STUDENTS ARRESTED AT U.C.BERKELEY OVER THE FUTURE OF ETHNIC STUDIES

On Wednesday, April 14, 1999, more than 100 undergraduate and graduate students at the University of California at Berkeley occupied Barrows Hall for ten hours, the building which houses the Ethnic Studies Department. Forty three students were arrested and cited for trespassing. Five students were charged with more serious offenses. Several students were injured. The protesters' demands are reproduced below, followed by the Ethnic Studies faculty's response in support of the students.

[original version of demands as they appeared on protest flier]

Attention: Chancellor Berdahl, Provost Carol Christ, and Professors and Students who are concerned with the future of Ethnic Studies

In the spring of 1969 the Third World Liberation Front transformed education and the University of California, Berkeley in a way that had never been done before. The strike was a form of resistance against Cal's discriminatory policies toward people of color.

As of now, there are no full-time Native American Studies professors. By next year, there will be only one full-time Chicano Studies professor.

Now, thirty years later we find ourselves in a state of regression. The vision and hope of those students who unselfishly put their academic careers on the line and their safety in the hands of a violent police force and administration has been shattered. Today Ethnic Studies is near extinction. The systematic decline of our programs is causing a slow and steady death of Chicano Studies, Asian American Studies, Native American Studies and Ethnic Studies.

DEMANDS

1- Increase funding for Ethnic Studies and each of the programs within Ethnic Studies while maintaining respect for the autonomy of each Ethnic Studies Program which includes: Chicano Studies, Native American Studies, and Asian American Studies. The same amount of respect is demanded for the African American Studies department in L&S whose needs align very similarly to that of Ethnic Studies. We propose the following methods to increase funding for Ethnic Studies:

A. The hiring of new tenure track professors for permanent faculty positions in each individual program of Ethnic Studies.
B. Ensure the replacement of professor spots that have been vacated due to retirement or denial of tenure.
C. Keep all current lecturers and visiting professors in each of the programs.
D. We demand the hiring of four professors in Native American Studies, four in Chicano Studies and two in Asian American Studies (one Filipino and one South East Asian.)
E. Upon completion of the hiring processes of the above mentioned faculty positions, a system of hiring two new professors each year for the next five years shall commence. These professors shall be hired according to

department and program growth and shall be decided by the entire Ethnic Studies faculty as to ensure a balanced department.

F. Since many of the professors from the three programs service Ethnic Studies via outside departments, as well as other surrounding universities, we demand that those hired be full time Native American Studies, Chicano Studies and/or Asian American Studies professors. Furthermore, we demand that there be a gender balance in the hiring of these new professors.

G. We demand that no budget cuts be made on the Ethnic Studies Department until all faculty positions have been hired and vacancies replaced. Not until that point should standard budget cuts be considered.

This will ensure the growth, expansion and revitalization of an Ethnic Studies Department that has become scarce in classes, funds, programs, professors, faculty, staff, majors, grass roots organizations, and community involvement.

2- We demand, to ensure the admission of Ethnic Studies, Asian American Studies, Native American Studies, and Chicano Studies majors into the Ethnic Studies Department, that each program be allotted a certain number of slots in the admissions process, as was done when Ethnic Studies had "unaffiliated" status. This will ensure a steady flow of these majors entering the university while promoting diversity on this campus.

2- We demand an Ethnic Studies Research Center be established on campus servicing Ethnic Studies, Asian American Studies, Native American Studies, and Chicano Studies faculty, graduate students, undergraduate students, staff, and surrounding community organizations who have department or program approval.

3- We demand a multicultural student center to serve the cultural and community needs of students on campus. Further, we demand that the current Chicano Cultural Center building, which is currently condemned, be renovated and open for use.

4- We demand that student participation be included in all facets of this work, from the hiring of new tenure track professors, the creation of the Ethnic Studies Research Center, and the creation of the multicultural student center.

5- We demand that a wall be designated inside of Barrows Hall for murals created by students and community members.

6- We demand that no punishment be inflicted upon those students who are demonstrating and acting in defense of Ethnic Studies during this action.

