Racial Representations *in* Asia

Edited by

Yasuko Takezawa

Today, racism is becoming increasingly obscure and harder to identify and articulate. However, race as a social reality continues to play a central role in various aspects of our daily lives. What, then, generates and reinforces the reality of race, and in what ways? In order to explore these questions, this book examines racial representations from scientific and humanistic perspectives, taking into account both historical and contemporary views. This incisive anthology is the product of an interdisciplinary and international collaboration among scholars whose backgrounds vary from Japan to Korea, the Philippines, Germany, Israel/Iraq, Jamaica, and the United States. The discussion covers studies in history, literature, sociology, cultural anthropology, and genetics, while keeping the primary focus on racial representations in Asia. This volume elucidates issues and phenomena that have been neglected or marginalized in the Euro-American literature on racial representations, and by proffering analyses of representations of 'invisible' as well as 'visible' races in Asia, it serves to broaden our understanding of new forms of racism both in the theoretical and empirical realms.

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Takezawa

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Preface and Acknowledgements

This anthology is the outcome of both an international conference and a cooperative research project held at the Institute for Research in Humanities of Kyoto University. The conference was held on December 5 and 6, 2008, as the 12th Kyoto University International Symposium, 'Transforming Racial Images: Analyses of Representations.' Troy Duster and Ella Habiba Shohat gave keynote lectures at the event, and most of the remaining contributors to this volume either presented a paper or served as a commentator. The symposium was followed by a closed seminar on December 7. The conference was funded by Kyoto University and the Kyoto University Foundation.

Introduction

Yasuko Takezawa

'Race does not have a biological reality, but is a mere social construction.' This important statement, now widely accepted in natural science and social science of race studies, has helped to correct essentialist understandings of race both in lay and professional circles. However, critical issues still remain. The statement alone that race does not have a biological reality does little to help us understand the ways we experience or 'feel' race as 'real' in our everyday lives.

On the other hand, the idea of race as a social construct or a fiction is often utilized by the advocates of a color-blind society within which, they claim, we should no longer take race into consideration. Though there is no biological validity to race, one is still unable to ignore its social reality: race continues to play a central role in various aspects of our daily lives, including marriage, employment, education, housing, sports, music, and medicine. Why, then, do we continue to perceive this nonexistent something to be real? In other words, what generates and reinforces the reality of race, and in what ways? In order to explore these questions, this book examines racial representations from interdisciplinary perspectives.

Abundant literature already exists on racial representation in such fields as media studies and other studies of visual culture. Instead of restricting our scope to visual representations, however, this volume also examines non-visual and scientific representations. We do so through presenting a small number of key case studies primarily focusing on Japan and Asia, as most of them have so far rarely been studied from the perspective of racial representation. Such focus, I believe, will allow us to pay more attention to what will be described, in this volume, as 'invisible races' that can be more prominently found in East Asia, including burakumin and Koreans in Japan.

It is not our intention to propose a dichotomous comparative study with Asia on one side and Euro-America on the other. Rather, research on non-visual representations in the Asian context can illuminate 'invisible races' outside of Asia, such as the Jewish diaspora in Europe and light-skinned 'blacks' as defined by the 'one-drop rule' in the US. We are hoping to make it possible to launch a bidirectional and mutually complementary interpretation of racial representation across continental regions.

Invisible racism in the 'post-race' era

When we recollect the twentieth century with all its light and shade, we can agree that there has been significant progress in redressing racism in the century's latter half, as a result of the struggles of civil and human rights movements. Today, in most democratic societies, explicitly racist legal systems have almost been eradicated. We were supposed to have gained the most powerful weapon against racism through eliminating discriminatory laws and introducing anti-racist social policies. In the US, for instance, the advent of President Barack Obama and the rapid increase of so-called 'mixed-race' children are seen as evidence of a new era, i.e., one which is 'post-race.' Nevertheless, racism does not operate in the legal arena alone, and it often disguises itself, making it difficult for us to pinpoint and loudly claim: 'this is racism.' In reality, we are still facing insidious forms of discrimination beyond the legal realm.

At the same time, social policies such as affirmative action and multiculturalism, introduced in various parts of the world by the end of the twentieth century, have increasingly enabled members of minority groups to attain middle class status and social advancement. This is exactly why we need to reexamine the issue now: Are we really beyond 'race' and heading towards a future of 'integration'?

In democratic nations, oppressed groups are gradually advancing in a number of different directions in society. Yet, in public spheres such as the workplace, the school, the university, or the neighborhood, they clearly remain minorities subject to restructured forms of marginalization. What we see in this context is a modified structure of racism, in which the interests of 'haves' are well protected, or enhanced even, while 'have-nots' remain disadvantaged. Even if not openly, those with minority backgrounds are excluded from various networking and decision-making domains that lead to the protection of gains of the privileged. In each sphere, the majority created discourses about minorities, and through these discourses, the economic or social consequences of the oppression and isolation of minorities are reduced to matters of 'personal responsibility.' To put it another way, certain discourses are generated and regenerated, not so much in conscious but rather unconscious manners, to exclude the other while favoring the self's pseudo-kin. Hence the hierarchy of 'haves' and 'have-nots' is maintained with the latter being further marginalized.

The problem is the absence of open violations of the principle of legal equality. As numbers count in a democratic society, 'democratic' decisions (as seen in the election) generally work in favor of the majority, while keeping the privileged unaware of the ways in which the social system reproduces racism and inequality.

