* live here: the squint-eyed, the perverse, the queer, the troublesome, the mongrel, the mulato, the half-breed, the half-dead: in short those who cross over, pass over, and go through the confines of the 'normal'" (25). Tabitha especially can be placed in this category of the half-breed, but Samantha also, due to her choice to pretend to be a mortal instead of a witch, can be placed on this list of the prohibited and forbidden.

Anzaldua's theory of the complications of being a "half-breed" is further contextualized by what Sonia Saldivar-Hull draws from Anzaldua's exploration of border theory and further complicates to create a theory that she calls "Feminism on the Border." In her book, also titled *Feminism on the Border*, Saldivar-Hull is taking Anzaldua's experiences of living in the borderlands to speak more specifically to the experiences of living as a woman on the border. The theory Saldivar-Hull identifies with combines feminist theory with border theory and has come to be identified as Third-World feminism. Because of new theories based on the misunderstanding of the term feminism, I will refer to issues involving female gender roles as womanist⁹ as well femisnist in this thesis. The theory of Third-World feminism was popularized by a collective of women who shared both a gendered othered identity and a culturally othered identity, and who wrote about these experiences in the collection of essays, *This Bridge Called my Back*, edited by Anzaldua and Cherrie Moraga.

⁹ The term Womanist that I refer to is based on the theory defined by Layli Phillips in *The Womanist Reader*. She differentiates womanism from feminism by saying: "Unlike feminism and despite its name, womanism does not emphasize or privilege gender and sexism; rather, it elevates all sites and forms of oppression, whether they are based on social-address categories like gender, race, or class, to a level of equal concern and action."

The theory of Third-World feminism is meant to combine multiple forms of oppression in order to speak to a more complicated identity. Although Saldivar-Hull, as well as Anzaldua and Moraga, speaks specifically to her place as a Chicana woman, the women writing in *This Bridge Called my Back* come from a variety of different Third-World cultures. By reclaiming the term Third-World in order to speak to this more complicated way of being identified and of identifying, the women of the collective theory hoped to address issues they felt were not being recognized by the original, white, feminist theory. As Beverly Smith explains about the exclusionary practice of early feminism, “Given these differences between us, that women are of different races and classes, how can a white, middle-class movement actually deal with all women’s oppression, as it purports to do, particularly if most women are not present to represent their own interests?” (116). And as Saldivar-Hull explains, speaking specifically to the exclusion of women in the Chicana experience, “Chicanas constantly grapple with the demands that our culture places on us as women. Further, when we deviate from Mexican/Chicano traditions that oppress and exploit women, other Chicanos/as challenge our identity.” Saldivar-Hull is pointing to the complications that her simultaneous oppressed cultures places on her. The primary use of this theory is in identifying a complex identity based on several factors that seem to work against each other in many senses. Third-World feminists are primarily concerned with issues of race and gender, and as Saldivar-Hull explains of Moraga’s purpose in creating *This Bridge Called my Back*, with “further expanding the Chicana feminist agenda around issues of gender, race, class, ethnicity, and sexual orientation.”

The combination of oppressions based on both femaleness and otherness again relates to the experiences that are illustrated in *Bewitched* through Samantha, Endora, and Tabitha’s interactions with each other. The interactions between the female characters and their identifiers

as both witches and women make for an influential and socially important television show. The mid-sixties setting of the show builds on these interactions. Samantha is constantly dealing with her place as a woman in a 1960s progressive household, and her identity as a witch makes her identity as a housewife much more interesting to an audience. Using the theories of *Borderlands* and *Feminism on the Border*, I will place Samantha's narrative in *Bewitched* among this multi-oppressive identity in order to argue that Samantha and Tabitha are both characters whose narratives serve a Third-World feminist as well as a womanist objective.

Although *Bewitched* experienced huge popularity when it originally aired, it still has many viewers who watch reruns on networks like T.V. Land and the show still has a large fan following. Items related to the show are still sold, including DVDs of all eight seasons. But little critical analysis has been explored based on the television show and its affects on current and past audiences. The effect *Bewitched* had on its original audience is important to consider because of its potential to affect the attitude people have about social issues relevant to the 1960s. Reruns of *Bewitched* also contribute to the attitude that current audiences have toward the 1960s, because current audiences use this show as a historical artifact to personify a time period. Whether or not this sitcom is an accurate portrayal of the 1960s is not the most important issue to consider; what is important is the way in which modern audiences might use this television show in order to form an opinion about the 1960s, and in turn reinforce and glamorize negative social constructs related to ethnicity, class, and, I'll argue, most importantly, gender.

Although little scholarship exists based on the television show *Bewitched*, a noteworthy publication by film and television scholar Walter Metz¹⁰ considers how the show can be

¹⁰ Metz is the Chair of, and Professor in, the Department of Cinema and Photography at Southern Illinois University Carbondale. *Bewitched* is his second book publication, along with *Engaging Film Criticism: Film History and Contemporary American Cinema*. He received his Ph.D. in Communication studies from the University of Texas at Austin in 1996.

discussed within several different lenses. He positions the show theoretically and includes discussions of historicism, identity politics, class politics, and feminism. Metz does not, however, make an argument based on each theoretical perspective or how the show fits into these disparate lenses, but rather he uses the theory in order to make the argument that *Bewitched* has critical importance to a current audience in that "It helps new generations who are now watching have a particular understanding of cultural events in 1960s society" (Metz 64).

Part of my argument that *Bewitched* is an important artifact through which to judge the 1960s is to place the show in conversation with theories of border narratives and Third-World feminism. Although defined before Anzaldua's *Borderlands*, I will define border narratives based on Anzaldua's experiences living in a liminal space. As Anzaldua begins to define her dual-identities as not belonging exclusively to Mexican culture or American culture because of her place on the border of Texas and Mexico, she also begins to define herself as a woman in this culture. She makes the connection in *Borderlands* between her place as a Mexican and a woman: "No, it isn't enough that she is female – a second-class member of a conquered people who are taught to believe they are inferior because they have indigenous blood, believe in the supernatural and speak a deficient language... She has had to work twice as hard as others to meet the standards of the dominant culture which have, in part, become her standards" (71). Anzaldua's recognition of being female and a part of the non-dominant culture became the starting point for the collective of women who contributed to *This Bridge Called my Back*.

In order to place *Bewitched* among other border narratives, I will also explain in more detail the theory behind Third-World feminism and border narrative. The correlation of time is important to recognize in order to consider a possible relationship between *Bewitched's* use of womanist narrative and border narratives. Feminism, while at first universal, began to only deal

with issues of gender in a white, middle-class setting, so Third-World feminists began to deal with more broad terms of oppression. Therefore, the purpose of Third-World feminism is to overcome this privileging of oppressions. The issue of time sequence can be related back to the issue of phases or waves of feminism that some scholars use to define feminist work. Although the categorization of waves can be problematic, categorizing can also help to explain how the time periods of these waves have affected the relationship between *Bewitched* and *Borderlands*. Mary P. Sheridan-Rabideau, in her book, “*girls, feminism, and grassroots literacies*,” defines the “waves metaphor” that some feminist scholars have used to define different periods of time and explains which feminist characteristics defined those periods of time: “The waves metaphor has historically been a privileged trope describing the most visible phases of U.S. feminist activism: first-wave (1848-1920); second-wave (1960s-1980s); third-wave (1990s-present)” (57). Here lies the problem that can arise when choosing to define feminism within “phases” that define a changing or shifting of privileged ideals: *Bewitched* can be defined as beginning in the second-wave of feminism but its issues are very much a part of the third wave. Saldivar-Hull, in her book, *Feminism on the Border*, also critiques categorization: “When white feminists began to categorize the different types of feminisms in the 1980s, we, in turn, began to trace the muting of issues of race and ethnicity under other feminist priorities” (48). The *Bewitched* relationship to border feminism can serve as another example of this muting of race issues within definitions, because *Bewitched* is, in fact, dealing almost exclusively with issues of ethnicity and gender, and, more specifically, gender as related to ethnicity, so a phase or a time period can serve to show influences as long as phases are all-inclusive. Second-wave feminism forgets Samantha and her struggles with race, but Samantha’s story in *Bewitched* laid some groundwork for Third-

wave border feminists, even if that was done in a way that was subtly readying a movement that completely redefined what feminism means for modern day women.

