

Social Movements, Urban History, and the Politics of Memory

San Francisco Bay Area, 1769-2016

IAS 158AC and PACS 148AC / 4 units / Fall Term, 2016

Instructor: Sean Burns, Ph.D.

Barrows, Room 174 / Mon & Wed, 5-6:30pm

Section times: Thur 10am (Barrows 180), Fri 10am (Barrows 180)

The past does not exist independently of the present.

- Michel-Rolph Trouillot

Collective social movements are incubators of new knowledge.

- Robin D.G. Kelley

Ethnicity is forged and changed in encounters among groups.

- Yen Le Espiritu

Course Description:

This course examines a range of national and transnational, progressive social movements which have had prominent and influential expression in the San Francisco Bay Area. With a primary focus on 20th century social movements, we seek to create an integrated analysis across various movement histories that gives us a complex understanding of the social processes and social contestations entailed in the development of the San Francisco Bay Area as we know it (and don't know it). In other words, it makes no sense to talk about resistance to colonialism, militarism, racism, poverty, patriarchy, homophobia, and ecological destruction – to name just a few terrains of struggle - without attending to their interconnections. To help us achieve this conceptual and historical integration, the class is organized around five interdisciplinary units:

1) The Politics of Memory 2) Geopolitics: Empire, Colonialism, and Militarism 3) Race, Class, and Social Control in Urban Formation 4) Labor and the Environment, and 5) Gender, Sexuality, Ability and the State

Through an interdisciplinary combination of history, sociology, urban geography, and ethnic studies, we will investigate: why and how these movements have emerged? What cultural, racial, ethnic and political identities were drawn from, reconfigured, and created within these movements? What kinds of knowledge, history, and institutions were created by these movements, and how have these legacies shaped (and been shaped by) the geography, culture, ecology, and politics of the San Francisco Bay Area as we live it today. Such questions will lead us into discussions at the heart of American Studies: discussions about how dominant, cultural narratives are sustained and contested; discussions about democracy, human rights, justice, and social power in relation to the nation-state, capitalism, and urban formation; discussions about what justice means in a city and how movements make claims on space; discussions about memory and the political imaginary and how people experience their identity and social possibility at a complex intersection of class, race, gender, nationalism, work, religion, popular culture and more.

As part of the American Cultures Engaged Scholarship (ACES) program, this course will not only analyze what others have written and said of these movements, it will also organize collaborative, community-engaged documentation projects which seek to expand public understanding of these histories, their legacies, and the contemporary experience of these struggles. The community engagement will take multiple forms. First, toward the aim of building students skills as documentarians and archivists of social history, we will partner with a Bay Area organization at the forefront of creatively making and remaking community history – Shaping San Francisco. Second, toward the aim of connecting students with local, community activists, and toward the aim of invigorating the *public* dimension of public education, the class will be supported by a cohort of “community mentors” – respected activists that have long histories of participation in specific movements covered in the class. The precise format of student’s documentation projects (final projects) will vary, but a foundational goal of all projects is to meaningfully contribute to the recently created [public archive of Bay Area social movements](#) located within Shaping San Francisco’s community history wiki archive: FoundSF.org

Visit Shaping San Francisco’s main website here: <http://www.shapingsf.org/>

Class Format: Lecture / Seminar / Sections:

Lecture / Seminar Times (Mon & Wed 5:00-6:30pm): Our class meetings on Mondays and Wednesdays will combine short lectures by the instructor, occasional guest presentations, frequent student facilitation of discussion, and film screenings.

Section: The Thursday and Friday sections at 10am will only occasionally take on the traditional structure of a “discussion time” on the readings and lectures. Instead, section

times will be dedicated to supporting students with their final research project (connected with our community partner Shaping San Francisco). Each week I will run the section as a kind of “methods/skills building workshop” toward the aim of supporting students in researching and compiling their public research project. Some days will be topical discussions; some days will be skill trainings (e.g. conducting interviews); some days will be peer review sessions. Small assignments are often due in section. A detailed description of the weekly section topics and assignments is integrated into the course calendar below and online.

