

# Race, Gender, and the Status-Quo: Asian and African American Relations in a Hollywood Film

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Hollywood films play a significant role in constructing and reinforcing inter-ethnic tensions through negative representations of Asian Americans and African Americans. While white males are most often depicted as smart and romantically desirable, thereby reinforcing an ideology of white male dominance, Asian Americans and Blacks are typically diminished to demeaning and secondary status. This article explores these racist stereotypes in director Michael Cimino's 1995 film *Year of the Dragon* (as well as a number of other Hollywood films), arguing that such race and gender-specific imagery is functional; for while it promotes race/gender stereotypes, it also serves to rationalize white dominance as necessary to sustain the status-quo.

## Introduction

"Seeing comes before words."  
—John Berger<sup>1</sup>

Contemporary images of race relations in the United States come not only from what we read, but **what we see** in movies and television.<sup>2</sup> Drawing from Melvin DeFleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach's work on the media, which argues that structural functionalism as a theoretical framework implicitly promotes social harmony and supports the status-quo,<sup>3</sup> this article argues that Hollywood film supports a racist status quo through its images of race and gender-specific stereotypes.

## Explorations in Ethnic Studies

Many critics have advanced similar arguments about film. For example, Jacqueline Bobo describes Black female/male relationships in Steven Spielberg's *The Color Purple* (1985) as sustaining the dominant (white) ideology;<sup>4</sup> Michael Omi and Howard Winant see the prevalence of racial stereotypes as a means to sustain U.S. racial formation;<sup>5</sup> K. Sue Jewell observes the internalization of negative imagery reinforces a white status-quo;<sup>6</sup> and Christine Choy argues that Herbert Shiller's book *The Mind Managers* describes the reproduction of stereotypical images of Asian Americans in television and film.<sup>7</sup>

Reasons for focusing on African American and Asian American relations (within the context of white mainstream cinema) also stem from actual life occurrences of ignorance and mutual estrangement between Blacks and Asian Americans. In 1986, for instance, Japanese Prime Minister Yashio Nakasone slurred African Americans and Hispanics as intellectual inferiors.<sup>8</sup> Karl Zinsmeister reported feelings of prejudice against Asian Americans "from top (white corporations) to bottom (Black underclass)."<sup>9</sup> The late 1980s and early 1990s saw segments of the African American community staging boycotts against Korean grocers in New York and Los Angeles. In 1992, Korean American businesses were alleged to be special targets of Los Angeles rioters following the acquittal of white police who beat Rodney King. Letha Lee reported tensions between poor Blacks and Southeast Asian refugees over competition for social welfare resources.<sup>10</sup> Roger Daniels pointed to overt racist comparisons by neo-conservatives between the Black underclass and more upwardly mobile Japanese and Chinese Americans.<sup>11</sup> John Russell concluded that much of Black/Asian antagonism is rooted in racist imagery promoted through commercial media, such as the kind seen in many Hollywood films.<sup>12</sup>

This paper shows how Hollywood's limited perceptions of Asians and Blacks reflect and reinforce racial stratification and promote interracial antagonisms. By doing so, the role of white racism in decontextualized and naturalized in film, thereby justifying the dominant status-quo or existing racial hierarchy. Director Michael Cimino's *Year of the Dragon* (1985), a police action film about a ruthless Chinese American subculture in New York City, is a good example of this problematic. Gina Marchetti has made similar observations concerning the unbalanced depictions of Chinese Americans in Cimino's film.<sup>13</sup> In addition, Lan Nguyen has raised similar issues about Japanese and Asian American relations in Phil Kaufman's *Rising Sun* (1993).<sup>14</sup> And, Donald Bogle has also expressed concerns regarding perceptions of African Americans in Hollywood cinema.<sup>15</sup> In sum, these writers contend that popular cinema has traditionally devalued Blacks and Asians with roles as subservient, deprived, or disruptive characters compared to more positive portrayals of white people. This article explores these issues in detail in Cimino's controversial film *Year of the Dragon*.

