UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

U.S. Racial Imaginaries

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Literature

by

Jinah Kim

Committee in charge:

Professor Lisa Lowe, Chair
Professor Takashi Fujitani
Professor Rosaura Sánchez
Professor Shelley Streeby
Professor Lisa Yoneyama

The Dissertation of Jinah Kim is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____
Chair

University of California, San Diego

2006

DEDICATION

For my mother, father, and brother, Tai Soo Kim, Jai Kwon Kim and Sejin Kim who have supported me through all of my life's journeys.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The past six years have been difficult, painful, and pleasurable in unexpected ways. My friends have anchored me throughout my time at UCSD and I have enjoyed the community we built. First, I want to thank Thom Hill and Ana Minvielle who have given me so much of their time, energy, and kindness. I also want to thank my roommates, past and present, Denise Khor, Morelia Portillo, Neel Ahuja, Jon Salunga, and Stephen Remington, with whom I have shared a lot of fun and irreverence. Neel has cooked innumerable meals for me and I learned from him that I am a simian, just like a monkey.

Denise Khor and Morelia Portillo are my family. We learned what it meant to be proper graduate student subjects together and they made sure that I remember that there is so much more to life than school.

My impeccable reading group Heidi Hoescht, Julie Hua, and Irmary Reyes-Santos have read multiple drafts of my work carefully and given me immeasurable advice and valuable critique. They are a model of friendship and collegiality, and my work has grown exponentially as a result of their counsel. Su Yun Kim, Kyla Schuller, and Elizabeth Steeby are wonderful friends and academic companions and their well wishes sustained me especially in the last few weeks of dissertation writing. In addition Kyla Schuller and Lauren Smith helped with all manners of edits and caught mistakes I would not have otherwise noticed. I am humbled by

how much support I have received from friends and family throughout the entire dissertation writing process.

Peter Holderness has with breathtaking commitment supported me and my ideas. We have reasoned, quarreled, and talked our way through every word of this project and if any part lacks clarity, it's probably because I didn't take his advice. He tells a fuller story of life with his photographs than I do with my words, and I am inspired by his vision for social justice and his deep joy of life.

Maida Rosenstein, President of Local 2110, taught me how to wrestle my fear of those in power and to fight back by organizing. Her reassurance that there is always a job for me with 2110 has buffered the uncertainties of my nascent academic career. My undergraduate teachers David Eng and Anne McClintock encouraged me to go to graduate school and have continued to support me throughout.

To my teachers at UCSD Lisa Lowe, Rosaura Sánchez, Lisa Yoneyama, Shelley Streeby, Tak Fujitani, Judith Halberstam, and Denise da Silva I owe the greatest thanks for all of my successes in graduate school. They are exemplary scholars, devoted teachers, and compassionate mentors. Lisa Yoneyama sat patiently with me as I struggled with intellectual questions and she gives the most amazing advice. I am grateful for her candor, kindness, and smarts and she has made being a graduate student enjoyable. I learned how to teach by watching Rosaura Sánchez and Shelley Streeby who demand excellence and in return treat

their students with utmost respect and compassion. I thank Tak Fujitani who graciously agreed to join my committee at a late date and whose support I greatly appreciate. So much of this project reflects conversations I have had with Judith Halberstam and Denise da Silva and I am really fortunate for their encouragement throughout.

Lisa Lowe is a wonderful mentor in everyway and her faith in me has been a bedrock throughout graduate school. She devoted so much time and energy into every aspect of my education from teaching, grading, reading, writing and researching with such warmth, kindness and understanding, a devotion that is remarkable because I know she does the same for so many others. I torture her with numerous unformed drafts and she always responds with encouragement, wise words of counsel, and inimitable support. I appreciate beyond words her commitment to me. I thank all my teachers whose strength of conviction, honesty, and ferocity has helped me understand what I kind of teacher and scholar I want to be.

Parts of Chapter one, "Nostalgia and Loss in Immigrant Los Angeles," have been accepted for publication in *Social Justice: Special Issue on Asian America* 34.3 (2007).

VITA

1998	Bachelor of Arts, Columbia University
1998-2000	Organizer, United Auto Workers Local 2110
2000-2003	Teaching Assistant, Warren College Writing Program University of California, San Diego
Summer 2002	Tinker Summer Fellowship Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies University of California, San Diego
Spring 2003	Teaching Assistant, International Studies Program University of California, San Diego
Summer 2003	FLAS Summer Fellowship University of California, San Diego
2003-2004	FLAS Research Fellowship University of California, San Diego
2003-2004	Teaching Assistant, Department of Literature University of California, San Diego
2004-2005	Research Assistant, Department of Literature Joseph Naiman Japanese Studies Fellowship University of California, San Diego
2005-2006	Pacific Rim Research Grant Teaching Assistant, Department of History University of California, San Diego
2006	Doctor of Philosophy, University of California, San Diego

FIELDS OF STUDY

Cultural Studies, Multiethnic Literature, Asian American Studies, Immigration and Labor, Gender and Sexuality, Film and Visual Culture Studies

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

U.S. Racial Imaginaries

by

Jinah Kim

Doctor of Philosophy in Literature

University of California, San Diego, 2006

Professor Lisa Lowe, Chair

In *U.S. Racial Imaginaries* I argue that late 20th and early 21st century U.S. globalization discourse is shaped and informed by threat as the new global order is imagined to challenge U.S. hegemony in the global theater. The threat is imagined as the declining meaning of the borders of the nation-state as demarking U.S. economic and cultural production. The threat is also perceived as the fear that the U.S. will be displaced as the preeminent global leader by newly emerging

economies as they challenge U.S. sovereign claims to new markets and consumers. The call for a global civil society or a "flattening" of the world also produces a fear of the (dangerous) loss of possibility for a single dominance or leadership.

In this context I see how U.S. political discourse and cultural products represents global Others as "family" and "friend" that accompanies nativist projects in the domestic front. I see this conjoined love and demonization the Other as "international family romance." Global Others are measured against an idealized First World that reinforces the idea that the U.S. is an ideal patriarch for global infants and youth. Thus, I read dominant figuration of the globe as an enlarged "family" as an attempt to position the First World nation as the sole site of affiliation that is responding to the globalization and transnationalization of human interactions and political, economic and cultural processes that threatens to displace the First World nation as the ideal body and arbiter for the new global order.

In a different way, I argue that neoliberal economics, policies, and ideology presses for increased differentiation of labor and production that are imagined to be ideal for particular national, racial, gendered, sexual, and aged bodies. These differences are subsumed and managed through a manufacturing of a hegemonic pluralistic discourse that informs and is shaped by the production of the globe as a romantic site where desiring partners meet each other. As I explore throughout this project, dominant U.S. pluralistic discourses reifies and naturalizes differentiation of racial Others in a manner produces them as lacking fitness to lead the globe and thus always needing U.S. guidance.

Introduction: U.S. Racial Imaginaries

Globalization, Neoliberalism, Asia, and the Americas

In *U.S. Racial Imaginaries* I argue that late 20th and early 21st century U.S. globalization discourse is shaped and informed by threat as the nation imagines that the new global order challenges U.S. hegemony in the global theater. The threat, I argue, is imagined as the declining meaning of the borders of the nation-state as demarking U.S. economic and cultural production. The threat is also perceived as the fear that the U.S. will be displaced as the preeminent global leader by newly emerging economies as they challenge U.S. sovereign claims to new markets and consumers. The call for a global civil society or a "flattening" of the world also produces a fear of the (dangerous) loss of possibility for a single dominance or leadership.

In this context I see how U.S. political discourse and cultural products that represent global Others as "family" and "friend" accompany nativist projects in the domestic front.[1] I study this conjoined love and demonization of the Other as an "international family romance."[2] Global Others are measured against an idealized First World that reinforces the idea that the U.S. is an ideal patriarch for global infants and youth. Thus, I read dominant figuration of the globe as an enlarged "family" as an attempt to position the First World nation as the sole site of affiliation that is responding to the globalization and transnationalization of human

[1] I use Other capitalized when I am addressing racial subjects to differentiate from the conventional understanding of other as that thing which is extra, supplemental or added.
[2] This phrase comes from Shelley Streeby's *American Sensations* (2002) and my analysis of "family romance" draws from Doris Sommer (1991) and Amy Kaplan (2002).

interactions and political, economic, and cultural processes that threaten to displace the First World nation as the ideal body and arbiter for the new global order.

In a different way, I argue that neoliberal economics, policies, and ideology press for increased differentiation of labor and production that are imagined to be ideal for particular national, racial, gendered, sexual, and aged bodies. These differences are subsumed and managed through a manufacturing of a hegemonic pluralistic discourse that informs and is shaped by the production of the globe as a romantic site where desiring partners meet each other.[3] As I explore throughout this project, dominant U.S. pluralistic discourses reify and naturalize differentiation of racial Others in a manner that produces them as lacking fitness to lead the globe and thus always needing U.S. guidance.[4]

In the 1970's Europe and the United States increasingly de-industrialized and displaced their manufacturing operations to Asia and Latin America. The state and capital's re-modeling of domestic economies along post-Fordist "flexible" mode of accumulation is accompanied by increased numbers of laborers, in particular from former affiliated colonial sites, immigrating to the First World. Both this outward push and inward pull heighten the sense of change, fragmentation, and differentiation in a subject's sense of self, civil society and nation-state, a sense of change, that I argue is managed and resolved through the conjoined nativism at

---

[3] See Avery Gordon (1995); Lisa Lowe and David Lloyd (1997); Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff (2000); Fredric Jameson (1991); Aihwa Ong (1999)*;* Carla Freeman (2000); for more on this.

[4] See Mirelle Rosello (1998) where she argues that U.S. notions of multiculturalism are dominant in France, especially with regards to how to incorporate its immigrant population. We might consider an important sign of U.S. cultural hegemony in the globe to be that U.S. expressions of rights and pluralism are influencing how other nations imagine their civil society.

home and the representation of racial others abroad as a part of the First World family. This project does not assume that the U.S. racial imaginary *represents* the totality of experiences of globalization and neoliberalism, or that the study of the U.S. *is* a study of the global state. However, as many have urged us to understand, we need to continually monitor how U.S. economic, political, cultural and military embeddedness throughout the globe structures the terms of contemporary globalization.[5] The post-WWII era saw the ascent of the U.S. as a global hegemonic body whose right to leadership is imagined to be secured with the "demise" of Russia as a Cold War competitor, symbolically captured by the 1989 fall of the Berlin wall.

Before I move further, I would like to clarify how I characterize globalization and neoliberalism, and my choice to use these two terms in my project. In terms of period and practice, I understand neoliberal globalization as the intensification of the flow of capital and people within the latter 20th century, a period characterized by late-capitalist, or post-Fordist, mode of capitalist production that depends on flexibility and differentiation. The industrialized First World nations have increasingly exported their factories abroad in order to maximize capital accumulation by exploiting cheaper wages and resources of Third World nations. Thus neoliberalism has been understood by many as an exacerbation of historical contradictions of capitalism. Neoliberalism, then, while generally understood as an economic practice, also influences (and often forces) changes to domestic and

[5] See Chalmers Johnson (2001) and (2004); David Harvey (2003)

international policies in order to ingrain its particular modalities in all sites. As neoliberal structures such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) compel a single model of economic and political modernization by demanding restructuring that follows the U.S. model of liberal-capitalism, they impose not just a detached economic practice, but also a specific ideology of progress and modernization that proposes the Third World follow First World's wake. Thus, I understand neoliberalism as a crisis and that increasing First and Second World interventions have produced an emergency in the social, political and economic state of the Third World.

Geographer David Harvey sees this dispersal of production to varied sites as made possible by technological advances that produce "time-space compression." He argues that the dispersal of production is a way for capitalists to "buy" time and relieve over-accumulation through space, what he calls a "spatial fix."[6] Characterized by flexibility, mixed economies, and production chains that depend on the opening of borders and integration of national economies, global processes have also been diagnosed as having "dispersed class relations, alliances, and antinomies across the four corners of the earth [and] put such distances between sites of production and consumption that their articulation becomes all but unfathomable, except in fantasy"(Comaroff and Comaroff 9). As I argue in this project the distance that is expressible only in "fantasy" is captured by multicultural and pluralistic celebration of difference. If the largeness and the complexity of

[6] See David Harvey (1990), (2003), and (2005).

global interconnection itself cannot be represented in a manner that guarantees the subject's capture by the First World, it is refashioned instead in metaphors such as friendship and family that all but obliterate the (violent) process of what Ulf Hannerz has called the global ecumene.[7]

Generally speaking globalization, transnational capitalism, and neoliberalism are used interchangeably to characterize the different ways that global processes are imagined to have challenged the sovereignty of the nation-state; engendered a new rights discourse; produced consumption as the terrain of subject formation; impeded labor movements; increased the wealth/poor gap or in reverse have increased the GDP of Third World nations and have homogenized or hybridized cultures. Despite the fluidity between these terms I privilege neoliberalism in this project to signal how its emphasis on movements away from state control to the logic of the free market, celebration of deregulated private exchange, and its emphasis on commodification of all human relations, mediate and circumscribe the conditions under which global subjects encounter each Other. That is, as opposed to a broader conception of global processes signaled by the term globalization which implies institutions and laws of a global civil society, neoliberalism pinpoints how and where immigrants from different places find themselves sharing intimate and public spaces.

---

[7] Ecumene refers to "a region of persistent cultural interaction and exchange." Ulf Hannerz. "Notes on the Global Ecumene. *Public Culture*. 1 (1989): 66-75; c.f. Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff (2000): 10.

Despite the apparent prevalence of the First World in dictating global processes, contemporary U.S. representations of the nation and globalization do not revel in its capture of the global state. Instead, the U.S. political terrain is preoccupied by perceived challenges to its authority, and premised on fears of losing dominance to new claims. In this context, I argue that as U.S. hegemony counters calls for the formation of an alternative global civil society, the rise of Latin American and Asian economies, and general expressions of discontent and dissatisfaction for American-led neoliberalism, it produces a "fantasy" of global relations as an international romance that situates the U.S. as global patriarch. The study of U.S. negotiations of globalization and neoliberalism has the possibility to make visible the First World neoliberal nation's dependence on the production of racial differences, and how these differences are subsumed by a global order (re)established under First World aegis.

As neoliberal economic policies encourage the dispersal of production throughout the Third World, increases specialization and rationalization, destabilizes the location of labor and capital, and recruits untraditional proletariats – women, children, peasants - to manufacturing and service sector labor, we see both a former and current disparity in wealth and power enhanced. This differentiation of labor must be understood as in a dialectic with the continued separation and differentiation of the functions of the state, capital, and civil society from each other in a manner that abstracts and fragments where and how the subject speaks and seeks redress for her discontent. Marx, writing about the late

19th century industrial society in "The Jewish Question," argued that political emancipation, while representing some progress, alienates man from his species-being by continuing to secure the separation of the public and private, culture, politics, and capital. He argues that securing only political enfranchisement produces not "the essence of *community*, but the essence of *differentiation*." [8]

As many have also argued, the contemporary global century sees an increase in such differentiation between civil society, politics, nation and capital, as capital and labor are unmoored and translocalized, citizenship and other manners of belonging contentious and fraught for many, and neoliberalism demands the phasing out the welfare state that diminishes the role of the nation-state in everyday lives. As Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff argue for example, "the workplace and labor, especially work-and-place securely rooted in a stable local context, are no longer the prime sites for the creation of value or identity"(Comaroff and Comaroff 4). Thus I agree with theorists who argue that traditional modes of resistance fashioned through an imagined cohesive nation-state limit our understanding of the variegated operations of capital and resistance in the contemporary moment.[9]

In this project I see difference and differentiation as a reality that affects both how we understand the subject of labor, as well as how we characterize the terrain on which s/he works, lives and resists. As Arjun Appadurai argues, "global cultural process[es] today are products of the infinitely varied mutual contest of

---

[8] Karl Marx. "The Jewish Question" in Robert Tucker (1972)
[9] Lisa Lowe and David Lloyd (1997); Alberto Moreiras (2001); Arjun Appadurai (1996); Saskia Sassen (1998)

sameness and difference on a stage characterized by radical disjunctures between different sorts of global flows and the uncertain landscapes created in and through these disjunctures"(287). This "contest of sameness and difference" on the global ecumene forces us to understand how differently positioned subjects agitate in untraditional sites to articulate claims for change as well as resist and refigure capital's dependence on their continued differentiation.

As the subject's affiliation to an imagined homogenous national body is challenged by transnational and global claims to her belonging, I argue that the nation-state attempts to capture her back. As my study of the U.S. racial imaginary suggests discourses of multiculturalism and metaphors such as "friend" and "family" attempt to form a vision of a single, coherent, global civil society, to suture the national and transnational subjects into an imagined singular world narrative led by the First World.

+++++++++

The focus on U.S. negotiations with neoliberalism inevitably highlights the other concern of this project, that is how dependent the U.S. is on the differential production of Asia Pacific from Latin America, as well as other racial Others, in order to state its rights to global leadership. To put it differently, I argue that the encounters between Asians, Latinos and EuroAmericans are circumscribed by neoliberal economic and political policies and their demand for the opening of borders and reorganization of national economies that, in the U.S. context, has depended on the U.S.'s particular post WWII relationship to Asia and Latin

America.[10] As I detail throughout this project, this dependence on Asian and Latino labor, market, and production capacity, is accompanied by imagined *essential* differences between whites, Asians and Latinos. European(American)/East Asian/ Latin American subjects are expected to inhabit exclusive states such as: free/indentured/slave; interiority/exteriority/primal; creative/hardworking/criminal; native born/immigrant/undocumented; and owner/manager/worker. As East Asian "tigers" and "dragons" like South Korea, Japan, Taiwan and Hong Kong rise to economic dominance in the last third of the 20th century, the U.S. has claimed, in different ways, its seminal role in the region's economic meteoric rise. As my reading of U.S. representations of Japan in chapter three argues despite the cultural, economic and political differences within the region itself, East Asian economic success is used to celebrate the success of U.S. ethos, and imagined to justify the extension of U.S. global leadership beyond the Cold War into the new global millennium.

Several ads placed in *The New Yorker* and the *American Way*, the magazine for American Airlines, captures how Asia and Asians are imagined as desiring First World aegis. My reading focus on how these ads use "family" as a metaphor for global relations. The ad placed in the *American Way* magazine by the Great Wall of China Adoption organization promotes their "East Meets West: China Adoption Conference" which is planned to take place at the Doubletree Hotel in Minneapolis,

[10] U.S. military and economic interventions in Asia and Latin America throughout the post WWII era have produced intimate ties between the U.S., Latin America, and Asia. See Maria Josefina Saldaña-Portillo (2003); Chalmers Johnson (2001).

Minnesota.[11] The quarter page ad is dominated by a picture of a young adoptee, Sarah Brown, while the text that surrounds her picture reads: "Sarah Brown used to live in a Chinese orphanage where she suffered from poor nutrition and slow development. Then, a miracle happened: she was adopted by the Browns from Michigan at the age of 12 months old. Three years after the adoption, Sarah is a happy, friendly, outgoing four year old. People tell the Browns' that she's a lucky girl, but they reply, 'No, we're the lucky ones. Sarah changed our lives'"(fig. 1).

The New Yorker featured two full-page ads placed by the Peninsula Hotels, an exclusive luxury hotel chain with seven locations, three in the United States and the rest in East Asia.[12] On the first page nine children all of various Asian ethnicities are outfitted in a Page's uniform, complete with white hats that prominently display them as the property of "The Peninsula"(fig. 2). The flip side of this ad features a young East Asian man suited head to toe with a white page's uniform, walking several pure bred dogs down a crowded Manhattan street. The tagline under the photo reads, "Always at your service in Manhattan. Here, one of our Pages walks four (and holds one) of our special guests at the landmark corner of Fifty-Fifth Street and Fifth Avenue. On cover: Our staff's children pose as Peninsula Pages, a symbol of our celebrated tradition of graciousness, benevolence and warmth" (fig. 3). A part of the *Portraits of Peninsula* series photographed by Annie Leibowitz,

[11] The location of the meeting is very suggestive, since Minnesota has the second largest Asian girl adoptee population outside of California.

[12] The hotels are located in Hong Kong, New York, Chicago, Beverly Hills, Bangkok, Beijing, and Manila, with one to open in Tokyo in 2007. See www.peninsula.com for more of its Portraits of the Peninsula which are taken by Annie Leibowitz.

these ads and photos, without repent or self-consciousness, invoke colonial relations and introduce a language of paternalism to produce Asian subjects as past, and future, servant cosmopolitan capitalist elite.

The entire *Portraits of Peninsula* series featured on the Peninsula Hotel's websites tells a longer and more elaborate story of Asian desire for servitude. The series begins with Annie Leibowitz complementing the hotel's devotion to service, which she personally experienced after a long flight into Hong Kong, in a manner that invokes colonial fantasy of contact with an accommodating, but exotic, indigene. The first picture in the series features a young East Asian man holding up a birdcage with the caption, "no job too big (or small) for our pages." The portrait series continues in this vein and all of the pages, maids, cooks, doormen as well as their children are representing as desiring and, above all, needing to serve and please.

While the subjects of these two ads are different – adoption and personal service – both of these ads claim Asia as a youth in need of First World aegis. The Peninsula ads imagine a long history of Asian personal service to elites that, because of the hotel's benevolence, the Peninsula is willing to extend into the foreseeable future. The Peninsula ads are obviously colonialist as the page is "always at your service," and his servitude is argued as rooted in history, while the picture of the children extends such relations into the new century. By abstracting his labor as personal service that has always been there, the ad naturalizes his

service to capital as a desired thing that will be the legacy, that is, inheritance, for the next generation.

The adoption ad imagines a Chinese girl in need of rescue from a system that is willing to let her underdevelop as she suffered from "poor nutrition and slow development" while a ward of the Chinese state. This ad, however, is adamant that adopted Chinese girls will not be exoticized in any way, as the Browns' insist that not only Sarah, but the Browns', have been changed as a result of their "equal" encounter.[13] While these two ads depend on different logic – colonialist and multiculturalist - in both cases Asia is produced as a youth that needs and craves First World education, tutelage, and patriarchy in a manner that reproduces the global terrain on which they meet as a moral and even one.

These U.S. displays of Asia as desiring to be a subordinate member of the First World global family resonates with Roland Barthes's observation in "The Great Family of Man," in *Mythologies*.[14] Barthes, studying a photograph exhibit called the "Family of Man," theorizes a different moment in the 20th century where humanity as "family" is displayed on the global scene. This production of a "family of man," he argues, is an "alibi" or "myth" for a humanism that insists on shared human experiences and characteristic only to evacuate history:

> Everything here, the content and appeal of the pictures, the discourse which justifies them, aims to suppress the determining weight of History: we are held back at the surface of an identity, prevented precisely by sentimentality from penetrating into this

[13] This ad reads similarly to Asian children adoption ads in middlebrow magazines studied by Christina Klein (2000), albeit updated to the multicultural moment.
[14] Barthes (1972).

> ulterior zone of human behaviour where historical alienation introduces some "differences" which we shall here quite simply call "injustice"(101).

This photograph exhibition that Barthes theorizes, like these two ads about Asia that I study, represents a global family through sentiment to reduce the "determining weight of History" to "the surface of an identity." Barthes notes that sentiment prohibits a greater scrutiny of the meaning of "family" and "man" as the viewer is instead interpolated to a myth of universal shared human experience that produces a hegemonic pluralism that is "injustice." The nature of the images I analyze is different from the photos and exhibit that Barthes studies. As ads, their function is to literally "sell" products and service. What I protest here is not just the base function of capitalism represented by these ads, but how they both see "Asia" and "Asians" as sellable things that commodifies difference. The production of a global family in the contemporary moment manufactures difference as commodities and the First World's willing desire to "buy" difference as moral pluralism.

Importantly, while contemporary racial ordering of the globe seems to replicate or continue colonial and Cold War racial representations, I caution against seeing the current moment as a seamless extension of the past. I argue that doing so naturalizes and makes inevitable racial stratification and the mediating role that Asia is imagined to play in that relation. As I argue throughout this project, the U.S. relationship with Asia is itself in flux and the myth of the love between U.S. and Asia is challenged in multiple realms. The adoption ad, for example, argues

that Chinese female subjects need First World aegis because of China's willingness to let her "underdevelop." This U.S. representation of China produces a China as occupied by a different logic from the First World, vilifies it, before the U.S. has taken it into its fold through benevolent multiculturalism. This is the crux of my project's study: How has the changing economic, social, and political demands of the global century challenged the First World's ability to produce Asia as a surrogate? How does the First World neoliberal nation-state dramatize the increased demands for differentiation in a manner that elides the unevenness of globalization?

To take a slight detour, the First World-Asian relationship is refracted differently in Asia, Latin America, and Africa in ways that suggest a need for a broader, transnational study of the imagined Asian phoenix-like rise from the rubbles of WWII and decolonization, and America's imagined role in that rise.[15] An in-depth treatment is beyond the scope of this project, but I present a brief transnational Asian figuration in globalization to contextualize my study of U.S. differential racialization of global Others and the role that Asia/Asians play within that differentiation. Manthia Diawara in "Towards a Regional Imaginary in Africa," studies various African nations' responses to IMF and WB proposals for African currency devaluation throughout the 1990s.[16] Diawara critiques the prevalent African nationalist and neoliberal perceptions that devaluation can help

[15] For more detailed treatment of this topic see: David Arase, ed. (2003)
[16] Manthia Diawara (2001)

Africans "repeat the economic success of the 'Asian Dragons'"(Diawara 104). Diawara's analysis highlights how "there is much admiration for Japanese and Chinese leaders, and regrets that African leaders did not follow their example. The saying goes that the West respects Japan, Hong Kong, China and Taiwan today because these countries did not wait for the advice of the white man to jump into their own style of modernity. Africans, too, must find their own way in the modern world"(107). Some Latin Americanist economists and political theorists have similarly pointed to Asian success as a model for Latin American development that can bypass First World intervention.[17] This admiration for Asian success is also accompanied by a growing critique of Asian economic participation in Latin America and Africa that are imagined to replicate First World neo-colonial relations.

In contrast to representations that celebrate Asia's emergence out of pre-modernity, Africa and Latin America are represented as mired and bogged down by their (essential) premodernity.[18] Manthia Diawara argues that "there is a globalized information network that characterizes Africa as a continent sitting on top of infectious diseases, strangles by corruption and tribal vengeance, and

---

[17] For example, in an interview with Señor Bustamante, head of Peru's legal counsel under Former President Fujimori, he argued that Peruvian economic reformists have looked to Korea and Japan as economic models. He cites the specific instance of Peru's courting of Korean company LG to support the creation of FTZ in Peru. Raúl Araki's (2003) study of Peru similarly argues that Fujimori's popularity is derived from his ability to be seen as both "indigenous" and "Asian." The perception that he racially bridged the indios and white Creoles as an Asian allowed him to win Peru's large indigenous population's vote, while perceptions of a particular "Asian" ethos appealed to middle classes and elites who hoped that Fujimori would jumpstart Peru's modernization projects.

[18] As I argue in chapter three, China is constantly also represented as lacking morality in a different way from dominant representations of Africa and Latin America.

populated by people with mouths and hands open to receive international aid"(103, fig.3). Scholars such as George Yúdice point to Latin American figuration as essentially *mestizaje.*[19] Yúdice argues that neoliberal proponents depend on a hegemonic perception of Latin America's innate *mestizaje* to justify the incorporation and reconfiguration of Latin American national economies into the neoliberal, global economy. This invocation of *mestizaje* de-historializes the violence of colonial and nationalist government on racialized (women's) bodies and turns "her" again as a conspirator in neoliberal ideological attempts to subsume Latin American racialized particularity under Western universality.

Whereas the former represents Africa as a sub-human body hopelessly locked a primordial past, Latin America is represented as a gendered body always ready to be penetrated and re-ordered by a masculinist First World. These continents are differentiated from each other, Asianness, and whiteness in a manner that replicates both spatial and temporal colonial imagination of the Other's distance from white civilization, and produces Asia as the mediating figure between whiteness and its *Other* racial Others.

The figuration of Asian economic success captured above implicates the complexity with which both First and Third World economies imagine Asia's role in globalization. The dominant representations about Latin America and Africa depend on and reproduce racial essentialism, as their *bodies* themselves are imagined as the site of both problem and solution – as needing to be mixed, or as a

[19] See George Yúdice (1992); Nestor Garcia Canclini (1995).

disease that needs to be cured – that suggests that the contemporary post-race multicultural ideology depends on older scientific racialist notions of essential racial difference rooted in the body. As Walter Mignolo has put it, "whereas the sixteenth century was the scene of a heated debate about the boundaries of humanity, towards the nineteenth century the question was no longer whether primitives or orientals were human but, rather, how far removed from the present and civilized stage of humanity they were."[20] If Latin American and African bodies are imagined to be far removed from First Worldness, dominant representations attempt to position an Asian intermediary or mediator that is imagined to aid and shape Third World economies to emerge modern on the global stage. I argue above that this ability to produce Asia as an intermediary is itself in crisis, most notably seen as First World media frets over the rise of Chinese and Indian economies and their imagined impact on First World economic dominance. The act of producing Asia as an intermediary, in other words, functions through different kinds of erasures, elisions, and domestications of difference that is an ongoing process and should not be treated as self-evident.

As I discuss in a different context in this project, this imagining of Asia is in line with what Henry Yu has argued is "Asians [as having] been understood in the American social thought in two major ways – as a racial 'problem' and racial 'solution'" that refashions older colonial mode[s] of discipline for the

[20] Walter Mignolo (1998):35

contemporary global century.[21] That is, Yu is pointing to how U.S. racial imaginaries representation of Asia/Asians as model minority at home and model student abroad depends on figuring African American, Latino, and Native Americans as having "failed" to modernize like Asians. As Yu argues, this racialization of Asian model-ness does not secure that whiteness see Asians as selfsame modern subject. My reading of the two ads above also attempt to demonstrate how Asia and Asians are represented as always a perverse mimic of whiteness, whose difference secures rationality and modernity as the domain of whiteness, and all racial Others as spatially and temporally at a distance from that ideal.

Paradoxically, however, Latin American and African dominant nationalist sentiment seems to imagine that Asia has already achieved selfsameness as the First World. That is, while Asian economic success is imagined to have followed a different path from First World modernity, their imagined location in the global order reifies First World capitalist modernity and reproduces the globe as developing within a singular trajectory. This dominant nationalist celebration of modernization is theorized by Lowe and Lloyd who argue that "anti-colonial struggles might have invoked both anti-racist and anti-class possibilities, (but) the post-independent state at times silences or resolves the contradictions of "colonial

[21]Henry Yu (2001):7 Yu continues by arguing that Chicago School Sociologists "deliberately connected their study of the Oriental problem both to their theories about European immigrants and to their interest in what they called the 'Negro Problem' in America." In this way, the "Oriental" according to Yu, also allowed the sociologists to combine their study of immigration and race.7-8 See Lisa Lowe (1996) and (2006) and Tomás Almaguer (1994) for more on differential racialization in different contexts.

mode of production" by adapting Western modernization models"(Lowe and Lloyd 14). Contemporary dramatization of Asian success in different sites and for different purposes heightens the need to see how the East is figured as a different model from the First World, but one whose success is privileged because its end goal is imagined to be the same as First World modernity.

However these different instances of Asian representation as a "tiger" and "dragon" and dominant Third World nationalist desire to mimic their path to modernization points to a troubling and powerful production of differentiation in multiple sites – race, body, ethos, nation – my project also attempts the mining of sites of affiliation *between* differences, a lateral connection that the contemporary binaristic fixation between sameness and difference might miss. That is Latin American and African celebration of Asian diversion from First World modernity raises the shadows of the 1955 Bandung Conference that hoped for a Third World non-alignment from U.S. and Soviet dominated Cold War. It makes visible the terms under which differences are produced, while also highlighting a desire by racial Others for a different type of affiliation, however limited our imagination might be by the neocolonial-, neoliberal-dominated cultural, economic, and political structures.

