Is Fu Manchu Still Alive? Sexuality and Yellow Peril Stereotypes Among White Expatriates in Taiwan

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Abstract

This paper examines the oscillations of Western stereotypes regarding the Chinese. The research uses a multidisciplinary approach by combining a genealogical study of the character of Fu Manchu with recent fieldwork in Taiwan among Western expatriates. The combination of these studies reveal an insight regarding the staging of whiteness from the global scale of international relations down to micro performances of quotidian expatriate life. A particular focus is on how expatriates make use of spatial configurations to accentuate their fantasies of superiority. The paper identifies the universalism of such Western performances as a parochial cultural element and embraces a method of conducting fieldwork without denying the subjectivity of the ethnographer.

Fu Manchu Hayatta mı? Tayvan'da Yaşayan Beyazlar Arasında Cinsellik ve 'Sarı Tehlike' Stereotipleri

Öz

Bu çalışma Çinlilere yönelik Batılı stereotiplerinin dalgalanışını inceliyor. Araştırma çok disiplinli bir yöntem kullanarak Fu Manchu karakterinin tarihi gelişimini Tayvan da yapılmış güncel saha çalıştırmasıyla paralel olarak inceliyor. Bu iki incelemenin birleşimi, uluslar arası ilişkiler arenasından gündelik hayatın mikro-performanslarına kadar beyazlığın nasıl oynandığı konusunda yeni bir anlayış sunuyor. Araştırmanın önemli bir vurgu noktası Tayvan da yaşayan Batılıların üstünlük fantezilerini gerçekleştirmek için ürettikleri alansal konfigürasyonlar üzerine. Araştırma bu Batılı performansların evrensellik iddalarını dargörüşlü bir kültürel öğe olarak algılayıp, araştırmacının sübjektifliğini red etmeyen bir saha çalışması yöntemi benimsiyor.

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Giriş

This research is the result of a four year Fieldwork in Taiwan during which I have interviewed the expatriate community in Taipei regarding their sexual stereotypes of the Taiwanese. This research paper combines fieldwork observations with a parallel cultural study of the fictional Fu Manchu character. I have chosen this character for the clarity of it's visual immediacy and it's capability to persistently adapt to evolving ideas of race and racism. The visual identifiability of the character makes the associated imagery particularly pertinent from the perspective or art education. Contemporary research on the effect of racism on art education almost unanimously agrees that the playing field constantly changes and evolves with, placing a perpetual responsibility on educators to adapt (Spillane, 2015). The trend for colourblind racism is a particularly slippery obstacle to challenge (Desai, 2010) for it's tendency to relegate the problem of racial bigotry to specific economic classes as opposed to challenging it as a broad social issue (Sarup, 1991). It is important to note that fieldwork informants for this research were almost all university graduates and were in Taiwan as educators themselves, teaching English to locals. This fact is in direct contradiction with contemporary common sense assumption that racist ideology is reserved to low income groups who are isolated from the benefit of interacting with different ethnic groups.

Through her archival research of literature ranging from colonial housekeeping manuals to court proceedings and newspapers, Stoler argues that "it was in the disarray of unwanted, sought after, and troubled intimacies of domestic space that colonial relations were refurbished and their distinctions made" (Stoler, 2010, p.6). Although contemporary expatriates do not have the same recourse to a colonial state apparatus that settlers did, they nevertheless use similar strategies to uphold their sense of superiority. This sense of superiority is maintained meticulously, as it allows Westerners to appear as the custodians of a superior culture. This custodianship in turn, gives access to privileges denied to locals. When combined with the acceptance of English as a lingua franca it opens the doors for a Swiss national with blond hair, blue eyes and an average command of English to earn considerably more than many qualified local language instructors. It allows for numerous failed DJs and musicians from North America and Europe to package themselves as the 'authentic' representatives of revered Western cultural products. By maintaining the performance of cultural superiority, the expatriate community carry the white privilege they have inherited from colonialism. They create distinct environmental pockets in which their racially coloured sexual fantasies are not just entertained by the locals, but enforced upon them as normality. This is especially so in spaces that are designed for the expatriate community. These spaces work much like air-locked enclaves which operate with their own customs. What I hope to do in this research is try to illustrate how the white Western self-ascription of cultural superiority telescopes between the vast realm of international politics to popular culture and then into the private world of personal intimacies. In this sense it can be read as a contemporary fieldwork sequel to Stoler's historic exploration of how white colonial identity is carried and maintained across space and time, in unfamiliar territory. My aim is to trace prevailing trends of white self-identification through fieldwork and place them in historical context with an interpretative reading of the yellow peril canon.

