

MAR08

NEWSLETTER OF THE
UCLA CENTER FOR THE
STUDY OF WOMEN

CSW
update

Director's Commentary by Kathleen McHugh

Putting Paid to “Post”



The term “post-feminism” has been around for awhile and has many different meanings. In popular culture, its most generous interpretation is that feminism’s mission has been fulfilled and is no longer needed. The “p” word has also been used to suggest that feminism was a humorless, anti-pleasure, anti-male, strident radical movement that we have, thank god, gotten beyond. As many have pointed out, post-feminism seems to affirm the importance of feminism even as it dismisses it as past and out of date. An-

other term much in use these days is “post-race,” frequently applied to Barack Obama and his candidacy for president to suggest that Obama is beyond black, beyond race, a candidate for a generation of voters who can make race free judgments. Pundits have argued that his popularity signals that America is finally over or beyond its troubled racial past. Indeed, in the presidential debates, Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama were both at pains to assert that their candidacies are not about gender or race, but about the real issues of war, the economy, and the struggles of the middle class. Yet two recent scandals, one about New York mayor Eliot Spitzer’s consorting with high priced prostitutes, the other concerning Obama’s pastor, Reverend Wright, and the racialized content of his sermons, have provoked members of the press to re-consider. A recent column in the NY Times designated post-feminism a “fairy tale,” detailing the misogyny to which Hillary Clinton has been

subjected and the very different responses of men and women to the Eliot Spitzer affair. Are we really beyond the feminist battles that we thought we were, Kate Zernike wondered, her article assembling similar commentary and questions from a number of female columnists. Then last week, Daniel Schorr recanted his use in January of the term “post race” in relation to Obama primary triumphs. He said that what he learned from Obama’s eloquent speech on race last week was that we are not yet a post-racial generation or age. He called upon his fellow members of the press to retire the term until some future contest not beset by the rhetoric of Wright or Ferraro. Another consequence of this remarkable election cycle is the popular realization that we’ve been too hasty in claiming to be beyond race and gender. Instead we are in a post-post period, which is to say living in the present with our social challenges.

MAR08

IN THIS ISSUE

DEPARTMENTS

Miriam Silverberg



Miriam Silverberg, a Professor Emeritus of History and former Director of CSW, passed away early in the morning on March 16th. Miriam directed the Center from 2000 to 2003. She created the CSW Workshop Project that is still in existence today. One of these workshops, "Migrating Epistemologies," met up until 2007. Under Miriam's directorship, CSW sponsored a groundbreaking conference titled *Feminism Confronts Disability*. She also launched the first Biennial Women's Community Action Award Dinner (with the UCLA Women's Studies Program); a conference entitled *Educating Girls: New Issues in Science and Technology Education*; and a talk by Matsui Yayori on the Women's International War Crimes Tribunal. Miriam was a vibrant, productive, and important scholar. Despite debilitating illness over the last several years, she continued her research and writing and published *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times* in 2007. She was a wonderful colleague; she will be greatly missed.

— Kathleen McHugh

A memorial celebration of the life of Miriam Silverberg, scholar, colleague, and friend, will be held on October 3rd, 2008, in UCLA's Royce Hall 314 from 5 to 7 pm. Sponsored by the UCLA Department of History and the Center for the Study of Women, this event will honor Miriam's life and accomplishments.

“A Most Sacred Duty”

WOMEN IN THE ANTIREMOVAL MOVEMENT, 1829-1838

by Natalie Joy

Opposition to Indian removal is generally less well known than other reform movements of the antebellum period, but, like antislavery, it too was an international, interdenominational, and multiracial movement. It was also a movement, like antislavery, in which women played a crucial role. Throughout the 1830s women signed petitions protesting Indian removal in great numbers, the first time they had done so on a national issue.¹ Some submitted their own petitions, separate from the men of their communities, and some signed their names to mixed-sex petitions. There were two major waves of antiremoval petitioning; both received significant participation from women. The first occurred between 1829 and 1830 in response to the Indian Removal Bill, a hallmark of President Andrew Jackson’s

new administration. Largely orchestrated by Catharine Beecher, this fascinating episode has been the subject of recent scholarship.² The second wave of female petitioning, which occurred in 1838, has not received the same degree of attention, despite its connection to both the earlier antiremoval petition campaign and the burgeoning antislavery movement.³ In my work I seek to understand how this later petition campaign against removal of the Cherokee Nation developed, its relationship to the first antiremoval petition campaign, and its intersection with abolition.

The Indian Removal Act was signed into law on May 28, 1830. This legislation discouraged antiremoval reformers, and there was a noticeable recession of antiremoval activity in the next few years as slavery began to dominate national politics and reform activity. But many



Catharine Beecher

In presence of—

R. E. Mason, major of dragoons,
G. Birch, major, U. S. Army,
Francis Lee, captain, Seventh Infantry,
Samuel G. I. DeCamp, surgeon,
W. Seawell, lieutenant and aid de camp;
secretary to the commissioners,
Thomas B. Ballard,

Augustine A. Chouteau,
John Hambly, United States interpreter
to the Creeks,
George Herron,
Leonard C. McPhail, assistant surgeon,
U. S. Army,
Robert M. French.

TREATY WITH THE CHEROKEE, 1835.

Articles of a treaty, concluded at New Echota in the State of Georgia on the 29th day of Decr. 1835 by General William Carroll and John F. Schermerhorn commissioners on the part of the United States and the Chiefs Head Men and People of the Cherokee tribe of Indians.

Dec. 29, 1835.
7 Stat., 478.
Proclamation, M
23, 1836.

Preamble.

WHEREAS the Cherokees are anxious to make some arrangements with the Government of the United States whereby the difficulties they have experienced by a residence within the settled parts of the United States under the jurisdiction and laws of the State Governments may be terminated and adjusted; and with a view to reuniting their people in one body and securing a permanent home for themselves and their posterity in the country selected by their forefathers without the territorial limits of the State sovereignties, and where they can establish and enjoy a government of their choice and perpetuate such a state of society as may be most consonant with their views, habits and condition; and as may tend to their individual comfort and their advancement in civilization.