Neoliberalism is another crucial factor that has been affecting contemporary forms of racism. At present, the world is still struggling to recover from a financial crisis with seemingly no end in sight. Capitalism, the winner of the battle for global dominance with the end of the Cold War, has spread neoliberalism on a global scale. Neoclassical economists once predicted that the free distribution of capital and labor beyond the nation-state would contribute to the decrease of economic disparities in wealth between nations. Such optimistic views, as we all know by now, have been betrayed. In the current situation that goes beyond the simple 'north/south' divide, or the split between developed and developing nations, the world is facing an ever-increasing gap in wealth *within* each nation.

In times of severe recession such as ours, what forms does racism take? The reduction of monthly income through wage cuts and loss of work creates a definitive gap in material prosperity, but this gap also depends on the presence or absence of family assets. This is because assets (housing, savings, stocks, furniture, cars, etc) can become cushions during times of economic depression. In fact, it is asset gaps rather than income gaps that have become a serious issue in the research on the economic differential between races (e.g. Shapiro and Oliver 1995; Conley 1999). According to the Federal Reserve Board's Survey of Consumer Finances for 2007, African American families in the United States have one tenth of the median net worth of that of non-Hispanic white families ($17,100 vs. $170,400) (Bucks et al. 2009). Wealth disparities between whites and people of color have been exacerbated by the subprime loan meltdown; the structural inequality and isolation served as a powerful cause of foreclosures and also of the enhanced effects among black and Latino borrowers, who showed a significantly higher ratio of receiving subprime loans than their white counterparts.[1] It is estimated that blacks will lose between $71 and $92 billion in wealth due to the subprime financial crisis. Latinos will lose between $75 and $98 billion (Muhammad 2008; Rugh and Massey 2010).

This is not merely an 'American problem.' In Japan, during the labor shortage of the 'bubble' years, immigration law was changed to add a special category to promote the immigration of large numbers of South Americans of Japanese ancestry. These laborers were the first to be fired once the economy turned sour, and many continue to lose their jobs along with their company-owned residences. The number of children attending Brazilian schools is also nose-diving due to their parents' unemployment. Such increases in the gap between dominant and minority groups during an economic downturn have also been reported in many other countries, including Sweden, Vietnam, and Malaysia.[2]

Stephen Castles, a leading scholar on international migration, claims that contemporary racism is closely connected with the process of globalization:

'Rejection and exploitation based on racism have merely changed their shape: they are just as widespread, chronic, and deep as they always have been' (Castles 2000: 18). Unlike racism, conventionally and narrowly defined by a focus on open segregation and exclusion, here is a multifaceted new form that poses a danger to national economies and social relations, culture and identity. As Castles warns us, this transformation of racism implies that anti-racism movements have not kept up with these changes and that they are now at risk of becoming irrelevant. Globalization can be thought of as a process that isolates the marginalized in the nation-state and reassembles them in new ways. Paradoxically then, the social advancement of members of minority groups who have so far occupied peripheral positions could hinder the formation of alliances in the fight against racism while promoting the segmentation and fragmentation of the marginalized.

Looking at these phenomena, we realize that racism has become more invisible and harder to identify and articulate. This is why we believe in the importance of examining racial representations from both science and the humanities, both historical and contemporary perspectives.

Overview

I examine, in Chapter One, the characteristics inherent to the idea of race, followed by outlining my own argument regarding the existence of three dimensions of race. Then, by paying attention to representations of 'invisible races' in Asia and 'invisible racism' on a global scale at the beginning of the twenty-first century, I attempt to identify different types and features of racial representations, such as visual, non-visual sensorial, scientific, and self representations for resistance.

Ella Shohat, from a cinema studies perspective, poses fundamental methodological questions regarding the study of stereotypes and representations. In particular, she problematizes a naïve faith in 'realism' as a reflection of 'truth' in the stereotype approach, which was challenged by poststructuralist theory. Alternatively, Shohat illuminates racialized representation in terms of 'effects of the real' and the negotiation of spectatorship, identity, and identification.

In her chapter, Kurokawa takes up the problem of representation with regard to the burakumin in Japan, by analyzing two films based on the same novel, *Hashi no nai kawa* (*The River with no Bridge*). With plentiful non-visual representations of impurity, poverty, smell, and crime, the film directed by Tadashi Imai has long been criticized and tabooed as a discriminatory work. From historical perspectives, Kurokawa revisits this debate by asking whether the introduction

of representational markers into films reinforces discrimination or rather conveys its reality to the audience.

Under Japanese colonial domination in Korea, the colonizers produced discourses distinguishing Koreans from Japanese despite their shared physical features. Lee's chapter traces the transformation of the racial representation in which non-visual representations, linguistic and cultural, in their daily lives are transferred to visible differences as if individual faces change according to shifting situations.

Caroline Hau offers a discourse analysis of Jose Angliongto's novel, *The Sultanate* in the post-Independence Philippines. Because of the centuries-old representations of Chinese as 'aliens' despite the significant presence of *mestizos* (mixed-blood), citizenship was regarded as a critical marker of one's loyalty and 'conversion.' And yet, the external invisibility of conversion fuels the obsessive search for the 'true meaning' of their acquisition of citizenship.

By focusing on young Asian American artists, Chapter Six offers a consideration of the phenomenon of 'post-race' and its vivid manifestation in the art world. What did these Asian American artists find in their resistance to both racist representations of mainstream society and 'Representation as Resistance' as a strategic essentialism deployed by the older generation? The chapter explores a new way of expressing resistance based on interviews with artists and curators.

Since a minstrel show was first performed in 1854 by the white crewmembers who accompanied Commodore M. Perry, blackface has served as a mode of popular entertainment in Japan. Defining blackface as a pandemic and a transnational phenomenon, John G. Russell investigates how blackface performance in Japan, whose roots can be traced to nineteenth-century America, has changed its appearance in various forms over the years, and yet has continued to serve to reinforce the racial hierarchies and the illusion that racial differences are 'real' and 'meaningful.'

