

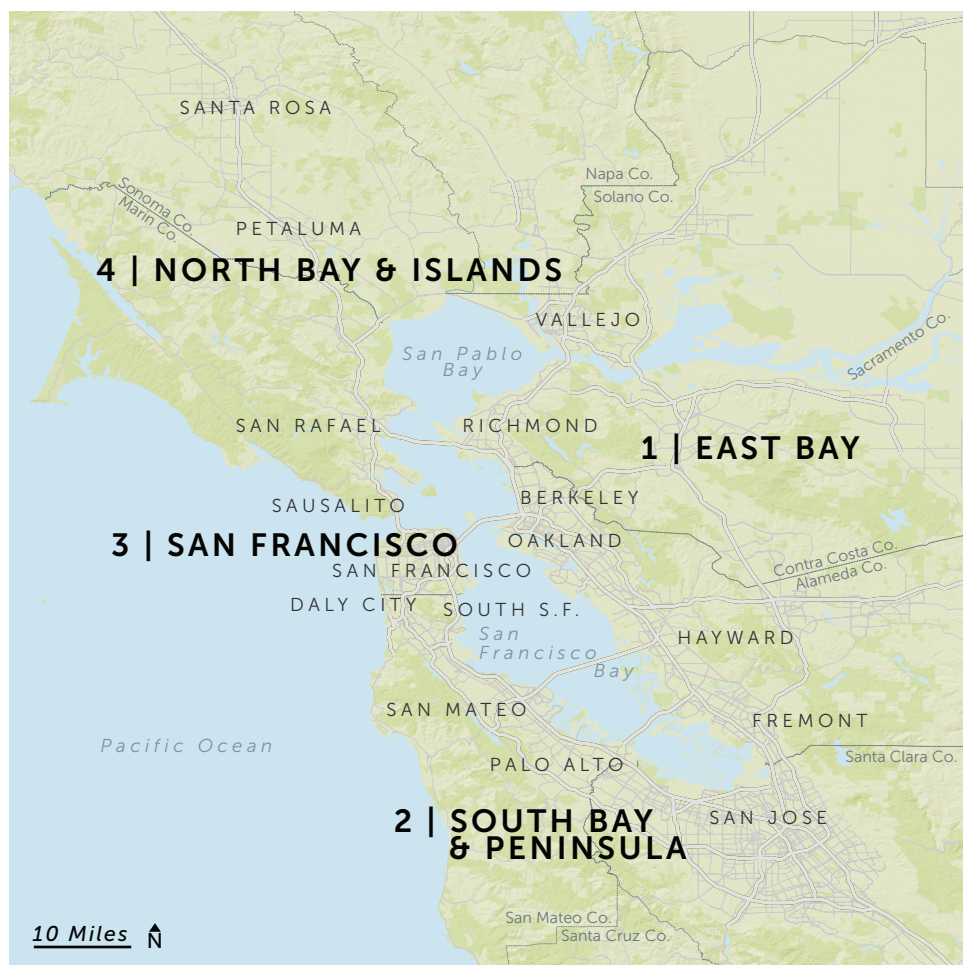
Introduction

You might begin in West Oakland, a place that reflects a remarkable spectrum of the Bay Area's culture and politics, its historical contradictions and challenges, and perhaps its hope for the future. Traverse these streets and you'll see Victorian cottages hand-built by workers in the late nineteenth century. You'll pass by community gardens where locals are claiming their right to urban spaces while remaking the meaning of urbanism. You'll maneuver streets where midcentury urban redevelopment tore through, devastating the neighborhood, and where people responded by building movements calling for self-determination and community control that echoed around the world.

In wandering here, you will inevitably intersect with the BART train tracks, as they swoop from under the San Francisco Bay, shuttling thousands daily into San Francisco and out to the "east county" suburbs. In the distance, you can probably see some of the cranes at the Port of Oak-

land, the Bay Area's stalwart economic gateway to the world. You may notice tent camps under the freeway overpasses or in the in-between places where uneven development has produced gaps in the urban fabric. Not far from where houseless folks find shelter, you'll also see slickly painted homes with high-end cars and new fences. These are the now-ubiquitous poles of the Bay Area's economic extremes, visible block to block.