Besides *Borderlands*, one of the most influential texts to the theory of Third-World feminism is *This Bridge Called my Back*. The purpose of this text is to talk about feminism in a different way theoretically, but beyond that, the purpose is to speak about the experiences of the contributors, who are mostly academics, and how their different identities are oppressed.

Moraga, who edited the book along with Anzaldua, explains:

The danger lies in ranking the oppressions. The danger lies in failing to acknowledge the specifics of the oppression. The danger lies in attempting to deal with oppression purely from a theoretical base. Without an emotional, heartfelt grappling with the source of our own oppression, without naming the enemy within ourselves and outside of us, no authentic, non-hierarchical connection among oppressed groups can take place. (29)

Speaking to these different oppressions and oppressors is a common goal of the new feminist movement. In seeking out contributors for this book, the editors wrote of their hope to represent as many experiences of women in this academic setting as possible. As Mitsuye Yamada says in her essay, “Not only the young, but those who feel powerless over their own lives know what it is like not to make a difference on anyone or anything. The poor know only too well, and we women have known it since we were little girls” (39).

The beginning essays of the text work to understand and define feminism in a way that every contributor or reader who picks up this text can understand and relate to. Yamada narrates her experiences at a feminist conference she participated in, saying, “I was struck by our general agreement on the subject of feminism as an ideal. We all believed in equality for women... We agreed that feminism means a commitment to making changes in our own lives and a conviction

that as women we have the equipment to do so" (79). This agreement helped the book reach a point of discussion about the overarching identity of being a woman that all contributors can agree with, in order to speak to different forms of oppression that not all women share. She finishes, "for women to achieve equality in our society, we agreed, we must continue to work for a common goal" (Yamada 72).

One of the most influential essays in *This Bridge...* came from scholar Audrey Lorde. The essay is a transcription of a speech that Lorde gave at a conference. She speaks mainly about the way women of color were widely not included in the academic world by narrating her experience in being invited to speak at the conference and her feelings toward those who invited her: white, feminist women. She warns, "It is a particular academic arrogance to assume any discussion of feminist theory in this time and in this place without examining our many differences, and without a significant input from poor women, black and Third-World women, and lesbians" (98). Lorde's influence on what came to be defined as Third-World feminism is clear, especially when she asserts,

Those of us who stand outside the circle of this society's definition of acceptable women; those of us who are poor, who are lesbians, who are black, who are older, know that survival is not an academic skill. It is learning how to stand alone, unpopular and sometimes reviled, and how to make common cause with those other identified as outside the structures, in order to define and seek a world in which we can all flourish. It is learning how to take our differences and make them strengths. For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to

bring about genuine change. (99)

The title of Lorde's instrumental presentation and written essay became, "The Master's Tools will never Dismantle the Master's House," which served more than just a request for the inclusion of works by oppressed women, but a warning of what feminist theory becomes if it does not include works and voices from oppressed women.

In *Borderlands*, Anzaldua begins to bridge this gap between whites and those they other, by suggesting that whites and people of color begin to work together to reach an understanding in order to continue to work toward feminist goals, collectively. In *This Bridge...*, Anzaldua says, "But casting stones is not the solution. Do we hand the oppressor/thug the rocks he throws at us" (204). And in *Borderlands* she offers further solutions to the misunderstanding and lack of acceptance between cultures by saying, "but it is not enough to stand on the opposite river bank, shouting questions, challenging patriarchal, white conventions. A counterstance locks one into a duel of oppressor and oppressed" (Norton 2102). She calls for whites to "recognize the doppelganger in your psyche," and for non-whites to educate whites about their true and complex identities. By doing this, she says, "They [whites] will come to see that they are not helping us but following our lead." Her goal is to reach a point among whites so that women can continue to work towards a common goal of feminism while not marginalizing anyone's experience. We see this even further when she asks whites, "and finally, tell us what you need from us" (2102).

Saldivar-Hull applied Anzaldua's work directly to feminist narrative in her book, *Feminism on the Border*. In this analysis, she uses Chicana feminist work specifically in order to speak to a theory that is created by multiple identities, in her case that of a woman and that of a Chicana, both which are oppressed in different ways and which oppress each other. One example of this type of oppression between her two different identifiers is her explanation of being a

woman in Chicano culture. She says, "Chicanas constantly grapple with the demands that our culture places on us as women. The demands include women's compliance with sexist traditions of '*respeto*,' respecting our elders. Further, when we deviate from Mexican/Chicano traditions that oppress and exploit women, other Chicanos/as challenge our identity" (34). She historicizes the effects on and the strides made by Chicana women in the feminist movement, saying, "As Chicanas made their work public, publishing in marginalized journals and with small, underfinanced presses, taking part in conferences and workshops, they realized that the 'sisterhood' called feminism professed an ideology that at times came dangerously close to the phallogocentric ideologies of the White male power structure against which all feminists struggle" (36). Although Saldivar-Hull offers the most complete discussion of the influence of Chicanas on the feminist movement, there are others who begin to discuss Anzaldua's chicana influence on Third-World feminism.

Part of Anzaldua's theory's relationship to *Bewitched*, that I will discuss, has to do with her dealing with ethnicity and gender simultaneously. Anzaldua's treatment of ethnicity has intermingled with interpretations of her writing as feminist. Even Anzaldua herself identifies as a feminist theorist and fits historically within what would be called the Third-wave of feminist theory. With this Third-wave, came the identification of women of color, and more importantly feminists of color, and the introduction of black and Latina feminists in order to stop privileging white, heterosexual feminists who dominated the first two waves. The act of identification is one that Diane L. Fowlkes describes as "identity politics" by saying that Anzaldua, and other feminists of color "identified themselves as radical women of color and as feminists different from other (white, heterosexual) feminist women" (106). The effort of these radical women of color was to form new feminist identities so as to "challenge those others to examine the

intersection of multiple simultaneous markers of oppression and privilege” (106), remembering always that markers of oppression can be multiple and simultaneous.

In order to relate *Bewitched* so directly to Third-world feminist theory, *Bewitched* must be read as a text, and television must be given merit as a narrative genre. Samantha's fictional experiences must be viewed as a valid discourse of the feminist and Third-world feminist experience. At the same time, I will argue that the discussion of effects of television on its viewers creates a point of discourse about the possible effects that *Bewitched*, specifically, had culturally at the time that it aired. Paul Attalla discusses whether or not television can be viewed as scholarly content. He argues that, "When television is grasped as merely a business or as an entertainment industry, the only way to account for relationships between the television-institution and its audience -- which are the absolutely central and indispensable core of the institution's success and continuance -- is to view them as examples of passive manipulation, exploitation, or mere escapism" (12), thus concluding that television is important and influential to those who watch it. I will use Attalla's conclusion to argue that, due to *Bewitched's* high viewership when it originally aired and its large modern cult following, it had a profound effect on its audience, and its audience had a profound effect on what content and conflicts occurred between Samantha, her family, and Darrin.

By looking at this show as narrative, we accept the legitimacy of Samantha's Third-world feminist experience, especially her experiences with Darrin in their mixed marriage. The idea of a mixed marriage is presented, though, in a safe way by making Samantha something supernatural. The choice to make Samantha's ethnicity something non-real may have been conscious in order to remain less political and to make statements more subtly, and it could also be a conscious statement about what was seen as truth to people living in the 60s. The possible

argument based on what is true or real is addressed in the very first episode when Samantha tells Darrin that she is a witch. The creators create a basis for the idea that witches really do exist and ask the viewers to question what is true and real in their own society. When Samantha tells Darrin about her identity, he thinks she is crazy. When Samantha tells Darrin that she is a “real house-haunting, broom-riding, cauldron-stirring witch” (Pilot episode), she embraces the stereotype in order to make Darrin understand, assuming the stereotype is how he will think of witches. He of course does not believe her. Darrin says he has an aunt who thinks she is a lighthouse, and Samantha asks, “What makes you think she’s not? Maybe you’re the one looking at a lighthouse who thinks he’s seeing an old lady on a garage roof.” The writers are telling us that people’s identities are more complicated than we immediately see, and also that maybe our perspective of the truth and the real has been skewed. These questions about ethnicity, reality, and identity are what make the show groundbreaking based on its status as a sitcom, as well as its setting.