In today's world, blackness is disseminated globally through popular culture. Based on his ethnographic studies of Jamaican popular culture in Japan, Marvin D. Sterling discusses the circulation of discourses of blackness in three key terms: the colonial modern, the postcolonial, and the global postmodern. Japan, a society that has had little personal engagement with black peoples, offers productive insights, argues Marvin, for analyses of representations of blackness in a broader global context.

Numerous scientific representations continue to emphasize differences between 'East Asians,' 'Europeans,' and 'Africans.' Nonetheless, recent developments in population genetic theory demonstrate genomic diversity in

the geographic region called 'Asia.' The chapter by Oota and Stoneking reveals the impact of cultural factors of maternal and paternal systems on the patterns of genetic diversity, based on their findings on the genetic distance between matrilocal and patrilocal groups.

This book concludes with Troy Duster's chapter, which elucidates the problems associated with the categorization of 'populations' in molecular genetic research from a sociological standpoint. Duster unpacks how the boundaries of 'populations' frequently taken for granted by geneticists have been in fact constructed on the basis of social, cultural, and political distinctions. His elaborate discussion suggests that there is much more to be done through collaborative works between social scientists and geneticists by integrating genes and environment, nature and nurture.

This anthology is the product of an interdisciplinary and international collaborative engagement among scholars whose backgrounds vary from Japan, to Korea, Singapore, Germany, Israel/Iraq, and the US. The discussion consists of studies in history, literature, sociology, cultural anthropology, and genetics, while the primary focus is on racial representations in Asia. It is hoped that this collection will shed light on some issues and phenomena that have been neglected or marginalized in the literature of racial representation, and serve to widen our perspective both in theoretical and empirical realms.

1
Toward a New Approach to Race and Racial Representations: Perspectives from Asia

Yasuko Takezawa

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, it has become increasingly difficult to identify the patterns of racism, a problem exacerbated by the popular delusion that we have entered a 'post-race' era. Such contemporary delusions thus make it even more important to re-examine race and racial representations. For this purpose, a new approach may be needed to understand the invisible nature of racism today, as mentioned in the Introduction. Analyses of racial representations of 'invisible races' found in Japan and Asia may provide crucial insights for the understanding of present-day racism.[1]

Such discriminatory structures are diverse and multi-layered, and race is not the only aspect of it, as it intersects with gender, class, and other stratifying social factors. Yet, why does race generate such strong discriminatory practices? A key to understanding this question seems to be the *naturalization* of these 'differences.' By rendering racial differences 'natural,' social inequality is transformed into part of the natural order presumably beyond the control of human beings and society. Representations that reduce differences to nature in this manner enhance representational strategies that *ensure the perpetuation of difference* to justify the hierarchical positioning of different groups.

In *Black Looks*, one of her classical studies of racial representation, bell hooks argues that stereotypical representations of African Americans demonstrate no serious change, despite their advancement in education and employment. She comments: 'Opening a magazine or book, turning on the television set, watching a film, or looking at photographs in public spaces, we are most likely to see images of black people that reinforce and reinscribe white supremacy' (hooks 1992: 1).

As hooks points out, stereotypical representations of race have been perpetuated and therefore, make it hard to create fundamental change. In this sense, research into racial stereotypes has played a key role in critically examining the durability of racial representations, and yet, it is not beyond critique. By treating stereotypes as something ahistorical, the study of stereotypes falls into the trap

of the same essentialism that it attempts to argue against. What is more, the kind of studies that attempt to identify the 'truth' and 'falsity' of certain stereotypes reveal their assumption of 'authenticity,' without asking who has the authority to claim such judgements (see Shohat's chapter in this volume).[2]

Instead of seeing stereotypes as reflecting prejudice, many researchers have begun focusing on more complex and dynamic processes of racial representations that actively generate and regenerate social reality. To borrow Stuart Hall's phrase, this is not a 'reflective,' but a 'constructivist approach' (Hall ed. 1997). It is in line with this train of thought that I present my thesis on racial representations that construct the social reality of race.

The characteristics of the idea of race and its three dimensions

First, let me briefly review my earlier argument on some intrinsic characteristics of the idea of race and its three dimensions (Takezawa 2005a; 2005b). In race studies, race is commonly defined as a group identified according to perceived physical differences. Although blood and lineage were the primary indicators in the old usage of the English term 'race,' and some previous research also includes descent in its definition (e.g. Rex 1986; Miles and Brown 2003), it would not be unfair to say that these theories are primarily constructed in terms of the relationships between American whites and 'blacks' defined by the 'one drop rule,' or between whites and Jews in Europe. When differences in (perceived) visible physical features such as skin color are the criteria for identifying race, minorities discriminated against on such basis (linked to modern Western scientific racism and the Euro-American experiences) are the only ones recognized as the victims of 'racial discrimination.' In other words, this definition of race fails to identify socially oppressed groups that are *not* perceived to be physically different from the mainstream group, and yet are treated as different kinds of species by the dominant majorities. There needs to be, therefore, a new understanding of race that actively takes into account the experience of regions other than Europe and the US. Reaching out for a more global understanding, I offer the following definition of the idea of race.

1. First, bodily characteristics (such as visible or invisible physical features, but also temperaments, and abilities) are believed to be transmitted from generation to generation and thus to be determined by descent. Thus they 'cannot be (easily) changed,' in common perception, by environment or external factors.

