WORDS FROM THE DIRECTOR:
The Universal Significance of Color Hierarchies

For almost three years, the issue of color has been a central concern of the Center for Race and Gender. The Colorism Working Group began with an organized working group of faculty and graduate students convened by myself and the Center’s Director, Professor Evelyn Nakano Glenn. The group met for two semesters beginning in Spring 2004. On December 2nd and 3rd 2005 the Center hosted a major conference titled “Hierarchies of Color” that provided a forum for a number of prominent scholars to discuss the global social and symbolic significance of skin color and the social hierarchies based on skin tone that it engenders. The conference offered the opportunity for scholars from different fields and with different national perspectives to examine and discuss the varied forms of color hierarchy and their historical, cultural and local specificities. It was a major thrust in our efforts aimed at understanding skin color, not in isolation, but in its intersection with social hierarchies of gender, caste, class, sexuality, race, ethnicity, and culture. Proceedings of the conference have been compiled into an edited volume titled *Shades of Color* that is being considered for publication by a number of prominent university presses.

There is a universal and almost visceral recognition of the significance of skin color in the allocation of value and in the organization of power, prestige, status, and wealth at the level of the individual. This recognition is reflected in the fact that color is discussed almost universally in the popular media and in the manner in which color hierarchies have become naturalized and normalized in popular consciousness. Color permeates individual and collective values, attitudes and decisions and the choices that people make in every society and every culture. What is most surprising, therefore, is the relative silence and neglect of the issue in scholarly and public policy circles and by funding agencies. Notwithstanding the tremendous excitement generated by the conference, the Center has found it difficult to convince these sources that a national and global project on color hierarchies is warranted. We will continue to highlight the issue as a central component of our efforts at the Center and will continue our efforts to convince potential donors of its enormous significance.

Color is at the center of pedagogies of classification, universally. At its root is what David Goldberg termed at the conference as a “passion” driven by a particular form of desire. In national spaces ravaged by the legacies of colonialism, such passion manifests itself in a desire for whiteness that has profound implications for the production of a European-centered moral hierarchy. While color hierarchies fashioned out of colonial formation are highly entangled —continued on page 13
Leanne Hinton, Linguistics
Richard Rhodes, Linguistics


Jocelyne Guilbault, Music


Calypso music is an integral part of Trinidad’s national identity. When, for instance, Franklin D. Roosevelt asked the great Trinidadian musician Roaring Lion where he was from, Lion famously replied “the land of calypso.” But in a nation as diverse as Trinidad, why is it that calypso has emerged as the emblematic music? In Governing Sound, Jocelyne Guilbault examines the conditions that have enabled calypso to be valorized, contested, and targeted as a field of cultural politics in Trinidad. The prominence of calypso, Guilbault argues, is uniquely enmeshed in projects of governing and in competing imaginations of nation, race, and diaspora. During the colonial regime, the period of national independence, and recent decades of neoliberal transformation, calypso and its musical offshoots have enabled new cultural formations while simultaneously excluding specific social expressions, political articulations, and artistic traditions. Drawing on over a decade of ethnographic work, Guilbault maps the musical journeys of Trinidad’s most prominent musicians and arrangers and explains the distinct ways their musical sensibilities became audibly entangled with modes of governing, audience demands, and market incentives. Generously illustrated and complete with an accompanying CD, Governing Sound constitutes the most comprehensive study to date of Trinidad’s carnival musics.
On November 2nd, CRG presented a Thursday Afternoon Forum focused on the theme of Race and the Law in the United States, featuring talks by Professor David Sklansky and PhD candidate Hamsa Murthy from the Boalt Hall School of Law.

Professor Sklansky began the afternoon forum with a talk based on his paper from The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, “Not Your Father’s Police Department: Making Sense of the New Demographics of Law Enforcement” (2006). Sklansky’s work explores how and to what extent the increased diversification of police forces in the United States has impacted the practice of law enforcement in local communities. Sklansky explained that a great deal of academic legal scholarship has tended to represent American police forces as predominantly white and male, characteristic of police forces in the 1950s and 1960s. However, Sklansky argues that legal scholars need to pay closer attention to how increased diversity, in terms of race, gender and sexual orientation, has impacted the profession and practice of law enforcement since the 1970s.

Sklansky noted that before Affirmative Action policies took hold, American police forces were primarily comprised of white male officers. Now many police forces are substantially more diverse in terms of race, gender and even sexual orientation. The level of increased diversity varies from department to department, yet Sklansky found a consistent trend towards markedly increased diversity since the 1970s. Racial minorities and women are also now represented in higher ranks, (though most are still disproportionately concentrated at lower ranks of the police force).

Sklansky went on to discuss the impact of increased diversity within local communities. He argued that diversity within police forces impacts the competency of officers, credibility within the larger community, and the organizational structure of police forces themselves. In terms of officer competency, Sklansky explained that diverse police forces tend to relate better to the diverse populations with whom they interact. Sklansky also cites studies that suggest that diverse police forces impact the local community by increasing the credibility of law enforcement within racially diverse communities. Sklansky also reviewed how diversity impacts the organizational makeup of a police force. He noted studies that demonstrate that white male officers partnered with women or racial minorities handle calls differently. For instance, integrated teams of officers tend to use less force. Similarly, men partnered with women are proven to more effectively respond to domestic violence calls.

The increased diversification of US police forces has also led to the creation of local and national police organizations representing the view of traditionally underrepresented officers. Sklansky found that these groups take positions sometimes at odds with mainstream police culture on issues such as affirmative action, police brutality, racial profiling and institutional leadership. Such changes, he argues, have impacted the once unified, male, white and heterosexist police culture on issues such as affirmative action, police brutality, racial profiling and institutional leadership. Such changes, he argues, have impacted the once unified, male, white and heterosexist police culture, as different views on policing are integrated into the mainstream. Sklansky, therefore, sees the integration of police forces in the United States, originally spurred by Affirmative Action policies and lawsuits, as benefiting society as a whole. He also noted that increased diversity does not appear to have diminished the operational effectiveness of any given police force.

Dismantling the once monolithic police culture has created room for dissent and disagreements, thus opening police forces to new ideas and points of view.

In her talk “Justice and the Foreigner: Undocumented Migrants and Dilemmas of Law and Government in Modern America” graduate student Hamsa Murthy explores the relationship between immigrants and state jurisprudence. She noted that, “The recent debate over what to do about undocumented immigrants in the US exposes fissures between law and the dictates of other discourses, economics, history and even morality.” Murthy framed her presentation around the notion of positive law, or law that can be represented as propositional rules that exist independent of any particular relationship to justice, morality or practice. Murthy continued by describing the origins of alienage.
Mangel and Paschel Discuss Race in Colombia and Brazil

The November 16th Thursday Forum Series on Race in Latin America featured talks by UC Berkeley graduate students Laura Mangel and Tianna Paschel.

