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## Notes

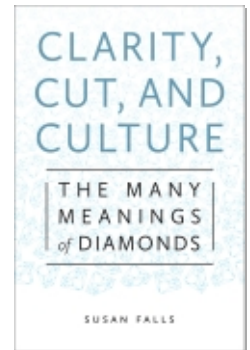
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# NOTES

## NOTE TO THE PREFACE

1. See “The Diamond Cutter Sutra,” a well-known Mahayana teachings on the concept of emptiness.

## NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. Diamondeers must trust their employees, and as a result, almost every aspect of the industry is organized around kinship or close friendships. Cutting diamonds has sustained families for generations, and cutting families such as the Tolkwowskys are well known. Maurice Tolkwowsky, arriving in Antwerp in 1880, worked in a thriving factory where cutters relied on experience, intuition, and luck to polish facets. Using new technologies for cleaving, “bruting” (also known as “girdling,” this process forms a flat belt around the widest diameter of the stone), polishing, and sawing, Tolkwowsky’s grandson, Marcel Tolkwowsky, a mathematician and experienced cutter, developed the 58-sided “brilliant” cut in 1919. The brilliant remains the standard round cut today.
2. Efforts to market diamonds in Brazil and Europe have been far less effective. Reflecting the vagaries of the global political economy, China is the new emerging diamond market.
3. Henri Moissan discovered silicon carbide in an Arizona meteorite in 1904. It was later named “moissanite” to commemorate Moissan’s many scientific contributions. Despite industry concerns, synthetic Moissanite was eventually developed and is now sold as a diamond substitute. For a history of the discovery of moissanite up through the production and sale of synthetic silicon carbide, see Nassau 1999.
4. Efforts to develop more nuanced approaches to understanding commodities have looked to the movement and temporary social constructedness of commodities, commodity-hood, and the relationship of commodity-hood to alienability (see Kopytoff 1986; Gell 1992; Thomas 1991).
5. The term “luxury” is derived from the Latin “*luxuria*,” for “lust,” “frolicsomeness,” and “frivolous.” The want/need distinction within sociological literature on

consumption is predicated on concepts such as consumer rationality, as argued by Applbbaum (1998) and by Doyal and Gough (1991); the construction of desire and its naturalization via metaphor (see Belk et al. 1996); consumer imagination and consumption as an aesthetic reflex (DeNora 2000); and the persistence of aesthetic judgment versus “need” concepts over time (see Lehtonen 1999). And, when it implies want and a hedonistic notion of need or desire, luxury can be implicated in the spectacular constitution of social categories such as gender and class (see Pointon 1999).

6. To track ongoing themes in academic debates on advertising, see also Barthes 1957; Berger 2000; Ewen 1988; Gailbraith 1977; and Williamson 1978.

7. Consumers use other modes of interpretation; I have chosen to focus on the four most prevalent in my interviews.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. For autobiographical accounts by industry insiders, see Wharton-Tiger and Wilson (1987) and Joris (1986).
2. See also Tavernier (1676); Burton (1869); Mawe (1812); Pearson (1926); One Who Has Visited the Fields (1872); and Omeara (1926).
3. See also Capt. J. H. Du Plessis (1960).
4. See Frolick (1999) and Hart (2002).
5. Some scholarship on the intersection of industry with global politics and violence walks a thin line between criticizing and mythologizing the De Beers empire (for example, Kanfer 1993), while others are flatly derogatory (see Roberts 2004). See also Turrell (1987), Worger (1987), Wheatcroft (1987), and Westwood (2000) for descriptions of capital and labor. See Szenberg (1973) for a depiction of the economics of the Israeli diamond industry.
6. De Beers developed the “Forever Mark” logo for advertising and marketing rough, freeing the De Beers name for flagship stores in London, Tokyo, and Paris through the luxury-item conglomeration LVMH. Capital leveraged from consumers, partly from the “Bigger Is Better” campaign, helped fund a store on Fifth Avenue near Fifty-seventh Street in New York, which opened in 2005 to great fanfare. When I visited the store, I was not surprised to find it decorated like other high-end shops with subtle colors, halogen lights, sound-absorbing carpet, a plush video room, and semiprivate desks where customers are wooed.
7. The discovery of the volcanic tuff, or pipes, by a German geologist in 1872 was the first step in rationalizing the search for diamonds by looking for geological markers, a process that has turned out to be extremely productive.
8. Nicky Oppenheimer (and family) was ranked #182 on *Forbes Magazine*’s list of billionaires in 2013. But Oppenheimer isn’t the only diamond-industry executive listed there. Reflecting a loosening of De Beers’s hegemony, competing diamond mogul Lev Leviev was ranked at #974. Incidentally, Bernard Arbault, chairman of LVMH, is ranked #10. (See <http://www.forbes.com/billionaires>.)