And whereas a delegation of the Cherokee nation composed of Messrs. John Ross Richard Taylor Danl. McCoy Samuel Gunter and William Rogers with full power and authority to conclude a treaty with the United States did on the 28th day of February 1835 stipulate and agree with the Government of the United States to submit to the Senate to fix the amount which should be allowed the Cherokees for their claims and for a cession of their lands east of the Mississippi river, and did agree to abide by the award of the Senate of the United States themselves and to recommend the same to their people for their final determination.

And whereas on such submission the Senate advised "that a sum not exceeding five millions of dollars be paid to the Cherokee Indians for all their lands and possessions east of the Mississippi river."

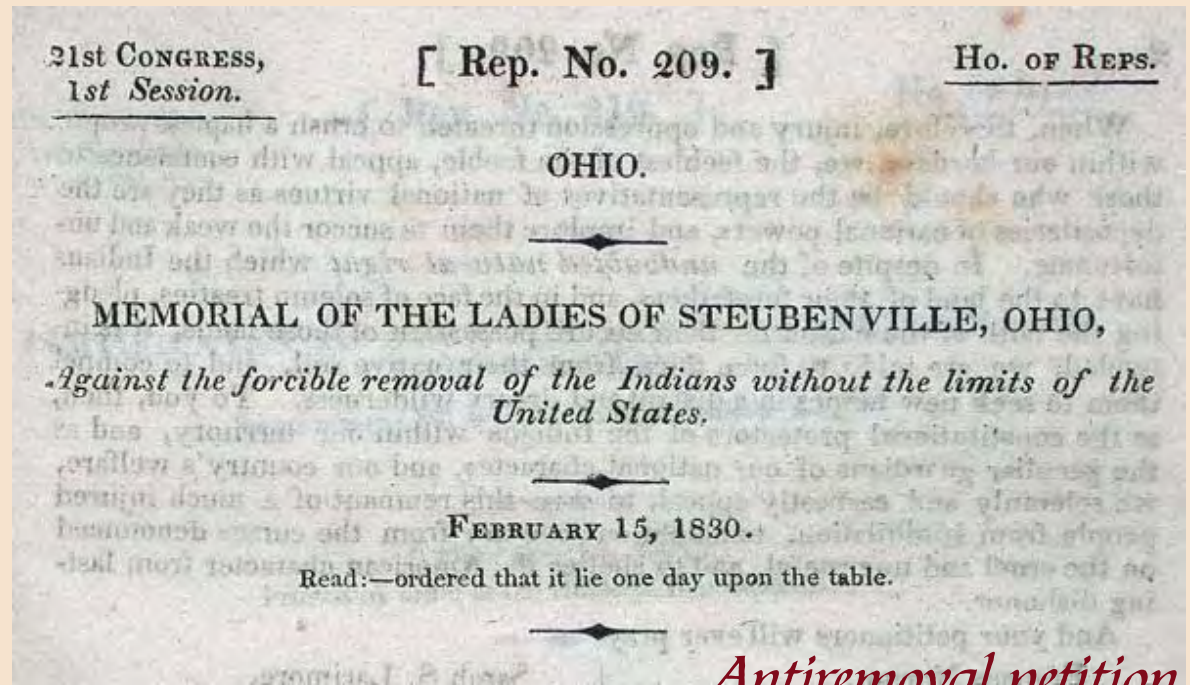
And whereas this delegation after said award of the Senate had been made, were called upon to submit propositions to the Senate of the

Treaty of New Echota

reformers did not forget about the plight of Indians, and the reemergence of anti-removal activity in 1838 provides evidence of the continuing saliency of this issue for such reformers.

The second major wave of petitioning developed in response to President Martin Van Buren's proposed enforcement of the Treaty of New Echota, which had been ratified by the Senate in 1836. Petitions protesting enforcement of the Treaty of New Echota and consequent removal of the Cherokee Nation poured in throughout the spring of 1838. These petitions bore strong similarity to those that had been sent in the earlier petition campaign. Petitioners urged Congress to halt enforcement of the treaty, which they argued would be an irreversible blot on the new nation's character and standing in the world should it be carried out. As before, women from many towns and cities in the North and West submitted petitions to Congress protesting the Treaty of New Echota and its pending enforcement. A particularly interesting example of such activism comes from Concord, Massachusetts, where, in the spring of 1838, a group of women sent a petition to Congress protesting the Treaty of New

Echota. This antiremoval petition was submitted by 206 women, many of whom belonged to the recently formed Concord Female Antislavery Society. Sandra Petrulionis has expertly documented the extent to which Concord's women were at the forefront of abolitionist activity in this period, but their antiremovalism has not received equal attention from scholars.⁴ The efforts of these antislavery women in this antiremoval petition campaign provides evidence of the centrality of women to many antebellum reform movements. In October of 1837, not long after a visit from Sarah and Angelina Grimké, the Concord Female Antislavery Society was formed. Its founding members included Mary Brooks, Prudence Ward, Susan Garrison, Cynthia, Sophia and Helen Thoreau, Mary Wilder, Susan Barrett, Maria Prescott, and Lidian Emerson.⁵ There is a close correlation between the women of the Concord Female Antislavery Society and those who signed the 1838 petition protesting Cherokee removal. Mary Wilder's name appears first on the petition, suggesting that she was probably the initiator of the petition. Henry David Thoreau's mother Cynthia, his aunts Elisabeth, Maria, and Jane, and his sisters



Antiremoval petition

Helen and Sophia, all signed the petition. Ralph Waldo Emerson's wife Lidian, and Ruth Emerson, his mother, both signed their names. At least two free black women, Susan Garrison and her daughter Ellen Garrison, also signed the Concord petition.⁶