The application of Judith Butler's notion of gender performativity (Butler,1990) into the realm of international relations by Weber (Weber, 1998), is a good starting point to understand how the script for the global performance of whiteness is written. Weber argues that like sex and

gender, sovereignty and the state have come to be seen as existing naturally in the traditional study of International Relations. In exploring the possibility of "denaturalising" sovereignty, Weber muses about "how sovereign practices confer sovereign status onto states" (Weber, 1998 p.92). She identifies "foreign policy speeches, cable, press conferences etc" (Weber, 1998 p92) as stages on which sovereignty is performed most clearly. Beyond official declarations, the performance of white supremacy is practiced daily by expatriates in classrooms and nightclubs across the world. Popular culture is often the cement that binds the public and private realms. Both individual acts of daily racism and international discourse are inextricably intertwined with the iconography of race and gender. Western ideas of what it means to be male or female are normalised, and natives are supervised accordingly. Although there is a great deal of improvisation in these performances, much of the tempo and the scale are predetermined. The unwavering certainty and predictability of a lot of opinions expressed by my informants indicates a degree of orchestration which is only possible by shared discourses facilitated through cultural infrastructure. The cultural infrastructure of European supremacy goes deep in the Chinese speaking world. Even though Japan was the only nation to occupy Taiwan from 1895 to 1945 Western cultural domination is very much visible on the island. The self representation of white Euro-Americans as the rightful custodians of a superior culture that will open the Chinese speaking world to the world has been a staple of colonialist discourse in 19th century (Hevia, 2003, p.8). As Hevia argues the pedagogical project engaged by European diplomats at the turn of the century to Westernise China is itself a form of colonisation (Hevia, 2003 p.13). Today the pedagogy of Westernisation is not so much about industrialism and militarisation but about acquiring cultural capital through consumption patterns which associate individuals with Western capitalist values.

The figure of Fu Manchu is one of the key icons around which white masculinity is performed against the effeminate degeneracy of the East. The type of danger presented by Fu Manchu and the threat of the yellow peril is of an insidious kind. A great deal has already been written on how the imagery of Fu Manchu has been used repetitively in global political discourse as a representative figure of the yellow peril. Percival (2010), points out how Zhou Enlai's friendly demeanour toward the United States during the 1955 Bandung Conference has been interpreted by hostile Western journalists as a sign of restraint motivated by a characteristically Chinese inclination to subterfuge (Percival, 2010 p. 1020). Hanser (2012) follows the use of similar yellow peril imagery in US press during the 2007–2008 Chinese export recalls. These horror stories usually revolved around contaminated Chinese products seeping into the private spaces of American homes for the specific purpose of causing harm "as if the dangerous toys, Trojan-horse-like, were placed on the doorsteps of unsuspecting Americans" (Hanser 2012, p. 644). One hysterical case is the allegation made by the director of the American Swimming Coaches Association regarding the possibility of Chinese swimmer Ye Shiwen owing her 2012 Olympic gold medal to "genetic manipulation." Anna Chen, writing for the Guardian points out how the logic casts back to Fu Manchu stories: "Let's remember that it's not Dr Fu Manchu who tried to copyright the human DNA sequence for profit, but Harvard biologist Walter Gilbert with his Genome Corporation" (Chen, 2012). Finally, Frayling points out the striking similarities between the coverage of Hong Kong's handover ceremonies and Fu Manchu stories:

Watching this coverage was —to me— also like, more like, watching a live-action Fu Manchu thriller, written eighty-five years before, around the time of the First World War, in which the fine, upstanding, heroic District Commissioner, late of Burma, stands alone against the faceless secret army of 'the devil doctor',an army equipped with the products of the latest scientific research as well as of ancient esoteric wisdom, and the fate of the entire British Empire is in the balance. (Frayling, 2014)

