CARTOGRAPHIC MEMORY

SOCIAL MOVEMENT ACTIVISM AND THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE

JUAN HERRERA

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BUY

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Juan Herrera

Cover art: Malaquias Montoya, *Día del Barrio*, 1982.
Silkscreen, 24×16.5 in. Courtesy of the artist
(malaquiasmontoya.com).

Para Carlos y Elsa Herrera—mi mama y papá—por su amor y apoyo. Y por siempre aceptar y celebrar mis diferentes formas de ser.

And for Fruitvale. A place that grew me up.

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I am the first of my family to attend and graduate from a four-year university. I am also the first to complete a PhD program. This is not an honorific claim but rather sincere gratitude for all those who supported me when I was in school for what appeared as a never-ending number of years. After that entire period of schooling, I remained behind a desk working on my book while others of the family were being immensely productive in so many other ways. I thank my family for understanding and valuing the difficult terrain that this journey has entailed. Though my parents, Carlos Herrera and Elsa Herrera, only completed some years of elementary school, they always endeavored to understand and support the many years I have dedicated to my postsecondary education. My mom and dad sacrificed so much to come to the United States to offer our family a better life. They inspire me every day through their hard work and passion for life. I also appreciate the support I received from my siblings in both Los Angeles and Guatemala. They always provided intrigue and helpful doses of encouragement over the many years it has taken me to complete this journey.

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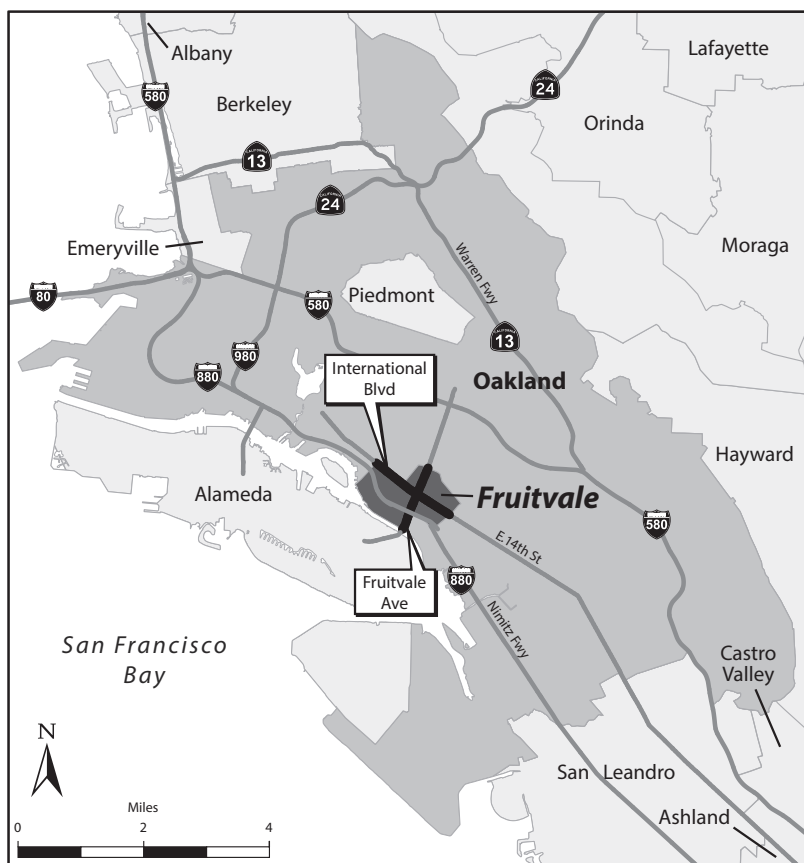
Map of the East Bay emphasizing how the neighborhood of Fruitvale is part of the broader San Francisco Bay Area. Map created by Matt Zebrowski.
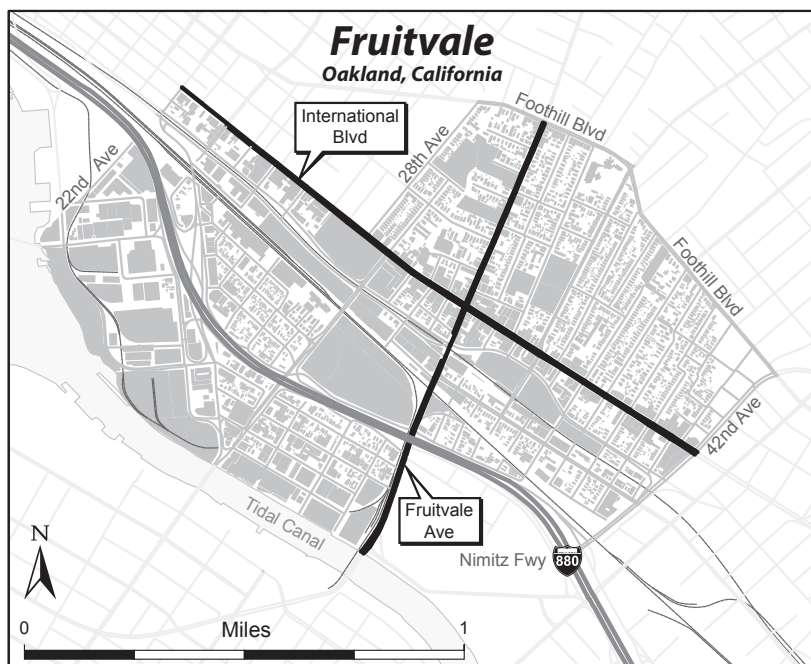
Map of the Fruitvale neighborhood with the intersection of Fruitvale Avenue and International Boulevard highlighted. This is the intersection from which many activist organizations emerged. Map created by Matt Zebrowski.

INTRODUCTION
PUTTING FRUITVALE ON THE "MAP"

Geography—in its various formations—is integral to social struggles.
Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds*

Place is an axis of power in its own right. As a basis for the construction of difference, hierarchy, and identity, and as the basis of ideologies that rationalize economic inequalities and structure people's material well-being and life chances, place is a vehicle of power.
Jacqueline Nassy Brown, *Dropping Anchor, Setting Sail*

Loose ends and ongoing stories are real challenges to cartography.
Doreen Massey, *For Space*

My first encounter with Fruitvale happened by accident when I moved to Oakland, California, in 2005. I got lost on the circuitous roads of the Oakland hills and drove west into the flatlands, winding up at an intersection with a colorful set of buildings. An arched entryway welcomed me into a quaint village-like plaza where a sign stood marking it simply as Fruitvale. The architectural design created a pedestrian pathway where families strolled along the plaza, reminiscent of towns in Latin America. The plaza appeared like a cultural center or a set from a movie studio—somewhat surreal at

1.1 Fruitvale arch along International Boulevard at the entrance to Fruitvale Village. Image courtesy of visitoakland.com.

first. It reminded me of an idealized home, a more polished version of the Latino barrio where I grew up.[1]

So this was Fruitvale. Everyone had spoken to me about "Frut-va-le," as Spanish speakers call the region—as a Latino place where I could be involved with "the community" and find "authentic" Mexican and Central American food. It was often described as the classic example of an ethnic enclave, a social science spatial category that erroneously presumes a natural partitioning between immigrant "ethnic" neighborhoods and "mainstream" (read white) spatialities.[2] Having grown up in a predominantly Latino and working-class community in Los Angeles County, I found that the neighborhood had an immediate allure. This automatic conflation of Fruitvale with Latinidad seemed welcoming and inviting and gave me a peculiar feeling of belonging: it beckoned me to return, and I did just that. I revisited the neighborhood the following week to volunteer at Centro Legal de la Raza. At Centro, as everyone called it, I met a group of dedicated lawyers, long-term activists, and middle-class Chicanos all invested in providing free or affordable legal services for low-income and mainly recently arrived immigrants. Centro was created by Chicano law students in 1968, and although it has grown since then and changed physical locations, it continues to be a thriving institution in the neighborhood. Centro's continued vitality demonstrates the sustained traction of 1960s social movement activism. The legal center's name, tethered to the popular term *raza*, which roughly translates to "our race" or "the race," shows the monumental role that race played in helping to cohere 1960s activism.

The neighborhood's charm was not the only thing that attracted me. As a Chicano studies major in college, I learned that education was not merely a project for self-improvement. Education, as student activists mandated in the creation of Chicano studies, is an important tool for the liberation of Chicano communities and other disenfranchised people. Although in my Chicano studies classes I learned to care for "the community," the Chicano movement remained aspatial in my social imaginary. I did not fully understand that it took shape in neighborhoods and that activists mobilized for the defense and care of communities. I understood it as an important historical movement and an epoch that occurred "in the past."

My undergraduate major included a service learning component in which I learned about the importance of working with underserved communities. I joined a team of students that formed part of the Community Programs Office (CPO) at UCLA, an institution created by student activists of color in the 1970s that demanded the university help link students with the struggles of impoverished communities. Students who created the CPO were inspired by Black Power, Chicano, and American Indian movements that established neighborhood projects like Centro in Fruitvale.[3] I assisted a student group sponsored by the CPO called Barrio Youth Alternatives and joined a committed group of CPO students that engaged in transformative experiences mentoring and tutoring youths of color at the Community Coalition in South Central.

Fast-forward five years, when I found myself working with "the community" in Oakland. When I began graduate school, I longed for the kind of community work that I had been trained to do through the CPO. As an ethnic studies graduate student, I was surrounded by peers who equally wanted to connect theory with praxis. I soon came to find out that this "praxis" had a specific spatiality. Friends continually pointed me in one direction, to a space where I could put the ideas I was learning into practice. That space was Fruitvale. It wasn't until I began working in Fruitvale that I fully understood how the Chicano movement literally took shape through space. Put differently, neighborhood improvement projects were both routed through space and productive of spatialities.