You can't see it today, but if you'd looked down 7th Street toward the San Francisco Bay a century ago, you would have been facing the last stop on the first transcontinental railroad. That train looms large in narratives of the conquest of the West and the fortunes that it brought to the rapacious capitalists known as the Big Four (Stanford, Huntington, Hopkins, and Crocker, the core investors and figureheads of the Central Pacific Railroad). Ultimately, however, the majority of the people that these trains



carried to the Bay Area—Chinese, Black, and working-class whites—represent a very different narrative about this place.

Here in West Oakland, for example, you'll be treading the same ground walked by the African American employees of the Pullman Company, who in the 1920s organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. It was the first Black-run union chartered by the AFL-CIO and a bedrock in the development of neighborhoods like this one. Its presence on these streets helped

create the historical possibility for social justice movements years later, like the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, and the contemporary Movement for Black Lives. This historical legacy still lives in these streets; it is part of why these blocks hold places where antiforeclosure activism has had some success, with residents banding together to save each other's homes from predatory bank actions, building community organizations for broader resilience along the way.

There are older histories here that can be even harder to see, but they too shape the everyday life of this neighborhood and the broader city. Before the Age of Conquest carved its urban patterns into the land, Native American tribes that thrived here for thousands of years knew it as Huichin, among other names. At least one of the dozens of sacred shellmounds that circled the bay was here, near the water's edge. Though most visual evidence of this and other shellmounds has been buried by settler-colonial urbanization, Native activists and allies continue to fight for recognition and respect for these sites.

As we write this book, Oakland has been getting a lot of attention as the new “it” place to visit or move to, especially for people priced out of the San Francisco housing market. For many communities that had already made Oakland their home, from the working-class families of color who stuck with the city across multiple generations to the radicals and outsiders who found a base at the fringe of mainstream society here, this newfound attention is a blessing and a curse. Economically, Oakland—particularly the flatlands and downtown—has been underinvested for a long time, and a boost of some kind is certainly needed. But in many neighborhoods, things have shifted from boost to booting-out terrifyingly fast. Longtime residents and businesses are displaced seemingly overnight, and traces of their impact quickly hidden under the patina of recently flipped houses, a coat of new battleship-gray paint that signals “welcome, open for consumption” to a different class of people.

We start the book in West Oakland, not because it is hip or transit accessible to SF, as the boosters will tell you. Instead, we begin here because in many ways this is one of the historic centers for so much of what we think of as “San Francisco.” From the activism mentioned already, to the “urban renewal” that crisscrossed this neighborhood with freeways; from the Victorian visuals, to the colorful muralized storytelling that seems to grow each year, West Oakland reflects diverse narratives of connection across the region. It's a good place from which to ask one of the questions at the heart of this book: How and why did the Bay Area come to be what it is now?

A Path Around the San Francisco Bay

Oakland sits at the geographic center of this book, but the life of this city is only one piece of the larger story that *A People's Guide to the San Francisco Bay Area* tells about people and place. From our starting point, the Bay Region spirals in all directions: You can travel via train and bus to the South Bay, passing south through the working-class flatland neighborhoods, with larger houses and redwood parks perched above in the hills. In the South Bay, you'll traverse dense residential suburbs arranged in a maze of cul-de-sacs and manicured tech “campuses.” A different train will take you north from San Jose's perpetually aspirational downtown, out through the industrial end of the once-fertile Santa Clara (now Silicon) Valley, and along the sparkling estuaries

of the South Bay. When you reach the city of San Francisco, you step into a thickly settled urbanism, the densest in the region. If you catch a ferry to the north, past the island-prison of Alcatraz, the rolling open spaces of Marin, Sonoma, and Napa will rise up out of the fog, fiercely guarded by the communities tucked into its valleys. If you ride BART in any direction, you can watch the landscape change in fascinating ways.

These places are rich with struggle and beauty, sometimes on full display and other times carefully hidden. This region is home to social movements that have sparked local and international change, and to people whose ideas and values are embedded in the urban landscape. This book is a guide to finding those ideas, to reading the landscape for clues as to where and why it came to be. It is an invitation to recognize and preserve the histories of how people produced the geography of the Bay Area.

