Deconstructing Islamophobia
IMMIGRATION, GLOBALIZATION, AND CONSTRUCTING THE OTHER

Commodifying Wombs & Reproductive Labor
TRANSNATIONAL MEDIATIONS & MEDICAL TECHNOLOGY

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WORDS FROM THE DIRECTOR:

Yes We Did!

Just as many of us were obsessed with news coverage for weeks leading to the 2008 Presidential elections, we found ourselves enthralled by post-election dissection in the days following Barack Obama’s victory. Many spontaneous celebrations broke out all over the Berkeley campus, just as they did in innumerable sites around America. The sixth floor of Barrows Hall, where the CRG, Gender and Women’s Studies, and African American Studies are located had knots of excited staff and faculty breaking out wine and sparkling cider the morning after Obama’s victory. Charles Henry, chair of African American Studies, organized a last minute lunchtime party with catered food and wine. He confessed that he had not wanted to plan a celebration ahead of time because he might jinx the outcome. On display was his collection of Jesse Jackson and Barack Obama presidential campaign buttons.

The question of what Obama’s victory means about the current and future state of race relations and racism is central to the mission of the CRG. Obama’s election victory of course, marks a major watershed. Shibboleths about the unwillingness of non-Black Americans to overcome internalized racism in the privacy of the voting booth or to admit to pollsters their unwillingness to vote for an African American were disproven. The glass ceiling for African Americans has been shattered and has raised aspirations among young people of color. But does this mean that we are now in a “post-racial” age?

Clearly not. Race remains (in Michael Omi and Howard Winant’s words) a major organizing principle in American institutions and a primary axis of inequality. Even though individual Black Americans can and have made it to the highest levels of business, politics, and the arts, as a people Blacks suffer systematic disadvantages in accumulated wealth, income, and health status and in access to voting, health insurance, and safe housing. It is not simply “bad luck” that African Americans bear a disproportionate brunt of the impacts of both natural disasters (Hurricane Katrina) and man-made disasters (the financial meltdown of 2008). They are among the first to lose their livelihood and homes during economic downturns and the last to receive government assistance.

As we look to the Obama administration to address the current economic crisis, we need to call for special attention to the plight of women and people of color. Studies have shown that women and people of color are laid off at a much higher rate when businesses are reducing their workforce: corporate executives have traditionally argued that women are less important than men, because males are the “breadwinners.” Businesses also tend to eliminate jobs from what corporate managers consider “nonessential” categories, such as janitors, junior technicians, factory workers and other blue collar positions that tend to include higher numbers of people of color. A similar trend can be seen in reduction of government services, where AFDC, job retraining, care work, and similar categories that benefit people of color are the first to be cut.

—continued on page 7

(from left to right) Julien Chow, Social Welfare; CRG Director Evelyn Nakano Glenn; & Susan Ivey, Berkeley/UCSF Joint Medical Program
The Commodification of Wombs & Reproductive Labor

Dr. Kalindi Vora, Anthropology & Dr. Fouzieyha Towghi, Women and Gender Studies

The Center was proud to inaugurate the Fall 2008 Thursday Afternoon Forum Series with a panel entitled, “Reproductive Technologies in South Asia: Transnational Medico-technical Mediations, the Commodification of Wombs, and (Re)productive Labor,” an examination of the complex intersection between human reproduction, and the ethics and influence of medical technology in South Asia.

Dr. Kalindi Vora began by describing her fieldwork at the Akanksha Clinic in Anand, Gujarat, India, which has attracted world-wide attention in the media for its practice of arranging local surrogate-birth mothers for foreign couples. Her research suggests that such practices serve both to open up surrogacy as an employment opportunity for women who have few other options, as well as to alienate surrogate women from their bodies in the gestation process.

The technologies used in in vitro fertilization provide a framework for an understanding of wombs as vacant spaces that can be rented out for the gestation of a guest fetus who has no ties to the gestating mother. The birthing process is reconstituted as a new form of contracted, feminized labor. Because transnational surrogacy is largely unregulated in India, and because of the co-existence of medical, non-medical, and non-Western concepts of kinship, the relations between surrogate mothers, intended parents, and the embryo itself remain in flux.

The talk continued with Dr. Fouzieyha Towghi describing a dilemma facing health officials in the Panjgurati region of Pakistan created by the intersection of tradition and technology. On the one hand, public health officials are convinced that infant and maternal mortality can best be prevented in hospitals. However, home births under the care of traditional midwives remain one of the most enduring and widely practiced birthing methods throughout the region and country.

These opposing convictions have resulted in further questions concerning what constitutes appropriate medical practice. Under what conditions should non-licensed birthing attendants be allowed to administer drugs? What drugs should they be provided legal access to? Should drugs such as the anti-inflammatory Misoprostol be used to prevent bleeding—the leading cause of maternal mortality—when the full clinical effects of the drug remain unknown?

Dr. Towghi feels these debates surrounding female birthing practice further underscore a broader ethical concern regarding the availability and applications of medical technology. She cites the widespread, poorly regulated use in underdeveloped countries of drugs for off-label applications such as pregnancy or abortion, as further evidence of a latent sense of international relativism in regard to the distribution of biomedical technology across the globe.