This book contributes to a cartographic process of putting Oakland's Chicano movement activism "on the map" of the historical narrative of the 1960s, and Bay Area history more specifically. Fruitvale remains unmapped in the broader geographies of 1960s Mexican American activism. Most accounts of the Chicano movement center places such as Los Angeles, San Antonio, Denver, and other cities in the greater US Southwest. Fruitvale and

Oakland in general seem to have fallen off the map and remain uncharted as a territory touched by the Chicano movement, with little attention being paid to the spaces that activism built and the continued traction of these political forces.

This book offers a geographic examination of how people experience social movements and how social movements produce space. It depicts how activism forges new relationships and intimate kinship networks that deeply transform communities. Oakland's Latino neighborhood of Fruitvale offers a prism through which to understand how social movements produce space. Put differently, this book demonstrates how activism is a process of building diverse forms of spatialized human-environment relationships.

Social movement activism uncovers the power-laden process through which a specific bounding of place takes shape: activists mobilized to care for, defend, and creatively define a specific community called Fruitvale. However, activists' mobilizations also reveal the porosity of place: their relationships involved manifold connections to other regions and centers of power. Finally, their relations fundamentally included a utopic and radical dimension of futurity.

Fruitvale activists were committed to envisioning a different world—a place not yet available to be mapped. Fruitvale became constituted through these multiple sets of interrelations, which included processes of state and philanthropic regulation *alongside* radical utopic dreaming that stretched beyond (both spatially and temporally) the neighborhood I first encountered. This is a book about social movement place-making, a process that is never bounded or fixed—never wholly available to simply point to on a map. [4]

Fruitvale's erasure within the historiography of the Chicano movement is surprising because the San Francisco Bay Area is perhaps one of the geographies most powerfully shaped by 1960s and 1970s mobilizations. Oakland, in particular, is a city etched by the political activism of the civil rights movement and the Black Panther Party (BPP). This activism is memorialized through the popular and academic construction of Oakland as a city of Black protest movements and a place of radical mobilizations. Organized tours allow people to visit the site of the original BPP headquarters or the location of the organization's free breakfast program. The BPP, and African American activism in general, is precisely remembered through the invocation and graphing of the built environment.

The memorialization of Oakland as a site of Black protest and aestheticized Black space has produced historical amnesia about the city's Chicano

and Latino mobilizations.[5] We know little about how Mexican Americans mobilized in the city or where they have predominantly lived. Amid Oakland's historical Black and white spatial order lies Oakland's Latino neighborhood of Fruitvale, located in the city's more impoverished sections called its flatlands. It is the area in Oakland with the largest Latino population and a region, as this book reveals, where the Chicano movement forged a broad base of support. Here Chicano movement activists experimented with the creation of community-based organizations that enlisted community members in projects of neighborhood improvement.

How did Fruitvale become such a robust site of activism? One could easily say that as Oakland's neighborhood with the largest Latino population, it would *naturally* hold the greatest number of nonprofit organizations. But demographics alone do not tell the story of the making of Fruitvale as a focal point of activism. In the early 1960s, Fruitvale was not yet a predominantly Latino neighborhood. It had slowly become Latino as Mexican Americans flocked to new jobs in canneries that dotted the neighborhood. The construction of Interstate 880 through portions of West Oakland sent thousands of Mexican American Oaklandites to find alternative inexpensive places to call home. Many congregated in Fruitvale, where they took over homes and businesses vacated by Italian and Portuguese white ethnics who moved to more affluent suburban spaces. And in the late 1960s, some of the first generations of Mexican American students to attend college en masse, including at UC Berkeley and Merritt College, gravitated to Fruitvale, where cheap rents and a growing Spanish-speaking population welcomed them. By the late 1960s, it was a space where students, community members, and activists carved out new community resources. Its proximity to California's Central Valley also quickly connected the region and its leadership to one of the most important movements of workers in recent history—the United Farm Workers (UFW).[6] Galvanized by farmworker movements and the opportunities and resources they attained through civil rights gains (including greater access to postsecondary education), a new generation of activists worked alongside long-term community leaders to shape neighborhood resources.

The effects of this activism continue to shape the neighborhood. From the community-based organizations that animate neighborhood politics, to the murals on the streets and the architectural design of restaurants and shops, it is a region that has come to signal Chicano and Latino identity. It is also a place with the greatest density of nonprofit and political action groups committed to caring for neighborhood residents. Fruitvale is an

ever-shifting site of resistance and the epicenter of present-day immigrant rights activism in the East Bay.

Empirically, this book focuses on 1960s and 1970s Mexican American oppositional politics that cohered to form the Chicano movement. The movements that consolidated in the 1960s—including the Chicano movement, Black Power, the gay liberation movement, and the American Indian Movement (AIM)—were anchored by the goal of transforming aggrieved communities into vibrant and self-sufficient places. Social movement actors made specific arguments about the very geography of racism and inequality in the United States. These movements made visible, for example, how state and municipal governments normalized racial segregation and naturalized the unequal distribution of resources for nonwhites (and their respective spatialities). Additionally, activists asserted that racism and white supremacy worked through processes that disciplined space: converting the contiguous landmass of the United States—once under the sole guardianship and care of Indigenous people—into compartmentalized white (and privileged) spaces and nonwhite pathological ghettos/barrios/reservations. Activists also critiqued urban planning policies that disinvested in the inner city and therefore rendered nonwhite and impoverished spaces as dangerous and deserving of overpolicing and punishment. In sum, this social movement activism can be read as a kind of cartographic endeavor that reinterpreted how race and settler colonialism was understood in the United States and how new generations would come to understand the connections between race, place, and colonization.[7] It is this very dynamic that this books centers, examining how 1960s and 1970s social movements deeply remapped race in the United States and detailing these movements' long-lasting spatial and political effects.

Space as Archive of Social Movement Activism

Through my experiences in Fruitvale, I became attuned to how social movements mobilize to make changes in actually existing places. But far more than space being just a surface on which social movements evolve, this book argues, movements *produce* space. Bridging the fields of human geography and ethnic studies, the book reconceptualizes the study of social movements by focusing on how movements produce landscapes shaped out of the reconfiguration of social relations and the meeting of multiple historical trajectories—down to the materiality of transformations in the built environment. Some of these changes escape visual registers. Instead,

they are embedded in intricate webs of social relations, institutional networks, and ways of being in the world that are passed down from one generation to the next.

Utilizing rich oral histories, ethnography, and meticulous archival research, I detail how movements transform places, route places to other regions, and mobilize to create an egalitarian futurity. I underscore how in their recollections of the past, activists constructed a politics of activism, race, and social movement struggle forged through productions of space. Activists evidenced parks, institutions, and urban redevelopment projects as a product of their labor. They also detailed educational projects, political consciousness-raising practices, and solidarity movements that were specific to Fruitvale but were also linked to areas beyond this specific neighborhood. By seriously considering cultural politics *rooted* and *routed* through place, I elaborate a theoretical and methodological understanding of space as archive of social movement activism.

I analyze the political nature of these productions of space, with a focus on how activists and institutions marshaled changes to the built environment to make claims to power. I ask how and why a broad constellation of activists and institutions, representing a spectrum of political postures, deploy spatial productions to serve particular functions. As Jacqueline Nassy Brown (2005, 9) has argued, "The materiality of a place lies not merely in its physical, visible form (and visibility itself is a moving target) but in its identity" as a particular place. One example can be seen in the way that activists will point to an empty storefront and label it as the original site of a health clinic constructed out of social movement struggle. In these practices, activists reconfigured the urban landscape to show the materiality of social movement activism, a practice that Brown (2005, 11) refers to as the "use of place-as-matter to explain the social."

For activists and institutions featured in this book, social movement activism took shape through neighborhood-level projects of community improvement and protection. In fact, activists' claims to power were anchored in how they had appropriately cared for different sectors of the community or for the improvement of neighborhood infrastructure and resources. The care of the community was both the object of 1960s political struggles and the subject of contentious debates.[8] By reading space as an archive of social movement struggles, I learned that activists' participation in any form of activism stemmed from their desire to graph a different kind of world. Fruitvale was the locus through which they would envision a more spatially just and egalitarian world. The revolution was literally

right around the corner, and its spatiality was desperately waiting to be mapped.

Activists' mobilizations represented a project of, as the title of this chapter suggests, literally "putting Fruitvale on the map." Activists worked collectively to build a new sense of community and graphed a different place imbued with a sense of urgency for change. They envisioned a new sense of place that was fervently politicized and committed to caring for and building social networks with fellow human beings and places near and far. The process of creating and imagining a "new" sense of place only happened through intense political action.[9] For many activists, their vision of this "new" place never fully materialized.

By focusing on the political stakes of activists' endeavors, this book is also about how activists and scholars define the political. Most scholarship on the Chicano movement defines the political as radical attempts to remake US society in which rallies, boycotts, moratoriums, and marches on the streets became the privileged sites of analysis. In most accounts of 1960s activism, political actors were generally framed as those who took center stage, leading marches, delivering speeches, and attending public meetings. Furthermore, political actors were overwhelmingly framed as male due to the sexism and misogyny of many movements.[10]

Cartographic Memory maps activism through a more granular neighborhood-level analysis, bringing into focus the day-to-day quotidian practices through which activists' struggles reshaped urban communities. It highlights a broader constituency of political actors, including women, children, youths, and multigenerational alliances.[11] Collectively they took part in simple acts like helping a neighbor or more complex maneuvers like setting up a free health clinic, establishing arts organizations, and creating youth educational programs. More important, they took part in processes of place-making, building community and creating supportive kinship networks. The materiality of these institutions not only reshaped the urban landscape but also animated contentious politics about the nature of community, Chicanismo, Latinidad, and belonging.

