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Maria Grahn-Farley

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## Essay

### Not for Sale! *Race & Gender Identity in Post-colonial Europe*

Maria Grahn-Farley<sup>†</sup>

#### INTRODUCTION

*I am not for sale! What is it about this short phrase that is so difficult to understand? It does not matter whether I am in Sweden, France or Germany. It does not matter whether I say it in Swedish, French, German, or English. What is it in the hearts and minds of these European-looking men that makes it so difficult for them, if not impossible, to understand that they cannot buy me? What is it about*

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<sup>†</sup> Maria Grahn-Farley received her LL.M. from Göteborg Universitet, she is a Swedish international lawyer who focuses on International Child Rights. She served on the National Board of Rädde Barnen (Save the Children, Sweden), and worked to create anti-racist policies with the City Council of Göteborg. She is currently a Co-Facilitator for the Child Rights Working Group at the Harvard University Center for Population and Development Studies.

The author would like to make the following remarks; I thank the women of the law faculty of Göteborg Universitet, especially Professor Eva-Maria Svensson, doctoral candidate Sari Kouvo, and Britt Randvik. I thank Susan Matthews at the National Law School of India University at Bangalore. I thank Dr. Olayemie Akinwumi, the Alexander von Humbolt Fellow at Frei Universitat in Berlin, who gave me the advice to write this article and the support to follow it through. I thank the members of the Northeastern University-based Critical Race Theory Group for their comments and for the opportunity to present an earlier version of this article. This article also benefitted from a presentation at Birkbeck College, Department of Law (London) in 1999. I thank Professors Phyllis Goldfarb and Ruth-Arlene W. Howe of Boston College Law School for their support and warm welcome on my arrival to the U.S.A. I thank Professor Keith Aoki of the University of Oregon School of Law for his insights. I thank Professor Pamela Perry of the Sociology Department of the University of California at Santa Cruz for her support and friendship. I also thank Professor Henry Steven Turner of the English Literature Department of the University of Wisconsin at Madison for many good words of advice. I thank Carl Lebeck at Stockholm Universitet and Sven Gustafsson at the Göteborg Immigration Bureau for their always brilliant comments. A warm thought goes out to Karin Sennfelt, doctoral candidate at the History Department at Uppsala Universitet. Finally, I thank my husband, Professor Anthony Paul Farley of Boston College Law School, for all the hours of conversation in connection to this article — his expertise and his encouragement have been invaluable to me in finishing this article.

*European-looking men that makes it so difficult for them to understand basic phrases in their own languages? When I write about European-looking men I write about the way they look at me, the way they look at the world they perceive as not being European, and their self-perception as the true European norm.*

I reject the system that would convert me into the commodity form “Asian-looking woman.” The “Asian” is not. Any more than the “European.”<sup>1</sup> The “Woman” is not. Any more than the “Man.”<sup>2</sup> There is, however, a system that marks bodies with origins, behaviors, natures, and destinies. I write about the “look” and about “looks” in order to closely analyze what Colette Guillaumin calls “the system of marks.”<sup>3</sup> This article is a look at the “look” that is neither European, nor between two men. It is an examination of how things and people look. Racism is about the look and not about some intangible essence that marks us by color or continent. Racism is about how Europeans look. Racism is about how Europeans look upon Others as not looking European. Racism is about the meanings Europeans attribute to the non-European look. To be looked upon as human is to be looked upon as European. Sexism is also about the look and not about some intangible essence that marks us by sex. Sexism is about how men look. Sexism is about how men look upon Others as not looking male. Sexism is about the meanings men attribute to that non-male look. To be looked upon as human is to be looked upon as male. This is an attempt, by someone looked upon by racists and sexists as non-European and as non-male, to look back in anger.

The racism I experience differs from the racism experienced by men in Europe. Racism cannot be disconnected from gender.<sup>4</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> This is a play on Frantz Fanon’s “The Negro is not. Any more than the white man.” FRANTZ FANON, *BLACK SKIN, WHITE MASKS* 231 (Charles Lam Markmann trans., Grove Press 1967).

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*

<sup>3</sup> COLETTE GUILLAUMIN, *Race and Nature: the system of marks*, in *RACISM, SEXISM, POWER AND IDEOLOGY* 133–150 (Routledge 1995).

<sup>4</sup> Dorothy E. Roberts, *Racism and Patriarchy in the Meaning of Motherhood*, 1 AM. U. J. GENDER & L. 2 (1993) (arguing that black women experience a complex form of abuse based on the interaction of race, gender and class that is more than the sum of its parts). See also Peter Kwan, *Complicity and Complexity*, 49 DEPAUL L. REV. 673, 674 (2000) (“engaging contemporary identity theories within legal scholarship [in order to] illustrate how those theories might yield practical political lessons”).

fact that I am a woman determines the form of European racism I meet. The racism that is regulated under Swedish criminal law does not include most of the racism that I, as an Asian-looking woman, experience. The Swedish provision against racism is connected to the public space.<sup>5</sup> Under Swedish criminal law, the racist act must be directed to a collective and communicated to a group of people outside the private sphere.<sup>6</sup> The law is not, primarily, a protection of the individual,<sup>7</sup> but rather a protection of Swedish public morals.<sup>8</sup> To qualify under this provision the act must also include a threat of some sort, or in other ways negatively effect the reputation of the group.<sup>9</sup> Swedish criminal law does not reject the stereotyping, as such, of ethnic groups. The connection of the stereotype, in a negative way, to ethnic groups is not allowed.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Brottsbalken [BrB] 16 kap 8 § (16:8), HETS MOT FOLKGRUPP

*Den som i uttalande eller i annat meddelande som sprids hotar eller uttrycker missaktning för folkgrupp eller annan sådan grupp av personer med anspelning på ras, hudfärg, nationellt eller etniskt ursprung eller trosbekännelse, döms för hets mot folkgrupp till fängelse i högst två år eller, om brottet är ringa, till böter. Lag (1988:835)*

The Penal Code [BrB] 16:8 AGITATION AGAINST AN ETHNIC GROUP

Someone who expresses, or through other means communicates, threatens, or expresses disdain for an ethnic group or any like group of people with allusions to race, skin color, nationality or ethnic heritage or creed, shall be sentenced as having committed *Agitation against an Ethnic Group* to prison for no more than two years, or if the crime is insignificant, to a fine. [Trans. Author] *Svenskförfattningssamling* Swedish Code of Statutes [SFS] 1988:835, *Proposition* Government Bill [Prop.] 1986/87:151, and Prop 1970:87, *Konstitutionsutskottet* The Constitutional Commissions' terms of reference [KU] 1987/88:36

<sup>6</sup> Prop. 1986/87:151 s. 110, SOU 1981:38 s. 62 f. It is enough that the discriminatory act is communicated to other people, it does not have to be made official or public intentionally.

<sup>7</sup> Prop. 1970:87 s. 25 st. 2. Swedish criminal law does not have any direct protection from racism that is directed towards the individual.

