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A white homosexual American male: The idealized American identity in *Giovanni's Room*

*Giovanni's Room* was written by James Baldwin and published in 1956. The novel features a protagonist named David, who travels from America to Paris and falls in love with an Italian man named Giovanni. Writing about homosexuality at this time was very radical, which is why the novel was originally rejected due to its homoerotic content and said to ruin Baldwin's career if ever published. The protagonist is described as a blonde, blue-eyed American male, even though Baldwin himself was both black and homosexual. Why did he make this decision? Back then, there was a certain expectation among black authors to address and write about the social issues of African Americans in their work. By establishing the protagonist as a white American male, Baldwin allowed himself more freedom in his work without being complicated by issues of racialized blackness. However, even though most people think of the novel as raceless and simply being about homoerotic love, I will argue that the novel is really about the protagonist being unable to accept himself because of his race and sexuality.

In this thesis I am going to answer how self-acceptance, sexuality and race are connected to the protagonist's idea of self and his American identity in *Giovanni's Room*. I argue that by using the concepts self-acceptance and race deflected onto sexuality, one can read the

novel as being about the main character's struggle with his own self-image and him wanting to reach an idealized masculine American identity.

### **Self-acceptance**

In "Dividing the Mind: Contradictory Portraits of Homoerotic Love in *Giovanni's room*" Yasmin Y. DeGout argues that Baldwin depicts homoerotic love both negatively and positively because the novel is not about homosexuality at all. The novel is really about its characters not being able to reach self-acceptance. Even though the novel was originally rejected due to its homoerotic content, DeGout argues that homosexuality as a theme becomes deconstructed altogether. In the novel, there is a coexistence of both a positive and negative portrait of homoerotic love. On one hand, Baldwin depicts homoerotic love positively, as a natural, healing and wholesome interaction between the characters. In addition to this, he also describes it as a deviant behavior that proceeds from both psychological and socioeconomic depravity. At the time *Giovanni's Room* was published, homosexuality was believed to be a mental illness caused by experiences such as childhood trauma or negative relationships with parents. In the novel, Baldwin emphasizes David's bad relationship with his father and of the negative image of his mother who died when he was young. One can argue that both David and Giovanni have had traumatic experiences or bad relationships in their past. However, DeGout points out that Baldwin does not place emphasis on their past because he wants to explain homosexuality as a result of childhood trauma or parental issues.

There is a duality of homosexuality being depicted positively and negatively, as both natural and unnatural. The reason for this duality, Degout argues, is because the novel is not about homosexuality at all: "The theme of homosexuality is deconstructed in *Giovanni's Room*

because the major themes of the work are also depicted through female, heterosexual characters.” (433) In other words, despite what many people may think, *Giovanni's Room* is not about homoerotic love at all. DeGout argues that Baldwin does not want to debate whether homosexuality is natural or not. Instead, DeGout points out the themes of self-acceptance and fatalism, which affects both homosexual and heterosexual characters in the novel. The protagonist, as well as other characters, struggle to accept themselves as a result of psychological and socioeconomic factors. David has assimilated the homophobic attitudes of mainstream society, which makes him deny his own homoerotic feelings and to never truly accept himself. The heterosexual characters Sue and Hella also struggle to meet the expectations set by gender roles which make them experience loneliness and self-loathing. Which is why both heterosexual and homosexual characters become victims of themselves and fatalism as well as David.

The theme of fatalism, DeGout explains, is connected to the inevitable self-destruction caused by the characters self-denial. Because David is unable to overcome and accept his homosexual feelings, he is led to experience self-entrapment. Because he is lying to himself and other people about who he really is, he becomes unable to love or to form any real relationships. Fatalism as a result of self-denial is among the deeper themes in the novel that subvert the interpretation of the work as a novel simply about homoerotic love. In other words, the overall theme of the novel is really self-acceptance. DeGout claims the novel as Baldwin's cry for societal change that can be produced by exposing the destructiveness of the existing value systems. Both homosexual and heterosexual characters in the novel are linked by the common theme of not being able to accept the parts of themselves that differ from society's expectations and norms. This is linked to society's system and creation of otherness and deviant behavior. Which again makes it harder for the characters to open up and love other people as well as

themselves. This shows that even though *Giovanni's Room* is known for its homoerotic content, there are deeper themes at play and a bigger meaning in the work to be revealed.

