# Blake---Round 1

# 1NC

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#### THE YEAR IS 2013

#### EVERYONE LIVES IN RAPE CULTURE

Associated Press, 2013, “Lifting the lid on Asia’s rape culture,” <http://www.scmp.com/news/article/1307911/survey-asian-men-details-startling-realities-sexual-violence>

About one in 10 men in some parts of Asia admitted raping a woman who was not their partner, according to a large study of rape and sexual violence. When their wife or girlfriend was included, that figure rose to about a quarter. International researchers said their startling findings should change perceptions about how common violence against women is and prompt major campaigns to prevent it. Still, the results were based on a survey of only six Asian countries, including China, and the authors said it was uncertain what rates were like elsewhere in the region and beyond. They said engrained sexist attitudes contributed, but that other factors such as poverty or being emotionally and physically abused as children were major risk factors for men's violent behaviour. A previous report from the World Health Organisation found one-third of women worldwide say they have been victims of domestic or sexual violence. "It's clear violence against women is far more widespread in the general population than we thought," said Rachel Jewkes of South Africa's Medical Research Council, who led the two studies. The research was paid for by several United Nations agencies and Australia, Britain, Norway and Sweden. The papers were published online yesterday in the journal Lancet Global Health. In the new research, male interviewers surveyed more than 10,000 men in Bangladesh, China, Cambodia, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and Papa New Guinea. The word "rape" was not used in the questions. The respondents were not asked directly whether they had committed rape, but instead were asked questions such as "Have you ever forced a woman who was not your wife or girlfriend at the time to have sex?" or "Have you ever had sex with a woman who was too drugged or drunk to indicate whether she wanted it?" They were also asked why they had done so. In most places, scientists concluded between 6 to 8 per cent of men raped a woman who wasn't their partner. When they included wives and girlfriends, the figures were mostly between 30 to 57 per cent. The lowest rates were in Bangladesh and Indonesia and the highest were in Papua New Guinea. Previous studies of rape have been done in South Africa, where nearly 40 per cent of men are believed to have raped a woman. Of those men who said they had committed rape, just under half (45 per cent) said they had raped more than one woman. Prevalence varied widely between locations, though. The highest prevalence of rape of a non-partner was found among respondents in Bougainville, in Papua New Guinea, with 27 per cent; the lowest was in rural Bangladesh, with 3 per cent. The investigation is not intended to be an authoritative statistical overview of rape in these six countries or of the Asia-Pacific region, say the authors. Instead, it seeks insights into where sexual violence may occur and the causes that drive it. "In view of the high prevalence of rape worldwide, our findings clearly show that prevention strategies need to show increased focus on the structural and social risk factors for rape," Jewkes said. "We now need to move towards a culture of preventing the perpetration of rape from ever occurring." Until now, such research has depended mainly on crime reports, which may be sketchy or skewed, or on accounts by women rather than by men. Taking a new tack, trained male interviewers held lengthy one-on-one encounters with men in cities and the countryside, with the respondents gaining a guarantee of anonymity. Of those who acknowledged forcing a woman to have sex, more than 70 per cent of men said it was because of "sexual entitlement". Nearly 60 per cent said they were bored or wanted to have fun, while about 40 per cent said it was because they were angry or wanted to punish the woman. Only about half of the men said they felt guilty, and 23 per cent had been imprisoned for a rape. Other findings in the study point to potential causes and risk factors for rape, which in turn helps the search for solutions. Men who had been sexually abused as a child or raped themselves were likelier to commit rape. So were those who had a history of physical violence towards a partner, had paid for sex, were members of a gang, had problems with alcohol or had had a large number of sexual partners. Rape was also more prevalent in places that had been theatres of conflict, such as Bougainville and Jayapura, in Indonesia's restive Papua province. Asked for an independent comment, Charlotte Watts, a specialist in rape research and a professor at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, said the study was bold but thorough and the data was reliable. "Commonly, much of the debate about violence against women focuses on the need to strengthen laws and provide services for survivors of rape. These are very important," Watts said. "However, that 30 per cent or more of men in each country who reported having forced a woman to have sex had first done this by the age of 19 speaks to the need to challenge prevalent norms about masculinity and notions of sexual entitlement at an early age." Tackling alcohol use and childhood exposure to violence were other clear priorities. The study is one of two analyses from a data mountain called the UN Multi-country Cross-sectional Study on Men and Violence in Asia and the Pacific. "The problem is shocking but anyplace we have looked, we see partner violence, victimisation and sexual violence," said Michele Decker, an assistant professor at Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, who co-wrote an accompanying commentary. "Rape doesn't just involve someone with a gun to a woman's head," she said. "People tend to think of rape as something someone else would do."

#### The affirmative’s understanding of the model minority myth inevitably falls within a gender-neutral discussion of Asian identity; this ignores the sexualized racial stereotypes that are uniquely faced by women. How does the 1AC come to terms with the silence surrounding the rape cultures in Asia and South Korea, how do they come to terms with the sexualized violence we see in the every-day? Their 1AC functions as a shield to deal with one way Asian-women are stereotyped, but let the other run amok unchecked—their focus on the myth of the model minority can never solve.

Sumi K. Cho, October 1997 (Assistant Professor of Law, DePaul University College of Law, “Asian Pacific American Women And Racialized Sexual Harassment”, http://www4.ncsu.edu/~mseth2/com417s12/readings/ChoRacializedSexual.PDF :)

Asian Pacific American women are at particular risk of being racially and sexually harassed because of the synergism that results when sexualized racial stereotypes combine with racialized gender stereotypes. The “model minority myth,” a much- criticized racial stereotype of Asian Pacific Americans, has been shown to paint a misleading portrait of groupwide economic, educational, and professional super-success. In addition, the mythical model minority is further overdetermined by associated images of political passivity and submissiveness to authority. But despite the many critical articles written by Asian Pacific Americans on the model minority stereotype, few have theorized specifically how it relates to Asian Pacific American women. Model minority traits of passivity and submissiveness are intensified and gendered through the stock portrayal of obedient and servile Asian Pacific women in popular culture. The repeated projection of a compliant and catering Asian feminine nature feeds harassers' belief that Asian Pacific American women will be receptive objects of their advances, make good victims, and will not fight back. Similarly, the process of objectification that affects women in general takes on a particular virulence with the overlay of race upon gender stereotypes. Generally, objectification diminishes the contributions of women, reducing their worth to male perceptions of female sexuality. In the workplace, objectification comes to mean that the material valuation of women's contributions will be based not on their professional accomplishments or work performance but on men's perceptions of their potential to be harassed. Asian Pacific women suffer greater harassment due to racialized ascriptions (exotic, hyper-erotic, masochistic, desirous of sexual domination) that set them up as ideal-typical gratifiers of Western neocolonial libidinal formations. In a 1990 Gentleman's Quarterly article entitled, “Oriental Girls,” Tony Rivers rehearsed the racialized particulars of the “great Western male fantasy:” Her face - round like a child's... eyes almond-shaped for mystery, black for suffering, wide-spaced for innocence, high cheekbones swelling like bruises, cherry lips... When you come home from another hard day on the planet, she comes into existence, removes your clothes, bathes you and walk naked on your back to relax you... She's fun you see, and so uncomplicated. She doesn't go to assertiveness-training classes, insist on being treated like a person, fret about career moves, wield her orgasm as a non-negotiable demand... She's there when you needs shore leave form those angry feminist seas. She's a handy victim of love or a symbol of the rape of third world nations, a real trouper. As the passage reveals, colonial and military domination are interwoven with sexual domination to provide the “ultimate Western male fantasy.” Asian Pacific women are particularly valued in a sexist society because they provide the antidote to visions of liberated career women who challenge the objectification of women. In this sense, the objectified gender stereotype also assumes a model minority function as Asian Pacific women are deployed to “discipline” white women, just as Asian Pacific Americans in general are used against their “nonmodel” counterparts, African Americans. The “ultimate Western male fantasy,” part of colonial sexual mythology based on Western perceptions of women in Asia, is applied to Asian Pacific American women in an international transfer of stereotypes through mass media and popular culture. Military involvement in Asia, colonial and neocolonial history, and the derivative Asian Pacific sex tourism industry established power relations between Asian and the West which in turn shape stereotypes of Asian Pacific women that apply to those in and outside of Asia. As his article continues, Rivers suggests that the celluloid prototype of the “Hong Kong hooker with a heart of gold” (from the 1960 film, The World of Suzie Wong) may be available in one's own hometown: “Suzie Wong was the originator of the modern fantasy. Perhaps even now, ... on the edge of a small town, Suzie awaits a call.” Given this cultural backdrop of converging racial and gender stereotypes in which the model minority meets Suzie Wong, so to speak, Asian Pacific American women are especially susceptible to racialized sexual harassment. The university, despite its well- cultivated image as an enlightened, genteel environment of egalitarianism, unfortunately does not distinguish itself from other hostile work environments for Asian Pacific American women. I now turn to two cases in which Asian Pacific American women faculty were subjected to quid pro quo and hostile environment forms of harassment. Although racialized sexual harassment experienced by professionals should not be assumed to be identical to that facing women of color employed in blue- and pink-collar jobs, there is commonality in the social construction of the victims.

#### Asian-women suffer a second-sided oppression in academia. The affirmative’s ignorance on this sexualized harassment is the same type of hyper-masculinization of academic spaces.