Response to Last Week's Student Protests & Arrests: A Public Statement of Ethnic Studies Faculty

By L. Ling-chi Wang, Chair of the Ethnic Studies Department
University of California at Berkeley
April 19, 1999

We are deeply disturbed and profoundly disappointed by the response of the University administration to both the non-violent student protest action in support of Ethnic Studies last Wednesday and the list of demands they submitted. We consider their demands thoughtful and solidly grounded and their non-violent action a legitimate expression of their concerns over the "state of regression" in Ethnic Studies, resulting from policies perpetrated by the administration in the past decade.

We disagree with the administration's claims, in response to the student protest, that "the number of faculty positions in the Department has increased by 20% over the past decade" and that "the apparent decline in the number of current faculty in the Department is *not* the result of administrative action or the withdrawal of resources." We further disagree with the administration's arguments against some of the concerns raised by the students, not the least of which are the consolidation of the four programs and budgets within the department, the loss of faculty and staff positions in the programs, budget cuts arbitrarily imposed on a relatively young but growing department, and the failed requests for additional faculty FTEs and an Ethnic Studies Research Center. As we shall demonstrate in this statement, these concerns have been repeatedly raised in the past decade by the department and by independent reviewers.

It is not our intention to refute point by point the response of the administration to the students. However, we would like to highlight three major issues in relation to the University's response: the allocation of faculty FTEs; the establishment of an Ethnic Studies Research Center; and the credibility gap between the rhetoric of diversity and the marginal and "service" status accorded to Ethnic Studies.

Permanent Faculty FTE Strength

With respect to faculty FTE allocation, we present the following table to illustrate permanent faculty strength (by FTEs) in each of the four programs in Ethnic Studies in selected years in the decade of the1990s and in the context of several anticipated retirements of senior faculty members in the next six years. There has been no 20% growth in the past decade. Instead, there has been a significant shift in faculty resources from the three original programs (Asian American Studies, Chicano Studies, and Native American Studies) to the Comparative Ethnic Studies program. It is important to keep in mind that during the decade, the department experienced rapid enrollment increases on the one hand and budget reduction and cuts in faculty and staff positions identical with larger and, in some cases, declining departments, on the other hand. (We consider this approach to budget cuts, while expedient and fair on the surface, to be grossly unfair to small, emerging, and growing departments such as Ethnic Studies, African American Studies, and Women's Studies). Also, it is important to note that prior to 1995, Ethnic Studies received *no* faculty position for both the undergraduate and graduate programs in Comparative Ethnic Studies, started respectively in 1976 and 1984. The costs of covering these two fastest-growing programs for two decades were borne entirely by the other three programs in Ethnic Studies. As the external *Stack/Kirkpatrick Report on Ethnic Studies* pointed out in 1992,

The continual diversion of scarce financial and faculty resources from the individual programs diminishes their ability to support their core curricula and ultimately to foster the continued evolution of Comparative Ethnic Studies.

To this date, we are still "robbing Peter to pay Paul" in order to support the faculty, curricula, and staff in these two programs, to the detriment of the other three programs, a chronic problem well known to our students but rarely noticed and therefore unappreciated by the administration.

Permanent Faculty FTEs in the Four Programs in Ethnic Studies (1990-2005)

	AsAmSt	ChicanoSt	NatAmSt	CompEthSt	TOTAL
1990-91	6.5	7.0	4.0	0.0	17.50
1995-96	6.5	6.0	3.0	2.0	17.50
1998-99	6.5	5.5	2.5	3.0	17.50
2000-01	5.5	3.5	2.5	3.0	14.50
2005-06	3.0	3.5	2.0	3.0	11.50

