Words from the Director
Race and gender: Implications of the 2004 presidential election

The recent presidential election underscored in dramatic fashion how issues of race and gender are so central to American society and how these issues are continually exploited for political gain. Unquestionably, race and gender issues decided the last two presidential elections: in 2000, many thousands of votes by African Americans in Florida were “lost,” disallowed, or simply never counted. George Bush “won” Florida by 537 votes and became President. In 2004 the election came down to a gender issue—same sex marriage. Both sides knew that whoever won Ohio would most likely become President, so the Republicans placed a constitutional amendment on the Ohio ballot to outlaw same sex marriages. This contentious and emotional issue brought out just enough social conservative votes to swing the state to Mr. Bush (he won by less than 1% in Ohio). It was enough to win Ohio’s electoral votes and thus the election.

The 2004 election showed how deeply divided America is on race and gender issues. Political exploitation of these issues is making it harder and harder to find common ground and to work out solutions. In particular, the 2004 election revealed several race and gender issues where there is an increasingly wide gulf between sides:

**Same Sex Marriage**

In addition to deciding the Ohio election, 10 other states passed constitutional amendments prohibiting same sex marriage, and some of these states also prohibited civil unions. In the 1990’s there was real progress on promoting legal rights for gay and lesbian people in areas such as job opportunities, marriage, adoption, and civil status. But the 2004 election was certainly a major step backward. Several of the newly elected Republican senators have announced they oppose hiring of gay and lesbian persons as public school teachers and there has been talk of criminalization of gay/lesbian cohabitation.

**Dividing People of Color**

The 2004 election revealed an increasingly wide gulf between political attitudes among people of color. The Republicans didn’t even bother to seek African American votes (which went 90% Democratic), but they concentrated heavily on Hispanic voters in states such as California, Texas, New Mexico and Colorado. Nationally, about 4 in 10 Hispanic voters supported Republican candidates, with even higher percentages in some areas. This voting behavior has driven a deep wedge into the ideal of solidarity among people of color, especially in states such as California, Texas, and Florida, which have large populations of both groups.

**Isolating African Americans**

It was once hoped by Democrats and moderate Republicans that an alliance could be formed among African American voters and poor whites in the South whereby support for fair economic policies would bring people together. However, in the 2004 election white conservatives used racist scare tactics to divide—continued on page 13
New Works by CRG Affiliated Faculty

Alice Agogino  
**Mechanical Engineering**  

David Hollinger  
**History**  

Susan Ivey  
**School of Public Health**  

2) Kalra, P, Srinivasan, S, Ivey, S, Greenlund, K. “Knowledge and Practice: The Risk of Cardiovascular Disease Among Asian Indians - Results from Focus Groups Conducted in Asian Indian Communities in Northern California.” *Ethnicity and Disease* 14.2 (2004): 497-504. Describes qualitative data from the Cardiovascular Health among Asian Indians project - 8 focus groups, 4 with men and 4 with women; 6 were done in English and 2 in Punjabi. Some contrast of themes between men’s and women’s groups is made.


Elaine Kim  
**Ethnic Studies**  


The Center Moves to New Location in Barrows Hall

A few years later of temporary housing in a 19th century wooden building in the parking lot of Boalt Hall Law School, the CRG found out early in 2004 that it was being granted new space on the 6th floor of Barrows Hall. Renovation and painting were finally completed in August of 2004 and the Center relocated shortly thereafter.

The new CRG quarters include four offices for staff, graduate student researchers, and undergraduate assistants and a large conference room for symposia and group meetings. Besides being more spacious and free of wasps, rodents and other critters, the new CRG headquarters are centrally located and wheelchair accessible.
The first forum of the Fall semester’s Thursday Afternoon Forum Series featured two recipients of the CRG Undergraduate Grants Program from last Spring. Elizabeth Havstad, a fourth-year Urban Studies major, and Laurica Brown, a fourth-year Sociology major, presented their research-in-progress on September 16.

Havstad’s presentation, titled “Addressing Poverty through Projects: The Favelas of Salvador, Brazil,” interrogated the usefulness of NGOs (non-governmental organizations) in tackling the problem of poverty in Salvador, Brazil. Havstad noted that Salvador, the metropolitan capital of the northeast region of Brazil, is one of the poorest cities in Brazil with a 30-35% unemployment rate in a population of 2.5 million people, 80-90% of whom are black. Her research in Salvador in the summer of 2004 took her to the poor communities in Salvador, where she and her team interviewed over 800 poor residents in 8 different areas. Two of the more complicated issues that came up during the research had to do with the income status and race of the respondents. In the case of determining income status, she claimed that it was more useful to make a note of whether or not the respondents had electricity, running water, and regular mail delivery. Meanwhile, the question about how the respondents identified their race received a complex mix of answers—silence, “I’m Brazilian,” “I don’t know,” or even “I don’t have a race.”

More interestingly, however, it seems that race is as much determined by socioeconomic status as by skin color. Havstad suggested that this phenomenon is partly due to the history of race mixing in Brazil from the colonial period. “The Spanish and Portuguese in colonizing Latin America promoted the mixing of races because […] they needed labor quickly,” with the result that the miscegenation between the natives, the African slaves, and the European colonizers in Brazil created a system of racial differentiation unlike that in the United States.

Havstad’s preliminary findings on the effectiveness of NGOs on poverty alleviation are not optimistic. Her interviews indicated that not many in the poor communities know of or have heard about NGOs. Even though Brazil, as a developing country, is completely saturated with these organizations, only about 5-10% of the population is reached and helped by them. She observed that in Salvador, there is a “blurring of the lines between government organizations, civil society, and business in this effort to alleviate poverty.” Because a general belief in the “power of the local” has brought about substantial investment in the local by international organizations and governments, Havstad claimed there has been an institutionalization of community movements in Brazil. As a result, the increasing reliance on NGOs to do the government’s job has taken the heat off of government; local social movements have teamed up with the government to combat poverty, “but the problem is not poverty; it is the structures that create poverty, which exist within the government and within our global economic system. A focus only on the local will never create change. There must be a push for change at the higher levels of development.”