In this spirit, this book has four main aims: First, we investigate the ways the Bay Area has been made through the efforts of people who lived, struggled, and thrived here. This is a special place where communities have challenged the abuse of power and built their own kinds of strength, generating wide webs of activism and humane creativity that continues to produce life-giving ideas. Second, we argue for the Bay Area to be understood not as San Francisco and its surroundings, but as an integrated region where, over time, communities intersect and shape each other, challenge each other, and forge the networks of power and identity that give shape to this place.

More broadly, the book is a guide to using a geographic lens on a place to understand its history and social movements. That is, through seeing and learning about spatial patterns and the situated histories of people, you can better understand how the Bay Area (or any place) came to be, and how social struggles produced and continue to produce places like this. Finally, this book asks you to put the book down and wander on your own. We want to show you some of the things that we see and how we understand them. We hope you'll also find your own path through these places.

There is continual debate about how to define the Bay Area. One way to draw a circle around the region is to include the nine counties that touch the San Francisco Bay. These counties all share a watershed and have interlinking political histories and overlapping experiences of urbanization, development, and demographic change. This is a regional vision long used by urban planners, and it encompasses over seven million residents and 101 cities. Within that framework, we offer a curated tour of the nine-county region that draws out largely untold sociopolitical histories. These are places and stories tucked into a zone that extends no more than a two-hour car drive from the center of Oakland, and much of the book encourages and includes walkable, rollable, bikeable, and transit-friendly wandering.

Throughout the text, we view the region's interdependence as an elemental part of its character. Depictions of historical periods like the rush for gold and the rise of banking or tourism often cast San Francisco as the dominant cultural and economic force

in the region, which it certainly has been at times. But the mythology of “San Francisco” can overshadow both the unique histories of each urban node and, more important to this volume, how the people and places of the region are connected through economic, political, cultural, and ecological configurations. Each of the four main chapters opens with a brief introduction that lays out more detailed contours of these histories and relationships.

The first four chapters each address a geographic region, first the East Bay, then the South Bay plus the Peninsula, followed by San Francisco, then the North Bay along with several key islands. These chapters are organized geographically and alphabetically; most essays are titled by the place in which events occurred, rather than with descriptive titles that suggest what took place there. Also, watch for the “nearby” and “related” sites after many entries. Chapter 5 offers suggestions for creating thematic tours out of the material in the first four chapters. Finally, two appendixes offer further resources for wandering and thinking critically about geography, history, politics, and culture in the Bay Area, as well as a timeline of key historical moments that frame the text.

Everyday Places, and Power

This book seeks to simultaneously document and engage. We aim to make disappearing and long-gone landscapes more visible in social memory, and to combat the erasure of visual clues to the past. The guidebook format offers a practical approach through

which to connect to readers as more than consumers of words on a page. We hope you will travel these streets, seeking clues to the past that help explain the present; these are real places where people have sought to make the world as they would want it.

The “people’s guide” approach to geography is not ours alone. This work is part of a series initiated by 2013’s *A People’s Guide to Los Angeles*, by Laura Pulido, Laura Barraclough, and Wendy Cheng, who now serve as the editors for the series. Along with them, we are interested in how people have created longstanding institutions and the spaces in which ephemeral acts of politics, revolt, care, and hope take place. We are concerned with histories of oppression and with struggle, as well as moments of power-building and success of movements in transforming political-economic conditions toward a more human scale. We wrote this guide with an eye to understanding the past in support of developing a broader social memory that, in turn, can lend itself to the creation of a more just world in the present and over the long haul. We write from a tradition within cultural geography that emphasizes political economy, and are indebted to scholars who look to the landscape for narratives of power with central attention to the connections between race and place, and with an interest in finding new ways to understand communities on their own terms.¹

One of the amazing things about the Bay Area is the continued commitment by everyday people to forging new ways of life and politics. Given that, a tremendous array of organizations, from grassroots to formal

nonprofit to corporate and beyond—have emerged over the years. Since we’re looking at the whole region in the span of one relatively short book, however, we can’t begin to claim to cover it all. This is not a comprehensive history; it is a curated tour of places and people, and often we’ve chosen sites or stories that get less attention in other texts, which means that we pass over many important (and sometimes better-known) people and moments. This is a guide to using observations of the landscape as a way to understand larger structures and social problems, so we offer the book as a set of examples from which to build.