9. Diamond simulants—fakes—do not possess all of the properties of natural diamond. (Simulants include Moissanite, cubic zirconia, colorless synthetic Corundum [sapphire], spinel, Strontium titanate, Gadolinium gallium garnet, and glass.) It is hard to tell the difference between Moissanite and diamond since Moissanite is hard, has a high refractive index, and is thermally conductive; however, as I learned at GIA, the edges of cut Moissanite look doubled, its color tends toward green, and rather than containing small inclusions like most natural diamonds, it has milky ribboning inside from the growth process.
10. Earth is comprised of concentric layers: the core, the mantle, and the crust. The core consists of iron-nickel alloy and is dense, hot, and stable. The mantle, made of magnesium and iron silicate minerals, lies between the crust and the core; it is convecting, and circulates slowly. The moving crust plates are mineral-rich and less dense than the underlying mantle. The thickest areas of the crust host the continents, while thinner layers form the ocean bed. The crust is continually reinvented as plates slide one over another: as one plate is subsumed under another (in a process known as “subduction”), plate material is forced downward, and eventually reintegrated into the magma. On the ocean floor, melted magma squeezes up through vents, thickening ocean floors, as other plates are subducting. The thickest, oldest plates that form the continents have a particular shape and form a kind of keel. Known as cratons, they are at least 2.5 billion years old. It is within diamondiferous kimberlite pipes found on archons, the oldest type of cratons, where gem-quality diamonds can be found.
11. Diamondiferous harzburgite typically contains chromium- and magnesium-rich garnets, and is known as “garnet harzburgite.” Inclusions made of harzburgitic minerals within diamond can be dated to determine the diamond’s age. Diamonds from harzburgitic rock were created during the early formation of the earth’s crust, three billion years ago. Diamondiferous eclogite can yield a higher concentration of diamond, but is usually associated with processes related to subduction of crust plates or to seafloor spreading in which carbon debris is reabsorbed into the mantle, becoming available for crystallization into diamond. Dated at three billion years or younger, eclogitic diamond is younger than harzburgitic.
12. Even though it faced technical problems and a strike in 2004, Debswana remains a top producer. Unfortunately, indigenous Botswanans have also been compulsorily removed from diamond-rich lands by the state, instigating calls for a boycott by NGOs that oppose forcible relocation. Debswana, however, benefits De Beers as well as the Botswanan government and people: a serious global boycott on diamonds would have deleterious consequences on the lives of many Botswanans.
13. BHP Billiton’s diamond mine in Vancouver has been described as an excellent workplace. Canadian Ekati mineworkers have a recreation center, internet access, golf simulators, saunas, yoga classes, and gourmet meals (Macqueen 2004). This article must, however, be considered against reports of racism, exploitation, and miner deaths and injuries in the industry at large (see Roberts 2004).

## NOTE TO CHAPTER 2

1. Available at <http://www.diamondsourceva.com/Education/BrandedDiamonds/branded-diamond-shapes.asp> (accessed June 7, 2013).