Brown’s presentation on “Sexualized Racism and Its Effects on Black Teenage Girls” looked at mainstream hip hop videos and the way African American teenage girls respond to them. She began with a poem written by a student at Berkeley High called “Speculation of the Black Woman” on the troubling stereotypes of black women. Brown then argued that her research is corrective of the absence of teen and female voices in the scholarly writings on hip hop. She wanted to bring girls back into the discussion of hip hop in general. Her research consisted of three two-hour-long focus groups with black teenage girls and used five currently popular hip hop videos: Petey Pablo’s “Freak a Leak,” Twista’s “Overnight Celebrity,” Ying Yang Twins’ “Salt Shaker,” Ludacris’s “Splash Waterfalls,” and Slum Village’s “Selfish.”

Her focus group participants noted five primary issues in the videos: 1) There were two basic stereotypes of black women: either young black women were gold diggers or they were “baby mamas” (women who constantly nag their men angrily). One of the respondents said that “if you never met a black woman before you’d think that all we do is yell at people and shake our asses all day.” Brown added that in “relation to black men [baby mamas are] emasculating, they’re a threat, they won’t just let them be men, they have to constantly cut them down and treat them like children. If you put both of these stereotypes side by side and compare and contrast them they create this dichotomy where women are either seen as objects of sexual manipulation or they’re seen as threats to men.” 2) There was a constant portrayal of women as “catty and hypercompetitive,”

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October Forum Investigates Gender and Race in the Caribbean

This semester’s October CRG forum, held on October 7th, featured presentations by Professor Rhoda Reddock, Visiting Scholar of African American Studies, and Percy Hintzen, Professor of African American Studies. Entitled “Gender, Race, and the Caribbean,” this forum provided the opportunity to explore the implications of gender and race in the production and reproduction of colonial discourse. Reddock and Hintzen emphasized the need to investigate how race and gender were imbricated in the complex socio-political and cultural structures of the postcolonial Caribbean. For the Caribbean, a conglomerate of diverse populations, though race played an important role in delineating stratifications, the consequences played out—and continue to play out—in gender-specific ways.

Reddock, who presented “Ethnic Categorization in Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica: A Gendered History,” called for a more rigorous examination of the intersections of race, ethnicity, class, and gender in Caribbean scholarship. Reddock outlined how notions of racial superiority and inferiority, supported by various colonial apparatuses, provided the foundation upon which Caribbean societies built themselves and were later solidified within class structures. These structures of inequality, first established between the indigenous people and the Europeans, and later between Africans and the Europeans, proved to be so pervasive that they incorporated all new ethnic groups as they entered and located them along a scale of “acceptability and non-acceptability.”

Reddock focused on Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica as particular examples of the diversity that constitutes the Caribbean. After noting the differences and similarities between the two societies, Reddock argued how after the emancipations of the slaves in 1834 in both societies, color—evaluated in terms of actual color, hair texture, features, and skin textures—became the “marker of distinction and hierarchy.” Reddock then charted the changing demographic understanding of racial classifications along the lines of color in both Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica, as demonstrated by the national census inaugurated by the British in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This colored racial accounting had (and continues to have) profound effects on women. Reddock asserted that notions of “beauty” and “attractiveness” determined women’s social mobility and ideas of selfhood. The female, depending on how light or dark she was, was either included or excluded from certain privileges. Light skin provided the female with economic and social currency, while dark skin forced the woman to resort to proper behavior in order to earn “respectability.”

In his presentation, “Race, Desire, and Sexuality in the Colonial and Postcolonial Caribbean,” Hintzen asked, “How can colonial society maintain its integrity given the fact that these racial categories were deployed as state technologies for regulation, discipline, and control?” In order to answer this question, Hintzen focused on what “whiteness” does in the colonial project rather than looking at it as an essential category. He argued that the colonizer was shielded from the moral and critical gaze of the colonized subject through two gendered deployments of whiteness. On the one hand, the violence of the colonizing act is understood as an exercise of white privilege. The colonizer legitimized and naturalized his exercise of freedom to do as he pleased, when he pleased, by asserting white moral and ethical infallibility, even in spite of his violent transgressions. On the other hand, in order for the white male colonizer to mask successfully the immorality of his behavior, he had to evoke simultaneously notions of white purity. Hintzen asserted that this was successfully accomplished through constructed ideals of white masculinity and white femininity. White privilege became an exclusively male prerogative, while white purity became inscribed onto the white female body. In order to mystify the white transgressive act of privilege, white purity ritualized practices that formalized contact between races and rendered invisible the ordinariness and immorality of the white colonizer. The white female body became symbolized and presented as a vessel of purity that needed to be cloistered and shielded from the gaze of the “corrupted” and “degenerate” colonized races. Thus, it was through the gendering of colonial power, corroborated by notions of white privilege and white purity, that the colonial order maintained its integrity and cohesiveness, even after emancipation of the slaves.

By examining how race and gender are deeply imbedded within the technologies of colonialism, Reddock and Hintzen pointed—continued on page 14
On November 4, the Thursday Afternoon Forum Series featured work on “Space and Social Movements” by Clement Lai, a PhD candidate in Ethnic Studies, and Diana Wu, a PhD candidate in Environmental Science, Policy and Management. Lai and Wu discussed the power of transnational capitalism to effect spatial changes on the most local levels and the nature of local community responses to these changes in the arena of social activism.

