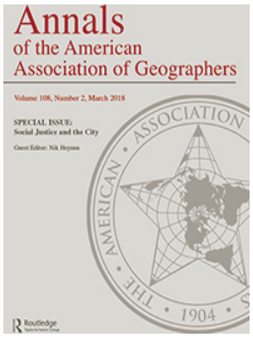

Annals of the American Association of Geographers

ISSN: 2469-4452 (Print) 2469-4460 (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/raag21

The Anti-Eviction Mapping Project: Counter Mapping and Oral History toward Bay Area Housing Justice

Manissa M. Maharawal & Erin McElroy

To cite this article: Manissa M. Maharawal & Erin McElroy (2018) The Anti-Eviction Mapping Project: Counter Mapping and Oral History toward Bay Area Housing Justice, Annals of the American Association of Geographers, 108:2, 380-389, DOI: 10.1080/24694452.2017.1365583

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2017.1365583

The Anti-Eviction Mapping Project: Counter Mapping and Oral History toward Bay Area Housing Justice

Manissa M. Maharawal* and Erin McElroy†

*Department of Anthropology, American University
†Department of Feminist Studies, The University of California, Santa Cruz

The Anti-Eviction Mapping Project is a data visualization, data analysis, and oral history collective documenting gentrification and resistance in the San Francisco Bay Area. In this article, we discuss the history and methodology of our narrative mapmaking, situating our work in the tradition of critical geography, critical race studies, as well as feminist and decolonial science studies. Aligned with activist work that is fighting for a future beyond the current tech-dominated political economy of speculative real estate and venture capital, our project maps sites of resistance, while remembering spaces lost and struggled for. In this article, we highlight the connections between countermapping, oral history, and housing justice work. *Key Words: countermapping, eviction gentrification, oral history, San Francisco, social justice.*

反对驱逐的製图计画，是记录三藩市湾区的贵族化及反抗的资料可视化、资料分析和口述历史的集体。我们于本文中探讨自身的叙事性製图历史及方法，并将我们的研究置于批判地理学、批判种族研究和女权主义与去殖民科学研究的传统之中。与社会运动者奋力追求超越当前受科技支配的房地产投机与创投资本的政治经济之未来的努力一致，我们的计画绘製反抗的场域，同时追忆失落与奋斗过的空间。我们于本文中强调反抗製图、口述历史与居住正义工作之间的关联性。 *关键词： 反抗製图，驱逐式贵族化，口述历史，三藩市，社会正义。*

El Proyecto Cartográfico contra el Desalojo es un colectivo de visualización de datos, análisis de datos e historia oral que documenta el aburguesamiento y la resistencia en el Área de la Bahía de San Francisco. En este artículo discutimos la historia y la metodología de nuestra narrativa de la elaboración de mapas, situando nuestro trabajo en la tradición de la geografía crítica, los estudios críticos de raza, así como los estudios de ciencia feminista y descolonial. En línea con el activismo que propende por un futuro alejado de la actual economía política de especulación inmobiliaria y capital de riesgo, dominada por la técnica, nuestro proyecto cartografía los sitios de resistencia, mientras recuerda los espacios perdidos que fueron objeto de disputa. En este artículo, destacamos las conexiones que existen entre contra-mapeo, historia oral y el trabajo sobre justicia en vivienda. *Palabras clave: contra-mapeo, aburguesamiento por desalojo, historia oral, San Francisco, justicia social.*

In 2013, at the height of the San Francisco Bay Area's most recent eviction crisis, the Anti-Eviction Mapping Project (AEMP) began publishing digital maps and analyzing eviction data. The project was formed in response to the devastating impacts of venture capital, urban neoliberal politics, and real estate speculation in the Bay Area that we were witnessing in our everyday lives. Thus, the AEMP was formed as a data visualization, data analysis, and digital storytelling collective with the aim of documenting dispossession to make visible and actionable the terrain of gentrification and resistance in the city. To date the AEMP has produced more than 100 maps and data visualizations, community power maps, and a narrative cartographic project called Narratives of Displacement and Resistance (NDR). This NDR project embeds oral history and video work in a digital geospatial interface with the intent of making tangible the life stories and community experiences of people at the forefront of the Bay Area's eviction epidemic—not just as victims but as actors and activists in the process of urban transformation.