Although a great deal has been written about the persistent relevance of Fu Manchu as a stereotype, more remains to be said about what it is that makes Fu Manchu fit so perfectly into the political project of constructing a white identity. The essentialisation of whiteness as a distinct identity may strike some anthropologists as an excessive and unproductive provocation. However, given the history of white anthropologists contrasting Western civilisation against the entirety of human experience that lies outside of modernity as if it were a unified whole, the study of whiteness becomes a very pressing matter. This investigation of how whiteness and its normalised visions of gender roles are performed through the use of yellow peril imagery by the expatriate community in Taiwan will start from a broader discussion of whiteness and the complicity of academic disciplines in the formation of this identity. Then I will turn the focus toward how Fu Manchu and yellow peril stereotypes carry the performance of distinctively white sexuality to contemporary diasporic contexts. Finally, I will put Taipei's expatriate community under the microscope and discuss my findings on their construction of spaces where they materialise their fantasies of superiority.

Parochiality of Universalism

The tendency to contrast Western modernity to the totality of global experience is prevalent in some of the most influential anthropological texts. For instance, Daniel Miller (2013) resembles modern consumerist cultures to sacrificial cults, with the cavalier assumption that all such cults share the same atavistic characteristics boiled together in some primordial soup. This language is also evident in Mary Douglas' seminal work Danger and Purity (Douglas, 2013). Douglas uses an astronomical metaphor to categorise our rituals of hygiene with theirs: "Our rituals create a lot of little sub-worlds, unrelated. Their rituals create one single, symbolically consistent universe" (Douglas 2013, p. 70). This contrasting of an internally varied, pluralistic Western modernity against the rest of the world imagined as a neolithic phantasmagoria is one of the core ideas of white supremacy.

Historical accounts of the relationship between hygiene rituals and colonialism dislodges Douglas' unsubstantiated assertion that all the cultures outside the diverse bubble of Western modernity present a monochromatic unity. One of the most amusing manifestations of the extent to which white men were obsessed about their health fetishes is colonialists' obsession with a product called Eno's Fruit Salt. Indeed, white colonialists engaged in exploiting native populations all over the world swore by its efficiency. One General Officer who wrote Mr. Eno to thank him made no secret of his religious devotion to the product: "I trust it is not profane to say so, but I swear by it. There stands the cherished bottle on the Chimney piece of my sanctum, my little idol— at home my household god, abroad my vade mecum" (McClintock, 2013 Chapter 2).

Colonialism in itself is a project that defines a morally superior whiteness then forces the rest of the world to follow it's arbitrary rules. The reason why anthropologists like Douglas and Miller don't think twice before comparing Western modernity to a fantasised universal totality is because

they take it for granted that every other culture is merely a less mature version of their own. The infantilisation of colonised people was a recurring theme of colonialism. According to Recapitulation theory, which was considered a widely accepted scientific consensus in the late 19th century (Gould 2006) the life of individual organisms mirrored the evolution of entire species, otherwise known as "ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny". This also meant that groups of people considered inferior to white men were associated with simian or infantile characteristics, "all inferior groups- races, sexes, and classes— were compared with the children of white males" (Gould, 2006 Chapter 3). This idea was also called "the family of man" and it suggested that the infantile races frozen in their pre-modern existence needed to be adopted by white men who would act as their enlightened benefactors. McClintock summarises the historical implications of this idea: "Historical progress is naturalised as an evolving family, while women as historical actors are disavowed and relegated to the realm of nature. History is thus figured as familial, while the family as an institution is seen as beyond history" (McClintock, 2013 Chapter 2).

Ideologies of sexual infantilisation are still prevalent in contemporary colonial discourse. Depictions of helpless Muslim women awaiting rescue by Western military intervention have become a technology of legitimisation (Abu-Lughod, 2013). White standards of Beauty have become the gold standard. These standards are far from operating in an open market libertarian fantasy. As Nguyen (2011) reveals through the project of the Afghan Beauty School, these standards rely on the military industrial complex for legitimacy. Nguyen discusses how a post-invasion cabal of NGOs and journalists in Afghanistan make it their business to ridicule local women for not conforming with their ideas of sexual maturity.

> Such discourses (perpetuated by both volunteers and journalists) also attribute an adolescent femininity to Afghan women, reporting bewilderment at both the heavy hand and glitter— and artificial femininity conjured up in theatrics associated with the drag queen (Nguyen 2011, p. 377).

