MAKING BIOLOGICAL CITIZENS IN POSTCOLONIAL SOCIETIES: SCIENCE, GENDER, AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN SOUTH KOREA AND THE PHILIPPINES

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation offers a postcolonial theory of biological citizenship for understanding national identity and body politics in the Philippines and South Korea. Using a Foucauldian genealogical approach, I investigate how western science and technology shape, influence, and define biological citizenships within the structures and processes of imperialism and nation making. Such an investigation reveals that these biological identities are coeval with the colonial encounter and are, therefore, sensitive to the political and economic histories of the colonizer and colonized. Through a contrapuntal reading of postcolonial Philippines and Korea, I conclude that women and their bodies are intricately interlinked within the circulation, flux, and flow of colonialism and nation making, thus becoming biological citizens *par excellence*. As the internal and external pressures on the nation change, such as decolonization, nationalization, and globalization, so do the "kinds" of female bodies the nation needs.

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CHAPTER 1

"Life is a Concept." – Georges Canguilhem, *Le Concept et la Vie*, 1966.

"Gradually, an administrative and political space was articulated upon a therapeutic space; it tended to individualize bodies, diseases, symptoms, lives and deaths; it constituted a real table of juxtaposed and carefully distinct singularities." — Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 1979.

"We live in uncertain times, but one of the few certainties today is the dominance of Eurocentric perspectives on formerly colonized parts of the modern world." – Uday Chandra, *New Political Science*, 2013.

Introduction

This dissertation offers a postcolonial theory of biological citizenship for understanding national identity and body politics in the Philippines and South Korea. Using a Foucauldian genealogical approach, I investigate the emergence of a particular constellation of forces and powers, most notably science, technology and neoliberal globalization, that have come to shape, influence, and define biological citizenships within the structures and processes of imperialism and nation making. Such an investigation reveals that these biological identities are coeval with the colonial encounter and are, therefore, sensitive to the spatiotemporalities—the political and economic histories—of the colonizer and colonized.

Through a contrapuntal reading of postcolonial Philippines and Korea (addressing imperialism and resistance to it), I have found that women and their bodies are intricately interlinked within the circulation, flux, and flow of colonialism and nation making, thus becoming biological citizens *par excellence*. As the internal and external pressures on the nation change, such as decolonization, nationalization, and globalization, so do the "kinds" of female bodies the nation needs. In this sense, I understand biological citizenship to be an interaction between ideas and objects, kind and person, or what Ian Hacking refers to as "making up people," in which modern political subjectivities within the Philippines and Korea are constructed through the (re)articulation of "woman."

Revisiting the "Third Culture"

It was during his 1959 Rede Lectures at Cambridge that C.P. Snow professed his "unusual experience:" "By training I was a scientist; by vocation I was a writer."[1] But, Snow's point was not solely one of personal history. The epistemological divide (between scientist and writer) that had shaped his life's work and passions also represented, according to Snow, an increasing cultural separation occurring within academic circles. For Snow, the failure of literary intellectuals (or "Traditional Culture") and scientists (particularly, at this time, physicists) to collaborate and break-free from the constraints of their own disciplines and methods had not only produced a sharp division between the two groups, it had also greatly impoverished our understanding of the social. "This polarisation is sheer loss to us all. To us as people, and to our society. It is at the same time practical and intellectual and creative loss."[2]

But, Snow saw hope for these two groups (and society at large) through the emergence of what he referred to as the "Third Culture," that is to say, the extension of traditional literary culture into the domain of scientific advancements. For Snow, the interactions of art and science within spaces of the Third Culture could possibly produce answers for such social problems as widespread illness and premature death,[3] and even elucidate the question: "how far is it possible to share the hopes of the scientific revolution, the modest difficult hopes for other human lives, and at the same time participate without qualification in literature?"[4] One likely intersection for the two cultures was the field of microbiology and its study of the human genome. Snow considered the birth of microbiology to be an unprecedented intellectual achievement, particularly Francis Crick and James Watson's work on the structure of *Deoxyribose Nucleic Acid* (DNA) and its lessons about genetic inheritance, which he believed would far surpass the contributions of physics to our understanding of the relationships between societies and their environments.

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[1] C.P. Snow, *The Two Cultures: And A Second Look* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 1.
[2] Ibid., 11.
[3] Ibid., 154-155.
[4] Ibid., 97.

On this point, Snow writes:

> Ever since men began to think introspectively about themselves, they have made guesses, and sometimes had profound intuitions, about those parts of their own nature which seemed predestined. It is possible that within a generation some of these guesses will have been tested against exact knowledge . . . I believe that one of the consequences will be to make us feel not less but more responsible towards our brother men.[5]

Unfortunately, the most recent studies on human biology that have emerged in the name of the Third Culture have failed to achieve the level of synthesis Snow optimistically anticipated in 1959. Under the term sociobiology (later changed to evolutionary psychology), such prolific writers as E.O. Wilson,[6] Richard Dawkins,[7] Stephen J. Gould,[8] and Steven Pinker[9] have attempted to use their backgrounds in evolutionary biology, microbiology, and psychology to devise a philosophy of biology (inclusive of empiricism and traditional intellectualism) capable of further illuminating the human condition and "rendering visible the deeper meanings of our lives."[10]

But, what they have produced in the name of the Third Culture continues to rely upon the reductionism and determinism that Galileo, Isaac Newton, and Charles Darwin used to construct modern scientific thought and the doxic understandings of the life sciences that continues to limit, as Snow saw it, our intellectual growth today. The major contributions of sociobiologists and the like are void of the art, philosophy, and literary criticism that Snow regarded as necessary to shift the modern scientific paradigm in a direction open to critical interpretation. Instead, sociobiology continues to offer a repackaging of the static anthropological nature versus nurture debate, but with an

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[5] Ibid., 75.
[6] See, Edward O. Wilson, *On Human Nature: Revised Edition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).
[7] See, Richard Dawkins, *The Extended Phenotype: The Long Reach of the Gene* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1999), and Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene: 30th Anniversary Edition* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2006).
[8] See, Stephen J. Gould, *Ever Since Darwin: Reflections in Natural History* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1992), and Gould, *The Panda's Thumb: More Reflections in Natural History* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1992).
[9] See, Steven Pinker, *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature* (New York, NY: Penguin, 2003).
[10] John Brockman, ed., *Third Culture: Beyond the Scientific Revolution* (New York, NY: Touchstone, 1991).

emphasis on the absolutism and universalism of genes, evolution, and human behavior. Paul Rabinow's concept of biosociality[11] and the work of Nikolas Rose and Carlos Novas on biological citizenship[12] are an attempt to answer Snow's call for a Third Culture. Building from Michel Foucault's understanding of biopower as "what puts life and it mechanisms into the field of power/knowledge," the works of Rabinow and Rose, among a few others,[13] explore the establishment and categorization of biological subjects. Rabinow uses the term "biosociality" to describe the formation of social identities associated with the biologicalization of the self, that is to say, an assemblage consisting of "medical specialists, laboratories, narratives, traditions, and a heavy panoply of pastoral keepers to help them experience, share, intervene, and 'understand' their fate."[14]

While biological makers of identity are far from new (as they played an important role during the colonial period) and, in many ways, have already become pedestrian in many societies (gender, age, and race are the first to come to mind), Rabinow argues that since the end of the Second World War, breakthroughs in biotechnology coupled with an increasing incorporation of biological issues, such as life, death, health and disease, into matters of the state within western societies have allowed for the creation of new subjectivities and apparatuses as well as new life-forms that challenge previous understandings of what it means to be normal.[15] Similarly, with advances in biomedicine and genomic research and the contemporary revolution in biotechnology underway, Rose and Novas argue that "a new kind of citizenship is taking shape, one that challenges

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[11] Paul Rabinow, *Essays on the Anthropology of Reason* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996).
[12] Nikolas Rose, *The Politics of life Itself: Biomedicine, Politics, and Subjectivity in the Twenty-First Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).
[13] For example, see many of the articles published in the journal *BioSocieties*. Also see, Sahra Gibbon and Carlos Novas, eds., *Biosocialities, Genetics and the Social Sciences: Making Biologies and Identities* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007); Francisco Ortega and Fernando Vidal, "Mapping the Cerebral Subject in Contemporary Culture," *RECIIS* 1, no. 2 (July-December 2007): pp. 255-259; Adriana Petryna*, Life Exposed: Biological Citizens After Chernobyl* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013); Francisco Ortega*, Corporeality, Medical Technologies and Contemporary Cultures* (New York, NY: Birkbeck Law Press, 2010).
[14] Rabinow, *Essays on the Anthropology of Reason*, p. 102.
[15] See, Paul Rabinow, *French DNA: Trouble in Purgatory* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1999).

preexisting conceptions of national citizenship"[16] To understand the role citizenship plays in biological citizenship, Rose and Novas assert that one must breakaway from the political-philosophical considerations of citizenship and instead attempt to locate the different forms of contemporary citizenship within the political history of their "citizenship projects," that is, the ways in which authorities, or hegemonic regimes, thought about and acted upon certain groups of people as citizens.[17]

The biological dimension, on the other hand, refers to the medical and therapeutic practices and labels adopted by and/or imposed onto the individuals of these citizenship projects. "Different citizen practices can be seen in the increasing importance of corporeality to practices of identity, and in new technologies that intervene upon the body at levels ranging from the superficial (cosmetic surgery) to the molecular (gene therapy)."[18] The biological is problematizing nationality here in the sense that the citizenship projects of the 19th and 20th centuries, which were established upon shared conceptions of nationalism, patriotism, and allegiance as well as an identification and affiliation to the historical, cultural and linguistic practices of specific nation states, are being challenged by the formation of biosocialities, or shared biological identities, that result in individualized somatic practices and collectivized socio-political actions.

The collectivized dimension of biosocialities is fairly straightforward. According to Rose and Novas, the availability of new biological identities made possible through advances in biomedicine and genomic research has allowed collectivities to form around "a biological conception of a shared identity" that has a long history and usually results in various forms of medical activism, such as "campaigning for better treatment, ending stigma, gaining access to services, and the like."[19]

For Rabinow and Rose, the formation of biosocialities and the performative biological citizenships associated with them are a contemporary example of networks of biopower operating within societies of control. Biosociality, in this sense, resembles what

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[16] Nikolas Rose and Carlos Novas, "Biological Citizenship," in Aihwa Ong and Stephen J. Collier, eds*., Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems* (Madlen, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), pp. 439-463.
[17] Ibid., 439.
[18] Ibid., 440.
[19] Ibid., 442.

Foucault calls a "dispositif" or "assemblage," that is to say, a coalescing of heterogeneous elements into a common grid (réseau). What we have then is "a resolutely heterogeneous grouping composing discourses, institutions, architectural arrangements, policy decisions, law, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophic, moral, and philanthropic propositions"[20] that comprise a network of power relations, or a flexible and strategic "bricolage articulated by an identifiable social collectivity." [21]

The Need for a Contrapuntal Reading of Biological Citizenship

This dissertation is an attempt to construct a postcolonial theory of biological citizenship through a Foucauldian genealogical approach. While most the work on the identity politics of biological citizenship discussed earlier focuses on societies in the West (particularly North America and Europe) after the birth of modern biotechnology and the rise of biometric markers and therapeutic interventions that target the genome, this genealogy of biological citizenship is specifically concerned with postcolonial Asia. Through a contrapuntal reading (addressing both imperialism and resistance to it),[22] this dissertation argues that the identity projects of biological citizenships can be seen as examples of "coeval modernities" produced through the particular historical and geopolitical junctures that shape and define the colonial encounter. That is to say, the conditions of possibility for biological citizenships are not universal but rather sensitive to the political and economic histories of the colonizer and colonized.

Such an understanding allows us to directly challenge the narratives of Eurocentrism by recognizing that biological citizenship is not solely a self-contained western project but rather one that is coeval with the Orient. In other words, we must acknowledge colonial difference and recognize "the extent to which European philosophy

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[20] Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York, NY: Vintage, 1980), p. 194.
[21] Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose, "Foucault Today," in Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose, eds., *The Essential Foucault: Selections from the Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984* (New York, NY: New Press, 2003).
[22] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, NY: Vintage, 1994), pp. 66-67. For an excellent overview of Said's contrapuntal analysis and its application to the study of international relations, see Geeta Chowdhry, "Edward Said and Contrapuntal Reading: Implications for Critical Interventions in International Relations," *Millennium* 36, no. 1 (December 2007): pp. 101-116.

championed colonialism, and more particularly helped to justify it through a philosophy of history that privileged Europe . . . such a decolonizing is an urgent task for European thought."[23] Thus, by bringing a contrapuntal reading to a postcolonial genealogy, this dissertation acknowledges that "biological citizenship" is a form of scientific culture that is often incorrectly defined by, and thus understood through, universalistic and Eurocentric constructions of modern science. To disrupt this portrayal of scientific culture as dehistoricized values or transcultural truths, Amit Prasad posits that we must accept that "scientific culture is contingent and dialectically related to particular historical and socio-technical contexts."[24] And, as a form of scientific culture emerging from a specific context, biological citizenship, like all cultures, "is a sort of theater where various political and ideological causes engage one another."[25]

Therefore, I recognize that I will be drawing on theoretical concepts that do not easily traverse this contentious terrain and are themselves spatiotemporarily constricted, such as, but not limited to, "biopower," "colonial," "postcolonial," and "nationalism." Despite the limitations, however, I find these concepts and theoretical perspectives to be enormously beneficial, if applied carefully, to the study of how biological citizenships are (re)constructed through the structures and processes of empire and nation making.

The intention is, however, to address the unique spatiotemporality of the colonizer and colonized and, thus, overcome the Eurocentrism easily reproduced through the application of the traditional biological citizenship paradigm to nonwestern societies like the Philippines and South Korea. Such an approach is indeed necessary as "the chronology of the colonizer is not always the same for the colonized; Bengal under British rule was different temporally and spatially from Korea under the Japanese, even though they were contemporary, and the forms of colonial domination differ widely from

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[23] Robert Bernasconi, "African Philosophy's Challenge to Continental Philosophy," in Emmanuel Chukwudi Eze, ed., *Post-colonial African Philosophy: A Critical Reader* (London, UK: Blackwell, 1997), p. 192. Also see, Walter Mignolo, "The Geopolitics of Knowledge and the Colonial Difference," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 101, no. 1 (Winter 2002): pp. 57-96.

[24] Amit Prasad, "Scientific Culture in the 'Other' Theater of 'Modern Science,'" *Social Studies of Science* 35, no. 3 (June 2005): pp. 463-489, at p. 464. Also see, Prasad, "Science in Motion: What Postcolonial Science Studies Can Offer," *RECIIS* 2, no. 2 (July-December 2008): pp. 35-47.

[25] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. xiii.

Africa and Asia."[26] In fact, juxtaposing the Philippines with Korea has much to offer a postcolonial reading of biological citizenship since it allows for an investigation of the spatiotemporalities of distinctly different, yet interconnected, colonial encounters.

Through a close reading of the specific political and economic histories of the Philippines and Korea, we can begin to recognize that there are some very important similarities and differences between the two. For example, one similarity is the use of science and technology by the colonizer (both Japan and the United States) in the colonial encounter to support the needs of empire and, simultaneously, to develop modern bourgeois identities back in the metropole.[27] Furthermore, for both the West and Japan (an empire in the Orient), the functions of empire served a similar purpose. On this point, Morris-Suzuki writes:

> Like other colonial powers, Japan brought to its empire, not the march of universal civilization inspired by a free-floating 'scientific spirit,' but a vastly complex, self-contradictory mass of policies and institutions, based on a mixture of human sentiments, including the desire for national power and prestige, the impulses of economic exploitation, the survival instincts of colonial settler populations, bureaucratic fears and ignorance of its owns subjects, genuine idealism, and sometimes straightforward violence and greed.[28]

While these similarities tell us much about the circuits of powers underlying the colonial encounter, there are also some profound differences that this particular arrangement of cases reveals and draws into question. First, they are clearly different because one colonizer was a western, white power (America), while the other was a nonwestern, non-white power (Japan). Since imperialism is generally misunderstood to be solely a western project, recognizing that nonwestern societies colonized other nonwestern societies helps disrupt this narrative of Eurocentrism and the belief that modernity was prepackaged and transported from the West to the shores of the Orient.

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[26] Harry Harootunian, *History's Disquiet: Modernity, Cultural Practice, and the Question of Everyday Life* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2000), p. 51.
[27] Good examples of the development of middle class identity through the colonial encounter are Sanjay Joshi, ed., *The Middle Class in Colonial India* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2010) and Fredrick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997).
[28] Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation* (New York, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), p. 103.

Although many may find this racial difference to be insignificant (frankly speaking, Asian on Asian versus White on Asian), it tells us, nonetheless, that understandings of "colonialism" and "postcolonialism" can not be universally applied and do not easily transcend time and space, that the experiences and modes of domination of the colonial encounter between Japan and Korea are indeed different from American colonization of the Philippines. With this in mind, we can begin to recognize that the "postcolonial" structures and processes involved in nation making in the Philippines function much differently than the nation making practices of Korea.

For instance, while the discourses of scientific racism greatly shaped both western and Japanese nationalism and imperialism,[29] the fact that Japan's conception of "race" differed from the white-supremacy discourse of the West meant that social Darwinism, for example, was received, reinterpreted, and applied differently within the context of Japanese colonialism. Unlike the narrative of the White Man's Burden that supported western imperialism and American colonial rule in the Philippines, the Japanese political elite could not easily draw racial boundaries between Japan and the rest of Asia.[30]

According to Morris-Suzuki, Japan's historical link with its neighbors made establishing ethnic lines in its colonies difficult and racial differences between the colonizer and colonized remained generally ambiguous throughout the Empire.[31] This is partly due to Japan's position within the discourse of Orientalism identified by Edward Said,[32] that is to say, Japan, unlike the colonial powers of the West, held the positions of both subject and object. In other words, "caught between the contradictory positionality of not-white, not quite and yet-alike, Japan's domineering gaze towards its colonial

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[29] For example see, Hiromi Mizuno, *Science for the Empire: Scientific Nationalism in Modern Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009); Bruce Armstrong, "Racialisation and Nationalist Ideology: The Japanese Case," *International Sociology* 4, no. 3 (1989): pp. 329-343; Michael Weiner, "Discourses of Race, Nation, and Empire in Pre-1945 Japan," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18, no. 3 (1995): pp. 433-456; Tomiyama Ichiro, "Colonialism and the Science of the Tropical Zone: The Academic Analysis of Difference in "The Island People,'" *Positions* 3, no. 2 (1995): pp. 367-391.

[30] Jinhee Lee, "'Malcontent Koreans (Futei Senjin)': Towards a Genealogy of Colonial Representation of Koreans in the Japanese Empire," *Studies on Asia* 3, no. 1 (March 2013), pp. 117-187.

[31] Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "Debating Racial Science in Wartime Japan," *Osiris*, 13, 2nd series (1998): pp. 354-375. Also see, Lee, "'Malcontent Koreans (Futei Senjin).'"

[32] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1978).

subjects in the East must always invariably redirect itself, somewhat ambivalently, to the imperialist glare of the West."[33] In this sense, as Leo Ching notes, Meiji Japan was caught within a spatiotemporal dilemma—"how to become modern while simultaneously shedding the objectivistic category of Oriental and yet not lose an identity."[34]

While Europeans also struggled to classify and biologically separate themselves from their colonial subjects,[35] the fact that Europe was geographically much farther away from its colonies, made this process somewhat easier. Therefore, the centrality of Japan's "modern" national culture was "dependent upon a kind of historical forgetfulness which recast the whole meaning of 'Japaneseness' in powerful images of the enduring purity and homogeneity (racial and cultural) of the nation, the family and the Japanese way of life."[36] And, as Marilyn Ivy notes, it is not by accident that Korea constituted Imperial Japan's central colony. "Although the emperor may be seen as the very epitome of the Japanese "thing," in that he appears to embody the unbroken transmission of Japanese culture, there is much evidence to show that the line of emperors originated in Korea."[37]

Thus, we can see that a process of forgetfulness, a rewriting of history, was indeed necessary for Japan to position itself as superior to its historically similar neighbors. However, forgetfulness was not always easily achieved as establishing maintaining boundaries of difference remained difficult throughout the Empire. Not only was establishing "the other" an ongoing process in the colonies, never without ambiguity, even within the metropole Japan struggled to maintain a clear difference between the "Korean" body and the "Japanese" body. According to Jinhee Lee, as more and more Koreans made their way to the metropole and adopted "modern" Japanese fashion, hairstyles, and other everyday practices, the hierarchy of inferiority/superiority underlying Japanese imperialism and shaping Japan's national identity became

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[33] Leo Ching, "Yellow Skin, White Masks: Race, Class, and Identification in Japanese Colonial Discourse," in Kuan-Hsing Chen, ed., *Trajectories: Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1998), p. 57.
[34] Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), p. 3.
[35] Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995).
[36] Weiner, "Discourses of Race, Nation, and Empire," p. 433.
[37] Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 25.

increasingly blurred.[38] Therefore, to promote this process of "forgetfulness" associated with the rewriting of historical memory, Japan borrowed from the racial taxonomy of the human sciences already well imbedded within the imperialist world system.

But, to maintain the position of "seeing subject" within Orientalism, "the political elite needed to rearticulate and recontexualize the existing Eurocentered racial schematization external, and construct and invent an ideology of racial affinity internally," in which this external-internal dialectic required the othering of colonial subjects.[39] And, through this ideology of Japanese racial affinity, Japan was able to "define and interpret not only the colonial Korean object but also the colonialist Japanese subject," which in turn enabled Japanese intellectuals to "self-consciously [arrange] themselves alongside their Western counterparts as imperial authorities."[40]

To support this racial ideology, the Meiji political elite established medical institutions and relied upon the discourses of the western human sciences to create a modern Japanese body that would stand in contrast to the inferior and primitive body of the colonial subject.[41] In particular, I am interested in how the social hygiene practices of bacteriology adopted and adapted by Japanese public health officials (or sanitary police) shaped understandings of the "right type" of body while simultaneously allowing for the classification and disciplining of abnormal bodies (i.e., colonial subjects).

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[38] Lee, "'Malcontent Koreans (Futei Senjin).'
[39] Ching, "Yellow Skin, White Masks," p. 57.
[40] Kim Brandt, "Objects of Desire: Japanese Collectors and Colonial Korea," *Positions* 8, no. 3 (Winter 2000): pp. 737-738.
[41] See, James R. Bartholomew, *The Formation of Science in Japan* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989); William Johnston, *The Modern Epidemic: A History of Tuberculosis in Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1995); Ann Bowman Janetta, *The Vaccinators: Smallpox, Medical Knowledge, and the "Opening" of Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007); Yoko Matsubara, "The Reception of Mendelism in Japan, 1900-1920," *Historia Scientiarum* 13, no. 3 (2004): pp. 232-240; Aya Takahashi, *The Development of the Japanese Nursing Profession: Adopting and Adapting Western Influences* (London, UK: Routledge, 2011); Ruth Rogaski, *Hygienic Modernity: Meanings of Health and Disease in Treaty-Port China* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004); Izumi Nakayama, "Posturing for Modernity: Mishima Michiyoshi and School Hygiene in Meiji Japan," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* 6, no. 3 (September 2012): pp. 355-378.

Acknowledging these spatiotemporal differences in colonialism and postcolonialism, I am interested in investigating the emergence of a particular constellation of forces and powers that have come to shape, influence, and define biological citizenship within the practices of empire and nation making, such as, but not limited to, postcolonial technoscience (particularly germ theory, psychoanalysis, and criminology), the birth of the welfare state (as in the case of Korea), and neoliberal globalization—all of which are argued to be measures of development and progress by the national elite and examples of colonial modernity.

With this perspective in mind, we can clearly see that by ignoring the postcolonial world, the biological citizenship literature has failed to fully grasp the degree to which these identities play in nation making and the development of a national identity and culture. And, given the growing body of literature emphasizing the colonial encounter and the "dialectical relationship"[42] between the metropole and periphery in the development of western science and technology, gender, race, and bourgeois identity, ignoring the effect of colonial modernity on the formation of biological citizenships is problematic and irresponsible to say the least.

However, this is not to say that the works of Foucault Rabinow and Rose have nothing to offer the study postcolonial biosocialities; they undoubtedly do. Rather, what I want to emphasize is that since these philosophers do not directly engage the colonial encounter, their work must be combined with the theories and perspectives found in the fields of postcolonialism, subaltern studies, and Third World feminism. The intent here is to call for "provincializing Europe," as Dipesh Chakrabarty suggests,[43] by positioning biological citizenship within the postcolonial. From this viewpoint, we can begin to see how the identity politics of decolonization, nation making, and neoliberal globalization require such forms of citizenship.

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[42] This relationship can be best defined as the "relationship between the Occident and the Orient and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of various degrees of a complex hegemony." See, Said, *Orientalism*, p. 5.

[43] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

"Woman" as Biological Citizen Par Excellence

With a postcolonial genealogical approach that draws from these diverse schools of thought, we can see the different ways through which biological representations and discourses are used in the nation making process to create women's subjectivity, establishing normal and pathological femininities, for the purpose of reproducing an authentic, yet modern, national identity. On this point, Michiko Suzuki suggests that "woman is a flexible symbol, malleable with the context of her representation. She is often depicted as the embodiment of modernity, but she is also used to signify its Other. She is a 'modern' figure that mirrors seismic shifts in values and technologies; at the same time she is a 'premodern' figure of innocence and nostalgia, providing stability in an unpredictable world."[44] In other words, we cannot treat "nation" and 'sexuality" as autonomous constructs but rather as intertwined discourses shaping national identity in which "woman" comes to serve as the "linchpin of modernity" in the nation making process.[45]

Here, we can see that feminism and postcolonial approaches to science and technology are "allies in arms" within a contrapuntal analysis of biological citizenship. In fact, as Sandra Harding suggests, "the discourses of colonialism and androcentrism are deeply locked into each other."[46] And, these gendered discourses associated with western modernity have, through different technologies and practices, portrayed women as biological subjects absent of *bios* and confined to the realm of pathological *zoe*. Thus, I argue that women are biological citizens *par excellence* in that, as a citizenship project, "women have been objectified and alienated as social subjects partly through the

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[44] Michiko Suzuki, *Becoming Modern Women: Love & Female Identity in Prewar Japanese Literature & Culture* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), p. 4.
[45] Sabine Frühstück, "Sexuality and the Nation-State," in Robert M. Buffington, Eithne Luibheld, and Donna J. Guy, eds., *A Global History of Sexuality: The Modern Era* (Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2014), p. 18; Also see, Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer, and Patricia Yaeger, eds., *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1991) and George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York, NY: Howard Fertig, 1997).
[46] Sandra Harding, "Postcolonial and Feminist Philosophies of Science and Technology: Convergences and Dissonances," *Postcolonial Studies* 12, no. 4 (December 2009): pp. 401-421.

denigration and containment of the female body."[47] A deep reading of (post)colonial Philippines and Korea reveals that women, and their bodies, are intricately interlinked within colonialism and the nation making process. And, as the external and internal pressures on the nation state change, such as decolonization, nationalization, and globalization, so do the types of bodies the nation needs.

In this since, "nation" and "woman" cannot exist separately from one another; rather, as I will show, "becoming nation" is interconnected with "becoming woman" in the Philippines and Korea, just as "becoming savage" within the colonial encounter was closely tied with the feminization of the *Other* and masculinization of the bourgeois identity of the colonizer. That is to say, both white and native women were transformed into biological citizens within the relationship between bourgeois biopower and colonial taxonomies. And, through this relationship, "woman" itself becomes a biosociality established by the hegemonic regimes of colonialism, nationalism, and globalization, among other modes of domination.

Because colonialism was never a secure bourgeois project, as Ann Stoler points out, "it was not only about the importation of middle-class sensibilities to the colonies, but about making them."[48] To support this bourgeois project, it was necessary to make normal and pathological femininities, in which normal women represented the nation and abnormal women a pre-modern and primitive past, a threat to development and progress. The native, regardless of gender, would need to be feminized, and thus pathologized, to make possible "middle-class sensibilities" that justified imperialism. To achieve this, the discourses and discursive practices of western science and technology, specifically public health, criminology, eugenics, and psychoanalysis (predecessors of molecular biology and modern biotechnology), were used in the colonial laboratories for the purposes of producing new identities and citizenships—an inferior and pathological native in relation to a modern and superior colonizer.

For the colonizer, technoscience would serve two fundamental purposes: to manipulate the tropical landscape and discipline the "dangerous" native body. As the

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[47] Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. xiv

[48] Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*, 99.

literature on colonial science reveals, because Americans and Europeans struggled to acclimate to tropical conditions (humid weather, foreign diseases, etc.), science, particularly biomedicine, would make possible the antibiotics and hygienic campaigns that allowed the colonizer to survive in exotic and dangerous lands.[49] Furthermore, technoscience enabled the colonizer to diagnose, monitor, and, ultimately, police native bodies. Since the pathological body of the native, with its foreign diseases and primitive practices, was considered to be a threat to the survival of white bodies in the tropics, and thus the success of imperialism overall, control and discipline of the native through western hygiene was deemed imperative.

New hygienic technologies and practices were tested in the colonies to achieve this end, and once tested and fine-tuned, were brought back to the metropole to serve as the everyday practices of the bourgeois identity. As Lawrence Cohen astutely notes, colonial science and technology creates an "effort at hegemony, a universalization of a particular set of interpretations of the figure [the pathological body], rooted in the responses of urban elite and petty bourgeoisie to questions of identity within the colonial milieu." [50]

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[49] For example see, David Arnold, *Science and Medicine in Colonial India* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991); and, Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Man: Science, Technology, and Ideology of Western Dominance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990).

[50] Lawrence Cohen, *No Aging in India: Alzheimer's, the Bad Family, and Other Modern Things* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), p .120. For similar arguments see, Warwick Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies: American Tropical Medicine, Race, and Hygiene in the Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006); Paul A. Kramer, *Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Akihisa Setoguchi, "Control of Insect Vectors in the Japanese Empire: Transformation of the Colonial Metropolitan Environment, 1920-1945," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* 1, no. 2 (2007): pp. 167-181; Itty Abraham, "The Contradictory Spaces of Postcolonial Technoscience," *Economic and Political Weekly* 41, no. 3 (January 2006): pp. 210-217; Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton. NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); *David Arnold, Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993); Ashis Nandy, ed., *Science, Hegemony and Violence: A Requiem for Modernity* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1988)

Building from this understanding, this project will elucidate the regimes of power and the modes of domination that have made possible the formation, recognition, and legitimacy of biological citizenships, as well as the socio-political identities which comprise these citizenships for the purposes of empire and nation making in postcolonial Philippines and Korea. In particular, this project investigates how women become biological citizens *par excellence* to support the discourses and practices of colonialism and nation making. To produce a nationalist narrative and strategies for entering modernity, I argue that the nation requires certain kinds of bodies to create an "authentic," yet modern, cultural identity. A great deal of scholarship demonstrates the importance of gendered identities in postcolonial societies and the roles, the burdens, placed on women to support decolonization and nationalization.[51] Within this theoretical approach, the first thought that usually comes to mind is the reproductive "value" of woman and her role in (re)producing the "right kind" of citizens, or the need to discipline, and to an equal extent subjugate, women to masculinize the nation.

Such arguments are indeed valuable and offer keen insight into postcolonial societies, but offer little for understanding how "woman" and other subalterns become biological citizens. That is to say, how and why the biological identities associated with normal and pathological femininities are produced and the role these identities play in nation making, particularly in creating a national culture that meets the demands of colonial modernity and neoliberal globalization. From this perspective, it becomes clear, I

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[51] Some examples are: Raquel A.G. Reyes, *Love Passion and Patriotism: Sexuality and the Philippines Propaganda Movement*, 1882-1892 (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2008); Mina Roces, "Gender, Nation and the Politics of Dress in Twentieth-Century Philippines," *Gender and History* 17, no. 2 (August 2005): pp. 354-377; Nerferti X.M. Tadiar, *Things Fall Away: Philippines Historical Experience and the Making of Globalization* (Durham, NC: Duke University press, 2009); Elaine Kim and Chungmoo Choi, eds., *Dangerous Women: Gender and Korean* Nationalism (New York, NY: Routledge, 1997); C. Sarah Soh, *The Comfort Women: Sexual Violence and Postcolonial Memory in Korea and Japan* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Ruth Barraclough, *Factory Girls Literature: Sexuality, Violence and Representation in Industrialized Korea* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012); Katherine H.S. Moon, *Sex Among Allies: Military Prostitution in U.S.-Korea Relations* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1997); Jungmin Seo, "Politics of Memory in Korea and China: Remembering the Comfort Women and the Nanjing Massacre," *New Political Science* 30, no. 2 (September 2008): pp. 369-392.

hope, why a postcolonial genealogical approach is necessary—nation making is a continuous process, never fully complete and, therefore, the type of (female) bodies needed is continuously changing as well as the modes of domination that make these biological identities possible. The purpose of this dissertation, then, is to diagram the conditions of possibility and events that make "becoming-woman, becoming nation" possible in the Philippines and Korea. In this sense, I understand biological citizenship to be an ontogenesis of identity, or what Ian Hacking refers to as "making up people,"[52] that is to say, the interaction between ideas and objects, kind and person, in which identities are formed through the interplay of deterritorialization and reterritorialization by technologies of the self and their politics of truth.

Toward a Postcolonial Theory of Biological Citizenship

As I see it, the absence of a contrapuntal reading of biological citizenship produces a failed Third Culture, one that is saturated with Eurocentrism and inadvertently reproduces the narratives of western modernity. By this, I mean that the work on biological citizenship thus far has either only flirted with or completely ignored the postcolonial, and, as a result, has overlooked how the conditions of possibility for biological citizenship were coevally developed within the laboratories of the colonial encounter and through the circuits and networks of empire and, later, neoliberal globalization. In fact, the literature has focused on the formation of biological citizenships almost exclusively among the advanced liberal democracies of North America and Europe. On this point, David Reubi writes: "although this literature had recognised that there are other forms of bio-socialities beyond contemporary Western society, it has made little effort to explore this historical and geographical diversity. Similarly, it has not spent much time examining bio-socialities related to the field of medicine and biology other than molecular genetics."[53]

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[52] See, Ian Hacking, *The Social Construction of What?* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).

[53] David Reubi, "Blood Donors, Development and Modernisation: Configurations of Biological Sociality and Citizenship in Post-Colonial Singapore," *Citizenship Studies* 14, no. 5 (October 2010): pp. 473-493, at p. 474.

Much like the critique of Foucault's work by postcolonial scholars like Spivak[54] and Stoler,[55] I find emphasis on biological citizenship as solely a western project, as seen in recent writings,[56] to be troubling and, most importantly, a serious setback to the development of this theoretical perspective. However, it is important to acknowledge that these scholars may have never intended to interrogate the colonial encounter and may very well be solely interested in the development of biological citizenships in western spatiotemporalities.

Therefore, this dissertation picks up where much of the literature has unfortunately left off, by showing how a postcolonial theory of biological citizenship has not only much to offer to the development of a Third Culture, but also to understandings of citizenship, nationalism, science and technology, gender, race, and neoliberal globalization. Through this approach to biological citizenship, we can better see how the formation of biological subjectivities in Korea and the Philippines are a product of the colonial encounter and contrapuntal to the bourgeois identities that supported Japanese and American imperialism and continue to support new variations of neocolonialism today.

Furthermore, we must acknowledge that the traditional biological citizenship paradigm is not completely applicable to nonwestern societies like Korea and the Philippines—either the technologies are not available or the discourses and practices surrounding those technologies serve different purposes. For example, Paul Rabinow writes: "In the future, the new genetics will cease to be a biological metaphor for modern society and will become instead a circulation network of identity terms and restriction loci, around which and through which a truly new type of autoproduction will emerge."[57] On this point, Rabinow goes as far as to argue that a group may one day form around its members' identification of, and relationship to, "chromosome 17, locus 16,256, site 654,376 allele variant with guanine substitution."[58]

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[54] Gayatri Spivak, *The Spivak Reader*, ed. by Donna Landry and Gerald MacLean (New York, NY: Routledge, 1995).
[55] Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*.
[56] See, Gibbon and Novas, *Biosocialities, Genetics and the Social Sciences.*
[57] Rabinow, *Essays on the Anthropology of Reason*, p. 99.
[58] Ibid., 102.

While this formation of networks of identities involving relationships to specific genetic diseases is clearly visible in North America and Europe (such as health organizations like *Genetic Alliance* that connect members to support groups that share their specific biological differences), these networks are either unavailable or loosely formed in nonwestern countries because of an absence of resources or different socio-cultural understandings of biology, illness, and health.[59] For example, Margaret Lock argues that since the historical and cultural constructions of the biological sciences vary from society to society, we need to explore the "local biologies" embodied by the people. While biological citizenship can be seen as a form of embodiment, the ways in which the "self" and "other" represent the body is dependent upon local categories of knowledge and experience.

In this sense, Jean Baudrillard's diagnosis of the "death of the social"[60] is somewhat misleading, as the social and biological are "coproduced and dialectically reproduced, and the primary site where this engagement takes place is the subjectively experienced, socialized body."[61] Lock further adds: "The material body cannot stand alone, as has so often been the case, as an entity that is black-boxed and assumed universal, with so much sociocultural flotsam layered over it. The material and the social are both contingent—both local."[62]

Therefore, following the work of Donna Haraway and Richard Lewontin, I define the "biological" of biological citizenship broadly. That is to say, we need to escape the black box of biological citizenship and, rather, approach "biology" as a discourse, a localized ideology, not simply the living world itself.[63] Through this perspective, the "bio" of biopolitical does not only refer to medicalized life, which tends to be more visible in advanced western societies than any place else, but also, and more importantly, to

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[59] Margaret Lock, "The Tempering of Medical Anthropology: Troubling Natural Categories," *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (December 2001): pp. 478-492.
[60] Jean Baudrillard, *In the Shadow of the Silent Majority or 'Death of the Social'* (New York, NY: Semiotext(e), 1983).
[61] Lock, "The Tempering of Medical Anthropology," p. 484.
[62] Ibid.
[63] See, Donna Haraway, "The Promises of Monsters: A Regenerative Politics for Inappropriate/d Others," in Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, and Paula A. Treichler, eds., *Cultural Studies* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1992), pp. 295-337; and, Richard C. Lewontin, *Biology as Ideology: The Doctrine of DNA* (New York, NY: Harper, 1993).

transformations in power and, thus, has more to do with law, policymaking, political economy and labor. In other words, "bio," according to Eugene Thacker, "has to be understood not just in terms of the individual body or the population, but as a governance of 'life itself'—and a notion of life itself that is principally characterized by circulation, flux, and flow."[64]

Previous research on biosocialities focused primarily on how advances and breakthroughs in biotechnology and genetics since the Second World War have made possible new biopolitical identities but fails, unfortunately, to acknowledge that the social life of those technologies were, in part, born and fine-tuned within the circulation, flux, and flow of the colonial encounter and, therefore, the emergence of biopolitical practices in the West and Orient are undoubtedly coeval. Hence, an investigation into the scientific culture of biological citizenship requires a mapping of biopolitics vis-à-vis the postcolonial nation.

For example, the works of Ranjana Khanna,[65] Ashis Nandy,[66] and Christiane Hartnack[67] show us how colonialism made possible the development of the psychoanalytic theories preached by Sigmund Feud and his followers to their patients in Europe. Similarly, the works of Chandak Sengoopta[68] and Edward Higgs[69] on fingerprinting in British India and Philippa Levine's study[70] of the use of anthropometry,

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[64] Eugene Thacker, "The Shadow of Atheology: Epidemics, Power and Life after Foucault," *Theory, Culture & Society* 26, no. 6 (2009): pp. 134-152, at p.135.
[65] Ranjana Khanna, *Dark Continents: Psychoanalysis and Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003).
[66] Ashis Nandy, *The Savage Freud and Other Essays on Possible and Retrievable Selves* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).
[67] Christiane Hartnack, "Colonial Dominions and the Psychoanalytic Couch: Synergies of Freudian Theory with Bengali Hindu Thought and Practices in British India," in Warwick Anderson, Deborah Jenson, and Richard C. Keller, eds., *Unconscious Dominions: Psychoanalysis, Colonial Trauma, and Global Sovereignties* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011).
[68] Chandak Sengoopta, *Imprint of the Raj: How fingerprinting was Born in Colonial India* (London, UK: MacMillan, 2003).
[69] Edward Higgs, "Fingerprints and Citizenship: The British State and the Identification of Pensioners in the Interwar Period," *History Workshop Journal* 69, no. 1 (2010): pp. 52-67.
[70] Philippa Levine, "Orientalist Sociology and the Creation of Colonial Sexualities," *Feminist Review*, no. 65 (2000): pp. 5-21.

such as craniology, in the colonies sheds light on the development of the policing practices of criminology implemented back in the metropole to draw racialized lines around normal and pathological behaviors. Finally, many scholars have pointed out that germ theory and the therapeutic practices of modern biomedicine were also never quintessentially western. For example, Warwick Anderson's work on colonial public health in Philippines and Australia, [71] Alison Bashford's study of social hygiene and eugenics,[72] Theodore Yoo's analysis of women's sexuality and health in colonial Korea,[73] and Bonnie McElhinny's account of childrearing in U.S.-occupied Philippines[74] show how the "infantile," "primitive," and "polluted" body of the native was needed to develop modern public health practices and medical interventions. And, take for example, Jorge Fernandes' critical reading of the disease narratives of Typhoid Marry and the virology of HIV/AIDS, which shows us that biomedicine cannot not be easily separated from the discourses of race and purity and colonial fears of the diseased *other* that constitute the nation state.[75]

While the sciences claim to construct reality but not be themselves constructed, as Emily Martin points out,[76] we must recognize that imperial science created laboratories in the colonies that not only served as a space to develop and test new technologies and theories but also to engineer the cultural identities associated with western science today. For example, Sankaran Krishna's work on the social life of nuclear weapons in Indian society shows us how these laboratories continue to function in postcolonial spaces for

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[71] See, Warwick Anderson, "Going Through the Motions: American Public Health and Colonial 'Mimicry,'" *American Literary History* 14, no. 4 (Winter 2002): pp. 686-719; Anderson, "Excremental Colonialism: Public Health and the Poetics of Pollution," *Critical Inquiry* 21, no. 3 (1995): pp. 640-669; Anderson, *The Cultivation of Whiteness: Science, Health, and Racial Destiny in Australia* (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2003).
[72] Alison Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonialism, Nationalism, and Public Health* (New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004).
[73] Theodore Jun Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea: Education, Labor, and Health, 1910-1945* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008).
[74] Bonnie McElhinny, "'Kissing a Baby is Not at All Good for Him': Infant Mortality, Medicine, and Colonial Modernity in the U.S.-Occupied Philippines," *American Anthropologist* 107, no. 2 (June 2005): pp. 183-194.
[75] Jorge Luis Andrade Fernandes, *Challenging Euro-America's Politics of Identity: The Return of the Native* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2008).
[76] Emily Martin, "Anthropology and the Cultural Study of Science," *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 23, no. 1 (1993): pp. 24-44.

the purposes of developing a modern national identity.[77] In this sense, we must recognize the overwhelming power of "scientific thought" in many postcolonial societies, not only what science does (cure, kill, reproduce, etc.) but also what it symbolizes and the power relationships it creates. That is to say, "the rich and pervasive influence of science was rooted as a body of methods, practices, and experimental knowledge produced in the laboratory and confined only to the understanding of nature."[78]

Furthermore, as Gyan Prakash suggests, these laboratories of science were not encumbered with the task of constructing hegemony; rather, science, politics, and the state intersected so that through spillovers and transgressions, modernity was able to penetrate the fabric of social life.[79] Thus, by taking into consideration the powerful meanings and functions of science, it becomes clear that a postcolonial reading of biological citizenship cannot ignore the role modern biotechnology and biomedicine plays in neocolonialism and the identity politics of Third World resistance.

For example, Sheila Jasanoff argues that contemporary biotechnology, in the form of empire making, increases the power of metropolitan centers, such as the United States and Europe, at the expense of people in the periphery.[80] However, as Ruha Benjamin points out, these postcolonial countries of the periphery adopt biotechnology, and its ideological imposition, to assert a "genomic sovereignty" in resistance to former colonizers and neoliberal globalization. According to Benjamin, attempts at establishing and celebrating "Mexican DNA" and "Indian DNA," for example, can be seen as "strategically calibrating socio-political categories (i.e., nationality, race-ethnicity)" and implicitly branding "national populations as biologically distinct from other populations."[81]

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[77] Sankaran Krishna, "The Social Life of the Bomb: India and the Ontology of an 'Overpopulated' Society," in Itty Abraham, ed., *South Asian Cultures of the Bomb: Atomic Publics and the State in India and Pakistan* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009).
[78] Prakash, *Another Reason*, p. 7.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Sheila Jasanoff, "Biotechnology and Empire: The Global Power of Seeds and Science," *Osiris* 21, no. 1 (2006): pp. 273-292.
[81] Ruha Benjamin, "A Lab of Their Own: Genomic Sovereignty as Postcolonial Science Policy," *Policy and Science* 28, no. 4 (December 2009): pp. 341-355.

What the works of Jasanoff and Benjamin reveal is that biomedicine and biotechnology, among other forms of technoscience, represent measures of modernity that the postcolonial elite and policymakers are eager to adopt and reproduce to establish a modern and authentic national self. In other words, we cannot ignore the residue of the colonial encounter and the power western science and technology have over the political elite since within postcolonial societies, "Progress, Civilization, and the social world order hinge on questions of independence and the modernization of old plantocracies. Colonialism links their economies to the metropolis and makes the Neo-Positivist aspiration to Progress and Civilization, to political sovereignty, to primitive accumulation of national capital, highly mercurial."[82]

In this sense, as Linda Connor suggests, "biomedicine has become a metonym for modernity in the domain of healing. It has been placed there by national governments intent on their own modernist projects of 'development,' notions of social progress and economic improvement for the nation's citizens."[83] In fact, the hegemony of the biomedical discourse, in part, comes from its ability to continuously reproduce the "popular conceptualization of Western Medicine as a universal humanitarian effort."[84] However, and most troubling, "modernity's false claims to inclusiveness, rationality, and universality and its role in the creation of social inequality have perhaps been the hardest to reveal and challenge when they [are] couched in terms of hygiene and public health."[85] By hiding this social inequality, the self-proclaimed heralds of modernity are able to claim that colonization was not entirely unjust; it did, as former colonizers have argued, bring modernization and progress like sanitation, cures for diseases, and institutional development to atavistic people that lacked scientific knowledge.

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[82] Ileana Rodriguez, *House/Garden/Nation: Space, Gender, and Ethnicity in Postcolonial Latin American Literatures by Women* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994), p. 3.
[83] Linda Connor, "Healing Power in Contemporary Asia," in Linda H. Connor and Geoffrey Samuel, eds., *Healing Powers and Modernity: Traditional Medicine, Shamanism, and Science in Asian Societies* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2001), p. 7.
[84] Catherine Ceniza Choy, *Empire of Care*: *Nursing and Migration in Filipino American History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), p. 19.
[85] Charles L. Briggs and Clara Mantini-Briggs, *Stories in the Time of Cholera: Racial Profiling during a Medical Nightmare* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), p. 319.

Thus, the success of the colonizer's biomedical discourse can be seen through its effectiveness in reproducing modernity within the nationalist narratives of modernization and development, and, therefore, local knowledges that are viewed as premodern, or primitive, are marginalized by the state, a process that Mark Hobart calls a "growth of ignorance."[86] That is to say, absent from public discussions of development is "the ways in which the knowledges of the peoples being developed are ignored or treated as mere obstacles to rational progress." Hobart further adds: "In order for them to be able to progress, these peoples have first to be constituted as 'underdeveloped' and ignorant."[87] Conversely, without such underdevelopment and ignorance, the West and Japan could not represent themselves as developed and possessing (scientific) knowledge. From this understanding, we can begin to see that the growth of a "biological worldview"[88] legitimates western understandings of health and illness, while in turn silencing alternative health concepts and practices.[89]

And, in the cases where alternative medical practices/knowledges are worthy adversaries, they are co-opted into, and claimed by, the biomedical model and institutionalized by the state. In other words, "biomedical hierarchies of knowledge sever the biological from the social, and biomedical institutions construct the social relations of health through bureaucratic practices, thus combining to deny many facets of . . . experience."[90] Through these hierarchies of knowledge, biomedicine, and western science in general, becomes normative while alternative health practices, as a result, are grouped as abnormal, as the superstitious practices of backward people. According to Cecilia Van Hollen, this typology portrays non-western or traditional medicine as static, unchanged, and outdated, as opposed to the dynamic, progressive, and innovative nature of the

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[86] Mark Hobart, ed., *An Anthropological Critique of Development: The Growth of Ignorance* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1993).
[87] Ibid., 2.
[88] Sandra Bamford, *Biology Unmoored: Melanesian Reflections on Life and Biotechnology* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), p. 174.
[89] For example, see Peter Conrad, *The Medicalization of Society: On the Transformation of Human Conditions into Treatable Disorders* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); Margaret Lock and Vinh-Kim Nguyen, *An Anthropology of Biomedicine* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010); and, Fernandes, *Challenging Euro-America's Politics of Identity*.
[90] Connor, "Healing Power in Contemporary Asia," p. 11.

(western) biomedical model.[91] In other words, those that represent "traditional" medicine or outdated ways of life are constructed as premodern or backward by the postcolonial elite, and "this othering of medical practice tends to reflect nineteenth-century racialized categories in which an emerging 'Western' white societies' system of medicine was viewed as the 'norm' and non-Western, nonwhite peoples' systems of medicine were 'other.'"[92]

Why Should We Read Georges Canguilhem Today?

To support a postcolonial theory of biological citizenship, I find Georges Canguilhem's philosophy of biology to be a valuable contribution to the study of how science and technology shape and reshape identities and bodies within the processes of empire and nation making. While Canguilhem's study of the life sciences and his understanding of "life as meaning," that is to say a concept,[93] greatly influenced French intellectual circles, his philosophical approach to the study of the *biological* has, unfortunately, achieved little recognition among American audiences. Such a naïveté is possibly due to an inaccessibility of Canguilhem's work by the English-speaking public (only a few of his writings have been translated from French into English) and possibly more so to the overshadowing of his scholarship by the works of his favorite student and friend, Michel Foucault. This is not to say that Foucault's archaeology of the "dubious sciences" does not deserve the acknowledgment that it has received. It undoubtedly does. However, Canguilhem's philosophy of life deserves our attention here because it can be seen as a direct challenge to the nomalist approaches of Aristotle[94] and Descartes[95] and an

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[91] Cecilia Van Hollen, "Nationalism, Transnationalism, and the Politics of 'Traditional' Indian Medicine for HIV/AIDS," in Joseph S. Alter, ed., *Asian Medicine and Globalization* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), p. 90.
[92] Ibid.
[93] For Canguilhem, modern biology can be understood as a philosophy of life, and to study the history of science, or more importantly scientific reason, is to delineate the history of regimes of concepts and the conditions that produced their formation.
[94] Canguilhem's critique of Aristotle's subscription to biological naturalism is concerned with his model of logic, that is, the Aristotelian perspective on the relations between knowledge and being and intelligence and life. For Aristotle to take a naturalist's definition and posit that man is a reasoning animal, this logic leads us to believe, according to Canguilhem, that the science of life is an activity of life itself. In other words, with Aristotelian naturalism, we are philosophically trapped within a "conception

attempt to add depth to previous understandings of the biological, particularly the works of Auguste Comte and Claude Bernard. Essentially, Canguilhem's history of science intends "to delineate the history of regimes of concepts and the conditions under which they were formed."[96] For Canguilhem, this history of conceptual regimes is a history of problems posed and resolved, the displacement and transformations in concepts and their relations as well as "the conditions which make problems *formulatable*."[97]

With this philosophical approach, the history of scientific reason can be seen as a history of the concept. In his seminal work, *The Normal and the Pathological*, Canguilhem takes a fundamental shift away from the traditional understandings of life and norms, offering instead a distinct epistemological separation between norms and normativity as well as a conceptual approach to the margins of variation produced by the establishment of biological values. "In order to represent a species we have chosen norms which are in fact constants determined by averages. The normal living being is the one who conforms to these norms."[98] Illness and disease, then, are a complete reduction to the very norms that societies use to measure themselves as normal and healthy.