With this concept in mind, what is the relationship between sexual identity and self-acceptance? In "Expatriation, Homosexual Panic, and Man's Estate" Mae G. Henderson argues that David's concern with his image and self-esteem prevents him from acknowledging his homoerotic feelings. Even though David falls in love with Giovanni, he has a complex reaction to him, himself and the homosexual subculture. He is a victim of internalized homophobia and continues to see homosexuality not only as an illegal and criminal offence, but as a crime against nature. In the novel, David acts out his homosexuality in Giovanni's room while hiding away from the rest of the world. Henderson explains Giovanni's room as a representation of David's associations of homosexuality. The room is described as small, dirty, filthy and becomes a metaphor for his claustrophobic sense of self-entrapment. Even though he admits to loving Giovanni, he wants to escape the room and end their relationship. David tries to preserve his innocence and purity by retreating into a safety zone of conventionally constructed masculinity and seeks conformity to prevailing gendered conventions and norms. That is to say that David's concern with his image and self-esteem binds him to social convention. Henderson explains:

As a prototypical American –*Monsieur l'Americain*, as he is called by the French – David represents a construction of whiteness and maleness that rests upon a conception of human nature that derives from an American Puritanical heritage associated with the repression and sinfulness of the body. (321)

In other words, David's cultural consciousness makes him unable to defy or deny the cultural imperatives of his uniquely American experience. The American identity derives from a Puritanical view of moral, Henderson explains. Because of this, David has a need to preserve an

image of purity. Henderson argues that David is in constant conflict between his homosexual desire and the heterosexual imperative which makes him trapped in his own self-image and at war with himself.

In the novel, David leaves Giovanni and attempts to achieve a potential heterosexual relationship with Hella. However, he does not feel comfortable in this relationship either and ends up cheating on Hella with another man. When David fails to control his urges, he also fails to come to terms with himself or his culture. He is a man with a divided mind and conscience. Even though he admits to loving Giovanni, David cannot escape his internalized homophobia and continues to see their love as dirty and immoral. Henderson explains that Baldwin tries to focus on the paradoxical and self-contradictory issues of subjectivity: what it is to be a white American and an expatriate, and what it is to be a homosexual and a man. Baldwin's novel explores the homosexual dilemma as one of expatriation, or exile from nation, from culture and from body. David becomes a way for the author to demonstrate the relation between identity and culture, but also cultural constructions of nationality and masculinity. Even though David leaves America for Paris, he still cannot come to terms with his American identity. In order to achieve self-acceptance, David has to divest himself of his own heritage, Henderson explains.

DeGout and Henderson both argue that David's sexuality is affecting his sense of self and makes it harder for him to accept himself. The reason why David cannot accept his own sexuality is because it is contradicting to his idea of what it means to an American male. DeGout deconstructs homosexuality as a theme in the novel and argue for self-acceptance as the overall theme. Henderson draws connection between sexuality and self-acceptance and explains how it is affecting David's self-image and self-esteem. In contrast, Armengol reads sexuality in the novel differently. In his view, there is a connection between sexuality and race. Even though

these are very different ideas, they all play a part in the idealized American identity that David is constantly trying to reach. Self-acceptance, sexuality and race are social identifiers and part of what makes a person's identity and thereby exert influence David's perception of himself.

### **Race deflected onto sexuality**

In "In the Dark Room: Homosexuality and/as Blackness in James Baldwin's *Giovanni's Room*" Josep M. Armengol argues that race is deflected onto sexuality in which whiteness is transvalued as heterosexuality and homosexuality becomes associated with blackness.

*Giovanni's Room* has traditionally been defined as raceless, because the protagonist is described as an American male with blonde hair and blue eyes. However, Armengol explains that the discourses of race and sexuality in the text cannot be seen separated from each other:

Baldwin's novel crosses both sexual and racial barriers, showing the interconnections between heterosexuality and homosexuality, on the one hand, and whiteness and blackness, on the other. (687)

In other words, Armengol argues for a connection between sexuality and race in the novel. Even though David is a white American male, the problems he faces are defined in terms that would equally fit a black man. David is playing the traditional racial and heterosexual roles of white patriarchal culture. However, he is finally revealed to be both "black" and homosexual, which Armengol explains Baldwin saw as interchangeable identities. Throughout the novel, David establishes numerous associations between homoeroticism and blackness which does not only derive from his fear and hatred of homosexuality, but from his white heritage and from being a white American male. Even though colors in *Giovanni's Room* have traditionally been regarded as a surface matter, Armengol argues that Baldwin refers to color as a way of locating both racial

and sexual situations of his characters. There is an influence of color on the same-sex attraction and desire. Armengol argues for a white-versus-black discourse being connected to the heterosexual-versus-homosexual discourse in the novel.