On paper, the above figures look reasonably stable but in fact the deep cuts imposed on the three original programs have been devastating. For example, the number of faculty FTEs for Chicano Studies in 1998-99 does not accurately reflect the actual number of faculty members engaged in teaching because, by that year, CS had already lost 1.0 FTE due to the retirement of Prof. M. Melville, a transfer of 0.5 FTE to Women's Studies and Spanish/Portuguese departments, and an administrative decision to delay the replacement of a non-tenure separation. Since two senior faculty in CS have announced their intention to retire next year (Profs. M. Barrera and C. Munoz, Jr.), the CS faculty will be further reduced to 3.5 FTEs next year, even if the program is allowed to fill the position resulting from the non-tenure separation. In fact, by the end of next year, there will only be one full-time faculty member remaining, and he (Prof. Alex Saragoza) will be assisted by three half-time persons. Likewise, in Native American Studies, the 2.5 figure for this year is deceptive because the program was not allowed to fill the two vacancies created by non-tenure separation since last year. What's more, there was a transfer of 1.0 FTE to Comparative Ethnic Studies (Prof. P. Hilden) and 0.5 FTE to the American Studies Program in 1998-99 (Prof. G. Vizenor), leaving the NAS program with only one half-time professor this year. Equally deceptive is the fictitious 3.0 FTEs in Comparative Ethnic Studies. The reality shows a loss of 1.0 FTE due to resignation (Prof. J. Klor de Alva) and an unexpected gain of 2.0 FTEs from transfers, one from NAS (Prof. P. Hilden) and the other from English (Prof. A. Arteaga). The former transfer is an in-house transfer of a person on leave both this year, and next year and the latter is half of the result of a negotiated package with EVC & Provost Christ. In other words, Comparative Ethnic Studies still has only two full-time people teaching this year. As for Asian American Studies, a closer look at what its faculty taught this year will reveal a shocking situation in which virtually no ladder-rank faculty were teaching courses in Asian American Studies. Instead, they were mostly diverted to courses in Ethnic Studies. As the Stack/Kirkpatrick Report correctly observed in 1992:

Ethnic Studies is critically short of faculty FTE. **It has the highest student/faculty ratio in comparison to the departments in the Division of Social Sciences, and it is second only to Spanish and Portuguese in the Division of Humanities. In other words, *Ethnic Studies faculty are stretched very thin*....Too great a percentage of the Ethnic Studies budget has been assigned as temporary, discretionary, short-term funding. In the past, *almost half of the funding has been temporary or discretionary.* After 23 years of continuous growth and achievement of solid standing, the department is no longer an 'interim' institution. *More of its funding should be derived from permanent funding.*** ***The Stack/Kirkpatrick Report*, April 10, 1992.**

In short, all four programs have been woefully understaffed and, in comparison with other UC campuses and comparable research institutions, they are rapidly losing ground. At least seven senior faculty members are expected to retire by 2005. In other words, the faculty strength of the department will be reduced by more than fifty percent, as the projected figures on the table show. *Unless the department is allowed to replace the retired faculty, the department could virtually be out of business in ten years, as the*

result of the University's policy of attrition. Contrary to the claims made by the administration, the decline is not a figment of the faculty's or students' imaginations, but the result of ten years of negligence and deliberate policies of downgrading, downsizing, and consolidation at the same time when enrollments have been rising rapidly at both graduate and undergraduate levels. Here are a few quotations and warnings from various reports on the department's faculty shortage in the last 19 years (emphases added):

Our major conclusion is that since the last review (1973) and the various changes - especially in personnel - effected since then, Ethnic Studies has moved from a state of perpetual crisis to one of growth and consolidation...There must, however, be further investment in regular faculty, in better student recruitment and counseling, in library space and holdings.

***Letter of Transmittal to Provost & Dean Roderic Park,* William M. Brinner, chair the Brinner Committee, August 6, 1980.**

All the faculty members we met with are doing their job as best they can under the circumstances. In terms of involvement with students, committees and other administrative work, as well as fulfilling the role of models within the university structure, they are call upon to do much more than most faculty members who are able to do their teaching and research relatively free from these constraints...*They need support and incentives* to carry on research, publish and create graduate-level programs.

***The Brinner Report*, Aug. 6, 1980.**

In a 21-page plan in 1991, Chair L.C. Wang asked the University to bring the permanent faculty strength of each program in Ethnic Studies, over a three-year period, to the following level: 6.5 FTE in Asian American Studies; 7.0 in Chicano Studies; 6.0 in Native American Studies; and 6.0 in Comparative Ethnic Studies.