Hence, every statistical deviation from the norm is diagnosed as pathological. But, Canguilhem asks one crucial question: "Must we consider every divergence abnormal?"[99] Simply, the answer to this question is no. For Canguilhem, an abnormality, such as the presence of disease, is still a norm of life, but "it is an inferior norm in the sense that it tolerates no deviation from the conditions in which it is valid, incapable of changing itself

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of concepts [that is] either something more than human or else something transcending life (*supravitale*)." See, Canguilhem, *A Vital Rationalist: Selected Writings from George Canguilhem*, trans. by Francois Delaporte and ed. by Arthur Goldhammer (New York, NY: Zone Books, 2000), pp. 304-305.

[95] For Canguilhem, Descartes' mechanistic biology can be seen as the failed attempt by a metaphysician to devise a theory of life and explain its role in the realm of the biological. The unification of the laws of natural life and pathological life, according to Canguilhem, has simplified life into a polarity—most notably the distinct divide between the normal and the pathological that has shaped modern western medicine. See, Georges Canguilhem, *The Normal and the Pathological*, trans. by Carolyn R. Fawcett and Robert S. Cohen (New York, NY: Zone Books. 1989), p. 128.

[96] Nikolas Rose, "Life, Reason and History: Reading Georges Canguilhem Today," *Economy and Society* 27, no. 2-3 (May 1998): pp. 154-170, at p. 155.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Canguilhem, *The Normal and the Pathological*, p. 154.

[99] Ibid., 154.

into another norm."[100] For example, individuals inflicted with cancer are normalized within clearly defined conditions of existence, but have only lost their normative capacity, that is to say, "the capacity to establish other norms in other conditions."[101] Acknowledging that disease remains a kind of biological norm, Canguilhem posits that the pathological state of illness cannot be deemed "abnormal," but only abnormal with regard to a clearly defined context since abnormal constitutes another norm altogether. Therefore, to be "healthy" means more than just being "normal" within this previously established conceptualized environment, those classified as healthy are also normative in current and eventual situations.[102]

We can think of life, then, as not only subject to the environment, but an institution (with unique political and economic histories) of its own surrounding environment. And, it is with this understanding that Canguilhem argues that the existence of environmental values and values in the organism itself constitute biological normativity. "Man is healthy insofar as he is normative relative to the fluctuation of his environment. In any case no cure is a return to biological innocence. To be cured is to be given new norms of life, sometimes superior to old ones. There is an irreversibility of biological normativity."[103] In other words, nothing is biologically normal, and, as result, there is no science of the normal. Instead, what we have seen is the development of a science—particularly microbiology and physiology—that determines and categorizes certain situations and conditions as normal or healthy. Medical judgment, or, as Michel Foucault more poignantly put it, the medical gaze, establishes the statistical "reality" that shapes evaluative notions, such as "adaptation" and "normality," which in turn structure the biological everyday and scientific approaches to life. "Life itself. Man's specificity is not that he is radically distinct from other living beings but only that Man has created systemic knowledge and tools to help him cope with the active normativity of life."[104]

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[100] Ibid., 183.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid., 196.
[103] Ibid., 228.
[104] Paul Rabinow, "French Enlightenment: Truth and Life," *Economy and Society* 27, no. 2-3 (May 1998): pp.193-201, at p. 197.

The biological, according to Canguilhem, can be understood as both survival and flourishing, *zoe* as much as *bios*, but, within Canguilhem's philosophy of life, *zoe* takes an active form.[105] As Hannah Arendt points out,[106] the Greeks had two words for life: they understood *zoe* to be biological life, that is, the essential fact of being alive that applied to all living beings (animals, mankind, and gods), whereas *bios* referred to "humanized" life, the ideal form given to the way of life of an individual or group.

Biological Subjectivity in the West Today

Within the language of biomedicine and the way of thinking it produces, Canguilhem was correct to anticipate the active role of *zoe* to achieve *bios*, that is to say, the study, manipulation, and control of the pathological is seen as the path to the normal in western science. In this sense, the science and technology of biomedicine and the discourses legitimizing their social and political value have become obsessed with the very form of existence the Greeks despised – bare life. The medical gaze that Foucault argues actualized the birth of the clinic has been transformed by the advent of new vocabularies and concepts. Through the medical gaze's visualization of the body on the dissection table, the body's wholeness as a living system was revealed and, in turn, classified and categorized.

> The human body defines . . . the scope of origin and of distribution of disease: a space whose lines, volumes, surfaces, and routes are laid down, in accordance with a now familiar geometry, by the anatomical atlas. But this order of the solid, visible body is only one way . . . in which one spatializes disease. *There have been, and will be, other distributions of illness* (emphasis mine).[107]

It is the final sentence of Foucault's argument that we find ourselves today – the body, as an object of knowledge, is quickly being redrawn and a new spatialization of illness is re-territorializing the normative self. The microbiological take over of the life sciences has produced a body that "no longer appears as a system, system of systems, nor even as an open system,"[108] but instead contemporary biology, according to Canguilhem,

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[105] Ibid.
[106] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 97.
[107] Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archeology of Medical Perception*, trans. by A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1973), p. 3.
[108] Rose, "Life, Reason and History," p. 162.

has utilized a new language that "has dropped the vocabulary and concepts of classical mechanics, physics, and chemistry . . . in favor of the vocabulary of linguistics and communications theory."[109] The new life sciences within this microbiological framework simplify human existence (bare life) into messages, information, programs, codes, instructions, and decoding – new concepts in which to describe the normal and the pathological. Canguilhem further argues that the new science of life that microbiology encompasses no longer resembles a portrait, that is a description and classification of species, nor does it continue to portray architecture or mechanics (as seen in anatomy and physiology), instead it resembles "grammar, semantics and the theory of syntax. If we are to understand life, its messages must be decoded before it can be read."[110]

But, while Canguilhem correctly observes the establishment of a new language (and its vocabulary) associated with microbiology's reclassification of the body, Nikolas Rose argues that to solely address this new scale of life as simply the production, transmission, and reception of information is misleading. For Rose, the biosciences offer more than languages and codes to transcribe the body, there is, at a deeper level, another dimension at play in need of elucidation – the body as a model of the assemblage.[111] The hierarchical, localized, and organic unity of the human body displayed through the medical gaze has been severed. Where the medical gaze of 18th and 19th century saw harmony and order, the biomedical gaze of the microbial revolution searches for heterogeneity and risk. "What appear, at one level of vision to be coherent bodily and organize process, appear at another to be the marvelous but chance outcomes of the interconnections, antagonisms, hybridizations of diversity."[112] This is not to say that the "molar" body of the medical gaze no longer serves a purpose. The body as a systemic whole, that is the visible and tangible body dissected and categorized in anatomical

[109] Canguilhem, *A Vital Rationalist*, p. 316.
[110] Ibid., 317.
[111] Rose, "Life, Reason and History," p. 162.
[112] Ibid.

atlases, still draws much attention, especially in the current intersection of medicalization and neoliberalism.[113]

Particularly in the West, but in most regions of the world to a varying degree as well, our never-ending quest to build the right kind of bodies while controlling and monitoring sick (abnormal) bodies is at center stage. Through diet, exercise, surgery, tattooing, piercing and, more recently, mind and body altering pharmaceuticals, both men and women spend thousands of dollars to achieve a level of beauty and perfection that far surpasses Adonis' vanity. Yet, there is another dimension of medicalization beyond self-gratification through medical aesthetics. We must also ask: what discourses and discursive practices have enabled medicalization (or biologicalization) to sustain legitimacy? And, just as importantly, how are these discourses and practices interlinked with race, gender, and political economy, and a product of the colonial encounter? To answer these questions, we first need to revisit Foucault's hermeneutic of the subject, particularly his understanding of "care of the self."

In his archaeology of sexuality, Foucault describes the development of "technologies of the self," that is to say, "the rules, duties, and prohibitions of sexuality [and] the interdictions and restrictions associated with [sexual behavior]."[114] Like most of his earlier work, Foucault's study of sexuality meticulously paints a history of the different ways in Western culture that societies develop knowledge about themselves and others. Foucault was not interested in the face value of the human sciences, nor was he too concerned with the theoretical underpinnings that tied them together, his investigation instead sought to dissect the "truth games" entrenched within the specific techniques that societies employed to understand (record and classify) themselves.[115] Through an analysis of these "truth games," Foucault identifies four technologies of the self that

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[113] I find Peter Conrad's definition of medicalization to be helpful: "A process by which nonmedical problems become defined and treated as medical problems, usually in terms of illness and disorder." See, Peter Conrad, *The Medicalization of* Society, p. 4.
[114] Michel Foucault, *Ethics, Subjectivity and Truth: The Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, ed. by Paul Rabinow and trans. by Robert Hurley (New York, NY: The New Press, 1994), p. 223.
[115] Ibid.

reinforce what he refers to as governmentality.[116] But, while each type has come to shape the formation of the biological subject in various ways, the third and fourth technologies of the self have become particularly interesting and relevant to the study of postcolonial biological citizenships.

In my attempt to investigate the contemporary biological subject, I have found Foucault's emphasis on the cultivation of the self as *hygieine pragmateia* ("health practice") to be particularly insightful. For Foucault, the routines and discursive practices associated with *hygieine pragmateia* "constituted the permanent framework of everyday life, as it were, making it possible to know at every moment what was to be done and how to do it. It implied . . . a medical perception of the space and circumstances in which one lived."[117] This permanent framework of every day life that Foucault identifies served as the foundation of modern medicine[118] and the beacon of its medical gaze,[119] and, shortly thereafter, set the ground for the formation of public health, criminology, and modern psychiatry, all of which share a legacy of discipline and domination associated with the rise of the colonial medical regime. The medical regime though has never been solely a technique of intervention, it has instead, according to Foucault, represented "a corpus of knowledge and rules, a way of living, a reflective mode of relation to oneself,

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[116] Ibid., 225. Foucault argues that each type of technology is a matrix of practical reason: (1) technologies of production that enable us to produce and manipulate things; (2) technologies of sign systems that permit us to use signs and symbols; (3) technologies of power that determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends of domination; (4) technologies of the self that permit individuals to effect by their own means (or through the assistance of others) a transformation to a certain state of perfection.

[117] Michel Foucault, *The Care of the Self: The History of Sexuality*, vol. 3, trans. by Robert Hurley (New York, NY: Vintage Book, 1988), p. 101.

[118] On this point, Roy Porter writes: "Modern medicine adopted the anatomy lesson as its signature: medicine was represented as a probe into nature's secrets, peeling away layer upon layer in the hunt for truth; nothing would resist its gaze." See, Roy Porter, *The Greatest Benefit to Mankind: A Medical History of Humanity from Antiquity to the Present* (New York, NY: Norton, W.W. & Company, 1997), p. 181.

[119] On the power of the medical gaze, Foucault writes: "At the beginning of the nineteenth century, doctors described what for centuries had remained below the threshold of the visible and the expressible . . . the relations between the visible and invisible—which is necessary to all concrete knowledge—changed its structure, revealing through gaze and language what had previously been below and beyond their domain." Foucault, *Birth of the Clinic*, p. xii.

to one's body, to food, to wakefulness and sleep, and to the environment."[120] The *logos* and the "helpful discourse" of the medical regime, in part, have served, like schools, prisons, and the military, as a form of biopolitics, a voluntary and rational structure of conduct, or "the conduct of conduct."

Yet, the body that Foucault spoke of in *Birth of the Clinic* is, at another level, currently undergoing a profound molecularization, which in turn is reshaping the rational structures of conduct and the principles of self-practice established and legitimated by the rise of the medical regime in the 17th and 18th centuries. While Foucault's *History of Madness* concerned itself more with an account of the psychiatrists and doctors of the asylums than the actual patients, or *la folle*, I am interested in exploring the subjects of the postcolonial technoscience, that is, the experts, policymakers, and elite that serves as the messengers of the scientific revolution (of modernity) and the identities formed and reformed in the process.

The Formation of Biological Citizenships

The formation of biosociality can be understood as a mutations of "the social," since "community is not simply the territory of government, but a means of government: its ties, bonds, forces and affiliations are to be celebrated, encouraged, nurtured, shaped, and instrumentalized in the hope of producing consequences that are desirable for all and for each."[121] According to Miller and Rose, this mutation of the social can be seen in the recent health promotion strategies of disease-oriented groups, interlinked with activists and self-help organizations, to form, assert, and valorize the biological identities of their communities. "Government through community, even when it works upon pre-existing bonds of allegiance, transforms them, invest them with values, affiliated them to expertise and reconfigures relations of exclusions."[122] But, this is not to say that identities and groups united under a specific disease is a new phenomenon. Historically, those marginalized within a society for the diseases they carry – leprosy in colonial Philippines, tuberculosis among Jewish immigrants of New York's Lower East Side, and, more

[120] Foucault, *The Care of the Self*, p. 100.
[121] Peter Miller and Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Present: Administering Economic, Social and Personal Life* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2008), p. 93.
[122] Ibid.

recently, HIV/AIDS among gay communities around the world comes to mind – can also be seen as examples of biosocialities. And, let's not forget, with the pathologization of addiction, such as the "excessive use" of alcohol, drugs, and sexual behavior, the addictive brain has been reclassified as the diseased brain, which in turn has made "self-help" groups like Alcoholics Anonymous pedestrian and a stark example of biosociality.

Interestingly, while the discourse of addiction is most prevalent within the ever-expanding medicalization of western society, it has begun to emerge in other parts of the world as well. Take South Korea, for example, where many policymakers and medical experts have become increasingly concerned about "gaming addiction" among young Koreans and are now turning to the use of antidepressants to "decrease craving for video games."[123] In fact, one can just refer to the initial sentences of Susan Sontag's *Illness as Metaphor* to understand the identities produced by diseased bodies.

> Illness is the night-side of life, a more onerous citizenship. Everyone who is born holds dual citizenship in the kingdom of the well and in the kingdom of the sick. Although we all prefer to use only the good passport, sooner or later each of us is obliged, at least for a spell, to identify ourselves as citizens of the other place.[124]

At this point, it is necessary to revisit Foucault's reading of "care of the self" and the discursive practices of social responsibility and obligation that are supervised by scientific expertise. Here, we can see the self-help group or the establishment of biosociality as an extension of an individualized responsibility to govern pathological bodies for the good of the group or larger society, such as the nation. The discourses surrounding contemporary understandings of health and health care assert that control and responsibility of diseases fall upon the individual. In other words, we are responsible

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[123] See, Anon., "South Korean MPs Consider Measures to Tackle Online Gaming Addiction," *The Guardian*, 11 December 2013, accessed at: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/dec/11/south-korea-online-gaming-addiction; Doug Hyun Han, Jun Won Hwang, and Perry F. Renshaw, "Bupropion Sustained Release Treatment Decreases Craving for Video Games and Cue-Induced Brain Activity in Patients with Internet Video Game Addiction," *Experimental and Clinical Psychopharmacology* 18, no. 4 (August 2010): pp. 297-304; Kyung-Yeol Bae, Sung-Wan Kim, Jae-Min Kim, Il-Seon Shn, Jin-Sang Yoon, Sung-Won Jung, et al., "Antidepressant Prescribing Patterns in Korea: Results from the Clinical Research Center for Depression Study," *Psychiatry Investigations* 8, no. 3 (September 2011): pp. 234-244.

[124] Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors* (New York, NY: Picador, 1988), p. 3.

for the diseases that we carry and obligated as biological citizens to care for our own damaged, or polluted, bodies under the advisement and supervision of medical experts and policymakers to ensure that we do not infect the health body politics of the nation. "The mastery of the self is thus a prerequisite of health: the lack of self-mastery, accordingly, is a "disease" prior to the actual physical complaint, whose symptoms are detectable as behavioral, psychological and cognitive."[125]

In this sense, spreading and preventing pathology can be seen as having two biomedical aspects: infectious and hereditary. With regard to the former, we are "ethically" obligated to take medication that suppresses our infections and self-quarantine until we are no longer considered infectious and a threat to the public health or social body. In the case of some infectious diseases, such as tuberculosis or avian/swine flu, this process can be relatively straightforward and short-term for individuals that have access to medication and treatment. But, for those that suffer from HIV/AIDS and other "chronic" diseases, or even those condemned to a "morally unhygienic" identity (the LGBT community and international migrants come to mind), this can mean a lifetime of medicalization, stigma, isolation, and marginalization—all in the name of self-mastery to improve the "health" of the social body. To return to Sontag's understanding of disease, those without a cure (be it physical, psychological, or moral) lose "dual citizenship" and are forced to remain in the realm of pathology. With hereditary diseases, on the other hand, self-mastery for those with genetic abnormalities can be achieved by avoiding reproduction, thus in the spirit of Social Darwinism, preventing the weakening of future generations.

At the foundation of this self-mastery discourse is the understanding of "at risk" and the need for therapeutic expertise to govern individuals that currently or potentially fall into the "at risk" category. In his analysis of the history of genetic risk, Rose points out that scientific expertise currently serves as the arbiter by "objectifying knowledge of genetics, which operates at the level of the soma, and . . . subjectifying knowledge of the human sciences, which works upon the conduct of human conduct."[126] Genetic

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[125] Monica Greco, "Psychosomatic subjects and the 'Duty to be Well': Personal Agency within Medical Rationality," *Economy and Society* 22, no. 3 (August 1993): pp. 357-372.
[126] Ibid., 113.

counseling, in its present state, refers to the relationship between potential parents and genetic authority, the latter of whom provides reproductive "guidance" and encourages the clients to reflect upon their "inherited constitution." The couples deemed unfit for reproduction, that is, carriers of genetic diseases that will likely inflict their children, are educated on the possible risks and alternatives available.[127] But, it is important to note that while many would consider genetic counseling a fairly recent technology of the self, and a product of the Human Genome Project, the underlining discursive practices associated with genetic counseling can be seen in the eugenics movements that date back to the colonial period when eugenics and other racial sciences served the needs of empire.

Foucault identifies the pronounced onset of medicalization during the eighteenth century as the process in which "human existence, human behavior, and the human body were brought into an increasingly dense and important network of medicalization that allowed fewer and fewer things to escape."[128] Currently, what we have begun to see in advanced neoliberal societies, and in some "developing" neoliberal societies to a lesser extent, is what Paul Conrad calls the "pathologization of everything." What Conrad argues to be "simple variations in normal human functioning" are increasingly being categorized as pathologies. "Differences in learning styles become learning disabilities or ADHD; divergences in sexual desire or performance become sexual dysfunctions; extremes of behavior become sexual, shopping, or internet addictions; and individual differences become diagnoses such as social phobia or idiopathic short-stature."[129] Acknowledging Foucault and Conrad's understandings of medicalization, I would add that we may have possibly reached the point where nothing can escape, that is to say, we are all medical deviants, biological citizens, in one form or another. Due to the hyper individualism of advanced neoliberal societies and the hegemony of the psychosocial

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[127] While contemporary biomedicine and genetic research are currently incapable of eliminating genetic diseases with medical interventions, they can offer straightforward Mendelian principles of genetic inheritance, such as the probability of the offspring's genetic makeup. Genetic counseling can be seen as a manual for a game of chance, in which the couple is given the probabilities of "successful" reproduction and based on these statistics asked to make cost-benefit calculations before "risking' conception.

[128] "The Birth of Social Medicine," in Michel Foucault, *Power: Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, vol. 3, ed. by James D. Faubion and trans. by Robert Hurley (New York, NY: The New Press, 2000), p. 135.

[129] Conrad, *The Medicalization of Society*, p. 148.

expertise of the pharmaceutical complex, all individuals who are not currently pathologized are in some way "at risk" of medical, and thus social, deviancy.

I find Deleuze's understanding of "unlimited-finite," a state of social formation in which beings lack a perfect form as well as an essential opacity, to be helpful here.[130] For Paul Rabinow, the best example of the "unlimited-finite" is DNA in the sense that "an infinity of beings can and have arisen from the four bases out of which DNA is constituted [and remade]."[131] But, I argue that medicalization can also be seen as contributing to a state of "unlimited-finite" since medicalization through the human sciences strips individuals of a perfect form while offering them a means, as delusional as it may be, to achieve clarity and regain "perfection," and, in a sense, to be authentic.

If disease is normative, as Canguilhem put it, we need to acknowledge that our social understandings of "normal" and "healthy" are changing. Attributes and characteristics that were once outside of the medical gaze and deemed normal, or medically irrelevant, are now considered to be diseases in need of consultation for the purposes of self-governance. Any avid television watcher can attest to the numerous drug commercials aired that advertise the pills and treatments available for a wide range of psychosocial and physical disorders preventing us from achieving "a truly healthy and happy life." If we use this new norm of health that is developing as a point of medical evaluation, we are all either too fat or too skinny or too sexual active or not sexual active enough, and the list goes on.[132]

But, this process of medicalization should not be seen as solely the expansionist tendencies of medicine associated with an exercise of power by the medical regime, or the pharmaceutical complex's newfound hegemonic position in a capitalistic society. Instead, we must also consider the role medicalization and biologicalization play in

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[130] Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault*, trans. and ed. by Sean Hand (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1988).
[131] Rabinow, *Essays on the Anthropology of Reason*, p. 92.
[132] One of the most comical of the new "diseases" emerging is *hyporichosis*, for which the product *Latisse* can provide patients with the "longer, fuller, darker lashes" that this disease has deprived them from experiencing. While, to my knowledge, "inadequate or not enough eyelashes" do not pose a serious, or even moderate, health concern, the classification of this phenotypic trait as a disease speaks to the current increasingly inclusive understanding of medical deviancy.

producing and reproducing docile bodies in "control societies." For Gilles Deleuze, the disciplinary societies that Foucault identified as "spaces of enclosure" with their own "cyclical laws and practices" are being replaced by societies of control, in which "one is never finished with anything" and "the numerical language of control is made of codes that mark access to information."[133] Deleuze further adds: "We no longer find ourselves dealing with the mass/individual pair. Individuals have become '*dividuals*,' and masses, samples, data, markets, or '*banks*.'"[134]

Theory and Method

The approach of this project relies upon a Foucauldian genealogy, a history of the present concerned with the emergence of a particular constellation of forces and powers that have come to shape, influence, and define biological citizenship. Since most of the recent work on biological citizenship focuses on the West, particularly within Euro-American societies, my project will build from these earlier works but instead pursue a postcolonial theory of biological citizenship in the Philippines and Korea. But, first, why a genealogy and what purposes can it serve to elucidate the formation of biological citizenships in the Philippines and Korea?

For Foucault, "the genealogist needs history to dispel the chimeras of the origin, somewhat in the manner of the pious philosopher who needs a doctor to exorcise the shadow of his soul. He must be able to recognize the events of history, its jolts, its surprises, its unsteady victories and unpalatable defeats—the basis of all beginnings, atavisms, and heredities."[135] Through a genealogy, one is able to investigate what Foucault refers to as "effective history," or a history of unthought, while avoiding traditional history's misguided attempt to locate the true essence of things, or its origins. The genealogist considers traditional history's search for origins and constants through a linear narrative of continuity to be ignorant of the raptures, discontinuities, the differential values produced by the "endlessly repeated play of dominations" of certain

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[133] Gilles Deleuze, "Postscript on the Societies of Control," *October* 59 (Winter 1992): pp. 3-7, at p. 5.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. by Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980), p. 144.

groups over other groups. Therefore, history becomes effective, according to Foucault, when it "introduces discontinuity into our every being" and "deals with events in terms of their most unique characteristics, their most acute manifestations"[136] Effective history is not the "handmaiden to philosophy," nor does it recount "the birth of truth and values," or reduce all things to the lowest common denominator by hiding the "preferences in a controversy" or the "obstacles of passions," it instead recognizes that "knowledge is not made for understanding; it is made for cutting."[137]

Following a genealogical approach, it is not my intention to solely define the parameters of biological citizenship. Rather, I am interested in uprooting the forces that have made these socio-political identities possible while investigating how biological citizenships have become established as spaces of interrogation, practice, and reflection within colonialism and the nation making process. And, since the discursive practices surrounding an identity continue to fluctuate (be it those that define the individual or the nation), it is necessary to expose the forces subsuming, redefining, and reinterpreting the possibilities of biological citizenship. "The genealogist sees the present state of affairs and present needs as another episode; not the result of a meaningful development but a result of struggle and relations of force and domination."[138]

Following the work of Foucault, I consider the "state" to be an apparatus ("superstructural in relation to a whole series of power networks"[139]), while the "nation" can be understood as the way the state talks about itself. That is to say, the discourses of the nation are rarely, if ever, coherent and unified but rather are multiple statements underlining the formal façade of the state; they are "the forces of a particular group with its on history, its own relationship with the past, its own victories, its own blood, and its own relations of domination."[140] Therefore, as Gilles Deleuze points out, the genealogist, or new archivist, seeks the multiplicity of "the statement," since it is the statement that "passes though all levels and cuts across a domain of structures and possible unities, and

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[136] Ibid., 154.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Michael Mahon, *Foucault's Nietzschean Genealogy: Truth, Power, and the Subject* (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 112.
[139] Michel Foucault, *Power/*Knowledge, p. 122.
[140] Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the College De France, 1975-1976*, trans. by David Macey (New York, NY: Picador, 2003), p. 224.

which reveals them, with concrete contents, in time and space."[141] Building from the works of Canguilhem, Foucault, and Deleuze, as well as theoretical perspectives from the fields of feminism and postcolonialism, this genealogy will not only dissect the knowledges and practices that make up biological citizenships, it will also seek the statements and silenced accounts of those categorized and classified by their diseases and abnormalities.

To achieve this, I have conducted archival research and discourse analysis in the Philippines (with support from the Social Development Research Center, De La Salle University) and South Korea (with support from the Department of Political Science and International Studies, Yonsei University) to gain access to disease narratives found within colonial medical accounts and contemporary document (e.g., letters, biographies, diaries, records, correspondences, legislations, photographs, artwork, and various other materials, such as scientific publications). This combination of archival and ethnographic work will serve primarily as an analysis of how the state talks about itself, which requires an investigation into the "specificity of the mechanisms of power" and "political economy of truth"[142] that define the nation. However, with this methodological approach, it is important to note that my discourse analysis and archival research was limited to mostly English language sources.

Chapter Outline

The *second* chapter begins with an investigation into the identity politics of the colonial encounter with specific emphasis on the influence of western science and technology in colonialism and empire making. Here, I am interested in how imperial science (most notably, germ theory, psychoanalysis, and criminology) was not only developed in colonial laboratories to control and discipline native bodies, but also simultaneously used to invent a white and modern bourgeois identity that would be exported back to the metropole for social engineering projects. However, within this relationship, the gender question is often neglected or overlooked. That is to say, science and technology were not only important for supporting the material needs of colonialism and empire but also for producing racialized and gendered identities that supported the

[141] Deleuze, *Foucault*, pp.14-15.
[142] Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, p. 145.

discursive practices of western modernity. With this approach, I show how "woman" becomes a form of biological citizenship in that white women represented a buffer, a boundary, between the primitive and the modern, the black and the white body, within colonial spaces, as well as a pathological form of existence that served as a barometer for measuring normal and abnormal femininities. This demarcation between the normal and the pathological would allow the colonizer to domesticate, classify, and, thus, control native peoples to improve the overall effectiveness of colonialism and, just as importantly, support the cultural hegemony of imperialism. This chapter concludes by framing a theoretical approach to colonial modernity that elucidates the structures of power that underlie the processes of "becoming woman, becoming nation."

The *third* chapter addresses the "regimes of truth" and their "modes of domination" that have come to influence the formation of biological citizenships in the *Orient*. This chapter serves as the first part of my Philippine case study. It is here that I analyze the regimes of power that are intertwined with the formation of biological citizenships in (post)colonial Philippines. Specifically, I address the connections between colonialism, racial and gendered discourses, and medicine and moral hygiene. This section of the genealogy will focus on the rise of the "new public health" in the 19th century following Pasteur and Koch's discovery of the microbe. I argue that the incorporation of the newly established fields of bacteriology and germ theory into the hygiene and medicalization campaigns of the new public health signifies a move towards the individualization of disease and the formation of disease narratives (and new vocabularies), both of which I posit made possible the biological identities and bodies needed for colonialism and empire making. For example, under the medical practices of the new public health, Charles V. Chapin initiated the crusade against the microbe and actively voiced the threat of "healthy carriers" and their "risky social behaviors" to the health of the public. Furthermore, I reveal how the power/knowledge produced by the new public health made possible what Foucault refers to as the "juridico-medical complex."

While it is important to note that the Spanish were the first to colonize the Philippines and introduce the practices of western medicine to Filipino society centuries before the arrival of the United States at the end of the 19th century, I argue that it was during the American occupation that the new public health and its sister sciences (i.e.,

criminology, psychoanalysis, and eugenics) were tested in the Philippines. Under the leadership of Victor Heiser, Director of Health in the Philippines, public health officials spread the gospel of the germ, which can be clearly seen in the toilet campaigns to eradicate hookworm, the creation of a leprosarium on the Culion Island to isolate and educate (through civic and medical practices) Filipinos with Hansen's disease, and, finally, with the training of Filipinas in the domestic sciences, a form of housewifization, by white American women.

The *fourth* chapter continues with my analysis of biological citizenships in the Philippines (serving as the second part of the case study), but focuses more specifically on how colonial modernity continues to play out in contemporary Philippine society. Here, I am interested in exploring the ways in which biomedical technologies and practices intersect with the nation making process to produce a modernized national culture in postcolonial Philippines. To achieve this, I address the current medical policing of subalterns and "medical deviants," such as the Aeta Negritos and people living with HIV/AIDS, and how the discursive practices legitimating such policing can be traced back to the moral hygiene campaigns of colonial Philippines. To further demonstrate how "woman" becomes a biological citizen, I interrogate the discourses and narratives surrounding *balikbayan* Filipinas (female overseas workers) found within policymaking circles as well as within the cultural imaginary of postcolonial Philippine society. Within colonial modernity, the Filipina has come to represent a dangerous woman, a threat to the development of the nation, and, thus, has been targeted by the juridico-medical complex. The balikbayan Filipina is a threat because she is considered a source of biological and social pollution, that is to say, she is classified as a potential carrier of HIV by the Department of Public Health and is seen as the cause of social and cultural decline by the national elite because she "abandons" the domestic sphere to work abroad, in turn reinforcing the image of the Philippines as a backward nation of servants.

The *fifth* chapter is the first part of the Korean case study and investigates the colonial encounter between Korea and Japan, focusing primarily on the biopolitical relationship between the two countries and the biological subjectivities created and recreated through the embodiment of Korea into the national identity of Japan. In part, I discuss how Japanese colonialism played a key role in introducing western biomedicine

and moral hygienic practices (*hygieine pragmateia*) to Korea– discursive practices that I argue continue to influence Korean perceptions of health and illness today. As In-sok Yeo points out, the development of modern public health systems and their impact on Korean society and its health can be seen as a product of a dramatic and disjointed history of Japanese colonialism and occupation and American liberation and occupation.[143] These campaigns were carried out under the name of western hygiene and promoting the overall "public health" of Korea, but can be better understood as an attempt by Japanese authorities to rewrite Korean identity in order to create a modern Japanese national cultural, a Meiji Identity, that would allow Japan to compete with the West as the empire of Asia.

In other words, an understanding of the various dimensions of colonial modernity and nationalism in (post)colonial Korea requires an investigation into the processes and power structures of national identity and nation making in Japan. Much like the relationship between American bourgeois identity and the "primitive Filipino," Japan's modern national culture cannot be easily separated from its identity experiments in colonial Korea. This is partly because the elites in both countries have embraced the discourses and discursive practices of (western) modernity, albeit in different ways and under different pretenses, to reclaim and reassert a national cultural identity uniquely their own, however embedded within colonial modernity. To build upon my theory of postcolonial biological citizenship, this chapter introduces the concept of bionationalism to investigate how the biopolitical practices of colonization and decolonization have shaped, and have been shaped by, the body politics of the subalterns of Korean society, specifically Korean women. Through such an analysis, this chapter seeks to reveal how the body of the Korean woman serves as an object of knowledge from which the various practices of contesting colonial domination can produce new concepts of citizenship that support a national cultural identity.

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[143] In-sok Yeo, "A History of Public Health in Korea," in Milton J. Lewis and Kerrie L. Macpherson, eds., *Public Health in Asia and the Pacific: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (London, UK: Routledge, 2008), pp. 73-86.

The *sixth* chapter, serving as the second part of the Korean case study, addresses the relationship between women and the postcolonial state, particularly the construction of normal and abnormal understandings of femininity used to support the conception of an authentic, yet modern, Korean nation. Here, I am interested in the relationship between social policy and nation making, specifically how Korean identity is (re)constructed by the discourses associated with an increasingly neoliberalizing Korean society. Through the establishment of welfare as one of the central indicators of modernity and progress, certain gendered identities within Korean society are seen as potential threats to the development of the nation.

However, the divide between these "dangerous bodies" of Korean society and the meta-narrative of the nation runs much deeper than the clash between Confucianist values and modernization. It is also necessary to take into account how postcolonial technoscience is shaping the meanings of modernity in Korea and the "types" of bodies the nation needs. As a result, this chapter examines how the biopolitical practices of decolonization and nationalization have shaped, and have been shaped by, the body politics of the subalterns of Korean society, and the role psychoanalysis has played in nation-making and identity formation in postcolonial Korea. From this analysis, I conclude that social welfare policies implemented since the Kim Dae-jung administration following the "Asian Financial Crisis" are, in part, an attempt to produce and support a "modern" national identity necessary for Korea's neoliberalization.

In conclusion, the *seventh* chapter revisits the relationship between the core and periphery and addresses the changing relationship between Korea and the Philippines within the interlinking assemblages of colonial modernity and neoliberal globalization. Keeping in mind that it has never been the intention of this project to simply compare the Philippines and South Korea, I focus on how the social engineering and nation making of postcolonial societies are influenced not only by the colonial encounter and neoliberal globalization, but also by the measures of modernity they adopt to produce a nation and the role scientific expertise plays in shaping this modern, yet authentic, national identity. Through this perspective, we can begin to see how the Philippines has become "a career" for Koreans. That is to say, just as many American men and women achieved political and social mobility through U.S. colonization of the Philippines, South Koreans have

flocked by the thousands to the Philippines with middle class aspirations. Here, I show how the making of a Korean middle class identity and the continued neoliberalization of the country require, in part, the Philippines and, more specifically, the Filipina body. Be it as a source for the English language or a buffer between Korean society and the American military, the Filipina body has become a form of biocapital used by Korea within its pursuit of modernity, economic development, and an understanding of Koreanness. Finally, I end with a discussion on resistance and the future of biological citizenship, that is to say, a look at how a genealogical approach to biological citizenship can offer some insight into the micropolitics of resistance occurring within postcolonial societies like Korea and the Philippines.

CHAPTER 2

Identity Politics within the Tensions of Empire

To understand the formation of biological citizenships in postcolonial countries like the Philippines and South Korea, we need to address the issue of empire and, more broadly, the culture of imperialism. As stated in the introduction, no two colonial encounters are the same. Rather, they are shaped by unique spatiotemporalities and, therefore, are sensitive to the political and economic histories of the colonizer and colonized. This is especially the case when comparing Japanese and American imperialism since, as Vince Boudreau notes, both Japan and the United States viewed control of colonial territory as an emblem of political structure, but the two colonizers differed on their orientation and motivations for colonial acquisition.[1]

For example, in the case of late developing Japan, "the state's competitive haste to enhance industrial production and accelerate national capacities required both vast external reserves of raw material and a patriotic mission of expansion to deflect increased pressure on local populations."[2] In other words, the Meiji elite considered Japanese society to be anachronistic, temporally positioned behind the West and in desperate need of catching up. To achieve this, the political elite elicited strong patriotic support among the population in order to rewrite the nation's position in time and space.[3] That is to say, through truth games, Meji Japan sought to escape the position of object within the Orientalism of the West and establish itself as a subject within the larger imperial system. The United States in contrast was much farther down the self-contained industrialized process, and thus had sufficient natural resources to promote a state-led mercantilist expansion that fed the desire of American businesses to explore and exploit foreign markets. Unlike Japan, then, "the United States' colonial enterprise required domestic

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[1] Vince Boudreau, "Methods of Domination and Modes of Resistance: The U.S. Colonial State and Philippine Mobilization in Comparative Perspective," in Julian Go and Anne L. Foster, eds., *The American Colonial State in the Philippines* (Manila, Philippines: Anvil, 2005), p. 264.
[2] Ibid.
[3] An excellent account of Imperial Japan's rewriting of time and space can be seen in Stefan Tanaka, *New Times in Modern Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).

justification elaborated in terms of other-directed missions, including a mission to govern justly, rather than as the mere acquisition of resources and markets."[4] In this sense, the United States relied upon the discourse of the White Man's Burden to sell to the American people the importance of U.S. tutelage in faraway lands like the Philippines.[5]

At the heart this analysis of empire and nation making, which will serve as the foundation to my postcolonial reading of biological citizenship, is the relationship between science, gender, race, and citizenship. By looking at how these variables come together and interact within the colonial encounters of the West and the Orient and within the Orient itself, we can not only better understanding the "colonial" and the "postcolonial," but also how biological citizenships are firmly anchored within the colonial obverse. As a result, this chapter is concerned with the "contingency of the metropolitan colonial connections"[6] and how biological citizenship can be seen as the product of patterns of imperial rule and, later, decolonization and nationalization.

Imperialism within this process, as Edward Said points out, is "the practice, the theory, and the attitudes of a dominating metropolitan center ruling a distant territory," while colonialism, within this relationship, "is almost always a consequence of imperialism" in that it is the "implanting of settlements on distant territory."[7] However, imperialism and colonialism should be seen as much more than the accumulation and acquisition of foreign land; on a deeper level, there is a language of domination, a power/knowledge, legitimizing this acquisition for the purposes of saving, educating, and training an "inferior," "backward," and "savage" *Other*. The hegemony of the imperial ideology, all too often used by the West to accumulate the Orient, is predicated on the belief that one's culture is superior to, and thus better than, another culture. This is not necessarily war in the sense of the Enlightenment, this is salvation, for wars can only be

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[4] Boudreau, "Methods of Domination and Modes of Resistance," p. 265

[5] Julian Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning: Elite Political Cultures in the Philippines and Puerto Rico During U.S. Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

[6] Anna Stoler and Frederick Cooper, "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda," in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 1-58.

[7] Said, *Culture of Imperialism*, p. 9.

fought between peers, and the Orient is far too inferior to be a peer. The sheer utter shock of nonwestern Japan's triumph over western Russia during the Russo-Japanese War of 1905 clearly speaks to this ideology. Thus, as Michael Doyle suggests, the ideological power of a culture of imperialism supports the processes and policies needed to maintain an empire.[8]

Within the discursive space of empire, the imperial circuits and networks that linked the metropole with the colonies, the core with the periphery, served as what John Darwin refers to as "bridgeheads," that is to say, the "hinge or 'interface' between the metropole and a local periphery . . . It might be a commercial, settler, missionary, or proconsular presence or a combination of all four."[9] However, the interactions occurring through these bridgeheads were not one-directional, moving solely from the core to the periphery as the story of European Modernity (the Enlightenment) would like us to believe, but instead are dialectical, multidirectional or in some instances without clear trajectory. Therefore, as Tony Ballantyne suggests, the spatiality of empire, its circuits and networks, resemble a web in which "empires, like webs, [are] fragile (prone to crises where important threads are broken or structural nodes destroyed), yet also dynamic, being constantly remade and reconfigured through concrete thought and effort."[10] In this sense, as Ballantyne points out, empires should not be understood as merely structures, but more importantly as processes as well.

One such process that interconnected the core and periphery elite was the *science of empire,* with its reliance on systemic description and classification of colonial space and inhabitants, and *imperial science*, that is to say, the technologies of colonial dominance themselves that transformed the periphery, or what Edward Said calls the Orient, into a laboratory for testing and implementing new tools of manipulation, discipline, and surveillance. In short, the former classifies to subdue and control, while the latter dissects and carves out new spaces of recognition. However, it is through both the science of empire and imperial science that new notions and understandings of

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[8] Michael Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986), p. 45.
[9] John Darwin, "Imperialism and the Victorians: The Dynamics of Territorial Expansion," *English Historical Review* 112, no. 447 (June 1997), pp. 614-642, at p. 629.
[10] Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire* (New York, NY: Palgrave, 2002), p. 39.

personal and national identity are produced. In this context, "science" can be seen as "a convenient metaphor . . . for what Empire might become."[11] That is to say, science functions as a means of legitimating the colonial activities of the empire as well as sustaining its imperial reach, both physically and discursively. On this point, David Gilmartin suggests that there exists an underlying tension in the relationship between "imperial science" and "science of empire" that upon investigation can provide valuable insight into the importance of "local knowledge" in the colonial encounter.[12]

Science of empire, in this sense, is "not simply a structure of domination, but also a distinctly colonial political system linking the colonial state and indigenous elites together in a common political order."[13] For Gilmartin, local knowledge, particularly the local power relations that shape and embody forms of knowing, plays a central role in the scientific structures of colonial administration. That is to say, the incorporation of local knowledge into colonial governance makes possible the meticulous classification and categorization of colonial spaces that the science of empire requires to maintain legitimacy and control. In other words, "this is where search for science and for the Orient got fused, diverting it from the Centralist inclinations of metropolitan science. Orientalism had urged the colonial scientists that it was actually in this tropical site with all its geographical diversities that science could attain its true enlightenment."[14]

Imperial science, on the other hand, contradicts this political discourse of a linked colonizer and colonial subject since it instead justifies colonial rule by portraying a modern European identity, with its technologically advanced culture, capable of educating and governing an inferior, primordial native identity. In this discourse, there is no room for local knowledge, it is instead a competing form of knowing that must be

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[11] Roy Macleod, "On Visiting the Moving Metropolis: Reflections on the Architecture of Imperial Science," in Nathan Reingold and Marc Rothenberg, eds., *Scientific Colonialism: A Cross-Cultural Comparison* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987), p. 244.

[12] David Gilmartin, "Scientific Empire and Imperial Science: Colonialism and Irrigation Technology in the Indus Basin," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 53, no. 4 (November 1994): pp. 1127-1149.

[13] Ibid., 1128.

[14] Pratik Chakraborty, "The Asiatic Society and Its Vision of Science: Metropolitan Knowledge in a Colonial World," *The Calcutta Historical Journal* 21-22 (1999-2000): pp. 1-30.

either cut away or co-opted into the discourse of imperial science. Here, "'local knowledge' was subordinated to a universal, technical discourse of "science,"'[15] and it was only though the technical expertise of colonial officials that the surrounding natural environment could be cultivated for the needs of empire, most notably commercial development. In this sense, it was the backwardness (or pseudoscience) of local knowledge—with its superstitious nature and absence of scientific rationalism—that served as the root cause of all the failures of the Orient. This is essentially the story of modernity, in which the colonial subject could eventually reach a level of maturity, long ago obtained by Europeans through western science and technology, necessary for self-determination. "European imperialisms were themselves decisively shaped by liberal preoccupations, including ideas of tutelage in self-government, exploring the rule of law, and the normativity of European modernity."[16]

This contradiction, or tension in empire, tells us that colonialism was, in many ways, an incoherent project, and in turn suggests additional dimensions to the imperial networks underlying Gilmartin's conception of science of empire, one that requires, as Ann Stoler puts it, cutting across the dichotomies of colonizer/colonized and colony/core.[17] In this sense, the bourgeois "civilizing missions" occurring in the colony and metropole must not be seen as projects isolated from one another since the colonies of the periphery were more than sites of exploitation but also "laboratories of modernity" and meaning making. Therefore, as Stoler suggests, we need to:

> Rethink European cultural genealogies across the board and to question whether the key symbols of modern western societies—liberalism, nationalism, state welfare, citizenship, culture, and "Europeanness" itself—were not clarified among Europe's colonial exiles and by those colonized classes caught in their pedagogic net in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and only then brought "home."[18]

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[15] Ibid., 1144.
[16] Jennifer Pitts, "Political Theory of Empire and Imperialism," *Annual Review of Political Science* 13 (2010): pp. 211-235, at p. 216.
[17] Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire*.
[18] Ibid.,16.

A genealogy of biological citizenship with an emphasis on (post)colonial technoscience provides one such way to cut across the dichotomies of traditional approaches and, more importantly, since science and technology cannot be separated from the key symbols of modern western societies, particularly citizenship, culture, and identity, such an analysis can help us better diagram the dialectical relationship between the metropole and periphery that constituted the colonial encounter. Supporting the story of European modernity, colonial science would serve as the foundation from which new nation states would emerge and mature, eventually arriving to the level development long ago reached by European societies. However, this relationship between science and empire, imperialism and identity formation, was not solely a western phenomenon.

Similarly, albeit not completely the same (to be discussed in detail in chapter 5), Japanese imperialism in Asia required colonial laboratories—such as those found in China, Taiwan, and Korea—to serve as the battleground for developing the scientific advancements that the Meiji elite believed were necessary for Japan's imperial expansion, societal development, and competition with western empires. "Manchuria and China were the materials provided by heaven with which [the Japanese elite] could engage in 'creation'— the creation of a new technological culture, a powerful empire, and a scientific Japan."[19] Just as the West needed the Orient to justify and support the social and political structures and processes of the Enlightenment, Japan required the rest of Asia to remake itself into a great empire.

Although scientific rationalism presents itself as objective, without culture, philosophers of science have discussed in detail the manufacturing of meaning and cultural effects of scientific authority, in turn suggesting that science is discourse such that biology, for example, can be seen as the emergence of organisms (forms of existence) from a discursive process.[20] Science and technology, as a producer of meaning, culture, and identity, provide the needed physical and discursive material for establishing, although often messy and incomplete, the classificatory distinctions between pathological and normal, inferior and superior, primitive and modern, woman and man, Oriental and

[19] Mizuno, *Science for the Empire,* p. 43.
[20] See, Martin, "Anthropology and the Cultural Study of Science," and Haraway, "The Promises of Monsters."

Western, fit to rule and unfit to rule, and the list goes on.[21] Essentially, it creates culture and counter culture, in which one form of cultural existence, let's call it *bios* (the ethical life for living well capable of political and social citizenship),[22] is more advanced and developed than another form of culture. Prejudice and discrimination, then, can be used to separate forms of life, operating on what Etienne Balibar calls "neoracism"[23] and, to a slightly different degree, although similar, what Foucault refers to as "scientific racism."[24]

In part, it was through science and technology, notably colonial medicine, that Empire maintained, and continuously reasserted, its hegemony. In the *Prison Notebook*, Antonio Gramsci defines hegemony as:

> The 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production.[25]

In this sense, science and technology can enable colonialism not only through disciplinary force, but also, and in many ways more effectively, through consent. That is to say, scientific discursive practices help "to extend the authority of the ruling classes and to socialize the masses into quiescence."[26] Although there are varying degrees of resistance, colonial modernity runs deep in the minds of the political elite who see the scientific advancements of the colonizer as grounds for legitimate rule, in a sense becoming doxic, and, subsequently, replicated at the national level. With this understanding, we can consider imperial science as a producer of cultural power that services the needs of imperial governance, from disciplining the everyday practices of the indigenous population to assisting with the overall maintenance and sustainability of

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[21] See, Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men*.
[22] See, Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).
[23] Etienne Balibar, "Is There a "Neo-Racism'?" in Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities* (New York, NY: Verso, 1991).
[24] Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*.
[25] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York, NY: International Publishers Company, 1972), p.12.
[26] Arnold, *Colonizing the* Body, p. 243.

empire by controlling meaning and imposing cultural forms and practices that support such meaning. According to Julian Go, "colonial regimes aimed to control, manage, and sometimes transform local meaning systems; as colonial rule sought compliance and legitimacy, they also strove to colonize the consciousness and cultural practices of the subordinate groups."[27] Science and technology, in this sense, assist the colonizer with creating disciplinary cultural practices, be it hygienic or ideational, that shape, hierarchicalize and stratify colonial space for the very purposes of testing and implementing "a political order that inscribes in the social world a new conception of space, new forms of personhood, and a new means of manufacturing the real."[28]

This "reality" produced by imperial science was consistent with the European project (the post-Enlightenment view of the world) in which the relationship between the Orient and the West was located within an "evaluative scale of progress and decay"[29] and celebrated the achievements of Western man over Oriental man, who, as Pratik Chakraborty suggests, was the essentialism of the rationalist ethic and producer of scientifically oriented cultures.[30] In sharp contrast, Oriental man was the product of unscientific, uncivilized societies the suffered the disease of primitiveness. Within this discourse, "colonialism was seen as a necessary function of Europeans to help the helpless children grow towards a high morality, and towards adulthood and maturity. Western knowledge was supposed to play the patronizing, paternalistic role in this project."[31]

Here, we see how colonial science creates laboratories for identity experimentation and new forms of what Foucault refers to as governmentality, which in turn maintains a culture of imperialism in the colonies of the periphery and back in the metropole as well. Colonial science operates through a mode of development, as both a science of development and the development of science, in which the colonial subject is

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[27] Go, *American Empire and the Politics of Meaning*, p. 5.
[28] Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, pp. 34-35.
[29] Bernard Cohn, "The Command of Language and the Language of Command," in Ranajit Guha, ed., *Subaltern Studies 4: Writings on South Asian History* (Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 315.
[30] Pratik Chakraborty, "Science, Morality, and Nationalism: The Multifaceted Project of Mahendra Lal Sircar," *Studies in History* 17, no. 2 (August 2001), pp. 245-274.
[31] Ibid., 253.

transformed from an "experiential reality to an experimental one, move[s] him from his life world to the laboratory, reduce[s] him from a molar to a molecular reality, and reinterpret[s] his disease as somatic or psychological rather than psychosomatic."[32] What occurs, then, is depersonalization through scientization, which is "socially imposed by a particular form of expertise which bases itself on the dualist worldview of modern science."[33]

Gender and Imperial Science

In *The Second Sex*, Simone de Beauvoir famously writes: On ne naît pas femme: on le devient; "One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman."[34] With such insight in mind, it becomes clear that when investigating the importance of (post)colonial science for supporting the ideological hegemony of imperialism and empire, the gender question cannot be ignored. As Feminist scholarship has shown, science and gender cannot be separated, and this is especially so in the context of colonialism and imperialism.