Laura Mangel, from the department of sociology, presented “Racial Identification in Brazil: Discrepancies between Observed and Self-Identified Race.” Her work explores racial profiling in Brazil.

Mangel began her presentation by explaining that racial categories in Brazil are fluid and influenced by factors such as education and social class. Mangel noted that many Brazilians identify with an intermediate category between black and white, known as pardo (or brown in Portuguese). Sociological literature has demonstrated that individuals who are labeled or identify as pardo tend to be better off than the blacks in terms of education and income. Yet, the differential gap between black and pardo is not as great as the gap between non-whites and whites in general. Mangel suggests that such inequities are at odds with the national ideal of racial democracy, an image of the country as racism free.

In terms of the Brazilian legal system, Mangel noted that sociologists and social theorists have already demonstrated that the police more heavily target non-whites and that non-whites are overrepresented in jails. However, many of the studies do not account for class effects as Mangel did in her study. She hypothesized that blacks, the most socially disadvantaged group, may be most heavily targeted by the police relative to pardos and whites, with pardos somewhere in the middle.

Mangel presented data taken from a survey of 5,000 residents in São Paulo, Brazil. Mangel used the survey to determine if, over the past twelve months, her subjects were asked to show identification to the police; and, if so, if they were searched, threatened, disrespected, arrested or detained or experienced physical aggression or abuse from the police. She found that blacks and pardos were more likely to experience contact with the police than whites. The racial disproportionality increased with the severity of the interaction. The characteristics of those most targeted were young poor pardo males living in favelas, or shantytowns. Mangel found her results to be surprising, as research on Brazil tends to suggest that blacks are more heavily targeted. Mangel saw a central paradox in the targeting of pardo, leading her to ask what social factors make this category unique.

Mangel uses the Social Proximity Hypothesis as a theoretical approach to analyze her results. This theory suggests that pardos represent a symbolic boundary between whites and non-whites. As such, the theory suggests that it is in the interest of whites to maintain a sharp boundary between whites and non-whites. Mangel also noted that other theorists have argued that the police are most punitive to those most proximate to their social origins. Many Brazilian police officers in the region Mangel studies are pardos or of working-class backgrounds; they are trained to value discipline that is pitted in opposition to the presumed permissive amorality of the lower class that they come from and suspend a moral symbolic boundary between themselves and those they charge with legal violations.

Mangel’s results illustrate that race in Brazil is not simply a continuum from black to white with continuous disadvantage. Various mechanisms exist to preserve differing racial boundaries.

Sociology graduate student Tianna Paschel presented “Fighting the Invisible: Racial Mobilization and Policy Shifts in Colombia” on her work exploring how black social movements have challenged a state constructed image of nationhood in Colombia. Her preliminary research is based on interviews with Afro-Colombian movement activists and prominent political leaders. Paschel’s work is particularly focused on how different actors have, through promoting an alternative discourse, impacted legislative policy.

Paschel noted that the majority of the African Diaspora in Colombia resides along the Pacific coast. As a result, she notes that, unlike in Brazil, Colombians connect geographic location and race, more so than class and race. As such, certain regions have become racialized as black. This has a discursive impact on the way Colombians describe particular regions. For instance, the people on the west coast are often described as ugly, poor and lazy versus those in centrally located Medellin, who are considered beautiful, hardworking and good. This indexation has historical roots in the idea of mestizaje and the formation of a caste.
December 7, 2006 Afternoon Forum: Reflections on Race and Dance

Maxine Leeds Craig and Stephanie Sears on Everyday Dance

The December 7, 2006 Afternoon Forum featured talks on race and the everyday practice of dance by sociologists Professor Maxine Leeds Craig from California State University, East Bay and Professor Stephanie Sears from the University of San Francisco. Both professors spoke for twenty minutes and a lively discussion followed.

Maxine Leeds Craig began the Forum by sharing the beginnings of a new project with her talk, “Sorry I Don’t Dance: Race, Masculinity and the Dance Floor.” In the past, Craig’s work primarily focused on the study of race, bodies and beauty practices. This new project focusing on men and masculinity asks: How do racial and gendered social meanings become attached to bodies? How do these meanings change and what are their consequences in the lives of women and men? And, how does social change shape the embodiment of race, class, sexuality and gender?

The dance floor, Craig explained, is an excellent location from which to explore the embodiment of race, class, sexuality and dance. Everyday dance is imbied with popular perceptions of these four related social identities. There is important knowledge to be gained, she explained, by examining the, “socially constrained practices of bodily transformation, such as the acquisition of habits of movement.” Studying dance, she argued, allows her to look at the social practices that go into creating an embodied practice that is commonly naturalized. Dancing, in other words, is “an acquired ability,” which points to the, “physical taking-on of race, class, gender, and sexuality.”

In order to more fully explore the theoretical interpretation of everyday dance, Craig worked as a participant observer and ethnographer by enrolling in a dance class Cal State East Bay required of all education majors. Craig explained that this class, which covers jazz, ballet, ballroom and African dance, is the only dance class at the university that regularly has male students, many of whom will go on to work as physical education teachers and coaches. This fieldwork, along with collected interviews and essays on personal experiences with dance, and archival research make up the project exploring how an individual becomes someone who dances.

As Craig began to interview male dance students, it soon became clear to her that, “Hegemonic masculinity [is] a project that young men actively engage with and take up,” and that this project is, “restrained by race and class.” Interestingly, most men interviewed for the project, regardless of race, recalled their first memories of dance to be playful, often in front of a television. Later, the interviewees overwhelmingly described the discomfort of dance at school dances with women. And yet, memories of dancing as an adult began to diverge according to race. Once reaching adolescence, many white men described other men who enjoy dancing as “goofy guys,” who “dance like girls.” White men backed away from dance after early awkward experiences, or drank in order to feel comfortable in awkward social environments, and, finally, returned to dance in highly structured classroom settings. “The dancer becomes the object of the gaze” she explains, and therefore violates certain, socially constructed, contemporary understandings of masculinity. In contrast, several black interviewees, now comfortable with dancing, described using the initial awkwardness and embarrassment as motivation to learn an unnatural skill that was perceived as culturally acceptable, if not celebrated practice.

As Craig importantly argued, “Taking up certain forms of masculinity may preclude others.” She continued, “contemporary normative white men who do not dance relinquish dance’s pleasures, but thereby gain positions of social-esteem in a system of representations in which their bodies signify productivity, rationality, intelligence and control.” This presentation, which primarily focused on normative white men who don’t dance, was part of Craig’s larger project that helps us understand how dancing and not dancing, “are part of a historical transition in the composition of hegemonic masculinity.”