***Status of Ethnic Studies at UC Berkeley* by L. Ling-chi Wang, chair, March 6, 1991.**

The graduate students....are absolutely first-rate.... The graduate program should be seen as a fertile opportunity and not as a liability and burden. To realize this opportunity, Berkeley's administration must respond to the development of this graduate program with adequate resources. *It is our unanimous view that a minimum of six new faculty FTEs for the graduate program in Comparative Ethnic Studies are absolutely necessary.*

Consultants Report to the Stack/Kirkpatrick Committee, February 1992.

Additional faculty FTE are needed to accommodate the high student demand. Space and other resources are also urgently required. Student demand and student/faculty ratio are important considerations in resource allocation, and they should be heeded in this case.

***Report of the Committee on Educational Policy*, Nov. 1, 1992.**

A plan over the next 3-5 years to increase the size of Ethnic Studies' faculty so the epartment can meet the growing demands being placed on its courses and the increasingly ethnically diverse state population.

***Demands for the Future of Ethnic Studies*, issued April 17, 1993 when students took over and occupied the Office of the Chancellor.**

With ratios of permanent faculty to student FTE in the 30s, Ethnic Studies functions with fewer ladder faculty than it should in order to meet its programmatic obligations. Some FTE growth in the field of Comparative Ethnic Studies is merited, although the current budgetary climate will prohibit any sharp increase.

***Letter to Chair Wang*, from Joseph Cerny, Dean of the Graduate Division, and Carol Christ, Provost, April 29, 1993.**

Already, we have not been able to replace positions vacated by retired Professors Clara Sue Kidwell, Terry Wilson, and Margarita Melville. It is likely that we will not be allowed to replace recently resigned Professor Jorge Klor de Alva. Several senior faculty (three) are now making plans to retire soon. Unless we demonstrate our intellectual uniqueness and vitality, backed up by a significant increase in our enrollment and majors, we will have trouble justifying requests for (faculty) replacements.

***A Proposal to Transform Ethnic Studies into American Studies*, circulated by Chair Wang, April 29, 1998.**

Not surprisingly, our students now encounter shrinking and overworked faculty and declining course offerings and have correctly concluded that all programs in the department were in "a state of regression." No wonder in their letter to Chancellor Robert Berdahl and EVC & Provost Carol Christ last week, they concluded, "Today Ethnic Studies is near extinction. The systematic decline of our programs is causing a slow and steady death of Chicano Studies, Asian American Studies, Native American Studies, and Ethnic Studies."

Ethnic Studies Research Center

The paper trail of the department's ten-year attempt to establish an Ethnic Studies Research Center is symptomatic of just how Ethnic Studies has been treated by the administration. It began as a suggestion by the Heyman/Park administration. In response, Prof. L.C. Wang, then chair of the department, submitted a conceptual proposal for such a Center in 1989. The administration decided to wait for the in-coming Tien/Heilbron/Christ administration to handle the proposal. The new administration, in turn, decided to wait until the on-going external review was completed. The review lasted more than two years (1990-92). Nonetheless, the *Stack/Kirkpatrick Report* strongly supported the research center as did, eventually, all the relevant senate committees and even the administration.

We believe that whatever model for reorganization is chosen, theUniversity should commit resources to the creation of a research institute (ORU) for Ethnic Studies. Research and scholarship from Ethnic Studies are its most powerful arguments for autonomy....The issue is not one of bureaucratic intricacies, but of the support of a vital intellectual program that can be given solid ground on which to continue to flourish.

***The Stack/Kirkpatrick Report*, April 10, 1992.**

We are persuaded that a research center in Comparative Ethnic Studies would be valuable both for the Ethnic Studies programs and for the campus. We recommended that a committee be appointed to develop a plan for such a center.