A group of men from Concord submitted a similar petition to Congress protesting the Treaty of New Echota. Signers included Concord's most illustrious resident, Ralph Waldo Emerson, whose

name appears second on the petition.⁷ But Emerson's most famous expression of antiremovalism was a letter he wrote on April 23, 1838, to President Van Buren protesting the impending removal of the Cherokee Nation.⁸ Despite the fame Emerson has achieved for this letter, it appears from the documentary evidence that his wife, Lidian, played the more significant role in directing Concord's response to the Cherokee removal crisis of 1838.⁹ In a letter to her sister, Lucy Jackson



Lydia Maria Child

Brown, dated April 23, 1838, Lidian Emerson strongly implies that it was she who convinced her husband to do something on behalf of the Cherokees. “Mr. Emerson very unwillingly takes part in public movements like that of yesterday preferring individual action,” she wrote, going on to suggest that only when her husband was convinced (possibly by her) that “this occasion seemed to require all modes of action” did he participate.¹⁰ She encouraged her sister to do the same thing in Plymouth, urging her to speak to some of their mutual female friends “that they may mention it to the gentlemen most likely to care that something be done.”¹¹ Lidian Emerson’s efforts seem to have paid off. Though the women of Plymouth did not send an antiremoval petition to Congress in 1838, the men of Plymouth did, and it is signed by at least one of the men Emerson suggested her sister seek out.¹² It is possible that many other women acted in similarly covert ways. Unless they left a record of their actions, as Lidian Emerson did, historians can never be sure if such covert activity was common.

The removal of Native Americans from their lands and the relocation and

enslavement of Africans were interlocking processes. This undeniable fact convinced many antislavery reformers—in Concord, Massachusetts, and elsewhere in the North—to expand their sphere of activity. Petition campaigns against the Indian Removal Bill and Treaty of New Echota attest to the saliency of these issues for northern reformers concerned with the growing political influence and territorial expansion of the slaveholding South. The 1838 antiremoval petition campaign did not stop removal of the Cherokee people, but it does provide evidence of a persistent concern for Indians interwoven with rising antislavery sentiment. The antiremoval movement also reveals a more complex picture of women’s work in antebellum politics. Lydia Maria Child, abolitionist and antiremovalist, likely spoke for many such women when she wrote in 1836 that all Americans should help the “oppressed, whose relief has become to us a most sacred duty.”¹³ Women like those of the Concord Female Antislavery Society were often at the forefront of such actions, signing petitions, writing letters, and goading their (often) reluctant menfolk to action.

Natalie Joy is a doctoral candidate in the Department of History at UCLA. Her research interests include politics, gender, and race in the antebellum U.S., with a particular focus on interracial or cross-racial reform efforts. This talk is taken from her dissertation, "Hydra's Head: Fighting Slavery and Indian Removal in Antebellum America," which explores the intersection of the antislavery and anti-Indian removal movements, with particular attention to the role of women. She is a 2007-08 AAUW American Dissertation Fellow. She gave a CSW talk on this topic on November 28, 2007.

NOTES

1. Mary Hershberger, "Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition: The Struggle against Indian Removal in the 1830s," *Journal of American History* 86 (1999), 15.
2. "Mobilizing Women, Anticipating Abolition: The Struggle against Indian Removal in the 1830s," 15; Alisse Portnoy, *Their Right to Speak: Women's Activism in the Indian and Slave Debates* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).
3. Kathryn Sklar does include three of the 1838 petitions in her document project on women's involvement in the antiremoval movement. Kathryn Kish Sklar, "How Did the Removal of the Cherokee Nation from Georgia Shape Women's Activism in the North, 1817-1838?" (State University of

New York at Binghamton, 2004). *Women and Social Movements in the United States, 1600-2000*. <http://www.alexanderstreet6.com/wasm/index.html>,

4. Sandra Harbert Petrulionis, *To Set This World Right: The Antislavery Movement in Thoreau's Concord* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press).
5. *To Set This World Right*, 18-9.
6. Memorial of 206 women of Concord, Massachusetts (SEN25A-H6); 25th Congress; Records of the United States Senate, Record Group 46, Box 132; National Archives, Washington, D.C.; According to Sandra Petrulionis, Susan Garrison, her husband John, a former slave, and their daughter Ellen were members of Concord's free black community. Petrulionis, *To Set This World Right*, 11; 19.
7. Memorial of the inhabitants of Concord, Massachusetts (SEN25A-H6); 25th Congress; Records of the United States Senate, Record Group 46, Box 132; National Archives, Washington, D.C.
8. William Lloyd Garrison reprinted it in his *Liberator* and titled it "Words Fitly Spoken." *Boston Liberator*, June 22, 1838.
9. Delores Bird Carpenter, ed., *The Selected Letters of Lidian Jackson Emerson* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987), xvii.
10. *The Selected Letters of Lidian Jackson Emerson*, 74-5.
11. *The Selected Letters of Lidian Jackson Emerson*, 75.

12. Memorial of the citizens of Plymouth, Massachusetts (SEN 25A-H6); 25th Congress; Records of the United States Senate, Record Group 46, Box 132; National Archives, Washington, D.C.
13. Lydia Maria Francis Child, *The First Settlers of New-England* (Boston: Munroe and C.S. Francis, 1836), 282.

by April de Stefano

Beyond Marriage

NANCY D. POLIKOFF SPEAKS AT WILLIAMS INSTITUTE'S 7TH ANNUAL UPDATE ON SEXUAL ORIENTATION AND GENDER IDENTITY LAW AND PUBLIC POLICY HELD ON FEBRUARY 22 AT THE UCLA SCHOOL OF LAW

Few people enjoy filling out tax forms and paying taxes. For gay and lesbian couples in California who are registered domestic partners (RDPs), tax preparation has become even more onerous

this year. For the first time, RDPs must file their state taxes as “married.” However, the Internal Revenue Service, which does not legally recognize domestic partnership, requires LGBT couples to file their

federal tax returns as “single.” To complicate matters further, in order to file as “married” in California and “single” for the IRS, they must create an ersatz federal married tax return for state filing. That’s three federal