Lai’s paper, titled “There’s a Transnational Corporation in My Backyard! The Imagineering of the Japanese Trade and Cultural Center in San Francisco,” focused on the cultural, political, and economic history of the planning and construction of the Japanese Cultural and Trade Center (JCTC) in San Francisco in the late 1960s. He situated the spatial politics of the JCTC in transnational capitalism as well as the U.S. federal urban renewal policies of the time. The term “Imagineering,” which was coined by Walt Disney, signifies “speculation, boosterism and spatial politics.”

According to Lai, the history of the JCTC entailed these very characteristics of Imagineering. He noted that the JCTC was a “space of capital accumulation […] that relied on the fiction that the JCTC was an authentic piece of Japan in San Francisco—the transubstantiation of Asia in the United States.”

Lai argued that the two goals of the Bay Area post-war master plan for urban renewal—regional specialization and Pacific Rim strategy—made this fiction necessary. Regional specialization meant that San Francisco was envisioned as hub for both tourism and business services. Meanwhile, Pacific Rim strategy harked back to the “old Orientalist dream of capturing the riches of the Pacific Rim.” After the U.S. conquest of Japan in World War II, the question was how to profit from this conquest; the federal urban renewal policy provided “the catalyst, the political sanction, and financial lubricant for these dreams,” resulting in the “safely packaged Japanese culture” of the JCTC. Lai moreover noted that building the JCTC as part of the city’s urban renewal program displaced 8,000 residents and destroyed 6,000 low-rent housing units, which put pressure on the poor communities in San Francisco and provoked several unsuccessful resistance movements.

Moving to a contemporary history of social movements around space, Wu presented “Repertoires of Resistance and the Question of Scaling Up: The Case of the Pacific Renaissance Plaza Struggle in Oakland,” regarding the attempted eviction of over 150 residents from the low-income units of the Pacific Renaissance Plaza in downtown Oakland Chinatown in April 2003. Wu related this particular struggle to the gentrification and redevelopment projects in other Chinatowns, for instance, in Los Angeles and Manhattan. She noted that a history of these struggles both “sheds light […] on understanding racism in this country, the history of racism, and [the] structural aspect of it, as well as points to the particularities of Asian American and Chinese American experiences in this country.”

In the Oakland Chinatown struggle, a combination of tenant organizing, community pressure, official delegations with the city council, and legal suits ultimately forced the Hong Kong- and Hillsborough-based developer who sent out the eviction notices to put a hold on the eviction by July that year. Unfortunately, however, about half of the residents given notices had already moved out before the stop. It was later discovered that the evictions were illegal and that there had been rent overcharges and other fraudulent actions on the part of the developer and owner.

Wu analyzed the varying rhetoric used to achieve this partial community victory and concluded that there had been a “mismatch” of rhetoric and tactics, specifically that the rhetorics of cultural solidarity, injustice, and good governance were targeted at the developer and owner, while the tactics of the campaign focused on the city and community councils. In particular, what was missing from the campaign was a larger theoretical framework—or what Wu called a “meta-frame”—that could have been useful to accommodate agendas of varying scale and effect larger changes: “To the extent that there are multiple frames to this struggle, multiple ways of trying to call into being a community that’s going to rally and write letters—strategies of campaigns are multi-scalar, but some strategies are more successful because they have a meta-frame into which all the smaller frames can fall.”

The resolution for the residents is still months away. Wu concluded that it is important that this

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Research Working Group Descriptions

C RG sponsors on-going research working groups on various topics related to the intersections of race and gender. Working groups made up of faculty, graduate students from UCB and neighboring institutions, as well as independent scholars, form around a common topic and meet regularly to further research and understanding of the topic area. CRG research working groups scheduled for 2004-2005 include:

**Latino/a Religions, Race, Sexuality, and Gender**
This group will bring together students, faculty and independent scholars from around the Bay Area to discuss relevant readings and new research on the politics of Latino/a spirituality. Those interested in examining the intersections of Latino/a religions, race, sexuality and gender are invited to contact Professor Laura Perez (leperez@berkeley.edu).

**Racial Reparations**
The group will place reparations in a global context dealing with apology and truth and reconciliation. It will also investigate local, state and national efforts on reparations including grassroots organizations. Finally, it will discuss solutions ranging from monetary to cultural. Those interested in working on racial reparations are invited to contact Professor Charles Henry (cphenry@berkeley.edu).

**War, Women, and Dislocation**
Women and children constitute the majority of forcibly displaced people in the world. Yet, they remain virtually invisible in the formulation of policies and intervention programs and are rarely understood as independent entities with their own issues and concerns. The working group explores 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. Graduate students and faculty interested in these issues are invited to contact Professor Khatharya Um (umk@berkeley.edu).

**Labor, Ethnicity, and Gender**
The Labor, Ethnicity and Gender working group cultivates an intellectual community based upon the view that only by looking at the key dimensions of social demarcation can we achieve a nuanced understanding of human society. The group takes as its point of departure the radical changes in the systems and structures of knowledge production in the wake of World War II paying particular attention to academic life in the United States and the role that academics can play in solving issues concerning the lives of workers, people of color and women. For more information, contact Vina Ha (vinaha@berkeley.edu).

**Indigeneity**
Political recognition (primarily by the West) of indigenous groups has been and continues to be a primary struggle as we begin the 21st century. However, indigenous peoples have made a critique of these terms of recognition a critical part of the political struggle. Legal and racial identities are primarily legacies of Imperialism, and indigenous groups are re-imagining, challenging, and inventing new modes of political activism that challenge the contours of this political recognition. The Indigenousity working group organized an international conference to address these and other issues. Contact Steve Crum for more information (sjcrum@ucdavis.edu).

**The Colorism Project**
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.

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 Gladys Nubla, graduate student researcher for The Colorism Project, at the CRG by phone: (510) 643-4244 or by e-mail (rng2@berkeley.edu).