Course Objectives, Pedagogical Approaches, Student Learning:

- To introduce students to the questions, methods, and theoretical frameworks of social movement scholarship through investigating how the culture, geography, ecology, and politics of the San Francisco Bay Area *have shaped* and *have been shaped* through progressive social movements
- To examine U.S. social history (specifically the urban histories of the San Francisco Bay Area) through comparing and integrating the analytical tools of a variety of theoretical traditions including: ethnic studies, feminist and queer theory, working-class studies, critical race theory, urban geography, and disability studies
- To engage students in broader theories and debates of knowledge production through specific examination of how movements develop analysis of poverty and inequality, justice, the state, citizenship, democracy, capitalism, race, class, gender, environmental health, and history
- To introduce students to various methods of community history documentation
- To bring community members into the classroom to speak about their lives and their work
- To collectively grapple with the responsibilities, opportunities, and ethical dilemmas of community-engaged scholarship and community partnerships based in reciprocity
- To contribute student-generated social movement scholarship to a growing, publicly available archive, of SF Bay Area social history at Foundsf.org

Main Assignments / Grade Distribution / Class Policies:

Class participation (including attendance and discussion facilitation) - 20% of your grade

Assignments for Section all together are – 20% of your grade

Exam 1 (Oct 24) – 20% of your grade

Exam 2 (Nov 30) – 20% of your grade

Research Project (Final Version) – 20% of your grade

Participation includes thoughtfully completing the homework on time – whether reading and/or writing – and sharing your questions and insights with the class. Lectures and class discussions will depend on everyone’s participation. Each student in the class will be responsible for facilitating one class discussion about the readings for one particular day. You will be assigned this in advance so that you can effectively prepare.

Attendance – Students are expected to attend every class (this includes every section). Missing class more than twice may result in a lowered grade, and missing class regularly may result in failing the course. Please try to email me in advance when you know you will be missing class.

Assignments for Section – All of these assignments – approximately 10 in total - are meant to prepare you to successfully carry out your research project. Note that this collection of small assignments (in aggregate) is worth the same amount as the final version of the research project (20%). In other words, take the small stuff seriously.

Exams – The two exams will be in class, short essay exams. They will ask you to think about material from class lectures and class readings. You will receive all of the possible questions in advance of the exam to support your preparation. The second exam is *not* cumulative but rather focuses on the readings after Exam 1.

Research Project – Students choose the topic of their research project. The professor and co-directors from Shaping San Francisco can help you with this choice – and there are also a whole range of other professors, graduate students and staff on campus that might have great ideas (for example librarians at Ethnic Studies Library or Bancroft). The professor must approve your topic in advance of Sept 22/23 sections when topics are to be submitted. The goal of the research project is to create an original contribution to Shaping San Francisco’s online archive of Bay Area Social Movement History. The aim is for these projects to be multimedia (e.g. including photographs, interviews, video), geared toward a broad public audience, properly cited, and exciting platforms for people to pursue further research (i.e. they include further resources.) The “entries” are not meant to be long (8-12 paragraphs is ideal), but they must be well researched and well

written. If they accomplish this, they will likely be published by Shaping San Francisco in the public, web archive.

Grading Scale: All assignments, as well as final grades, will be determined using the following standard, grading scale:

$A+ \geq 99\%$	$99 > A \geq 93$	$93 > A- \geq 90$
$90 > B+ \geq 87$	$87 > B \geq 83$	$83 > B- \geq 80$
$80 > C+ \geq 77$	$80 > C+ \geq 77$	$73 > C- \geq 70$ (and so forth)

Plagiarism: As outlined by the Code of Student Conduct and the Campus Office of Student Judicial Affairs, any plagiarized work may result in failing an assignment and possibly the entire course. To learn more about the campus definition of plagiarism: <http://writing.berkeley.edu/about-us/academic-honesty>

Electronics in Class: I ask that students do not use laptops or tablets in the lecture or section meetings of this course *except for taking notes*. However, when we have guest speakers in class, I ask that *all* electronic devices be put away out of full respect for their presence. Guest visits are filmed (you'll learn more about your roll in this). Audio recordings of the class are permitted. All requests for use of electronics via DSP accommodation letters will be honored.

Office Hours:

I encourage all students to meet with me outside of class time to discuss your independent research and any questions you have about the course materials. Students must make appointments to see me via email: burns@berkeley.edu

DSP Related:

If you need disability-related accommodations in this class, if you have emergency medical information you wish to share with me, or if you need special arrangements in case the building must be evacuated, please inform me immediately and, if I haven't received it already, provide me with your "letter of accommodation" from the DSP Office. Please see me privately after class or at my office hours.

Students who need academic accommodations (for example, a note taker), should request them from the Disabled Students' Program, 260 César Chávez Center, 642-0518 (voice or TTY). DSP is the campus office responsible for verifying disability-related need for academic accommodations, assessing that need, and for planning accommodations in

cooperation with students and instructors as needed and consistent with course requirements.