The American ideal of masculinity has long regarded homosexuality as dirty and immoral, which makes David a victim of this ideal because of his desire to his former lover Joey and Giovanni. Armengol's contention is that David's homophobia and fear of himself are linked to his racially white heritage. In the novel, homosexuality is depicted with sin, dirtiness, impurity, darkness and blackness. Heterosexuality by contrast is associated with cleanness, innocence, purity, whiteness and lightness. In other words, Armengol argues that sexuality, both heterosexuality and homosexuality, seem to be bound to color. Both of David's lovers, Joey and Giovanni, are linked to homosexuality and blackness. While the idea of a relationship with a woman is depicted with whiteness, purity and lightness.

In the novel, David has to choose between Hella and Giovanni. Hella is a white American woman and Giovanni an Italian man described with dark features. Thereby David has to choose between a white woman and a colored man. When David leaves Giovanni for Hella, he attempts to reaffirm his white heterosexual identity. Armengol explains David's abandonment of Giovanni (homosexuality) for Hella (heterosexuality), as David trying to leave behind blackness, but also to recover the privileges of whiteness and heterosexuality. Despite David trying to remain white and heterosexual, he cannot avoid being corrupted by his relationship to Giovanni and therefore by both blackness and homosexuality. Eventually David is revealed to be "black" because of his homoerotic feelings to Giovanni, that contradicts the image of him as a white masculine American male. While whiteness has usually been opposed to blackness, and heterosexuality seen as an opposition to homosexuality, their oppositions get undermined by

revealing their mutual dependence. Armengol argues that Baldwin's aim for this reversal is to reveal the black gay man beneath the white American male. This way, he gets to question not only traditional fixed sexual and racial distinctions, such as heterosexuality/homosexuality and whiteness/blackness but also the division between sexuality and race itself. Because of his relationship to Giovanni, David struggles to come to terms with himself as a white American male.

### **Comparing the concepts of self-acceptance and race deflected onto sexuality**

DeGout and Armengol argue for bigger themes to be revealed behind sexuality in *Giovanni's Room* than simply homoerotic love. They both think Baldwin tries to show the destructiveness of an existing system toward minority groups, like homosexuals and black people. In their view, Baldwin comments on how society needs to change the system of otherness and its treatment of oppressed groups. David struggles to accept himself due to his sexuality because it is contradicting to his racial and national identity. While David attempts to reach the ideal of a white masculine heterosexual American male and to conform to heteronormativity, he instead falls victim of this ideal and to himself. The American masculine ideal has long regarded homosexuality as something shameful and immoral, which consequently seems to have a self-destructive effect on David, who wants to reaffirm his white masculinity. Because of his homophobia, he struggles to accept himself and tries to deny his homoerotic feelings. DeGout and Armengol believe David's homophobia is due to his racially white heritage and is the reason why he has assimilated the homophobic attitudes of mainstream society. David tries to conform to heteronormativity in order to perceive himself as the ideal white heterosexual American male. When he finds himself unable to deny or change his homoerotic feelings, he

becomes unable to accept himself or to identify as an American. Both sources agree that David cannot accept himself because of his feelings to Giovanni and other men.

Armengol and DeGout have different views on sexuality in the novel. While Armengol draws connection between sexuality and race, DeGout shows how sexuality makes the protagonist unable to reach self-acceptance. She argues that David's self-perception and sense of identity is affected negatively because of a harmful society that creates deviant behavior and a system of otherness. Armengol, on the other hand, argues that while David wants to reaffirm his heterosexuality, he also wants to reaffirm his white male privilege. By drawing this connection, Armengol focuses on intersectionality by recognizing how identity markers creates different modes of discrimination and privilege. Armengol argues that homosexuality becomes connected, literally and metaphorically, to blackness, and heterosexuality connected to whiteness. Both blackness and homosexuality are part of the otherness in the white male patriarchy in society. Armengol argues that sexual and racial identity, in this case homosexuality and blackness, are connected because it is the same structures that are responsible for the groups experienced oppression. If one does not fit society's paradigm of an ideal white American man, one will differ from the majority and become part of the otherness. Armengol explains it hard to address homophobia in America without addressing the same structures and issues that apply to racism as well.