In studying these landscapes, we emphasize power, both top-down and bottom-up. The sites we select do not overlook the extraordinarily powerful men—and it was usually men—who ruled the region over the past two and a half centuries. Indeed, they are embedded into the very place names of the region: Vallejo, Fremont, Geary, and the name San Francisco itself memorialize the Spanish, Mexican, and Anglo conquerors, generals, and others who violently carved the region from a network of indigenous communities into bounded ranches, missions, and pueblos. Unlike some guides to Bay Area cities, however, this book is not primarily about the names that have been prominent for a century or more. Instead, we often focus on the workers, the marginalized, and the everyday people who fought, struggled, made art, survived, and even triumphed to make home out of the Bay Area, in the face of many forms of violence, dispossession, and both literal and figurative erasures.

In unraveling stories of the Bay Region, we share interconnected social-movement histories, to think about how people have worked collectively, locally and globally, to challenge the status quo. Sometimes these are long-fought battles like labor strikes and civil rights campaigns; other times they are small acts of resistance or compassion that keep a person or community alive and whole. These histories reveal multiple expressions of power and its challengers, specifically the ways that the relationships between political leaders, capitalists, and countermovements interact and respond to each other.

To that end, this book draws on and engages the robust existing literature on Bay Area social movements and activism. Although Big Tech is rapidly becoming the global image of the region, the Bay Area may still be best known as a place of cultural openness and social liberalism. Branded as the iconic hearth of the 1960s cultural revolutions and thought of as the seat of LGBTQ+ acceptance, the Bay Area has also been one of the early homes for environmentalism, a center for both union labor and anticorporate organizing, and a catalyst for a variety of other people-driven movements for social change. Pop culture, however, often treats this social history as a quirky backdrop for consumption following an expected path toward inclusion, acceptance, and inevitable comfort for all. This idea produces a paradoxical misperception—that the Bay Area simply is and has always been progressive, even though it springs from the capitalist histories of the gold rush to the largest global corporations in Big Tech.

In contrast to a monolithic progressive march across time and space, however, we see a complicated mosaic of struggles, wins, and losses, a patchwork of places in which social movements have been both crushed and nurtured. Rather than only the power of a few capitalists in local history, we also want to understand power building from below. The region has undeniably attracted and fostered new waves of justice movements, but each wave has come from the work of people who were committed to a cause, in spite of—or because of—major challenges.

At the same time, viewing the region through a push-and-pull framework may help explain why racial and economic inequalities remain entrenched here, in spite of progressivism on issues like the environment and sexuality, and even on race and class. In fact, we argue in this book that big moments that shape the public sensibility about the Bay Area as politically radical also had roots in authoritarian state control or corporate power. The immigrants' rights movement, for example, has had a strong base in the Bay Area—both because of anti-immigrant crack-downs, and strong traditions of fighting back. Similarly, Berkeley's Free Speech Movement was not simply a product of UC Berkeley's progressiveness, but a direct outgrowth of the university's attempt to limit free speech on campus, by force if necessary. These relationships of oppression and resistance continue into the present, each producing new cultural dynamics embedded in place.

We have chosen the stories in this book to tease out the complexities and intersec-

PERSONAL REFLECTION FROM NTANYA LEE, LONGTIME ORGANIZER IN BLACK AND LATINX WORKING-CLASS COMMUNITIES, AND NATIONAL ORGANIZER FOR LEFTROOTS²

Reflecting on twenty years of organizing in the Bay Area, I was drawn here because of the history of progressive struggle and movement building. As a queer person of color and a leftist, I was drawn to the density of organizing here. Looking back, I now better understand the ways in which this environment was historically produced. If you learn the history of Left, working-class, people of color in particular, over many decades and generations throughout the twentieth century to the present, it becomes clear how this unique situation was actually produced—through struggle. This changes how you see the Bay Area. When people think about the "Bay Area bubble," they're often thinking more of the hippies of Berkeley than the communists in Chinatown, the Marxists in Oakland who started the Black Panther Party, or the feminists of color that created all kinds of local institutions in the 1980s. Understanding these stories gives us a window into what kinds of leadership and struggle are required for the transformation of the whole country. It shows us what makes the Bay Area both special and not so different from elsewhere.

tions between social movement and their geographies—people and their places—while also highlighting the reasons for the persistence of social movements. Thus, many of the landscapes we find significant are what you might think of as counter-spaces, those off-the-beaten-path or inconspicuous places where political and social

movements took shape, created a home for people and communities, or openly rebelled against oppressions and the status quo.