Important Campus Resources For Students

Student Learning Center - <http://slc.berkeley.edu>, 642-9494

As the primary academic support service for students at the University of California at Berkeley, the Student Learning Center (SLC) assists students in transitioning to Cal; navigating the academic terrain; creating networks of resources; and achieving academic, personal and professional goals. Through various services including tutoring, study groups, workshops and courses, SLC supports students in Biological and Physical Sciences, Business Administration, Computer Science, Economics, Mathematics, Social Sciences, Statistics, Study Strategies and Writing.

Student Life Advising Services (SLAS) - <http://slas.berkeley.edu> - 642-4257

Student Life Advising Services (SLAS) is an academic counseling/advising service that assists all undergraduate students, with a primary focus on Education Opportunity Program students and students who participated in outreach programs. The SLAS office assists students in developing the skills required to succeed at Berkeley and beyond by taking a comprehensive approach to counseling/advising on academic, personal and social matters.

Ombudsperson for Students - <http://students.berkeley.edu/Ombuds>, 102 Sproul Hall, 642-5754

The Ombudsperson for Students provides a confidential service for students involved in a University-related problem (academic or administrative), acting as a neutral complaint resolver and not as an advocate for any of the parties involved in a dispute. The Ombudsman can provide information on policies and procedures affecting students, facilitate students' contact with services able to assist in resolving the problem, and assist students in complaints concerning improper application of University policies or procedures. All matters referred to this office are held in strict confidence. The only exceptions, at the sole discretion of the Ombudsman, are cases where there appears to be imminent threat of serious harm.

Tang Center Counseling and Psychological Services - <http://uhs.berkeley.edu> 2222 Bancroft Way, 642-9494

The UHS Counseling and Psychological Services staff provides confidential assistance to students managing problems that can emerge from illness such as financial, academic, legal, family concerns, and more. In the realm of sexual harassment, UHS coordinates

education programs, crisis counseling, advocacy, and medical care for women and men who have been harassed or assaulted.

Course Calendar:

Unit One – The Politics of Memory

Social power importantly operates through collective memory. This is as true for “power-over” as it is for “power-with” – to borrow a compelling distinction from John Holloway’s work. In this sense, historical knowledge production is central to struggles against and beyond all systems of oppression. In this opening unit, we investigate these links as a conceptual foundation for the course. We also establish an overview of San Francisco Bay Area history and our community partner Shaping San Francisco.

Wed, Aug 24 – Introduction to the “Politics of Memory”: Knowledge Production, Critical Theory, and Philosophies of History

Thur, Aug 25 section: 10am, Barrows 180, Discussion – Writing “History From Below”

Fri, Aug 26 section: 10am, Barrows 180, Discussion – Writing “History From Below”

Mon, Aug 29 – The philosophy, ethics, and pragmatics of community history research as “accompaniment.” Guest: Professor Victoria Robinson – director of the American Cultures Center – visits class today to talk with us about the political and pedagogical vision of ACES.

Reading: “Guerilla History” from Wobblies and Zapatistas a conversation with Staughton Lynd & Andrej Grubacic (all readings can be found in Bcourse via syllabus hyperlink)

Wed, Aug 31 – Overview of the history, geography and ecology of the Bay Area before World War II

Reading: Excerpts from Our Better Nature: Environment and the Making of San Francisco by Phillip Dreyfus (p.3-66)

Weekly Thur / Fri Sections: Discussion of the elements of a strong Shaping San Francisco historical entries and guidelines to writing an abstract / Due: “5 Questions assignment” based on any FoundSF entry you wish

No Class Monday Sept 5 – Labor Day

Wed, Sept 7 – Overview of the history, geography and ecology of the Bay Area after World War II

Reading: Excerpt from American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland by Robert O. Self (p.1-60)

Weekly Thur / Fri Sections: Discussion of Dreyfus and Self readings – Due: abstract of Shaping SF article with bullet list of strengths and shortcomings of historical entry

Mon, Sept 12 – Introduction to community organization and course partner Shaping San Francisco. Guests: Shaping SF Co-Directors: LisaRuth Elliot and Chris Carlsson

No Reading

Unit Two: Geopolitics: Empire, Colonialism, and Militarism

Geopolitics - the relationship between political power and geographic space – provides a framework for this unit. We examine resistance to Spanish Empire, white settler colonialism, the role of the Bay Area in the development of a U.S. military empire, and community responses to US wars and the military industrial complex.