The second presentation, “Reflections on the Booty Dance: Competing Black Femininities within a Single-Sex Back After School Program” was presented by Stephanie Sears, a sociology professor at the University of San Francisco. Based on fieldwork completed for her dissertation research in African American Studies and Sociology at Yale University, Sears work explores how race, class gender, sexuality and generation intersect and interact in complex and contradictory ways and often simultaneously reproduce oppression and facilitate empowerment.

—continued on page 14
Arce, Mizutani and Han: Graduate Grant Recipient Presentations

The first CRG Thursday Forum this Spring featured two Graduate Small Grants Award recipients, Chrissy Arce from Spanish and Portuguese and Ju Hui Judy Han from the Geography, as well as the work of visiting scholar in Ethnic Studies Yuka Mizutani.

In her talk, “God Paints as He Pleases: Representations of the Mulata in Mexican Literature and Cinema,” Arce critically examined the figure of the mulata as an embodied trope within the context of Mexican culture production and positioned the figure in relation to its employment in Caribbean and US culture production. She posed questions such as: “How does Mexico negotiate its history of blackness via art?” and, “Is blackness acceptable when it is portrayed as an eroticized and exoticized other?” Arce examined the portrayal of the mulata heroines in Francisco Rojas Gonzales’ La negra Angustia (The Black Woman Angustia, 1944) and the film of the same name directed by Matilde Landeta in 1949. Arce argues that the film, based on a novel in which a black soldadera rises to the rank of revolutionary general, places class struggle before race. Nonetheless, her work demonstrates that representation of race is seminal in both works and reflects a racialized understanding of nation in the mid-twentieth century memory of the Mexican Revolution. She concluded that despite the traditional historical invisibility of blackness in Mexico, it has been a fundamental agent in the formation of national identity.

In the second talk, “Interaction between Yaqui People and US Citizen: ‘Isolation’ as an Image,” Mizutani characterized four stages in the evolution of the relationship between the US and the Yaqui people, a Native American group located in northwestern Mexico and southwestern United States. Until the early 1920s the Yaqui were regarded as Mexican indigenous, primarily interacting with the United States through international trade. From the mid 1920s through the early 1960s immigration of Yaqui to the US increased greatly as they became political refugees. US citizens largely saw the Yaqui as a labor force and socially and economically needy refugees. By the 70s the Yaqui had become widely known through the works of Carlos Castaneda, who positioned them as mystic and exotic. Mizutani sees the final stage of the relationship marked by their recognition in 1978 as an American Indian tribe. At this point the US viewed them like other indigenous US groups rather than Mexican. Finishing her talk, Mizutani presented a contrasting viewpoint from that of the anthropologist Spicer who characterized the Yaqui people as a group isolated from larger society. Mizutani showed how the societal status of the group has constantly shifted and represented various levels of integration into US society.

Ju Hui Judy Han discussed her experience among Korean missionaries in “Missionary Imaginations and Capitalist Deliverance: Korean/American Missions in Uganda and Tanzania.” Her work examines three pivotal missionary destinations targeted by the US-South Korean missionary alliance: the China-North Korea border, East Africa, and Central Asia. Han noted that South Korea is the second-largest sender of Protestant missionaries throughout the world and argued that the growth of Christianity in the Global South has eliminated a number of conventional dualisms: “the West/the rest, Christian/non-Christian, and developed/developing nations.” Han discussed how contemporary South Korean and Korean American missionaries collaborate in transnational and transdenominational project, and how these world-making projects interface with neoliberal spaces structured by humanitarian and developmental regimes. A major part of the missionaries’ work concerns cultural aspects of economic development emphasizing work ethic and capitalist ethos.

Han finds that, “The Koreans missionaries emphasize a different kind of difference marked more by a temporal difference with feelings of intimacy and familiarity with the people they work with.” Han ultimately sees the missionaries as becoming the object of their practices. While they look similar to conventional humanitarian groups, Han pointed out important differences, an emphasis on a Christian interpretation of Korean history, and a self-image as emissaries of modernity and capitalist deliverance. She concluded that, “The project of capitalist development cannot be separated from the politics of production involving the division of labor and the articulation of racial and national difference constituted through a sense of affinity.”
At the February 15th CIRG forum “Making Authentic Identity: Tradition and Invention of Racial Selves,” sociology graduate students Jessica Vasquez and Christopher Wetzel presented their dissertation research on how racial groups do authenticity work and what motivates authenticity work. Authenticity is “a contingent and contestable claim,” a social construction not inherent to anyone or thing. Vasquez and Wetzel discuss how racial groups do authenticity work through three overlapping components: roots, values, and cultural toolkit. These components Vasquez and Wetzel argue, combine to construct tradition. So what makes a person or a collective group authentic? Vasquez and Wetzel explain a mutual relationship between tradition and authenticity. Tradition and/or knowledge of tradition determines a person’s or a collective group’s tier of authenticity.

Vasquez and Wetzel focus on and compare the racial experiences of Native Americans and Mexican Americans. In doing so, they expand, complicate, and challenge the Black-White binary that demarcates US scholarship on racial differentiation. Vasquez collected data through in-depth interviews with first, second and third generation Mexican Americans in California, the majority of whom were middle class. Similarly, Wetzel’s ethnographic fieldwork involved interviewing more than 125 Potawatomi Indian, including elected tribal officials and community members. He also conducted archival research and immersed himself in daily life on multiple Potawatomi reservations.

Vasquez argued that many Mexican Americans suggested in interviews that they forge “authentic identity through cultural practices in the US.” Vasquez categorizes themes such as family, food, music, and religion as primary contributors to what we perceive of as “roots.” Likewise, Wetzel emphasizes the importance of cultural celebrations such as the Gathering, for Potawatomi people and their knowledge of their nation’s history. Since many Potawatomi people grow up outside of a Potawatomi community or attend boarding school, the nation’s history remains largely unknown. A ceremony known as “The Gathering” provides a safe space to collectively re-learn and reconstruct Potawatomi history.

Similarly, Vasquez explains that routine and ritual family gatherings for Mexican Americans help transmit cultural values. Vasquez explains that the Catholic Church and Catholicism as “integral to Mexican identity.” The Catholic Church encourages family togetherness and church attendance is often a family event. Similarly, the Gathering of the Potawatomi Nation brings Potawatomi tribes together and foments a sense of family. Wetzel adds that family “is central to how [Potawatomi Indians] see themselves as Native people... Beyond developing a vision of fictive kinship through connections with distant ancestors and shared cultural attributes.” Vasquez and Wetzel touch on the importance of religion and spirituality for Mexican American and Potawatomi people as an additional tool for understanding “their collective racial identity.”