Counter-spaces tend to have less longevity than more “official” parts of the landscape, and some of these places are much changed or no longer visible. But we still find that visiting those spaces, and perhaps contemplating their partial or complete erasure in the context of the landscape that surrounds them, provides an important opportunity to consider how political, cultural, and economic legacies linger.

A Guide Book in the Age of Google

As you well know, you can google “San Francisco Bay Area” and in milliseconds receive images, maps, Wikipedia pages, tour guides, travel blogs, and restaurant recommendations—a near-infinite algorithmically generated and profit-motivated smorgasbord of information about this place. You may find something to eat or get the ferry schedule to Richmond, for example, but ultimately you won’t know much about Richmond itself.

There was a time not so long ago, though, before the Bay Area turned *google* into a verb, when accessing even a fraction of that kind of information required being in a place. This book contends that there is still today a much deeper knowledge of a place—not simply information—to be gained from traveling its streets and paths, and talking with the people who have made it.

The information found on the Internet can feel precise, but it’s incomplete. For

example, you can easily find the address for the Facebook campus (that’s One Hacker Way). But a search algorithm won’t likely tell you about how Facebook and other companies built their campuses without much regard to where employees would live or how they would get to work. Nor will it direct you to the corner of 24th and Mission Streets in San Francisco where in the 2010s, housing and transit organizers physically blocked private buses—bureaucratically known as tech shuttles but colloquially called “Google buses”—in acts of political street theater that drew international attention. These activists showed how high-tech-worker salaries were funneled into the hands of developers and landlords, who were in turn gutting rent-controlled housing, businesses, and community spaces to make way for affluent tenants, many of whom work down near Hacker Way.

The algorithm can offer you facts and reviews covering the neighborhoods that people are willing to risk jail to protect. But it can’t show you what it feels like to hear infectious K-pop beats coming from a second-floor dance studio that was saved from eviction by community protests, while you eat lunch in a local taqueria where conversations still take place in Spanish. Perhaps the table to one side of you hosts what sounds like a venture-capital start-up meeting laced with plans of civic disruption, and the other side is brimming with conversations about a labor-rights action where community members stepped up to support their neighbors. These are the contradictions and polarities of today’s

Bay Area toward which this book directs your attention.

A Book for Tourists and for Locals

The Bay Area is a major destination for domestic and international tourists, with some 16.5 million visitors annually (for an average of 45,200 each day) in San Francisco alone, according to the San Francisco Travel Association. People are drawn here for all kinds of reasons, from stories of Northern California's magical qualities—like giant trees and beautiful sunsets—to its famed epicurean offerings, from the promise of experiencing any number of social-cultural liberations, to striking it rich in a boom industry. In turn, the dozens of guidebooks to San Francisco and the Bay Area—documenting the mythos and spectacle of well-worn spots like Union Square, Fisherman's Wharf, and the wealth of restaurants that flourish in enclaves from Berkeley's gourmet corridors to wine country and beyond—are hardly homogenous. Because of the draw that the Bay Area has for alternative lifestyles, some guides emphasize the city's reputation as a home to “edgy” people or institutions. Other guides focus on specific communities, like LGBTQ San Francisco. Niche groups—like geologists, bird-watchers, or streetcar enthusiasts—are also well served. Few texts in the guidebook genre, however, tread deep into broad intersecting political-economic contexts. Rebecca Solnit's *Infinite City* atlas does this; it is not a guidebook, but is a dear cousin to our work.

The *People's Guide* series is interested in an ethically oriented public-geography approach to urbanism. Our curiosity about the connection between how people shape the landscape and are shaped by it themselves has taken the form of a guidebook because, in our experience, walking and moving through a place is critical to one's ability to understand it. This is a long tradition within our academic discipline of geography and is shared with community historians and those interested in participatory forms of urban design and planning. Many of the contributors to this book teach urban-field courses at universities in the region and elsewhere, implementing this philosophy as a core way to teach and learn. In fact, we are inspired by a variety of politically oriented walking tours of Bay Area cities that have been bringing a similar kind of bottom-up education to the broader public for some time, like Shaping San Francisco and others (see appendix B for more).

