



WORDS FROM THE DIRECTOR

When California voters went to the polls this past October to cast ballots for or against gubernatorial recall, they also voted on two other ballot initiatives, one of which, Proposition 54, had potentially grave consequences for researchers and activists concerned about racial justice. Under the guise of "racial privacy" Proposition 54 would have prohibited state agencies, including the University of California, from collecting or utilizing data that categorized individuals by race. The measure was spearheaded by UC regent Ward Connerly, who had fronted an earlier successful initiative (Proposition 209) to ban affirmative action programs in admissions in the University system. The proponents of Proposition 54 argued that by stopping the collection of racial data, our society would be acknowledging that race has no biological basis and would thereby become the kind of "color-blind" society envisioned by Dr. Martin Luther King. Civil rights advocates countered by arguing that our society still had a long way to go before achieving racial equality and that it was imperative that state agencies be able to collect race-based data in order to monitor progress (or lack of progress) toward the desired goal of racial justice.

The organizers of the initiative were clearly not color-blind themselves, as they hired blacks and other visible minorities to collect signatures at public sites, such as supermarket parking lots. They also crafted Proposition 54 to include certain exemptions that belied their contention that "race no longer matters." Most egregiously, the measure allowed police and law enforcement agencies to use racial descriptors and also protected them from being accountable for racial profiling. It also exempted medical research studies, but it would have prohibited the collection of vital statistics needed to track disease and mortality rates among different subgroups. The latter point proved to be an Achilles Heel as prominent figures such as former Surgeon General Edwin Koop as well as all of the mainstream medical and health organizations publicly came out against Prop 54, warning that it threatened the health of everyone by hamstringing

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CRG Forum Examines Caribbean Migrations



Professors Tyler Stovall (left) and Ramón Grosfoguel (right) present at a CRG Forum

In early September, Professor Ramón Grosfoguel from the Chicano Studies department and Professor Tyler Stovall from the History department kicked off this semester's CRG Forum Series with a presentation entitled "Colonial Caribbean Minorities in France, Great Britain, and the United States." Their presentation explored similarities and differences in the dynamics of migrations from various Caribbean colonies to their respective metropolises in order to develop a comparative analysis of how different empires treat migrants from their colonies. Emphasizing the historical and geographical specificities of racisms, Grosfoguel and Stovall noted the important role that different histories of colonialism within the Caribbean and specific narratives of the nation associated with different imperial powers play in shaping the experiences of these Caribbean migrants.

Grosfoguel presented a comparative analysis of rates of labor force incorporation of various Caribbean migrants in France, Great Britain, the Netherlands and the U.S. He noted that migrants from the Caribbean face relatively fewer barriers to migration to the metropole than migrants from other parts of the world because they have historically been classified as citizens of their colonizing country. As a result, the character of Caribbean migrations closely reflects the class structure in the Caribbean, meaning that the majority of migrants are working

class. In comparing labor force participation of different groups, Grosfoguel found that West Indians in Great Britain and Antilleans and Surinamese in the Netherlands were concentrated in the industrial sector. As a result of deindustrialization, these groups experienced high rates of unemployment. In contrast, in France, migrants from Guadelupe and Martinique were concentrated in the service sector, especially in public administration and had rates of labor force participation comparable to whites. Grosfoguel argued that this difference can be traced to the French colonial administration's practice of recruiting people from Guadelupe and Martinique to act as administrators in French colonies in North Africa. First generation migrants from Guadelupe and Martinique continue to occupy this intermediary position in France acting as a kind of "model minority." While these privileges do not appear to extend into the second generation, they demonstrate the inadequacy of imposing a U.S.-based black and white model of racism in other parts of the world.

Stovall's presentation focused on migration from the French Caribbean in the period between the final abolition of slavery in 1848 and the end of colonial status in 1946. Noting that during this period the contradictions between French ideas of univer-

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CRG Launches Colorism Project

The Center for Race and Gender is excited to announce a new research initiative on colorism. Colorism is a form of discrimination that structures inequality by creating social evaluations based on skin tone. Colorism is in effect when one's complexion becomes the basis for awarding, restricting or denying access to power and resources in various arenas of society. Such discrimination produces a skin tone hierarchy. For example, the following folk limerick has circulated within the African American community for generations and highlights the association between skin tone and social acceptance succinctly:

If you're white, you're all right.
If you're yellow, kiss a fellow.
If you're brown, stick around.
If you're black, get back.