This ideology came up repetitively during fieldwork. One of the most often cited examples of the Taiwanese women's alleged immaturity is the popularity of the Hello Kitty franchise. During my fieldwork, I can simply not recall a single instance in which the mention of Hello Kitty was not greeted with a disapproving grimace by white informers. One young woman complained about having to buy "something with Hello Kitty on it" for a Taiwanese friend whose birthday was approaching, implying that she was forced to encourage bad habits against her own better judgement. EVA air's special Hello Kitty plane is persistently an object of ire, especially to male professionals who feel that their mature white masculinity would be compromised by boarding it. Some reported their discontent about boarding it on social media and were received by gloating banter from their friends. There is even a blog called "Hello Kitty Hell" where the author describes their distaste for the idea with sarcastic hyperbole: "there seriously couldn't be any worse torture dealt upon a human being" (http://www.kittyhell.com/tag/eva-air/). Scholarly anthropological articles display the same condescension for fans of the franchise and dismisses them for their inclination to "circular reasoning"(McVeigh 2000, p. 237). The irony of course is that racial stereotyping in itself relies on "circular reasoning." As Bhaba (1983) argues, stereotypes rely on the suggestion that the inherent inferiority of the berated race is common knowledge, yet they nevertheless have to be repeated incessantly as a performance to make sure that they become so. When pressed into elaborating their compulsive dislike for the Hello Kitty franchise, white expatriates often responded by re-iterating criteria of maturity that they take to

be universal with propositions like "everybody knows… that Asian women are subservient " or "you can not deny… that Asian men look so gay! - "

This type of circular reasoning is a replica of the argument behind Totem and Taboo. The assumptions underlying stereotypes propagated by Fu Manchu and expatriates in Taiwan tend to pivot around Freud's fantastical notions of primitive sexuality. Freud speculates that primitive societies create "obscure" totemic kinship systems, because "savages are even more sensitive on the subject of incest than we are. They are probably liable to a greater temptation to it and for that, stand in need of fuller protection" (Freud, 2001, p.11). Freud describes the alleged lack of internal inhibitions which necessitate the creation of complex avoidance systems as "an infantile feature"(Freud, 2001, p.19). However, the contradiction is already evident. On the one hand Freud's savages have uncontrollable childlike appetites, but on the other they are capable of developing extremely sophisticated social systems which confuse Western observers. In his later text, Civilisation and His Discontents, Freud seems to revise his position on rules that regulate sexuality and comes to see the repressive rules imposed by civilisation as a necessary evil: "it is impossible to overlook the extent to which civilisation is built up upon a renunciation of instinct, how much it presupposes precisely the non-satisfaction (by suppression, repression or some other means?) of powerful instincts" (Freud, 1961, p.44). Both my informers during fieldwork and the symbolic language of Fu Manchu create their stereotypes around the contradictory ambivalence set by Freud. Are non-white people infantile savages who resort to obscure rules to compensate for their defective nature? Or have they suppressed their sexual urges to the extent that they have lost their desires all together through self induced infantilisation and feminisation?

Yellow Peril and White Self Perception

Fu Manchu is an exceptionally accurate figure for reflecting how the constellation of white supremacist Freudian ideologies propagating "the family of man" have cultivated various forms of anti-Chinese sentiment. Both the contradicting sides of Freud's theory are visible on the character evolution of Fu Manchu between 1916–1969. The shifting imagery of Fu Manchu is endemic to the nature of stereotypes. Bhaba (1983) makes the case for why stereotypes rely on ambivalence for their effectiveness: "For it is the force of ambivalence that gives the colonial stereotype its currency: ensures its repeatability in changing historical and discursive conjunctures; informs its strategies of individuation and marginalisation;produces that effect of probabilistic truth and predictability which, for the stereotype, must always be in excess of what can be empirically proved or logically construed" (Bhaba, 1983, p.18). Stoler (2010) points to such a precise change in colonial discourse which is guided by economic and political interest. Around the turn of the 19th Century the colonial project changes from an enterprise carried out by individual adventurists, to full military occupation by the state. The early form of colonialism encouraged the taking of local concubines to "satisfy" the needs of the small community of settlers; as settler communities grew and the fear of white properties falling into the hands of mixed race children increased, states encouraged settlers to marry European wives. This policy entrenched the segregation of the settler communities. Between these periods official discourse switched from describing local women as helpful for acclimatisation to suggesting that they are conductors of venereal disease.