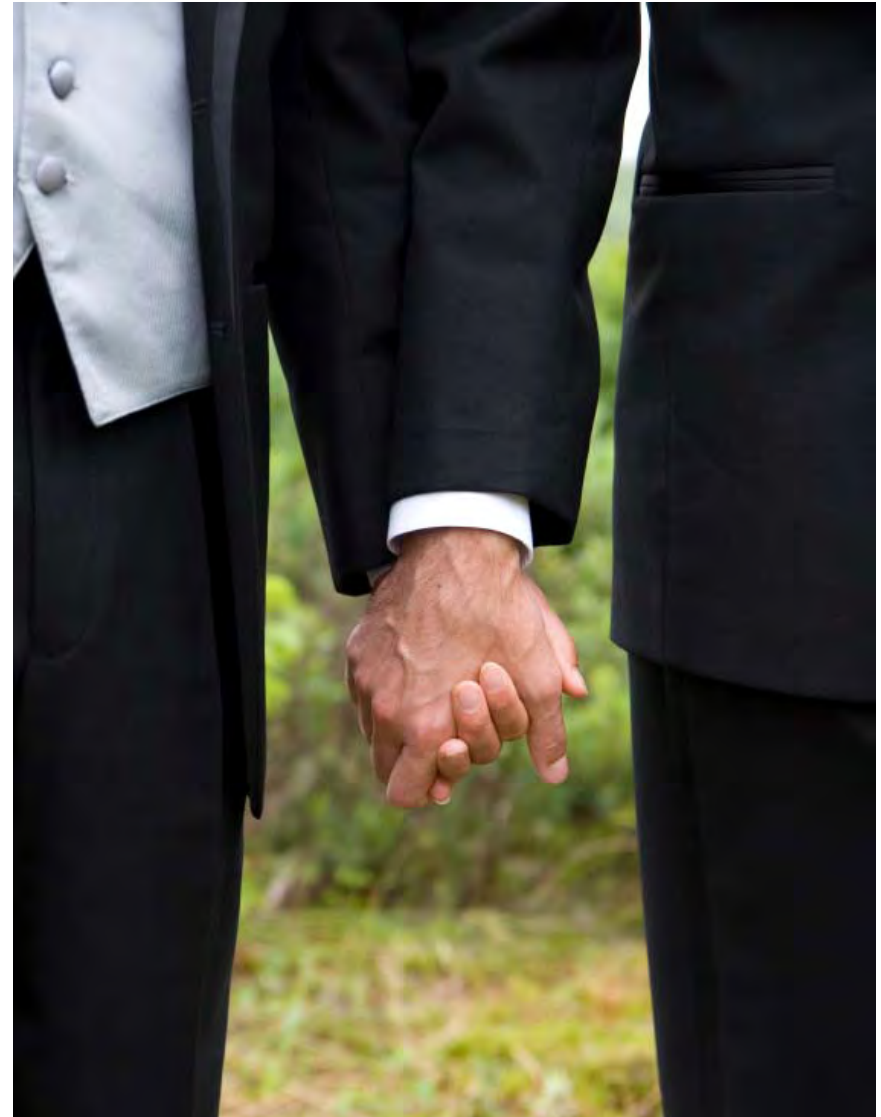
returns and one state return per couple. For many supporters of LGBT rights, “gay marriage” would rectify this convoluted tiered system. If unequal rights are the problem, then marriage is the answer. Or is it?



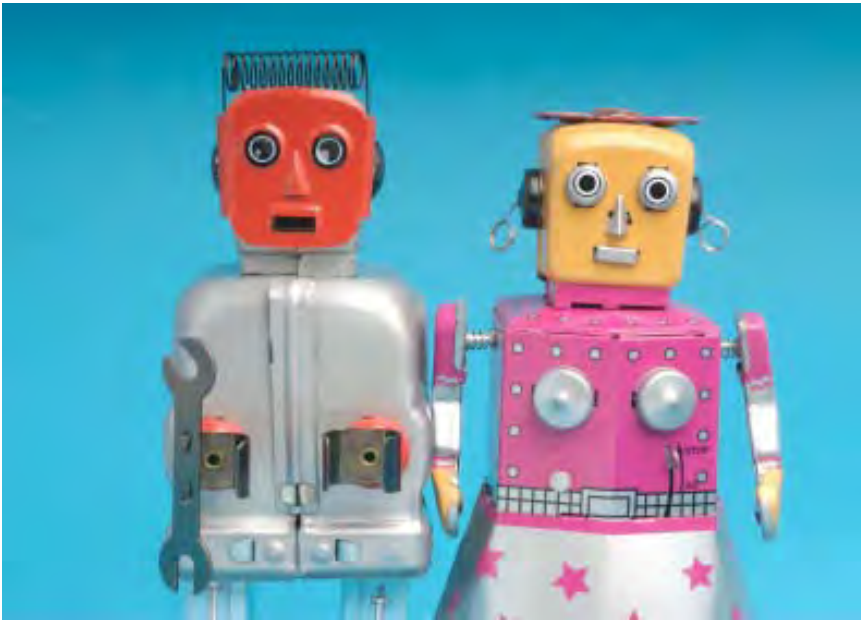
A number of activists and scholars say marriage is not the appropriate objective in the fight for equality. In her presentation at the Williams Institute 7th Annual Update, Nancy Polikoff, a Professor at the American University Washington College of Law, reasoned that the tools necessary to protect LGBT families already exist. Indeed, solutions to the underlying concerns that make gay marriage attractive (for example, the right to have a partner make medical decisions, transfer of property, simpler taxes) could be readily enacted based on existing case law and legislation. Polikoff advocated for a multi-pronged approach that would broaden the concepts of family to reflect the realities in America today. An inclusive set of protections would serve LGBT communities and other types of households--rather than reinforcing a binary of married/unmarried that tends to marginalize unmarried affiliations.