Whereas the discussion above highlights how dominant nationalism, in this case through the use of Asia's success, attempts to resolve the co-existence of neocolonial modes of production and autochthonous forms of work by proposing that the nation-state modernize and rationalize, or "reproduce a specific notion of

underdevelopment that facilitates the re-integration of the nation into the international" (Lisa Lowe and David Lloyd 9), many have also pointed to how a consumerist based critique diagnoses and names difference, only to threaten its inevitable death or consumption. As John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff argue, commodity capitalism "is often said to be the 'hallmark of modernity' the measure of its wealth, health, vitality…It also resonates with the growing Eurocultural truism that the (post)modern person is a subject made with objects…Consumption, in its ideological guise – as 'consumerism'"- refers to a material sensibility actively cultivated, for the common good, by Western states and commercial interests, particularly since World War II" (4). In contrast to a consumerist critique, I engage the production of difference and challenge the idea that all differences are destined for assimilation and consumption into a singular First World modernity.

Alberto Moreiras, for example, characterizes those who foresee all resistance and differences commodification in this way: "there is no cultural-ideological praxis that is not always already produced by the movements of transnational capital, which is to say, we are all factors of the global system, even if and when our actions misunderstand themselves as desystematizing ones"(9). In contrast to this position, Lowe and Lloyd argue for a "need to think about how globalization produces and exploits differentiation that create further contradictions"(15). It is in contradiction produced in excess sites, or where negation "acknowledges spaces where that order is resisted"(Moreiras 95), that we must continue to mine for, theorize and affirm.

Thus, this project addresses the relationship between neoliberalism, differentiation, affiliation, and the nation-state through the lens of "international family romance" to understand how the U.S., as a particular First World nation with an expressed vested interest in maintaining a particular dominance over the new global order, produces Others as differentiated from the First World and from each other. By focusing on how Asia, Latin America and the United States are imagined to play different roles in neoliberalism, I attempt to make visible under what terms and for what purposes the neoliberal First World nation produces difference that it then subsumes. I continue to press for affiliations and sites of overlap which such insistence on difference, produced within the framework of a singular or universal, elides.

Arguing that we need to press for overlaps and contact zones between differences is not simply a utopic call for friendships and love in response to material and cultural signs of increased disparity between racial Others, Third World with Second and First. As globalization and neoliberalism parses, differentiates, and alienates, "anticolonial and antiracist struggles, feminist struggles, labor organizing, cultural movements all of which [have] challenged contemporary neocolonial capitalism as a highly differentiated mode of production"(Lowe and Lloyd 1), in contrast to critical lament or neoliberal celebration of the death of resistance.[22] That the subject of neoliberalism does not

[22] Their death is diagnosed differently. Some critics are concerned about what they consider the increased identitarian nature of protest that they fear cannot counter the totality of capital's

form along the lines of a classic proletarian formation need not be mourned. Instead, we need to give more weight to how "contradiction" or "negation" makes visible other sites from the nation, and subjects of resistance beyond class antagonisms, as well as make possible affiliation between differently located subjects that arrest the apotheosis and "millenarian" perceptions of neoliberalism and propose an alternative critical global society.[23]

International Family Romance

I have thus far argued that neoliberalism and globalization produces an anxiety in the First World ethos. By representing Asia and Asian immigrants as technophilic, ideal students, and in need of a moral patriarch, I argue these anxieties are attempted to be resolved within dominant U.S. imaginary in different ways. My study of the Los Angeles Civil Unrest of 1992 argues that representations of Asia and Asians as technophilic resonate with nativist fears of irrational and unfree aliens invading the "free" space of the U.S in a manner that reasserts rationality, freedom, and progress as the domain of whiteness. As I argue in chapters two and three, the representations of global others as "friend" and "family," while suggesting a U.S. commitment to multiculturalism and pluralism as the foundation of global relations, continues to subsume the Other's difference in a manner similar

---

exploitation. Proponents of neoliberalism also diagnose her/his death as the triumph of global capital is imagined to leave no ground for contest between capital and proletariats.

[23] I find their characterization of globalization in terms of millenarianism that predicts the second coming of the savior and destruction of amoral human society particularly evocative as a descriptor for global capitalism given the increasingly sectarian way that the new millennium is described. Francis Fukuyama, Benjamin Barber and Samuel Huntington in different ways have promised an increased strife between civilizations that is either explicitly or subtly drawn from Christian imagery of the second coming of Christ.

to nativism. In both cases the Other's difference is produced in order to justify the need for First World global arbiter. In this way, nativist and dominant multiculturalist representations of the racial Other in globalization collude with each other, whether intended or not.

My argument that dominant U.S. cultural representations of the globe is premised around its desire to be a friend or family with global others resonates with Shelley Streeby's observations about a similar preoccupation in the political realm. In her analysis of the 2000 U.S. presidential campaign Streeby argues that "the rhetoric of international romance also appeared in speeches in which Bush asked voters to imagine the relationship between Mexico and the United States on the model of the family, as when he called for a 'special relationship' with Mexico in which differences would be "differences among family, not rivals"(287). Streeby importantly makes visible how neoliberal proponents thematize the globe as a terrain for "international romance" and neoliberal economic reforms as producing the opportunity for desiring bodies to meet on equal terrain.

I find Streeby's observation of the global terrain as a fantasy of "international romance" to be incredibly suggestive for understanding the recent popularity of romantic narratives about U.S. encounters with Asia that coincide with increased nativist projects at home. Streeby's observation importantly poses a (continued) dependence on gendered, racialized, and sexualized notions of nation and transnation in attempts to smooth change over perceptions of the nation's crisis. In considering the contours of this "international family romance" and the popularity

of the tropes and allegories of romance for mediating the relationship between the national and transnational I draw on Amy Kaplan's *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* and Doris Sommer's *Foundational Fictions.* I find useful their analysis of the function of romantic narratives as the nation imagines itself to be in crisis or in flux, the former in the case of U.S. empire building in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and the latter in 19th century Latin American nation-building. I also find important their argument that there is a dependency between national and international projects with domesticity and intimacy that continues to press for our understanding of how such differentiated sites strengthen and depend on each other.

Kaplan analyzes the Supreme Court's designation of Puerto Rico as "foreign to the United States in a domestic sense" in order to understand how late 19th century U.S. imperialism "disembodied" expansion, producing it as that othered process impossible to be enacted by cultivated, white American men. Kaplan argues that the liminal status of Puerto Rico with relation to the U.S. national body is an attempt not only at disavowing U.S.'s empire, but also to exempt Puerto Ricans from being able to claim U.S. citizenship. Thus, "foreign" in a "domestic sense" speaks to the particularity of land expansion, and also reveals a nation's preoccupation with how to erase that land of people. While in this way the nation's disavowal of its imperialism was projected outward towards its representation of Other people and lands as foreign, Kaplan argues that imperialism produced a

simultaneous anxiety about the sanctity of domesticity and home, what she calls "manifest domesticity:"

> Thus another part of the cultural work of domesticity might be to unite men and women in a national domain and to generate notions of the foreign against which the nation can be imagined as home……..Through the process of domestication, the home contains within itself those wild or foreign elements that must be tamed; domesticity not only monitors the borders between the civilized and the savage, but also regulates traces of the savage within itself"(582).

Kaplan argues that domesticity, that is home, mother and family as the moral center of the nation, underwrite and legitimate the project of empire not only by producing the home as a site of difference from the foreign, uncivilized outside, but also as it "travels in contradictory circuits to both expand and contract the boundaries of home and nation and to produce shifting conceptions of the foreign"(583). By understanding how "domesticity" is a project that is not restricted to the boundaries of the nation-state, even as its privileges may be enacted there, Kaplan argues that the project of "domesticating" the foreign(er) outside is simultaneous with the domestication of that which becomes "foreign within."

The contradictory and paradoxical figuration of colonized others and their land as "foreign" yet "domestic," Kaplan argues, is resolved in romantic narratives. In these popular narratives "the romantic hero asserts his virility in more complex forms than the imagined simple violence of the self-reliant frontiersman. The chivalric rescue narrative makes him dependent on the liberation and subjugation of the willing heroine, who serves as a composite figure for the New Woman at home and the subjects of the new empire abroad"(Kaplan 95). In this way, romantic

narratives serve to instate patriarchal dominance over the new imperial nation and sooth concerns over changes in gender roles. As neoliberal capitalism constantly enlarges its terrain through a series of engulfment that forces an intimacy between citizens/foreigners, workers/capital, Third World/First World, difference/sameness both abroad and at home, we might understand the popularity of these contemporary romantic narratives about U.S. encounters with Asia as an attempt at instituting the First World subject as the ideal global subject in a manner that also resolves national anxieties about increased global intrusions into the home front.

Sommer's seminal study of 19th century Latin American foundational novels sees these novels as helping to produce a subject's hegemonic attachment to the newly emerging nation-states through the use of tropes and allegories of romance: "romantic passion, on my reading, gave a rhetoric for the hegemonic projects in Gramsci's sense of conquering the antagonist trough mutual interest, or 'love,' rather than coercion. And the amorous overtones of 'conquest' are quite appropriate, because it was civil society that had to be wooed and domesticated after the Creoles had won their independence"(6). My argument throughout this project that dominant multiculturalism and pluralism imagines the globe as a "flattened" meeting place between equal others particularly resonates with Sommer's observation above that "conquest" is romanticized as "love" in a manner that elides coercion, violence, and unevenness of contact. Sommer importantly brings together formulations of sex and nationalism, particularly by drawing on the "traces" that tie Benedict Anderson and Michel Foucault's theories together and

highlights how national (and global) projects depend on domesticity and sites of intimacy(33-45).

Both Kaplan and Sommer's studies suggest strong ties between nationalism, tropes and allegories of romantic conquest and invitation, and argue that the erotic and the political upheld each other in the specifics of 19th century imperial projects and nation building. They both suggest that the cultural –in particular mass and popular cultural forms of the novel –sutures the subject to the nation within a moment of transition and crisis. In light of what Streeby and others have noted is the importance of the metaphors and allegories of romance, love, and family in contemporary politics, I re-fashion and extend their arguments for the turn of the 21st century.

The increase in availability, popularity, and dissemination of movies, TV shows, and the Internet have irrevocably changed how national subjects relate to the nation, to each other, and the globe. It is a popular observation that these visual cultural products have displaced the novel as a national "text," while the popularity of Hollywood films and American TV shows abroad seems to further problematize the notion of a bounded national culture in general.[24] Despite the importance of regional media centers, most notably India's Bollywood and Hong Kong's cinema industry, many critics have pointed to the global popularity of American TV shows,

[24] One of the most interesting places where the novel still thrives is with Oprah Winfrey's book club.

films, and stars to argue that global culture is not only becoming homogeneous, but that it is becoming Americanized.[25]

The immense popularity of American TV shows such as the Fox network's *American Idol* where Americans vote who will be America's next music star – over 63 million people, the show claims, voted for their favorite singer in the fifth season's finale[26] – seems to suggest that for Americans at least, a certain semblance of shared national time exists and that this time might be shared with subjects abroad.[27] However the seeming individuation of the national subject to the solitary act of watching TV or surfing the internet, the popularity of American TV shows and Hollywood movies seems to suggest that at least within the U.S. space, America, as a site of affiliation and desired belonging, remains strong.

I do not contest the strength and hegemony of American cultural forms abroad, or the seminal role of visual media in interpolating the self to the nation. Importantly, however, I agree with critics who argue that American culture abroad is contested, refashioned, and rejected in a manner that makes visible the incomplete project of American hegemony.[28] What interests me in this project is

---

[25]See Lewis Friedland's "Covering the World," John Sinclair, Elizabeth Jacka, and Stuart Cunningham "Peripheral Vision," John Tomlinson's "Cultural Imperialism," in Frank Lechner and John Boli (2004).

[26] Mike Stratka (2005)

[27]This show's popularity expresses an American love of sentiment as Americans feel empowered and invested as they watch singers compete to be the public's sweetheart over a twenty week period. The show's host Ryan Seacrest announced that the 63 million votes cast to choose American idol's next winner is "more than any president in the history of our country has received." Although the circumstances of this vote diminishes the intended gravitas of this statement, the implications of the mass participation in the voting of an American idol seems to confirm Seacrest's sentiment that the immense popularity of American Idol means something.

[28] See Appadurai (1996); Inderpal Grewal (2005) for more on this.

how the language of romance, family and love are being produced within this changing cultural, economic, and political terrain, and how it envelopes racial Others from and in different places in varied ways. The seeming strength of American culture at home and abroad, yet the anxiety about the meaning of American culture in globalization, suggests an anxiety about to whom and where global subjects will affiliate.

The production of the globe as a multicultural, multiethnic family tied together by their love and respect for each other's difference signals an attempt at resolving the anxieties and concerns I identify earlier in the introduction. As opposed to being a sign of the completion of U.S. cultural, ideological and economic dominance abroad, it instead signals a preoccupation with the challenges to the nation, the fears of losing the national subject's affiliation to global sites, and the decentering of the First World nation-state as the idealized site of belonging. In this state of change, Asian Others are produced as a surrogate for American morality that re-orders the globe with the U.S. as its patriarch.

As I argue in this project, contemporary national fixations with the global grapples with similar concerns as Kaplan's and Sommer's study of 19th century romance novels but is also caught by the dilemmas of the proposal of a new global civil society. As we see with U.S. negotiations with global bodies such as the U.N., it cannot conceive of becoming "one of many," but instead perceives of itself as exceptional to the rule and beyond international interventions. These contradictory impulses of U.S. – desiring neoliberalism but rejecting the idea of U.S.'s own

refashioning into a global society – is resolved through new international family romance, where the global others are figured as desiring and needing U.S. patriarchy in order to centralize the U.S.

Gina Marchetti, in *Romance and the "Yellow Peril,"* argues that early 20th century Hollywood was obsessed with Asian-White miscegenation films as opposed to narratives about White-Black, White-Native American or White-Latino mixing. She sees Hollywood's continued production of Asian-White romance films throughout the 20th century as a sign that this particular relationship is an important cultural site through which the nation resolved its various anxieties: "Hollywood used Asians, Asian Americans, and Pacific Islanders as signifiers of racial otherness to avoid the far more immediate racial tensions between blacks and whites or the ambivalent mixture of guilt and enduring hatred toward Native American and Hispanics"(6).[29] Similar to Henry Yu's study of U.S. sociologists' obsession with Asian immigrants to resolve white anxiety about its racism, Marchetti's text provides an important archive documenting a filmic obsession with Asian-White encounters that extend far beyond the material history of actual contact.

As opposed to signaling whiteness" "love" of Asians, Marchetti argues that these films "create a mythic image of Asia that empowers the West and rationalizes Euroamerican authority over the Asian other. Romance and sexuality provide the metaphoric justification for this domination….. Individual texts become part of a

[29] Gina Marchetti (1992)

broader narrative and thematic pattern that, in each incarnation, reproduces and reworks the same ideological problems at its core"(6-7). Marchetti's work importantly extends Kaplan's and Sommer's studies of 19th century novels of romance and sentiment by helping to map how the dramatization of white relationships with Asia as "romance" has become naturalized throughout the 20th century. In this way, these particular romantic narratives function as a founding "myth" for 20th century race relations. U.S. claims to uniquely dispense pluralism and respect for difference, in other words, in obvious or subtle ways depend on these narrative productions of White love for "Asia" and "Asian" acceptance of that love.

By "myth" I draw from what Roland Barthes, in *Mythologies,* argues is when "things appear to mean something by themselves," that is, as a self-evident thing that is "evacuated of history." Marchetti draws from Claude Levi-Strauss and Fredric Jameson to understand how "Hollywood films operate mythically"(7). Marchetti argues "the specific type of discourse Hollywood favors is the narrative fiction" which take "often irresolvable, contradictions" and "through the aesthetic act of creating a take transpose these irreconcilable oppositions into terms that can be reconciled symbolically (e.g., protagonists and antagonists)"(7). The "aesthetic act of creating" the narrative form, in other words, is an "ideological act in its own right"(7). My study of Hollywood films *The Last Samurai* (2003), *Memoirs of a Geisha* (2005), *The Mask of Zorro* (1998) and *The Legend of Zorro* (2005) draws from Marchetti's argument in two ways. I analyze how contemporary expressions

of First World's love for the Other depends on and reproduces for the purposes of the global century, "mythic image(s) of Asia." I also see these films' representation of globalization as familial relations as itself an expression of domination whose internal contradictions I map.

My study of U.S. relations with globalization as an international family romance also contests the dominance of exclusion as the framework through which racial subordination has been understood. In this project I argue that exclusion has not, and does not, capture the relationship between racial Others and whiteness, First World with Second and Third. Instead, this project argues that racial Others have always been differentially included, an inclusion that in the contemporary moment is manifested as the subsuming logic of dominant multiculturalism. As Denise Da Silva, in "Bahia Pelo Negro: Can the Subaltern (Subject of Raciality) Speak?" argues, contemporary preoccupation with multiculturalism inherits from the 1980's politics of difference that privileged exclusion as its analytical mode in a way that continued to produce the Other as modernity's additive.[30] Such production of the Other's difference which it then subsumes as a former sign of racism and contemporary acceptance of an Other assures the fixity of the First World as the racial, ideological and civilizational ideal. My concern with how the logic of sameness/difference and inclusion/exclusion in multicultural and pluralistic discourse authorizes the constant production, absorption, digestion, and resolution of difference is why I offer instead international family romance to understand the

[30] Denise Ferreira da Silva (2005)

differentiation that structures the relationship between race, nation, and neoliberalism.

Transnational Geography

The geography my study proposes is transnational. In this project I see the nation embedded in a transnational terrain, as my study of the global city of Los Angeles suggests, while also arguing that the nation imagines other sites, in this case Latin America and Asia, as romantic consorts, in order to understand and resolve its own position in the emerging global order. While transnational geography responds to the nation's forays into the global, it also attempts to map the meaning of globalization produced by the movements of people to First World locations. Both, this project argues, requires a different understanding of the location and meaning of belonging to the nation, what Vincente Rafael has called the immigrant imaginary, what Lowe and Lloyd have argued is a need to re-evaluate the use-value of "center-periphery" model, and what Henry Yu has proposed is a need to move away from "metaphors of homeland and destination that make America the end of long journeys."[31]

Thus, this project sees the immigrant as an important subject in neoliberalism, one whose mapping "intransit, caught between nation-states, unsettled and potentially uncanny - gives one pause, forcing one to ask about the possibility of a scholarship that is neither colonial, nor liberal, nor indigenous, yet constantly enmeshed in all these states"(Rafael 6). I agree with Yu, Rafael, and Moreiras and

[31] Henry Yu (2001):5;Vincente Rafael (Winter 1994), Lowe and Lloyd (1997)

argue for a renewed consideration of the immigrant circuit to counter imperial formation of knowledge that attempts to subsume or assimilate.[32]

Similarly, Saskia Sassen sees the category of immigrant opening up our understanding of globalization, the nation-state, and the transnational terrain in this way:

> I think that there are representations of globality which have not been recognized as such or are contested representations. Such representations include immigration and its associated cultural environments, often subsumed under the notion of ethnicity. What we still narrate in the language of immigration and ethnicity, I would argue, is actually a series of processes having to do with the globalization of economic activity of cultural activity of identity formation. Too often immigration and ethnicity are constituted as otherness. Understanding them as a set of processes whereby global elements are localized, international labor markets are constituted, and cultures form all over the world de- and reterritorializd, puts them right there at the center along with the internationalization of capital as a fundamental aspect of globalization.[33]

Sassen challenges us to think about how immigration, as an analytic, counters in important ways what I have been arguing is a U.S. racial imaginary that attempts to subsume difference, otherness, and other places. As Sassen argues, as increased numbers of women, men, and youth immigrate to First World locations, their movements map how the internationalization of capital is lived, worked, and in general negotiated, while their interactions with local sites of global processes make visible new sites of contradiction that constantly contest globalization's

---

[32] Lisa Lowe (2004)
[33] Saskia Sassen (1998):xxxi

impulse to subsume. Immigration, in other words, should not be understood as a "symptom" of globalization, but a process that produces its own meaning.

In a different way, as opposed to being "a substitute for the notion of race and a solvent of 'class consciousness'" that sees the immigrant as antagonistic to the traditional national proletariat subject as Balibar worries, I see the immigrant as clarifying how the neoliberal nation-state conflates class difference with race difference that calls for the need for a transnational geography.[34] The immigrant is produced as outside of the First World nation as a *racial* subject whose cultural difference is imagined to be immiscible to the national body and his labor, while claimed by the state, is similarly imagined to be antagonistic to that of the needs of the national subject. Within the dominant First World national imaginary, the immigrant is abstracted as globalization, that is, the Other's difference which needs to be refashioned, further neoliberalized and enveloped into the First World. While the dominant neoliberal First World imaginary constantly produces the Other, symbolized by the immigrant, as that which needs to be subsumed, Sassen, Yu, Rafael and Lowe continue to press our understanding of how the immigrant opens up the nation to the transnational in a manner that continues to map new sites of encounters, contradictions, and challenges to the neoliberal order.

For example, my interest in this project began with an investigation of Korean Latinos (from Brazil and Argentina mostly) who live and work in Los Angeles'

---

[34] Etienne Balibar (1991):20. See Streeby (2002), in particular pp. 251-290, for her thoughtful engagement with Balibar's notion of the immigrant complex and its usefulness to diagnose the racialization of criminality.

garment district as a way to understand the dominant argument that Asians and Latinos are doomed to conflict because of essential differences. I was drawn to this particular group because of their unusual immigration trajectory and how their identification as Latino complicates the commonsensical notion of whiteness as the desired site of affiliation. Because of the exploitative conditions and its traditional dependence on immigrant entrepreneurs and vulnerable immigrant workers, the internationalization of Koreans via the garment factory seemed an important site of investigation within the study of race, differentiation and neoliberalism. Kyeyoung Park in ""I am Floating in the Air:" Creation of a Korean Transnational Space among Korean-Latino American Remigrants" writes that over 1500 of the garment factories in Los Angeles are owned by Koreans; over 50% of the 600 manufacturers/wholesalers in the Korean Garment Wholesaler Association are owned by Koreans from Brazil.[35] This Korean Latino population immigrated to the United States after the Latin American economic boom burst in the late 1970s and early 1980s.[36] These Korean immigrants' initial move to Latin America, their re-emigration to the United States, and the terms that structure these moves, highlight how neoliberalism depend on racist notions of difference, differentiated labor, alienation of the subject from the nation-state, and the decline of the welfare

[35] Kyeyoung Park (1999)

[36] A parallel movement is the immigration of Japanese Brazilians and Japanese Argentines to Japan that also began roughly in the same time period, although in contrast to Korean Latinos, they are second or third generation Japanese Latino. According to Edson Mori (2002) and Marcelo G. Higa (2002), these Japanese Latinos immigrated to Japan because while Latin America was experiencing an economic depression, Japan was rapidly industrializing and urbanizing and needed laborers particularly in construction. Members of the Japanese diaspora were heavily recruited because the Japanese nation-state wanted people willing to work for low wages and exploitative conditions, but did not want to attract non-Japanese immigrants.

state. As opposed to signaling "innate" or cultural differences between managers and workers in the Korean operated garment factory, Park's study points instead to the modernizing function of the nation-state and the internationalizing impulse of capital that is in turn naturalized.[37] Thus, even as the rise of sweat shops and garment factories in the U.S. managed by Korean Latinos and labored by immigrant women from Latin America and Asia map the heightening of differentiation in all sites, its study can also map how and where Others encounter each other, as well as present new notions of self, nation and other that need to be understood as exploitation's dialectic.

As Park argues, Koreans were encouraged to immigrate to Argentina and Brazil in order to develop these countries nascent garment industries.[38] In Los Angeles, where they immigrated post-1970s, as in Brazil and Argentina,[39] Koreans found themselves in a particularly specialized and exploitative economy, where they managed immigrant, often undocumented workers who, in the Southern Cone, comprised of Bolivian, Paraguyans and Peruvians, and, in Los Angeles, Central Americans, Mexicans, and Asians.[40] The particular conditions under which

---

[37] See Corina Courtis (2000); Carolina Mera (1998) for how they theorize that Koreans and Latinos are represented as having both essential as well as cultural differences that are meant to explain their different social and economic status in Buenos Aires.

[38] Koreans, she argues, are reputed to have advanced knowledge of fabrics, and their immigration to Latin America was encouraged to develop these countries garment industries.

[39] Increasingly Koreans are taking over from Jewish, Lebanese, and Eastern European owners in Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and Bolivia. They are also structuring the relationship between Asians and others in FTZ in El Salvador, Guatemala, and the Caribbean.

[40] The garment industry, as Appelbaum and Bonacich argue, is characterized by sweatshop conditions where health and safety regulations are ignored, and workers are paid by the piece, a practice that further exploits a worker's productivity. They also argue that these sweatshop conditions encourage a combination of home and factory work that particularly elicits children and

sweatshops and garment factories have risen in Los Angeles in the recent years so that it is the largest center of apparel production in the nation, in contrast to the general deindustrialization and increase in unemployment in Los Angeles, has Richard Appelbaum and Edna Bonacich arguing that the Los Angeles garment industry represents the logic of neoliberalism itself.[41]

Labor intensive and needing very little capital to start a sewing business, the garment factory is intensively competitive, forcing an ever-present competition to provide the cheapest product and service.[42] The garment industry also must respond to a capricious fashion market and needs to be flexible to be able to accommodate the mercurial changes in taste. These already exploitative potential of the garment industry is exacerbated by the challenges to the welfare state, "flexibility" of capital, and increased availability of vulnerable and undocumented populations, many displaced by NAFTA, to be recruited to work in exploitative conditions. The increased segmentation and geographical segregation in Los Angeles supports and promotes such differentiated relations by abstracting the relationship between production and consumption as an unknowable "fantasy."

Thus, this particular case of Korean Latinos' relationship to the Americas typifies the production of racial differentiation within the internationalization of

---

women into the exploitative workforce. For more on this see: Edna Bonacich and Richard Appelbaum, eds.(2000); Edna Bonacich ed. (1994)

[41] Bonacich and Appelbaum, eds. (2000)

[42] They argue that the garment production chain encourages a battle to the bottom. As consumers demand more for less, designers and contractors demand that subcontractors offer lower bids and products at a faster pace. The bottom line, then, is maintained by continually reducing the wages of workers, while demanding more productivity.

capital and breakdown of traditional safety nets in civil society. This case also makes visible the kinds of conditions under which others encounter each other and how these exploitative conditions disables their ability to "see" the other as a human as self. Despite the bleakness of possibilities, Park's study suggests that many of the Korean's identification as "Latino" destabilizes their own notion of the Other that challenges claims of insurmountable differences, as well as dominant perceptions that "Asian" and "Latino" bodies are designed for particular work. The multiethnic, multiracial, and multinational coalitions of activists engaged in anti-sweatshop movements and broadening the rights of immigrants also point to continued acts and site of affiliation between Asians, Latinos and African Americans in difference to capital's claims of their incommensurability.

My analysis of the Korean and Latin American population's participation and reflections on the 1992 Los Angeles civil unrest develops these themes and I argue that the sharing of lived spaces and worksites does not always produce an ability to "see" the self or Other as a whole, modern subject – this wholeness is imagined by immigrants as the sole domain of whiteness to which they are excluded. The inability to see themselves and Others as a modern subject is expressed in terms of loss. However, my analysis suggests that the transnational affiliation of Koreans and Latinos expressed in the texts I study produces a critique of the First World's demand for assimilation that provokes a different way to perceive and live with whiteness and racial others. They begin to "know" themselves as racialized subjects in a manner that is not solely structured by lament and instead insists on a

decentering of white claims to modernity, a decentering that makes visible what Néstor García Canclini has called the "multitemporal heterogeneity" of the First World. The transnational geography of my project, then, attempts to intervene in the collusion between dominant nationalist and neoliberal production of a global fantasy that by insisting on singular modernity invisibilizes the dissent to the stratified roles of racial others.

Immigrant agitation as "racial" subjects against white ideals counters what Lisa Yoneyama in "Habits of Knowing" has called as a dominant "we-ness."[43] This dominant "we" speaks from and reifies the nation. As Yoneyama argues "critical multiculturalism (needs to) look beyond the domestic national sphere. As in national character studies, and less obviously but unmistakably in….the multicultural policy of corporate states, practices that try to locate otherness elsewhere in distant geopolitical spaces help secure the boundaries and the authenticity of the national self…In its attempts to provincialize the unmarked yet normative mainstream we-ness of the U.S., practitioners of critical multiculturalism need to make visible others within the national boundary, while simultaneously recasting others outside in new perspectives"(78). This coherent "we" is produced to resolve and shore fissures and lapses in the national space and interpolates the ideal national subject, as well as emerging transnational and immigrant subjectivity, to a moral First World. As my study of immigrant responses to the

[43] Lisa Yoneyama (1999)

U.S. racial imaginary argues, the transnational is not just a subject of academic discourse, but the terrain through which immigrants and others already identify and imagine their belonging.

++++++++++++

I begin this project with an analysis of the global city of Los Angeles. I argue that 1980's films such as *Blade Runner* (dir. Ridley Scott, 1982) represents globalization, and the city in that state, as a dystopia overrun by technocratic Asian hordes who lack First World subject's desire for freedom and rationality. I identify how globalization is experienced and expressed by some in such terms that produces a regressive nostalgia for an imagined homogenous nation-state that violently displaces and segregates immigrants. I extend my study of the 1980's nativism by analyzing the 1992 Los Angeles Civil Unrest as an expression of the exacerbated contradictions of neoliberal capitalism and considering the important role that Asians and Latinos played in this crisis. My study of the newspaper reports of the unrest sees how Latinos and Asians are positioned as "inevitable" or "doomed" to conflict through tropes of technology and law. Yet other cultural responses, documentary *Sa-I-Gu* (Dir. Christine Choy, 1993) and Héctor Tobar's 1997 novel *The Tattooed Soldier,* represent the encounters between Asians and Latinos in terms of intimacy and immediacy that reflect the emergency of their contact, by which I mean the literal emergency of situations – riots, evictions – that structure their encounter with each other. These encounters, nonetheless, produce a sense of self and Other as racialized subjects that open up the possibility of seeing

the Other's subjecthood. However emergent that recognition, I argue that these texts conclude with expressions of loss that signal both a material void and potential loss of friend. My analysis in this chapter concludes with a consideration of how all of these texts "recognize" African America as an *a priori* authentic American racial subject that at first was an object of difference, but through the riots, became a subject with whom Korean and Latino subjects can identify. As Asian America and Latinos identify with African America, they are captured by the liberal promise of rights and inclusion, as well as more critical possibilities for progress.

My second and third chapters study how the U.S. political and cultural terrain expresses anxieties about U.S.'s position in a global order through representations of global racial others as "friends" and "family." Through an analysis of *The Mask of Zorro* and *The Legend of Zorro* (dir. Martin Campbell, 1998, 2003) in chapter two I see how these films' use of family as trope and narrative opened the nation to the transnation, only to ultimately subsume the other as "infant" to First World patriarch in a manner that also closes down the emergent transnational subjectivity. I study how a 1990 Asian American novel, Karen Tei Yamashita's *Through the Arc of the Rainforest,* that displaces its themes of transnationalism, neoliberalism, and Asian immigration to Brazil, proposes a family between racial others as an antithesis to neoliberal formations. My study of these two different texts considers hybridity as a potential critical analytic that disrupts the uni-directional incorporation of other's difference imagined by dominant tropes of family.