**Women, War, and Dislocation Working Group: An Update**

Earlier this semester, the working group organized a symposium featuring Mara Decker and Heather Kuiper. The following are their paper abstracts:

Decker presented on “Women’s Health in Angola: Post-conflict Needs, Policies, and Programs”: Thirty years of civil war have devastated this West African nation’s infrastructure, destroyed families, and shattered social networks. Millions of people were forced to flee their homes to escape the fighting - many settling in shantytowns outside the capital of Luanda. The health of these individuals is intrinsically linked to their migration histories and wartime experiences, their extreme poverty, and the glaring disparity in the distribution of health care and other resources. Although the war is officially over, Angola continues to suffer from some of the highest rates of child and maternal mortality in the world. This presentation explores the health care needs and challenges facing Angola, particularly women, as well as the governmental and international response.

Kuiper presented on “Maternal Mortality, Traditional Birth Attendants, and Human Rights: A Closer Look at the Internally Displaced in Burma”: Over half a million women die each year from pregnancy-related causes. In the case of the internally displaced peoples (IDP) inside Burma, new data show that 20% of the deaths among women are from pregnancy-related causes. Some international controversy exists regarding the role of traditional birth attendants (TBAs) in strategies to reduce these deaths. Yet among the Burmese internally displaced populations, who have suffered decades of violent oppression and isolation, TBAs are the only viable option. To the extent that maternal mortality is at its essence a human rights issue, TBAs represent on-the-ground human rights activism.

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Faculty Spotlight: Steve Crum, UC Davis

I was never my plan to go to college” reveals Steve Crum, Professor of Native American Studies at the University of California, Davis. A member of the Western Shoshone tribe, he credits the public schools with his low academic aspirations, noting that Native American students were channeled either to the military or Haskell Indian College, neither of which interested him. Instead, he moved to Phoenix after graduating from high school to live with his sister. The difference between Nevada, where Steve grew up on the Duck Valley Reservation (covering parts of Nevada and Idaho), and Phoenix was startling.

“There was a large urban Indian population there,” he recalls, “and there were many Indians who were degree.” The exposure to this possibility motivated Steve to enroll in Mesa Community College in 1970, a year after graduating from high school. Earning B grades in his first two classes, he decided that college might be an option.

student there yet, but I ended up browsing for 5 hours.” After looking through so many books, many dealing with Native Americans, he noticed that Native American history as is represented for the public is largely a product of non-Natives, and this prompted his decision to study history.

Earning his BA in 1975, he continued studying history and received his Masters’ in History from ASU in 1977. Soon after completing his Masters’, he was drawn to the University of Utah by an unusual opportunity. There was a female Native American historian working on faculty at the university. The fact that Utah was closer to home also motivated Steve’s decision to enter the PhD program there. In 1983, he completed his PhD, his dissertation dealing with the New Deal and the Western Shoshone of Nevada.

An opening at Cal State Chico brought Steve to California, where he filled in for a professor on sabbatical leave in 1984 and where he followed with a University of California Postdoctoral Fellowship in 1990. In late 1989, UC Davis was looking for an Ethnohistorian, and Steve was a perfect fit. Teaching at Davis since 1990, Steve became a full professor in 2003.

“I believe tribal individuals are in the best position to write their own history because their knowledge goes beyond the mainstream and archival documents.” His book, The Road on Which We Came: A History of the Western Shoshone (University of Utah Press, 1994), deals with his own tribal history. In his own research, he speaks of having to learn to control his research, rather than having it control him. Language that outsiders use to describe Indians for different purposes often doesn’t match how the people view themselves. The phrase “landless Indians” frequently came up in his research, as the Bureau of Indian Affairs used that term to describe as justification to secure more land for tribal reservation land under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, but Steve notes, “As for a percentage of Shoshones, they never viewed themselves landless, even though they lived on so-called public domain land. Rather they still view themselves as the owners of the land.”

Incorporating the Native perspective in his research also involved oral interviews to uncover tribal motives for doing certain things. He cites some Shoshones accepting the IRA of the 1930s as an example of this, as they were undergoing economic hardship, but due to the collapse of the mining economy in central Nevada rather than the Great Depression. Above all else, the importance of studying Native American history lies in both giving them a voice, and to help validate the perspectives that already exist in the lives of people outside of dominant culture who are often mis-categorized and misunderstood.

Professor Crum’s current work deals with Native Americans in higher education. His

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CRG Hosts Three-Day Indigeneity Conference

Native leaders, scholars, activists, and writers gather to share ideas and strategies on Indigeneity

In late October, the Center for Race and Gender hosted “Beyond Race and Citizenship: Indigeneity in the 21st Century,” a conference conceived by the Indigeneity Working Group, which is sponsored by the CRG. The working group, made up from faculty and graduate students from UC Berkeley, UC Davis, UC Santa Cruz, Mills College and San Francisco State University, met over the last two years to discuss issues related to indigenous identity, sovereignty and belonging. The impetus for this conference grew out of these discussions.

Over three days, from October 28-30, scholars from around the world, working on issues surrounding indigeneity convened on the Berkeley campus to share ideas and present theoretical positions and approaches to handling Indigenous issues. The conference was well attended, featuring three outstanding activist scholars as keynote speakers, Leroy Little Bear (University of Lethbridge, Canada), Wilma Mankiller (former Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation) and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (University of Auckland, New Zealand).

The goal of the conference—to provide a forum for Indigenous scholars from a broad range of disciplines to address and reflect upon the most recent forms of “Indigeneity” and the politics of re/membering indigenous identity in a global and local context—was thought-provoking and very well-received.

Keynote Speaker: Leroy Little Bear

While time is the dominant referent that organizes minds and memories in the West, land is the major referent for the Blackfeet people. It is the place people come home to, the locus of identity, and the source and site of ceremony. According to Little Bear, in most major novels written by Native American authors, there is a theme of coming home to reconnect to culture and the land. An identity crisis results when the land “no longer recognizes you.”