***Letter to Chair Wang*, from Joseph Cerny, Dean of the Graduate Division, and Carol Christ, Provost, April 29, 1993.**

Encouraged by ECV & Provost Christ, Prof. N. Alarcon convened a committee to revive and refine the proposal and submitted a conceptual proposal to the administration in 1993-94 . After a few months of deliberations, the proposal was killed because it was not considered "high on the list of campus priorities." In 1995-96, the research center idea was revived and explicitly tied to the appointment of Prof. J. Klor de Alva in Ethnic Studies. Unfortunately, Prof. Klor de Alva failed to deliver because he was apparently busy working on other projects outside of the University. He resigned in 1998, after spending only one out of his three years' affiliation actually working in the department. The last discussion of the research Center idea took place last year when Prof. P. Hintzen, chair of African American Studies, and Prof. L.C. Wang, chair of Ethnic Studies, met with EVC & Provost and Acting Dean R. Mendelsohn to informally discuss Chair Wang's proposal to reunite the two departments and transform Ethnic Studies into American Studies from the perspectives of ethnic studies. At that meeting, the possibility of incorporating the Ethnic Studies Research Center idea into the existing Institute for the Study of Social Change was positively considered by EVC & Provost Carol Christ. However, Ethnic Studies was also asked to consider

joining forces with an emerging Center for the Study of the Americas, even though both African American Studies and Asian American Studies thought that such a center with focus only on the Americas would severely restrict their respective research interests in Africa/Europe and Asia/Pacific region. In the meantime, the administration, in the April 15 response to the student demands, has apparently decided to support the Americas research center and, in an amazing display of insensitivity to both the department and the students, to arbitrarily substitute it for what the department has been asking for over the last ten years.

As anyone can see from this paper trail, the department has been misled by repeated false promises over the past ten years.

Status of Ethnic Studies

Whether in terms of faculty resource allocation or support of the research center, what is at stake is our struggle against the racist and indifferent attitude toward Ethnic Studies. Instead of placing the department at the center of the campus' intellectual and social concerns, Ethnic Studies has been relegated to the margins and assigned low priority. As the report of the three independent consultants to the Stack/Kirkpatrick Committee pointed out in 1992,

This enviable and well-deserved national reputation (of Ethnic Studies) masks the realities of an institutional climate and structural situation...we found to be less than fully supportive and lacking in vision.... Indeed, we found very little acknowledgment from top administrators that the Berkeley Ethnic Studies program was nationally recognized.

Consultants Report submitted by Ramon Gutierrez, Don Nakanishi, and Charles Roberts, February 1992.

At the conclusion of their report, the same three consultants wrote,

Academic leadership is necessary from the Chancellor and all of his top administrative and academic officials to assure that Ethnic Studies at Berkeley remains the best department of its kind in the country... It behooves the administration to exercise vision and leadership, abandoning the outdated siege rhetoric that characterized the department's foundation, and *embracing instead a language that places the knowledge of Ethnic Studies at the center of the university's intellectual endeavors.*

The administration obviously did not take heed. In fact, the same attitude has persisted to this date. In a letter to her Ethnic Studies colleagues last week, Prof. Norma Alarcon aptly characterized the situation by charging that the department has been treated as a perpetual "service" department, pitting it, along with Women's Studies, Peace and Conflict Studies, and other interdisciplinary programs, against the "major" or "mainstream departments" and, in the process, treating them like "maids, ranch hands, janitors, etc.," who pick up or service the damages perpetrated upon minoritized students, whether this treatment is blamed one day on enrollments and on another day on the number of majors:

The administration has kept us in a continuous double-bind....which is designed to turn us into a perpetual Service department. There are many such 'starved out' units on campus, including Women's Studies, some Area Studies, Peace and Conflict Studies, etc. The double-bind they seem to keep maneuvering are whether the enrollments are 'service' or 'majors.' In the long run, interdisciplinary departments committed to interdisciplinarity and/or transdisciplinarity are kept only at the level of SERVICE, which in my book translates into the 'maids, ranch hands, janitors, etc.,'who pick up the damage perpetrated upon minoritized students. Not only are we then obliged to pick up the damaged pieces, but it is simultaneously asked to be 'intellectually vibrant in a highly competitive' elite institution. Our department in many ways ends up doing TRIAGE work while simultaneously thinking about the implications for our future.

***Letter to Ethnic Studies Faculty*, from Norma Alarcon, April 16, 1999.**

Unless the administration makes all programs in Ethnic Studies well-funded and worthy sites for the production of knowledge, "there is very little hope of ever getting out of the abysmal hole into which the department has been placed," Prof. Alarcon continues. The administration provides only the rhetoric of diversity, while steadfastly refusing to place Ethnic Studies at the center of its diversity project and on its list of priorities.