Wed, Sept 14 – Native American Resistance to Colonialism (Part I) (#1)

Readings: excerpt from Murder State: California's Native American Genocide, 1846-1873 by Brendan Lindsay (full book available through library ecopy)

In class film: Excerpts from *Alcatraz Is Not An Island* and *Shellmound* (Andres Cediel)

Note: 730pm Shaping SF event on Hunters Point Riot – 50 years later

Weekly Thur / Fri Sections: Discussion of Lindsay / continue film viewings

Mon, Sept 19 – Native American Resistance to Colonialism (Part II)

Guest speakers: Corrina Gould and Johnella Rose from IPOC (Indian People Organizing for Change)

Readings: “Reflections from Occupied Ohlone Land” by Mary Jean Robertson in Ten Years that Shook the City (ed) Chris Carlsson / LisaRuth Elliott

Wed, Sept 21 – Cold War, Free Speech Movement, and Anti Vietnam (#2)

Readings: Excerpts from Subversives: The FBI's War on Student Radicals and Reagan's Rise to Power by Seth Rosenfeld, p.153-241

Weekly Thur / Fri Sections: Discussion of the research projects students have selected / Due: submit a couple sentences on the topic of your research for FoundSF with

preliminary list of 5 questions you have for this topic that can guide your next research steps and print out (or have on your laptop for viewing) 1 interesting visual artifact related to your topic / *Shaping SF directors will be present in your section for discussion*

Mon, Sept 26 – Fighting Apartheid - Building Decolonial Solidarity (#3)

Readings: Excerpt from No Easy Victories: African Liberation and American Activists Over a Half Century, 1950-2000 – read on-line “Local to National: Bay Area Connections” (2 pages) and p.187-192 from Walter Turner’s chapter, and Peter Cole’s essay “Injury to One is an Injury to All: ILWU Local 10 and the Fight Against Apartheid”

Possible In class film excerpts: “Soweto to Berkeley”

Wed, Sept 28 - Anti Nuclear Organizing in the 1970s and 1980s

Guest speaker: Barbara Epstein

Readings: “The Abalone Alliance: Anarcha-Feminism and the Politics of Prefigurative Revolution” and “The Livermore Action Group: Direct Action and the Arms Race” from Political Protest & Cultural Revolution: Non Violent Direct Action in the 1970s and 1980s by Barbara Epstein

Weekly Thur / Fri Sections: tips for conducting interviews / oral histories - using equipment to record / *nothing due*...continue your independent research

Mon, Oct 3 – Resistance to Gulf War & Iraq War

Reading: Epstein “The Anti War Movement During the Gulf War” from journal *Social Justice*, 1992

Guest Speaker: Eddie Yuen

Film Excerpt: *3 Days of Rage* by Mike Kavanagh (1991 Gulf War Protests)

Unit Three: Race, Class, and Social Control in Urban Formation

Understandings of race and class are created and recreated through city making. We study histories of communities resisting processes of “otherizing” in the multiple kinds of exploitation and domination through which it operates. This includes tracing how race and class identities have powerfully motivated emancipatory struggles and visions of society that are not race-bound or class determined.

Wed, Oct 5 – Race and Place – Segregation, Poverty and Incarceration

Readings: Excerpt from How Racism Takes Place by George Lipsitz

Note: 730pm Shaping SF event on California Indian Slavery and Genocide

Weekly Thur / Fri Sections: Research checkin / Due: 5-10 sources on your research topic – combining primary and secondary sources; 3 of these annotated; identify two people you will interview and date of interview

Film excerpt: Fair Legislation – The Byron Rumsford Story

Mon, Oct 10 – The Black Freedom Struggle and Third Worldism (#5)

Readings: Excerpts from Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party by Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin Jr.

Film in class: San Francisco State on Strike & Black Panthers (California Newsreel)

Note: Questions for Exam #1 will be handed out in class this day.