Sumi K. Cho, October 1997 (Assistant Professor of Law, DePaul University College of Law, “Asian Pacific American Women And Racialized Sexual Harassment”, http://www4.ncsu.edu/~mseth2/com417s12/readings/ChoRacializedSexual.PDF :)

Rosalie Tung joined the University of Pennsylvania Wharton School of Business (hereinafter, “Business School”) in 1981 as an associate professor of management. In her early years at the Business School, she garnered praise for her performance. In the summer of 1983 a change in leadership brought a new dean and new department chair to the school. According to Tung, “shortly after taking office, the chairman of the management department began to make sexual advances toward me.” In June 1984 the chair awarded Professor Tung a 20 percent increase in salary and high praise for her achievements in research, teaching, and community service. However, when Tung came up for tenure review in the fall of 1984, her chair's evaluation of her performance changed dramatically. “After I made it clear to the chairman that I wanted our relationship kept on a professional basis,” she stated in her charge, “he embarked on a ferocious campaign to destroy and defame me. He solicited more than 30 letters of recommendation from external and internal reviewers when the usual practice was for five or six letters.” Although a majority of her department faculty recommended tenure, the personnel committee denied Professor Tung's promotion. Tung later learned through a respected and well-placed member of the faculty that the justification given by the decision-makers was that “the Wharton School is not interested in China-related research.” Tung understood this to mean that the Business School “did not want a Chinese American, an Oriental [on the faculty].” Of over 60 faculty in the management department, there were no tenured professors of color and only one tenured woman. At the entire Business School, with over 300 faculty, there were only two tenured people of color, both male. Tung filed a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) in Philadelphia alleging race, sex, and national origin discrimination. She also filed a complaint with the university grievance commission. Tung's file and those of 13 faculty members granted tenure in a recent five-year period were turned over to the grievance commission. During this process, the peer review files revealed that despite the many letters the department chair had solicited, only three negative letters were in her file - two of which had been written by the chair himself! One of the chair's negative letters was written only six months after his rave review in June 1984. Professor Tung's file contained over 30 letters consistently praising her as one of the best and brightest young scholars in her field, including one from a Nobel Prize laureate. Her impressive list of achievements and contributions had been acknowledged by her peers in her election to the board of governors of the Academy of Management, a professional association of over 7,000 management faculty. Tung was the first person of color ever elected to the board. Following 40 hours of hearings, the university grievance commission found that the university had discriminated against Tung. Despite a university administrative decision in her favor, the provost overseeing the matter chose to do nothing. Professor Tung suspects that race and gender stereotypes played a role in shaping the provost's inaction: “[T]he provost, along with others in the university administration, felt that I, being an Asian, would be less likely to challenge the establishment, because Asians have traditionally not fought back. In other words, it was okay to discriminate against Asians, because they are passive; they take things quietly, and they will not fight back.” Tung also noted the comments of one of her colleagues, describing her in a newspaper article as “elegant, timid, and not one of those loud-mouthed women on campus.” Her colleague continued, “In other words, [Professor Tung was] the least likely person to kick over the tenure-review apple cart.”

#### Silence on rape cultures in the context of south korea are uniquely violent

Jason Strother, WSJ, 2013, “South Korea Struggles to Confront Stigma of Sexual Assaults,” <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424052702304682504579154571193810410>

SEOUL—The 22-year old woman recalls facing the man whom she says raped her. They were inside the Gunpo police department on the outskirts of Seoul in 2012 and the alleged attacker asked for forgiveness. Despite the man's confession, the woman says a police officer tried dissuading her from pressing charges. "He would only spend six months in jail," she says the officer told her. "He was drunk and won't do it again. It would be easier if you just took money from him," the officer allegedly said. Not wanting to face the man again in court or the police officers, whom she says humiliated her, the woman settled out of court for 50-million won ($46,700). The woman's story is familiar to advocates for women's rights in South Korea and even the government, which acknowledges that police and court authorities still directly or indirectly pressure women not to pursue or to drop sexual assault charges. "We are trying to solve this problem, by educating the authorities to respect women's rights, but in reality, it's hard to change attitudes and control every police officer," said Lim Jong-pil, Deputy Director of the Women and Youth Rights Division at the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family. Sgt. Jeong Chun-up, press officer for the Gunpo police, said he "can't believe that an officer would tell a victim to negotiate with a suspect." Arresting and prosecuting a criminal is good for the public image of both the officer and the department, he said. The woman said she doesn't remember the name of the police officer she spoke to. Statistics show a steady increase in sexual assault investigations in recent years. In 2012, the number of persons charged by prosecutors for alleged sex crimes rose to 10,103, up 38% from four years earlier, according to the Supreme Prosecutor's Office. The prosecutor's office said it doesn't keep records of conviction numbers for sexual assault cases, but information on the website of South Korea's Supreme Court shows the number of individuals found guilty of committing a sex-related crime rose 4.7% over the same period to 3,919 last year. Shin Dong-ju, a public relations official at the Supreme Prosecutors' Office, said that even though some sex-crime suspects are not sent to the courts, they still receive alternative penalties including home confinement. "We are critically concerned about sex crimes, especially considering the high attention they receive in society," he said. While South Korea has leapt into the club of developed nations over the last few decades, the strong historical influence of Confucianism and its subservient view of women is often cited for the persistence of gender discrimination. The Ministry of Gender Equality and Family was established in 2001 in an effort to address the problem. Earlier this year a special sex crimes task force was launched by the National Police Agency, but Chang Pil-wha, director of the Asian Center for Women's Studies at Seoul's Ewha Womans University says the problem goes deeper than just law enforcement. Many abusive Korean men don't see their actions as criminal, she says, and "easily get out of being penalized" in court. South Korean women, meanwhile, remain afraid of "secondary victimization," which includes fear of revenge, shame and a lack of trust in the legal system, says Ms. Chang. These are factors why more women don't report sexual assaults or settle out of court, she says. The statistics reflect about one-tenth of the actual number of sexual assaults Korean women endure, Ms. Chang says, citing government data. South Korea is by no means the only country where gender inequality can put the health and lives of women at risk. The World Health Organization estimates that one third of women worldwide have suffered acts of domestic or sexual violence. A recent study published in the journal Lancet Global Health showed one in 10 men from six Asian countries admitted to raping a female stranger. South Korea was not part of that survey. For some women affected by sexual violence in South Korea, breaking that silence literally means getting other victimized women to open up about this difficult experience. Kim Youn-jung says police, family and even her female lawyer all tried talking her out of filing charges after she was raped last year. She later learned some of her friends went through the same thing. Ms. Kim's alleged attacker was a foreign national who left the country before legal action could be taken. "These girls I have known for years weren't comfortable to come forward until they heard what I went through," said Ms. Kim, who is 28 years old.

#### Their failure to understand how cultures of femicide are a part of Asian identity ensures their strategy will always fall into patriarchial messianism—conscientization is the return to the originary Asian identity, the identity which has sanctioned violence against women and continues to do so.

Sumi K. Cho, October 1997 (Assistant Professor of Law, DePaul University College of Law, “Asian Pacific American Women And Racialized Sexual Harassment”, http://www4.ncsu.edu/~mseth2/com417s12/readings/ChoRacializedSexual.PDF :)

Dr. Jean Jew arrived at the University of Iowa in 1973 from Tulane University along with another physician and her mentor, who had just been appointed chair of the anatomy department in the college of medicine. Almost immediately, rumors circulated about her alleged sexual relationship with her mentor. These rumors persisted for 13 years. Despite the increased number of incidents of harassment and vilification Jew experienced after joining the anatomy department, she was recommended by the department for tenure in December 1978. Her promotion, however, did not quiet her detractors. In a drunken outburst in 1979, a senior member of the anatomy department referred to Jew as a “stupid slut,” a “dumb bitch,” and a “whore.” Jew and three other professors complained separately to the dean about the slurs. Jean Jew's tenure promotion not only failed to quiet her critics, it apparently further fueled the rumor mill and provided colleagues with an opportunity to air personal grievances and exploit departmental politics. Jean Jew was the only woman in the anatomy department and one of a few Asian Pacific women among the University of Iowa faculty. In this homogeneous setting, stereotypes flourished to such an extent the faculty did not even recognize the difference between jokes and racial slurs. One faculty member who referred to Dr. Jew as a “chink” contended that he was merely “using the word in a frivolous situation” and repeating a joke. The model minority stereotype of competence and achievement fed existing insecurities and jealousies in a department that was already deeply polarized. In responding to these insecurities, a traditional gender stereotype informed by racialized ascriptions acted to rebalance the power relations. Gender stereotypes with racial overtones painted Jew as an undeserving Asian Pacific American woman who traded on her sexuality to get to the top. To Jew, this stereotyping and her refusal to accede to it played a large role in the “no-win” configuration of departmental power relations: If we act like the [passive] Singapore Girl, in the case of some professors, then they feel “she is [unequal to me].” If we don't act like the Singapore Girl, then [our] accomplishments must have derived from a “relationship with the chair.” There were quite a few people that felt that way to begin with. They thought because I was working with the chair, I was his handmaiden. Many faculty testified that in inter-collaborative work, I was doing work that led to publication but that he was the intellectual, with Jean Jew as his lackey. The term used was that I was the collaborative force, but not independent. This construction of Dr. Jew is perhaps most evident in the continued attack on her credentials. One of her primary harassers, whose advanced degrees were not in anatomy but in physical education, may have felt the need to attack Jew's professional standing and personal character out of his own academic insecurities. Among the many incidents, this faculty member intimated to a lab technician that Dr. Jew held a favored status in the department because of her willingness to engage in a sexual relationship with the chair in exchange for economic and professional gain. Overall, this faculty member made more than 33 demeaning and harassing statements about Jean Jew in an attempt to discredit her professional and personal reputation. Other colleagues also denigrated Jew. After he was denied tenure in 1991, one doctor filed a grievance with the university stating that his qualifications were better than those of Jew, who had been tenured. To support his case, the doctor submitted an anonymous letter to the dean, indicating that Jew's promotion was due to her sexual relationship with the chair. The letter stated, in fortune-cookie style, “basic science chairman cannot use state money to... pay for Chinese pussy.” Another doctor who held administrative responsibilities in the department frequently posted obscene drawings outside his office, where students congregated, which depicted a naked copulating couple with handwritten comments referring to Jew and the department chair.