## ***Spigner-Race, Gender, and the Status Quo***

### **Enforcing the Status-Quo: *Year of the Dragon* as a Prime Example**

Mickey Rourke, the unwashed white actor who sexually dominated T.V.'s Cosby child Lisa Bonet in *Angel Heart* (1987), portrays Polish American police captain Stanley White, determined to bring law and order to New York City's Chinatown in *Year of the Dragon*. White's persona, described as "the most decorated policeman on the force," establishes him as an American symbol of "rugged individualism." White (Rourke) brutally "seduces" the film's principle Chinese American female, T.V. news journalist Tracy Tzu (Ariane) and beats up the Chinese American male antagonist Joey Tai (John Lone). Tai is described as "slender and self-possessed...Slightly prissy and impatient"<sup>16</sup> and is constructed as more effeminate in contrast to a more virile White. Chinatown "mafia" elders and a marauding youth gang, the latter paralleling public fear of gun-blasting, dope-dealing Black urban youth gangs, are presented as responsible for societal disharmony. Thus, police oppression is represented as a socially accepted force needed to restore social equilibrium.

Policeman White is indicative of Hollywood's tradition of bullies with badges who emerged during the Nixon administration with Harry Callahan (Clint Eastwood in Don Siegel's *Dirty Harry*, 1971)<sup>17</sup> and "Popeye" Doyle (Gene Hackman in William Friedkin's *The French Connection*, 1971).<sup>18</sup> These openly racist/sexist proletariat cops, emphasizing their white ethnicity, became legitimized as mythic "urban cowboys" from American folklore updated for the post-Vietnam and crime-ridden eighties. Galvanizing the ignorance and fear of the American mainstream, a police-vigilante mentality is deemed as necessary to subordinate the rampant dysfunctionality of dark strangers at prey in the cities' mean streets.

### **The White Ethnic American Versus the Racial Stereotype**

Eurasian actor John Lone, seen in Fred Schepisi's *Iceman* (1984) and Bernardo Bertolucci's *The Last Emperor* (1987), is reduced to secondary status as the antagonist Joey Tai in Cimino's film. A restaurant owner and aspiring crime boss, Tai pursued the American Dream by capitalizing on the underground economy (the heroin trade). But an inescapable distinction between America's history of multi-ethnic gangsterism and Tai is his racial (and not ethnic) phenotype. Here, Joey Tai shares the distinction of visibility with African Americans. Unlike the white ethnic Italian American hoodlums in Frances Coppla's *Godfather* films (1972, 1974, 1990), or Jewish and Irish American gangsters in Sergio Leone's *Once Upon a Time in America* (1984), or Italian/Irish American criminals in Martin Scorsese's *Goodfellas* (1990), Tai's ruthlessness seems devoid of an objective historical context. *Year of the*

## Explorations in Ethnic Studies

*Dragon* leaves the impression of a cold, calculating urban immigrant born of a criminal subculture (the Triads are noted to be a thousand years old). Societal response to such alien outlaws bent on disrupting the smooth functioning of the status-quo is a WASP war hero who has been politically sanctioned to re-establish social harmony.

### Boundaries: A Thin Blue Line

Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) suggested that deviance in society is functional, for it establishes boundaries which define social norms.<sup>19</sup> Visible Asian criminals in *Year of the Dragon* act more as boundary markers to define non-conformist behavior. As the status-quo's armed guards, the police operate to keep the existing structure in tact by maintaining "acceptable" behavior. The police are arrogant, unorthodox urban cowboys/soldiers presented as independent, tough, and resourceful and who face overwhelming odds from marginalized and dysfunctional people. Thus they are compelled to trample over constitutional rights in order to keep society safe in spite of the liberal rulings of the 1970s Warren Court.

This consistent post-Vietnam image of a racist but gallant herocop who does not apologize for race-bashing followed the social upheaval of the 1960s and progressive 1970s. By the decade of Reagan-Bush, audiences seemed conditioned to accept militaristic police behavior as if cop=bigotry was only a minor indiscretion to maintain desired social harmony.

The power of broadcast media educated the public about civil rights workers being hammered into the pavement by redneck sheriffs, and television brought the Vietnam War into American living rooms, hastening its end. But Jewell Taylor Gibbs also notes how television and film also helps "foster the negative stereotype of black men as criminals, drug addicts, buffoons, and hustlers, and black women are portrayed as meddling matriarchs, sexy 'Shappires,' dumb domestics, and welfare widows."<sup>20</sup> At present, the "us versus them" portrait perpetrated by Hollywood's power elite is in part responsible for public support for punitive criminal justice policies.<sup>21</sup> Arguably, such entertainment has helped to create a greater tolerance for police brutality against racial and ethnic minorities, brutality seen to be necessary for maintaining the social system's equilibrium.