Finally, in chapter three I analyze the spate of cultural products about Japan all released within three years to popular and critical acclaim. I contextualize my reading of these films within a broader cultural terrain that attempts to produce Japan as a former "foe" and "student." I argue that America's willingness to see Japan as now a "friend" reifies U.S. claims as ideal moral and economic leader for the new global century. While Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East are represented as creating a crisis of moral turpitude and anarchy in global civil society and marketplace, U.S. is in contrast represented as so multicultural and enlightened it can even love a former foe. My study of these films highlights how WWII is represented as the genesis of U.S. covenant with the globe as leader, a figuration that depends on continuing to affirm the morality of U.S-Japan wartime and post-war relations. Naomi Hirahara's 2005 novel, *Gasa-Gasa Girl,* on the other hand, treats the past as a scene of crime against the racial Other. I study how she unravels dominant multiculturalism's use of Asian/America as symbol for First World embrace of pluralism. To conclude, I explore how the transnational subject position of this novel's detective makes visible the limits of a nationalist perspective in interrogating global multiculturalism's claims.

Chapter 1: Nostalgia and Loss in Immigrant Los Angeles

Immigrant Los Angeles

Due to significant demographic changes during the 1980's and 1990's, Los Angeles is a key site for the analysis of the global city within the U.S. nation state and the global economy. Los Angeles' deindustrialization, most dramatically captured by the shutdown of Bethlehem Steel and other symbols of its industrial economy, contributed to the unemployment of its disenfranchised communities. The simultaneous growth of the service sector and light manufacturing opportunities such as those in the garment industry has drawn Asian and Latino immigrants to the city. With the growth of Asian and Latino immigrant communities starting the late 1970's, Los Angeles became the first and largest U.S. city without a claim to a white majority population. This reality gave rise to both multiculturalist discourse of inclusion and anti-immigrant nativist fervor spurred the greater militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border, the demand that only English be spoken in schools and in government offices, and the 1994 passage of proposition 187 which tried to deny undocumented immigrants access to healthcare and education.[1]

In this chapter, I explore the contradictory and paradoxical claims of Los Angeles's multiculturalist discourse and the continued racial differentiation of Asian and Latino immigrant populations. Most of these immigrants entered the

[1] Also known as the *Save Our State* initiative, Proposition 187 was introduced in California in 1994 and passed by 59% of the vote in the November elections. Its constitutionality was challenged right away – Governor Gray Davis, who opposed the measure, dropped the initiative before it went before its third court proceeding, thereby effectively killing the law.

United States through California, and many settled and work in Los Angeles. These demographic and economic changes to Los Angeles are accompanied by representations of Los Angeles as a uniquely American space during the 80's and 90's – it is figured as both emblematic of American achievements of wealth, progress and inclusion, but also as a space of (racialized) conflict and a dystopia of Third World encroachment. An analysis of Los Angeles, as an example of what Saskia Sassen has termed the "global city," demonstrates the convergences and contradictions of neoliberal globalization.[2] A space of contest, Los Angeles is at once heralded as a place of multicultural progress and capitalist triumph, and yet is figured as a location for dangerous 'new' immigrants. The narrative of the global city, I argue casts Los Angeles as a center of global diversity but distinguishes Asian and Latinos as immigrant groups with different positions and roles to play in that city. While state and popular discourses cast Latinos as 'illegal' migrant laborers, Asians are more often portrayed as technocratic middlemen.

In this chapter, I examine the 1992 Los Angeles Civil Unrest as a point of departure in capturing the contradictory and paradoxical figurations of the progress and dystopia of the global city of Los Angeles. The variety of dominant discourses that arose to 'diagnose' this event - most significantly news coverage - tended to reduce the confrontations to a binary conflict between Koreans and African Americans, with a particular lack of attention to other relationships, between Koreans and Central Americans, or even Koreans and Whites. In contrast, my

[2] Saskia Sassen (2001)

interpretation of cultural texts – novel, feature film and documentary – argues that these immigrant others express a sense of politicized loss as they understand their marginal status as racial labor. While they speak against the state and capital from this position, this differential racialization also limits a relationship between racial others. Thus, my reading of these cultural texts engage their lament for the loss of a potential friend. By focusing on the relationship between Koreans and Central Americans in the 1992 event, I hope to describe the contradictory ways that the nation continues to claim the labor of these immigrant populations while denying them access to the U.S. national body as racialized and immigrant others.

I argue that Koreans and Central Americans are racialized within the same political, social and economic systems and by the same economic and political discourses. This can be seen most literally in social and economic spaces – the garment factory, Westlake/Pico Neighborhood - that these immigrant communities share, but also through the state and popular discourses which figure both Koreans and Central Americans as immigrant outsiders. These immigrants are positioned as inherently bound for conflict – that is, as immigrants they each hold different immigrant 'dreams' and have different 'natural abilities' to fulfill these dream. For Asians, the dream is figured as successful, hence 'model' while for Latinos the dream is figured as *a priori* impossible since they are 'illegal.' Through such paring, both subjects continue to be written together even as opposed positionality

make it seem as though the immigrants were only at war with each other because of their differing ability to achieve the American Dream.[3]

I point to these two racializations not to argue that the material conditions for Asians and Latinos are the same. It is very important to consider economic differences, as well as disparate treatment by the law of 'model' minority versus 'illegal' immigrants.[4] By charting overlapping and contiguous sites of racialization, however, I hope to map the economic and political forces that create new language and instruments of discipline for these actors. A central structuring theme in this chapter is that the immigrant is produced not just against a White America, but a presumably multicultural and enlightened America captured by whiteness' supposed "love" for African America. As my study of *Blade Runner* and news reports of 4/29 show, however, blackness is abjected and objectified in a manner that imagines that blackness has no role in global processes. Such objectification of blackness elides how de-industrialization and outsourcing have disenfranchised black populations, and instead continues to cast their plight as at

[3] The fight over access to public institutions is another important site through which we can explore Asian and Central American racialization. Anti-affirmative action proponents use the high number of Asian Americans in secondary education to argue that the need for "race-based" admissions is over. The argument continues that this is tantamount to "preferential treatment" for Asian students at the detriment to white students. Asian 'success' becomes a chastising positionality for racial Others although in this instance Asians also self-discipline.

[4] For more on Latino racialization see: Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (1998); Steve Bender (2003); Victor M. Valle and Rodolfo D. Torres (2000).
For more on Asian American racialization, see: Lisa Lowe (1996); David Palumbo-Liu (1999)

once of another time and place, and also as a problem civil rights gains will soon address. [5]

In this chapter on immigrant racialization in the global city of Los Angeles I attempt to map how immigrancy has become a metonym for globalization in a manner that reifies whiteness as the ideal subject for the new millennium and racial otherness as hopelessly padlocked, by their distance from rationality, either in the past or into exploited labor. This forces us to consider the continued importance of the category of immigrant, not simply hyphenated citizen, in diagnosing neoliberalism and U.S.'s imagined role in the new global century.[6]

Dominant multiculturalism, by privileging notions of liberal democracy, incorporates the "free" citizen subject figure and excises immigrants as eternal other. In this way, multiculturalism colludes with expressions of nostalgia I locate in cultural texts of the 1980's: the former incorporates in a logic of assimilation while the latter laments a 'lost' topos of national homogeneity and belonging. Nostalgia masks desires for (imagined) white spaces through the deployment of memories of a time that never was. The figuration of African Americans as

---

[5] We can see the overlaps between white nostalgia, blackness and immigrants currently as well. The Minutemen vigilante organization and Friends of the Border Patrol, both of whom propose to militarize the U.S.- Mexico border, have used the argument that undocumented laborer are "stealing" jobs in attempts to garner support from black leaders, among others. Perhaps more telling of U.S. race politics, however, black leaders also fear that the focus on injustices to undocumented and Latino laborers as the "new" victims of racism would compete with black claims to racism by the state signaling that black re-dress is constantly fraught and unresolved, despite the promises of the civil rights legislations.

[6] See, for example, Yen Le Espiritu (2003) as an articulation of how, in this case, Asian immigrants continue to display multiple different national affiliations. I agree with Espiritu and argue that the transnational produced by immigrant affiliations is related to the transnational produced by war, colonialism, neocolonialism and capitalism, but also always contradicts the uni-directional and singular modernity supposed by these dominant transnational structures.

'victim' plays a key role in helping to justify the U.S. nation as multicultural, but also demonstrate the nativist sentiments which excise the immigrant participants.[7]

With the civil unrest as a backdrop, I offer a reading of the 1982 release, and 1992 re-release of Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner* as a representation of these twin impulses of nostalgia and multiculturalism in the 1980's and 1990's. Nostalgia can be captured both as a pervasive mood and as a discourse for understanding the laments of the state over the polyglot and multiethnic body of Los Angeles. Within this context, *Blade Runner* presents a dystopic Los Angeles of 2016 over-run with Asian and Arab immigrants.

I continue with *The Tattooed Soldier*, Héctor Tobar's novel depicting a Guatemalan refugee and a U.S. trained Guatemalan soldier in Los Angeles, and *Sa-I-Gu*, a documentary about the Los Angeles Civil Unrest by three Korean American feminist scholars, activists and artists.[8] Reading these texts I develop loss and mourning as analytical tools for immigrant considerations of the multiculturalist promises of inclusion through the American Dream. Loss, I argue, is a productive site of enunciation, one which maps the same terrain as nostalgia, in a radically different manner. Nostalgia imagines the nation-state as homogeneous and white, a project which sustains the nation during moments of crisis. Through loss, however,

---

[7] Kent Ono and John Sloop (2002) argue that Proposition 187 was supported by a broad coalition of parties that in different ways wanted to position themselves as opposing a Mexican "takeover" of California.

[8] Héctor Tobar (1998)
Dai Sil Kim-Gibson (1993)

we see the immigrant subject articulate a racialized nation and an understanding of the differential role that they are required to play.

The civil unrest opened a moment in which the immigrant developed a new language and understanding of belonging to the nation, and in doing so "saw" racial others as human as self. However, the recognition of an other is also shadowed by lament, as the emergency of their encounter –riots, evictions, sweatshops – only made possible contingent, precarious, and momentary recognition. Through this loss of hope, idealized visions, and expectations, the immigrant develops new relationships to power and the agency to shape the contours of her subjectivity. Loss, then, is a moment of provocation, one which laments even as it critiques.

Nostalgia in *Blade Runner*

Coupled with the changing racial landscape of Los Angeles evident during the 1980's were other dramatic economic and social changes decades in the making. Increasing de-industrialization of Los Angeles led to massive lay-offs of a formerly unionized, mainly male and African American workforce. Simultaneously, however, Los Angeles saw an increase in service sector and light manufacturing.[9] For example, between 1990 and 1992 over 600,000 jobs were lost in Los Angeles

[9] There are many studies that discuss the changes to Los Angeles' industrial landscape during the 1980's and 90's. Some are: Mike Davis (1990); Edna Bonacich and Richard Appelbaum (2000); Saskia Sassen (1998)

county, most of which were held by African American men, yet over 2,800,000 immigrants continue to move into Los Angeles during the 1990's.[10]

Economic changes, such as NAFTA, drive much of this movement, but as Norma Stoltz Chinchilla and Nora Hamilton detail in their important book *Seeking Community in a Global City: Guatemalans and Salvadorans in Los Angeles*, the increased size of the Salvadoran and Guatemalan community in Los Angeles in the 1980's can be seen as a direct outcome of President Reagan's policies of intervention in the civil wars in these two countries.[11] As Lopez, Popkin and Telles note, 21% of the total Salvadoran population and 16% of the total Guatemalan population in the United States in 1990 came between the years 1981-1982, fleeing military violence in their respective countries.[12] Denied the refugee status that would indict U.S. support of Anti-Communist soldiers in Central America, these refugees were instead forced invisibility, silence and low-wage labor in Los Angeles, predominately as home workers and in the garment sector.[13]

Koreans, the largest group of Asians to immigrate to the United States in the 1990's,[14] on the other hand, generally came to the U.S. seeking better educational and economic opportunities and reunification with family already here. They were

---

[10] From Public Policy Institute of California (2003)
[11] Norma Stoltz Chinchilla and Nora Hamilton (2001)
[12] David E. Lopez, Eric Popkin and Edward Telles (1996)
[13] Even though Central Americans were denied refugee status and citizenship many spaces, including the city of Los Angeles, declared themselves a sanctuary for undocumented refugees from the Central American civil war. To this day many Salvadorans with legal residency have Temporary Protective Status, rather than being granted full permanent (greencard) residency.
[14] According to the 2000 Census, 317,635 Koreans entered the United States between 1990-2000; this is a slight increase from the number of Korean immigrants who entered between 1980-1989, which was 297,570.

recruited by U.S. propaganda that depicts the U.S. as a space of multiethnic inclusion and economic opportunities, an image especially enticing as the Korean city-scape is already over-crowded and opportunities for upward mobility are scarce. The unsurpassed size of Los Angeles's Koreatown, which began to develop in the 1970's reflects the role that L.A. plays in mediating Korean immigration.[15]

I consider the multiple ways that the cultural terrain integrated and represented these rapid changes to the U.S. ethnoscape in a reading of the 1982 theatrical release and the 1992 re-release of Ridley Scott's film *Blade Runner*. A stylized noir science fiction film which depicts an imagined Los Angeles of 2016, *Blade Runner* features Harrison Ford as Deckard, a "blade runner" or replicant hunter, hired by an inter-planetary Corporation to find and kill replicants, which are artificial intelligence programmed with human memories and designed to do slave labor in extraterrestrial mines. The film paints a Los Angeles almost impossible to recognize - gray skies, constant rain and deteriorating buildings - as the background for the narrative of global and extraterrestrial economic shift. Through the humanization of the replicants' desire to elongate their lives beyond the four years programmed for them by the Tyrell Corporation, the film questions the possibility of life, liberty and freedom in an American city made alienating by advancements in technology, greed, and the white-flight of middle and upper classes to off-world settlements. The replicants' desire for life, family and freedom is starkly contrasted

[15] Koreatown in Los Angeles and South Korea are in a constant dialogue. In fact, many innovations which affect Korean lives, such as cuisine and music, are made in Los Angeles and then transported to S. Korea.

to a Los Angeles left as a technological semi-peripheral zone inhabited by technocratic Asian middlemen.

Visually, the first few scenes in the film establish the tension between technology (as Asianness) and freedom (as whiteness) as the racialization of Los Angeles. As *Blade Runner* opens, the camera spans over the broad night sky of Los Angeles, settling on the fortress-like headquarters of Tyrell Corporation, which fills the entire frame, emphasizing its immensity and post-apocalypic design. In the next scene of Los Angeles, the camera slowly pans over a night sky whose horizon is virtually eclipsed by huge billboards with talking Asian female faces advertising Coca Cola and the virtues of life in the extraterrestrial world. Throughout the film, these two dominant images of Los Angeles are elaborated upon with scenes depicting life on the ground, which are ethnic enclaves of East Asian and Arab Angelenos and their businesses.

With its windowless and smooth leaning walls, the Tyrell Corporation's impenetrability seems to thematize the abstract and hidden economic and social forces that organize the (racialized) humanity in 21st century Los Angeles. The height and width of the corporation headquarters stand in marked contrast to the on the ground, everyday labor of immigrant and racialized workers within the film, most of which occurs in outside stalls. This visual contrast sets the film's imagination of the lived reality of the abstract operations of capital within globalization. That is, the 'masses' in globalization will be Third World laborers, managerial and technical workers, and replicant slaves, whereas capital will in the

hands of the few and impenetrable, as they will be sealed off through their wealth and power from the world they helped to design/destroy.

My reading of *Blade Runner* argues that the film's narrative is driven by the desire to resituate white masculinity as the universal subject. I argue that whiteness in the film is represented as in conflict against two sites. He must battle against the technocratic and immigrant Los Angeles that represents globalization's alienation and desecration of humanity. He must also struggle within himself to recognize that the replicants' desire for freedom, life and family is the pith of the freed human condition. In this way, the film attempts to measure Deckard's humanity by his ability to recognize inhumane conditions, even if they take place on the body of those already deemed inhuman.[16] This, I argue, is the crux of the film's racism. It is also the film's vision of globalization. Whiteness' ability to transcend the exploitative condition of global capitalism is what makes him human, in difference from immigrants who are solely within the terrain of technocratic labor. Paradoxically his recognition that replicants' treasure universal human qualities

[16]The re-release of the director's cut in September of 1992 received more critical accolades than the theatrical release, and gives the films' representation of Los Angeles a sense of renewed endurance and relevance over the changes to Los Angeles throughout the 80´s and 90´s. The most prominent change made in the 1992 version was the cut of the voice over of Deckard, which in addition to tying together the rather disjointed narrative, also enabled a single perspective to which the viewer would be sutured. The director's cut also removed the 'happy ending' of the 1982 theater release, in which our two protagonists and lovers, Deckard and Rachel, get into a car and drive away from the city and into the "North," in an attempt to find safety from murderous Blade Runners and into pastoral freedom. Instead, the 1992 version ends with Deckard and Rachel running into the elevator of Deckard's apartment, still stuck in a gray, perpetually rainy and multiethnic Los Angeles, their futures uncertain. These two main changes accentuate the imagined loss of whiteness and humanity from the new racial landscape. The director's cut features a Los Angeles even more pronouncedly alienating for white subjects than the 1982 release. The director's cut, then, captures a more dystopic vision of globalization from the feature release.

involves a different disavowal. As my reading argues, despite the notable absence of black people in *Blade Runner's* vision of the future, they are used as referent for replicant's slave-like working conditions. As opposed to allowing Deckard to gain empathy for a racial Other's suffering, it instead abstracts African American slavery as a universal experience of human suffering and emancipation. Thus, blackness continues to stand in as a universal referent that elides the particular conditions of their enslavement. Equating African America with slavery also elides the historic enslavement and exploitation of Others, while also objectifiying African America as *a priori* oppressed. I argue that by the film's end, Deckard recognizes the replicant's suffering as like his own in a manner that reinstates his (and the replicant's) humanity at the expense of blackness and immigrants. To put it differently, my reading of the film argues that what is at stake in globalization imagined in *Blade Runner* is not humanity itself, but whiteness' ability to claim humanity as his own. While the film imagines that capitalism depends on exploitative labor that is antithetical to humanity, within the film's logic racial Others are historically and naturally suited to perform it.

The filmic set evokes Los Angeles's downtown of the early 20th century heightening the sense of nostalgia for that which is imagined to be past. The decrepit buildings in the film, the most iconic of which are the Bradbury Building and Union Station, give Los Angeles' past prominence, even as the film hauntingly features these as lost, deteriorating and unsafe, to the Los Angeles of 2016. As Mike Davis, in *Ecology of Fear* writes:

> Ridley Scott's caricature may have captured ethnocentric anxieties about multiculturalism run amok, but it failed to engage the real Los Angeles – especially the great unbroken plains of aging bungalows, stucco apartments and ranch-style homes – as it erodes socially and physically into the twenty-first century. In fact, his hyperatrophied Art Deco downtown seems little more than a romantic conceit when compared to the savage slums actually being born in the city's inner belt of decaying postwar suburbs. *Blade Runner* is not so much the future of the city as the ghost of past imaginations.[17]

As Davis argues, the film's aggressive diachronic nostalgia expresses both a contemporary, as well as future, Los Angeles imagined to be forever imperiled. Ridley Scott's concern about Los Angeles is not the build up of light manufacturing and growth of tent cities in the downtown, or the layoffs of African American male workforce. Instead, he retrofits a noir narrative for the globalized landscape and sees whiteness as that which is in danger. Deckard, the new noir hero, chases down replicants, and he discovers that humans have ceded "humanity" to technology and the profit margin, and that the only remnants of humanity - desire for life, freedom and heterosexual love – belong to the replicants.

The ways in which the narrative shows the growth of our white male protagonist as simultaneous with his recognition of globality's inhumanity might allow *Blade Runner* to be a filmic bildungsroman of the 21st century. That is, Deckard's journey through the film is simultaneous with the growing filmic evidence that immigrant and global Los Angeles is alienating for the white male who must re-learn how to desire freedom, empathy and hetero- romantic love from the replicants before they die. Even as the 1992 dystopic ending makes Deckard's

[17] Mike Davis (1998):361

separation from this immigrant and racialized sphere impossible - he and Rachel do not leave Los Angeles for pastoral freedom in this version – it is clear nonetheless that the last vestiges of humanity are left only with Deckard and Rachel.[18]

The troubling conflation of humanity with whiteness can be seen in the ways that the film racializes replicant slavery. For example, when Deckard first meets with the Blade Runner Captain, he expresses disgust for Captain Bryant's slurring of the replicants as "skin jobs" which we are told in the voice over is a term equivalent to "niggers." Bryant's desire to rid Los Angeles of replicants is represented as a (race) war against a (black) Other who threatens the line between human and non-human. As opposed to attributing the replicants exploitative state to capitalism's drive for accumulation, the film instead racializes their labor as being like African American slavery and refashions it for the global moment. Thus, even in imagining a future, Scott can only envision exploitative labor within terms that objectifies African American experience. The continued equation of "slavery" with a particular black experience is especially troubling in a film that cannot imagine that blackness has a part in globalization other than as a referent for unfreedom.

When Rachel suspects that she may be a replicant, she asks Deckard, "What if I go North? Disappear? Would you come after me?" In conceptualizing a "North"

[18] This homage to the glories of downtown past can be seen most evidently in a shot of the main office of the Blade Runner Captain. As Deckard slowly walks through the Union Station concourse, we notice not only the natural light which filters through and covers the station concourse in browns and yellows, but also the way in which Union Station, as opposed to any other part of Los Angeles, remains intact and completely recognizable.

in which she imagines she would be free, Rachel invokes a historical imagination of the North by African America as a site of freedom and liberty. "Would you come after me?" in a different way also invokes a desire for acceptance foreclosed by Captain Bryant as impossible in Los Angeles – she recites a desire to be loved as a human, by a human, evoking universal notions of humanity and equality gained through heterosexual coupling.[19]

Through the spatialization of the narrative of the replicant's desire for life, freedom, and equality, we see how Los Angeles, in contradistinction to the imagined north, becomes foreclosed as a site for humanity and universal notions of equality and freedom. To consider it through the film's racial logic, Los Angeles is a pastiche of Third World citizenry, whose street language is a patois of Japanese, Korean, German, and Spanish. It is imagined as a crucial site of invention and replication, yet the work is performed by mostly Arab and Asian populations who are presented as lacking the desire to participate in the discourse of freedom and liberty. As metonyms for these racialized spaces, the immigrants only desire to perform technocratic labor.

We can see the excision of Asian immigrants from the film's narrative of freedom and humanity most forcefully in the exchange between the replicants Leon Kowalski and Roy Batty and Chew, the Asian Angeleno who makes replicant eyes

[19] The film's problematic paring of replicant suffering as black slavery might be made most evident through Rachel. The film causally assumes that the experience of a white woman and black American slave man are equitable in some circumstances. Thus, the film utilizes tropes of black slavery, historical references to the black movement North, and civil rights history which sees black desire for freedom eclipsing white racism, to 'humanize' the replicants.

for the Tyrell Corporation. To meet Chew, the replicants walk through a bombed out Los Angeles downtown which is perpetually covered in rain. The streets are taken over by fires set in metal garbage cans and hooded Asians and Latino 'ground people' who scavenge for parts. As they ride their bicycles together in unison we see Asian pictographs graffittied on the street walls.

This rendering of downtown heightens the sense of alienated labor within an already alien Los Angeles landscape. As we first enter the workspace of the Asian Angeleno, the camera establishes itself on his back. Filmed in harsh blue light, the scene highlights the solitary nature of Chew's work in alienating conditions. As the replicants ask Chew if he knows how they can find Tyrell, he seems to be able to only repeatedly mutter: "I only make the eyes." His labor, as only a part of a chain and devoid of a creative process, heightens the perception of the Asian immigrant as both exceptional worker – he does not desire to make the whole part, only what is required of him – and lacking empathy or desire for freedom unlike the replicants. When Roy is told that Chew made Roy's eyes, Roy replies, "If only you could only see what I have seen with your eyes." The replicant implies that he uses his eyes in order to see and perceive, whereas Chew makes the eyes but never desire to 'see' beyond his labor. In this exchange, Chew emerges as foreign and outside the realm of humanity through his exceptional work, in contrast to the violent, passionate and feeling of replicants who desire life and freedom.

Blade Runner may have the most iconic and memorable representations of the city-scape of Los Angeles. However, it is worth considering other notable films

throughout the 1980's and 1990's which position Los Angeles' changing landscape as its main theme, such as *Maid to Order, Who Framed Roger Rabbit*, *Set it Off*, *Boyz N' the Hood*, *Colors*, *Escape from L.A* and the *Terminator Trilogy.* While it is impossible to generalize the role that *Blade Runner's* depiction of an apocalyptic Los Angeles plays within the context of the cultural terrain of Los Angeles, what is made visible through a reading of *Blade Runner* is the way in which space has come to play such a crucial role in the reading and interpretation of the city. Scott's consideration, much like the coverage of the Los Angeles Civil Unrest and its own iconic images, is of the fears of an uncontrollable city-scape completely submerged within a dangerous racial scape.

Los Angeles Civil Unrest in Black and White

As I have argued, the complicated representation of African American racialized subjectivity in *Blade Runner* positions African America as a relic of the past while also securing immigrants as outsider to the U.S. national body. White nostalgia, then, claims multicultural rhetoric of inclusion through the 'freed' black American, even as it uses the black body as *a priori* a pre-modern subject in order to secure whiteness as the universal human subject; thus the U.S. is a hostile landscape to "unfreedoms" represented by immigrants.[20]

[20] Two important representations of the Los Angeles Civil Unrest before, during and after the events particularly visualize the ways that black racialization as object to white subjecthood is secured through the objectification of blackness as either victim or perpetrator in cases of U.S. injustices. Oliver, Johnson Jr. and Farrell Jr. (1993), argue that the naming of the trials as the "Rodney King Trials" put Rodney King, and thus black masculinity, as opposed to the Police defenders, on trial.[20] Another popular image during the time of the trials was Soon Ja Du, a Korean female shopkeeper, shooting 15 year old female black honor student Latasha Harlins in the back of the head for

Spatially, the dominant narrative of the Los Angeles Civil Unrest maps the events which began on April 29th as confined to the liminal spaces of the inner city – Koreatown, South Central and Pico/Union. The unrest began after an all white jury found the four white officers accused of the violent beating of Rodney King not guilty. The protest quickly escalated to engulf the city.[21] The prevailing images of the events promote a vision of a lawless city-scape, which quickly moved outward from South Central's Florence and Western to Pico/Union and Koreatown.[22] This post-apocalyptic picture of a city in flames, where men of color fight for property and life, was broadcast all throughout Los Angeles by the ubiquitous news helicopters flying over the 'epicenter' and beyond. The site of the trial- Simi Valley - as well as Beverly Hills, Santa Monica, and Bel Aire, remained unaffected by the three day unrest as well as by the news intrusion. Angela Oh, who was appointed to a seven-member Advisory Board under President Clinton's Initiative on Race, argues that the biased coverage of the Los Angeles Civil Unrest

---

allegedly stealing a box of orange juice. The light sentence received by Soon Da Ju, which started a black boycott against Korean businesses, was also presented as a cause and reason for the civil unrest. Soon Da Ju pleaded self-defense and argued that her reaction was due to accumulation of fear over time as African Americans threatened and stole from her. Outrage filled the black community when Soon Da Ju was sentenced to five years of probation and no jail time. Even as there was visible Korean protest of this sentencing as an injustice the relationship between these two communities remained tense.

[21] Protest and sometimes violence in protest of the verdict were staged in other U.S. cities as well. However, none of these other protests included the participation of as many people or grew to such a magnitude as in the case of Los Angeles.

[22] This is the intersection where white truck driver Reginald Denny was almost beaten to death by young black men. Many reportage referred to this intersection as the epi-center of the unrest, as opposed to the court room in Simi Valley. Others argue that the real epi-center is the Simi Valley courtroom, as the State's and the Simi Valley jury's racism prohibited the court's agents to dispense justice.

managed to paint the civil unrest as a racialized event that occurred in a spacially othered site.[23]

I give a brief introduction to the prevalent images which racialized the riots in order to highlight that the field of understanding about the Los Angeles Civil Unrest reinforced a narrative of multiculturalism and multiethnic belonging by positioning African Americans as victims. This representation erases systemic racism against blacks, Koreans and Central Americans as causes for the unrest. Instead, black poverty and violence becomes the reason for the unrest, even as this poverty and violence is cast as the 'fault' of the neglect of the state and the greed and/or model work of new immigrants.

As such, African Americans are erased of subjecthood and agency in this analysis, becoming an object of race discourse that sees them as victim. The subjugation of black subjectivity aids in the elision of other systemic diagnoses of the civil unrest, and allows the focus on blackness as object of and solution to social discord. That is, African Americans, in relationship to 'new,' hard to define and thus dangerous immigrants, are positioned as a priori America's (race) victims and America's (race) solution. Thus, the immigrant participants of the Los Angeles Civil Unrest fall outside the legible understanding of progressive race politics and thus outside of the multicultural body. Even though the riots involved mostly

[23] See Angela Oh (1993), Elaine Kim (1993, 1998), Edward Chang (1993, 1998), and Hyun Ban and R.C. Adams (1997) for more on this.

Central American and Korean populations, the language of the riots reverts to a black/white binary.[24]

By introducing the moments in which Koreans and Central Americans are elided in the diagnosis of the events of the unrest, we can recognize the ways in which immigrants are racialized as the negative 'result' of economic globalization, and as such written out of the nation as unassimilable to U.S. notions of liberal freedom. In a different way, then, immigrant racialization both elides the working conditions prevalent in neoliberal Los Angeles as well as its fundamental impact on changing the U.S. landscape of the 1980's and 1990's.

Los Angeles in these representations emerges as a site of contest between racialized immigrants and traditional (citizen) subjects. This depiction elides the role that the state and transnational corporations play in the restructuring of the global city. As Saskia Sassen, in "Whose City is it? Globalization and the Formation of New Claims" in *Globalization and its Discontents* writes:

> The analysis presented here grounds its interpretation of the new politics made possible by globalization in a detailed understanding of the economics of globalization, and specifically in the centrality of place against a rhetorical and policy context where place is seen as neutralized by global communications and hypermobility of capital. We need to dissect the economics of globalization to understand whether a transnational politics can be centered in the new transnational economic geography. Second, I think that dissecting the economics of place in the global economy allows us to

[24]Oscar Vargas's (1999) study of the *Los Angeles Times* coverage of the unrest gives a sense of the prevailing perceptions around race and the riots. He writes that the Time's 'objectively' figured the African American participation during the uprising as mere riot and thus without political merit as opposed to the civil rights struggles or even the Watts Riots of 1965. He argues that the *Times* privileges a strict notion of justice rooted to the vote that invisibilizes how undocumented immigrants must exercise different kinds of protest.

> recover noncorporate components of economic globalization and to inquire about the possibility of a new type of transnational politics, a politics of those who lack power but now have 'presence.'[25]

Sassen's analysis sees the relationship between immigration and economy as inextricably linked. Her analysis allows us to consider how even as immigrant articulations may not be legible within the various institutions of the State, their "presence" affects and shapes the social geography around them. Sassen's insight points to the importance of the exploration of new sites of articulation made possible through the hypermobility of capital, what she argues is the politics of those who lack power but now have 'presence.' This analysis by Sassen points to how interpretation of spaces and places is a crucial way to understand the ever complex relationship between 'new' immigrant populations and transnational economy. As a locality crucial to both transnational capital and to immigrant populations, the global city, for Sassen, is a space in which emerge 'new' and different subjectivities and human interactions.

Thus, I argue that the current vocabulary which casts subjects in a nation solely in terms of legal immigrant and citizen are inadequate to understand the regimes of power, and the affiliated spaces, created by neoliberal economics and transnational corporations. As Lisa Lowe argues in *Immigrant Acts,* the analytic of immigration is an important tool for understanding how the U.S. nation-state has always depended on racialized labor but keeps these immigrants as outsiders to secure the

[25] Saskia Sassen (1998):xxi

U.S. as a white, homogenous state.[26] Lowe's important formulation helps us to note that the spaces carved out by Asians in the U.S. are resistant spaces, and also demonstrate how these spaces are in of themselves exceptional space – that is, they transcend the nation, even as they are of the nation.