Furthermore, "gender," like science, is another "mode of power through which metropolitan and colonial modernities were mutually constituted,"[35] in turn making possible categories like sexuality, nationality, racial and biological differences, among others. And, as Nandy points out, within Western Europe, science and technology became "clearly identified with the masculinity principle in the Judeo-Christian cosmology,"[36] in which the science of gender not only supported and regulated sexual differences and domestic life ("rational man" versus "irrational woman"), this contemporary gendered understanding of the sexes could be, and was, extended across a wider imperium, in which racial differences between the native and the colonizer could be established as well as other demarcations of imperialism like "home" and "abroad,"

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[32] Nandy, *The Savage Freud*, p. 154.
[33] Ibid., 155.
[34] Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1953), p. 267.
[35] Kathleen Wilson, "Empire, Gender, and Modernity in the Eighteenth Century," in Philippa Levine, ed., *Gender and Empire* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 15.
[36] Ashis Nandy, *Traditions, Tyranny, and Utopia* (Delhi, India: Oxford University Press, 1992). p. 80.

and, subsequently, "Americanness" or "Englishness."[37] Because of this, maintaining clear racial and gender differences between man and woman, native and colonizer, was a central concern of the architects of empire. If these boundaries of difference were blurred, as was often the case, the colonial encounter risked the threat of slipping into what Homi Bhabha calls the hybridity of the third space, that to say, "a problematic of colonial representation and individuation that reverses the effects of the colonial disavowed, so that other 'denied' knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority – its rule of recognition."[38]

To prevent this hybridity, and protect, legitimate and reproduce the forms of recognition that make empire possible, the colonizer relied primarily, albeit not exclusively, upon western science and technology. In other words, to maintain the boundaries of identity necessary for supporting colonial rule, western science relies upon a socialization that involves "layers and levels of ideological influences, sociocultural and religious, that impose knowledge or ignorance of female bodies and construct woman as gendered subject or object . . . experiences of colonial domination are gender-specific and rooted in the control of female sexuality throughout a woman's life."[39]

Just as colonial science needs discursive bodies to support a culture of imperialism (i.e., "primitive," black natives versus "modern," white Europeans), it also needs material bodies to serve as resources for the laboratories that make up colonial spaces. Within Enlightenment thought, the female body with its various stages of development (i.e., puberty, menstruation, pregnancy, and menopause) was inherently pathological, especially female bodies outside of the established norms of femininity, and thus inferior to men and an ideal object of knowledge for experimentation and the testing of new theories and disciplines. In other words, "woman was, by definition, disease or disorder, a deviation from the standard health represented by the male."[40]

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[37] Ibid., 16.
[38] Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York, NY: Routledge 1997), p. 114.
[39] Ketu H. Katrak, *Politics of the Female Body: Postcolonial Women Writers of the Third World* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006), p. 9.
[40] Ornella Moscucci, *The Science of Woman: Gynaecology and Gender in England, 1800-1929* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 102.

As, Ornella Moscucci suggests, not only did the science of man born from the Age of Enlightenment play a crucial role in the rise of liberal political thought, it placed women within the sphere of nature, removed entirely from modern culture. Once in the sphere of nature, femininity becomes a site for "natural" observation, not much different than the primitive peoples of foreign lands. "Woman was classified with the child and the primitive, and both femininity and savagery were seen to be pathological states and an arrested stage of development of the human species."[41] Furthermore, by defining women and natives as inherently abnormal, all female functions were treated as pathological, incapable of mental or physical labor within the public sphere, and, thus, in need of tutelage from (white) men.

While western scientific thought is better understood as a disciplinary discourse,[42] it, nonetheless, needs material bodies, flesh and blood, to cut, test, and classify. This is because the body is the ultimate source of power; it can be used for production (artifacts, other bodies, labor, etc.), dissection and experimentation, confinement, torture, disciplining and conditioning, and, just as importantly, creating new conditions of possibility for knowing, understanding, and living. In particular, there are three types of colonial science that made possible—through manipulating the power of bodies—new conceptions of space, time and identity that supported imperialism and empire making—*criminology*, *psychoanalysis*, *and bacteriology*.

Foucault referred to these human sciences as "dubious disciplines," in which the figure of man (or, as I am interested, woman) becomes the focus, and, in many cases, obsession since through an investigation of the materiality of the human form, "truth" could be derived. Not just truth about the human condition, its biological functions and limitations, but also, and possibly more importantly, what such "truth" can tell us about society, control, and, inevitably, governance. That is to say, the culture of imperialism of the dubious sciences "fosters a mentality that requires ever more explicit definitions of

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[41] Ibid., 4.

[42] The work of Donna Haraway is particularly helpful here. For example, see, Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 1988): pp. 575-599 and Haraway, "A Manifesto for Cyborgs," in Steven Seidman, ed., *The Postmodern Turn: New Perspectives on Social Theory* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 82-118.

what is appropriate to human behavior" and establishes "boundaries between regulated and unregulated domains of human activity, which creates a mentality that interprets such activity in terms of binary oppositions: sanity and insanity, health and sickness, legitimate and criminal behavior, lawful and illicit love."[43]

Similar to the West, the female body was an object of knowledge deeply situated within the clinical gaze of Japanese imperial science, and through the mapping of gender and sexuality in its colonies, Japan was able to forge a national identity that supported its grand narrative of modernity. As mentioned early, the construction of a superior "Japaneseness" occurred through a much different process than the development of whiteness in the West, as Japan occupied a contradictory positionality of both seeing subject and object being seen.[44] In this sense, as Marilyn Ivy notes, Japan must be separated from an "undifferentiated global modernity;" however, at the same time, "it is literally unimaginable outside its positioning vis-à-vis the West." In other words, "if Japan is incommensurable, it is incommensurable in ways commensurate with other modern nation-cultures in the historical specificity of its modern entanglements."[45] That is to say, the relationship between Japan and the West is one of coeval modernities in which Japan's modernity collided with the modernity projects of Europe and the United States. However, while coeval suggests contemporaneity, as Harry Harootunian points out, there is still the possibility of difference, a "*doubling* that imprinted a difference between new demands of capitalism and the market and the force of received forms of history and cultural patterns."[46]

Furthermore, on this point, the work of Richard Retian shows us that for the intellectuals of Meiji Japan, the West was the embodiment of civilization, it served as "an imagined geographic unity that enabled the 'half-civilized" and the 'uncivilized' to be thought."[47] To attain civilization, then, meant adopting the knowledge and technology, as

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[43] Patrick H. Hutton, "Foucault, Freud, and the Technologies of the Self" in Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, and Patrick H. Hutton, eds., *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (London, UK: Tavistock Publications, 1988), p. 126.
[44] Ching, "Yellow Skin, White Masks."
[45] Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing*, pp. 4 and 6.
[46] Harry Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity: History, Culture, and Community in Interwar Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. xvii
[47] Reitan, *Making a Moral Society*, p. 7.

well as the political and economic institutions, of Western Europe and the United States. However, as Retian notes, Meiji Japan did not simply copy, or mimic, the civilization discourse of the West. Rather, the concept of civilization embraced by Japanese intellectuals was "constituted through a negotiation between Japan and its representations of the West" in that the discourse of civilization was fluid and about change. In other words, "this was a discourse on barbarism and civilization both, and on the progress (with all of the evaluative connotations this term conveys) from one to the other. Civilization, then, can be understood as a complex discourse locating the nation-state at a certain stage along a temporal progression."[48]

Building from this understand, I will also add that to construct a modern national identity, Japan was in part able to discursively reposition itself in relation to the West by embodying Korea along with its other colonial possessions—a process that I argue required colonizing the Korean "woman." Many have commented at great length on the importance of scientific thought in Imperial Japan.[49] I would like to highlight that within this scientific thought, "woman" was an object of knowledge that would be studied to support Meiji Japan's civilization discourse.

For example, within the context of public health and racial hygiene, Japanese sexologists sought to establish a "science of sex" in order to produce a purely scientific sexual knowledge of the Japanese national/imperial body.[50] In part, the emerging field of sexology focused its gaze on the health of the population in both the mainland of Japan and the colonies, addressing issues of birth control and superior births. Notably, Ota Tenrei's theories of sex and sexuality gained a great deal of popularity in Meiji Japan, specifically his study of the female menstrual cycle and his development of an

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[48] Ibid., 7.
[49] For example, Bartholomew, *The Formation of Science in Japan*; Sumiko Otsubo and James R. Bartholomew, "Eugenics in Japan: Some Ironies of Modernity, 1883-1945," *Science in Context* 11, no. 3-4 (Autumn-Winter 1998): pp. 545-546; Miriam Silverberg, "Constructing the Japanese Ethnography of Modernity," *Journal of Asian Studies* 51, no. 1 (February1992): pp. 30-54; Tanaka, *Japan's* Orient; Kevin Doak, "What is a Nation and Who Belongs? National Narratives and the Ethnic Imagination in Twentieth-Century Japan," *American Historical Review* 102, no. 2 (April 1997): pp. 283-309; and, Morris-Suzuki, "Debating Racial Science in Wartime Japan."
[50] Sabine Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan* (Berkeley CA: University of California, 2003).

intrauterine devise (IUD), coined the *Ota-Ring*, to serve as a new form of contraception.[51] Interestingly, as Frühstück notes, hundreds of physicians in the colonial laboratories of Taiwan and Korea would use the bodies of local women to test the Ota-Ring, which in turn provided the theories and research for the birth control movement back in Japan.[52]

Furthermore, as the work of Theorodre Yoo shows us, the medical gaze of Japanese physicians in colonial Korea specifically focused on the education of women, particularly modern techniques in parenting, to create loyal imperial subjects.[53] According to Yoo, "each stage of a woman's biological life—puberty, menstruation pregnancies, parturition, and menopause—had to be scrutinized by medical experts."[54] This meticulous scrutiny would make possible diagnoses of normal and pathological femininity, which would in turn enable these colonial authorities to discursively construct the right kind of Korean "woman," that is to say, a subjugated body inferior to Japan's "modern" and "superior" cultural identity. And, through power relations shaping sexuality and seeking domination over the Korean body, Japanese medical expertise would become akin to confession of sin to a priest in that Korean women seeking advice on the health of their bodies would confess their sexual practices and describe their bodily functions to Japanese physicians. "Power relations come in play when Korean women (the colonized) turn to colonial authorities as experts. The question is not about the advice he gave but the very interactions that took place: the colonizer turning to colonial authorities for 'knowledge' (to use Foucault's terms)."[55]

The Native within the Psychoanalytic Gaze

Within the context of empire making, the colonial sciences were, in part, concerned with policing pathology in order to establish normality. Psychoanalysis, in particular, was concerned with diagnosing and treating abnormality, reproducing a form of modernization theory that posited stages of psychological development. Hand in hand with psychoanalytic discourse, the field of criminology would, in turn, create techniques for identifying, controlling, and disciplining these abnormal individuals. Ranjana Khanna

[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid., 109.
[53] Yoo, *The Politics of Gender in Colonial Korea*.
[54] Ibid., 176.
[55] Ibid., 167.

points out that colonial sciences, such as psychoanalysis, produced a "way of being" that set the power dynamic between native and colonizer, the Orient versus the West, in which imperialism was "dependent on colonial political and ontological relations, and through its disciplinary practice, formalized and perpetuated an idea of uncivilized, primitive, concealed, and timeless colonized peoples."[56] Likewise, Joy Damousi suggests that psychoanalysis, as a normalizing and, simultaneously, colonizing discourse, attempts to "give people a personal history" in which cultural difference is reduced to matters of pathology, with "the ascendency of white civilization, progress, and the Enlightenment" considered to be a natural course of events.[57]

The work of Sigmund Freud, most notably *Civilization and Its Discontents* and *Totem and Taboo*, was in many ways a product of this colonial encounter in that it captured the "savage" within a psychoanalytic gaze that justified colonization through the discourse of European Enlightenment. Jock McCulloch argues that "Freud was confident that a well-preserved facsimile of our own prehistory could be found in the lives of primitives, and he hoped that their study would have relevance to the understanding of his European patients."[58] Furthermore, McCulloch suggests that within Freud's work, the term "primitive" comes to mean a number of different conditions, most of which, however, refer to a specific kind of psychic entity whose *id* dominates over the *superego*, in turn creating a hyper-sexual subject without rational constraints. For Freud, the primitive was comparable to the neurotic in that "they shared a psychic process dominated by intellectual narcissism and the omnipotence of thought," however "the primitive lacked the means, the strength, and the curiosity to explore the world as it was" and was instead an individual ready made by his culture."[59]

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[56] Ranjna Khanna, *Dark Continents: Psychoanalysis and Colonialism*, p.6
[57] Joy Damousi, "Geza Roheim and the Australian Aborigine: Psychoanalytic Anthropology during the Interwar Years," in Warwick Anderson, Deborah Jenson, and Richard C. Keller, eds., *Unconscious Dominions: Psychoanalysis, Colonial Trauma, and Global Sovereignties* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), pp. 80-81.
[58] Jock McCulloch, *Colonial Psychiatry and the African Mind* (London, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 10.
[59] Ibid.

Freud's Woman and Her Primitive Counterpart

Women, much like the primitive native, were not spared from the psychoanalytic gaze, but instead served as the object of knowledge underlying its development and expansion. For Freud, "the ego is first and foremost a bodily ego; it is not merely a surface entity, but is itself the projection of surface." On this point, Judith Butler adds that this "imaginary construction of body parts" put forth by Freud assumes "a gendered morphology, so the bodily ego is a gendered ego."[60] She further adds: "Becoming a "man" within this logic requires repudiating femininity as a precondition for the heterosexualization of sexual desire and it fundamental ambivalence . . . the desire for the feminine is marked by that repudiation."[61] If "man" is produced through repudiating "woman," as Butler suggests, the construction of "normal" femininity can be achieved through repudiating "native" within a hierarchy of otherness. Since "pathological woman" was captured within the same primitive identity as the native, normal woman, while still inferior to white masculinity, needed to fit between these inferior and superior identities.

Freud classified women within the category of "infantile sexuality" such that the psychic structures of woman, child, and native were one and the same. For example, on this point, Freud argued that children with polymorphously perverse disposition present in the same manner as "an average uncultivated women," which he defined as primitive women such as prostitutes, or women with the "aptitude for prostitution," who are "clever seducers."[62] With this diagnosis provided by Freud, and shared by other psychoanalysts at the time, prostitutes (uncultivated femininity) like children experience no shame and exhibit displays of perversion reticent of hyper-sexuality. Because of this, psychoanalysts "sought to understand and cure young women's illegal or irregular behaviour both through the application of the fledging science of psychiatry and by placing them in appropriate positions as domestics in the city and the countryside."[63] Such a prognosis for "curing" abnormal women speaks to the belief widely held by the

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[60] Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1977), p. 132
[61] Ibid., 137.
[62] Sigmund Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*, trans.by James Strachey (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1962), p. 57.
[63] Mary Bosworth, "Confining Femininity: A History of Gender, Power and Imprisonment," *Theoretical Criminology* 4, no. 3 (August 2000): pp. 265-284, at p. 275.

medical community that preventing the transgression of gendered norms required keeping women confined within the domestic sphere.

The Making of Criminal Woman

> Women are inferior to men; physically, physiologists have found the sign of inferiority in their tissues, in the corpuscles of their blood, in the evolutionary development of their brain; intellectually, analysts of their intelligence have found an absolute lack of genius, an unimaginative mold to their conceptions, the almost subconscious assimilation of ideas, the pettiness, poverty, monotony, and one-sidedness of their thoughts.[64]

Since women, especially native women, were considered to be inherently pathological, many of the theories of psychoanalysis and criminology were developed around the understanding that normalcy, that is to say, the ideal, proper, and authentic form of femininity, could be derived through the study of the "abnormal behavior" of women in both the metropole and the colonies. According to Peter Becker, criminological discourse underwent profound changes during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Before the advent of the "criminal" and the "criminal mind," concepts that continue to play out in dramatic tone in courtrooms today, societies throughout Europe were preoccupied with crime (i.e., theft, assault, homicide, etc.) and its causes. In other words, before the "sciences of the criminal," there were the "sciences of crime," in which crime was seen as a societal issue and community-based problem.

However, with establishment of the "criminal," that is to say a person who commits crime because of some moral/biological deficiency, criminal "experts," or criminologists, are needed to study the behavior of these perverse individuals. "[The] role in the production of criminological knowledge was taken over by doctors, anthropologists, psychiatrists, and criminal law experts who looked at the problem of crime and deviance from the perspective of social and/or biological determinism."[65]

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[64] Cited in Mary Gibson, "On the Insensitivity of Women: Science and the Woman Question in Liberal Italy, 1890-1910," *Journal of Women's History* 2, no. 2 (Fall 1990): pp. 11-41, at p. 23.

[65] Peter Becker, "The Criminologists' Gaze at the Underworld: Toward an Archaeology of Criminological Writing," in Peter Becker and Richard F. Wetzell, eds., *Criminals and Their Scientists* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University of Press, 2006), p. 105.

On this point, Foucault's work is incredibly insightful and beneficial for understanding the societal and cultural implications of the birth of the "expert." In particular, scientific expertise "reports—inasmuch as their expert status confers a scientific value or rather a scientific status on those who pronounce them—have a certain privilege vis-à-vis any other element of judicial proof."[66] Here, Foucault suggests that scientific expertise, such as expert psychiatric opinion, possesses three properties that lend to its control over discourse and society: first, is the power to determine a decision of justice that concerns an individual's freedom or detention (that is, the power over life and death, or the discourse to kill); second, is its function as truth (knowledge/power); and, third, is its ability the make one laugh (the discourse that reduces the individual to nonsense or absurdity, which one should never take seriously). Thus, "discourses of truth that provoke laughter and have the institutional power to kill . . . deserve some attention."[67]

With this understanding, I argue that colonial sciences such as criminology, and colonialism in general for that matter, consist of a similar assemblage of discourses—to know, to kill, to laugh—in that they make knowledge of the *other* possible, diagnose pathology and prescribe treatment, while simultaneously reducing the *other* into an absurdity, a caricature of the self, that requires discipline and punishment, or, frankly, governance. In particular, the work of Cesare Lombroso, the noted father of criminology, supported this understanding of a clear, scientifically measurable, difference between normal and abnormal individuals.

Relying on the social Darwinian theories of criminal anthropology, Lombroso posited that criminals were born, not made, and, thus, had distinct physically degenerative and psychologically deficient features and characteristics. For positivist criminologists like Lombroso, these atavisms could be empirically measured, ranked, and grouped "along a continuum from normal to deviant or from superior to inferior."[68] Within an evolutionary hierarchy, these criminologists suggested that the "savage races" occupied the lower rungs of the deviancy ladder, just above animal life, while law-

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[66] Michel Foucault, *Abnormal: Lectures at the College De France, 1974-1975*, trans by Graham Burchell (New York, NY: Picador, 1999), p. 11.
[67] Ibid., p. 6.
[68] Gibson, "On the Insensitivity of Women," p. 13.

abiding white men stood at the top. And, since women were naturally pathological, with typical behavior consisting of "anger, vanity, jealously, and vengeance," they were placed in the same category as children, criminals, and primitive peoples.[69] The work of Ernst Haeckel in the late 19th and early 20th century captures this point. Heavily influenced by Social Darwinian thought, Haeckel's theory of recapitulation posited that "individual development parallels the historical record of species development."[70] That is to say, child (adolescent) and race are closely related in that children were linked to "savages" and the "evolutionary ladder of individual psychological development from child to adult could be used to calibrate stages of development of cultures in terms of their intellectual and moral evolutions."[71] American and European social science at this time, most notably criminal anthropology, argued that the progressiveness, primitiveness, or decline of a society was reflected in the individual.

While Lombroso and his colleagues believed that women's inferior nature made them less capable of criminal behavior than men,[72] some women, nonetheless, fit the category of "born criminal" and, therefore, were a threat to social order. However, because women were considered to be "big children" and, thus, morally incompetent, Lombroso insisted that all women were "semi-criminals."[73] Furthermore, behavioral traits that were seen as positive in normal men (i.e., intelligence, strength, virility) were considered to be deviant and a sign of criminality in women. "Virility was one of the special features of the savage women . . . We have portraits of Red Indian and Negro beauties, whom it is difficult to recognize for women, so huge are their jaws and cheekbones, so hard and coarse their features."[74] Here, we can see how the comparison to the "savage" women of the colonies makes possible a demarcation of abnormal femininity among white European women.

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[69] Ibid., 17.
[70] Suparna Choudhury, "Culturing the Adolescent Brain: What can Neuroscience Learn From Anthropology," *SCAN* 5, no. 2-3 (June-September 2010): pp. 159-167, at p. 161
[71] Ibid.
[72] Dawn Rae Flood, "Deviance Gendered, Criminology Exposed," *Journal of Women's History* 19, no. 1 (Spring 2007): pp. 214-223.
[73] Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero, *The Female Offender* (New York, NY: D. Appleton and Company, 1895), pp. 148 and 151.
[74] Ibid., 122.

According to Radhika Mohanram, the colonial sciences, such as criminology, established a context in which, unlike the male bourgeois body, the female body, be it European or native, is never fully white. That is to say, these colonial sciences "initially developed to prove the disparity between races, were also used to prove the disparity between the sexes."[75] Mohanram further posits:

> Like people of lower races, white women too had low brain weights. Like Africans, they too were long-headed with narrow skulls and were discovered to have protruding jaws. As was observed in peoples of lower races, the white woman's nose was flatter, her forehead misshapen, her earlobes attached—she was atavistic.[76]

Or, take for example, William Dampier's description of the people of New Holland in his book, *Captain Dampier's Voyage Round the Terrestial Globe* (1697): The inhabitants of this country are the miserablest people in the world . . . They are tall, straight-bodied, and thin, with long limbs. They have great heads, round foreheads, and great brows . . . They are long-visaged, and of a very unpleasing aspect, having no one graceful feature in their faces.[77] From such descriptions of the *Other*, we can see how colonial sciences reduce the native into a set of "objective" descriptions and characteristics from which it becomes possible to diagnose pathology and establish atavism, all the while stripping the native of a cultural and historic identity.

Thus, we can begin to see that the black body and the female body are metaphors for each other produced through imperialism and empire making. Without the pathological representation (such as photographs taken by colonial authorities) of the exotic *Other*, it becomes much more difficult to measure and categorize the deviancy of western, white women back in the metropole. In other words, the primitive men and women of the colonies served as the foundation, the measuring point, from which the deviancy of Europeans, born criminals or semi-criminals, could be established, keeping in mind that all of these deviant, criminal-like, behaviors and characteristics stood in sharp contrast to lawful white men. Thus, sexuality, intelligence, and, for the most part,

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[75] Radhika Mohanram, *Imperial White: Race, Diaspora, and the British Empire* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), p. 42.
[76] Ibid., 42.
[77] Cited in Sarah Mills, *Discourse of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1991), p. 90.

agency among "savage peoples" could only exist within a discursive space of criminality. For example, black women were considered to have an "apelike sexual appetite," in which the black female came "to serve as an icon for black sexuality in general," with their "primitiveness" being directly associated with a hyper, intensive sexuality.[78] Thus, European women who happened to have the "misfortune" of being intelligent or virile were reduced to natural criminals, not much different than their black counterparts. On this point, Stephen J. Gould writes:

> If human savages, like born criminals, retained apish traits, then primitive tribes—'lesser breads without the law'—could be regarded as essentially criminal. Thus, criminal anthropology provided a powerful argument for racism and imperialism at the height of European colonial expansion.[79]

Since criminal anthropologists like Lombroso portrayed themselves as enlightened social democrats whose approach relied upon a rational and scientific understanding of the social realities of human nature,[80] their theories received little resistance in Europe for two key reasons: first, positivist criminology was considered to be a proven "science," with universal and absolute laws and principles that promoted democracy through technocratic governance. And, second, criminal anthropology upheld social Darwinian representations of the races (i.e., white superiority and black inferiority), essentially legitimating European imperialism and the colonization of "savage peoples" who were criminal by nature and, thus, in dire need of the tutelage of law abiding white men.

On the issue of female sexuality, for example, Lombroso and his followers wrote prodigiously on the threat of prostitutes, an example of a female "born criminal," to social order and the common good in the colonial territories and European cities. Prostitutes were considered criminal in the sense that they were "sexual predators" spreading disease and moral corruption throughout society. The work of Sander Gilman shows how black female sexuality, as represented by the image of the Hottentot, becomes

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[78] Sander L. Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature," *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 1 (Autumn 1985): pp. 204-242, p. 212.
[79] Gould, *Ever Since Darwin*, p. 226.
[80] Ibid., 227.

synonymous with the hyper sexuality depicted in both white and black prostitutes.[81] In this sense, Hottentot women and the white prostitutes of Europe were seen as similar, sharing a common deviant and criminal behavior and, thus, representative of an abnormal femininity. Within this social Darwinian hierarchy, black women and prostitutes stood below "normal" white women, which were in turn below "normal" white men.

In this context, we can see that gender and race are closely intertwined and intersect, "coalescing into gender specific forms of oppression and meshing longstanding imaginaries in order to justify hierarchies of subjectivity, economical and political as well as epistemic orders associated with these subjectivities."[82] That is to say, black women and white prostitutes represented what European women should not be; they were considered to have "primitive genitalia," pronounced buttocks, masculine physical features, and an ape-like sexual drive. "To an extent, this reflects the general nineteenth-century understanding of female sexuality as pathological. The female genitalia were of interest in examining the various pathologies that could be fallen them, but they were also of interest because they came to define the sum of the female for the nineteenth century."[83] Again, it is important to point out that within the European cultural imaginary at this time, the sexuality and genitalia of "normal" European women were still considered to be pathological compared to the genitalia of white men (as articulated by Freud's famous concept of "penis envy"[84]) but less pathological than the hyper sexuality of black women and prostitutes.

Through a deconstruction of abnormal femininity, we can determine what "normal" femininity is within this phallocentric and racialized discourse. As depicted in much of the artwork of the nineteenth century, normal femininity was portrayed by the young Victorian woman: she was sexually innocent and submissive with pure white skin and "gentle," non-masculine features, all of which can be seen in sharp contrast to

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[81] Sander L. Gilman, *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race, and Madness* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985).
[82] Freya Schiwy, "Decolonization and the Question of Subjectivity," *Cultural Studies* 21, no. 2-3 (April 2007): pp. 271-294, at p. 275.
[83] Gilman, *Difference and Pathology*, 88.
[84] Freud, *Three Essays on The Theory of Sexuality*.

Hottentot women and prostitutes, or what Robert Connell refers to as "countertypes."[85] Furthermore, Mohanram points out that the Victorian woman "was perceived as central to family [and nation]; she was located as passive, in the home, in the private realm . . . she was dependent on men and submissive to them, gentle, self-sacrificing, capable of self-renunciation . . . She was paradoxically both womanly yet childlike."[86] Many feminist scholars have linked this understanding of normal femininity, of proper womanhood, with the changes in gender relations following the Enlightenment,[87] and through these discursive practices of femininity, the creation of the "normal" woman made possible the domestication of colonial space and the reproduction of the imperialist ethos by drawing distinctions between white European masculinity and the feminine *Other*.

In a sense, abnormal and normal women are established through processes of dichotomization and hierarchalization. However, criminologists and the like were not always able to make these distinctions so easily and clearly. To allow for gray area, and a blurring of distinctions, Lombroso spoke of semi-criminals and criminal-like women, that is to say, women who behaved similarly to prostitutes, exhibiting hyper-sexuality at times, but were not "born criminals," rather good women caught in a bad situation.[88] These women could be saved. Furthermore, Lombroso suggested that maternity, the defining feature of womanhood, stood antagonistically opposite to strong sexuality in that a healthy woman with her maternal altruism represented normal femininity, while the strongly sexualized nature of prostitutes, native women, and other female born criminals signified abnormal femininity.[89] Although most do not consider psychoanalysis and criminology to be a "science" today, during the nineteenth century, Freud, Lombroso, and similar "human scientists" considered their theories and methods of data collection to be

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[85] Robert Connell, *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987).
[86] Mohanram, *Imperial White*, p. 31.
[87] Jane Flax, "Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Feminist Theory," *Signs* 12, no. 4 (Summer 1987): pp. 621-643.
[88] Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero, *Criminal Woman, the Prostitute, and the Normal Woman*, trans. by Nicole Rafter and Mary Gibson (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).
[89] Ibid., 69.

grounded in provable, universally applicable, scientific thought, and thus beneficial to the governance of Europeans and native peoples. In many ways, these human scientists, or what Foucault aptly referred to as the "dubious sciences," owe their success to the paradigm shift in medical thinking produced by germ theory. Lombroso, Freud and the like, were heavily influenced, although not always directly, by the work of Pasteur and Koch and their discovery of the microbe. It cannot be expressed enough how influential germ theory and bacteriology were to the relationship between the metropole and colony and the spread of imperialism throughout the Orient.

What makes germ theory such a powerful ideology is not necessarily the identification of microbes as the root cause of illness, which overturned the traditional miasma theory of disease, but rather the change in the ways in which one could diagnose, classify, and inevitably track disease that revolutionized medical thinking and supported the structures of colonialism. In particular, germ theory posits that microbes carried by individuals cause disease, not urban filth or noxious gases found in the surrounding environment; therefore, bacteriologists argued that we should focus primarily on the etiological characteristics of disease, not the symptomatic criteria. In other words, according to this logic, medical interventions should address the causative agent of disease not the symptoms presented (e.g., coughing, sneezing, vomiting, etc.). Clearly, adherents to germ theory recognized that symptoms suggest an underlying health problem, but voiced concern over the asymptomatic diseased individual (who provides no visible warning of illness) and, thus, the need to focus on causative agents (e.g., the bacilli, virus, genetic abnormality, etc.) to understand, prevent, and treat disease. Basically, within this biomedical model, the scientist is not treating the symptoms but the causative agent carried by the individual.

K. Codell Carter points out the influence germ theory had on Freud's work on the sexual etiology of hysteria, in which the different types of neuroasthenia (anxiety, neuroses, hysteria, obsessional neurosis, etc.) had specific pathological etiology, which were the causes of the visible symptoms.[90] Furthermore, through germ theory, Freud is able to suggest that women, because of their pathological nature and primitive sexuality,

[90] K. Codell Carter, "Germ Theory, Hysteria, and Freud's Early Work in Psychopathology," *Medical History* 24, no. 3 (July 1980): pp. 259-274.

are more susceptible to these diseases and, thus, more likely to carry the causative agents of neuroasthenia. We can see a similar understanding of "diseased women" in the work on the female born criminal offered by criminal anthropologists like Lombroso. That is, criminal woman has etiological characteristics that can be studied to interpret her acts of deviancy (e.g., prostitution), which present with discernable characteristics (e.g., hyper-sexuality, masculine facial features, high threshold for physical pain, etc.). Similar to anthropometrics, psychometrics, biometrics, and phrenology, Freud, Lombroso, and their followers were offering nascent eugenic theories that followed Ernst Haeckel's famous conclusion: "ontogeny replicates phylogeny." Thus, savages, criminals and women were lower than white men on the evolutionary chain of being and, therefore, were seen as atavisms and a threat to modern civilization.[91]

According to Alexandra Stern, the reliance of these human sciences on statistical concepts of normality ("average man") and the use of laboratory techniques, such as microscopes, psychometrics, and biometrics, made possible new categories of citizenship and discourses of nationalism. Judith Leavitt's work on Mary Mallon, better known as Typhoid Mary, makes this point clear. "Mary Mallon, in all of her various levels of culpability, represents pollution, pollution of food, pollution of healthy unsuspecting bodies, pollution of womanhood and the home. She is a deviant, a threat to the very core of society through the germs that grow in her body and spew out to infect others."[92] In this sense, citizenship, simply understood as who belongs and who does not, is determined by many factors—race, gender, sexuality, etc.

Germ theory and the new human sciences provide an additional dimension to the marginalizing process of citizenship—disease. Thus, the diseased body becomes a foreign body, the body of the *Other*, and must be either expelled from the body politic of the nation or, if necessary, contained and controlled within it. There are numerous examples of the discourse of disease being used to draw lines between the rational, healthy citizen and the pathological *Other*—tuberculosis and Jewish immigrants in the

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[91] Alexandra Minna Stern, "Secrets Under the Skin: New Historical Perspectives on Disease, Deviation, and Citizenship," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no. 3 (July 1999): pp. 589-596.

[92] Judith Walzer Leavitt, *Typhoid Mary: Captive to the People's Health* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1996), p. 87.

United States,[93] HIV/AIDS and gay men,[94] leprosy and Native Hawaiians,[95] and many others. Moreover, since women have been historically described as inherently pathological by the human sciences, the diseased and impure female body serves as a barometer for measuring citizenship. That is to say, within this discourse, women can never truly be citizens capable of self-determination in the public sphere, and thus must be confined to the domestic sphere. And, the "abnormal" women who breach this divide are quickly captured within the medico-moral gaze of the nation and reduced to pathology and, subsequently, banished to the realm of the *Other*, most notably the prostitute but also any woman who directly or indirectly challenges patriarchal norms, such as feminists and single mothers. However, as the theories of Freud and Lombroso suggest, despite the pathological nature of women, there is still the possibility of "normal" femininity and women who perform this form of femininity belong within the nation, albeit as second-class citizens.

Becoming Woman, Becoming Biological Citizen

For Foucault, this form of *othering* can be called a "dividing practice," in which the "subject is either divided inside himself or divided from others. This process objectivizes him."[96] However, in the context of "woman" discussed thus far, there is the need to divide inside in order to divide from others. In this sense, the deviant person (women, native, and criminal) is divided inside to establish a hierarchy of pathology—the savage is synonymous with the criminal who is more deviant than the normal woman who is nonetheless innately pathological and inferior to men—which in turn makes possible the normalcy of white men and their superior mental and physical characteristics. Here, a feminist genealogy of the category of "woman" is helpful for understanding how women are biological citizens *par excellence*. According to Allison Stone, "an

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[93] Howard Markel, *Quarantine! East European Jewish Immigrants and the New York City Epidemics of 1892* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).
[94] Paula Treichler, *How to Have Theory in an Epidemic: Cultural Chronicles of AIDS* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).
[95] Michelle T. Moran, *Colonizing Leprosy: Imperialism and the Politics of Public Health in the United States* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina, 2007).
[96] Michel Foucault, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, eds. Hurbert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), p. 208.

understanding of women as having a genealogy thus entails that, instead of forming a unitary group, [women] are connected together in complex ways and to varying degrees, and, in particular, that they are linked by their partially and multiply overlapping interpretations of femininity."[97] Along these lines, Balibar suggests that the identity of "woman" is "collected under a single name of subjects whom nothing binds to one another, except their always singular way of being an exception."[98] With these understandings, we can see how "woman," as a reconstructed and shared identity, is a product of domination in which the biopolitics of femininity associated with becoming woman are defined by the needs of imperialism and nationalism.

Much like the mobilization of the biological *Other* that comprises what Rose and Novas refer to as biological citizenship, women make up a biosociality through a shared history defined by an "interior of exclusion."[99] Without this identity of "woman," the colonial sciences and western society in general cannot successfully define normal in relation to pathological, man in relation to women, civilized to savage, white to black. As discussed above, the colonial sciences of empire made femininity a disease, an abnormality intertwined with the native and criminal. Although classificatory distinctions existed between "woman," "native," and "criminal," these identities cannot be easily separated since they are all necessary for the creation of the rational and lawful white man. Since white, middle class women in Europe "were supposed to be naturally modest and sexually passive (although not passionless),"[100] women that fell outside this understanding, or even directly challenged such phallocentric belief structures, such as prostitutes and native women, quickly become criminalized and pathologized.

With Freudian psychoanalysis leading the way, the medical community classified the behaviors of these abnormal women as "perversions" and "deviances." But, it is important to restate that women in general were considered to be pathological due to their inferior bodies and reproductive organs, which made them overly emotional and prone to

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[97] Alison Stone, "Essentialism and Anti-Essentialism in Feminist Philosophy," *Journal of Moral Philosophy* 1, no. 2 (2004): pp. 135-153, at p. 150.
[98] Etienne Balibar, "Culture and Identity (Working Notes)," in John Rajchman, ed., *The Identity in Question* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1995), p. 190.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Carol Groneman, "Nymphomania: The Historical Construction of Female Sexuality," *Signs* 19, no. 2 (Winter 1994): pp. 337-367, at p. 342.

psychotic episodes. However, white women who fit within the accepted limits of female sexuality were seen as more evolved than lower-class black and white women, who were in turn characterized as promiscuous and animal-like. Thus, "normal women" represent the "authentic 'body' of national tradition . . . embodying nationalism's conservative principle of continuity," while white men would in turn represent "the progressive agent of national modernity . . . embodying nationalism's progressive or revolutionary principle of discontinuity."[101]

With this understanding of woman as the foundation of nation, the medical profession was particularly concerned with preventing upper class white women from degenerating into a primitive form of femininity. In other words, these dangerous women were not "real women," but instead examples of atavisms and, if left uncontrolled, would greatly threaten the development of modern society. Thus, we can see that the female body served as an object of knowledge that supported the Orientalist discourse of imperialism and colonialism. On this point, Freya Schiwy argues that such notions of femininity and masculinity are colonial latent constructs that make possible the "gendering of colonial imaginaries . . . as a means of rendering European masculinity through Othering. That is, European and Caucasian men have thought of themselves in opposition to colonized (or postcolonial) men who have been represented as effeminate or as part of an irrational nature where nature itself is also bound up with tropes of femininity."[102]

Although European women were believed to be inferior to their male counterparts, they still represented civilized femininity and proper displays of sexuality in contrast to native women. Because of this, the purpose of white women in the colonies was two-fold: first, to maintain the boundary between white and black, civilized and primitive, which in part required distracting European men from the "temptation" of exotic and hyper-sexualized natives by serving as symbols of purity and the homeland, and, second, to educate these sexualized native women in the science of modern femininity, most notably western hygienic practices. In other words, as Diane Roberts points out, white bourgeois

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[101] Anne McClintock, "Family Feuds: Gender, Nationalism and the Family," *Feminist Review*, No. 44 (Summer 1993): pp. 61-80, at p. 66.
[102] Schiwy, "Decolonization and the Question of Subjectivity," p. 275.

women were to practice vigilance in that they "[were] required to keep white bodies from slipping toward blackness."[103] Thus, through the roles of boundary maker and educator, white women became agents of colonialism. For example, the work of Jawad Syed and Faiza Ali shows that British feminism during the 19th and 20th centuries owes much to Britain's imperial rule in that British feminists were able to achieve a sense of superiority by constructing the image of a powerless Indian woman that required their intervention.[104]

When British women travelled throughout the colonies of the Empire, their identity was not so much limited by their gender but empowered by their white skin, that is to say "Victorian women were representatives of the British Empire and symbolized prestige and power that were linked to their skin colour."[105] These middle class white women were trapped within the domestic sphere of Victorian Britain, and only able to escape by serving as "imperial ladies" in the colonial encounter. Therefore, as Syed and Ali suggest, it comes as no surprise that although some of these women became critical of government policies, "many become complicit in this insidious colonial project . . . [in fact] several white women were able to carve out promising careers by participating in such colonial projects."[106] Furthermore, and equally as important, serving as imperial ladies allowed these women to distance themselves from the abnormal femininity of the black native, and instead align with the hegemonic femininity produced by criminology, psychoanalysis, and other colonial sciences. For all intents and purposes, this was an empowering act for these women that made clear the privilege of being higher up on the subaltern hierarchy.

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[103] Diane Roberts, *The Myth of Aunt Jemima: Representations of Race and Region* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1994), p. 3.
[104] Jawad Syed and Faiza Ali, "The White Woman's Burden: From Colonial *Civilization* to Third World *Development*," *Third World Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (March 2011): pp. 349-365.
[105] Jacqueline-Bethel Mougoue, "Big Buttocks and Sultry Behaviour: Perceptions of Post-Colonial African Women in British Women's Travel Narratives," *Journal of African Culture and Civilization* 2 (2009): pp. 32-57, at p. 36.
[106]Syed and Ali, "The White Woman's Burden," p. 356

Becoming Woman, Becoming Nation

As the cases of western criminology and psychoanalysis and Japanese sexology and eugenics show us, within the context of imperialism and colonialism, to feminize is to make pathological and in need of tutelage and governance. Just as women are incapable of caring for their own bodies (a discourse that continues to shape policy deliberations today), native peoples are far too irrational and primitive to achieve self-determination without the rational leadership of white Europeans, or, in the case of colonial Korea, "modernized" Japanese expertise. What is important here, and clearly demonstrated through Orientalism and colonial discursive practices, is that "woman" as an identity denotes inherent pathology, and, therefore, women can be seen as biological citizens because the discourse of "woman" is centered on an abnormal subject that needs to be normalized. Western technoscience (i.e., germ theory, criminology, psychoanalysis) was believed to reveal this pathology and make possible therapeutic interventions for disciplining and policing the biologically inferior female body.

However, can bodies embody nation? Nikolas Rose argues that within European imperialism, colonial subjects were understood in terms of, and constructed within, biological categories. "Distinctions within nations as to those more or less worthy of, or capable of, citizenship, and distinctions between peoples as to their respective capacities to rule and be ruled, were built on an explicit or implicit biological taxonomy inscribed in the soma of both individual and collective and passed down through a lineage."[107] In other words, the nation is more than an imagined community; it is also a biological one, in which the vitality of the nation is measured, in part, by the individual and collective biological bodies that constitute it. Through this construction of the nation and its subjects, Rose suggests that the national population serves as a resource for understanding, studying, and, in some cases, creating pathologies.

While the pathologization of "woman" was used to control her sexual behavior, it also supported the discourses of development and modernization associated with imperialism, colonialism, and later nationalism. That is to say, the idea of an evolutionary chain of being in which law-abiding white men were fully evolved and, thus, masters of the public sphere capable of governance, while women and especially native peoples

[107] Rose, *The Politics of Life Itself*, p. 138.

were still in the early stages of development. From this we can see what many feminist scholars have posited for decades, nationalism is a gendered discourse that is both invented and dangerous, in which powerful constructions of gender differences are produced.[108] Likewise, Mohanram suggests: "notions of nationness and nationalism are predicated on women's exclusion from the polity. In fact, women are not so much excused as they are considered requisite for the production of the meaning of nation as they are located as *the very ground* upon which the meaning of the nation itself rests."[109]

And, subsequently, as the work of postcolonial scholars like Ketu Katrak point out, the processes of decolonization and nationalization are waged over the territoriality of "woman," in which the medicalized female body becomes an object of struggle for the national elite to wage an insurrection against colonial systems of dominance. "In various parts of the 'Third World,' the struggle for women's emancipation was expediently connected to an anti-colonial struggle. After independence was won, militant women found themselves, typically, back in 'normal' subordinate roles."[110] These normal roles of femininity are associated with the cult of domesticity, that is to say, the "home is reified as a sacrosanct sanctuary form the profanities of the material world and women are seen as "guardians of morality and traditional order."[111]

Furthermore, Partha Chatterjee argues that the process of decolonization includes within it "a struggle against the false essentialism of home/world, spiritual/material, feminine/masculine propagated by nationalist ideology."[112] In this sense, we can see how "excluded as national citizens, women are subsumed only symbolically into the national body politic."[113] According to the work of Nira Yuval and Floya Anthias, within the discursive practices of nationalism, women perform five central roles: biological

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[108] McClintock, "'No Longer in a Future Heaven.'"
[109] Mohanram, *Imperial White*, p. 27.
[110] Ketu H. Katrak, "Indian Nationalism, Gandhian 'Satyagraha," and Representations of Female Sexuality," in Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer, and Patricia Yaeger, eds., *Nationalism and Sexualities* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1991), pp. 395-406.
[111] L. Amede Obiora, "New Skin, Old Wine: (En)Gaging Nationalism, Traditionalism, and Gendered Relations," *Indiana Law Review* 28, no. 3 (1995): pp. 575-599, at p. 579.
[112] Partha Chatterjee, "The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question," in Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid, eds., *Recasting Women: Essays in Indian Colonial History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), p. 252
[113] McClintock, "'No Longer in a Future Heaven,'" p. 105.

reproducers of the nation; symbols of national difference in patriarchal discourse; transmitters of cultural narratives; reproducers of the purity boundaries of the nation (us versus them); and, resources for active national movements (i.e., community organizations, support militarization and industrialization, etc.).[114] Thus, at the heart of the discourse of decolonization is the need to control knowledge of the female body, where she belongs (public or domestic sphere, or both), the degree to which she expresses an appropriate (acceptable) sexuality, how her body functions and operates (normally or abnormally), who she marries and reproduces with, how much and to what degree of efficiency she reproduces, and the concerns go on.

Colonial science, then, becomes a means for policing and shaping this knowledge, as well as the material body itself. And, as postcolonial scholars point out, western science is fetishized and quickly adopted by the national elite who see technoscience as a way to achieve modernity, anchor the population into the needs of the nation, and assert a national identity in opposition to, and in competition with, the former colonizer. All of this comes together to form a national culture, the discursive space and material necessary for becoming national, that is to say, the struggle for territory or centrality of position. As Franz Fanon suggests, national culture is an amalgamation of fragments—symbols and meanings—that serves as a "throw back to the laws of inertia," in which there is simply "a concentration on the hard core of culture which is becoming more and more shriveled up, inert, and empty."[115] In other words, this national culture produced for the purposes of decolonization is not a simple repackaging or reproduction of "western ways," or a reawakening of a indigenous identity once suppressed by the colonizer, nor is it an ad hoc culture, novel and unprecedented, it is instead, as Fanon suggests, an assortment of fragments, some indigenous, some borrowed, and some imagined to fit the needs of postcolonial nation making.

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[114] Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, eds., *Woman-Nation-State* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 1989).
[115] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, NY: Grove Press, 2004), p. 191.

However, it is important to state that all of these fragments, regardless of origin, are claimed by the national elite to be "authentic" and unique to the culture and consistent with the historical and future trajectory of the nation. As Benedict Anderson famously noted, nations are imagined communities, but at some point imagined becomes real, unquestionably authentic or doxic. This is the psychology of nation making, the political economy of truth that underlies a national culture and defines what kinds of bodies are needed for the development of the nation. Many postcolonial writers have articulated an imagined community without the imaginary. "What is required is, in a sense, a new symbolic: the foundation of a new nation, which would incarnate a new people. The 'people' therefore seems to arise as an intersubjective unit sui generis. The collective identification in which the people is formed occurs 'all at once.'"[116] That is to say, the "fictive ethnicity"[117] underlying the nation making process becomes more real than real.

While representations of male and female, indigenous and foreign, constitute the nation, the female body is the most contentious, in part, because, as discussed above, all other identities flow from the "authentication" of femininity within the nation making process. To reify the normal and the pathological, the modern and the primitive, masculine and feminine, all of which are necessary for producing a national culture, the female body must first be created. An investigation into the body politics of postcolonial societies reveals that this authentication of femininity (becoming women) for the purposes of nation making is achieved through biopolitical practices, such as beauty pageants, fashion trends, and even medical interventions at the somatic and microscope levels.[118]

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[116] Tracey Sedinger, "Nation and Identification: Psychoanalysis, Race, and Sexual Difference," *Cultural Critique*, no. 50 (Winter 2002): pp. 40-73, at pp. 51-52.
[117] Balibar and Wallerstein, *Race, Nation, Class*.
[118] For example, see Sarah Banet-Weiser, *The Most Beautiful Girl in the World: Beauty Pageants and National Identity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999); Huma Ahmed-Ghosh, "Writing the Nation on the Beauty Queen's Body: Implications for a 'Hindu' Nation," *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* 4, no. 1 (2003): pp. 205-227; and, Joanne Hollows, *Feminism, Femininity and Popular Culture* (Oxford, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000).

Through such an investigation, we can see how women become biological citizens at both the macropolitical level—the molar register (society, family, nation)—and at the micropolitical level. On this point, Deleuze and Guattari write:

> All becomings are molecular: the animal, flower, or stone one becomes are molecular collectivities, haecceities, not molar subjects, objects or form that we know from the outside and recognize from experience, through science, or by habit . . . there is a becoming-woman, a becoming-child, that do not resemble the woman or the child as clearly distinct molar entities.[119]

Building from this perspective, we can see how the discursive practices of national culture create a molar (authentic) woman representative of nation, the family, and normal femininity through interventions at the micropolitical level. In order to maintain and reproduce this molar identity, the nation must constantly find ways to justify, legitimate, and authenticate "woman" since, as Deleuze and Guattari point out, becoming is a process, never a finished project. Becoming nation/becoming woman, then, "is always in the middle, one can only get it by the middle. A becoming is neither one nor two [points], nor the relation between the two, it is the in-between, the border of the line of flight or descent running perpendicular to both."[120]

Postcolonial nation making is never a completed process, there is no distinct beginning or end, and since the nation requires the embodiment of woman to support its national culture and justify its policies, the creation of femininity (and masculinity for that matter) is a continuous process, full of lines of flight as the once recognized "normal woman" quickly, and sometimes with great ease, becomes "abnormal" following alterations and changes to the meta-narrative, to the needs, of the nation. As with colonial science, postcolonial technoscience is used by the national elite to construct and discipline gender identities for the purposes of development and modernization. Like the colonizer, the postcolonial state has focused its gaze on the female body, as if to suggest that the social body of the nation is solely dependent on the identity of "woman" and her position within society.

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[119] Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. by Brian Massumi (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), p. 275.
[120] Ibid., 293.

CHAPTER 3

Identity and Nation Making in (Post)colonial Philippines

To better understand the role of technoscience and scientific authority in empire and nation making, along with the biological citizenships produced through these relationships, this chapter will address how colonial Philippines served as a laboratory for developing the theories and practices of germ theory and the new public health. As discussed in the previous chapter, the colonial sciences, most notably psychoanalysis and criminology, were made possible by the advances and technological breakthroughs associated with the rise of the new public health and its conception of disease. And, it was through this advance in the human sciences that new therapeutic techniques of controlling and classifying were made available, new forms of disciplining that not only enabled Europeans, Americans, and the Japanese to colonize foreign lands with greater efficiency, but also allowed these colonizers to rewrite native identities and create a culture of imperialism that supported the needs of empire and the development of modernized bourgeois identities back in the metropole.

With the birth of the new public health in the 19th century, discursive practices interweaving hygiene and citizenship helped to legitimate the securitization of bodies and the diseases that they carry. While such understandings of disease began in the West, they quickly found their way to the tropics through the imperial networks of empire building. With the American colonization of the Philippines, this was clearly the case.

Following its defeat in the Spanish-American war, Spain signed the Treaty of Paris (1898), ending the conflict and ceding Spanish colonies including the Philippines to the United States.[1] Shortly thereafter, Filipino revolt against the new colonizer escalated into the violent and bloody Filipino-American War that lasted until 1902 when the

[1] While important, this dissertation does not address the colonial encounter between Spain and the Philippines and the effects of Spanish colonialism on contemporary Philippine society. The following, however, are excellent works on this topic: Vicente L. Rafael, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society Under Early Spanish Rule* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993); Rafael, *The Promise of the Foreign: Nationalism and the Technics of Translation in the Spanish Philippines* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Reyes, *Love, Passion and Patriotism*.

"insurrection" was put down and a civil government under U.S. control was established. During U.S. colonization of the Philippines, American public health officials believed that the polluted Filipino body must be first trained within the day-to-day practices of western hygiene in order to become citizens of a nation worthy of self-determination. [2]

As part of my genealogy of biological citizenship, this chapter excavates the depths of American public health in colonial Philippines to elucidate the bodies of discourse that produced the illness narratives that continue to influence the politics of disease in Philippine society today. To understand how Filipinas and other "deviant" identities, such as gay men, have become biological citizens within the colonial modernity of contemporary Philippines, it is necessary to investigate how the formation of the juridico-medical *complex* shaped and continues to shape Filipino perceptions of health and illness as well as the social policies implemented to control and discipline dangerous bodies.