In *Year of the Dragon*, policeman White is to Chinatown's Asian Americans what the Ku Klux Klan are to African Americans in D. W. Griffith's *Birth of a Nation* (1915). As the main protagonist, the audience's identification with White's racist demeanor in an age of continuing inequality<sup>22</sup> suggests how Simi Valley's jury could find Los Angeles policemen "not guilty" of viciously beating Black motorist Rodney King in the spring of 1992. In a society based on race, gender, and economic

### ***Spigner-Race, Gender, and the Status Quo***

stratification, reprehensible behavior by the armed guards of the status-quo is condoned when perceived as necessary to keep the establishment safe from strangers of a different color.

The cinematic construction of a white positive/color negative dichotomy diminishes racial tolerance and understanding. This socially sanctioned and value-laden duality reinforces social stratification and negatively influences interpersonal relationships between minority couples.<sup>23</sup>

#### **Female/Male Antagonism: Exogamous and Endogamous Implications**

*Year of the Dragon's* two principal Asian American characters, Tzu (Ariane) and Tai (Lone), are seen as antagonistic and estranged from each other as are the Black couples in Steven Spielberg's *The Color Purple* (1985) released the same year. The lack of Asian reciprocal romances compared to thousands featuring loving white couples function to reinforce the kind of dominant ideology pointed out by Jewell, Bobo, and Guererro, which devalues Black relationships, and by Choy and Renee Tajima that diminishes Asian romances.<sup>24</sup> Melford Weiss's earlier anthropological study revealed how mass media's proliferation of white males as masculine/romantic ideals produces an "Asian male negative/Asian female positive dichotomy" and encourages Chinese/Caucasian dating patterns.<sup>25</sup>

Tajima sees *Year of the Dragon's* depiction of Tzu as an Asian woman not interested in any Asian man.<sup>26</sup> Against the usual stereotype, Tzu is initially independent and assertive but remains cold and elitist particularly towards fellow Chinese Americans. Yet she is curiously acquiescent to white male authority. As the film's primary female protagonist, her romantic preference for a racist/sexist white policeman reinforces race and gender domination as desirable and appropriate. Tzu's evident lack of race or gender consciousness is used as a socializing agent to convince viewers that white male authority, however crude and oppressive, is acceptable when it promotes desired social stability.

Just as *The Color Purple* represents Black men as harsh and brutal, *Year of the Dragon* similarly diminishes Chinese American men. By having Tzu raped by an Asian youth gang orchestrated by Tai, the film serves to justify her contempt for anything "Asian" and her literal embrace of White as protector. (Though Tzu's weakness is set-up earlier when she has an emotional breakdown in the arms of the hero-cop after a vicious shout-out by the Chinese youth gang in a restaurant.) White's pious fury over Tzu's rape— "Now they've gone too far!"—is patronizing and perplexing: he is far less upset over the murder of his own wife by the gang. Such scenes function to place this white male on a moral high ground, since no one else expresses such concern. Such is also

## Explorations in Ethnic Studies

suggested in White's earlier date rape of Tzu, which is callously presented as of little consequence to him or, curiously, to her, implying that sexual aggression is more "acceptable" to Asians.<sup>27</sup> And when endogenous gender estrangement is juxtaposed with such self-righteous indignation from this chief enforcer of the status-quo, real world and cinematic hypocrisy is clearly illustrated. For just as black-on-black crime brings less media focus and political outrage while black-on-white crimes are treated as a national affront, *Year of the Dragon* constructs White as society's moral barometer and its chauvinistic protector.

Constrained to portray Tai as brutal, manipulative, and a physical wimp, Eurasian actor John Lone continues the Hollywood tradition of depicting Asian men as stealthy, non-assertive, and fearful when surrounded by white people. Writer David Mura criticized this pervasive negative image of Asians: "The men are houseboys or Chinatown punks, kung fu warriors or Japanese businessmen, robotlike and powerful or robotlike and comic."<sup>28</sup> Similarly as with Black men like the outstanding actor Jaye Davison in Neil Jordan's *The Crying Game* (1992), effeminate Asian men, seen recently as gay lovers of white men in *The Wedding Banquet* (1993) and *M. Butterfly* (1993) and as non-threatening sex partners to non-threatening white women in *The Lovers* (1992) and *The Ballad of Little Joe* (1993), also found expression in *Year of the Dragon*.