J. Crewe, Comparative Literature
Professor Leti Volpp of the Boalt School of Law opened the September 18th, CRG Thursday forum with a discussion on the role that culture, race and gender now play in shaping immigration laws. Citing examples of recent legislation passed around the world, Professor Volpp argues that a rhetoric of “gendered, cultural subordination” is being used to justify discriminatory policies against immigrant populations in the name of helping women. In Denmark for example, the Alien Act of 2000 specifies that in order to sponsor a foreign-born spouse, the native Dane must be 24 years of age. This law was presented to the public as ostensibly protecting the rights of young women by deterring the practice of forced marriages. Several other European countries have proposed similar action plans to deal with the issue of forced marriage.

A closer examination of the Danish law however, reveals further restrictions to foreign marriage based upon one’s attachment to Denmark, economic status, and access to domicile of particular dimensions. These provisions suggest that the motivations for the law are more rooted in concerns about immigrants entering Denmark than with the protection of women.

Also discussed was the French legislative ban against schoolchildren wearing visible religious symbols in schools. This measure is widely believed to specifically target the Muslim practice of wearing headscarves. Consequently, it has been interpreted as a concession to underlying sentiments of racism among the French toward Muslim immigrants, while ostensibly championing ideals of secularism and republicanism.

Professor Volpp suggests that the dominant culture’s obsession with the cultural practices of immigrants often overshadows any discussion concerning the material, political, and structural needs and conditions of immigrant communities. Thus, while the Stasi Commission, tasked with outlining a plan for improving racial relations, had recommended many additional measures for the French government to implement—including creating anti-discrimination authorities and rebuilding urban ghettos—the only issue publicly addressed by the government was the headscarf.

The forum continued with Professor Angela Harris, also from the Boalt School of Law, describing how a reframing of equality theory has begun to transform legal conceptions about reparations and restorative justice.

Critical race, feminist, and other critical legal scholars now believe that a major flaw of equality theory is that it sustains the structures that generate injustice and inequity in the first place. For example, to argue that gender equality will be established once women are treated like men reinforces the legitimacy of male hegemony by positioning the dominant male regime as the standard of measure. But to argue that gender equality requires that women be treated as “different” than men similarly serves to reinforce the gender binary that was the underpinning of male dominance in the first place. The equality approach also cannot fully address historical wrongs inflicted on communities and individuals such as the displacement of indigenous peoples such as the Maori of New Zealand and Native American tribes. These groups seek self-determination, not equality within the conqueror’s society.

One means of attempting to address historical wrongs has been the reparations movement. The discourse of reparations involves identifying wrongs and then demanding both public recognition and apology and material compensation to the members of historically subordinated groups. A flaw of this approach, however, is that the worse the harm or injustice, the more difficult it is to mete out adequate reparations. It is unrealistic, for example, to believe that the descendents of slaves or dispossessed indigenous peoples will ever be materially compensated in full by the society that benefited from these wrongs. Professor Harris concluded her talk...
Race Theory

by describing the restorative justice model, an approach that considers crime as a form of harm to individuals and communities. The goal of restorative justice is not solely to punish but rather to identify and correct injustices, paying greater attention to the needs of both crime victims and perpetrators in the communities. A weakness of the restorative justice model, however, is that restorative justice advocates are often reluctant to identify the larger social context of state violence, particularly when they are working from within the state. Furthermore, the metaphor of “restoration” can appear inadequate in light of the historical scope of the injustice.

The “transformative justice” model seeks to address directly the problem of state violence and thus calls for a re-examination and transformation of western law, because of its structural connections to material and economic power. One theme in the conversation was the concept of ‘wholeness.’ Should for instance, questions of cultural, communal, or even spiritual trauma enter into the discussion of justice? Does law have a place within the domain of the social community, emotions, or the self, and if so, how do you repair the subtle, personal wounds inflicted by the state? How can those seeking to describe and transform these injuries avoid the further stigmatization of subordinate groups as having “defective cultures”? A second theme was the need to balance and pursue short-term and long-term goals. How is it possible to work within existing legal and political structures and still keep one’s eye on the prize of ultimately undermining, abolishing, or transforming them?

Race, Space, and Labor Outcomes

What is the relationship between where people live, and where jobs are located? What are the resulting employment outcomes for minorities? According to Professor Steven Rafael of the Goldman School of Public Policy and Professor John Quigley, Economics, understanding the spatial mismatch between where racial minorities live and work can significantly impact and inform local, regional, and national public policy planning.

The spatial mismatch hypothesis was first proposed over forty years ago by the economist John Kain, who argued that racial segregation and employment decentralization patterns in America combined to create the spatial distance between where minorities lived and where they worked. Because suitable employment was geographically inaccessible to low-skilled, minority workers who lacked access to cars or public transit, high levels of poverty and unemployment became concentrated in inner-city neighborhoods. Even today, many cities remain racially segregated, and many minority groups remain isolated from employment opportunities.

To illustrate the correlation between minority job opportunities and public transportation, Professor Quigley described a recent study demonstrating how the construction of the Dublin-Pleasanton BART line resulted in greater employment opportunities within the immediate vicinity of the train station for low-income, minority workers living outside of the Dublin Pleasanton area. Interestingly, the original rationale for building the new line was to provide ease of access to jobs for high-income workers who lived within the neighborhood. The “transformative justice” model seeks to address directly the problem of state violence and thus calls for a re-examination and transformation of western law, because of its structural connections to material and economic power. One theme in the conversation was the concept of ‘wholeness.’ Should for instance, questions of cultural, communal, or even spiritual trauma enter into the discussion of justice? Does law have a place within the domain of the social community, emotions, or the self, and if so, how do you repair the subtle, personal wounds inflicted by the state? How can those seeking to describe and transform these injuries avoid the further stigmatization of subordinate groups as having “defective cultures”? A second theme was the need to balance and pursue short-term and long-term goals. How is it possible to work within existing legal and political structures and still keep one’s eye on the prize of ultimately undermining, abolishing, or transforming them?