The concept of ownership is antithetical to this concept of land and identity. In the Blackfoot paradigm, all beings have an interest in and a right to use the land. Humans cannot sell it because they only have one small interest. “If you’re going to sell the land, you have to check with the animals; American Indians cannot and did not sell the land—the bears were not consulted.” In addition, the idea of ‘ownership’ is opposed to sovereignty, as it implies a higher authority to protect that ownership.

Ethnic Studies Professor Nelson Maldonado-Torres asked Little Bear how he would approach the Israeli/Palestinian conflict from a Blackfoot paradigm. Little Bear replied with an analogy of a boat and a canoe on the river—different types of watercraft that can co-exist without interfering with one another, implying that peaceful living side-by-side is possible. In response to a young woman concerned about maintaining her Native identity away from the reservation, Little Bear encouraged listeners to remember their responsibility to learn and know the songs, stories, and ceremonies from home. “If I were to sleep for 200 years, when I wake up I want to be able to speak Blackfoot and feel at home among my people,” he finished. “I want to hear the stories and songs still being shared.”

Panel 1: Indigenizing and Claiming Culture

Rodolfo Meyer shared parts of his evocative film “The Regeneration of Life,” in which an indigenous festivity is framed within Andean categories of space. These categories consist of two poles and the meeting place between them—the taypi, or tinku, where forces balance. Meyer’s three-part film offered general information about the ceremony; interviews with Aymara people with local knowledges of the ceremony; and an exploration of power and knowledge. The film itself represents a tinku, or an encounter, between indigenous and Western scholars, and between different indigenous peoples. Throughout, Meyer is attentive to mediating between Western and indigenous ideas of space and time in describing the ceremony.

Dr. Steven Crum provided an example from the Choctaw nation of how tribes can help youth maintain culture, knowledge, and identity, even after being sent to school. When it came time to go to college, Choctaws sent students to school in groups, worked to help them maintain links to home, and sent both men and women to be educated. Indian Clubs formed at universities as early as 1914 (University of Oklahoma) provided an intertribal forum for students.

Beth Rose Middleton
PhD Student,
Environmental Science,
Policy and Management

Environment and Management
Wilma Mankiller, former Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation (and the first and only woman to serve as Principal Chief in the present Cherokee Nation government), gave an insightful and motivating speech coming from years of respected American Indian political activism and leadership. In coming to Berkeley, Mankiller returned to her familiar former home of the Bay Area, a place where she spent a large part of her youth and contributed to years of American Indian activism, including the historic occupation of Alcatraz Island. Her talk, “Context Is Everything,” emphasized the tribal world-view that is perpetuated in the minds of Native American people today and that continues to define our lives amidst an increasingly technological and globalized world. Mankiller stated, “That we have managed to hold on to a different world-view is a miracle, an act of resolution, despite attempts to annihilate our culture.” She argued that the multitude of messages coming from television, internet, and other globalizing influences are nevertheless filtered through this tribal lens, which maintains our sense of identity and autonomy. Yet, through her optimism she insisted that there are challenges that need to be addressed for these world-views to persist. Capturing, preserving and maintaining traditional tribal knowledge systems in practical ways remains one of these challenges. Furthermore, maintaining a sense of interdependence and community, she stressed, is key for the resilience of tribal values. In closing, Wilma offered a two-sided proposition for the healing of Indian/white relations and for the much-needed cooperation between the two. She asked Indians and non-Indians alike to continue to foster the understanding of Native history, culture and lifeways to the un-or misinformed; yet, in doing so, she called upon a Mohawk adage to address the need for progressive perseverance: “It is hard to see the future with tears in your eyes.”

Panel 3: Shared Experiences of Indigeneity in a Global Context

Political and economic realities continue to menace Indigenous peoples, cultures and lands around the globe. Projects of empire cloaked in the mendacious guise of...
democracy and citizenship draw nation-states into an ever-tightening global matrix of security, militarism, and governmental control that pose great risk to native peoples. Indigenous claims to sovereignty, first from colonialism and then from modern nation building, today must increasingly contend with regional, hemispheric and global schemes that aim to incorporate Indigenous peoples as political and economic subjects. At the same time, however, global forums, transnational networks of mutual support, and international political alliances of Indigenous peoples are growing. The opportunity for Indigenous people to communicate shared experiences, shared struggles, and shared visions for the future pose a counterbalance to the cumbrous force of empire and neo-liberal policies.

Participants in this panel explored the tensions of imperialism, globalization and the expansion of Indigenous peoples’ social movements and political organizing. Guillermo Delgado (Latin American and Latino Studies, UC Santa Cruz) reflected on the post-9/11 impact on Indigenous peoples’ social movements and their recent participation in governance. States may be reviving security ideologies reminiscent of the 1970s. This state response not only hinders ongoing processes of re-democratization but distracts from the implementation of legal instruments such as ILO 169 designed to qualitatively change Indigenous peoples/nation-state relations. Meanwhile, Dr. Delgado cautioned that today the social protest of Indigenous Peoples for justice and for nation-state adherence to hard-won reforms occur in a post-9/11 climate when indigenous social movements will be subject to greater criminalization. Victoria Bomberry (Native American Studies, UC Riverside) whose work examines transnational and hemispheric networks that link local indigenous communities in Bolivia with native peoples and indigenous organizations throughout the Americas, spoke of how subjugation under imperialism today links the struggles of Indigenous Peoples around the globe. Poignantly illustrating her thoughts through art and image, Dr. Bomberry presented a video made by an American Indian artist. The video portrayed an Iraqi woman on the edge of her desert landscape, her burqa blowing in the wind...the burqa—a US flag—transformed into a shroud. The video offers a mirror onto the shared experience between Iraqi and American Indian struggles for land and survival. Silvia Escarcega (Anthropology, DePaul University) offered an ethnography of international dynamics at United Nations meetings and forums for Indigenous People. Dr. Escarcega presented “indigeneity” as a dynamic process involving contest and negotiation in struggles for social justice, collective rights, dignity, peoplehood, and self-determination. She analyzed the role of indigenous intellectuals and activists in the “politics of indigeneousness” describing a process where peoplehood is created and negotiated locally and internationally by generating a sense of shared history, memory, and culture in an essential way. Meanwhile cultural boundaries are continuously and consciously redrawn in response to question and challenge. Anthropologist Triloki Pandey (UC Santa Cruz) has a long career characterized by his collaboration with native communities in the US Southwest. This experience provided Dr. Triloki, the panel’s discussant, a unique perspective and ability to comment on the papers.