This limerick is but one example of the social significance of complexion in the United States. Colorism is also central to symbolic interactions across many other communities throughout many other countries. This is why the CRG "is launching a working group on colorism [in order] to understand . . . its intersection with other forms of social hierarchy based on gender, caste, class, sexuality and race," states CRG Director Evelyn Nakano Glenn. "We aim to take an historical comparative approach that uncovers general patterns across societies as well as historical and cultural specificities and differences across cultures."

This undertaking is significant because of its unique mission to study colorism as a worldwide phenomenon using cross-cultural and interdisciplinary approaches. The goal

of the project is to create a premier clearinghouse for research on colorism by developing and publishing original scholarship, creating an interactive Web site, and convening seminars and conferences for intellectual exchange. A second, but no less important, goal is to support graduate student research on the subject.

The myriad of issues the project will explore include:

- *the conjunctures between colorism and the historical and contemporary valorization of whiteness in the origins and persistence of skin tone prejudice;

- *the politics of skin color as symbolic and social capital in various socioeconomic markets including beauty, reproduction, and desire;

- *the manifestation and deployment of color hierarchy within and between racial and ethnic groups;

- *the globalization of Western culture and the marketing of skin whitening products and cosmetics; and

- *the development of adequate methodological approaches to study the psychosocial effects of these phenomena.

The CRG welcomes participation and input from other scholars conducting research in this area or on related issues of skin tone bias. If you would like to be a part of this exciting initiative, please contact Lynnéa Stephen, graduate student researcher for The Colorism Project, at the CRG by phone: (510) 643-4244 or by e-mail: lstephen@socrates.berkeley.edu.

Lynnéa Y. Stephen
Ph.D. Candidate, Sociology

Caribbean Minorities in France, Great Britain and U.S.

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salism and practices of colonial citizenship were at their height, Stovall looked at both Caribbean and French perspectives on migration. In the Caribbean, Stovall argued that migration to Europe became associated with liberation because historically slavery had been permitted in the colonies but not in France. Therefore, while after 1848 people in the Caribbean were French citizens in theory, the association of values such as freedom and universal rights with the physical space of France contributed to a belief that one could only truly become French by moving to France. Upon arrival in France, however, these migrants did not experience universal citizenship. Rather, they found themselves to be viewed as racially marked and therefore inferior citizens. From the

French perspective, migration from the Caribbean made contradictions within the French self-image increasingly visible. As a republic with an empire, the French were forced to negotiate between the belief in universalism and the reality of racial stratification and colonial citizenship. Stovall argued that the Negritude movement had its roots in this contradiction and that within this movement can be seen a tentative move toward the recognition of an identity that is both Black and French in contrast to universalist idea of being only French.

Grosfoguel and Stovall's presentation sparked a stimulating discussion at the Forum. Their work is part of a larger collaborative project on colonial Caribbean migrations.

Priya Kandaswamy
Ph.D. Candidate, Ethnic Studies

Center Hosts Tangled Strands, 2nd Annual Dissertation Workshop



from left: Christopher Scott, Kella Svedich, Robin Mitchell

From September 11-14 2003, eleven doctoral students and six faculty members gathered at the Westerbeke Ranch in Sonoma, California for the Center for Race and Gender's 2nd annual dissertation workshop. Entitled *Tangled Strands: The Dynamics of Race and Gender*, the workshop's purpose was to create a collaborative space in which students and faculty could discuss and refine their understanding of the interplay of race and gender in their various research projects. The participants were selected from those who had submitted proposals the previous spring; the final group included UC Davis, UC Berkeley, and Stanford students from various disciplines and fields within the social sciences and humanities, including Sociology, English, Japanese Language and Literature, Rhetoric, African Diaspora Studies, History, and Ethnic Studies. Our faculty

advisors for the weekend were Dr. Barrie Thorne (Sociology and Women's Studies), Dr. Ruth Wilson Gilmore (Geography), Dr. Colleen Lye (English), Dr. Marcial Gonzalez (English), and Dr. Evelyn Nakano Glenn (Ethnic Studies and Women's Studies).