Armengol argues for the concept race deflected onto sexuality, and therefore being connected. DeGout on the other hand, argues that the novel is not about sexuality at all but about self-acceptance and fatalism. Because of the contradicting portraits of homoerotic love, DeGout argues the theme of (homo)sexuality as irrelevant. Instead, the novel is really about characters not being able to accept themselves. Their inability to accept themselves make them victims of

fatalism. In her view, both the heterosexual and homosexual characters are victim of a society that creates expectations, roles, norms and a system of otherness and deviant behavior.

Categorizing people will have a harming effect to the individuals who cannot fit or meet the expectations of their category. This destructive system makes it harder for the characters to accept themselves because they differ from the majority and from what is seen as normal and right. DeGout argues that David is not the only one unable to accept himself due to society's expectations, norms and gender roles. The heterosexual women Hella and Sue are also victims of this destructive system and unable to accept themselves.

### **Self-acceptance and race deflected onto sexuality in *Giovanni's Room***

I argue that the concept of self-acceptance changes the concept of race deflected onto sexuality in *Giovanni's Room* so that we can interpret David's inability to accept himself is because he cannot reach the ideal of a white heterosexual American male. Despite what many people may think, the novel is actually about the homosexual and heterosexual characters' struggle for self-acceptance. Thereby the first concept being that even though it seems to be about homosexuality, it is really about self-acceptance. With this idea in mind, one can read this scene in a new way:

There was a sailor, dressed all in white, coming across the boulevard, walking with that funny roll sailors have and with that aura, hopeful and hard, of having to make a great deal happen in a hurry. I was staring at him, though I did not know it, and wishing I were he. He seemed – somehow – younger than I had ever been, and blonder and more beautiful, and he wore his masculinity as unequivocally as he wore his skin. He made me think of home – perhaps home is not a place but simply an irrevocable condition. I knew

how he drank and how he was with his friends and how pain and women baffled him. I wondered if my father had ever been like that, if I had ever been like that – though it was hard to imagine, for this boy, striding across the avenue like light itself, any antecedents, any connections at all. (Baldwin 88)

Initially, one may not think much of this scene, other than David feeling affection to another man because of his sexual attraction to men. However, the concept of self-acceptance changes how we read this scene, with David not only admiring the sailor, but also wishing to be him. David perceives himself as less blonde and beautiful than the sailor, even though he is described as a blonde American himself. Throughout the novel, we see David struggle with his own identity and self-image, while having trouble accepting his homoerotic feelings. Mainly because he has adopted the mainstream society's homophobia but also because he wishes to conform to idealized American masculinity. The American ideal to David is to be a white masculine heterosexual male. Which is why David is afraid of not meeting the heterosexual values of his society and its expectations regarding manhood. With this concept in mind, I argue that by comparing himself to the sailor, it is really about David admiring the sailor because he thinks of him as a representation of the ideal blonde and masculine American male, who he desperately wants to be portrayed as himself. When mirroring himself to the sailor, he sees himself as less blonde and beautiful. David's sexuality makes his self-perception contradict his view of himself as an American, which again makes it harder for him to accept himself. David admires the sailor not only because he is attracted to other men sexually, but because he also wants to see himself as the ideal blonde masculine American male. In other words, David both admires and envies the sailor for his looks and masculinity.

