The Racial State: Democratic & Despotic Dimensions

UC Hastings College of Law
May 16th, 2014
10am-5pm
What is New Racial Studies?

What is the significance of race in the post-Civil Rights era, the post-colonial era, the post-apartheid era, the era of Obama? Enormous transformations are occurring in racial dynamics: racial identities and racial attributions are becoming more complex and problematic. Demographic shifts are producing national and regional populations that are more racially heterogeneous and difficult to classify: greater numbers of middle eastern, African, Asian, and Latin American descent now reside in Europe and North America, and indeed a transition to a US "majority-minority" demographic is now underway in the US. "New social movements" shaped by race continue to exercise influence throughout the world, both in ongoing endeavors to deepen democracy and in contrary efforts to curtail it. Racial domination and repression continue as well.

To research the broader meaning of these contradictions in regard to race and racism is the core mission of the UCCNRS. What are the implications of these transformations for social policy, political processes, and cultural life? How has the complex racial transition of the 20th century (and beyond) affected patterns of social organization and control, legal regulation, employment and residence, and the representation and performance of social identities? What effects will the shifting meaning of race have, in the US and elsewhere, on international relations, global and local inequalities, war and peace, gender dynamics, and movements of capital and labor?

That there is or could be a "New Racial Studies" suggests that a great transformation is underway in the meaning and social structure of race. Politicians, educators, voters, young people, journalists, and many others are all struggling to make sense of a racial system that both changes and remains entrenched.

As scholars, we too are seeking to understand the contradictions and dilemmas that arise from the evolving racial order. Such themes as the changing demographics of race, the racial state and the law, the racialized body, racial dimensions of North-South (and West-East) global dynamics and the afterlife of empire, whiteness as a racial category, ethnic cleansing/genocide as racial policy, racial "disaccumulation" and continuing racial inequality, and the reclassification of racial identities, exemplify (but hardly exhaust) the range of creative research being produced across the UC system in this huge area.

Indeed UC is uniquely situated to play an important role in this process, because of the many scholars based here who are already engaged in new racial studies.
During the past decades the US rate of incarceration has increased by an entire order of magnitude. The equation of immigrants and criminality is common throughout the world. Higher rates of imprisonment and deportation have created new, racially demarcated, social structures of repression. State repression and racial despotism of course extend far beyond formal incarceration: the despotic elements of the state’s racial policies are profoundly entrenched.

But there is another side to the racial state: its democratic dimensions. Indeed the "freedom dreams" rooted in racial politics are among the most enduring contributions to the endurance of democracy in the modern world. The persistence and depth of social justice-oriented movements among the "subaltern" strata, often operating quite autonomously and beneath the social scientific radar, suggests that the problem of incomplete democracy is re-emerging as a contentious political issue, especially where race is concerned. The 2013-2014 research theme has been designed to address these and related areas of inquiry.
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<td>Conference Registration</td>
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<td>Introduction of the 2014-2015 Research Program</td>
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Morning Session
10:30am-12:00pm

Panel 1: History & Memory
Room 304

Diane C. Fujino, Professor of Asian American Studies, Santa Barbara

Lluliana Alonso, Ph.D. Candidate in Education, Los Angeles
“Historicizing Race and Space: Shaping Educational Opportunity for Mexican Youth in South Central LA, 1930-1949”

Elyse Banks, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Santa Barbara
“Catholic Interracialism in Twentieth Century New Orleans: A Historical Survey with Implications for the Post-Katrina Movement”

Rachel Carrico, Ph.D. Candidate in Critical Dance Studies, Riverside
“Second Lining Through the Streets of Post-Katrina New Orleans: Dance, Violence, Race, and Place”

Chair: Eric Porter, Santa Cruz
Discussant: Luis Alvarez, San Diego
Panel 2: The Racial State Through Social Theory & Social Science Methods
Room 312

Stuart Sweeney, Associate Professor of Geography, Santa Barbara
“Central American Fertility in Los Angeles Translation: Informing Statistical Models with Qualitative Context”

Sora Han, Assistant Professor of Criminology, Law and Society, Irvine
“The Racial Politics of American Federalism”

Steven Osuna, Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology, Santa Barbara
“Policing the Wretched: Transnational Apparatuses of Social Control in the Early 21st Century”

Yvonne Kwan, Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology, Santa Cruz
“Transgenerational Trauma and Mental Health: State-Sponsored War Crimes and Cambodian American Collective Memory”

Chair & Discussant: Angela Harris, Davis

Panel 3: Not Quite Citizens
Room 314

ann-elise lewallen, Assistant Professor of East Asian Languages and Cultural Studies, Santa Barbara
“Indigenous, Ethnic, Gendered Others: Translating Intersectionality in (Post)colonial Japan”

Winmar Way, Ph.D. Candidate in Education, Los Angeles
"Dilemmas of Citizenship and Education in Refugee Resettlement"

Linda Hall, Ph.D. Candidate in Sociocultural Anthropology, Santa Barbara
“Afro-Ecuadorian Political Participation: Community Activism Construction within Racist and Stigmatically Defined Public Spaces”

Jimiliz Valiente-Neighbours, Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology, Santa Cruz
“Citizenship, Race, and Empire: Filipino World War II Veterans and Phantom Limb Citizenship”

Chair: Paola Bacchetta, Berkeley
Discussants: Michael Omi, Berkeley & John Park, Santa Barbara
Danielle S. Allen is the UPS Foundation Professor at the School of Social Science of the Institute for Advanced Study. She was previously Professor of Classical Languages and Literatures, Professor of Political Science, Professor in the Committee on Social Thought, and Dean of the Humanities at the University of Chicago. While Dean, she was instrumental in transforming the University of Chicago’s relationship with the city’s South Side, creating systems of support and cooperation with the black community there. She also worked closely with Barack Obama when he was a law school faculty member at the University. A recipient of the MacArthur Fellowship (2002) and a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, she holds a Ph.D in Classics from Cambridge University and a Ph.D in Political Science from Harvard University. She is the organizer (with Robert Reich) of The Dewey Seminar: Education, Schools and the State, and the author of *The World of Prometheus: The Politics of Punishing in Democratic Athens* (Princeton University Press, 2000) and *Talking to Strangers: Anxieties of Citizenship Since Brown vs. the Board of Education* (University of Chicago Press, 2004).
Panel 1: Racial Violence & Racial Identity
Room 304