The forum concluded with a critical analysis of the Moving to Opportunity (MTO) experiments, a large scale, US Department of Housing and Development (HUD) funded study. The multimillion-dollar study was designed to test the hypothesis that moving individuals out of neighborhoods with high-concentrations of poverty would increase their probability of finding work. However, the study provided no statistically significant evidence to support those claims, the validity of which can impact national public policy decisions, such as whether and where to relocate the displaced survivors of Hurricane Katrina for example.

Professors Quigley and Rafael argued that a closer look at the MTO intervention revealed fundamental flaws in the design of the study, suggesting that the experiment did not have the statistical power to rule out the effect sizes demonstrated by the mismatch literature. In other words, because the intervention basically moved African Americans from extremely poor neighborhoods to those of the average poor black person, it was not a true intervention as proposed by the spatial mismatch literature.

Despite its flaws, a number of interesting and statistically significant findings did emerge from the MTO study. For example, relocating out of extremely poor conditions was shown to produce the same positive effect on the mental health of women and girls as taking anti-depressant medication. Researchers also found that girls responded more positively to such moves than boys. In general girls would perform better in school, whereas boys would be involved in greater incidences of trouble.
The October 16th forum explored the challenges faced by migrant women workers. Cheryl Andrada, a second year student at the Boalt School of Law, opened the talk by discussing the legal protections available to migrant Filipino domestic workers. Noting the discrepancies between theoretically sound, legal prescriptions, and the way they are enacted in the real world, Andrada proposes to more closely examine the multi-level interactions of laws and their effects. With a particular eye towards wayfaring Filipino laborers, she hopes to address the contradictions of home as workplace, and government as labor protector versus remittance beneficiary.

Filipinos who leave their homeland to work overseas are responsible for about $15 billion in remittances. This represents approximately one-seventh of the Philippine GDP. Consequently, the government is actively involved and has commissioned a special department, The Philippine Overseas Employment Administration (POEA), to oversee and protect transnational workers. The POEA negotiates contracts for overseas domestic workers, ensuring for example that workers receive at least $400 in wages per month, 8 hours of rest per day, and that their passports cannot be confiscated.

However, as Andrada reports, the POEA is severely understaffed. Given the large number of domestic worker recruitment agencies—at least 1,500 by some estimates—it can be difficult to ensure that agencies are maintaining continual contact and correspondence with the women they represent.

She believes that U.S. domestic violence laws should be expanded to include domestic workers. One concern, however, is that current domestic violence laws are usually under-enforced. Similarly, labor laws, such as the FLSA or NRLA, specifically exclude domestic workers. In both instances there is resistance because Americans do not want government in their homes, despite the fact that for many domestic immigrant workers, the home and workplace are one and the same. Because the project is ongoing, Cheryl would appreciate any comments or thoughts about the trajectory of her legal research.

Beginning with a protest chant—“NAFTA, No! Work, Yes!” Francisca James Hernández discussed the effect that labor shifts—occurring as a result of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)—in the twin U.S. and Mexico border towns El Paso and Cuidad Juarez had on “obreras,” or women workers. Hernández, a post-doctoral fellow in Ethnic Studies, shared her ethnographic work on the activism against dislocation along the Texas-Mexico border.

Hernández compared the border to an open wound, quoting Gloria Anzaldua, “where the third world bleeds from the encounter with the first.” In 2000 alone, 20,000 jobs were lost, leaving El Paso the fourth most impoverished city in the nation. She points out that if you were to measure the area as a single metropolitan unit, over 20 percent of the population is in poverty, ranking first by US standards. The majority of dislocated workers battle material scarcity, and many support themselves and up to 4 generations on $100 per week. Federal programs are largely failures because of language discrimination—when 70 percent is Spanish speaking—and because of a gendered funneling of women into lower paying jobs.

With this as backdrop, Hernández asks, “How do the marginalized push back and determine alternatives?” She argues that intersectionality, a mainstay in the feminist conceptual canon, is political, and more than race, gender and class—the typical triad—must be taken into account when theorizing about agency. She suggests the intersections of history, territory and geography structure the subaltern, where they develop collective resistance.

Providing some hope, Hernández cites Mujer Obrera (mujerobrera.org) an NGO comprised mainly of garment factory workers. When bridges from the US to Mexico were closed down, Mujer Obrera organized hunger strikes, lobbying, marches and other grassroots campaigns. Through their multilayered and diverse activism, formerly dislocated obreras developed knowledge about themselves in the community.

Hernández concluded her talk by urging the CRG audience to consider and address the same goal as this particular, what she calls ingenious NGO: “How do we, as Mexican immigrant women workers, combat the destruction generated by globalization, and build sustainable communities rooted in dignity and justice?”

Tamera Stover Lee, Sociology
In an economic crisis as serious as the one we are now in, all kinds of institutions and groups—big and small corporations, unions, local governments, and citizen groups—petition Washington DC for relief. The groups with the most clout (the best lobbyists, the most campaign contributions) tend to get quicker and more effective action, as we saw in the $700 billion bailout of banks and financial institutions and in the rescue of Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac earlier this year.