<sup>8</sup> KU 1987/88:36 s. 22. That racism shall be battled primarily through information, education and free opinion and not through punishments.

<sup>9</sup> Prop. 1970:87 s 73 st. 2. BrB 16:8 does not cover accurate descriptions and statements about ethnic groups. Only derogatory and condescending remarks are covered in this provision.

<sup>10</sup> KU 1987/88:36 s. 22 st. 4. The Supreme Court case NJA 1982 s. 128 reached the criminal level of "disdain". The case is about a sign in the entry of a camping location that said that the Roma people were not allowed to enter. It was found that the sign reached the limit that defines the word disdain in this context.

Swedish anti-racism laws derive their origin from the experiences of the Second World War and the Holocaust.<sup>11</sup> The Swedish anti-racism laws are, for the most part, connected to anti-Semitism — not to what people in the United States might think of as racism. In connection to the Swedish ratification of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination, the subject of protection against racism was widened to include non-white people. The earlier provision only covered people based on heritage.<sup>12</sup> The racist practice, in the United States, of categorizing people based on the geographical locations that their physical features are thought to represent, is seen by most Europeans and Swedish people as a form of xenophobia. Xenophobia is the fear of the unknown, the fear of the stranger. In Swedish it is called *främlingsfientlighet*: this indicates that it is thought to be a cultural problem that can be educated away. The Swedish thought is that it is not the fault of the xenophobe if he or she is hostile towards the stranger, the unknown — the xenophobe simply does not know better and is justified in his or her fear of the stranger. It is thought to be the responsibility of the state to educate the public so that what is unknown becomes known: so that the stranger will stop being a stranger and the xenophobe's fear will disappear.<sup>13</sup>

To call someone a racist, however, is considered to be a very strong accusation and it is connected to anti-Semitism. I argue that what is called xenophobic behavior in Europe is racist behavior. I argue that xenophobia is racism — it cannot be dismissed as a cultural problem, as a problem of education. I do not differentiate racism from xenophobia.

The racism and sexism I experience takes place in the private space and is directed towards me alone.<sup>14</sup> Seldom does this racism

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<sup>11</sup> Prop. 1986/87:151 s. 104

<sup>12</sup> Prop. 1970:87 s.27 st. 3

<sup>13</sup> KU 1987/88:36 s. 22. That racism shall be battled primarily through information, education and free opinion and not through punishments.

<sup>14</sup> An argument could be made that it would fall within the criminal law under the provision called "insult" BrB 5:3 FÖROLÄMPNING

*Den som smäder någon annan genom kränkande tillmäle eller genom annat skymfligt beteende mot honom, dömes, om gärningen ej är belagd med straff enligt 1 eller*

and sexism include a threat, at least not a threat of violence, in the first stage of the encounter. European-looking men seem to have a difficult time understanding that to assume that Asian-looking woman are for sale is not only stereotyping but also derogatory. To me, it is a matter of always being on guard and prepared to defend myself against racist and sexist European-looking men when they make it known that they expect me to give them some sort of sexual distraction in exchange for money.<sup>15</sup>

My main purpose in writing this article is to say enough is enough: to show my anger. I want you, European-looking man, to back off. I want you to stop treating me as a commodity. I want you to know what I think about your sex-trips to Asia. I want you to know how much I despise you when you buy an Asian-looking sex-slave and housekeeper all in one. I do not want you to feel at ease when you offer me money for sex. The anger I feel comes from your treatment of me but it also includes your behavior against any other woman with an Asian-looking face,<sup>16</sup> no matter whether she lives in Europe or elsewhere.

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2 §, för förolämpningen till böterna. Är brottet grovt, dömes till böter eller fängelse i högst sex månader. The Penal Code [BrB] 5:3 INSULT

Someone who defames someone else through humiliating words of abuse or through other derogatory behavior against him, shall be sentenced, if the act is not covered with punishment according to 1 or 2 §, for the insult be sentenced a fine. If the crime is severe, sentence to a fine or not more than six months in prison. [Trans. Author]. The Swedish Supreme Court in *Nyttjuridiskt arkiv* [NJA] 1989 s 374 *Jävla svartskalle*, stated that it is an insult to be called "*Jävla svartskalle*" — Damn Black Head. [Trans: Author] The phrase "*Jävla svartskalle*" is the generic derogatory term used towards immigrants in Sweden. The Court states that the term has an insulting meaning. Unfortunately, situations such as mine might not fall under the "insult" provision because, in my experience, people do not yet view an offer of money for sex as an insult. Furthermore, to qualify as an "insult" the insult also has to be communicated to others.

<sup>15</sup> Tracy Lai, *Asian American Women: Not for Sale*, in RACE, CLASS AND GENDER: AN ANTHOLOGY 181–189 (Margaret L. Andersen & Patricia Hill Collins eds., 1994) (arguing that white men think that they can buy Asian-looking women. She connects it partly to the mail-order bride catalogues with Asian women circulating in the states). A survey done by the European Commission in July 1998 states that 83% of Europeans connect Asia to Child Sex-Tourism. See Commission Survey of Europeans and their views on Child Sex Tourism: A Eurobarometer, Executive Summary 4, (1998). A survey conducted on behalf of the European Commission Directorate General XXIII.

<sup>16</sup> According to Sven Gustafsson of the Invandrarbyrå [Immigration Bureau] in Göteborg, Sweden: "Thai women in Göteborg, participated in a support group, because

My secondary purpose in writing this article is to make my contribution to the fight against racism and sexism. I am telling my story as an adopted young woman, born in South Korea and raised in a small town in the North of Sweden. I feel that it is my responsibility, as an educated non-European-looking woman, to tell stories of injustice that might not otherwise be told. I am writing to tell my story about my everyday life.<sup>17</sup> I am writing to use this forum, the law journal, to which my education gives me access.<sup>18</sup>

Refugee immigration is quite a new phenomenon in Sweden.<sup>19</sup> Between 1945 and 1972 most immigration was labor immigration.<sup>20</sup> The first major refugee group from outside of Europe who came to Sweden were political refugees from the *coup d'état* in Chile. Today, Sweden is a diverse country with a large population of Iranian, Somali, Ethiopian and Iraqi former refugees. The fact that immigration and adoption started so late in Sweden also means that the people that grew up in Sweden as immigrants, refugees, or adopted children are only now beginning their higher education.<sup>21</sup> The story of these people is only now beginning to be told. This article is my attempt to add to that story.

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they were often treated as prostitutes in Sweden. The Thai women connected the fact that they were treated as prostitutes by men in Sweden to their 'Asian connoting features.'" The Invandrarbyrån in Göteborg provided a support group for the Thai women.

<sup>17</sup> I use narrative as a method. This article is an argument about race and gender identity in Post-colonial Europe. This article is not an autobiography.