Through a close reading of the show, I argue that Samantha’s narrative in *Bewitched* first of all, is a narrative that can be described as womanist because of the show’s use of the issues of a 1960s housewife, and the overall arguments that are being made by the creators of the show is that women were forced into this role and that it was a form of oppression. I will also make the argument that, as supported further by womanist theory, the show makes an overall argument that Samantha, as a witch, is forced to deal with issues of oppression based on her ethnicity, and that by making this ethnicity fictional, the creators of the show are making a discussion of ethnicity issues in the 1960s more acceptable to a mainstream audience.

ARGUMENT

Samantha and Darrin's relationship is so groundbreaking for 1960s television not just because they sleep in the same bed but because Samantha is not a typical white female. Audiences enjoy watching Samantha and Darrin fight over her witchcraft and the fact that her mother is a witch, but they do not consciously know that the way Darrin treats Samantha's witch identity is how people treated the ethnic other during this time. To the unknowing characters in the show, Samantha is a typical white female, but to the knowing audience who watches this odd couple lovingly, their relationship is filled with all the struggles imaginable for a couple whose families and whose lifestyles do not quite fit together. There are characters in the show that suspect Samantha is different in some way, maybe they just have a sense that she is different, but to Mrs. Kravitz, the nosy neighbor, Mrs. Stevens is very different. Mrs. Kravitz's becomes obsessed with a way to somehow prove to others that Samantha is "spooky."

Samantha's struggle when she chooses to become a typical housewife is to be as normal as possible but the premise of the show is that she is not normal. In fact, the opening narration in the very first episode begins by listing the difficulties of being a "typical suburban housewife." The narrator describes the tasks that housewives are expected to accomplish on a daily basis, saying how difficult these are, "unless, of course, you are a witch." The writers and creators of this show are not interested in "the typical suburban housewife." They want us, the viewers, to know right away that this show is about someone different, someone who walks among us as if she is normal, but she is not. At first the narrator seems to present being a witch as making life easier, but as the show matures, we quickly learn that being different is not easy. Samantha's struggle through the show is to maintain her identity in both of the worlds that she belongs. She has to be a good wife to Darrin and entertain his advertising clients, and at the same time tend to

her subjects when she is named queen of the witches or help her wacky Aunt Clara fix her magical mishaps. Her struggle consists of abstaining from witchcraft and also reframing the image of the witch to the public. This complicated struggle that drives the show is echoed by Cherrie Moraga in *This Bridge Called my Back*, when she says, “Daily, we feel the pull and tug of having to choose between which parts of our mothers’ heritages we want to claim and wear and which parts have served to cloak us from the knowledge of ourselves” (23). Samantha has to constantly choose when she can embrace being a witch around her family and be proud of her daughter for having a nose-twitch and when she has to hide who she really is from the neighbors. The conflict Samantha is forced to confront within the disagreements between her witch mother and her mortal husband is how she can begin to identify herself. Samantha’s identity was not complicated when she was a witch, however once she has chosen to integrate into the mortal world, she must begin to identify as a housewife. The question then becomes: can Samantha become both a witch and a housewife? Through the conflict of the show, we often get the impression that this dual-identity may not be possible.

In an example of Samantha’s dual-identity conflict from season two of *Bewitched*, Endora tells Samantha, “You’re becoming the typical suburban housewife,” and Samantha answers, “Thank you.” Endora is disgusted by the idea of something “normal,” while Samantha seems to desire normalcy. But if Samantha truly desires to be a normal, typical, anything, why does she continue to use witchcraft? The answer is that she does not, and never did, intend to give up who she was before she met Darrin and decided to change her identity. She cannot seem to stop using witchcraft, even when Darrin “forbids” it, because her desire for her other identity is too strong. We see this evidenced throughout the entire series. Obviously Darrin wants Samantha to pick his, mortal, identity and shun her witch identity, while Endora finds

Samantha's defining herself as a housewife something blasphemous to her witch identity. We do see that Samantha's standing within both worlds she inhabits is important to her, requiring for her to never show the opposite identity to the opposite identifiers. As Anzaldua says, "Like others having or living in more than one culture, we get multiple, often opposing, messages. The coming together of two self-consistent but habitually incompatible frames of references causes *un choque*, a cultural collision" (100).

This desire for both identities is shown also in season two when the Queen of the Witches visits Samantha, something that is considered an honor to Endora, and surprisingly to Samantha. Their excitement shows that Samantha still truly cares about her standing in the witch community even despite the fact that most witches and warlocks do not agree with her mixed marriage. And then, even despite Samantha's marriage, she is named successor as the Queen of the Witches. This episode shows that Samantha's ideas about life, which are reflected in her choice of husband, are respected and ahead of her time within the context of the show, which reflects on the creators' value of forward-thinking in terms of 1960s society. Samantha originally cannot accept being named Queen because she knows that Darrin would never understand her increased involvement in the witch world. But the honor is very important to her community and she eventually decides to accept, shuffling her time, like a lot of working mothers and wives, to keep up her work responsibilities and her responsibilities at home. She works out a compromise to where she only sees her subjects at night, so that she can be a normal wife and mother during the day. Eventually within this episode Darrin learns to understand that Samantha has her own life, and that she must stay involved within the witch community.

Anzaldua introduces the term, new *mestiza*, in *Borderlands*, an idea related to an identity politics that is often spoken of as part of feminist struggles. Her new idea was to find a solution

to singular identity politics, or the problematic that Anzaldua says arises from being two races or having two identities and trying to fill a prescriptive of singular identity. “A solution to the problem of collective singular subjectivity seemed to be instead in taking a standpoint of intersubjectivity, which provides a perspective from which people can recognize themselves and others as differently and complexly identified” (Fowlkes 3). Intersubjectivity is what Samantha becomes an example of throughout the show, because of her conflict to maintain two seemingly separate identities. The creators of the show may have been making a statement about the complexity of the identities of people, when at this mid-1960s time frame, complexly identified women were not common in entertainment. Samantha’s narrative is important to this particular statement because, as Moraga says in the introduction to *This Bridge Called my Back*, “theory alone cannot wipe out racism. We do not experience racism, whether directed at ourselves or others, theoretically. Neither do white women” (62). The creators of *Bewitched* have attempted to portray a mixed marriage through a narrative lens to enable the audience to witness how discrimination and oppression has affected a family, how the difficulties of being from two different cultures can affect a marriage, and how discrimination exists on both sides because both sides of ethnic struggles refuse to understand each other. What Anzaldua and other radical women of color are trying to change is the privileging of white middle-class feminists and their misunderstanding of other ethnic and sexual oppression, in order to reach a place that Layli Phillips describes as womanist: a state of overall equality.

Ethnic and sexual oppression also relate to issues of family dynamic in *Bewitched*, which is an important issue to Third-World and border feminism. Chicano culture was judged by women who were a part of it as being sexist and oppressive in that it expected a certain amount of submission to men by women. Samantha’s relationship with Darrin in *Bewitched* is not all that

different from other 1960s relationships at first, but what makes *Bewitched* a womanist text is that the writers are manipulating the role of the submissive woman in the family. Samantha is constantly struggling between being stronger than Darrin in many ways and the desire to be a good housewife, which by characteristic means being submissive. Saldivar-Hull, in analyzing an essay by Sonia Lopez, says that “Lopez asserts that the family structure is based on masculinist notions that emphasize men’s supposedly natural superiority and authority over women. Women’s role in the Chicano family is primarily to serve men.” This is the reason Lopez cites is the cause of the difficulty Latinas had in entering a movement that dealt primarily with racial oppression that Latinos were in control of. Women were not seen as having any benefit to the Latino movement because of cultural stereotypes of the woman. *Bewitched* deals with this issue of the submissive woman; we see that Samantha is a woman, or witch, who can stand up for herself, but the writers are also sending a message that normal women cannot stand up for themselves, only those with supernatural powers. We see that even though Samantha wants to be a typical housewife, by entertaining her husband’s business associates, she won’t stand for putting up with Darrin’s potential client’s advances in season one, episode three. She uses her witchcraft to turn him into a dog, showing that she is not a passive housewife. She disobeys her husband’s wishes in order to stand up for herself. Of course, Darrin does not believe that the other man was at fault, getting angry with Samantha for disobeying him, although the man “practically attacked” her. She even stands up to her husband and uses her magic to make him sleep on the couch. She is using her differences in this case to make something better for one of her identities, that of a woman. When Samantha tells Darrin that Mr. Barker practically attacked her, his first response is to blame her, saying she is “exaggerating,” and then making excuses for the man because he had “a few too many”. Darrin even reminds Samantha that “any ordinary

wife would know how to handle it.” He even says, “what about you? You’re just a wife!” But she is not just a wife; her identity as a witch complicates her identity as a wife.