I argue that Asians and Latinos have always been transnational subjects with respect to the building of the Americas, and always immigrants with regard to the U.S. nation, as we can see, for example, by the various anti-immigrant acts which have ceased and then increased Asian migration to the United States or other areas of the U.S. controlled Pacific Rim, dependent on the needs of its capital. I argue that within the current moment, the spaces demanded by neoliberalism – Free Trade Zones (FTZ), garment factories in global cities, border communities – are crucial sites of investigation through which we can understand the development of a subjectivity which is hailed by both national and extra-national discourses. I argue that the nation remains an important category for analysis and source of power. However, I see the nation's performance as a regulator and as a co-participant in creating new spaces of exception and new states of exclusion.

Without the ability to refer to the civil rights movement to legitimate their claim to the U.S. nation-state, Korean American and Central American immigrants both discursively as well as materially were denied the opportunity to participate in productive analysis about the violences of the Los Angeles Civil Unrest. Koreans suffered more than $400 million dollars in damages (and less than half the

[26] Lisa Lowe (1996).

businesses were able to reopen) and many Central Americans were deported after the riots; the violence of these state acts against Koreans and Central Americans, I argue, is supported by a narrative of multiculturalism that writes these populations as forever outside the nation. White nostalgia in the 1980's and 1990's evidenced through a reading of *Blade Runner* and the analysis of the coverage of the Los Angeles Civil Unrest, then, makes visible the ways in which nostalgia secures its legitimacy by figuring fears of unfreedom through the racialization of Los Angeles as invaded by immigrants from Latin America and Asia. In the next section of this chapter, then, I consider how immigrants see *loss* as contrasted to and figured in reaction to nostalgia which undergirds U.S. race discourse.

Loss in Los Angeles 1992

Loss in the Los Angeles Civil Unrest can be theorized in many ways. Both Koreans and Central Americans lost property, people were injured or killed, and the state took this opportunity to deport thousands of Central Americans and Mexicans. Within the realm of racial meaning and subject formation, however, the events of 4/29 help animate different understanding of loss and mourning. As David Eng and David Kazanjian argues in their introduction to, *Loss*:

> Although it is not always haunted by acedia ("indolence of the heart"), mourning need not be given over in every instance to the regressive fate of a historicism bent on permanence and fixity, sustained by and endorsing an empathy with history's victorious hegemonies. Indeed, the politics of mourning might be described as that creative process mediating a hopeful or hopeless relationship between loss and history.[27]

[27] David Kazanjian and David Eng (2003):2

Linking psychoanalysis with materialist critique, Eng and Kazanjian identify a compulsion of the "regressive fate of historicism" which demands that subjects "resolve" their loss through the adoption of a new object of desire. This call for resolution sees proper mourning as leaving behind historical memory, which is understood as "acedia" or a sign of pre-modernity. Eng and Kazanjian critique the demand to "properly" mourn; that is, the idea that the subject in mourning must leave behind the "lost" object after an appropriate amount of time has passed. The adoption of a "new" object to replace the "lost" object signals that a healthy mourning process has been enacted.

However, as Eng and Shinhee Lee argue in "Racial Melancholia," this "healthy" mourning for immigrants in loss is *a priori* denied.[28] That is, the immigrant is asked to "leave behind" her pre-modern home culture and adopt a modern U.S. American culture. Racialized as pre-modern and always physically marked as not-white, however, a racialized subjects is denied access to the American body politic as an inauthentic member. Immigrants, then, are always in a state of mourning in relationship to the U.S. body politic. As opposed to considering this state of mourning as regressive or a sign of pathology, Eng and Lee instead argue that racialized loss and mourning are productive sites from which immigrants and racialized others critique the imperatives of whiteness. Seen in a different way, immigrant mourning and loss is in a constant engagement with

[28] David Eng and Shinhee Han (2003)

histories of oppression and racism, even as the immigrant subject engages this past in order to construct new spaces of sociality. As such, immigrant loss, in contrast to "history's victorious hegemonies" that emphasize fixity and a linearity that reifies the U.S. nation-states narrative of progress, instead re-engages the past in the articulation of the present and future.[29] As I have argued, however, this loss does not always recoup or speak from a position of permanence. In *Sa-I-Gu* and *The Tattooed Soldier* the loss expressed is also about the foreclosure of possibilities for affiliation.

These texts, then, help demonstrate how racialized subjects first articulate loss when they are unable to access whiteness and its privileges. Through a disidentification with whiteness, immigrants articulate a different understanding of the nation-state than the progress narrative of modernity. This different figuration of the nation, however, is always in negotiation with the mourning for the white America to which these immigrants were promised inclusion. Whiteness is both a deeply ingrained sign of progress and modernity, and also a regulatory figure for state power that punishes racialized immigrants for their inability to "assimilate." As such, the (impossible) demand that racialized others assimilate into whiteness is constantly negotiated by immigrants as both a desired object of power and denied as a violent mechanism of alterity.

Seen in a different way, the violence of the unrest, and their marginalization by state apparatus during the three day event, forced Central American and Korean

[29] See Homi Bhaba's influential article "Of Mimicry and Man" (1994) for more on this.

immigrant groups to identify themselves as racialized and immigrant other to the (white) America they had imagined as the authentic America before immigrating. This process of racialization is simultaneous, however, with the destruction of the image of the white America as essentially different from the Third World. Thus, immigrant relationship to whiteness emerges as a critical state of loss. Through their painful loss, these immigrants structure new sets of relations which give shape both to the conditions which circumscribe their racialization, as well as critique it. Thus a study of immigrant subjectivity through the unrest highlights the multifaceted ways in which power in globalization has resituated itself and helps to articulate immigrant responses to it. Only by doing so can we map the relationships between the subject and capital, subject and nation, and whiteness and its Other, in shaping the global city of Los Angeles.

Reading *Sa-I-Gu* and *The Tattooed Soldier* help animate the ways in which spatial segregation and the lack of ability to speak English are two ways through which these immigrant actors identify their distance from whiteness, but also from each other.[30] For example, in a passage in *The Tattooed Soldier,* loss is registered

[30] The novel and Sa-I-Gu's narratives are 'set' in Koreatown and Pico/Union. Broadly known as the Westlake area, these are the center of cultural and economic life for Los Angeles's Central American, Latino and Korean immigrants. The 'black/Korean' strife of the 1992 unrest occurred in South Central. Koreans are owners of small businesses in South Central but do not live there. The clashes between Korean and Central American populations took place in Koreatown and the Pico/Union district which is home as well to these populations. Koreatown, although ever growing, intruding into "little Armenia" and Melrose, as well as developing an off shoot in the garment district downtown, is generally understood to be bounded by Vermont Avenue on the East, Western Avenue on the West, Eight Street on the north and Olympic Blvd on the South. Pico/Union, is named after the intersection of two main streets and is generally understood to be bounded by Hollywood freeway (101) on the North, the Santa Monica Freeway (10) on the South, the Harbor

through the compulsion to speak English – that is, by losing Spanish. However, Antonio finds that in Los Angeles, he is *not* able to speak English. That is, spatial segregation makes this embrace of a "new object choice" impossible. Thus English is used as a regulatory tool that makes visible the way in which whiteness is wielded and denied. As Antonio, in *The Tattooed Soldier* describes:

> Los Angeles was the problem. In Los Angeles, Antonio could spend days and weeks speaking only his native tongue, breathing, cooking, laughing and embarrassing himself with all sorts of people in Spanish. He could avoid twisting and bending his lips and mouth to make those exotic English sounds, the hard edge of consonants, the flat schwa. English belonged to another part of the city, not here, not downtown, where there were broad avenues lined with Chinese pictographs and Arabic calligraphy and Cyrillic, long boulevards of *eñes* where Antonio could let his Central American *ches* and *erres* roll of his tongue to his heart's delight(3).

In the Los Angeles that Antonio inhabits, English does not reach him. Instead, he spends his time socializing and building a Central American Diasporic community through speaking Spanish. Antonio's diagnosis that "Los Angeles is the problem" points to the contradictions embedded into this First World global city. English exists, but not near the immigrant Los Angeles. It is simultaneously a deferred promise of inclusion and success, as well as a punitive tool for alienation and criminalization for lack of assimilation. Regardless, gaining English as his

---

Freeway (110) on the East and Vermont Avenue on the West. Both Pico/Union and Koreatown combined comprise the Westlake district, and lies just west of Los Angeles's downtown.

language would mean the loss of the "Central American *ches* and *erres*" of Antonio's "heart's delight," that is, loss of one set of desires for another. If we understand this to be a model for the "proper" mode of loss and mourning - that is, gaining English as the proper object and thus resolve his mourning – we understand how closure is *a priori* denied to racialized immigrants under neoliberal conditions which depends on segregation and racialized labor. Even as Spanish is a language of community, his fluency with Spanish in Los Angeles can only be a constant reminder of his distance from the attainment of full agency within civil society.

Antonio's integration into Los Angeles, then, describes a dynamic process which involves both the lament for the compulsion leave the space of communality and coherence of his subject position as a Central American, and also his lack of access to this other space that white "Los Angeles" subjects can access. In diagnosing Los Angeles as the problem, Antonio recognizes that immigrant loss is simultaneous with the development of the city as a racialized scape. As opposed to simply lamenting his positionality, however, his awareness is coded with critique – Los Angeles is the problem because English exists somewhere he cannot access. This movement into a racialized immigrant subject is a precarious process which involves a critique of the imperatives of assimilation, as well as the knowledge that the privileges that come with assimilation is not possible for racialized immigrants.

The 'failure" to access English as a result of segregation allows us to consider the relationship between Korean and Central American immigrants as structured by loss in a different sense:

> Neither man could claim English as his mother tongue, but it was the only language they shared. The tenant, Antonio Bernal, was from Guatemala. Through the narrow opening of a door pushed slightly ajar, he was speaking to the building manager who was about to evict him from his apartment, a Korean immigrant named Hwang. Both men squinted, each confused by the other's diction, trying to decipher mispronounced words. After several minutes of mumbled exchanges, they began to toss night-school phrases back and forth like life preservers: "Repeat, please." "Speak slower." "I don't understand"(3).

This passage comes at the beginning of *The Tattooed Soldier,* and Antonio and his roommate Jose will be evicted from their apartment because they have not been able to pay rent. Both Antonio and Hwang, in terms of language and acculturation to the United States, are positioned as outsiders, but this passage starkly depicts the different roles that they play within this racialization. That is, despite the spaces of overlap with each other, they are not able to simply build affiliation "through the narrow opening of a door pushed slightly ajar," even as the novel leaves that possibility open.

While success at speaking English is supposed to place Antonio and Hwang on the same footing this passage illuminates English as a language of differing exclusion. Hwang and Antonio find themselves confused by each others' diction and mispronunciation, even as they use English as a "life preserver." An uneven and different acquisition of English is inevitable, but the narrative of assimilation requires that immigrants learn the same English. In this passage, then, English does not allow these men to understand each other better – instead, by the end of the passage they only use English to ask the other to explain himself. English forces

them to measure themselves against an other that becomes increasingly more alien. In this way, the emergency of situations that structures their contact makes possible a recognition of the other, but, as *The Tattooed Soldier* cautions, it is a recognition that is always imperiled and fraught.

My reading of *Sa-I-Gu* and *The Tattooed Soldier* will continue elaborating the tension between affiliation and discord found in the physical, social and economic spaces of overlap through the analysis of loss as a productive, yet painful site of enunciation. Héctor Tobar's *The Tattooed Soldier*, set in 1992 Los Angeles, incorporates flashbacks and memories to connect the main protagonist, Antonio Bernal, an undocumented Guatemalan refugee in Los Angeles, to the Guatemalan highlands and Guatemala City. Escaping a military death-squad called the Jaguars that killed his wife and infant son because of his wife's leftist-politics, Antonio Bernal is as haunted by memories of his wife's murder and life of political persecution in Guatemala as he is by life of poverty and homelessness in Los Angeles.

I read *The Tattooed Soldier* as thematizing the 'failures' of the Central American refugees to 'move on' from their traumatic past. I argue that the novel's depiction of the characters' constant engagement with the past and their 'inability' to make a new life in the United States as productive citizens critiques the violent imperatives of neoliberal economics that presents service sector and undocumented labor as the only alternative to the violence of civil war. The novel makes connections between the civil war in Guatemala and the prosperity of the global

city of Los Angeles through the trauma, mourning, as well as the memories of the civil war that the events of the Los Angeles Civil Unrest raises for the displaced Guatemalans in Los Angeles. My reading of the novel focuses on the relationship between the state, military violence and neoliberal economics which make "moving on" into a new and prosperous life in the United States *a priori* impossible for Central Americans displaced by the war into the United States.

Literally meaning 4-2-9 in Korean, *Sa-I-Gu* adopts the Korean tradition of naming events important to Korean national history for the dates on which they occur. Christine Choy, Dai-Sil Kim-Gibson and Elaine Kim directed and produced this documentary according to their prologue, in order to "give voice to the voiceless victims of the Los Angeles Uprising," that is the Korean women who they argue were unrepresented by the popular media, politicians and the state apparatus guaranteed to provide justice.[31] Utilizing newsclips and interviews, the documentary shows the reactions and analyses of the events of 4/29 by Korean American women. My reading of *Sa-I-Gu* will consider how the women interviewed articulate their economic 'success' in the United States as enabled, in part, by their 'failure' to assimilate to whiteness. Segregated and operating mainly petite bourgeois businesses in African American, Latino or Korean neighborhoods, or forced into the service sector economy as no other opportunities exist, these women articulate the complicated ways in which they came to be an essential (and contested) part of African American and Latino communities. Through such critical

[31] See Elaine Kim (1993)

engagement with race, gender and economy, they rewrite the success of the Asian model minority as exploitation of immigrant labor, even as their narrative of loss and suffering around the events of 4/29 demonstrate the difficulty with which they gain realization of themselves as a racialized other.

Sa-I-Gu and *The Tattooed Soldier*

Many of the Korean women who were interviewed in *Sa-I-Gu* describe the hopes and dreams that they had for America, but how these pre-conceived notions were destroyed by the harshness of their social and working conditions. As Mrs. Choon Ah Song, an owner of a small corner store which was burnt down during 4/29 said, "We dreamed about America like we saw in the movies. The streets would be clean. People in America would all have big noses, their faces would be white, their hair blond. It was more like Mexico. It made more sense to call it Mexico. We hardly came in contact with white people. Even in the schools most teachers were second generation Japanese and Mexican." Another shopkeeper describes her sense of anger and depression in these terms: "This is a crazy country. This is not a beautiful country. In Korean, American means beautiful country. This is not a beautiful country. All my childhood dreams have been turned upside down."

As the documentary proceeds, the women begin to discuss their anger about the ways that Koreans were targeted during the riots. Among the reactions captured is the belief that Koreans were sacrificed for white people's maltreatment of African Americans, as well as the idea that Koreans were attacked by Blacks and Whites

because they are not American. The documentary's developmental narrative –first, feelings after the riots; second, reactions to the riots; third, to more measured analysis a few days after the event; and finally to interviews of Korean Americans as protesters, and ending with a pullback shot of a large gathering of Korean Americans demanding restitution, justice for all people of color and apology for biased reporting from ABC – gives a sense of the development of the Korean American political consciousness. As the documentary moves through the reactions of these women, it also to tell a narrative of the development of a politicized racialized immigrant subjectivity.

This developmental impulse in the documentary seems to reinforce director Christine Choy's desire for *Sa-I-Gu* to be "diametrically opposed" to what she viewed as the biased reporting about Koreans in the news. Arguing that media racism combined with state racism against Koreans makes it impossible for Koreans to 'speak' and be 'visible,' the documentary is an attempt to give shape to the conditions which circumscribe Korean American silence, and to articulate Korean American consciousness around the events of 4/29. I agree that biased reporting and silencing of Koreans, in particular Korean American women, by the mainstream media outlets contributed to the marginalization and racialization of Korean/Americans as only concerned about their property. I argue, however, that by focusing on 'silence' and showcasing how these women emerge as subjects with 'voice,' the documentary forces a sense of closure, as Korean Americans are

represented as emerging from silent and aggrieved minorities into politicized racialized subjects.

Such developmental structure, while pointing to a possible trajectory for Korean American politicization, occludes the negotiation with a desire for whiteness that these women continually articulate. I point to the disappointment by these women that the failure of the American Dream for them is linked to the fact that America is not a White space as they expected. This desire for a White America points to the prevalent images of America which is broadcast over to Korea, both through Hollywood films and through the U.S. military installations which abound on Korean soil. Importantly, this image of America as White details one of the terrains that the Korean subject in the United States, who finds herself working mostly in immigrant neighborhoods, must learn to grapple with in order to find affiliation with the racial Other.

Even as the documentary focuses on the development of these women as both individually politicized subjects and as a part of a larger racialized American collective body, the progress narrative embedded in the documentary only allows for a utopic vision of Korean American politicization and embrace of racialized identity, while not accounting for the ways in which Koreans and immigrant others must share (racialized) spaces in ways that they may not have chosen.

Perhaps the precarious embrace of a racialized Korean American identity and the complex ways in which this occurs can be seen most clearly through Mrs. Lee's

narration about the conversation between herself and her son about the Hangju story, which propelled him to join the unrest:

> -"We Koreans must protect our own. Everything we have worked for it disappeared one morning. How can we watch it go out in flames?"
> -"I begged him to stay with his family. How can I send my only son out into the riots?"
> -"He said, because of people like you, Koreans have been stricken. If Koreans are all like you, it will happen again in ten years. We can't sit still."
> -"At that moment the hangju story came on the radio. He asked what that meant. I explained that during the Japanese invasion, women fought carrying stones in their apron, hangju meaning Apron."
> -"He said, how can you sit still and tell such a story? Mother you too must go out and fight."

Edward Jae Sung Lee's concern that unless Koreans fight they will be "stricken" is accompanied by his fear that the violence against Koreans will repeat again in ten years if the Koreans do not fight back. This concern about a repetition of violence, especially encoded into this story about Koreans fighting against Japanese colonial presence in Korea, in a different way situates Koreans in the United States as part of a history of colonialized history. That is, Edward Lee's articulation of the fears of another act of violence in the future against Koreans, this time in the United States, imagines a genealogy of colonial violence which extends from Japan to the United States indefinitely. As such, he articulates a need for a discrete Korean/American nationalism which is defensive and simultaneously on the attack.

Whereas Edward Lee imagines that a particular Korean American nationalism is the answer to being "stricken," his mother, Mrs. Lee, sees her incorporation into

the racialized sphere of Los Angeles differently. The last few frames of the documentary describe her process of mourning for her son. Edward Lee went out to help protect Korean American property from looting and violence. He was shot and killed by another Korean who mistook Lee for a looter. Near the end of the documentary, the camera cuts away from the funeral to the interior space of the Lee's home. In reflecting back on what happened to her son nearly three months ago, Mrs. Lee says. "It wasn't that individual who shot him. At the time, I thought it was one man who shot him, but if I think of it broadly, it was not just an individual matter. Something is drastically wrong."

The documentary returns to the burying of the body, and then returns to the Lee's home. The camera pans over a picture of the two Lee children and lingers over Edward's face as we hear Mrs. Lee say: "As I told you before, even though I saw the body at the funeral, I just don't remember it. My mind just won't accept it." The camera then opens onto a new frame. The Lees, without Edward, stand outside of the house. Mrs. Lee's voice floats over the scene: "I know people think it strange that I wait for my son after seeing his body. He just went out and did not come back." The three pose as though they are standing for a portrait before the frame becomes dark.

These last few frames of the documentary illuminate loss as well as the precariousness of Korean/American subjectivity within economic neoliberalism. As subjects who are inscribed by the needs of the nation as well as the transnational development of capital, Mrs. Lee elaborates the difficulties through which she

learned the relationship between herself and her racialized immigrant community as well as the broader U.S. body. We can read her elaboration that something is drastically wrong as neither a celebration of nor a denouncement of the necessities of grappling with the intertwined subjectivities which foreclose possibilities of their imagined inclusion into a white America. Instead, Mrs. Lee braces herself for the need to position her individual loss within a more difficult process of seeing herself embedded within a racialized sphere. The difficulty with which she remembers her son's funeral and her continued wait for her son perhaps poignantly demonstrates how loss and mourning as an engaged site of critique is open ended and continuous. As Mrs. Lee states, she cannot blame the individual who shot her son. Instead, "Something," she argues, "is drastically wrong." Her recognition for a broader analysis calls for both an inward and outward look by the Korean American community – that is, only through engagement with the multiple levels of loss experienced through the events of 4/29 can the Korean Americans (re)create a racialized identity that can dialogue with the larger community with whom they must rebuild.

The Tattooed Soldier differently thematizes loss in its novel about the lives of two male Guatemalan refugees, Guillermo Longoria and Antonio Bernal, whose lives continuously intersect. Their adversarial relationship begins in a small village in the highlands of Guatemala and continues to the urban jungle of Los Angeles, where Antonio, now an undocumented refugee, accidentally runs into Longoria and decides to avenge his family's death. Ending with the Los Angeles Civil Unrest,

where Antonio takes his vengeance and kills Longoria, the novel is as much a comment on the economic and social conditions which led to the riots as it is on the multiple nationalist discourses to which Central American refugees are interpolated. Reading how loss structures the daily lives of these men highlights the multiple and overlapping violent discourses to which Central Americans are subject – on the one hand the simultaneous project of eradicating communism and Indigeneity as 'development' and 'modernization' in Guatemala, and then the violence of the U.S. immigrant policies and criminalization of 'illegal' immigrants in the United States.

The novel's use of the metaphor 'taint' highlights the particular ways in which loss is *a priori* structure of violence for refugees; this metaphor is particularly insightful for understanding the inability or unwillingness of immigrants to live the 'American dream.' Additionally, this 'taint' brings to the forefront the racializing logic which justifies the violent exclusion of Central Americans from the U.S. body politic:

> Years ago, when Antonio lived in Guatemala, he had an electric idea of Los Angeles. It was a place of vibrant promises, with suntanned women in bikinis and men carrying ice chests brimming with beer….. Long before he set foot in this country, Antonio felt that he knew California because he had seen it come to life over and over again in his television set.
>
> And now this. Skinny question-mark men with dirty bodies and unshaven faces, hanging clothes on a line strung between palm trees, in a lot in the center of the city. Antonio began to imagine that he was somehow responsible for their plight. If his own mind were not clouded with so much pain, they would not exist. *They are what I feel.* Somehow he had tainted the prosperous Americanos with his

> condition…….As soon as Antonio went away, they would slip back into their fit American bodies(41).

The theme of contagion and disease articulated here illuminates the ideological and material worlds that Central American immigrants must navigate as neocolonial subjects. That is, 'tainting' and contamination are metaphors for racialization as a violent process for Third World immigrants that ask for self-racialization – that is, Antonio not only recognizes himself as different, but he names this difference as existing *within* himself. He sees himself as a bringer of diseases, and thus differentiates himself from the imagined and desired Los Angles of his youth.

In addition, this tainted and contaminated body is an apt metaphor for the ways in which Central Americans are racialized in the United States. Written as Illegal Alien, the Central American immigrant is described by popular and liberal discourse as either taking advantage of the generous U.S. social system or as unscrupulous and criminal law breakers. In terms of race discourse, the 'cause' or 'fault' of the loss of the imagined pure and homogenous culture and language of the white nation-state is the result of the contamination by inassimilable immigrants from the Third World. As such, this contagion describes both the mood and language of immigrant racialization.

As opposed to lamenting this difference or simply locating loss and mourning as static and pathological, the novel, as does *Sa-I-Gu,* constantly disrupts time and space between Los Angeles and Guatemala. For example, when Longoria witnesses the riots, he is immediately taken back to the civil war in Guatemala and

"it seemed that the demons of his memory had taken flight and were loose on the streets of L.A."(292). What Longoria and Antonio find is that the pain of their lives in Los Angeles is intricately tied to their individual and collective pasts. As such, Los Angeles emerges as a displaced site of Guatemalan mourning for the losses in the civil war, but it is a site which denies closure and healing.

Conclusion

Through my reading of *The Tattooed Soldier* and *Sa-I-Gu,* I hope to intervene in political, media and other popular discourses that see Asians and Latinos as "diametrically opposed," or "headed for conflict" as a result of innate differences. By focusing on the 1980's and 1990's I also hope to isolate the tropes of nostalgia that position racialized immigrants as innately different from African Americans and whites on the basis of their unassimiability and their inability to be absorbed into U.S. modern terrain. Instead, I have argued that the 1980's and 1990's saw the development of a differential racialization of Asian and Latino immigrants by exploring how African American's are figured as the legitimate "raced" subjects within the United States. I also observed that nostalgia simultaneously constructed a lost topos or *a priori* homogeneous U.S. nation-state to which racialized immigrants were imagined to be outside of.

All of the cultural texts I read recognize African America as a uniquely American racial subject. As I have argued *Blade Runner* represents the plight of replicants as the selfsame as that of African American slavery, and in that way cautions against a dystopic future where whites might be caught into similar

dehumanization. In *Sa-I-Gu*, the Korean women interviewed learn to think about the events of 4/29 not simply as an act of violence against themselves, but as related to a history of U.S. racism against African America symbolized by the beating of and lack of justice for Rodney King. Similarly, after being evicted by Hwang, Antonio learns how to negotiate the segregated and racial landscape of Los Angeles by learning from his fellow African American homeless men. As Antonio witnesses their anger about the outcome of the police brutality against Rodney King trial, he understands that he is a part of the racial landscape of Los Angeles as a disenfranchised racial subject.

Blade Runner's articulation of black subjectivity, I suggest, is different from *Sa-I-Gu* and *The Tattooed Soldier* in important ways that proffer possibilities for immigrant affiliation with each other through blackness as a surrogate. Both Koreans and Central Americans "understand" their own embeddedness within a U.S. racial logic through their empathy with black suffering in a way that opens up their ability to see their own, as well as Other's racialization. This empathy for an Other racial subject's subjugation has the potential as a cognitive bridge between the differentiation that structures the relationship between Korean and Central American immigrants. As I have cautioned throughout this chapter the circumstances of neoliberalism that structures their everyday encounter with each other always precludes possibilities for seeing the other even as the emergency of that contact produces its own contradictions that negates capital and states' claims to incommensurablity.

Thus, by considering the different articulations of loss, and the inability of racialized immigrants to "resolve" that loss in the United States, I had hoped to present the competing national and transnational discourses which attempt to interpolate the immigrant subject in the age of neoliberalism. I have argued that in contrast to simply being "immobilized" by or "absorbed" into these interpolating discourses, these subjects have instead used these moments of loss as sites of critique to re-formulate the relationships between their place of birth and the United States. As such, these texts help to describe the non-linear and complicated relationship between the first and Third Worlds. Additionally, through the articulation of loss as a productive, yet painful site, we can understand how immigrants insist on multiple affiliations that disrupt the binary between the traditional and the modern. Finally, the Los Angeles Civil Unrest, I argue, is a crucial site of loss without facile recuperation – it is one moment in many through which the racialized immigrant must not only recognize his/herself as not white, but also a part of a shared subjectivity with racialized others in the United States.

Parts of Chapter one, "Nostalgia and Loss in Immigrant Los Angeles" has been accepted for publication in *Social Justice: Special Issue on Asian America* 34.3 (2007).

Chapter 2: America's International Romance and Constituting the Global Family

In this chapter I continue to develop the contours of America's international romance by studying how family is used as a metaphor for global relations. Through a reading of the 1998 and 2003 release of *Mask of Zorro* and *Legend of Zorro* (Dir. Martin Campbell) which uses pre-statehood California as a backdrop to develop themes of U.S. –Mexico relations I study how dominant cultural and political representations sentimentalize globalization as relations between family. I then consider how a 1990 Asian American novel set in Brazil, *Through the Arc of the Rainforest* by Karen Tei Yamashita proposes a different kind of family – composed of racial others – that I argue, explores other transnationalities and deauthorizes the U.S. as the sole site of affiliation.

The enthusiasm for family as a metaphor for globalization is accompanied by an increase in nativism, as I describe in chapter one for example, in the national terrain. Streeby notes how Republican and Democratic candidates for the 2000 election expressed "international romance" to reify neoliberal economic policies as familial relations. Streeby argues that in contrast the Reform party candidate Pat Buchanan raised the specter of "Mexican irredentism" and in general used the language of "immigrant invasion" to ground his assertion that the inviolability of American culture, and by extension, the American family, needs protection.[1]

[1] Nativists, such as the Minute Men, a vigilante group that monitors the U.S.-Mexico border, reject NAFTA and argue that neoliberalism is dangerous to the American workers because as more people

Despite the differences in rhetoric between these two positions, Streeby urges us to understand how the simultaneity of U.S. "love" and "fear" of the immigrant is an expression of the shared logic between neoliberal and nativist projects.

Drawing from Amy Kaplan's *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*, I consider the coexistence of "love" of those outside, and "fear" of the difference within as an operation of "manifest domesticity" in the global century.[2] As I attempt to demonstrate throughout this project, the cultural realm manages, as well as contests, contradictions, inconsistencies, and in general what I have argued is the crisis of the First World nation-state in globalization. As my engagement with Streeby, Sommer, and Kaplan suggest, the Manichean representations of global Others at home and abroad responds to neoliberal economic and political processes that demand the opening of borders and integration of national economies that force renewed intimacy and encounters between differences. Romantic texts, as I argue in my introduction, as they represent American forays in to the global terrain as a sensual and sentimental journey, displaces economic and political anxieties. As Streeby's discussion of the proximate logic between Bush and Gore's representation of NAFTA and that of Pat Buchanan indicates, these tales of romance sooths the state's desire for racial and cultural homogeneity and the economy's need for open borders.

---

immigrate to the United States, the increased labor pool will devalue labor. In this way they amalgamate their racism against immigrants and their critique of transnational capitalism.

[2] In my next chapter, I turn more specifically to the discussion of pluralism and multiculturalism as the language of diplomacy for the new global century.

For example, the Zorro films I study are multiculturalist treatments of U.S.-Mexico relations where the globe is represented as an even terrain where young hopefuls - orphaned California and infant U.S. – meet and learn to respect each others difference. While both are equal innocents in the New World, the U.S. adopts a state-less California – orphaned by Mexico and Spain - into the broader U.S. body. This representation of the globe as an enlarged Americas family centralizes the U.S. and proposes that it is the sole desired site of affiliation. My reading of how these two Zorro films are updated for the global century attempt to map how California's particular transnational past and present is exploited in order to manage U.S. concerns about porous territoriality. In addition, by fixing California into the U.S. terrain, racial Others in California are imagined to be "domesticated" and become racial American subjects.[3]

This sentiment of a global "family" rooted in pluralistic respect for difference and shaped by a similar vision for globalization is accompanied by an increase in cultural products, such as *Through the Arc of the Rainforest*, *The Mask of Zorro, The Legend of Zorro,* as well as films such as *Dirty Pretty Things* (dir. Stephen Frears, 2002)*, Syriana* (dir. Stephen Gaghan, 2005)*, Goal* (dir. Danny Cannon, 2005) and *Happy Together* (dir. Wong Kar-Wai, 1997) that uses the transnational terrain to address concerns about to what body – the nation state, transnational

[3] We can think about the development of FTZ throughout U.S.-Mexico Border, Central America, and the Caribbean as a different incorporation of the Other that again challenges neoliberal economics celebration of the globe as family.

corporations, globality - the subject belongs in the globalizing world.[4] The American film *Goal: The Dream Begins* situates the nation within a larger global terrain as the film thematizes the journey of a young Mexican man living in Los Angeles who is invited to try out for a major British soccer team. Because he is an undocumented immigrant living in the U.S., he fears that British customs officers will eject him from England. However, when these officials learn that he might be a future soccer player for Newcastle United, their love of soccer win over need for "official" documents and he is allowed to enter England. Later in the film, when a fellow soccer player asks where he is from, he says "Los Angeles." This film, while perhaps naively and utopically imagine that Soccer can offer an alternative global structure, also proposes that Los Angeles has become a substitute site of affiliation –not Mexico or the United States – in a manner that challenges the nation's claim as the sole arbiter of belonging. A 1996 film from Hong Kong, *Happy Together,* thematizes the question of Hong Kong's identity its post-1997 turn over from Britain to China in a transnational terrain. Drawing from the long history of Asian immigration to Latin America, Wong Kar-Wai finds it fruitful to place his story of queerness and national belonging within the Asian Diaspora. While all of these films see and explore the particular relationship between the immigrant with particular national localities, they situate these national localities within a broader transnational terrain without which their narratives cannot be resolved.