Vasquez and Wetzel both argue that language is also an essential part of inventing a racial self, and “provides tools for communication and knowledge as well as teaching specific ways of being.” For Mexican Americans, Spanish language skills intertwine with different facets of authenticity: family, food, music, and religion. Likewise, “Many Potawatomi people envision culture as central to defining who they are as Potawatomi people and how they are different from other Americans,” explains Wetzel. Respondents often refer to a linkage between language and Potawatomi identity. Vasquez and Wetzel concluded their presentation with a discussion regarding “how racial groups use discourses and practices of tradition to define what is authentic.” Furthermore, stressing values through tradition serves dually as a critique of mainstream culture and whatever we discern hegemonic society to lack, in contrast to the perpetuation of an “us versus them” mentality. The “them,” however, has become more and more difficult to identify, Vasquez and Wetzel argue that, “heightened rhetorical emphasis on values within traditions is a consequence of the simultaneous rise of multiculturalism and emergence of less overt systems of racial discrimination.” Today’s strategies of resistance combat a wolf dressed in sheep’s clothing. “Through emphasizing an alternate, and superior, set of values that are absent from white society,” Vasquez and Wetzel suggest, “[Mexican Americans and Potawatomi Indians] demonstrate their authenticity as well as the validity of their ways of being.”

Christopher Wetzel and Jessica Vasquez (J. George)
Brizuela & Bajorek Discuss Photography in Brazil and West Africa

On March 1st the Center for Race and Gender hosted “Portraiture of Emancipation: Independence-Era West Africa and Abolition-era Brazil” as part of the ongoing Thursday Forum series. Professor Natalia Brizuela, from the Spanish and Portuguese department, presented her work on the souvenirs of Abolition-era Brazil in an attempt to explore the visual landscape held by slaves and former-slaves during this crucial period. Professor Jennifer Bajorek, who is an instructor in the departments of Rhetoric and Comparative Literature, studies visual representations of West African independence through photographic portraiture, specifically looking at the work of Seydou Keïta. While the presentations were located in disparate places and time periods, they both explore how photographic portraiture plays an important role in recording political systems and attitudes.

Natalia Brizuela opened her presentation, “Souvenirs of Race,” with passages from her book project on Brazilian photography and culture, particularly emphasizing the mid-nineteenth century work of Christiano Junior. Explaining the framework she uses to guide the eyes and the way we process the visual information, she asserts that many of the photographs seem to capture, “a congealed life, a life of the petrified object, a still life.” In the first image, a woman and a boy are exchanging something, most likely a purchase or a gift; however, their eyes do not meet, as if this portraiture were a still life of inanimate objects. Time and space became suspended for the sake of recording slave life in Brazil. Further, the subjects appear against no backdrop and are thus not situated within Brazilian society. Brizuela suspects this could have been done intentionally to prevent staining the unstable image of Brazil in its transition period away from slavery (abolition occurred in 1888). However, during this period there were also many tourists passing through Brazil, especially naturalists, who sought to remember and record Brazilian slaves through naturalists’ drawings and visiting cards, a type of proto-postcard souvenir made popular by Adolphe Eugene Disderi. While Brazil was eager to do away with slavery and the way it shaped Brazil in the international realm, some tourists purchased these photo souvenirs of slavery that were related to naturalist photography. Slavery was being removed from the Brazilian landscape but was being put on display for a European and North American audience.

Jennifer Bajorek presented “Dislocating Freedom in the West African Portrait,” explores the extent to which portraits can be read as a discourse that reveals identity within a particular political paradigm. Her study looks at West African photographic material, particularly focusing on the work of Seydou Keïta who was born in colonial Mali in 1920. Keïta’s work depicting expressions, clothing, and poses of the subjects are a mixture between traditional Africa and the modern world. He encouraged individuals to present themselves and used poses and backdrops to dynamically contrast the subject and setting. Diagonal poses create an illusion of the subject being projected into the viewer’s own space. Keïta’s photographs, it has been claimed, captured the desire for freedom and independence in Malienese society.

It appears as if Keïta’s photographs inadvertently documented the coming independence of West Africa, but caution should be taken when coming to this conclusion. One review said of Keïta’s work, the photographs capture “the denizens of a capital affirming their will to be citizens of the word, expressing their will to signify, represent, and authenticate the transition from the status of a colonized subject to that of a citizen, free or on the way to being free.” Analysis of this sort involves an effort to save the subject from the photograph, to displace the attitudes and beliefs into another time and space. This brings into question the ability to translate a photograph’s capture of external features into facts about internal feelings. Bajorek claims that recognizing studio portraits as having political significance, of being able to capture a collective craving, means recognizing fiction as an order of evidence. Bajorek passes on these methodological issues by asking questions about the implications of the race of photographers, about what aspect of the human body should be read as the window to the soul, about the influence of photographers and their style on the final product. Can there ever be a photography that can effectively encapsulate the mechanisms of colonial violence and colonial era ethnography? This is a question for future researchers, who will have to use the digital and analog recordings of ideas, movements, music, movies, and humans that have accumulated during the technological progress of our era.

D. Paredes, PoliSci
Early in her academic career, Mel Chen studied computer architecture at Carnegie Mellon University but eventually moved on, “I became disenchanted because the architectures available had crystallized into certain configurations — I could no longer be creative and put my fingers into play.” Her love of language led her to do her PhD work in Cognitive Linguistics at UC Berkeley, where an interest in issues of silence, gender, and minority language politics led to her to complete the Designated Emphasis in Gender, Women, and Sexuality. She did her postdoctoral work at UCLA before returning to UCB’s Department of Gender and Women’s Studies as an Assistant Professor in 2006.

Responding to the question of why she chose to study race and gender Chen explained, “Not a difficult question. It had to do with growing up where I grew up and my family situation. It is tied to why I ended up thinking about gender and race and language and sexuality.” Chen was born in New York to Chinese immigrants and a few years later, moved to Central Illinois. She grew up in an area with few Asians: “What ‘Asian’ meant was a question imposed upon me in connection to other Asians. I had an incipient sense of race in relation to how I and my brother and my parents were being dealt with—I became hypersensitive to language like a lot of first and second generation people—aware of the propriety of language and how it communicates belonging or not.” She saw that language was entangled with representation, and it could imperfectly represent or starkly misrepresent someone. Chen became interested in how race and gender work, particularly around language. Her dissertation, now a part of her larger book project entitled “Speech Lost from Speech: On the Borders of Linguistic Self-Possession,” was written in a cognitive science and humanities mode. “In cognitive linguistics, which has a unique take on embodiment, what is privileged is the background workings of cognition—how can one fluidly use linguistic metaphor due to background cognition—they call it unconscious cognition,” noted Chen, “When you work with non-normative subjects, they have other types of negotiations, sometimes embodied, and so the minute those perspectives are considered you can miss a huge amount of stuff in the research.” She became interested in the general thematic of language as functioning as alienative and how it can be used in a way that is disalienating.