As founder of the AEMP (McElroy) and cofounders of NDR (Maharawal and McElroy), in this article we describe the process, tactics, and ideas behind our work; justify how and why we lattice countermapping and oral history practices; and set forth an analysis of how these can be used in the fight for housing justice.

Annals of the American Association of Geographers, 108(2) 2018, pp. 380–389 © 2018 by American Association of Geographers
Initial submission, December 2016; revised submission, April 2017; final acceptance, May 2017
Published by Taylor & Francis, LLC.

We offer the following analysis as a contribution to both recent studies on Bay Area gentrification (Mirabal 2009; Walker and Schafran 2015; McNeill 2016; Stehlin 2016; Werth and Merianthal 2016; Maharawal 2017a, 2017b; McElroy 2017) and the growing scholarship on AEMP itself (Brahinsky 2014; Opillard 2015; McElroy and Opillard 2016; Shaffer 2016; Maharawal and McElroy 2017). Although both AEMP and NDR currently operate in both San Francisco and Alameda Counties (with AEMP further working in San Mateo and Los Angeles Counties), for the sake of this article, we focus on San Francisco, where both AEMP and the NDR project first emerged. This focus on San Francisco is not meant to reify the city as the center of the Bay Area gentrification crisis; rather, it is to highlight how and why AEMP and the NDR project came to be. We also want to acknowledge that we are just two of the project's numerous members. During AEMP's weekly meetings, which occur in both San Francisco and Oakland, sometimes dozens and other times just a handful of volunteers show up—volunteers consisting of activist scholars, oral historians, cartographers, disgruntled tech employees, youth, people new to the area, and those who have lived in the region for decades. These volunteers, along with the numerous community partners we have worked with, contribute vital labor to the project, shaping the direction it has taken and building its future.

Countermapping the Eviction Epidemic

The AEMP has by no means been the only group mapping San Francisco's contemporary tech boom. The boom, at times referred to as the Tech Boom 2.0, the Dot-Com Boom 2.0, or the App Boom, is thought to have emerged roughly in 2011, following the 2008 foreclosure crisis and in the long shadow of the first dot-com boom and bust of the late 1990s and early 2000s. Along with this tech boom and its attendant new waves of gentrification came a plethora of maps, each with its own novel geographic imaginary of the Bay Area. For example, in 2014, the luxury apartment complex NEMA—located in the "Twitter Tax Break Zone," a 2011 tax break for tech companies in the mid-Market area of San Francisco that led to increased property values throughout downtown (Lang 2015)—released its own marketing map of San Francisco neighborhoods. This map erased Chinatown and the largely working-class southern neighborhoods of the city and renamed the Castro, a historically gay neighborhood, as Eureka Valley/Dolores Heights. The list of such real estate–driven neoliberal fantasy maps goes on (McElroy 2016) and is situated within a deep history of capitalist cartography privileging racialized, classed, and gendered geographic perceptions. As Wood and Krygier (2009) argued, deciding what to include in a map "surfaces the problem of knowledge in an inescapable fashion, as do symbolization, generalization and classification" (10). We developed our maps to counter such speculative real estate imaginaries, methodologically aligned with Kwan's (2002) conception of feminist visualization or a mode in which geographic information systems (GIS) can be used through feminist analytics and praxis. Ultimately for the AEMP, how the Bay Area is visualized is itself a terrain of struggle. Countermapping is for us a political act and one that (we insist) should also be accompanied by political action.

By *countermapping*, we refer to a set of critical cartographic and feminist data visualization practices that seek to render visible the landscapes, lives, and sites of resistance and dispossession elided in capitalist, colonial, and liberal topographies (Kwan 2002; Wood and Krygier 2009; Kurgan 2013; Ignazio 2015; Voyles 2015; Van der Vlist 2017). Methodologically, countermapping questions how, why, and with whom maps are made. In our work, the narrative and countermapping practices of AEMP and NDR seek not only to create a geospatial archive of loss but also to intentionally build solidarity and political collectivity among the projects' participants. That is, beyond mapping for mapping's sake, the project's goal in countermapping has always also been to assist and contribute to the rich terrain and history of activism throughout the region. Further, drawing on our experiences of creating collective and public community power maps, we argue for engaged methodological approaches that not only perform "autopsies" of evicted communities or produce what Woods (2002) described as "social death" for research subjects. Instead, whereas real estate speculators map investment opportunities, we map loss, dispossession, resistance, and struggle. Whereas real estate maps work hand in hand with neoliberal urban policymakers and property developers, our maps are produced through collaborations with activists and tenants fighting their evictions. Whereas their maps seek to produce an urban future of speculative capital accumulation, ours are designed to strengthen intersectional approaches theorizing risk, displacement, and resistance. In doing so, they