The workshop followed the longstanding format developed by facilitator Dr. David Szanton, founder of UC Berkeley's dissertation workshop series. After an evening of introductions and delicious food, the first full day provided an opportunity for students to receive constructive criticism on their research proposals from other participants in formal 30-minute sessions on each proposal. In these rigorous yet respectful sessions, group members posed questions, offered suggestions and praise, expressed concerns, and outlined potential pitfalls for each project. The second day was also di-

vided into 30-minute blocks, in which each student participant responded to questions raised in the previous day's session and requested feedback from colleagues on areas of their proposed projects about which they felt need of guidance or advice. The issues addressed ranged from bibliographic concerns to questions on structure and form, to suggestions for refining research methodology. The third day consisted of shorter, 'one-on-one' meetings between students and selected faculty to receive more extensive and individualized support and guidance. This formal schedule was augmented both by evening group discussions that addressed theoretical and thematic concerns that bridged the majority of the projects, and by numerous informal (and sometimes raucous!) gatherings during our limited 'off time'.

At the end of the somewhat exhausting three days, all attendees agreed that *Tangled Strands II* had been a huge success. The opportunity to receive feedback from a set of scholars with diverse theoretical and disciplinary backgrounds helped each of us to refine our theoretical models and research plans, especially by complicating and enriching our approach to race, gender, and class as intersecting axes of power. Just as importantly, the atmosphere of collegiality and commonality had been a welcome oasis in the often-unmitigated isolation of dissertation research and writing. Perhaps the greatest measure of the workshop's success can be seen in its continuing importance for the students involved: the group has since begun to generate a bibliography of source material for collective use, and has established an ongoing working group with the sponsorship of the Center for Race and Gender.

Sara Clarke Kaplan
Ph.D. Candidate, Ethnic Studies

Love, Sex and Underdevelopment: A Critique of Cuban Chic

At the October CRG Forum, Nancy Mirabal and Karina Cespedes discussed the different uses of sex, sexuality, sexual availability, and the promise of love in representations of Cuba within discourses and economies of tourism. Mirabal, a professor of Raza Studies at San Francisco State University, and Cespedes, a Ph.D. candidate in Ethnic Studies at Berkeley, remarked that their interest in working on this collaborative project grew out of the contrast they observed between representations of Cuba as just a "fun place to visit" and the many contradictions they saw surrounding tourism on their own trips to Cuba. The goal of their talk was to examine how Cuba looks from "outside of the imaginary of the tourist" and to historicize and problematize often taken for granted discourses and economies of tourism within Cuba.

Professor Mirabal, a historian by training, opened the joint presentation by giving

a brief historical background and situating tourism within Cuba at the intersection of multiple forces. Not only has Cuba's geographic proximity to the United States and Mexico made it a central location for economies centered around movement ranging from the slave trade to tourism, but Cuba's history of colonialism and the racialized and gendered representations that accompanied this history have laid the foundation for contemporary Cuban tourism. Drawing on political cartoons from the turn of the century to illustrate her point, Mirabal noted that these racialized and gendered representations were indicative of the United States' ambivalent relationship with Cuba. For example, in some cartoons, Cuba appears as a white woman needing to be saved while in others Cuba appears as a black woman in need of discipline. Mirabal highlighted the continuities between colonial discourses around Cuba and tourist discourses. In par-

ticular, travel writers during the early 20th century often drew upon the representation of Cuba as a white woman in order to promote tourism in a Cuba that had been largely fashioned by U.S. economic and political policy. Similarly, popular descriptions that equated Cuba with "a woman in love" cast Cuba and by implication Cuban women as sexually available in order to promote the tourist economy.