The Materiality of Activism

I would like to further explain what I mean by the social movement production of space. To get to my volunteer job at Centro, I would take Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART), bringing me into almost daily contact with the architectural site I stumbled upon on the first day of encountering Fruitvale.

That structure was the newly completed Fruitvale Village. I remember walking into the collection of buildings and thinking that it was simply created by BART. After months of volunteering, however, I learned that Fruitvale Village was constructed entirely by the Spanish Speaking Unity Council, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization that emerged out of 1960s activism (see chapter 4). My encounter with this architectural site, and my subsequent volunteer experience at Centro, propelled me to think more about the role of space in social movement activism. It was as if Fruitvale Village and Centro became agentic interlopers of sorts. Like a conversation that comes out of interviewing a human subject, these encounters set in place a number of questions, lines of inquiry, and years of research with neighborhood institutions.

My quest for answers to the making of Fruitvale Village took me to the remote town of Galt, California, located between Sacramento and Stockton, to interview a central figure from my archival research. Herman Gallegos was involved with just about every Mexican American political action group in the Bay Area, long before the category of Mexican American or Chicano even existed.[12] In his lifetime of work, Gallegos helped to establish numerous nonprofit organizations; served as one of the original founders of the National Council of La Raza (NCLR); and became the first Mexican American to sit on the board of a major philanthropic foundation.[13] Now retired, Gallegos prefers to live outside the spotlight in a town far removed from the geographies of his past activism.

A kind and humble man, Gallegos is devoted to his Catholic faith and to the principles of caring for fellow human beings. I started our conversation by thanking him for his lifelong work of serving as an unofficial movement historian. His careful notes, I told him, were invaluable for helping me understand the formation of Mexican American politics in Oakland (see chapters 2 and 3). I forget exactly how I happened to mention the 2003 construction of the Fruitvale Village. I knew that Gallegos had been involved with the formation of the Unity Council, and during his time as the leader at the Southwest Council of La Raza (SCLR), he helped that organization with the first applications for Ford Foundation funding. I expected him to continue to expand on the work of the Unity Council and to speak about how the organization had single-handedly rebuilt the subway station. Instead, Gallegos took me back in history. He explained that the activism that made possible present-day redevelopment schemes in Fruitvale had origins in turn-of-the-century activism in the entire Southwest. As Gallegos told me: "It is very easy for someone to look at the Transit Village and say

what a marvelous project, without fully understanding that we had very strong mobilizations that led to projects like this. Fruitvale Village was possible as a result of some great leadership." He continued, "To think of the Fruitvale Transit Village, you have to go back to the long generations of Mexican American activism, to the post–World War II period when we organized the Community Service Organization (CSO) to bring services to the Spanish-speaking population in Oakland, to the formation of numerous Mexican American institutions" (see chapter 2).[14] Fruitvale Village, Gallegos asserted, would not exist without this earlier social movement activism. "Remember that in the early fifties there were no nonprofits, no Latino groups to speak of, and one wonders how did the Latino community survive?" Gallegos continued. I was struck by the fact that in order to talk about the recent redevelopment project in Fruitvale he had to summon up the past and connect this new production of urban space to a longue durée of social movement struggles.

Social movement activism did not exclusively produce material landscapes. Other activists evidenced the kind of social relations and worldviews that activism set in place: the dynamic networks of solidarity with other geographies and struggles that helped to produce a distinct neighborhood identity. Tina Flores, for example, became politicized through the Chicano movement and centered her work in Fruitvale since her high school years. She is a self-proclaimed radical activist who has worked tirelessly for a more socially just society. I first met her at the annual Cesar Chavez Lifetime Achievement Awards ceremony in 2012, a celebration in which the community honored its activists.[15] Flores seemed to be in charge of the event—she was dressed in her UFW regalia and worked the crowd like a professional organizer. In addition to being a social butterfly (and therefore constantly being in and out of multiple conversations), Flores was always on a mission. She underscored that she had important stories to tell me but was too busy to sit down for a formal interview, despite the fact that it generally took her twenty minutes to tell me so. During our brief and intermittent conversations, she told me much about her uninterrupted identity as an activist. When I first met her, she was getting ready to travel to Cuba to deliver medical supplies. The people of Cuba, she told me, were incredibly dear to her, and she had been making trips to the island since the 1960s. When I reconnected with Flores in 2016, she was leading a campaign to support low-wage workers. She invited me to a demonstration in the neighboring city of Alameda, where workers were demanding a living wage of fifteen dollars an hour. Decades after first being politicized through the

Chicano movement, Flores is still working to care for the poor. Many things have changed since the 1960s—including the very constitution of the Latino population itself—but the kind of social relations that gave coherence to Chicano movement activism are still alive and embodied by figures like Flores. These social relations do not necessarily materialize in a specific shape or form. However, they help form an enduring commitment to social justice and egalitarian milieus that are routed through Fruitvale.

Gallegos and Flores problematize both the spatial and the temporal scope of the Chicano movement. Gallegos, for example, is not the militant activist that one can picture marching in a demonstration with an upraised fist. He would also not characterize himself as one of the Chicano movement activists, who in his view were a bunch of youths who became too militant. Whereas these activists are emblemized by their mobilizations on the streets, Gallegos labored through institutions. He worked to ensure that philanthropic and state agencies paid attention to Mexican Americans' growing needs. Yet Gallegos was active within the Chicano movement, and he advanced some of the major cultural and contentious politics that shaped youth mobilizations. Gallegos shows us that Chicano movement activism was co-constituted with a long tradition of prior Mexican American activism, and that we need to think of the movement as part of a long civil rights struggle.[16] As Gallegos detailed, one can point to architectural sites such as Fruitvale Village and institutions such as the Unity Council as "proof" of the longevity and the power of social movements so often relegated to the past. Gallegos never lived in Fruitvale, yet his activism in places like San Francisco, and the entire Southwest, as this book will show, made the neighborhood a powerful epicenter of activism.

Furthermore, leaders like Gallegos urge us to expand our definition of what counts as "activism." In so much of social movement scholarship, the label "activist" is glued to a singular conception of activism and most closely associated with radicalism and militancy. Yet moderate leaders like Gallegos were also activists, challenging inequalities and mobilizing to gain greater services, protections, and resources for disenfranchised groups.

Flores, on the other hand, embodies the revolutionary fervor of the 1960s. She has mobilized her entire life in Fruitvale, yet her activities were never bound to that particular spatiality. She made connections to faraway geographies of struggle such as Cuba and neighboring places such as the city of Alameda, downtown Oakland, and San Francisco. Together, Gallegos and Flores help to tell a different kind of story of the Chicano movement, helping us expand our analysis of social movement spatialities more broadly.

This book grapples with a fundamental question: How do we measure social movement impacts? Gallegos's and Flores's provocations stand in stark contrast to how scholarship frames social movement activism—as episodic mobilizations with a birth, climax, and subsequent death. Analysts usually label movements as "successful" if they, for example, result in legislative or constitutional changes. Activists who I learned from, like Gallegos, however, pointed to urban space for proof of social movement impacts and to the continuity of spatialities built out of movement organizing. Flores pointed to the longevity of the fight for social justice that animated 1960s radical politics, which she continues to embody. By situating these effects in place, both Flores and Gallegos called for an analysis of the ongoing nature of social movements through a spatial reading of activism. Together, they asserted that Mexican American social movement activism that consolidated in the aftermath of World War II and the Chicano movement of the 1960s are not historical artifacts. They represent an ongoing struggle.

My call for an analysis of social movement continuities echoes what activists I interviewed incessantly proclaimed: "La lucha continúa!" (The struggle continues!). This is not a statement devoid of politics. It is a call to action and a condemnation of the deep-seated racism that continues to structure inequality in the world and produced spaces of resistance like Fruitvale. The race-based inequalities that animated contentious politics of the 1960s are still with us today. Taking stock of these enduring inequalities, and the existence of places like Fruitvale, can help us better understand why and how the contemporary immigrant rights and Black Lives Matter movements continue to challenge a racist and unjust capitalist ordering of the world. This is most important given the way that the United States constructs itself as a postracial egalitarian state (Bonilla-Silva 2018).[17] As geographer Katherine McKittrick (2006) so powerfully demonstrates, racism and sexism are spatial acts. So too is the struggle against these modes of oppression. McKittrick asserts that we must always recognize the geographic imperatives in the struggle for social justice. Activists' struggles are therefore attempts to (re)spatialize a new form of existence that signals more egalitarian, more just geographic stories. Viewed in this way, Fruitvale becomes one locus in the plurality of resistances, strongly connected to other geographies such as Boyle Heights in Los Angeles, Barrio Logan in San Diego, and the revolutionary fervor of the country of Cuba. As the late Doreen Massey (2005, 9) so eloquently argued: "Thinking the spatial in a particular way can shake up the manner in which certain political questions are formulated, can contribute to political arguments already under

way, and—most deeply—can be an essential element in the imaginative structure which enables in the first place an opening up to the very sphere of the political."