In our society, RESPECT is commanded by money and resources. WE MUST HAVE THE RESOURCES and the RESPECT and TRUST that we know what we are doing. Our department is by definition involved in cultural and political critique, of course our 'benefactors' are not going to like that much, yet it is that critique that makes it possible for us to know the kind of society we live in.

***The Alarcon Letter*, April 16, 1999.**

Conclusions

In conclusion, the faculty of Ethnic Studies fully understands the frustration and anger of the protesting students. We consider their demands reasonable, legitimate, and necessary, if Ethnic Studies is to remain a viable intellectual enterprise on this campus and the centerpiece of University's commitment to diversity. We stand in solidarity with our students. Accordingly, we will not engage in negotiations toward resolution of our department's predicament until the Administration grants full amnesty to all students who were arrested and meets with our students to hear out their needs and concerns.

This pamphlet was prepared by the Ethnic Studies Department at UC Berkeley. To contact the chair of the department, L. Ling-chi Wang, call him at 510-642-7439. More information is available at http://www.ethnicstudies.com.

A Letter of Support from African American Studies

April 21, 1999
From: Percy C. Hintzen, Chairperson, African American Studies
Re: Student Protest over the State of Ethnic Studies

The students' protest and symbolic "occupation" of Barrows Hall should have been expected and anticipated. It was in response to quite justifiable fears of a policy by the administration of "death by attrition" as this applies to the Ethnic Studies Department. Whether true or not, the recent history of resource allocation does tend to give the impression of this intent. More importantly, it comes with the considerable danger of the eventual elimination of the ethnic studies departments (including African American Studies), however unintentional. A public letter circulated by the faculty of Ethnic Studies makes an extremely convincing case of the possibility for such an outcome. But there is a much more fundamental reality that underlies student concerns. The University of California is at the center of a current attack on affirmative action policies and race-based solutions to the nation's history of racial exclusion and white privilege. Proposition 209, and the preceding decision by the Board of Regents to ban affirmative action in recruitment and hiring, have served to confirm what many people of color have suspected all along: that there was pervasive white resistance to the extension of full accommodation and full citizenship to people of color. They suspect that the policy to end affirmative action at the levels of the university and state will now be employed as legal cover to restore white privilege and Eurocentrism (many believe that Asians will soon become the next target). Merit becomes the new code word for racism. The university might well defend recent cutbacks in support staff and temporary assistance budgets for the Departments of Ethnic Studies and African American Studies (and these have been significant). They may argue that these cutbacks were no more than those experienced by other departments during a period of budgetary constraint. That the cuts were equitable. Moreover, the official position of the administration is that there has been an increase in faculty FTEs for Ethnic Studies over the last few years (an argument refuted by the Ethnic Studies Faculty). The point again is one of equity. It is disingenuous. The vast majority of departments in the social sciences and humanities have a collective focus on Europe and its diaspora, intellectually and substantively. Departments such as African American Studies, for example (which is not part of Ethnic Studies) is left to cover all of Africa and the African Diaspora (North America, Latin America, the Caribbean, Europe) in all their manifestations with a permanent faculty of 10 (three of whom are on leave). This is certainly a case for differential consideration. The situation is identical for the Ethnic Studies departments.

But there is something much more troubling. The current climate has produced a resurgence of a more virulent racism on campus that threatens the very foundation principles upon which these disciplines were based: the notion that the realities of the overwhelming majority of the world's population (which is not white) should be the object of intellectual inquiry and discourse, wherever they find themselves. This notion, barely accepted, is subject to contemporary challenge. It is the most frightening of

developments. A telling example of this brand of virulence is the vicious verbal assault on Ethnic Studies, its faculty, (particularly, Ron Takaki, the internationally esteemed scholar) and seemingly all people of color by Ryan Tate in his op ed. piece on Thursday, April 15th written for the Daily Californian. A decade ago, such drivel would have been rejected, if only for its incoherence and abysmally bad writing. Today, there seems to be a rush to publish the most inane of racist opinions. The pervasive reason is a willing and compliant audience, and this I find most dangerous. The university should not be surprised, therefore, at protests of the sort that occurred on Wednesday. I would predict that they would grow in strength and violence, unless policy makers and opinion leaders come to their senses.

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