It is to be hoped that the new Obama administration and the Democratic congress will take more interest in people of color and women than has recently been the case. On the other hand, the giant corporations and financial institutions still have their armies of lobbyists in place, and will put tremendous pressure on the new administration and congress to deal with their needs first.

The dire effects of the 2008 economic collapse provide an unambiguous mandate for the Center for Race and Gender. As the only university-wide academic center dedicated to issues relating to women and people of color, CRG must make sure that issues impacting our groups are addressed as widely as possible. During 2008 and 2009, we will endeavor to develop programs, conferences, symposia and other efforts to address the effects of economic disaster on our target groups, and to support undergraduate and graduate research projects that incorporate women and people of color into analyses of this historic time.

Evelyn Nakano Glenn
CRG Director

Each year, the California Roundtable on Philosophy and Race convenes to advance the philosophical exploration of racial formations. This year’s Roundtable was hosted and sponsored by the Berkeley Department of Ethnic Studies and the Center for Race and Gender. The 2008 meeting counted eleven presenters coming from across the United States.

In her keynote talk, “Coloniality of Gender and the Colonial Difference,” Latina feminist philosopher Professor Maria Lugones reflected on the ways in which modern forms of colonization grounded on the “discovery” of the Americas produce “different” genders, including a category of non-gendered people who are not considered to be people.

Lugones links colonization, or rather, what she refers to as the “coloniality of power” (A. Quijano) and the “coloniality of gender,” to the animalization of sub-alterns, which includes specific ways of understanding their being, mores, and sexuality. She showed how this form of theorizing facilitates the understanding of contemporary struggles, and contributes to bridging the divides between those who advocate for decolonization and those who advocate for feminism.

The Roundtable, which seeks to foster a productive and intellectually stimulating environment for those working in philosophy and race, also aspires to bring together scholars of color, and junior and senior scholars to develop and enhance constructive mentoring relationships. Next year’s Roundtable will leave California for the first time since its inception in 2004, to be held at Hampshire College in Amherst, MA on Oct. 2-3, 2009. The keynote speaker will be Professor Charles Mills, author of The Racial Contract, and John Evans Professor of Moral and Intellectual Philosophy at Northwestern University. Full details for next year’s meetings program can be found online at www.caroundtable.org.

From the organizers:
Falguni Sheth,
Hampshire University
Gregory Velazco y Trianosky,
Cal State University, Northridge
Nelson Maldonado-Torres
University of California, Berkeley
On April 25-26, 2008 the Center for Race & Gender was proud to host:

ISLAMOPHOBIA

“Deconstructing Islamophobia: Immigration, globalization, & constructing the other.”

In today’s world, Muslims—adherents to the religion of Islam—are increasingly depicted and feared as the “other,” a moral, cultural, and religious danger to Western Civilization. Negative stereotypes and depictions of Muslims have become common in mainstream media. Pundits and politicians readily advance their careers and agendas by denouncing and demonizing the “Islamic threat.” Members of Islamic communities—as well as individuals who are mistaken for Muslims—have become targets for discrimination and exclusion. The number of hate crimes directed against them has increased, even as their civil rights and liberties have been curtailed. This April, scholars from across the country and around the world convened in Berkeley to explore the subject of Islamophobia. One explicit goal of the conference, according to organizer Dr. Hatem Bazian, was to better understand how events from the past have contributed to the antagonism directed towards Muslims today. Another was to encourage further intellectual explorations in the present in order to arrive at an educated guess of what the future may hold. Excerpted in this issue of Faultlines is a brief selection of those talks. For a complete list of talk titles or speaker biographies, email centerrg@berkeley.edu to request a copy of the program.

Co-Sponsored By:
Berkeley Diversity Research Initiative,
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Arab & Muslim Ethnicities Diaspora and Ethnic Studies, San Francisco State University,
Center for Islamic Studies, Graduate Theological Union

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Islamophobia & Anti-Blackness: A Genealogical Approach
Nelson Maldonado-Torres, Associate Professor, Ethnic Studies, UC Berkeley

The year 1492 marked a major turning point in the trajectory of Western Civilization. Elementary age children are taught this as the year Columbus famously crossed the Atlantic. An equally significant event that year, was the Spanish conquest of al-Andalus—a Moorish province on the southern Iberian peninsula established eight centuries earlier—and more importantly, the last major Muslim stronghold on the European continent. Critical race scholars have argued that these two events would not only shift the geopolitical balance of power from the Orient to the Occident, but fundamentally alter conceptions about religious and racial identity.

Maldonado-Torres has proposed that anti-black racism is not simply an extension of some historical bias against blacks, but rather, is an amalgam of old-world Islamophobia linked to the history of the Iberian peninsula, and to the notion of soulless beings embodied in popular conceptions about the indigenous natives of the Americas.

These beliefs would contribute to an ideological basis for, and justification of, colonial conquests in the name of cultural and religious conversion, as well as pave the way for the enslavement and human trafficking of sub-Saharan Africans.

Strategies for Decentering Islamophobia
Khaldoun Samman, Associate Professor, Sociology, Macalester College

Professor Khaldoun Samman began his talk by recounting how as a young Jordanian boy recently transplanted to New Jersey, he had been taught never to flush the toilet for “number 1,” but only for “number 2.” Thus, after neglecting to flush the toilet while at the home of a schoolmate, Samman was confronted by his friend’s mother who politely informed the young immigrant, “in America, we always flush the toilet.”