Moral Panic, Risk and Blame: Defining the "Other"

To elucidate the biopolitics of nation making in postcolonial Philippines, one particularly important, although quickly forgotten, event deserves our attention. In June 1991, Mt Pinatubo's several eruptions forced the Aeta Negritos—an indigenous community living in the mountainous region of Pampanga, Philippines—to abandon their homes and relocate to evacuation centers established by the Philippine Department of Health. While no Aeta suffered serious injury from the eruptions or during the evacuation process, between June and October of 1991, 400 died from infectious diseases contracted in the relief centers.[3] Crowding quickly became a serious health problem; in some of the

[2] While Spanish rule shaped Filipino society in many ways, the most notable being a strong Catholic influence that continues today, Ken De Bevoise notes that "when the United State intervened in the Philippines in 1898, its soldiers had stumbled into the midst of a health crisis that had been ongoing for at least a couple of decades." See, De Bevoise, *Agents of Apocalypse: Epidemic Disease in the Colonial Philippines* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), p. iv. As far as American public health officials were concerned, post-Spain Philippines was in dire need of U.S. intervention. Here, we can see a "window of opportunity" for American therapeutic intervention, with the Philippines becoming a laboratory of diseases to test the new science of bacteriology.
[3] Michael L. Tan, "The Meanings of Medicine: Examples from the Philippines," in Nina L. Etkin and Michael L. Tan, eds., *Medicines: Meanings & Contexts* (Quezon City, Philippines: Health Action Information Network, 1994).

larger evacuation centers, 25,000 Aeta were housed in tent camps. While such an experience would be horrifying for any group of people, Stefan Steiz points out that the densely crowded living conditions served as an extremely traumatic event for the Aeta since they traditionally live in small groups with ample surrounding space.[4]

However, overpopulated relief centers were only part of the problem; "the socio-cultural gap between the Aeta and the health workers"[5] resulted in a poorly planned and executed public health campaign that inadvertently increased illness among the Aeta. For example, health officials provided unfamiliar food and western medicine, which quickly became a major problem since most the Aeta never experienced (and refused to accept) canned food or synthetic medication.[6] Thus, due to inadequate housing conditions, malnutrition, and the unwillingness of the Aeta Negritos to consume foreign foods and take nontraditional medication, measles, respiratory infections, and diarrheas quickly spread among the refugees with a fatal outcome for many.[7]

Michael Tan argues that this tragic event represents the failure of public health officials to execute a culturally competent approach; instead of acknowledging the cultural and social needs of the Aeta Negritos, the Department of Public Health (and mainstream Filipino society at large) blamed the hundreds of deaths on the Aeta's "primitive" and "backward" nature.[8] Attributing the deaths of the Aeta to their own ignorance of biomedicine and refusal to except dominant societal norms infiltrated public consciousness through mainstream media outlets. Shortly after the deaths were reported, one of the major Filipino newspapers, *The Manila Bulletin*, published an article placing full blame on the culture of the Aeta.

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[4] Stefan Seitz, "Coping Strategies in an Ethnic Minority Group: The Aeta of Mount Pinatubo," *Disasters* 22, no.1 (March 1998): pp. 76-90.
[5] M.C.R. Banzon Bautista and E.C. Tadem, "Brimstone and Ash: The Mt. Pinatubo Eruption," in M.C.R. Banzon Bautista, ed., *In the Shadow of the Lingering Mt. Pinatubo Disaster* (Quezon City, Philippines: College of Social Science and Philosophy, University of Philippines, 1993), p. 12.
[6] Seitz, "Coping Strategies in an Ethnic Group," p. 80.
[7] Emmanuel M. de Guzman, *Eruption of Mount Pinatubo in the Philippines in June 1991* (Kobe, Japan: Asian Disaster Reduction Center (ADRC), 1991), accessed at: http://www.adrc.asia/publications/recovery_reports/pdf/Pinatubo.pdf.
[8] Tan, "The Meaning of Medicine," p. 70.

> The Aeta evacuees pose a special problem. They have a much higher casualty rate than their lowland brothers. The main reason for this is that they refuse modern medication. Being still in the primitive stages, they attribute sickness—not to germs—but to evil spirits. They have their own ways of determining the causes and cures of their ailments.[9]

When it comes to illness, societies culturally construct, evaluate, and reinterpret understandings of disease and health-related practices. Through perceptions, illness semantics, and metaphors, communities incorporate discursive practices into their daily lives that serve as ways of legitimizing and reinforcing hegemonic norms of behavior. However, outbreaks and disease epidemics challenge these health and medical norms, which in turn causes the hegemonic group of the society to undergo a process of moral panic, blame, and retribution. Medical anthropologists, philosophers of science, historians of medicine, and the like have long acknowledged the relationship between disease perceptions and their meanings. On this point, Warwick Anderson writes: "Our perceptions of disease have always prompted a search for attribution and responsibility; but more importantly they bring into focus the concerns we have about the way we live our lives, our relations to community, environment, and cosmos, and they challenge us to explain the purpose of malfunction and suffering."[10]

A critical analysis of historical outbreaks of leprosy, smallpox, tuberculosis (and numerous other infectious diseases) and the more recent HIV/AIDS and SARS epidemics reveals the moral panic campaigns implemented to "other" and scapegoat "at risk" groups believed to be responsible for the spread of disease. "The onset of epidemic disease had always incited prejudice, permitting the stereotyping of foreigners, the poor, and other races, as inherently disease-dealing and polluting."[11] During a period of moral panic, according to Stanley Cohen, a condition emerges in which dominant societal values and interests are threatened, which in turn requires the establishment of "moral barricades" around the body politic to separate the guilty and their deviant behaviors from the health citizens of the nation. The boundaries that constitute these moral barricades are manned

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[9] Anonymous, "Why the Aeta Are Dying in Relief Centers," *The Manila Bulletin*, 14 September 1991.
[10] Warwick Anderson, "Perception of Disease and Its Meanings," *The Lancet* 354, suppl. 4 (December 1999): p. SIV49.
[11] Ibid.

by "right-thinking people," such as "experts" that diagnose the situation on the ground and provide strategies for controlling diseased bodies.[12] The prognosis made by these "experts" generally falls along the lines of what Mary Douglas refers to as the risk/blame model. Through a strategy of risk and blame, "experts" use moral barricades to identify and label the "at risk" groups in order to separate them from the mainstream, vulnerable population. In *Risk and Blame*, Douglas identifies three types of blaming that shape a society's system of justice: *moralistic* (a societal norm/taboo has been broken); *work of individual adversaries* (or rival competition); and, *outside enemy* (or foreigner).[13]

During a natural disaster or disease epidemic, societies, according to Douglas, will use moral, adversarial, and/or outsider blame to explain, and, in some cases, justify death and illness. "Danger is defined to protect the public good and the incidence of blame is a by-product of arrangements for persuading fellow members to contribute to it."[14] Like Cohen and Douglas, Charles Briggs and Clara Mantini-Briggs point out that epidemics serve as "mirrors held up to society" in the sense that disease outbreaks expose the "differences of ideology and power as well as the special terrors that haunt different populations."[15] In other words, we can view the disorder, fear, and accusations associated with epidemics as a socio-political process that reveals illness narratives and underlying structures of power in a society.

An Investigation into the Politics of Disease

While Douglas' work on risk/blame and M.C.R. Banzon Bautista's acknowledgement of a "socio-cultural gap" highlight the reasons why Filipino public health workers and Filipino society in general failed to effectively treat the refugees, we need to ask a more difficult question: what made this knowledge gap and the colonial discourse used to legitimate the deaths of 400 Aeta possible in the first place? An investigation of the relationship between health perceptions and identities in the Philippines requires a genealogical descent into colonial medical practices that reveals

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[12] Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panic: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (Oxford, UK: Martin Robertson, 1972), p. 9.
[13] Mary Douglas*, Risk and Blame: Essays in Cultural Theory* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1992).
[14] Ibid., 6.
[15] Briggs and Mantini-Briggs, *Stories in the Time of Cholera*, p. 8.

the ways in which the Philippines continues to be haunted by Empire. Taking a Foucauldian approach, it is my intention to "excavate the depths" of American public health (and its poetics of pollution) in colonial Philippines in order to elucidate the bodies of discourse—the discursive practices and disciplines—that produced and continue to shape the politics of disease and national culture in postcolonial Philippines.

For Michel Foucault, "the genealogist needs history to dispel the chimeras of origin . . . He must be able to recognize the events of history, its jolts, its surprises, its unsteady victories and unpalatable defeats—the basis of all beginnings, atavisms, and heredities."[16] To uproot and dissect these "chimeras of origin" embedded within medical history, we must adopt a "postcolonial history of medicine" when studying medical practices and nation making in the Philippines, or any postcolonial society for that matter, since traditional historiographies of western medicine tend to be implicitly nationalized and ignorant of colonial contexts.[17]

According to Warwick Anderson, American public health programs in the Philippines must be seen as the new practice of colonial warfare. "Recognized as resources for a military model of disease control, germ theories helped to identify the new insurrectos and place them within a complex strategy."[18] This "strategy" would later be called the new public health—an example of the transfer from sanitarianism to militarized hygiene.[19] But, these hygienic programs implemented in the Philippines by American public health officers were not a completely new practice, nor were they the beginning of what Foucault refers to as the "juridico-medical complex."[20] Instead, these programs should be seen as an extension of the juridico-medical discourse, that is to say, the belief that the colonization of the human body would be achieved through meticulous medical intervention at the microbiological level. The medical gaze and its anatomo-

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[16] Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice,* pp. 144-145.
[17] Warwick Anderson, "Where is the Postcolonial History of Medicine?" *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 72, no. 3 (Fall 1998): pp. 522-530.
[18] Ibid., 524.
[19] Michael Worboys, "Germs, Malaria and the Invention of Mansonian Tropical Medicine: From 'Diseases' in the Tropics to 'Tropical Diseases,'" in David Arnold, ed., *Warm Climates and Western Medicine: The Emergence of Tropical Medicine, 1500-1900* (Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Rodopi, 1996), p. 196.
[20] Michel Foucault, *Foucault Live: Collected Interviews, 1961-1984*, ed. by Sylvere Lotringer (New York. NY: Semiotext(e), 1996).

clinical method made visible "pathological forms" and "anatomical masses" through a process of widespread medicalization. "The fact that starting in the eighteenth century human existence, human behavior, and human body were brought into an increasingly dense and important network of medicalization that allowed fewer and fewer things to escape."[21] The shift from the miasma theory of disease transmission to the development of, and reliance upon, bacteriology and germ theory "scientifically" legitimated and enabled the medical gaze to classify, categorize, and discipline the human body in new ways, which in turn supported the needs of empire.

The Rise of the New Public Health and the Birth of Bacteriology

In the early 19th century, the miasma theory of disease identified dirt and pollutants, such as noxious gases, as the leading causes of illness and, as a result, early public health strategies focused on massive sanitation projects that emphasized access to potable water and keeping the city environment clean of garbage, sewage, and other forms of urban waste.[22] These early health programs were community-based, focusing on the relationship between populations, urban filth, and disease transmission. Following the logic of the miasma model, sanitarians in both the United States and Europe "viewed poverty and disease as forming a reciprocal cycle responsible for the dysfunction of urban, industrial society."[23] Regulation of the environment through sanitary reform remained the dominant medical model, with disease outbreaks attributed to sordid urban conditions, until Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch revolutionized medical theory with their *shift in blame*—the root cause of disease epidemics was now argued to be the product of

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[21] Michel Foucault, "The Birth of Social Medicine," in *Power: Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984*, vol. 3., ed. by James D. Faubion and trans. by Robert Hurley and Others (New York, NY: The New Press, 2000), p.135.

[22] See, Judith Walzer Leavitt, "'Typhoid Mary' Strikes Back: Bacteriological Theory and Practice in Early 20th Century Public Health," in Judith Walzer Leavitt and Ronald L. Numbers, eds., *Sickness and Health in America: Readings in the History of Medicine and Public Health*, 3rd ed. (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), pp. 555-574; and, John Duffy, *The Sanitarians: A History of American Public Health* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

[23] Elizabeth Fee and Dorothy Porter, "Public Health, Preventive Medicine and Professionalization: England and America in the Nineteenth Century*"* in Andrew Wear, ed., *Medicine in Society: Historical Essays* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 250.

contagious microorganisms, not dirt and garbage. Pasteur and Koch's discovery shifted the medical paradigm and produced health practices obsessed with the germ. "Identification of microorganisms as the single cause of infectious diseases limited health practices to the dimension of finding and eliminating those germs."[24]

To address this new fear of the microscopic germ, the discipline of bacteriology (the precursor to biomedicine) was established and quickly dominated medical thought and public health practices. More importantly, with germ theory and bacteriology came new medical classifications that greatly shaped the strategies of public health officials and the relationship between disease and the individual. In particular, the terms "healthy carrier" and "risky behavior" were used for the first time to legally legitimate quarantine and the medical policing of public menaces, practices Foucault associates with the rise of the "juridico-medical complex."

For example, the new public health movement under the leadership of Charles V. Chapin began its crusade against the microbe not in the streets but in the laboratory. The shift from an environment-based public health to one that intervened at the microbial level drove the final nail into the coffin of the traditional filth theory of disease. Charles-Edward Amory Winslow, a leading public health theoretician at the time, considered the laboratory to be the scientific backbone of the new public health and strongly supported the idea that public hygiene intervention was in the "golden age of bacteriology."[25] With this understanding, Chapin among many others argued that continued sanitarian reform of the urban environment would have no serious effect on a city's mortality.[26] Clean streets, plumbing laws, and other citywide cleanup programs were no longer seen as a priority (or even of importance by some), the enemies of the new public health were now considered to be the living human germ carriers, particularly those that were asymptomatic and showed no sign of illness. During one of his many service announcements, Chapin proclaimed:

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[24] Walzer, "'Typhoid Mary' Strikes Back," p. 556.
[25] C.E.A. Winslow, *The Evolution and Significance of the Modern Public Health Campaign* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1923), pp. 36.
[26] Charles V. Chapin, *Papers of Charles V. Chapin, M.D.: A Review of Public Health Realities*, ed. by Clarence L. Scamman (New York, NY: Commonwealth Fund, 1934), pp. 20-26.

> The dirty man hanging on the car strap may be a typhoid carrier, or it may be that the fashionably dressed women who used it just before was infected with some loathsome disease. If these people were sick in bed we would avoid them. As it is we cannot. Science has shown this new danger.[27]

The Individualization of Disease Control and Prevention

Since infection and disease transmission, according to germ theory, fell under the responsibility of the individual, not the surrounding environment, "good citizens" were expected to behave in a manner that kept them from harm's way (i.e., contact with an infectious person) and prevented them from passing their own infections on to others. Foucault refers to this individualization of disease and emphasis on the cultivation of the self as *hygieine pragmateia* ("health practice"), that is to say, the jurisdiction of a new public health discourse that "constituted the permanent framework of everyday life, as it were, making it possible to know at every moment what was to be done and how to do it. It implied . . . a medical perception of the space and circumstances in which one lived."[28] With *hygieine pragmateia*, new medical classifications were formed around an individual's sanitary and health practices, which in turn enabled bacteriologists to categorize the "sick" into taxonomies that signified their relationship to disease transmission and the risks they posed to the population. For example, "germ distributors," "chronic carriers," and "healthy carriers" became common terms used in the new public health's strategy to control infectious agents and, more importantly, their hosts.[29]

For Priscilla Wald, the introduction of these new classifications represented a demonstrable change in the direction of medical research and health policies. Through this individualization of disease, Wald suggests that the healthy human being is turned into a pathogen, and a "carrier narrative" is formed that enables the exploration and exploitation of the threat that the contagious pathogen poses to social order. "The story recounts how experts . . . track the spread of the disease back to its source . . . these experts, moreover, make visible the cause of a problem in terms that lead directly to, and

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[27] Charles Chapin*, How to Avoid Infection* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918), p. 21.
[28] Foucault, *The Care of the* Self, p. 101.
[29] Walzer Leavitt, "'Typhoid Mary' Strikes Back," p. 558.

therefore justify, their particular situation."[30] In addition to the advent of categories established to label the various types of "high-risk" individuals, another symptom of the bacteriological takeover was the substitution of the phrase "public health" with "public hygiene." Barbara Rosenkrantz points out that while health in the United States and Europe traditionally came to mean freedom from disease, "hygiene, however, which had once referred primarily to general cleanliness, now appeared as a hyphenate—'social hygiene,' 'mental-hygiene,' or 'dental-hygiene'—and sometimes in an even more ambiguous context."[31]

One of the first, and most famous, examples of the individualization of public health through the discursive practices of "public hygiene" is the story of Mary Mallon (better known as Typhoid Mary). The case of Mary Mallon clearly shows the new public health's fear of, and obsession with, the "healthy carrier." An Irish immigrant, Mallon worked as a cook for numerous affluent New York families. Unknown to her and the families she served, Mallon was a carrier of *salmonella typhi*. Since Mallon was asymptomatic, she was completely shocked and confused when George Soper, on behalf of the Department of Public Health, aggressively approached and accused her of transmitting typhoid to her clients. After numerous failed attempts to get Mallon to voluntarily submit fecal samples for analysis, she was finally apprehended under court order in March 1907. After testing positive for *S. typhi* bacilli, Mallon was quickly labeled a threat to the public by the court—a stark example of the juridico-medical complex—and quarantined on a small island in the East River for 26 years of her life.[32] Once labeled a "chronic germ distributor" and a threat to social order by Soper, the Department of Public Health, and the court, Wald argues that Mallon became "Typhoid Mary," only recognizable within the terms of a carrier narrative.[33]

Viewed as a triumph for the new public health, the identification, investigation, and apprehension of Mallon further legitimized the importance of bacteriology for

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[30] Priscilla Wald, "Cultures and Carriers: 'Typhoid Mary' and the Science of Control," *Social Text*, no. 52/53 (Autumn-Winter, 1997): pp. 181-214, at p. 182.
[31] Barbara G. Rosenkrantz, *Public Health and the State: Changing Views in Massachusetts, 1842-1936* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 131.
[32] Walzer Leavitt, *Typhoid Mary*, pp. 14-38.
[33] Wald, "Cultures and Carriers," p. 196.

combating the spread of infectious disease and, just as importantly, maintaining social order and middle class identity. The case of Mary Mallon later served as the framework for addressing future typhoid cases as well as other infectious bodies, such as the debate around HIV/AIDS today. "Mary Mallon's historical significance as the classic healthy carrier of typhoid fever in America grows when we see her also as a reminder that a scientific revolution such as the one bacteriology began retains many roots in previous paradigms."[34]

Western Imperialism and the New Public Health

And, it is these "previous paradigms" that a genealogy of biological citizenship is most concerned with uncovering. Through a postcolonial history of medicine, we can begin to see that the quest for modernity underlying imperialism and empire making is one very important paradigm that is often overlooked or, frankly, ignored. For example, the new public health, with its obsession with the microbe and healthy carrier, was not solely a western practice that occurred in isolation from the Orient. In many ways, within the colonial encounter, the civilizing mission took on a *hygieine pragmateia* and part of this mission consisted of transforming the "infantile" native into a model citizen through medicalization and sanitization. Just as new diseases found their way to susceptible hosts through colonization, the new science of bacteriology and its discursive practices and hygienic fetishes were exported to "exotic" lands.

Furthermore, bacteriology was viewed as an effective way for the colonizer to survive the dangers of a "tropical" environment as well as a means to modernize the "savages" and convert them into second-class white men. For example, in April 1898 at the Royal Geographical Society in London, Dr. Luigi Westenra Sambon addressed the "vital issue" of colonialism in the tropics. During his lecture on the obstacles to colonization, Sambon proclaimed:

> The problem of tropical colonization . . . is one of the most important and pressing with which European states have to deal. Civilization has favoured unlimited multiplication, and thereby intensified that struggle for existence the limitation of which seemed to be its very object . . . I know full well that the question of emigration is beset with a variety of moral, social, political, and economic

[34] Walzer Leavitt, "'Typhoid Mary' Strikes Back," p. 567.

> difficulties; but it is the law of nature, and civilization has no better remedy for the evils caused by overcrowding.[35]

Many European and American colonial authorities fell "victim" to tropical diseases, which in turn produced the fear that the perils of the tropics would reduce the efficiency of colonial rule over native peoples.[36] Exotic diseases were seen as impending obstacles to white imperialism and the expansion of western empires. "To bring large tracts of the globe under the white man's rule has a grandiloquent ring; but unless we have the means of improving the conditions of the inhabitants, it is scarcely more than an empty boast."[37]

The study of tropical medicine was believed to be the solution to the "problem of tropical colonization" and European acclimatization to foreign climates. To assist with the expansion of the British Empire, Sir Patrick Manson founded the London School of Tropical Medicine in 1899 with the sole intent of studying the affects of tropical diseases on white and native bodies. The studies that came out of these schools relied heavily upon perspectives rooted in social Darwinism, and explanations for European difficulties in tropical lands were supported by arguments of racial liability and vulnerability that framed the white body as susceptible to, and threatened by, the diseases originating from native bodies.

Within this discourse, the races were seen as the daughters of climate,[38] and for the European stock to survive, adaptation through control of the environment was considered to be essential. "For some the very definition of tropical acclimatization necessarily involved the idea of the European race retaining its ethnic purity over generations; for others different races were believed to possess different capacities for climatic adaptation; to yet others physiological immunity to tropical pathogens was

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[35] Luigi Westenra Sambon, "Acclimatization of Europeans in the Tropical Lands," *Geographical Journal* 12, no. 6 (December 1898): pp. 589-599, at p. 589.
[36] E. Richard Brown, "Public Health in Imperialism: Early Rockefeller Programs at Home and Abroad," *American Journal of Public Health* 66, no. 9 (September 1976): pp. 897-903, at p. 897.
[37] G.E.M. Vaughan, "A School of Tropical Medicine," *The World's Work* 14 (1907): pp. 8898-8901.
[38] Sambon, "Acclimatization of Europeans in the Tropical Lands," p. 595.

racially determined."[39] According to David Arnold, to better understand the formation of "tropical otherness" that emerged from the racial discourses of the new public health, we need to view the tropics as a conceptual, not solely geographical, space.[40] For Arnold, "the tropics" are a western cultural construct that gave Europeans a sense of moral identity separate from that of the native. Classifications like "tropical races" were used to construct explanations for the relationships between climate, behavior (warm, humid climates were believed to cause certain disorders and behaviors), and disease susceptibility. In this sense, "'tropical' described not only the specific diseases Whites and others might encounter; it also signified the sensations of oppression, exhaustion, and acute discomfort that Europeans had to endure."[41]

Colonial Medicine and Moral Hygiene in the Philippines

Like most of the colonized world, the Philippines did not escape the discourses of moral hygiene and the poetics of disease. In fact, the Filipinos have had a long history of colonialism. As Prosperina Tapales succinctly puts it: "Filipinos spent 400 years in the convent and 50 years in Hollywood."[42] For many Filipino scholars, this is the best way to describe their history of control under Spain and the United States. And, it is during the fifty years under Hollywood that bacteriology, germ theory, and later biomedicine were used to rewrite the Filipino identity, and identity that would, in turn, make possible a superior and modernized American Identity. However, this is not to say that western medicine did not penetrate Filipino society during Spanish rule. Spanish authorities established hospitals, such as San Lazaro Hospital (1578) and the Hospital de San Juan de Dios (1596), overseen by Spanish physicians, and the Spanish Dominicans founded the University of Santo Tomas, the first medical education institution in the country. Furthermore, in 1887, colonial authorities built the Laboratorio Municipal de Manila,

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[39] David N. Livingtone, "Tropical Climate and Moral Hygiene: The Anatomy of a Victorian Debate," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 32, no.1 (March 1999): pp. 93-110, at p. 103.
[40] David Arnold, "India's Place in the Tropical World, 1770-1930," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 26, no. 1 (January 1998): pp. 1-21, at p. 2.
[41] Ibid., 5.
[42] Quoted in Angilee Shah, "Women's Political Role on Rise in Philippines" University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) Asia Institute; accessed at: [http://www.international.ucla.edu/asia/news/article.asp?parentid=31539].

essentially a public health program enacted to monitor sanitation of food and water supplies.[43] But, it was during the American occupation that the science of bacteriology became institutionalized within the everyday conduct of Filipino society.

The legitimacy of America's new colonial possessions (i.e., Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Philippines, etc.) relied upon a conceptualization of the tropics and the people that inhabited these spaces as primitive, dangerous, and unfit for self-rule. The American colonial discourse portrayed Filipinos, in particular, as in dire need of "social engineering" as well as "protection" from themselves and their surrounding environment, which in turn could only be provided by the scientific expertise of American leadership and tutelage. For example, in 1898, Philippine Commissioner Dean Conant Worchester wrote:

> Can we refuse to accept the responsibility which the logic of events has thrust upon us? Can we not withdraw and leave the civilized natives to work out their own salvation? There can hardly be two answers to this . . . for their utter unfitness for self government at the present time is self evident.[44]

For Governor-General William Howard Taft, the "civilizing process" of Filipinos required three sectors of reform: schooling, political education and economic recovery.[45] In line with the colonial discourse, Taft argued that independent Filipinos and the survival of the Philippine nation could only be ensured through rigorous disciplinary "training" since "the great mass of them are superstitious and ignorant . . . They need the training of fifty or a hundred years before they shall even realize what Anglo-Saxon liberty is."[46]

As Benito Vergara Jr. points out, this justification for American interdiction into the everyday lives of its colonial subjects, as clearly seen in the opinions of Worchester and Taft, is predicated on the construction of the Filipino as incapable of achieving a sufficient amount of maturity, education, salvation, and prosperity without the colonizer's

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[43] Anderson, *Colonial* Pathologies, pp. 19.
[44] Dean C. Worchester, "Knotty Problems of the Philippines," *The Century Magazine* 56, no. 6 (October 1898): pp. 873-874.
[45] Benito M. Vergara, Jr., *Displaying Filipinos: Photography and Colonialism in the Early 20th Century Philippines* (Manila, Philippines: University of the Philippines Press, 1995), p. 21.
[46] Quoted in Peter W. Stanley, *A Nation in the Making: The Philippines and the United States, 1899-1921* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 64-65.

direct involvement.[47] Not only does this discourse require the creation of an inferior subject to form its narrative, its plot can be seen as a colonial fantasy, that is to say, "a field of symbolically structured meaning (the unconscious) that shapes and regulates our desires, our modes of acting 'in reality.'"[48] The "desires" and "modes of acting" rooted in American imperialism, or manifest destiny, in the Philippines was, in part, built upon the construction of a visibly inferior Filipino and a benevolent American benefactor, while simultaneously making invisible a Filipino identity capable of agency and self-determination.

Much has been written on the use of racial discourses, most notably the "White Man's Burden" and the "civilizing mission," to conceptualize, or fantasize about, an inferior colonial subject. My interest, instead, is to explore how such modes of understanding intersect with the discursive practices of bacteriology and germ theory, among other colonial sciences, to create a controllable colonial subject. As the rest of this chapter will show, by making visible a polluted Filipino body in need of the "civil-medico" discipline of the new public health, colonial officials were not only able to justify American control of the Philippines, but also support the social engineering of a white middle class identity.

White Women as Expert and Domestication through Public Health

The imperial ambitions of the European and American political elite, as well as the identity politics that came to define colonialism in faraway lands, required a specific discursive relationship between the native and the colonizer, one built around the understanding that the native's dangerous mind and body required supervision and discipline. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the duty of transforming natives into sanitary citizens fell upon white women (i.e., the white women's burden), who served not only as educators for these deviant pupils but would also reproduce the domestic sphere within undisciplined colonial spaces. Vicente Rafael's work on the role of white women in American colonization of the Philippines makes this point clear: American women

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[47] Vergara, Jr., *Displaying Filipinos*, p. 21.
[48] Neferti X.M. Tadiar, *Fantasy-Production: Sexual Economies and Other Philippine Consequences for the New World Order* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), p. 9.

"appeared as subaltern (and thus akin to natives) yet privileged (hence, in closer proximately to white men and creole/mestizo elites). As such they were both captive to and empowered by the structures of empire."[49] And, since white women were "more civilized" than natives, the burden of domesticating colonial spaces, that is to say, the establishment of empire through "imperial femininity," fell directly upon them. In other words, these women would serve two fundamental duties in order to maintain a bourgeois imperial ethos in colonial Philippines: teach Filipinos the science of hygiene and domesticate the desires of white men.[50]

Within this hierarchy, white women would perform imperialism through good housekeeping. That is to say, by domesticating the desires of white men in foreign lands and providing the native with moral, civic, and hygienic education, white women supported American colonization of the Philippines by serving as a boundary between white and black, civilized and primitive. "Even in empire, women are still firmly tied to ideas about domesticity and motherhood. Like snails, they seem to carry 'home' with them on their backs, so much so that the simple presence of women within empire, no matter how they saw themselves, indicates the domestication of foreign space."[51]

In part, to maintain a white middle class femininity in the Philippines, which would in turn reify the white masculinity of the colonizer, the presence of American women would reproduce the bourgeois home by domesticating colonial spaces and the Filipinos that inhabited these spaces.[52] To achieve this, hundreds of American women, mostly young and single, traveled to the Philippines as teachers and nurses, and "caught up within the complex social positions created through the power relations of colonialism," these American women "applied the knowledge/power inherent in prevailing discourses on education and health to codify Filipinas' bodies in a different

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[49] Vicente L. Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).
[50] Ibid., 55.
[51] Sarah Steinbock-Pratt, "'We Were All Robinson Crusoes': American Women Teachers in the Philippines," *Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 41, no. 4 (2012): pp. 372-392, at p. 375.
[52] Vicente L. Rafael, "Colonial Domesticity: White Women and United States Rule in the Philippines," *American Literature* 67, no. 4 (December 1995): pp. 639-666.

way."[53] Much like their male counterparts, the "East" would serve as a career for American women as well. While these women escaped the domestic sphere of the metropole to recreate the domestic sphere within the colony, they had much more agency and "adventure," as many put it, in the Philippines. According to Steinbock-Pratt, "teaching in the Philippines offered American women funds, legitimacy, and access to the Filipino people that they could not have gotten any other way."[54] In this sense, colonial Philippines can be seen as the frontier where American women could travel to escape the gendered confines of middle class life while simultaneously achieving professional authority and self-invention.

While American women were exported to the Philippines to domesticate natives, in turn providing the needed environment for the reproduction of colonialism, Filipinas, in particular, received the most attention. Equipped with the practices of the new public health, American women not only trained Filipinas to be "home physicians" in the fight against diseases, their bodies were also "inscribed through the American discourse on health and hygiene" In other words, "young Filipinas were at the center of the colonizer's discourse about disease. Their bodies become primary objects of a colonial power that functioned directly on them through self-regulation, discipline, and social supervision."[55] As Elizabeth Holt points out, part of this training in the domestic sciences inscribed onto the Filipina body emphasized that motherhood should be seen as a scientific accomplishment through which proper femininity could be attained.

One area of motherhood, in particular, that American women, in collaboration with public health officials, targeted in the name of domestic science was childrearing. That is to say, emphasis was placed on making Filipinas better mothers since a strong family would engender a stronger nation. Like in the West where motherhood was portrayed as a patriotic duty and childbearing a social responsibility, Filipinas were seen as primitive women who could be transformed into the "real housewives of colonial Philippines" with enough soap and lessons in good housekeeping. Within this discourse,

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[53] Elizabeth Mary Holt, *Colonizing Filipinas: Nineteenth-Century Representations of the Philippines in Western Historiography* (Manila, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2002), p. 71.
[54] Steinbock-Pratt, "'We Were All Robinson Crusoes,"'pp. 385-386.
[55] Holt, *Colonizing Filipinas*, 72.

infant mortality in the Philippines was not a medical issue but rather a product of social and cultural failure, with Filipinas portrayed as unfit mothers in need of health education. On this point, Bonnie McElhinny writes:

> American colonial institutions attended to, wrote, and rewrote histories in ways which centered Filipino initiatives and success in saving the lives of Filipino mothers and children. Nonetheless, such protonational efforts were also contested attempts to make Filipino bodies ever more visible to the colonial, commonwealth, and national state, in ways which made them available for political and economic disciplining.[56]

Another example of disciplining native women through the domestic sciences in order to rewrite American and Filipino histories and identities can be seen in the development of the "Filipina nurse." According to Catherine Choy, to support the discourse of the White Man's Burden underlying American imperialism, Filipinos portrayed as backward and unhygienic because of indigenous social practices would be transformed into sanitary subjects, particularly on issues of motherhood and social hygiene, through western medical knowledge and practice (e.g., germ theory).[57] To achieve this, white American women, serving as an extension of the colonial public health authority, educated and trained Filipinas as nurses to assist with the sterilization of colonial space and its inhabitants. Such an understanding of how nursing, and western medical practice in general, would progressively transform the Philippines and, thus, the Filipino people can be seen in the writings of Levinia Dock, an American nurse and leading colonial health official:

> To establish the Filipino people physically is to insure their future effectiveness and prosperity. It should be the basis of all the educational work of the islands. To decrease the high infant mortality, to stamp out small-pox, cholera, tuberculosis, malaria, hookworm, beriberi, and many other diseases which are retarding the progress of the Filipinos is absolutely necessary in order to build scientific and industrial education and a substantial foundation. This great work can not be accomplished in any other way than through the education of the people. And the instruction of the masses can only be accomplished through the specialized education of a select number, who will then spread the leaven of their instruction,

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[56] Bonnie McElhinny, "Producing the A-1 Baby: Puericulture Centers and the Birth of the Clinic in the U.S.-Occupied Philippines, 1906-1946," *Philippine Studies* 57, no. 2 (June 2009): pp. 219-260, at p. 252.
[57] Choy, *Empire of Care*.

> in the dialects of their own people, among those who have grown up in ignorance and superstition.[58]

There are interconnected, although distinctly different, dimensions at play with this process of making "Filipina nurses." First, strategically, to call for, and implement, the medical training of Filipinas supported the narrative that the Filipino people were unfit for self-rule because of "primitive customs" that caused disease, illness, and death. While this discourse conveniently ignores the high rates of infectious disease in the United States at this time,[59] we can also see a clear attempt by colonial authorities to justify American tutelage in the Philippines.[60] Again, this was a narrative that needed to be made clear to the American people: colonization of the Philippines is not about mercantilist economic exploitation but rather about helping our little brown brothers and sisters escape the confines of their colonial past and superstitious ways and reach modernity.[61]

Second, tactically, colonial health authorities *needed* Filipinas to successfully implement "health reform" policies and interventions. The Filipina nurse was vital, in this regard, because she had better access to, and received less resistance from, the families of local communities, thus serving in part as an informant for American public health officials.[62] In particular, the issue of resistance to American public health officials is important here, but often overlooked. As Choy notes: "Some Filipinos killed U.S. inspectors who conducted the cholera search and surveillance missions. Filipino cholera victims physically resisted taking anticholera drugs, so that the American doctors at the time had to use force when administering their medicine."[63] Moreover, to expand the U.S. medical education programs supporting American imperialism in the Philippines, the

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[58] Lavinia L. Dock, *A History of Nursing: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day With Special Reference to the Work of the Past Thirty Years*, Vol. 4 (New York, NY: Putnam's Sons, 1912), p. 317-318. A detailed account of Dock's role in public health campaigns and the institutionalization of nursing in colonial Philippines can be seen in Choy, *Empire of Care*.
[59] For an example, see Nancy Tomes, *The Gospel of Germs: Men, Women, and the Microbe in American Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999).
[60] Go, *Empire and the Politics of Meaning*.
[61] See, Boudreau, "Methods of Domination and Modes of Resistance."
[62] Anderson, "Going Through the Motions."
[63] Choy, *Empire of Care*, p. 24.

colonial government established the *pensionado* program in 1903. This program sent several hundred Filipino men and women, mostly from elite backgrounds, to United States to study medicine and nursing, after which they were required to return to the Philippines and serve in the U.S. colonial government and education institutions.[64]

Interestingly, as Choy points out, this was the beginning of the migration of Filipino nurses to the United States, which increased significantly during the second half of the twentieth century as "labor demands of U.S. hospital administrators intersected with the social and economic desires of Filipino nurses and nursing students."[65] By the 1960s, eighty percent of exchange visitors in the United States were from the Philippines, with Filipino nurses comprising the majority.[66] This exodus continues today but with Filipino nurses and many other types of workers now exported all over the globe in large numbers (discussed in the next chapter). In this sense, nursing was part of a "multilevel U.S. colonial presence in the Philippines, a presence highlighted not only by American nurses in the Archipelago, but also by returning Filipino nurses who had studied in the United States."[67] However, while U.S. colonial institutions may have believed that Filipinos would be transformed into civilized subjects under American tutelage (hence their inclusion in the *pensionado* program), this tutelage, nonetheless, legitimized inferior treatment and subservient labor for the needs of white Americans.[68]

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[64] Catherine Ceniza Choy, "Nurses Across Borders: Foregrounding International Migration in Nursing History," *Nursing History Review* 18 (2010): pp. 12-28.
[65] Catherine Ceniza Choy, "Asian American History: Reflections of Imperialism, Immigration, and 'The Body,'" *Amerasia Journal* 26, no. 1 (February 2000): pp.119-140, at p. 135. Also see, Rochelle E. Ball, "Divergent Development, Racialised Rights: Global Labor Markets and the Trade of Nurses—The Case of the Philippines," *Women's Studies International Forum* 27, no. 2 (January 2004): pp. 119-113.
[66] Purita Falgui Asperilla, "Problems of Foreign Educated Nurses and Job Satisfaction of Filipino Nurses," *Academy of Nursing of the Philippine Papers*, July-September 1976, pp. 2-13. Also, Yen Le Espiritu, "Gender, Migration, and Work: Filipina Health Care Professionals to the United States," *Revue Europeenne Des Migrations Internationales* 21, no. 1 (2005): pp. 2-19.
[67] Choy, "Nurses Across Borders," p. 18.
[68] Ibid., 20.

Policing Promiscuous Defecation

> We are practically cleaning up these Islands, left foul and insanitary and diseased by generations of hygienically ignorant people. We are stamping out the conflagration of disease started long before American occupation, and not until it is stamped out can we look forward to the modern problems which come so temptingly before us. And so, much of our time, money, and effort is being constantly consumed in works, the glory of which is still behind the clouds. We are draining the land, as it were, before beginning the constructive projects which are going the makes these people the strong and healthy race we intend them to be.[69]

In many ways, American colonialism in the Philippines was rationalized and legitimated by the racism associated with tropical medicine and the new public health. American public health officers considered the Filipino body to be polluted and a natural reservoir of disease.[70] And, generally viewed in contrast to the hygienic, ascetic American body, the "dirty" Filipino body was viewed as a threat to the highly susceptible white bodies living in the Philippines. In line with the rationale of the new public health, the healthy carrier capable of transmitting local diseases was targeted as the leading source of contamination and danger.[71]

It is worth pointing out the irony of this perception held by American colonial officials: If the white body was considered conditioned and strong while the Filipino body was seen a weak and untrained, why were the Americans so threatened by the "feeble minded" Filipino? Regardless of the apparent contradiction in this logic, the diagnosis for this threat was to convert, through daily hygienic practices, the sickly and disease-prone "native" into a robust and healthy white body. Anderson identifies this "crusade for cleanliness" conducted by American public health officers as both an attempt to modify Filipino customs and habits and create a distinct divide between colonizer and colonized, sick and healthy, and native disease carriers and susceptible foreigners.[72]

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[69] Victor G. Heiser, "Unsolved Health Problems Peculiar to the Philippines," *Philippine Journal of Science* 5B, no. 2 (July 1910): pp. 171-178, at p. 178.
[70] Anderson, "Going Through the Motions," p. 687.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Warwick Anderson, "Immunities of Empire: Race, Disease, and the New Tropical Medicine, 1900-1920," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 70, no. 1 (Spring 1996): pp. 94-118, at p. 114.

In particular, it was believed that cultivation of bodily orifices would help with the disinfection of the polluted Filipino body. Warwick Anderson refers to this campaign to overcome the hygienic obstacles that the native posed as "excremental colonialism." For the American public health officers in the Philippines, the environment was viewed as a desolate human-waste land, "brownwashed" with a thin film of germs, which necessitated "massive, ceaseless disinfection [while] the Filipino bodies that polluted it required control and medical reformation."[73] Filipino excrement was considered to be more virulent than that of the American, and due to their "inability keep themselves clean," Filipinos were believed to be likely carriers of infectious pathogens. The Filipinos, as a wife of a colonial officer described in her journal, are "like children," they are "fun-loving and filthy."[74] Another American living in the Philippines writes of her "wild desire to take those dirty, almost nude creatures in hand, and holding them at arm's length, dip them into some cleansing caldron." She continues: "It does not matter which way you turn you see hundreds of natives at their toilets. One does not mind them more than the caribou in some muddy pond, and one is just about as cleanly as the other."[75]

One of the many public health programs implemented to address Filipino excrement was the "toilet campaign" to eradicate hookworm, popularly referred to as "the germ of laziness," since "it was the American toilet that would, in the Philippines, permit an extension of the boundaries of modern hygienic space."[76] This obsession with feces and other bodily excrement can be seen as a product of bacteriology's individualization of disease; since it is the individual that carries the disease and sheds it, control of outbreaks begins with the self. Human excrement was viewed as especially "dangerous." For example, Charles Chapin warned health officials that some diseases are fecal borne and "the danger from this source is sufficient to warrant our treating of all fecal matter as suspicious."[77] Since hookworm can be spread through skin contact

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[73] Anderson, "Excremental Colonialism, at p. 641.
[74] Edith Moses, *Unofficial Letters of an Official's Wife* (New York, NY: D. Appleton and Company, 1908), p. 16.
[75] Emily Bronson Conger, *An Ohio Woman in the Philippines* (Akron, Ohio: Richard H. Leighton, 1904), p. 51 and 70.
[76] Anderson, "Excremental Colonialism," p. 658.
[77] Charles Chapin, "Dirt, Disease, and the Health Officer," in *Public Health: Papers and Reports*, Vol. 28 (New Orleans, LA: American Public Health Association, 1902), p. 296.

(usually bare feet) with infected feces, and Filipinos were viewed as "promiscuous defecators," American health officers feared that these "undisciplined" bodies would easily transmit hookworm (as well as cholera, typhoid, and other fecal borne infectious diseases). In response to this perceived threat, Public health officers throughout the Philippines "traveled from town to town, putting up exhibits on hookworm, displaying models of sanitary houses and latrines, and exhorting the public to avoid the germs of laziness."[78] This surveillance of excrement conducted by American health officials can be seen as an attempt to produce the docile and disciplined bodies that colonial society needs.[79]

On this point, Michel Foucault identifies four technologies of the self that reinforce what he refers to as governmentality.[80] In particular, we can see how these technologies create a means for "dominating" and "manipulating" the native body to service colonial society. On one level, the hookworm campaign is a strategy to protect the white body from the "poisonous excrement" of the Filipino, but, on another level, its discursive practices (supported by the rationale of the new public health) police the Filipino body in manner that provides the needed material power for maintaining and legitimating colonial space. For Foucault, to transform the dangerous body into a normalized body capable of manipulation is an example of biopower. Thus, the hygienic practices associated with the hookworm campaign and other hygienic interventions "defined, in the form of a corpus of knowledge and rules, a way of living, a reflective mode of relation to oneself, to one's body . . . medicine was expected to propose, in the form of regimen, a voluntary and rational structure of conduct."[81]

Transforming the Filipino into a Biocitizen

It is important to note that hygiene and citizenship are intertwined within the discourse of the new public health. This understanding of civic hygiene is clearly outlined

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[78] Anderson, "Going Through the Motions," p. 701.
[79] For examples of how colonial public health disciplines and controls native bodies, see Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*; Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene*; Arnold, *Colonizing the body*; and, Reynaldo C. Ileto, "Cholera and the Origins of the American Sanitary Order in the Philippines," in Vicente L. Rafael, ed., *Discrepant Histories: Translocal Essays on Filipino Cultures* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1995), pp. 51-81.
[80] See, Foucault, *Ethics, subjectivity and Truth*, p. 225.
[81] Foucault, *The Care of the Self*, 100.

by the Director of Health in the Philippines, Victor G. Heiser, at the onset of the American public health campaign: "The health of these people is the vital question of the Islands. To transform them from the weak and feeble race we have found them into strong, healthy and enduring people that they may yet become is to lay the foundation for the successful future of the country."[82] Recently liberated from Spanish rule, it was seen as America's burden to rebuild the dependent and "feeble" Filipinos into citizens of a nation-state worthy of self-determination. Essentially, Filipinos could only become "sanitary citizens"[83] once they were disinfected and trained in western standards of personal hygiene. Until they become capable of possessing modern understandings of bodily discipline, hygiene, and disease, the Filipinos would remain in the realm of "unsanitary subjects." "Once a population was cast into the realm of the unsanitary subject, the characteristics of race, class, and gender that seem to exclude them from the ranks of sanitary citizens often led to the differential treatment of individuals who bore such characteristics by clinicians and public health professionals."[84]

For Paul Rabinow, the formation of identities linked to specific diseases and classifications of abnormality is an example "biosociality."[85] And, with the new public health's obsession with the germ and its reliance on the microscope to classify and track disease-carriers, infected individuals become biocitizens. Thus, in addition to discourses of racial liability, individuals are grouped together based on the pathogens they carry and the threat they pose to the body politic.

In colonial Philippines, for example, the formation of biosociality and the process of citizenship through hygienic discipline can be clearly seen in the leper colony at Culion. Leprosy (*Mycobacterium leprae*) is a debilitating disease that has been historically viewed as a product of moral and physical contamination. By the nineteenth century, Hansen's disease (leprosy) disappeared from Western Europe and most of the United States, but remained prevalent in the colonial world, which, according to western

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[82] Heiser, "Unsolved Health Problems Peculiar to the Philippines," p. 177.
[83] Sanitary citizenship is "one of the key mechanisms for deciding who is accorded substantive access to the civil and social rights of citizenship." See, Briggs and Mantini-Briggs, *Stories in the Time of Cholera*, p. 10.
[84] Ibids., 10.
[85] Rabinow, *Essays on the Anthropology of Reason*, pp. 91-112.

physicians, was due to the customs and habits of "inferior races."[86] But, since leprosy and syphilis (a widespread disease caused by the bacterium *Treponema pallidum*) share similar clinical features and were often mistaken for one another, a clear diagnosis of Hansen's disease was difficult until the birth of bacteriology.[87] Therefore, with advances in bacteriology and laboratory techniques (such as the testing of nasal scrapings for the presence of Hansen's bacillus), it was no longer difficult to identify "lepers" and separate them from the rest of the population.

Since quarantine was deemed the best practice for controlling leprosy, the isolated Culion Island was considered to be the perfect location to establish a leper colony in the Philippines.[88] Historically, isolating (or avoiding) leprosy has been the dominant practice, but the leprosarium at Culion was much more than another example of this tradition of quarantine, it was also designed to serve as a space for civic conditioning. Alison Bashford refers to colonial leprosy management as "racial *cordons sanitaries*," in which health management of lepers and the practice of disease prevention became intertwined with the control of racial contact and conduct. "The primary *cordon sanitaire* of leprosy management was the shore of the various island-leper colonies. Yet Leprosy management was by no means limited to this quarantining measure, but rather involved spatial policing of racially identified individuals and groups in the social domain."[89]

To maintain this social domain and promote civic education at Culion, various facilities were erected (such as a hospital, housing, stores, schools, a post-office, etc.) to transform the isolated island into a small independent polity. To establish a citizenry, the lepers of Culion were allowed to elect a president and ten representatives as well as make

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[86] Warwick Anderson, "Leprosy and Citizenship," *Positions* 6, no. 3 (Winter 1998): pp. 707-730, p. 708.

[87] "Not only were old and established diseases embraced within the pantechnicon term leprosy but endemic syphilis was often called leprosy. Perhaps the belief that leprosy was highly contagious derives from this misidentification, and also its association with venery," See, S.G. Browne, "Some Aspects of the History of Leprosy: The Leprosie of Yesterday," *Proceeding of the Royal Society of Medicine* 68, no. 8 (August 1975): pp. 485-493, at pp. 490-491.

[88] Victor G. Heiser, "Leprosy in the Philippine Islands," *Public Health Reports* 24, no. 3 (August 13, 1909): pp. 1155-1189 and George C. Dunham, "Leprosy in the Philippine Islands," *American Journal of Public Health* 26, no. 1 (January 1936): pp. 27-29.

[89] Bashford, *Imperial Hygiene*, p. 102.

their own regulations.[90] And, while many countries in the West at this time prohibited women from voting and/or participating in all elections, women at Culion had full suffrage. But, it is more than politics and democratic process that make a citizen; there are also the components of physical discipline and education. To achieve this need for discipline, "athletic gatherings" were held, which usually consisted of baseball games and, for the musically talented, a marching band. In addition to musical performances, the "lepers" were provided with a large concert theater to watch films and host dramatic plays. "Culion thus institutionalized a kind of 'grotesque of the service relationship,' in that the sovereign diagnostic category serviced the asylum, by reducing its management problems, as much as it helped the inmates."[91] Thus, the leper, through hygienic discipline and cultivation of the self, is transformed into a biocitizen. Their citizenship was based upon their disease and the therapeutic practices designed to enable them to care for themselves, that is, to manage their abnormal and contaminated bodies to the point where they could function as "normal" Filipinos.

As Anderson notes, the leper colony at Culion became an extended space, a testing ground, for the American public health officials' program of civilization through sanitation. In many ways, the lepers' debilitating disease and the juridico-medical role of the colony justified the laboratories of citizenship occurring throughout the Philippines. Culion demonstrated a distinct political rationality, one that was "predicated on a form of biological and civic transformation in which the contaminated became hygienic and 'savages' might become social citizens."[92]

Resisting the New Public Health

At this point, to avoid depriving the colonial subject of agency, it is important to note that this "biological and civic transformation" of the "savage" by medical expertise experienced a great deal of resistance, which in turn required a continuous redirecting of the various modes of domination employed by colonial authorities. As Frantz Fanon points out, medicine serves as the "tragic feature of the colonial situation" in that medical

[90] Margaret Marion Wheeler, "The Culion Leper Colony," *The American Journal of Nursing* 13, no. 9 (June 1913): pp. 663-666.
[91] Anderson, "Leprosy and Citizenship," p. 718.
[92] Anderson, *Colonial Pathologies*, p. 159.

practices are one of the many (and possibly one of the best) instruments of power used to compel "the colonized to appraise all the colonizer's contributions in a pejorative and absolute away."[93] Yet, while the medical gaze of the colonial health official is predicated on "objectivity," "rationality," and "clarity," the colonial subject perceives the doctor (as well as other colonial authorities like the schoolmaster, policeman, and administrator) with great mistrust. In other words, the establishment of biosocality by colonial authorities is rarely, if ever, achieved with complete acquiescence. Within this encounter, the colonial subject quickly realizes that the "doctor is an integral part of colonization, of domination, of exploitation," and arguments for "sanitary improvements are not interpreted by the native as progress in the fight against illness . . . but as fresh proof of the extension of the occupier's hold on the country."[94]

An anecdotal example of indigenous resistance to the medical knowledge of the new public health can be found in Victor Heiser's personal account of his time in the Philippines. As American public health officials continued to spread the gospel of the germ throughout the Philippines, enthusiastically trying to convince the Filipinos they met along the way of the threat of the microbe, one health officer, in particular, brought a microscope to the people of a mountain province to show them scientific evidence of the existence of pathogenic amoeba. In response to the officers proclamation "that's what causes diseases that kill you, but we can kill it," the chief of the group replied "well, it might kill a little white man like you, but wouldn't hurt a great big Apo like me."[95] This is one of the many examples of native resistance to the discursive practices of colonial technoscience, in turn requiring such colonial projects to be recalculated again and again within the "pulls and tugs of all the actors in the chain of empire."[96]

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[93] Frantz Fanon*, Studies in a Dying Colonialism* (New York, NY: Earthscan Publications, 1989), p. 121.
[94] Ibid., 121-122, 134.
[95] Victor G. Heiser, *An American Doctor's Odyssey* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1936), pp. 131-132.
[96] Julian Go, "The Chains of Empire: State Building and 'Political Education' in Puerto Rico and the Philippines," in Julian Go and Anne L. Foster, eds., *The American Colonial State in the Philippines: A Global Perspective* (Manila, Philippines, Anvil Publishing, 2005), p. 186

CHAPTER 4

The Biopolitics of Disease in Postcolonial Philippines

The treatment of the Aeta Negritos following the 1991 Mt. Pinatubo eruption is only one of the many examples of how the biological racism of colonial hygienic practices have shaped health policies and identity politics in postcolonial Philippines. Just as American public health officers once attributed the spread of disease to the "filthy" and "feeble-mined" native, many Filipinos today use the same discourse to label the Aetas "backward," as well as stigmatize other groups that are viewed as a threat to development and modernization.