Finally, this is an academic effort, exhaustively researched and reviewed, but it is also a work that seeks to connect across communities. If you are visiting the region, we want to help you both enjoy *and* see beyond the beauty of the hills, the boats, the bay, and yes, the food. But this book is not for tourists only; we hope it may be a useful tool for students, researchers, activists, and organizers in the Bay Area. Whether you are one of the many new migrants or a longtime resident, we hope to help you better understand and engage with the geography and stories that surround you.

On Restaurants

The Bay Area birthed what is known as California cuisine, and the diversity of the region feeds a rich restaurant culture with foods from all around the world. We believe that an important entry into understanding a place comes through sampling its culinary offerings—subtleties of menus, unexpected combinations of flavors, and well-worn tables all reveal a great deal. So we encourage you to eat your way around the Bay Area, but we aren't recommending specific eateries for a couple of reasons. A longtime favorite may have been pushed out by rent increases, or some new amazing pop-up run by second-generation migrants may be the best thing in a neighborhood—you can only really know by being there.

Wandering and perusing menus (whether they're taped to a window or painted on the side of a truck) is almost always a good method, but asking around is the most surefire way to get the most interesting local recommendations (not always the best food, but usually the most educational about a place). Online recommendation sites certainly offer guidance, but their algorithms tend to highlight paying clients and middle-of-the-road tastes. We suggest finding the community newspapers and blogs to see what local reviewers are excited about. For a meal that explicitly supports the rights of food workers, check the Restaurant Opportunity Center United's diners guide at chapters.rocunited.org/diners-guide/.

On the “Sharing Economy” and Getting Around

In the 2000s, the rise of the so-called “sharing economy” has had a huge impact on mobility and everyday life in the Bay Area; we'd like to encourage travelers and locals to be mindful of their socioeconomic impact. Drivers use Uber, Lyft, and other ride-hailing companies for essential income, and some riders use these services for safe mobility, but it's also important to be aware of the impact they have on the city. For example, these companies have explicitly sought to replace public transportation and the more regulated taxi industry, while increasing traffic in cities and undercutting wages for drivers. Meanwhile, among the many Internet start-ups fostered in the Bay Area, Airbnb is high on any list of impact and global recognition. Unfortunately, the effect in its hometown—as well as in many other cities around the world—has contributed to an accelerated pace of neighborhood change, exacerbating the instability of urban life. With the option to use homes as hotels, for example, landlords initiated a wave of evictions across the region as they sought to clear the way for lucrative short-term rentals.

If you want to avoid the above modes of travel and shelter, you have some options. Public train and bus service are relatively accessible across the region and offer unique opportunities to meet other people or see the landscape from a different angle and pace than a private car. Admittedly, transit can get crowded at times, certain systems get delayed so you need extra time, and not

every chance meeting is a good one. If you like to ride bicycles, rentals are easy to find, and a regional bike-share system (that is, bike rental by the hour) is now widely available and can be good for short jaunts around or between neighborhoods. There are also niche programs for certain communities, like the Homobiles ride-hailing car service for LGBTQ people and their allies.

Housing can be a trickier issue to handle ethically. If you have the funds for a hotel, we recommend searching through the Fair Hotel site fairhotel.com for a unionized hotel. If you choose Airbnb, it may be possible to sort out which rentals are rooms in an active household; this could suggest that it is a genuine short-term rental that isn't displacing tenants, rather than a whole apartment that has been removed from the rental market for the higher profits of hoteling. The latter is the larger political and social problem with the use of that and related services.

On Authorship

The majority of this book is written by Rachel Brahinsky, Alexander Tarr, or the two of us together. Our individual and collective work has no additional byline. We are honored to also include the contributions of a wonderful group of Bay Area geographers, researchers, and public historians. Their names are noted at the end of any site entry that they authored or contributed to, with the caveat that we have edited the whole book for consistency. They are also listed in the acknowledgments.