In actuality, the no-flush rule in Samman’s household was born out of practicality. The septic tank was only periodically emptied, and overuse by a family of 5 could result in an unpleasant overflow and odor.

The case of the unflushed toilet demonstrates how even the seemingly innocuous subject of bathroom etiquette, calls into question the reflexive judgments we make about one another. When polarized distinctions—what Samman refers to as cultural-binaries—are drawn between two worlds, the results can be cultural isolation, misunderstanding, and fear. A more sobering example of this is the criticism and negative attention that has been directed at Muslim communities for purportedly endorsing practices such as female “honor killings.” This practice has been framed as a purely Islamic phenomenon, and consequentially one that does not exist in the West.

An analysis of U.S. criminal statistics however, reveals that 1/3 of female murders were committed by a boyfriend, husband, or lover. Viewed in this light, an honor killing loses its divisive power as a uniquely Muslim atrocity. We are forced instead into questioning our own cultural practices and identities. The victimization of young women is no longer a uniquely Muslim crime, but rather, a human one. Professor Samman believes that it is only by discarding the epistemologies of cultural binaries—of us and them, Orient and Occident—will we be able to move beyond the politics of fear and divisiveness that has come to dominate our public and political discourse.
An old adage states, the pen is mightier than the sword; another that a picture is worth a thousand words. What then might occur, when pen and ink combine in a politically charged image?

The 2005 publication of caricatured, cartoon renditions of the Muslim prophet Muhammad in the Danish newspaper *Jyllands-Posten* sparked uproar in Islamic communities the world over.

What prompted the publication of these controversial images? Just as importantly, why was the Danish government derelict—in the words of a U.N. report—in allowing what would be described as Denmark’s worst international incident since WWII to escalate? The initial unapologetic stance maintained by both the government and press would fuel massive, global demonstrations and political controversy. A worldwide boycott of Danish goods by Muslims organized in protest would result in approximately US $170 million dollars in export losses.

Defenders of the Danish press argue that it was a statement against self-censorship—a stand against the fear of violence for any critical examination of Islam in the media—and that furthermore, the ability to caricaturize Muslims reflects their acceptance as a community. Critics believed, however, that even the unwittingly offensive use of cultural and religious iconography reveals how deeply entrenched anti-Islamic sentiment remains in Danish and European society.

Peter Gottschalk, an associate professor of religion at Wesleyan University, once asked an editor of the New York Times why the venerable paper did not include cartoons in its editorial section. The editor’s response was that cartoons were too powerful, and that they simply “sucked the air out of an editorial page.” People would go straight to the images and ignore whatever text was written.

In a book co-authored with Gabriel Greenberg, *Islamophobia: Muslims and Islam in American Political Cartoons*, Gottshalk documents the—continued on page 14

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On January 4th, 2007, the newest members of the 110th Congress were sworn in to duty. Among that number was House Representative Keith Ellison from Minnesota, an African American, and the first Muslim ever elected to serve in Congress.

Ellison’s historic election should have been celebrated as a great American triumph, a further proof of democracy’s inclusiveness even against the backdrop of the ongoing conflict in Iraq, and the shadow of 9/11. Instead, in the weeks leading up to his swearing in, Ellison was placed at the center of a nationwide media firestorm. At issue was his decision to take his oath of Congressional office with a hand placed not on the Christian Bible, but instead on Islam’s holiest text, the Qur’an.

Pundits around the country argued that Ellison’s decision was fundamentally un-American. Such claims were made notwithstanding the fact that Ellison—already a popular, two-term state official—had been born and raised in the United States, with an ancestry that could be traced back to 1742.

It may come as some surprise to contemporary audiences to learn that a similar debate had already been enacted over two hundred years ago during the framing of the U.S. Constitution. Article 6, section 3, specifically states that there shall be no religious test as a requirement of public office. William Lancaster, a delegate from North Carolina, had challenged this provision by arguing that were it to pass, even a Muslim might one day be elected president. At the time Lancaster and others had been mostly concerned that a non-Protestant—or more precisely a Catholic—could be elected, and thereby perpetuate the religious schisms that had divided Europe. However, the rhetorical inclusion of a Muslim in Lancaster’s line of argumentation reveals that a latent consciousness and fear of Islam had also been transmitted across the Atlantic.

When Ellison finally took his oath of office, he did so using a copy of the Qur’an once owned by Thomas Jefferson. The decision represented not only a bold exercise of Constitutional rights in the present, but also a symbolic nod to the nation’s not-so-distant past.
What Islamophobia Means in Britain
Tariq Modood, Professor, Sociology, University of Bristol, UK

Before there were anti-Muslim attacks in Britain, there was anti-Asian and African discrimination in the 1980’s. Prior still to that, there were widespread acts of hostility directed against non-whites throughout the 1950’s.

According to Professors Tariq Modood and Nasr Meer of the University of Bristol, the Islamophobia that is described and discussed today does not represent some newfound, ideological fear of Islam. The hateful rhetorics and violence directed against Muslims in modern-day Britain and Europe did not simply appear overnight. Nor were they motivated solely by differences in religious beliefs. Rather, the fear and discrimination of Muslims is really an evolved stage of racism—one that has been built as much upon perceived differences in culture, religion and history, but also on outward forms such as manner of dress or skin color.