**Panel 4: Historicizing and Dehistoricizing Gender**

How do gender and Indigeneity intersect? Saturday of the conference began with an energizing panel on gender in relation to Indigenous communities and activism. The panel explored continuities in women’s power and authority in Indigenous societies, featuring three Native women activists who explored notions of feminism through various lenses.

Renya Ramirez (American Studies, UC Santa Cruz) began, speaking about gender roles as a means to empower Native women and end violence. Stressing the importance of looking at female societal roles historically in contrast to the way that they exist in contemporary society, and to view what has changed and the implications of those changes, she focused on the importance of respect for women in Indigenous communities. Echoing Professor Ramirez’s remarks, Andrea Smith (Women’s Studies, University of Michigan) discussed the need for Indigenous women to re-conceptualize the way sovereignty applies to gender, confronting problems of violence through leadership roles. Jennifer Denetdale (History, University of New Mexico) followed up the panel with a discussion of Navajo women’s role in Navajo Nation Government and issues surrounding
Keynote Speaker: Linda Tuhiwai Smith

I didn’t know I was Maori, I was my grandmother’s grandchild, I was defined by relationships,” Linda began. “Being indigenous is not romantic, it is difficult. I draw on sounds, smells, stories, language, tone, experiences, family experiences, wonder, and terror, to form my identity.”

In a multimedia presentation entitled “The Views From My Grandmother’s Veranda,” Tuhiwai Smith brought the audience to a Maori Iwi in New Zealand. Her reminders about the multiples ways of thinking about time, the challenges and opportunities of negotiating multiple identities, de-colonizing language and history, and dissecting the concept of indigeneity, provided a capstone to an intellectually and soulfully stimulating three-day conference. Tuhiwai Smith discussed identities moving between local and global, and the need for the term ‘indigenous’ at the global level. She talked about healing from alcoholism and warfare, restoring gender balance, re-creating equitable forms of government, and dealing with contestations over membership in indigenous communities. As a founder of an indigenous university in New Zealand, she has dialogued extensively on epistemologies, and delved into the questions of where and if Native knowledge should be in the academy. Defining herself as in the “business of making space,” she talked about de-colonizing academies. “My role is to have multiple roles, to keep the doors open…the academy stole a lot of our knowledge and I want it back, the university is on our lands, and we have a right to be there, and to make it work for ourselves and our students.” In this work, her touchstone remains her home and family. “A lot of times, the academy silences us,” she said. “Your voice comes from your people, the academy hones and shapes it, but you have to ask, ‘where is your voice, how do you make it sing, and who does it sing to?’”

Beth Rose Middleton
PhD Student,
Environmental Science,
Policy and Management

Combining issues of space and sovereignty as they relate to tribal self-government, Edward Valandra commented on the infamous Public Law 83-280 and the strategic resistance of the Lakota to this attempted blow to tribal jurisdiction. Melinda Micco gave us personal accounts of her research on historical relations of the separated (but inextricably related) Oklahoma and Florida Seminole Nations. She spoke of the power of cultural memory permeating those who remember the Trail of Tears in the present tense, and those who refuse to carry a $20 dollar bill because of what Andrew Jackson represents. She herself had to cross the borders between academia and “reservation reality” when questioned about her research on Seminole history by a Seminole man, who stated, “When we want to know our history, we simply ask our mothers.” Inez Talamantez re-situated us all by opening with the recognition and honoring of this land’s first peoples, the Muwekma Ohlone, and continued by emphasizing the power of Apache community gatherings to reach across borders.

With additional commentary by Jo Carillo on indigenous rights and property law, this panel closed with a chilling but bold question concerning the conflict in the Middle East. Highlighting the similarities of historic US Indian policy and the current situation in Iraq, the panelists responded with their own uniquely Native perspective, sharing with us their wisdom on a

 unequal attitudes towards gender and gender roles. The session gave a critical look at the effect of colonialism on Indigenous societal workings, intersections of feminism and identity, and ways that feminism and sovereignty can be used to critically assess and combat problems within many Indigenous communities in order to rebuild and strengthen community and cultural ties. Commentary by Joanne Barker provided conference attendees with a chance to consider the relevancy and importance of viewing many levels of “feminism,” as well as the implications of gender roles in contemporary society as we rethink what it means to assert Indigeneity as a piece of identity.

Panel 5: Nation to Nation

What do you get when you combine a Lakota scholar of resistance and self-determination, a Seminole/Creek/Choctaw historian and department Chair, and an Apache grandmother? You get a panel of spine-tingling, powerful voices that echo in the listener’s mind long after the words have stopped. Indeed, this is what Professor Inez Talamantez voiced in her talk “Apache Fire: Mind, Memory and Land”—the power of the orator’s projected images to stick inside our minds is what makes us remember the importance of who we are, where we’re from, and the relationships that exist among us. It was in this light that we listened to cases of Native people crossing the imagined (but inescapable) borders of colonial forces.