Asian male sexuality, even when depicting ruthless antagonists, comes off as very passive. This perception is against the usual depictions of ruthless Black and Latino men often pictured as sexually aggressive. Asian and Black men tend to share a similar cinematic history as unromantic types when compared to the multidimensional roles allowed white men. On the other hand, unlike Black women who are consistently reduced to depiction of the "exotic primitive" or "sexual savage," Asian women are more often represented as the passive, subservient lovers to mostly white men.<sup>29</sup>

### Preference for a White Significant-Other as Functional

Within functionalism's theoretical frame, Tzu's sexual preference for a racist/sexist white cop seems less a personal option than a limited political choice. Her own elitism and cultural detachment from other Chinese Americans embody her as a living metaphor of assimilation. Tzu's lack of emotional, social, or political consciousness about her lover's overt sexist and racist behavior implies that racial minorities would be better off if they simply accepted the prevailing power structure.

Ariane's casting as Tzu supports a Western mythology of white females as the ideal of feminine beauty. A real-life model of Dutch Japanese ancestry, Ariane has distinct Eurocentric physical features (and her ethnically-neutral name might also account, in part, for her success as an "exotic" model). Within the manifest functions of gender,

### ***Spigner-Race, Gender, and the Status Quo***

race, and class as deployed through popular culture, the benefits of Ariane's Eurocentric phenotype derives from the inherent biases in Western ideology. As Charles Stember wrote: "A standard of beauty in Western society was probably greatly facilitated by the invention of the movies which projected onto cities and towns all over the world the image of the desirable female on a mass scale."<sup>30</sup>

Stembar's point explains why so few commercial films (or modeling agencies) feature Black women, and those that do tend to promote women with distinctive Eurocentric physical traits. For example; Lisa Bonet in Alan Parker's *Angel Heart* (1987), Cathy Tyson in Neil Jordan's *Mona Lisa* (1986 Britain), Appolonia Kotera in Albert Margoli's *Purple Rain* (1984), Vanity in John Frankenheimer's *52 Pick Up* (1986) and Craig T. Baxley's *Action Jackson* (1988), Rae Dawn Chong in Mark Lester's *Commando* (1985), Cynda Williams in Carl Franklin's *One False Move* (1992), Halle Berry in Reginald Hudlin's *Boomerang* (1992), and yes!...Jaye Davidson in Jordan's *The Crying Game* (1992). As also evidenced in *Year of the Dragon*, racial stratification functions to define and reinforce feminine beauty, interracial relations, and social status, just as it does masculinity, race/gender dynamics, and power relationships in the films mentioned.

Interestingly, actress Rae Dawn Chong (mentioned above) is of Black/Asian mixture, but has never been assigned an Asian role. Does Hollywood's racism deny Chong's Asian heritage? Yet Ariane, as well as Julie Nickson from George Cosmatos' *Rambo: First Blood* (1985), are half white but portray full Asian characters. This is not intended as an argument for racial purity among actors—race is more a social than biological construct—but when Asians manifest a Eurocentric phenotype, Hollywood promotes them as more acceptable Asian characters. Thus the Hollywood status-quo operates to dictate racial inclusivity and exclusivity among Asians and Blacks.

### **Sexual Imperialism**

As in the majority of such Hollywood films, race and gender oppression is highly evident in *Year of the Dragon*. Policeman White practically rapes news journalist Tzu, described by Tajima as a combination clone of Susie Wong and Connie Chung.<sup>31</sup> Tzu's protest of White's sexual brutality is weak and serves to reinforce chauvinistic practices which link romance to race/gender dominance and power. Tzu's "seduction" represents a symbolic "conquering" of the Orient by an authority of the U.S. government. Her (sexual) acquiescence to the policeman's strong-arm "take over" (of her body) is perhaps symbolic wish-fulfillment for Far East capitulation to Western hegemony.