<sup>18</sup> I would like to thank the Northeastern University law students of the Racism Seminar for their comments on a talk I gave based on an earlier version of this article in September of 2000: I anticipate great things from all of them in the future and hope that they will be encouraged by their reading of this article to find their own voices.

<sup>19</sup> Immigrantsinstitutet, more information can be found at <http://www.immi.se>. Between 1950 and 1967, 24,000 refugees came to Sweden. Between 1968 and 1993, 263,000 refugees came to Sweden.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.* The visa requirement for immigrants was taken away for people from: Norway, Denmark, Island, Finland, Italy — 1945, Turkey — 1949, Greece — 1953, West Germany — 1954, Portugal — 1955, Spain — 1959, and Yugoslavia — 1964.

<sup>21</sup> Virtually all adoptions in Sweden are international adoptions that in an U.S.A. context would be called inter-racial adoptions. The domestic adoptions most often occur when one parent re-marries and the new spouse adopts the child from the former family construction. In Sweden it is not a social stigma, in general, to be a single parent and the welfare system provides single parents with enough support to eliminate financial reasons for adopting children away.

Even though the object of my anger includes the exploitation of young Asian-looking women and children in Thailand or in other sex tourist-friendly nations and the treatment of the imported Asian-looking sex-slaves and housekeepers, this article is limited to my own story. I am not giving myself the right to speak for any other non-European looking woman. The story I am telling is my own personal story. This does not exclude the possibility that other women in positions similar to mine may recognize certain episodes, but that is their story to be told. Another reason I choose to tell my story is to be able to claim my truth. I do not want to entertain the argument that what I experience as an Asian-looking woman does not happen. It happens to me and that is my truth.

In Sweden most Asian-looking women are not immigrants, they are adopted. Sweden does not have a large Asian-immigrant population. The biggest group of adopted children, during the 1970's, was South Korean girls who are now women.<sup>22</sup> This means that almost all Asian-looking women are my age or younger. They were adopted into Swedish families about twenty to thirty years ago. In my law school of about 5,000 students, we were eight Asian looking people: Four adopted women and two adopted men from Korea along with two children of immigrant parents, from China and Vietnam respectively.<sup>23</sup> In Sweden, we experienced this to be quite a large number relative to the much smaller proportion of Asian-looking people in the general population.

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<sup>22</sup> See generally MONICA DALEN, THE STATUS OF KNOWLEDGE OF FOREIGN ADOPTIONS, A SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS OF KEY FOREIGN-ADOPTION (1999). Research Projects Based in Scandinavia Universitet i Oslo, Department of Special Needs Education, Faculty of Education, Universitetet i Oslo 1999.

<sup>23</sup> She and her family were the very first Vietnamese refugees we had in Sweden.



THE CREATION OF LOGICAL SPACE<sup>24</sup>

We have learned to recognize the frames of racism and sexism. The interaction between racism and sexism creates a new, third frame. I believe that when it comes to racism in combination with sexism the logical space has to be expanded, to make room for the understanding of the third frame, before justice might be done through law.

We do not know what woman is yet because we have not seen “woman” outside of a sexist structure. We do not know what it is to be human because we have not seen the outside of oppressive structures. I use my experience of growing up in northern Sweden outside of the racist structure to theorize about what it might be to exist outside of the sexist structure. I grew up in northern Sweden in the 1970s and 1980’s before American-style racism had made its way to my country. I grew up outside of the colorline and thus experienced what it is to *not* be racialized. I use this experience to theorize about what it might be to *not* be gendered.

We do not know all the ways in which oppressive structures interact. This article examines sexism/racism or racism/sexism closely in order to open up a logical space for examination of oppressive structures and their interactions. As will be shown, in Sweden racism towards Asian-looking women arrived and then flourished through sexism. I take a pragmatic view and try to resist the temptation to essentialize what the interaction of sexism/racism is. Instead of looking for *essences* I look for the *impacts* of the interaction of racism/sexism as means of expanding the logical space for new methods and truths. There may be new combinations of narratives or structures that are not visible if one looks at the old frames. There may be new methods and truths relating to that which

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<sup>24</sup> I have borrowed this description from RICHARD RORTY, *Feminism and Pragmatism, delivered at the University of Michigan in December 7, 1990, in 13 THE TANNER LECTURES ON HUMAN VALUES 3–35* (University of Utah Press Salt Lake City 1992). See also, BARBARA JOHNSON, *An Interview with Barbara Johnson: Conducted by Michael Payne and Harold Schweizer, in, THE WAKE OF DECONSTRUCTION 86* (Blackwell 1994) (looking for “a place to stand outside . . . tradition, outside the vocabulary and the intellectual habits of that which has clearly been generating effects that feminists want to change, is a real question”).

lies outside of oppressive structures that are rendered invisible or incoherent by the old frames. I use the narrative that highlights this article — my narrative, my article — as a torch in the dark to find the fragments of hitherto unexamined or un-examinable *impacts* of oppressive structures' interactions.

### CHILDHOOD

*I will now tell you my story. It is a story about having to be prepared to deal with European-looking men's self-proclaimed right to invade my private space. It is a story about how they derive this right from the fact that I am an Asian-looking woman and they are European-looking men. It is a story about the way that I feel when I am looked upon and treated as a commodity, an object for sale.*

Racism, in the modern and post-modern form known to those who live in the United States was unknown in Sweden prior to the 1990s. At this time sex-tourism and trafficking of women and children from Asia began on a larger scale. Until Swedish men started to participate in global-North-to-the-global-South commodification of women and children, Sweden had no history of beyond-Europe colonialism. Now Swedish men are as involved as other colonialists in the global re-colonization of the South. In the beginning of the 1990s the colorline became yet another lens through which the world was examined by European-looking men in Sweden.

*As a child from a small town in the North of Sweden in the 1970s, I did not experience the colorline. I did not know that I could be characterized as the Other until my early teenage years. I was not characterized as the Other until my early teenage years. My identity was not connected to my biological origin but to the names of my family. My family has been connected to the region for several generations. The fact that I was born in Korea was never a big thing. Neither for me, nor for the people I came across in my everyday life, was the fact that I was born in Korea of importance. If my origins were ever referenced it was through a connection to the families of either my mother or my father. I was a granddaughter of the*

*Enberg's family or the Grahn's family (the family names of my mother and my father). When I started primary school my teacher had a daughter from Korea and there were two other adopted children in my school. To be adopted only meant that one's parents had, for a very long time, longed for a child. In the beginning, the other children liked to touch and smell my long dark hair. After a time my hair was no longer so special. After a time, neither my teachers nor my friends in school could see that I differed from the other children. It was only when strangers came and visited that we were reminded that I looked different.*

Through the tool of language a more complex system of thoughts can be understood and expressed. Language is the tool we use to connect our general knowledge with our individual experiences.<sup>25</sup> Through language we communicate and express our feelings and thoughts.<sup>26</sup> Through language we can change our instinctive emotional reactions. A way to contribute to a change is to use old words in new combinations, and thereby create new ways to describe what has been going on.<sup>27</sup>

The word "racism" is what I call a word with a built-in order of direction. This means that once an act is characterized<sup>28</sup> as a racist act, the well-meaning, remotely politically correct person, will know how to relate to the act. That person will know that the correct thing to do is to distance oneself from the act and the actor. The majority of people belong to the group of people that will distance themselves from a clear racist act. I somehow feel safer when I know that people

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<sup>25</sup> "[I]n language as well as in life that the male occupies both the neutral and the male position. This is another way of saying that the neutrality of objectivity and of maleness are coextensive linguistically, whereas women occupy the marked, the gendered, the different, the forever-female position." CATHARINE A. MACKINNON, *FEMINISM UNMODIFIED: DISCOURSES ON LIFE AND LAW* 55 (Harvard University Press 1987).