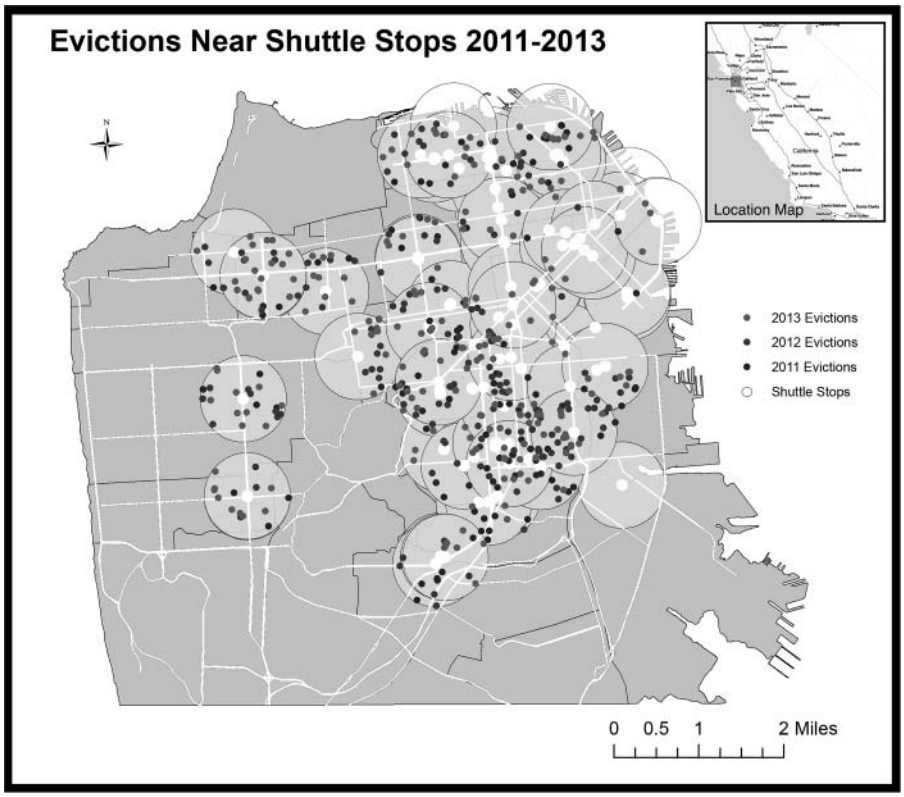

Figure 1. Tech Bus Stop Eviction Map, showing proximity of evictions to tech bus infrastructure. As we found, 69 percent of no-fault evictions between 2011 and 2013 occurred within four blocks of tech bus stops (Anti-Eviction Mapping Project 2014).

produce an alternative "geographic imagination" (Katz 2011, 58; Harvey 1990), elucidating new possibilities and modes of analysis. The AEMP's cartographic practice is thus in the critical geographic tradition of the Detroit Geographic Institute and Expedition (Barnes and Heynen 2011; Bunge 2011).

In this vein, AEMP pushes an engaged and activist geographical work through explicitly feminist, decolonial, antiracist cartographic practices in tandem with everyday political struggles. For instance, we have taken up an intersectional mapping approach in our partnership with the Eviction Defense Collaborative, a San Francisco–based nonprofit legal clinic that provides legal representation to tenants who have received eviction notices. Working with them to analyze and map their eviction and relocation data, we produced data visualizations showing that San Francisco's poor and working-class black and Latino residents are more likely to be displaced than white residents (Anti-Eviction Mapping Project and Eviction Defense Collaborative 2016). Interestingly, these eviction numbers inversely correlate with the hiring statistics of leading Bay Area tech companies (McElroy 2016). By combining these data sets, we have contributed to an intersectional analysis of gentrification in the city, pointing to the racialized and classed nature of "evictability" (Van Baar 2016). Thus, our visualizations produce something akin to what Shabazz (2015) described as "ghost mapping," a conjuring of that which causes disappearance—in this case, white male tech capitalist geographies.