2. Second, a strong tendency of *exclusion* and aversion is associated with racial systems of classification, and a clear hierarchical order is

assumed between different groups, especially in the nineteenth century understanding of race.

3. Third, this exclusionary and hierarchical order manifests itself associated with the monopolization of political and economic resources and interests in institutional structures. Race thus cannot be simply reduced to prejudice or ethnocentrism, but rather results from an organized process of social differentiation and boundary making, often linked with conflicts of interest (Takezawa 2005a; 2005b).

In my previous work I also argued that race is neither universal nor is it solely the invention of modern Western colonialism. This challenges two major theoretical paradigms on the origin of race: the universalist theory and the modern Western theory. By using the cases of Japan and Asia, I argued that race can be found in both historical settings outside of Europe. For example, in the case of burakumin (or *eta*, a pejorative term commonly used in pre-modern times) abundant historical documents describe them as being of a 'different race' or of 'different racial origin' (*shu ga chigau* or *jinshu ga chigau*). Other examples can be found among the *paekjŏng* in Korea (Kim 2003),[3] and the Nosu in China and other parts of Asia and Oceania. In the literature, these groups have so far been analysed solely in terms of caste, class, or discrimination based on work and descent.[4]

As a way of offering an alternative interpretation, I argued that the idea of race is formed by three dimensions: 'race' (race with a small 'r'), 'Race (Race with a capital 'R'), and 'Race as Resistance' (RR). To briefly describe each dimension, 'race' (r) refers to cases when the concept has emerged indigenously, where differences between socially delineated groups are understood to be inherited and unalterable by the environment, where these groups are conceived as hierarchically ordered, and where group boundaries are associated with political and economic inequality. 'race' (r) as defined above exists in many local communities without necessarily any Western or modern influence.

'Race' (R) signifies a scientific concept, i.e., the belief that it is possible, using scientific methods, to classify and map human beings all over the world in terms of their racial ancestry. 'Race' (R) includes those categories constructed by Euro-Americans during the age of colonial expansion, and those reconfigured in some genetic studies today.

'Race as Resistance' (RR) is race as created and reinforced by minorities themselves as agents who mobilize racial identities within a repertoire of several other possible identities in order to fight against racism. This aspect of race thus results from a proactive resistance against hegemony and social domination. RR indicates the use of race as a discursive strategy to expose existing racial discrimination and to provide a common focus for identity politics.

Distinguishing between these three dimensions of race helps us to understand the idea in different forms across time and space, thus avoiding the binary discussion of whether race is universal or a modern Western product. It also elucidates the inseparable nature of these three dimensions of race, without falling into the 'color-blind' versus 'color-conscious' debate, yet another binary framework. Even if 'Race as Resistance' (RR) is seen as a threat to social integration by some, who instead seek a color-blind society, as long as racism is grounded in either 'race' (r) or 'Race' (R), these ideas will continue to exist.

Building on the above accounts of the idea of race, in the following, I will present my thesis on some dimensions of racial representations and their characteristics.

Visual representation

European modernity has prioritized vision above all other physical senses. Natural history, which began simultaneously with the dawn of modern science, granted vision a nearly exclusive privilege (Foucault 1970 (1966)). This system of 'knowledge' was created by the visual observation of objects and subsequent classification according to shape and size. In contrast to the privileging of vision, oral culture, passed down through sound and touch, was given a lower status. The development of printing technology to produce photographs and magazines in the nineteenth century was soon followed by film and television in the twentieth. Through these media, visual representation came to occupy the center of knowledge, thought, and sensitivity (Shohat and Stam 1994).

I argue that one of the most notable characteristics of visual representation is its accessibility in the public sphere by an infinite number of individuals. With the digital transformation of print media, this reproductive technology has been developing exponentially, as is seen in the case of Internet video 'streams,' shared simultaneously and iteratively on a global scale. The second most notable characteristic, though related to the first, is the immediacy of visual influence in contrast to non-visual representations, to be discussed below.

Finally, note the inseparable connection between the visual representations of race and its commodification under capitalism. The visual imprint of race serves at times to provide vivid decoration in advertisements, to play a comical role in movies, or to stimulate the senses of the viewer as in photographic images. In order for visual representation to operate according to market principles and produce profits, it needs to appeal to the aesthetic sensitivities and values of members of the dominant group, which eventually members of marginalized groups might internalize as well. Once the ruler/ruled structure is established,

as hooks has astutely argued, it becomes difficult to bring about change, and racial representations are structurally reproduced.

Non-visual representation

Non-visual representations are particularly relevant to heuristic analyses of discrimination against 'invisible races,' but they will also facilitate our understanding of racism in this 'post-race' era. People 'feel' and confirm racial differences through non-visual representations in their everyday life practices. Social discourses such as 'they stink,' '[they are] dirty,' 'dangerous,' and 'short tempered' are some of the typical scripts used for the confirmation of 'racial differences.'

Non-visual representations of invisible races have the following characteristics.[5] In contrast to the public nature of visual representations, they tend to circulate in whispers at the local level in our daily lives. Senses such as smell and touch cannot be reproduced and cannot be shared by people simultaneously and spontaneously on a mass scale. These non-visual representations penetrate deeply into the psyche, either on a conscious or unconscious level, and have been preserved for many centuries through to the present, passed down from generation to generation, from mouth to mouth. Moreover, in contrast to their visual counterparts, non-visual representations do not in general become the objects of commodification.

Our focus here lies on non-visual representations that appeal to the bodily senses other than vision. In the case of 'invisible races,' appealing to senses other than vision is necessary for the continuous confirmation of the racial differences of the other. Precisely because the differences are invisible, for members of the majority the perception of difference entails feelings, as if those differences were inscribed into their physical sensibilities.