DeGout argues fatalism as another theme in the novel, which she explains is connected to and becomes a result of the characters inability to reach self-acceptance. David being unable to accept himself and his sexual orientation while always trying to reach the American ideal, makes him a victim of fatalism. Even though he realizes himself incapable to change, he continues to live in denial of his feelings. Because of this, DeGout explains, David creates a self-destructiveness that both affect himself and his relationships to other people. Until he is able to accept himself, he is to live in denial of who he is, constantly trying to reach an impossible ideal. However, I argue that in this particular scene, David is actually allowed some power to escape fatalism. The sailor reminds him of home, but then he thinks to himself that “perhaps home is not a place but simply an irrevocable condition”. By calling home a condition, he acknowledges that his idea of home is just that, an idea. David realizes that the feeling of belonging is conditional. Throughout the novel, David struggles with his sense of belonging. It is one of the reasons why he left America and travelled to France in the first place. David has trouble feeling like he belongs in America or among other Americans. However, he does not feel at home in France among the French or in the homosexual milieu either. I argue that his sense of belonging is connected to his own self-image and self-esteem. Because of his self-denial, he seeks refuge in an unreachable ideal, in which he cannot truly be himself. He tries to conform to heteronormativity in order to view himself as an American, and to get a sense of belonging. The problem with this is that he tries to belong among people who are nothing like him. At the same time, he rejects the people who would accept his true self. If David were to stay true to the realization of home being conditional, I argue that he would be able to break free from his own entrapment and self-denial. Thereby he would be able escape fatalism caused by his inability to accept himself.

The second concept is about how race is deflected onto sexuality. I argue that the sailor becomes a representation of the white masculine American male, which David desperately wants to become himself. The masculinity of the sailor, which David seems unable to acquire, becomes the object of both envy and desire. In this scene, the sailor is described and associated with words like white, blonde and light. When he starts to compare himself to the sailor, he sees himself as less blonde and less beautiful, and consequently he feels less as an American. He values the sailor's worth as greater than his own. Throughout the novel, David is constantly trying to reaffirm his white American identity. As his self-perception starts to fail, he edges towards self-destruction.

In this particular scene, there is an absence of the dark and black depiction that are used when describing Joey or Giovanni. He thinks of himself as less white and beautiful than the sailor because his own homoerotic feelings go against the ideal of the white heterosexual American male. Even though most people think of *Giovanni's Room* without race, Armengol argues that David establishes numerous associations between homoeroticism and blackness, while whiteness is transvalued as heterosexualism. When describing same-sex desire, there are associations with blackness, darkness, dirtiness, impurity etc. After David has spent the night with Joey, he describes his feelings waking up:

A cavern opened in my mind, black, full of rumor, suggestion, of half-heard, half-forgotten, half-understood stories, full of dirty words. (Baldwin 14)

While his relationship with Joey and Giovanni is associated with darker imagery. In contrast, David describes heterosexual relationships with words such as light and safety:

I wanted to be inside again, with the light and safety, with my manhood unquestioned, watching my woman put my children to bed [...] I wanted a woman to be for me a steady

ground, like the earth itself, where I could be renewed. It had been so once; it had almost been so once. I could make it so again, I could make it real. It only demanded a short, hard strength for me to become myself again. (Baldwin 100)

In this particular scene, we see how David wants to conform to heteronormativity. He believes himself to only be corrupted by his homoerotic feelings and wants to go back to himself. David is in denial of his own sexuality because it contradicts his idea of being an American. His concern with his image and self-esteem binds him to social convention and prevents him from acknowledging his feelings. I argue that he desperately wants to be the ideal white heterosexual American male, and therefore experiences inner conflict between who he is and who he wants to be. David's desire for Giovanni and other men undermines his claims to heteronormativity, masculinity and whiteness. Both race and sexuality play a part in the American male identity. His homoerotic feelings are contradicting to the image of the American ideal which makes it harder for David to accept himself. Without his American identity he feels like "nothing":

And I resented this: resented being called American (and resented resenting it) because it seemed to make me nothing more than that, whatever that was; and I resented being called *not* and American because it seemed to make me nothing. (Baldwin 85-86)

David has a strange and forced relationship to his national identity. On one hand, he does not want to be reduced to a single category, especially in one that makes him in a war with himself. On the other hand, he dislikes the idea of not belonging to any category at all. Paradoxically, David seeks refuge in the very thing that he wants to escape. In order to accept himself, he believes he has to conform to the cultural standards and heteronormativity. When he realizes himself unable to change, he falls victim of this ideal and himself. Not only does his own identity

contradict the ideal of the white heterosexual American male, but as DeGout argues, he has also assimilated homophobic attitudes of society.