She examined the corporeality of language—what happens when language must be produced for or by a racialized body. “Those who come into awareness as racialized subjects may find that their speech becomes burdened. Speech can become re-corporealized with a specific kind of intensity.” The intertwining of racialization and immigration, both as a historical fact and as a present phenomenon, factor in her work.

In her work, Chen analyzes objectifying language, a close cousin to alienating language. She looked at epithets that, as they become racialized or objectified, can evacuate represented subjectivities, and how reclaiming practices work conceptually and affectively to counteract such effects. Her work especially explicates the reclaiming of the identifiers ‘black’ and ‘queer.’ “‘Black’ is the term of identity in linguistic accounts that is described as successfully reclaimed,” stated Chen. “‘Queer’ is seen as partially successful—but why is there such a valence? Who’s to judge whether any degree of reclaiming is a good one? Black appeared to have become speakable with neutrality by anyone, but its apparent success in this case can be read as assimilationist—the idea that language is best when it is neutral, speakable by all, devoid of affect; however, there are many ways to think about successful reclaiming. The mere use of a debased word could be viewed as successful if it interrupted the norms of claims and values in a particular context.” Much of Chen’s work deconstructs essentialized notions of indexicality in that she is concerned with systemic troubled relationships to the index. This is one of the ways that she asks how language can shape, retain and reinforce worldviews both about and by those who are socially marginalized.

From previous work, Chen’s most recent projects have extended in two directions. The first project concerns transgender participation among Asian immigrants to the U.S. and the complicities and interrogations therein of pan-Asian or colonialist metaphors of gender. “Exploration of gender identity in the Asian US population shows that Asian gender identity, with two troubled poles of racialized masculinity and femininity, bears certain superficial similarities to other racialized groups in the U.S. However, histories of migration, labor, and citizenship mark their different trajectories. In the face of the two troubled poles of gender identity it is interesting to find out what Asian trans folk do in relation to the shaping of gender. One strategy is to use any and all desired identity markers.” Whereas her previous work considered animalizing forms of dehumanization, her second current project investigates a number of specific conjunctures of animality and queerness.

She is also interested in film. Chen completed a short film last fall that has to do with her relationship with corn and the land. “The corn fields can at once represent histories of agriculture, sites of migrant labor, protective shade in a hot summer, and even certain forms of racial abuse. I use the film to represent the complexities of body and land.” Her current film project is a documentary on the subjects of her work on trans-identification. “It hooks into larger communities,” she

—continued on page 14
Congratulations to the four Graduate Grants winners.

Chrissy Arce  
**Spanish and Portuguese**  
“God Paints as He Pleases”: Representations of the Mulata in Mexican Literature and Cinema  
Both as a figure and trope, the mulata has generated a whole genre of literature and film in North American as well as Caribbean cultural production. Yet little work has been done in Mexico on this eponymous figure. This paper critically engages the figure of the mulata as an embodied trope within the context of Mexican cultural production and interrogates the trope in relation to its deployment in Caribbean and US. How does Mexico negotiate its history of blackness via art? Is blackness acceptable when it is portrayed as the eroticized, and exoticized other? I will discuss the figure of the mulata heroine in Francisco Rojas González’s *La negra Angustias* (1944), *The Black Woman Angustias* and the movie it inspired, executed by one of the first Mexican female filmmakers, Matilde Landeta (1949). Both this novel and film illustrate that blackness in Mexico, despite the paradox of the nation’s historical amnesia, has been a fundamental agent in its self-fashioning.

Lindsay Benedict  
**Art Practice**  
Hiding Scars: Photo Essays Obscuring and Revealing Interiority  
A voice that has been repeatedly silenced establishes ways to be heard while protecting itself. The act of deconstructing a fabricated reality requires a complex language. Language has become a site for social, cultural and political traces. I have been developing a visual language that allows for the possibility of fragmented and layered meaning. I am working on a creative project in which I create, exhibit and archive a series of culturally critical photo essays that make visible issues that remain hidden in our culture. The project will open a space for voice. Voice, in my case, is the need to be able to speak with integrity to my interior, emotional state and still be understood by a broader public.

Cindy Huang  
**Anthropology**  
‘China Sisters’: Transnational Adoption and the American Family  
Through a combination of text, images and sound recordings, my project will illustrate the diversity of Chinese adoption experiences. By documenting adoptees from infancy to adulthood, my project will challenge people to think about the lived experiences of adoptive families alongside the symbolic fields and sociopolitical contexts that have undeniably shaped their experiences. Thus, this project also grapples with a tension inherent to anthropology itself: how can we understand human experience and meaning-making through social scientific analysis and narratives of self, family and community? These families: transnational, multiracial, and adoptive, face unique questions about identity and belonging. At the same time, their dilemmas, how to define culture and home, how to respond to racial and ethnic difference, how to make sense of multiple histories, are at the heart of America’s own story as a multicultural and immigrant nation.

Sarah Moody  
**Spanish & Portuguese**  
Modern Form in the Periphery: Poetics, City Planning, and Gender in Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro, 1880-1915  
My dissertation explores city modernization as a context for aesthetic change in literature. The project focuses particularly on poetry and naturalism in order to interrogate the charged status of certain forms during a period in which Latin America was asserting its importance on a global scale as an independent, cosmopolitan society. In this period, poetic form and the city often intersect metaphorically or formally, particularly in figurations of the feminine; poetics, the space of the city, and the female body thus provided complimentary subject matters with which writers zeroed in on issues of form. This new aesthetic, in turn, was coded as a language of cosmopolitanism that announced the region’s overcoming of its colonial legacy.
Congratulations to the four CRG Undergraduate Grants Program winners.

**Emma Shaw Crane**  
**IS: Race & Gender in Human Rights**  
*A Justice in Ciudad Juárez? Investigation and Accountability at the Intersection of Gender, Race, and Class*  
My project examines the investigative and judicial responses to the murders of over four hundred women in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, Mexico since 1993. Over a third of the women murdered were subjected to sexual violence, including rape, captivity, and torture. While the murders and disappearances have been covered in the media, there has been little mainstream journalism addressing the relationship between the gender, race, and class of the victims and the investigative and judiciary process. Does the identity of the victims, majority poor women of color and migrants, inform official accountability and due diligence? What factors might contribute to the production of a gendered and racialized space of impunity in Ciudad Juárez? I will interview at NGOs in Ciudad Juárez and write a journalistic piece for submission to a Bay Area newspaper.