The achievement of “gay marriage” could actually limit the protections available to all LGBT individuals. Citing her newly published book, *Beyond (Straight and Gay) Marriage: Valuing All Families under the Law* (Beacon Press, 2008), Polikoff effectively argued against the seemingly myopic focus on marriage in current LGBT advocacy. Marriage will not provide the equality for which the movement strives; indeed it will perpetuate, even reinforce, a hierarchy regarding which families deserve recognition and protection by the State.

A conservative rhetoric on marriage has seeped into mainstream discourse to the point where many LGBT activists believe marriage is the best, or only, method to guarantee equality. The right-wing political backlash to the progressive social movements of the 1960s and 1970s imagined marriage as a fundamental means to assert a specific,



According to Polikoff, the achievement of “gay marriage” could actually limit the protections available to all LGBT individuals.



Currently, the “special rights” of married folks sideline the needs of children and economic partnerships regardless of family affiliation or sexual orientation.

“traditional” iteration of family structures and gender roles. Polikoff noted that during the same period, the United States revised marriage laws that had been intact for centuries. The rise of no-fault divorce and the fall of “illegitimacy” statutes, for example, led to gender-neutral laws. Yet, many laws

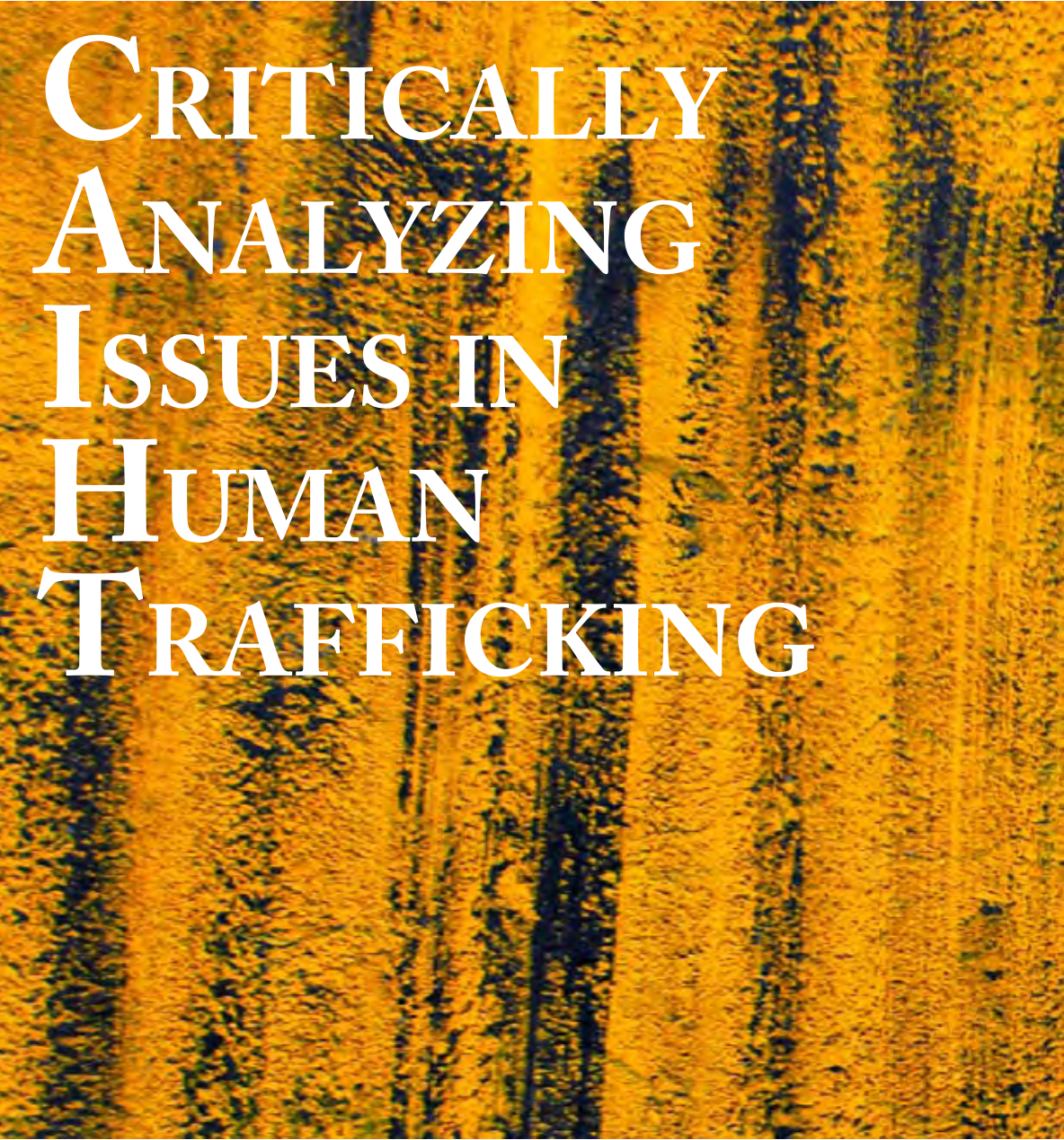
draw the line between married and unmarried individuals as their original intent was to compensate for economic dependency (as in the case of worker’s compensation) or loss (including survivor benefits) in order to provide a safety net that preserved specific family structures.

Currently, the “special rights” of married folks sideline the needs of children and economic partnerships regardless of family affiliation or sexual orientation. LGBT families will achieve equality when the State limits itself to the promotion of economic household configurations that reflect the way all Americans actually live rather than the sanctification of certain kinds of relationships. Gay and straight couples ought to have the right to marry; however, that option should be divorced from the State’s provision of full protection to all committed families.