#### The politics of their affirmative must be rejected. Their understanding of the “model minority myth” homogenizes Asian identity into a gender neutral discussion. The alternative is critical to eradicate a “second injury.”

Sumi K. Cho, October 1997 (Assistant Professor of Law, DePaul University College of Law, “Asian Pacific American Women And Racialized Sexual Harassment”, http://www4.ncsu.edu/~mseth2/com417s12/readings/ChoRacializedSexual.PDF :)

In light of the prevalent and converging racial and gender stereotypes of Asian Pacific American women as politically passive and sexually exotic and compliant, serious attention must be given to the problem of racialized sexual harassment revealed by the two cases discussed. On a theoretical level, new frameworks that integrate race and gender should be developed to take account of the multidimensional character of racialized sexual harassment that occurs and is challenged across races, social classes, and borders. The law's current dichotomous categorization of racial discrimination and sexual harassment as separate spheres of injury is inadequate to respond to racialized sexual harassment. On an advocacy level, women's and Asian Pacific American organizations should affirmatively address racialized sexual harassment and seek ways to counter the compounded vulnerability that Asian Pacific and Asian Pacific American women face in confronting both the primary and secondary injuries. Finally on an international level, insofar as the problem of racialized sexual harassment of Asian Pacific American women, even in elite employment sectors such as institutions of higher education, derives in part from international stereotypes that feed upon unequal power relations, military history, and uneven economic development between Asian (especially in the Philippines and Thailand) and the U.S., it is important for critical race feminists to commit to eradicating the sources of racialized sexual harassment not only in the U.S., but also in the lives of sister counterparts overseas.

#### Only a transnational feminist understanding accounts for the unique prisms in which women are violated.

Grewal and Kaplan – 2000 – Professor and Chair of Women's Studies at San Francisco State University and Chair of Women's Studies at UC Berkeley (Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, “Postcolonial Studies and Transnational Feminist Practices,” Jouvert 5.1, Autumn 2000, http://english.chass.ncsu.edu/jouvert/v5i1/grewal.htm)

As feminists who have participated in what can be called postcolonial studies since our days in graduate school, for us there has never been any question that the history of modern imperialism bears directly upon the condition of women and relations of gendered power in the modern period. Over the years we have worked with others to imagine how to link the interdisciplinary study of gender to the key concepts we work with: colonialism, modernity, and globalization. Increasingly, we have become convinced that new forms of colonialism pervade the contemporary world and that new forms of feminist theory are required to address these changing conditions. / In the 1980s, we began our scholarly and teaching careers working on what has been called colonial discourse analysis. As feminists we chose to focus on gender and travel in order to study the relations between women from different cultures and nations rather than focus solely on the relations between women and men. As specialists in cultural studies we both saw travel as the perfect site for examining the histories of these encounters. Looking at travel as a leisure activity led us to examine all the other forms of movement and displacement in the modern world such as immigration, forced removals, diasporas, refugee asylum, as well as travel for educational or corporate needs. We have analyzed how inequalities of class, gender, nationality, sexuality, and ethnicity are created through movements over time and space in particular ways. Through this kind of analysis we wanted to break down the disciplinary divides between American studies and Area studies, women's studies and ethnic studies, as well as between studies of high and low culture. For instance, we wanted to participate in the study of race not only in terms of civil rights practices and identity politics but also as a form of discourses with concrete effects within the history of imperialism. / Working together, we decided that we needed a set of critical practices that help us recast and think through these legacies of imperialism that continue within development and modernization projects inside and out of the academy, inside and outside the U.S. In our collaborative work we decided to use the term transnational instead of international in order to reflect our need to destabilize rather than maintain boundaries of nation, race, and gender. Transnational is a term that signals attention to uneven and dissimilar circuits of culture and capital. Through such critical recognition, the links between patriarchies, colonialisms, racisms, and other forms of domination become more apparent and available for critique or appropriation. The history of the term international, on the other hand, is quite different. Internationalism as a concept is based on existing configurations of nation-states as discrete and sovereign entities. While the socialist model of internationalism posited a worker's alliance across the boundaries of nation and state to oppose capitalism, the liberal and conservative versions of internationalism arose after the first World War in an effort to adjudicate and resolve conflicts between nations. / Thus, if we speak of transnational circuits of information, capital, and labor, we critique a system founded on inequality and exploitation. It would be impossible for us to advocate a transnational feminism as an improved or better or cleaned up kind of international or global feminism. Transnational feminism, for example, is not to be celebrated as free of these oppressive conditions. In fact, there IS NO SUCH THING as a feminism free of asymmetrical power relations. Rather, transnational feminist practices, as we call them, involve forms of alliance, subversion, and complicity within which asymmetries and inequalities can be critiqued. / For us, the relationship between postcolonial and transnational studies is one of a specific feminist trajectory that has always focused on the inequalities generated by capitalist patriarchies in various eras of globalization. The theories and methodologies of the so-called "post-colonial" critics have enabled us to study transnationality. For example, notions of "orientalism," "subalternity," "hybridity," "diaspora," "traveling theory," and "border theory" provide feminists with conceptual tools to examine a vast array of representational politics. Emphasis on the history of modern imperialism has helped feminists look at race, sexuality, and class not only as bounded categories but as concepts that "travel" -- that is, circulate and work in different and linked ways in different places and times. Despite the wide applicability of the concepts produced by postcolonial studies, its institutionalization in the U.S. and Europe has been limited to a few fields and a narrow scope. Over the last ten years at least, postcolonial scholars have addressed this problem of institutional practice. Like us, many critics are working beyond what is generally thought to be postcolonial studies without disavowing its powerful explanatory and analytical usefulness. / The shift in our work from postcolonial to transnational studies could not have been accomplished without our continued engagement with postcolonial theories of nation and nationalism. In discussions of globalization in the transnational context, the salience of diverse nationalisms (either state-centered or cultural) remains obvious. While anti-colonial movements used nationalism in order to gain independence from European domination, the current history of nationalism has raised many important concerns about its progressive and reactionary dimensions. As feminist scholars, we see nationalism as a process in which new patriarchal elites gain the power to produce the generic "we" of the nation. The homogenizing project of nationalism draws upon female bodies as the symbol of the nation to generate discourses of rape, motherhood, sexual purity, and heteronormativity. / However, nationalisms are not just patriarchal. In the contemporary study of European women travelers revealed the ways in which Eurocentric discourses about the colonized woman as victim of her culture became widespread, they also suggest that these women travelers were expressing nationalist ideas about the superiority of their country and their capabilities and the inferiority of colonized Others. This explains why, for instance, British women in the late nineteenth century continued to believe that their own countries were havens of freedom when they themselves did not have the vote, and were struggling for their rights. It can also explain why many working-class women in Britain, locked in labor struggles, could still support the project of British colonialism. Nationalism creates these misrecognitions; that is, a deliberate and ideological forgetting, and such practices continue to this day. For instance, women from Islamic countries have obtained refugee asylum in the U.S. because they claim that their patriarchal cultures persecute them, even though the U.S. remains a country with an extremely high rate of domestic violence. / By paying attention to the interactions between women from different nations, we can understand the nature of what are being called "transnational" relations, i.e. relations across national boundaries. By such a transnational analysis, one can get a quite different picture of the relation of feminism to nationalism. This kind of analysis contradicts the popular belief that feminism exists in an antagonistic relation to nationalism. The complexity of nationalism is that although nationalism and feminism are often opposed, such opposition cannot be seen simply as resistance to nationalism because often one cannot exist without the other and often one is constructed only through the other. / To move to this kind of critical approach we need a notion of transnationality to help us differentiate our practices from those of global feminism. Transnational feminist practices refer us to the interdisciplinary study of the relationships between women in diverse parts of the world. These relationships are uneven, often unequal, and complex. They emerge from women's diverse needs and agendas in many cultures and societies. Given a very heterogeneous and multi-faceted world, how do we understand and teach about the condition of women? When we ask this question, relations between women become just as complicated as those between societies or between nations. Rather than simply use the model of information retrieval about a plurality of women around the world, a project that is both endless and arbitrary, we need to teach students how to think about gender in a world whose boundaries have changed. Since recent scholarship has shown us that gender, class, religion, and sexuality produce different kinds of women in relation to different kinds of patriarchies, we must design classes that present a more complex view of how women become "women" (or other kinds of gendered subjects) around the world. In addition, we need to teach about the impact of global forces such as colonialism, modernization, and development on specific and historicized gendering practices that create inequalities and asymmetries. / Without the work of postcolonial studies, how would we even begin to understand the complexity of the relationship between nationalism and feminism? And thus, how would we understand the ways that contemporary racisms, nationalisms, and gendered oppressions have been produced together, not separately? For us, across almost twenty years, postcolonial studies has enabled us to understand globalized histories of gender and power. For instance, as faculty in women's Studies we deal with, on the one hand, the ways in which feminist communities are being produced in cyberspace, and on the other hand, the new female industrial worker in multinational assembly lines, or the increasingly female population in prisons in metropolitan locations. Our challenge is to provide a framework in which to study all of these conditions together rather than ignoring one at the expense of the other. The study of transnational movements in relation to histories of colonialisms and postcoloniality will produce new feminist theories.