Cespedes continued the discussion by turning to more contemporary understandings of tourism within Cuba. She noted that while tourist industries in Cuba declined after 1959, the decline of the Soviet Union has led to a resurgence in tourism since 1989. No longer able to rely on economic support from the Soviet Union, Cuba has had to enter the global economy primarily as a

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4 Faculty Spotlight on...

Paola Bacchetta



Dr. Paola Bacchetta is the newest addition to the Women's Studies faculty at Berkeley. Professor Bacchetta is a renowned scholar who has studied and conducted research in France and India and has taught in France, India and the U.S. She has published widely on Hindu nationalism, gender, and sexuality and has made many important contributions in fields ranging from the study of women's involvement in right wing movements to debates about transnationalism within queer theory. Immediately prior to coming to Berkeley, Professor Bacchetta held a joint appointment in the departments of Women's Studies and geography at the University of Kentucky, Lexington, and she spent the past year in residence at Harvard Divinity School as a research associate in their Women's Studies in Religion Program.

Professor Bacchetta did most of her academic training in France and India. After studying for two years at John Cabot College in Rome, she completed her B.A. in international relations at the American University in Paris. After acquiring an M.A. from the University of Paris, she earned her DEA and Ph.D. in sociology at the Sorbonne. Bacchetta noted that at the time when she was in graduate school sociology in France, which included both French sociology and sociology from Postcolonial Francophone sites, was a particularly exciting field of study. This was both because of the many new theoretical developments that were emerging from the discipline and because of the discipline's close connections to progressive social movements in France and elsewhere, many of which Bacchetta, herself, participated in. While at the Sorbonne, Bacchetta researched and wrote her dissertation on Hindu-Muslim conflict in India. While working on her dissertation, she also became an affiliate in the sociology department at the Delhi School of Economics where she both participated in a research group and did fieldwork.

After finishing her doctorate, Professor Bacchetta returned to India where she spent two years as a research affiliate in the Department of Sociology at the Delhi School

of Economics and also worked as a research affiliate of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. Professor Bacchetta said that working in India was a particularly valuable experience for her. Not only did India offer a very rich site from which to theorize the lasting effects of colonialism, but during her time in Delhi, she became a part of a community of Indian scholars that was bringing together scholarship from around the world in provocative new ways. At the forefront of this group's conversations were debates about how the social sciences that were constituted in the West were an insufficient means of understanding the Indian context and a collective effort to develop different kinds of scholarship in order to challenge the erasures made by Western social science. Professor Bacchetta remarked that working in the midst of the production of this kind of theory was an extremely important part of her intellectual development that has made a lasting imprint on her work.

While in India, Professor Bacchetta began researching women's involvement in the Hindu nationalist movement there. It was actually her work as an activist that sparked her interest in this topic. Her first experience with deconstructing right-wing discourse was a result of her involvement in anti-racist movements while a student in France. It was when anti-Sikh riots broke out in India in 1984 that Bacchetta first began to contemplate the significance of the Hindu right. Later, while living in India, Bacchetta became very involved in the women's movement there. As a result of this involvement, she noticed that women were increasingly being recruited into and joining the Hindu right despite the patriarchal norms that these right wing groups upheld. Bacchetta recognized that it was important that the progressive women's movement not simply dismiss this phenomenon. Rather, she saw it as necessary to understand why women would choose to join the right wing and what they got out of their involvement with the right.

In order to answer these questions, Professor Bacchetta set out to do research that both examined the significance of gender and sexuality within Hindu nationalist discourse and looked specifically at women's involvement in the Rashtra Sevika Samiti (Samiti), the women's wing of India's most extensive Hindu nationalist organization, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS). As part of her research, she compiled an archive of RSS publications dating back to the organization's founding in 1925. She also conducted fieldwork that involved observing activities and events and interviewing both men and women who were involved in the RSS or the Samiti.