Wed, Oct 12 – Brown Power (#6)

Readings: Excerpts from Latinos at the Golden Gate by Tomas Summers Sandoval

Note: 730pm ShapingSF event on Compton Cafeteria Trans uprising 50th Anniversary

Weekly Thur / Fri Sections: research check-in; go over questions on exam #1

Mon, Oct 17 – Filipino Housing Struggles / Multi-generational organizing

Readings: 1) “Filipino Americans in the Decade of the International Hotel” by Estella Habal in Ten Years That Shook the City; 2) excerpt from "From the Fields to the Pool Halls: The Plight of the Manong" (from Minda Bautista Hickey's 2016 senior thesis)

Guest Speaker: Minda Bautista Hickey (Cal class of 2016)

Wed, Oct 19 – Resistance to Incarceration and the Prison-Industrial Complex

Readings: excerpts from Captive Nation: Black Prison Organizing in the Civil Rights Era by Dan Berger

Weekly Thur / Fri Sections: Integrative discussion on the themes of unit 2 and 3

Mon, Oct 24 – Exam #1

Unit Four: Labor and the Environment

Labor and the politics of labor are at the center of social reproduction. In this unit, we examine how the contemporary Bay Area – socially and ecologically - was shaped through labor. We seek to understand the historical relationships between labor activism and environmentalism, how “work” and “earth” can never be conceived separately.

Wed, Oct 26 – Labor and Ecology in the Shaping of the SF Bay Area

No readings for today!

Note: 730 pm ShapingSF event on the legendary San Francisco Diggers of the 1960s

Mon, Oct 31 - General Strikes: San Francisco 1934, Oakland 1946 (#7)

Readings: “The Progress Club: 1934 and Class Memory” by Chris Carlsson from Reclaiming San Francisco; “Working Class Collective Agency: The 1946 General Strike and Labor Insurgency” from No There There: Race, Class and Political Agency in Oakland by Chris Rhomberg

Wed, Nov 2 – From Save the Bay and Freeway Revolts to Environmental Justice

Readings: “Freeway Revolts” by Chris Carlsson; “Toxic Landscapes” and “Green Justice” from The Country In the City: The Greening of the San Francisco Bay Area by Richard A. Walker

Weekly Thur / Fri Sections: Due: First draft outline of Shaping SF entry due

Mon, Nov 7 – The United Farm Workers (#8)

Readings: Excerpts from Trampling Out The Vintage: Cesar Chavez and the Two Souls of the United Farm Workers by Frank Bardacke

Film Excerpt: *The Delano Manongs – Forgotten Heroes of the UFW*

Wed, Nov 9 – Gender, Ethnicity, and Work

Readings: “Jung Sai Garment Workers Strike of 1974” by Harvey Dong in Ten Years that Shook the City (ed) Chris Carlsson / LisaRuth Elliott

Note: 730 pm Shaping SF event on Housing and Gentrification in the Bay Area

Weekly Thur / Fri Sections: Research Check-in: Challenges faced / Due: Completed Annotated Bibliography

Unit Five: Gender, Sexuality, Ability, and the State

How have power and social hierarchies of inclusion and exclusion been organized around and through politics of the body and sexual desire? In this unit, we explore movements for women's liberation, gay liberation, and disability rights and the how these efforts have grappled with the politics of family, work, citizenship, and the market – all through challenging conceptions of the normative body and normative desires.

Mon, Nov 14 – Second Wave Feminist Organizing (#9)

Readings: excerpt from “Bridging the Movement: A Geography of the San Francisco Women's Building” by Emily Mayer (2014, undergraduate thesis by Mayer, Haverford College)

Wed, Nov 16 – Queer Cultures and Politics (#10)

Reading: “Liberation and Assimilation: 1967-1981” and “The Queer Here and Now: 1990-95” from Gay By The Bay by Susan Stryker and Jim Van Buskirk

Note: Questions for Exam #2 will be handed out in class this day.

Weekly Thur / Fri Sections: Detailed outline of Shaping SF entry due

Mon, Nov 21 – From Independent Living to Disability Justice

Readings: “From Charity to Independent Living” from No Pity by Joseph Shapiro; “Early Days in Berkeley and Where We Are Now” and “The Sexist Inheritance of the Disability Movement” by Corbett O'Toole essays

Guest lecture: Corbett O'Toole / Virginia Barnhart

Wed, Nov 23 – No Class: day before Thanksgiving

No Sections on Nov 24 or Nov 25 – Campus Holiday

Mon, Nov 28 – Organizing During the AIDS Epidemic in San Francisco

Readings: 1) “The Plague Years: Living in the Age of AIDS, 1980-91” from Gay By The Bay by Susan Stryker and Jim Van Buskirk, 2) Film: *We Were Here – The AIDS Epidemic in San Francisco*

Guest: Ed Wolf

Wed, Nov 30 - Exam #2

No Sections on Dec 1 or Dec 2

Closing Public Event of the Course – Date / Time to be determined by class

Mon, Dec 5 – Peer Reviews

Wed, Dec 7 – Peer Reviews

No Sections on Dec 8 or Dec 9

Dec 16th, 3pm – Final Projects Officially Due