We can identify two types of non-visual representations of race. The first form refers to cases where perceived 'racial differences' are recognized through non-visual cognitive senses, auditory, olfactory, or tactile. Discourses, for example, include: 'their voices are rough,' 'they make strange noises when they eat.' In terms of olfactory senses, the construction of a discourse of otherness revolves around body odor or 'stench' (including that caused by cultural factors such as food). Tactile senses can be expressed as 'silky skin' and other variations that often carry sexual implications. These are not, however, mere reactions to the simple cognitive stimulations of sound, smell, and touch. They are constructed responses triggered precisely on the premise of the idea of race. In other words, it refers to a process whereby one opens, so to speak, a compartment inside the

brain that is labeled with a particular 'race.' Any new perceived information is usually categorized in one of the existing compartments (otherwise, fear and uneasiness ensues when categorization is not possible), and once the information is acknowledged and reconfirmed it is added to the collection of each compartment. A similar series of movements can be found in the cognitive processes based on vision.

The second type refers to cases where 'racial differences' are recognized through 'feeling' inscribed into the bodies of the individuals of the majority. There are several discernable patterns in this second type.

1. Imaginary external differences
2. Imaginary internal differences
3. Imaginary dehumanized or half-human differences

Examples of Pattern 1 include the discourse on facial 'differences' between Japanese and Koreans (see Lee's chapter in this volume) and the commonly held belief in North and South America about the shape of the sexual organs of Asian women. Pattern 2 refers to ideas such as the 'contaminated blood' of the burakumin. Pattern 3 also involves the discourse concerning the hands of the burakumin, which are said to 'turn into snakes at night,' depicted in Imai Tadashi's film, *River with No Bridge* (*Hashi no nai Kawa*, see Kurokawa's chapter in this volume). Similar discourses can be found not only in Asia, but also in Europe. Racist discourses on Jewish people have long circulated, for example: 'men have menstruation as well' (Pattern 2) or that 'they have tails' (Pattern 3).

These imaginary differences sometimes evoke 'dreadful,' 'eerie' feelings, or sexual desire; in other words, they cause embodied *sensual reactions*, engraved and fixed in the memories of the majority. The very invisibility of the 'invisible races' continues to reinforce and reproduce the discourse on racial differences.

However, the first and second type outlined above are not entirely distinct. The first type could potentially reinforce the reality of race by interacting, inside the brain, with the discourses on imaginary differences entailed in the second type. When only a limited number of people, as in the case of discourses related to sexuality, confirm the first type through their everyday practices and recreate such representations in social contexts (and anything that does not conform to those stereotypes is simply ignored or forgotten), representations of the second type are circulated more widely. For the very reason of the invisibility and social taboos surrounding discourses involving bodily intimacy, these representations of 'racial difference' in the narratives gain even stronger social reality.

Visual and non-visual representations are not mutually exclusive. In fact, the cognitive recognition of 'racial differences' using senses other than vision

can evoke memories of visual representations, resulting in an enhanced reality. Conversely, memories of non-visual representations can be spurred into recognition by their visual counterparts. In the interaction between these two different types of representation, a dialectical development is possible. For instance, criticisms aimed at the film *River with No Bridge* as discussed in Kurokawa's chapter can be explained as an emotional reaction caused by the clash between the non-visual representation, supposedly kept within the private sphere, and the visual, which circulates infinitely in the public sphere. It is this intersection that constituted the taboo.

A limited literature on blacks in the US has shed light on sensory stereotypes and their function in justifications of slavery and segregation. For example, Mark Smith discusses how white southerners used their senses to construct race and act from feeling rather than thought (Smith 2006). It would be of great interest to explore the similarities and differences between non-visual representations of 'invisible races' in Asia and those of 'mixed-blood,' individuals in the US, whose physical markers of difference have become invisible as well.

Scientific representations

In order to understand the social reality of race, it is not enough to analyze racial representations within the field of the humanities. As long as we deal with naturalized racial differences, scientific representations deserve to be examined as well. Now, with the deciphering of the human genome and the development of SNP (Single Nucleotide Polymorphism) identification techniques, some scientific discourses show signs of recidivism to old ways of conceiving race as a biological concept.In place of skin color and skull shape, genes are now sometimes utilized to prove that race is a 'real' biological category.[6]

Medicine is another vital arena in which race raises a set of critical questions. There has been increasing interest in the connection between race and medicine, especially with regard to morbidity and the effectiveness of medication. In June 2006, the US Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approved the use of BiDil, a drug designed for African Americans with congestive heart failure, as the first 'drug targeted exclusively at a specific racial group.' The approval, however, created a huge controversy because of its trial procedure. Critics said that the number of the samples in the initial phases (I and II) was too small to validate the selection of only African Americans for the clinical trial at Phase III.[7] While I shall omit a detailed account of the controversy over BiDil, I would like to draw attention to the different ulterior motives for the creation of drug from several standpoints, and yet with the same unintended consequence, that is, restoring

the scientific discourse of African Americans as if it was a biological category: the FDA approved BiDil as a form of compensation for the past privileging of white men as the norm in medical treatment; black community leaders welcomed the drug in the hope of saving thousands of African Americans; and the pharmaceutical company anticipated massive profits to be gained through targeting a specific racial group.

In the debates over the differences in morbidity and the effectiveness of medication among groups, what should be paid more attention to is the significant disparities among self-identified racial groups in terms of access to medical care, and the treatment of different groups by healthcare professionals. When *Unequal Treatment* revealed an astonishing level of racial disparities in medical care in the US, it stunned members of the medical community and researchers on race alike (Institute of Medicine of the National Academies 2002).