[4] See Saskia Sassen (2001)

The spate of such films suggests that family as a metaphor resonates not only in the context of politicking and economic restructuring, but also as national subjects themselves questioning to what body, and in what manner, they belong, in the new global century. Thus the popularity of cultural products that explore transnationality indicates a general understanding for the need to enlarge national consciousness into a broader global-scape. However, as my study of the Zorro films cautions, the global "family" always threatens to centralize the First World nation-state and invalidate the increasing transnational hail that also lures global subjects. This increasing recognition of the transnational as a terrain that the First World subject must navigate - whether embraced or rejected - is accompanied by a general cultural, political and economic sentiment that change is inevitable.

According to Malcolm Waters, while globalization and neoliberalism very quickly changed almost all structures in the First World, it was not "felt" as a structure of feeling[5] until the late 1980's and early 1990's.[6] "Overall," Waters argues, "the number of publications which use the word 'global' in their titles has not probably reached five figures but the processual term 'globalization' was still relatively rare at the beginning of the 1990s"(2). Since then it has seen an ever-increasing use and has effected academic, political, and cultural discourses. Increasingly globalization is not only "felt" by the urban working class impacted by

[5] Raymond Williams (1977) writes that structure of feeling is "a particular quality of social experience and relationship, historically distinct from other particular qualities, which gives the sense of a generation or of a period." Structure of feeling points to that which is emergent, and need not be named or classified in order to exert "palpable pressures and set effective limits on experience and on action." (131)

[6] Malcolm Waters (2001)

deindustrialization as I describe in chapter one, nor by the Third World whose economy it is imagined to fix for integration. It is also represented as a structure that forces the First World and its subjects to re-evaluate their parochialism and localism, as they must learn new cultural habits in order to navigate the global economic, cultural and political terrains.[7]

Regardless of the reluctance, or celebration, of change, it is nonetheless a structure of feeling that is increasingly, and pervasively, affecting even the most inviolable of sites – the American success story. An article in the *New York Times*,

[7] Many argue we are bound to change because globalization offers the triumph of reason over tribalism. Others similarly imagine globalization as an expression and culmination of a collective hope for progress. Contrasting arguments cautions against seeing globalization as a slouching toward utopia, even as much of they argue that globalization has and will bring changes to the world order that needs to be recognized and theorized. The ways in which change as a result of globalization was imagined to be happening elsewhere to someone else, particularly to backwards societies, depended, in part, to First World perception of itself as already enlightened and multicultural, captured, for example, by the popularity of Francis Fukuyama's claim in *The End of History and the Last Man* that the west has reached the end of history due to its perfection of the national form, and its ideal enactment of liberal political ideology. The highly publicized (and celebrated) French farmer who drove his car into a McDonalds to protest the hegemony of perceived U.S. led globalization in France in some ways captures the First World's unease with globalization's promise for change. While it is easy to be sympathetic to the anti-neoliberalism impulse that drove the French farmer to protest McDonalds in France, the protest is resonant with nativism that imagines as inviolable to change essential First World identity.

That is, European protesters of American corporations on their soil rightly point to the damage to their way of life and national economic structure as a result of American led neoliberalism. However, given that these protests also express an indignity over the violation of French essence – as the patria of liberal political philosophy celebrated by the west it does not need global interference - these protests are an expression of violent nationalism that rejects the idea of a broader globalism or a revisit to the notion of the nation itself. Thus, it should not be surprising that visible and vocal Western European sentiment against American-led neoliberalism is accompanied by an increase in nativism throughout Western Europe. Visible both as a rise in anti-immigrant sentiment by highly placed political figures as well as the general populace, as well as the reluctance to include countries from Eastern Europe and Turkey to the E.U., the perception of change as a result of neoliberalism is imagined as a necessary cultural and economic change for *other places* but *not for* First World countries. Instead, First World countries and cosmopolitan elites should enjoy the benefits of globalization – learning to use chopsticks, practicing Yoga, and eating Thai food – but not deep structural changes that can potentially challenge their own fossilized and problematic conceptions of nation and self-hood.

for example, captures the complexity with which change is imagined for the "heart of the nation" in this way:

> Across Racine, the appeal to self-reliance is heard, and seems to have sunk in. "One of the things we try to do is prepare people for this new world of work, where you have to keep reinventing yourself and it's all about lifelong learning and being able to adapt," said Alice Oliver.[8]

This article discusses a small town in Michigan as it learns to adapt to the newly globalizing economy and culture. What is interesting about the language of change captured here is that re-figures and updates an imagined "American" ethos – self-reliance – for the global order.[9] Once the idea of the global has "sunk in," Racinites are encouraged to use old-fashioned American "self-reliance," or learn again to pull themselves up by the boot-strap, in order to "keep reinventing yourself" for the globalizing economy. Importantly, even as the above sentiment imagines that American self-reliance might be uniquely suited for the challenges of change, it leaves open the possibility of change for the American ethos itself. As American learn to embrace change and accept "lifelong learning and being able to adapt" this *New York Times* article presents the American subject as susceptible to

---

[8] Steve Lohr (2006)

[9] Think here about Max Weber's argument in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* that industrial society's value of efficiency and productivity encouraged the rationalization of society and the increased beauracratization of everyday life. He argues that Protestant ethics and practice has influenced the rationalizing impulse of industrial capitalism, as many of its tenets since the Reformation privileged rational pursuit of economic gain which was then given a moral and religious meaning.

change and that indeed s/he must do so in order to be prepared "for this new line of work."[10]

If the First World subject like ones who live in Racine, Michigan, must learn to re-adapt and re-fashion American ideals for the global economy, so must the American industry. Michigan, as the center of the U.S. auto industry finds its unique claims to superior American innovation challenged by deindustrialization, outsourcing and by increased competition from a global car market.[11] Declines in popularity of GM cars, closing of auto-plants and downsizing of autoworkers I argue, is in conversation with re-assessments of the American work ethic that similarly produces change as a sentiment. In this way, my study in this chapter considers how the general anxiety or celebration over change is captured and resolved by popular romantic narratives of the 21st century.[12]

It is in this context that I consider how Zorro, an iconic border figure who in over 25 cultural representations throughout the 20th century has traversed Mexican, Spanish and American California with ease is produced as an ideal subject through

---

[10] My analysis draws from Arjun Appadurai's (1996) argument that scapes captures the unbounded and unmoored reality of transnationalism.

[11] See the award winning documentary by Renee Tajima and Christine Choy, *Who Killed Vincent Chin?*(1989) where they document the anxiety and racism that the popularity of Japanese cars provoked in the United States. The documentary follows the trial of two white American men, both former autoworkers, who killed Chinese American engineer Vincent Chin. The prosecution argued that Vincent Chin became a scapegoat for U.S. auto-manufacturing jobs lost to Japan and that despite defense claims, was a victim of a vicious anti-Asian hate crime.

[12] Documentarian Michael Moore captures the changes to Flint, Michigan, a town whose economy is dominated by the auto industry, in his 1989 *Roger and Me* and in a different context in 2004 *Farenheit 9-11*. Current news about declining popularity of GM cars and the continued downsizing of auto plants heightens the ways in which neoliberalism and the changing global-scape is impacting work models and industries considered to be uniquely American.

which U.S. can press its neoliberal claims for a global family under its aegis. In earlier representations, Zorro is romanticized as a Spanish Don, who despite his "pure-blood" fights to protect mix-blooded and native Californios against power hungry Spanish colonialists. Popular since his creation in 1920, Zorro is a central figure within California's "fantasy heritage," where pre-statehood California is dramatized as a romantic terrain where swashbuckling heroes and beautiful heroines fight against injustice and for love of each other. Zorro represents Mexican and Spanish Colonial California as a manageable borderland, as by the end of all of Zorro's stories, all dangers are ultimately resolved and California remains in an Edenic state.

While Zorro has represented a romanticized pre-statehood California, in his revival for the new global century the new multicultural Zorro brokers the transfer of California from Mexico to the U.S.[13] My study of these two new Zorro films considers how these films' romantic narratives function as an allegory for an neoliberal international romance. These films initially propose California as a transnational site, only to close down that transnationality as a potential for affiliation. Instead, as the narrative ends with Zorro's marriage to his romantic interest, the film sutures this racial family into the First World nation.

Yamashita, on the other hand, ironically subverts traditional "Asian American," "American" and "Brazilian" tropes to make visible how intimately the U.S. is

[13] For more on Californios see Rosaura Sánchez (1995)

related to Asia and Latin America. My reading of *Through the Arc of the Rainforest* considers how Yamashita attempts to rupture the reader's attention to national boundaries and myths and sutures her instead to the transnational terrain of meaning making. By taking traditional Asian American and American concerns to Brazil, her novel also makes visible racial formations and constraints to belonging that nationalist bounded dominant, as well as counter-dominant, analysis of race and subject formation misses. Thus, I argue that *Through the Arc of the Rainforest* offers a critique of nationalism and neoliberalism and sees them as colluding logics that reify developmentalism. My reading of her novel suggests that she utopically proposes a marriage between Second and Third World Others as a challenge to First World hegemony. *The Mask of Zorro* and *The Legend of Zorro,* on the other hand, reinscribes U.S. dominant nationalism as ideal model to guide globalization. Thus, *Through the Arc of the Rainforest* offers the a global multi-racial family as antidote and antithesis to the violence of neoliberal modernity, while the two Zorro films differently pose the Third World as needing and desiring white male's leadership to develop and propel them to global modernity.

California in the U.S. Transnational Imaginary

Since pulp novelist Johnston McCulley created the Zorro character in 1919, over 25 filmic, televisual, and novelistic remakes of Zorro has appeared in the United States.[14] Zorro first appeared as a character in the *Curse of the Capistrano,*

[14] See the Internet Movie Database <www.imdb.com> for a complete list of Zorro films. The most notable recent novel about Zorro is Isabelle Allende's *Zorro* (2006)

McCulley's novel serialized in *All-Story Weekly*. Since then, Zorro has not only been popular on its own right but is speculated to have inspired the creation of other masked and caped heroes such as Batman and Spiderman.[15] The 1998 *Mask of Zorro* and 2005 *Legend of Zorro* remakes of this popular American representations of 19th century California feature an all-star international cast including Anthony Hopkins as an aged Don Diego de la Vega and his alter ego Zorro, Antonio Banderas as Alejandro Murrieta and Zorro's protégé, and Catherine Zeta-Jones as Doncella Elena de la Vega, de la Vega's daughter and Murrieta's romantic interest.[16]

In these two films California is presented as orphaned by an overreached Mexico. Its stateless condition makes it a danger to itself and the U.S., as California's pre-statehood patriarch, Zorro, is imagined to be inadequate to fight against modern forms of oppression (within the film's logic, these are terrorism, American Southern racism, and European colonialism). This story of California's consolidation into the U.S. develops around the transfer of Elena from her father, the original Zorro, to Alejandro Murrieta, Zorro's mixed-race protégé. By the end of *The Mask of Zorro* de la Vega has relinquished his Zorro identity and his daughter Elena, to Murrieta. Murrieta marries Elena and they represent a new

---

[15] Robert E. Morsberger and Katherine Morsberger (2005)

[16] The film's cast is interesting in considering my argument that the film proposes a multiculturalism that it is uneasy with. All three of these actors are European and Antonio Banderas and Caterine Zeta-Jones are often recruited to play Latino characters. In the context of the film their Europeanness helps to amalgamate the film's need to represent California as inhabited by populations different from an imagined white America, but their Europeanness sooths over any threats to multiculturalism displacing whiteness.

multiracial family not preoccupied by "blood" but respect for each other's abilities. As the second film, *The Legend of Zorro,* begins this multiracial family wants to cede their leadership over California to the United States. They understand, in other words, that the Third World and its subjects need First World protection, and that statelessness is a dangerous condition in the changing world order.

If the first film proposes a racial patriarch as a suitable leader for California in a manner that suggests California's transnationality the second film closes down this multiracial transnationality and resutures California into a centralized United States.[17] By imagining that Murrieta and Elena's multiracial family is the 'new" face of California, these films also positions the U.S. as the ideal arbiter to protect and treasure such multiraciality. In this way, I argue, the U.S. national borders are made vulnerable and porous through California only to insist on California's sole belonging to the U.S.

In arguing that these films use the romantic narrative as an allegory for U.S.'s international relations I draw from Doris Sommer who sees the "allegory to mean a narrative structure in which one line is a trace of the other, in which each helps to write the other.."(42). She differentiates allegories from symbols, arguing that the symbol represents a thing as absolutely knowable, versus the allegory in which the anterior and meta-narratives are in conversation with each other (43). While these two narratives, in the conventional understanding of allegory, are imagined to shore

[17] The multi-racial family led by Murrieta, of course, enacts a different kind of erasure as it elides Californios and Mexican claims to California. However heterosexist and European the film's imagination of Californian difference is, Murrieta as guardian still references California's transnational history pre and post Treaty of Guadeloupe-Hidalgo.

up each other to produce stable meanings in both sites, Sommer instead sees the allegory as always disrupting fixity, stability and singularity of meaning in both anterior and meta-narratives.

My analysis of these two Zorro films extends an understanding of how the film's centralization of the U.S. in global relations discursively braids the domestic and the national. California's consolidation into the U.S. depends on the romantic story between Alejandro and Elena whose drama serve as surrogate for concerns about the expansion of state power that I argue shadow the story's narrative. Concern about Alejandro's fitness to guide California is resolved with California's inclusion into the U.S. nation-state. Freed from duty to the state, Alejandro is finally able to be a devoted father and husband. The film's romantic narrative, in other words, fixes the father as both the head of the family and state by allegorizing, in the dominant sense, California's statehood as a family drama. The narrative transition of Zorro from state guardian to father mystifies the collusion between patriarchy and state power by insisting that Zorro could never wear both mantles at once.

However the seeming fixity of both of the romantic and state dramas and gender inequity that structures both, my reading of these two film detect an anxiety about the displacement of the white male subject as the ideal subject of globalization, and the similar displacement of the U.S. as the dominant nation-state to organize global processes. In order to resolve this anxiety I argue that these films constantly re-produce a hegemonic multicultural discourse that attempts to

absorb the Other's difference. My reading of the films suggests a narrative unease with pluralism that it constantly re-fashions and re-negotiates and remains in excess of filmic efforts at resolution.

In a different way, I argue that the attempts to resolve national crisis through narratives of romance and domesticity challenge the seeming transparency of both these different structures. I extend Sommer's argument in this project and ask "why eroticism and nationalism become figures for each other in modernizing fictions and then to notice *how* the rhetorical relationship between heterosexual passion and hegemonic states function as a mutual allegory, as if each discourse were grounded in the allegedly stable other"(Sommer 31). The proximity of the national and romantic, in other words, unwittingly highlights how globalization functions not only through the reordering of national and international processes, but by a co-extensive reordering of the meanings of gender and sexuality that challenges the meaning of home, family, and domesticity. As these films present a "new" multiracial family as the ideal unit of the nation-state, the family's fixity as a depoliticized and ahistorical unit is challenged in a manner that creates its own narrative anxieties and contradictions.

Both the original McCulley novel and these two films are a fantasy of romance, where a head strong and smart heroine, Elena, meets her match in an equally rebellious hero, Murrieta. They both come together out of their love not just for each other, but because of their love for justice and their desire to protect the land and people of California from overreaching powers that attempt to provoke

California's "fall" from Edenic paradise. Despite the complexity of the plot that keep Elena and Murrieta from each other, by both of these films' ends they fall in love just in time to save California from a dangerous attack.

Highlighting the film's devotion to its romantic narrative, both of these Zorro films privilege medium and up-close shots, using pulled-back large shots rarely. Even de la Vega and Murrieta's fighting sequences are rarely shot within a pulled-back shot, privileging instead the intimacy of their sword fights with their opponents. Close up shots of people's reactions and facial movements are privileged over grandeur or landscape, and the tone of the film is intimate with copious amount of set lighting casting a soft glow over its characters' faces.

I argue that these films enact a different kind of "fantasy heritage" for the contemporary moment as Zorro is updated for the new millennium. In the original novels and earlier films while Zorro fights against Dons and other "pure-bloods" who exploit and abuse Native Americans and mixed-race Californios, he still distinguishes himself from mix-race Californios as a pure blooded hidalgo. In the updated Zorro films, de la Vega's Zorro is ready to pass down his Zorro identity to Alejandro Murrieta, a commoner with mixed blood and brother to famed bandit, Joaquin Murrieta.[18] In this updated story de la Vega, Murrieta and Elena form a multiracial family that seems to celebrate California's transnational past and present. The mise-en-scène near the end of *The Mask of Zorro*, where Elena and a dying de la Vega in Murrieta's arms are presented in a tableau, signifies and seems

[18] For more on Murrieta, see Shelley Streeby (2003)

to reinforce the film's celebration of California's multi-nationality and its multi-raciality.

While this first film sees Elena and Murrieta come together to fight an evil Don's plans to buy California from Mexican governor General Santa Anna, the second film, *The Legend of Zorro,* suggests that California became a member of the United States because of the collective desire of its subjects who treasure American procedural justice over banditry and vigilantism.[19] *The Legend of Zorro* is set in 1850, 10 years after the first film's narrative ends. Elena and Alejandro are married, and they are parents to a precocious, headstrong, and fearless son Joaquin. Likewise, they have been keeping guardianship over California until a more permanent (and proper) guardian is found. Near the beginning of the movie dark-skinned Californios cast their ballot for statehood and are proud and excited to join the United States as members of the 31st state. Zorro too casts his vote and expresses his desire for California to become a legal member of the United States.

Very quickly, however, we realize that California's statehood is contested. Racist settlers, presumably from slave-holding states, attempt to derail the vote by stealing the ballots.[20] These settlers are aligned with a group of European terrorists

---

[19] While the two movies are released over 7 years apart, *The Legend of Zorro* is obviously meant to be a sequel to *The Mask of Zorro* where we are first introduced to the family romance that structures both of these film's narratives. In addition to continuity in plot, the decision to keep Catherine Zeta-Jones and Antonio Banderas as the main characters reinforces the sense of continuity.

[20] In a complicated subplot European terrorists make nitroglyceride to sell to Southern States. California's inclusion as a non-slave owning state is imagined to be the impetus for the Civil War, as the South is figured as threatened by the increasing "freedom" of the U.S. In a stranger twist, a cameo by Abraham Lincoln (he was a lawyer in Illinois at the time, not yet a statesman) during the signing of California's ratification to the union exacerbates this sense of U.S. as a space of freedom and law, ready to protect its racial Others from pre-modern white racists.

who want to produce explosives to sell to the confederacy. Put differently, California's liminal position has put United States under potential danger from both within and without as these racists collude with European colonialists to contest America's desire to spread democracy.

The film insists that the white people who are threatened by California's inclusion into the U.S. national body are pre-modern subjects who do not represent the truth of America. Southern claim jumpers are represented as greasy, uneducated, and ultimately the dupes of the sophisticated European cabal. Whiteness is instead idealized as Anthony Hopkin's Don Diego de la Vega who despite his pure blood and European heritage is not afraid to relinquish control to a racial other. He is, in fact, willing to give up his identity and his daughter, two things that are his most intimate belonging, because of his belief in Murrieta's ability to lead California.

If the white subject's notion of justice and morality means that he will cede control to whoever is fit for the job, the second film enacts a narrative erasure of the tension produced by the displacement of whiteness as the guardian of California by quickly displacing Murrieta with U.S. law and order. To extend the film's use of family as allegory for national crisis, orphaned by both Spain and Mexico, California is instead led by Alejandro Murrieta who inherited his leadership from the original Zorro. While Murrieta might be an adequate leader for pre-1850's California, the demands of the changing world order means that a more seasoned guardian is necessary. This meta-narrative is supported by the film's romantic

themes. Murrieta's ability to be an ideal father and husband is challenged by the time he must spend defending California. By ceding California to U.S. control, the heteronormative family, as well as California, are both secure.

These two films celebrates the symbolic function of its multiracial family, but subsumes this family into the First World's folds to resolve anxieties about whiteness' displacement as the ideal subject of the new global century. These films, in other words, represent unease with critical pluralism's demands for even participation by all and instead propose that racial Others desire First World guidance. My reading of these films, then, attempts to map how dominant neoliberalism proposes family with a First World patriarch as a metaphor for globalization that is at unease with the pluralism that it proposes.

The New Hybrid

My reading of *The Mask of Zorro* and *The Legend of Zorro* suggest a U.S. desire for a globality that is centered and led by the U.S. The family as metaphor in this instance forecloses possibilities of affiliation and intimacy between differences and instead subsumes any emergent transnationality with critical potential back into the First World national and cultural terrains. In contrast, *Through the Arc of the Rainforest* presents the new global terrain as a site of possibility where the desires for (new) affiliation and intimacies *between* global others can be met. While the multiracial and multinational family will always shadowed by the First World, the intimacy between racial Others is imagined to produce a possibility for difference. Thus, I read the novel's proposal for the global family in terms of what Samir

Amin had hopefully argued is a potential for "de-linking" of the Second and Third Worlds from Western capitalism and use my reading of this novel as a starting point through which to *imagine* a difference from American led neoliberal global world.[21]

I use the occasion of Yamashita's proposal for a different kind of belonging for racial Others to suggest that hybridity presents a more critical possibility for lateral global relations than "family." While my reading of *Through the Arc of the Rainforest* argues that Yamashita imagines a global family between others in an attempt to challenge whiteness' hegemony, the novel ultimately positions the heteronormative family as the ideal site to press its claims against First World led neoliberalism. As Sommer and Kaplan argue the family functions as a privileged metaphor for the benevolence of the nation-state in moments of national crisis. The state, allegorized as a moral and benevolent father, in other words, orders the nation along gendered and sexualized lines and reproduces this unequal hierarchy as democracy. I argue that despite the novel's critical potential, *Through the Arc of the Rainforest* never fully realizes its utopic desire for difference. The novel's proposed family between the Japanese immigrant Kazumasa and Brazilian Lourdes, while providing a critical affiliation between the Third and Second Worlds, unfortunately reproduces heteronormativity as the ideal basis for a global civil society.

---

[21] Samir Amin (1990)

By hybridity I draw from Néstor García Canclini who, in *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity,* argues for the need to extend the familiar use of hybridity as diagnosing blood mixtures to broader conceptions of culture and economy. The older concept of hybridity references racial mixing, especially in the colonial and emerging nationalist contexts, and has been theorized in different ways. Hybrid or mixed bodies has been read as the sign of colonial and modern nation-states oppression of racial Others as racial mixing projects attempted to disappear and/or whiten indigenous and African populations. Others have argued that hybridity, as an analytic, describes both the violent exertion of power by the state and capital, but also maps resistance by colonized others at attempts at total submersion. The latter does not suggest that the colonized and the colonizer exercise the same kind or equal amount of power, rather that the project of hegemony is never complete. The hybrid body, then, is a sign of contestation and not only of cooptation. This latter meaning is what I understand García Canclini as referring to. He argues that Latin America's "multitemporal heterogeneity" is a result of contact of differently racialized bodies, tradition with popular culture, and neoliberalism with local economic structures (30). García Canclini argues that Latin America's mixed-economies is a sign of Latin American underdevelopment under capitalism, but also a refusal by local economies to completely cede their autonomy to modernization and neoliberal processes. It is instead a reflection of compromise, cooptation, resistance, and exercise of hegemonic authority, that in all instances make visible the contested nature of capital's regime.

García Canclini's demand that we extend hybridity from matters of blood to material circumstances of contact also allows us to frames these "individual" or "racial" intermixing within the frame of the national and global transformations. The extension of hybridity to diagnose contemporary neoliberal encounters is necessary to counteract hegemonic pluralism's ahistorical, depoliticized, and abstract celebration of difference and inter-cultural mixing.[22]

Thus, this chapter argues that the increased use of family, mixing and international love as a metaphor for globalization is also accompanied by a material reality of contact that itself produces hybrids. This continued production of mixed economies and "multitemporal heterogeneity" needs to be de-abstracted so that we can understand its impact and dependence on sites of intimacy and everyday lived human experiences. Hybridity, then, has an important use-value in the contemporary moment to diagnose and critique the violence of globalization. Globalization's continued dependence on mixing of different kinds - a mixtures of peoples traditionally differentiated from each other, a mixed economy that depends on both the labor at home and labor in factories – deserves attention on both the ways in which impacts notions of belonging and being, as well as how these notions shape global economic processes.

---

[22] Foucault has argued the state and its agents regulates both the individual body and the body politics through a regulation of sex, what he has termed in the state's bio-political control over its subjects. In the *History of Sexuality* Foucault argues that biopower is an attempt at the extension of the ruling power's life through the technologies of sex. In other words sex and race emerge as coincidental processes through which the ruling power attempts to extend its own life through progeny through the excision of the other as a part of its body politics.

Love and Longing in *Through the Arc of the Rainforest*

Through the Arc of the Rainforest follows the story of two different immigrants to Brazil. Kazumasa Ishiguro is a Japanese innocent who is afflicted/graced by a small satellite that fell from the sky and affixed itself a few inches in front of his head when he was a young boy. The ball initially provides Kazumasa fame and fortune in Japan because it is magnetically attracted to metal, but further opportunities for advancement in Japan cease. Following his mother's suggestion, he decides to find happiness in Brazil, a "distant yet familiar place"(9) that irresistibly draws him. J.B. Tweep, on the other hand, is a three-armed American businessman who uses his theory of "trialectics" to catapult a minor American corporation, GGG, into a national powerhouse. Tweep travels to Brazil after discovering that he could market Brazil's indigenous culture and mine the land for resources that will project his national corporation into a dominant transnational one.

Initially Brazil is the dream that both Tweep and Kazumasa hoped for. Brazilians humor Tweep's interest in their natural resources and he is given leeway to completely restructure economies and cultural practices to anchor GGG in Brazil. Kazumasa finds a romantic partner, friends, and incredible luck with Brazil's lottery that makes him a millionaire. Instead of simply hoarding his riches, he attempts to give it all away and receives the moniker of Japanese Santa Claus. Variegated members of Brazil, like the middle class couple Bautista and Tania Djapan, indigenous Mane Pena, and religious Chico Paco, all find themselves

becoming modernized, industrialized, and transnationalized rapidly, and all of this is due, the novel suggests, to Kazumasa and Tweep's immigration to Latin America. The novel brings Tweep, Kazumasa, and the people of Brazil intimately together in this manner before the novel's crushing end that sees the total destruction of Brazil's Amazonia, death to millions of people, destruction of traditional support networks, and a collapse of Tweep's transnational company that threatens the health of global economy as a whole. Only the coming together of innocent Kazumasa, and his similarly sympathetic love interest, Lourdes, rescues the novel's otherwise devastating end.

Through the Arc powerfully critiques both free-market capitalism, as well as the dominance of a singular logic of modernity, that demands the subjugation of the Other's particularity under universalist claims. Kazumasa and Tweep's immigration to Brazil heightens our awareness of different and uneven development between First, Second and Third Worlds, while also showcasing how neoliberalism produces new sets of conditions under which the national and international become relentlessly integrated. By presenting these free-market influenced encounters between the First, Second and Third Worlds on the terrain of the Third World, Yamashita's novel makes visible both the "multitemporal heterogeneity" of a nation-state, as well as the simultaneous construction of multiple modernities that comprised the globe. For example, the encounter of Kazumasa and Tweep can be understood as the narration of what Lisa Lowe calls

the geohistoricity of modernity, by which she is referring to multiplicities of temporalities in particular locations around the globe that constitute the modern:[23]

> To think the modern as having always been global requires creating an intellectual suspense in which we interpret modernity's beginnings as embedded in a world context. In order to do this, we must treat the modern as a deeply unfamiliar premise, as something that we do not completely know and that we need continually know differently – perhaps because our modern formation causes us to forget too much, or conceals from us, other ways of knowing (4).

Lowe argues that immigrant literatures allow us to see the ways in which the West has been made both "inside and outside." Through this awareness we recognize how a singular narrative that is Western knowing and being has emerged as predominant. The singular narrative that has prevailed, in this case, points to violence in the Western discourse of economic modernization that has continually declared Brazil and all of South America as underdeveloped, and their subjects as pre-modern. Understanding modernity as geohistorical allows us to see that Japan, the United States and Brazil occupy different modernities simultaneously and are, in fact, continuously shaping each other's landscape. The immigrant narratives in *Through the Arc of the Rainforest* converge in Brazil and denaturalize this dominant narrative of Western dominance through the simultaneous occupation of the same space. And as the novel defamiliarizes western modernity, it also produces a transnational site of identification and affiliation that the novel proposes is western modernity's antidote.

---

[23] Lisa Lowe (2002) draws from and extends Peter Taylor's (1999) argument.

Rachel Lee in *Americas of Asian America* argues that *Through the Arc of the Rainforest* "does more than highlight the exclusions of U.S. institutions or critique the invasiveness of its popular culture onto other terrains"(107). Lee suggests that the novel's eccentric use of the transnational terrain disrupts dualisms that undergirds and limits ethnic nationalist analysis, as well as makes visible how new global geographies, for example "Asia-Pacific" paradigms, "may enshrine a new East-West partnership at the expense of a third party or exploitable territory, in this case, Brazil" (107). Lee points to how a reading of *Through the Arc of the Rainforest* has the potential to illustrate postnationalist critique's promise. By centering Asian experience on a global realm *Through the Arc of the Rainforest* defamiliarizes nationalist racial constructions while also demonstrating how they take on difference meanings when transported to a different location.

I read the critical potential of *Through the Arc of the Rainforest* as Yamashita's strategic and parodic defamilization of familiar archetypes of race, nation, and gender and her displacement of familiar themes and narrative structures elsewhere. For example, Yamashita chooses the soap-operatic form to narrate the story of neoliberalism, places Asian American and American concerns to Brazil, and revives familiar archetypes to press new claims. Lee sees Kazumasa, for example, as a "subtle parody of a familiar archetype, the Chinese American railroad worker," who she reads as an "icon of Asian American heroism"(114). This masculine Asian American hero as the ideal subject to argue for Asian American claims, Lee argues, subordinates gendered and sexual oppressions that are also constitutive of

Asian American experience. Thus, Lee sees Yamashita's disaffiliation of familiar types as allowing for a productive engagement of both Asian American ethnic nationalism as well as American racism.

Lourdes and Kazumasa are different archtypes: he is a modern day "railroad worker" and "model minority," while she is the paradigmatic feminized and sexualized Third World, a willing guide/betrayer to foreign male occupiers. For example, when the message attached to Sao Paulo native Bautista Djapan's homing pigeon reads, "The Japanese with the Ball will find friendship and fortune in Brazil," Lourdes immediately recognizes the Japanese with the Ball as Kazumasa. "Together, Lourdes and Kazumasa and I walked through the streets of the city. For one special day, the entire city seemed to become for Lourdes and Kazumasa a great bazaar, an enormous amusement park. Everywhere we went, Kazumasa spent his money on lottery tickets, raffle tickets, sweepstakes, and even the horse races. Everywhere Kazumasa went with Lourdes, he gambled and won. It was an immigrant's dream"(42). The novel's playful tone seems to subdue the conqueror/conquered dualism that shadows Kazumasa and Lourdes relationship as she guides while he accumulates. The novel's fantastical elements also seem to threaten to naturalize Kazumasa and Lourdes's differences while seeming to subordinate the troubling power disparity between the two under a complicated soap-operatic story of love unrecognized, lost, and found at last.