James Shadrer, Ph.D. Candidate in History, San Diego

Jeb Sprague, Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology, Santa Barbara
“Transnational Remittance, Labor Exportation, and the Caribbean”

Eva Michelle Wheeler, Ph.D. Candidate in Spanish and Portuguese, Santa Barbara
“The Racial State and Evolving Discourses on Identity in the Dominican Republic”

Robin Delugan, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Merced
“Despotic States and Democratizing Nations: Remembering 1930s Racial Violence in the Dominican Republic and in El Salvador”

Adam Thomas
Ph.D. Candidate in History, Irvine
“Racial Ambiguity and Citizenship in Post-Emancipation U.S. and Jamaica”

Chair & Discussant: Howard Winant, Santa Barbara
Panel 2: Despotism, Resistance, & the Local  
Room 312

Alex Melhuish, Ph.D. Candidate in Social Documentation, Santa Cruz  
“Flatlands”

Gustavo Barahona-Lopez, Ph.D. Candidate in Chicana/o Studies, Santa Barbara  
“Building a Mexican Richmond: the Racial State, Criminalization, and the Politics of Citizenship”

Lena Jackson, Ph.D. Candidate in Social Documentation, Santa Cruz  
“Crenshaw”

Cutler Edwards, Ph.D. Candidate in History, San Diego  
“Community Control as Decolonization: United Bronx Parents, Education, and the Fight for Puerto Rican Self-Determination”

Chair & Discussant: Tyrone Howard, Los Angeles

Panel 3: Criminalizing Immigrants  
Room 314

Lalaie Ameeriar, Assistant Professor of Asian American Studies, Santa Barbara  
“The ‘Post-Racial’ State: Re-Colonizing Pakistani Immigrant Bodies In The Age of Multiculturalism”

Amalia Cabezas, Associate Professor of Ethnic Studies, Riverside  
“Latinas and Human Trafficking: A Comparative Study of Mexican and Dominican Cantineras”

Fatima El-Tayeb, Associate Professor of African-American Literature and Culture, San Diego  
Esra Ozyurek, Associate Professor of Anthropology, San Diego  
“The Non-Racial State: Disciplining Muslim Minorities in Postsocialist Germany”

Ali Chaudhary, Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology, Davis  
“Spoiled By War: How Pakistani Immigrant Non-Profit Organizations Experience and Manage Multiple Stigmas”

Chair & Discussant: Tanya Golash-Boza, Merced
Lalaie Ameeriar, Assistant Professor of Asian American Studies, Santa Barbara

“The ‘Post-Racial’ State: Re-Colonizing Pakistani Immigrant Bodies In The Age of Multiculturalism”

This project examines the transnational labor migration of Pakistani Muslim women to Toronto and the politics of multiculturalism. Through an examination of the settlement of Pakistani immigrants, I argue that questions of unemployment are increasingly being rationalized and understood by governmental bodies and policy makers as questions of culture and racialized bodily difference. Utilizing ethnographic fieldwork this project focuses on the gendered dimensions of the “foreign-trained professionals problem,” which refers to internationally trained professional workers who are admitted into Canada because of their skills and experience but who ultimately remain unemployed or underemployed in spite of those skills—most visible by the gendered stereotypical image of “a taxicab driver who was a doctor in his home country.” Conducting research in unemployment workshops held in government-funded non-profit agencies, I found that Pakistani women were subjected to instructions such as “don’t show up smelling like foods that are foreign to us,” and “don’t wear headscarves if you want to get a job.” This project concerns the governing of immigrants under multicultural policy and the demand for inclusion on the part of new immigrants who remain economically and politically marginalized.

Amalia Cabezas, Associate Professor of Ethnic Studies, Riverside

“Latinas and Human Trafficking: A Comparative Study of Mexican and Dominican Cantineras”

Working class, undocumented Latinas are frequently compelled to accept jobs in places that provide sexualized entertainment. Such is the case of women who work in cantinas (bars) known as cantineras in Puerto Rico and in the Inland Empire communities of Southern California. In a comparative study of two underground economies in different geopolitical locations we assess the impact of the U.S. Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act laws on Dominican and Mexican women who have been trafficked to work providing forms of intimate labor to migrant workers. The goal of this investigation is to ascertain the ways in which the state in both its despotic and democratizing aspects confronts women as victims and sex slaves needing to be rescued and as ‘illegal immigrant’ prostitutes and vectors of disease. We seek to ascertain in what ways the law, and state actors, intervene in these women's lives. In what ways are anti-trafficking initiatives hurting or helping the women the law seeks to control and protect. We will conduct interviews to gather information about their contacts with state actors and state power; from immigration officials, police, public health educators, to social service organizations, and non-government organizations. Cantineras come into the contact with multiple arms of the state. We will identify the difficulties that women face in seeking support from state actors and the challenges posed by social service organizations that work to protect their labor and human rights.
Robin DeLugan, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Merced

“Despotic States and Democratizing Nations: Remembering 1930s Racial Violence in the Dominican Republic and in El Salvador”

After decades, two infamous state-led episodes of 1930s racial violence are being publicly remembered by their national societies: the 1932 “Matanza” of indigenous people in El Salvador; and the 1937 “El Corte”/“Kouto-a”/“Parsley Massacre” of Haitians and other black bodies in the Dominican Republic. In both societies dictators authorized the atrocities, decades of authoritarianism followed, and in both places the 1930s violence was extended through ongoing racial and ethnic exclusion. It can be argued that compared to a long modern history of authoritarian rule, today both El Salvador and Dominican Republic are democratizing nations; and that this is a factor in new civil society efforts to grapple with the difficult past. Today there are new public memory sites and practices such as museum exhibitions, monuments, and commemorations that attempt to bring public attention to the legacies of 1930s state violence. Bringing the methodology of my earlier and ongoing El Salvador research to Dominican Republic, my research documents the sites, practices, and actors involved with the new public memory activities. I explore how new memory practices attempt to disrupt dominant ideas about national belonging. Further, I ask what do these two case studies reveal about state and non-state practices that contribute to the ongoing process of nation building? As the 1930s past is evoked, what do the contemporary context, actors, and concerns involved tell us about how visions of the future are embedded in evocations of the past?