*Year of the Dragon's* xenophobic and ethnocentric viewpoint comes partly from co-screenwriter Oliver Stone, a Vietnam veteran. A

## Explorations in Ethnic Studies

liberal but manipulative myth-maker, Stone is responsible for other films featuring low-life white males romantically paired with passive women of color. For instance, the dark Elpedia Carrillo as the Central American girlfriend of a sleazy Anglo reporter (James Woods) in *Salvador* (1986). Carrillo is featured standing around naked in blatantly voyeuristic scenes in the same way that Tzu (Ariane) is featured prancing naked through her split-level New York City apartment. Ariane (and Carrillo) are reduced to what movie critic David Sterritt describes as "sexist nudity."<sup>32</sup> This cinematic rape carries over to white actresses who maintain the symbolism of color. For example, director David Lynch's controversial *Blue Velvet* (1986) juxtaposes a dark, mysterious, bad, and incredibly naked Isabella Rossellini with the light, innocent, and blond Laura Dern. Such instances of gender exploitation illustrate filmmakers (males) use of power against the powerless (females). The existing racial hierarchy in America further exacerbates this exploitation of women of color.

*Year of the Dragon* moreover treats Asians as Blacks have generally been treated—as monolithic. The film embodies Chinese Americans (and all Asians) as the vicious enemy. For instance, a female youth gang member, in heels and tight skirt, kills a policeman, and after a heart-pounding foot chase through the streets with policeman White in hot pursuit, becomes trapped in traffic and is struck down by cold, impersonal, zooming automobiles (perhaps suggesting the vast power and technology used against the Viet Cong, or to suggest the car wars between Japan and America). The mocking White hovers over the dying youth like a Bell C-140 helicopter and demands a confession. Her response is a fearless—"Fuck you!"

The significance of this dying scene is its remarkable similarity to the death of a lethal Viet Cong female sniper in Stanley Kubrick's *Full Metal Jacket* (1987) after she has tortuously shot to pieces a Black soldier (Dorian Harwood). Identical reverse angle camera shots in both films frame the impending death of a supine Asian female enemy surrounded by triumphant white males. Such scenes equate Chinese American youth gangs with Vietnamese guerrillas—blurring ethnic distinctions. The initial scene also parallels urban paranoia about young, Black, and fearless street gangs.

This passive/aggressive duality of the Asian female calls for a reiteration about Ariane's role. When contrasting Tzu's physical features with these militant young killers, symbols and imagery become significant: Cimino's youth gang member and Kubrick's V.C. sniper exhibit more phenotypic traits that can be described as Asian. They also represent direct lethal threats to the established social order, while Tzu, on the other hand, is rewarded with romance and protection (recall the audience is supposed to identify with Tzu). Just as Manthia Diawara pointed to the cinematic need to punish Black assertiveness,<sup>33</sup> Asian aggression and defiance against the white establishment must also be



## ***Spigner-Race, Gender, and the Status Quo***

sanctioned.

Therefore *Year of the Dragon's* main message seems to be that Asians (or any minority group) who accommodates to the dominant ideology will be granted acceptance to the existing hierarchy. Tzu's (willful) subjugation to the status-quo is a metaphor for racial assimilation while annihilation is the consequence when established (white) authority is challenged.

### **Black and Asian Relations**

Earlier motion pictures featuring Blacks within an "Oriental" milieu were the Charlie Chan series, based on Earl Derr Bigger's (1884-1933) Chinese detective character who was always portrayed by white actors (Sidney Toler, Warner Oland, Peter Ustinov). Blacks were used as "comic relief" and were featured in Louis King's *Charlie Chan in Egypt* (1935) with Stepin Fetchit and Phil Rosen's *Charlie Chan in the Secret Service* (1944) with Mantan Moreland. Bogle described Fetchit and Moreland's depictions generally as "coons;" meaning they ranged from portraying harmless buffoons to "no account niggers."<sup>34</sup>

*Year of the Dragon* takes place some fifty years later and over twenty years after the modern Civil Rights Movement. Tai's main bodyguard is an African American. Though his Black enforcer's behavior falls short of the Fetchit and Moreland buffoonery a half century earlier, the Black gangster's status among New York's Chinese Americans is that of an ineffective "darker." He is seen opening doors and clearing the way for the more ambitious Joey Tai, thereby positioning Asian/Black relations at the level of master and servant. The Black bodyguard is noticeably middle-aged, thus William Julius William would observe him to be a representative of Black underclass stagnancy vis-a-vis general Asian progress of the post Civil Rights generation.<sup>35</sup> Interestingly, the Black led Civil Rights Movement which took place during this hoodlum's youth also opened doors for other minorities and women.<sup>36</sup>

The social distancing between African Americans and Chinese Americans is clearly articulated by Tai's admonition to fellow Chinese that they avoid becoming treated as "yellow niggers" (echoing John Glover's class put-down of Rob Lowe as a "boat nigger" in Bob Swain's *Masquerade* 1988). *Year of the Dragon's* primary Black character is a social pariah and symbolic of the lowest gratus that could befall any group in the U.S.