<sup>26</sup> EVA-MARIA SVENSSON, *GENUS OCH RÄTT EN PROBLEMATISERING AV FÖRESTÄLLNINGEN OM RÄTTEN* 41 (Iustus Förlag AB 1997).

<sup>27</sup> RORTY, *supra* note 24.

<sup>28</sup> William E. Connolly, *The Terms of Political Discourse in THE COLLECTION OF ARTICLES FROM JURIDICUM STOCKHOLM UNIVERSITY FALL 1997* 23 (photo. reprint 1997) (Pål Wrangé ed., 1993) (arguing that to describe a situation is not to name something, but to characterize it).

around me will show their contempt towards a person who treats me in a racist way.

A racist act might be someone forcing me to leave my seat in the tram, because he thinks that he, as a "Swedish man," has the right to take my seat. A racist act might be someone calling me names connected to my Asia-identified look, perhaps in combination with an imperative that I should go back home to the place where I belong because he thinks that he, as a "Swedish man," has the right to define my identity and its place on the globe. This kind of racism seldom happens to me. The racism I meet is not pure racism. The sexism I meet is not pure sexism. Each might be immanent in the other but what is sure is that it — race/sex-ism or sex/race-ism — causes me pain.<sup>29</sup>

The data needed to be able to characterize a situation are not objectively granted. Different characterizations form different levels in the hierarchy of symbols. For example, man is considered to be higher than animal. There is a similar hierarchy between racism and sexism. Racism has a stronger built-in order of direction than sexism. The fact that racism and sexism relate to each other on different levels in the hierarchy also forces women to separate their identities as either race or gender, that is, either non-European-looking or non-male-looking.<sup>30</sup> This is a division I refuse to make. I will not separate my experiences or myself into an artificial system of categories that has very little to do with what I am actually experiencing as an Asian-looking woman in Europe.

The most important thing with symbols and myths is not the actual truth they might hold, but the perception of the world that they reflect.<sup>31</sup> The linking of certain attributes of specific groups into symbols and myths that are negatively valued and connected to

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<sup>29</sup> PHILOMENA ESSED, *UNDERSTANDING EVERYDAY RACISM: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY THEORY* 31 (Sage Publications 1991) (asking whether we are stuck with a dilemma when discussing the experiences of Black women: is it sexism or racism?).

<sup>30</sup> Roberts, *supra* note 4 at 1–38.

<sup>31</sup> SVENSSON, *supra* note 26 at 45.

biology constructs a hierarchy of superior and inferior attributes.<sup>32</sup> This can be found in the frames of racism and sexism.

In the racist frame it has been described as the superiority of the Occident and the inferiority of the Orient, the notion of the European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European people and cultures.<sup>33</sup> The power relationship between men and women has been described as placing “man” as the norm that decides all the other norms. This is possible because “man” is held to be the same as “human” and he becomes, therefore, the standard of what is normal and generally applicable.<sup>34</sup>

Andrea Dworkin describes social subordination as the existence of a hierarchy, with one group on the top and one at the bottom: it includes an element of objectification.<sup>35</sup> This happens when a human being is made less than human through social means. The human being is turned into a thing, a commodity that can be bought and sold, by the social order. This process of objectification dehumanizes — the person loses individuality and falls into the sameness of the subordinated group. Such a non-person has no integrity or privacy. That is, the non-person’s privacy can be circumscribed and controlled by the one who dominates.

Objectification is the core of discrimination. Persons that can be used as not fully human are no longer fully human in social terms. Simone de Beauvoir wrote that it feels strange for a person who starts with herself as the subject and center to be treated as an object and peripheral.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> MARGARET WETTIERELL & JONATHAN POLTER, MAPPING THE LANGUAGE OF RACISM DISCOURSE AND LEGITIMATION OF EXPLOITATION 16 (Harvester Wheatsheaf 1992).

<sup>33</sup> EDWARD W. SAID, ORIENTALISM 5–7 (Pantheon Books 1978); *See also* FRANTZ FANON, SVART HUD VITA MASKER 60 (Original Title *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* Stefan Jordebrandt trans., Daidalos 1997) (1952).

<sup>34</sup> Yvonne Hirdman, *Genussystemet-reflexioner kring kvinnors sociala underordning*, 3 KVINNOVETENSKAPLIGTIDSKRIFT 51 (1988).

<sup>35</sup> Andrea Dworkin, *Against the Male Flood Censorship, Pornography, and Equality*, 8 HARV. WOMEN’S L. J. 15 (1985).

<sup>36</sup> SIMONE DE BEAUVOIR, THE SECOND SEX 297 (Original Titel *Le Deuxième Sexe*, H.M Parshley trans, ed., Vintage 1989) (Gallimard 1949).

## RACISM

*The idyllic picture of a sleepy, small town in the North of Sweden has another side. Its other side finds its strength in fear and marginalization. Just a short distance from my hometown lies the village with one of the highest importation rates of Asian-looking women per capita in the country. Whole communities in the North are dying. The young women are leaving. They move to the South where the jobs are and where it is easier to be a woman.*

*The community in the North is extremely sexist. The domestic abuse is in some parts double the national average. The men are left with the farms and the land. This results in a shortage of women in the region. Many of the men in the North are financially marginalized. They have no jobs and the level of education almost never extends to high school or gymnasium.<sup>37</sup> Academic degrees are seldom heard of.*

*By going to Thailand, or some other sex-tourist friendly country in Asia, once a year the men regain enough self-esteem to last them until next year — and another two weeks as kings in Asia. Their money lasts longer in Thailand than in Sweden. They can afford the luxury of an Asian-looking young woman or a child.<sup>38</sup> Asian-looking women in the tourist areas have only two purposes in the eyes of these men: either as a sex toy/slave or as a housekeeper bought and imported at a bargain price into Sweden. These two functions often coincide.*

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<sup>37</sup> In Sweden, as in much of Europe, students attend gymnasium after high school and before university. Gymnasium is not compulsory but everyone has to go through gymnasium in order to obtain a job or to qualify for university. In gymnasium, students choose the direction of their education: professional education or theoretical education.