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I
n order to promote the exploration of issues surrounding race and gender at all levels of study at Berkeley, the Center for Race and Gender offers an undergraduate grants program. Each semester, CRG sponsors an undergraduate grants program to support and encourage research and creative projects that address the issues of race and gender. Projects that are selected resonate with the Center for Race and Gender’s mission to promote an increased understanding of race and gender and their intersections in a wide variety of social, cultural and institutional contexts, especially on the Berkeley campus and in its neighboring communities. Grant recipients receive between $200 and $1000 to support their projects and research, and present completed research at a forum sponsored by the Center for Race and Gender. We offer our congratulations to the recipients of the fall 2004 undergraduate grants.

Michele Camozzi
Public Health
Community Based Hmong and Cambodian Health Education Research Project

Michelle’s project centers around health education in Hmong and Cambodian communities in the San Joaquin County. In conjunction with University of California Cooperative Extension, San Joaquin County and the San Joaquin County Public Health Services, her project seeks to develop content for health and nutrition education materials for use in community outreach, while at the same time increasing public health officials’ understanding and awareness of cultural differences existing within these communities so that they may serve the needs of community members more effectively.

Paul Gordon
Women’s Studies & Ethnic Studies
“Organize not Unionize”: Learning to Value Immigrant Women’s Knowledge and Leadership in the “New Labor Movement”

Paul’s project focuses on the political identities and strategies of immigrant organizers in a larger framework of transformative political practices and creative resistance to Globalization. Working and researching at Asian Immigrant Women Advocates in Oakland, and at the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights and Sweatshop Rights, he hopes to help illuminate the role that immigrant worker organizations have in relation to notions of citizenship, and how these efforts work against Globalization and their implications on a political level. As part of his research, he also attended a conference, “The Future of California’s Garment Industry: Strengthening Opportunities for Immigrant Workers; a Convening of Garment Worker and Immigrants’ Rights Advocates” in November.

Craig Hutchinson
African American Studies
Y (Why) D (Down) L (Low) - Stigma Management of Men Who Have Sex with Men in Barbados, West Indies in Comparison to the San Francisco Bay Area

In order to contribute to understanding of the “down low” phenomenon and aid in the development of health prevention interventions and public health policies, Craig’s project will compare attitudes of men who have sex with other men in Barbados, West Indies and San Francisco. Because homosexuality in the Caribbean is often nearly invisible due to discrimination and the stigma attached to it, many homosexual men remain “in the closet,” outwardly adopting socially acceptable heterosexual lifestyle, while having sex with other men without the knowledge of their female partners. Because African American men face a vulnerability to HIV due to ineffective prevention messages, community and religious intolerance of homosexuality and stigma, further research into the “down low” phenomenon is extremely important in furthering HIV and AIDS prevention. Craig’s research into this phenomenon will focus on interviews with men both in Barbados and San Francisco, as well as interviews with HIV prevention researchers in both the US and Barbados.

Mario Tabares
Environmental Sciences & Chicano Studies
Analyzing Environmental Racism in Richmond, California

Mario’s research looks at Environmental Racism,
Indigeneity Conference Explores Issues of Identity
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the relationship that exists between hazardous waste sites and ethnic identity. Because Richmond, California has an extensive history of industrial pollution and a predominantly blue-collar, minority population, the area is the focus of his project. Specifically, the United Heckathorn site in Richmond, which milled and produced a number of hazardous pesticides from 1947-1966 is currently on the EPA’s National Priority List and is the site where Mario will focus his research. Over seven months, he will work to compile census data, government documents and other published materials and interviews with various environmental justice community organizers that will help him determine the extent of Environmental Racism at the United Heckathorn site based on community impact, racial composition and income of the area, and land value.

Phenocia Bauerle
PhD Student, Education

November Forum
—continued from page 5

work is still going on now partly because it allows for moments of critical reflection and “fine-grained analysis” by the activists still working on the campaign, and we can learn from this kind of deep analysis what tools are available for social change, in particular those tools “crucial to mobilizations […] of the subaltern.”

Gladys Nubla
PhD Student, English

Words from the Director
Impact of the presidential election
—continued from page 1

the races, so that in most Southern states, Democrats won more than 90% of the African American vote but less than 40% of the white vote. This will certainly have future policy implications; for instance the opportunity to change many of the methods used to disenfranchise hundreds of thousands of African American voters in Southern states will be greatly weakened.

Discouragement of Youth of Color
Typically the group with the lowest voting turnout has been African American, Hispanic, and Asian American youth (18-25). The Democrats worked very hard to increase participation by young voters, but Republicans worked behind the scenes to discourage this segment, for instance by making registration harder and by forcing very long lines at some voting locations through use of voter challenges. While many elderly or one-issue voters were willing to stand in line for 3 or 4 hours, a much lower percentage of young people are prepared to spend up to half a day at a polling place. The Republican effort to minimize voting by youth of color was successful, and turnout did not increase from previous elections.

Evelyn Nakano Glenn
Director, CRG

The central role played by issues of race and gender in the 2004 election argues very strongly for a continuation and strengthening of the CRG’s mandate. The deepening political and societal chasm in America on issues of the highest importance to people of color, women, and gays/lesbians demonstrates how important it is to study, discuss, debate and think about these issues. The CRG’s central purpose—and our future programming—takes on added importance and urgency.
Steve Crum—continued from page 7

manuscript, Before the Tribal Colleges, looks at ideas and initiatives to create Native American colleges before the establishment of Diné College, credited as the first Native American college, in 1968. Some of his other work looks at Native American students in mainstream colleges and universities throughout history.

Steve brings his love for Native American history with him as he teaches and while he works closely with the students he advises. “I like connecting the past with the present,” he says about his classroom style. “Today’s students have to be told that the Indians of the 19th century viewed the westward moving white Americans as terrorists, or the invaders of Native homelands.” Creating a connection with the past is an effective approach, as he notes that the student evaluations at the end of the semester are an immediate reward for his pushing students to understand different historical perspectives. Working closely with students at Davis, he also makes time to help students from other campuses with their research. Currently, he is working with a student at the University of Arizona with a history of Choctaw education in the 20th century. Over the last thirty years, Professor Crum has dedicated his life to supporting American Indian students in higher education, while working to make a place for Native peoples’ voice in history.