The perception and treatment of people living with HIV/AIDS is particularly startling and also demonstrative of the postcolonial juridico-medical complex underlying the national culture of Philippine society. According to the 2013 UNAIDS report on HIV in the Asia Pacific, the prevalence of HIV/AIDS in the Philippines is relatively low (15,0000 cases) compared to other countries in the region like Thailand (450,000), Indonesia (610, 000), and Vietnam (260, 000) that have much higher rates of infection.[1] However, while these numbers put the Philippines at the lowest in the region, the report notes a significant increasing trend in new infections, with a 79 percent increase in newly reported HIV cases in 2013.[2] It was not until 1984 that the government first confirmed a clinical case of AIDS in the country.[3] This is not to say that AIDS did not exist in the Philippines before 1984, but the latency in acknowledging that HIV had made its way to the shores of the nation helped foster an illness narrative that accused certain portions of the population for the arrival and spread of the virus.

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[1] "HIV in Asia and the Pacific," UNAIDS Report 2013, accessed at http://www.unaids.org/en/media/unaids/contentassets/documents/unaidspublication/2013/2013_HIV-Asia-Pacific_en.pdf.

[2] Ibid. Also see, UNICEF Philippines, HIV/AIDS Issues, accessed at: http://www.unicef.org/philippines/hivaids_9238.html#.UydiyFz7LlI.

[3] Michael L. Tan, "Theory and Method in HIV Prevention: The Philippine Experience," in Han ten Brummelhuis and Gilbert Herdt, eds*., Culture and Sexual Risk: Anthropological Perspectives on AIDS* (Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Gordon and Breach, 1995), p. 271.

In fact, there is a face, name, and made for TV movie about one of the earliest documented cases of HIV/AIDS in the Philippines. Rachel Reyes, a young Filipina overseas worker, was interviewed live on national television to tell the rest of the Philippines about her struggle with the disease, and, more importantly, to disprove the scandal involving how she became infected. Since she was a female overseas worker, the initial public conclusion was that she acquired HIV through prostitution. As Reyes explained during the interview, this was not the case. She made it very clear that she did not have sex with foreigners ("*hindi naman ako nakipag-sex sa foreigner*") but instead contracted the virus through intravenous drug use while working in Japan.[4] But, despite her attempt to reach out to her fellow Filipinos and dispel the stigmatizing myths about HIV/AIDS, she received little acceptance and instead plenty of discrimination, essentially serving as the face of the deviant and immoral *Other*.

According to Michael Tan, "AIDS awareness is high in the Philippines, but this awareness is constantly shaped and reshaped by ideology and discourse."[5] Furthermore, Tan argues that the moral barricades established by these ideologies and discourses draw power and legitimacy from biomedicine to the extent that they not only shape the public's understanding of the disease but also the development of social policies implemented to protect the nation. Much like the Center for Disease Control's 4-H list during the early days of HIV/AIDS in America,[6] awareness of this disease is constructed and shaped

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[4] Michael Tan, *Shattering the Myths: A Primer on HIV, AIDS, and the Filipino* (Pasig City, Philippines: Anvil, 1997), p. 91.

[5] Michael Tan, "AIDS, Medicine, and Moral Panic in the Philippines," in Richard Parker, Regina M. Barbosa, and Peter Aggleton, eds., *Framing the Sexual Subject: The Politics of Gender, Sexuality, and Power* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 162 and Tan, "Socio-Economic Impact of HIV/AIDS in the Philippines," *AIDS Care* 5, no. 3 (June 1993): pp. 283-288.

[6] In the mid 1980s when HIV was considered to be a virus limited to a select few, the CDC published a list of four groups "at risk" for HIV/AIDS: **H**omosexuals, **H**emophiliacs, **H**eroine Users (synonymous with intravenous drug users), and **H**aitians. See, Center for Disease Control, "Current Trends Updated: Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome – United States," *Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report* 35, no. 49 (December 12, 1986): pp. 757-760, at pp. 765-766. This list greatly shaped the medical communities response to the disease as well as singled out specific individuals to blame for the spread of the virus, which in turn created an illness narrative that continues to this day to stigmatize these "fugitives." See, Paula A. Treichler, "*AIDS,* Homophobia and Biomedical Discourse: An Epidemic of Significance," *Cultural Studies* 1, no. 1 (October

around the groups considered to be responsible for the growing number of HIV cases per year. In particular, Tan's study of HIV/AIDS in the Philippines identifies 4 categories of HIV fugitives: homosexuals (*bakla*); commercial sex workers (*sakit ng babae*); Filipino overseas workers (*balikbayan*); and foreign visitors, especially U.S. military personnel (*kano*).[7]

In *Shattering the Myths*, Tan argues that one of the most widely circulated myths involving AIDS and its transmission is: "AIDS 'only' affects mainly male homosexuals and sex workers (prostitutes)."[8] And, as a result of this myth, these two groups are blamed by mainstream Filipino society for the spread of the virus in the country. Tan points out that this myth continues to receive legitimacy through the ongoing moral panic associated with AIDS. The "gay man," in the Filipino cultural imaginary, is "the effeminate cross-dresser, tolerated as a source of entertainment but discriminated against as social deviant."[9] Here, as in many societies around the world, homosexuality is viewed as a deviation from the norm, and "gay men" are viewed as potential carriers of HIV/AIDS due to their "immoral" lifestyles.[10]

1987): pp. 263-305.
[7] Ibid.,147-150.
[8] Tan, *Shattering the Myth*, p. 8.
[9] Tan, "Aids, Medicine, and Moral Panic," p. 149.
[10] It is important to note that while the Philippine Department of Health adopted the western term "Men who have Sex with Men" (MSM) as a category for HIV/AIDS prevention and control, the term fits uneasily, if at all, within the context of "gay" identity in the Philippines. Michael Tan's ethnographic work on gay communities in the Philippines reveals a plurality of very nuanced identities, which he calls "cultural expressions," that do not fit well with the "MSM" label, or even "gay" for that matter. For example, "baklas" do not consider themselves gay, as defined by the West and the Philippine DOH, because they identify as women (having a woman's heart), not men, and therefore MSM does not describe their "sexual orientation." Because of this, as Tan notes, a coherent "gay" activist narrative does not really exist, and, despite examples of gay rights activism in the Philippines (most notably the activities of Remedios AIDS Foundation), "gay" has not taken on an organized form, or biosociality. See, Michael Tan, "Survival Through Pluralism," *Journal of Homosexuality* 40, no. 3-4 (2001): pp. 117-142. Also see, J. Neil C. Garcia, *Philippine Gay Culture: Binabae to Bakla, Silahis to MSM* (Hong Kong, China, Hong Kong University Press, 2009) and Martin F. Manalansan IV, *Global Divas: Filipino Gay Men in the Diaspora* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003). For a discussion on HIV/AIDS discrimination in the Philippines, see N.L. Ortega, B.F. Bicaldo, C. Sobritchea, and M.L. Tan, "Exploring the Realities of

Similarly, female sex workers carry a similar burden; like the gay community, female prostitutes are labeled as carriers of the virus and are, in turn, blamed for its spread among heterosexual males. But, for women the stigma is much more distinct. According to Tan, an old concept that continues to shape illness perceptions today is sexually transmitted diseases are *sakit ng babae* (women's diseases). "We continue to find, even among health professionals, people who believe that these diseases, including HIV, are transmitted more frequently from women to men."[11] However, medical research on HIV suggests the opposite—women, not men, are at higher risk of infection due to the social ecology of the disease, particularly factors such as gendered-based violence and poverty.

The Making of the Postcolonial Filipina

At the intersection of disease and nation making, the Filipina is indeed a biological citizen. Her body has been inscribed with social and biological responsibilities, and to deviate from these demands of the nation is to inhabit the realm of moral and somatic pathology. Unfortunately, many have overlooked how HIV and its carriers have been "gendered" and policed, as well as how politicians and the political elite have linked the disease to the development of the nation as its struggles to ride the wave of neoliberal globalization. With their bodies serving as outlets for national anxiety, the balikbayan Filipina can be seen as one such example. Like gay men and prostitutes, the balikbayan is seen as a threat to an "AIDS-Free Philippines," but with an overwhelming number of these overseas workers being women, their threat to the development of the nation is expressed through different discourses that often contradict one another.

For example, while gay men and prostitutes have received a great deal of attention from the media and political elite within the rhetoric of a looming AIDS epidemic, they are seen as much less of a threat to the stability and modernization of the Philippines than the balikbayan Filipina, who, to her misfortune, occupies the center of policy deliberations over the future of the nation. Since the early 1970s, the development model of the Philippines has focused on exporting low skilled labor around the globe, not only

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HIV/AIDS-related Discrimination in Manila, Philippines," *AIDS Care* 17, suppl. 2 (July 2005): pp. S153-S164.

[11] Ibid., 150.

to the United States and Europe, the traditional metropoles, but also to new economic zones of development emerging within the periphery, most notably Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, and the Middle East. And, with only 2.2 million Filipinos contributing approximately ten percent of the gross national product,[12] we can understand why policymakers in the Philippines are interested in "these types" Filipinos.

As noted in the previous chapter, the exportation of Filipino workers, many of which are women, can be traced back to the public health campaigns of the U.S. colonial government. At that time, as Choy points out, thousands of Filipinos were trained as nurses to support the colonial authorities' medicalization of the Philippines, with many Filipinas sent to the United States to meet the demand for cheap labor in hospitals around the country.[13] Interestingly, as Choy notes, most these nurses were women because the sexualized Filipina was perceived by the United States to be the ideal nurse—complainant, docile, and caring—and thus a perfect fit for the paternalistic environment of most American hospitals where white doctors dominated.[14]

However, while the exportation of nurses and other types of workers continues to a large degree today (with an estimated total of 2.2 Million abroad in 2012),[15] the push and pull of neoliberal globalization has diffused the flow of balikbayan Filipinas globally. In fact, according to the *2012 Survey of Overseas Filipinos* conducted by the Philippine Statistic Authority, the United States is no longer on the top-ten list of host countries; rather, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Singapore, and Qatar are the leading destinations.[16] While the majority of overseas workers are men (51.7%), 61.4 % of the women working overseas are under the age of 35, compared to 48.2 % of men in that age range. The larger portion of young Filipino women to men can be seen as a product of colonial history (as mentioned earlier) as well as the feminization of labor associated with

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[12] "Overseas Workers," Philippine Statistic Authority, National Statistics Office, 2013-116, July 2013, accessed at: http://www.census.gov.ph/content/total-number-ofws-estimated-22-million-results-2012-survey-overseas-filipinos. Also, see, "Personal Remittances, Received (% of GDP)," The World Bank, accessed at: http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/BX.TRF.PWKR.DT.GD.ZS.
[13] Choy, *Empire of Care*.
[14] Choy, "Asian American History."
[15] "Overseas Workers."
[16] Ibid.

neoliberal globalization.[17] By looking at the breakdown of the type of workers being sent around the world by the Philippine "Broker State,"[18] we can get a better understanding of the kinds of bodies (young and female) the global economy needs. While Filipina nurses were one of the first types of bodies brokered by the U.S. colonial government, according to the *2008-2012 Overseas Employment Statistics* published by the Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, "household service workers" (34%) comprise the largest occupational group of new hires in 2012. Nurses are a distant second (3.4%) closely followed by entertainers (3.2%) and caretakers (3.2%).[19] From these statistics, we can see that young Filipinas make up a substantial portion of the overseas workers whose remittances keep the Philippine state afloat in the global economy.

This reliance on young women speaks to a long history of Filipina bodies being integrated into the circuits of transnationalism,[20] be it the nurses of the colonial period, or the more recent mail-order brides and domestic helpers.[21] And, within the highly sexualized division of labor of the global economy, the Philippines has been feminized/pathologized and portrayed as a "nation of servants,"[22] an exporter of

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[17] See, Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logic of Transnationality* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999); Rhacel Salazar Parrenas, *The Force of Domesticity: Filipina Migrants and Globalization* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2008); Robyn Magalit Rodriquez, "The Labor Brokerage State and the Globalization of Filipina Care Workers," *Signs* 33, no. 4 (Summer 2008): pp. 749-800; Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Domestica: Immigrant Workers Cleaning and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007).

[18] See, Robyn Magalit Rodriguez, *Migrants for Export: How the Philippine State Brokers Labor to the World* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, 2010).

[19] Interestingly, the largest percentage of new hires in 2012 is listed, vaguely, as "other occupational categories" and comprises nearly half (45%) of the total number of new hires. See, Overseas Employment Statistics, 2008-2012, Philippine Overseas Employment Administration, accessed at: http://www.poea.gov.ph/stats/2012_stats.pdf.

[20] Roland B. Tolentino, "Bodies, Letters, Catalogs: Filipinas in Transnational Space," *Social Text*, no. 4 (1996): pp. 49-79.

[21] An example of the commodification of the Filipina can be seen in Rona Tamiko Halualani, "The Intersecting Hegemonic Discourse of an Asian Mail-Order Bride Catalogue: Philipina 'Oriental Butterfly' Dolls for Sale," *Women's Studies in Communication* 18, no. 1 (Spring 1995): pp. 45-64.

[22] A huge controversy irrupted when a popular Hong Kong writer described the Philippines as a "Nation of Servants" because a large number of Filipinos in Hong Kong and worldwide are employed as domestic workers and caregivers. See, Anon., "Nation of Servants," *New York Times*, 4 April 2009, accessed at:

sexualized, docile, and compliant bodies. That is to say, as a body, the Filipina is inserted into various systems of value, and "she is hence devalued not only through her corporealization as mere use value and her commodification, but also through the specifications of that corporeality according to other systems of value."[23] Simply, as Neferti Tadiar suggests, the structural adjustments associated with the neoliberalization of the Philippines (i.e., privatization, decentralization, deregulation, informalization, and flexibilization of labor) have been brought to bear on the Filipina body, such that "particular zones of Filipina bodies are marked and transformed for export-processing operations—hands, fingers, eyes as well as sexual orifices are detailed for increasingly specialization and fragmented tasks in the electronics, garments, textiles, and sex-work industries.[24] Thus, when the Filipina is inserted into the mail-order bride or domestic helper circuit, her body is transformed into a sexualized and racialized commodity. Thus, her "value" is determined by an Orientalist system of values that marks her as hypersexual, docile, nurturing, and, most importantly, cheap (racially devalued).

But, while the Filipina is racially devalued within this hierarchical system, compared to white women, she is able to traverse transnational circuits much easier than other "Third World" women. As Aihwa Ong notes, "some migrants can take advantage of flexible citizenship more than others, and different circuits of migration are differently encouraged, managed, and controlled."[25] Thus, because there is a demand for care workers in many parts of the world, and the Filipina is viewed as the "domestic worker par excellence,"[26] she is higher up on the migrant hierarchy and, thus, has access to different circuits of migration.

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http://schott.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/04/09/nation-of-servants/. Also see, Joel Guinto, "HK Columnist Slammed Over 'Servant' Remark," *Inquirer.net*, 30 March 2009, access at: http://globalnation.inquirer.net/news/breakingnews/view/20090330-196976/HK-columnist-slammed-over-servant-remark.

[23] Tadiar, *Things Fall* Away, p. 41.

[24] Ibid., 29.

[25] Aihwa Ong, "Splintering Cosmopolitanism: Asian Immigrants and Zones of Autonomy in the American West," in Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat, eds., *Sovereign Bodies: Citizens, Migrants, and the State in the Postcolonial World* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), p. 260

[26] Parrenas, *The Force of Domesticity*, p. 3.

Even the Filipina nurse, despite her education and medical training, cannot easily escape this system of value. In part, because compared to other balikbayan Filipinos, nurses are much fewer in number globally and only in the United States do they out-number domestic workers.[27] But also because, while the Philippines has made advances in biotechnology and biomedical research lead by the efforts of the Philippine Department of Science and Technology (DOST),[28] the image of a "nation of servants" masks these achievements and, within this Orientalist discourse, the Philippines and Filipino healthcare professionals in particular are incapable of mastering scientific knowledge.

Such a portrayal of the "backwardness" of the Philippines can be seen in a controversial episode of *Desperate Housewives* that aired in fall 2007. The character Susan Mayer, unhappy with the advice of her gynecologist, asks: "Before we go any further. Can I check those diplomas to make sure that they are not from some med school in the Philippines."[29] Unfortunately, this old trope of Filipinos having "rudimentary knowledge" because of "primitive health practices" has disparaged Filipino health professionals and their achievements and contributions since the colonial period.[30] In this sense, within the hierarchy of womanhood (based on race, class, and nation),[31] all Filipinas, regardless of education, skill, and knowledge, are sexualized and racialized within the Orientalist and patriarchal value system of the division of reproductive labor. This is a colonial discourse that continues to proliferate within the neoliberal global economy.

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[27] Rhacel Salazar Parrenas, "Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers and the International Division of Reproductive Labor," in Melinda L. de Jesus, ed., *Pinay Power: Peminist Critical Theory* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2005), p. 99.
[28] Benigno D. Peczon and Abraham J. Manalo, eds., *Straight Talk on Biotechnology*, Vols. 1-2 (Quezon City, Philippines; Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2008).
[29] Anon., "Filipino Fury at Housewives Joke," *BBC News*, 4 October 2007, accessed at: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/7027551.stm. For an analysis of the incident, see Benito M. Vergara, Jr., *Pinoy Capital: The Filipino Nation in Daly City* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2009), pp. 153-159.
[30] See, Choy, *Empire of Care*, pp. 23-25; Barbara L. Bush, "The Potent Level of Toil: Nursing Development and Exportation in the Postcolonial Philippines," *American Journal of Public Health* 100, no. 9 (September 2010): pp. 1572-1581.
[31] Parrenas, "Migrant Filipina Domestic Workers and the International Division of Reproductive Labor."

Indeed, the way the balikbayan Filipina is articulated within policy discussions and portrayed within the cultural imaginary suggests that she is clearly a different type of body. In this sense, the question playing out on the national stage as well as throughout the Filipino diaspora is: "*Ang babeng Filipina: sino at ano siya?*" [The Filipina women: who and what is she?].[32] Such a question is not easy to answer, and to provide an answer, to define her, may result in the exclusion of others. However, through an investigation of the various discourses pursuing this woman, we can begin to see how the Filipina serves as an object of knowledge within the processes of nation making, which I consider to be not much different than the role she played within the identity politics of American colonization. On this point, Marjorie Evasco argues that the understandings and practices of "normal femininity" used discipline Filipinas and justify imperialism during American colonialism continue to play out in postcolonial Philippines.

> [The] innocent and virginal girl; the virtuous, self-negating woman; the silent, suffering wife and mother; the faithful and constantly-waiting sweetheart; the dutiful sister or daughter; and the benevolent aunt who chooses single-blessedness for familial duties . . . On the negative of the spectrum we have the images of the fallen women, the insufferable nag, the angry bitch, the seductive temptress the despicable whore, and the frigid spinster.[33]

While this duality of the Filipina, the mother and the whore, is in part a product of the colonial encounter and very similar to the norms of femininity (self-denial and self-infantilization) found in many societies around the world, we would be wrong to assume that the authentic "woman" at the core of Philippine national culture is purely an act of colonial mimicry. Rather, a close look at the politics of sexuality in postcolonial Philippines and how it relates to nation making and the demands of the global economy reveals that the modern "Filipina" is created through numerous and competing discourses.

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[32] Thelma B. Kintanar, ed., "Babae: Bilanggo ng Kasarian o Babaylan?" in *Ang Babae* (Manila, Philippines: Cultural Center of the Philippines, 1992), p. 1. Cited in Odine De Guzman, eds., *Body Politics: Essays on Cultural Representations of Women's Bodies* (Quezon City, Philippines: Center for Women's Studies, University of Philippines, 2002).
[33] Majorie M. Evasco, "Weekly Smorgasbord of Feminine Pleasures," in Soledad Reyes, ed., *Reading Popular Culture* (Quezon, City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 2003), p. 167; Also, see Katrina Stuart Santiago, "The Pinay as Fun, Fearless Female: Philippine Chick Literature in the Age of the Transnation," *Humanities Diliman* 6, no. 1-2 (December-January 2009): pp. 57-92.

Here, I find the work of Robyn Rodriguez to be particularly helpful; she identifies three competing discourses shaping the identity of Filipinas in contemporary Philippines. On the one hand, the balikbayan Filipina is constructed as a national hero, while on the other hand she is simultaneously represented as a dangerous woman who threatens the traditional family structure and, thus, the development of the nation. Finally, within this dichotomy of hero and failed mother-wife, is the image of the Filipina as victim of neocolonialism and global capitalism. Thus, balikbayan Filipinas represent "migrant heroism" (self-sacrificing, nationalist martyrs who need to be protected from sexual violence abroad), while simultaneously viewed as women who have abandoned their families and nation, thus "weakening the Philippines' social and moral fabric" and threatening "the Philippine state's subject status on the world stage."[34]

On this point, Juliana Chang argues that this contradiction between the economy and the state is displaced onto the Filipina. That is to say, "global capital depends on and produces the proletarianization of female labor" and this "proletarianized femininity is distinct from a properly domestic, legitimate femininity; rather, it constitutes a deviant, impure femininity that has been contaminated by circuits of economic exchange and exploitation."[35] Along similar lines, Neferti Tadiar writes:

> Filipina women have not only borne the costs of this war of development, but have literally become the bodily price paid for it. Prostituted women, domestic and service sector workers, homeworkers, rural agricultural workers as well as factory workers, are the most visible, primary national commodities that the Philippines has vigorously marketed since the 70s in order to buy its share of economic development.[36]

Furthermore, according to Rodriquez, this battle over the modern Filipina is an example of the "domestic anxiety" that shapes policymaking in postcolonial Philippines. Through the biopolitics of nation making, the political elite have directed the economic

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[34] Robyn Magalit Rodriguez, "Domestic Insecurities: Female Migration from the Philippines, Development and National Subject-Status," Working Paper 114, The Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of California, San Diego, March 2005, accessed at http://ccis.ucsd.edu/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/wrkg114.pdf.
[35] Juliana Chang, "Masquerade, Hysteria, and Neocolonial Femininity in Jessica Hagedorn's 'Dogeaters,'" *Contemporary Literature* 44, no. 4 (Winter 2003): pp. 637-663, at p. 640. Also, see Tolentino, "Bodies, Letters, Catalogs."
[36] Neferti Xina M. Tadiar, "Filipinas: 'Living in a Time of War,'" in De Guzman, eds., *Body Politics*, p. 3.

and global anxieties of the nation onto the body of the Filipina, whose image (low skilled laborer) and behavior abroad (fear of sexual relations with diseased foreigners) is seen as an affront to national culture and a threat to its development. "Postcolonial states draw on gendered representations to legitimize their development project amongst their citizens, and they simultaneously draw on gendered representations to attract foreign capital on which they depend for investment."[37] In this sense, we can see that the contradictory identities that the Filipina must traverse—hero, victim, whore—are a product of the "gendered moral economy of labor"[38] in postcolonial Philippines that interlinks family, religion, nationalism, and capitalism within a neoliberal framework for managing labor migration. Through the discursive practices of this moral economy, the ethics of responsibility (wage earner and mother) are brought to bear on the Filipina body.

> Thus, as a mechanism of the state's disciplinary power, 'empowerment' is not simply about a concern for the degradation of families. It also reflects the state's concern for its image and its need to regulate and control who it considers as potentially unruly subjects who may taint the image of the "Filipino woman" and most importantly, that of the Philippines.[39]

In other words, policymakers and the political elite are trying to challenge the representation of the Philippines as a "nation of servants" placed upon them by the division of labor of neoliberal globalization. The political elite considers the superstitious nature and atavistic cultural beliefs and practices of Filipinos to be the leading causes of the nation's failure to develop and modernize successfully, causing the country, in turn, to export low skilled feminized labor. For example, Raul Pertierra, a popular intellectual in the Philippines, argues that the "role of [Filipino] culture in hindering scientific progress" since "science as the disinterested pursuit of knowledge is not a principle cultural value."[40] For Pertierra and many of the political elite, the cultural values of Filipinos are incompatible with scientific thought and technocratic governance because "Filipinos do not perceive science and technology as relevant to their everyday lives" and

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[37] Rodriguez, "Domestic Insecurities."
[38] Anna Romina Guevarra, "Managing 'Vulnerabilities' and 'Empowering' Migrant Filipina Workers: The Philippines Overseas Employment Program," *Social Identities* 12, no. 5 (September 2006): pp. 523-541.
[39] Ibid., 538.
[40] Raul Pertierra, *Science, Technology, and Everyday Culture in the Philippines* (Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, 2003), pp. 3-5.

"in the face of uncertainties and practical problems, many Filipinos continue to prefer other remedies or perspectives, such as prayer, luck, or fate, to science and technology."[41] Within this Eurocentric logic, the "backwardness" of Filipino culture is seen as the root cause of high rates of poverty, illness, and economic instability in the country, and, therefore, science and technology are required to promote a "highly conscious and contrived culture," however the "competence to do so requires disciplinary learning, which is not available to the general [Filipino] population."[42]

In this sense, the "Filipina" is caught within this debate over progress and modernity and the need to overcome a primitive culture. Hence, we can begin to see how the balikbayan Filipina is viewed as an abnormal Filipina and her body, as an extension of the nation, requires discipline and control. Even though the economy of the Philippines gains substantially from the remittances sent home, within the public debate, Filipinas working as domestic servants and entertainers abroad are blamed for the moral and social decline of society since they are not performing traditional feminine roles.[43] On this point, Pei-Chia Lan writes:

> Despite the fact that a substantial number of married women hold waged jobs in the Philippines, the ideal Filipino family consists of a male breadwinner and a female housekeeper, and housework and childcare are predominantly considered women's duties. The cultural heritages of the Spanish and American colonial regimes have inscribed male-centered gender relations that remain influential today.[44]

In other words, within the discourses of nation making in postcolonial Philippines, nation, family, and mother are combined to suggest that "ultimately, when women take care of their families, they simultaneously secure the well-being of the nation,"[45] and thus, as Rodriquez asserts, balikbayan Filipinas are blamed for the breakdown of the family structure and the shameful position the Philippines holds in the global economy.

This debate over the "Filipina" has taken on an additional dimension with the spread of HIV/AIDS. As mentioned earlier, within the public consciousness, balikbayan

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[41] Ibid., 10.
[42] Ibid., 15.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Pei-Chia Lan, "Maid or Madam? Filipina Migrant Workers and the Continuity of Domestic Labor," *Gender and Society* 17, no. 2 (April 2003): pp.187-208, at p. 191.
[45] Rodriguez, "Domestic Insecurities," p. 20.

Filipinas are seen as HIV fugitives since they are believed by many to be moonlighting as prostitutes while working abroad.[46] Like the story of Rachel Reyes, these overseas workers are believed to be contracting HIV through sexual relationships with foreigners.[47] And, since HIV/AIDS is considered to be a disease of the *Other* infiltrating the country, overseas workers are blamed for bringing the disease back to the shores of the Philippines. A Tan points out, they comprise the myth: "avoid sex with foreigners."[48] Here, we can see how many Filipinas are doubly burdened in postcolonial Philippine society: attacked for being failed housewives who jeopardize the nation's position in the global economy and as dangerous women who spread disease throughout the country. On this point, Chang writes: "global capital, structured by neocolonialism, produces and perforates heterogeneous and uneven femininities, which in turn provide heterogeneous sites for comprehending the confronting systems of dominance."[49]

Furthermore, recent developments in the government's war on HIV/AID has shifted the attention of the people inward as neoliberal globalization has blurred the lines between the *self* and the *other*. Associated with the Philippines embrace of neoliberal structural adjustments, call center workers have become a recent addition to the HIV fugitives list. The Philippines hosts the largest number of business product outsourcing (BPOs), overtaking India, and, with this, has one of the largest local call center industries.[50] Just like with the other HIV fugitives, the inclusion of Filipino call center workers in the HIV/AIDs myths of the Philippines says more about the politics of health and biomedical governmentality occurring within the country than it does about the prevalence rates of, and solutions to, the disease.

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[46] James Tyner, "Constructions of Filipina Migrant Entertainers," *Gender, Place, and Culture* 3, no. 1 (1996): pp. 77-94.
[47] Tan, "Aids, Medicine, and Moral Panic," p. 149.
[48] Tan, *Shattering the Myth*, p. 44. Also see, Lisa Law, "Local Autonomy, National Policy and Global Imperatives: Sex Work and HIV/AIDs in Cebu City, Philippines," *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 39, no. 1 (April 1998): pp. 53-71.
[49] Chang, "Masquerade, Hysteria, and Neocolonial Femininity," p. 659.
[50] Edsel Maurice Tanghal Salvana, "HIV in the Philippines: A Prime Target for Elimination through Test-and-Treat," *Acta Medica Philippina* 46, no. 1 (2012).

According to public health officials, the rise in HIV prevalence among call center workers, often referred to as "Filipino yuppies"[51] in the media, is a result of the combination of social networking sites used to find "fubus" (fuck buddies), increased wages among young, educated urban professionals, and an overall decline in religious values, especially among the younger generations. According to this new myth, with added income, these young professionals, particularly women and gay men, are using the internet to set up orgies and other types of sexual encounters associated with the sexual liberation that accompanies modernization.

Dr. Eric Tayag, director of the National Epidemiology Center (NEC) suggests that "through online networking sits, MSM (men who have sex with men) can meet without fear of negative social consequences . . . HIV/AIDS is not about being gay but more about men having unprotected sex with men."[52] While it is notable that Dr. Tayag generalizes the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the Philippines (everyone is at risk), the belief that call center workers and other urban professionals engaging in MSM and orgies through the use of social networking, "without fear of negative social consequences," clearly feeds into the other AIDS myths about homosexuality and "deviant" sexual relations. Along similar lines, a recent study by the University of the Philippines and the Department of Health attribute the rise in HIV among caller center workers to premarital, extramaritial and same sex relationships, and other "sexual risky events."[53]

Alan Kraut refers to blaming internally marginalized groups like foreigners, strangers, travelers, and outcasts as "medicalized nativism." These subalterns become associated with contagious diseases believed to be the source of the epidemic, and any newcomers to the stigmatized group (such as future generations) are "reduced from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one, because of association with disease

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[51] Anon., "HIV Cases Soar Among Filipino Yuppies, Call Center Workers," *ABS-CBN News*, 27 January 2010.
[52] Tina G. Santos, "Social Networking linking to HIV Rise in Philippines," *Philippine Daily Inquirer*, 19 October 2012, accessed at: http://technology.inquirer.net/19126/social-networking-linked-to-hiv-rise-in-philippines.
[53] Marjun A. Baguio, "According to Study: Call Center Agents Prone to HIV-AIDS," *PhilStar.com*, 30 January 2010.

in the minds of the native-born."[54] For Kraut, immigrants tend to be the group stigmatized by medicalized nativism, but this process of risk and blame can also be seen among native-born outcasts like gay men, commercial sex workers, and overseas workers in the Philippines. Furthermore, as Erving Goffman points out, such stigma greatly influences societal norms, shapes disease perception, and provides a target for blame. According to Goffman, the term *stigma* originated from the Greeks and "refers to bodily signs designed to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier."[55] This understanding of stigma continues to serve as an important point of reference for studying how stigmas shape socio-political identities today. Goffman posits that there are three types of stigma: abominations of the body (physical deformities); blemishes of individual character (or deviant behavior); and, the stigmas of race, nation, and religion.[56] Alongside these perceptions of, and myths about, HIV/AIDS are interacting social identities in which "an attribute that stigmatizes one type of possessor can confirm usualness of another."[57] In this sense, identities are shaped around definitions of normal and abnormal, and blame will fall upon the perceived deviant. "We construct a stigma-theory, an ideology to explain his inferiority and account the danger he represents, sometimes rationalizing an animosity based on other differences, such as those of social class."[58]

For Filipinos with HIV/AIDS, benevolence is not the social response, nor is acceptance, but instead accusations and, in many cases, alienation. The HIV message, associated with the Department of Public Health and the general public, is a mixture of moralist appeals and fear-based warnings about the threat of careless and immoral behaviors that deviate from the hegemonic understandings of masculinity and femininity. "Thus disease became associated with not only the moral failings of individuals but also the sanitary defect of the 'lower orders.' The 'careless' or 'unteachable' [individual] was

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[54] Alan M. Kraut, *Silent Travelers: Germs, Genes, and the "Immigrant Menace"* (New York, NY: BasicBooks, 1994), 3.
[55] Erving Goffman, *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* (Englewood Cliff, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963), 1.
[56] Ibid., 4.
[57] Ibid., 3.
[58] Ibid., 5.

frequently assumed to be poor, uneducated, foreign born, or nonwhite."[59] In this sense, Filipinos with HIV/AIDS today are essentially viewed as failed citizens pursuing an immoral lifestyle responsible for their illness. By attributing HIV to excessive behaviors, "normal" Filipinos are suggesting a lack of discipline and rationalism on the part of the sick and diseased. Here, we begin to see the many dimensions of a postcolonial biosociality—even though these HIV fugitives are ethnically Filipino, they have become citizens of their disease. Thus, in the public's mind, these groups are more foreign than indigenous. Once pathologized, every member of the stigmatized group is associated with the illness and viewed as a likely carrier and, as a result, a moral and physical threat to society. "The medicalization of preexisting nativist prejudices occurs when the justification for excluding members of a particular group included charges that they constitute a health menace and may endanger their hosts."[60]

The Disciplinary Gaze of the (Post)colonial Juridico-Medical Complex

While Kraut's understanding of "medicalized nativism" is helpful for investigating the relationship between disease and identity within the politics of belonging in Filipino society, there is another dimension at play here, that is, the role postcolonial technoscience, particularly biomedicine, plays in legitimizing and reproducing these myths about HIV/AIDS in the Philippines. For example, the Philippine Department of Health's National Epidemiological Center publishes a monthly report on the newly documented HIV seropositive cases in the country. The data presented in these reports lists the sexuality (homosexual or heterosexual) of each new case, as well as if the individual is a prostitute and/or overseas worker. Here, we can see how the myths maintain a veil of "truth" when the Department of Health specifically targets these groups and publicly disseminates its findings, which in turn reassures mainstream society (the sanitary citizens) that only certain groups are "at risk" and a threat to the public and the overall development of the country.

What about these sanitary citizens? Where do they fit within these illness narratives and the poetics of disease? Priscilla Wald considers public acceptance of risk

[59] Tomes, *The Gospel of Germs*, p. 132.
[60] Kraut, *Silent Travelers*, p. 2.

and blame to be a product of an "imagined immunity."[61] To distance themselves from the diseases of the *Other*, mainstream Filipinos have become citizens of a community of immunity, that is, "moral" heterosexual Filipinos are believed to be outside of the "at risk" categories and thus immune from the disease altogether.[62] For Wald, culture and contagion become synonymous and immunity is purely constructed, but, nonetheless, has the power to foster a sense of community similar to that of the nation state. Just as nationalism is the story of the nation, the formation of a biological citizenship is an epidemiological fable of disease immunity or susceptibility. "If epidemiological maps visibly chart the paths of microbes, the process of a communicable disease, they also illustrate, as they materialize, the contacts of imagined communities, global, as well as national or local."[63]

After investigating the relationship between culture and contagion in Filipino society, we need, at this point, to ask the question: how have these illness narratives surrounding the HIV fugitives shaped the nation's response to the epidemic? Using the term *utak pulis*, Michael Tan describes the medical policing of the HIV/AIDS citizenry occurring within the Philippines as "[a] montage of images of virus and of individual, of knowledge and of ignorance, and of a reckless concupiscence that needs to be controlled."[64] While *utak pulis* can be translated to "police brains," or "police mentality," it has the broader socio-cultural meaning of hastily forced response. It is forced in the sense that state authorities have implemented mandatory testing and quarantine of persons with HIV/AIDS, specifically those believed to be "at risk."

And, it is hasty due to the measures adopted by the medical regime; once under suspicion of having HIV, the suspect is immediately apprehended and tested. While the ethics of this form of medical surveillance is debatable, we can see how such a strategy can produce indeterminate results. In some cases, the test result can be a false positive, possibly sentencing the individual to a life of discrimination, or the test can come back negative even though the individual is actually infected with the virus. With the latter

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[61] Priscilla Wald, "Imagined Immunities," in Jodi Dean, ed., *Cultural Studies & Political Theory* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 189-208.
[62] Tan, "Aids, Medicine, and Moral Panic."
[63] Ibid., 197.
[64] Tan, "Aids, Medicine, and Moral Panic," p. 152.

case, rushing a test that requires a 6-month window to ensure that the antibodies have had time to develop is completely ineffective.

This HIV/AIDS prevention campaign in the Philippines can be seen as a product of the colonial discourse associated with the new public health. Through surveillance, mandatory testing, and moral judgment, the state has targeted and marginalized the HIV fugitives with the goal of curing the nation of AIDS. What has developed in the Philippines, according to Tan, is a "new medico-moral hegemony." Under the guise of HIV/AIDS prevention and politically correct rhetoric, Tan suggests that "this new hegemony is all the more dangerous because often unrecognized for its subtext of surveillance, control, and stigmatization."[65]

While Tan correctly identifies the pervasiveness of the social hygiene discourse in Filipino society, he is somewhat myopic to refer to it as new. Unfortunately for the subalterns of Filipino society, this "medico-moral hegemony" is not a new discourse. A genealogy of biological citizenship in the Philippines, supported by a postcolonial history of medicine, reveals a much longer history of medicalizing the *Other* to protect the hegemonic group and "civilize" the deviant groups. Like the American public health officer that viewed the native Filipino as a disease-carrier and used the rhetoric of civilization through hygiene to discipline "inferior" bodies, state authorities, in collaboration with the Department of Public Health, have justified their postcolonial HIV prevention campaign through a similar process of moral judgment and risk association.

When investigating the social inequalities and health disparities produced by stigmas and accusations, Paul Farmer calls for an approach that incorporates the power dynamics of "structural violence." For Farmer, structural violence is a "broad rubric that includes a host of offensives against human dignity: extreme and relative poverty, social inequalities ranging from racism to gender inequality, and more spectacular forms of violence that are uncontestedly human rights abuses, some of them punishment for efforts to escape structural violence."[66] Such an understanding can be applied to the study of nation making and the biopolitics of disease shaping postcolonial societies like the

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[65] Ibid., p. 164.
[66] Paul Farmer, *Pathologies of Power: Health, Human Rights, and the New War on the Poor* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), p. 8.

Philippines. By viewing disease perceptions and their discursive practices as products of "structural violence," we are acknowledging the history of oppression and control that produces what Foucault refers to as "power/knowledge." Through the lens of a postcolonial history of medicine, we will find an "endless repeated play of dominations," in which "the domination of certain men over others leads to the differentiation of values."[67] Investigating the perceptions and understandings of HIV/AIDS, and the local politics that reinforce these perceptions and understandings, in postcolonial Philippines helps to elucidate the "domination" and "differentiation of values" Foucault identifies.

This is not to say that the illness narratives found within Filipino society are solely a product of racialized colonial hygienic practices. But, to overlook the influence of colonial modernity on contemporary illness semantics and disease metaphors is to neglect the role that discourse plays in creating morality, meaning, and the self. In other words, a genealogy of biological citizenship in the Philippines reveals the illness narratives and discursive practices that produce new types of citizenship that are measured in relation to an authentic "Filipino" self for the purposes of development and modernization.

Counter-Hegemonic Spaces and Resistance to Biomedicalization

It is important to note that while the cultural imperialism of the Philippine nation serves as a normalizing regime, a postcolonial history of medicine with its "unsteady victories and unpalatable defeats"[68] is not without instances of Filipino resistance to the power/knowledge produced by colonial modernity. In neoliberal Philippines, which can be best described as "the development of underdevelopment,"[69] alternative health practices and concepts have found ways of challenging the power/knowledge of the hegemonic biomedical system used by the state to police dangerous bodies. While the understandings of health and illness found within the biomedical model are based primarily on the germ theory of disease (discussed earlier), many in the Philippines remain suspicious of such knowledge and, as result, pursue a wide range of alternatives,

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[67] Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, p. 150.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Andre Gunder Frank, *Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution. Essays on the Development of Underdevelopment and the Immediate Enemy* (New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 1975).

and to varying degrees "traditional," forms of health care, such as "the herb doctor (*albularyo*), therapeutic chiropractic (*hilot*), faith healer (*espiritista*), and tribal medicine (*shaman*)."[70] Furthermore, since biomedical treatment continues to be inaccessible, mostly due to cost, to a large portion of the population, and because there are more alternative healers throughout the country than biomedical trained physicians, a large segment of the population usually goes to their local healer first, while the middle class, on the other hand, tends to go to both types.[71].

Michel de Certeau's understanding of "strategies" and "tactics" is helpful for understanding how the health practices of subalterns in the Philippines create spaces of resistance to biomedical hegemony and state authority. In other words, the health practices of subalterns serve as a tactic for disrupting and complicating the strategies of biomedicalization. De Certeau defines "strategy" as "calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with the will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated," and "every 'strategic' rationalization seeks first of all to distinguish its 'own' place, that is, the place of its own power and will, from an 'environment.'"[72]

The power/knowledge of biomedical strategy, then, "is a specific type of knowledge, one sustained and determined by the power to provide oneself with one's own place."[73] Furthermore, the ability of the biomedical assemblage to divide space and transform foreign forces into objects, which can then be measured, classified, controlled, included or excluded, such as its ability to marginalize or co-opt competing knowledges and health concepts, serve as a "panoptic practice" that "makes knowledge possible and

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[70] Roger L. Mendoza, "Is It Really Medicine? The Traditional and Alternative Medicine Act and Informal Health Economy in the Philippines," *Asia-Pacific Journal of Public Health* 21, no. 3 (July 2009): pp. 333-345, at. p. 334.
[71] Md. Nazrul Islam, "Pluralism, Parallel Medical Practices and the Question of Tension: The Philippines Experience," *Anthropology Matters* 7, no. 2 (2005): pp. 1-9. Also see, Ramon S. Del Fierro and Fiscalina A. Nolasco, "An Exploration of the Ethno-Medicinal Practices among Traditional Healers in Southwest Cebu, Philippines," *ARPN Journal of Science and Technology* 3, no. 12 (December 2013): pp. 1182-1188.
[72] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 35-36.
[73] Ibid., 36.

at the same time determines its characteristics. It produces itself in and through this knowledge."[74]

If "strategy" is used by the powerful, "tactic" is an art of the weak, that is to say, the space of a tactic is the space of the subaltern.[75] As a result of this power structure, those using a tactic "must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power. It does not have the means to *keep to itself*, at a distance, in a position of withdrawal, foresight, and self-collection: it is a maneuver 'within the enemy's field of vision' . . . and within enemy territory."[76] To understand how alternative health practices and concepts can be a tactic for the subaltern to evade biomedical governmentality, the use of non-biomedical practices by Filipinos should not be seen as a result of superstitions or an absence of biomedical knowledge, as argued by the political elite, but instead as an example of competing forms of legitimate knowledge about health and life, that is to say, a counter-epistemic community that enables subalterns to resist the biomedicalization of the body while surviving within the culture of imperialism shaping a postcolonial Philippines that embraces biomedicine for the purposes of achieving modernity.

[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid., 37.
[76] Ibid.

CHAPTER 5

Toward a Genealogy of Biological Citizenship in Korea

Similar to the body politics of the colonial encounter between the United States and the Philippines, the public discourses on gender, belonging, and the body in (post)colonial Korea and Imperial Japan are intimately interconnected. That is to say, to understand the role of colonial modernity and nationalism in Korea requires an investigation into the processes and power structures of national identity and nation making in Japan. Much like the relationship between American bourgeois identity and the primitive Filipino, Japan's "modern" national identity cannot be easily separated from Korea and its other colonial experiments. This is partly because of the colonial encounter between Korea and Japan, but, equally so, because the elites in both countries have embraced the discourses and discursive practices of (western) modernity, albeit in different ways and under different pretenses, to reclaim and reassert a national cultural identity uniquely their own, however embedded within colonial modernity.

To elucidate the relationship between gender, nationalism, and citizenship in postcolonial Korea, this chapter will first investigate the colonial encounter between Korea and Japan, focusing primarily on the biopolitical relationship between the two countries and the biological and nationalist subjectivities created and recreated during the embodiment of Korea into the national identity of Japan. Second, this chapter draws upon the concept of bionationalism to investigate how the biopolitical practices of colonization and decolonization have shaped, and have been shaped by, the body politics of the subalterns of Korean society, specifically Korean women. Through such an analysis, this chapter seeks to reveal the various practices of contesting colonial domination that produced the conditions of possibility for biological citizenship in postcolonial Korea.

Japanese "Truth Games" and Defining the Biological Other

To understand how colonial Korea was "subalternized"[1] and "biologicalized" to support the creation of a new Japanese nation identity, as well as the forces behind Japan's "civilizing mission" in East Asia, it is first necessary to investigate the changing socio-political environment, and its relationship to western modernity, occurring within Japanese society during the Meiji Restoration. Most of the colonial empires during this time were overseen by western powers, such as Britain, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States. Furthermore, as discussed earlier, these imperial powers established "large scientific and technical departments in the colonies, and most had major metropolitan institutions devoted to research on colonial problems and the training of colonial scientific personnel."[2]

While these western imperial powers controlled most of the Orient, Japan was never colonized in the traditional sense. Instead, Meiji Japan can be seen as a successful attempt at self-colonization through the incorporation of the discursive practices of western modernity, particularly social engineering campaigns to promote scientific rationalism and technological progress.[3] In this sense, as Nishihara Daisuke points out, "Japan [had] the mentality of a colonized nation and a colonizer at the same time. It is the Orient and the Occident at the same Time."[4]

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[1] See, Gyan Prakash, "Subaltern Studies as Postcolonial Criticism," *The American Historical Review* 99, no. 5 (December 1994): pp. 1475-1490, at p. 1485

[2] Paolo Palladino and Michael Worboys, "Science and Imperialism," *ISIS* 84, no. 1 (March 1993): pp. 91-102, at p. 97.

[3] See, Hiroshi Yoshioka, "Samurai and Self-Colonization in Japan," in Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhiku Parekh, eds., *The Decolonization of Imagination: Culture, Knowledge, and Power* (London, UK: Zed Books, 1995), pp. 99-112; Alexis Dudden, *Japan's Colonization of Korea: Discourse and Power* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2005); Leo T.S. Ching, *Becoming 'Japanese': Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation* (Berkeley: CA: University of California Press, 2001); Tanaka, *New Times in Modern Japan*; Richard M. Reitan, *Making a Moral Society: Ethics and the State in Meiji Japan* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2010); Sheldon Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

[4] Nishihara Daisuke, "China as Japan's Orient: 'Shinasumi' Writings and Paintings in the Taisho Period," in Theo D'haen and Patricia Krus, eds., *Colonizer and the Colonized* (Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Rodopi, 2000), p. 24.

With this understanding of Japan as both colonizer and colonized, we can begin to see how Korea, as well as China, Okinawa, parts of Micronesia, and Taiwan, served as colonial laboratories for Japan to invent the "recognizable Other" for the purpose of reforming, or possibly recreating, its own national identity and position in Asia vis-à-vis the colonizers of the West. On this point, Todd Henry suggests that "the ideas and projects of Japanese modernization as well as the experiences and identities it spawned coincided, both temporally and spatially, with those of empire building and were often worked out on colonial grounds."[5]

In this sense, Japanese imperialism was not solely an attempt to achieve diplomatic and commercial parity with the West, but to also, and possibly more importantly, use the colonial periphery as a means to "modernize" and refashion its own national identity. In other words, Meiji Japan was attempting more than "leaving Asia for the West," it was using western modernity, its discourses and discursive practices, to create "many concentric circles of colonial citizenship" in a stratification of relations between "Japanese proper" and its colonies throughout the Asia Pacific.[6] That is to say, Meiji Japan could only establish a new identity, become a recognizable other, by rewriting the identities of the rest of Asia. Thus, Japan would become recognizable, a seeing subject, within the imperial world system through a civilizational discourse that positioned a "modern" Japan within a "backward" Asia, and, thus, the bearer of modernity and progress. Such sentiment can be seen in the writings of Yukichi Fukuzawa (1835-1901), a leading intellectual of the "Japanese Enlightenment" movement:

> We cannot wait for our neighbor countries to become so civilized that all may combine together to make Asia progress. We must rather break out of formation and behave in the same way as the civilized countries of the West are doing . . . We would be better to treat China and Korea in the same way as do the western nations.[7]

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[5] Todd A. Henry, "Sanitizing Empire: Japanese Articulations of Korean Otherness and the Construction of Early Colonial Seoul, 1905-1919," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 64, no. 3 (August 2005): pp. 639-675, at p. 640.

[6] Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "Becoming Japanese: Imperial Expansion and identity Crisis in the Early Twentieth Century," in Sharon A. Minichiello, ed., *Japan's Competing Modernities: Issues in Culture and Democracy* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1998), p. 168.

[7] Cited in Carmen Blacker, *Japanese Enlightenment: A Study of the Writings of* Fukuzawa Yukichi (London, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 136.

A similar narrative, although slightly different, can be seen in western imperialism. Like the Japanese, European identity, required colonial laboratories to test bourgeois identity and tryout biopolitical practices, in which the "cultivation of the European self . . . was affirmed in the proliferating discourses around pedagogy, parenting, children's sexuality, servants, and tropical hygiene: micro-sites where designations of racial membership subjected to gendered appraisals and where "character," "good breeding," and proper rearing were implicitly raced."[8] While the Japanese political elite reworked and incorporated much of the theories of western scientific racism into the unique circumstances of imperial Japan, the role of white supremacy (that whiteness equals civilized as Fukuzawa describes above) in the Japanese discourse of self and other requires careful attention. According to Alastair Bonnet, whiteness within the self-concept of Meiji Japan is both foreign and not foreign in that "whiteness is deployed in Japan as an otherness that is owned, an alterity that is claimed and assimilated."[9] Thus, it could be argued that Meiji Japan de-racialized European "whiteness" and, then, re-racialized whiteness as uniquely Japanese in order to support its own narrative of modernity, civilization, and progress. Through such identity making, Japan is able to stake a claim to "whiteness," to civilization and modernity, within western Orientalism.

In other words, what we see here is the emergence of Japanese whiteness in opposition to European whiteness that allowed Japan to have similarities with its neighbors (a shared history) but also use ideas of race and ethnic difference to justify its imperialism. To produce these ideas, the Japanese political elite turned to the theories of scientific racism because they not only overlapped with indigenous understandings of "racial purity" already popular in Japan but also because western science and technology supported ideologies of nationalism and imperial expansion. "The Japanese state embarked upon its policy of rapid modernization at a time when ideas of social Darwinism and scientific racism were becoming immensely influential in Western

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[8] Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire,* p.11.

[9] Alastair Bonnett, "A White World? Whiteness and the Meaning of Modernity in Latin America and Japan," in Cynthia Levine-Rasky, ed., *Working Through Whiteness: International Perspectives* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002), pp. 95-96.

Europe and North America, and the relationship between race and power was from the first an issue of intense concern to the Meiji political elite."[10] To achieve a level of racial stratification among colonial subjects that would provide Meiji Japan with the imperial space from which to explore and build a modernized Japanese self, the political elite needed a narrative suitable for both rewriting the identities of the colonized and justifying Japanese cultural superiority over them.