While a thorny problem remains with regard to categorization and labeling in fields such as genetics, we shall limit ourselves referring to the study by Serre and Pääbo (2004). According to them, an analysis based on samples gathered from geographically distant *populations* shows what appears to be a clear division between Africans and non-Africans. However, samples gathered on an *individual* basis according to the geographical distribution of the global population did not demonstrate such divisions, as all individuals indicated a mixture of two or more groups. This study clearly demonstrates how population-based scientific representations are not free from social and cultural constructions.

It is noteworthy that the International HapMap Project points out the risk of leading to group stigmatization and discrimination when overly broad labels induce the equation of geography with race:

> ... [D]escribing the populations in terms that are too broad could result in inappropriate over-generalization. This could erroneously lead those who interpret HapMap data to equate geography (the basis on which populations were defined for the HapMap) with race (an imprecise and mostly socially constructed category). This, in turn, could reinforce social and historical stereotypes, and lead to group stigmatization and discrimination in places where members of the named populations or of closely related populations are minorities.[8]

In fact, the International HapMap Project revised their description for their group samples from continental labels at its initial stage to abbreviated initials to more accurately describe their samples, referring, for example, to the Yoruba in Ibadan as 'YRI,' and Japanese in Tokyo as 'JPT.' This shows an increasing awareness among some scientists of inappropriate over-generalization with labels that may be equated with race.

Many scientists claim that biases tend to get in the way when 'scientific truth' shifts to 'social interpretation.' In fact, there are too many examples of misunderstanding, distortion, and political manipulation of scientific discoveries to mention. Yet, it should not be underestimated that scientists themselves are bound by social and cultural restraints in terms of setting problems, selecting categorization and sampling methods, and interpreting results. When it comes to creating and sharing knowledge, the compartmentalization of society and science does not stand up to scrutiny.

Quoting Epstein's illuminating book, *Inclusion* (2007), Troy Duster (Chapter Ten in this volume) raises a very important question: *'for whom, why, and for what purpose* [do] we set up scientific problems.' Why do we look at certain aspects of specific populations? Why do we not look at other populations? Why do we not research other aspects? These are the questions, he insists, that we should be asking ourselves. In other words, our focus on particular populations will inevitably lead to the identification of some sort of markers of differences, which will then produce scientific representations of differences between populations. Society does not blindly accept scientific discourse and research results. Despite their apparent or self-claimed neutrality, scientists are also, in fact, bound by politics and social values. We need to recognize that their knowledge is co-produced by both natural science and society, as stressed by Jasanoff (2004).

Representation as resistance

New challenges at the edges of multiculturalism

Since the latter half of the twentieth century, a number of nation-states have adopted official multiculturalism or affirmative action to redress institutional racism and overcome the underrepresentation of minorities, especially in education and employment. The implementation of such policies has basically depended on existing racial and ethnic categories. Community-based organizations have also, in general, pursued identity politics by strategically essentializing established racial and ethnic categories. Admittedly, society today has inherited the negative legacy of past racism, and these movements have emerged in reaction to conventional forms of racism. Thus, it cannot be denied that this form of resistance itself has reinforced the significance of 'Race as Resistance' (RR), while amplifying the social reality of race.

In societies that introduced official multiculturalism such as Australia, Canada, the US, and the UK, as well as in countries where multiculturalism has been promoted, today there is a feeling that multiculturalism as a social

ideal has passed its zenith. Once expected to be a promising means of recognizing differences and identities as well as redressing discrimination, multiculturalism had come under strong fire by the turn of the century. Despite the active intellectual debate about the possibility of alternative forms, from 'critical' multiculturalism to 'civic' multiculturalism, an increasing number of scholarly texts and articles suggest its decline, evident in titles such as *The Retreat of Multiculturalism, The End of Multiculturalism*, or *The Death of Multiculturalism, After Multiculturalism* (e.g. Alibhai-Brown 2000; Kundani 2002; Darder and Torres 2004; Joppke 2004; Welsh 2008).

While an examination of the innumerable debates on multiculturalism and its criticism is beyond the scope of this chapter, it may be worthwhile to review two aspects of this discourse, most importantly the criticism that multiculturalism plays a part in the reproduction of racism. The first is the idea that multiculturalism not only constructs discourses that treat 'culture' on which identity politics is based as fixed and homogenous, but also falls into a self-contradictory loop or trap which erases diversity and reproduces relationships of inequality *within* a group. The second point of criticism is the ways in which it conceals structural and fundamental racism without going beyond tokenistic homages to 'culture' under the disguise of liberalism. Kundani, for example, argues that although multiculturalism was supposed to eliminate structural racism, it has in fact degenerated into a superficial glorification of 'black culture,' thus betraying its original goals (Kundani 2002: 19).

The effects of multiculturalism are also called into question. For example, electoral redistricting has created enormous controversy in American politics. Even when politicians from minority backgrounds are elected with the expectation of promoting a 'politics of difference,' their position as the representatives of a particular 'minority group' does not automatically guarantee that they effectively represent the interests of their constituencies. Not infrequently, 'the actual link between the black community and them [blacks who are fielded through existing power structures] to be just the color of their skin' (Canon 1999).

Moreover, some point out that ways to approach the issue of resistance also need to be problematized. Representations of resistance to racism have often adopted the methodology of inverting the roles and values traditionally assigned to the powerful/powerless. However, inverting and overturning ultimately remains confined within the same old paradigms (Denzin 2002). While it was found to be initially effective as a short-term measure, it has never brought about fundamental change.

This complexity also resonates with the problem of the 'burden of representation,' whereby individuals who would normally have multiple identities are expected to raise their voices as members of oppressed groups.