We countered such tech geographies early on in our project when we produced our Tech Bus Stop Eviction Map (Figure 1), responding to public outrage and protest regarding private luxury shuttles, colloquially known as the "Google buses" used by tech companies. These buses illegally (at the time) used the city's public bus stops to pick up their employees who commuted to and from Silicon Valley–based campuses. Not only were many San Francisco residents angered that private tech companies were taking over the city's public transportation infrastructure by using public bus stops for free, often delaying public buses in the process, but, further, as many tenants suspected, the new luxury bus lines were also causing property speculation and thus inciting evictions (Maharawal 2014; McElroy 2017).

We substantiated this suspicion through cartographic data analysis, finding that 69 percent of San

Francisco's "no-fault" evictions between 2011 and 2013 occurred within four blocks of private tech bus stops (Anti-Eviction Mapping Project 2014). In San Francisco, no-fault evictions are issued to tenants who have not violated their leases, whereas "fault" evictions are issued due to lease violations (nevertheless, fault evictions are often given for benign offenses). No-fault evictions are often used by real estate speculators to evict tenants and, as we found, the proximity of tech bus stops causes further speculation. Another study conducted by Dai and Weinzimmer (2014) concluded that up to 40 percent of those riding buses would not live in San Francisco if the buses did not exist. Our mapping was conducted in tandem with the Google bus blockades, which were direct actions that we also took part in organizing. These blockades drew attention to the connections between the private tech transportation infrastructure and evictions in the city, something that we made visually accessible through mapping. Further, our maps were used by activists in City Hall hearings on regulating the buses, demonstrating its public utility. Tech itself was not the problem, we argued, but rather real estate speculators were being given license to prey on the new geographies and wealth that tech generated.

Our Tech Bus eviction map built on the first map the AEMP produced, our Ellis Act Eviction Map, which depicted the accumulation of Ellis Act evictions in San Francisco since 1994. This map visualizes the alarming growth of Ellis Act evictions, a type of no-fault eviction prevalent in rent-controlled California cities. The Ellis Act is a California state law that permits landlords to "exit" the rental market, evict tenants due to no fault of their own, and change the "use" of the building—most often into ownership units (e.g., condos)—effectively destroying affordable rental housing (San Francisco Tenants Union 2016). Utilizing a JavaScript data visualization library, D3, to create a time-lapse map, we depicted Ellis Act evictions through a series of "explosions" in which red dots erupt across the city, corresponding to the number of units evicted (as filed with the San Francisco Rent Board). The map provided a quantitative yet visceral geographic representation of displacement in the city, the red eviction dots leaving the city pockmarked and blemished by the end of the time lapse.

Analyzing the data, one eviction at a time, and cross-referencing with Planning Department data and recorded real estate transactions, we calculated that Ellis Act evictions were increasingly being used by speculators to evict rent-controlled tenants and flip buildings. In fact, in San Francisco this seemed to be the Ellis Act's primary use, rather than its use by longtime landlords to exit the rental market, the latter being a myth promulgated by the real estate industry. As we discovered, 60 percent of Ellis Act evictions transpired within the first year of ownership and 79 percent within the first five years (Anti-Eviction Mapping Project and Tenants Together 2014). Collaborating with the statewide tenant rights organization Tenants Together, as well as the San Francisco housing rights coalition the Anti-Displacement Coalition, these data were used in political campaigns designed to curb Ellis Act eviction–induced real estate speculation. Unfortunately, both citywide and statewide measures failed, due in large part due to the immense lobbying and financing of counter campaigns by the real estate industry.

Our early maps and data visualizations drew much attention and were picked up by news outlets and politicians, as well as housing organizations. To many, they offered a conceptual foothold for grasping the seemingly amorphous and ubiquitous process of gentrification and social transformation occurring in the city. Our work pointed to the contours of processes of enclosure currently taking place in San Francisco, in which public goods (bus stops, parks, and rent-stabilized housing) were being undermined and enclosed by techno-capital (McNeill 2016; Maharawal 2017a; McElroy 2017). Inspired by the response, particularly that from activists and tenant organizers, we amplified our work, producing more cartographic experiments and partnering with housing organizations, activist collectives, and arts groups, from the San Francisco Tenants Union to the Unsettlers Project.