Like many of the political elite of western empires, the Japanese elite would rely upon theories of scientific racism that emphasized "a hierarchy of superior and inferior"[11] to create a narrative that positioned Japan socially and biologically above the rest of Asia. As Tessa Morris-Suzuki points out, to support this discourse, the intellectuals of Meiji Japan built upon Lamarckian ideals, Mendelian theories, and neo-Darwinian biometric techniques,[12] such as negative eugenics (particularly forced birth control and abortion)[13] and Francis Galton's fingerprinting method.[14]

In addition to "scientifically" proving Meiji Japan's hegemonic position in Asia, scientific racism provided Japanese intellectuals with justification for discriminating against colonial subjects. Interestingly, the social Darwinian discourses surrounding the eugenics movement became so popular among Japanese intellectuals at this time that renowned politician Kaneko Kentaro sent a letter to the geneticist Herbert Spencer inquiring about the possibilities of intermarriage with white Europeans to strengthen the Japanese Race.[15] Spencer advised Kentaro (and Japan) to keep Japanese society homogenous and pure. While such a response fits well into social Darwinian thought, one has to wonder if Spencer's advice was directed more at keeping Japanese men away from

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[10] Morris-Suzuki, "Debating Racial Science in Wartime Japan," p. 358.
[11] Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, *Racialized Boundaries: Race, Nation, Gender, Colour, and Class and the Anti-Racist Struggle* (London, UK: Routledge, 1992), p. 10.
[12] Morris-Suzuki, "Racial Science in Wartime Japan."
[13] See, Otsubo and Bartholomew, "Eugenics in Japan" and Sonja Kim, "'Limiting Birth': Birth Control in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* 2, no. 3 (September 2008): pp. 335-359.
[14] See, Takano Asako, "The History of Fingerprinting in Japan and the Control of the Body: Transitions in Purpose and Use," *Asia-Pacific Week 2007*, Australia National University.
[15] See, "Three Letters to Kaneko Kentaro, 1892," in Herbert Spencer, *Life and Letters of Herbert Spencer*, ed. by David Duncan (London, UK: Methuen, 1908).

white women than improving the Japanese race. Regardless of Spencer's true motives, Japanese intellectuals were deeply interested in the use of eugenics to produce a modernized nation. For example, Sumiko Otsubo's analysis of the eugenic theories of Yamanouchi Shigeo, an influential western trained botanist, reveals that eugenic thought in early 20th century Japan was far less deterministic than the Social Darwinism preached in the West. Instead of being permanently inferior to the West, Yamanouchi asserted that the Japanese, through the use of eugenics, would catch up with, and possibly overcome, the dominant white race.[16]

Just as the birth of bacteriology and germ theory following Louis Pasteur and Robert Koch's discovery of the microbe supported the rise of the "new public health" and made possible western imperialism (see chapter 2), the discourses and social hygienic practices associated with bacteriology also played a key role in molding Japanese minds and justifying Meiji Japan's colonization of Asia. As Akisa Setoguchi notes, Japanese public health officials relied heavily on social medical practices and interventions based on the German model, with "bacteriological research in full flourish" in both the colonies and the metropole.[17]

At this time, German scientists, such as the prominent E. Baelz, introduced and taught bacteriology and modern medicine at Tokyo Imperial University (Todai) and trained the first generation of Japanese medical laboratorists.[18] In addition to studying western medicine at universities throughout Japan, a large number of Japanese scholars traveled abroad, mostly to Germany, to obtain training in biomedicine, many of which were greatly influenced by National Socialism while others returned to Japan with a strong antipathy to the Nazi view of race.[19] One of these scholars impressed by the theories of social Darwinism was Kitasato Shibasaburo, a pupil of Robert Koch in Berlin from 1884-1891 who later became a leading bacteriologist in Japan and developed

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[16] Sumiko Otsubo, "Between Two Worlds: Yamanouchi Shigeo and Eugenics in Early Twentieth-Century Japan," *Annals of Science* 62, no. 2 (April 2005): pp. 205-231. Also, see Otsubo and Bartholomew, "Eugenics in Japan."
[17] Setoguchi, "Control of Insect Vectors in the Japanese Empire."
[18] Shiyung Liu, "The Ripples of Rivalry: The Spread of Modern Medicine from Japan to Its Colonies," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* 2, no. 1 (March 2008): pp. 47-71, at p. 51.
[19] Morris-Suzuki, "Debating Racial Science in Wartime Japan," p. 363.

vaccines against rabies and diphtheria and discovered the bacillus responsible for the bubonic plague.[20] Through the teaching, training, and indoctrination of Japanese scholars at home and abroad, the discourses and discursive practices of bacteriology and germ theory, particularly its individualization of disease and obsession with the microbe, quickly spread throughout Meiji Japan and gained popularity within intellectual and policymaking circles. On this point, Jong-Chan Lee writes:

> Koch's bacteriology tremendously affected the modern making of sanitary science and medicine in Japan. Kitasato Shibasaburo exerted a significant role in setting up Koch's concept of bacteriology in the Institute for Infectious Diseases (1893) that was initially established by the Great Japan Hygiene Society.[21]

It is important to note that this adoption of bacteriology and biomedicine was not only seen as part of the modernizing process (through westernization), these new biological sciences and their public health implications were intensely nationalized and, in may ways, reclaimed as a unique part of the Japanese nation. That is to say, the elite incorporated certain forms of western culture into the social and political policies of the state in order to "construct a specific version of national identity congruent with its own interests."[22] And, through such a construction, "Japanese as an "ethnic nation' (*minzoku*) rather than part of an Asian 'race' (*jinsu*) reflected a tentative recognition of the historical legacy of the Meiji Restoration which had both yielded the modern state and alienated the Japanese from other Asians."[23] This formation of a national identity by the Meiji elite suggests an attempt to construct a modern culture distinctly different from the West, while simultaneously uniquely Japanese and more advanced than any other Asian race and culture.

For example, this nationalization of western medicine can be seen in Goto Shinpei's, the Director of the Bureau of Hygiene between 1890-1892 and 1895-1897, approach to public health. "Comparing the nation to the human body metaphorically, Goto justified that the 'national body' should have its public health system, just as other

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[20] Liu, "The Ripples of Rivalry," p. 52.
[21] Jong-Chan Lee, "The Making of Hygienic Modernity in Meiji Japan," *Korean Journal of Medical History* 12, no. 1 (June 2003): pp. 34-53.
[22] Kevin M. Doak, "Ethnic Nationalism and Romanticism in Early Twentieth-Century Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 22, no. 1 (Winter 1996): pp. 77-103, at p. 91.
[23] Ibid., 96.

living beings [have] their own means to take care of their well-being."[24] Furthermore, in regards to the position of the physician in Japanese society, Goto posited: "There are three kinds of doctors. The best doctors are those who care for the nation, the middle care for the medical practitioners, those at the bottom care for the sick people."[25] This hierarchy of doctors speaks to the increasing nationalization of medicine in Meiji Japan as well as the powerful role the physician was believed to play in the growth, modernization, and overall well-being of both Japanese society and its imperial ambitions. To strengthen the Empire, Goto sought to integrate the procedures and approaches of the bacteriology laboratory with the governing practices and techniques of the colonial administration. That is to say, "his work in hygiene served to effect both a disciplining of bodies internal to the national community and an expansion of the national body."[26]

To support Japanese imperialism throughout Asia, but particularly in Korea, such hygienic discipline in the colonies would be achieved through a combination of medical policing and public health policies that sought to render the body of colonial subjects visible, controllable, and docile. Through the lens of bacteriology and germ theory, Japanese colonial authorities believed that "attention to epidemic control and water supplies rendered the population (or workforce) healthier and more productive; it facilitated the development of industries; and the new modern medical facilities were to be evidence of the benefits of Japanese rule."[27] In other words, by brining modernization and development to its backward and unhealthy colonial subjects, the imperialist actions of Meiji Japan would be justified.

On the other hand, creating these racial hierarchies in Asia required the Meiji political elite to co-opt national sentiment since "the very fact that the empire extended outwards into contiguous regions with which Japan had ancient historical links (rather than being a far-flung seaborne empire like Britain's) meant that issues of ethnic dividing

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[24] Lee, "Making of Hygienic Modernity in Meiji Japan."
[25] Ibid.
[26] Michael Bourdaghs, "The Disease of Nationalism, the Empire of Hygiene," *Positions* 6, no. 3 (Winter 1998): pp. 637-673, at p. 646.
[27] Bridie J. Andrews, "Tuberculosis and the Assimilation of Germ Theory in China, 1895-1937," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 52, no. 1 (January 1997): pp. 114-157, at p. 131.

lines in the Japanese colonies were always particularly ambiguous and contentious."[28] Therefore, to overcome a shared history and clearly demarcate the ethnic divisions of Asia for the purpose of establishing a modernized Japan, "Japanese or Japaneseness, Taiwanese or Taiwaneseness, aborigines or aboriginality, and Chinese or Chineseness, as embodied in compartmentalized national, racial, or cultural categories," could not exist "outside the temporality and spatiality of colonial modernity," but were instead enabled by it.[29]

Nation Making and the Gender Question

This attempt to create a homogenous Japanese collective subjectivity that would be defined in contrast to the "primordial" identities of its neighbors can be seen as the underlying plot of the nation-making narrative. Many have already commented in detail on Japan's transformation into a nation and the strategies of the Japanese political elite to transform civil society under the tenets of modernity.[30] Along similar lines, I would add that the inclusion/exclusion practices of nation making took the Japanese female body, and its relationship to women of other ethnicities, as an object of knowledge for constructing the modern Japanese self—an identity, or form of life, considered to be biologically and culturally superior to the rest of Asia.

In other words, an analysis of gender roles within Meiji Japan can help us better understand how new concepts of femininity and masculinity were interconnected with beliefs in progress, civilization, and national identity.[31] Since an investigation into the gender politics of Meiji Japan cannot be separated from the nation making process (the creation of a national identity), I find Prasenjit Duara's concept of "the regime of authenticity" to be helpful for elucidating the gendered dimensions of becoming Japanese.[32] At the core of Duara's argument is the attempt to rescue history from the

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[28] Morris-Suzuki, "Debating Racial Science in Wartime Japan," p. 359.
[29] Leo T.S. Ching, *Becoming 'Japanese.'*
[30] For example see Ching, *Becoming 'Japanese'*; Garon, *Molding Japanese Minds*; Mizuno, *Science for the Empire*; Reitan, *Making a Moral* Society; Sabine Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex*; and, Suzuki, *Becoming Modern Women*.
[31] Jason G. Karlin, "The Gender of Nationalism: Competing Masculinities in Meiji Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 28, no. 1 (Winter 2002): pp. 41-77.
[32] Prasenjit Duara, "The Regime of Authenticity: Timelessness, Gender, and National History in Modern China," *History and Theory* 37, no. 3 (October 1998): pp. 287-308.

nation-state, but, unlike Ernest Gellner[33] and Benedict Anderson,[34] Duara argues that rescuing history requires moving beyond the concept of nation as an agent (or subject) of linear evolution since the nation is, instead, always the unidentifiable, unchanging subject of history.[35] Through this understanding of the nation, Duara suggests that the "timeless" and "unchanging core" that defines the history of the nation is made possible through a regime of authenticity, a truth game in the Foucauldian sense, that "invokes various representations of authoritative inviolability" and "derives its authority from 'being good for all time,' which is tantamount to being beyond reach of time."[36] In other words, through the representations produced by the regime of authenticity, a cohesive nationalist narrative can form and claim a tradition, historical destiny, and the unity and sovereignty of "a people" different from the cultures of other peoples.

In the case of nation making in Japan, the new Meiji leadership implemented numerous campaigns to shed Japan of its feudal past and instill an "enlightened civilization" and an authentic Japanese self. One campaign in particular focused on the remaking of women into "true" and "timeless" forms of Japanese womanhood. According to Sharon Nolte and Sally Hastings, this new, however authentic, Japanese woman would come to represent the "cult of productivity" as opposed to the "cult of domesticity" that defined western bourgeois societies of the nineteenth century.

The Meiji State sought to authenticate Japanese femininity and womanhood through the production of "good wives and wise mothers" that could perform home duties, particularly childbearing, according to the latest scientific knowledge and practices.[37] Through such policies, the household, or family unit, would become the essential building block of the nation, and, as a result, the home would no longer comprise the private sphere, but instead become an extension of the public sphere with

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[33] See, Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983).
[34] See, Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York, NY: Verso, 2006).
[35] Duara, "The Regime of Authenticity."
[36] Ibid., 294.
[37] Sharon H. Nolte and Sally Ann Hastings, "The Meiji State's Policy Toward Women, 1890-1910," in Gail Lee Bernstein, ed., *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600-1945* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 151-174.

the wives and daughters (of the nation) serving as civil servants. As either producers of the next generation of educated, trained, and loyal citizens or as young factory workers fueling the development of the nation, the new Japanese women of the Meiji generation would reproduce authenticity, the politics of belonging, through the everyday practices "of endurance, submission, sacrifice, industriousness, and self-reliance—all qualities equally as valuable in industrial development as in the preservation of the household."[38]

However, Nolte and Hastings overlook an additional dimension of the "authentification" of Japanese women that supported the narratives of a modern national identity. As mentioned above, social Darwinian thought and eugenics played a significant role in molding Japanese minds and creating a modernized Japanese self. At one level, the Meiji elite attempted to justify Japan's superiority and imperialist policies through the nationalization of these "scientific" theories, while, at another level, the state, through the discursive practices of social hygiene, colonized its own population, particularly girls and women, with the intention of improving Japan's "national and racial essence."[39] Similar to the colonial encounter between the United States and the Philippines, we can see how biopolitical modes of governance were developed and tested in the colonies and then implemented in the metropole.

On such example can be found in the policies surrounding the reproductive health of Japanese women. The work of Jennifer Robertson shows us that the state turned the fertility of Japanese women into a national interest, while making the "health-body beauty" of young women a leading priority of the nation. "Fertile mothers were eulogized in the mass media as comprising a 'fertile womb battalion' (kodakara butai). The Welfare Ministry organized awards ceremonies, many of which were staged at department stores, where such mothers, babies in tow, were presented with certificates honoring their reproductive success."[40] However, following the logic of Social Darwinism and the eugenics movement, the quality of Japanese children was just as important as the quantity.

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[38] Ibid., 165.
[39] See, Yutaka Fujino, *Japanese Fascism and Eugenic Thought* (Kyoto, Japan: Kamogawa Shuppan, 1998).
[40] Jennifer Robertson, "Japan's First Cyborg? Miss Nippon, Eugenics and Wartime Technologies of Beauty, Body, and Blood," *Body and Society* 7, no. 1 (March 2001): pp. 1-35, at p. 10.

Thus, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a new ideal type of the Japanese woman emerged through the discursive practices of nationalism.[41] One event, in particular, that signifies this nationalization of femininity is the 1931 Miss Nippon beauty contest. According to Robertson, the winner of the contest was believed to possess all the desired qualities of "health-body beauty," as well as represent the most authentic woman of modern Japan. In line with the discourses of the Japanese eugenics movement, Miss Nippon was evaluated under three aspects: purity of spirit and blood, facial symmetry, and a body that met the classical Greek standard of shape and proportion, or what the Japanese referred to as "eight-head-body-beauty," which translates to seven-and-a-half to eight heads in height.[42] This new woman of New Japan "was at once a timely and timeless image of a eugenically superior national body"[43] that come to represent Japanese modernity and, through corporeal performance, a new modern life, which "[was] figured fist in discourse, as fantasy, before it was ubiquitously lived as experience, and its major elements were independent women, commodities, and mass consumption."[44]

On this point, Duara argues that the authentic national self does not exist in any single, timeless form, but is instead a political construct along the lines of what Jean Baudrillard refers to as the simulacrum, that is to say, a copy made to appear more original than the original, a model of the real without origin or reality—the hyperreal. In other words, "it is no longer a question of imitation, nor duplication, nor even parody. It is a question of substituting the signs of the real for the real."[45] In this sense, the attempt by the Meiji elite to create a New Japan through Social Darwinism and racial biology can

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[41] For example, see Suzuki, *Becoming Modern Women*; Bernstein, *Recreating Japanese Women*; and, Barbara Sato, *The New Japanese Woman: Modernity, Media, and Women in Interwar Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003). While the construction of the authentic woman was indeed an important component of Japanese nation making, a similar process can be seen in the practices of nationalism elsewhere. See, Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (New York, NY: SAGE, 1997); Banet-Weiser, *The Most Beautiful Girl in the World*; Ahmed-Ghosh, "Writing the Nation on the Beauty Queen's Body."

[42] Robertson, "Japan's First Cyborg?" p. 16.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Harootunian, *Overcome by Modernity*, p. 13.

[45] Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. by Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1994), p. 2.

be seen as an example of "eugenic modernity," that is to say, the "application of scientific concepts and methods as a primary means to constitute both the nation and its constituent subjects."[46] And, through the discourses and scientific practices of eugenics, the Meiji elite was able to create a familiar and modern community (a nation) that never existed before, but, nonetheless, served as a symbol of modernity and Japanese biological and cultural superiority over the rest of Asia. "The popularization of eugenics, race hygiene, and eugenic endogamy as elements of quotidian life was a (bio)powerfully effective method of national mobilization."[47]

To rewrite the shared history with it neighbors, Japan employed a strategy of cultural imperialism that fostered a sense of Japanese superiority and acceptance of Japanese colonialism among its subjects. In the case of colonial Korea, "Japan invented and emphasized Korea's national diseases . . . [and] generalized Korea's traditional culture as the *yangbanism* of class discrimination, dependence, and *sadaejuui* (a doctrine of 'serving the great') and denounced it as the etiological cause of their restrictions. Claiming that they would cure such diseases and lead Korea into civilization, Japan justified their imperialism."[48] The assimilation policies implemented by Japanese colonial authorities in Korea can be seen as an attempt to rewrite Korean identity through a "colonization of consciousness." That is to say, to assist with the development of its national narrative, Japan tried to "impose its own worldview, cultural norms, and values on Koreans in the hope that they would adopt an alien system of thought and disparage indigenous culture and identity."[49]

Through identity experiments in colonial laboratories, Japan's colonies became "the organs without a body, and Japan the body without organs. Thus the colony as organs was dismembered from the body, under the schizophrenic reality of colonialism, the

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[46] Jennifer Robertson, "Blood Talks: Eugenic Modernity and the Creation of New Japanese," *History and Anthropology* 13, no. 3 (September 2002): pp. 191-216, at p. 192.
[47] Ibid., 208.
[48] Yong-Hwa Chung, "The Modern Transformation of Korean Identity: Enlightenment and Orientalism," *Korea Journal* 46, no. 1 (Spring 2006): pp. 109-138, at p. 129.
[49] Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson, "Introduction: Rethinking Colonial Korea," in Gi-Wook Shin and Michael Robinson, eds., *Colonial Modernity in Korea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), p. 8.

capitalistic machine operating in a dismembered yet interconnected relationship."[50] Thus, the colonial encounter between Japan and Korea, or what Chungmoo Choi refers to as the "em-bodying of Korea into the national body of Japan,"[51] cannot be separated from the influence colonial modernity has had on the formation of identity and gender in (post)colonial Korea because "as the Japanese colonial state introduced the modern procedures of power and discipline, the colonial intellectuals also mobilized the bio-political and vitalistic ideas for the urgency of anti-colonial struggle."[52] And, with the incorporation of such ideas into the anti-colonial discourse, the concepts of "self-responsibilization" and national character (*minjok*) quickly became the heart of the nationalist narrative in postcolonial Korean society. That is to say, "it is upon this capacity of self-reliance of the population that the post-colonial state, which the nationalist elites of the colonial period had intended to create through modernizing reforms, depends in order to voluntarily carry out the necessary tasks of capitalist modern civilization."[53]

Bionationalism and Body Politics in (Post)colonial Korea

Although Jennifer Robertson's work on eugenic modernity provides us with an understanding of the construction of femininity in both Meiji Japan and colonial Korea, I find the concept of bionationalism to be more insightful for elucidating the body politics of colonial modernity, especially within the context of the colonial encounter between Korea and Japan and nation making in postcolonial Korea. Robertson's argument that eugenic methods served as the means to constitute the nation and a national identity fails to fully explain the inclusion/exclusion practices of identity formation, such as the creation of "a people" in which some Koreans are considered to have more or less "Koreanness" than their fellow citizens despite their shared blood and ethnicity. Therefore, to analyze how decolonization and nation making produce political

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[50] Chungmoo Choi, "The Discourse of Decolonization and Popular Memory: South Korea," *Positions* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1993): pp. 77-102, at p. 85.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Jin-Kyung Lee, "Sovereign Aesthetics, Disciplining Emotion, and Racial Rehabilitation in Colonial Korea, 1910-1922," *Acta Koreana* 8, no. 1 (January 2005): pp. 77-107, at p. 81.
[53] Ibid., 91.

subjectivities, we must investigate the conditions of possibility and processes through which certain groups are included or excluded from the national cultural identity, and how this politics of marginalization can, in turn, (re)produce biological citizenships.

Building from Gi-Wook Shin's argument that ethnic nationalism in Korea emerged as an ideology to counter colonialism and imperialism while promoting modernization and an ethnocentric concept of the Korean nation,[54] I find the concept of bionationalism to be helpful for understanding how the discourses and discursive practices of nationalism in postcolonial Korea shape and reshape the subjectivities of biological citizenships. Although ethnic nationalism refers to nation-state membership based on a blood relationship, nationalism in Korea can also be seen as citizenship projects constructed around notions of normal and pathological "life." Pathological life in this sense refers to the types of bodies seen as unfit and dangerous to the vitality and development of the nation. In other words, to understand how and why certain groups have been excluded from the nationalist narrative, it is important to investigate the politics of life itself in postcolonial Korea.

However, bionationalism should not be seen as a replacement for Shin's concept of ethnic nationalism, but instead as another dimension of the nation making process that has coexisted alongside and within ethnic nationalist narratives. Because "nation as a concept is not a fixed entity but a project being constantly challenged, disputed, and reformulated,"[55] I am suggesting that ethnicity (defined here as culture + identity)[56] is not separate from the biological discourses associated with bionationalism but instead that

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[54] See, Gi-Wook Shin, *Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).

[55] Gi-Wook Shin, "Nation, History, and Politics: South Korea," in Hyung Il Pai and Timonthy R. Tangherlini, eds., *Nationalism and the Construction of Korean Identity* (Berkeley, CA: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California Press, 1998), p. 150.

[56] Here, I am drawing upon Jean and John Comaroff's definition of ethnicity. According to the authors, ethnicity cannot be separated from cultural identity, which "represents itself ever more as two things at once: the object of choice and self-construction, typically through the act of consumption, and the manifest product of biology, genetics, and human essence." In this sense, then, identity, that is to say, the objectification of identity, appears to have "produced a new sensibility, and explicitly new awareness of its essence, its affective material, and expressive potential." See, John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnicity, Inc*. (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 1.

the two are intimately interconnected. That is to say, the cultural identities that come to define and categorize ethnicities, especially in relation to one another, rely upon such biological discourses as Social Darwinism, germ theory and, more recently, DNA and genetics to establish "the people" and a clear demarcation of "us versus them." Therefore, to understand the relationship between ethnic nationalism and bionationalism, a brief investigation of how the practice of racialization has changed in the relationship between the state and civil society is needed.

According to Michel Foucault, "the modern state can scarcely function without becoming involved with racism at some point, within certain lines and subject to certain conditions."[57] But, for Foucault, state racism refers to more than tensions between ethnic groups, as most clearly seen in the context of American politics, but has come to include biological racism, which is instead centered on ideas of evolutionary competition and the fitness of the species.[58] This shift in racialized practices identified by Foucault can also be understood through Etienne Balibar's concept of "neo-racism," in which ethnicity encompasses culture when constructing a "stigma of otherness."[59] In this sense, the neo-racism of bionationalism in postcolonial Korea can be understood as a form of biopower in which the collective projects of nationalism are defined according to a notion of "life" that must be fostered and defended by the nation.[60] Therefore, subaltern groups that challenge or contradict the nationalist construction of "normal" Korean life are quickly excluded and marginalized.

For example, Herbert Gottweis and Byoungsoo Kim argue that Korea's "emerging bionationalism eclipsed traditional ethnic nationalism as the traditional ethnicity marker of "blood" became increasingly displaced by genetics and as other biological and scientific components . . . became important."[61] For Gottweis and Kim, biomedical science and the advent of new biological markers have made possible

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[57] Foucault, *Society Must Be* Defended, p. 254.
[58] Ibid., 255. Also, see Mark Kelly, "Racism, Nationalism and Biopolitics: Foucault's Society Must be Defended, 2003," *Contretemps* 4 (September 2004): pp. 58-70.
[59] Balibar, "Is there a "Neo-Racism'?"
[60] Herbert Gottweis and Byoungsoo Kim, "Bionationalism, Stem Cells, BSE, and Web 2.0 in South Korea: Toward the Reconfiguration of Biopolitics," *New Genetics and Society* 28, no. 3 (September 2009): pp. 223-239.
[61] Ibid., 227.

bionationalist mobilization and a new way of establishing and asserting national identity, and with the Korean body as an object of knowledge in which to define the nation, nationalism has become a site for biopolitical struggles. While Gottweis and Kim argue that bionationalism in Korea is a relatively recent phenomenon linked to recent breakthroughs in the life sciences and biotechnology following the Second World War,[62] an argument similar to Paul Rabinow's concept of biosociality discussed earlier, I argue that bionationalism, as a biopolitical struggle over notions of normal and pathological "life," can be seen in the relationship between nationalism and political identity since the birth of bacteriology and germ theory in the late nineteenth century. Through a more comprehensive understanding, we can begin see that bionationalism reflects more than the influence of new medical technologies on biopolitical governance, but also, and more importantly, "relates to different forms of practice which aim at strengthening the collective vitality of a nation-state – as regards its population, culture, economy and ecology – as a *matter of competition*."[63]

Therefore, to understand how the bionationalist gaze shapes nation making, "one needs to study what kind of body the current society needs,"[64] and how this body strengthens or threatens the modernization and development of the nation. This understanding suggests that the nation is not only a political entity, but a biological one as well. That is to say, the nation "could be strengthened only by attention to the individual and collective biological bodies of those who constitute it," with the national population becoming "a resource not only for understanding particular pathologies, but also for profitable biomedical exploitation."[65] In this sense, modernity is measured by norms of existence. The nation authenticates a certain form of life, or *bios*, considered to be

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[62] For example, the stem cell research conducted by the Korean veterinarian, Hwang Woo-Suk, and his acceptance as a national hero and patriot clearly speaks to a bionationalist movement focused on using modern biomedicine to service Korean bodies and the political and economic future of the nation. See, Herbert Gottweis and Byoungsoo Kim, "Explaining Hwang-Gate: South Korean Identity Politics Between Bionationalism and Globalization," *Science, Technology & Human Values* 35, no. 4 (July 2010): pp. 501-524.

[63] Ayo Wahlberg, "Bodies and Populations: Life Optimization in Vietnam," *New Genetics and Society* 28, no. 3 (September 2009): pp. 241-251 at p. 243.

[64] Foucault, *Power/Knowledge*, p. 58.

[65] Rose, *The Politics of Life Itself*, pp. 138-139.

representative of "the people." Therefore, the bionationalist gaze targets the *Other*, who is defined in terms of *zoe*, to create what Prasenjit Duara calls "hard boundaries" around a national identity.

> Not only do communities with hard boundaries privilege their differences, they tend to develop an intolerance and suspicion toward the adoption of the Other's practices and strive to distinguish, in some way or the other, practices that they share . . . the principle of national formation necessarily involves the closing off a group whose self-consciousness is sharpened by the celebration of its distinctive culture.[66]

However, in the case of bionationlist practices in postcolonial Korea, I argue that the use of national culture to forge hard boundaries is based upon a distinct form of life in which a specific type of *bios* becomes a celebrated culture, a "neo-racism" in the Balibarian sense, used to simultaneously construct a collective subjectivity while stigmatizing the "pathological" forms of life that deviate from the norm of modern/authentic Koreanness. And, as mentioned early, social measurements of Koreanness are no longer purely a matter of ethnicity, or blood, but also have come to include, especially within a decolonizing society, new understandings of a modernized body.

Thus, in colonial Korea, primordial forms of existence identified as having "superstitious" or "irrational" characteristics were seen as pathological in the sense that they deviated from the new norm of life developed by the elite, that is, a modern body trained and conditioned under the everyday practices of scientific rationalism, Social Darwinism, and the moral hygienic technologies of bacteriology. Within neoliberal Korean society, however, these "modern" bodies have become further inscribed with "meanings" of globalism, specifically consumerism, the English language, and western cosmetic practices. In other words, bionationalism functions as a "smoothing machine" that produces bodies that fit the national imaginary, that is to say, bodies that support the modernity projects of nation-making. In this sense, the nation needs smooth bodies, but, as William Bogard points out, "to mark is to smooth . . . no smoothing occurs without

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[66] Prasenjit Duara, "Historicizing National Identity, Or Who Imagines What and When," in Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, eds., *Becoming National: A Reader* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 169.

deterritorialization, a break, a liquefaction (every polishing melts a surface)."[67] Bogard further writes:

> Smoothing machines have a double function—extraction and deposition. They cut or tear bodies from their surroundings, produce streams of waste, and deposit new surfaces . . . Like a fine polish, they cover over an imperfection. Subjects and objects are, literally, surfaces extracted from and deposited on bodies, which in turn bear the mark of their smoothing, each mark a cut, each cut a partition of bodies and a multiplication of surfaces, each new surface the deposit of a passing machine . . . They are marks of purification, as well as status and rank.[68]

Becoming Woman in Postcolonial Korea

Within the bionationalist gaze of postcolonial Korea, the female body has been targeted by the smoothing machine of the state to create "authentic" Korean women for the purposes of development and modernization. As Theodore Jun Yoo points out, nationalist reformers in colonial Korea considered the representation of Korean women to be the barometer by which to measure progress and modernization, as well as the capacity for self-reliance and "self-responsibilization" imbued within the *minjok* discourse.[69] Similar to the discourses of modernization in Meiji Japan, the elite of colonial Korea took the female body as a symbol of modernity, civilization, and nationalism. As a result, the colonial encounter between Korea and Japan—or the embodiment of Korea into the national identity of Japan—produced a dialectical relationship that "[spawned] new forms of subjectivities, new contexts for resistance and different processes for negotiating power relation between coloniser and colonised, and even between the sexes."[70]

Although, broadly speaking, colonial nationalism in Korea represented an anti-colonial struggle against Japanese imperialism and the attempt to "recover" the nation and establish an authentic national identity, the "kind" of Korean woman needed to (re)produce this identity has been a point of contention among the political elite. For example, many of the national elite considered the empowerment of women to be a

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[67] Wiliam Bogard, "Smoothing Machines and the Constitution of Society," *Cultural Studies* 14, no. 2 (2000): pp. 269-294, at p. 282.
[68] Ibid., 270.
[69] Theodore Jun Yoo, "The 'New Woman' and the Politics of Love, Marriage and Divorce in Colonial Korea," *Gender & History* 17, no. 2 (August 2005): pp. 295-324.
[70] Ibid., 297.

means for promoting nationalism in the face of Japanese colonialism while simultaneously taking the necessary steps to modernize the country. However, Theodore Yoo points out that in the attempt to forge a "new Korean woman" that fit the nationalist narrative, two groups formed with similar rhetoric but competing visions of the relationship between womanhood and the nation. The division between the two groups centered on the appearance and behavior of Korean women, especially regarding issues of love, marriage, and reproduction, and how such forms of femininity would shape the future of the Korean nation.

Both of these groups adopted the moral hygiene discourse of germ theory to construct the new Korean woman, but while some female intellectuals, such as Kim Hwallan, argued that bobbed hair and short skirts were both more hygienic and progressive than traditional clothing, in turn providing modernized women for the modern state, other nationalists, mostly males, considered such style and dress to be representative of the evils of westernization and a threat to a sense of traditional Koreanness. Therefore, these men instead preached modern sensibilities while seeking to contain women within traditional gender roles. For both groups of national reformers, however, the new ideology of Korean womanhood should produce "prudent and wise mothers" since many of the elite believed that the issues surrounding reproduction would determine the future of the nation, specifically a nation free from its colonial past. According to Yoo, "the ideas of Lamarckian eugenics, which emphasized the amelioration of the environment through hygienic living and improvement in education, hit a chord with many doctors and reformers . . . these advocates strongly believed that the mother would play a critical role in 'weeding,' 'breeding,' 'rearing,' and improving the 'racial stock of tomorrow' and hence her health was of grave importance."[71]

Along similar lines, Hyaeweol Choi argues that the discursive practices of "wise mother and good wife" represented a patriarchal gendered identity designed to support the nation making process and, in turn, promote a modernized Korean society.[72] This gender ideology reflected the relationship between patriarchy, colonialism, nationalism,

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[71] Ibid., 313.
[72] Hyaeweol Choi, "'Wise Mother, Good Wife": A Transcultural Discursive Construct in Modern Korea," *The Journal of Korean Studies* 14, no. 1 (Fall 2009): pp. 1-34.

and modernity, in which a new type of Korean femininity was formed and encouraged through ethopolitical practices, or what Nikolas Rose calls a "certain art of living,"[73] to reclaim an authentic modernized national identity considered to be lost through Japanese colonialism and an encroaching westernization. The result of this appropriation was the merging of the private and public spheres whereby political discourse translated itself through women into the private context of love, marriage, and loyalty. Just as women's personal happiness (most significantly in family life) was suddenly made the consequence of national concern, so her private life was turned into a stage for politicizing national desire.[74]

Furthermore, according to Haejoang Cho, Korean women have been "systematically excluded from the 'male homo-social world' of territoriality exclusivity, dominance, and resource accumulation" that defines the nationalist narrative, and, instead, Korean women must measure themselves, and find a place, within the conflicting roles of "mother, motherly wife, and sexy girl."[75] For Cho, Korea's path from colonial-modern to postmodern can be seen in three generations of middle class Korean women: grandmother's generation, mother's generation, and daughters generation.

The ideal woman of the *grandmother's generation* supported, and sustained, the family-centered social order, in which her maternal identity and role (characterized as assertive and aggressive) would allow the nation to decolonize and shed its colonial past. In other words, the authentic Korean woman of this generation, according to Cho, was a woman "who had assumed rough, assertive, "masculine (*namsongjok*) behavior in the defense of her family's interest . . . [and] was simultaneously, and without contradiction,

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[73] "If discipline individualizes and normalizes and biopower aggregates and socializes, ethopower works through the values, the beliefs, and sentiments thought to underpin the techniques of responsible government and management of one's obligations to others. In ethnopolitics, life itself, in its everyday manifestations, is the object of adjudication." See, Nikolas Rose, "Community, Citizenship, and the Third Way," *American Behavioral Scientist* 43, no. 9 (June/July 2000): pp. 1395-1411, at p. 1399.

[74] Sheila Miyoshi Jager, "Woman and the Promise of Modernity: Signs of Love for the Nation in Korea," *New Literary History* 29, no. 1 (Winter 1998): pp. 121-134, at p. 122.

[75] Haejoang Cho, "Living with Conflicting Subjectivities: Mother, Motherly Wife, and Sexy Woman in the Transition from Colonial-Modern to Postmodern Korea," in Laurel Kendall ed., *Under Construction: The Gendering of Modernity, Class, and Consumption in the Republic of Korea* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), pp. 165-196.

a "womanly woman" (*yoja daum yoja*), so defined by her familial, caring, and managerial roles as the female head of an extended household."[76] The next type of authentic Korean femininity constructed by the nation to support Korea's industrialization and the nationalist narrative of "economic growth first by all means" was the *mother's generation*. These women would undergo a "housewifization" as the nuclear structure of the family changed to meet the labor demands of a rapidly industrializing Korean society, one in which women would serve as the domestic partners and "frugal housewives" of the modern Korean man, who doggedly worked long hours to assist with the development of the nation.

In a sense, the frugality, desire for achievement (*yoksim*), and competency (*nungryok*) of the mother's generation represented the ethopolitics of an authentically modern Korean woman, that to say, their dominance of, and successful ability to govern, the domestic sphere reproduced the nationalist narrative of modernity through productivity. For Cho, these women were the main source of Korea's economic transformation—"with such a strong yearning for modernity, refusing to live like their own mothers who struggled for mere survival, disregarding their incompetent fathers and husbands, they have transformed their society as well as themselves."[77]

Following the nationalist housewives of the mother's generation, the *daughters generation* would come to represent the independent and self-sufficient women of the new generation (*sinsedae*), who instead focused on self-realization and an identity separate from familial relations. "This femininity is encapsulated in the word 'Missy,' women who look like agassi, like independent 'unmarried young women'" [78] and is, in part, a product of a neoliberalizing, consumer-based Korean society (discussed in the next chapter). For these women, their citizenship and gendered identity would be performed through a combination of consumerism and supporting the needs of a patriarchal society (i.e., childrearing and informal domestic labor). As Laura Nelson suggests, patriotism in Korea during decolonization and military rule was defined as frugality and sacrifice while nationalism (and belonging) in post-IMF Korea is measured by the excesses of

[76] Ibid., 172.
[77] Ibid., 176.
[78] Ibid., 170.

consumerism,[79] in which men's consumer practices become more indivisible, while "women-as-housewives-as consumers" assumes the responsible of the needs of development and globalization.[80] With these three generations, we see how the ideal woman of postcolonial Korea is closely linked with the needs and demands of the nation, be it decolonization, industrialization, or consumerism.

"Korean Woman" as an Extension of Neoliberal Globalization

I would like to suggest that there is a new form of Korean femininity associated with the colonial encounter and the neoliberalization of Korea that the works of Cho and Nelson do not identify. While their research provides us with part of the genealogy of Korean "woman"— grandmother's generation, mother's generation, and daughters generation— there is a more recent event in becoming woman, one that can most clearly be characterized, in my opinion, as *girls' generation*. Here, I am not directly referring to the K-Pop group, Girls' Generation *(Sonyeo Shidae)*, but instead the meanings of modernity and new dimensions of nation making that these girls, and the various other K-Pop groups, represent and reproduce.

Generally speaking, Korean popular music (K-Pop) fits within the context of the "Korean Wave" (or *Hallyu*) that dates back to the mid-1990s. As part of the Korean Wave, K-Pop is the commodification (a branding and selling) of a globalized image of Korean culture. According to Sooyeon Lee, *Hallyu* consists of two major waves—first, Korean television dramas—such as, *Autumn Tale* (1999), *Winter Sonata* (2002), *Sad Love Song* (2005)—and, second, K-Pop music videos.[81]

Although the television dramas are also reflective of the engineering of gendered identities in Korea, I will focus primarily on the second (K-Pop) wave since it is interconnected with what I refer to as the new femininity of the *girls' generation*. Associated with this femininity is a contradictory sexuality—childlike and,

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[79] Laura C. Nelson, *Measured Excess: Status, Gender and Consumer Nationalism in South Korea* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2000).
[80] Ibid.
[81] Sooyeon Lee, "The Structure of the Appeal of Korean Wave Texts," *Korea Observer* 43, no. 3 (Autumn 2012): pp. 447-469. For a history of K-pop, see Chang Nam Kim, *K-POP: Roots and Blossoming of Korean Popular Music* (Seoul, South Korea: Hollym International Corporation, 2012).

simultaneously, an object of sexual gaze—that reflects a Lolita complex.[82] And, this image of K-Pop sexuality can be seen nearly everywhere in Korea.

> In Seoul, you can feel K-pop all around you. There is the constant presence of the idols on billboards and in display ads. Life-size cutouts of idols greet you at the entrances of the big department stores. On the streets and in the subways you see echoes of the idols' faces . . . In Gangnam, the ritzy shopping district on the south side of the Han River, the architecture is as showy as the idols themselves.[83]

Furthermore, the corporeality of the *girls' generation*—the sharp pointed chin, double folded eyelids, and "bright" skin—can also be found in larger numbers on middle class Korean bodies.[84] According to Joo Hyun Cho, cosmetic surgery is a multi-billion dollar industry in Korea with the highest number of surgeries per year in Asia.[85] With such openness to cosmetic surgery, it is no surprise that Korea is becoming a leading destination of, and exporter in, cosmetic surgery techniques.[86]

However, this use of cosmetic surgery to achieve a new standard of beauty is not solely about the availability of new medical technologies, or simply westernphilia, it also has deep colonial roots. As Holliday and Elfving-Hwang point out, during colonial rule, the western body became a symbol of "un-Japaneseness" and a mode of resistance against colonial rule.[87] Thus, while the Japanese political elite tried to position Japan as superior to Korea and the rest of Asia for that matter through the use of western science and technology (discussed in the previous chapter), the nationalists of colonial Korea forged an "authentic Koreanness" from the "western body" and used the discourses of

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[82] Ibid. 461.
[83] John Seabrock, "Factory Girls: Cultural Technology and the Making of K-Pop," *The New Yorker*, 8 October 2012, accessed at: http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2012/10/08/121008fa_fact_seabrook?currentPage=all.
[84] See, Taeyon Kim, "Neo-Confucian Body Techniques: Women's Bodies in Korea's Consumer Society," *Body & Society* 9, no. 2 (2003): pp. 97-113; and, Elizabeth Pyon, "Plastic Surgery Boom: Changing Faces of Korea," *Digital Korea Herald*, 4 February 2000, accessed at: http://www2.law.columbia.edu/course_00S_L9436_001/2000/surgery.htm; Joo-hyun Cho, "Neoliberal Governmentality at Work: Post-IMF Korean Society and the Construction of Neoliberal Women," *Korea Journal* 49, no. 3 (Autumn 2009): pp. 15-43.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ruth Holliday and Joanna Elfving-Hwang, "Gender, Globalization, and Aesthetic Surgery in South Korea," *Body & Society* 18, no. 2 (June 2012): pp. 58-81.

western-style modernization to reject Japan's position as the bearer of civilization.[88] Nonetheless, with Korea's neoliberalization, this image of the Korean body pursued through cosmetic surgery and reflected in K-pop is not purely a product of (neo)colonialism. We must also recognize that the western body, and its standard of beauty, is not "western" in the context of contemporary Korean society but rather "Korean" in that it has been incorporated—through a process of appropriation, rejection, and hybridization— into preconceived indigenous understandings of class and status and, thus, becomes authentically Korean.[89]

Building from the understanding that "authentic Koreanness" changes with the demands of nation making, I am interested in how K-pop, and the Korean Wave in general, can be seen as the new markers of globalism used to produce and measure the kinds of Korean bodies needed for the development and modernization of the nation. According to Yeran Kim, girl idols represent "neoliberal cultures of production and consumption" that function under a false sense of girl power, that is to say, a "contradictory femininity" performed through the consumption of specific types of femininity and sexuality.[90]

Furthermore, Korean girl power, as symbolized through the femininity of the *girls' generation*, represents a mixture, a hybridity, of consumer culture and national culture. "'Commercial values' of young femininity are, then, harmoniously adopted within the neo-cultural imperialist convergence between patriarchal nationalism, nationalistic ambition for global competition, and corporate interests in the maximization of economic profit from the governance of young femininity."[91] With this understanding, we can begin see how Korean K-Pop groups reproduce colonial modernity in three central ways: first, they serve as a modern form of Korean femininity embraced by the state to support its

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[88] Ibid. Also see, Joanna Elfving-Hwang, *Representations of Femininity in Contemporary South Korean Women's Literature* (London, UK: Brill/Global Oriental, 2010).
[89] Holliday and Elfving-Hwang, "Gender, Globalization, and Aesthetic Surgery in South Korea."
[90] Yeran Kim, "Idol Republic: The Global Emergence of Girl Industries and the Commercialization of Girl Bodies," *Journal of Gender Studies* 20, no. 4 (December 2011): pp. 333-345. Also, see, Sue Jackson, "Sex, Postfeminist Popular Culture and the Pre-Teen Girl," *Sexualities* 13, no. 3 (June 2010): pp. 357-376.
[91] Kim, "Idol Republic," p. 336.

nationalist narrative. Although there are numerous girl groups in South Korea today, becoming *girls' generation* tends to reproduce the image of Korean woman as beautiful, pretty, exotic, strong, naughty, or a mixture of all. In most cases, members of the group represent at least one of these phallocentric femininities. However, the variation across the different groups is quite minimal to the extent that one may be tempted to argue that they all look similar in style and performance. But, this is exactly the point—Korean girl power appears as though it supports individuality, sexual liberation, and an overall empowered self, but instead seeks to produce an authentic female body, stratified by markers of consumerism and globalism, that supports the image of modernity desired by the nation state. This smoothing process of the bionationalist gaze, here, is not much different than the creation of authentic Japanese femininity during the 1931 Miss Nippon Pageant or the construction of femininity during decolonization and nationalization of Korean society. In other words, becoming woman is never a finished process since nation making is never a finished process.

Again, the question quickly becomes, what kind of [female] bodies does the Korean nation need? This leads us to the second dimension of colonial modernity in neoliberal Korea—the nationalist narrative needs bodies that support global competition and the collective vitality of the nation. In this sense, the idols of the *girls' generation* not only represent and re-enforce patriarchal gendered norms—sexualized, but pure, almost doll like, loyal girls of the nation—they also serve as symbols of globalism. For the postcolonial elite, to achieve modernity is to be global, and while this suggests economically globalized, such as Korean *chaebols* like Samsung, it also means culturally global. That is to say, authentic Koreanness, as portrayed through the "Korean Wave," exists beyond the borders of the country, the Korean peninsula, and even the region—it is truly worldwide.

Through this perspective, we can understand the Korean women of the *girls' generation* to be subjects of *neoliberal governmentality*. That is to say, they are self-producing subjects that are "governed as market agents, encouraged to cultivate themselves as autonomous, self-interested individuals, and to view their resources and

aptitudes as human capital for investment and return."[92] To understand how neoliberal governmentality produces new type of femininity in postcolonial Korea, it is necessary to move beyond the discussion of neoliberalism as simply a mode of governing the economies of states (such an analysis has been fully exhausted), and instead approach the discursive practices of neoliberalism as producing a particular manner of living, a *bios*, that is closely tied to the government of the individual. Here, the work of Foucault is particularly valuable since his genealogy of neoliberalism provides us with the birth of biopolitics, "the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects."[93] Furthermore, Foucault's study of neoliberalism shows us how the market economy "becomes more than just a specific institution or practice to the point where it has become the basis for a reinterpretation and thus a critique of state power."[94]

Thus, *homo economicus* is an "entrepreneur of himself" operating under a mode of governmentality that shapes power relations through techniques of the self, that is to say, desires and aspirations which include self-disciplinary behaviors ranging from everyday identities to plastic surgery, genetic engineering, and other forms of somatic and molecular interventions, all of which (re)produce docile subjects under the guise of individual empowerment. As Foucault suggests, under neoliberal governmentality, these docile subjects become "human capital" of the state to be invested for the development of the nation. Therefore, while the "girl power" and individualism of the *girls' generation* depicts empowerment and an "entrepreneur of herself," it instead produces a docile subject, a new form of Korean femininity that serves as human capital, used by the nation-state as a strategy to enter and reproduce modernity.

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[92] Sam Binkley, "The Work of Neoliberal Governmentality: Temporality and Ethical Substance in the Tale of Two Dads," *Foucault Studies* no. 6 (February 2009): pp. 60-78, at p. 62.

[93] Foucault, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, p. 208. Also, see Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College De France, 1978-1979*, ed. by Michel Senellart and trans. by Graham Burchell (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

[94] Jason Read, "A Genealogy of Homo-Economicus: Neoliberalism and the Production of Subjectivity," *Foucault Studies* no. 6 (February 2009): pp. 25-36, at p. 27.

Just as consumerism has served as a measurement of modernity,[95] the neoliberalized bodies of the *girls' generation* have become markers of globalism and development in contemporary Korea. However, not every female body in neoliberal Korea fits within this new femininity. In fact, because there are competing forms of femininity in Korea, the political elite, utilizing the discourses of modernity and technoscience, has implemented social policies to police and control these dangerous women. The following chapter addresses the strategies and tactics employed by the nation to better analyze and manage the bodies of Korean women.

[95] Nelson, *Measured Excess*.

CHAPTER 6

The Politics of Belonging in Postcolonial Korea

Just as Meiji Japan needed colonial Korea to become a "modernized" nation, Korea's decolonization and nationalization required the embodiment of subalterns into the identity of the Korean nation. To assist with an investigation into the kinds of bodies needed in postcolonial Korea, I have found an analysis of "woman" and femininity in contemporary Korea to be a helpful way of elucidating the ways in which modernity, bionationalism, and the colonial encounter have shaped, and have been shaped by, the subaltern politics of the female Korean body. However, to better understand the power relationship these bodies have with colonial modernity, I must first briefly put "nationalism" in Korea into perspective.

The state of nationalism in postcolonial Korea can be, in part, seen as the frustration, or a "crisis of historical subjectivity,"[1] among the elite trying to claim a "Korean" version of modernity that has been denied by exterior forces. That is to say, "Korea's modernity was written largely from the perspective of a global narrative of transformation, locating its origins in Japanese colonial rule, and represented Korea's experience in terms of its efforts to copy and resist it."[2] Because of this, Namhee Lee argues that Korea's postcolonial consciousness is marked by a "negative modernity," in which "failure" defines the narrative of its postcolonial history, with the most glaring defeat being the inability to establish an independent nation-state.[3]

Thus, for many of the nationalists, Korea cannot be a true nation and its people "self-determined" until unification of the country is achieved under South Korean terms. In the attempt to reclaim a true historical subjectivity in the face of westernization and the neocolonialism of Park Chung Hee's dictatorial rule (1961-1979) and development policies, the *minjung* ("common people") movement sought to "signify those who are

[1] Namhee Lee, *The Making of Minjung: Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2007), p. 3.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

oppressed in the sociopolitical system but who are capable of rising against it."[4] In this sense, according to Lee, the minjung would represent a "counterpublic sphere" that would allow participants of the movement to voice their identities, interests, and needs "not only in opposition to the state but also as an emancipatory program for the whole society."[5] The minjung, then, can be seen as an alternative vision of society in which the cultural practices of minjung nationalism seeks "to heal the nation's wounded history by reconstructing a popular culture common to all."[6] In other words, the minjung movement attempted to overcome subalternity.

However, while the minjung has come to represent a discourse of decolonization that complicates the dominant languages of the state and its neocolonial regimes, Chungmoo Choi points out that the forms of representation used by the minjung intellectuals "implies the process of othering, while simultaneously representing and constructing the people."[7] In other words, the nationalist narratives of revolution embedded in the minjung discourse reproduce practices of assimilation and separatism, that is to say, in the attempt to create a representation of "the people," certain groups that do not constitute, or fit within the identity of, "the people" are excluded and marginalized. But, this exclusion of specific groups from the minjung narrative should not be seen as an accidental byproduct of a large-scale social movement, but instead as an example of the politics of nation making in which certain groups of people are discarded because they represent an obstacle to modernization and development and, more importantly, a possible threat to the coherent and unifying political identity of the nation.[8]

In the previous chapter, I addressed how the postcolonial state has taken the Korean woman as an object of knowledge in which to construct an authentic Korean femininity necessary for the political and economic development of the nation. At this point, it is necessary to investigate the relationship between women and the postcolonial state,

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[4] Ibid., 5.
[5] Ibid., 10.
[6] Chungmoo Choi, "The Minjung Culture Movement and the Construction of Popular Culture in Korea," in Kenneth M. Wells, ed., *South Korea's Minjung Movement: The Culture and Politics of Dissidence* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1995), p. 107.
[7] Choi, "The Discourse of Decolonization and Popular Memory," p. 97.
[8] Lee, *The Making of Minjung*, p. 6.

particularly the construction of normal and abnormal understandings of femininity used to support the conception of an authentic, yet modern, Korean nation. To achieve this, we must first briefly revisit Foucault's concept of *dispositif* and address how Korean femininity is manufactured within the assemblage of the state.

Michel Foucault describes dispositif, or apparatus, as a heterogeneous ensemble consisting of the "said and unsaid" (such as discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, etc.), which "has as its major function at a given historical moment that of responding to an *urgent need*."[9] With this understanding, we can begin to see how Korean femininity serves as an apparatus with a dominant strategic function that serves the "urgent needs" of the nation. In the case of postcolonial societies like the Philippines and Korea, women are transformed into gendered subjects in order to support the narratives of modernity reproduced by the national elite. To further explore and elucidate the biopolitical practices of identity formation, this chapter seeks to deconstruct the dispositif of "becoming woman" in contemporary Korea by focusing on the role social policy, specifically welfarism, plays in supporting and shaping the modernity projects of the state.