**Sacha Ferguson**  
**Eniv Science/Latin American Studies**  
*The Relationship between Social Connectivity, Mobility and Schistosomiasis in Sichuan Province, China*  
Schistosomiasis is a disease spread through contact with water contaminated by the parasite *Schistoma japonicum*. This disease plagues women in developing countries due to the frequency of water related activities associated with their gender such as bathing, water collecting, and washing of utensils and clothes. The parasite burrows through human skin and lays eggs inside the body that lodge in human tissues, causing granulomas and lesions in the spleen and liver. Long-term infections can cause the eggs to spread to the brain and lungs, leading to death. I aim to understand the social and environmental factors that have contributed to the reemergence of the disease in Sichuan Province, China. I will develop a metric of connectivity between villages and of the mobility of the populations in order to predict disease risk and develop an effect control program to end transmission.

**Jeff Manassero**  
**History/Political Science**  
*Interactions in Multicultural Learning*  
I will explore the ways recent developments within UC Berkeley’s American Cultures (AC) program have impacted the facilitation of cross-racial discussions. UC Berkeley’s AC program is the ideal setting to explore the implications of cross-racial communication and interaction. During the Summer 2007 academic session, an AC course will be offered online for the first time and many new summer courses have been designated as AC. These structural changes challenge the concept that face-to-face cross-racial interactions are key to an enhanced multicultural experience. Can these ‘abridged’ courses which limit student interaction, successfully achieve the American Cultures’ longstanding aim to engage students to critically think and work with issues of racial diversity?

**Christyna Serrano**  
**Sociology/Social Welfare**  
*Leaking Pipelines: Doctoral Student Family Formation*  
My project is a qualitative study that will use surveys, and interviews from doctoral students who are married/partnered, and who are interested in childrearing. My project explores how family formation impacts the lives and career paths of doctoral students. Women in academia often find themselves in a position of choosing between advancing their academic careers or having children. As a result, women leak out of the academic pipeline, the first leak occurring while in pursuit of the PhD. I examine what family-friendly, personal, and professional supports, university policies and services could increase graduate retention, and ultimately, the equitable representation of women in the tenured ranks.
M. Jacqui Alexander: “Transnational Feminism as Radical Praxis”

The November 7th, Fall 2006 Distinguished Lecture featured M. Jacqui Alexander, Professor of Women Studies and Gender Studies at the University of Toronto. In her talk, “Race Gender, and Sexuality: Transnational Feminism as Radical Praxis” Alexander presented the trajectory of her transnational feminism work through the schematization of four conjunctures and the formulation of a transnational feminism that discards the binaries of the ‘traditional unenlightened elsewhere’ versus the ‘modern knowledgeable here.’ She does this in order to produce a lens that exposes an interdependence between the binary constructs that implicates the neo-imperialist state.

Alexander’s first conjecture drew from the criminalization of lesbian sex in the Caribbean. She saw that the state had created gradations of sexuality between loyal, good and productive heterosexuals versus a set of non-citizens who were not good, not loyal and engaged in sex for pursuit of pleasure. It was a masculine heteropatriarchal national project. She connected the anticolonial state with the neo-imperial context by mirroring the debate on sex in the Caribbean with the US debate on gays and marriage. “They cohere via the heterosexualization of morality,” she explained, “the immorality of empire is ignored when morality is delinked from political economy. Lesbian and gay bodies are called upon to do ideological work of the state, while heterosexuality is couched as quintessentially moral.”

Her next conjecture reflected on how sexuality and immigration were intertwined, specifically focusing on gay imperial tourism in the Carribbean. “The queer native was presented as a fetish, to be consumed in its geography of birth, never to travel—positioned in tradition,” Alexander noted, “In the context of sexual rights in the US, white gay capital started to resemble heterosexual imperial capital [while abroad].”

Alexander’s third conjecture referred to the 80s and 90s liberal feminist majority mobilization for the US invasion of Afghanistan. She argued that the Feminist majority attributed traditional patriarchy to fundamentalism, explaining, “It was almost as if something called ‘Culture’ became the overdetermined exponent to understand patriarchal violence towards women in Afghanistan. There was a way they re-wrote their own imperial narrative; it necessitated intervention. White masculinity had to intervene in a way to seize brown women from brown men.”

Alexander’s final conjecture referred to the discussion of transnational feminism in the US classroom. Among her classes of predominately white students there was a notion that transnational feminism was anything that was read elsewhere. “When students confronted texts from 80s feminism such as Audre Lorde’s Sister Outsider they became viscerally uncomfortable with the idea of difference; they asked, ‘why can’t we get along? We are all the same.’” When her students encountered texts situated in the non-West such as Shyam Selvadurai’s Funny Boy, she observed that they couldn’t engage, “they said, ‘there was too much difference.’ There was a geography which was a proxy to produce an absolute alterity, a distance that made it impossible to build a path between the US and elsewhere.”

“There was something sinister about the way traditional modernity was asked not to do ideological work,” Alexander argued, “but called upon to suspend temporality and to make all kinds of designations about the relationship between progress and tradition, secularism and fundamentalism. In the conjugates identified, relations were seen as static and fixed.”

Alexander called upon a number of formulations for explicating transnationalism. She stated, “there is no past that is simply past. Past, present and future operate within the same temporality; any given historical moment had an earlier positioning.” She displaced the binaries of tradition and modernity—the ‘there and then’ versus the ‘here and now’—with a new formulation, “the Here and There.” Her positioning challenges the notion that the non-West lives in a time not contemporary with the West. “We have to understand the way certain practices move across geography, not in any historical kind of way, but in ways that enable us to see how processes are deeply implicated in their own operation.”

Alexander encouraged a focus on the “violences of modernity” so that all violence is not attributed to the traditional. This violence goes beyond invasion and the war to be situated in sites such as ideological ways about speaking of the enemy and the militarization and criminalization of communities of color.

—continued on page 14
with race and the idea of white supremacy, the preference for lighter skin and the ranking of individuals based on skin tone exist as universal phenomena independent of colonial formations. This hierarchy has complicated the relationship between colonialism and modernity, on the one hand, and national identity on the other. This has led, in some cases, to a rejection of whiteness, given the latter’s association with Europe, even while privileging lighter skin as a basis for the allocation of power, wealth, status and prestige, in class organization, in marital preferences and in relations of desire. In many instances, such privileging is an extra-colonial or pre-colonial inheritance rooted, for example, in a historical association between dark skin and manual outdoor activities such as work in the fields, independent of racial classification. Such examples of the disadvantages of dark skin are particularly pervasive in South Asian societies. Universally, the desire for lighter skin has fuelled a multibillion industry of skin-lightening creams. Their use is pervasive throughout the world particularly by women between the ages of 16 and 35 seeking to attract desirable marriage partners. The production and marketing of these creams demand academic and scholarly attention as do the attendant and severe health risks associated with their use.