<sup>38</sup> For further reading about child sex-tourism and Western exploitation of Asian children as sex objects *see generally*, Commission Survey of Europeans and their views on Child Sex Tourism: A Eurobarometer, Executive Summary 4, (1998). A survey conducted on behalf of the European Commission Directorate General XXIII. *See also*, ECPAT Sweden in cooperation with WTO, UFTAA and the Fritidsresor Group, 1998; RON O'GRADY, FÖR NÖJES SKULL, OM SEXTURISM OCH BARNPROSTITUTION I ASIEN (Rädda barnen, Lutherhjälpen, Svenska kyrkans mission, Original title The Child and the Tourist (Elin Clason trans., 1992).

The differences between the European and the American<sup>39</sup> racism can, on a very general level, be traced to their starting points in different tyrannies.<sup>40</sup> American racism has its roots in slavery that dehumanized a large population of African people. This also made the socially structured racism more visible in the United States than in Europe.

The European experience of anti-Semitism that came into its full expression during the Nazi-regime are not as visible on a structural level as American racism.<sup>41</sup> Anti-Semitism did not start with Nazism but the specter of Nazism haunts the European mind and hinders it from taking the racism of today seriously. The everyday racism of today is looked upon as different from the racism of the Nazi-regime and is, therefore, seldom recognized as racism. The state of general knowledge about racism among oppressed minority groups might be higher in the United States than in Europe. This is explained by the fact that in Europe most of the many people who experience racism are among the first generation to do so. If a person is treated in a racist way but does not have structural knowledge about racism the act will most likely not be classified as a racist act.<sup>42</sup>

I use a broad definition of racism. Racism cannot be separated into only theory or only practice. It is an ideology that is unconscious

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<sup>39</sup> By American racism I mean the racism in the United States of America. As a European, I find words such as Statesian or Unitedstatesian more accurate but also more difficult to use. I use the term "American" to refer to people from the United States of America. I recognize, of course, that this might be read as excluding people from the other nations of North, Central, and South America. My aim is not to exclude but to avoid the more cumbersome, albeit more accurate, term "Statesian" or "Unitedstatesian." And it is my hope that this footnote suffices to cure any contribution that my general avoidance of such terms may have made to "Unitedstatesian" monopolization of the term "American."

<sup>40</sup> Nothing in my European encounters with racism could have prepared me for the racism that opens and infects deep bleeding wounds in the people living in the United States. Nothing in my life could have prepared me for the sadness and grief I feel inside of me when I observe the brutal racism towards minorities in the United States. It fills me with even more sorrow to think about the way the American racism is spreading around the globe — it is the most contagious disease and far too many are happy to become its victims.

<sup>41</sup> MICHEL WIEVIORKA, *THE ARENA OF RACISM* xiv (Original title *L'Espace du Racisme* Chris Turner trans., Sage Publications Ltd. 1995).

<sup>42</sup> ESSED, *supra* note 29, at 73–81.

of its own meaning.<sup>43</sup> It operates within its own ethnicized framework.<sup>44</sup> Racism includes all acts: verbal, non-verbal, and para-verbal with intended or non-intended negative consequences for the racial or ethnically dominated groups.<sup>45</sup> Racism can be either an act or non-act but it occurs or does not occur because of the European-looking person's look at the non-European look. Aggression and racism often coincide, but aggression is not necessary to create racism.<sup>46</sup> The context in which the act or non-act occurs determines whether it is racist.

Racism is the acceptance of prejudices embedded in an ideological structure based in a social practice. It is a social problem on a structural level, and not a problem of immigration or xenophobia. It is prejudice manifested in everyday speech, media or segregation.<sup>47</sup> Racial thinking is thinking about the Other. It is a definition of the Other. The self is invisible. Rarely does an European-looking man refer to himself as an European-looking man; that is taken for granted. Meanwhile the Asian-looking European woman, both by others and herself, is defined as such.<sup>48</sup>

The perception of race today is non-contextual, in the sense that it is disconnected from time and space.<sup>49</sup> Race is not connected to the origin of the family line but to a physical appearance; it is descriptive in its nature. It is also disconnected from actual space as such: one is non-European-looking wherever one is situated. The particular physical feature is the only recognizable sign the Others have in common. The individualized perception of the person is gone, what is left is only a narration of the race.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> See GUILLAUMIN, *supra* note 3, at 29.

<sup>44</sup> ESSED, *supra* note 29, at 45.

<sup>45</sup> *Id.* at 45.

<sup>46</sup> See GUILLAUMIN, *supra* note 3, at 31.

<sup>47</sup> WIEVIORKA, *supra* note 41, at 56.

<sup>48</sup> COLETTE GUILLAUMIN, *The Specific Characteristics of Racist Ideology, in RACISM, SEXISM, POWER AND IDEOLOGY* 29, 50 (Routledge 1995) (illustrating examples of the way certain groups have been objectified: Jews are considered to be a group but not Christians, and blacks are considered to be a group but not whites).

<sup>49</sup> *Id.* at 29.

<sup>50</sup> *Id.* at 53.



## SEXISM

My definition of sexism is broad. Sexism includes all acts: verbal, nonverbal, and para-verbal with intended or unintended negative consequences for one group, in this case — women. Sexism can be either an act or a non-act, but it is something that occurs or does not occur because of gender. The context in which the act or non-act occurs helps to define it as a sexist act or not. Sexism is manifested both in the private as well as in the public space, in everyday speech and media. It is subordination made into sexual pleasure and desire. The subordination of women means that women belong to a different sphere. The women's sphere is created, controlled, and closed by men.<sup>51</sup>

My definition of sexism follows, to a large extent, the same reasoning as my definition of racism. Specific to sexism is the fact that the oppression of women is done through sexual subordination. The actual use of sex as the medium of oppression is what makes the subordination of women so distinct from racism.<sup>52</sup> Inferiority, as such, is sexualized, and made into a sexual pleasure, it is a sex-based practice.<sup>53</sup> Unlike ethnically oppressed groups, women are, to a large extent, connected on a private level with their oppressors. Liberation from male domination is liberation from one's brother, father, husband, or son.<sup>54</sup>

When it comes to pornography, sexism is sanctioned by the state. Pornography affects the way women are portrayed in the media and advertising. The consumer of pornography is also a consumer of merchandise and a consumer of media. The way the consumer looks at women when watching pornography will not change when he reads the newspaper. In the end it affects the social constitution of

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<sup>51</sup> DE BEAUVOIR, *supra* note 36, at 297.

<sup>52</sup> See generally Anthony Paul Farley, *The Black Body as Fetish Object*, 76 OR. L. REV. 457 (1997) (arguing that the racist oppression can give a pleasure comparable to sexual pleasure); Anthony Paul Farley, *Sadomasochism and the Colorline: Reflections on the Million Man March*, in DEVON W. CARBADO, BLACK MEN ON RACE, GENDER, AND SEXUALITY 68 (1999).