#### OUR ANGER IS POLITICAL—WEARS AWAY AT THE PATRIARCHIAL WESTERN-CENTRIC SYSTEM

Susi Kaplow, 1973 (“Getting Angry” Radical Feminism :)

Two scenarios: An angry man: someone has infringed on his rights, gone against his interests, or harmed a loved one. Or perhaps his anger is social--against racism or militarism. He holds his anger in check (on the screen we can see the muscles of his face tighten, his fists clench) and then, at the strategic moment, he lets it go. We see him yelling, shouting his angry phrases with sureness and confidence--or pushing a fist into his opponent's stomach with equal conviction. In either event, the anger is resolved; our hero has vented it and is content with success or accepts what he knows to be unmerited defeat. Dissolve to scene two. An angry woman: angry at her man for cheating on her or (more likely) at the other woman. If we're in the good old days, she stomps up to her man and begins to scream wildly, he holds her down with his pinky, her anger melts in his embrace. After the fade-out, we find a puzzled heroine wondering how she could have been angry at such a good man. Or she marches over to the local saloon, hurls a few choice epithets at her rival, and then the hair-pulling begins. This ludicrous scene is always broken up by the amused and slightly scandalized gentlemen on the sidelines. In modern dress the same episode would be played differently. Discovering her husband's or lover's infidelity, the woman would smolder inwardly until the anger had burned down to a bitter resentment or becomes such a pressurized force that it could only come out in a rage so uncontrollable that the man (and the audience) can dismiss it as irrational. "I can't talk to you when you're like this." Hell hath no fury like a woman scorned. For a woman in our society is denied the forthright expression of her healthy anger. Her attempts at physical confrontation seem ridiculous; "ladies" do a slow burn, letting out their anger indirectly in catty little phrases, often directed against a third party, especially children. A woman has learned to hold back her anger: It's unseemly, aesthetically displeasing, and against the sweet, pliant feminine image to be angry. And the woman fears her own anger: She the great conciliator, the steadier of rocked boats, moves, out of her fear, to quiet not only others' anger but also her own. Small wonder that when the vacuum-sealed lid bursts off, the angry woman seems either like a freaked-out nut or a bitch on wheels. Her frenzy is intensified by the shakiness of her commitment to her own anger. What if she's really wrong? What if the other person is right? --Or worse (and this is the greatest fear) hits back with, "You're crazy, I don't know what you're so mad about." Why can't women allow themselves the outlet of their contained anger? Why do those around them find an angry woman so frightening that they must demoralize and deflate her into a degraded, inauthentic calm? Healthy anger says "I'm a person. I have certain human rights which you can't deny. I have a right to be treated with fairness and compassion. I have a right to live my life as I see fit, I have a right to get what I can for myself without hurting you. And if you deprive me of my rights, I'm not going to thank you, I'm going to say 'fuck off' and fight you if I have to." A person's anger puts him or her on center stage. It claims attention for itself and demands to be taken seriously, or else. (Or else I won't talk to you, I won't work with you or be friendly toward you, or else, ultimately, our association is over.) Expressing anger means risking. Risking that the other person will be angry in return, risking that he or she will misunderstand the anger or refuse to deal with it, risking that the anger itself is misplaced or misinformed. So you need strength to say you're angry--both the courage of your convictions and the ability to accept that your anger may be unwarranted without feeling crushed into nothingness. You must not have your total worth as a person riding on the worth of each individual case of anger. Thus anger is self-confident, willing to fight for itself even at the jeopardy of the status quo, capable of taking a risk and, if necessary, of accepting defeat without total demise. Above all, anger is assertive. The traditional woman is the polar opposite of this description. Lacking confidence in herself and in her own perception, she backs away from a fight or, following the rules of chivalry, lets someone else do battle for her. Strong emotions disturb her for the disruption they bring to things-as-they-are. So shaky is her self-image that every criticism is seen as an indictment of her person. She is a living, walking apology for her own existence--what could be more foreign to self-assertion? Although the reality has changed somewhat, most women will recognize themselves somewhere in this description. And society clings to this model as its ideal and calls an angry woman unfeminine. Because anger takes the woman out of her earth mother role as bastion of peace and calm, out of her familial role as peacemaker, out of her political role as preserver of the status quo, out of her economic role as cheap labor, out of her social role as second-class citizen. It takes her out of roles altogether and makes her a person. It is no accident, then, that the emotion which accompanies the first steps toward liberation is, for most women, anger. Whatever sense of self-worth you have been able to emerge with after twenty or thirty years of having your mind messed with, gives you the vague feeling that your situation is not what it should be and sends you looking tentatively at the world around you for explanations. Realizations are, at first, halting, and then begin to hit you like a relentless sledge hammer, driving the anger deeper and deeper into your consciousness with every blow. Your fury focuses on the select group of individuals who have done you the most damage. You are furious at your parents for having wanted a boy instead; at your mother (and this fury is mixed with compassion) for having let herself be stifled and having failed to show you another model of female behavior; at your father for having gotten a cheap bolster to his ego at your and your mother's expense. You are furious at those who groom you to play your shabby role. At the teachers who demanded less of you because you were a girl. At the doctors who told you birth control was the woman's responsibility, gave you a Hobson's choice of dangerous and ineffective devices, then refused you an abortion when these failed to work. At the psychiatrist who called you frigid because you didn't have vaginal orgasms and who told you you were neurotic for wanting more than the unpaid, unappreciated role of maid, wet nurse, and occasional lay. At employers who paid you less and kept you in lousy jobs. At the message from the media which you never understood before: "You've come a long way, baby" -- down the dead-end, pre-fab street we designed for you. Furious, above all, at men. For the grocer who has always called you "honey" you now have a stiff, curt "don't call me honey." For the men on the street who visit their daily indignities on your body, you have a "fuck off," or, if you're brave, a knee in the right place. For your male friends (and these get fewer and fewer) who are "all for women's lib" you reserve a cynical eye and a ready put-down. And for your man (if he's still around), a lot of hostile, angry questions. Is he different from other men? How? And when he fails to prove himself, your rage explodes readily from just beneath the surface. This is an uncomfortable period to live through. You are raw with an anger that seems to have a mind and will of its own. Your friends, most of whom disagree with you, find you strident and difficult. And you become all the more so because of your fear that they are right, that you're crazy after all. You yourself get tired of this anger--it's exhausting to be furious all the time--which won't even let you watch a movie or have a conversation in peace. But from your fury, you are gaining strength. The exercise of your anger gives you a sense of self and of self-worth. And the more this sense increases, the angrier you become. The two elements run in a dialectic whirlwind, smashing idols and myths all around them. You see, too, that you can get angry and it doesn't kill people, they don't kill you, the world doesn't fall apart. Then this anger, burning white hot against the outside world, suddenly veers around and turns its flame toward you. Sure, they fucked you up and over, sure, they oppressed you, sure they continue to degrade and use you. But--why did you let it happen? Why do you continue to let it happen? All of a sudden you are up against the part you played in your own oppression. You were the indispensible accomplice to the crime. You internalized your own inferiority, the pressing necessity to be beautiful and seductive, the belief that men are more important than women, the conviction that marriage is the ultimate goal. Seeing this, you are violent against yourself for every time you were afraid to try something for fear of failing, for all the hours lost on make-up and shopping, for every woman you missed because there was a man in the room, for getting yourself stuck as a housewife or in a job you hate because "marriage is your career." This phase of anger turned inward is terrifying. You are alone with your own failed responsibilities toward yourself, however much you can still blame others. It is this phase that some women find unbearable and flee from, returning to the first phase of anger or dropping out altogether. Because this inturned anger demands action--change--and won't let go until its demands begin to be satisfied. You can fall back on your inability to control others and their behavior toward you. But you can't comfortably claim powerlessness over your own conduct. Nor can you, at least for long, go on being furious at others (the forty-five-year-old who still blames mommy, flounders) if you don't even try to get yourself together. This inturned anger is a constructive or rather reconstructive catalyst. For what you can do under its impetus is to restructure yourself, putting new images, patterns and expectations in place of the old, no longer viable ones. As you use your anger, you also tame it. Anger becomes a tool which you can control, not only to help you make personal changes but to deal with the world outside as well. You can mobilize your anger to warn those around you that you're not having any more bullshit, to underscore your seriousness, to dare to drive your point home. Through the exercise of your anger, as you see its efficacy and thus your own, you gain strength. And the growing feeling that you control your anger and not vice versa adds to this strength. As you gain this control, become surer of yourself, less afraid of being told you're crazy, your anger is less enraged and, in a sense, calmer. So it becomes discriminating. You reserve it for those individuals and groups who are messing with your mind--be they men or other women. This progression of anger finds its ultimate meaning as an experience shared with other women. All striving to understand their collective situation, women in a group can help each other through the first, painful phase of outward-directed anger. Through consciousness-raising each woman can (at least ideally) find sufficient confirmation of her perceptions to be reassured of her own sanity--and can find growing strength to do without such confirmation when necessary. In the second phase of inturned anger, women can support one another in their attempts at self-definition and change, change which others will try to forestall. And, at the same time, they can start to move together to create new social forms and structures in which individual changes can come to fruition. Controlled, directed, but nonetheless passionate, anger moves from the personal to the political and becomes a force for shaping our new destiny.