Reflections on Finishing *A People's Guide to the San Francisco Bay Area*

One of our aims as we worked on this book was to embrace what scholar Katherine McKittrick describes as “the geographical imperatives in the struggle for social justice.”³ That is, we wanted to look at the role of place and geography in understanding the bounds of justice and we wanted to better understand how communities have reshaped those boundaries over time. Literary legend Toni Morrison writes about this sort of work, through the metaphor of mapping. As she put it, “I want to draw a map, so to speak, of a critical geography and use that map to open as much space for discovery, intellectual adventure, and close exploration as did the original charting of the New World—without the mandate for conquest.”⁴ This approach has driven our research and work on the Bay Area *People's Guide*.

We wrote this book over the course of many years, and in that time so much of the world seemed to change. We began writing in the ambivalent afterglow of the Occupy movement, and we completed most of it during—and were influenced by—the dual arrival of the Black Lives Matter movement and the now-widespread antigentrification political work that has centered around evictions and housing. We completed the text amid the global rise of authoritarianism and the radical, white-supremacist Right. We saw the most dramatic impacts of climate change to date, such that the term *climate*

change began to morph into *climate emergency* just as we set out to edit our final text. The movement of that crisis was so rapid that we expect there to be new words and new terrible milestones (deadliest fires, biggest floods, hottest summers, hottest winters) before this book makes it to your hands.

In that same period in California, we saw the birth and expansion of the app-fueled gig economy, which was just a small techno-dream when we began to write. By this book's end, Airbnb, Uber, Lyft, and the like had transformed communities around the globe, accelerating the visibility of the economic instability that was already on the rise. More generally, economic inequality fueled huge changes in the landscape, and many places and people that have formed our idea of the Bay Area have disappeared, pushed out by rising rents, demolitions, and a fraying social-safety net. As we finished writing, the horrors of US detention camps for migrant children grew in scale. Sometimes these events made it hard to focus on writing. We wondered: Does this book matter in the midst of so much inhumanity and crisis?

But as we worked on these essays, we continually rediscovered connections between the stories about the difficult past with our knowledge of the difficult present. And we were reminded that the relationships between oppression and activism are not chance meetings. As geographer and prison-abolitionist Ruth Wilson Gilmore writes, "We simultaneously make places, things, and selves, although not under conditions of our own choosing. . . . If agency

is the human ability to craft opportunity from the wherewithal of everyday life, then agency and structure are products of each other. Without their mutual interaction, there would be no drama, no dynamic, no story to tell."⁵

Indeed, as we argue throughout this book, the Bay Area is a place with entrenched injustices—racism, economic violence, homophobia. This means that the work of understanding what has come before and how people have survived, fought back, reimagined, and dreamed is essential here, and beyond here. What this book shows is that, from San Jose to Oakland to Petaluma, people continue to seek and strategize for a better world. These people persist, they are creative, sometimes they are victorious. When they get tired, there must be others to step in and take the baton. We hope that this book can contribute a small part to sustaining communities engaged in these struggles, offering lessons about the enduring realities of oppression alongside true stories of the geographies of hope and activism that offer necessary inspiration.

As we closed out our work on *A People's Guide to the Bay Area* in the summer of 2019, we came back to the idea that investigations into the two-way relationship between people and place matter deeply for dreaming a new future. In his novel on Native American Oakland, Tommy Orange writes that this may be the very thing that saves communities in enduringly challenging times. He writes, for example, that the mid-twentieth-century government relocation of young Native Americans to cities was an

attempt to eliminate Native culture. Instead, in the hands of his community, he observes that a forced migration was ultimately transformed as people forged new possibilities

out of the ashes of the past. Even through dark times, as he puts it, “The city made us new, and we made it ours.”⁶

Endnotes

1. We have learned so much from Richard Walker and Paul Groth, key analysts of Bay Area cultural and economic landscapes. We also follow in the footsteps of scholars of race, place, and power, particularly Katherine McKittrick, Laura Pulido, Ruth Wilson Gilmore, and Clyde Woods.
2. We often use the ending *x* for ethnic terms like *Latino/a* or *Filipino /a*, following new conventions by writers and activists seeking to develop nonbinary language around gender. The *x* suggests that the term is not solely male or female and that other gender expressions are included.
3. Katherine McKittrick, *Demonic Grounds: Black Women and the Cartographies of Struggle*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006, p. xix.
4. Toni Morrison, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992, p. 3.
5. Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007, p. 27.
6. Tommy Orange, *There There*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2018, p. 8.