Professor Bacchetta remarked that the process of doing this fieldwork was often

filled with surprises. For example, many of the women with whom she spoke often tried to recruit her into their organizations. She recalled one experience when she was invited to an International Women's Day celebration sponsored by the women's wing of the RSS and arrived only to find out that she was expected to give the keynote speech. While at the time experiences like these could be quite harrowing, Professor Bacchetta noted, with a sense of humor, that in retrospect she always learned a great deal from them. For example, it was in the process of being recruited by the Samiti that she came to understand how this organization reaches out to other women and what it feels like to be recruited.

What Professor Bacchetta found in her research contradicts many common assumptions about right wing women. Despite the fact that the Hindu nationalist women she worked with advocated very conservative gender roles for other women, they often did not appear to adhere to these roles themselves. Rather, Professor Bacchetta interviewed a wide range of right-wing women who among other things moved freely in public spaces, rode their own motorcycles, wore Western clothes, were unmarried and were trained in self-defense techniques that they were not afraid to use on men.

While there is very little literature on women's participation in right-wing movements, much of the literature that does exist often treats right-wing women as simply victims of patriarchy or as acting out of false consciousness. In contrast, Professor Bacchetta argues that participating in Hindu nationalism actually offers women a means of making themselves into political agents within a patriarchal context. Pointing out that right-wing women often have very different conceptions of the Hindu nation than their male counterparts and that women actually wield a great deal of power within the Hindu nationalist movement, Professor Bacchetta asserts that these right-wing women are able to claim a kind of "emancipation without liberation." Through their involvement in Hindu nationalism, they "reach beyond the borders of their otherwise proscribed identities, roles, and spaces, while simultaneously accommodating the male order."

Professor Bacchetta's research on women's involvement in Hindu nationalism draws attention to the complexity of women's experiences working within right wing movements. She has published many articles in which she explores these complexities, and her book, [Gender and the Hindu Nation: RSS Women as Ideologists](#), will be released shortly by Women Unlimited, a prominent

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The Undergraduate Grants Program **5**

The Center for Race and Gender is pleased to announce its **Fall 2003 Undergraduate Grant recipients**. Congratulations to the following Berkeley undergraduates who were awarded grants ranging from \$200-1000 to carry out their research or creative project:



Jain Hutzell received a grant to support the production of a copper and steel sculpture entitled “**Birds of a Feather—We Are All One.**” Jain is an Art Practice major who has recently completed a sculpture that references the paintings of Glenn Ligon in addressing genetic discourses of race and shared humanity. For this project, she will create “a six part sculpture that will hopefully inspire understanding in as well as empower the viewers of the work. The idea is to represent us all, LGBTs- Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual, Transgender and Straight, and show how we are all one in the fight against ignorance, fear and hate.”



Ja-Ming Emily Lee will use her grant to study “**Perceptions of Climate Change in Communities of Color and Low-Income Individuals.**” Ja-Ming is majoring in Environmental Science. For her project, she intends to conduct focus groups with West Oakland residents in order to assess whether the concerns and needs of these communities are adequately being addressed. As Ja-Ming writes, “Given the complex nature of the consequences of climate change policy, it is important and necessary to involve public participation in order to ensure that all communities, regardless of their access to resources, have a voice in the decision-making process . . . In particular, the perceptions and attitudes of low-income communities and communities of color need to be addressed, as these individuals are disproportionately affected by the consequences of global warming.”



Marty Schultz-Akerson's project, “**Gender and Power in Jose Donoso's *El Lugar Sin Limites (Hell Has No Limits)*,**” examines how the transgender character in this Chilean novel problematizes established categories of race and gender. As Marty writes, “[t]he aspect of the story I am focusing on is how this traditionally anomalous character (the transvestite) reveals how the ‘normal’ characters also fail to follow their culture’s rules for acceptable desire and conduct. Ultimately, I want to show how Donoso’s writing destabilizes the categories that constitute our understanding of normal, particularly in the context of race and gender.” Marty is double majoring in English and Spanish, and this project is part of his Spanish honors thesis. He will use his grant in order to travel to the University of Iowa to look at Donoso’s personal notebooks.