While parody and resignification is used in many novels to produce a critique of various institutions and practices, Lee warns that Yamashita's "mode of

narrating global issues from the perspective of 'less than masterful' positions…does not guarantee the novel's endearment to Asian American social agendas"(136). Thus, it might be more challenging, in particular for Asian American cultural critics Lee suggests, to notice Yamashita's use of non-mimetic form and structure in her attempt to produce a gendered and sexual critique of globalization and nationalism.[24] However, Lee suggests that "being playful – ignoring the codes of productivity – when enacted by Third World subjects may be a subversive act. Rather than not accomplishing any 'work,' *Through the Arc* precisely questions the valuation of all activities and artifacts on a scale of both capitalist and masculine productivity"(137). A refusal, rejection, or a facile enjoyment of the novel's playfulness might miss, for example, Yamashita's representation of her characters as struggling against their type:

> Lourdes looked at Kazumasa with twinkling eyes and instinctive generosity. "Come on Seu Kazumasa! Everyday you look down there and watch those people. I can't get inside a soap opera, but you can go down there. Let's go down!" The beat of the congas suddenly seemed louder and faster. Lourdes pulled the scarf from her head, her dark hair falling across her forehead and her shoulders in soft waves. She grabbed Kazumasa by the hand, and together we ran out of the apartment, leaving the curtains flapping in the breeze of the open window (37).

This passage above sentimentalizes Kazumasa and Lourdes's coupling and draws from tropes of mix-race encounters. She is "instinctive" with her generosity and her beauty beguiles Kazumasa to seek his fortune in Brazil. But it is not just their

[24] Lee quotes Sau-Ling Wong who critiques what she sees as dominant Asian American criticism's suspicion of playful prose and style because it is seen as "white" and bourgeois, and does not allow for a radical critique of racism (136).

"nature" that draws them to each other. The passage suggests that Lourdes seeks respite from a racist and classist society that continues to produce her as a mestiza maid. As she "can't get inside a soap opera," a form associated with the domestic and feminine but distributed nationally and transnationally, the passage above also indicates Lourdes' frustration with the multiple structures that secures her subordination.[25] As she recognizes that Kazumasa, in his own way, is de-authorized from the public sphere, she secures his friendship in order to address both of their marginalization by society. Thus, I see the novel's parodic and playful nature function in the spirit of critical hybridity discourse and points to the intimate relationship between violence and resistance, but in particular to highlight the latter for our consideration.

As the novel progresses, it becomes more fantastical in tone and complicated in structure. Simultaneously, the characters become more and more set in type that highlight's these subjects' limited agency. Kazumasa, for example, finds his "immigrant dream" restrict his every action. Tweep, who is attracted to Kazumasa's ability to "find" wealth forces him, by kidnapping Lourdes' children, to locate minerals deep under the Amazon for GGG. It is as as neoliberalism intensifies, it produces and exploits these archetypes. Kazumasa is stuck as a

[25] Naomi Hoki Moniz (2003) observes through her study of the films of Japanese Brazilian director and auteur Yamazaki how European lineage and patriarchy structure Brazilian nationalism despite its celebration of Brazil's mixed-race past and present. Moniz claims that even as Brazilian nation-state imagines itself as a non-racial society, the cultural field privileges whiteness as its ideal subject. As others have argued, the state's claims of being a race-less society is contradicted by the sharp disparity in wealth, access to resources and police violence against darker skinned and indigenous populations from "white-ened" population.

technologically advanced worker for First World capital, and Lourdes is a 21st century tragic mulatta destined to be a conqueror's consort. But, as the novel reaches its end, the land itself rebels against its misuse and all economic structures are destroyed. Only then Kazumasa and Lourdes finally come together:

> The loss of the ball to Kazumasa was strange, as if he had undergone radical plastic surgery. People no longer recognized him; even Hiroshi was taken aback by the enormous change. Perhaps it was because some part of his face had always been obscured by me or that no one, not even Lourdes herself, could observe his facial characteristics without blinking or flinching. In this newfound sense of anonymity, Kazumasa's old happiness about love and life in Brazil began to return. He immediately moved Lourdes and the children onto a farm filled with acres and acres of tropical fruit trees and vines and a plantation of pineapple and sugarcane, sweet corn and coffee. …. Lourdes put her baskets down on the rich red soil of their land and embraced Kazumasa, who now stood casually with a rather newly formed posture, the sort to accompany, quite naturally, the tropical tilt of his head (211).

Not only does Tweep die and his transnational holdings dissolve, the ball that had accompanied Kazumasa all his life and guided his accumulation is also destroyed by the novels' end. This utopic ending imagines that without Tweep and the ball Kazumasa can finally "see" his own future while others also learn to see him differently. In a different way, the novel presents Kazumasa's coupling with Lourdes as an antithesis to Kazumasa's relationship with Tweep. It indicates a limited agency for Kazumasa opened up by the loss of the ball and Tweep's death, and frames the novel's insistence that Kazumasa and Lourdes must learn to align themselves with global racial Others.

Despite the critical possibilities that my reading of Yamashita's transnationalism proposes, as I suggest earlier, we need to trouble how *Through the Arc of the Rainforest* ends utopically through the love relations between Kazumasa and Lourdes in a manner that threatens to reinforce heteronormativity as the idealized other site to neoliberal globalization. Lee also notes the novel's seeming paradox and naïve utopia that she identifies as Yamashita imagining "an Asiatic globalization that occurs seemingly without violence" that has the potential to understate "the power asymmetries between Japan, an economic superpower, and Brazil, a country in virtual bondage to the International Monetary fund and to 'First World' lender nations" (117). Thus, while the novel does present the differences in wealth, opportunity and histories between Brazil, Japan, and the United States, it does so in a manner that always threaten to smooth over differences to create a utopic vision of possibility between differences.

In particular, Yamashita's use of family troubles her attempts to disaffiliate with dominant structures. Kazumasa moves Lourdes and the children to a farm he purchases, and Kazumasa revels in his role as patriarch and landowner as he "stood casually with a rather newly formed posture." Kazumasa and Lourdes are not the only heteronormative couple to survive the destruction to Brazil. Bautista and Tania Djapan also survive and learn to re-value their love for each other instead of their companies. Unsurprisingly, the only queer couple in the novel, Chico Paco and his childhood friend Gilberto, dies tragically by the novel's end. Thus, it is not only that these surviving couples happen to be in heterosexual relationships, but

that the novel sees heterosexual romantic love as redemptive in a manner that it cannot imagine queerness. In a novel that otherwise desires to disaffiliate and defamiliarize from dominant and oppressive type, the uncritical use of heteronormative coupling as a utopic other site to globalization reintroduces gendered and sexualized hierarchy as the base for global civil society. Perhaps Yamashita's inability to truly imagine difference signals the embeddedness of the heteronormative family, patriarchy, and gendered notions of belonging in shaping neoliberal projects. As this project has suggested, Yamashita's family, while opens the nation to the transnation that potentially disrupts First World neoliberal nation-states' claim to dominance, always threatens to name the heteronormative family with its own structuring inequities as the ideal body to enshrine in the new global century.

Conclusion

I argue in this chapter that there is an affiliation and relatedness in representations of the global city of Los Angeles as a transnational space, and the attempts to subsume global others within a U.S. dominance. Whereas the former depends on figurations of immigrants as other to U.S. ideals and thus needs to be excised, other spaces are incorporated through the metaphor of the family that reproduces a gendered and racial hierarchy. Despite *Through the Arc of the Rainforest's* attempt to figure a different kind of family to challenge First World neoliberalism, I argue it fails to do so in a manner that suggests the need to invest in critical hybridity for diagnosing and theorizing the new global century.

Chapter 3: Neoliberal Orientalism: U.S. and Japan in the New Millennium

In this chapter I explore how and why Japan is produced as America's friend to reaffirm and reposition the United States as an ideal leader for the new millennium. For example, representatives of both nation-states have characterized the 2006 visit of Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi to the United States as a friendly meeting of two heads of state, a working vacation to make visible two countries' affinity and cooperation with each other. "'Officially [Koizumi] is here to see the president,' Mr. Bush said. 'But I know the highlight of his visit will be paying his respects to the king,'" according to reports in the *New York Times* that focused on Koizumi's love of Elvis Presley and his planned visit to Graceland.[1] I argue in this chapter that as American fitness to lead is challenged, American political and cultural discourses counters with embracing of multicultural difference. That is, multiculturalism and pluralism become the signs of U.S. moral barometer, underwriting its ability to lead a multinational, multiracial, and multi-religious global civil society. Only a country that respects difference can propose the universal human rights necessary for a fruitful and peaceful global order. Within this scenario, the friendship between Japan and the United States is produced as a sign of America's compassion and aid for a former foe who attacked the U.S. on its

[1] Sheryl Gay Stolberg (2006). Koizumi's visit was widely covered, but most of the coverage focused on his expressed love of Graceland, Elvis and baseball, essential American cultural icons, these reports add, that G.W. Bush also treasures. This friendship between Bush and Koizumi is a rarity in U.S.'s economic and political international affairs. The administration continues to be criticized for its unilateral war against Iraq and its support for India's nuclear ambitions, is publicly at odds with the U.N. and governments and leaders in Latin America, and coverage of U.S. initiatives generally highlights enmity, not friendship, with much of the globe.

own soil.[2] Japan, deemed an economic "miracle" of East Asia as it rose from WWII ashes to become one of the globe's leading economies, affirms the importance and success of American tutelage. Thus, Japan as former foe, student, and now friend reifies America's moral and economic claim to leadership in the new global century.

These attempts to figure globalization as an encounter between friends old and new abstracts the material and symbolic work that these "friendships" perform in light of growing U.S. interventions in the middle east and the attempts to maintain leadership in the global century. September 11th, 2001 attacks on U.S. soil highlighted the depth of U.S. military and economic embeddedness in the globe. For many in the United States these attacks were produced and consumed as an unprovoked attack on the American way of life. For others, however, these attacks were an inevitable and foreseeable reaction to U.S. military and economic hegemony abroad. Scholars such as David Harvey (2003), Chalmers Johnson (2004), and Melanie MacAlister (2004) point to vested U.S. military interest in the Middle East and Gulf Regions to secure rights to important natural resources to ensure U.S. dominance in the market in the future to come. Melanie MacAlister argues that the 1992 U.S. led Gulf War against Iraq signaled the beginning of a new world order and considers the American attack against Iraq as a refiguration of cold war politics for the neoliberal terrain. Studies such as these suggest that American

[2] As many scholars of WWII have pointed out, the attack on Pearl Harbor helped solidify mainland American claims to Hawaii.

militarism is a shadow of American led economic neoliberalism, a strong-handed response when diplomacy and economic restructuring failed to take hold. Thus, this chapter studies how the language of diplomacy figures U.S. relations in the globe in terms of friendship, morality, and rights in a time where the relationship between militarism and neoliberalism is uncomfortably visible. As I elaborate throughout this chapter, the U.S.-Japan relationship is refigured for the new millennium to create a fantasy of the globe as connected through friendship with the U.S. at its helm.

In this context I study the proliferation of films about Japan – *The Last Samurai, Lost in Translation, The Japanese Story* –released in 2003 in the United States to much popular and critical acclaim.[3] America did not tire of films about Japan, and in 2005 a film adaptation of Arthur Golden's chart-topping fictional narrative about Japanese Geishas, *Memoirs of a Geisha*, opened to hyped anticipation and high box office gross.[4] These filmic depictions of Japan register an American public's desire to see U.S.'s international affairs as a sweeping sentimental epic. *Memoirs of a Geisha* and *The Last Samurai* particularly deserve attention for their representation of the relationship between America and Japan in

---

[3] *The Last Samurai,* directed by Edward Zwick was nominated for four Academy Awards, including Best Supporting Actor for Ken Watanabe. *Lost in Translation,* directed by Sofia Coppola, won for Best Screenwriting, and was nominated for the Oscar's highest honors, including Best Actor for Bill Murray, Best Picture and Best Director. *The Japanese Story,* directed by Sue Brooks, won critical acclaim in the U.S. but was only popular within the independent film circle. It did garner Australia's highest accolades, winning Best Film and Best Director from the Australian Film Institute (AFI).

[4] *Memoirs of a Geisha,* directed by Rob Marshall and produced by Steven Spielberg, was nominated for six Oscars and won for Art Direction, Cinematography and Costume Design. The book also did very well, remaining for over 60 weeks on the *New York Times* Best Seller list.

terms of romance, domesticity and global multicultural respect. As historical dramas set in post-Meiji Restoration Japan, these films place WWII in the background in favor of the richness and beauty of Japanese land, culture, and the depth of Japanese antiquity.

Despite the seeming popularity of films such as these that represent America's relationship with Japan as a sentimental epic, the figuration of the U.S.-Japan relationship as a developmental narrative is threatened by counter-memories of WWII identified by Lisa Yoneyama, Takashi Fujitani and Geoffrey White in *Perilous Memories: Asia-Pacific War(s).*[5] Yoneyama's study of the Enola Gay controversy at the Smithsonian in 1995, and White's analysis of the anger expressed by WWII veterans at the changes to the Pearl Harbor video at Oahu's Pearl Harbor exhibition in 1991-1992 demonstrate that the dominant narrative of WWII - "the war has a discrete beginning, the "Day of Infamy," and an unambiguous conclusion, namely, Japan's unconditional surrender on board the Missouri" (6) - is carefully protected and updated even in the contemporary moment. As Chalmers Johnson, Yoneyama, Fujitani, White and others argue, U.S. representations of Japan is a crucial site in the project of controlling WWII memories. This chapter extends these studies by considering how Japan is figured within global multicultural discourse that accompanies economic neoliberalism.

The coverage of Koizumi's visit indicates a continued worry over WWII history. During their joint press conference, "the two men were effusive in their

[5] Lisa Yoneyama, Takashi Fujitani, Jeffrey White eds. (2001)

praise of each other, but noted that the two countries were at war with each other a little more than 60 years ago…Mr. Koizumi said Japan had learned the 'lesson of World War II' and said a good relationship with the United States is a 'fundamental policy' that should never change….Today we are able to discuss peace,' Mr. Bush said." Tellingly, a press conference given by U.S. secretary of state Condoleeza Rice in the Gulf States a few days before Koizumi's visit to the United States heightens the precariousness of the U.S.'s control over WWII memory. In contrast to Bush and Koizumi's locating the beginning of their friendship in WWII, Rice expressed regrets over post WWII U.S. decision to alienate the Gulf region by treating it as a security risk. Declaring that the U.S. is ready to move past its outdated Cold War politics, Rice attempted to promote a sense of a humbled United States ready to participate as a global friend, not economic, political or ideological competitor to all.[6]

These two instances of international diplomacy reveal how pluralism is the language of diplomacy for the new global century. The U.S. political and cultural terrains represent itself as uniquely suited to dispense multiculturalism and traces its global covenant as the leader of the freed world to WWII. That is, American leadership is represented as historically rooted in WWII victory and shaped by American acknowledgement of past mistakes and a willingness to forgive and share with past foes in a manner that establishes the U.S. as a moral and pluralistic body.

---

[6] *Marketplace* (2006)

These different instances indicate a deep and continued dependence on WWII and the U.S.-Japan relationship that arose out of WWII as establishing America's global moral base. The enshrinement of WWII as America's (noble) participation in a war elides pre-war, wartime, and post-war U.S. machinations to gain control over the Asia-Pacific, and U.S.'s attempt to supplant European colonial powers throughout the Third World. Thus, the violence that established America's "covenant" as global leader of the free world is systematically invisibilized, and WWII is carefully packaged and disseminated as a symbol of American morality for popular consumption.

Theorists such Etienne Balibar make visible the impact of WWII in terms of global multiculturalism and American claims to produce and mediate this discourse differently.[7] Balibar states that WWII marks a fundamental shift in the conception of the human. As former (racial) colonies declared independence, more than 80 new states were added to the global terrain dominated by the U.S. and Soviet Union's Cold War. Balibar argues that contemporary multicultural embrace of "culture" in opposition to scientific racialism's notion of essential "racial" difference, is rooted in post-WWII reorganization of the globe that sees racial states claim autonomy. In many ways, then, the figuration of WWII as the genesis of the U.S.'s imagined covenant with the globe as its leader and protector of the newly freed countries' is based on the material and political re-configuration of the globe

[7] For more on this see Balibar's seminal essay on neo-racism (1991)

and its concomitant production of new discourses and theories of the Other which this moment inherits and revises.

The complexity of WWII as the imagined root of U.S. leadership and the role that Japan plays within that imaginary is made visible in a unique way by the highly touted love Koizumi has for Elvis.[8] Historian John Dowers, in *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of WWII,* sees the root of this "love" in the U.S.'s defeat and post-war occupation of Japan after WWII.[9] Dower argues that Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP), led by General Douglas Macarthur, promoted a love of American culture by making popular Hollywood movies, like Elvis's films, ubiquitous throughout Japan. Macarthur attempted to change Japanese culture to counter what SCAP saw as Japan's dangerous militarism and herd-like collective mentality and to shroud American economic, political and cultural imperatives in Japan in terms of brotherly love and care.[10] The popularity of Elvis was, and continues to be, a sign of this post-war hegemonic reorganization of Japan to showcase for the global theater Japan as a phoenix who, with America's guidance, emerged from WWII as a pacifist and East Asian economic trendsetter.

---

[8] This Japanese emissary's love of an American "King" is punctuated by Koizumi, who at the end of the joint press conference "thank[s] the American people for 'Love me Tender.'" Bush in turn reciprocates throughout their press conference and thanks "the outgoing prime minister [for] Japan's assistance in America's international efforts." Koizumi's love for Elvis reinforces a general U.S. conception that the Japanese love all things American.

[9] John Dower (1999)

[10] In addition to promoting American culture, Dower argues that the SCAP government also censored Japan's militarism during WWII, the most notorious being the Japanese military's brutal occupation of Nanking. Contemporary discussions about Koizumi's visits to the Yakusuni Shrine, where Japan's war-dead are buried, reflects the continued lack of resolution and anger expressed by East Asian countries for Japan's WWII war time atrocities.

By highlighting his love for Elvis, Koizumi, perhaps unwittingly, made visible U.S. hegemony that underwrites much of this rhetoric of friendship and mutual beneficence, as well as the work that both the U.S. and Japan have done over the past 60 years of post-war relations to maintain the fiction of naturally evolving friendship erupting from WWII.[11] Rice's statement at the conference in the Gulf States differently makes visible the anxieties produced by WWII in other sites, and the need to re-address the desire to widen the U.S.'s influence in terms of America's pledge to be a leader of the free world. These instances together paint a global picture in which the U.S. struggles to position itself as broadening its own understanding of the meaning of "freedom" as it proposes friendship, not patronage, with emerging states and former foes.

As Yoneyama, Fujitani and White argue, "Stories recuperated about the past are ceaselessly appropriated by transnational corporatism, tourism, multicultural nationalism, and many other forces, ultimately domesticating their unsettling qualities and endorsing only the ideas of pluralism that produce an illusion of harmonious diversity"(21-22). That is, dominant memory-making again attempts to produce a coherent and singular narrative of WWII - by making Japan an Other to be known, as opposed to hated - making visible how "memory production

[11] The particular popularity of Japan at the contemporary moment is a shift from figuration of Japan in the early 1980's as an economic enemy of the U.S. Chalmers Johnson (2003) sees the 1980's upsurge in virulent Japan baiting as an expression of American racism and also an expression of frustration at U.S. foreign policy towards Japan that allowed an increase in the trade deficit. As opposed to demystifying U.S.-Japan relations and understanding U.S. investment in Japan as an expression of Cold War logic, Johnson argues that these critics instead pointed to Japan's perverse and dangerous economy as the fault of the U.S.-Japan trade deficit.
This chapter's study sees the 21st century representation of Japan as friend within this longer history of U.S. use of Japan as surrogate.

concerning imagined collectivities is never simply about the politically disinterested recovery of a pure and diluted past"(1). Thus, even as WWII is an important historical support for U.S. leadership claims, it is a contentious history, with multiple narratives difficult to contain.

The concern with WWII history as a means to reinforce American morality and economic leadership is found not just in contemporary political discourse and rhetoric, but also in the two films I study, *The Last Samurai* and *Memoirs of a Geisha.* In my reading of *The Last Samurai,* I consider how the multicultural love of the Other functions as meta-narrative to which the American subject is sutured. That is, while the film is a period piece that fancifully depicts post-Meiji restoration Japanese-U.S. relationship the narrative depends on the white male subject's ability to traverse, reiterate, and re-write histories of conquest and war as the narrative drive, the end result of which is, to quote Yoneyama, White and Fujitani, a "pluralism that produce an illusion of harmonious diversity." The white male's willingness to travel through history to "learn" from his mistakes produces him as a multicultural leader fit to lead the new global order, but the multiculturalism proposed by the film is forged through the strategic erasure of the history of violence against the Other. Much like contemporary debates and concerns about the "proper" remembrances of WWII history, this film makes visible the ways in which contentious history is subsumed and refashioned to reify American history as progressing through time towards an embrace of its role as leader of a pluralistic society.

I read *Memoirs of a Geisha's* treatment and fascination with Japanese Geisha life as the First World's celebration of itself as multicultural and enlightened. Written by a white American male author who tells the story in the first person voice of a Geisha, both the film and the novel are celebrated by an international audience as a "success" of multicultural sensibility that allows the First World subject to traverse differences – of gender, nation, race, culture, time – so that he can *truly* know and embrace the difference of Others. That is, despite how foreign, exotic, or repugnant the Geisha's decision is to "choose" to remain a Geisha, the multicultural First World subject celebrates her "choice" to remain herself. If the white male subject of *The Last Samurai* is fit to lead the globe, the racialized woman is the idealized object of knowledge. The desire to know her produces the First World as pluralistic and multicultural.

While dominant U.S. representations of Japan rewrite haunting memories of U.S. expansionism and violence to establish current U.S. dominance, Naomi Hirahara's *Gasa-Gasa Girl* (2005) represents the past as a scene of a crime against the racial Other. Presenting the affective trauma, as well as material violence, in producing the Asian/American subject as the symbol of pluralism's success, Hirahara's novel in essence begins where these films end. I study how Hirahara utilizes the conventions of the detective genre to unravel the coherency of multiculturalism's progress narrative, and make visible whiteness' (violent) symbolic, but not material, investment in pluralistic discourse. To conclude, I consider how the transnational subject position of the novel's detective makes

visible the limits of a nationalist perspective in interrogating global multiculturalism's claims.

Thus, while this chapter contextualizes American political and cultural discursive production of Japan that positions the U.S. as an enlightened friend of the globe that can love even a former foe, I argue that U.S. representations of Japan depend on a racial logic that positions the emerging world as unfit to inherit and lead the global economic and civil society. As increased reports challenge American hegemony abroad by attacking its moral and economic compass for the new millennium – challenges to the Washington Consensus from Latin America, the breakdown of international law and conventions in the U.S. invasion and occupation of Iraq, the ascendance of China and India as economic powerhouses - American popular culture turns to expressions of global love and friendship in a manner that reifies its friendly intentions towards the globe as a unique dispenser of multiculturalism.

Metaphors of the Market

I have argued that the production of Japan as foe, student and now friend in the 20th and 21st centuries assuage claims of American militaristic reorganization of the globe for its own benefit. This section attempts to connect the diplomatic figuration of the U.S. as a friend of the globe with concomitant portrayals of a global economic terrain that requires American leadership. I argue that claims of global economic anarchy and immorality need to be carefully investigated and

contextualized in terms of U.S. bid for global leadership.[12] In this section I develop how and why multiculturalism, morality and attendant metaphors like "friendship" are used as the language of diplomacy and economy.

Additionally, while Third World civil society and marketplaces are portrayed by neoliberal economic and political discourses as devoid of morals and rules, the Third World subject is imagined as an innocent. In a marketplace declining into moral turpitude, the Third World subject's ability to "choose" for herself needs to be safeguarded by an enlightened First World community. This section concludes with a discussion of how the popularity of films such as *Memoirs of a Geisha* depends on a fantasy of a post-racial multicultural global terrain in which the First World community can celebrate its desire to protect and promote the racial Other's right to choose.

The ideological influence of "right to choose" rhetoric shows a conceptual as well as epistemological alliance between pro-choice and feminist claims of the inviolability of the women's reproductive self-determination and consumer capitalism's claim that the consumer's right to choose between multitudes of products is paramount to his freedom. As Inderpal Grewal argues in *Transnational America: Feminisms, Diasporas, Neoliberalisms* "the pervasiveness of liberal discourses of "choice" within feminism, liberal democracy, and consumer culture

[12] It is important to consider how Third World countries, anti-neoliberalism activists, and NGO's have critiqued American-led neoliberalism and have demanded redress on the grounds of its immorality. For different arguments about the market and globalization's immorality see: Amartya Sen, "How to Judge Globalism"; Hans Kung, "A Global Ethic as a Foundation for Global Society"; Roland Robertson, "Globalization as a Problem"; OXFAM, "Growth with Equity is Good for the Poor" all in Frank Lechner and John Boli eds (2004)

suggest that there are connections between these formulations that deserve greater scrutiny."[13] "Choice" is particularly powerful as an ideological and material structure as it constantly resonates and weaves its different imbrications and claims. Leslie Sklair, for example, argues that as the consumer chooses from a multitude of products and services, s/he is imagined to be exercising agency in both consumerist and political senses.[14] Thus, choice within neoliberal consumerism imagines the mutual benefits to capital and consumers in a manner that reifies the logic of the market, while also figuring consumerism as an essential right like human rights, workers' rights and women's rights.[15] Despite the possibility of "choice" in articulating important claims of marginalized subjects, within neoliberalism "choice" always threatens to uncritically suture morality and ethics to the market and consumerist practices.

As countries like China rise to ascendance without modeling U.S. style capitalism, and as other states form regional economic blocs to stave off American intervention and craft autonomous economic plans, the U.S. and its allies statements championing U.S. led neoliberal economic policies are threatened.[16] As

---

[13] Inderpal Grewal (2005):29

[14] Leslie Sklair, "Sociology of the Global System," in Frank Lechner and John Boli (2004)

[15] Market economy, broadly defined, sees the relationship between consumers and sellers as voluntary and mutually beneficial. In an ideal situation both the consumer and seller exercise full control and choice – the seller can raise the price of their product depending on their knowledge of the competition or consumer desires, and the buyer can acquiesce or refuse to purchase the seller's goods based on their own needs and availability of goods.

[16] As many new industrialized countries (NIC) open their markets for trade under neoliberal dictum, they also become competitors with the United States for undeveloped markets throughout the world. Neoliberal economic policy in general proposes that national industries be open to foreign investment, and that national economic structures in general, be restructured for integration to global economic structures. Critics of neoliberalism, such as Joseph Stiglitz, have argued instead that

newly emerging states' claims to markets and consumers strengthen, this competition is abstracted as a battle for morality and the fight for the Third World subjects' right to multiplicity of products and political ideology. Thus, the continued efforts to present the U.S. as a friend of the globe, exemplified by my discussion of Japan, abstracts neoliberalism, its attendant practices, and its First World champions in terms of diversity, plurality, and the celebration of difference in a manner that conflates consumerism with ethics.[17]

For example, as the new millennium ushered in (renewed) concerns and fears about Chinese economic dominance in the global theater, in response to the preponderance of news agencies who wrote under the headline of "Chinese Takeover," the National Public Radio (NPR) named 2005 as the "Year of the Chinese Takeover."[18] This news of China's economic dominance is accompanied by heightened reporting on China in general, in particular with reports about Chinese Human rights abuses, its lack of respect for adult women and female babies, and the inability of the Chinese Diaspora in general to handle the SARS

---

national industries need to grow at their own pace and need to be shaped along its own internal needs.

[17]Grewal puts it this way: "The use of concept of 'choice' as a central ethical framework for feminists as well as neoliberal consumer practices and the imbrication of feminism with consumer culture." (3). I agree with Grewal that feminist discourse particularly resonates with this use of choice and that the Third World female subject is the idealized imagined "victim" whose rights needs to be saved. I draw on Grewal's analysis and extend it to other concepts of individual's (inalienable) rights to choose beyond the framework of gender into race, class, culture, religion, and nation.

[18] Kai Ryssdale, NPR's *Marketplace* correspondent, stated this in his introduction to NPR's special 11 day report on China's economic development. For the full special report "Live from China," see <http://marketplace.publicradio.org/features/china2006/>

epidemic and the Avian flu.[19] Economic reporting seems similarly driven by a fear that China's ascendancy in the global economic terrain will adversely affect American values and morals.[20] This report from *The Washington Post* captures the tone of American thinking about China:

> In its scope and ambition -- as well as its human costs -- the Three Gorges Project has become a symbol of China's relentless energy and determination to take its place among the world's great economic powers. At the same time, the project has demonstrated the Communist Party's willingness to sacrifice individual rights for the country's general welfare and to take high-stake risks in the name of progress….When they heard that foreign reporters were about to visit the dam, Chen said, several villagers put up banners urging Beijing to "Punish the corrupt officials" and "Give us back our space for survival." But police jailed the activists for several hours Monday and tore down the banners, he said.[21]

This report's condemnation of China's abuse of its citizenry is relatively tame, especially when compared to more virulently alarmist reports on the negative impacts of Chinese-led economic globalization. However, in analyzing the fears apparent even in such tempered and globalist reporting, I point to the pervasiveness of morality as a measure of the legitimacy of China's economic rise. That is, even as the Three Gorges Dam has been criticized justly for its human and

---

[19] Panic about Chinese and SARS spread throughout North America and immediately after news of SARS broke, news media reported a decrease in tourism to North American Chinatowns.

[20] Typical of the arguments to curb or mediate China's growth as we saw in the debates around China's currency devaluation are: the growing trade imbalance to China furthers the growth of exploitative industries based on low to slave wage work performed by women and children; American companies are profiting, perpetuating, or being influenced by the growing availability of low wage laborers and moving their industry overseas at the great detriment to American work force; and finally, America is forced into an uneven economic terrain as countries like China and India, categorized as developing nations by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, are receiving unfair advantages in trade and currency that will accelerate their growth at the cost of American economic ruin.

[21] Edward Cody (2006)

environmental costs, as a metonym for China in globalization the dam is mobilized not to express concerns about its effects on the Chinese, but in terms of the dangers of unfettered globalization by irresponsible powers that will inevitably demand western intervention, whether in loans or as human rights arbiters.[22] The Chinese government's seeming unwillingness to negotiate with local or global organizations around the dam construction is interpreted as indicating its unwillingness to heed calls for reasoned restraint. According to this logic China is driven blindly by its brutish might – energy and determination – rather than through calculation, dialogue and consensus. Most interestingly, the report states China's desire for power as an (immature) desire to join the "world's great economic powers." China aggressively seeks recognition from other world leaders in a manner so irresponsible that its own people seek aid from foreigners. The report illustrates the U.S. position that economic and engineering might do not legitimate leadership, ensuring that the U.S. remain central in a changing and globalizing world.[23]

---

[22] The Three Gorges Dam project was initially conceived in 1916 to provide electricity to China, in particular to fuel China's Eastern industrial base. Faced with a great deal of local, national and international concerns about its cost, effectiveness, environmental degradation, and the potential displacement of hundred of thousands of people, the dam project was stopped many times before China began serious construction in 1993.

[23] This reporting also makes visible the tensions and alliances between competing discourses on globalization. On one hand, popular commentators such as *New York Times'* Thomas Friedman represents globalization as producing a "flattened" terrain that will eventually allow former second and Third World economies to become equal to the current world leaders. Dissent to this view generally understand globalization as either heightening the inequalities that already exist, or allowing enterprising states and corporations to benefit and share the fruits of increased production and innovation with savvy global consumers. This report by the *Washington Post* makes visible the uneasy alliance between these varied positions – that is, if globalization produces opportunities for all to benefit, it is still a process that needs guardianship so that the globe can be remade in the right manner. At its most compassionate, this position calls for a First World arbiter to architect the production of an equal globe.