Fatima El-Tayeb, Associate Professor of African-American Literature and Culture, San Diego
Esra Ozyurek, Associate Professor of Anthropology, San Diego

“The Non-Racial State: Disciplining Muslim Minorities in Postsocialist Germany”

In this project, we explore the rationale behind and effect of state-sponsored education programs targeting Muslim youth in contemporary Germany. Part of a larger alarmist discourse around Muslim minorities in Europe, the programs configure “Muslim anti-Semitism” as both the same of and worse than historic German anti-Semitism (thereby erasing the latter’s survival into the present) and thus as a(nother) lethal threat to the continent posed by culturally and racially foreign minorities. This in turn allows for the disciplining in the name of state anti-racism of an already marginalized community, constantly asked to either subject to forms of reeducation or face the threat of expulsion.

We aim to assess both the nature and extent of anti-Semitism among Muslims in Germany and the role of Islamophobia in singling out Muslims as the only remaining anti-Semites in Germany. We are interested in figuring out the role and consequences of projecting German society’s most painful historical memory onto its newest members at the same time that Germany emerges as the leader of an increasingly xenophobic European Union. In doing so, this project aims to assess how older and newer forms of racism, such as anti-Semitism and Islamophobia, interact and intersect with each other in national and transnational discourses and policies of population management.
Diane C. Fujino, Professor of Asian American Studies, Santa Barbara


This paper examines the ways two Japanese American activist organizations in the early 1950s shaped ideas of citizenship, democracy, and social justice in the United States through an examination of the struggles around the Immigration and Nationality Act, or the McCarran-Walter Act, passed by Congress in 1952. The Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), working primarily through legislative means, was one of the strongest advocates of the Act. They argued that the Act eliminated discrimination in immigration and naturalization and placed “the people of Japan… on absolutely the same footing as the peoples of Europe.” The JACL story has dominated the narrative of postwar Japanese America, overshadowing the multiplicity of Japanese American politics. The little known Nisei Progressives, aligned with the majority of US racial, civic, and religious groups, denounced the McCarran-Walter Act for continuing race discrimination in immigration law—through the grossly unequal national origins quotas—and for expanding the grounds for the deportation and denaturalization of alleged subversives. In opposing a bill that granted naturalization rights to Japanese immigrants, the Nisei Progressives rejected Cold War civil rights and sought a more radical vision of democracy and equality in the early Cold War period. By recovering the multiple and contradictory voices of postwar Japanese America, this study disrupts the enemy-to-model citizen paradigm and the US narrative of social progress to create a more complex story of contested forms of Cold War citizenship and democracy.

Sora Han, Assistant Professor of Criminology, Law and Society, Irvine

“The Racial Politics of American Federalism”

Contrary to the critique of civil rights developed by political theorist, Wendy Brown, in her deservedly acclaimed book, States of Injury (1995), the theoretical analysis of American federalism I pursue reveals that something far more complex and disturbing is afoot amidst the diversity of rights-based claims made possible by federal anti-discrimination legislation. Where racial discrimination claims are unsuccessful in most cases because the nearly impossible evidentiary standards of proof of discriminatory intent, other “non-racial” discrimination claims are becoming the occasion to further swerve away from the original intent and purpose of the Fourteenth Amendment to provide equal citizenship to former slaves as a socially dominated and politically disenfranchised group. Focusing on this curious division in Fourteenth Amendment law, this paper outlines the racial politics of American federalism so that we can better understand the relations between different kinds of minority groups (racial and non-racial) and their civil rights claims. The project takes a step back from the politically loaded debates on multiculturalism and post-racialism to really grapple with the complexity of the doctrinal context for the specific identity-based conflicts Fourteenth Amendment Section 5 anti-discrimination jurisprudence contains. Drawing from interdisciplinary scholarship on civil rights, black freedom struggle, and identity-based politics, and closely reading the signal cases challenging federal authority to enact anti-discrimination legislation, I argue that the racial politics of federalism presents an unprecedented site of investigation for understanding the complexities of and relations between race, gender, sexuality, and disability in American constitutional law.
Ann-Elise Lewallen, Assistant Professor of East Asian Languages and Cultural Studies, Santa Barbara

“Indigenous, Ethnic, Gendered Others: Translating Intersectionality in (Post)colonial Japan”

In contemporary Japan, Indigenous Ainu women self-identify as cultural activists and champions of Indigenous rights, but few consider themselves feminists. Most would shun the notion altogether. Rather, Ainu, who were formally recognized as Indigenous peoples in 2008, claim Indigenous subjectivities and have formed global coalitions with Indigenous and ethnic communities worldwide and in Japan. Ainu women rationalize experiences of physical, emotional, and psychological violence as “inevitable and even expected,” due to their low social status. Global coalition building led Ainu women to adopt the discourse of “multiple discrimination,” as a critique for how intersecting subject positions may beget complex new forms of inequality, in order to better understand their marginalization in Japanese society.

Grappling with the discourse of “multiple discrimination” fostered consciousness raising and ultimately led to the realization that the normalization of such everyday violence was not acceptable. Meanwhile, attempts to operationalize universal language in Ainu society have exposed deep rifts between rural and urban women, while also fomenting empowerment for women more broadly. By narrating Ainu women’s struggle to first translate and then circulate the tool of “multiple discrimination,” this talk will examine how globalized formations are often contested and translated into meaningful local categories in order to gain traction in local communities. At the same time I argue that global civil society must remain attentive to the diverse voices of disenfranchised minorities who then labor to inject these discourses back into global circulation.