# 2NC

## Kritik

### AT: Myth Root Cause

#### UNLIKE MEN UNDER THE MODEL MINORITY MYTH, ASIAN WOMEN ARE NOT REPRESENTED AS ACTIVE AGENTS BUT AS SEXUALLY SUBMISSIVE TO THE POINT WHERE THEY DON’T HAVE AGENCY

Sunny Woan, Spring, 2008, J.D., Public Interest and Social Justice Law, emphasis in Critical Race Theory, Santa Clara University School of Law, “WHITE SEXUAL IMPERIALISM: A THEORY OF ASIAN FEMINIST JURISPRUDENCE,” 14 Wash. & Lee J. Civil Rts. & Soc. Just. 275, Lexis

This Article proposes a new framework for studying the intersection of feminist jurisprudence and critical race theory. It claims that the underlying cause of sexual-racial inequality between White men and non-White women is White sexual imperialism. This principle holds that the history of Western political, military, and economic domination of developing n5 nations compelled women of these nations into sexual submission by White men. Moreover, at the global level, the vestige of Western imperialism has left women of color subordinate to White men even today. The White sexual imperialism principle applies to the prevailing rationale for social inequality whenever: (1) the sexual-gender dynamic involves a White male and a non-White female, and (2) the non-White female descends from a culture or community that has been historically colonized by European or Anglican nations. This Article will focus specifically on how this theory applies to Asian feminist jurisprudence and the experiences of Asian and diasporic n6 Asian women. / The first part of the Article reviews the stereotype of the Asian woman as hyper-sexualized yet demure and submissive, and traces its origins back to White heterosexual male presence in East Asian wars, particularly the Philippine-American War, World War II, and the Vietnam War. n7 The following parts of this Article tackle some of the most crucial issues that Asian feminist jurisprudence confronts, such as the portrayal of Asian women in pornography, n8 the rise in popularity of mail-order brides, n9 the "Asian fetish" syndrome, n10 and the underreported rates of sexual violence against Asian women, n11 all through the context of White sexual imperialism. Briefly, the Article also will also show how dominance theory affirms the principle of White sexual imperialism and how the problem of inequality can be addressed today through recognition of White sexual imperialism as a theory in both feminist and critical race jurisprudence. n12 / II. An American History of Hyper-Sexualizing Asian Women / White sexual imperialism permeates through all events in history involving U.S.-Asian relations. The first part of this section discusses the stereotype of the hyper-sexed Asian woman. n13 The second part then briefly revisits the history of Western imperialism in the East and the interplay of it with Orientalism and sexism. n14 Finally, the third part expands on the correlation between rape and war and the role of that dynamic in shaping White-Asian relationships. n15 / A. "Me Love You Long Time" and the Hyper-sexed Asian Woman / The Asian woman of White male sexual fantasies toddles into view--"small, weak, submissive and erotically alluring," n16 her "eyes almond-shaped for mystery, black for suffering, wide-spaced for innocence, high cheekbones swelling like bruises, cherry lips." n17 She not only exemplifies hyper-sexuality, but hyper-heterosexuality, male-centered and male-dominated. n18 She is presented as the perfect complement to the exaggerated masculinity of the White Man, existing solely to serve men and be sexually consumed by them. n19 Oriental Girls, an article published in Gentleman's Quarterly (GQ), described the Western male's fantasy n20 of the Asian female: / When you get home from another hard day on the planet, she comes into existence, removes your clothes, bathes you and walks naked on your back to relax you . . . She's fun you see, and so uncomplicated. She doesn't go to assertiveness-training classes, insist on being treated like a person, fret about career moves, wield her orgasm as a non-negotiable demand. . . . She's there when you need shore leave from those angry feminist seas. She's a handy victim of love or a symbol of the rape of third world nations, a real trouper. n21 / The dominant class often pits one marginalized group against another, compelling one group to feel inadequate in comparison to the other for not possessing a certain attribute or behaving in a manner that pleases the dominant class. This strategy incites enmity between the two groups, setting them as rivals who ought to battle for the approval of the dominant class. n22 In the end, though, this strategy only serves to both discipline and maintain the supremacy of the dominant class. / For example, mainstream white America often uses the "model minority" n23 myth associated with Asian Americans to overemphasize and blame black Americans for their "non-model" attributes and behavior, mainly their political activism, resistance, and civil disobedience. n24 Similarly, the direct comparison in the passage above between Asian women and white women serves to denigrate white women for "go[ing] to assertiveness-training classes, insist[ing] on being treated like a person, fret[ting] about career moves," or "wield[ing] her orgasm as a non-negotiable demand." n25 In other words, for pursuing sex equality. n26 As Professor Sumi K. Cho phrased it, "Asian Pacific women are particularly valued in a sexist society because they provide the antidote to visions of liberated career women who challenge the objectification of women." n27 Their sexuality, viewed as "naturally excessive and extreme against a [w]hite female norm," clearly exists not only within a sexual construct but within a racial construct as well. n28 Furthermore, this sexual-racial stereotype emerged as a direct result of the colonial encounter of war, n29 presenting the Asian woman as an "object for western consumption and the satisfaction of western desires." n30 / While contemporary media and the arts portray women generally as objects for consumption, they cast Asian women into the most inferior of all positions, below the white woman. Portrayals of the interrelationships between white American GIs n31 who go overseas, the Asian women they meet there, and the white American women back home show this dynamic. The 1989 musical Miss Saigon n32 epitomizes the subordinate and objectified position of Asian women. In the musical, an American marine arranges a one-night-stand with Kim, a Vietnamese bar-girl in Saigon shortly before the fall of the city. n33 After the destruction of her village, Kim flees to Saigon fantasizing about finding a "strong GI to protect her." n34 The American marine then leaves Vietnam, stranding Kim in Ho Chi Minh City with their son, Tam. n35 The marine returns home to the United States where he marries a white woman. n36 He continues with his life happily. n37 Meanwhile, Kim tries to escape and reunite with the marine. n38 She ends up in Bangkok, Thailand with her son, where she works at a massage parlor, n39 a consistent affirmation that Asian women in her position have no more function than to provide sexual services to men. The marine and his white wife meet Kim in Saigon. n40 When Kim realizes her American lover has no intention of marrying her, she commits suicide, leaving Tam under the care of the marine and his new wife, n41 quietly suggesting, perhaps, that Kim represents an unfit mother while the marine's wife, a white woman, is better suited to raise Tam. Lea Salonga, a Filipina singer-actress, became the first Asian to take on the leading role as Kim in the production. n42 Due to her immense popularity and success, producers of the show now hold regular casting calls in Manila and, in fact, anywhere with a sizable Asian female population. n43 Interestingly, the leading role as Kim is almost always played by a Filipina. n44 This casting suggests rather flippantly that all Asian women in this kind of situation are interchangeable and usable body parts, or "messy complications behind the male games of military history and foreign affairs." n45 Miss Saigon became an icon—an icon of the sex tour industry that sprouted in Asia as a result of American military presence. n46 / B. Imperialism, Orientalism, Sexism / In the late 1970s, Edward Said n47 described "Orientalism" n48 as a "Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient." n49 He noted the confluence of Orientalism and Sexism: "[Orientalism] view[s] itself and its subject matter with sexist blinders. . . . [The local] women are usually the creatures of a male power-fantasy. They express unlimited sensuality, they are more or less stupid, and above all they are willing." n50 Moreover, "[w]hen women's sexuality is surrendered, the nation is more or less conquered." n51 Thus, the sexual conquest of Asia's women correlates with the conquest of Asia itself. / In 1899, Rudyard Kipling dubbed the West's imperialist campaign in the East as "the White Man's burden." n52 He coined the term in a poem written to rouse Americans to colonize and rule the Philippines. n53 One former U.S. President took this message to heart. From 1894 until his presidency in 1901, Theodore Roosevelt wrote and lectured widely on taking up Kipling's "White Man's burden." n54 He called imperialism a "manly" duty that American men must take up. n55 Civilized men had a "manly duty to 'destroy and uplift' lesser, primitive men," namely Asians, "for their own good and the good of civilization." n56 Roosevelt's express and blatant collocation of colonizing Asia and labeling that act as "manly" illustrates how throughout American history imperialism in and even Western scholarship on Asia has been viewed in a sexualized context. n57 / [\*283] During the Philippines' revolt against Spanish inquisition in the late 1800s, the Americans came, promising to help. n58 Though the Filipinos hesitated at first, fearing the U.S. might try to colonize their country, President William McKinley gave his word that the U.S. "had no design of aggrandizement and no ambition of conquest." n59 Thus, the Filipinos accepted help from the United States and together they defeated the Spanish. n60 Before a Republic of the Philippines could be established, however, the United States issued the Proclamation of Benevolent Assimilation in which President McKinley "announced the U.S.'s intention to annex the Philippines. To make it legal, the United States paid Spain twenty million silver pesos--or two silver pesos per Filipino." n61 The Filipinos resisted American colonization and the Philippine-American war raged on for more than a decade, murdering over 250,000 Filipinos. n62 Famine and disease decimated entire towns, as the United States Army slashed-and-burned its way through villages. n63 More than half the country lay in waste from American-caused destruction. n64 / While occupying the islands, the American soldiers referred to the Filipinas as "little brown fucking machines powered by rice." n65 A sex industry sprang up to cater the U.S. military men, offering "a girl for the price of a burger." n66 It was the imperialistic conquest of the islands by the Americans that jump-started the sex entertainment industry in the Philippines. n67 During the Vietnam War, five U.S. military bases stationed in Thailand sheltered 40,000 to 50,000 American GIs at any given time. n68 Between 1966 and 1969, as many as [\*284] 70,000 U.S. soldiers came to Thailand for "Rest and Recreation" ("R&R") n69 and ignited a sex industry. n70 R&R facilities have been, and continue to be, a vital component of the U.S. military policy. n71 With pervasive disregard for human rights, the military accepts access to indigenous women's bodies as a "necessity" for American GIs stationed overseas. n72 / After the Vietnam War ended, "there was a major campaign on tourism" targeting White men to sustain Thailand's sex industry. n73 By the early 1990s, several million tourists from Europe and the United States visited Thailand annually, many of them specifically for its sex and entertainment industry. n74 In 1995, for example, a study reported that sixty-five percent of tourists to Thailand "were reportedly single men on vacation." n75 The White conquest of Asia is "far from being 'a thing of the past' but is a lived experience of many." n76 As result of White imperialism, "Asians and members of the Asian Diasporas have existed and still exist through a colonized experience." n77 / C. Twin Pillars of White Male Domination: Rape and War / Sexual violence against women functions as a fundamental “tool of war.”79 In wartime, the rape of women by armed and uniformed state forces pose the greatest direct threat to civilian women.80 Often, combatants view the women of the conquered land as a “legitimate spoil of war.”81 Rape and sexual violence of indigenous women by military men have been tolerated “precisely because it is so commonplace.”82 Battle-hardened or brutalized soldiers, who are often removed from access to the usual outlets for sexual frustration, are especially likely to become rapists.83 Moreover, chiefly characteristic of Western armies, group machismo evolves in close-knit combat units where sexual performance is prized just as highly as combat performance.84 In the first and second conflicts in Iraq, U.S. troops were frequently shown violent pornography by their superiors to increase aggression.85 / While prostitution may be seen around any U.S. military base generally, military prostitution in Asia instituted by the U.S. occur within a colonial context, which distinguishes it from