This incident between Darrin and Samantha relates back to an issue that Latina feminists struggled with in their beginnings: that of men telling women what they do and do not or should or should not want for their own identities as women. Samantha did not want to be a typical housewife if that meant being attacked by other men, even though Darrin demands that she should be a typical housewife. Saldivar-Hull relates this experience back to one that occurred at the Chicano Youth Conference in 1969 when “a few vocal Chicana activists raised the issue of the traditional role of the Chicana in the movement and how it limited her capabilities and her development” (30). But the requests of these Chicana women to have a discussion about their role, just like Samantha’s request to get Darrin to listen to her, were not taken seriously, and, at the conference, “one Chicana observed that ‘when the time came for the Workshop report to the full conference, the only thing that the representative did say was this – “it was the consensus of the group that the Chicana woman does not want to be liberated””” (31).

The show uses Samantha’s story to emphasize the problematic of a woman being placed in the gender role of the housewife, and specifically how issues of Samantha as a housewife of a certain caliber, in reference to the importance of her husband in his job, are even further complicated by the issue of her being a witch. As Saldivar-Hull says of border politics, “to completely understand the complexities of the Chicana and Chicano subjectivity in the greater borderlands of the United States, discussions of gender and sexuality are central in our oppositional and liberatory politics” (33). One issue of gender and sexuality that surrounds Samantha’s identity as a witch and a woman is the potential to add another layer to her identity: that of a mother. Darrin and Samantha’s status as a mixed couple is further complicated when the

idea of a bi-racial child is brought into the equation. Darrin deals with this issue early in the series in a hypothetical circumstance in season one, episode twelve. When Darrin's boss, Larry, thinks that Samantha is having a baby, he is excited to tell his colleague about what should be joyous news for a newly-wed husband. Darrin is at first concerned because he knows that his wife is a witch. He even has a terrifying daydream about what could be his magical family, complete with several kids flying around his office on brooms. Darrin has to face the issue of his wife passing on her identity to a child that will be half his. When Samantha actually gets pregnant in season two, episode one, Darrin asks her "what" it will be.

When Samantha has a daughter, Tabitha, she begins to develop her "Shadow-Beast," as Anzaldua talks about as the disobedience contained in her as a woman. As Saldivar-Hull explains in the introduction to Anzaldua's *Borderlands*, "The feminist rebel in her is the Shadow-Beast, 'a part of me that refuses to take orders from outside authorities' (38). The Shadow-Beast emerges as the part of women that frightens men and causes them to try to control and devalue female culture." The fact that Samantha is the daughter of her mother, Endora, a strong and proud witch, makes us assume that Samantha must have some of her mother's strength and tenacity. We see this assumption realized when Darrin insults Samantha's witch culture by using the term derogatorily and Samantha leaves Darrin, using her magic to escape from him. Samantha's witchcraft allows her to turn invisible and walk past Darrin even when he stands in front of the door to block it, but Samantha's femaleness also makes her proud of her daughter when she twitches her nose, "just like mommy," in the first episode of season three.

In Anzaldua's *Borderlands*, we also see the biggest connection between border culture and the experience of Samantha Stephens in Anzaldua's theory of *mestiza* culture. Anzaldua suggests a race that is in itself a mixture of many races. This race is stronger than any

concentrated race because it brings cultures together. It is a blending of multiple identities in order to heal a split that border people feel in their consciousness. Anzaldua explains it in terms of a Mexican philosopher:

Jose Vasconcelos envisaged una raza mestiza, una mezcla de razas afines, una raza de color – la primera raza sintesis del globo. He called it a cosmic race, la raza cosmica, a fifth race embracing the four major races of the world. Opposite to the theory of the pure Aryan, and to the policy of racial purity that white America practices, his theory is one of inclusivity. At the confluence of two or more genetic streams, with chromosomes constantly ‘crossing over,’ this mixture of races, rather than resulting in an inferior being, provides hybrid progeny, a mutable, more malleable species with a rich gene pool. From this racial, ideological, cultural and biological crosspollination, an ‘alien’ consciousness is presently in the making – a new mestiza consciousness, una conciencia de mujer. It is a consciousness of the Borderlands. (99)

Anzaldua continues to explain what creating a new *mestiza* consciousness meant for her in her own experiences, but we can also see this attempt at creation through Samantha’s continuous attempts to blend her two identities and to bring together the witches and warlocks in her life with her mortal husband. But Samantha can never truly accomplish *mestiza* consciousness because although her mother, and all witches, knows of the existence of mortals, mortals cannot know that witches exist for fear of being misunderstood. Darrin is the exception to this rule, but Darrin’s mortal relationships complicate this arrangement. In Episode eight from season one, “Witch or Wife,” Samantha decides to have lunch in Paris with her mother, using her witchcraft to get there without telling her husband. Unfortunately, she runs into Darrin’s boss and gets caught in the act of witchery by her husband. This episode shows that it’s difficult to

have two identities because you have to exist completely in one while keeping the other a secret, otherwise you will never be accepted in both. This difficulty of *mestiza* consciousness is also shown when Darrin questions whether Samantha would be happier as just a witch and not his wife, implying that Darrin thinks that Samantha cannot be both identities either, and she has to choose one over the other.

When Samantha feels the connection only a woman and a mother can have to her daughter, we see Samantha's inner desire for her witch identity, even though she must hide Tabitha from the world. At first Samantha wishes to shun her identity, but then she begins to develop both sides. Anzaldua talks about this phenomenon of becoming more *mestiza* in *Borderlands*: "I was indifferent to many of my culture's values. I did not let the men push me around. I was not good or obedient. But I have grown. I no longer spend my life dumping cultural customs and values that have betrayed me. I have also gathered time proven customs and the customs that respect women" (108). Samantha at first turns her back on witch culture entirely, hiding her mother's visits from Darrin. But as the series matures, Samantha begins to develop more of a *mestiza* culture; she blends parts of her identities to create a hybrid.

The problem and the challenge of reaching *mestiza* consciousness are revealed when Samantha's *mestiza* identity creates problems, because certain parts of two cultures cannot blend in certain ways; witch culture and mortal culture have some distinct borders between them. After Tabitha is born, in season four, episode 25, Darrin and Samantha get into an argument, as they often do, but Samantha is so angry she takes Tabitha "home to mother." Darrin is confused, as is the rest of the audience at this statement. Endora, from the beginning of the series, was a nomadic character. Samantha would always have to search for her mother in other countries, and even in fantasy places or places in the past that Darrin cannot get to even on an airplane. We do

not think that Endora has a home, or that Samantha had a home before she met and married Darrin. We begin to see the physical borderland that separates witches and mortals in that witches do not have physical borders. Anzaldua speaks of the physical and psychological borders in the preface to her book, *Borderlands*, when she explains:

The actual physical borderland that I'm dealing with in this book is the Texas-U.S. Southwest/Mexican border. The psychological borderlands, the sexual borderlands, and the spiritual borderlands are not particular to the Southwest. In fact, the Borderlands are physically present wherever two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory, where under, lower, middle and upper classes touch, where space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy. (Preface).

Later in the episode we learn that Endora's home is in the clouds. Samantha, Tabitha, and Endora float on a cloud as their "home" and the idea that witches and mortals cannot even share a physical space becomes more clear; one must find a home where the other cannot go. Through the duration of the series we learn that mortal men rule the physical world and witches have to exist among them undetected. Magic is a border that separates two groups of people, because those who have magic in their lives are not allowed to get too intimate with those who do not have magic.