Nancy D. Polikoff is Professor of Law at American University Washington College of Law, where she teaches in the areas of family law, civil procedure, and sexuality and the law. Previously, she supervised family law programs at the Women’s Legal Defense Fund (now National Partnership

*for Women and Families), and before that she practiced law as part of a feminist law collective. For 30 years, she has been writing about and litigating cases involving lesbian and gay families. She helped develop the legal theories in support of second-parent adoption and visitation rights for legally unrecognized parents, and she was successful counsel in *In re M.M.D.*, the 1995 case that established joint adoption for lesbian and gay couples in the District of Columbia, and *Boswell v. Boswell*, the 1998 Maryland case overturning restrictions on a gay noncustodial father’s visitation rights.*

April de Stefano, Ph.D., is Assistant Director at the UCLA Center for the Study of Women. Before coming to CSW in August of 2006, she was a Visiting Assistant Professor at the Claremont McKenna College. Her research specialization is unmarried women’s wage work in early twentieth-century Los Angeles.



CRITICALLY ANALYZING ISSUES IN HUMAN TRAFFICKING

ELIZABETH BERNSTEIN'S "THE SEXUAL POLITICS OF 'NEW ABOLITIONISM': IMAGERY AND ACTIVISM IN CONTEMPORARY ANTI- TRAFFICKING CAMPAIGNS"

by Alani Price

LIKE ME, many people may at first glance gloss over the popular images and rhetoric of human trafficking as an “easy” moral judgment. Upon examination, however, issues of globalization, immigration, law enforcement, gender roles, and controversial legal definitions make human trafficking an extremely complex tragedy—one that defies generalization and, within the political reality of international and national laws, is often conflated with other

interests such as state control of immigration or prostitution. It is therefore to our benefit to consider and analyze the wide range of views being expressed by different stakeholders in the anti-trafficking effort. Elizabeth Bernstein's lecture offered a glimpse into her analysis of the ideological politics surrounding and informing anti-trafficking discourses, particularly what seems an unexpected, powerful coalition between contemporary feminists and evangelical Christians as self-identified "modern-day abolitionists" of not only trafficking but also all forms of prostitution/sex work.

Bernstein explained that prior to her interest in this study she had performed ethnographic field research for over a decade with sex workers in global cities. She engaged in participatory research in the sex workers' organizing efforts to address injustices, including abuse from police, deportation, and unfair labor practices. Her interest in trafficking was piqued as she noticed that these organizing efforts were beginning to be undercut in the late 90's by US federal and state anti-trafficking laws which equated prostitution with human trafficking – which was beginning to be termed "modern-day

slavery." In addition to approaches in the US such as increasing criminal penalties for pimps and sexual clients, a growing international concern prompted the 2001 *Trafficking Victims Protection Act* with an intent to monitor other countries and initiate financial sanctions if they do not take sufficient steps to combat trafficking. "Internationally based NGOs not explicitly denouncing prostitution" became disqualified for federal funding. Bernstein quoted Ambassador John Miller as arguing against the use of the term sex worker (instead of prostitute), because it "served to justify modern slavery and dignify perpetrators." In her quest to better understand this new "campaign to free slaves," she chose, for methodological reasons, to study the motives and ideologies of anti-trafficking activists rather than "lived phenomenon" of trafficked persons.

EVANGELICAL/FEMINIST COALITION

One of the most striking outcomes of the national and international prominence of trafficking is the coalition of contemporary feminists and evangelicals. In highlighting this outcome, Bernstein empha-

sized that trafficking has received singular attention from the Bush administration, and when pointing out the cooperation between the political right and left, quoted economist Allen Hertzke as saying it is one of the "most significant human rights movements of our time." The 2001 Charitable Choice Initiative in particular made federal funding available to evangelical abolitionist groups, among other organizations.

By sharing the same point of view on certain women's issues such as pornography and prostitution, feminists have at various times been given a warm welcome by conservatives. Though also receiving funding from Christian organizations, Bernstein showed that these feminist leaders in particular see evangelical organizations as offering more of a partnership in their cause than liberal organizations. Both groups hold particular views about sexuality and gender, conceiving situations of "violated femininity" and "victimization." They have a shared premise on prostitution, that it is a "gendered social exchange" which amounts to "literal enslavement."

Modern-day abolitionists such as the Amazing Grace organization use the

estimate of 27 million “slaves” or trafficked persons to claim that modern trafficking is even worse than the era of “chattel” slavery from Africa. This oft-quoted figure of 27 million comes from Kevin Bales’ *Free the Slaves* organization and purposefully includes all sex workers. The definition of slavery given is the total control of one person over another for the purpose of exploitation. Bernstein asks how this modern day slavery is distinct from “chattel” slavery. She connects the current use of slavery language with moral panic about “white” slavery in 1909, which consisted of a similar coalition of new abolitionists coming together and using the power of anti-slavery speech for a new “free the slaves” campaign. Bernstein explained that before this period, eradicating prostitution had not been a priority for church leaders. The release of media stories of women’s sexual enslavement were seen as irrefutable moral horror, depicting young white girls being abducted and forced into prostitution, typically by foreign men. These stories were later determined to be without factual base, but nevertheless were powerful enough to pass federal anti-prostitution legislation (White-Slave Traffic Act of 1910, known as the Mann

Act), as well as being a “useful stepping stone for host of additional causes,” such as suffrage and prohibition.

According to Bernstein, the “images and tropes” of sexual slavery—“violated femininity, shattered innocence, and the victimization of ‘womenandchildren’” (which she explained has become one word)—have been replicated at different times for both politics and dramatic journalism. For example, in 1885 William Stead bought a thirteen-year-old virgin from a poor family in London for £5 as a “journalistic stunt” to show the tragedy of child prostitution. To illustrate the drastic change in moral perception of this act, Bernstein contrasted Stead’s consequent punishment of three months in jail with the uncritical and highly supportive reaction given to Nicholas D. Kristof of the *New York Times* for using the same technique: He purchased two girls in Cambodia in 2004, supposedly to “save” them from slavery. In most popular depictions of trafficking, whether in such Hollywood movies as *Trade* (Kreuzpaintner, 2007) or *Holly* (Moshe, 2006) or on religious magazine covers, images of poverty, economic conditions, or alternative reasons for migration are conspicuously missing.