Studies commissioned to monitor the harassment and abuse of British Muslims have shown, for example, that the highest incidences of discrimination and violence were reported by individuals who could easily be identified as or mistaken for Muslims. In fact, a large number of Sikh men—practitioners of a religion entirely distinct from Islam—were targeted for hate crimes primarily on the basis of their “Muslim-like” beards and turbans. Consequentially, in order for British society to overcome anti-Islamic sentiment, it must re-examine and address deeply rooted beliefs about racial equity.

Islamophobia on the Eastern Front
Hamid Algar, Professor, Near Eastern Studies, UC Berkeley

The social, cultural, political, and religious dichotomies evoked by the term Islamophobia are most readily conceived of as a modern-day conflict between Islam and the Protestant-Catholic West, and the people and institutions of the Middle East with those of Western Europe and the United States. Less well known, however, is what Professor Hamid Algar characterizes as an unbroken history of systematic hostility, persecution, and violence perpetrated against Muslims by adherents of Slavic Orthodox traditions dating back to the 16th century.

Russia’s rise as a continental power for example, is historically linked to the decline of two major Muslim principalities, the Khanates of Kazan and Siberia. The term khanate is a Turkic word used to describe a territory ruled by a military or political leader known as a khan. Kazan and Siberia were Tatar territories that emerged from the changing geopolitical landscape that resulted from the gradual decline of the Mongol empire.

The historical record reveals a long series of conflicts between Russia and Kazan from 1438 until the conquest and absorption of Kazan by Ivan IV—better known as Ivan the Terrible—in 1552. Underscoring this conflict, Professor Algar argues, was a rising undercurrent of anti-Islamic sentiment that would quickly metastasize into a state backed campaign of religious persecution. Anti-Muslim rhetoric, which first began to make appearances in the writings of Orthodox monks in the 1520’s, would eventually come to characterize Tatars and Muslims as “godless and unclean creatures destined for eternal perdition.”

The conquest of Siberia by Ivan IV in 1586 was precipitated by the capture of the Siberian capital by Yermak Timofeyevic four years earlier. Originally hired by the prominent Stroganov family to protect their trade interests, Yermak was by all known accounts a former bandit leader turned mercenary. However, following his defeat, capture, and death he was canonized a saint by the Russian Orthodox Church.

Yermak’s posthumous elevation to sainthood is puzzling unless framed within the context of anti-Islamic sentiment. Chronicles, replete with miracles and visions of angels carrying the banner of Jesus, were written about his battles. In contrast, the Muslim antagonists in those stories would be plagued by visions of shining cathedrals and the sound of triumphant church bells ringing. Yermak’s case thus appears to serve two purposes: It both legitimizes the military conquest through religion, as well as the religious conquest of Islam by Orthodox Christians.

Following the conquests of Kazan and Siberia, Russia would engage in intensive campaigns of converting the local populations to Orthodox Christianity. The historical record reveals stories of priests and soldiers forcibly baptizing Muslims by dunking them into rivers, and hanging crosses around their necks in order to convert them. It also included the destroying of mosques, and the building of churches in

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Spring 2008 Graduate Student Grant Awards Recipients

Alexandre Beliaev, Anthropology

**SOVIET SPECTERS OF BELONGING: QUESTION OF RACE, CLASS & GENDER IN CONTEMPORARY LATVIA**
I am investigating questions of virtue and politics in the context of racial and sexual tropes of Russian minorities belonging to the contemporary Latvian state. Two specific tropes of interest are that of *negry*—an abbreviation of the Russian word for non-citizen as well as the Russian word for “black”; and that of *integrasty*—a neologism of the Russian words for “integrated” and “pederasts.” Tracing the historical shifts in possibilities of entering into a relationship with the state, I particularly look to address the (post-) soviet reorganization of citizenship from a class-based to a nation-based category of belonging.

Jennifer Casolo, Geography

**DEEPENING CONNECTIONS: CH’ORTI’-CAMPESINO ASSESSMENT OF PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION FINDINGS**
I will workshop my preliminary dissertation conclusions with the Regional Coordination of Campesino-Ch’orti’ New Day in Eastern Guatemala. Through relational understandings of place and gender difference, I compare divergent land/nature struggles in northeastern Honduras and eastern Guatemala, and within eastern Guatemala. My work unsettles dualistic theories and practices of rural contestation as primarily ethnic or agrarian. Different New Day leaders and members will critique my analysis of the entangled exclusions and inclusions—gender, race, class, historic and geographic—through which their struggles *for* land/nature and *against* debt and extractive “development” emerge, gain force and sometimes unravel.

Trevor Gardner, Sociology

**TRACING AFRICAN AMERICAN HETEROGENEITY**
I investigate how African-American police officers negotiate ethnic and professional identity in places where African-Americans hold considerable influence in city government and in the local law enforcement institution. How do these uniquely situated individuals conceptualize the bonds and boundaries of ethnic community given the turbulent and distinctly racialized nature of big-city policing? Through in-depth interviews in the District of Columbia and Oakland, California, I probe African-American police officer subjectivities to develop a nuanced understanding of the function of “race” in American criminal justice.

Genevieve Gonzales, Education: Social & Cultural Studies in Education

**THE MAKING & UNMAKING OF COMMON SENSE: UNDOCUMENTED YOUTH & OPPOSITIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS**
I study how discourse and practice of immigration policy shapes the political identity and activist engagement of undocumented youth. By collecting the stories and mapping the political trajectories of undocumented youth activists, I explore how ‘common sense’ is made and unmade among undocumented immigrant youth. Examining how these young people theorize race and racism, encounter and contest dominant conceptions of “illegal” immigration, and come to see themselves as political participants in a context which excludes them, demonstrates how undocumented youth confront, contest, and interact with dominant notions of equal opportunity and immigration.