Anzaldua warns of the dangers of living among borders, as Samantha lives, in her preface to *Borderlands* and we begin to learn in episode four of the first season of all the negative stereotypes that people have toward witches, and the writers want the viewer to understand that these stereotypes are hurtful to witches like Samantha. When Endora tells Samantha "bats are those ugly flying things people always think we're cooking," she is pointing to the subtle discrimination that involves judging the way that a group of people cooks. When we see Gladys

Kravitz lying on the couch with a cold towel on her head because she is so shocked about all the “unnatural” things that are going on when she visits Samantha in season one, episode 28, the writers are reflecting on the idea that most people, especially the older generations, fear things and people who are different from what they themselves are used to. Mr. and Mrs. Kravitz cannot accept anything supernatural into their worldview because they have been taught that supernatural things do not exist, and if they do, or if a person possesses them, that person is “spooky,” which has a very negative connotation. And after Samantha’s difficult afternoon with “regular people” in the same episode, her mother lectures her again about how unhappy she is and will continue to be because people just do not accept her differences. Then in a line that shows just where Samantha’s feelings lie within the subject of these two groups of people not accepting each other, she says “they’re not animals mother; they’re human beings.” But when Darrin meets Endora for the first time in the pilot episode, he is afraid of calling her a witch, even though Samantha and her mother both embrace that identity and that word to describe their identity. And even though Samantha is trying to act like a normal human being, she still judges them when she asks Darrin, “why is it that human beings care more about what a person looks like than what they are?” Darrin’s answer is that he does not like the “idea of having a mother-in-law with five blue eyes,” as Samantha sarcastically told him when she sensed his judgment about her witch mother. What he really meant to say is that he does not know if he likes the idea of having a mother-in-law who is a witch. A wife who is a witch is okay, because she is sworn to normalcy, or because she is the exception in the species. Darrin and Endora have disagreements about Samantha’s real identity right away, especially when Endora assumes Darrin cannot pronounce her last name and when he tells Endora witchcraft is “nonsense.” Samantha is the exception to him because she can push aside her real identity and chose to be normal, like he is.

But as Endora points out, “Samantha is what she is, and that you cannot change.” Even though Samantha made the choice herself, being a witch is something not even she can change about herself. And Samantha truly does not want to change her identity, she wants to live on the border of both identities. The driving force of the show is that this life on the border is so difficult.

The deep emotional struggles of trying to gain *mestiza* consciousness are also shown through Samantha’s story. Sometimes Samantha’s identity causes conflict within her marriage, other times the audience is entertained because she tries to keep her identity a secret from her husband. She hides her use of witchcraft from him and it becomes a point of laughter for the audience. For example, at the beginning of episode 9, Darrin is shown working, concentrating on reading a stack of papers, while Samantha is busy next to him trying to thread a needle. She glances over at Darrin, quickly makes the needle bigger and then threads the needle and changes it back to normal size. When Samantha offends Darrin by calling humans vain, Darrin responds by saying “What’s wrong with being human? At least I’m not a...” Samantha is quickly offended and begins to taunt, “not a what?” As if Darrin forgets for a minute that she is a witch and thinks of it as an undesirable identity to hold. But maybe Darrin wasn’t going to call her a witch. He manages to save himself by saying that she is “a fascinating, bewitching, beguiling...” He is in love with what makes Samantha different because it makes her interesting and exotic. By exoticizing Samantha, though, Darrin is still othering her. Anzaldua explains this current state: “Yet the struggle of identities continues, the struggle of the borders is our reality still. One day the inner struggle will cease and a true integration take place” (85). But the question remains of whether Samantha, a witch, can ever truly integrate. Witches have never gotten close to mortals before, or rarely have, because of the witches’ inability to show their true selves, but the idea of Darrin and Samantha attempting to have a relationship is a step in the right direction.

As Anzaldua explains, Samantha's struggles to integrate may provide entertainment when it complicates Darrin's workings in the outside world, but it provides true thought-provoking issues when the struggle takes place within the family. This distinction between inner and outer must be made because the struggle that takes place within Samantha is much stronger than that which takes place in Darrin's office. Samantha truly cares about the health and success of her marriage and her family. Anzaldua says, "The struggle has always been inner, and is played out in the outer terrains. Awareness of our situation must come before changes in society. Nothing happens in the 'real' world unless it first happens in the images of our heads" (109). Samantha is at times aware of her place among mortals and attempts to fit in and accept the discrimination that she must encounter, but at times she is confused and hurt by the prejudice witches experience from an unknowing ruling class, unknowing because most mortals have no idea that witches exist, yet they explore this possible reality with doubt and intrigue. Samantha experiences an interesting twist when she goes with Darrin to see a lecturer whose advertising company is interested in as a client whose specialty is in witches of the world. She insists on going with him and is appalled when the author makes the claim that witches do not exist. She even strikes him down when he suggests that a witch in the audience strike him down. Then in a strange twist, he uses an amateur spell that is supposedly meant to make witches disappear and it actually makes Samantha disappear. This event shows the dangers of hatred for a species, and even when it is taken lightly, it can affect those being discriminated against. Samantha thinks he is a naïve amateur, but Endora, who is wearier of the discrimination against witches, asks how Darrin could have exposed Samantha to a "dangerous fanatic."

This episode, in which we see the outer struggles of two cultures which often clash, is contrasted with another episode when Samantha has to meet Darrin's parents, people whose

opinions are actually important to the health of Samantha and Darrin's marriage. After Darrin meets both of Samantha's parents, as well as her aunt Clara, it's Samantha's turn to meet Darrin's parents. The narrative begins and follows a lot like most mother-in-law stories would: Samantha is worried about what Darrin's mother will think and Darrin's mother is hesitant to think anyone is good enough for her son. But when Aunt Clara enters the story, it becomes a narrative about joining two very different cultures of people. Darrin's mother automatically sees that Samantha's family is very different than most others. But Aunt Clara is completely comfortable in who she is, and thus is completely accepting of all other people. When Darrin tries to tell her that she cannot be herself because other people do not accept it, she becomes very sensitive about it and assumes she is "not welcome here." When Darrin tries to tell her that she can't be herself, she just does not understand. And in the meantime, Samantha cannot tell Darrin's parents about her true identity or even talk much about her family. She can't share what most people would want to with their new family, because she knows they will not accept it. At first Aunt Clara feels very comfortable telling Darrin's parents she's a witch, and feels very grateful that they're so okay with witches. "I'm so glad it doesn't bother you." When they ask why it would, she tells the truth, "that Samantha is one. But she's trying to get away from it. It bothers Darrin." Of course, Darrin's parents think Clara is crazy and his mother asks, "What kind of a family has poor Darrin married into?" Darrin has clearly married into a not normal family, at least by his parents' standards. And on the other side, Samantha has married into a family that will never accept her for who she really is because she is different. Samantha will never truly get close to her in-laws because of that split in identities. This split leads to another major conflict when Samantha and Darrin have a child.

When Darrin's parents meet Tabitha for the first time, we see the baby's ability to bring people together. Endora happens to drop in when Mr. and Mrs. Stephens are visiting and the two grandmothers have an immediate rivalry over their granddaughter. Endora insists that Tabitha looks like her side of the family, and brags about having seen her more, and even gets the same teddy bear Mrs. Stephens bought for her and gives it to her first. But when Endora makes the bear dance magically, Mr. Stephens gets a toy manufacturer to want to buy the idea. The two grandmothers come together to stop Tabitha's bear from being mass-produced because they both care about their granddaughter. Even though Endora knows her granddaughter's true identity, she comes to accept by the end of the episode that Tabitha is related to Darrin's parents as well. This bi-racial baby has brought two very different people together and has helped them to understand that they have at least one thing in common. And although Darrin's parents do not know just how different Samantha's family is, they come to accept that Tabitha shares DNA with these strange people and that they love her anyway.

The driving conflict of the show for several episodes after Tabitha is born is whether or not Tabitha can in fact be deemed a "witch." The very first episode that Darrin and Samantha bring baby Tabitha home, Darrin "accuses" her of being a witch. Samantha decides to get a bottle for her using witchcraft because she is tired, but Darrin has already gotten up to get the bottle. Darrin sees the bottle floating magically and assumes it is Tabitha using witchcraft to get the bottle for herself. He concludes that she is probably a "full-blooded witch" because her mother is a full-blooded witch. Samantha thinks that Darrin calling her a full-blooded witch is such an insult that it requires an apology. She even justifies that Tabitha's father is a mortal, so "at best she could only be a half-blooded witch." Darrin agrees and apologizes. We quickly learn

how Darrin feels about his daughter possibly being a witch, a reality that he will undoubtedly be faced with for the rest of his life.