Bhaba and Stoler both indicate that colonised people can be stereotyped in different ways depending on political needs. Indeed, the devil doctor exhibits similar oscillations from his entry in Sax Rohmer's pulp novel "The Mystery of Fu Manchu" in 1913, to his final appearance in the Movie "The Castle of Fu Manchu" (1969), played by Christopher Lee. What lies at the core of this change is the Western perception of sexuality and perversion. Being the embodiment of sexual perversion in each era, the shifting depictions of Fu Manchu serves as a barometer for changing attitudes. Whereas the earlier works insinuate that Fu Manchu and his daughter Fah Lo Suee are sexually taking advantage of their prisoners, in the 60's reincarnations, when showing nudity on the screen has become a lot more acceptable, any such suggestions indicating their sexual potency is removed. Their fear factor becomes not their lasciviousness but their total lack of sexual interest. A comparison of testimonies by the actors playing the role of Fah Lo See illustrates this change perfectly. While Myrna Loy, who played in the 1932 Mask of Fu Manchu, found the script to be "obscene" and lamented having to play the part of "a sadistic nymphomaniac" (Benshoff, 1997, p.58), Tsai Chin, who stars as the same character in the 1960's reincarnation of the film, had this to say:

> All I had to do in these films was to follow my father around and say a few banal lines while trying to look evil. How I envied Myrna Loy in her series. She was allowed to pepper up her part by being a nymphomaniac, while I was just plain wicked (Chin, 1988 p.189).

Placed in the Freudian paradigm, the early Fu Manchu represents the lustful savage. This is the 1932 Boris Karloff incarnation in The Mask of Fu Manchu, as a lascivious monster who exhibits a captivate white woman - who is also the main protagonist's love interest - to his followers and asks, "Would you have maidens such as these for your wives?" When greeted with approval, he continues, "Then conquer and breed! Kill the white man. And take his women." The 1960's incarnation played by Christopher Lee, is the flip side of the Freudian savage. This is the savage who has invented rules "which remain obscure to us" (Freud, 1961 p.7) to regulate his sexuality. In the 1960's Christopher Lee incarnations, the doctor appears almost entirely sexless. Brides of Fu Manchu (1966) and The Blood of Fu Manchu (1968) both have plots which involve the doctor kidnapping various women and holding them as hostages in his dungeon. In each of these films Fu Manchu is depicted as having absolutely no sexual interest in his captives as if he has been deprived of his sexuality entirely. This Fu Manchu represents Freud's savage after they have invented rules Freud considers unnatural. He makes it clear that the "obscure" rules of abstinence practiced by savages are not out of any "moral" concern but affirms their effectiveness: "We should certainly not expect that the sexual life of these poor, naked cannibals would be moral in our sense or that their sexual instincts would be subjected to any great degree of restriction. Yet we find that they set before themselves with the most scrupulous care and the most painful severity the aim of avoiding incestuous sexual relations" (Freud 1961, p.2).

The contemporary stereotype of Asian men being sexually impotent has a strong precedent in the 60's Fu Manchu. This stereotype is part of the project for building a white sexual identity as virile and masculine. The 1960's movies are very much a product of their time and exploit the sexual "permissiveness" of the period with abundant shots of nudity. Fu Manchu's change has happened during a time when the script for white sexuality was being rewritten by men like Harry Alan Towers - the producer of the last five movies - whose autobiography (Towers, 2013) is a testament to the failure of the 60's "sexual revolution" to challenge patriarchal norms. Towers makes no secret of how the film crew referred to the "obvious assets" of one female actor on the set as "busty substances"

(Towers, 2013 p.55). He shares detailed accounts of how he has directed various young women to work in "Bordellos" in Paris (Towers, 2013 p.58). Towers is a little less brash about his relationship with Mariella Novotny, the "attractive, eighteen year old model" (Towers 2013, p.48) who implicated him in the Kennedy assassination and the subsequent accusations of operating a prostitution ring. The unprofessional attitude and sexual harassment of women on set clearly irritated Tsai Chin, who complained in her memoirs that there was "a lot of tomfoolery about" (Chin, 1988, p.188).