Roger Daniels notes that some neo-conservatives interpret the American struggle for upward mobility as inter-ethnic rivalry.<sup>37</sup> Racial competition for social positioning might account for Tai's opinionated rankings of race and, in real-life, former Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone's racial slurs against African Americans and Hispanics. The neo-conservative perception that Blacks and Asians must compete for

## Explorations in Ethnic Studies

placement into America's race hierarchy may have added fuel to the fires that burned Korean businesses in the Los Angeles riots. Indeed, as Russell pointed out about Japan's cultural view of Blacks, Asian Americans might be led to perceive African Americans as the "other"<sup>38</sup> and vice-versa, given Nguyen's assessment of Kaufman's *Rising Sun*.<sup>39</sup>

Perceptions of interracial competition manifested in film imagery are grounded in a kind of white paternalism where the potential for Asian/Black coalitions are often ignored or totally dismissed. As in the false historical revisionism of Alan Parker's *Mississippi Burning* (1988) and Joseph Ruben's *True Believer* (1989), important real-life occurrences of Asian and Black alliances were reconstructed to cast white males as saviors for people of color, suggesting that neither Blacks nor Asians can effectively address their own or common grievances.

Within the dominant white milieu, race and gender rankings result from the existing social, political, and economic structure. In film, Asians and Blacks are not seen working together, doing so might suggest a Marxist approach for solving mutual problems. Instead, they are set against one another. Besides in *Year of the Dragon*, this can also be seen in Ruben's *True Believer*, where a Black policeman is an unlikely co-conspirator with the racist white cops (and system) responsible for unjustly imprisoning an Asian American gang member (Yuji Okumoto). Also in Kaufman's *Rising Sun*, Japanese hoodlums venture into South Central Los Angeles and are successfully intimidated by the area's Black youths.<sup>40</sup> Unlike the Korean American grocer in Spike Lee's *Do the Right Thing* (1988), who declared himself Black (admittedly in the heat of a race riot), films like Ruben's *True Believer*, Christopher Crowe's *Off Limits* (1987), Lee Thompson's *Kinjite: Forbidden Subjects* (1989), Kaufman's *Rising Sun*, along with Cimino's *Year of the Dragon*, do not promote Black/Asian cooperation but seem purposively designed to exacerbate intra-minority tension, and hence, justify white domination by reinforcing race-based stratification.

## Conclusion

Commerical films like *Year of the Dragon* reflect and reinforce race, class, and gender stratification. Such racist/sexist film imagery influences endogamous and exogamous relations. Racial accommodation and cultural assimilation into the dominant (white) culture by denying race/gender oppression are constructed as socially and politically appropriate responses. And Asian/Black political coalitions are about as rare as interpersonal romance between the two. (A notable exception is Mira Nair's *Mississippi Masala* [1992] involving an East Asian woman and an African American man.)

Hollywood's consistent negative representations of Asian, Asian American, and African American operates to reinforce the existing

### ***Spigner-Race, Gender, and the Status Quo***

hegemonic structure in American society. This social, political, and economic hierarchy is race and gender based, yet designed to be viewed as functional (thus justified) for it uses such cinematic imagery to sustain the status-quo.<sup>41</sup>

#### **NOTES**

<sup>1</sup>John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Pelican, 1978), 1.

<sup>2</sup>Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness in the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

<sup>3</sup>Melvin L. DeFleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach, *Theories in Mass Communication*, 4th ed. (New York: Longman, 1982), 15-17.

<sup>4</sup>Jacqueline Bobo, "The Color Purple: Black Women's Responses," *Jump Cut* 33, 1 (February 1988): 43-51.

<sup>5</sup>Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986).

<sup>6</sup>K. Sue Jewell, "Black Male/Female Conflicts: Internalization of Negative Definitions Transmitted Through Imagery," *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 7, (1983): 43-48.

<sup>7</sup>Herbert Shiller, *The Mind Managers* (Boston, 1973).

<sup>8</sup>John G. Russell, "Narrative of Denial: Racial Chauvinism and The Black Other in Japan," *Japan Quarterly* (October-December 1991): 416-428.