<sup>53</sup> Dworkin *supra* note 35, at 10, 14-15.

<sup>54</sup> DE BEAUVOIR, *supra* note 36, at xxv.

femininity. It limits the alternatives that women have to represent themselves in all social practices.<sup>55</sup>

Sexism is the foundation of pornography, subordination is a necessity for sexism, and submission is needed to uphold subordination: this is violence against women. It dehumanizes women and turns them into objects.<sup>56</sup> The purpose of pornography is to respond to the male demand for arousal and gratification without vulnerability, without risk to the self. To be aroused by looking at what one can control is safe — for men.<sup>57</sup> It is also through pornography that the risk of men being violent towards women, in itself, becomes erotic; and violence is heterosexualized, it becomes sexy to have men on the top and women on the bottom as a systematic construction of heterosexuality.<sup>58</sup>

### THE LOOK

*When I started clubbing with my friends as a teenager, I encountered, for the first time, the men who buy Asian women and travel to Asia as tourists for sexual pleasure. They were often at least twice my age. I learned to recognize them with just a short glance. It had nothing to do with their way of dressing or any other marks. It was more how they were looking at me. They did not expect any reflection of their look, or response from me as a person. They looked at me as if they had a right to look. As if there was no barrier between the desire to look and their right to do so. They did not, in their looking, include a request for permission to do so.*

Images can be divided into three main categories: the authorized image, the stolen image, and the intrusive image. A

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<sup>55</sup> Nicola Lacey, *Theory into Practice? Pornography and the Public/Private Dichotomy*, 20 J. LAW SOC'Y 93, 104 (1993).

<sup>56</sup> *Id.*

<sup>57</sup> TIMOTHY BENEKE, PROVING MANHOOD: REFLECTIONS ON MEN AND SEXISM 100 (1997).

<sup>58</sup> DUNCAN KENNEDY, *Sexual Abuse, Sexy Dressing, and the Eroticisation of Domination*, in SEXY DRESSING ETC. ESSAYS ON THE POWER AND POLITICS OF CULTURAL IDENTITY 126, 154 (1993).

painting of a nude woman is an authorized image; the face of the woman the man is talking to in a personal interaction is an authorized image. The authorization follows certain predefined, prescribed ways.<sup>59</sup> An image is stolen when a man stares at the crotch of a nude statue or painting; or, if he stares at the breast of the women with whom he speaks; or, if he looks lustfully at that which he is only authorized to examine dispassionately.<sup>60</sup>

The intrusive image can be divided into three main categories: ordinary, arousing, and erotic. Ordinary intrusive images: these include such things as the flashing lights of a passing car that hurts one's eyes or the flashing neon sign that disturbs one's repose. Arousing intrusive images: these include such things as the smell of pizza wafting from a restaurant to the street that heightens one's hunger. And arousing intrusive erotic images: these might include such things as a woman's body seen through her blouse or the tights of a woman wearing a miniskirt.<sup>61</sup>

An image can be both stolen and intrusive at the same time. An image may intrude and may be accompanied by authorization to look, to take notice. Authorization to look or take notice, however, does not automatically include authorization to stare lustfully. If an image intrudes into the field of vision in a manner that suggests that the person who looks is only authorized to take notice then any further appropriation of the intrusive image by the person who looks is a theft. If the person stares at the image in a lustful way, the image is stolen. Such a theft, for the adult man, may result in his own humiliation because it demonstrates his lack of self-control.<sup>62</sup>

The Asian-looking woman is in most cases an authorized image. She is often described as a doll: an object. She is not considered to be a full-social being. This means that it is other people that have the power to decide whether a look at her is stolen or not: she has no authority over her own image. As a non-full human being she has no power to reject a look, or deny the permission to look, not even a lustful look. The Asian-looking woman can also be an

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<sup>59</sup> BENEKE, *supra* note 57, at 75.

<sup>60</sup> *Id.* at 76.

<sup>61</sup> *Id.*

<sup>62</sup> *Id.* at 78-79.

intrusive image: it is her fault that men are looking: she is so feminine. Her "natural" femininity in itself provokes abusive behavior from otherwise "normal" men.<sup>63</sup>

As Gargi Battacharyya writes:

The power of his eyes let him choose his approach to truth, and this puffed the man up with a sense of self-importance. If he could choose his own attitudes towards truth, surely he was master of his own destiny. The man still believed that he was looking to find his place in the world, but he no longer believed that this place was determined by a power greater than himself.<sup>64</sup>

To look is to touch. A look can feel like a touch and looking can feel like touching. He undressed her with his look, or, one could feel his look. With his eyes, he takes possession of the Other.<sup>65</sup> Racism and sexism interact in harmony in the look. Today, it is difficult for an European-looking man to look at an European-looking woman without seeing her as a person and a subject.<sup>66</sup> This means that there is always the risk that the look will meet rejection and the man will meet humiliation.<sup>67</sup>

When the European-looking man looks at the Asian-looking woman, however, he does not see a person, he does not see a human, and he does not see a subject. He does not see a subject with the authority to reject him. As with pornography, he does not have to risk rejection: he can control the Asian-looking woman, the doll, the object. When looking at the Asian-looking woman he does not have to risk finding himself in her, his homophobia does not bother him when looking at her, her weakness can never be his. The risk of self-identifying is almost non-existent. He does not have to struggle with his Madonna/Whore complex with the Asian-looking woman. The

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<sup>63</sup> KENNEDY, *supra* note 58, at 138–140.

<sup>64</sup> GARGI BHATTACHARYYA, *TALES OF DARK-SKINNED WOMEN: RACE, GENDER AND GLOBAL CULTURE* 72 (University of Birmingham U.C.L. Press 1998).

<sup>65</sup> DE BEAUVOIR, *supra* note 36, at 269 ("He feels the magic of the gaze").

<sup>66</sup> BENEKE, *supra* note 57, at 89.

<sup>67</sup> *Id.* at 84–85.

Asian-looking women cannot be his wife,<sup>68</sup> she is not his sister or mother, nor is she his daughter. The Asian-looking woman has no history and she does not belong to anything. She is her features.<sup>69</sup> The European-looking man does not have to desire a whore just to protect himself and his image of his wife, mother, sister, or daughter. Added to the sexual pleasure that the symbol of the Asian-looking woman gives, is the pleasure that derives from the power to categorize a person as the Other, to create the vision of the Asian woman.<sup>70</sup>

### THE CREATION OF THE ASIAN WOMAN

The vision of the Orient is less about the Orient than it is about the power-relationship between the inferior Orient and the superior Occident.<sup>71</sup> The Orient is simultaneously characterized as alien and as Other. The Orient is incorporated within the Occidental system. But the existence of the Orient is based on the need of the Occident for the image of the Orient. The Occident needs the Orient in order to exist as the Occident.<sup>72</sup> The Orient is, therefore, to be looked upon. The European-looking man is the master of the look: whatever he surveys is his automatically.<sup>73</sup> The European-looking man thinks that he is only looking at what is already in his possession.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> FANON, *supra* note 33, at 59 (arguing that the white man will never truly marry the black woman and that she can never obtain the status of being equal to white women). For the English version see FRANTZ FANON, *BLACK SKIN, WHITE MASKS* 49 (Charles Lam Markmann trans., Grove Press 1967).