the nature of prostitution that takes place within the U.S. or Western European locations.86 Western societies often view Asian societies as less developed or underdeveloped, less sophisticated in comparison, and thus inferior to the West.87 These perceptions in turn color the interactions between U.S. servicemen and Asian women, which are further exacerbated by sexually denigrating stereotypes the West casts on Asian women.88 The narratives of many Asian women reveal the denigrating treatment they received from American soldiers.89 Filipina sex workers, for example, frequently report “being treated like a toy or a pig by the American [soldiers] and being required to do ‘three holes’ – oral, vaginal and anal sex.”90 The systems of prostitution perpetuated around U.S. military bases in Asia reaffirm the West’s perception of Asian women as sex objects.91 In these contexts, Asian sex workers are registered and tagged like domestic pets, further relegating them to a less than human status.92 Despite significant improvements in racial and sex equality over the last few decades, U.S. military men’s treatment of women in Asia have failed to progress. As recent as the mid- 90s, international controversy flared over an incident in Japan where two U.S. Marines and a U.S. Navy seaman gang-raped a 12-year-old Japanese girl in Okinawa, Japan.93 They watched the girl enter a stationary store and decided to ambush her.94 The two Marines bound the girl with tape, pulled her shorts and underwear down to her ankles, and after the three men raped her, remarked that the girl looked like she enjoyed it.95 To filter an analysis of the Okinawa incident through either sex inequality or racial inequality exclusively fails to convey fully why this 12-year-old girl suffered. While many scholars see the convergence of sex and race stereotypes as the root cause of the incident, examination of these two components only is not enough.96 To realize the gravity of harm caused by sexual-racial disparities between White men and Asian women, a tripartite inquest of colonial history along with the intersection of sex- and race- related forces must be applied. / First, the legacy of imperialism explains why the U.S. servicemen occupied Japan. / After the Allies defeated the Axis powers in World War II, the United States took it upon itself to meddle in East Asian political affairs, namely, regulating Japan to prevent it from engaging in imperialism. A sense of White supremacy meant the world could fall complacent to the idea that White imperialism was somehow “better” than Asian imperialism. Thus, while Japanese military presence in East Asia posed a threat to the world, American military presence would not. / Second, the prevailing attitude that Asian women occupy an inferior position to White women and, even more so, White men, assuaged the consciences of these three servicemen enough for them to not only rape the girl, but also express belief that she enjoyed the sexual conquest. Recall that, in the eyes of White men, Asian women seem to exist solely for their sexual gratification as hyper-sexed and unconditionally submissive creatures.97 The stereotype of Asian women as always consenting to sex allowed the three servicemen to deny the act as a rape. It is this potent triple combination of imperialist thought, racial inequality, and sexual inequality that perpetuate violence against Asian women by White men. Had these components not come together under White sexual imperialism, the Okinawa incident would never have occurred. III. Revealing the Undercurrent of White Sexual Imperialism in Contemporary Asian Feminist Issues / Asian and diasporic Asian women face higher risks of racial and sexual harassment than their White female peers. One of the main theories behind this is that the Asian experience cannot escape the stain of sexual imperialism, a stain which simply does not apply to the White woman's experience. n96 Although the theory of intersectionality n97 between race and gender alone cannot fully articulate Asian and diasporic Asian women's lives; rather, the concurrent operation and interactive mutual dependency between race, sexuality, and dimensions of colonialism expound on their subordination. n98 / This section comments on the present-day ramifications of White male exploitation and domination of Asian women and the feminist issues raised by the grievous legacy of White sexual imperialism left in both Asia and Asian America. The first part surveys Joo v. Japan, n99 a recent court decision where Asian women, who were the victims of atrocious war and sex crimes, brought suit in U.S. courts. n100 The omission of an analysis through White sexual imperialism may explain why the court ruled against the women. n101 The second part then shows how White sexual imperialism provides a compelling rationale for several contemporary issues of sexual-racial inequality facing Asian and diasporic Asian women. n102 / A. Joo v. Japan: A Case Exemplifying How the Invisibility of White Sexual Imperialism Affects Asian Women / 1. When is Prostitution Not a Commercial Activity? / In Joo, fifteen women n103 from China, Taiwan, South Korea, and the Philippines brought suit against Japan in federal district court pursuant to the Alien Tort Claims Act ("ATCA"). n104 Under the ATCA, federal district courts have jurisdiction over civil claims by aliens for torts committed "in violation of the law of nations or a treaty of the United States." n105 The women alleged that Japanese soldiers routinely raped, tortured and mutilated them during World War II and that such acts by the Japanese government caused a direct effect on the United States. n106 In response, the defendant, Japan, argued that the plaintiffs lacked personal jurisdiction under the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act ("FSIA"), n107 which bars plaintiffs from bringing a cause of action against a sovereign nation. n108 / FSIA does not apply, however, if, "the action is based upon a commercial activity carried on . . . outside the territory of the United States in connection with a commercial activity of the foreign state elsewhere and that act causes a direct effect in the United States." n109 The plaintiffs contended that Japan's acts of prostituting the women to its military men constituted a "commercial activity" n110 within the meaning of the FSIA exception. n111 Furthermore, plaintiffs brought forth substantial evidence indicating that U.S. military men subsequently used the same prostituted "comfort women" for their own sexual gratification, thereby "caus[ing] a direct effect in the United States." n112 / The district court held that Japan's conduct did not constitute "commercial activity," and therefore FSIA immunity applied. Since the court found that the defendant's conduct was not "commercial activity," the court chose not to address the issue of direct effect by way of the American military men using the same "comfort women" after the Allies defeated Japan. / In 2005, the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit heard the case on remand from the U.S. Supreme Court. n113 It affirmed the district court's decision "on the ground that Japan would have been afforded absolute immunity from suit in the United States at the time of the alleged activities." n114 In 2006, the Supreme Court denied certiorari, n115 and it seems no semblance of justice will likely be afforded to these women. / 2. Criticisms of the Joo Decision / Scholars argue that "court precedents and legislation concerning the proper inquiry for what constitutes a commercial activity strongly support an argument that commodified sexual slavery qualifies as a 'commercial activity' under Section 1605(a)(2)." n116 Furthermore, the framers of the FSIA recognized that "states increasingly enter[ed] the marketplace [to] compete with private market players." n117 Thus, despite the theory of foreign sovereign immunity, the Act wanted to make sure foreign states would not be "immune for suits based on their commercial or private acts." n118 To level the market playing field between private players and states acting as private players, the Act wanted to make sure states would not be absolved from liability for torts. n119 / In making its case, the District of Columbia District Court "compared Joo to a prior Supreme Court [decision], Saudi Arabia v. Nelson, n120 to demonstrate how the activities conducted by the Japanese did not constitute 'commercial activity' under the FSIA." n121 In Nelson, the Saudi government arrested the plaintiff at the government hospital he worked at, took him to a prison, and allegedly tortured him. n122 The plaintiff then brought suit against Saudi Arabia, claiming the commercial activity exception under FSIA against Saudi Arabia's sovereign immunity. n123 The Supreme Court, however, held that the alleged act came at the "hands of the Saudi police, and not in connection with the hospital" where the plaintiff worked. n124 Thus, "the nature of his arrest did not qualify as a commercial activity." n125 / The Joo court applied Nelson to justify why Japan's operation of comfort women stations did not fall within the FSIA commercial activity exception. It reasoned that the act of kidnapping women from their homes was not enough to invoke the commercial activity exception. n126 Even though the Japanese military used and regulated the comfort women stations, required soldiers to pay a fee for use, a fee which depended on the woman's nationality and his length or time of visit based on his ranking, and even received a substantial portion of the revenue from these exchanges, the court nonetheless found Japan's activities to be non-commercial. n127 Critics of the Joo decision argue that the court did not properly distinguish Joo from Nelson and misapplied precedent to fit a conclusion it desired. n128 They note the striking similarity in arguments and word choice between the court's opinion and the Statement of Interest submitted by the U.S. State Department. n129 This suggests that perhaps the court "succumbed to the pressure of the Bush administration to dismiss the case." n130 / Finally, one compelling aspect of the World War II comfort women case recently surfaced. In the aftermath of the war, when American troops entered Japan, the U.S. soldiers used the same comfort women stations Japan had set up. n131 The "GIs paid upfront and were given tickets and condoms. . . . [T]he charge for a short session with a prostitute was fifteen yen, or about a dollar, roughly the cost of half a pack of cigarettes." n132 First, ignoring the court's ruling against the women, the opinion referred to the acts committed by the Japanese soldiers as a "violation of 'both positive and customary international law,'" human rights violations and war crimes. n133 It remained entirely silent, however, on the contention the women raised about American GIs using the comfort women stations. n134 What the Japanese men did to the plaintiffs seemed patently abhorrent to the women; however, when American soldiers were charged with the same crime against the same women, the court declined to find a violation of either customary or international law. n135 / B. What Happens In Asia Does Not Stay In Asia: Consequences of White Sexual Imperialism on Diasporic Asian Women / American military men stationed in Asia brought back to the United States their stereotypes of Asian women as "cute, doll-like, and unassuming, with extraordinary sexual powers," which then became an expectation White men had of all women of Asian descent. n136 This section addresses the negative, and often dark, ramifications caused by the hyper-sexed stereotype has caused. / 1. Asian Women in American Pornography / Few mediums reveal the White sexual imperialistic exploitation of Asian women more so than pornography. n137 In a 2002 study conducted by Jennifer Lynn Gossett and Sarah Byrne, out of thirty-one pornographic websites that depicted rape or torture of women, more than half showed Asian women as the rape victim and one-third showed White men as the perpetrator. n138 The study further uncovered a strong correlation between race and pedophilia, advertising with titles such as "Japanese Schoolgirls" or "Asian Teens." n139 Furthermore, images of Asian women in pornographic forms consistently came up through a keyword search for "torture." n140 / Many scholars warn that race-specific pornography contributes to race-specific sexual violence. n141 Since the overwhelming majority of violent pornography features Asian women in particular, it follows that Asian women are at even greater risk of sexual violence due to their role in violent pornography. n142 Helen Zia, a noted social activist, suggests a direct connection between racial-sexual stereotyped pornography and actual violence against Asian women. n143 Additionally, Kandice Chuh argues that "because Asian/American women are depicted as always consenting, they cannot be raped in the eyes of the law." n144 / Pornography leads to other alarming sexual-racial trends involving Asian women as well. For example, depictions of Filipinas as sexual commodities on the Internet have been linked to the bride industry in Australia. n145 Researchers further speculate that online sexual commodification of Filipinas may at least partially explain why Filipinas experience disproportionate levels of domestic violence compared to non-Filipina women. n146 / White men's fascination with Asian women in pornography stems from early nineteenth century Western imperialism. n147 To colonize the Asian nations, countries such as the United