Cartographic Memory: Analytical and Methodological Framework

A key objective of this book is to think critically about space as an archive of social movement struggles. I came to this conceptualization by paying attention to how activists, such as Gallegos and Flores, remembered the past. These activists' memories emphasize place rather than chronology.[18] Their memories created intricate mappings of the organizations and new community spaces their work helped to construct. In other words, memory served as a central device to materialize and bring into focus the transformative and experimental aspects of the Chicano movement. I contend that the fact that activists remembered their work in geographic form opens up a larger metric for how we measure social movement impacts.[19]

To draw attention to this concept of space as archive, I employ cartography to highlight how activists and institutions viewed the gains of their work through productions of space and how they advanced these projects toward claims to power. Historians have linked cartography and power in their critiques of how maps are typically conceptualized as objective representations of space (Craib 2009; Edney 2005; Harley 1988, 1992). As Raymond Craib (2004, 6–7) observes, "Modern cartography, founded upon some geometric and mathematical principles as perspectival space, took form as a supposedly objective science mediating between spatial reality and human perception of that reality. Its products—maps—acquired a disembodied purity, functioning as transparent windows onto preexisting space." Eschewing the presumed objectivity of maps, historians of cartography have demonstrated the centrality of mapmaking in statecraft and the accumulation and reification of state and imperial power. Maps, therefore, are never apolitical, and their production, even in the form of memory, is filled with contradictions and contestations.

Historically, maps have been used to dispossess nonwhite and Indigenous people throughout the United States. Consider, for example, redlining maps that defined which neighborhoods would be available exclusively to white and non-white residents, serving as a form of what McKittrick (2006) calls georacial management. Geographer Laura Pulido (2006, 23) and other scholars have shown that as a consequence of this organization of space, Black-owned property is less desirable and therefore worth less

than white-owned property (see also Lipsitz 2006; Rothstein 2017). Historical and present-day processes that map racial divisions contribute to the making of racial inequalities. As Mishuana Goeman (2013, 16) reminds us, "Maps, in their most traditional sense as a representation of authority, have incredible power and have been essential to colonial and imperial projects."

Goeman's powerful intervention, *Mark My Words*, argues that colonized and racially marginalized groups have continually contested mappings that produced dispossession and erasure.[20] Her study centers native strategies to (re)map native space, which she believes "challenge the seemingly objective and transparent forms of Western mapping by including narrative experiences and cultural systems that tell and map a story of survivance and future" (23).[21] Maps, in other words, can also be used to tell alternative histories *and* futures. I contend that Chicano movement activists employ mappings toward the same logic. Confronted with a context in which the scholarly community erases their contributions in the region, and most neighborhood residents don't remember their labor, activists retold their stories to lay claim to their organized acts of neighborhood care.

In my definition and utilization of the concept of cartographic memory—a practice activists deployed and a framework for understanding how leaders defined their activities though the invocation and graphing of space—I borrow from Maylei Blackwell's (2011) theorizing of "retrofitted memory." Retrofitted memory functions as a form of "countermemory that uses fragments of older histories that have never been disjunctured by colonial practices of organizing historical knowledge" (Blackwell 2011, 2). As Blackwell's term suggests, it is possible to draw from these discarded and suppressed forms of knowledge to understand how, as these leaders defined it, they mobilized to construct "new forms of consciousness customized to embody material realities, political visions, and creative desires for societal transformation" (2). I build on Blackwell's concept by emphasizing the geographic nature of activists' memories.

Cartographic memory is not just an act of remembering. It is a political remaking of urban geography and therefore a *selective* mapping to emphasize the contributions of certain groups, while rendering others less visible. This is precisely the political nature of activist mappings. Their impartiality shows how activists marshaled their selective mappings to emphasize their unique contributions to community change. Activists' cartographic memories, for example, performed the important function of summoning to life some of the places and organizations that no longer exist.[22] I analyze how activists' cartographic memories stabilized space toward various political

means and how competing cartographic memories revealed the multiple conflicts and contingencies that characterized movement activism. Moments of coherence also demonstrated the negotiations and compromises that defined the movement. Cartographic memories expose the political nature of place-making and the centrality of space in negotiations of power.

Cartographic memory is also a methodological tool for thinking and writing about place. Although this is a book about a place called Fruitvale, it also charts geographic connections forged through social movement activism. I too explored some of these faraway places. I went to Stanford University, for example, where Dr. Ernesto Galarza donated his extensive files that chronicle the formation of numerous Mexican American organizations. Galarza was one of the first Chicano PhDs who supported multiple movements and helped to bridge academia with community needs. Next, I traveled to the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture in New York City, where I was reminded how racial minorities are understood in a relational fashion: I went to a library and research center on Black culture—located in Harlem—to learn more about Chicano organizations in Fruitvale.[23] It was during one of those trips that I was hailed as comedian George Lopez by a Black Harlemite while I enjoyed lunch at a neighborhood restaurant.

My research also took me to the Rockefeller Archive Center in upstate New York, where I analyzed how the Ford Foundation worked to fund and transform social movements. I literally retraced the steps many of the leaders I interviewed took as they attended Ford Foundation meetings in New York City and brokered connections with other agencies and social movements. I asked myself how these leaders must have felt entering these predominantly white centers of power. Many of them, like myself, were first-generation college graduates who grew up in mainly Spanish-speaking immigrant communities. I wondered: How did they represent neighborhood projects in order to make them legible to these people? What silences were created through this process, and how was this a product of the unequal power relationships? These power differentials manifested themselves in the archives: I combed through reports written by disparate reporting agencies and Ford Foundation monitors or program officers about neighborhood-level projects. It was not just the most prominent leaders who had connections with Ford Foundation representatives; instead, the foundation's agents often descended on the communities that were funded (like Fruitvale) and wrote about these spaces in reports and diverse forms of correspondence. In these reports (which were also representations of space), there was rarely any mention of Fruitvale. I had to re-create Fruitvale

through specific references to organizations, names, and geographic locations from a collection of project reports about "Oakland."

Mapping Fruitvale's geographies of activism also entailed reading the archives and oral histories alongside my own ethnographic research in the neighborhood. I created my own space-time analysis that helped me discern how historical trajectories influence contemporary dynamics. Just like activists' cartographic memories, my ethnography also mapped the social relations I built with community residents and different nonprofit and political action groups. For six years I worked closely with the Street Level Health Project, a free health clinic and community resource center that works predominantly with recently arrived immigrants. First, as a volunteer I had to get to know the lay of the land. I learned the locations of agencies where people could go for housing assistance, health care services, legal aid, tenants' rights assistance, shelter, and other resources. I also befriended members of those agencies. Later, as president of Street Level's board of directors, I worked closely with representatives of 1960s organizations like Centro Legal de la Raza, Clínica de la Raza, and the Unity Council, who all helped the emergent Street Level gain a better institutional footing. My ethnography revealed that because space is an archive of social movement activism, the contemporary experience in the neighborhood is equally shaped by many of the organizations whose historical formation this book chronicles. I quickly learned to map neighborhood power relations in order to understand how and why certain organizations held more political and economic clout. Just as activists used geography to tell their stories of activism, keeping a spatial focus on history and the present was essential for the telling of this story.

My final point regarding cartographic memory is that it also highlights a perspectival approach to writing about place. This book offers a graphing of Fruitvale and Oakland that differs prominently from previous ethnographic and historical representations. As a geographer, I study how places are a product of heterogenous social relations that occur in space in a contemporaneous plurality.[24] What this means is that spaces like "Fruitvale," and "Oakland" more broadly, do not represent a homogeneous set of social relations. Fruitvale, for example, has been previously described as a part of a larger violent geography of Oakland where youths encounter heavy policing through what sociologist Victor Rios (2011) refers to as the "youth control complex." Similarly, Marie "Keta" Miranda (2003) portrays the violence found in Fruitvale but also captures a long history of activism in the neighborhood and shows how it is also a place where female gang members

1.2 Entryway to the most recent location of the Street Level Health Project. It is a block away from the main intersection of Fruitvale Avenue and International Boulevard. Photograph by the author.

have reinterpreted their identities. Geographer Margaret M. Ramírez (2020) similarly describes Fruitvale and other Oakland neighborhoods as specific borderlands where gentrifying forces violently grate against long-term Latinx and Black inhabitants. Historian Robert O. Self's (2003) magnum opus regarding racial politics and spatial conflicts in Oakland showed how the city was shaped by struggles for power between white and Black political forces, referring to Mexican American/Chicano politics on only a few scattered pages.

I mention these previous works not to discredit them or to reveal their intellectual or methodological blind spots. I do so to show that places like "Fruitvale" and "Oakland" are shaped out of a multiplicity of social relations and therefore are subject to different kinds of renderings. These scholars followed particular peopled (and place-based) stories that were available to them in the archives or that they encountered through their social relations and research practices. Like maps that are viewed as objective representations of space, academic studies of a "community"—or of a place—are often viewed as truthful and comprehensive, with the result that other stories or sets of social relations are not available. A perspectival approach urges us to question an analytical desire to produce comprehensive and truthful representations of place. Any account of the production of a space, such as a city or a town, is never all-encompassing. It just tells a specific rendering or a perspectival—and ongoing—story about a particular place. Loose ends and ongoing stories, according to Doreen Massey, are real challenges to cartography. They are also perplexing to historical accounts of place.

Toward a Space-Time Analysis of Social Movements

Although much of my fieldwork entailed discovering the different spaces that historical and present-day activists constructed and traversed, it was surprising that the bulk of social movement theory has largely ignored the spatiality of contentious politics. As Ulrich Oslender (2016, 13) observes, before 1990, "there was a deafening silence in the existing literature on social movements regarding the relevance of place in its theorizations." Since the mid-1990s, however, geographers have attempted to show how geography matters in social movement literature.[25] These accounts have undertheorized two fundamental issues that I seek to address: (1) how social movements actually produce space (as opposed to how geography matters in the making of contentious politics), and (2) the issue of time and temporality, or what I refer to as *social movement continuity*.[26] I construct a spatial reading

of contentious politics that creates a register of the *continuities*, *legacies*, and *lingering* social movement effects routed through place.[27] This kind of longue durée accounting of social movements requires an understanding of how social movements in fact produce space.