Stuart Sweeney, Associate Professor of Geography, Santa Barbara

“Central American Fertility in Los Angeles Translation: Informing Statistical Models with Qualitative Context”

Decisions about when to start having children, how close births will be spaced, and the size of a family are conditioned by cultural norms and have enduring impacts on a woman’s – and her children’s – life course. When combined with international migration, fertility decisions become even more complex, as they may be impacted by previously unconsidered health service availability, safety concerns and economic insecurity. Until recently, academic research on Hispanic immigrant and foreign-born fertility has largely supported the notion that assimilation is not occurring among women after they have arrived at their destination. Instead, analyses of a single measure of fertility (completed/total family size) have been used to support the argument that Latin American women’s high fertility levels persist after immigration. The resulting image of Hispanic immigrants producing large families with disproportionate need for services has led to several highly politicized propositions eroding access to education and health services for immigrant women and children. The proposed research moves away from a simple empirical understanding of completed/total fertility of Latina women and will instead employ qualitative methodologies to explore the spacing and timing of births of immigrants from Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras and El Salvador. The analysis departs from more standard demographic analyses of the interaction between fertility and migration by incorporating the individual stories and experiences of women and by acknowledging the distinct cultural differences among Central Americans. The qualitative results will also be used to motivate and frame ongoing quantitative analysis of birth spacing.
**Lluliana Alonso, Ph.D. Candidate in Education, Los Angeles**

“Historicizing Race and Space: Shaping Educational Opportunity for Mexican Youth in South Central LA, 1930-1949”

This paper seeks to document the educational history of Chicana/o students in the racialized community of South Central Los Angeles from 1930-1949. This study examines the ways in which dominant discourse shaped educational access and opportunity for Chicana/o students attending public schools in this neighborhood during decades marked by a heighten anti-Mexican climate. Utilizing Latino Critical Theory (LatCrit) and Historical Counterstorytelling, this study will deconstruct and analyze the discourse that shaped student’s educational opportunity and educational policy. Grounded in archival research, this study relies on primary documents from institutional archived collections, census data, Los Angeles Unified School District reports & curricular documents, pictures, and a local high school’s unbroken yearbook and student newspaper collection to recover a history of a population —that based on their age, race, gender, and the neighborhood they grew up—have been rendered invisible in the historical record.

**Elyse Banks, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Santa Barbara**

“Catholic Interracialism in Twentieth Century New Orleans: A Historical Survey with Implications for the Post-Katrina Movement”

On August 29th, 2005, a category 5 storm, dubbed Hurricane Katrina forever changed the lives of New Orleanians and laid bare a racially violent American past thought to have been long buried. Hurricane Katrina tested the limits of citizenship, the effectiveness of disaster relief, the power of religion to unite once hostile communities, and most importantly tested the illusion of a colorblind society. When observing the racial and economic violence that took place in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, we as a society quickly arrive at the conclusion that the rhetoric of colored-blindness is a naïve illusion, a mere ideal that continues to allude us. Shortly after the storm, state and federal agencies argued that the ferocity of the Hurricane and the destruction left in its wake was unexpected. But the city’s turbulent past of forced racial segregation gave rise to raced regions of vulnerability, disproportionately exposing black and poor communities along the fragile levee walls. The tremendous loss of life, property, and human dignity revealed a state wholly unprepared to handle the disaster and a federal government only looking to displace blame. In the wake of the storm, the Catholic Church stepped forward to fill the void left by the federal and state governments. They handed out food and water, raised money for New Orleanians who needed rent assistance, provided health services and grocery money, participated in the rebuilding effort and in one instance through the power of Catholicism joined together two once hostile groups, the Vietnamese and black communities of the New Orleans East.

While the Catholic Church, played a decisive role in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, at times their actions and decisions were ambiguous and harmful. The closing or consolidation of a number of black Churches in the wake of the storm, particularly the highly contested closely of all black St. Augustine in the Treme raises questions about the history of Catholic racial organizing in the city. The Church’s stormy history of interracial organizing calls into question the viability of Catholic interracialism in the post-Katrina moment in
creating collective action that crosses racial lines and challenges the democratic dimensions of the state in meaningful ways. What will be the impact of the Catholic Church in the post-Katrina moment? Will its racial response in the wake of the storm mirror that of its racist historical past or will the early nineteenth century ideal of interracialism, of universal worship finally come to fruition? These are the questions that guide my analysis of the limits and possibilities of Catholic interracialism in twentieth century New Orleans.

**Gustavo Barahona-Lopez,** Ph.D. Candidate in Chicana/o Studies, Santa Barbara

“Building a Mexican Richmond: the Racial State, Criminalization, and the Politics of Citizenship”

Mexicans in Richmond are the ideal subjects for analyzing the racial state for various reasons. First, their experiences allow the researcher to analyze the points where different punitive regimes of the racial state connect and perpetuate one another. In Richmond, CA the forces of globalization, neoliberalism, disinvestment in ‘welfare’, mass incarceration, and the targeting of immigrants are all deeply influential in the functioning of the city and the life-chances of its residents. My project will analyze the discursive and structural practices that affect the quality of life and access to resources for these individuals. Using a newly minted archive produced though oral histories with Mexican individuals, not only will their common process of racialization be exposed but we can begin to answer questions about how legal status is a vector of power and privilege within these structures of power.

**Rachel Carrico,** Ph.D. Candidate in Critical Dance Studies, Riverside

“Second Lining Through the Streets of Post-Katrina New Orleans: Dance, Violence, Race, and Place”

On May 12, 2013, a mass shooting occurred during the Original Big 7 Social Aid and Pleasure Club’s second line parade in New Orleans. When the guns were fired, I was standing just a few feet away, doing dance ethnography as research for my dissertation. Thankfully, I survived unharmed, as did everyone that I know personally. But the experience has raised serious questions for me regarding the path of my research and the focus of my writing.