Recently some parts of Europe and North America have shifted toward 'post-identity' or 'post-race,' particularly among the younger generation. This phenomenon takes a similar line to what Hollinger called 'post-ethnic' more than a decade ago (Hollinger 1995). In this phenomenon, we can see the resistance of the younger generation who are supposed to belong to 'minority groups,' against the burden of representation and movements based on strategic essentialism put forward by the 'older generation.' Yet, as gender studies have explored, the dissolution of categories and the emphasis on pluralism often ends up reducing everything to the individual level, weakening the empowerment practiced and achieved by those who have fought under the banner of collective identity. Thus, if we look at the resistance movements of the late twentieth century and their emphasis on strategies based on identity politics, we will understand the necessity of creating new strategies for representations of resistance, even though some of the old ones remain relevant.

Divided by neoliberalism

The global economy now shaped by neoliberalism has divided members of minority groups within nation-states, while reincorporating them into transnational economic activities in different ways, depending upon their positions in the global economy. When the overwhelming force of neoliberalism is coupled with the decline of multiculturalism, new forms of racial exclusion emerge, including on a global stage.[9] These developments affect members of minority groups in different ways, depending on their positions on the global economy. The following explores some of these differences.

1. People who exercise agency in the global economy:
   Even though socially and politically marginalized in their countries, some members of the global elite (e.g. professionals or traders of Chinese or Indian descent outside the homeland) play an important role in the neoliberal global economy by using their diaspora community networks. In this case, they may potentially participate in exploitative practices.

2. People who succeed in multiculturalism as middlepersons but remain marginalized at the global level:
   Though considered to be intermediately successful within the nation-state framework, this group of actors can still be exploited by neo-liberalism. As long as the global market is governed by power structures rooted in white supremacy, these people are hardly free from racism.

3. People who continue to be exploited by neoliberalism alongside their positions at the bottom in the nation-state order:
   Those who are left behind in marginalized or oppressed positions within the nation-state are the first to face the repercussions of neoliberalism.

However, unlike previous forms of racism and exploitation that were nationally or locally bounded, it has now become increasingly difficult for these people to have face to face relations with their exploiters and oppressors in everyday life, and therefore more difficult to identify as to whom they should address their concerns. Furthermore, gaining or maintaining solidarity with other workers and people of the same class, a once prevalent form of solidarity for political activism is also no longer an easy task.

Now, in the beginning of the twenty-first century, even in societies presumably at the forefront with policies to remedy racism, the convergence of neoliberalism and the limits of nation-state-bounded multiculturalism create the conditions for the emergence of a new form of racism.

In search of pluralistic solidarity

In the late twentieth century, we have witnessed transnational or global solidarity as a strategy for resistance movements in their fight against racism. This can be described as one of the characteristics of contemporary resistance. NGOs (non-governmental organizations), and international institutions, have contributed to disseminate the concept of 'human rights' all over the world, even in socialist countries. These movements and organizations have sometimes successfully put international pressure on unwilling nation-states in enforcing policy changes. There are a number of cases in which transnational and global resistance movements bring about changes in the relationship between the rulers and the ruled, something not easily achievable at the nation-state level.

At the local level as well, various groups and community organizations have forged solidarity in their anti-racism struggles. Yet, young people of minority groups are increasingly critical of identity politics, choosing to distance themselves from community organizations. Under these divisions, it is becoming harder to build networks, let alone strengthen ties among different groups.

With the return of racism in new guises, our society faces extremely important questions; how do we identify a racism whose shape constantly changes? What measures are effective in resisting such a new form of racism? In particular, what alternative strategies can the younger generation employ when they confront racism? We cannot change racism with ideals only. To tackle the social reality of race, we need to reexamine racial representations that are engraved into our senses and memories through everyday life practices. By looking back on history and reconsidering the present, we hope to explore this important question within this book.

Note

for hypotheses about smog effects versus sub-zero winter effects). But if all the Chicago residents selected were African American, and all the Los Angeles residents were Asian American, and those SNP patterns showed up, some social scientists might begin to accept these findings as having some validity affirming biological or genetic racial differences.

When is difference just difference, and when is difference something that inexorably stratifies a population? The answer lies in immediate history, context and setting—in particular, whether there have been social meanings attributed to that differentiation. For example, in the hierarchy of cultures that was described in an earlier section of this paper, originating from a nomadic culture placed one lower in the totem pole than originating from a sedentary culture with agricultural surplus. In such a setting or context, when differences are discovered between nomads and sedentaries, a stratifying practice is almost inevitable. As a useful heuristic, I refer to Michels' *iron law of oligarchy* by way of analogy (1962). Michels argued that in organizations, there is an inevitable tendency for power to concentrate at the top, thus: 'who says organization says oligarchy.' With apologies to Michels: where there is differentiation between groups that are economically and politically stratified, the 'who says differentiation says stratification.' The authors of an often-cited piece in Genome Biology seem to acknowledge this when they say:

> Finally, we believe that identifying genetic differences between racial and ethnic groups, be they for random genetic markers, genes that lead to disease susceptibility or variation in drug response, is scientifically appropriate. What is not scientific is a value system attached to any such findings. Great abuse has occurred in the past with such notions as 'genetic superiority' of one particular group over another. The notion of superiority is not scientific, only political, and can only be used for political purposes. (Risch et al. 2002: 11)

As we have seen, however, this is to ignore that fact that so long as societies use ethnicity and race as stratifying practices, they cannot escape the 'iron law' of 'who says differentiation (along racial and ethnic categories) says stratification.'