<sup>9</sup>Karl Zinsmeister, "Asians: Prejudice from Top to Bottom," *Public Opinion* (July-August 1987): 8-10 and 59.

<sup>10</sup>Letha Lee, "International Migration of Refugee Problems: Conflict Between Black Americans and Southeast Asian Refugees," *Journal of Intergroup Relations* 14, 4(1987): 38-50.

<sup>11</sup>Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States Since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988).

<sup>12</sup>Russell, 416-428.

<sup>13</sup>Gina Marchetti, "Ethnicity, the Cinema and Cultural Studies," in *Unspeakable Images*, ed. Lester Friedman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991), 277-307.

## Explorations in Ethnic Studies

<sup>14</sup>Lan Nguyen, "Rising Sun Presents Damaging Portrayal of Japanese, Asians," *The Rafu Shimpō* (July 1, 1993): 3.

<sup>15</sup>Donald Bogle, *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, & Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films*, Expanded Edition (New York: Continuum, 1991).

<sup>16</sup>David Denby, "The Chinese Connection," *New York* (26 August 1985): 101-102 and 104.

<sup>17</sup>Foster Hirsh, *The Dark Side of the Screen: Film Noir* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1981), 137.

<sup>18</sup>Bruce Crowther, *Film Noir: Reflections in a Dark Mirror* (London: Columbus Books, 1988), 164.

<sup>19</sup>Emile Durkheim, *The Rule of the Sociological Method*, translated by S. A. Selvy and J. H. Mueller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938).

<sup>20</sup>Jewell Taylor Gibbs, *Young, Black, and Male in America: An Endangered Species* (Massachusetts: Auburn Publishing House, 1988), 354.

<sup>21</sup>Ray Surette, "Television and Support of Punitive Criminal Justice Policy," *Journal Quarterly* 62 (Summer 1985): 373-377.

<sup>22</sup>National Research Council, *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society* (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1989), 274-294.

<sup>23</sup>Jewell, 43-48; Renee Tajima, "Lotus Blossoms Don't Bleed: Images of Asian Women," in *Making Waves* (California: Beacon Press, 1989), 309-317; and Melford S. Weiss, "Selected Acculturation and Dating Process: The Pattern of Chinese Caucasian Inter-Racial Dating," in *Asian Americans: Psychological Perspectives*, eds. Stanley Sue and Nathaniel N. Wagner (California: Science and Behavior Books, 1973), 86-94.

<sup>24</sup>Jewell, 46; Bobo, 43-51; Ed Guerrero, "The Color Purple, Brothers From Another Planet: The Slavery Motif in Popular Cinema," *Jump Cut* 33 (February 1988): 52-59; Choy, 145-155; and Tajima, 300-317.

<sup>25</sup>Weiss, 92.

<sup>26</sup>Renee Tajima, "I Just Hope We Find a Nip in This Building That Speaks

**Spigner-Race, Gender, and the Status Quo**

English," *The Village Voice* (5 December 1989): 104.

<sup>27</sup>David Sterritt, "Year of the Dragon Presents Lopsided Portrait of Chinatown," *The Christian Science Monitor* (23 August 1985): 25.

<sup>28</sup>David Mura, "Secrets and Anger?," *Mother Jones* (September/October 1992): 19.

<sup>29</sup>Tajima, *Making Waves*, 300-317.

<sup>30</sup>Charles H. Stember, *Sexual Racism* (New York: Elsevier, 1976), 121.

<sup>31</sup>Tajima, *Making Waves*, 313.

<sup>32</sup>Sterritt, 25.

<sup>33</sup>Manthia Diawara, "Black Spectatorship: Problems of Identification and Resistance," *Screen* 29 (1988): 66-76.

<sup>34</sup>Bogle, 8.

<sup>35</sup>William J. Wilson, "The Ghetto Underclass and the Social Transformation of the Inner City," *The Black Scholar* 19 (1988): 10-17.

<sup>36</sup>Ronald Takaki, "Strangers at the Gates Again," in *Strangers From a Different Shore* (New York: Penguin Books, 1989), 406-471.

<sup>37</sup>Daniels, 1989.

<sup>38</sup>Russell, 416.

<sup>39</sup>Nguyan, 3.

<sup>40</sup>Nguyan, 3.

<sup>41</sup>Clarence Spigner, "Black Impressions of People of Color: A Functionalist Approach to Film Imagery," *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 15, 2 (1991): 69-78.