<sup>69</sup> The Asian-looking woman is dressed in her features. And her features are the alibi of the European-looking man's desire. KENNEDY, *supra* note 58, at 204 (discussing the way women's dress functions as a channel through which men allow themselves the "normal" fantasy of the female free agent — a woman that does not owe him sex in her role as "wife" and who does not want anything out of him as the "whore").

<sup>70</sup> See generally Anthony Paul Farley, *The Black Body as Fetish Object*, 76 OR. L. REV. 457, 465 (1997).

<sup>71</sup> SAID, *supra* note 33, at 6.

<sup>72</sup> *Id.* at 71.

<sup>73</sup> BHATTACHARYYA, *supra* note 64, at 75.

<sup>74</sup> See Dr Julia O'Connell Davidson & Jaqueline Sanchez-Taylor, *Child Prostitution and Sex Tourism* (ECPAT. series research reports: Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Goa, Venezuela, South Africa, Thailand 1996) (discussing the

*I remember one man from the North very well. The situation has stayed in my memory because it was the first time I defended myself in an active way. I was out with my friends. We were all sitting around a big table, laughing, and talking quite loudly. A man came directly up to me. He started by saying that he did not like immigrants; but I was pretty and he could put aside his animosity towards me if I went to bed with him. He told me that he did not like paying the high tax in Sweden. With this statement he implied that I was on social welfare. As he saw it he had already paid for me – through the tax system. I was still quite young at that time and still living with my parents. From his way of talking and dressing, I could see that he was from the rural areas of unemployment. He was in his 50's and quite drunk. So I hit back in the best way I could: I told him that obviously my father had paid more in taxes the last few years than what this man would ever pay in his whole life. The situation then became violent. He became extremely verbally abusive. He could not understand that he had no right to me. It all ended when the security staff had to intervene. After this situation my friends just continued talking as if nothing had happened.*

*Later in the evening, I told my father what had happened. My father told me to be careful. I also tried to talk to my friends about what had happened. I did not really understand the situation very well at that time and my friends did not understand the situation at all.*

*As I grew older and later moved to the South of Sweden and started traveling in Europe I came across another type of man. The men I met in the South of Sweden, or when living in France, and later during a *séjour* in Germany, look quite different from the men in the North of Sweden. This type of man is well-dressed and is out with his business friends. He is looking for some distraction between the meetings of the conference or business trip. This type of man does not have low self-esteem. He is protected by his expensive suit. He is a Suit-man. He is usually taking action. He is used to going further than the look. In his world all the things have a price, including me.*

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interaction of racism and sexism in sex tourism). Davidson and Sanchez-Taylor write: "Most Macho Men are quite willing to acknowledge that they are prostitute users and see nothing morally blameworthy about traveling to poor countries in order to sexually exploit the economic misfortunes of local people." Dr. Julia O'Connell Davidson & Jacqueline Sanchez-Taylor, ECPAT, Series research reports No. 5 Venezuela 19 (1996).

The pleasure of ownership that looking gave the European-looking man made him forget the pain and suffering that allowed his unauthorized look to take place.<sup>75</sup> Asian-looking women are, today, being traded by European-looking men as commodities inside as well as outside of Europe. They are being used as sex toys and housekeepers; their children are also being used on the sex market.<sup>76</sup> The Asian-looking woman is not a full subject; she is the object created by the European-looking man as a response to his complicated needs.<sup>77</sup> An Asian-looking woman is always treated as open for sale. Through money the European-looking man can possess her body. The Asian-looking woman is her body and the object is what it is. The object — the Asian-looking woman — remains the same through time and space;<sup>78</sup> she is the same in Europe, in Asia, during colonization, and after.

By looking, the European-looking man also found a pattern. He thought that he had found the Truth, the nature of the Asian-looking woman. To be an Asian-looking woman is to be a symbol and a myth. She is a sign, open for interpretation by the European-looking man. To be open for interpretation implies passivity. He can read into the sign of her whatever he wishes to read. He reads whatever corresponds to his needs. She is public property. The man shopping at the marketplace exists in the public space but his choice and purchase of commodity is, from his viewpoint, a private act. An object — like the Asian-looking woman — has no private space. The European-looking man out shopping, however, is regarded as acting in his private space. He is the private inside surrounded by the public outside.

*There is one Suit-man who stands out in my memory. I remember him clearly because he was the rudest Suit-man I ever encountered. I visited a banquet with a friend who had won a prize for achievements in sports. I went ahead to fetch my coat. There was*

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<sup>75</sup> BHATTACHARYYA, *supra* note 64, at 75.

<sup>76</sup> *Supra* note 38. See also, Tracy Lai, *supra* note 15, at 181–189.

<sup>77</sup> SAID, *supra* note 33, at 3.

<sup>78</sup> *Id.* at 70.

*a line in front of the counter and I ended up next to the Suit-man. He took out his gold-card in view of the entire line. He looked at me and said: "What is your price?" The banquet was a big happening for my friend and me. My mother had made me a beautiful cocktail dress. With this line the Suit-man made my mother's work ugly and my friend's prize lost its meaning. I tried to distance myself from the Suit-man by looking away. Then he became angry. He told me in a more demanding way to state my price. He said that I should stop playing. He said that he was prepared to pay quite a lot. I started looking around for some support. The man at the counter pretended he did not hear, even though we were standing next to him. The other people in the line looked away and pretended they did not hear anything. The only one who looked at me was another Asian-looking woman a few meters away. I think she was also adopted, from her way of dressing this was quite likely. When she looked me in the eyes, I realized that this was an everyday situation for her too. We looked at each other and smiled as we shook our heads. I got my coat and left as quickly as was possible.*

Societies have different ways to characterize situations and put people into different groups. A woman working in the bank is usually dressed in a suit. A woman studying at the university might wear a shirt and a pair of jeans. By dressing certain ways people are able to characterize themselves as connected to certain groups. People can also be forced to mark themselves through their clothing. The yellow star that Jews had to wear in Nazi-Germany was a forced mark. The marking can also become more permanent: the tattooing of numbers on the skin of the Jews in the concentration camps and the tattooing of African slaves in the States were permanent marks. They imply that the social order is immutable. But they also imply that they are social constructions because such marks are added to the flesh through external force and tyranny.