In this presentation, I narrate this incident as a way to unpack the complex relationships between dance and violence, which, I argue, work together to constitute race and place in post Katrina New Orleans. In order to understand this story, we must understand the legacies of historic racism, including systemic violence, civic neglect, and generational poverty. We must comprehend the post-Katrina paradox, in which advocacy arguments for restoring New Orleans’ local, black culture proliferated while few adequate resources were made available to the city’s African American residents. And we must understand that, amidst violence and suffering, people continue to dance as a way to find refuge, heal, connect with a higher power, temporarily leave their troubles, commune with others, and experience pleasure. My role in the story highlights the power differentials in post-Katrina New Orleans, wherein newcomers—including ethnographers—bearing skin and/or class privilege are able to enter and leave black spaces, including poor black spaces, at will, with varying and often contradictory consequences.
Ali Chaudhary, Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology, Davis

“Spoiled By War: How Pakistani Immigrant Non-Profit Organizations Experience and Manage Multiple Stigmas”

Using the case of Pakistani immigrant non-profit organizations (NPOs) in London, Toronto and New York City, this article explores how stigmas associated with the global “War on Terror” impact Pakistani NPOs and how these organizations respond to multiple forms of stigmatization. Drawing on concepts from organization studies, international migration and critical race studies, this study seeks to understand how the post-9/11 environment varies in its stigmatization effects on Pakistani NPOs in cities with and without recent experiences with terrorism. Data come from 131 in-depth interviews conducted from all three cities. Findings suggest that while Pakistani NPOs in New York and London experienced high levels of event-centered stigma following the 9/11 and 7/7 attacks, organizations in all three cities experience core-stigma where the very nature of organizations are stigmatized as a result of the global scope of the “war on terror”. Findings also indicate that in some cases, event-stigma transforms into a core-stigma that is multidimensional. This stigmatization contributes to the increasing racialization and criminalization of Muslims in general and Pakistanis in particular in the West. Additional findings reveal how Pakistani NPOs combat stigma through efforts to professionalize and ensure high standards of organizational transparency. The pressures to professionalize result in a case of institutional isomorphism where larger NPOs adapt to mainstream models while smaller grass roots NPO struggle to survive. Overall this study offers empirical insights into the ways in which the “war on terror” operates as a global racial state and how the associated racialized stigmatization and criminalization impact organizations serving a Muslim-majority immigrant community in three different places of settlement.

Cutler Edwards, Ph.D. Candidate in History, San Diego

“Community Control as Decolonization: United Bronx Parents, Education, and the Fight for Puerto Rican Self-Determination”

This paper examines the South Bronx based organization United Bronx Parents, a Puerto Rican led multiracial group founded in 1965 to improve the lives of the children of the Bronx. This struggle was framed around community control of education, which for United Bronx Parents was inseparable from Puerto Rican self-determination. Although their primary sources of funding were War on Poverty agencies and other programs of racial liberalism, UBP's political agenda was informed by Puerto Rican independence fighters, the Young Lords Party, the Black Panthers, and other radical organizations. In grant applications and other materials intended for official consumption, United Bronx Parents narrated their efforts through a language of liberalism that drew on normative ideas about maternal responsibility and engaged citizenship. Internal documents, however, reveal that UBP employed these tactics as part of a concerted effort to harness liberal programs for their own purposes and push them beyond the incorporative intent of planners and municipal authorities. Using United Bronx Parents to illuminate the broader terrain of community organizing in New York City during the long 1970s, this essay argues that self-determination is a central component in the pursuit of racial democracy, probes the limits and possibilities of racial liberalism in working to achieve a truly democratic society, and argues for the critical importance of multiracial politics if we are to successfully achieve racial democracy and meaningful equality.
Linda Hall, Ph.D. Candidate in Sociocultural Anthropology, Santa Barbara

“Afro-Ecuadorian Political Participation: Community Activism Construction within Racist and Stigmatically Defined Public Spaces”

Racist practices have undergone a metamorphosis in recent years and now they are less detectable and in many ways more difficult to eradicate. After an era of blanqueamiento (racial whitening to achieve phenotypical whiteness and erase brown and black) and mestizaje (indigenous and white-European racial mixture), racism continues to infiltrate democratic and pluracultural Ecuadorian socio-political ideologies and practices. The objective of this article is to elucidate the dynamics of the recent decrease in participation by Ecuador’s Afro citizens in social movements and activist activities (Secretaría Técnica del Frente Social: SIISE_SISPAE 2006). This analysis begins by shedding light on inter-group relationships between Afro citizens of Quito, Ecuador’s capital city, in order to examine how Afro-Ecuadorians devised political strategies to oppose institutional racism during the recent national election of 2013. Also, the article includes the testimonies of community activists as an approach to explore the role of racial-ethnic based stigmas within public spaces open to the construction of anti-racist community solidarity.

Lena Jackson, Ph.D. Candidate in Social Documentation, Santa Cruz

“Crenshaw”

_Crenshaw_—a 20-minute documentary film—explores the consequences of a school superintendent’s quick-fix reforms at a public high school in South Los Angeles. Through the eyes of Crenshaw students, teachers, and parents, this documentary takes the viewer inside the lives of the people who were most deeply affected by the school’s “reconstitution.” Reconstitution of public schools has been a key feature of education reform under President Obama, whose administration has sought to “turn-around” the nation’s lowest-performing schools, most often in low-income, minority communities. This turn-around generally consists of firing and replacing school staff and turning the school over to a private company, charter organization, or in the case of Crenshaw, converting it to three magnet schools. Recent studies suggest that reconstitution is both unsuccessful and undemocratic. It has been reported that school closings have a statistically disproportionate impact on students of color, destabilizing their neighborhoods, as teachers, staff and students are split up and displaced from their community schools. As teachers were fired, a new curriculum was introduced, and class sizes swelled over 60, the film follows the work of community activists fighting for a say in their school’s future and the obstacles they face throughout their struggle.

Yvonne Kwan, Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology, Santa Cruz

“Transgenerational Trauma and Mental Helath: State-Sponsored War Crimes and Cambodian American Collective Memory”

While understanding and recognizing the importance of physiological, psychological, and narrative forms of trauma research, this study does not refute or deny the importance of medical or narrative approaches to trauma, but instead offers productive debates about the possibilities to research feelings, pain, and affect on an individual and social level. Memory is not simply a personal or subjective
experience, but it is socially constructed and present oriented. Collective memories connect personal history and collective experience from the past, present, and future.