Social Movements and Their Spatialities

Much of social movement scholarship has prioritized questions regarding process in analyzing contentious politics.[28] Debates first wrestled with queries about what constitutes a social movement.[29] Scholars also asked questions along the following lines: How and why do social movements emerge? How do movements make claims to states? How do states respond? And what leads to the fall of movements? I chose to focus on how people experience social movements. Experiences happen in and through space, and experiences shaped out of human relations also produce space. This is precisely why geographers have analyzed how geography shapes social movement imaginaries, practices, and trajectories.[30] Paul Routledge (1993) was one of the first scholars to think critically about the role of "place" in shaping social movement politics, namely, showing how geography informs why social movements occur where they do. Laura Pulido's (2006) pathbreaking book *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left* offers the most explicitly geographic reading of 1960s radical movements in Los Angeles. As Pulido so poignantly reveals, racial geographies impacted how activists were politicized and how they worked together across racial and spatial differences. Cohabitation between different groups, for example, led to the cross-pollination of mobilizing strategies and framed the international orientation of race-based leftist groups. Oslender (2016) reaches a similar argument regarding Black land struggles in Colombia. As his work reveals, we cannot understand identity-based movements without accounting for the specific places where social movements evolve and where identities are constructed and physically carried out (Oslender 2016, 25).

More recent work has focused on how social movements take shape in an increasingly globalized world. Scholars have wondered if in this era of space-time compression, place and locality matter as much as in the past. Instead of pressuring at the local level for changes in neighborhoods, many movements will jump scales and make claims at the level of the federal government or in the arena of international courts. This has been the case for many Indigenous social movements in the Americas that pressure international agencies and courts to make demands in their own countries. It is therefore not surprising that in the late 1990s analyses of scale and scale

jumping became the craze in social movement literature, leaving analyses of place or "the local" by the wayside (Leitner, Sheppard, and Sziarto 2008). Geographer Helga Leitner (2008) and colleagues have critiqued this privileging of one spatial register over another.[31] They assert that it is necessary to pay attention not only to the relevance of particular spatialities in specific contexts but also to their co-implication. Why wouldn't social movements utilize both local and international arenas to demand changes?

Against Episodic Conceptualizations of Movements

My approach to the study of contentious politics adds to these analyses by emphasizing how social movements produce material spaces and networks of social relations that alter the built environment (see also Magaña 2021). In other words, instead of thinking of geography simply as context (or surface), I emphasize how social movements reshape geographic communities. That is, because the very terrain of struggle is place, the landscape becomes a subject of politics and is therefore transformed. Social movements advance new cultural formations, politics, and ways of being in the world that reconstitute material landscapes. Although some of the spaces might no longer exist, they form a central part of how activists remember their activism. Take, for example, the institutionalization of grassroots struggles. As activism moved from the streets into institutions, activists constructed new organizing spaces, which shifted the social relations and how resources were routed to the neighborhood.

I am not suggesting that places in which social movements take root—like Fruitvale—do not change, or that these places do not represent the effects of other social and political processes such as transnational migration or capitalist restructuring. Fruitvale has transformed tremendously, and its residents now are mainly undocumented workers who find solace in the concentration of businesses and organizations that cater to their needs. It is now also a prime destination for upwardly mobile homebuyers hoping to secure cheaper prices in the San Francisco Bay Area housing market. However, the existence of 1960s organizations such as Clínica de la Raza anchors the traces of Chicano movement activism in the neighborhood. It is not just a reminder; it exists in its materiality and its ability to shape the urban landscape and how people experience the neighborhood. Clínica de la Raza is one of the major tenants of Fruitvale Village. Once a volunteer-run clinic that took over the space of an old bakery and restaurant, it is now a state-of-the-art medical facility with beautiful offices. Additionally, it has a network of clinics throughout the East Bay. Recently arrived immigrants will

probably never know that Clínica was created by social movement activism. They may, however, feel welcomed by seeing the words *Clínica* and *Raza* and believe that the facility's services were designed for a Spanish-speaking population. Clínica's services, and the social relations that it enables, allow us to see the social movement continuities and to understand that this process is equally ripe with politics. In this way, Chicano movement activism, and prior forms of contentious politics, contour Fruitvale's terrain of resistance and undoubtedly affect contemporary forms of activism.[32]

The bulk of social movement literature, however, stresses an analysis of the conditions that create the context for the rise and fall of movements. Doug McAdam, Sidney G. Tarrow, and Charles Tilly (2001), for example, write about contentious politics as "moments" or "episodes" of mobilization—a kind of language that narrows analysis to movement life cycles. As they detail: "We stress sorts of contention that are sporadic rather than continuous, bringing new actors into play, and/or involve innovative claim making" (8). They admit that the combination of conflicting claims and episodic action attracts their attention because it "leaves a residue to consider their commitments and allegiances, and practices and political identities in the name of which future generations will make their claims." This idea of a "residue," I believe, requires greater theoretical elaboration. I suggest we rethink this concept, which implies that this "left- behind" material lacks agency and is incapable of shaping politics in the present day.

In a similar vein, Chicano movement historiography privileges the rise of 1960s and 1970s youth mobilizations that eclipses all other previous histories of activism (Acuña 1972; E. Chávez 1994; Gómez-Quiñones 1978, 1990; Muñoz 2007). Chicano movement historians acknowledge the existence of reformist policies that fit into what ethnic studies scholar Carlos Muñoz (2007) calls the Mexican American generation, or what historian Ernesto Chávez (2002, 42) calls "inadequate forms of protest for securing the plight of Chicanos in the late 1960s and 1970s." These studies fundamentally argue that with the rise of Chicano militancy in the late 1960s, prior reformist forms of political engagement effectively ceased. This episodic conceptualization of Chicano history overly emphasizes activism as a temporal process—with different stages that replace one another—as opposed to employing a place-based analysis that is attentive to the multiple modes of activism within a particular space-time.[33]

As a result of this temporal reading of social movements, the Chicano movement was declared dead by the late 1970s.[34] Prior to that, a movement that consolidated as the Mexican American generation was allegedly

eliminated by the birth of the Chicano movement. No formal eulogy could be found for the fall of these movements, but analysts proclaimed that the visible parameters of what constituted each mobilization were no longer visible. This was most extreme for the professed death of the Chicano movement: gone were the marches and the large-scale moratoriums. The central culprits for the movement's demise included the policing of activists;[35] the incorporation of movement leaders into government and nonprofit leadership positions (E. Chávez 1994, 119); and, finally, the rise of conservative politics ushered in by the Nixon and Reagan administrations.[36]

Maylei Blackwell's (2011) brilliant critique of Chicano historiography, *¡Chicana Power!*, demonstrates how this temporal analysis produced significant erasures. Blackwell argues that this politics of periodization locates "women's and feminists' interventions outside of movements instead of including them in a larger agenda for social justice integral to the legacy of the Chicano movement" (29). As she reveals, Chicano historiography has produced a monolithic portrayal of the movement organized around "epic male heroes rather than the multi-sited local community and labor struggles that coalesced into a national movement" (28). The reduction of multivariant movement organizing into a single lens flattens our understanding of Chicana and Chicano political actors. This framing of Chicano movement activism also obscures an analysis of social movement continuity. It does not allow us to see the impacts of Chicano movement activism on the built environment or the constitution of geographic communities, or the continued traction of such activism in shaping politics.

The Politics of Community Improvement

Chicano movement activism entailed the construction of a vast safety net of organizations and services. Through this process, activists ensured not just the provision of goods and services but also the longevity of the movement goals and its ethos of community improvement. Activists expanded on a long tradition of underserved communities of color constructing their own resources as state welfare policies significantly overlooked non-white populations. They effectively built their own safety net, creating welfare where the state had abandoned it, and in the process forging a collective sense of community. This unleashed political debates about what constituted community needs, who and what constituted "the community," and how neighborhood improvement projects would be funded and maintained.

Social movement projects of neighborhood improvement were a response to what activists referred to as state abandonment. Postwar race-based social movements in Oakland and elsewhere in the United States asserted that the welfare state was never created to benefit people of color (Self 2003). Activists asserted that the welfare state emerged precisely when Jim Crow segregation and separate but "equal" were cornerstones of US imaginaries. However, segregation never resulted in equality. The establishment of the welfare state was framed through these segregationist and unequal policies: whereas whites were conferred privileges that included new mortgage loans that subsidized their movement to the suburbs, people of color were overwhelmingly excluded from those benefits. This bifurcated welfare state also lacked fair employment and full employment provisions, and excluded hundreds of thousands of Black workers and other people of color from the protections of labor laws (Self 2003, 11). Not coincidentally, redevelopment policies overwhelmingly privileged white people and their spatialities as state policies "helped to develop some places and underdeveloped others" (3).[37] Postwar spatial developments accelerated processes of what Ananya Roy (2017) calls racial banishment.

Throughout the United States, debates among activists regarding how to ensure community welfare were contentious. In Fruitvale, activists continually conducted various needs assessments. They wrestled with the reality of multiple and often competing community needs. A multigenerational and diverse set of actors mobilized to advance their own visions of which community needs were most salient. What one activist group deemed as necessary to care for may have differed from what others considered important. Some activists staunchly believed in community autonomy: resources, moneys, and direction would be taken from the community and organized by residents. Others were willing to work with distinct entities (both state and nonstate) from outside the community in order to expedite projects of neighborhood improvement.