Although many have already analyzed the cultural and structural factors involved in the emergence of welfare in South Korea,[10] very few have investigated the relationship between social policy and nation making, particularly how Korean identity is (re)constructed through the discourses and discursive practices of an increasingly neoliberalizing Korean society. As Sheila Jager points out, since the resistance movements against Japanese colonialism, "women's position in marriage and family life was made an essential feature of Korean nationalism," and this discursive positioning

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[9] Foucault, *Power/Knowledge,* pp. 194-195.

[10] For example, see Yong Soo Park, "The Social Welfare Reform during the Progressive Regimes of South Korea: Theoretical Implications," *The Social Science Journal* 48, no. 1 (January 2011): pp. 13-28; Soonman Kwon and Ian Holiday, "The Korean Welfare State: A Paradox of Expansion in an Era of Globalisation and Economic Crisis," *International Journal of Social Welfare* 16, no. 3 (July 2007): pp. 242-248; Woo Myung Sook, "Explaining Early Welfare Policies in South Korea: Focusing on the Nexus Between the State and the Business Sector," *Development and Society* 33, no. 2 (December 2004): 185-206; Chang-sik Shin and Ian Shaw, "Social Policy in South Korea: Cultural and Structural Factors in the Emergence of Welfare," *Social Policy & Administration* 37, no. 4 (August 2003): pp. 328-341.

"marked her gender in terms of some very specific roles within the domestic kin situation which she was expected to fulfill."[11]With this in mind, this chapter argues that through the establishment of welfare as one of the central indicators of development and progress certain populations within Korean society, particularly "abnormal" women, are seen as threats to the social body of the nation. However, the divide between these "risky bodies" of Korean society and the meta-narrative of the nation runs much deeper than the clash between Confucianist values and modernization. It is also necessary to investigate how postcolonial technoscience is shaping the meanings of modernity in Korea and defining the types of bodies the nation needs. "We all have bodies, but not all bodies are equal: Some matter more than others; some are, quite frankly, disposable. Forms of genderization and racialization of differences play an important role in this process."[12]

The Birth of the Korean Welfare State

The formation of the South Korean welfare state can be seen, in part, as a product of Korea's economic collapse during the Asian Debt Crisis (1997-2001). Jesook Song argues that the classical liberal welfare regime was unprecedented in Korea until the Kim Dae Jung presidency (1998-2003) adopted the neoliberal structural adjustments and measures dictated by the International Monetary Fund and the Washington Consensus, such as employability, rehabilitation capacity, flexibility, self-sufficiency, and self-entrepreneurship.[13] However, capitalist modernization, during this time, occurred in Korea differently than it did within the advanced nations of the West, which instead created the welfare state as a means for promoting distributive democracy.[14] Furthermore, with Korea's intensified neoliberalization, outside nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) began working with the Korean government to "implement social policies, such as those to reduce homelessness and unemployment, and to reinforce family norms and a

[11] Jager, "Woman and the Promise of Modernity," p. 123.
[12] Rosi Braidotti, "Signs of Wonder and Traces of Doubt: On Teratology and Embodied Differences," in Nina Lykke and Rosi Braidotti, eds., *Between Monsters, Goddesses and Cyborgs: Feminist Confrontations with Science, Medicine and Cyberspace* (London, UK: ZED Books, 1996), p. 136.
[13] Jesook Song, *South Koreans in the Debt Crisis: The Creation of a Neoliberal Welfare Society* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), pp. 1-2.
[14] Ibid.

gendered division of labor." [15] Simply put, these organizations governing through the state began financial and political restructuring conducive to a laissez-faire economy, in turn setting the foundation for the emergence of a neoliberal welfare state.

Although the new concept of "social policy," for the most part, remained within the margins of Korean political economic thought until the "Asian Crisis" struck in 1997, the Kim Dae-jung regime's pledge to establish a "productive welfare system through active labor market policymaking" received little resistance since the establishment of the welfare state, while in decline in the West, was considered by many of the political elite to be a symbol of globalization and development.[16] However, to understand how the social policies of the emerging welfare state re-enforced gendered identities—especially the state's emphasis on, and policing of, "family norms" to authenticate a modernized Korean femininity—the role of the welfare state in shaping "the social" must be addressed. That is to say, I would like to explore how the discursive practices of welfarism produced what Nancy Fraser calls "needs-talk"[17] that categorized certain groups of Korean women as pathological and, therefore, a threat to the development of the nation.

For this purpose, "needs-talk" can be seen as social engineering by the neoliberal welfare state in that "need is also a political instrument, meticulously prepared, calculated and used."[18] Foucault suggests that "need" as a political instrument of the state requires both a productive body and a subjected body since "subjection is not only obtained by the instruments of violence and ideology . . . it may be calculated, organized, [and] technically thought out."[19] That is to say, the calculation of "need" is indeed a biopolitical practice, which produces knowledge and mastery that constitute what Foucault refers to

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[15] Ibid.
[16] Ho Keun Song, "The Birth of a Welfare State in Korea: The Unfinished Symphony of Democratization and Globalization," *Journal of East Asian Studies* 2, no. 3 (September-December 2003): pp. 405-432.
[17] See Nancy Fraser, "Struggle over Needs: Outline of a Socialist-Feminist Critical Theory of Late-Capitalist Political Culture," in Linda Gordon, ed., *Women, the State, and Welfare* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990).
[18] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1979), p. 26.
[19] Ibid.

as a "political technology of the body."[20] In this sense, the meticulous calculation of "need" becomes institutionalized as a major vocabulary of the welfare state's political discourse,[21] and, as a result, significantly shapes "the social" since discourse about need "promotes and organises knowledge, norms and social practices to regulate the quality of life of the population—its health, security and stability."[22] Thus, the "needs talk" of welfarism employs a politics of life in which the state manages (through the implementation of social policy) to "shape the social to accord with the tasks and exigencies faced by the state."[23] We can understand "social welfare," then, as part of the biopolitical techniques supporting the regulatory, disciplinary, and normalizing mechanisms required for preserving the "social economy"[24] of the state.

Gendered Subjectivities and the Welfare State

Foucault's archaeology of sexuality provides us with an understanding of how women's bodies within social life become an object of knowledge for scientific discourse and policy intervention. For Foucault, women's bodies within the social economy of the state have gone through a "hysterization" in which "the feminine body was analyzed—qualified and disqualified—as being thoroughly saturated with sexuality; whereby it was integrated into the sphere of medical practices, by reason of a pathology intrinsic to it; whereby, finally, it was placed in organic communication with the social body . . . by virtue of a *biologico-moral responsibility*" (emphasis mine).[25] In the case of postcolonial Korea, following the financial crisis, Korean women underwent a similar "hysterization," in which homeless women became "undeserving" welfare citizens. According to Jesook Song, the welfare policies of the Kim Dae Jung administration produced gendered norms

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[20] Ibid.
[21] Fraser, "Struggle Over Needs," p. 200.
[22] Martin Hewitt, "Bio-Politics and Social Policy: Foucault's Account of Welfare," in Mike Featherstone, Mike Hepworth, and Bryan S. Turner, eds., *The Body: Social Process and Cultural Theory* (London, UK: SAGE, 1991), p. 225.
[23] Ibid.
[24] See, Jacques Donzelot, "The Mobilization of Society," in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, eds., *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Donzelot, *The Policing of Families* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).
[25] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction,* vol. 1, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: NY: Vintage, 1990), p. 104.

and a standard of femininity the placed homeless women in a discursive space of *purangin* ("mentally ill"), as opposed to homeless men who became the central target of economic assistance since they had the potential to be rehabilitated and live in normative families as primary breadwinners.[26]

Within this discourse of "need" produced by the Korean welfare state, why were homeless women pathologized, while homeless men were seen as employable and deserving of support? Song concludes that since homeless women fall outside of the traditional marriage and family structure (as defined by Confucianist ethics), these women must be inherently pathological in some way or form. They must be "purang women" or prostitutes since true, or let's say authentic, Korean women could never be homeless, that is, exist autonomously outside of the domestic sphere. As a result of this phallocentric logic, the plight of homeless women was silenced and ignored, while the voice of homeless Korean men received all the attention within policymaking circles. However, Song overlooks how "need" discourse (and its relationship to femininity) is a crucial part of the nation making process, particularly its role in constructing modern national identities. That is to say, we need to recognize how "needs talk" serves as what Foucault calls "regulatory controls," which are "imbued with the mechanics of life and [serve] as the basis of the biological processes: population, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, *with all the conditions that can cause these to vary* (emphasis mine)."[27]

Optimizing and disciplining these "conditions" is the central interest of the welfare state and is achieved, in part, by government through the family. That is to say, the relations between husband and wife, the domestic sphere and public sphere, are tactically shaped and reshaped to support the social whole of the nation. In other words, "'a' nation within the social body" becomes the life force of the state and what constitutes "the strength of a nation is now something like its capacities, its personalities, and they are all organized around the figure of the State: the greater a nation's Statist

[26] Jesook Song, "The Making of 'Undeserving' Homeless Women: A Gendered Analysis of Homeless Policy in South Korea from 1997 to 2001," *Feminist Review* 89, no. 1 (June 2008): pp. 87-101.
[27] Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 139.

capacity or the greater its potential, the stronger it will be."[28] These regulatory controls of the state are not solely for the purposes of competition between states, nor necessarily for dominating over other states, but rather for control over the state itself. That is to say, "its ability to administer itself, to manage, govern, and guarantee the constitution and workings of the figure of the State and of State power."[29]

In postcolonial societies like Korea, strengthening the social body of the nation is seen as a matter of managing and governing "family welfare," and, thus, it becomes increasingly important to maintain traditional family structures. Commonly shared among many of the political elite in Korea is the belief that "family denucleation nourishes individualism against the traditional family solidarity and thus causes many social problems."[30] On this point, Kyung-Sup Chang argues that many policymakers in Korea believe that "the dissolution of patriarchal families into various 'abnormal' types of families along with the emergence of various 'non-traditional' types of households present a new political challenge to society."[31] If the patriarchal family structure serves as the foundation of the nation (the symbol of modernity),[32] then "non-traditional" or "abnormal" family structures, such as single-parent or individual due to death, separation, or divorce (referred to as *gyolson-gajok*), represent a threat to the political and economic development of the social body.

Therefore, it is no surprise that social welfare policies following the Kim Dae-Jung administration have directly targeted this "crisis of the family," with the health of the family becoming the center of policy debates over the future of the population and public welfare since "good family life" is seen as the core of quality labor. However, "it

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[28] Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended*, pp. 222-223.
[29] Ibid., 223.
[30] Kyung-Sup Chang, "Modernity Through the Family: Familial Foundations of Korean Society," *International Review of Sociology* 7, no. 1 (1997): pp. 51-63, at p. 58.
[31] Ibid., 56.
[32] Modernity in postcolonial Korean society is, in part, defined by a form of "developmental authoritarianism" that promotes and legitimates a "growth first" and "development at all costs" mentality. As a result, the traditional, patriarchal, family structure is seen as the best means to promote development (men working for the country while women support men by maintaining the domestic sphere and producing the next generation of laborers), and the loss of this structure is seen as a threat to the productivity of the nation.

was not the increase in households of nuclear families but the increase in so–called 'unstable' or 'non-traditional' households that most significantly characterized the demographic aspect of family change,"[33] all of which represented a threat to the productive labor of the social body. Therefore, social welfare becomes the right type of therapeutic intervention since "the family is the basic component of the state and society, sound family welfare must result in social stability and help to achieve the welfare state."[34]

According to Georgina Waylen, the project of welfare creates a "state subject" in which "gendered identities are in part constructed by the law and public discourse [that] emanate from the state."[35] In this sense, the family and the nation have a reinforcing relationship, one in which the family is not merely a vestige of sovereignty, but rather "an essential component, and an increasingly essential component, of the disciplinary system . . . The family, therefore, has this double role of pinning individuals to disciplinary systems, and of linking up disciplinary systems and circulating individuals from one to the other."[36] Through this understanding, we can see how the family serves as a disciplinary apparatus that is part of the larger assemblage of the state. And, abnormal identities, such as dangerous forms of femininity, are sent back to the family to be re-disciplined, or if inassimable to any disciplinary system, confined to the realm of pathology.

Postcolonial Technoscience and the Practices of Meaning-Making

Interconnected with this disciplinary system of the family and state is the "psy-function" of psychiatry, which functions as a form of power/knowledge that establishes boundaries between the normal and the pathological. In postcolonial countries, science

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[33] Kyung-Sup Chang, "The Neo-Confucian Right and Family Politics in South Korea: The Nuclear Family as an Ideological Construct," *Economy and Society* 26, no. 1 (February 1997): pp. 22-42, at p. 28.
[34] Duck-Jo Chung, "Korean Family Welfare Policy," in *Korean Family Welfare Problem and Elderly Problem* (Seoul, South Korea: Family Welfare Policy Institute, 1991), p. 38.
[35] Georgina Waylen, "Analysing Women in the Politics of the Third World," in Haleh Afshar, ed., *Women and Politics in the Third World* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1996), p. 16.
[36] Michel Foucault, *Psychiatric Power: Lectures at the College De France, 1973-1974*, ed. Jacques Lagrange and trans. Graham Burchell (New York, NY: Picador, 2008), pp. 80-82.

and technology play a major role in shaping the public discourses, policies, and laws of these disciplinary systems. On this point, Itty Abraham writes:

> Science and technology is, in a material and cultural sense, central to postcolonial visions of third world states and anticolonial movements because of its role in reinforcing colonial and neo-colonial dominance, because the practical realization of modernity came about foremost through technological transformation, and because it appears unambiguously to mark *the (missing) modern, and assumed absence that was at the heart of the postcolonial project*.[37] (emphasis mine)

In other words, scientific expertise is adopted by the political elite of postcolonial societies and used to shape and legitimate social policies because these "meanings of modernity" are believed to be the key to nationalization and the successful development of the nation. At the heart of nation making, then, is the not so conspicuous discourse of development in which the incorporation of science and technology into policymaking endorses "the claims to power over the human body, as a domain of social knowledge and social intervention, ventured by organized centres of power in a society."[38] In this sense, the idea of development has expanded, becoming increasingly inclusive, so that it is now not merely about a "science of development but also a development of science; not merely the technology of development but also the development of technology."[39]

What postcolonial scholars are pointing out, here, is the mutually parasitic relationship between technoscience and the nation. That is, policymakers and the political elite rely upon the discourses of science and technology to authenticate a national cultural identity for decolonization and modernization, while experts and technocrats use the nation's embrace of "all things scientific" to test their theories and advance their methods, usually with the population serving as the object of knowledge and point of analysis. Furthermore, postcolonial technoscience reproduces colonial modernity, and, as Claude Alvares suggests, "a civilization driven by a theory of science/machine *ipso facto* becomes a colonizing force, and aspires to bring under its sway every other culture that

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[37] Abraham, "The Contradictory Spaces of Postcolonial Techno-Science," p. 211. Also, see Prakash, *Another Reason*.
[38] Nandy, *The Savage Freud*, p. 145.
[39] Ibid., 146.

has based its survival on a natural relationship with its surrounding."[40] Although modern science was clearly aligned with colonialism and provided, in part, the ideological material necessary for imperialism, in which "science itself practiced its own form of colonialism," Alvares argues that "colonial science has survived colonialism's formal departure from the third world in the form of the Trojan Horse" by allowing "third-world elites to legitimate a manner of handling the world that reduces to worthlessness intellectual traditions of systemic inquiry everywhere except the west, and ridicules all lifestyles uninfected by it as infantile or uncivilized."[41]

As mentioned in the previous chapter, an analysis of the narratives surrounding the 2006 Hwang Affair reveals that science and technology are deeply embedded within the national identity of postcolonial Korea.[42] In this sense, like many other postcolonial societies, national culture and science are deeply intertwined within Korea with many of the political elite arguing that advances in Korean technoscience, as a form of national competitiveness, are needed to promote modernization and development.[43] In particular, science and technology greatly shape the relationship between the state and civil society in that the discourses of technoscience are embedded within the "national sociopolitical imaginary"[44] and, therefore, science and technology are aggressively promoted and mobilized by the state not only for economic and political purposes but also for shaping discussions on the types of Korean citizens needed by the nation.

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[40] Claude Alvares, "Science, Colonialism and Violence: A Luddite View," in Ashis Nandy, ed., *Science, Hegemony, & Violence: A Requiem for Modernity* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 79.
[41] Ibid., 92.
[42] Choon Key Chekar and Jenny Kitzinger, "Science, Patriotism and Discourses of Nation and Culture: Reflections on the South Korean Stem Cell breakthroughs and Scandals," *New Genetics and Society* 26, no. 3 (December 2007): pp. 289-307.
[43] Hee-Je Bak, "The Politics of Technoscience in Korea: From State Policy to Social Movement," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* 8 (March 2014): pp. 1-16.
[44] Sheila Jasanoff and Sang-Hyun Kim, "Containing the Atom: Sociotechnical Imaginaries and Nuclear Power in the United States and South Korea," *Minerva* 47, no, 2 (June 2009): pp. 119-146.

Those Last Men Who Invented Modernity for a Nation

In *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, Friedrich Nietzsche writes of those "last men who invented happiness" in order to render suffering and fear of any meaning, and who asserted that the modern ideas of science can bring "the universal green-pasture happiness of the herd, with security, lack of danger, comfort, and an easier life for everyone."[45] Such is the case of Korean psychoanalysis in the struggle with modernity, in which the political elite embrace psychoanalytic thought as a means to protect the nation from the discontents of modernization and development by revealing the "true" identity of the people and what the society "lacks,"[46] or is missing, to reclaim and protect an authentic national self.

> What psychoanalysis focuses on is the observation of the unobservable, the reconstruction of the sphere of the psychic system that is without affirmation or negation, of a sphere posited as nontemporal lying behind a wall of time that is impossible for any observer to cross.[47]

For Freud, the true self hides within neurosis and neurotic behaviors—dreams, jokes, and slips of the tongue—which in turn requires a meticulous excavation of the unconscious mind. And, it is within this logic that we can see psychoanalysis as a colonial discipline in which the forms of analysis produced are constitutive of the civilizing mission, perpetuating ideas like primitive and uncivilized.[48] These representations produced by psychoanalytic categories are consistent with what Pierre Bourdieu calls "symbolic violence," that is to say, the psychoanalyst, or scientific authority in general, serves as a person of knowledge that has the capacity to shape

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[45] Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Basic Writings of Nietzsche*, trans. by Walter Kaufmann (New York, NY: Modern Library, 2000), p. 244.
[46] Jacques Lacan's concept of "lacking of being" is most appropriate in this psychoanalytic space of postcolonialism. "Desire is a relationship of being to lack. This lack is the lack of being properly speaking. It isn't the lack of this or that, but the lack of being whereby the being exists." See, Jacques Lacan, *The Ego in Freud's Theory and in the Technique of Psychoanalysis, 1954-1955,* trans. by Sylvana Tomaselli (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991), p. 223.
[47] Peter Fuchs, "The Modernity of Psychoanalysis," *The Germanic Review* 74, no. 1 (1999): pp. 14-29, at p. 14.
[48] Khanna, *Dark Continents*.

meanings used by the *Other* to constitute a sense of identity.[49] The power of the psychoanalytic gaze, in this sense, can be understood as the action on the action of others that enables the therapist to shape "the way in which human beings enact their freedom."[50] For Nikolas Rose, these "psy knowledges" shape the freedom of the *Other* by providing answers to such questions as: "'How shall we live?' 'What shall we do?' 'What kind of people are we?' "How shall we conduct our existence?'"[51] Anyone familiar with the plethora of self-help books knows that the answers to these questions are as pervasive as they are powerful.

Along these lines, as Ranjana Khanna suggests, through the construction of a "self" dependent on colonial political and ontological relations, "psychoanalysis itself constitutes an ethnography of the nation-statehood. It embodies the violent inception of colonial being and reveals its colonial specters, which are at once the call of justice—the by-product of reading strife—and forms of violence it engenders."[52] In other words, psychoanalysis helps us understand how the state's reliance on the nation is about different forms of representation, whether in terms of textualization, print capitalism, or representational politics. Psychoanalysis describes the processing of subjects into the larger groups that constitute nation-states.[53]

Postcolonial scholars have commented at great length on the "epistemic privilege"[54] held by intellectuals and elites, such as psychoanalysts. For example, Partha Chatterjee suggests that the governmentality of development can be seen in the institutions of modern associational life established by the nationalist elites during their anti-colonial struggle. "These institutions embody the desire of this elite to replicate in its own society the forms as well as the substance of Western modernity. It is a desire for a new ethical life in society, one that conforms to the virtues of the Enlightenment and of

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[49] Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*, trans. by Randall Johnson (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).
[50] Nikolas Rose, "Power in Therapy: Techne and Ethos," *Academy for the Study of Psychoanalytic Arts* (2000), accessed at: http://www.academyanalyticarts.org/rose2.htm.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Khanna, *Dark Continents*, p. 6.
[53] Ibid., 8.
[54] Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), p.17.

bourgeois freedom."[55] However, Chatterjee argues that this type of modernity will remain the exclusive domain of the elite since the general population will never meet the standards and demands required to gain membership to civil society, and will instead be viewed as a possible threat to its development and modernization. Therefore, "the function of civil-social institutions in relation to the public at large will be one of pedagogy rather than of free association."[56]

Likewise, Prasenjit Duara argues that in order for the nation to provide a clear collective consciousness, a national identity, of the "people," it must first suppress the various voices and identities that make such a representation difficult.[57] That is to say, the national identity of the people is constructed through both discursive meaning and symbolic meaning in which the "formulators" of a national identity "are typically able to build [an identity] around, or from among, preconstituted and resonant representations of community, as much as by destroying or obscuring other representations."[58]

At the heart of this identity politics of the postcolonial state is the female body. For Mikhail Bakhtin, the "body" is the "material bearer of meaning"[59] in which "outsidedness" and "insidedness" are established. And, in postcolonial societies like Korea, the decolonization of female bodies perpetuates the meanings of male privilege over the subordination of women. "A politics of the body involves a socialization involving layers and levels of ideological influences, sociocultural and religious, that impose knowledge or ignorance of female bodies and construct woman as gendered subject or object."[60] Numerous feminist scholars have carefully addressed the phallocentrism of the psychoanalytic discourse, most notably its role in constructing

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[55] Partha Chatterjee, "Beyond the Nation? Or Within?" *Social Text,* no. 56 (Autumn 1998): pp. 57-69, at p. 62.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1995).
[58] Duara, "Historicizing National Identity," 164-165.
[59] Mikhail Bakhtin, *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, ed. Carly Emerson and Michael Holquist and trans. Vern W. McGee (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1986), p. xiii.
[60] Katrak, *Politics of the Female Body,* p. 9.

women as incomplete objects. However, with few exceptions,[61] the role of psychoanalysis in decolonization and nation making has received little attention, particularly how "Third World" women have been constructed as biological subjects and used as gendered objects to produce an authentic modern national identity that supports the meta-narrative of the nation.

Here, I find Foucault's critique of Freud to be helpful for understanding how psychoanalytic discourse supports nation making. For Foucault, the gaze of the "psy complex" does not so much privilege men as it privileges a specific form of life in which "keeping women in a constant and almost impossible battle for normalcy in their daily lives is a greater display of power than the old model of sovereign power that evinces power through death."[62] Simply, psychoanalysts, as well as other scientific experts, serve as the "normalizing" police of the nation-state.

Social Welfare as Clinical Inquiry into the Perils of Modernization

Nikolas Rose points out that "scientists seek to conjure up in reality—through their observations, measurements, inscriptions and so forth, the things the have already made conjured up in thought—in their concepts, theories and explanatory forms."[63] Such has been the case of psychoanalysts in postcolonial Korean society. Western psychotherapy was introduced to Korea during the 1930s when Korea was still a colony of Japan, but the institutionalization of psychotherapy did not occur until the 1950s following the Korean War.[64] Although there are numerous practicing psychoanalysts in Korea today, as well as psychoanalytic organizations like the Korean Association for Jungian Analysts (KAJA) and the Korean Psychological Association (KPA), the concept of psychotherapy remains alien to most Koreans who view "talk therapy" as a waste of

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[61] For example, see Nandy, *The Savage Freud* and Rukmini Bhaya Nair, *Lying on the Postcolonial Couch: The Idea of Indifference* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

[62] Sokthan Yeng, "Foucault's Critique of the Sciences of Sexuality: The Function of Science within Biopower," *Journal of French and Francophone Philosophy* 18, no. 1 (2008-2010): pp. 9-26, at p. 10.

[63] Rose, "Power in Therapy."

[64] See, B.Y. Rhi, "The Analysis in Korea," *Journal of Psychiatry* 11 (1972): pp. 209-216; Ho Young Lee, "Past, Present and Future of Korean Psychiatry," *Psychiatry Investigation* 1, no. 1 (2004): pp. 13-19.

time and money.[65] However, more and more Koreans are becoming open to the idea of psychotherapy and the self-help discourse, [66] which can be seen in the growing number of self-help books, most of which target young women, being published and sold in Korea.[67]

Despite this professional setback, psychologists in Korea have found a reproductive space for psychoanalysis within the policymaking apparatus, especially with shaping the discourse of "need" associated with social welfare policy. For example, Lee Manwoo argues that "psychoanalysis is for rethinking the relationship between self-reflexive reason and populist drive in facilitating the development of welfare policy and contributing to its management in contemporary South Korean society."[68] He further adds:

> Psychoanalysis needs to be well embedded in this institution because it is more than a therapeutic technique. That in itself is certainly a major achievement, and one that needs its own (non-academic) space for social welfare practice to develop the particular disciplines of clinical inquiry.[69]

According to Lee, to achieve the "good development of social welfare" that allows the Korean people "to have good lives and be good citizens" the therapeutic gaze of psychoanalysis must go beyond the couch and be incorporated within democratic governance. And, in the promotion of an "ethical self-understanding" of Korean culture required for further democratization and development (while overcoming the discontents

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[65] Mark McDonald, "Stressed and Depressed, Koreans Avoid Therapy," *New York Times*, 6 July 2011, accessed at: http://www.nytimes.com/2011/07/07/world/asia/07iht-psych07.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.

[66] Sue Hyun Bae, Eunsun Joo, and David E. Orlinsky, "Psychotherapists in South Korea: Professional and Practice Characteristics," *Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, Practice, Training* 40, no. 4 (2003): pp. 302-316.

[67] Anon., "Self-Help Books Speak Volumes for Koreans," *Korea Joongang Daily*, 12 January 2012, accessed at: http://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/news/article/article.aspx?aid=2946936. Also see, Anon., "In a World of Men, Books are What Women Want," *Korea Joongang Daily*, 8 March 2012, accessed at: http://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/news/article/Article.aspx?aid=2949547. A gendered perspective on the growing popularity of "time management" self-help books in South Korea can be seen in Choon Key Chekar, *Gendering Discourses of Time in South Korean Self-Help Books: The Normalisation of a Masculine Long Hours Work Culture*, PhD Thesis, Cardiff University, 2008.

[68] Manwoo Lee, "Psychoanalysis and Social Welfare: A Psychoanalytic Contribution to Facilitating the Development of Welfare Policy in South Korea," *The Review of Korean Studies* 8, no. 2 (2005): pp. 255-275.

[69] Ibid., 258.

of modernization), Lee insists that "psychoanalysis [can] offer a language in which to speak about the processes of damage and restoration," and, therefore, will assist in the formation of welfare policy that "[displaces] the dread of internal attack outwards, and provides an external territory for reparative work."[70]

A close reading of the arguments put forth by Korean psychoanalysts reveals an attempt to blame some women of contemporary Korean society for the breakdown of the traditional structures that promote social stability, which, in turn, is seen as a threat to the development and growth of the nation. Through their diagnosis of the abnormal woman, Korean psychoanalysts argue that they can bring clinical analysis to social policy development (helping to define what the society is "lacking" and, thus, "needs"), which will, then, enable the Korean nation to overcome the perils of modernization and ever-encroaching westernization.

For example, one of the "internal attacks" identified by Korean psychoanalysts is the rapid change occurring within social and family structures caused by "compressed modernity."[71] With the breakdown of the traditional (Confucianist) family structure following modernization, these psychoanalysts argue that the rise of individualism and its emphasis on self-fashioning, especially among young women, is disrupting the social and economic stability of Korean society. A byproduct of this highly individualized woman, according to Korean psychoanalysts, is an increase in the number of children's emotional and conduct disorders, such as reactive attachment disorders like autism, as well as an increase in acculturation stress, social class changes, and reduced social support.[72] Furthermore, this increase of psychological disorders among children is seen as a product of poor childrearing, which falls squarely on the shoulders of women in a Confucianist culture. In fact, within Korean society, children inherit the stigmas of their mothers such

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[70] Ibid., 271.

[71] "Compressed modernity is a civilizational condition in which economic, political, social and/or cultural changes occur in an extremely condensed manner in respect to both time and space, and in which the dynamic coexistence of mutually disparate historical and social elements leads to the construction and reconstruction of a highly complex and fluid social system." See, Kyung-Sup Chang, "The Second Modern Condition? Compressed Modernity as Internalized Reflexive Cosmopolitization," *British Journal of Sociology* 61, no. 3 (September 2010): pp. 444-464.

[72] Kang-E Michael Hong, "Impacts of Rapid Social and Family Changes on the Mental Health of Children in Korea," *Psychiatry Investigation* 3, no. 1 (March 2006): pp. 6-25.

as the case of mixed-race children who are not so much marginalized for being impure (mixed-blood), but because their mothers associated (married and/or had sexual relations) with a foreigner, usually an American soldier.[73] Childhood emotional and conduct disorders follow the same perverse logic. An autistic child, for example, is stigmatized not so much for having a psychological "abnormality" but more so because the mother must have done something culturally, socially, and/or morally inappropriate.[74] We see a similar discourse in western psychoanalysis with blame placed on "refrigerator mothers" for the cause of autistic children.[75]

With the perceived family breakdown occurring within a neoliberalizing Korean society, psychoanalysts put a similar blame on women since they have become more active in sex and politics, choosing instead to be financially self-sufficient through work or higher education. On this point, psychiatrist Kang-E Michael Hong argues that "one of the most significant problems within the husband-wife relationship comes from the recent trend of a much more modernized and educated feminist actively seeking for self-actualization," which has, in turn, "made males unsure of their masculinity and their role."[76] He further adds:

> All these issues of parental sexuality and identity have increased the vulnerability and the problems related to the sexual identity and the sexual role of children and adolescents. These cannot be dismissed as a non-significant cause for the increased divorce rates, which in turn makes childrearing more vulnerable.[77]

Similarly, psychoanalysts Hae-Nam Kim and Ki-Chung Paik identify the rise of a "narcissistic culture" in Korea as a major contributor to the breakdown of traditional family structures and the rise of unhealthy male-female relationships. "In Korea, the change in the nurturing attitude of mothers toward narcissism leads to the raising of

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[73] Eunjung Kim, "Minority Politics in Korea: Disability, Interraciality, and Gender," in Emily Grabham, Davina Cooper, Jane Krishnadas, and Didi Herman, eds., *Intersectionality and Beyond: Law, Power and the Politics of Location* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), pp. 230-250.
[74] Roy R. Grinker, *Unstrange Minds: Remapping the World of Autism* (Philadelphia, PA: Basic books, 2007).
[75] Most notably, Bruno Bettelheim*, The Empty Fortress: Infantile Autism and the Birth of the Self* (New York, NY: Free Press, 1972).
[76] Hong, "Impacts of Rapid Social and Family Changes," pp. 11 and 16.
[77] Ibid., 16.

dependent men and relatively strong women. Thus older woman-younger man couples have become more prevalent."[78] Again, we see the discourse produced within Korean psychoanalytic thought that selfish women choosing narcissistic interests over childrearing, such as full time employment and higher education (i.e., feminists), are disrupting Korean society and threatening its stability. In fact, in his analysis of the psychodynamics of depression, Jeehee Jo argues that feminism, which he lists alongside "perfectionism" and "moral masochism," is related to depression and affects depression's manifestation and course.[79] Because of these changes, psychoanalyst Byung-Wook Lee argues that Korean society is very "sick" because of the expansion of westernized mass culture (defined by individualism, feminist rebellion, family breakdown, loss of morality and middle class ethics, etc.) in Korea.[80] Therefore, following Lee Manwoo call for the incorporation of psychoanalysis into the institutions of the state, Byung-Wook Lee asserts that "pertinent screening institutions are needed to block imprudent input from the negative aspects of Western culture."[81]

The Threat of the "Gold Miss"

Within the current discussion on the threat that changing gender dynamics and "recalcitrant women" pose to the development of Korean society, the "Gold Miss," with her economically empowered female identity, has received the most attention. Korean women outside of the desired age for marriage (27 plus) were previously referred to as "Old Miss." However, as an increasing number of young women are refraining from marriage and instead pursuing, with much success, professional careers traditionally held only by men, these women have more recently been renamed Gold Miss. Similar to the original meaning, a Gold Miss is no longer considered to be "prime real estate" on the marriage market but, on the positive side, is considered to be financially well off and successful in business.

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[78] Hae-Nam Kim and Ki-Chung Paik, "Love in the Narcissistic Culture," *Journal of the Korean Psychoanalytic Society* 12, no. 2 (2001): pp. 218-230, at p. 218.
[79] Jeehee Jo, "Psychodynamics of Depression," *Journal of the Korean Psychoanalytic Society* 17, no. 2 (2006): pp. 246-253, at p. 246.
[80] Byung-Wook Lee, "Mass Culture and Sexuality," *Journal of the Korean Psychoanalytic Society* 13, no. 1 (2002): pp. 80-91.
[81] Ibid., 80.

> Gold Miss means a new X generation that is sensitive to the latest fashion trend with high purchasing power and self-attainment goal. They do not spare any effort to invest in themselves, lead the new culture and set the cultural trend that goes beyond simple consumption, and come into the spotlight both socially and economically.[82]

However, while the Gold Miss is praised for her economic and social contributions to Korean society, her unwillingness to marry and have children, and thus support the patriarchic structure viewed as necessary to maintain rapid development by many policymakers, is categorized as abnormal by the psychoanalytic gaze. As stated earlier, psychoanalysts in Korea suggest that these women are secretly unhappy without a husband and try to fill the absence of motherhood with a strenuous professional life. Such an understanding can be clearly seen in Han Hyŏng-Mo's 1959 film, *A Female Boss*, in which the lead character Yoanna, a feminist and owner of the magazine "The Modern Women," falls in love with her new, extremely masculine employee. She eventually accepts his marriage proposal, gives him control of the magazine and happily takes a new life as a housewife. In this sense, Yoanna is transformed from an abnormal, and thus unhappy, Gold Miss to a normal, and thus happy, Korean woman, that is to say, one who returns to the domestic sphere as a married women.

A more recent example of the "incomplete" Gold Miss can be seen in the Korean television show *Gold Miss is Coming* (or *Gold Miss Diaries*), which aired from 2008 to 2010. Much like reality television shows in the United States, *Gold Miss Diaries* is centered around six Gold Misses in search of a husband, in which the women live in the same house and compete with one another for a date with a successful and handsome man. And, finally, take for example, the image of the modern woman portrayed in many Korean dramas.[83] These women tend to be career-minded and financially ambitious like the Gold Miss, but still strongly dedicated to a man and a romantic relationship that will lead to marriage. On this point, Dae Ryun Chang and Kevin Sproule write:

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[82] I-Jung Son, Un-Young, and Inseong Lee, "A study on the Symbolism and Fashion of Gold Miss from the Perspective of the Mass Media," *Journal of Korean Society of Custom* 57, no. 8 (September 2007): pp. 89-98.

[83] Angel Lin and Avin Tong, "Re-Imagining a Cosmopolitan 'Asian Us': Korean Media Flows and Imaginaries of Asian Modern Femininities," in Chua Beng Huat and Koichi Iwabuchi, eds., *East Asian Pop Culture: Analysing the Korean Wave* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), p. 109.

> Unfortunately Gold Misses were not always able to find a "Mr. Right." In South Korea, this would mean someone she viewed to be as equally educated and successful as herself. If a Gold Miss were to find that Mr. Right, he was often interested in someone younger and with lower social status, as a lot of men in Korea were still not comfortable dating a woman with higher economic and social status. This had resulted in some Gold Misses, who had failed to adapt to the reality of Korean society, leaving the country altogether.[84]

The Making of Pathological and Normal Femininities in Korea

What these diagnoses by Korean psychoanalysts and the like suggest is that women, especially young women, are experiencing a "crisis of commitment" exacerbated by modernization. In response to this "family breakdown" discourse are social welfare policies that seek to maintain traditional family norms since, as mentioned above, the continued development of the nation is considered to be dependent upon a family structure that harnesses the productivity of the male worker. Therefore, Korean women that challenge this gendered norm, such as the "feminist actively seeking self-actualization" like the Gold Miss, become dangerous to the nation. "Ultimately, 'family welfare' meant that Korean wives, as mothers and daughters-in-law, had a state defined responsibility to take care of children, the elderly, the disabled, and other dependents."[85]

The failure of many women to commit to this standard of femininity, and the gendered duties assigned to it, has produced fissures within the traditional family structure, which the political elite considers to be the cause of ill health among many Korean men.[86] June J.H. Lee points out that "nontraditional" women are blamed for the increase of *songinbyong* among middle-aged white collar Korean men, which is seen as a social illness linked to the rapid industrialization of Korea. "In the popular imagination, the age of 40 has become a threshold of the deadly mortality rate for all [Korean] men. Moreover, media hyperbole about the unusually high male mortality rate completely

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[84] Dae Ryun Chang and Kevin Sproule, "The Gold Misses in South Korea: Icons in Marketing to Gangnam," *Case Collection*, Paper 38, 2013, accessed at: http://ink.library.smu.edu.sg/cases_coll_all/38.
[85] June J.H. Lee, "Discourse of Illness, Meanings of Modernity: A Gendered Construction of Songinbyong," in Laurel Kendall, ed., *Under Construction: The Gendering of Modernity, Class, and Consumption in the Republic Korea* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2001), p. 58.
[86] Ibid.

overshadows other aspects of the populations health."[87] However, within a neoliberalizing Korean society, women are required to do more than maintain the domestic sphere like the traditional *adjumma* ("married Korean woman") committed to the Confucian ethic of family before self. Because modernity is no longer measured solely by productivity (out-put), but also by markers of globalism, most notably consumerism, the authentic Korean woman, the type of female body needed by the nation, must also reproduce these measures of modernity that usually occur as the corporeal level.

On this point, Taeyon Kim points out that young Korean women are no longer ruled by a Confucian norm of invisibility, that is to say, they are no longer expected to be completely hidden within the public sphere with their bodies covered and sexuality minimized. Instead, within Korean society today, women are expected and encouraged to pursue the capitalist body practices, a form of "performativity" as Judith Butler describes it,[88] of consumerism where markers of globalism (fashion, cosmetics, and appearance) not only transform the physical body, but also socialize women to a standard of normal femininity. "The result is that female bodies seen in the streets of Korea are nearly identical to the bodies depicted in media portrayals."[89]

As the work of feminist scholars like Angela McRobbie points out, this independent "girl power" attributed to consumerist performances by young women is a false sense of empowerment. Although the presence of sexualized female bodies in the public sphere appears to challenge patriarchal modes of policing sexuality (we can think of the Korean military police measuring the length of women's skirts in public during the 1970s), neoliberal "girl power" instead falls along the lines of what McRobbie calls a "complicitous critique" by procapitalist societies that produces the new "patriarchal same" in which "the girl [remains] a knowable subject."[90] Furthermore, it would be incorrect to conclude that these body techniques of consumerism have replaced a Neo-Confucian self with a western identity altogether, but instead should be seen as an example of new

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[87] Ibid., 61.
[88] Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1993).
[89] Kim, "Neo-Confucian Body Techniques," p. 107.
[90] Angela McRobbie, "Young Women and Consumer Culture: An Intervention," *Cultural Studies* 22, no. 5 (September 2008): pp. 531-550.

authentic "Koreanness" intersecting with the demands and needs of nation making. In other words, these Neo-Confucian bodies within a consumer society take on a form of governmentality in which "beauty in Korea has become a requirement of decorum for women rather than a vanity. The cultural pressure to harmonize as one—the ideal of subjectlessness—means that fashion tends to compel conformity rather than individuality."[91]

However, it is not necessarily about conformity to maintain a "traditional" society; it has more so to do with the postcolonial state's attempt to produce, through controlling the female body, an authentic identity, a new layer of Koreanness, needed to support the development of the nation. The modern Korean woman is not like the primordial *adjummas* of the past; she is educated, speaks English among other languages, and is well versed in global trends. However, she is also still committed to supporting a patriarchal structure, the very type of family that social welfare policies, psychoanalysts, and policymakers have sought to protect in order to successfully ride the wave of neoliberal globalization.

"I am a Missy, the Missy is Different"

At this point, you may find yourself asking: Who is this woman? Does she really exist? While a complicated question, indeed, some have already begun to identify this woman – she is the "Missy," a new form of Korean femininity. According to JongMi Kim, the Missy identity in South Korean culture refers to a "young married woman who dresses like and presents herself as an unmarried woman," with the hope of avoiding the image of the old and desexualized *adjumma*.[92] Furthermore, this identity is closely intertwined with global capitalism, in which the Missy, in order to maintain the sexuality associated with a young unmarried woman (*agassi)*, adopts and adheres to the dress and body codes of consumerism. That is to say, these Korean women focus intensely on capitalist body practices, be it simply the latest global fashion trend or, more invasively, cosmetic surgeries and other beauty enhancing treatments.

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[91] Kim, "Neo-Confucian Body Techniques," 107.
[92] JongMi Kim, "Is 'the Missy' a New Femininity?" in Rosalind Gill and Christina Scharff, eds., *New Femininities: Postfeminism, Neoliberalism, and Subjectivity* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 147.

However, we must recognize that this Missy identity is not solely a product of consumerism and media marketing, but more so an example of a new form of Korean femininity that supports nation making within neoliberal globalization. Since Koreanness is becoming increasingly defined as more than just having Korean blood, but also, and in some ways more importantly, as being "global" (well-traveled and English speaking), "modern," and technologically advanced, the Missy, with her globalized body and conspicuous consumption, becomes an example of normal femininity, while the *adjumma* becomes outdated and atavistic. In this sense, as Seungsook Moon suggests, Korean women perform their citizenship, the act of belonging, through consumerism, in turn promoting economic development, while Korean men, on the other hand, perform their citizenship through compulsory military service and defense of the nation from both external enemies (e.g., against North Korea) and internal threats (maintenance of the patriarchal structure of society through a militarized masculinity).[93]

And, since the Missy, despite her *nouveau agassi* identity and individualistic self pursuits, is still a married women and a full-time resident of the domestic sphere, she continues to support the needs of a patriarchal society in which men work tirelessly in the public sphere and women manage the domestic sphere to support the development of the Korean economy. "Women who grew up in prosperous Korea become consumer-oriented people and created a new femininity based on being attractive, sexy, and compliant."[94] In this sense, the Missy can be seen as a normal form of femininity (a hyper-consumer and traditional woman), serving the needs of neoliberal nation making, while the Gold Miss becomes an example of abnormal femininity that threatens the patriarchic structures supporting Korea's development model.

An Unfinished Yeopung

In Korean, *yeopung* translates to "the wind of women" and refers to the economic, political, and academic success many Korean women have achieved. The Gold Miss is one such example. However, despite the portrayal of the Gold Miss in the media as an

[93] Seungsook Moon, *Militarized Modernity and Gendered Citizenship in South Korea* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005).
[94] Mikyum Kim, "The Persistence of Tradition in the Unconscious of Modern Korean Women," in Leticia Glocer Fiorini and Graciela Abelin-Sas Rose, eds., *On Freud's "Femininity"* (London, UK: Karnac Books, 2010), p. 230.

empowered woman, much different from the generations of women that came before her, she is equally seen by many as a troubling deviation from the authentic Korean woman. And, because of this, she is viewed as dangerous to the traditional patriarchal structure of Korean society.

According to Seungsook Moon, one of the leading difficulties faced by women's movement organizations, such as the Korean Women's Association United (KWAU), is the "androcentric tendencies" of Korean civil society, tendencies that I have argued police femininities to support development and modernization. For Moon, there are three distinct dimensions of androcentrism that have arrested the female voice: 1) a Confucianist legacy that has mediated individual access to civil society by masculinizing the public sphere outside of the patriarchal domestic sphere, 2) the violence produced by militant antagonism between civil society and the state, and 3) the reinvention of patriarchal tradition as a means for addressing postcolonial ambivalence toward modernization.

During the 1990s, Korean civil society was marked by an explosion of new citizens' organizations addressing a wide array of socio-political issues and concerns. Of these groups, an investigation of the mobilization of women's movement organizations and their interactions with the nationalist and patriarchal narratives of Korean civil society will help elucidate the public discourses surrounding gender and the female body in postcolonial Korea. According to Moon, when the androcentric tendencies of Korean society intersected with the practices of military rule (1963-1987), most notably Park Chung Hee's nation building projects, "militarized modernity" was produced. That is to say, through "the construction of the modern nation as an anti-communist policy, the making of its members as duty-bound 'nationals,' and the integration of the institution of male conscription into the organization of the industrialized economy" an asymmetry of gender relations was established that shaped the ways in which men and women were included and excluded from the meta-narrative of the nation.[95] In this sense, civil society becomes militarized, physical violence becomes associated with masculinity, and women are, as result, excluded, or marginalized within, the various institutions of the state, specifically the military and police.

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[95] Moon, *Militarized Modernity*, p. 2.

Through the establishment of a gendered hierarchy in Korean civil society during the period of military rule, Moon argues that citizenship becomes the "unintended and dialectical consequence of gendered mass mobilization because women and men who were called to contribute to the process of nation building were commonly exposed to repressive discipline and violent punishment."[96] As a result, these specific paths of gendered mobilization—produced through the discourses and discursive practices of militarized modernity—"shaped the ways in which women and men forged their new political subjectivity as citizens."[97] In other words, the "citizenship trajectories" for men and women are significantly different, and, in the case of Korean women, citizenship would be acquired through the autonomous women's movements that sought to reclaim a female voice and put women's issues, such as equal employment, on the agenda.

However, while feminist movements in Korea have actively sought to disrupt these gendered norms, they have, in some cases, inadvertently reproduced patriarchal structures of power by supporting a heteronormative understanding of gender equality. The work of Soo Jin Park-Kim and her colleagues points out that gay and lesbian rights movements in Korea have been continuously excluded from all the agendas of women's rights over the last 10 years, and that lesbian organizations have struggled to find solidarity with heterosexual feminists in Korea.[98] The everyday battles fought by the lesbian community in Korea and the contributions it has made to women's rights and gender equality appear to have no place in the *yeopung* celebrated by policymakers and mainstream feminist organizations. This exclusion is, in part, due to the stigma associated with lesbians, often referred to as *iban* (abnormal)[99] in Korean society, and a fear among mainstream feminists that collaborating with "these women" will stigmatize by affiliation their already vulnerable identity, one of heterosexual women seeking equality with men, and, thus, limit their ability to influencing policy making.

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[96] Ibid., 3.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Soo Jin Park-Kim, Soo Youn Lee-Kim, and Eun Jung Kwon-Lee, "The Lesbian Rights Movement and Feminism in South Korea," *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 10, no. 3-4 (2007): pp. 161-191.
[99] Ji-eun Lee, "Beyond Pain and Protection: Politics of Identity and *Iban* Girls in Korea," *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 10, no. 3-4 (2007): pp. 49-67.

True to the Freudian model, Korean psychologists have diagnosed homosexuality as a form of perversion,[100] with gay men and lesbians classified as *byeontae* ("pervert"). According to Dong-Yeon Koh, many mainstream Korean feminists hold an "outright distaste of lesbians," and some have gone as far as to accuse lesbians of "hiding behind the mask of feminists," claiming that "marriage was a natural law and that heterosexuality was the principal sexual or gender relationship within Korean tradition."[101] Like the Gold Miss, lesbians are viewed as a threat to the "normal family," a model that mainstream feminism in Korea is not necessarily interested in overturning. Rather, these heteronormative feminists seek to uphold the traditional family while simultaneously empowering the voice of "normal" women in the public sphere. In this sense, the lesbian and gay identities of Korean society are believed by many to interfere with the "ability to perform one's role in the family,"[102] thus becoming not only a family matter but also a societal issue where "'individual' and 'family' (along with 'company' and 'nation') compete to be the basic units of society."[103] As a result, the everyday needs of the lesbian community are silenced and public education about gays and lesbians in Korea remains to be seen.

Although homosexuality exists in contemporary Korean society in the sense that discussions on gays and lesbians can be held regularly, Seo Dong-Jin posits: "it seems to be an entity whose meaning has been endlessly deferred . . . one might say that in Korean society, 'homosexuality' is a term without its own referent. The term seems to be used as a locus for the selves contained within sexuality which have had no opportunity for self-reflection."[104] This battle over sexual identity within the women's rights movement, and

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[100] Park-Kim, Lee-Kim, and Kwon-Lee, "The Lesbian Rights Movement."
[101] Dong-Yeon Koh, "Globalizing Korean Queers? Project L(esbian), the First Exhibition of Lesbian Arts in South Korea," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 14, no. 3 (2013): pp. 378-400, at pp. 382-383.
[102] Chris Berry, "Asian Values, Family Values: Film, Video, and Lesbian and Gay Identities," in Gerard Sullivan and Peter A. Jackson, eds., *Gay and Lesbian Asia: Culture, Identity, Community* (Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press, 2001), p. 215.
[103] John Cho, "The Wedding Banquet Revisited: 'Contract Marriages' Between Korean Gays and Lesbians," *Anthropological Quarterly* 82, no. 2 (Spring 2009): pp. 401-422, at p. 402
[104] Dong-Jin Seo, "Mapping the Vicissitudes of Homosexual Identities in South Korea," *Journal of Homosexuality* 40, no. 3-4 (2001): pp. 65-78, at p. 66.

Korean society in general, can be seen as what Foucault refers to as the politics of normalization,[105] in which lesbians have battled to gain normalcy within women's rights discourse in Korea, but seen as abnormal by many feminist organizations, have only encountered homophobia and marginalization. However, both groups share what Iris Marion Young refers to as an "affinity" within the culture of imperialism shaping gendered identities in postcolonial Korea,[106] and, thus, would greatly benefit from solidarity against patriarchy built upon heterosexism. On this point, Cheryl Johnson-Odim's writes:

> Feminism, therefore, must be a comprehensive and inclusive ideology and movement that incorporates yet transcends gender-specificity. We must create a feminist movement which struggles against those things which can clearly be shown to oppress women, whether based on race, sex, or class or resulting from imperialism. Such a definition of feminism will allow us to isolate the gender-specific element in women's oppression while simultaneously relating it to broader issues, to the totality of what oppresses us as women.[107]

To revisit Foucault's concept of biopower, we can see that Korean women are in a "constant and almost impossible battle for normalcy in their daily lives." Under the slogan of democratization, social welfare policies implemented in Korea since the Kim Dae-jung administration have, in part, sought to protect the patriarchal structure of Korean society as it continues down the path of neoliberalization. Within postcolonial countries like Korea, scientific expertise plays a powerful role in shaping policies focused on development, as such these experts are considered to be heralds of modernity. Psychoanalysts to some degree hold this position of power in contemporary Korean society, and have identified Korean women that break from traditional gendered norms as the source of Korea's social decline, be it the rise in *songinbyong* among Korean men, the

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[105] See, Foucault, *History of Sexuality* and Ladelle McWhorter, *Bodies and Pleasures: Foucault and the Politics of Sexual Normalization* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999).
[106] Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011).
[107] Cheryl Johnson-Odim, "Common Themes, Different Contexts: Third World Women and Feminism," in Chandra Talpade Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres, eds., *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991), pp. 321-322.

increase in affect and developmental disorders among children, or the collapse of the traditional family structure.