Similarly, current reports from Iraq propose an American moral leadership necessary in a region devoid of open debates and human rights. For example, in an Op-Ed piece for the *New York Times* on the 2002 anniversary of September 11, 01 President G.W. Bush wrote:

> We will use our position of unparalleled strength and influence to build an atmosphere of international order and openness in which progress and liberty can flourish in many nations. A peaceful world of growing freedom serves American long-term interests, reflects enduring American ideals and unites America's allies…Where repression, resentment and poverty are replaced with the hope of democracy, development free markets and free trade. The United States will promote moderation, tolerance and the nonnegotiable demands of human dignity – the rule of law, limits on the power of the state, and respect for women, private property, free speech and equal justice.

Predictably this anniversary speech expresses benign intent, friendship and global good will, as opposed to a celebration of military prowess against an enemy Other.[24] This speech aligns free markets and free trade with "moderation, tolerance and the nonnegotiable demands of human dignity,"[25] which includes "respect for women" and "private property." This remembrance of September 11, 01 reads like a State of the Globe address, where G.W. Bush defines the non-capitalist nations as lacking order and proper respect for human rights and America as the global arbiter

---

[24] David Harvey (2003) studies U.S. political position on the gulf region before and after 9/11.

[25] *The New York Times* reported that the Amnesty International "today assailed the United States' use of military contractors in Iraq as "war outsourcing" and said the behavior of some contractors had diminished America's moral standing.…War outsourcing is creating the corporate equivalent of Guantánamo Bay — a virtual rules-free zone in which perpetrators are not likely to be held accountable for breaking the law," equating U.S. war in Iraq with neoliberalism and competition for markets, again challenging America's claim that its war against Iraq is justified because it is a moral fight against extremism. Reported by Alan Cowell (2006).

with the experience and know-how to "build an atmosphere of international order and openness in which progress and liberty can flourish in many nations." This report on Iraq, like reports of China, confess a concern over the globe's (and the marketplace's) moral status as new countries enter dialogue with previously established powers.

These two reports present a specter of Third World anarchy that suffocates the freedom of the Third World subject and threatens the broader global order. *Memoirs of a Geisha* takes the dystopia hinted at by reports such as these as its subject but imagines that the First World's celebration of the Other's choice can produce a utopic world of global romance where friendship and respect for pluralism can flourish. Both the novel and film's production, as well as their narratives, exercise incredible license with pluralism to produce what is in essence not a celebration of the life of the Other, but the First World subject's embracement of their own multiculturalism. In *Memoirs of a Geisha* the Geisha is presented as the authentic pre-modern subject whose "choice" to remain pre-modern should be treasured and valued by an enlightened American public.

The camera angles and mise-en-scène heighten the sense of romance and epic scale of the Geisha's development. Artistically rendered, the film uses an emotional non-diagetic score and lovingly rendered scenes of Japanese-ness, such as slowly cascading Cherry blossoms and graceful flow of muted fabrics, against which our narrator Sayuri's Geisha performance smoothly blends. The narrative follows Sayuri's increasing proficiency in performing Geisha-ness such as

perfecting traditional dances, and enticing powerful men, the result of which is her *becoming* a Geisha by the film's end. Thus, even when Sayuri's Geisha performance is not essential to the narrative, the film incorporates the pageantry of her Geisha regalia as a scenic accompaniment to narrative development.

While at first Sayuri rebels against her sale to a Geisha household by her parents, her separation from her sister, and her role as a second-class citizen, her embrace of Geisha life comes very quickly in the film. There are two transformative moments that determine Sayuri's choice with regard to her Geisha life. First, near the beginning of the film, when Sayuri is still a young girl, she encounters and falls in love with a powerful Japanese businessman, the Chairman. Since he is already married and a part of Japanese high society, Sayuri's only access to the Chairman will be to perfect her Geisha performance. Second, after WWII Sayuri decides that she will remain a Geisha as opposed to being integrated into post-war American occupation society. In both instances the film's celebration of her choice is clear. In the first instance, the film's mise-en-scène captures Sayuri and the Chairman in front of a picturesque bridge as cherry blossom trees line the background. This scene promises heteronormative love and is one of the rare instances in the film where Sayuri is outside of her Geisha household alone. The bright afternoon light that surrounds both of these characters frame their future intimacy and romance in terms of openness and promises of freedom for Sayuri. In the second instance Sayuri's "choice" is contrasted against other Geisha's who

work in sex camps for American GI's.[26] In both instances Sayuri negotiates patriarchy – Imperial Japan and Occupation American – only to affirm that she will choose for herself her own future.

If the film celebrates Sayuri's choices, it remains ambivalent about Geisha sexual economy and Japanese pre-war society. Despite the film's obsession with Geisha pageantry, Sayuri is represented as living in sexual bondage. From the sale of her virginity to the highest bidder, to the intense competition between Geishas and Geisha households, the filmic love of Geisha dress, costume and performance is always shadowed by the film's concern with Sayuri's loss of agency that it roots in Japanese pre-war society's tacit approval of women's second-class status. However, as the plot turns to Sayuri's embrace of her Geisha life, the film's diagetic and non-diagetic materials quickly change with her. The film asks that the viewer accept Sayuri's choice to remain a Geisha and celebrate her acceptance of Japan's cultural traditions that for the first half of the film are demonized as sexist and pre-modern. As she lives through Japan's Great Depression, WWII, and American Occupation, she adapts to these different circumstances without losing the core of who she is: Geisha. Thus, Sayuri's ability to exercise choice to become and then stay a Geisha, despite Japanese pre-modernity and First World encroachments, is imagined as an important antidote to the rapidly changing

[26] Dower argues that contemporary Japanese red-light districts are literally built on these sex camps – some of the current businesses use the same structures that the American military set up. Thus, Dower critiques the essentialism and racism that structure American commonsensical notion that Japanese men are sex-crazed, and instead roots Japanese sex culture in post-WWII American occupation of Japan.

national and global structures that may not offer a Third World subject any protection.

If the embrace of the Third World woman's "right to choose" demonstrates the First World's morality and its pluralistic celebration of difference, the film and novel's productions are predicated on an assumption of a post-race multicultural world order that allows the First World subject to authentically know and narrate her story.[27] The novel is a fictional memoir of Geishas based on American Arthur Golden's interviews with one Japanese Geisha.[28] Golden applauds his own insight and abilities "as an American man of the 1990s writing about a Japanese woman of the 1930s .. to cross three cultural divides--man to woman, American to Japanese, and present to past" and "a fourth divide as well, because Geisha dwell in a sub-culture so peculiar that even a Japanese woman of the 1930s might have considered it a challenge to write about such a world."[29] Golden's position that he is like other non-Geisha Japanese and thus fit to tell her story in the first person voice exercises

---

[27] The film's casting of what it considers a uniquely Japanese story with widely recognized Asian and Asian American actors such as Ken Watanabe, Ziyi Zhang, Li Gong, Michelle Yeoh further propels the director and novelists centralizing of the American viewer and their own Orientalist assumption that either the viewer cannot distinguish between phenotypic Asian differences, or more likely, that these differences don't matter. These particular differences are instead subsumed under an orientalist representation of East Asia *as* Geisha.

[28] The controversy surrounding the novel and film were muted, but did continue to trouble the productions claims to multiculturalism and authenticity. For example, Golden is accused of having printed the Geisha's story without her consent. Also, Korean actress Kim Yun Jin who was approached to play a Geisha turned down the role because she is troubled by what she saw as Japan's continued elision of its WWII atrocities against Korea, in particular forcing Korean "comfort" women to sexually service Japanese soldiers during WWII.

[29] For the entire interview of Arthur Golden go to:
http://www.randomhouse.com/vintage/golden.html

a post-race logic that Barthes in "The Great Family of Man" in *Mythologies* argues functions in this way:

> This myth functions in two stages: first the difference between human morphologies is asserted, exoticism is insistently stressed, the infinite variations of the species, the diversity in skins, skulls and customs are made manifest, the image of Babel is complacently projected over that of the world. Then, from this pluralism, a type of unity is magically produced: man is born, works, laughs and dies everywhere in the same way; and if there still remains in these actions some ethnic peculiarity, at least one hints that there is underlying each one an identical 'nature', that their diversity is only formal and does not belie the existence of a common mould (100).

As Barthes argues, the myth of a universal human experience functions to produces difference not to understand the meaning of that difference, but rather to display modern man's appreciation of that difference. Golden insists that the Geisha is impenetrable to all who are not Geisha; the telling of her story, in Golden's logic, is most of all attributable to his exceptional navigation of pluralism.[30]

In an interview the film's director Rob Marshall describes how the film is an attempt to pay tribute to Arthur Golden's vision of Japanese Geishas. Marshall uncritically receives Golden's text as the "authentic" story of Geishas and celebrates Golden's desire to tell a story that is so removed from his own life. Marshall who translates Golden's written words into visual language, and the imagined viewer who consumes the Geisha on screen, are both imagined to be a part of this fantasy where a changing global terrain of questionable morality is transformed into a post-racial multicultural world through the First World subject's

recognition and protection of Third World subject's "choice." As I have argued however, we must be cautious of First World accusations of Third World immorality, recalling the First World investment in producing itself as the sole moral arbiter. Thus, if the Third World subject's choice needs to be protected, my discussions of representations of China, Iraq and my reading of *Memoirs of a Geisha* suggest that we need to continue to be mindful of the ways in which First World interventions regardless of intention, itself produces a field of inequity that needs continued monitoring and assessments.

Last Samurai: History and its Other

If Third World difference is imagined to be in need of protection, in this section I consider how *The Last Samurai* represents such guardianship as inevitably the right of First World men. The film's main protagonist Ben Alghren, played by Tom Cruise, obsessively recollects his immoral actions against Native Americans while a soldier under General Custer. Although he cannot resolve this guilt in the United States, his acceptance by the Samurai in Japan allows him an opportunity to right his past wrongs. In Japan Alghren attempts to save, not massacre, a people under siege by Japan's modernization and increasing militarism and his acceptance by the Samurai allows Alghren to finally find respite from haunting nightmares of Indian wars. Thus the film writes American massacre of Native Americans as an immoral act of violence and expansionism that can be forgiven through a fundamental change in the white American subject.

Although the film's embrace of multiculturalism and pluralism condemns American militarism, *The Last Samurai* ultimately establishes the white male subject as uniquely suited to lead an increasingly interconnected globalizing world in which other possible guardians are killed or rendered incompetent. The film's penultimate scene, for example, sees a young Emperor Hirohito acknowledge Alghren's superior morality, and in the last scene as Alghren heroically returns to a Samurai village, he is positioned as a desired patriarch over Japanese women, children and land. Thus, the film, like *Memoirs of a Geisha*, establishes First World morality by representing Americans as saviors, this time over innocent Others in danger of vanishing. Only if Alghren's moral intervention is successful can a future moral world led by moral men be established. Of interest here are the ways in which history as subject and sub-text is a consciously referenced and imagined part of the First World right. Through such imagined control over history, the white subject's control over the future of modernity is naturalized as inevitable. The ways in which this film draws on familiar images and histories of the U.S. – Japan relations in order resolve American guilt over its past violence is particularly important given the production of Japan as a surrogate for America's fraught contemporary global bid for leadership.

The Last Samurai is a hybrid-genre film that draws mainly from tropes and techniques of Western films, such as the captivity narrative, romance between white men and "native" women, and conflict between the frontiersmen and agents

of encroaching industrialized society.[31] The film draws on such familiar Western conventions and images to smoothly extend the American frontier to encapsulate Japan and the Asia-Pacific. The ease of this transition is aided through the film's suggestion that pre-war Japan is similar to the U.S. Both, the film suggests, have much to atone for: America for indiscriminate and racist killing of American Indians, and Japan for the ruthlessness with which it pursues modernization and expansion. The similarities between Japan and the United States are imagined in other realms as well. As American and British agents help modernize and militarize Japan, Japan is represented as a mimic of American modernity. Thus Japanese trespasses against Samurai are as much America's responsibility as Japan's. Within the logic of the film, as the (imagined) multicultural viewer learns to accept and appreciate Japanese society and history despite Japan's militarism and aggressive modernization efforts, the viewer reassesses the American history first portrayed as immoral and violent. This absorption of Japan into the American frontier erases Japanese particularity, immediately producing it as a foe/student/friend and Ben Alghren as the idealized moral guide for both countries.

Despite the attempts to establish a universal terrain forged through shared experiences, the film's obsession with resolving the American massacre of Native Americans to establish American male contrition re-establishes and re-affirms

---

[31] As Buscomb and Slotkin have argued, while the Western is seen as a quintessential American genre, American westerns were greatly influenced by Japanese director Akira Kurosawa and Italian director Sergio Leone. For more on the Western as a genre see Edward Buscomb and Roberta Pearson, ed. (1998); Richard (1985). For the gendered representations of the frontier see Annette Kolodny (1984); Amy Kaplan (September 1998).

American dominance over Native Americans and Japanese dominance over the Samurai as inevitable victories of modernity and progress over premodernity and ahistoricity. The epic and drawn-out final battle between Samurai and the Japanese national army stands in sharp contrast to Alghren's recurring nightmares of American Indian massacre during the Indian wars. The bright and pastoral Japanese scenes allow Alghren to grapple with modern subjects. His flashbacks to the Indian wars are presented in slow motion and the slowly falling Indian bodies against a foggy gray backdrop present a surreal-ness otherwise absent in this relentlessly pastoral film. The scenes of native annihilation is parsed, fragmented and continually interrupted. The American Indian are pre-modernity exemplified, outside of coherent and progressive narrative, and thus unable to share the time and space of modern men like Alghren. In a different way, the film's repetitive enactment of violence against Native peoples attempts a complete annihilation of American Indians from the American national imaginary.

While Alghren's sorrow over the Indian wars establishes his ability to recognize right from wrong, we are not assured of the caliber of Alghren's morality until the final epic battle between the Japanese Samurai and Japanese National army. I read this final fight, where we see Alghren act morally for a larger good, as the resolution of the First World immorality established in battles against Native Americans. By the film's end, American Indians and Japanese Samurai are presented as interchangeable *innocent* natives, and as Alghren is morally endowed

with the guardianship over Japan's future, the ambivalence over American ownership of Indian land finds easy resolution.

As Alghren and Katsumoto survey their overwhelming foe, Alghren suggests to Katsumoto that they need to fight to "change our destiny," that is, to change history. As opposed to riding into sure massacre, as the Samurai are already prepared to do, Alghren suggests that they follow the battle plans of Greek men during the battle of Thermopiles. Alghren admits that all of the Greek men eventually die, but argues that the men fought to live, not to meet a destiny that can only promise a noble death.[32] As opposed to giving the Samurai agency in this instance, this gambit for survival instates Alghren as the new leader of the Samurai even before the death of Katsumoto. Only Alghren can offer the Samurai a promise of life, as opposed to Katsumoto's fatalistic notions of nobility. That is, as the leader of the Samurai in this battle, Alghren is also learning to be a leader for the new millennium. This scene establishes the domination of the white male subject over Japanese and Native American subjects and institutes Greek history as the universal heritage of mankind. The multiple repetitions of the scene of violence against Native Americans that culminates in an American modern man's inheritance over Samurai holdings reifies the unmitigated power of the white male subject in his relationship to the Other of history. As an attempt at resolution, through re-enactment, this last battle between the Samurai and the Japanese army

[32] This is not the first time in the film that Alghren is horrified by the Samurai's relationship with death. He is initially repulsed by a Samurai committing hari-kari, and equally shocker when he realizes that according to "Samurai culture" he inherits his vanquished foe's family.

represents a scene of subjection,[33] a necessarily muted celebration of white mastery over narrative, land, and material history of its conquered people.

Alghren, who has mastered history, produces the Other as a rational subject only through its death. That is, the Other of history "dies" as an autonomous being to allow the production of the white subject's ideal Other, his supplement, and his shadow. As such, the last battle scene is a vicarious site of pleasure by which the subject of history can finally watch and enjoy the total annihilation of the pre-modern Other as a moral act. By the film's end, a violent battle has killed all of the Samurai, including Katsumoto, leaving only Alghren as the bearer of knowledge about the way of the Samurai. We can understand this last epic battle as an articulation of colonialist fantasy that suggests only continued expansion can secure global morality. That is, distinct from the purity and innocence of Samurais and Native Americans, Alghren is a moral modern man who knows both the dangers as well as benefits of industrialization. As such, he is needed to guide and protect the few pure landscapes left on earth. This conquest narrative legitimates the transfer of Japanese land, women and children to white American men.

Perhaps the ultimate fantasy of white men as the legitimate owner of history comes when Alghren becomes the last Samurai. As Katsumoto dies, the camera pulls in for a close-up of Alghren's face before it pulls out to captures both he and

---

[33] Here I am drawing from Saidiya Hartman's (1997) productive and useful study of how projects of emancipation, as opposed to producing a human equal to the emancipator, in fact produced a racialized, subordinated Other, the freed black slave. Her attention to how this subordination is produced in sites of pleasure, consent and rights remains useful and informative in a moment where the First World uses pluralism and multiculturalism to claim its rights over Third World subjects.

Katsumoto in the same frame. The camera then slowly pulls out of this intimate tableau and capture the entire scene of battle, including the Japanese army, whose faces are now covered in grief. As they drop one by one to their knees in homage to the heroic couple it becomes impossible to distinguish whether the Japanese men are bowing to Katsumoto, or Alghren. This scene secures Alghren as the last Samurai, as authorized by the bowing Japanese army as well as Katsumoto's death. As Alghren is the rebirth of the Samurai as a modern man, he promises to keep the traditions and nobility of the Samurai way of life, but also will update it for the new millennium.

Unraveling Multiculturalism: The Past in *Gasa-Gasa Girl*

If *The Last Samurai* demonstrates a white investment in history to establish its current and future moral right to lead, my reading of *Gasa-Gasa Girl* considers how the novel's detective form is used to contest the coherency of white mastery over history. Hirahara's use of the detective form treats the past as a crime against racial Others and in this instance produces a critique of dominant multiculturalism's claims as a post-racist enlightened love of the Other rooted in America's exceptional history. The novel begins as Masao Arai comes to New York City to help excavate a Japanese Garden that will be displayed as a sign of immigrant success and American multicultural acceptance of difference. By the novel's end we discover that the garden contains within it the evidence of the murder of two generations of Japanese in the U.S. by two generations of white American elite. The Ouchi's are killed by the Waxley's in order to keep secret the

illegitimate birth that intimately ties the two families together. Thus, the novel quickly unravels the multiculturalism and assimilation idealized by the garden in the beginning of the novel. By the end of the novel the garden comes to represent the fragility of the boundary that separates racialized labor and white elites, and dominant multiculturalism as the violence that maintains these barriers.

Hirahara troubles the relationship between Asian America and official multiculturalism. In the novel, Asian America's symbolic deployment to reify dominant multiculturalism's claims is always threatened by white anxiety for Asian American non-compliance. As symbols such as the Japanese Ornamental Garden threaten to challenge the coherency of dominant multiculturalism's claim, non-compliant Asian Americans are killed. In the novel, then, white "love" for its idealized Other is treacherous, contentious and contingent. Lisa Lowe critiques "official multiculturalism" that "aesthetisizes" difference "through forgetting material histories of racialization, segregation, and economic violence" and makes visible the ways in which the recovery and uncovering past can challenge a dominant history and historiography that celebrates the nation's steady progress as grounded in a moral past.[34]

The project of recuperating histories of racial differentiation and the study of the absorption of difference into an authorized aesthetisized object is particularly important in a cultural and economic moment that produces American multiculturalism as a utopic global narrative. This novel, by beginning with the

[34] Lisa Lowe (1996):30

celebration of the Japanese Garden as a site of successful multiculturalism and immigrant assimilation, and ending with its resignification as a marker of differentiation and violence, instead makes visible history's shadow through its insistence on the dialectic between violence and inclusion, citizen and its Other, capital and labor. The novel's detective form, then, is an important tool that aids in the decoding and challenging of multiculturalism's "aesthetisization" and "'forgetting' the material histories of racialization, segregation, and economic violence" that constitute multiculturalism's strategic and symbolic production of Asian American difference.

Two different sites of counter-memory, the Ouchi/Waxley Japanese Ornamental Garden and a diary kept by Seiko, a Japanese immigrant woman who worked for the Waxley family, are the objects of Masao's investigation. As they are used by Masao as evidence to build his case against the Waxley's, they are elevated to the same level of truth telling as official histories of the Waxley's and the ornamental garden. As such, the novel's detective convention not only authorizes the telling of different truths, but also challenges how dominant history is itself written and told. By considering how these sites reveal the Waxley's attempt at secrecy the novel points to a counter-memory rooted in everyday remembrances of wartime laborers and symbolic objects produced for dominant multiculturalist consumption. As Lowe argues, "the cultural productions emerging out of the contradictions of immigrant marginality displace the fiction of reconciliation, disrupt the myth of national identity by revealing its gaps and

fissures, and intervene in the narrative of national development that would illegitimately locate the 'immigrant' before history or exempt the 'immigrant' from 'history.'" (9) Hirahara's choice of the garden and diary as evidence that challenge "the narrative of national development" in a different way disrupts the garden and diary's symbolic and material work. These are both idealized signs of feminine private respite from the public domain and signify time and space of leisure. Hirahara defamiliarizes the garden and diary's everyday uses and instead makes visible the racial labor and racial dispossession that underwrites ideal middle-class domesticity.

The Waxley's Japanese Garden was covered during and after the war years as anti-Japanese sentiment swept the country, only resurfacing after over 60 years has passed. The shifting meanings of the garden – in the pre-war era as an Orientalist object that signified wealth and cosmopolitanism, during war-time as an object that signified the dangerous and unauthorized penetration by a racial Other, forgotten as an artifact in the cold war era, and re-emerged in neoliberalism as a sign of multicultural acceptance – maps the shifting meaning of race in relationship to the state's articulation of itself as a just and moral body, as well as the contemporary moment's celebration of its own multicultural enlightenment.[35] Kazzy Ouchi buys the property and plans to display the garden to commemorate his parents' history, the Waxley's benevolence, and as a celebration of his nisei success.

[35] See Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1992) and David Theo Goldberg (2002) for their excellent studies on the relationship between state projects and racial formation.

When Ouchi discovers that Miss Waxley is his half-sister, the garden threatens to take on a different meaning. Instead of a symbol of American acceptance of difference and a celebration of a nisei's rise to wealth, it becomes a crime scene that threatens to reveal white investment in racial purity, racial dispossession and production of racial Others as pliable labor:

> "I couldn't let him tarnish my father's reputation," Miss Waxley continued. "My family's reputation. He told me that he needed to tell his children, his grandchildren. That his own father had left this message, and to honor his father, he needed to let everyone know the truth."
> -"Whatchu father did can't hurt you, Miss Waxley. Thatsu his business, not yours."
> "You should have left it alone, Mr. Arai. Just let it stay buried. But I saw you that day at the garden, looking at the writing in the pond. You were slowly putting two and two together" (259).

In this exchange Waxley imagines herself, and her family, to be morally charged to maintain the barrier between her family and racial Others by any means necessary, even murder. What Masao sees as the violence of the past is the rape of Kazzy's Irish immigrant mother and the murder of Kazzy's father by the Waxley patriarch to hide his sexual transgression. For her, the violence is not her father's murder or rape, but an unauthorized story about her family lineage that makes visible the intimacy between racial labor and white capital. In a different way, the novel, by rendering the garden as both the site and revelation of the same violence, makes visible the fragility, yet power, of multiculturalist logic in shaping the materiality of racial experience.

If the Waxley's Japanese Ornamental Garden is a contested site of meaning for American exceptionalism and an immigrant success story that guarantees the continued dispossession of Asian America, the novel presents Seiko's diary as another unauthorized document that tell different "truths" about history:

> Mas took a quick look at the living room. Reminded him of any other Nisei house. Some Japanese sumi-e paintings of jagged mountains. A Japanese doll wearing a bright kimono in a glass box. A couple of papier-mâché tigers. Somebody there was obviously born in the Year of the Tiger. Mas followed Mari as she examined a special glass case in the corner. It looked like some kind of mini historic display with an old nursing uniform, old books, and a badge that read Seabrook Farms. Mas faintly remembered a gardener mentioning that he had worked back East on Seabrook Farms during World War II (177).

In this passage, Seiko's life in the United States reads like a precarious balancing act between conserving memories of her youth in Japan and those artifacts that validate her as a member of the U.S. She keeps in a "special glass case in the corner" the memories that attach her to the U.S.; her safekeeping of these artifacts also comments on the fragility of this relation. Like the ornamental garden, the "mini historic display" preserves Seiko's recollection of her time in the United States while making visible the lack that constitutes her "American" memories. While these artifacts that are on display does not concern Waxley – that is, Seiko's precarious relationship to the U.S. is not her concern - Seiko's daily recollections and memories are a potential threat. As an active site of interaction, Seiko's diary threatens to disrupt or challenge the linearity of American history in which the wealthy, like the Waxley's, emerge as the protagonist.

Through the diary, Masao is re-introduced to Seabrook Farms that had thus only been a faint remembrance as "a gardener mentioning that he had worked back East on Seabrook Farms during World War II"(177). Seabrook farm innovated and increased its production through a pre-war strategy of actively recruiting lumpen and proletariat whites and blacks from the Appalachians and the American South, and wartime strategy of recruiting interned Japanese and Eastern European refugees. While the War Relocation Authority prohibited Japanese Americans from working and living in California, Washington, and Oregon, Seabrook Farms in New Jersey offered a choice for the internees to escape from the confines of the internment camp, and allowed separated families to unite. While dominant histories of Seabrook Farms celebrate it as America's promise - a racial utopia that had the courage to exist even as national and international sensibility demanded violence for racial transgression[36] - in the novel Seabrook is the novel's other garden, one that holds memories of war time racial labor (189). In order to access the meaning behind the Japanese ornamental garden, Masao must pass through Seabrook farms. As such, the novel brings together what at first glance seem like disparate spaces and connects the logic of capital innovation with dominant multiculturalism and the ways that both depend on (racial) dispossession.

[36] Charles Harrison (2003). His study is one of the rare full-length book on Seabrook Farms, although Seabrook Farms is also documented in Seiichi Higashide and Michi Weglyn's memoirs of internment during WWII. Harrison's treatment of Seabrook farms uncritically celebrates it as a utopia and proto-multicultural site. See Seiichi Higashide (1993) and Michi Weglyn (1976) for how they remember Seabrook farms.

When Masao finds the diary, he pours over it in order to understand how its content is dangerous enough that both Kazzy and Seiko were killed to keep it secret. "Mas kept reading, sometimes unable to make out certain words, but continuing, knowing that something of importance was contained in there." As Masao reads "the entry five or six times to let its weight settle in his gut," he attempts to decipher not just the Ouchi and Waxley family histories, but also the dialectical manner in which their histories are intimately tied to the other. That is, the everyday function of the diary and its safeguarding of private reflections is Seiko's mediation of everyday power. As an object that contains within it memories of the past that dissent from official Seiko's diary is a powerful critique of dominant multiculturalism as a site of subjection.

In conclusion I offer some thoughts on how *Gasa-Gasa Girl* attempts to establish a counter dominant transnational subjectivity through her use of Masao as the detective to uncover the Ouchi family murders. A Kibei, that is an American-born Japanese sent to Japan in his youth to acculturate into Japanese culture and language, Masao survived the atomic bomb in Hiroshima before returning to the United States to work as a gardener in Los Angeles. Masao is liminal to both the Japanese and United States national narratives about WWII, and yet is the inheritor of the dual U.S. violence against the Japanese at home and abroad. For example, Masao finds himself marginal to the internment experience around which his Nisei friends form tight bonds. The legacy of this liminality, the detective-narrator fears, is the passing down of Atomic radiation to his American born child and grandchild.

Masao draws on his memories of pre-and post-atomic bomb Hiroshima to comment on contemporary American racial history making visible the knowledge and understanding carried by (global) dispossessed subjects and authorizes these subjects to speak.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the contemporary American bid for global leadership is dependent on writing its past as moral and its present and future as guided by multicultural respect for difference. Films such as *The Last Samurai* and *Memoirs of a Geisha* participate in reinforcing these perceptions by producing a fantasy of global consent to American leadership. With Elvis, Samurai, and Geisha as metaphors for America and Japan, dominant global fantasy uses facile representations of national figures through which global troubles are resolved and elided.[37] Thus, if as I argued in my second chapter, the emergent transnational subjectivity is precarious and always in danger of being hailed to the (American) national narrative, it is these types of nationalist figures that participate in continuing to mythologize and mystify global processes.

[37] These subjects as metonyms for global friendship also reveals the gendered, racialized, and classed assumptions about particular national bodies in globalization.

Conclusion

In the previous chapters I have outlined how contemporary global processes depend on racial differentiation that seems at odds with the increasing celebration of pluralism on all fronts. I have argued that the representation of the globe as family and friend amalgamates dominant pluralism and neoliberal economic, political, and ideological processes so that the racial Other's differences are displayed on the global scene only to be subsumed under a First World aegis. While this project has focused on the 1980's and beyond, I have argued throughout that we need to be mindful of how contemporary racial, cultural, political, and economic projects are inherited from WWII, as well as how these pre-existing ideas have been refashioned in a manner that necessitates our learning new ways of seeing and understanding.

This project is a cultural analysis of First World representation's of racial Others that have centered on Asia and Asians. I have focused particularly on how Asia and Asians are imagined by the First World to reveal the complexity of comparative racial formation in the global century. I have also proposed that First World neoliberal projects have produced a new orientalism for the global century, and that U.S.'s supposed love of Asia is a surrogate for U.S. desire to lead the globe. However, it is evident that Asia is and will continue to play a dominant role in global economic processes. The increase in representations of China and India, as well as the reality of their economic rise, suggests that we need to monitor how the U.S. culturally, politically, and economically engages these countries and

people. In reverse, we also need to understand how the shifting and changing global terrain affect the U.S. perception of self and Other. Thus, a study of American representations of the globe needs to map how different economic, political, and cultural models compete on the global scene and challenge First World hegemony.

I suggest that several questions might be useful to map contemporary and future social formation: How is the United States' representation of East Asia similar or different from Latin American, African, European, and Asian representation? How does the post 1990's attention to human rights engender new possibilities for agency while also precluding the ability of some subjects to speak? Which bodies, places, and practices are figured as incommensurable with each other? How is this essential difference cast?

These questions particularly hope to broaden our understanding of what I have identified as neoliberal capitalism's dependence and production of differences that operate in varied ways. The soothing over of differences to create an equal global terrain serves as alibi for modernizing and neoliberal intervention. Neoliberal economy, policy, and ideology also supports an increase in differentiation between civil society, economy, and politics that heightens traditional differences between racial Others. Finally I have seen the contemporary production of the globe as a terrain for romance as a way to address how global processes depend on sites that are traditionally understood as separate: private and public, domesticity and nation-building.

As I attempt to look for contact zones between racial Others, I have also mapped when and how these affiliations fail to grab hold. The difficulty and reward of building coalitions, in other words, demand that we treat the present as a yet unknown thing, and that we need to continually demystify racial, gendered, sexualized and classed archetypes that appear in cultural texts, political discourses, and economic projects.