Phenocia Bauerle
PhD Student, Education

September Forum—continued from page 3

particularly in relation to their pursuit of men.

3) The body types and features of women cast most often in these videos tended to meet more Western beauty standards—long hair, light skin, slender bodies—even though the majority were black and Latino women. And “when they did have features that are representative of what are commonly seen as black beauty standards, such as full lips and thicker thighs, they’re represented in an extremely sexual manner.” She noted that several of the respondents noticed the use of “dissecting” camera angles that focus on women’s sexual parts especially during the dancing: in other words, it’s not the dancing that’s “nasty” but the camera’s portrayal of the women’s bodies.

4) The respondents also noted the ways that black masculinity is constructed during the dancing: the “women would be dancing against the men while the men stood completely still with these hard emotionless looks on their faces.” Brown related the significance of “cool” to Richard Majors’s argument that the “cool pose” is a coping mechanism for young black men in order to counter their lack of power in larger white society. Only anger as emotion is shown because every other emotion is seen as “gendered.” In a refining of Majors’s argument, however, the young black female respondents saw the cool pose as young black men’s response to the “widening gender gap within the black community” where more black women go to college and have higher incomes than black men. Ultimately, these teenage female respondents did not ignore the misogyny in hip hop, but they acknowledged that hip hop is one of the few domains where black men are encouraged to be “dominant” —they suppose that black men are not necessarily trying to be misogynist but are trying to counter their marginalization in education and employment.

5) Finally, all of the above, without the element of race, can be seen as gendered norms in the larger society that encourage hypergamy (‘marrying up’) for women, but when the element of race is added, then these issues are all seen as deviant or devious aspects of black communities.

Brown concluded that there need to be more and different kinds of representations of black femininity and sexuality and of black people in general in order to counter stereotyping. Part of the problem of stereotyping in relation to these videos is that the majority of hip hop is not consumed by black people, so those who do not have a lived understanding of black culture will not be able to see that these representations of black men and women are more complicated than they seem on the surface and actually engage with real-life problems in black communities.

Gladys Nubla
PhD Student, English

October Forum—continued from page 4

Students ask questions after the presentations. (Glenn Robertson)

to the ways in which the colonial structures were successfully sustained in the Caribbean. Their presentations opened up new modes of reflecting upon the ways in which gender and race became entangled in the produccion of a colonial order.

Kimberly Tsau
PhD Student, English
Thursday Afternoon Forum Series: Call for Submissions

Supporting faculty, staff and students researching race and gender issues is a key component of the CRG’s role within the university. One of the ways the Center does this is through sponsorship of a research forum to promote research on race and gender to be shared and discussed in a thoughtful way.

The Center for Race and Gender invites presentation proposals from graduate students for its Spring Thursday Afternoon Forum Series. Research dealing with issues of race and gender from any discipline is welcome. The general theme for the Spring Series is “Voices and Visions.” Forums will be held on the first Thursday of each month during the Spring semester, beginning in February.

Please submit an abstract of no more than 300 words by January 10, 2005 to rng2@berkeley.edu. Questions about the forum series may be directed to rng2@berkeley.edu or (510) 643-8488.

CRG to Host Open House in February 2005

Come see our new location and find out more about the Center for Race and Gender! We will be hosting an Open House in early February 2005.

Check our website soon for more details and the most recent updates on our programs and events.

http://crg.berkeley.edu

CRG Spring 2005 Undergraduate Grants Competition

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 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. Applications are particularly sought from students majoring in areas where race and gender issues have not previously been of major concern, such as Public Health, Education, Economics, Business, Journalism, Political Science, and Environmental Science, as well as areas where they have been more central.

GRANT PERIOD AND USE OF FUNDS: Grants will be awarded for periods of up to six months 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 rental of equipment. Funds may not be used for purchase of equipment and are not intended for use as a stipend or for cost of living expenses.

APPLICATION PROCESS: To apply, submit the following:
- Student and Faculty Mentor Information Form (available online)
- 1-2 page project description
- Timeline for project completion
- Budget proposal
- Letter of support from a faculty mentor

To: Undergraduate Grants Program, Center for Race and Gender, 642 Barrows Hall, MC 1074, Berkeley, CA 94720-1074

APPLICATION DEADLINES: The Spring 2005 application deadline will be March 4, 2005. Awards will be announced within a few weeks of the deadline. Direct inquiries to centerrg@berkeley.edu.

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Please make checks payable to the UC Regents. Donations will help support the CRG’s undergraduate research and creative project grants. Donors may specify other CRG projects or programs for support.

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“Radical indigenism is indigenous knowledge taken seriously, not as something to be studied but as something you live within to find something out about the world,” she said. Elders could be teachers about their tribes; Indian scholarship could call for returning to the creation stories, honoring original instructions, and learning about how ancestors created community life. The academy would become a place for Native scholars who are also involved in and contributing to ongoing community life. In response to the problematic notion of blood quantum as providing access to benefits and citizenship, Garroutte insisted that there was something more profound to learn from historic tribal structures of determining tribal membership.

Professor emeritus and poet Jack Forbes followed this panel with his own rousing presentation of a re-written history of the Americas from an indigenous perspective. Maps were inverted Sunrise-to-Sunset, Columbus was shown to be following a previous transatlantic journey made by indigenous peoples, and science was re-invigorated as “seeing” and learning from other living beings. “We’ve been brainwashed to ignore our own history, in favor of some lost people who came across the Atlantic,” Forbes said.

Co-authored by Phenocia Bauerle, Clint Carroll, Robin DeLugan, and Beth Rose Middleton

The conference panelists and organizers (Jim Block)