The marks were created by a pre-existing social order. Slavery already existed when the tattooing of Africans began. The Final Solution was already underway when the tattooing of the Jews began. The marks did not in anyway create the oppression, rather, the marks were the narration of the already-existing oppression and



subordination.<sup>79</sup> The mark is the sign of the power relation between the marker and the marked.<sup>80</sup>

*I realized, when studying in Germany, how strongly the Asian-looking woman is connected to anti-will. In Germany, I had a difficult time on public transportation, such as the U-ban or the bus. I was often harassed by men who offered me money. They often followed me and tried to come up close to me. When entering a restaurant, men would stop eating and lustfully stare at me. My friend, an American-Korean woman, went through the same experiences. We got used to the fact that European-looking men in Germany would, without notice, just put a note with their phone numbers in our hands. This made us very uncomfortable. We felt more vulnerable than we did in our own countries, because we could not fully handle the language.*

*I went to talk to the manager of the language institute where we were studying. The manager just told me that it was quite natural that German men behaved like this. She could not understand why I was upset about it. Because, as she said, of course German men liked Asian girls. We were by nature more feminine. This femininity came from the fact that we Asian women were more obedient and more polite, we always knew how to behave. Of course German men liked this. I could not believe what I heard. I asked a friend to talk to the manager. My friend's area of study was feminist legal theory so I thought that she would be able to understand the craziness of the manager's natural femininity argument. My friend told my American-Korean friend and me the same thing that the manager had told us. But my friend, the expert in feminist legal theory, went even further. She said, "Look at the two of you, and look at me. You are much more feminine than I am. I am not judging if it is good or bad to be feminine. But it is a fact that Asian women are more feminine than German women. And this is what made the German men behave as they did." She also argued that my friend and I did not understand the difference between when a man found us attractive and when he*

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<sup>79</sup> GUILLAUMIN, *supra* note 3, at 141.

<sup>80</sup> In this episode I have borrowed the arguments made by Colette Guillaumin. See GUILLAUMIN, *supra* note 3, at 133–151.

*was racist. I could not understand: why was it less alarming if the man was acting out of sexism instead of racism?*

The European-looking man who goes to Asia and takes possession of what-ever he can lay his eyes on, returns to Europe with his new way of looking. Even though he very much enjoys the looking, the process of conquest escapes his eyes. His vision is limited.<sup>81</sup> He does not see himself. He looks only at the Other. He does not know what he looks like when he is looking at the image of the Asian-looking woman he likes so much. He cannot find anything wrong in what he is doing. He cannot find anything wrong because, in his view, it is the "nature" of the Asian woman to be possessed.<sup>82</sup> The fact that he can exploit her means that she, by nature, is to be used, she has been created for his use, and this is natural. She exists to give him pleasure. This saves him from being a terrible man. He does nothing to the Asian-looking woman that is not already in her nature. This is the moment when the mark changes from being a social mark and becomes a natural mark with its foundation in biology and genetics. Racism changes in this moment from prejudice to ideology.

The European-looking man can, by denying the pleasure he finds in possessing, be both the master and the innocent. By excluding the power relationship between himself and the Asian-looking woman, he can pretend that it is an equal give and take between the two of them.<sup>83</sup> The Asian-looking woman does not have to wear a yellow star or a tattoo. Her features become her mark. It is

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<sup>81</sup> BHATTACHARYYA, *supra* note 64, at 76.

<sup>82</sup> See Davidson & Sanchez-Taylor, *Child Prostitution and Sex Tourism* ECPAT. series research reports No. 4. Goa 29 (1996). "[S]ex tourism is very clear an expression of massive and obscene economic inequalities between affluent and poor countries, as well as between affluent individuals in poor countries and the mass of poor people. What is perhaps less immediately obvious is the way in which sex tourism rests on the articulation of a variety of sexism and racism and, above all, on peoples' seemingly endless capacity for indifference to the suffering of their fellow human beings. Sex tourism in Goa is no exception to all this. Westerners' desire for sexual contact with local adults and children is often structured by their racist constructions of the exotic and erotic 'primitive,' while their racist assumptions about cultural 'difference' are used to justify and defend their sexually exploitative acts."

<sup>83</sup> Farley, *supra* note 70, at 457, 464, 502.

no longer the European-looking man that has created the Asian women: she is nature. His interpretation of the symbol and myth is no longer taking place through his eyes; he is now observing the unmediated Truth, the unchanging and unchangeable nature of the Asian-looking woman.

#### ANTI-WILL

For the oppressed, submission is part of the survival strategy.<sup>84</sup> We live in a time when will is the main characteristic a person can possess. A man is judged by his will power. A real man gets his will through: it is the sign of manhood. To be considered to lack will power is to automatically fall to the bottom of the hierarchy.<sup>85</sup> The Asian-looking woman is considered to be more feminine because she by nature is more polite, obedient and always knows how to behave. This image of the Asian-looking woman has been reproduced in film and literature, and can be found in the advertisements of several Asian airlines. But, most of all, this image is produced and reproduced by the European sex-tourist and slave-trader, both within Europe and outside of Europe.

*Even though the social backgrounds of the two men I have told you about in my story were in almost all aspects different from each other, they were united in the way they looked at Asian-looking women: their perception of me as an Asian-looking women was the same. Their desire gave them the right to claim possession and ownership over me, and took away my right to deny them what they desired: me. It did not even cross their minds that I could have a mind — that I could have the power to reject them. This became visible when they took for granted that I would react as they had expected on their opening. They refused to understand that my reaction was a combination of their actions and my mind and a manifestation of my will. In their world I cannot, as an Asian-looking*

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<sup>84</sup> Dworkin, *supra* note 35, at 15.

<sup>85</sup> Patricia J. Williams, *On being the Object of Property*, 141 J. WOMEN CULTURE SOC'Y 8 (1988).

*woman, have a free will. Without will power I am not a full being. I am only the object of their desire and response to the pleasure they find in their own power, a power that derives from racism and sexism.*

#### CONCLUSION

*I hope that you, the racist and sexist European-looking man, have read this article. I do not give you credit enough to understand what I have been telling you. But I do hope that you can never again walk up to me and, without any hesitation or uncertainty, flip your gold-card in front of my eyes. You will stay in my mind and so will your action. The trace of your action, and with that the action, as such, will not disappear just because you have forgotten it. I will remember it. I see you bright and clear!*

Racism and sexism operate in frames that are constructed on power: the power of the superior and the powerlessness of the inferior. The sexist needs of the European-looking man are intensified by racism and his racist needs are intensified by sexism. Each need strengthens the other. When these two frames — racism and sexism — interact they create a third frame. This third frame is more complex and more difficult to label than the other two. The words are already taken and reserved by racism and sexism. My hope is that the expansion of the logical space through this and other writings will allow room for the understanding of yet another frame.

The widening of the logical space will help to focus on the ways in which racism and sexism operate — I believe that law's ineffectiveness is a narration of the narrowness of the logical space. My hope is that the refusal of women like me to accept a separation of imposed-identities — to be either non-European-looking or non-male-looking — may, in a small way, contribute to the widening of the logical space and to the understanding of the interaction of racism and sexism.