Neighborhood projects took place in Fruitvale but drew from multiple connections to other spaces of resources. These connections to the outside were of course a subject of contentious politics. Activists, for example, were connected to a national movement of US minorities and an international third world agenda against colonialism and imperialism. These international struggles mapped how Fruitvale was interlinked with other revolutionary geographies of struggle (see chapter 5). Another feature of these connections concerns philanthropic and state projects. In order to

enact community projects, some groups prioritized building relationships with funding streams that included federal and philanthropic grants. The nature of activist connections reveals the politics of community improvement: the competing approaches regarding the reality of community needs and desires, and how such projects would be funded, executed, and maintained.

A key political fault line was the division between activists who viewed themselves as radical and those who took a much more moderate or conservative approach to achieving community change. In my engagement with archival sources and in interviews with key Bay Area leaders of the 1960s, I was attentive to how they represented these heterogeneous approaches to struggle. Though many 1960s activists I interviewed were often dubbed conservative *vendidos*, or "sellouts," because they chose an institutionalized path of nonprofit mobilizations, they never considered themselves as having been duped into taking a particular path.[38]

Just as these more reformist activists were branded as sellouts, they also pejoratively constructed a constituency of radicals who engaged in what they deemed as inappropriate forms of mobilization. I found that neither archival sources nor interviewees revealed a clear definition of what constituted radicalism or militancy.[39] Activists who fought for greater state resources and electoral opportunities for Mexican Americans viewed radicalism and militancy as the constitutive outside of their ideals of democratic integration. To be clear, even the more reformist activists varied in what they conceived as appropriate engagements with state institutions and private foundations. Some of the radical activists also dabbled in some form of electoral politics. Thus *radicalism* and *conservatism* were elastic terms that shifted in relation to spatial and historical contexts.[40]

My intent is not to argue that one form of activism was better than the other. Instead, my purpose is to show the complexity of Chicano movement organizing. By situating their social movement participation in space, activists revealed that radical spaces stood in proximity to more moderate organizations and therefore signaled moments of convergence between groups traditionally seen as mutually exclusive. Many activists' recollections emphasized the spatial cohabitation, and therefore the mutual constitution, of competing political ideologies. In other words, you cannot talk about one form of activism in isolation. They were informed by one another and, in fact, were situated in the same neighborhood. Some were adversaries, but more often than not, they were residents or caretakers of the same neighborhood motivated by a shared (but often contested) agenda of community improvement.

Institutionalization of 1960s Social Movements

In order to show the complexity of different kinds of Chicano movement approaches to activism and neighborhood improvement projects, this book makes a slightly controversial move regarding contentious politics. I find that institutionalization of grassroots activism does not end movements. Most social movement analysts, as Tianna Paschel (2016) points out, argue that institutionalization leads to movement death. Institutionalization, read primarily as affiliations with the state, is in fact the premier kind of "proof" that a movement has failed or has been co-opted. This is especially the case for movements that took shape in the 1960s and 1970s, decades that are often assumed to be a high-water period for global movements articulating a revolutionary reshaping of the world. Put simply, institutionalization is the antithesis of revolution.

Paschel's work shows how Brazilian activists mobilized state channels to advance their demands as Black political subjects. These activists framed themselves as "militants of the state" and mobilized as part of a national social movement. Paschel's findings have profound implications for the study of Mexican American social movements in the Bay Area. As noted earlier, the region is widely known as an epicenter of 1960s activism. Numerous books, for example, detail the role of the Black Panthers in reshaping Oakland politics. If so much attention has been paid to racial Black politics in Oakland, why does no book-length monograph exist on Mexican American politics? I think the answer is linked to how scholarship measures social movement mobilizations.

The literature on race-based 1960s organizing has primarily privileged the most radical and most visible features of organizing. Mexican American activism in Oakland took multiple routes. In addition to militant street protests and boycotts, many Chicano activists chose the path of institutionalization. In order to maintain the organizations, many activists forged strong alliances with state and philanthropic institutions. Here lies the key to why these activities have been overlooked in the literature on Bay Area social movements: in social movement literature, the creation of alliances and collaboration with state and philanthropic forces have been equated with co-optation, which leads to social movement death.

The Nonprofit Industrial Complex

Readers might already be asking about the ominous entity that haunts 1960s social movement activism—the nonprofit-industrial complex (NPIC). In fact, this book provides a genealogy of the emergence of the NPIC, or

a form of state and philanthropic regulation over political ideology and leftist social movements. For many critics, the NPIC represents a $1.3 trillion industry and the seventh-largest economy in the world, whose extreme profitability proves the co-optation of 1960s mobilizations (Allen 1970; Rodriguez 2017). As Dylan Rodriguez (2017, 30) argues, "The NPIC thus serves as the medium through which the state continues to exert a fundamental dominance over the political intercourse of the US Left, as well as US civil society more generally."[41] In these analyses, the state (and by proxy the demands of capital) shackles the nonprofit sector and deadlocks radical political mobilizations. Throughout the following chapters, I offer in-depth analysis of how the state and foundation complex did surveil and control organizations at critical moments. And, not coincidentally, the organizations that received the most funding were those that have made the most impact over time. I find that although they are indeed a product of state and philanthropic regulation, these organizations also demonstrate the importance of longevity. They highlight that the provision of ongoing systems of care matter, and that holding on to space over time is important and requires a tremendous amount of work.[42]

As someone who has worked in nonprofits and studies their historical formation, I am uncomfortable with how most nonprofit work is written off as ineffective or counterintuitive because it forms part of a larger NPIC. Despite the reality of poverty and crime in Oakland and the different forms of violence that shape so many urban experiences, in Fruitvale I was surrounded by a diverse constellation of people and agencies that genuinely cared for the well-being of the community and its residents. Throughout my fieldwork, I saw how care enveloped the historical and present-day work of a number of actors, including nonprofit workers, state public health nurses, and immigration attorneys. Nonprofit leaders also described many Fruitvale redevelopment plans as fundamentally about caring for the neighborhood and its future. I believe that we not only have to acknowledge this work but also seriously consider the political power it holds (notwithstanding its limitations). Furthermore, there are multiple ways of caring for a neighborhood or ensuring its improvement, which also means there are multiple approaches to enacting and achieving social change. Instead of completely discrediting the efficacy of one approach over another, I believe it is important to see their simultaneity and co-implication.

I hope this book can help us add greater nuance to the literature on the NPIC. I highlight some of the political debates regarding state and philanthropic regulation that activists and nonprofit leaders wrestled with and

show how this impacted the built environment. The nonprofit organizations that I study acknowledge that they emerged from social movements, and in fact this history serves as a mode through which they secure legitimacy in the community. The social movement nature of the organizations also ensures that other organizations and movements actively monitor these institutions, albeit within a constrained set of options.[43]

Architecture of the Book

This book uses historical methods, including archival research and oral histories, and blends this form of knowledge with ethnography to analyze how people and institutions make sense of social movement activism and deploy it toward various political means. It is also fundamentally about how we memorialize social movements and the forms of evidence we summon up to remember them. This type of analysis requires thinking of the production of space in a nonlinear fashion. Toward this end, the book switches between the past and the present to show how historical and present-day activists and institutions utilize this social movement legacy to advance their own claims to power.

I follow social movement actors and the institutions they built. I especially analyze the Spanish Speaking Unity Council, the nonprofit organization that frequently gets framed as the neighborhood's principal steward. This exercise of following institutions requires making connections across space, scale, and history. Furthermore, I trace the political processes contoured by state and philanthropic institutions and how they impact social movement formations. I demonstrate how the Unity Council became an institutional powerhouse due to state and philanthropic funding, turning itself into a community development corporation (CDC) in 1969. Instead of funding grassroots politicizing projects, the Unity Council now had to produce what were dubbed "measurable" results. This included services such as Head Start or educational or job placement opportunities for residents. The core of these measurable results was the actual production of brick-and-mortar buildings—such as senior housing, apartments, and other community improvement projects.

Although the Unity Council became the principal organization charged with a mission of developing urban space, in chapter 1, I show how a multiplicity of political actors and organizations helped to produce the neighborhood as a geography of activism. I demonstrate how in their recollections of the past, activists constructed a geographic framework by which to account

for the social movement production of space and crafted deep emotional bonds with themselves and the neighborhood. Drawing from oral histories with 1960s and 1970s Chicano activists, I argue that activists' cartographic memories show us how they built robust cultural politics of place that shaped how they understood the movement's impacts on community formation. I show the multiple and often competing approaches to neighborhood improvement.

How do we understand the making of a diverse set of organizations located in one particular place and responsible for making changes to the built environment and often represented as rightful neighborhood stewards? In order to do so we must go back to the development of post–World War II organizing in the Bay Area and the making of Oakland as a geography ripe with social movement activism. Chapters 2 and 3 offer a window into understanding how postwar Mexican American mobilizations provided the blueprint for the formation of the Chicano movement. The movement can thus be reconceptualized not as a heroic stage but rather as a continuation of Mexican American movements that reshaped postwar California.

In chapter 2, I argue that institutionalization of grassroots activism respatialized 1960s mobilizations, taking activism from the streets and into professionalized nonprofit organizations. I show this by analyzing how the federal War on Poverty created the architecture for the making of Mexican American nonprofits. In addition, this chapter sets up the important framework through which to understand the unique position of Mexican Americans in a Black/white city. I show how the federal War on Poverty resulted in greater state and philanthropic oversight of urban racialized neighborhoods. Subsequently, the care and management of racialized inner cities becomes a contested terrain of struggle involving social movement actors, state agencies, and private philanthropy.