The significance of color seems to be on the rise universally as racial hierarchies are being constantly challenged at the national and international levels. This has particular and different implications across gender categories. While wealth, status, and education act to meliorate the effect of dark skin among males, color preferences seem to play a much more determinative role in the positionalities of women. This is linked to the association between light skin and morality. Light complexioned women are positioned as being much more desirable as marriage partners. Heteropatriarchy and the lower value attached to darker skinned women, except as objects of illicit sexual desire and in relations of transactional sex, can serve to confine such women to lower class and status positions and restrict their opportunities for upward mobility and their access to resources.

What is needed is a coordinated comparative focus on color within and across national, regional, racial, ethnic, gendered and class categories that concentrates on its genealogy and on how it is inscribed in the particularities of space and place. Efforts at the Center for Race and Gender will continue to focus on the organization of scholarly networks dealing comparatively with the different dimensions of color. The intention is to position Berkeley as a major center of research and scholarship on the symbolic capital of color.

Percy Hintzen
Director, CRG

laws, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1888, and their relationship to positive law and the notion that the state has the right to exclude.

To illustrate her point, Murthy examined New York City’s “sanctuary policy,” Executive Order 124, a policy signed by Mayor Koch that barred city agencies from direct communication with the INS about illegal aliens. In 1996 the federal government instituted immigration reform policies that included a provision that no government entity may be restricted from exchanging information with the INS regarding an individual’s immigration status. Murthy saw the application of this reform as a reaffirmation of the sovereignty of the federal government with regard to determining positive law. New York City responded by filing a lawsuit claiming the federal government’s challenge was a violation of the Tenth Amendment in that the US government interfered with city control of its workforce and conscripted it to do work that belonged under the purview of the federal government, thus violating separation of powers. The appellate court did not accept New York’s claim. Murthy believes that this outcome suggests that the court was afraid to challenge a legislative act of congress by questioning the power of the federal sovereign to pronounce law within their jurisdiction. The resulting outcome was that in 2003 New York established Executive Order 41, a comprehensive privacy policy prohibiting city workers from revealing not only the immigration status of those who accessed their services, but also the sexual orientation, income tax records and welfare assistance status of those individuals.

Ultimately Murthy concluded that the issue of immigration law is entangled within the realm of positive law in that a variety of mechanisms exist that work around the nation state’s declarative status. Murthy pointed out that the severance of law from justice is brought to light by the uncertainty of the question of the illegal alien.

J. George, Linguistics
Dec Forum, Distinguished Lecture, Faculty Spotlight

Sears’s presentation was based on ethnographic fieldwork data she collected at a non-profit after school program, referred to as the Girl’s Empowerment Project (GEP), in New York. GEP is an organization that provides academic and personal support for working class and poor girls in a largely black community. The organization seeks to put “black girls and black womanhood at the center” and to challenge hegemonic discourses that limit the lives of black girls. Yet, Sears argued that the staff who staff GEP, tend to promote a vision of girl’s womanhood at the center” and to challenge hegemonic discourses that limit the lives of black girls. Yet, Sears argued that the women who staff GEP, tend to promote a vision of girl’s empowerment that reflects middle class Afro-centric, black-affirming womanhood, which, at times, is at odds with the experiences of the one hundred young girls who attend GEP annually.

Sears described one moment of organizational confusion: GEP, which offers dance classes as a form bodily empowerment, asked a group of middle-school aged girls to put together a performance for a community show. Though African dance, popular among the younger children, is a favored for such performances, these girls were permitted to choreograph a more contemporary piece. To the surprise, if not horror, of the GEP staff, the girls broke out what Sears calls the “booty dance” once on stage. The event disrupted the staff’s vision of empowered womanhood and forced the organization to rethink its pedagogical and philosophical approach.

Looking at this one incident, among many, Sears explores how black women and girls work together and work against each other to challenge discourses that surround their bodies as black women and girls. In this particular field site, a public dance performance and dance classes became the space in which girls and women struggled to articulate a vision of empowered black femininity. Sears explained that the women activists who ran GEP located dance empowerment in African dance. And yet, the older girls at GEP used contemporary pop dance to articulate a working-class femininity and, in doing so, challenged the class and generational biases within the Afro-Centricist womanist project.

Like Professor Craig, Professor Sears sees dance as an embodied social practice. Dance as resistance. Dance performance as a site and practice of resistance that has differential meanings for the audience and performer. Yet, she asks, can a “booty dance” be seen as a real form of resistance?

The GEP staff work to teach young black girls to have “ownership and control” over their bodies and to “value themselves.” The “booty dance” was seen as at odds to these goals because the black Afrocentrist project promoted by the staff. Yet, their discomfort with the “booty dance” reflected a hierarchy of black femininity. As Sears explained, it was like telling the girls to, “be yourself, but be like us.” Dance, particularly African dance, was a way to transmit these ideas, because it is seen (by middle-class staff) as a challenge to the passive, hyper-sexualized black female body, “emphasized in the dominant imagination.” Though popular among the younger girls, many of the middle school aged girls began to reject these directives.

In interviews Sears discovered that the rejection of black dance was largely related to the fact that this particular type of dance was “disconnected from who they were as black girls.” The girls understood dance as a social practice and space to experiment with their emergent sexuality and to feel and respond to the reactions these moves solicited. Girls viewed “the staff response to their sexual dance moves as adult control over their bodies.” Sears explored the work of girl’s studies scholars who have looked at how explicit sexuality is a strategy used by girls to resist marginalization; being sexual can be a way to resist parental or adult control that mandates that girls hide their sexuality. Thus, the surprise booty dance succeeded in disrupting and challenging the staff’s middle class conception of girl sexuality. As Sears concluded, the whole incident forced organizational leaders to shift discourse and dialogue about girl sexuality and, despite this, “the organization still served as an arena for empowerment, it’s core mission from the beginning.”

—continued from pg 5

Alexander
—continued from pg 12
and immigrants, “The elsewhere gets fragile, no longer an elsewhere outside the boundaries of the US,” argued Alexander, “Tradition operates within modernity—violence operates within modernity. Modernity and tradition are differentially and mutually violent.”