Using methods of historical genealogy to trace back to the sources of trauma, this study identifies the United States’ despotic involvement in Cambodia as one of the roots of pain and suffering for the Cambodian people. Through surveys, interviews, and observations, this study shows (1) how stories and silences about the war get passed down from the older generations to the younger ones and (2) how the first, 1.5, and second generation Cambodian Americans continue to be affected by the violences imposed by the United States and the Khmer Rouge. The transgenerational pain and trauma for 1.5 and second generation youth are mitigated by time and space, but nonetheless, these young people often internalize the suffering felt by their parents—sometimes this may have negative and debilitating consequences, but other times, there may be productive and creative discussions and movements that stem from such transgenerational transmission of trauma.

Alex Melhuish, Ph.D. Candidate in Social Documentation, Santa Cruz

“Flatlands”

Flatlands is a transmedia project examining the root causes and impact of gun violence in urban America. The project includes an observational documentary supported by a website and study guide. Each platform stands alone as a comprehensive entity but work collectively to deepen the audiences understanding of the social issue.

Steven Osuna, Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology, Santa Barbara

“Policing the Wretched: Transnational Apparatuses of Social Control in the Early 21st Century”

On August 30, 2004, the government of El Salvador, run by Elías Antonio Saca and the National Republican Alliance (ARENA), declared an expansion of its “war” on gangs to eliminate the insecurity in the country. “Your party is over!” Saca declared on national television while two heavily armed men stood on each side of him. The “Súper Mano Dura” policies (Super Iron Fist), with its foundations in the prior Mano Dura policies, would expand the repressive apparatuses of social control while purporting to embrace a comprehensive approach to gang violence. Simultaneously, while tough on crime policies were occurring, ARENA was also negotiating the Dominican Republic-Central America Free Trade Agreement (DR-CAFTA) with the United States. These trade agreements would provide U.S. capital increased access to the Salvadoran market by reducing tariff barriers and removing investment barriers- increasing the neoliberalization of the Salvadoran political economy. What is the relationship between the law and order policies and free trade agreements in El Salvador? What has produced the insecurity and gang violence in the country? This essay argues the production of a moral panic over street gangs, which has its origins in Los Angeles, was transnationalized to displace the contradictions and inequalities of neoliberalism in El Salvador to a local and deported racialized surplus labor population. By dealing with a real social problem of inequality, violence, and instability through law and order policies, the Salvadoran government legitimated its monopolization of violence and control of Salvadoran civil society while expanding capital accumulation.
James Shrader, Ph.D. Candidate in History, San Diego


At the height of Latin America’s Cold War, governments confronted profound dilemmas of underdeveloped regions that seemingly threatened not only their political stability, but also their national identity. These region’s supposed cultural and racial “backwardness” led to growing accusations that they produced populations susceptible to demagoguery and communist subversion. Ultimately, this crisis of modernity would witness tragic consequences, as one-time peripheries became flash points for insurgencies and state terror. My paper analyzes the key relationship between citizenship and violence through the regional history of Tucumán, a small and impoverished sugar-growing province in Argentina’s mestizo northwest. From 1955-1978, Tucumán became a laboratory for the construction and annihilation of collective identities due to its racial demographics, identification with deposed populist Juan Perón and its striking similarities with Cuba. Basing my findings upon archival sources and oral history, I argue that military and civilian officials saw Tucumán as a place to employ violent methodologies from abroad to forge a new “people” at home and save a nation they feared was in shocking decline. This escalating violence culminated in the military’s 1975 to 1978 genocide, which sought the physical and cultural destruction of Tucumanos’ political identity through forced disappearances, the destruction of cultural signifiers, and the placement of the rural poor in prison-like strategic hamlets.

This period is important, because commentators, historians, and essayists alike have long assumed Argentina to be a European or “white” country, an assumption that many Argentines promoted enthusiastically as they sought to distance themselves from their Latin American neighbors. Many historiographical texts echoed this sentiment, whether intentionally or not, and thus rendered a considerable portion of the population silent and invisible. Studies of class—particularly during the first Peronist era (1946-1955)—dominated monographs, while race either received secondary consideration or none at all. My paper challenges this historiography by demonstrating how the Cold War became a prism for recycled nineteenth-century liberal discourses that divided Latin American republics into civilized “white” and barbaric “non-white” halves, with fatal consequences.

Jeb Sprague, Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology, Santa Barbara

“Transnational Remittance, Labor Exportation, and the Caribbean”

This chapter will examine patterns of Caribbean labor exportation and the reverse flow of remittances and how such processes are propelled by the alienation of labor and intensified capitalization of social relations. As the data presented in this study shows, the Caribbean diaspora has grown tremendously in recent decades. As labor in the region has been alienated from their immediate conditions they have been propelled to search out work in the globalizing economy. Meanwhile, the formation in recent decades of the transnational remittance industry, through new technology and organizational advancements, has allowed for intensified cross-border money transfers worldwide. Emigrant labor has become super-exploited through the global economy, in that they are exploited both as workers and as undocumented or recently arrived. Transnational capital has come to profit tremendously both by appropriating the surplus value of super-exploitable emigrant workers and also from its appropriating portions of the redistributed value (in the form of remittances) that
emigrant labor send abroad primarily to family members. Importantly this phenomenon has come to be legitimized and promoted by state elites and policymakers as a central plank of development, especially in developing regions. Mainstream economists treat remittances as if they are a form of aid or exchange vital for contemporary macro-economic dynamics, yet, while remittances have come to makeup a vital part of the global poor’s income, this phenomenon also reflect the desperation and struggle to survive of lower income populations. This paper will examine the above phenomenon and specifically in regard to the Caribbean region with a focus on the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Jamaica.