Chapter 3 shifts scales to examine the national scope of race-based 1960s organizations. This was a time in which the entire spatiality of power in the United States was being challenged—from changes to voting rights that promised to reshape the electorate, to the effects of desegregation policies. Activist struggles in Fruitvale were connected to other geographies of resistance and the effects of federal and philanthropic regulation. Although most scholarship of this era has focused on the policing of radicalism, moderate Mexican American organizations were also targeted. I illustrate this by following the formation of the Southwest Council of La Raza, which became one of the first 501(c)(3) Mexican American nonprofit organizations and a subgrantee organization that channeled Ford Foundation moneys to

grassroots organizations like the Spanish Speaking Unity Council. Federal regulation of Ford Foundation projects resulted in a catastrophic antipolitical mandate for its nonprofit grantees. Although the federal government strictly linked "politics" with electoral processes, in practice the antipolitical mandate deradicalized nonprofit projects because leaders feared that their actions would be prohibited. A newly created nonprofit entity—the CDC— sought to redirect energy from challenging inequalities to productions of space. It also shifted the responsibility for maintaining inner cities from the scale of the federal government to local-level organizations like the Unity Council.

Chapter 4 examines the 2003 construction of the Fruitvale Transit Village, a project that put Fruitvale on the map as a nationally recognized model of transit-oriented development. It explores how the Unity Council used its social movement origins to justify its ability to properly care for the neighborhood to advance its redevelopment plans, thereby securing its position as a rightful community steward. As a CDC, the Unity Council joined a national movement led by African American CDCs that saw the transformation of the built environment as a social justice issue equally important as educational access, equal opportunity job placement, and the fight against housing discrimination.[44] I argue that the Unity Council deployed its commitment to community improvement in order to normalize its urban redevelopment projects.

Chapter 5 provides another approach to mapping the social movement production of space by showing how Fruitvale was interlinked with other geographies of resistance. The core of the chapter examines the international nature of 1960s activism, showing how activists connected their struggles to geographies outside the neighborhood, including Cuba, Mexico, and beyond. Activists' recollections of their activism entailed a process of mapping the interlinkages to that "beyond." These connections were political claims to the powerful role the Fruitvale neighborhood played in the making of national Chicano movement struggles. The chapter wrestles with the issue of mapping Fruitvale as a distinct geography of activism in the context of the multiple routes and flows in and out of the neighborhood.

In the conclusion, I examine the unfinished nature of social movements. I argue that present-day and historical activists perform the important work of maintaining and reinterpreting this social movement mandate of neighborhood improvement. I do so by foregrounding my own experience working with the Street Level Health Project to reveal how historical Chicano organizations such as Clínica de la Raza and Centro Legal de la Raza

helped the emergent organization gain an institutional footing. This shows us how the Chicano movement and prior forms of mobilization never fully died but are ongoing. Furthermore, activists I interviewed are organizing to preserve the history of their Fruitvale-based activism. In this way, 1960s and 1970s activism continues to shape neighborhood politics, resources, and conditions of possibility for activism today.

Finally, I consider how an analysis of the social movement production of space can help us rethink how we conceptualize the study of inner-city space, or how we come to understand the connections between, race, space, and politics. Social movement activism did indeed help to produce a place that is now known as the Latino neighborhood in Oakland. But what social movement actors really sought to produce was an ephemeral space of social justice, a spatiality of freedom and justice that perhaps gestured more toward the future than toward an actually existing place. Social movement activism from the past, as in our contemporary period, sought to produce a space that was not yet in existence. The activist mappings that I detail in this book can be read not just as a way of remembering the past but also as a methodology for envisioning an alternative future. And this future, not unlike social relations in the present day, is also a subject of politics contoured by a multiplicity of ways of caring for a world that is peopled by manifold ways of being.

Introduction

1   Much has changed in terms of terminology in the span of researching and writing this book. It is now more popular to use *Latinx* as a gender-neutral or nonbinary alternative to *Latino* or *Latina*. However, I maintain my use of *Latino*, *Latina*, *Chicano*, *Chicana*, *Spanish-speaking*, and even *Hispanic* as terms people used to define themselves during this research. I also researched and wrote using these terms. My intent is to show the historical making of terminology, and to show how these identities were experienced and used.

2   For a similar critique of the partitioning of the ghetto from a mainstream society, see Gregory 1999. There exists a long sociological tradition that has conceptualized ethnic enclaves in particular ways. According to Portes and Jensen (1992, 418), an ethnic enclave refers to "a concentration of ethnic firms in physical space—generally a metropolitan area—that employ a significant proportion of workers from the same minority." See also Portes and Jensen 1987; Waldinger 1993; Wilson and Portes 1980.

3   The 1960s was a period of relocation in which thousands of American Indians were forcibly moved from reservations to inner-city spaces such as Los Angeles and Oakland. See, for example, Ramirez 2007.

4   I thank anonymous reviewer two for alerting me that this dimension of the book reminded them of Kelley's (2002) seminal book *Freedom Dreams*. I had read so much of Robin Kelley's work, but for some reason I had missed this one pathbreaking book. It was only after finishing this book that I fully read Kelley (2002) and was amazed to encounter so much of what I found in my own research on Chicano movement activism in Oakland. These kinds of connections are not uncommon across social movements. My intent is to foreground the geographical imperatives of social movement activisms and how these experiences take shape in place and are also productive of spatialities.

5 By aestheticized blackness, geographer Brandi Thompson Summers (2019) draws attention to how the Black aesthetic is increasingly emplaced and valued in urban settings. According to Summers, this process by which blackness accrues value is part of the urban capitalist simulacra. However, the aesthetic appreciation of blackness does not guarantee that Black bodies are equally respected and celebrated.

6 The literature on the United Farm Workers is expansive, but I am most influenced by the following accounts: Bardacke 2012; Flores 2016; Kohl-Arenas 2015a.

7 As a result of their movement activism, Chicano activists became aware that the United States had taken lands from Mexico as part of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. And given the alliances with Native Americans, many Chicanos understood that land had been stolen from Indigenous people to make way for the United States of America. This all occurred during a period in which African nations were fighting against colonization in unprecedented anticolonial movements. This period in history therefore constituted an entire geographic understanding of power, colonialism, empire, and racialized forms of dispossession.

8 Most scholars advance the definition developed by Berenice Fisher and Joan Tronto, who define *care* as "a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue, and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, ourselves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web" (Fisher and Tronto 1990, 40; see also Tronto 2013, 19). This is a rather broad definition and allows for us to view different notions of care that extend to nonhuman realms. Activists were consistently concerned about caring for disenfranchised groups, all of which were located in specific places. In order to care for fellow human beings, activists also advanced a politics about caring for geographic communities.

9 I owe this to the incredible work of Jacqueline Nassy Brown (2005), which was instrumental in my understanding of the politics of place. I am also indebted to Donald S. Moore and Jake Kosek for multiple conversations we had regarding cultural politics rooted and routed through place.

10 For an analysis of the Chicano movement's complex history of overlooking women's contributions, see Cotera, Blackwell, and Espinoza 2018; see also Blackwell 2011.

11 Through my research I became intrigued by how activists conceptualized different generations. We often think of generations as the division between much older folks and youths, yet in this period an age difference of five or so years constituted a significant generational difference. Many of the older activists who were closer to thirty had different political subjectivities than more youthful activists in their early twenties.

12 As chapter 2 details, the designation Spanish-speaking was popular up until the 1960s to refer to people of Latin American descent. In fact, the book traces the development of designations such as Chicano and Mexican American as categories that came into existence largely out of social movement organizing. In the 1980s, a new umbrella category, Hispanic, came into existence based on the triangulation of a number of political factors. See Mora 2014.

13 The National Council of La Raza (NCLR) recently changed its name to UNIDOS. It first emerged, however, as the Southwest Council of La Raza (SCLR). In the book I will refer to both NCLR and SCLR (see Mora 2014).

14 The CSO was an important Mexican American civil rights organization created in the aftermath of World War II. It sought to empower the Mexican American community through different grassroots organizing efforts that privileged electoral politics. It is most well known for having trained famed leaders like Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta. See chapter 2 for a more detailed elaboration of how the CSO was an important precedent to Oakland-based Chicano movement activism.

15 The Cesar Chavez Lifetime Achievement Awards is a rotating ceremony that moves to different communities. It honors the legacy of Cesar Chavez and his mission of grassroots activism and empowerment.

16 A new body of literature on the Chicano movement has begun to address these concerns. For elaboration on this longue durée analysis, see Cotera, Blackwell, and Espinoza 2018; Flores 2016; Krochmal 2016.

17 Commemorations of the Chicano movement, African American civil rights mobilizations, and even Black Power, for example, are now part of the ethnic pageantry of US neoliberal multiculturalism. This is most powerfully performed through the celebration of figures such as Martin Luther King Jr., Malcom X, Cesar Chavez, and, more recently, Dolores Huerta. This kind of incorporation of social movement icons serves a crucial political function that fashions the United States as a postracial nation in which race-based mobilizations are a thing of the past (Melamed 2006, 2011).

18 In fact, activists often didn't remember exact dates. My thinking about how activists' memories emphasized place over time stems from my reading of Indigenous oral traditions that passed down information and stories from one generation to the next. William Bauer writes extensively about Native American history prior to conquest. He is especially concerned with how oral traditions emphasize how people "move across space, not time; from place to place, not from date to date" (Bauer 2012, 109).