The 60's version of Fu Manchu is very much inspired by James Bond's image of the new and hip white male sexual virility. Both the books and movies of James Bond topples previous British Imperial literary tradition of the likes of Sax Rohmer and John Buchan. While the male protagonists of these crime thrillers and adventure stories were incorruptibly asexual, James Bond established a new kind of masculinity which made it desirable for men to embrace sexuality (Black, 2005, p.108). By contrast, Asian villains like Dr No have come to present a counterbalancing act of sexual repression.

The genealogy of these iconic images of sexual emancipation starts with Freud and proceeds to the writings of sexologists like Havelock Ellis and Wilhelm Reich. Many feminists question this narrative of sexual emancipation and argue instead that it "should not be seen as 'liberating' but rather as an attempt to eroticise women's oppression, and making a significant contribution to the maintenance and reproduction of male supremacy" (Jackson, 1987, p.75). In her essay "Independence from Sexual Revolution", Dana Densmore translates the euphemistic language of sexual liberation as the latest manifestation of male entitlement: "When men say to us 'But aren't you already liberated?' what they mean is, "We said it was okay for you to let us fuck you, that guilt was neurotic, that chaste makes waste; you're already practically giving it away on the street, what more do you want or could you stomach?" (Densmore, 1973)

Expatriate Spatial Politics

This logic of sexual liberation is very much present in the life of expatriates in Taiwan. Many almost consider themselves to be the emissaries of a sexually emancipated civilisation. This illusion is to a great extent facilitated by the expat community's creation of spaces where their own alternate perception of the world prevails. Some nightclubs in Taiwan operate with a business model based on facilitating meet ups between white men and Taiwanese women. One of the classic policies for arranging this is having the entrance fee discriminate against Asian men, particularly on events like "lady's night" when women are allowed in free of charge. Officially the policy is that "foreigners" have a discount on entrance. What is meant by this however, is anyone not looking Asian. Indonesian, Japanese and Korean men are told to pay the "native" entrance fee. These spaces are almost entirely frequented by white men and Taiwanese women who have a desire to meet them. One informer described the bar where he met his ex-girlfriend as follows: "I mean if I'm going to walk into a lingerie store, I'm probably buying lingerie. You know what I mean? And Carnegie's, that's the older professional foreigner store. So that's what you're looking for."

As a result, a lot of men whose entire experience of Taiwan is constrained to such places get the impression that they are a superior, more emancipated breed of men. Why certain Taiwanese women are interested in pursuing relationships with white men is beyond the scope of this paper. I consider it safe to assume for the purpose of this research that the section of Taiwanese women who

have a preference for Western men do so out of a particular cultural conditioning and not due to the objective intrinsic qualities of foreign men. These white men spend their lives in social enclaves designed to pamper them and romantically engage native women with a preference for the kind of manhood they represent. Inevitably, most end up imagining themselves as doing a favour to local women by "liberating" them from their backward sexual norms. One North American female informer recounted several stories she had heard from her Taiwanese friends, of white men interpreting sexual liberation as giving themselves the liberty of exploiting native women. One woman had reported to her that a white man convinced her he doesn't need to wear condoms because he can identify if someone has sexually transmitted infections by "checking behind the ears." Many also wave the carrot of "sexual emancipation" in front of native women, to press them into forms of sexuality they are not comfortable with:

> With Western guys, they try to trick you. And I don't know how much of that I had from back home, and how much of that is in my head now from stories I heard from Taiwanese girls… At one point, ok my Taiwanese roommate and her girl friend, they're both dating Western guys. They both ask me, are threesomes going on in America? I'm like what do you mean? And they're like, both of our boyfriends are telling us that: "look in America every girl has a threesome. Everybody who ever dated has a threesome." And they're like "you need to open up" like "be more Western." Be more like the rest of the world. And I was like: no. I was like, maybe you have a boyfriend who watches too much porn…