Adam Thomas, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Irvine

“Racial Ambiguity, Violence, and Revolutionary Nationalism in the Postemancipation Anglophone Atlantic”

This paper examines the relationship between a particular form of racial ambiguity and citizenship in the postemancipation societies of Jamaica (c. 1832-1865) and the US (1865-c. 1900). It specifically addresses the means by which slaves and freedpeople attempted to create nations independent of white authority, and by which they policed the boundaries of these imagined communities. I argue that when recognizably “black” members of the enslaved and free communities were perceived to have undermined rebellions, protected white people and their property, served former masters for insufficient wages, or voted against the interests of the community, it created a conflict between their physical appearance and their actions and associations, a conflict I term “ambiguation.” As a result, the black nationalists with whom they fought assigned to these counterrevolutionaries an image of inauthenticity; they were said at times to have “black skin and white heart[s],” and were thus unworthy of citizenship in the autonomous societies revolutionary actions sought to inaugurate.

By analyzing two major labor rebellions in Jamaica, and a series of less well known events in the later US context, this paper will consider theoretical questions concerning the racialized nature of citizenship in postemancipation contexts, particularly issues of statelessness, nationalism without nations, and the conflict between a seeming reliance on race as a qualification for national belonging at the very moment legal equality was proclaimed.

Jimiliz Valiente-Neighbours, Ph.D. Candidate in Sociology, Santa Cruz

“Citizenship, Race, and Empire: Filipino World War II Veterans and Phantom Limb Citizenship”

The United States recruited more than half a million Filipino soldiers and guerrillas during World War II with the promise of US citizenship in return for their service and sacrifice. After victory, however, the United States denied the Filipino soldiers recognition and rights as “American veterans” on racial grounds. Nevertheless, the Filipino veterans—many of whom never stepped on US soil—continued to feel like Americans, and have fought for full recognition for over 60 years. Citizenship theory often narrowly focuses on the designation of citizenship as status, rights, and responsibilities within nation-state boundaries. It cannot yet explain why and how the Filipino veterans feel they belong as Americans. Drawing from in-depth interviews with over 80 Filipino World War II veterans in the Philippines and the United States, I analyze how the lack of formal citizenship does not obstruct feelings of belonging towards a nation, especially for a population
who has already performed the ultimate duty a nation asks of its citizens: to fight, kill, and die in its name. My data show variations in patterns of feelings of belonging and perceptions of citizenship among the Filipino veterans, contingent on their military affiliations and the quality of their interactions with Americans, whether convivial, fraught with racial tension, or both. I propose the concept “phantom limb citizenship” to demonstrate how the claims of citizenship and belonging can be a result of lived experiences as “citizens” among a population to whom it is never fully granted, or granted only partially, by the state. Citizenship is thus an affective process that is intimately linked with the processes of state-influenced racial formation in the transnational context of empire.

Winmar Way, Ph.D. Candidate in Education, Los Angeles

"Dilemmas of Citizenship and Education in Refugee Resettlement"

Analyzing data from interviews with resettled refugees and their social workers in a large U.S. metropolitan area, I argue that a lag in refugees’ ability to participate politically is due to the disjuncture between refugees’ affective ties to their imagined homelands and their lived reality of receiving social welfare from a state where they do not have a sense of belonging. That is, even though refugees have to use their racial difference to appeal to the U.S. for a safe haven, they are ambivalent about attaining political rights through formal citizenship in this country of resettlement. Instead, my informants, using their experiences of overcoming struggles and making claims in multiple different states, identify with multiple oppressed populations around the world and speak of “giving back” to not just the U.S. or their country of origin but to social justice around the world. I tie this back to Deleuze and Guattari’s claim of the need for “nomadology,” i.e., the need for scholarly work that focuses on the minority experiences of people on the move instead of on majority experiences of sedentary people who are rooted in nation-states.

Eva Michelle Wheeler, Ph.D. Candidate in Spanish and Portuguese, Santa Barbara

“The Racial State and Evolving Discourses on Identity in the Dominican Republic”

Studying the Dominican Republic adds important layers of analysis to the broader scholarship on racial identity in Latin America, as scholars from several academic disciplines have demonstrated that the Dominican Republic presents a unique locus for the examination of conceptions of race and identity. In this complex racial setting, identity has fused with nationhood; descent is not always determinative; and the discourse on racial and ethnic identity has evolved with and through the process of state formation. For nearly six centuries (1492 to 2014), Dominican identity has been shaped and reshaped, and multiple discourses on racial identity have emerged. The present study examines historical and political discourse and actions of the Dominican state with respect to race, explores the racial dimensions of Dominican citizenship, and engages the contemporary popular discourse on race in the Dominican Republic in order to answer the question: What do the multiple discourses on Dominican racial identity reveal about the Racial State? The study concludes that the multiple discourses on Dominican racial identity reveal that the Racial State at several points in history has actively undertaken racial projects the results of which can be seen in contemporary conceptions of identity. These multiple discourses on identity, when understood in their complex contemporary and historical settings, reveal the presence and the influence of an evolving Racial State in the Dominican Republic for more than five centuries.
2014-2015 Research Program

For the 2014-2015 research program, we are interested in studies of race, racialization, and racist practices comparatively and globally, in the past and present, at the micro- and macro-social scale, and across disciplines.

By global raciality we mean multiple and differential, intersecting and co-constituting, constructions of race, processes of racialization, and practices of racism in distinct sites across the planet. We understand that across the globe, race is constructed according to widely variable criteria. To what extent are global systems of rule racially oriented today as they were in the past? How are they different today?

Raciality is produced not in isolation but also in connection with other relations of power such as gender, sexuality, class, caste, queerphobia, religion, indigeneity, ageism, disability, colonialism, neo-colonialism, and global capitalism. Raciality does not exist without racism. In turn, racism -- including its most disavowed components -- is part of the very formation of subjects. We are interested in questions about how racialized identities and experiences are assigned and adopted in the global context.

Empire has always been a racially inflected term. Race, racialization, and racism are constructed in diverse ways in distinct colonial and neo-colonial formations such as settler, administrative, economic, or deterritorialized colonial regimes. Consider the example of the United States: its influence and intervention is flexible and amorphous, sometimes implicit, at other times quite explicit. There is substantial debate over the nature and extent of its empire itself: do US-sponsored neoliberal capitalism, warfare, occupation, and repression constitute an empire? How are new forms of racialization and racism operating within these US practices, for example in the global economy, in war and "low-intensity conflict," in surveillance, in immigration policies, or in Islamophobia and Orientalism?