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. In 1999, De Beers spent \$67 million on advertising (Bittar 2000).
2. The average amount spent on new diamond jewelry is about \$600, not truly prohibitive for most American families. This challenges popular ideas about scarcity and value.
3. While this book does not focus on conflict diamonds, or “blood diamonds,” the specter of violence along the commodity chain haunts contemporary diamond consumption. As defined by the UN, conflict diamonds “originate from areas controlled by forces or factions opposed to legitimate and internationally recognized governments, and are used to fund military action in opposition to those governments, or in contravention of the decisions of the Security Council” (United Nations 2001). The term “blood diamonds” is particularly associated with late-1990s Sierra Leone, where diamonds, many of excellent color and quality, were being traded on black markets in Liberia. Proceeds were used to fund a brutal civil war. Later, these same stones were integrated into the licit trade. Blood diamonds were at one time thought to make up anywhere from 3 to 15 percent of all gems sold on the retail market (see Campbell 2002; Hart 2001; Hirsch 2001; Levy 2003). After 2005, blood diamonds became more visible than ever (see Falls 2011). There is now a rather large body of both scholarly and popular literature on the topic (see Gberie 2006 for an excellent treatment), but, in 2004, consumers I worked with generally had little awareness of them.
4. Lewis Malka, n.d., “Celebrity Diamonds Seen at the Oscars, Bafta’s, and Golden Globes,” *Pinterest*, available at <http://pinterest.com/lewismalka/celebrity-diamonds-seen-at-the-oscars-bafta-s-and> (accessed August 15, 2013).
5. According to a no-longer-available LMVH website, well-known African model Iman, married to rock superstar David Bowie, was hired to promote De Beers because her “international, committed lifestyle and her African roots both perfectly match the values of the De Beers brand.” She has since relinquished her position in solidarity with the Gana and Gwi Bushmen in Botswana’s Central Kalahari Game Reserve, who have lost land to mining. De Beers denies any role in the governmental decision to relocate people. NGOs like Survival International have tried, without success, to arbitrate land disputes among Botswana, De Beers, and aboriginal peoples through petition and ad-buster campaigning. An ad-buster campaign at the London De Beers flagship store said, “The Bushmen Aren’t Forever.” Iman, bringing great embarrassment to De Beers, quit just days before the store was set to open. In 2005, Lily Cole, a supermodel who became the new face of De Beers, having been alerted to allegations that Bushmen were being evicted from homes in Botswana to make way for diamond mines, began refusing to work.

6. *The Sopranos* was a popular television series centered upon an Italian American Mafia family operating in New Jersey.
7. The tiny diamonds come from the powder recovered from polishing large stones.
8. For comparison, Gucci spends about 15 percent of profits on advertising while De Beers spends 1 percent (see Lyden and Ardalán 2001).

## NOTE TO CHAPTER 4

1. “Brilliance” is the fraction of the light that upon hitting a diamond is returned to the eyes of an observer. The more light returned, the more brilliance a stone is said to have. “Fire” results from the splitting of white light into a colorful prism so that the greater the separation of color, the greater the fire.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. Poetics and performatives both have an indexical dimension; they are embedded within a discursive universe where industry-sponsored symbolism reigns, and in a material universe in which iconic imitation of diamonds and styles of wielding them is mundane. Consumption, and talk about commodities, takes place in a social milieu threaded through with multiply layered social indexicals, where objects and words are read, and perhaps meant, as markers of both the vague and the concrete. In fact, during interviews, people’s statements about diamonds can be taken as indexical signs about a person’s (real or imagined) identity, class, educational level, interests, values, or attitudes in general, which then beg, request, or suggest a certain response. Diamond narratives, like other species of conversation, communicate at multiple levels—for example, in chapter 5, the use of derogatory terms and phrases like “those guys from the ghetto” contains a semantic message that refers to African American rappers but also sets the speaker apart from them. The phrase flags a forbidden racialized discourse. This kind of talk also marks the speaker’s identification with—and to a certain extent reproduces—a certain kind of middle-class whiteness. Other narratives indexed social position, attitudes about aesthetics and style, cosmopolitanism, and/or views about ethnicity. Interviews contained semantic messages about how people interpret diamonds, but also about the consumers themselves.
2. Lyrics found at <http://www.lyricsondemand.com/onehitwonders/rappersdelightlyrics.html> (accessed May 12, 2013).
3. Lyrics found at <http://www.lyricsfreak.com/g/grandmaster-flash/62225.html> (accessed March 12, 2013).
4. Terms such as “ghetto chic” and “gangsta’ chic” are part of a cluster of high-fashion terms that describe styles that are in vogue but set against mainstream norms. Other “chics” include “nerd chic,” “geek chic,” and the controversial “heroin chic,” in which models appear as drug addicts in sets that look like sleazy