In the beginning of season three, in the very first episode called "Nobody's Perfect," we find out that Tabitha does have magical powers. Even though Endora is thrilled at this fact, which means that her granddaughter has inherited her own family's identity, Samantha must find a way to break the news to Darrin lightly that his precious daughter has powers and differences that will scare her mortal father. At the beginning of the episode, the doctor checks Tabitha out at a routine one-year checkup, and assures a worried Darrin that she is a "perfectly healthy, perfectly normal, baby girl". This tells us that Tabitha's different identity runs much further than the eye can see, and even much further than a medical doctor can see. But Samantha is devastated that her daughter takes after her. Samantha shuns her own identity and does not want her daughter to have it. She even says "Wait until your father finds out. What could be worse?" All of Darrin's fears about Samantha being exposed and taken advantage of are shown to be more complex when he is angry at Endora for showing Tabitha the use of magic. He even feels that it is such a dirty word he has to spell it out. He even plays on the word bitch when he says he is the only person in the world who can say his mother-in-law is a W-I-T-C-H. Endora is not offended, taunting, "We both know what we are, don't we, Tabitha?" Samantha tries to reason with Tabitha telling her, "we're living in a world that isn't quite used to us yet, and I'm afraid they never will be." So I guess there is no hope for Darrin and Samantha's multi-cultural relationship. It is clear that Samantha has begun to think that she will completely sacrifice herself for what she is. That is until Tabitha twitches her nose and Samantha is excited about the resemblance. We understand why the world is not ready for witches yet when Samantha makes a baby photographer think he is going crazy. He's so distraught that he exclaims, "that's one nutty

baby!” Tabitha will not be able to do a lot of the things other babies can do because she is so different. Once again, a witch’s identity is complicated, and a bi-racial baby’s relationships are even more complicated. As Anzaldua says of a mixed culture:

The new mestiza copes by developing a tolerance for contradictions, a tolerance for ambiguity. She learns to be an Indian in Mexican culture, to be Mexican from an anglo point of view. She learns to juggle cultures. She has a plural personality, she operates in a pluralistic mode – nothing is thrust out, the good, the bad and the ugly, nothing rejected, nothing abandoned. Not only does she sustain contradictions, she turns the ambivalence into something else. 101

Although Samantha has accepted that her place in mortal culture is to juggle her two identities, trying to maintain a relationship with her family who does not accept her decision to marry a mortal, and trying to maintain a relationship with her husband, who she has deemed most important to her, hiding her true identity from his world that she has chosen to be a part of, Tabitha, as a child, has to learn to accept that the borderlands are her home. She thinks it is fun to do magic and cannot understand why she should not be allowed to, especially as she starts to get older. Samantha calls Tabitha’s use of magic “wishcraft,” reflecting on the idea that Tabitha is in a wonderful place in which she seems to get the things that she wants, but it is Samantha’s job as her mother to teach her that she has certain responsibilities as an other, one being to hide her identity from the unaccepting world.

Moraga states in *This Bridge Called my Back*: “Daily, we feel the pull and tug of having to choose between which parts of our mothers’ heritages we want to claim and wear and which parts have served to cloak us from the knowledge of ourselves” (Preface). Tabitha feels this pull in her experiences as a bi-racial child. When Darrin finally does find out that Tabitha is a witch,

he is worried and Samantha is worried about his reaction. Of course, Samantha does not want Darrin to think less of his daughter because of her “special abilities.” “You think it’s awful?” she questions of Darrin. He assures her that he does not think it is awful, but that he is surprised and astounded. But the viewers ask how could he be surprised and astounded? His wife is a witch and he had children with her; did he not know that a child that is half Samantha’s could turn out to be a witch. Samantha assures him that they will just have to nurture her the same way any parents who have a child with “a special gift or talent.” And now instead of Samantha’s witchcraft affecting Darrin’s life, Tabitha’s witchcraft, which is in a lot of ways worse since she is not aware of what she is doing and cannot be controlled in the same way, is affecting Darrin’s ability to have his boss and his wife over for drinks. Darrin is looking at his daughter, who he loves, and musing about how she looks like every other baby. “Well, she is except...” she tells him. Then she gets worried again and asks, “do you mind very much?” Darrin redeems himself and says, “It’s been wonderful living with one beautiful witch; it will be twice as wonderful living with two.” Although it is shocking living with a witch mother and a witch daughter, Darrin decides that their differences are something he can love.

We see how serious and how prestigious the witches feel about Tabitha’s identity, her witchcraft, when they have to put together a coven to test and report on Tabitha’s powers. It is then decided that Tabitha should be taken to a special school for witches so that her special powers can be cultivated. Samantha and Darrin object to having Tabitha taken away from her. Even though Endora thinks she has “unfortunate lineage” from her father’s side of the family, she is still very proud and wants Samantha’s witch identity to be kept pure and not be contaminated by living a mortal lifestyle. But the writers of this show want very much to show that Tabitha living in a mortal lifestyle is showing how two cultures to understand each other

better, even if they do have to keep their witch identities a secret. It is clear that Tabitha has not lost any part of her witch identity when Samantha's aunt Hagatha, "despite the fact that she's the product of a mixed marriage," certifies Tabitha to be a true and verified witch since her powers are very strong. Darrin's reaction is to say they' will "just have to live with it," but the three witches are thrilled about it. Endora says that it hurts her that Samantha has "drifted so far from our great and tradition sense of heritage," since they refuse to let Tabitha go to the school. Endora is completely against the integrating of their culture with the mortal culture, but we constantly see the struggles this young couple makes just to integrate; It is the entire source of conflict in the show. Tabitha must navigate the ground between being proud of being a witch, like her mother's side of the family, and being thought of as strange and being unaccepted by her father and the world he and his family exist in.

The producers and creators of *Bewitched* purposely chose to give Samantha a daughter and to make Samantha a woman in an effort to reflect on the feminist struggle within the race struggle of the show. As Anzaldúa says, "The struggle of the *mestiza* is above all a feminist one" (106). We see throughout the show that Samantha's femaleness complicates her witchness, but that Samantha may be considered a feminist character, a character working toward equality within the world of the television show, and a character helping to complicate the way women are viewed by people who watched the show in the 60s and people who watch the show now. As Barbara Smith explains in *This Bridge Called my Back*: "The reason racism is a feminist issue is easily explained by the inherent definition of feminism. Feminism is the political theory and practice to free all women: women of color, working-class women, poor women, physically challenged women, lesbians, old women, as well as economically privileged heterosexual women. Anything less than this is not feminism, but merely female self-aggrandizement" (61). In

episode five, the writers address both issues of gender and race, when Samantha helps Darrin come up with some ideas for an ad campaign. Darrin cannot come up with any ideas and after staying up nights on end Samantha suggests some ideas. At first, Darrin is thrilled about the good ideas, but he quickly turns on his wife because first she is a woman, and second, she is a witch, so he assumes that she could not come up with the ideas herself, and that she used magic to help her. Darrin thinks that the thing that makes Samantha different is cheating. When Samantha tells her mother that Darrin does not believe that she did not come up with the ideas herself, Endora responds by saying “and he never will.” Endora thinks that all human beings have a set of moral principles that do not change from person to person and that do not change over time. But Darrin believes that Samantha’s gifts are “cheating” and that if he accepts help from her, he will get used to having her witchcraft around. The real issue is with Darrin’s ego. He cannot accept that Samantha naturally has better ideas than he does, when he is the breadwinner and she is a woman. The show is again pointing to the flaws of the man’s ego during this time of housewives and workingmen.

Even when ethnicity is not explicitly complicating Samantha’s ability to be a feminist character, her ability to do magic helps her reach feminist goals. In one of my favorite clips from the show, Samantha plays with the view and the vulnerability of womanhood during this time period. Episode 10 opens with a T.V. repairman telling Samantha that their T.V. will require a lot of work and most importantly, money. When he leaves to use the telephone, he tells his friend on the phone about his plan to scam the innocent housewife, in the meantime, Samantha uses witchcraft to fix the T.V. When he comes back looking surprised and asks how she fixed it, Samantha innocently says, “nail file.” She smiles at his shock and the audience enjoys the joke of a strong woman. By participating in both the reshaping of the female sex, and the reshaping of

a different ethnicity, Samantha is reaching even further toward *mestiza* consciousness. As Anzaldua says, “I am cultureless because, as a feminist, I challenge the collective cultural/religious male-derived beliefs of Indo-Hispanics and Anglos; yet I am cultured because I am participating in the creation of yet another culture, a new story to explain the world and our participation in it, a new value system with images and symbols that connect us to each other and to the planet” (103). After all, the work of *mestiza* consciousness is to heal the split binaries that exist among all kinds of oppression, whether it be racial or sexual. “The work of *mestiza* consciousness is to break down the subject-object duality that keeps her a prisoner and to show in the flesh and through the images in her work how duality is transcended” (102). The fear that Samantha experiences is based on the danger of duality in every sense. Darrin both fears and controls Samantha based on her identity as a witch and a woman. There are certain expectations that wives are supposed to meet based on their sex’s place in the mortal world, but Samantha can overcome her prescribed place even easier than other women because she is more powerful than Darrin with her witchcraft.