States flooded Asia with military forces. n148 As an inevitable result of military presence, prostitution centers consisting of local civilian women sprung up to cater to the White servicemen. n149 With these sexual experiences as their main, if not only, encounters with Asian women, White servicemen returned home with the generalization that Asian women are hyper-sexualized and always willing to comply with White man's prurient demands. n150 This germinated even more interest in Asian women as sexual objects. n151 To sustain this increased interest, the Asian sex tour industry developed. n152 Asian sex tourism further perpetuates the stereotype of Asian women as hyper-sexualized and always willing. n153 If Asian women are perceived as hyper-sexual, it understandably follows that sexually explicit materials, pornography for example, would include a preponderance of Asian women. n154 The next two subsections on the Asian fetish syndrome and mail-order brides will discuss how depictions of Asian women in pornography have produced gravely detrimental consequences on the Asian and diasporic Asian woman's experience. / 2. Bartering for Mail-Order Brides / In the 1970s when conservative White men grew discontent with the American feminist movement and White women's ensuing push for liberation, they turned to the mail-order bride industry in East Asia. n155 Believing American women to be too radical and career-oriented, many American men turned to mail-order bride companies for Asian wives who are "loyal and undemanding." n156 Guided by sexual stereotypes of Asian women as subservient, these men saw Asian mail-order brides as the much-welcomed antithesis to the White American woman. n157 Where the White feminist woman actively resisted subjugation, the Asian woman was portrayed as enjoying it. n158 While these perceptions of Asian women originated from the colonial era, they have endured through the decades, haunting the experiences of Asian women even today. n159 / 3. Case of the Asian Fetish Syndrome / Michael Lohman, a third-year doctoral student at Princeton University, ranked in the top of his class in the applied and computational mathematics department. n160 In March 2005, the state charged him with reckless endangerment, tampering with a food product, harassment, and theft. n161 Lohman had surreptitiously cut locks of hair from at least nine Asian women and poured his urine and semen into the drinks of Asian women more than fifty times in Princeton's graduate student dining hall. n162 When investigators entered Lohman's apartment, which he shared with his wife, an Asian woman, they found stolen women's underwear and mittens filled with the hairs of Asian women, which they believe Lohman used to masturbate. n163 When the University released e-mail notifications of the incident to the student body, it failed to mention that Lohman's victims were all Asian women. n164 While the institution\*n treated the case as an isolated instance of a psychologically unstable man, Yin Ling Leung, organizational director of the National Asian Pacific American Women's Forum ("NAPAWF"), contended that the University misidentified the problem. n165 Leung argued that the Asian fetish syndrome triggered Lohman's behavior. n166 Activists in the Asian American community complained about the fact that the University ignored how Lohman specifically targeted Asian women and clearly harbored a sexual fetish for them. For example, Leung said that to protect Asian American female students, the University should have been more "culturally competent." n167 Leung further stated: "Sexual assault of Asian women on college campuses is a major issue. You get a room of five Asian American women together, and they all have stories about sexual harassment." n168 Mainstream America shrugs off the notion of Asian fetishes, believing men who have such fetishes "are harmless." n169 However, Leung warns, "It's not as innocent as it looks." n170 Helen Zia, a Princeton graduate, commented: "It's the image of Asian American women being exotic and passive and won't fight back and speak up. Predators think they have free rein with Asian American women." n171 In another and even more disturbing case, David Dailey and Edmund "Eddie" Ball abducted, handcuffed, and blindfolded two Japanese schoolgirls, ages eighteen and nineteen, in Spokane, Washington. n172 The two girls were taken to a house and raped repeatedly over a span of seven hours. n173 Eddie Ball, the mastermind behind the crime, professed an avid fascination in bondage, sadomasochism, and Japanese culture. n174 He collected Japanese bondage videos and was an expert in Japanese rope-tying techniques. n175 At his home, police found numerous Japanese-language books. n176 Ball specifically targeted Japanese students because he believed them to be submissive and thus, less likely to report the rapes. n177 However, he believed wrongly. n178 The students reported the crime and aided police in catching the perpetrators. n179 Dailey and Ball faced sentences of twenty-one to twenty-eight years in prison. n180 Then there was the case of Lili Wang, a North Carolina State University ("NCSU") graduate student, who became the victim of what may have been a racially-motivated crime. n181 Richard Borelli Anderson had a strong sexual preference for Asian women because, as Anderson allegedly said, "they study hard, and they're very nice, soft speaking." n182 In October of 2002, Anderson fired four gunshots into Wang, killing her before turning the gun on himself. n183 Police found his body five feet away from Wang. n184 Professor Andrew Chin maintained that this was a hate crime, but the NCSU police disagreed. n185 "There is no evidence to suggest that the offender, Richard Anderson, acted on any bias against Lili Wang because of her race," said John Daily, deputy director of the NCSU Police Department. n186 Professor Chin contended, "[I]f you view the chain of events and link the events together, including what may appeared to have been unwanted advances on a married woman [Wang], which lead to the murder, this may be a form of racial discrimination against an [Asian] woman." n187 Chin believed the victim did nothing to bring about the senseless act, other than being an Asian woman. n188 / 4. On Violence Against Asian and Diasporic Asian Women / During a U.S. Bureau of Justice statistical study on victimization and race that took place over the course of five years, n189 thirty-five percent of Asian victims of violence n190 reported the race of their offenders to be White. n191 Twenty-six percent of the Asian victims reported their offenders to be Black and thirty percent reported their offenders as "Other." n192 The greatest proportion of perpetrators on Asians were non-Asian, which is not the case for White and Black victims, where both groups reported the greatest proportion of perpetrators to be members of their own race. n193 Thus, while Blacks most often fall victim to Black offenders and Whites most often fall victim to White offenders, Asians most often fall victim to White offenders, not Asian. For rape and sexual assault rates among women, the Bureau of Justice Statistics Study reported that Asian females had the lowest rate of rape and sexual assault. n194 The frequency of rapes and sexual assaults among women by race, however, is highly contested from study to study. n195 Some studies, like the one conducted by the Bureau of Justice Statistics, report no significant variation in the prevalence of rape among different ethnic groups. n196 Other studies, however, suggest considerable variations, finding that Asian women appear to have lower incidences of rape. n197 A 2001 psychological study by Rozee and Koss on rape hypothesized that the conflicting results of these studies could be due to "methodological differences in the studies," "lack of disclosure due to mistrust of police," "language barriers," and "differences in defining rape." n198 / Increasingly, however, scholars and researchers realize that perhaps one crucial reason for the lower rate of reported rapes among Asian women comes from cultural differences. n199 Generally, Asian victims are the least likely to disclose their experiences of sexual victimization to authorities and even to friends or family. n200 Asians, both men and women, tend to hold much more negative attitudes toward rape victims and believed more strongly in rape myths than their White counterparts. n201 / Also, the Bureau of Justice study found that, at higher rates than any other race, Asians said the reasons they chose not to report violence to the police were because either there was small or no loss, lack of proof, or it was inconvenient. n202 One recent and haunting example of Asian women's hesitancy to come forward about rape and sexual assault is the Japanese women sexually exploited by American GIs in Japan after World War II. n203 In 2007, historical documents and records surfaced revealing how American authorities permitted official brothel systems to operate in Japan despite internal reports that the Japanese women were being coerced into prostitution to the U.S. servicemen. n204 Despite the blatant sexual exploitation and often violence perpetrated on these women, not one Japanese woman has come forward to seek compensation or an apology. n205 Under such astounding circumstances that would shock any conscience, Asian women still opt not to report the sex crime. Thus, the tremendously low numbers of reported sex crimes against Asian women not only seems unsurprising, but also leaves an indelibly strong suspicion that the numbers are inaccurate. / IV. White Sexual Imperialism Within Existing Theoretical and Social Constructs / A. Revisiting MacKinnon: Dominance Theory Applied to Asian Feminist Jurisprudence / Women are sexually assaulted because they are women: not individually or at random, but on the basis of sex, because of their membership in a group defined by gender. Forty-four percent of women in the United States have been or will be victims of rape or attempted rape at least once in their lives. Women of color experience disproportionately high incidence rates. n206 / The dominance approach to feminist theory frames the question of equality as "a question of the distribution of power." n207 Thus, gender equality, as a question of power, scrutinizes "male supremacy and female subordination." n208 Following this logic, racial equality scrutinizes White supremacy and non-White subordination. For the Asian woman at the intersection of gender and race, achieving equality means overthrowing not only male supremacy or White supremacy, but specifically White male supremacy. Since "sexuality appears as the interactive dynamic of gender as an inequality" n209 and "aggression against those with less power is experienced as sexual pleasure, an entitlement of masculinity," n210 it is the White male's sexual dominance over the Asian female which emerges as the source of inequality that the Asian female suffers. / Moreover, for Asian feminist jurisprudence, "colonial and military domination are interwoven with sexual domination." n211 The Western military's involvement in Asia, both in colonial and neo-colonial history, has led to Asia's sex tourism industry. n212 This is an industry where the buyers of bodies for sexual pleasure are predominantly White men and the sellers of their bodies for sexual pleasure are predominantly Asian women. No other fact or condition confirms the imbalanced power relations between the East and the West. This imbalance of power came from White men imperializing Asia n213 and, in the course of conquest, the taking of Asian women's bodies as their spoils. n214 The pervasiveness of sexual objectification establishes in the minds of Westerners a stereotype of Asian women as hyper-sexualized, since their only utility to Westerners for centuries came from their sexual submission. n215 / B. Where Do We Go From Here? / The U.S. recognizes the profound harms that the institution of slavery caused during the early parts of American history which still endure today. Yet what about imperialism? Students read of it from textbooks in neutral language. No sense of penance comes with the recounts of U.S. occupation in Asia. Considering the general trends of the Asian and diasporic Asian communities enumerated in this essay, chiefly, severe underreporting of violent crimes inflicted upon them and a lack of scholarship examining the role imperialism played in the subjugation of Asian women, it comes as no surprise that history, through America's eyes, would white-wash the imperialized experience Asians endure even well into this century. Asian men feel emasculated from the American media's portrayal of them as effeminate, and many Asian women's subconscious preference for dating White men over Asian men--a trend which has become increasingly popular. White men display the "Asian fetish" syndrome, a symptom of not only the desire for male dominance, but also the imported stereotype that Asian women want to be dominated. The mail-order bride industry flourishes, capitalizing on the "Asian fetish." Then, the overrepresentation of Asian women in pornography perpetuate the entire cycle of White sexual imperialism as experienced by Asian women today. / The action this Article calls for is humble, but significant: recognition. Recognize the pervasiveness of White sexual imperialism, understand its roots and where the branches pan out, and see how firmly implanted it is in the lives of those in the Asian community. The author asks for little more for now: merely recognition.