Bad men, Bernstein explains, are the singular problem in these images and stories, which never consider the structural or situational context of their subjects.

In the language of anti-trafficking groups, Bernstein points out, there appears a recycling of metaphors from anti-abortion campaigns: slavery, rescue, abolition. Such language rests on perceptions of the viability of women’s decision-making and asserts that the mere availability of options is a danger to women, who are sexually “vulnerable.” This vulnerability comes to the forefront of discussion when women are, problematically, working “outside of the home.”

In the course of her research, Bernstein discovered that her attempts to generalize evangelical conservatives held “limited purchase,” because of the fracturing occurring in evangelical Christian groups: some may describe themselves as Christian moderates or progressives, affluent evangelicals may embrace women’s rights and social justice, and some advocate for separation from other evangelical organizations. The Not for Sale social movement, which aims to unite churches, universities, and individuals in efforts against slavery and has, for example,

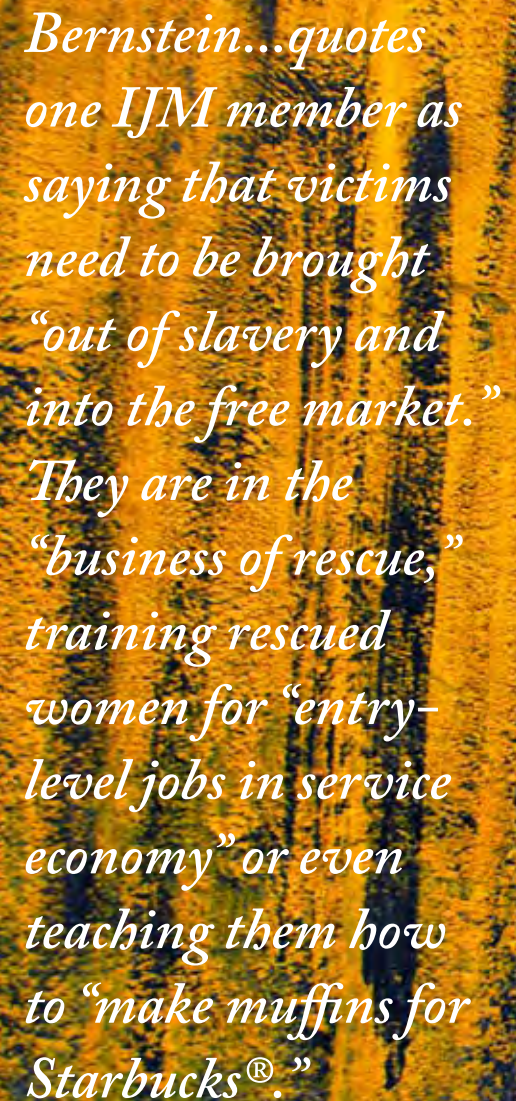
debated abandoning the label “evangelical” because of the term's loaded history.

Even when evangelical groups may describe their political views as moderate or liberal, their views of sex work should not be construed as progressive. Instead, Bernstein identifies their stance as “neo-liberal,” that is, seeing social problems stemming from “deviant individuals rather than mainstream institutions, seeking social remedies through criminal justice interventions rather than through a redistributed welfare state, and advocating the beneficence of the privileged rather than the empowerment of the oppressed.” This approach “leaves intact the very social structures that encourage risky migration and exploitative informal sector employment,” including the rare but real situations that would “rightly” be classified as trafficking. Furthermore, the “militarized humanitarianism” prevalent since the 1960s focuses on a model where men go undercover to rescue and bring to reintegration facilities. Such rescuers are not always welcomed, with women escaping from rescue facilities to return to brothels or sex workers throwing stones at vehicles of rescuers. The “rescue-and-restore” model nonetheless remains the standard

for feminist and evangelical organizations that continue to organize undercover brothel busts, where men take a “moral leadership role” as “rescuers” or “saviors.”

PRO-BUSINESS REMEDIES TO TRAFFICKING

Within this “refashioning of commercialized sex and trafficking,” Bernstein also noticed a plethora of pro-business remedies to trafficking. She quoted from the website of the International Justice Mission (<http://www.ijm.org>), which advertises their belief that “trafficking is not a poverty issue; it’s a law enforcement issue.” In this paradigm, missionary work is done by “bringing capitalism to other places so they can replace sex business with other entrepreneurial activity.” The organizations she visited focused not only brothels, but on debt bondage and rice factories. This expansion is connected with ideology about women’s freedom; the “perceived freedom and autonomy of women in the West.” Sex work is one way to “escape” from traditional roles, but abolitionists perceive the only way to escape from “backwards” traditional roles are envelopment in the capitalist system, by way of



Bernstein...quotes one IJM member as saying that victims need to be brought “out of slavery and into the free market.” They are in the “business of rescue,” training rescued women for “entry-level jobs in service economy” or even teaching them how to “make muffins for Starbucks®.”

microcredit, for example. Missionary tourism trips visit brothels to witness slavery firsthand. The moral panic around eradicating prostitution in the “third world” has attracted a majority of white, middle-class anti-trafficking advocates.

Bernstein further illustrated the extent to which anti-trafficking agencies use the pro-business model. She quotes one IJM member as saying that victims need to be brought “out of slavery and into the free market.” They are in the “business of rescue,” training rescued women for “entry-level jobs in service economy” or even teaching them how to “make muffins for Starbucks®.” Rather than framing trafficking as involving “globalization, gendered labor, migration,” it is rather a “humanitarian concern global capitalists can combat.” Now, “rather than the practices of capitalism creating sweatshop conditions,” as they were viewed in the recent past, “such practices are the very definition of freedom.”