Silvia Pasquetti, Sociology

**REFUGEES & CITIZENS: SUBALTERN POLITICS & IMAGINED COMMUNITIES IN WEST BANK CAMPS & ISRAEL CITIES**
My research is a comparative ethnography of patterns of social organization and processes of collective self-identification in a Palestinian refugee camp in the West Bank (Jalazon) and a Palestinian Israeli minority neighborhood (in the Israeli city of Lod). My research advances a relational approach to the effects of spatial confinement and legal dis-abilities: the genesis and rationale of institutional policies, their local implementation by “street-level bureaucrats,” and the practices of the subject populations within their daily surroundings.

Samuel James Redman, History

**OLD SCIENCE, NEW MUSEUM**
I plan to conduct research at the Smithsonian Institution’s National Anthropological Archives (NAA). The NAA possesses a deeply significant collection of archival material related to the controversial transfer of human skeletal remains from the US Army and Surgeon General to the Smithsonian in 1898. I will examine the history of this transfer and its long-term implications for the making of the modern museum in the US. The manner in which human remains were studied and classified, has clear implications for how race and gender was understood in late 19th and early 20th century US.
Fall 2008 Undergraduate Student Grant Awards Recipients

Connie Chung, Peace & Conflict Studies, Public Policy

BEAUTIFUL SISTERS
I will be producing an experimental documentary that examines how young Asian American women perceive and construct ideals about beauty through blepharoplasty. Blepharoplasty — more commonly known as “double eye-lid” surgery—is a form of body manipulation increasingly employed by Asian American females. For some, it’s a personal choice to feel “beautiful,” “accepted,” “confident.” For others it is a way to “look white,” “Western” or meet perceived societal standards of beauty. By constructing a visual narrative that critically examines this topic on a theoretical and personal level, I hope to empower young Asian American women and challenge them to reevaluate their personal notions of racial and gender identity.

Kenny Chung, Public Health/Molecular & Cell Biology

KAPE (K N OWLEDGE, A TTITUDES, A ND P RPACT IVE TOWARDS EPILEPSY) S URVEY F OR C HINESE & VIETNAMESE P OPULATIONS I N T HE U .S
A World Health Organization report concludes that people living with epilepsy continue to face misunderstandings and social stigma regarding their condition. Moreover, these misconceptions may lead to discriminatory practices that can affect people with epilepsy socially, financially, and legally. The purpose of the KAPE (Knowledge, Attitudes, and Practice towards Epilepsy) project is to assess the knowledge of, attitudes, and practices towards epilepsy in a multi-city study of Chinese and Vietnamese living in the United States. This study seeks to document and develop a more comprehensive picture of the little known attitudes, beliefs, fears, and understanding that exist in these communities.

Mary Candace Full, Sociology

TRACING AFRICAN AMERICAN HETEROGENEITY
What potential exists for young people to challenge and overcome structural obstacles such as poverty, discrimination, or lack of opportunity, in order to positively transform their lives, schools, and communities? How do students articulate their personal experiences, and how can we as educators better be prepared to listen? My field work at an East Bay continuation high school for at risk students, explores the effect of youth empowerment in the classroom using a methodology known as Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR). YPAR not only pushes the boundaries of critical pedagogy, but also represents a new and potentially empowering research paradigm through which to engage students.

CRG Spring 2009 Grants Program

The Center for Race and Gender (CRG) at the University of California Berkeley, announces the availability of grants of $100 to $1,000 to fund undergraduates and $100 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
http://crg.berkeley.edu/programs/grants/graduate.html

APPLICATION DEADLINES:
The Spring 2009 Undergraduate Grant application deadline will be March 4th at 3 p.m.
The Spring 2009 Graduate Grant application deadline will be April 6th at 3 p.m.
Awards will be announced within two weeks of each deadline. Direct inquires to centerrg@berkeley.edu.
Islamophobial on the Eastern Front —continued from page 11

Muslim districts, whether or not any Christians even lived there.

Over time, many Tatars attempted to revert to Islam, one consequence of which was to have their lands confiscated as punishment. By the 1600’s, any Muslims found guilty of reversion were to be burnt at the stake. Individuals identified as fomenters of religious dissent were to suffer a similar fate, but only after undergoing an “ecclesiastically defined and approved set of tortures.” It was not until 1773 that a decree providing religious tolerance was pronounced. However, a number of scholars interpret this move as a political—as opposed to moral or humanitarian—response to the pressures created by a regional revolt and ongoing conflicts with the Ottomans.

According to Professor Algar, illuminating the historical continuity of anti-Islamic sentiment serves to reframe our understanding of the present day persecution of Muslims in Serbia, as well as the conflicts between Russia and Chechnya. Only in light of this broader historical context can we adequately make sense of video images of priests blessing soldiers before battle, or widespread populist support for state-sponsored campaigns of repression. And only by identifying these threads that bind past to present, can we hope to untie them for a better future.