Jessica Schwartz's project is entitled “**Democratic Representation in a Collective Establishment(?): Using Music and Community to Deconstruct Hegemonic Gender Roles and Challenge the Mainstream Racial Imagination at Berkeley's 924 Gilman St. Project.**” Jessica is a double major in American Studies and Music. Her project, which is part of her American Studies senior honors thesis, examines the anti-racist, anti-sexist, and anti-homophobic vision of this alternative music cooperative and assesses how the group’s practices implement or fail to implement this vision. Jessica notes, “[m]y study will demonstrate the importance of actively pursuing the construction and maintenance of anti racist/sexist/homophobic countercultures as fortresses against a discriminatory mainstream while acknowledging . . . the obvious shortcomings of most ‘egalitarian’ collectives existing under the American hegemony.”

Faculty Spotlight

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women’s publishing house in India. In addition to her work on women in the Hindu right, Professor Bacchetta recently co-edited an anthology with Margaret Power entitled [Right-Wing Women: From Conservatives to Extremists Throughout the World](#) (Routledge 2002). The goal of this project was to bring together different perspectives on women in right-wing movements from different parts of the world.

In addition to her groundbreaking work on right-wing women, Professor Bacchetta has also made valuable contributions to contemporary debates within queer theory. She has written both on how homophobia structures nationalist discourse and on how some recent scholarship that focuses on transnational queer identities and social movements can erase locally specific queer identities and experiences. Professor Bacchetta said that much of this work stems from a desire to draw attention to two problems within current scholarship on transnational queer identities. First, the theoretical paradigms used to understand queer subjects within this scholarship are often based in the West and draw upon Western concepts of the self, body, individual, kinship systems and regimes of power that have limited use outside the West. As a result, much of this scholarship actually effaces the queer subjects in question as it re-presents them. Second, Professor Bacchetta notes that queers outside of the West are often understood through Western notions of visibility and invisibility. The emphasis in recent scholarship on superficial modes of transnational visibility such as global Internet connections or international activist organizations erases the majority of queer subjects because only a small sector of the population has access to having a transnational appearance via the Internet or the possibility of communicating in a Western language.

A concern that runs through all of Bacchetta’s work is the importance of accounting for the complexity of people’s experiences and how these experiences are shaped by multiple, interconnected systems of power like nationalism, colonialism, patriarchy and homophobia. Professor Bacchetta is currently working on several new projects. She is finishing up editing an anthology, [Bodies on the Line: Rethinking Ethnic and Political Conflict through Gender and Sexuality](#). She is also

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The Center for Race and Gender presents...
CON/VERGENCES:
CRITICAL INTERVENTIONS IN THE POLITICS OF RACE AND GENDER
FEBRUARY 5-7, 2004
Lipman Room, Barrows Hall, University of California Berkeley

Scholars in numerous fields have asserted that race cannot be understood in isolation from gender and other domains of difference, such as class, sexuality, generation, and nationality. The theoretical and empirical work of capturing and articulating the simultaneity, tensions, and interplay of these tangled strands remains a major challenge. Simply bridging current theoretical, methodological, and disciplinary boundaries is difficult work. Reintegrating, or recasting, the fields these boundaries have created - and thus questioning the relationships among culture and structure, language and materiality - is even more difficult. If nothing else, such efforts demand that we confront both fundamental intellectual issues and powerful political tensions around questions of identity, community formation, and coalition building. The annual CRG conference is intended to highlight cutting edge research that is undertaking these challenges.

Thursday, February 5 (Bancroft Hotel, 2680 Bancroft Way)

7:30 p.m. Opening Reception
Keynote Speaker – Lisa Lowe, Literature, UC San Diego

Friday, February 6 (Lipman Room, Barrows Hall)

8:30-9:00 Welcome and Greetings

9:00-10:45 **Race, Gender and the Nation-State**
 Lauren Berlant, English, University of Chicago
 Ruth Wilson Gilmore, Geography, UC Berkeley
 Margo Okazawa-Rey, Women's Studies, Mills College
 Commentator – Paola Bacchetta, Women's Studies, UC Berkeley