bathroom shooting galleries. A bit outré by now, “ghetto fabulous” was a related style in which rappers use couture as part of their appearance, and, of course, hip-hop fashions continue to inform couture.

5. Formalists were responding to a limitation in existing theories that constructed language as a means of referential communication. By dividing language into practical and poetic components, they were recognizing and then highlighting extra-referential aspects, at least in literature. Although in their attempt to develop a science of literature formalists initially cleaved historical and social contexts from their object of study, after they saw that literary devices are only created and recognized as a result of historical situatedness, historical contextualization was brought back into the fold. As Eichenbaum explained in his “Theory of Formal Method,” “Our moving into the area of history of literature was no simple expansion of our study; it resulted from the evolution of our concept of form. We found that we could not see the literary work in isolation, that we had to see its form against a background of other works rather than by itself;” and then he continued, actually the original attempt of the Formalists to take a particular structural device and to establish its identity in diverse materials became an attempt to differentiate, to understand, the function of a device in each given case. The idea of functional significance was gradually pushed to the foreground and the original idea of the device pushed to the background. . . . [W]ork on specific materials compelled us to speak of functions and thus to revise our idea of the device. The theory itself demanded that we turn to history. (Lemon and Reis 1965 119, 132)

6. Finally, the artistic device cannot be systematized—should a disordering device or practice that defamiliarizes become conventional or routine, its reading will become habituated: the art falls into the mundane. What is implied in this formula is a temporal and contextual embeddedness. Devices operate against that which has come before, that which is habitual and conventional—the poetic device is unexpected, jarring, startling! It demands, “Who am I now?” It is this quality that interpolates the reader, provoking him or her to explore, to play. Because a poetic device operates against habituated knowledge, it is useful to excavate the origins and facts of the conventions against which a device is working. So, although formalist theory had in one breath sworn off “history,” their work mandates attention to history.

7. “Jenny from the Block” was a hit song by Jennifer Lopez in 2002. In it, she claims that fame hasn’t changed her; she is still the same girl from the neighborhood, “just Jenny from the Block.” She makes multiple references to her diamonds: “Everybody mad about the rocks I wear;” and “Don’t be fooled by the rocks that I got / I’m still, I’m still Jenny from the block / Used to have a little, now I have a lot / No matter where I go / I know where I came from.” Lyrics found at [http://www.lyricsfreak.com/j/jennifer+lopez/jenny+from+the+block\\_20070484.html](http://www.lyricsfreak.com/j/jennifer+lopez/jenny+from+the+block_20070484.html) (accessed June 25, 2013).

8. See the example of anthropology making the familiar strange in Miner's famous essay on the Nacirema (1956).
9. I thank one of my reviewers for this insightful comment.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. Austin's *How to Do Things with Words* deals with first-person utterances. I am using his terms to describe diamond interpretation/use that falls outside of first-person cases.
2. Yehuda diamonds are treated to improve clarity grades, rather problematically for the gem industry, by removing inclusions, the appearance of cleavages, and "bearded" girdles. Diamonds are cleaned, then filled with a molten glass formula (the procedure and material composition is a company secret).



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