This binary is not just inner, either. Darrin makes it clear that he supports the binary of man vs. woman. When Endora gives Darrin pregnancy symptoms to teach him a lesson about how he is treating Samantha, he has a fantasy where he is actually having a baby and in the hospital while he’s being interviewed by reporters he says, “As the boy’s father I’d like him to go into politics, but as his mother, I’m against it.” This shows a certain way of thinking in the 60s that emphasizes a strict binary of one thing versus another thing. Darrin thinks women want one thing and men automatically want the other. The same is true among different kinds. The man/woman binary is a common theme throughout the entire show. Women were expected to be one thing while men another, and there was no crossover, like that men should be involved in

politics and women should not. But the conflict of the show, other than Samantha's dual-identity, has to do with her breaking the typical woman binary. She is more like what would be thought of as a man at this time because she holds so much power, and often times more power than her own husband. When he tries to exert his power and tell her what she can and cannot do, she can simply disappear or make herself invisible and float away. It is important to heal the binaries prescribed by the 1960s in order to reach *mestiza* consciousness, which Samantha's character attempts. According to Anzaldua, this healing is the most important struggle for someone living in the borderlands. "The answer to the problem between the white race and the colored, between males and females, lies in healing the split that originates in the very foundation of our lives, our culture, our languages, our thoughts. A massive uprooting of dualistic thinking in the individual and collective consciousness is the beginning of a long struggle, but one that could, in our best hopes, bring us to the end of rape, of violence, of war" (102).

One particular issue that the show is lacking is a fair discussion of how Samantha relates to other women in a supportive way. The first interaction that we see of Samantha with another woman is when she is pitted against Darrin's ex-girlfriend in the first episode. The other woman is jealous of Samantha so Samantha is forced to embarrass and somewhat harm the other woman in order to stand up for herself. Samantha's feminism is clearly defined in relation to her marriage and the way that Samantha and Darrin play off of each other. Although this is supportive and very much a result of the time period, it is a disservice to women of the 60s, who are pressured to define themselves based on their relationship to men, and whose relationships to other women are based on competing for men. This is one reason that Third-world, third-wave feminists criticized the white feminists who came before them. As Norma Alarcon states in an essay in the collection, *Criticism in the Borderlands*,

Needless to say, the requirement of gender consciousness only in relationship to man leaves us in the dark about a good many things, including interracial and intercultural relations. It may well be that the only purpose this type of differential has is as a political strategy. It does not help us envision a world beyond binary restrictions, nor does it help us reconfigure feminist theory to include the 'native female.' It does, however, help us grasp the paradox that within this cultural context one cannot be a feminist without becoming a gendered subject of knowledge which makes it very difficult to transcend gender at all and to imagine relations between women. 34

But what Samantha's character may be lacking in female independence, Endora attempts to make up for, yet Endora is seen as the uncaring, selfish, lavish, and discriminatory unmarried woman. She plays the role of "home-wrecker" when Darrin's bored, retired father shows an interest in her freedom and unusualness. She also plays the role of sabotaging, meddling mother when she tries to tempt Samantha with a former boyfriend, or when she plants another witch into Darrin's business ventures in hopes that he will have an affair and that Samantha will finally see what she thinks is the truth about Darrin. Of course, Endora's actions are attributed to her unwillingness to accept Samantha's choices. Even by the middle of season four, Endora and Darrin still have not reached a point of understanding. Endora seems as if she will never accept the mortal way of life and Samantha's choice to be a part of it. When she tries to talk Samantha's former warlock boyfriend into getting her attention again, she explains to him, "I simply want to free my daughter from a life of mortal drudgery." Endora's independence is portrayed as close-mindedness because she will manipulate her way into making her daughter agree with a similar lifestyle as her own.

And although we see that witch women have a certain amount of power over the mortal man, when it is time for Darrin to meet Samantha's father, we learn that the warlock patriarch is king. Both Samantha and Endora are afraid of Maurice, Endora's former husband and Samantha's father. Maurice of course does not approve of Samantha's mixed marriage, which is what Samantha feared from the start, but while Endora only has the power to play harmless tricks on Darrin, Maurice has the power to truly put Darrin in danger and Samantha and Endora have no control over what he does. At the end of the episode Darrin and Maurice reach an understanding, based mostly on some kind of male camaraderie and the fact that Maurice thinks that despite Samantha's strength and independence, she still needs a man in her life who she can answer to, otherwise she will be frivolous like her mother, even if it's a mortal man who gives her life meaning. Darrin even manages to impress Maurice by the end of the episode with a rare bottle of wine. As Cherrie Moraga states about Anzaldua, "Her refusal to 'glorify those aspects of my culture which have injured me and which have injured me in the name of protecting me' signals the agenda for the new mestizo, the border feminist. The border feminist that Anzaldua presents is a woman comfortable with new affiliations that subvert old ways of being, rejecting the homophobic, sexist, racist, imperialist, and nationalist" (214). Samantha's submission to her father and to her husband takes her one step further away from Mestiza consciousness. Although she refuses certain gender norms passively, she cannot stand up to Darrin and her father directly in most cases. One incident which is an example of Samantha exerting her power passively is when she is being pursued by a famous boxer with a famous temper while she is waiting to meet Darrin for lunch. The man becomes more aggressive and by the time Darrin gets to the restaurant he sees immediately what is going on and attempts to stand up for his wife. When Samantha sees the boxer beginning to swing at Darrin, she uses her witchcraft to make him feel like he was

punched in the stomach. Darrin is immediately offended that his wife has to stand up for him, Samantha tells him, "if I was in harm and you could help me, wouldn't you?" Samantha does not understand this double standard that she is not allowed to stand up for her husband. Being a strong woman who is not from the mortal world means that she cannot understand certain societal norms within the mortal world. Yet she does understand that she must help Darrin feel masculine again. As Judith Moschovitch states in *This Bridge Called my a Back*: "Think of it in terms of men's and women's cultures: women live in male systems, know male rules, speak male language when around men, etc. But what do men really know about women? Only screwed up myths concocted to perpetuate the power imbalance" (79).

Moschovitch then relates this power imbalance to dominant and non dominant cultures: "It is the same situation when it comes to dominant and non-dominant or colonizing and colonized cultures/countries/people. As a bilingual/bicultural woman whose native culture is not American, I live in an American system, abide by American rules of conduct, speak English when around English speakers, etc., only to be confronted with utter ignorance or concocted myths and stereotypes about our own culture" (80). For Samantha and her family, they have been forced to exist among the mortal world, in secret, hiding their true identities from everyone for fear that the "normal people" who are in control of society will not accept them. When Samantha's uncle Arthur comes to stay with Samantha and Darrin in order to spend some time with Tabitha, Darrin is upset at his use of magic in plain view of the neighbors. Uncle Arthur loves to entertain Tabitha using his witchcraft probably because he does not see anything wrong with being himself around his relatives and probably also because he loves her and wants to share his identity in order to entertain her. Darrin does not like Arthur showing his identity and even yells, "Talk about influencing the baby!" Endora, who has always had a rivalry with her

brother, calls him an “exhibitionist” because of his use of magic in public. Arthur is unafraid to flamboyantly show his true self, even knowing that other people do not agree with it. When Samantha gets upset about Endora and Arthur fighting, she gives them an angry speech, saying, “I feel very torn when we get into this witches world versus mortal world battles. I can see both sides and I try to take both sides... But sometimes when you’re trying so hard to be fair, you can be nothing.” We already know this about the show. Samantha is constantly trying to live in and keep people appeased in both worlds. But will her constantly trying to live in both worlds ultimately make her nothing? If we try to maintain too many identities at the same time, will we eventually lose all of ourselves? This is why Anzaldua warns of the dangers of living in the borderlands. Anzaldua says, “the ambivalence from the clash of voices results in mental and emotional states of perplexity. Internal strife results in insecurity and indecisiveness. The mestiza’s dual or multiple personality is plagued to psychic restlessness.”