11:00-12:45 **Race and Masculinities**
 David Eng, English, Rutgers University
 Judith Halberstam, Literature, UC San Diego
 Abdul JanMohamed, English, UC Berkeley
 Commentator – Sau-ling Wong, Asian American Studies, UC Berkeley

2:15-4:00 **Toward an Indigenous Feminism: Nationalism and Gender in Native American Studies**
 Laura E. Donaldson, English, Cornell
 Kathryn W. Shanley, Native American Studies, University of Montana
 Joanne M. Barker, American Indian Studies, San Francisco State University
 Commentator – Hertha Wong, English, UC Berkeley

4:30-5:30 Reception

Saturday, February 7 (Lipman Room, Barrows Hall)

9:00-10:45 **Sexualizing the Racial Body**
 Evelyn Hammonds, History of Science and Afro-American Studies, Harvard
 Horacio N. Roque Ramirez, Chicana and Chicano Studies, UC Santa Barbara
 Gayatri Gopinath, Women and Gender Studies, UC Davis
 Commentator – Judith Butler, Rhetoric, UC Berkeley

11:00-12:45 **Transnational Political Economies**
 Grace Chang, Women's Studies, UC Santa Barbara
 Inderpal Grewal, Women's Studies, UC Irvine
 Angie Chabram Darnersesian, Chicana/Chicano Studies, UC Davis
 Commentator – Raka Ray, Sociology, UC Berkeley

2:15-4:00 **Reconstructing History and Resistance**
 Elsa Barkley Brown, History, University of Maryland
 Etienne Balibar, French and Italian, UC Irvine
 Emma Perez, History, University of Texas
 Commentator – Tyler Stovall, History, UC Berkeley

4:15-5:45 **Roundtable: "New Directions in Race-Gender Studies"**

Words from the Director

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their ability to devise effective treatments for conditions that effect particular race and gender groups differentially. The threat to the health of white Californians, as well as the devastating effects on monitoring and enforcing civil rights resulted in a defeat for Prop 54 by a wide margin.

After the defeat of Prop 54, Connerly opined that the effort had been noble and that he would try again, perhaps reformulating the proposition. Although many of us breathed a sign of relief at this setback for Connerly, we were also aware that the initiative effort was only one manifestation of the latest shift in public discourse on race and in the expression of racism that has put us on the defensive. Neo-liberals have succeeded in hijacking the critical race scholars' notion of race as a fluid social formation rather than a fixed biological category. Connerly and others have taken this notion to mean that race doesn't exist and that once people recognize race is an illusion, racism will vanish. This rhetorical reframing, combined with the perception among whites that racial barriers to educational access, employment, and other resources have largely been eliminated, has allowed neoliberals to argue that race-conscious policies to address racial inequality are not only no longer needed, but constitute "reverse racism."

Some new publications by sociologists have argued that we have entered a new era, one of "color blind racism" or "racism without racists". Two of these works, Howard

Winant's The World is a Ghetto and Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's White Supremacy and Racism in the Post-Civil Rights Era, are particularly noteworthy. Both document the changing nature of racism. For much of the twentieth century, "modern racism" rested on biological conceptions of race, explicit theories of black inferiority, and de jure segregation and discrimination. The civil rights revolution of the second half of the twentieth century led to the dismantling of most de jure segregation and discrimination; moreover, whites have become less likely to express overt racial hostility or engage in explicit racial stereotyping. Both Winant and Bonilla-Silva counter the belief that these changes indicate a reduction in racism. They review abundant evidence that the degree to which race remains a major factor effecting people's health, income, wealth, and all other aspects of life-chances remain as powerful as ever. What has changed are the mechanisms by which white advantage is ensured. Instead of explicit racial segregation and exclusion, racial disparities are more often created and maintained by seemingly race-neutral policies, for example, redlining of economically and racially mixed-race neighborhoods so that residences in those areas don't qualify for home mortgages or only for high-rate mortgages. Because many whites aren't conscious of these institutional mechanisms, they also remain unaware of the ways in which the system advantages them. On the contrary, they view systematic policies to

reach out to minorities in hiring, etc. as giving minorities an "unfair advantage."