PostColoniality, a concept elaborated in work from South Asia and Africa, applies in different ways to different places and also extends across historical time: before and during colonial rule as well as after it.

DeColoniality is a concept from Latin American Studies and Chicana Studies that now circulates across the globe. It emphasizes indigenous knowledge and links to subalternity. We are interested in ways that discourses and practices of race, racialization, and racism are challenged from "outside" and "below." How are alternative and dissident forms of knowledge production appropriated and contained by the imperial, multicultural state? How do they undermine it? How are Decoloniality and subalternity racialized?

Discursively, in the global “war on terror” and dominant “security” politics, multiple racialized frameworks are merged and reassembled into familiar binaries: human vs. inhuman, civilized vs. uncivilized, modern vs. traditional, and fit vs. unfit for global capitalism and neoliberal democracy.

To summarize: How do new racialized categories and practices emerge in any global context, or across contexts? How do they link to imperialism, coloniality, and other relations of power including superexploitation, misogyny, homonormativity, and homonalism? In what ways are race, racialization, and racism global projects?
Congratulations to our 2014-2015 grant recipients!

FACULTY AWARDED

Stefan Bargheer, Los Angeles, “Race into Culture: Military Intelligence and the Remaking of the Social Sciences during World War II”

Catherine Bliss, San Francisco, “Postcolonial Idioms of Race and Identity in the Genomic Age”

Mitchell Chang, Los Angeles, “An Examination of Native Hawaiian Migration to the Continental United States”


Grace Kyungwon Hong, Los Angeles, “Against Domestication: Audre Lorde’s Anti-Imperialist Vision”

Bettina Ng’weno, Davis & Lok Siu, Berkeley, “Comparative Raciality of Afro and Asian Latin Americans”

Emiko Saldivar, Santa Barbara, “Racial Formations at the End of the Multicultural Turn: The Case of Mexico”

Xiaojian Zhao, Santa Barbara, “New Racial Dimensions in Global Migration: Wenzhou Migrants in Americas, Europe, and Africa”
GRADUATE STUDENTS AWARDED

David Baillargeon, Santa Barbara, “Slaving on the Eastern Frontier: Britain, Burma, and the Political Economy of Empire, 1795-1900”

Devin Beaulieu, San Diego, “Savages” in an Indigenous State: Internal Colonialism, Race, and Indigenous Territory in the Bolivian Amazon

Gregory Burris, Santa Barbara, “Media Intifada: The Globalization of Palestine in Film, Culture, and Consciousness”

Alfred Flores, Los Angeles, “Little Island into Mighty Base”: Land, Labor, and U.S. Empire in Guam, 1941-1972

Maryam Griffin, Santa Barbara, “Bus Stations and State Formations: The Politics of Public Transportation in Israel/Palestine”

Kyung Hee Ha, San Diego, “Zainichi Koreans in the Era of Global(ized) ‘War on Terror’”

Hareem Khan, Santa Barbara, “Modern Skins: Racialized Subjectivities in Postcolonial Mumbai”

Nadeen Kharpulty, San Diego, “Institutional Representations of Arab Culture in the United States and France”


Victoria Massie, Berkeley, “Reconceptualizing Race Through the Transnational Circulation of Genetic Ancestry Testing Information”


Caroline Ritter, Berkeley, “The Cultural Project of the Late British Empire in Africa”

Chandra Russo, Santa Barbara, “Solidarity Witness: Disrupting the Racial Logistics of the U.S. Security State”

Winter Schneider, Los Angeles, “Black Liberty: Race Making in 19th Century Haiti”
Special Thanks

Osagie K. Obasogie, Professor of Law, UC Hastings

Jeanette Acosta
Jeanette Acosta is currently a first year law student and Tony Patiño public service fellow at UC Hastings College of the Law. Her research areas of interest include: education law and policy, the impact of immigration law and policies on youth, voting rights and political participation among communities of color. Previously, she served as the United Farm Workers (UFW) Foundation Immigration Reform Campaign Manager and as the Latino Vote Director with President Obama’s re-election campaign in Iowa, where she was able to lead a statewide Latino community outreach program that led to the voter registration of over 5,000 Latinos and a turnout of over 26,000 Latino voters.

Claudia O. Armendariz
Claudia is a rising third-year law student at the University of California, Hastings with a concentration in Health and Law Sciences. She is passionate about social justice particularly in the areas of health and genetics, specifically Assisted Reproductive Technologies, and voting rights within immigrant communities. Originally from Cathedral City in southern California, she came to the Bay Area to earn her Bachelors of Arts in Ethnic Studies and Social Welfare at the University of California, Berkeley. Claudia has served as the voting rights fellow law clerk at The Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights of the San Francisco Bay Area and a legal extern at Kaiser Permanente.

Erik Beith
Erik Beith is a rising 2L at UC Hastings studying Intellectual Property, with an interest in digital media, technology, and international licensing. Prior to law school, he produced syndicated radio in San Francisco.

Elliot Hosman
Elliot Hosman is a rising 3L at UC Hastings. They mentor and edit student scholarship on both the Hastings Law Journal and the Hastings Race and Poverty Law Journal in their role as executive notes editor. They are currently researching the legal and ethical issues affecting intersex and transgender youth’s access to healthcare, the fundamental rights of minors to privacy and bodily autonomy, and the intersections of privacy and security that currently mandate the assignment and documentation of an individual’s sex and gender by medical professionals and state actors. They will be working at Transgender Law Center this summer, and will be applying to Sociology PhD programs in the fall.

Kiran Sidhu
Kiran will be graduating in 2016. Prior to joining Hastings, she received her L.L.M. in Intellectual Property from the University of Edinburgh, and she plans to pursue the Intellectual Property concentration while at Hastings. Her research interests include exploring the intersection between IP and civil rights—including data privacy, and the unique international development problems created by global IP frameworks. Kiran is also keen to understand how the new South African Constitution differs in its approach to remedying issues of racial and gender injustices, and whether South Africa’s approach has been more effective than the US’s “strict scrutiny” approach in dealing with equal protection issues.
# UCCNRS Steering Committee

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