19 As Jacqueline Nassy Brown (2005, 11) would argue, these activists made "sense of place-as-matter, a practice that includes reading landscapes and acting on the view that place acts, that it shapes human consciousness." In a similar fashion, geographer Helga Leitner, Eric Sheppard, and Kristin M. Sziarto

(2008) insist that it is important to pay close attention to the materiality of contentious politics. To do so means analyzing how agency is distributed across the more-than-human world.

20 Katherine McKittrick (2011, 969) comes to a similar conclusion regarding Black geographies during slavery and reveals how conditions of bondage incited alternative mapping practices outside the official tenets of cartography: "Fugitive and maroon maps, literacy maps, food-nourishment maps, family maps, music maps were assembled alongside 'real' maps (those produced by black cartographers and explorers who document landmasses, roads, routes, boundaries, and so forth." See also McKittrick 2006; and McKittrick and Woods 2007.

21 For a similar analysis of this concept of remapping and native space, see Barnd 2017.

22 When thinking about how people remember the past, anthropologist Lisa Yoneyama (1999, 4) argues that we must "question why and how we remember—for what purpose, for whom, and from which position we remember—even when discussing sites of memory, where to many the significance of remembrance seems obvious."

23 I am inspired by the work of historians, ethnic studies scholars, and geographers like Laura Pulido (2006) who have pushed us to think about how race is constructed in a relational fashion. See Molina, HoSang, and Gutiérrez 2019.

24 I am indebted to the work of geographer Doreen Massey for this conceptualization of space. Her life's work was to dynamize space and to capture some of the complexity of the production of space, especially in a context in which space is generally thought of as a surface upon which we simply traverse.

25 For an extensive review of the literature on the geographies of social movements, see Nicholls 2007; Oslender 2016, 1–35.

26 My analysis of a *longue durée* of movements stems from a reading of recent scholarship on the longevity of the civil rights movement and Black Power mobilizations (Clay 2012; Hall 2005; Nelson 2011). I echo sociologist Alondra Nelson by arguing for an analysis that broadens the scope for examining movements. Also helpful is Andreana Clay's insistence on thinking about how popular and scholarly writing has created representations and understandings of 1950s and 1960s activism, which are embodied in ossified repertoires of activism. These repertoires are linked to large social movements and privilege the most radical, militant, or outspoken leaders (Clay 2012, 153). For a similar analysis of social movement continuities, see also Magaña 2017. I am grateful to "Mauricio" Magaña and Maylei Blackwell for all our conversations regarding social movements and geography and for providing such a rich intellectual exchange. Magaña (2021) offers a splendid analysis of the cartographies of youth resistance in Oaxaca, Mexico, that like this book also centers a spatial and *longue durée* reading of social movement activism.

27 I am inspired here by recent work on lingering by Joshua Javier Guzmán and Christina A. Léon (2015). They ask: What if we allow Latinidad to breathe and linger? In a similar way, what if we allow "space" to linger or breathe? By taking this longue durée approach, we can understand more of the complexities that define the suturing of race and space.

28 The literature on social movements has its origins in the development of a series of concepts and theories that helped to explain how and why social movements develop (McAdam 1982; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2001; Tarrow 1998; Tilly 1986). Early scholarship focused on the political processes that shaped the transformation of a diverse and broad group of actors into a powerful force of social and political change. Analysts have paid attention to multiple kinds of counterhegemonic mobilizations and therefore also use the term *contentious politics* to emphasize how social movement activism is one kind of oppositional politics.

29 Sociologist Doug McAdam and colleagues (2001, 5) define contentious politics as "episodic, public, collective interaction among makers of claims and their objects when (a) at least one government is a claimant, an object of claims, or a party to the claims and (b) the claims would, if realized, affect the interests of at least one of the claimants." Helga Leitner and colleagues (2008, 157) critique the state centrism of this definition to define contentious politics as "concerted, counterhegemonic social and political action, in which differently positioned participants come together to challenge dominant systems of authority, in order to promote and enact alternative imaginaries." Admittedly, these definitions are broad and can encompass disparate kinds of mobilizations. Indeed, sociologist Tianna Paschel (2016) contends that scholars should broaden the register of what constitutes a social movement. She suggests that a social movement doesn't have to be massive, or even engage primarily in street protest, to count as a movement or to bring about change.

30 For examples of such analyses, see Leitner, Sheppard, and Sziarto 2008; Martin and Miller 2003; Nicholls 2007, 2009; Oslender 2016; Pulido 2006; Routledge 1993.

31 As they argue: "In determining how geography matters, we assert that *a priori* decisions (ontological or otherwise) to reduce this multi-valiancy to any single master concept can only impoverish analysis, by offering a partial viewpoint into how geography matters in contentious politics" (Leitner, Sheppard, and Sziarto 2008, 158).

32 As Routledge (1993, 36) argues: "The historical context of the terrain of resistance is also important in understanding movement agency in a particular time and place, for instance, if a particular place has a history of struggle or not, and how this may affect the character of contemporary movement agency."

33 For an analysis of the difference between a history of a temporal process and a history of place, see Limerick 1987, 26. Geographer Doreen Massey

(1994, 2) argues that space must be conceptualized integrally with time, so that it is best to think always in terms of space-time. For Massey, space-time is a configuration of social relations that must be conceived as a dynamic simultaneity.

34 For an analysis of the rise and fall of the Chicano movement, see E. Chávez 1994, 117–20. See also Cotera, Blackwell, and Espinoza 2018, 5.

35 Sociologist Victor Rios (2011, 32), for example, argues that "practices and discourses of criminalization and punishment of young people in the new millennium could be directly traced to the state repression of social movements of the 1960s." See also Murch 2010.

36 The same could be said for other movements such as the Black Panther mobilizations and even the civil rights movement. Of course, many of the organizations that represented the cultural arm of the movement remained, and they were prominently understood as movement groups. That included places like Galeria de la Raza in San Francisco and Teatro Campesino, among other organizations.

37 A number of scholars have shown the effects of this kind of postwar spatial development. Gaye Theresa Johnson (2013, 56) asserts, for example, that "between 1943 and 1949, scores of Black and Latino communities were destroyed to make way for the postindustrial, suburban spatial form that would characterize the modern U.S. city.... Black and Brown neighborhoods were demolished, even erased from maps as if no one had ever lived there." From the vast construction of freeways in neighborhoods like Boyle Heights and the building of Dodger Stadium that dispossessed a thriving Mexican American community to the destruction of a vibrant Mexican American and African American community in West Oakland due to the construction of Interstate 880, this was part of a relentless process of georacial management.

38 It is important to note that as Blackwell (2011) and other scholars have pointed out, it was Chicana women who were some of the first to be framed as "sellouts" or *vendidas* because they advanced "feminist" ideas that were seen as secondary or outside the demands of the Chicano movement.

39 Geographer Laura Pulido (2006, 19) shows that the term *radical* is profoundly relative: "While the Chicana/o movement was indeed radical, there was tremendous diversity within it, with some groups assuming far more conservative positions than others."

40 Self (2003, 217–55) argues that in an analogous fashion, Black Power was an extraordinarily plastic concept adaptable to multiple contexts. As Laura Pulido (2006, 91) argues: "The term included an array of ideologies, organizations, and personalities. Inspired by Malcom X, Black Power symbolized a deep radicalization of African Americans' (and others') struggle for equality with a focus on self-determination and self-defense."

41 Urban planner Jennifer Wolch (1990, xvi) similarly cautioned against the "deepening state penetration" into everyday nonprofit activities, which could "ultimately vitiate sectoral autonomy and capacity to pursue social change." Political scientist Joan Roelofs (2003, 21) raises similar scrutiny: "A closer look at the 'third sector' belies its frequent profession of neutral benevolence. Although all radical organizations are found within this sector, challengers to the system are rare and generally invisible. The third sector is largely devoted to activities that directly protect and promote capitalism."

42 I thank reviewer number two for this important way of framing the dynamic I was trying to name.

43 By showing the complexities and contradictions of social movement institutionalization, I also challenge framings that place tremendous emphasis on the efficacy of state and philanthropic regulatory projects. That is, within this framework, state and philanthropic forces can effectively silence dissent and obliterate contentious politics. This line of argument also presupposes that the state operates as a totalizing entity reduced to a singular logic. The state is not a monolith: it is composed of various offices, which are run by bureaucrats who hold different and often competing interests. The state is also composed of different scales shaped by contentious differences in jurisdiction and power among municipal, state, and federal agencies. It is undeniable that the institutional and fiscal architecture of the nonprofit organization implies a relationship to various state agencies, including the Internal Revenue Service. The federal government, for example, sets out the parameters through which an organization can be recognized as a tax-exempt agency. Furthermore, as chapter 3 reveals, since 1969, federal recognition as a 501(c)(3) prohibits nonprofits from engaging in formal political processes. I explore the practice of these clauses to reveal that they do not always secure a practice of depoliticization. As anthropologist Thomas Biolsi (2005, 240) has astutely argued, "The state's gaze, in other words, may be studiously non-panoptical, its sovereignty purposely not flat, full, or even across its territory but carefully zoned."

44 For a robust analysis of how community development was integral to 1960s Black activism, see Goldstein 2017.

Chapter 1. Making Place

1 I learned in 2018 that Regina and Roger are no longer married, although they are still connected and involved in neighborhood projects. Despite such changes in relationships, there are enduring commitments to places and causes that don't easily go away.

2 Regina Chavarín, interview by the author, October 21, 2012.

3 The Crusade for Justice was a Chicano movement organization that began in Denver, Colorado, in 1967. Like many other community-based movements,