RACIAL IRONY OF ENFORCEMENT AGENDA

Enforcement-wise, the domestic agenda to federalize criminalization of prostitution has resulted in an unprecedented crackdown, mostly on people of color in major cities. To illustrate this point, Bernstein reads from her 2006 fieldnotes from an anti-trafficking meeting. These women participants admitted that although they knew little about trafficking they were moved by media images and “wanted to help.” During a presentation on the arrest of street prostitutes as the best way of eliminating domestic trafficking, Bernstein noted the “sad irony of throwing poor black people in jail as a means of fighting slavery” appeared to be lost on the audience. Not only in trafficking but also in domestic violence, many feminists have also shown a commitment to the carceral state rather than to the welfare state. Bernstein discussed the stark and ironic contrast with other types of feminist activism against the “prison industrial complex,” where forced labor in prisons amounts to slavery. Bernstein calls attention to the fact that it is the “women and men of color participating in street-based

sexual economy” who are put in prison “in the guise of being delivered out of slavery and into freedom.”

Bernstein concludes that the true consensus of abolitionist groups lies in the “corporate capitalist ideals of freedom and carceral paradigms of justice.” She said we should not be focused only on the bonds that exist between Christians and feminists but on those that now exist between “people of all religions that have traditionally held different ideas” about institutions such as family, the market, or the role of the state. Bernstein reminds us to notice that the “responsibility of slavery [has] shifted from structural factors onto individual, deviant men”—specifically “brown men.” Her talk points us toward considering whether the current ideologies, tropes, and images in anti-trafficking strategies are actually helping women and men who are performing truly “forced” labor—or if these strategies merely fit into alternative, powerful agendas of capitalism, anti-immigration, or anti-prostitution.

Alani Price (MPH anticipated 2009) is a graduate student in the School of Public Health, Department of Community Health Sciences.

Harding is Phi Beta Kappa Visiting Scholar for 2007-08



Sandra Harding, Professor in the School of Education and Information Studies and in the Department of Women's Studies, is a Phi Beta Kappa Visiting Scholar for 2007-08. The Visiting Scholar Program makes available every year 12 or 13 distinguished scholars who visit more than a hundred colleges and universities and spend two days at each one, meeting informally with students and faculty members, taking part in classroom discussions, and giving a public lecture open to the entire academic community. The visits are designed primarily for undergraduate participation. The purpose of the program is to contribute to the intellectual life of the campus by making possible an exchange of ideas between the Visiting Scholars and the resident faculty and students.

Harding was director of the Center for the Study of Women from 1996 to 2000. A phi-

losopher of science, she taught at the University of Delaware, from 1976 to 1996, before joining the faculty at UCLA. She co-edited the journal *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* from 2000 to 2005. Her books include *Science and Social Inequality; Is Science Multicultural? Postcolonialisms, Feminisms and Epistemologies; Whose Science? Whose Knowledge?*; and *The Science Question in Feminism*. Her most recent is entitled *Sciences from Below: Gender, Imperialism, and Modernity*.

She has been a consultant to several United Nations organizations, including the Pan American Health Organization, UNESCO, the U.N. Development Fund for Women, and the U.N. Commission on Science and Technology for Development. She was a visiting professor at the University of Amsterdam, the University of Costa Rica, the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, and the Asian Institute of Technology.

HARDING'S VISIT SCHEDULE

September 20-21, College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, Minnesota

January 30-31, University of California, Riverside

March 6-7, St. Michael's College, Colchester, Vermont

March 31-April 1, Hampden-Sydney College, Hampden-Sydney, Virginia

April 3-4, Roanoke College, Salem, Virginia

April 7-8, Rhodes College, Memphis, Tennessee

April 10-11, Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina

April 14-15, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire

April 17-18, Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio



Miriam Rom Silverberg, 1951–2008

Miriam Rom Silverberg passed away on March 16, 2008. She spent her early years in Tokyo where she graduated from the International School of the Sacred Heart before returning to the United States. Silverberg received her master's degree at Georgetown University and her doctorate from the University of Chicago. She came to UCLA in July of 1989.

About her personal history and its influence on her scholarship, Silverberg wrote: "As someone who ended up in Japan not by choice but by fate, I attempt to make use of my own history and heritage to teach and to write with nuance. As a scholar whose ideals were forged during the 1960s I have not relinquished the relevance of the term *relevance*."

Her master's essay dealt with the massacre of Koreans in Tokyo following the 1923 earthquake. She carried her interest in Japanese colonialism in Korea to UCLA, where she encouraged graduate students to study Japanese and Korean modernity together. Her

research interests included modern Japanese thought, culture, and social transformation; social and cultural theory; and comparative historiography. Her books include *Changing Song: The Marxist Manifestos of Nakano Shigeharu* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), which received the 1990 John King Fairbank Prize in East Asian History. Her book, *Erotic Grotesque Nonsense: The Mass Culture of Japanese Modern Times*, which appeared in 2007 and is published by University of California Press, examines the history of Japanese mass culture during the 1920s and 1930s before the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941.

On December 7 and 8, 2007, the UCLA Terasaki Center for Japanese Studies held a two-day symposium on "Imperial Japan and Colonial Sensibility: Affect, Object, Embodiment" to celebrate the work of Silverberg, who was its original organizer.

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CAMPUS LOCATION

1500 PUBLIC AFFAIRS BUILDING

MAILING ADDRESS

UCLA CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF WOMEN

BOX 957222

LOS ANGELES, CA 90095-7222

CAMPUS MAILCODE

722203

PHONE

310-825-0590

FAX

310-825-0456

EMAIL

csw@csw.ucla.edu

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UCLA faculty, staff, and students are welcome to submit articles for inclusion. If you have questions, please email the publications staff at

cswpubs@women.ucla.edu

EDITOR/DESIGNER

Brenda Johnson-Grau

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS

*Amy Chen, Sarah Cho, Vivian Davis,
Katie Shields, and Andrew Bliss*