When society defines and makes deviant behavior, it creates a system of otherness. This destructive system makes it harder for the characters to accept themselves, because they differ from the norm and majority. I argue that because David is a white American man, he feels a strong need to reaffirm his whiteness and masculinity, both to himself and others. He tries to deny his homoerotic feelings and does not want to be associated with other homosexual men:

Most of the people I knew in Paris, were as Parisians sometimes put it, of *le milieu* and, while this milieu was certainly anxious to claim me, I was intent on proving, to them and to myself, that I was not of their company. (Baldwin 26)

David does not wish to be part of the homosexual milieu. Because of his internalized homophobia and ideals of purity, he thinks less of homosexuals and thereby himself. One can see how he denies his own homoerotic feeling, wanting to prove to himself and others that he is not homosexual at all. His homoerotic feelings are contradicting to his self-image makes him a victim of himself and society. There is a destructiveness in society against groups like homosexuals and black people, that both DeGout and Armengol agrees Baldwin is trying to expose in his novel. There is a system of otherness in society that makes people who stand out from the majority feel left out and like they do not belong. Seeing the two concepts together, I argue that one can interpret David as unable to accept himself because of his contradicting sexual and racial identity. His homoerotic feelings and relationship to Giovanni is corrupting his masculinity, purity and whiteness, which are important aspects of the American identity that David wants to preserve. I argue that David finding himself unable to reach the ideal of a white heterosexual American male, makes it hard for him to accept himself. David traps himself by

continuing to deny his sexuality and trying to reach an impossible ideal. Which again, seems to have a self-destructive effect on him and his relationships. However, by realizing the feeling of home and belonging as conditional, I argue that David has allowed himself power to escape his self-entrapment and destructive behavior.

## **Conclusion**

DeGout argues that the novel depicts homosexuality both negatively and positively because it is not about homosexuality at all. Instead, DeGout explains self-acceptance and fatalism as the overall themes because they affect all the characters. The reason why David cannot reach self-acceptance is because he has assimilated a homophobic attitude from society. When society creates deviant behavior, norms and expectations, it creates a system of otherness that have negative effects on individuals who differ from the majority. When people fail to meet certain expectations, they lose their sense of belonging. This makes it harder for people to accept themselves, and they become victims of themselves, their ideal and society's expectations. DeGout explains the theme of fatalism as connected to self-acceptance. The characters being unable to change or accept themselves as they truly are, makes them self-destructive trying to reach an impossible ideal. This self-destructiveness harms the characters self-esteem and their relationships to other people. By not being able to accept themselves, the characters have a harder time escaping fatalism.

Henderson shows the connection between sexuality and self-acceptance, by arguing that David's concern with his image and self-esteem makes him deny his homoerotic feelings. As David wants to view himself as an American male, his homoerotic feelings are contradicting to this idealized masculine identity based on a Puritanical view of moral and purity. Even though he

tries to deny his homosexuality, by conforming to the heterosexual imperative, he finds himself unable. Thereby making his sexuality the reason why he cannot accept himself or view of himself as an American.

Armengol argues that race is deflected onto sexuality in which whiteness is transvalued as heterosexuality and blackness as homosexuality. Heterosexual relationships are depicted with purity, whiteness and lightness. Homosexuality in contrast is associated with impurity, darkness and blackness. When David tries to deny his homoerotic feelings, he is also trying to recover the privileges of whiteness and heterosexuality. Armengol argues that the Baldwin's aim is to question traditional sexual and racial distinction, and the division between sexuality and race, which Baldwin saw as interchangeable identities.

Connecting all these ideas, one can read *Giovanni's Room* in a new way than simply as a homoerotic love story. Sexuality is both connected to self-acceptance and race, in which all plays a part in David's idealized American identity. When David keeps living in denial and tries to change himself to fit this ideal, he traps himself. I argue that the novel is actually about a man not being able to reconcile with himself and his own American identity. Even though David is described as an American male, he has trouble accepting himself as such. The reason for this is because of his sexuality and racial identity. Because of his white heritage, he thinks of his homoerotic feelings as dirty and unethical. David's relationship to Giovanni has affected his self-image by corrupting both his whiteness, purity and masculinity. David's homoerotic feelings are contradicting to the idealized American identity that he is constantly trying to reaffirm. He finds himself trapped in a white, straight, masculine American ideal which does not define him. Still, does David spend the novel trying to deny, reject and outrun his past and parts of his identity

which is contradicting to this ideal. In conclusion he struggles to express his true identity and self as a white homosexual American male.

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