### AT: Speak for Women

#### Must question our positions of privilege as males in debate and in Asia.

Darnell L. Moore 2011 (Writer and activist whose work is informed by anti-racist, feminist, queer of color, and a0nti-colonial thought and advocacy, “On Location: The “I” in the Intersection”, http://thefeministwire.com/2011/12/on-location-the-i-in-the-intersection :)

The most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression and see as our particular task the development of integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that the major systems of oppression are interlocking. The synthesis of these oppressions creates the conditions of our lives. As black women we see black feminism as the logical political movement to combat the manifold and simultaneous oppressions that all women of color face. -The Combahee River Collective in A Black Feminist Statement Many radical movement builders are well-versed in the theory of intersectionality. Feminists, queer theorists and activists, critical race scholars, progressive activists, and the like owe much to our Black feminist sisters, like The Combahee River Collective, who introduced us to the reality of simultaneity–as a framework for assessing the multitude of interlocking oppressions that impact the lives of women of color–in A Black Feminist Statement (1978). Their voices and politics presaged Kimberlé Crenshaw’s very useful theoretical contribution of “intersectionality” to the feminist toolkit of political interventions in 1989. Since its inception, many have referenced the term—sometimes without attribution to the black feminist intellectual genealogy from which it emerged—as a form of en vogue progressive parlance. In fact, it seems to be the case that it is often referenced in progressive circles as a counterfeit license (as in, “I understand the ways that race, sexuality, class, and gender coalesce. I get it. I really do.”) to enter resistance work even if the person who declares to have a deep “understanding” of the connectedness of systemic matrices of oppression, themselves, have yet to discern and address their own complicity in the maintenance of the very oppressions they seek to name and demolish. I am certain that I am not the only person who has heard a person use language embedded with race, class, gender, or ability privilege follow-up with a reference to “intersectionality.” My concern, then, has everything to do with the way that the fashioning of intersectionality as a political framework can lead toward the good work of analyzing ideological and material systems of oppression—as they function “out there”—and away from the great work of critical analyses of the ways in which we, ourselves, can function as actants in the narratives of counter-resistance that we rehearse. In other words, we might be missing the opportunity to read our complicities, our privileges, our accesses, our excesses, our excuses, our modes of oppressing—located “in here”—as they occupy each of us. Crenshaw’s theorization has provided us with a useful lens to assess the problematics of the interrelated, interlocking apparatuses of power and privilege and their resulting epiphenomena of powerlessness and subjugation. Many have focused on the external dimensions of oppression and their material results manifested in the lives of the marginalized, but might our times be asking of us to deeply consider our own “stuff” that might instigate such oppressions? What if we extended Crenshaw’s theory of intersectionality by invoking what we might name “intralocality”? Borrowing from sociologists, the term “social location,” which broadly speaks to one’s context, highlights one’s standpoint(s)—the social spaces where s/he is positioned (i.e. race, class, gender, geographical, etc.). Intralocality, then, is concerned with the social locations that foreground our knowing and experiencing of our world and our relationships to the systems and people within our world. Intralocality is a call to theorize the self in relation to power and privilege, powerlessness and subjugation. It is work that requires the locating of the “I” in the intersection. And while it could be argued that such work is highly individualistic, I contend that it is at the very level of self-in-relation-to-community where communal transformation is made possible. Might it be time to travel into the deep of our contexts? Might it be time for us—theorists/activists—to do the work of intersectionality (macro/system-analysis) in concert with the intra-local (micro/self-focused analysis)? Intersectionality as an analysis, rightly, asks of us to examine systemic oppressions, but in these times of radical and spontaneous insurgencies—times when we should reflect on our need to unoccupy those sites of privilege (where they exist) in our own lives even as we occupy some other sites of domination—work must be done at the level of the self-in-community. We cannot—as a progressive community—rally around notions of “progression” and, yet, be complicit in the very homo/transphobias, racisms, sexisms, ableisms, etc. that violently terrorize the lives of so many others. If a more loving and just community is to be imagined and advanced, it seems to me that we would need to start at a different location than we might’ve expected: self.