Political Cartoons —continued from page 11

The power of political cartoons, Gottshalk argues, comes from their ability to elicit, probe, and examine even taboo cultural beliefs, subjects, and assumptions in a format that the casual reader can identify with and interpret. The Danish case served as a stark reminder of the power of an image to inspire, provoke, and, more profoundly in this particular case, enrage and mobilize. So, is the pen mightier than the sword? Perhaps the more relevant consideration is the manner in which the two are inextricably entwined.

New Publications

Evelyn Nakano Glenn, Ethnic Studies/Gender & Women Studies

Shades of Difference: Why Skin Color Matters
(Stanford University Press, 2009)

Edited by Evelyn Nakano Glenn, this volume is the first to explore the phenomenon of colorism (the preference for light skin and discrimination against those with darker skin) from a transnational perspective. Individual chapters dissect the workings of colorism in Brazil, the Caribbean, Mexico, South Africa, the U.S., the Philippines, and South Asia and examine the impacts of skin tone bias on socioeconomic status, marital practices, ideas of beauty, and the use of skin lightening products. This collection was inspired by and grew out of the CRG conference, Hierarchies of Color.

Marcial González, Literature

Chicano Novels and the Politics of Form: Race, Class, and Reification
(University of Michigan Press, 2008)

This timely and original study study focuses on the fiction of five writers whose work spans a century: Maria Amparo Ruiz de Burton, Oscar Zeta Acosta, Danny Santiago, and Cecile Pineda. Drawing on the Marxist concept of reification to examine the connections between social history and narrative, the author highlights the relationship between race and class in these works and situates them as historical responses to Mexican American racial, political, and social movements since the late nineteenth century. The book sheds light on the relationship between politics and form in the novel, an issue that has long intrigued literary scholars.

Ian F. Haney Lopez, Law


Haney Lopez and Olivas examine the little known case of Hernandez v. Texas, which addressed the systematic exclusion of Mexican Americans from grand juries. Their chapter details the socio-legal history of the first Supreme Court case to extend the protections of the Fourteenth Amendment to Latinos. They argue that in addition to extending 14th Amendment rights to Mexican Americans, Hernandez demonstrates the Warren Court efforts to challenge wrongful discrimination through the use of racial classifications.
Like critical race theory, whiteness studies is an emergent, interdisciplinary field that examines the historical construction and moral implications of racial categorizations. Zeus Leonardo’s work is guided by an attempt to capture “the real experiences of race, both by whites and people of color.” Leonardo has been influenced by his lived experience as a person of color. As a 9-year old boy he immigrated with his family from the Philippines to Los Angeles, CA. His intellectual goal has been “to synthesize a class analysis and critique of capital, with a racial analysis and critique of white privilege,” with a particular emphasis on how the concept of race consciously and unconsciously structures society and culture.

While working toward his Ph.D. at UCLA under the mentorship of Peter McLaren, Leonardo began to engage social theory in general, and Neo-Marxism in particular, for his understanding of race and ethnicity. Beginning with a dissertation entitled, *Ideology, Discourse, and School Reform*, which was later published as a book, Leonardo attempted to synthesize the Marxist conceptualization of ideology with the Foucauldian concept of discourse as they pertained to race, class, and gender. Leonardo presents an integrated theory of ideology, to examine how participants in educational change utilize discourse to construct their own meanings of school reform to both undermine and advance efforts to achieve social equity.

Leonardo has extended his theoretical model to include constructs such as flexibility, multination, and fragmentation to better understand the transformation of global constructions of whiteness. He argues that whiteness has not been historically marked by a certain sense of rigidity, but instead, has the ability to flex, change, and morph in order to ensure its survival. Moreover, Leonardo argues, the construct of whiteness continues to shape global cultural identities even as it fragments our total understanding of race.

In a forthcoming book, *Race, Whiteness, and Education*, Leonardo challenges the notion of white ignorance, and argues for a re-centering of whiteness in a way that does not valorize it—i.e. whiteness as the center of civilization, rationality, or modernity—but examines it as a center of anxiety. By embracing a new, if not uncomfortable understanding of race and race relations, Leonardo believes that a more genuine sense of multiculturalism can be fostered.

Leonardo’s “intellectual partner in crime” is his wife of ten years, Margaret Hunter, a sociologist at Mills College and a fellow race scholar. They have two children, ages 2 and 5, and with a busy family and academic life, Leonardo and his wife constantly strive to find the balance between the two. Once an avid road cyclist—riding over 100 miles per week—Leonardo now with significantly less time on hand, playfully refers to himself as a “cyclist-in-theory.”

Jose Gutierrez, Education

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**CRG Faultlines Call for Contributors**

Are you planning to attend a CRG sponsored event or are interested in sharing a short article on Race & Gender? The Center for Race & Gender invites students, faculty, and scholars of race and gender to submit to the *Faultlines* newsletter. Your name will appear as an issue contributor in the newsletter. For details, please email the editors at rng2@berkeley.edu with the subject line: “Attention Editor: Faultlines Submission Proposal.”

**CRG Dissertation Writing Group**

The CRG sponsors an interdisciplinary dissertation writing group. We welcome graduate students from the Humanities, Social Sciences, and other fields who share a common scholarly interest in the study of Gender and Race. The purpose of the group is to support and encourage members to start, continue, or finish their dissertations. Each member is asked to submit a chapter draft that the group discusses and critiques. Please contact Alia Pan at acypan@berkeley.edu for any inquiries.
Afternoon Forum: Call for Speakers

The Center for Race and Gender cordially invites faculty members and graduate students interested in sharing and discussing their work to submit presentation proposals for our bi-weekly 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 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.