The promise of sexual emancipation is a tool used to cajole Taiwanese women into fulfilling white male fantasies. Slut shaming is also a powerful weapon to supervise behaviour of Taiwanese women. Both of these strategies rely on the expatriates' self positioning as custodians of a superior sexuality. Just like in Freud's supposition, Western sexuality is assumed to be more free, yet conversely also more virtuous. They hold the privilege to interpret somebody else's freedom as slutty and virtue as prudishness. The pressure women face by being forced to walk a tight rope between being a prude and a slut become particularly acute when aggravated by racism. The stereotype of Taiwanese women lacking virtue is particularly propagated by white women who refuse to date Taiwanese men. These women consider themselves to be naturally more desirable and are confused by male expatriate's preference for local women. One female expatriate revealed her sense of mystification in these words:

> I have no idea. I'm asking them. I mean like what the hell. I mean. For example, I like a guy. He has a girlfriend. Taiwanese girlfriend. I see in pictures. And she is… [PAUSE] OK, If she is beautiful, I'm ok with it. But when she is, a little bit weird. She's like… This is something like. You know. I'm a girl, can I do this? I put myself and herself. Why the hell is she better? What's wrong with me? What do you want? What else do you want?

This informer reveals that her sense of insecurity about her own desirability has turned into frustration against Taiwanese women. The trope of the Dragon Lady who mysteriously seduces white men is deployed to express this frustration. Fu Manchu's daughter Fah Lo Suee is a perfect illustration of this trope. In the 1932 The Mask of Fu Manchu, the devil doctor uses a mind controlling drug to turn the white male protagonist, Terry, into his daughter's slave. Terry only snaps out of his state after his fiancee Sheila throws herself into his arms. This time it is Snow White's turn to rescue prince charming. Either way, whiteness continues to prevail even when the roles are revereted. After converting Terry back, she chides Fah Lo Suee for thinking that Terry could ever love her.

You silly little fool! Lying to yourself. Believing that you had his love. But he was only drugged by this beast! You failed. Both of you.

This type of reaction often manifests in the ostracisation of Taiwanese women by the expat community. This in turn makes it harder for white men who behave irresponsibly to be held accountable for their actions by their peers. As for the Taiwanese women whose physical and emotional health is put at risk by contact with these white men, not only are they denied emotional support from expat women but they have to put up with their additional abuse and social exclusion. Two kinds of practices exist in expat spatial politics in Taipei. One is the pampering of white male egos in bars and nightclubs which facilitate the exploitation of local women. The other is the ostracisation and slut shaming of local women who frequent these same environments. This distinction also parallels the polarity of popular culture stereotypes portrayed in works like Fu Manchu. On the one hand, the Chinese are sexually repressed, naive and easily impressionable, but on the other hand they are insidious and manipulative.

Conclusion

The Freudian suppositions of imagining natives of colonised geographies as being either overly sexual or repressed is a reoccurring theme. Both my fieldwork in Taiwan and semantic readings of Fu Manchu indicate that contemporary stereotypes of the Chinese continue to oscillate between the same extremes. Freud's narrative of the sexually repressed native translates into the James Bond villain Dr. No and Christopher Lee incarnation of Fu Manchu in the 60's. The stereotypes that natives have unnatural arcane laws to regulate sexuality allows expatriates to perceive themselves as the emissaries of emancipated natural sexuality. The opposite stereotype of insidious hypersexuality is one that comes up both in the original Fu Manchu novels and the 1932 Boris Karloff incarnation. This tendency also translates into Taipei's expatriate life in the form of white women who stigmatise and exclude local women even further. My fieldwork also largely confirms the suggestions of Bhaba and Stoler, about the creation of discourses of stigmatisation. These discourses are not isolated to individual bigots nor are they simply manufactured by large political apparatuses with little to no effect on popular imagination. The discourses of global white supremacy created by large institutions percolate through popular culture and into the intimate lives of those invested in its maintenance. The ambivalence in the stereotype allows for personal variation to reflect individual appetites and anxieties without compromising its political effectiveness.

The ever-changing symbolism of racial ideology in this context provides valuable practical resources for art educators who are concerned about social justice within their classroom. By identifying the evolving trends in white self definition and it's self placement in contrast to other visibly differing ethnic groups, educators can be more alert to problematic visual and social cues. The persistence of bigotry among educated groups and among educators revealed in this study are also important to remember that education in itself is not entirely sufficient in terms of abating racist ideologies.

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