Notes

Introduction

1. It is reported that among mortgage lenders who went bankrupt in 2007, there are clear racial disparities regarding the ratio between those who received a subprime and those who received a prime loan: 74 versus 26% for blacks, 63 versus 37% for Hispanics, and 46 versus 54% for whites (Avery, Brevoort, and Canner 2008: A125; Rugh and Massey 2010: 631).
2. There is no change in the gap between native-born Swedes and immigrants from Europe, but in the lower classes, it is reported that the gap is increasing between immigrants from Europe and immigrants from non-European countries (Hammarstedt and Shukur 2007). In Vietnam, despite the various policies to support minorities, the problem of poverty among minorities is acknowledged (Institute of Development Studies 2008). In Malaysia, there are affirmative action policies for the Malay people, who make up 60% of the population, but there are reports that claim it has created barriers and further widened economic gaps with the Chinese residents (e.g. Hodgson 2007).

Chapter One

1. Note that the expression 'invisible race' was first used by George DeVos and Hiroshi Wagatsuma in their *Japan's Invisible Race* (1966). However, there still remain many questions regarding the method and purpose of this research and its account.
2. In addition to this, note that it is not possible to discuss stereotypes by dividing them into the positive or negative binary oppositions. Group X are studious, group B are good at sports—even these stereotypes, which at first glance seem positive, are by necessity associated with other negative stereotypes. For example, the other side of 'studious' indicates 'success as the fruit of effort' and the negative stereotype of being 'genetically weak,' while 'being good at sports' is often paired with the stereotype of 'being unintelligent.' The praise given to one particular minority tends to be manipulated to set as an example to or shift blame on to other minorities

(the discourse that the problem arises not from racism, but from the group members' incompetency or lack of effort).

3. In South Korea, traditional *paekjŏng* communities have almost totally disappeared as a result of the Korean War (1950–53) and the nation's sharp economic growth in the 1970s and 80s. Although the markers of this 'invisible race' such as geographical location and occupation have disappeared, it does not mean that racism against and racial representations of *Paekjŏng* have disappeared as well. For example, the phrase, *ingan paekjŏng* (human *paekjŏng*), is still commonly used in daily conversations as well as in popular and traditional culture when referring in contempt to a callous murder or slaughter.

4. Discrimination against burakumin in Japan and Dalits in India has been recognized by the United Nations as a primary example of discrimination based on 'descent' and 'work and descent.' The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) has dealt with this type of discrimination since the latter half of the 1990s, and in 2000, held a thematic discussion on 'descent' as stipulated in Article 1 of the Convention, adopting the 'General Recommendation 29 on Descent.' Based on this, the UN proposed that each country must undertake the necessary measures for the elimination of this form of discrimination.

5. What I refer to here as 'non-visual representation' is, as I shall note later, a representation that appeals to physical senses other than vision, and this does not necessarily refer to all types of representations that are not visual representations. This is not a reference to the practice of 'passing', which is the phenomenon of inheriting the stigma of race despite the dilution of the difference of physical traits through interracial marriage. This is very closely connected with the 'race' (r) mentioned earlier.

6. See, for example, Leroi (2005) and "Is Race 'Real'?", the subsequently created web forum organized by the Social Science Research Council, http://raceandgenomics.ssrc.org/.

7. At the initial phases (I and II) when the general population was tested on a very small scale, BiDil showed no effectiveness except among self-identified African-Americans. At Phase III when only African-Americans were on clinical trial, it appeared to cut death rates from heart failure by 43%.

8. International HapMap Project. 'Guidelines for Referring to the HapMap Populations in Publications and Presentation.' (http://snp.cshl.org/citing hapmap.html.en)

9. The essence of my argument here is that through the interconnection of the overwhelming march of the global economy and the limits of multiculturalism, a new form of racism has emerged as it moves its arena

into the global space. This theoretical discussion developed from my own empirical studies (Chapter Six of this volume). While still few in number, recently some works that discuss the effects of neoliberalism on multiculturalism within the framework of the nation-state have been published (e.g. Mitchell 2003; Hage 2003).

Chapter Two

1. Jane Gaines had pursued similar lines of questioning in her essay 'White Privilege and Looking Relations: Race and Gender in Feminist Film Theory,' in Erens (ed.), *Issues in Feminist Film Criticism* (1990). For more on the issue, see also E. Deidre Pribram (ed.) (1988).

Chapter Three

1. The Yada incident refers to the criminal case that derived from the conflict between the Yada branch of the BLL and The Japanese Communist Party over the way of education against discrimination.

2. Tetsu Hijikata, who was critical of Imai's film, wrote, 'It is common knowledge that Imai is a Communist Party member' (Hijikata 1992: 204).

3. The BLL also recognized the power of the medium of film in its denunciation of Imai's work by stating: 'Since the film influences its audience directly through realistic visual images, it has a greater social influence than the novel. For this reason, it ends up reinforcing the negative aspects contained in the original novel that may further promote discrimination against burakumin' (BLL 1970: 6).

4. See Takezawa (2005) and Kurokawa (2005) regarding understanding buraku issues from the viewpoint of racism.

5. However, Sumii maintained her view that Part II was discriminatory in line with the BLL's perspective, as mentioned later, and since there was already a sign of the subsequent conflict between the BLL and Tadashi Imai at that point in time, her comment cannot necessarily be regarded as unrelated.

6. According to Imai, he began shooting the film in Kameoka City, Kyoto Prefecture in August 1968 and attacks from the BLL started when he had finished shooting about two thirds of the film. He was told by the central committee of the BLL in November of that year to 'either revise the screenplay completely or show the completed film to the BLL first and not release it unless approved; if you continue shooting as is, the BLL will not be