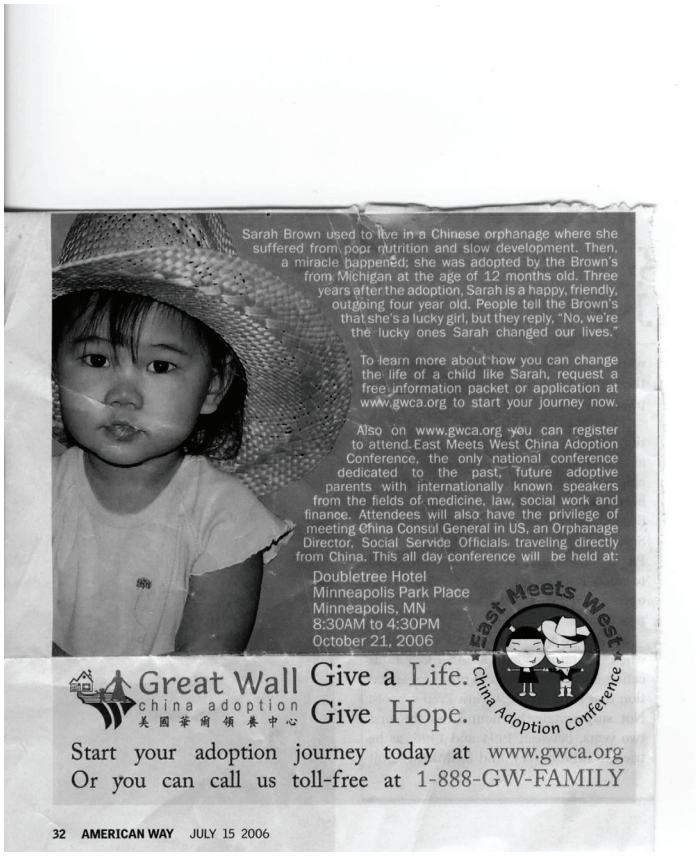

Figure 1: Advertisement for East Meets West China Adoption Conference. *American Way*. July, 2005: 32.

Figure 2: Pictures of children. Portraits of Peninsula by the Peninsula Hotels. Advertisement. *The New Yorker.* May 2006.

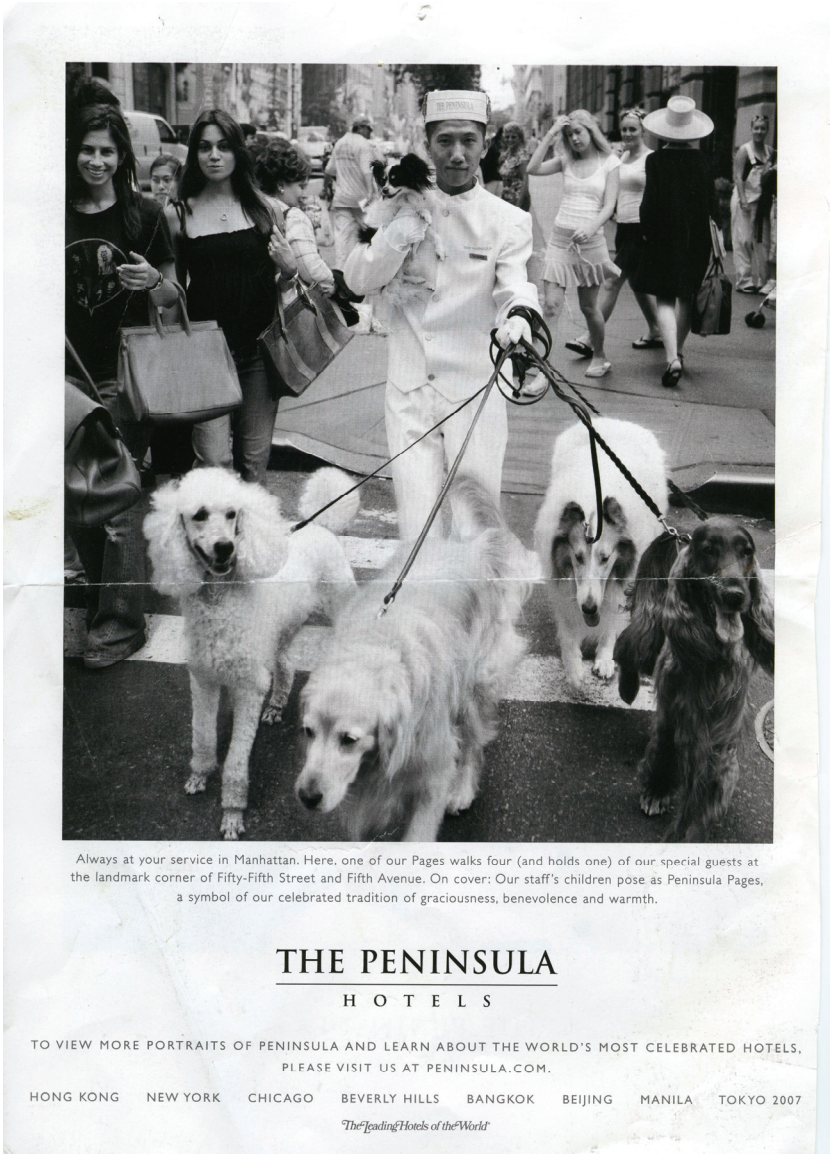

Figure 3: Picture of young male page. Portraits of Peninsula by the Peninsula Hotels. Advertisement. *The New Yorker.* May 2006.

Bibliography

Abelman, Nancy and John Lie. *Blue Dreams: Los Angeles Riots of 1992 and Korean Americans.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1995.

Affigne, Tony and Pei-Te-Lien. "People of Asian Descent in the Americas: Theoretical Implication of Race and Politics." *Amerasia Journal.* 28.2 (2002): 1-28.

Agamben, Giorgio. *States of Exception*. Trans. Kevin Attell. Chicago: The U of Chicago P, 2005.

----------*Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life.* Trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen. Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998.

Alan-Williams, Gregory. *A Gathering of Heroes: Reflections On Rage And Responsibility: A Memoir Of The Los Angeles Riots.* Chicago: Academy Chicago Publishers, 1994.

Almaguer, Tomás. *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1994.

Amin, Samir. *Delinking: Towards a Polycentric World*. Trans. Michael Wolfers. London: Zed Books, 1990.

Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza.* San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books. 1987.

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1996.

Appelbaum, Richard. "Multiculturalism and Flexibility: Some New Directions in Global Capitalism," in Avery Gordon and Christopher Newfield eds. 297-317.

----------and Gregg Scott. "Travelogue: The Garment Industry in Los Angeles and East Asia," in Avery Gordon and Christopher Newfield, eds. 330-345.

Araki, Raúl. "An Approach to the Formation of Nikkei Identity in Peru: Issei and Nisei," in Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, Akemi Kikumura and James A. Hirabayashi. 76-89.

Arase, David. Introduction. *The Challenge of Change: East Asia in the New Millennium* Ed. Arase. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, U of California, Berkeley, 2003. 1-13.

Azuma, Eiichiro. *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America.* New York: Oxford UP, 2005.

Baldwin, James. *Evidence of Things Not Seen.* New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1995.

Balibar, Etienne. "Is There 'Neo'-Racism?" *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*. Eds. Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein. London: Verso, 1991. 17-28.

Ban, Hyun and R.C. Adams. "L.A. Times Coverage of Korean Americans Before, After 1992 Riots." *Newspaper Research Journal*. 18.3-4 (Summer-Fall 1997): 64-79.

Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies.* Trans. Annette Lavers. New York: Hill and Wang, 1972.

Baudelaire, Charles. *Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays.* New York: Phaidon, 1995.

Befu, Harumi. "Globalization as Human Dispersal: Nikkei in the World," in Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, Akemi Kikumura and James A. Hirabayashi, eds. 5-18.

Bender, Steve. *Greasers and Gringos: Latinos, Law, and the American Imagination.* New York: New York UP, 2003.

Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations.* New York: Harcourt Brace & Jovanovich, 1968.

Berlant, Lauren and Michael Warner. "Introduction to 'Critical Multiculturalism,'" in David Theo Goldberg, ed. 107-113.

Berman, Marshall. *All that is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982.

Bhaba, Homi. *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Blade Runner. Dir. Ridley Scott. Warner Brothers, 1982.

Blade Runner – Director's Cut. Dir. Ridley Scott. Warner Brothers, 1992.

Bonacich, Edna and Richard Appelbaum. *Behind the Label: Inequality in the Los Angeles Apparel Industry.* Berkeley: U of California P, 2000.

Bosniak, Linda. "Undocumented Immigrants and the National Imagination," in Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, eds. 99-105.

Briggs, Laura. "Making 'American' Families: Transnational Adoption and U.S. Latin America Policy," in Laura Stoler, ed. 344-365.

Buscome, Edward and Roberta E. Pearson. Introduction. *Back in the Saddle Again: New Essays on the Western*. Ed. Buscome and Pearson. London: British Film Institute,1998. 1-7.

Butler, Judith. *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex.* New York: Routledge, 1993.
----------"Endangered/Endangering: Schematic Racism and White Paranoia," in Robert Gooding-William, ed. 15-23.

Buvinić, Mayra, Catherine Gwin, and Lisa M. Bates. *Investing In Women: Progress and Prospects For The World Bank.* Washington, D.C.: Overseas Development Council and International Center for Research on Women; Baltimore, MD: Distributed by the Johns Hopkins UP, 1996.

Calhoun, Craig, Paul Price, and Ashley Timmer, eds. *Understanding September 11.* New York: Social Science Research Council, 2002.

Chang, Edward T. "The Los Angeles Riots: A Korean American Perspective." *Korean and Korean-American Studies Bulletin* 4.3 (Summer/Fall 1993)
----------and Jeannette Diaz-Veizades. *Ethnic Peace In The American City: Building Community In Los Angeles And Beyond*. New York: New York U P, 1999.

Chinchilla, Norma Stolz and Nora Hamilton. *Seeking Community in a Global City: Guatemalans and Salvadorans in Los Angeles.* Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2001.

Cody, Edward. "China's Symbol, and Source, of Power: Three Gorges Dam Near Completion, at High Human Cost." *The Washington Post.* 18 May 2006, final ed:A1.

Collateral. Dir. Michael Mann. Dream Works, 2004.

Comaroff, Jean and John L. Comaroff, eds. *Millennial Capitalism and the Cultures of Neoliberalism.* Durham: Duke UP, 2001.
----------"Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming," in Comaroff and Comaroff, eds. 1-56.

Cortés, Carlos E. "Who is Maria? What is Juan? Dilemmas of Analyzing the Chicano Images in U.S. Feature Films." *Chicanos and Film: Essays on Chicano Representation and Resistance.* Ed. Chon A. Noriega. New York: Garland Publishing, 1992. 83-104.

Courtis, Corina. *Construcciones de Alteridad: Discoursos Cotidianos sobre la Inmigración Coreana en Buenos Aires.* Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 2000.

Cowell, Alan. "Rights Group Criticizes U.S. Over 'Outsourcing' in Iraq." 24 May 2006, late ed.: A16.

Crash. Dir. Paul Haggis. Lions Gate, 2004.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé and Gary Peller. "Reel Time/Real Justice," in Robert Gooding-William, ed. 56-70.

Dalby, Liza Crihfield. *Geisha.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1983.

Davis, Angela. Interview with Lisa Lowe. "Angela Davis: Reflections on Race, Class, and Gender in the USA," in Lisa Lowe and David Lloyd, eds. 303-323.

Davis, Mike. *City of Quartz.* New York: Verso, 1990.
---------- *Ecology of Disaster.* New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998.

Delgado, Richard and Jean Stefanic, eds. *The Latino/a Condition: A Critical Reader.* New York: New York UP, 1998.

Diawara, Manthia. "Toward a Regional Imaginary in Africa," in Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi, eds. 103-124.

Dower, John. *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.
----------*Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II.* New York: W.W. Norton, 1999.

East Meets West China Adoption Conference by Great Wall China Adoption. Advertisement. *American Way*. July, 2005: 32.

Eng, David and David Kazanjian, eds. *Loss.* Berkeley: U of California P, 2003.
----------and David Kazanjian. "Mourning Remains." Introduction, in Eng and Kazanjian eds. 1-25.
----------and Shinhee Han. "A Dialogue on Racial Melancholia," in Eng and David Kazanjian, eds. 343-371.

Espiritu, Yen Le. *Home Bound: Filipino Lives Across Cultures, Communities and Countries.* Berkeley: U of California P, 2003.
----------and Paul Ong. "Class Constraints on Racial Solidarity Among Asian Americans," in Ong, Edna Bonacich, and Lucie Cheng, eds. 295-322.

Falicov, Celia Jaes. "Ambiguous Loss: Risk and Resilience in Latino Immigrant Families," in Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco and Mariela M. Páez, eds. 274-288.

The Fall of Fujimori. Dir. Ellen Marks. P.O.V., 2004.

The Fire This Time. Dir. Randy Holland. Rhino, 1994.

Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: An Archeology of Human Sciences*. New York: Vintage, 1973.
---------- *The History of Sexuality.* Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Pantheon, 1978.

Frank, Andre Gunder. *ReOrient: Global Economy in the Asian Age.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1998.

Freeman, Carla. *High Tech and High Heels in the Global Economy: Women, Work, and Pink-Collar Identities in the Caribbean*. Durham: Duke UP, 2000.

Fregoso, Rosa Linda. *MeXicana Encounters: The Making of Social Identities on the Borderlands*. Berkeley: U of California P, 2003.

Friedman, Thomas L. *The World is Flat: A Brief History of the Twenty-First Century.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005.

Fujitani, Takashi, Geoffrey White and Lisa Yoneyama, eds. *Perilous Memories: The Asia Pacific War(s).* Durham: Duke UP, 2001.
----------Geoffrey White, and Lisa Yoneyama. Introduction, in Fujitani, White and Yoneyama, eds. 1-32.

---------- "*Go For Broke,* the Movie: Japanese American Soldiers in U.S. National, Military, and Racial Discourses," in Fujitani, Geoffrey White and Lisa Yoneyama, eds. 239-266.

Fukuyama, Francis. *The End of History and the Last Man.* New York: The Free Press, 1992.

García Canclini, Néstor. *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*. Trans. Christopher Chiappari and Silvia López. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1995.
---------- *Consumers and Citizens: Globalization and Multicultural Conflicts.* Trans. George Yúdice. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2001.

Gardiner, C. Harvey. *Pawns in a Triangle of Hate: The Peruvian Japanese and the United States*. Seattle: U of Washington P, 1981.

Goldberg, David Theo. *The Racial State.* Malden, Mass: Blackwell P, 2002.
----------*Multiculturalism: A Critical Reader.* Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 1994.

Golden, Arthur. *Memoirs of a Geisha.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1997.
----------Interview. <http://www.randomhouse.com/vintage/golden.html> Accessed 2 May 2006.

Gooding-William, Robert, ed. *Reading Rodney King, Reading Urban Uprising*. New York: Routledge, 1993.

Gordon, Avery. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1997.
----------"Work of Corporate Culture: Diversity Management." *Social Text* 13.3(1995) :3-30.
----------and Christopher Newfield, eds. *Mapping Multiculturalism.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1996.

Goswami, Manu. *Producing India: From Colonial Economy to National Space.* Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2004.

Gotanda, Neil. "Re-Producing the Model Minority Stereotype: Judge Joyce Karlin's Sentencing Colloquy in *People Vs. Soon Ja Du.*" *ReViewing Asian America: Locating Diversity*. Eds. Wendy Ng and Gary Okihiro. Pullman: U of Washington P, 1995.

Greene, Graham. *The Quiet American.* New York: Penguin Books, 1973.

Grewal, Inderpal. *Transnational America: Feminisms, Diasporas, Neoliberalisms.* Durham: Duke UP, 2005.

Gruesz, Kirsten Silva. "The Occluded History of Transamerican Literature," in Juan Poblete, ed. 121-137.

Gutiérrez-Jones, Carl. *Rethinking the Borderlands: Between Chicano Culture and Legal Discourse*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1995.

Hagan, Jacqueline and Nestor Rodriguez. "Resurrecting Exclusion: The Effects of 1996 U.S. Immigration Reform on Communities and Families in Texas, El Salvador, and Mexico," in Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco and Mariela M. Páez eds.. 190-201.

Hall, Stuart. "Gramsci's Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 10 (Summer 1986): 5-27.

Harrison, Charles H. *Growing a Global Village: Making History at Seabrook Farms*. New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 2003.

Hartman, Saidiya. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America.* New York: Oxford UP, 1997.

Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005.
---------- *The New Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005.
----------*The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry Into The Origins Of Cultural Change*. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1990.

Higashide, Seiichi. *Adiós to Tears: The Memoirs of a Japanese-Peruvian Internee in U.S. Concentration Camps.* Seattle: U of Washington P, 1993.

Hirabayashi, Lane Ryo, Akemi Kikumura-Yano, and James Hirabayashi, eds. *New Worlds, New Lives: Globalization and People of Japanese Descent in the Americas and from Latin America in Japan.* Stanford: Stanford UP, 2003.
----------"The Impact of Contemporary Globalization on Nikkei Identities," in Hirabayashi, Kikumura and Hirabayashi, eds. 19-28.

Hirahara, Naomi. *Gasa-Gasa Girl.* New York: Delta Trade Paperbacks, 2005.

The Hong Kong and Shanghai Hotels, Ltd. *The Peninsula Hotels.* 30, July 2006 <http://www.peninsula.com/index.html>.

Hua, Julietta. "'Gucci Geishas' and the Postfeminist Mission: Situating Postfeminism and the Emergence of a Postfeminist Subject." M.A. Thesis, Department of Ethnic Studies, University of California, San Diego, 2003.

Hunt, Darnell M. *Screening The Los Angeles "Riots": Race, Seeing, and Resistance.* Cambridge, Mass: Cambridge UP, 1997.

Jameson, Fredric. *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham: Duke UP, 1991.
----------and Masao Miyoshi, eds. *The Cultures of Globalization.* Durham: Duke UP, 1998.

Japanese Story. Dir. Sue Brooks. Samuel Goldwyn Films, 2003.

Johnson, Chalmers. *Blowback: The Costs and Consequences of American Empire.* New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000.
----------, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic*. New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004.

Kang, Liu. "Is There an Alternative to (Capitalist) Globalization? The Debate about Modernity in China," in Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi, eds. 164-188.

Kaplan, Amy. *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 2002.
---------- "Manifest Domesticity." *American Literature* 70.3 (September 1998): 581-606.

Kaup, Monika and Debra J. Rosenthal. Introduction. *Mixing Race, Mixing Culture: Inter-American Literary Dialogues.* Eds. Kaup and Rosenthal. Austin: U of Texas P, 2002. xi-xxix.

Kim, Claire. *Bitter Fruit: The Politics of Black-Korean Conflict in New York City*. New Haven: Yale UP, 2000.
---------- "Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans." *Politics and Society* 27.1 (1999):105-38.

Kim, Elaine. "Home is Where the Han is," in Robert Willam-Gooding, ed. 215-235.
---------- "Korean Americans in U.S. Race Relations: Some Considerations." *Amerasia* 23.2 (1997): 69-87.

Kim, Min-Jung. "Moments of Danger in the (Dis)Continuous Relation of Korean Nationalism and Korean American Nationalism." *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 5.2 (Fall 1997): 357-390.

Klein, Christina. *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945 1961*. Berkeley: U of California P, 2003.

Kolodny, Annette. *The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630-1860.* Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1984.

Koshy, Susan. *Sexual Naturalization: Asian Americans and Miscegenation.* Stanford: Stanford UP, 2004.

The Last Samurai. Dir. Edward Zwick. Warner Brothers, 2003.

Lechner, Frank J. and John Boli, eds. *The Globalization Reader.* 2nd ed. U.S.: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.

Lederer, William and Eugene Burdick. *The Ugly American.* New York: Crest Books, 1958.

Lee, A. Robert. *Multicultural American Literature: Comparative Black, Native, Latino/a and Asian American Fictions.* Oxford, Miss: U of Mississippi P, 2003.

Lee, James Kyung-Jin. *Urban Triage: Race and the Fictions of Multiculturalism*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2004.

Lee, Rachel C. *The Americas of Asian American Literature: Gendered Fictions of Nation and Transnation.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1999.

The Legend of Zorro. Dir. Martin Campbell. Sony Pictures, 2005.

"Live From China." *Marketplace*. National Public Radio and American Public Media. <http://marketplace.publicradio.org/features/china2006/> 2006 Jan. 9-20.

Lohr, Steve. "On Lake Michigan, a Global Village." 2 July 2006, late ed. sec.3.1.

Lopez, David E., Eric Popkin and Edward Telles, "Central Americans: At the Bottom, Struggling to Get Out." *Ethnic Los Angeles*. Eds. Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. Russell Sage Foundation: New York, 1996. 279-305.

López, Ian F. Haney. *Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 2003.

Los Angeles Times. *Understanding the Riots: Los Angeles Before And After The Rodney King Case*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles Times, 1992.

Lost In Translation. Dir. Sofia Coppola. Focus, 2003.

Lowe, Lisa. *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics*. Durham: Duke UP, 1996.
----------"The Intimacies of Four Continents," in Laura Stoler, ed. 191-212.
----------"Immigrant Literatures: A Modern Structure of Feeling," *Literatures on the Move: Comparing Diasporic Ethnicities in Europe and the Americas*. Eds. Dominique Marcais, Mark Neimeyer, Bernard Vincent, and Cathy Waegner. Universitatsverlag: Heidelberg, 2004.
----------and David Lloyd. *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital.* Durham: Duke UP, 1997.
----------and David Lloyd. Introduction, in Lowe and Lloyd, eds.1-32

Lusane, Clarence. *Race in the Global Era: African Americans at the Millennium.* Boston: South End P, 1997.

Marchetti, Gina. *Romance and the "Yellow Peril": Race, Sex, and Discursive Strategies in Hollywood Fiction.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1993.

Marketplace. National Public Radio and American Public Media. 15 June 2006.

Martínez, Elizabeth. "Beyond Black/White: The Racism of Our Time," in Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, eds. 466-477.

Masiello, Francine. *The Art of Transition: Latin American Culture and Neoliberal Crisis.* Durham: Duke UP, 2001.

The Mask of Zorro. Dir. Martin Campbell. Sony Pictures, 1998.

Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the American Underclass.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1993.

Matsumoto, Valerie J. *Farming the Home Place: Japanese American Community in California, 1919-1982.* Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993.

Mbembe, Achille. *On the Postcolony*. Berkeley: U of California P, 2001.

McAlister, Melanie. *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000.* Berkeley: U of California P, 2001.

McCulley, Johnston. *The Mark of Zorro.* New York: Penguin, 2005.

Memoirs of a Geisha. Dir. Rob Campbell. Sony, 2005.

Mera, Carolina. *La Inmigración Coreana en Buenos Aires: Multiculturalismo en el Espacio Urbano.* Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1998.

Mezrich, Ben. *Ugly American: The True Story of the Ivy League Cowboys who Raided the Asian Markets for Millions.* New York: William Morrow, 2004.

Mignolo, Walter. "Globalization, Civilization Processes, and the Relocation of Languages and Cultures," in Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi, eds. 32-53.

Moniz, Naomi Hoki. "Race, Gender, Ethnicity and the Narrative of National Identity in the Films of Tizuka Yamazaki," in Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, Akemi Kikumura and James A. Hirabayashi, eds. 221-236.

Moran, Rachel. "The Latino Challenge to Civil Rights and Immigration Policy in the 1990's and Beyond," in Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, eds. 133-142.

Moreiras, Alberto. *The Exhaustion of Difference: The Politics of Latin American Cultural Studies.* Durham: Duke UP, 2001.
---------- "Global Fragments: A Second Latinamericanism," in Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi, eds. 81-102.

Mori, Edson. "The Japanese-Brazilian *Desakegi* Phenomenon: An Economic Perspective," in Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, Akemi Kikumura and James A. Hirabayashi, eds.237-248.

Morsberger, Robert and Katherine Morsberger. Introduction. *The Mark of Zorro*. New York: Penguin, 2005.

Nashel, Jonathan. "The Road to Vietnam: Modernization Theory in Fact and Fiction." *Cold War Constructions: The Political Culture of United States*

Imperialism, 1945-1966. Ed. Christian G. Appy. Amherst, Mass: The U of Massachusetts P, 2000: 132-155.

Oh, Angela. "Rebuilding Los Angeles: One Year Later or 'Why I did Not Join the RLA'" *Amerasia Journal* 19 (1993): 157-160.

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960's to the 1990's.* 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Oliver, Melvin, James H. Johnson Jr., and Walter C. Farrell, Jr. "Anatomy of a Rebellion: A Political-Economic Analysis," in Robert Gooding-William, ed. 117-141.

Ong, Aihwa. *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality.* Durham: Duke UP, 1999.

Ong, Paul and Suzanne Hee. *Losses in the Los Angeles civil unrest, April 29-May 1, 1992*. Los Angeles: Center for Pacific Rim Studies, U of California, Los Angeles, 1993.

----------, Edna Bonacich, and Lucie Cheng, eds. *The New Asian Immigration in Los Angeles and Global Restructuring.* Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1994.

----------Edna Bonacich, and Lucie Cheng. "The Political Economy of Capitalist Restructuring and the New Asian Immigration." Introduction, in. Ong, Bonacich, and Cheng, eds. 3-35.

----------and John M. Liu. "U.S. Immigration Policies and Asian Migration," in Ong, Edna Bonacich, and Lucie Cheng, eds. 45-73.

Ono, Kent and John Sloop. *Shifting Borders: Rhetoric, Immigration and California's Proposition 187*. Philadelphia: Temple UP, 2002.

Palumbo-Liu, David. *Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier.* Stanford: Stanford UP, 1999.

Park, Kyeyoung. "'I am Floating in the Air': Creation of a Korean Transnational space among Korean-Latino American Remigrants." *Positions* 7:3 (1999): 667-695.

----------"'10,000 Senora Lees': The Changing Gender Ideology of Korean Latina-American Women in the Diaspora." *Amerasia Journal.* 28.2 (2002):161-180.

Poblete, Juan, ed. *Critical Latin American and Latino Studies.* Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2003.

Portraits of Peninsula by the Peninsula Hotels. Advertisement. *The New Yorker.* May 2006.

Prashad, Vijay. *Everybody was Kung Fu Fighting: Afro-Asian Connections and the Myth of Cultural Purity*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2001.

Public Policy Institute of California. "California Counts." 5.2. (November 2003)

Pyong, Gap Min. *Caught in the Middle: Korean Merchants in America's Multiethnic Cities*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1996.

Quintana, Alvin. "Performing Tricksters: Karen Tei Yamashita and Guillermo Gómez-Pena." *Amerasia Journal.* 28.2 (2002): 217-226.

Rafael, Vincente. "The Cultures of Area Studies in the United States." *Social Text* 41 (Winter 1994): 91-112.

Real, Patricio del. "Nuestra América": Territory and Place." *Radical History Review* 89 (Spring 2004): 199-205.

Rosaldo, Renato. "Surveying Law and Borders," in Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, eds. 631-638.

Rosello, Mireille. *Postcolonial Hospitality: The Immigrant as Guest.* Stanford: Stanford UP, 2001.

Sa-I-Gu. Dir. Dai-Sil Kim-Gibson. P.O.V, 1993.

Saldaña-Portillo, Maria Josefina. *The Revolutionary Imagination in the Americas and theAge of Development.* Durham: Duke UP, 2003.

Sánchez, Rosaura. *Telling Identities: The Californio Testimonios*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1995.
----------*Chicano Discourse: Socio-historic Perspective.* Rowley, Mass: Newbury House Publishers, 1983.

Sangari, Kumkum. "The Politics of the Possible." *Theory of the Novel: A Historical Approach.* Ed. Michael McKeon. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins P, 2000. 900 922.

Sassen, Saskia. *Globalization and its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money.* New York: New Press, 1998.

---------- *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo.* Princeton, N.J: Princeton UP, 2001.
----------"Governance Hotspots: Challenges We Must Confront in the Post-September 11 World," in Craig Calhoun, Paul Price, and Ashley Timmer, eds. 106-120, 394-398.

Sawada, Mitziko. *Tokyo Life, New York Dreams: Urban Japanese Visions of America, 1890-1924***.** Berkeley: U of California P, 1996.

Simpson, Caroline Chung. *An Absent Presence: Japanese Americans in Postwar American Culture, 1945-1960.* Durham: Duke UP, 2001.

da Silva, Denise Ferreira. **"'**Bahia Pêlo Negro': Can the Subaltern (Subject of Raciality) Speak?" *Ethnicities*. 5.3 (2005): 321-342.

Sklair, Leslie. *Globalization: Capitalism and its Alternatives.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002.

Slotkin, Richard. *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth Century America.* Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1998.

Smith, Ana Devere. *Twilight--Los Angeles, 1992.* New York: Anchor Books, 1994.

Sommer, Doris. *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America.* Berkeley: U of California P, 1993.

Stam, Robert and Ella Shohat. "Contested Histories: Eurocentrism, Multiculturalism, and the Media," in David Theo Goldberg, ed. 296-324.

Stolberg, Sheryl Gay. "White House Memo: Bush's Farewell to Koizumi is Also a Reward." 29 June 2006, final ed: A6

Stoler, Ann Laura. *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things*. Durham: Duke UP, 1995.
----------ed. *Haunted By Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*. Durham: Duke UP, 2006.
---------- "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post)Colonial Studies," in Stoler, ed. 23-70.

Stratka, Mike. "Taylor Hick's Wins 'American Idol.'" <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,196893,00.html?sPage=fnc.foxlife/americanidol> Accessed August 2, 2006.

Streeby, Shelley. *American Sensation: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture*. Berkeley: U of California P, 2002.

Sturken, Marita. "Memorializing Absence," in Craig Calhoun, Paul Price, and Ashley Timmer, eds. 372-384, 430-432.

Suárez-Orozco, Marcelo M., and Mariela M. Páez, eds. *Latinos Remaking America.* Berkeley: U of California P, 2002.

Takagi, Ronald. *Double Victory: A Multicultural History of America in World War II.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 2000.

Taylor, Peter J. *Modernities: A Geohistorical Interpretation*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1999.

Tobar, Héctor. *The Tattooed Soldier.* Harrison, NY: Delphinium Books, 1998.

Tucker, Robert C., ed. *The Marx-Engels Reader*. New York: Norton, 1972.

UNICEF. Advertisement. *Time Magazine*. 26 June 2006:60-61

Valle, Victor M. and Rodolfo D. Torres. *Latino Metropolis*. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2000.

Vargas, João Helion Costa. "Blacks in the City of Angels' Dust." Diss. U of California, San Diego, 1999.

Verinakis, Theofanis. "Unexceptional Moments: Japanese Internment, Arab and Muslim Detainment, and the State of Exception." M.A. Thesis, Department of Ethnic Studies, U of California, San Diego, 2004.

Waters, Malcolm. *Globalization.* 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2001.

Weglyn, Michi. *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camp.* New York: Morrow, 1976.

White, Geoffrey. "Moving History: The Pearl Harbor Film(s)," in Takashi Fujitani, White and Lisa Yoneyama, eds. 267-295.

Williams, Raymond. *Key Words: Vocabulary of Culture and Society,* Oxford: Oxford U P, 1976.
---------- *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford: Oxford UP, 1977.

Worland, Rick and Edward Countryman. "The New Western American Historiography and the Emergence of the New American Westerns." *Back in the Saddle Again:New Essays on the Western*. Ed. Buscome and Pearson. London: British Film Institute, 1998. 172-181.

Yamamoto, Hisaye. *Seventeen Syllables and Other Stories.* New York: Kitchen Table Women of Color P, 1988.

Yamashita, Karen Tei. *Through the Arc of the Rainforest*. Minneapolis: Coffee House P, 1990.

Yoneyama, Lisa. *Hiroshima Traces: Time, Space and the Dialectics of Memory* Berkeley: U of California P, 1999.

---------- "Habits of Knowing Cultural Differences: Chrysanthemum and the Sword in the U.S.Liberal Multiculturalism." *Topoi* 18.1 (March 1999): 71 80.

----------"For Transformative Knowledge and Postnationalist Public Spheres: The Smithsonian *Enola Gay* Controversy," in Takashi Fujitani, Geoffrey White and Yoneyama, eds. 323-346.

Young, Iris Marion. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1990.

Yu, Henry. *Thinking Orientals: Migration, Contact, and Exoticism in Modern America.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001.

Yúdice, George. "Rethinking Area and Ethnic Studies in the Context of Economic and Political Restructuring," in Juan Poblete, ed. 76-102.

---------- "Postmodernity and Transnational Capitalism in Latin America." *On Edge: The Crisis of Contemporary Latin American Culture.* Eds. George Yúdice, Juan Flores, and Jean Franco. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1992. 23-64.

Zilberg, Elena Jean. "From Riots to Rampart: A Spatial Cultural Politics of Salvadoran Migration to and From Los Angeles." Diss. U of Texas at Austin, 2002.