In order to escape this and stand in the borderlands but not become nothing, Samantha must do what Anzaldua does according to Saldivar-Hull: “Claiming all parts of her identity, even those that clash, she escapes essentialist categories and envisions one provisional home where she can 'Stand and claim my space, making a new culture – una cultura mestizo – with my own lumber, my own bricks and mortar and my own feminist architecture' (44)” (5). Samantha constantly struggles with essentialism on both sides of her identity – Darrin vs. Endora (witch vs. mortal) but not both. She eventually creates una cultura mestizo where she can stand between both worlds and be something. An interesting question that we have all wondered as we are watching *Bewitched* gets brought up in the second season when Darrin is upset that Samantha is using witchcraft for small household help. He even tells her, “You’re getting to be more witch than wife.” She points out that Darrin knew she was a witch when he married her. Of course,

Darrin did not know she was a witch until their wedding night, and this brings up a whole new set of questions about the validity of their marriage. Endora steps in and uses witchcraft to take Samantha back in time so she can tell whether Darrin's love for her is true or not, even though he does not agree with her being a witch. At first, Darrin is afraid of Samantha's powers. He even runs away from Samantha after he finds out screaming, "don't touch me!" But after the story plays itself out, we see that although Darrin is originally scared, he comes to see that Samantha is different but not in a scary or bad way. Not before all three go back and forth accusing each other of showing prejudice toward the other's identity. Darrin even tells Samantha and Endora, "you witches think you are so different but you are acting like any ordinary mother and daughter." We eventually see that one of the biggest reasons why Darrin wants to keep Samantha's witchcraft a secret is because he is afraid that people will take advantage of her powers. This gives us hope that if more people get to know those who have differences, we will eventually learn to see past the common stereotypes. This episode is meant to show that Darrin is content with his choice to marry a witch and that Samantha will not give up her identity.

Samantha shows how much she really does not fit in to this mortal world when Darrin gives her a driving lesson. She wants to learn how to drive in an effort to live more like a mortal, but she is hardly experienced a car and how it works because she has never had a need for a car since she is a witch who can fly. Of course, Darrin does not want her to fly for transportation, so she has to learn to fit in. But he does not have the patience to teach her and he takes her differences for granted. Samantha overcomes her shortcomings as a witch and her inability to drive to help a poor nervous mortal, her driving instructor, with her natural abilities. Samantha is all too willing to give up on a practice that is shared between her and her witch culture in order to fit into mortal society. Anzaldua states in *This Bridge...* in reference to the many women who

came together to make the collection: "Combined we cover so many oppressions. But the overwhelming oppression is the collective fact that we do not fit, and because we do not fit we are threat. Not all of us have the same oppressions, but we emphasize and identify with each other's oppressions" (209). Although Samantha does not have the same oppressions as other women, other women can relate to this particular example of oppression when Samantha is forced to turn her back on a form of transportation that comes naturally to her family and has to learn a new lifestyle that is more acceptable to her husband, even if it causes her frustration to learn.

Samantha is still missing this female companionship throughout the show. Every female within her family, who she would be able to share her true self with, turns out to be crazy and over the top. This is true of Samantha's mother, Endora, her aunt Clara, and it become especially true when we are introduced to Samantha's cousin, Serena. The episode that Tabitha is born is also the first episode we are introduced to Serena, Samantha's cousin who is also played by Elizabeth Montgomery except in a dark wig. This may be implying that all witches look similar, even when they are removed as far as cousins. But this also sets up a dynamic for the entire rest of the show in which Serena is Samantha's wild magic free-willing counterpart. While Samantha will be focusing on trying to maintain her normality while living in Darrin's life, Serena will be flaunting her use of witchcraft in a care free way. We even come to find Serena's quirks endearing because she's so free with the way she acts. This desire for the female experience is echoed in Saldivar-Hull's explanation of the whole theory of her book, *Feminism on the Border*, when she says, "Chicana feminist theories present material geopolitical issues that redirect feminist discourse, again pointing to a theory of feminism that addresses a multiplicity of experiences, what I call 'feminism on the border'" (49).

Anzaldua addresses the issue of the binary of femininity vs. masculinity in *Borderlands*, and brings up a new issue in the realm of feminist theory: “tenderness, a sign of vulnerability, is so feared that it is showered on women with verbal abuse and blows. Men, even more than women, are fettered to gender roles. Women at least have had the guts to break out of bondage” (Norton 2104). Anzaldua is not placing blame on men, whites, Mexicans, blacks, or any other labeled groups, but instead making an observation about the idea that exists in our psyche that makes us think of each other in labeled ways. Thinking in terms of a dichotomy is obviously a dangerous practice because men are harming their own sex by devaluing tenderness so much that they are violent against it. She calls this harmful thinking a “doppelganger” in our psyche. This idea at the time it is being written was a new step toward the idea of complete understanding that women like Anzaldua hoped to change about the way feminists viewed the feminist movement. When Anzaldua says that “we need to allow whites to be our allies,” she is speaking to an audience of other Third-world feminists. We see another example of this male vs. female dyad when Darrin and Larry are having a normal rivalry over their kids. When Larry tells Darrin that “there’s nothing better in the world than having a son,” Darrin counters by saying the only thing better he can think of is having a daughter. “But a son can grow up to be something a father is really proud of,” Larry tells him. “Like a leader of industry or a scientist or even the President of the United States.” Darrin laughs, but as a man with a daughter he now thinks of women differently, telling Larry, “When your young President gets married, he’s going to have somebody’s daughter telling him how to run the country.” Larry shows the signs of the times by implying that only sons, not daughters, can make their parents proud with their impressive careers. So therefore, girls cannot attain any of these impressive careers, especially president. Darrin, although he does not deny that Tabitha cannot be President, does show part of his unique

place in time and history by saying that women have more control than men realize. But they have to be married in order to have it.

CONCLUSION

Because of the new trend and the new mainstream interest in recreating the issues and aesthetics of the 1960s, *Bewitched* becomes an important historical artifact that can be used to judge the actual events and attitudes of the influential time period that it both creates and represents. Through the subtle narrative of a “mixed” marriage and a passing narrative of an othered woman who must later teach her third-world daughter how to pass as a member of a dominant culture that she does not belong to, *Bewitched* presents a way to think about ethnicity relations when referring to the historical past, but more importantly, we see how a prime-time, main-stream television show turned the issues that surround ethnicity into a socially accepted sitcom. The light-hearted attitude of a kitschy family sitcom does not diminish the issue of an othered woman struggling to live in a dominant society, though. Instead, the idea of a sitcom makes Samantha’s important narrative subtle enough to be accepted by an audience who may not have largely accepted a more realistic mixed marriage. Samantha’s struggles as an ethnic other and as an oppressed woman become very real to a 1960s audience, without a conscious realization from the audience, because the show is primarily dealing with fiction. Samantha, as a character on the show, works toward *mestiza* consciousness as well as a womanist perspective in her efforts to break free from a stereotype of a submissive woman, and in both her efforts to join two culturally different families together by getting married.

As a dialogue that is being presented by the creators of the show during a time in which women were widely expected to live in a gender role, and in a gender-favoring society, Samantha’s dialogue breaks a trend of female television characters. As this key to helping women break free from a male-dominated society, Samantha sets a precedent that other television shows could follow as television progressed, and ideally, became more womanist. But,

our new trendy fascination with “vintage” fashion, events, and other items, including television shows, has diminished the progress that was being made by character’s like Samantha, who were so much different than other female characters of her time, like Jeanie, from *I Dream of Jeanie*. Because as we begin to covet 1960s fashion and aesthetics, we adopt a new, vintage attitude that forgets the amount of progress made by female television characters who served as aids in American society’s progression toward equality among all people, the core of womanist value. We can use Samantha’s narrative and this critical look at *Bewitched*, in its original setting, to look at current female characters more critically in order to judge whether or not equality is being represented. More importantly, as the 1960s becomes new again, we must be able to separate the trendy from the very real issues that negatively affected 1960s society in order to truly work toward development of egalitarianism, at least as presented by our television programs.

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