In her conclusion, Alexander provoked us to think in a way that allows us to theorize “outside the mandate for conquest.” Alexander admonished the production of analytic frameworks that reinscribe the work of the state. For instance, Sociology is implicated in the punishment industry by producing analytical tools for the state. She also warned against the tourist model of feminist studies that treats transnational feminism as an option rather than “a condition of what needs to be interrogated. We must emphasize the indispensability of interdisciplinarity.”

J. George, Linguistics

Mel Chen
—continued from pg 9
noted, “Asian trans folks have these very particular relationships to both masculinity and femininity that puts them in a shared relationship to Asian men and women in this country. I interview individuals who deal with such racialized gender formations.” Chen creates multiple sites for connection by including film in her ever-expanding canon on identity.

K. Marshall, Latin American Studies

J. George, Linguistics
"Tangled Strands" Dissertation Workshop: Call for Applications

The Center for Race and Gender and the Center for the Study of Sexual Cultures are co-sponsoring the fourth "Tangled Strands" Dissertation Workshop to take place November 29 to December 2, 2007. Doctoral students whose projects deal with the interaction of race, gender, sexuality, and other dimensions of difference and inequality are invited to apply. The workshop will take place over at the Westerbeke Guest Ranch, just outside of Sonoma, California.

The application consists of: 1) Three copies of a current curriculum vitae, 2) Three copies of the dissertation proposal, or if the work is well underway, a statement—no more than 10 pages double spaced—of the specific issues being addressed, the intellectual approach, and the materials being studied.

Application materials must reach the Dissertation Workshop Program, Center for Race and Gender, 642 Barrows Hall, MC # 1074, University of California Berkeley, Berkeley, CA 94720-1074 NO LATER THAN Thursday, SEPTEMBER 20, 2007 at 3pm.

For further information about the workshop, or eligibility, please contact the Director of the CRG, Professor Evelyn Nakano Glenn (englenn@socrates.berkeley.edu) or the Director of the CSSC, Professor Michael Lucey (mlucey@berkeley.edu).

CRG Fall 2007 Grants Program

The Center for Race and Gender (CRG) at the University of California Berkeley, announces the availability of grants of $200 to $1,000 to fund undergraduates and $500 to $2,000 to support graduate students for research or creative projects that address issues of race and gender.

ELIGIBILITY: Applications can be submitted by any Berkeley undergraduate not matriculating at the end of the semester or any student enrolled in a graduate program at UC Berkeley. Applications are particularly sought from students working in areas where race and gender issues have not previously been of major concern as well as areas where they have been more central. Proposals that support dissertation or thesis research are strongly encouraged.

GRANT PERIOD AND USE OF FUNDS: Grants will be awarded for a period of one year for graduate students and six-months for undergraduates from the start date. Funds may be used for direct costs related to the proposed project, such as travel to archival or ethnographic research sites; supplies and services, and equipment rental. Funds may not be used for equipment purchase, stipend, living expenses, conference attendance, or educational travel. Grant payments will be in the form of reimbursements for expenses.

APPLICATION PROCESS: Find downloadable forms and application requirements at: http://crg.berkeley.edu/programs/grants/undergrad.html or http://crg.berkeley.edu/programs/grants/graduate.html

APPLICATION DEADLINES: The Fall 2007 Undergraduate Grant application deadline will be Wednesday, October 10th at 3 p.m. The Fall 2007 Graduate Grant application deadline will be Monday, November 5th at 3 p.m. Awards will be announced within a two weeks of each deadline. Direct inquires to centerrg@berkeley.edu.

Make a Donation to the Center for Race and Gender to Support Graduate & Undergraduate Research

I would like to donate:

_____ $500 (Director’s Circle)
_____ $100 (CRG Sustainer)
_____ $50 (Sponsor)
_____ $25 (Friend)
_____ (Other) please specify $ __________

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY                        STATE        ZIP

PHONE                        E-MAIL

Afternoon Forum Series: Call for Submissions

The Center for Race and Gender invites presentation proposals from graduate students for its Afternoon Forum Series. Any research project dealing with the nexus between race and gender is welcome.

Please submit an abstract of 300 words and resume by May 5, 2007 to rng2@berkeley.edu with the subject line: “Forum Call for Submissions.” Questions about the forum series may be directed to centerrg@berkeley.edu or (510) 643-8488.

Please make checks payable to the UC Regents. Donations will help support the CRG’s Undergraduate Research and Creative Projects Grants Program. Donors may specify other CRG projects or programs for support.

Please send checks to:
The Center for Race and Gender
642 Barrows Hall #1074
Berkeley, CA 94720-1074
system between black, white and Indian. Given
the geographical isolation
of most black Colombians,
residing away from the
central highlands on the
coast where slavery was
once prominent, blackness
has been erased from the
national imaginary.

Yet, a significant black
movement has mobilized
and attempted to reinsert
blackness into the idea
of the Colombian nation.
Paschel, therefore, asks,
“Why do we have this
wave of mobilization
now in Latin America?”
Sociologists and historians
have explored how the
myth of racial democracy
throughout Latin America
has impeded political
mobilization around ideas
of racial distinction. The
formation of the modern
colony state has effectively
stamped out political
discourse founded on racial
claims. Yet globalization
and transnational political
activism, Paschel argues,
have changed this. Now
rational minorities mobilize
around questions of race,
therefore altering the
possibility of racial justice.

Paschel pointed to a
recent political opening
as the key to the growing
movement. In 1991 the
Colombian government
started a process of
constitutional reform. It
was not a process initiated
to deal with ethnic rights
but an attempt to keep
governance structures
updated. The federal
government began
to reorder an archaic
constitution and made
revisions about civil
divorce, dual nationality,
and elections. Transitory
Article 55 created the
space and mandate for law
that specifically addressed
black communities, Law
70 introduced in 1993.
Traditionally there had
been many government
institutions dealing with
indigenous rights, but until
Law 70 people of African
descent held no legal racial
distinction, and instead
were lumped into the
Creole-assimilated non
indigenous Colombian
population. Paschel
noted that the term Afro-
Colombian did not appear
in any newspaper before
1991, thus representing a
discursive shift, not only
in policy, but the way in
which people talk about
this population. This policy
later initiated the largest
land reform in Colombian
history; land rights were
tied to ethnic rights for
indigenous peoples and
Afro-Colombians. The
policy also mandated that
Afro-Colombians hold
two seats in the House
of Representatives, with
one seat for indigenous
people in the Senate. It
also created education
rights that recognized Afro-
Colombians as a culturally
distinct group.

Within the context of
rational democracy and the
idea of mestizaje, Paschel
explores the extent to
which Afro-Colombian
activism has impacted, at
least discursively, national
policy and the re-imagining
of the nation.

J. George, Linguistics