Within these national fears, the Gold Miss and lesbians represent dangerous women that challenge gender roles and disrupt the heteronormative family structure considered by many policymakers to be the foundation of Korea's economic success. While the Gold Miss is professionally successful, financially independent, and procapitalist, all of which represent a strong neoliberal identity, she must, nonetheless, battle for normalcy within the psychoanalytic gaze of the neoliberal welfare state, which not only classifies her as one of the causes of social decline but also diagnoses her as abnormal and incomplete. In some ways, the Missy identity in Korea is an attempt at counter balancing the Gold Miss since the Missy performs the same consumerist practices, pursuing a similar modern and global lifestyle, but at the same time supports the patriarchal and neo-Confucianist structures of the Korean development model.

Since the 1990s, feminist movements have sought to open spaces within the androcentric public sphere of Korean society by establishing alternative publics, or what Nancy Fraser calls "subaltern counterpublics," in order to "permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, ad needs."[108] However, the unwillingness of mainstream feminists to side with women whose identity challenges the heteronormative family structure represents not only an incomplete women's movement but also inadvertently reproduces the very patriarchal discourses that these feminist groups are battling to reform.

[108] Nancy Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy," *Social Text*, no, 25-26 (1990): pp. 56-80, at p. 67.

CHAPTER 7

Who is Colonizing Who? Biopower in Colonial Modernity

For the metropoles of the world, the East has been a career. The United Stated and Europe have used the Third World both discursively as a laboratory for developing bourgeois identities and materially for harvesting resources and gaining social and political capital. However, the postcolonial world blurs the already blurry lines that divide the core and periphery. Instead, what we see today are examples of the First World in the Third and historic peripheries becoming powerful cores. For example, I have seen spaces of the First World in the Philippines—neoliberal economic zones of development, such as Makati, Bonifacio Global City, and even parts of Manila for that matter, floating like islands within a sea of poverty, unplanned urbanization, and underdevelopment.

We can look at South Korea today, an economic miracle, an East Asian Tiger, which was not much different than the worst of the Philippines 50 years ago. Once Korea, like the Philippines today, relied heavily on remittances for economic development and exported a large portion of its people overseas. Much like the Philippines, Korea was seen as an impoverished and "backward" country spinning out of control because of political corruption, crony capitalism, and atavistic cultural values. And, finally, Korean women much like their Filipina counterparts today, were sent around the world in large numbers, trafficked even, to serve as entertainers or, frankly, prostitutes. They too were sexed for the nation.

Very few have taken the time to "compare" South Korea and the Philippines. David Kang, being one of the most successful, cited corruption and authoritarian capitalism, among other failures, as the common dominators shared by these two societies.[1] Kang subtly speculated, and he was not alone here, that the Philippines could possibly follow the same path as Korea, emerging as an economically successful and democratically governed society. Unfortunately, this is not the case; the Philippines appears to have fallen of this path, possibly taking another trajectory altogether. For all intents and purposes, the Philippines should be a wealthy country. It has many valuable

[1] David C. Kang, *Crony Capitalism: Corruption and Development in South Korea and the Philippines* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

resources at its disposal, and, like Korea, it has embraced neoliberalism. But, unlike Korea, it appears to have been overcome and swallowed by the wave of neoliberal globalization. A good question to ask is why Korea but not the Philippines? Walden Bello provides a convincing answer. He suggests that the Philippines' romance with neoliberalism, which started in the 1980s under the leadership of Cory Aquino, has turned sour because the Philippines has been a loyal lover, never cheating on the policies of neoliberalism or breaking or bending its rules and regulations.[2] South Korea's success with neoliberalism, on the other hand, may very well be due to a degree of infidelity, cheating on the policies when necessary to ensure a smooth transition into the global economy.[3] However, it has never been the intention of this project to simply compare and contrast the Philippines and South Korea in this way. Rather, I am interested in showing how the two are intertwined within the assemblage of colonial modernity; how the political development and nation making of postcolonial societies are influenced not only by the colonial encounter and neoliberal globalization, but also by the measures of modernity they adopt to produce a nation and the role that technoscience and scientific expertise play in shaping this modern, yet authentic, national identity.

With this perspective in mind, we can begin to see how the Philippines has become "a career" for South Korea. That is to say, just as political and social mobility were achieved through American colonization of the Philippines—most notably Governor General Taft who later became a U.S. President and the U.S. Suffragettes seeking to escape the confines of the domestic sphere[4]—South Koreans have flocked by the thousands to the Philippines with middle class aspirations. In fact, not only is the Philippines the leading destination for South Koreans, with hundreds of thousands of

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[2] Walden Bello, "Neoliberalism as Hegemonic Ideology in the Philippines: Rise, Apogee, and Crisis," *Philippine Sociological Review* 57, no. 1-4 (December/January 2009): p. 9. Also see, Walden Bello, Herbert Docena, Marissa de Guzman, and Mary Lou Malig, *The Anti-Developmental State: The Political Economy of Permit Crisis in the Philippines* (New York, NY: Zed Books, 2006).

[3] Ibid.

[4] See, Kristin L. Hoganson, "'As Badly off as the Filipinos': U.S. Women's Suffragists and Imperial Issue at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Women's History* 13, no. 2 (Summer 2001): pp. 9-33.

Koreans living, studying, and visiting the country each year, Korea is also the nation's biggest source of foreign direct investment.[5]

The Art of Performing Citizenship in Colonial Modernity

To understand Korea's growing interest in the Philippines and its use of Filipinas, we have to further address the identity politics of the Korean middle class. The work of Myungi Yang is helpful here. According to Yang, "the construction of the new nation, including economic development and national modernization, entailed two different but complementary projects: institutional reform and spiritual revolution."[6] To overcome a shameful colonial past, the political elite of Korea under the leadership of Park Chung Hee emphasized that the rise of the middle class would "enlighten the rest of society and develop Korea's own culture in opposition to commercial and foreign concerns."[7] Within this discourse, as Yang's analysis highlights, the new middle class would serve as the foundation of the modern nation by meeting the needs and interests of the authoritarian state, particularly the material needs of rapid industrialization.

From here, we can see how the nation creates the kinds of bodies its needs, while discarding or pathologizing the ones viewed as a threat to national interests. However, these bodies are clearly gendered, and the development model of the Park administration placed men and women in different citizenship trajectories,[8] that is to say, women would maintain the domestic sphere and serve as procapitalist consumers in turn freeing men to protect and work tirelessly for the nation. To be the right kind of "Korean," then, required being a frugal housewife or an obedient daughter loyal to the nation or, in the case of men, a militarized masculinity that defended the nation and worked long hours for its development. In other words, middle class identity becomes an extension of the national culture, and these bourgeois bodies must in turn be disciplined to support the needs of the nation.

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[5] Jet Damazo, "Korea Invades the Philippines," *Asia Sentinel*, 11 July 2007, accessed at: http://www.asiasentinel.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=575&Itemid=34.

[6] Myungji Yang, "The Making of the Urban Middle Class in South Korea (1961-1979): Nation-Building, Discipline, and the Birth of the Ideal National Subjects," *Sociological Inquiry* 82, no. 3 (August 2012): pp. 424-445, at p. 428.

[7] Ibid., 429.

[8] See, Moon, *Militarized Modernity*.

However, with Korea's neoliberalization, the demands on the middle class have shifted, taking on another dimension, as the nation confronts the global. With the flexibilization of labor, demise of job security, and the retrenchment of social welfare, neoliberal subjectivity can be seen as a new defining feature of Korean society. As Abelmann and her colleagues note, Korea's middle class has been increasingly pushed toward a individuated sense of personhood in which one, acting as an autonomous consumer, is "responsible for managing his or her own lifelong creative capital development."[9] This discourse of individuality and self-fashioning, according to Abelmann and colleagues, has greatly shaped the aspirations of young Korean professionals and college students who, through brand capital, "aspire to and accept the burden of managing their personal formation for a changing world."[10]

As mentioned earlier, the "authentic" Korean of postcolonial Korea is a globalized individual (as seen in the girls' generation and the Missy) with, most importantly, a mastery of the English language and a consumerist lifestyle.[11] Beginning in the 1990s the South Korean education system went through profound neoliberal reforms. During this time, English was widely considered to be the cornerstone of such reform, and, as a result, English education was extended to elementary school curriculum and private after-school tutoring companies (i.e., "cram schools") proliferated.[12] English education fit nicely within the globalization discourse popular among the political elite, and in part supported Korea's pursuit of modernity via cosmopolitanism.[13] However, as Park and Abelmann point out, this cosmopolitan striving was not only occurring at the state level, orchestrated by the heavy hand of the political elite, but also among Koreans

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[9] Nancy Abelmann, So Jin Park, and Hyunhee Kim, "College Rank and Neoliberal Subjectivity in South Korea: The Burden of Self-Development," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 10, no. 3 (2009): pp. 229-247, at p. 232.
[10] Ibid., 229.
[11] Jamie S. Lee, "Linguistic Constructions of Modernity: English Mixing in Korean Television Commercials," *Language in Society* 35, no. 1 (2006): pp. 59-91.
[12] So Jin Park and Nancy Abelmann, "Class and Cosmopolitan Striving: Mothers' Management of English Education in South Korea," *Anthropology Quarterly* 77, no. 4 (2004): pp. 645-672.
[13] Samuel S. Kim, "Korea and Globalization (Segyehwa): A Framework for Analysis" in Samuel Kim, ed., *Korea's Globalization* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1-28.

eager to adopt the burgeoning neoliberal identity.[14] The ubiquity of this globalization discourse, emphasizing English education and cosmopolitanism, among both the Korean political elite and the general population represents what Antonio Gramsci calls ideological hegemony. That is to say, the postcolonial elite of Korea have, for the most part, successfully united the people under the slogan of "development first" and cosmopolitanism, which the middle class sees as "the motor force of a universal expansion, of a development of all the 'national' energies."[15] Twenty years ago, this cultural hegemony defining the "Koreanness" of the nation did not have the same appeal that it does today; it was rather nascent and incongruent with the expectations and understandings of the people, and thus openly and aggressively challenged.[16] However, as Korea continues to neoliberalize, this new culture has become "common sense," manifesting "in art, in law, in economic activity, and in all manifestations of individual and collective life."[17]

For example, as the public sphere has become increasingly extended into domestic space, Korean mothers, serving as frontline entrepreneurs, must ensure that their children benefit from these education reforms.[18] This not only means spending thousands of dollars on after-school education, but also enrolling the child in "study abroad" programs in the United States and other parts of the English speaking world.[19] In this sense, Korean mothers have to manage their children's English education to ensure that they become the right kind of Korean, that is, a globalized citizen capable of supporting development and the nation's continued pursuit of modernity. Korean mothers recognize the gains in social capital associated with this new culture and that possessing English language skills not only provides cultural legitimacy but also serves as a distinct "manner" of applying this cultivated habitus. In other words, as Pierre Bourdieu suggests,

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[14] Park and Abelmann, "Class and Cosmopolitan Striving."
[15] Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, p. 182.
[16] Carter J. Eckert, "The South Korean Bourgeoisie: A Class in Search of Hegemony" in Hagen Koo, ed., *State and Society in Contemporary Korea* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 95-130.
[17] Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*.
[18] Park and Abelmann, "Class and Cosmopolitan Striving."
[19] Jiyeon Kang and Nancy Abelmann, "The Domestication of South Korean Pre-College Study Abroad in the First Decade of the Millennium," *The Journal of Korean Studies* 16, no. 1 (Spring 2011): pp. 89-118.

"knowing that 'manner" is a symbolic manifestation whose meaning and value depend as much on the perceivers as on the producer, one can see how it is that the manner of using symbolic goods, especially those regarded as the attributes of excellence, constitutes one of the key markers of 'class' and also the ideal weapon in strategies of distinction."[20] Here, we can understanding the "distinction" of English and other measures of modernity, such as social welfare and consumerism, as forms of scientific progressivism adopted by the political elite in postcolonial societies, in which "a unifying angst of the once-colonized mind, has also gradually shifted the focus of discussion on the Great Divergence from hierarchies of civilizations, cultures, and races to the development of scientific infrastructure, economic growth, and innovation policy."[21]

Similar to the colonial encounter, postcolonial scientific progressivism reduces the body into a collection of measurable functions that fit within patterns, trends, and predictable processes, and the bodies that do not easily follow these patterns and trends are diagnosed as abnormal and pathological.[22] Thus, in postcolonial Korea, we can see that, as Canguilhem put it, life is a concept, and Koreanness, as a measurement for strengthening the nation, is a norm, a continuous "becoming."

Furthermore, becoming this global citizen deemed necessary for the nation's development by the political elite can be seen as an example of technologies of the self. That is to say, Koreans, "bearing the burdens of liberty" in a neoliberalizing Korean society, must "render his or her life meaningful as if it were the outcome of individual choices made in the furtherance of a biographical project of self-realization."[23] Here, the discourses and narratives of globalization function as a "technology of the social and of the subject" in that "class has been understood and the place of those in producing modes of subjectification and subjectivity, including the meaning and possibility of upward

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[20] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 66.
[21] Philip S. Cho, Nathan Bullock, and Dionna Ali, "The Bioinformatic Basis of Pan-Asianism," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* 7 (2013): pp. 283-309, p. 284.
[22] Sarah Chinn, *Technology and the Logic of American Racism: A Cultural History of the Body as Evidence* (New York, NY: Continuum, 2000), p. 5.
[23] Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul*, 2nd ed. (London, UK: Free Association Press, 1999), p. ix.

mobility."[24] This dimension of colonial modernity in Korea has produced what Peter Miller and Nikolas Rose refer to as an "enterprising self" in advanced capitalist society. That is to say, the enterprising self is a subject of government in which "the enhancement of the powers of the client as customer . . . specifies the subject of rule in a new way: as active individuals seeking to 'enterprise themselves', to maximize their quality of life through acts of choice, according their life a meaning and value to the extent that it can be rationalized as the outcome of choices made or choices not made."[25]

In other words, the neoliberal subject of postcolonial Korea is a product of a system of classification in which social immobility is considered to be a product of personal failure, pathology or poor and backward standards. Much like the scientific discourse concerning the "criminal" within the colonial encounter, the narratives of cosmopolitanism and modernity shaping the body politics of contemporary Korean society creates pathology to marginalize threats to development while propping up the self-invented subject the state needs. Realizing that social mobility in neoliberal Korea requires a prestigious university degree, particularly from Seoul National, Yonsei, or Korea University,[26] and a high level of proficiency in English, college students describe English as the gateway to becoming a competitive individual in the market economy.[27]

On this point, Jae Jung Song notes: "English has been identified as a critical resource for South Korea's survival in a globalizing world."[28] In fact, many Koreans hold the belief that their incompetence in English coupled with the image that "Koreans are bad English speakers" is considered to "have cost South Korea important business

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[24] Valerie Walkerdine, "Reclassifying Upward Mobility: Femininity and the Neo-liberal Subject," *Gender and Education* 15, no. 3 (September 2003): pp. 237-248, at p. 239.
[25] Miller and Rose, *Governing the Present*, pp. 195 and 213-214.
[26] Sunhwa Lee and Mary C. Brinton, "Elite Education and Social Capital: The Case of South Korea," *Sociology of Education* 69, no. 3 (July 1996): pp. 177-192.
[27] Ibid. Also see, Park and Abelmann, "Class and Cosmopolitan Striving" and Joseph S.Y. Park, "The Promise of English: Linguistic Capital and the Neoliberal Worker in the South Korean Job Market," *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 14, no. 4 (July 2011): pp. 443-455.
[28] Jae Jung Song, "English as an Official language in South Korea: Global English or Social Malady," *Language Problems & Language Planning* 35, no. 1 (Spring 2011): pp. 35-55, at p. 36.

opportunities, among other things, in the age fierce global competition."[29] Just as the political elite of the Philippines consider their image as a "nation of servants" that exports prostitutes around world to be the leading reason behind the nation's failure to develop, the Korean elite view their image as bad English speakers as not only an obstacle to development but also, and possibly more burdensome, an example of Korea's failure to fully achieve modernity.

In fact, the pursuit of English in Korea verges on the nonsensical; well funded, neuroscience research is being conducted in the country to study the "English brain." Initially started by private companies to improve commercial and media strategies for the education market (e.g., language instruction), Hawon Chang and Sungook Hong argue that the discourse of the "English brain" has emerged within Korean neuroscientific research investigating the region of the brain believed to be responsible for learning a second language (bilingualism).[30] Through such research, many in the country believe that the study of English can become more efficient, in turn improving Korea's modernization and development by training and educating the population in accordance with the needs and demands of globalization.

Thus, in postcolonial Korea, we can begin to see the ethopolitics of nation making in which English and an enterprising self are seen as not only necessary for the economic survival of the nation and its citizens, but also a responsibility that all Koreans must shoulder. In this sense, "the ethos of human existence – the sentiments, moral nature or guiding beliefs of persons, groups, or institutions – have come to provide the 'medium' within which the self-government of the autonomous individual can be connected up with the imperatives of good government."[31] In other words, for middle class Koreans, English proficiency can provide both social mobility and, more importantly, a way to enact their Koreanness.

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[29] Ibid.
[30] Hawon Chang and Sungook Hong, "Do Koreans Have an 'English Brain'? A Case Study in the Commercialization of Neuroscience," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* 6, no. 3 (September 2012): pp. 303-319.
[31] Nikolas Rose, "The Politics of Life Itself," *Culture, Theory & Society* 18, no. 6 (December 2001): pp. 1-30, at p. 18.

Oriental Orientalism or Colonialism Redux?

With this emphasis on the English language for promoting development, it is no surprise that the public and private sectors of Korean society encourage the adoption of English.[32] More surprising, however, is that this "English fever"[33] has pushed young Koreans into the Philippines by the thousands to not only learn English but, more importantly, to achieve an enterprising self. For Koreans, the Philippines represents a space for self-fashioning and entrepreneurialism in which the skills and resources extracted from the periphery will allow for social mobility back in Seoul. During the 1990s, a clear migratory pattern emerged between Korea and the Philippines, with a noticeable amount of Korean tourists, students, and investors making their way to major cities like Manila, while thousands of Filipinos, mostly women, traveled to Seoul on entertainer visas. And, by 2007, Koreans "topped the list of foreign visitors to the Philippines outnumbering arrivals from the US, who include overseas workers, residents and workers."[34]

According to José Gomez, Jr., with the United States and Canada out of financial reach for many Koreans, "the Philippines has become a viable fallback for those middle class citizens who aspire to keep their children competitive" and serves as a "stepping stone for Koreans who learn English enroute to their eventual self-implantation in western cultures."[35] In other words, much like the biopolitical relationship between Imperial Japan and colonial Korea and the United States and colonial Philippines, discussed earlier, the Philippines serves as laboratory for the development of a Korean middle class identity, which in turn can be seen as an extension of Korea's national culture. And, just as Americans and Europeans needed the knowledge of the native to

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[32] Ok Kyoon Yoo, "Discourse of English as an Official Language in a Monolingual Society: The Case of South Korea," *Second Language Studies* 23, no. 2 (2005): pp. 1-44.
[33] Jin-Kyu Park, "'English Fever' in South Korea: It's History and Symptoms," *English Today* 97, no. 25 (March 2009): pp. 50-57.
[34] Maruja M.B. Asis, "The Social Dimension of International Migration in the Philippines: Findings from Research" in Maruja M.B. Asis and Fabio Baggio, eds., *Moving Out, Back, and Up: International Migration and Development Prospects in the Philippines* (Quezon City, Philippines: Scalabrini Migration Center, 2008), p. 82. Also, see Damazo, "Korea Invades the Philippines."
[35] José Edgardo Abaya Gomez, Jr., "The Korean Diaspora in Philippine Cities: Amalgamation or Invasion?" in Jeffrey Hou, ed., *Transcultural Cities: Border-Crossing and Placemaking* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2013), pp. 77-90.

survive the tropics and maintain their empires, Koreans need the English language skills of Filipinos and access to the cheap markets of the Philippines to survive Korea's ongoing neoliberalization. This is not to say that Korea is neo-colonizing the Philippines, although the poor treatment of Filipinas by visiting Korean men is seen as exploitative by many in the Philippines,[36] but rather that Korea's development and pursuit of modernity requires the cheap labor and resources of the Third World. Building from Albert Memmi's understanding of the relationship between the colonizer and colonized, Koreans in the Philippines can be seen as the "new colonialists." On this point, Memmi writes:

> Today, leaving for a colony is not a choice sought because of its uncertain dangers, nor is it a desire of one tempted by adventure. It is simply a voyage towards an easier life . . . You go to a colony because jobs are guaranteed, wages high, careers more rapid and business more profitable. The young graduate is offered a position, the public servant a higher rank, the businessmen substantially lower taxes, the industrialist raw materials and labor at attractive prices.[37]

For Memmi, the (post)colonial situation consists of three actors: the colonizer, colonialists, and colonized. In this sense, Koreans, as new colonialists, have made their way to the Philippines along imperial networks established by former colonizers (Spain and the United States) and, more recently, neoliberal globalization. As David Harvey, following Karl Marx, suggests, the accumulation of capital by neoliberalizing countries results in the dispossession of the less developed world.[38] But, this process is not just about capital and the neocolonial, predatory nature of neoliberalism; it is also about colonial modernity and the development of a globalized identity. Here, the Philippines finds itself playing the role of the *Other* it has played so many times before, during the

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[36] See, Jane Trenka, "Getting Korea on TRACK: Abandoning Discrimination, Adopting Mothers' and Children's Rights," *Australian Journal of Adoption* 6, no. 1 (2012); Jonathan M. Hicap, "Kopinos Search for Korean Dads," *Korea Times*, 4 October 2009, accessed at: http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/nation/2010/07/113_52887.html; and, Pia Lee Brago, "Pinay in Korean Parliament Looking into Plight of Kopinos," *The Philippine Star*, 23 December 2012, accessed at: http://www.philstar.com/headlines/2012/12/23/889061/pinay-korean-parliament-looking-plight-kopinos.

[37] Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1965), pp. 3-4.

[38] David Harvey, *The Enigma of Capital: And the Crisis of Capitalism* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2011).

400 years of Spanish Rule, 50 years of American occupation, and now for Korea's modernization. As the creation of Korean pathology made possible the identity of Meiji Japan, the image of the "Filipino" and the portrayal of the Philippines as a nation of servants serve a similar purpose for postcolonial Korea. Some have called this "oriental orientalism," while others refer to it as "internal orientalism."[39] Such perspectives offer much insight into the postcolonial condition, and highlight the biopolitics of nation making.

Body Politics in Postcolonial Korea

Through this representation of the Philippines, we can see how Filipinas become dangerous women in Korea. Similar to the Gold Miss and *Yanggongju* ("Western Princess"), Filipinas are included with the category of "abnormal femininity" shaping the body politics of postcolonial Korean society. They too are biological citizens closely monitored and disciplined by a culture of imperialism fueling Korea's development. While many Koreans have made their way to the Philippines to improve their social capital back in the metropole, many Filipinas, following neocolonial lines of flight, have traveled to Seoul on entertainment visas to fill the sexualized labor gap associated with Korea's economic success.

According to Catherine Moon, the military relationship between the United States and South Korea since the Korean War has been in part supported by the "patriotic" sacrifice of Korean prostitutes. The elite of postcolonial Korea strategically used the bodies of these women to maintain a (re)productive relationship with its occupying ally, the United States, in two interconnected ways: to keep the American GIs happy and "out of trouble" and to serve as a buffer between the soldiers and the "chaste" Korean women of mainstream society. Because of this, Moon goes as far as to argue that the *kijich'on* (camp-town) women can be seen as modern day comfort women.[40] In this second duty of serving as a boundary, *kijich'on* women would patriotically keep American soldiers from

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[39] Allen Chun, "An Oriental Orientalism: The Paradox of Tradition and Modernity in National Taiwan," *History and Anthropology* 9, no. 1 (1995): pp. 27-56; Yuko Kikuchi, *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism* (New York, NY: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004); Louisa Schein, "Gender and Internal Orientalism in China," *Modern China*, 23, no. 1 (January 1997): pp. 69-98.
[40] Moon, *Sex Among Allies*.

mixing with "normal" Korean women, who instead needed to be protected by, and kept under the tutelage of, Korean men. Thus, we can see that the body of the Korean woman, within this context, is used to (re)produce a particular form of meaning governing who is part of the ethnic/racial group and national culture of postcolonial Korean society, with "her sexuality [becoming] a matter of tremendous concern for men, a matter to be policed because she could dilute the ethnic/racial group"[41] and social body of the nation.

Along similar lines, Tamar Mayer argues that the nation-state is comprised of sexed subjects in which "one nation, one gender, and one particular sexuality is always favored by the social, political and cultural institutions," and whose "performativity" reproduces both their own identity and the identity of the entire nation.[42] Furthermore, when nation and gender intersect, "woman" becomes an important marker and boundary for establishing the nation since "women's bodies represent 'purity' of the nation, and thus are guarded heavily by men, an attack on these bodies becomes an attack on the nation's men."[43]

In this sense, Korean prostitutes were both instruments of foreign policy as well as biocapital for fueling Korea's GNP. As Na Young Lee points out, from the 1950s to the late 1980s, Korean national assemblymen made a sharp distinction between domestic and foreign-oriented prostitution, advocating strict control of domestic prostitution while (rather paradoxically) supporting US-oriented camp-town prostitution."[44] However, these discourses surrounding prostitution have taken on a new dimension as the face of the *Kijich'on* woman has changed. As the standard of living has improved in Korea following the "economic miracle," many Korean women have left the militarized periphery of Korea, abandoning the camp-towns and dream of marrying an American GI, who is no longer seen as a means of financial security, for the core (Seoul). But, since the power structures of the military relationship between Korea and the United States remain

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[41] Mohanram, *Imperial White*, p. 34.
[42] Tamar Mayer, "Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Setting the Stage," in Tamar Mayer, ed., *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation* (New York: NY: Routledge, 2000), p. 5.
[43] Ibid., 18.
[44] Na Young Lee, "Gendered Nationalism and Otherization: Transnational Prostitutes in South Korea," *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 7, no. 3 (November 2006): pp. 456-471, at p. 458.

intact, still requiring sexualized labor, Third World women, mostly Filipinas and to a lesser extent Eastern European women, have been imported to replace the now upwardly mobile Korean women. Again, the arrival of these foreign female bodies will serve the same purposes: cheap labor for Korea's modernization and a buffer between American soldiers and the South Korean core.

Furthermore, the work of Nira Yuval Davis tells us that nation making is done through the material and discursive use of women's bodies.[45] Thus, the arrival of the sexualized Filipina in the camp-towns makes possible Korean citizenship by serving as what Ann Stoler calls "interior frontiers." That is to say, "when coupled with the word interior, frontier carries the sense of internal distinctions within a territory (or empire); at the level of the individual, frontier marks the moral predicates by which a subject retains his or her national identity despite location outside the national frontier and despite heterogeneity within the nation-state."[46]

This is not to say that there are no longer Korean women in the camp-towns, but that the numbers are much smaller than before. In fact, the number of foreign women exceeds Korean women by two to four times, with, as of 2003, Filipinas serving as the overwhelming majority.[47] Much like their predecessors, Filipinas in the camp-towns "are not only the reserve forces in Korea's sex industry, but they also act as decoys to keep US forces in Korea."[48] What this points to is a hierarchy of subalterns in postcolonial Korea, with Third World women occupying the bottom, which in turn has made possible the upward mobility of some Korean women. Despite this need for Filipina bodies, policymakers in Korea, along with the general public, view these Filipina "entertainers" as a problem (*munjae*); not only are they considered lazy and hyper sexual (with rumors of Filipina prostitutes giving away sex for free), they are considered to be another example of the moral decay of Korean society associated with the country's

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[45] Yuval-Davis and Anthias, *Women-Nation-State*.
[46] Ann Stoler, "Sexual affronts and Racial Frontiers: European Identities and the Cultural Politics of Exclusion in Colonial Southeast Asia," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34, no. 3 (July 1992): pp. 514-551, at p. 516. Also see, Pei-Chia Lan, "Migrant Women's Bodies as Boundary Markers: Reproductive Crisis and Sexual Control in the Ethnic Frontiers of Taiwan," *Signs* 33, no. 4 (Summer 2008): pp. 833-861.
[47] Lee, "Gendered Nationalism and Otherization."
[48] Ibid., 459.

modernization.[49] Like most colonial discourses, those surrounding Filipinas in Korea are contradictory. On the one hand, these women are seen as an essential component of the U.S.-Korean military relationship; on the other hand, they are foreign prostitutes, deviant women more impure than Korean prostitutes and, therefore, threaten the moral hygiene and social body of the nation.

Within the context of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, Filipinas, in particular, have become dangerous women. Much like the medical policing of prostitutes in the Philippines, Filipinas have also become HIV fugitives in Korea. As a result, foreign women on entertainment visas, including Filipinas but Russian women as well, are regulated with mandatory STD/HIV testing without, surprisingly, provisions for health education or counseling. Although testing and treatment for STDs is free in Korea, Sealing Cheng points out that "Filipinas are not given any information on STD/HIV prevention, safer sex, or contraception, unlike their Korean counterparts" but rather closely monitored and routinely tested, which she argues is a "glaring example of the instrumentalization of women's bodies for the health of both the U.S. military and the South Korean national body."[50] And, as more and more Korean men take advantage of the availability of cheap "foreign prostitution,"[51] the Department of Public Health has become increasingly concerned with the spread of HIV among the mainstream Korean public. Here, the "imagined immunity" Pricilla Wald identifies,[52] along with the comfort of the buffer between "us and them," begins to breakdown.[53]

As the rhetoric of "free will" pervades neoliberal Korean society, policymakers have been able to successfully ignore the plight of the Filipina, and sex-trafficking in general, while maintaining national boundaries "by the symbolic and social exclusion of Filipinas, others, from Korea's national community and its female citizen-subjects."[54]

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[49] Sealing Cheng, *On the Move for Love: Migrant Entertainers and the U.S. Military in South Korea* (Philadelphia: PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).
[50] Ibid., 61.
[51] Hye-Kyung Lee, "Gender, Migration and Civil Activism in South Korea," *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 12, no. 1-2 (2003): pp. 127-153.
[52] Wald, "Imagined Immunities."
[53] A similar argument can be found in Lan, "Migrant Women's Bodies as Boundary Markers."
[54] Lee, "Gendered Nationalism and Otherization," p. 461.

Within public opinion, the perception of the Filipina is not much better. Many Koreans believe that Filipinas pursue the "Korean Dream" knowing the risks associated with migration, while others outright insist that Filipinas coming over on marriage visas are only interested in material gain and legal citizenship.[55] Such stigmatization and concern about "fake marriages" is not much different than what Filipina "mail-order brides" have encountered in the United States.[56]

Human rights organizations in Korea concerned with the trafficking of women and children have taken notice of the increasing number of Filipinas around U.S. military bases. For example, groups such as The Coalition Against Trafficking in Women-Asia Pacific (CATW-AP) and Korea Church Women United (KCWU) have conflated prostitution with the trafficking of women by portraying Filipinas as "victims" of sex trafficking. According to Sealing Cheng, this discourse of "Asian" victim relies upon the "rhetoric of a dichotomous model of domination—men from the First World (in this case, the United States) as exploitative of women in the Third World (here, Filipinas)."[57] But, as Cheng asserts, this emphasis on dehumanization by a common oppressor (i.e., the West) simplifies a rather complex dynamic of power in present-day Asia-Pacific, and thus fails to fully address the complex global assemblage making possible the trafficking of Filipinas to South Korea and prostitution in general.

In other words, we need to recognize that the experiences of Korean prostitutes that inhabited the spaces around U.S. military bases in the past—and to a much lesser degree today—are very different than those of the Filipinas. Again, I am referring to a hierarchy of subalterns that suggests not all prostitutes are created equal or equally stigmatized for that matter. As discussed earlier, Filipinas occupy the bottom rung of this hierarchy, seen as dirtier and more "infectious" than Korean prostitutes, and, therefore, their exploitation at the hands of Korean club owners receives very little public attention. And, while CATW-AP and KCWU declare themselves helpers in the fight against the

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[55] Lan, "Maid or Madam?"
[56] See, Uma Narayan, "'Mail-Order' Brides: Immigrant Women, Domestic Violence and Immigration Law," *Hypatia* 10, no. 1 (Winter 1995): pp. 104-119 and Christine S.Y. Chun, "The Mail-Order Bride Industry: The Perpetuation of Transnational Economic Inequalities and Stereotypes," *University of Pennsylvania Journal of International Economic Law* 17, no. 4 (1996): pp. 1155-1208.
[57] Cheng, *On the Move for Love*, p. 209.

colonizer, they inadvertently reproduce the marginalization they seek to stop. As middle class Korean women set out to restore family and social order by rescuing Filipina prostitutes, thus defining how society should be, they produce a narrative that pathologizes Filipinas who refuse to follow the moral path outlined for them.[58]

Because the money is good, much better than they could ever make back home, many Filipinas do not want to leave the clubs in Korea, but rather want to prevent the owners from exploiting them (i.e., withholding pay, forcing them to prostitute themselves to clients, etc.). And, as Cheng's ethnography shows us, these Filipinas further challenge the victim narrative by marrying or getting romantically involved with the American GIs, some of whom actually help their Filipina girlfriend/wife escape debt bondage.[59] Now, this is not to say that a form of violence that is foreign, masculine, and sexual does not exist in Korea. It certainly does. But, rather, within the discursive spaces produced by these human rights groups, Filipinas can only be "victims" or "happy hookers," with the former identity incapable of agency and the latter viewed as a pathological femininity. Indeed, these Filipinas are not passive subjects, that is say, simply pawns within the U.S.-Korea military relationship, but rather nomadic subjects, active agents struggling to survive within globalization as they traverse (neo)colonial lines of flight.

Not Just Any-Body Can Be a Postcolonial Citizen

This dissertation addresses the biopower of nation making and the role the body plays in reproducing a national identity. In particular, I have focused on the conditions under which the hygienic, obedient, law-abiding, social, and, overall, "normal" body emerged during the colonial encounter, which continues to play out today in the Philippines and Korea. This discursive development of the body can be seen as what Julia Kristeva calls "abjection." On this point Kristeva writes:

> It is thus not lack of cleanliness or health that causes abjection but what disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules. The in-between, the ambiguous, the composite. The traitor, the liar, the criminal with a good conscience, the shameless rapist, the killer who claims he is a savior. . . . Any crime, because it draws attention to the fragility of the law, is abject, but premeditated crime, cunning murder, hypocritical revenge are even more so because they heighten the display of such fragility. Abjection, on the other hand,

[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.

> is immoral, sinister, scheming, and shady: a terror that dissembles, a hatred that smiles, a passion that uses the body for barter instead of inflaming it, a debtor who sells you up, a friend who stabs you.[60]

In this sense, biological citizens can be seen as products of abjection, and "dangerous women" that threaten the national identity, that is, disrupt the forms of femininity and masculinity needed by the nation for development and modernity, become biological citizens *par excellence*. Abjection, here, occurs at two different levels where the administration of bodies and the calculated management of life occur: the anatomo-politics of the human body (somatic and molecular) and the biopolitics of the population.

Through the moral hygiene discourses of the U.S. and Korean public health campaigns, Filipino bodies became causes of abjection, not because they were filthy and disease-prone (carriers of hookworm, leprosy, and, more recently, HIV/AIDS) but rather because they disrupted the order and power structures of colonialism and modernity. For example, in colonial Philippines, the versatility of the Filipino body in contrast to the struggling white body directly challenged the narrative of American imperialism. The discourses of American tutelage quickly fell apart in the Philippines as Americans fell to illness and failed to effectively subdue the population. Because of this, American public health officials and colonial administrators built a narrative of Filipino feeble-mindedness and backwardness to justify colonialism, while simultaneously using science and technology (i.e., germ theory, criminology, and psychoanalysis) to manipulate the tropical terrain and discipline the native bodies within it. And, within the discursive space of colonial science, the Filipino body could only be primitive and inferior and the white body modern and superior.

The legacy of the colonial encounter continues to play out in the Philippines, albeit through different modes of domination. As discussed earlier, chasing modernity and neoliberal globalization, the Filipino elite have relied upon postcolonial technoscience to discipline the abjective bodies of contemporary Philippine society, most notably the balikbayan Filipina, who occupies the contradictory discursive space of "victim" and "whore." She is a victim of abuse and exploitation by both foreign men and

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[60] Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. by Leon S. Roudiez (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1982), p. 4.

global capitalism, while also portrayed as a deviant, a dangerous form of femininity, for abandoning the domestic sphere and engaging in romantic relationships with foreigners abroad. Furthermore, she is considered to be a threat to the modernization and development of the Philippines. As far as many of the political elite are concerned, modernity cannot be full achieved if the Philippines is seen as a Third World nation with cheap labor and a looming AIDS epidemic. Rather, an AIDS-free Philippines with high skilled labor would allow the nation to survive the pressures of neoliberal globalization, and, therefore, government policies actively target the bodies that challenge the fragility of a modernized national identity. Here, we can see how the racial hygiene discourse that supported American colonialism has mutated into the "national-productivist hygiene"[61] of postcolonial Philippines, in which eugenic-like policies cannot be separated from the socioeconomic factors that define nationalism.

Within colonial modernity, these dangerous Filipinas are transformed into biological citizens, no longer authentic Filipinos but instead primordial identities that are a product of a shameful colonial past. However, neoliberal globalization has opened up new lines of flight that allow Filipinas to escape Third World poverty, but, as Deleuze and Guattari point out, where these lines connect next may or may not be permanent or necessarily better.[62] For many Filipinas, these lines of flight, which interestingly follow (neo)colonial networks, have intersected with economic zones of development in Korea. And, within postcolonial Korea, Third World women have begun to fill the spaces that previously poor, now economically better off, Korean women once occupied.

As a form of biocapital used to maintain the U.S.-Korea military relationship, Filipinas have become biological citizens within the camp-towns surrounding the military bases. Again, the Filipina represents a contradictory identity. In Korean society, serving as entertainers and prostitutes, she supports economic development in the camp-towns and, more importantly, produces a barrier between Korean and foreigner. Many of the

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[61] This idea of the shift from race-based hygiene to national-productivist hygiene is fully developed in the work of Spektorowski and Ireni-Saban on social democratic movements in Sweden and Israel. See, Alberto Spektorowski and Liza Ireni-Saban, "From 'Race Hygiene' to 'National-Productivist Hygiene,'" *Journal of Political Ideologies* 16, no. 2 (June 2011): pp. 169-193.

[62] See, Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*.

political elite recognize the importance of importing Third World women to maintain the structures of power that define postcolonial Korea (i.e., militarized modernity and neoliberalism), but at the same time, Filipinas are seen as a threat to the stability of Korea's development. Viewed as a source of deviancy and infection, Filipinas represent an encroaching "Third Worldness."

The abnormal Filipina can be juxtaposed with the "authentic" Korean femininity produced by the nation to support economic development. The new Korean woman is a product of the intersection of colonial modernity and neoliberal globalization. She is Neo-Confucianist and supports patriarchy, while also sexualized and reflective of consumerism and globalism. She can be seen in the current *girls' generation* culture and the Missy identity. The balikbayan Filipina is also a product of colonial modernity and neoliberalism. Just as the native body made possible the bourgeois identity of white women, Filipinas make possible the new femininities of the Korean middle class. In this sense, by replacing Korean women in camp-towns and serving as caregivers in the domestic sphere,[63] Filipinas also represent the kinds of bodies the Korean nation needs to develop and modernize. And, just as white women served as "role models" to native women in the colonies, the images of femininity portrayed in Korean films and dramas have had a great influence over Filipinas.

As Dong Hwan Kwon points out, as early as 2004, the Korean wave (or *Hallyu*), particularly "Koreanovelas," has found its way to the Philippines with much success.[64] Around this time, according to Kwon, major television networks in the Philippines, most notably GMA 7, began airing Korean dramas, such as *Bright Girl*, *Stairway to Heaven* and *Full House*, which like most are a blend of eastern and western cultures with pro-capitalist themes, to compete with rival companies. These Koreanovelas and, more recently, K-Pop songs have been particularly popular among Filipinas, who, as Michelle Camille suggests,[65] view the Korean female characters and their sexuality as modern and

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[63] Lee, "Gender, Migration and Civil Activism in South Korea."
[64] Dong Hwan Kwon, "Is It Too Early to Talk about 'Hallyu' in the Philippines? Koreanovela and Its Reception among Filipino Audience," *Asian Communication Research* 9 (2007): pp. 78-109.
[65] Michelle Camille, "Strong Women in the Eyes of Filipinas: A Reception Study of Korean TV Dramas [Paper Online]," Paper Presented at the 6th World Congress of

empowering. Along these lines, Belinda Flores Espiritu argues:

> The Korean television dramas become sites of struggle between hegemonic cultures and oppositional ideologies where various meanings are produced in the process of audience reception. In the case of the young Filipino women, certain themes, issues, values, and ideologies related to class and gender become the focal sites of decoding the construction of meaning.[66]

In this sense, I consider Hallyu to be a clear extension of the neoliberal Korean identity, which in some ways acts very similar to Gramsci's concept of hegemony.[67] That is to say, Hallyu greatly influences the identities within other societies in the region and, frankly, around the world. In particular, the new Korean femininity discussed in detail earlier has found its way to the Third World through Hallyu. As Espiritu points out, some Filipinas oppose the capitalist and patriarchal values and ideologies reflected in the Koreanovelas. However, it would be naïve to ignore the hegemonic power these discourses have on social thinking in neoliberal Philippines and, particularly, on the younger generation of Filipinas, who are not only influenced by the representations of femininity in these dramas but also adopt the procapitalist and entrepreneurial neoliberal identity as they migrate abroad to support their families and themselves.

To be a postcolonial citizen within the intersection of colonial modernity and neoliberalism, Filipinas, Korean women, and all subalterns for that matter traverse the hegemonic structures of power by adopting "a repertoire of strategies and responses—ways of coping as well as ways of resisting. Each strategy in the repertoire mobilizes certain materials, social and symbolic elements: it constructs these into the supporting of the different ways the class lives, negotiates, and resists its continuing subordination."[68] However, as Stuart Hall points out, "not all the strategies are of equal weight; not all are

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Korean Studies, 2012, accessed at: http://congress.aks.ac.kr/korean/files/2_1357266442.pdf.

[66] Belinda Flores Espiritu, "Transnational Audience Reception as a Theater of Struggle: Young Filipino Women's Reception of Korean Television Dramas," *Asian Journal of Communication* 21, no. 4 (August 2011): pp. 355-372, at p. 357.

[67] Antonio Gramsci, *The Modern Prince and Other Writings* (New York, NY: International Publishers, 1959).

[68] Stuart Hall, "For Allon White: Metaphors of Transformation," in David Morley and Kuan-Hsing Chen, eds., *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1996), p. 295.

potentially counter-hegemonic."[69] As I mentioned before, to overcome these structures of power, many subalterns, like crabs in a barrel, climb on the backs of others to gain social mobility within what Hall refers to as a "theater of struggle." In other words, Korean women need Filipinas and Filipinas need Korean women. Much like the periphery and the metropole, these two identities are interdependent. And, in the attempt to negotiate, resist, and struggle against patriarchy, modernity, and neoliberalism, these subordinate groups have established a hierarchy of subalterns by reproducing the culture of imperialism they wish to disrupt.[70]

Resistance and the Future of the Biological Citizen

Much of the literature on current and future formations of biosocialities focuses on how our increasing reliance on genetic research, biotechnology, and neuroscience to solve societal problems and govern pathological bodies (be it molecular anomalies or renegade brains) is producing new forms of biological citizenships. In particular, Nikolas Rose has identified how we are becoming neurochemical selves,[71] while others, also addressing this growing emphasis on brainhood ideology, have written with great clarity about the rise of the cerebral subject.[72] But, unfortunately, these works on the future of biological citizenship are absent of any serious analysis of the postcolonial. With the diffusion of technoscience worldwide, accurately referred to as "techno-globalism" by Shigeru Nakayama,[73] these biological subjectivities have taken form in the postcolonial world, most notably the newly industrialized economies (NIEs) of East Asia where science and nationalism are intimately intertwined and biotechnology is fully embraced by the political elite as another measure, albeit a power one, of modernity.

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[69] John Clarke, Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson, and Brian Roberts, "Subcultures, cultures, and class," in Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson, eds., *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), p. 34.
[70] For a similar argument on the culture of imperialism, see Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*.
[71] Rose, *The Politics of Life Itself*.
[72] Ortega and Vidal, "Mapping the Cerebral Subject in Contemporary Culture" and Francisco Ortega, "The Cerebral Subject and the Challenge of Neurodiversity," *BioSocieties* 4, no. 4 (December 2009): pp. 425-445.
[73] Shigeru Nakayama, "Techno-Nationalism Versus Techno-Globalism," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society* 6, no. 1 (2012): pp. 9-15.

But, while I have noted the rise of these types of biological citizenships in Korea and the Philippines, the intent of this project is to bring in the postcolonial, along with a gendered perspective, to provide a genealogy of biological citizenship, not simply another account of a "new" identity. And, through such a genealogy, we can gain a deeper understanding of nationalism and nation making in postcolonial Asia. As Uday Chandra keenly points out, "we live in uncertain times, but one of the few certainties today is the dominance of Eurocentric perspectives on formerly colonized parts of the world."[74] Therefore, we must acknowledge that most the work on modern biosocialities is not only dominated by Eurocentric perspectives but that biological citizenships are themselves a product of Eurocentrism, the colonial encounter, and, more recently, neoliberal globalization. Furthermore, through this genealogy, I have attempted to show how women are biological citizens *par excellence* within the colonial encounter and the nation making process; how their material bodies and discursive identities are not only policed and disciplined to support colonialism and nation making but also are sites of struggle that directly challenge and shape these hegemonic regimes.

It is within this line of thought that I would like to conclude with a look at how a genealogical approach to biological citizenship can offer some insight into new forms of resistance in postcolonial societies like Korea and the Philippines. Here, I am not so much interested in the "activism" generally attributed to biological citizenships, such as the lobbying and political mobilization of biological identities, but more so with what Foucault refers to as "hyper-and pessimistic" activism." On this point Foucault writes:

> No! I am not looking for an alternative; you can't find the solution of a problem in the solution of another problem raised at another moment by another people. You see, what I want to do is not the history of solutions—and that's the reason why I don't accept the word alternative. I would like to do the genealogy of problems, of problématiques. My point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous, which is not exactly the same as bad. If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do. So my position leads not to apathy but to a hyper-and pessimistic activism.[75]

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[74] Uday Chandra, "The Case for a Postcolonial Approach to the Study of Politics," *New Political Science* 35, no. 3 (2013): pp. 479-491, at p. 479.
[75] Foucault, *Ethics, Subjectivity, and Truth*, p. 256.

For the most part, the work on biological citizenships approaches the issue of activism and resistance similar to that of Merleau-Ponty's analysis of *le corps proper*, that is to say, the body is considered to have a *telos* towards rationality and explicitness.[76] Building from Foucault's understanding of modern power and resistance, I have attempted in this dissertation to investigate the historical, cultural, and economic dimensions of the body and power in relation to the conditions of possibility for biological citizenships in postcolonial societies. Thus, although the biological citizenships associated with "becoming woman, becoming nation" are shaped by the structures of power surrounding them, such as those established by the colonizer, the policymaker, and the scientific expert, they are not passive agents, but rather examples of identities, malleable bodies, focused on overcoming the prefabricated self by refashioning a new one.

In this sense, we can see how the Filipino and Korean body challenges the cultural hegemony of the colonizer, be it the United States or Japan, by directly opposing the narratives of imperial hygiene and modernity or by just being bodies—messy, unclassifiable bodies. That is to say "subaltern knowledges and subjects register their presence by acting upon the dominant discourse by forcing it into contradictions, by making it speak in tongues."[77] This mode of presence, according to Gyan Prakash, "does not issue forth from an a priori existence but arises in the entanglement of power, inhabiting the warps it produces in the fabric of dominance."[78] Similarly, Foucault argues that "a power relationship can only be articulated on the basis . . . that 'the other' (the one over whom power is exercised) be thoroughly recognized and maintained to the very ends as a person who acts."[79]

Thus, the native disrupts the power relationships established by the colonizer through the very act of surviving. Both American and Japanese imperialism, along with the development of their modern national identities, were predicated on the representation

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[76] See, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Merleau-Ponty Reader*, ed. by Leonard Lawlor and Ted Toadvine (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2007).
[77] Gyan Prakash, "The Impossibility of Subaltern History," *Nepantla: Views from South* 1, no. 2 (2000): pp. 287-294, at p. 293.
[78] Ibid., 294.
[79] Foucault, *Michael Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, p. 220.

of a biological weaker, culturally inferior *Other*. But, as Americans and Europeans quickly fell to illness in the tropics and Japanese colonial officials failed to rewrite the identity of the Korean, a "whole field of responses, reactions, results, and possible interventions [opened] up."[80] At one level, the "result" was decolonization and nationalization, but at a deeper level was the failure to fully classify, and, thus, recognize and discipline through scientific authority, the body itself. That is to say, the other's "unclassifiable body rocks with personal and political power."[81]

Here, "becoming woman" requires "knowing" her body. But, as stated throughout this dissertation, "dangerous women" made this act of knowing extremely difficult and, in some instances, impossible. By producing counter femininities and blurring the lines between the normal and pathological, these dangerous women "escaped from a domination of truth not by playing a game that was totally different from the game of truth but by playing the same game differently . . . by pointing out that there are other reasonable options, by teaching people what they don't know about their own situation, their working conditions, and their exploitations."[82] To understand resistance, then, requires that we move beyond simply trying to make a better distinction between the normal and the pathological, as many studying the formation of biosocalities have attempted to do. Instead of accepting the argument that what was once viewed as abnormal is now seen as normal through active attempts at demedicalization and political mobilization, I am interested in uprooting and disrupting the social use of that very distinction and revealing not just resistance but the conditions of possibility for resistance that are interlinked with the formations of biological citizenships.

For example, my analysis of the balikbayan Filipina and the "queer" women of postcolonial Korea shows that the various rules, limits, and norms that the colonial encounter, nation making, and globalization have used to define "woman," often considered as natural and scientific, are sources of discipline and marginalization and an attempt to create identities for the purposes of control, be it empire through imperialism, nationalization by the political elite following colonialism, and, more recently,

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[80] Ibid.
[81] Paul Stoller, "Embodying Colonial Memories," *American Anthropologist* 96, no. 3 (September 1994): pp. 634-648, at p. 646.
[82] Foucault, *Ethics, Subjectivity, and Truth*, pp. 295-296.

neoliberalization. These power relations, as expressions of contingent histories and social practices, form an assemblage that has turned women into biological citizens by producing a true femininity, while simultaneously excluding and marginalizing the women that fall outside this "authentic" identity, such as the Filipina, the Gold Miss, and the lesbian.

However, by playing the game of globalization and neocolonialism a little differently, these dangerous women have shifted the power dynamic through various modes of transgression. In this sense, "transgression seeks to undermine or at least weaken any given set of limits in order to attenuate their violence. Transgression then is nothing less than the affirmation of negation."[83] Thus, we can see that these women are not just merely resisting social and biological construction, but also, and more importantly, "by operating within the margins, transgressing limits, [and] experimenting outside of established norms,"[84] have made possible resistance, struggle, and counter discourse.

[83] Brent L. Pickett, "Foucault and the Politics of Resistance," *Polity* 28, no. 4 (Summer 1996): pp. 445-466, at p. 451.
[84] Dan Butin, "If This Resistance I would Hate to See Domination: Retrieving Foucault's notion of Resistance Within Education Research," *Educational Studies* 32, no. 2 (2001): pp. 157-176, at p. 173.

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