Other scholars have been documenting the degree to which unconscious stereotyping and bias, even in the absence of explicit "race talk" still shape life chances. Researchers sent out resumes to companies; the resumes were identical except that some of them were for candidates with ostensibly "black names," such as Jamal. Resumes that were read as being for "black" candidates garnered calls for interviews at half the rate for "unraced" candidates. Other researchers have begun to document the impact of skin tone on observers' judgments of favorable and unfavorable personality and character traits of the person pictured, with darker individuals more associated with negative traits.

These changes in racial discourse and in the forms that institutionalized racism take make it even more imperative to collect and analyze data that allows us to document racial disparities and to dig into the more subtle and below-the-surface ways in which white privilege is maintained. We will have to devise more ingenious strategies for studying race and racism in their multifarious forms. At the CRG, we intend some of our new initiatives, such as the Colorism Working Group, to address new racial formations and "post-modern" racism.

Evelyn Nakano Glenn
Director, CRG

Con/Vergences Pre-Registration Form

Name _____

Address _____

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___ Suggested Regular Rate- \$25 for pre-registration, \$40 at Conference*

___ Suggested Student Rate- Free for pre-registration, \$10 at Conference*

___ Other amount: \$ _____

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Please **mail** your registration form and payment to: The Center for Race and Gender, Building 2241 College Ave., University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, CA 94720, Fax: 510-642-9810.

**Conference registration is sliding scale. No one will be turned away for lack of funds.*

For more information, check out our website at <http://crg.berkeley.edu>.

New CRG Working Groups

***Latino/a Religions, Race, Sexuality, and Gender:** This group will discuss relevant readings and new research on the intersections of race, sexuality and gender in the politics of Latino/a spirituality. Those interested are invited to contact Prof. Perez at leperez@uclink4.berkeley.edu.

***Racial Reparations:** Those interested in working on racial reparations are invited to contact Prof. Henry at cpheny.uclink4.berkeley.edu. The group will place reparations in a global context and investigate grassroots, local, state and national efforts on reparations. Finally, it will discuss solutions ranging from monetary to cultural.

***War, Women and Dislocation:** This group will explore the impacts of conflict on women and the ways that gender features centrally in thinking about and analyzing war, socio-economic, political and cultural dislocations, and migration. Those interested are invited to contact Prof. Um at umk@uclink.berkeley.edu.

For more information on CRG working groups, visit <http://crg.berkeley.edu>.

Love, Sex and Underdevelopment

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source of cheap labor, and next to agriculture, tourism is the primary industry in which Cubans, especially Cuban women, work. Looking particularly at the sex industry, Cespedes noted that much of the tourist industry is centered on ideas of sex and love and that women's experiences as workers within these industries are often shaped by the racialized terms through which sex and love are understood. For example, while women who are light skinned are often seen as engaging in "romance," women who have darker skin are more likely to be condemned for acting as "prostitutes." Finally, Cespedes

suggested that the fact that family remittances from Cuban immigrants in the U.S. play an increasingly large role in supporting the Cuban economy reveals that ideas of love also play an important role in a complex "emotional economy of nationalism." While those who left Cuba were previously seen as traitors, they are now being reclaimed as part of the national family.

Mirabal and Cespedes' presentation was part of a collaborative project that they are currently working on. It opened up a lively and interesting conversation about tourism in Cuba and other parts of the world.

Priya Kandaswamy
Ph.D. Candidate, Ethnic Studies

Faculty Spotlight: Paola Bacchetta

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editing a collection entitled Lesbian Theory and Political Practice in France: 1970s to the Present with Claudie Lesselier. Professor Bacchetta explained that because neither Women's Studies nor Queer Studies are institutionalized in France, most lesbian theory in France has been produced in activist sites. The purpose of this book is to bring together debates among lesbians in France that have

not been previously translated into English and to make accessible for the first time writings by lesbians of color in France, which have until now been totally ignored U.S. constructions of "French feminism." Finally, she is beginning a project that analyzes ideas of race and deployments of orientalism in shifting representations of Muslims since 9/11 in the U.S., India, and France.

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