Yet, as activists, organizers, and academics, something was bothering us about our cartographic creations. Our everyday lives were surrounded by the experiences and stories of eviction, loss, and refusal, yet these rich social worlds were not being represented on our maps. We realized that our data-driven cartographic activism, vital as it was, was also reducing complex lifeworlds to dots on a map.

The idea that maps can be reductionist is, of course, not new (see Pickles [1995] as a seminal critique of GIS as positivist), and there have been many debates about GIS (e.g., the so-called GIS wars) that have led to the emergence of participatory GIS (PGIS) and public participatory GIS (PPGIS; Weiner and Harris 2003; Rouse, Bergeron, and Harris 2009). Ultimately, however, our realization that AEMP's maps needed to be accompanied

by life stories came from our experiences organizing with people being evicted rather than the academic debates about the use and power of GIS.

Oral History toward Collective Resistance

Oral history, as a coproduced archival practice, inspired the AEMP to generate the NDR project, formed as a collective practice of recording community and life histories. Methodologically, the NDR project uses the format of oral history to produce what Frisch (1990) termed "shared authority," allowing "a more profound sharing of knowledges, an implicit and sometimes explicit dialogue from very different vantages about the shape, meaning and implications of history" (xxi–xxii). For instance, some of our interviewees, especially those publicly and actively fighting their evictions, had been interviewed by journalists, and their stories had helped to create media narratives about Bay Area gentrification. In their extractive format, though, media interviews tended to reduce these stories to simple narratives about victimhood and loss, producing tenants as subjects of processes happening to them, rather than as actors who are intentionally contesting, resisting, and thereby also shaping such processes. Thus, these journalistic interviews were antithetical to an ethos of "shared authority." They often produced an image of passivity and docility in the face of displacement and eviction. For us, oral history works to counter such representations, cocreating and fomenting collective political analyses while building resistance (cf. Kerr 2008). As such, the NDR project seeks to "share" analytic authority both within and beyond the moment of the interview. This approach values nuance and does not shy away from the messiness of politics or the complexity of personal histories.

From the outset, though, we remained concerned with how to map and represent life histories, neighborhood stories, and complex social worlds while utilizing oral history for *housing justice* (Kerr 2008). We wanted to take on representational critiques emergent from decolonial and postcolonial scholarship and critical race studies (Spivak 1988; Povinelli 2002; Stoler 2002; Woods 2002; Simpson 2014), as well as feminist and critical geography (Harvey 1984; Massey 1994; Kwan 2002; Wood and Krygier 2009; Kurgan 2013; Chambers et al. 2014). Specifically, we endeavored to record the complex social and political worlds that were being disappeared *nonreductively*, empowering those involved. We were wary of documentary projects that viewed recording dispossession stories as an end in itself. We did not want merely to record "eviction stories" and risk reducing tenants' lives solely to their eviction nor merely bear witness to stories of suffering. Although we do record sorrowful stories of loss and pain, the oral history format ensures that these stories are not *all* the project records; rather, they are entangled with stories of joy, resistance, laughter, and contradiction.

Critical of both quantitative and qualitative liberal epistemic traditions, we thus embedded our work within the engaged practice of political organizing and social movement building. In constructing a qualitative GIS project (Elwood and Cope 2009) that understands GIS fundamentally as a power relation (Pavlovskaya 2009), our project has had to interface with diverse social and political worlds—from the activists and tenants we were organizing with to policymakers and media outlets who were sometimes the targets of our campaigns. As we further discuss later, the project often has oscillated at the blurred boundaries between analytical, authorial, affective, and political labor. As participants and scholar-activists (Cope 2008; Mitchell 2008; Autonomous Geographies Collective 2010), we found ourselves collaborators at the muddy crossroads of oral history, countermapping, academic knowledge production, direct action, and community organizing.

Ultimately, the goals of the NDR project are threefold: to (1) create an archive and historical record of the eviction epidemic through the stories of communities under threat of displacement and cultural erasure; (2) generate stories and data useful to activists and tenants in their campaigns; and (3) build solidarity and collectivity among the project's participants who could help one another in fighting evictions and collectively combat the alienation that eviction produces. These aspirations led to the creation of a participatory ethnographic oral history format that privileges stories of how people forge resistance around the concept of home through the intimate everyday politics of place. The NDR is an ongoing experiment in political community making, crafted through collective labor, mapping quantitative and qualitative data alongside direct action, and housing a diverse range of revolutionary aspirations. As many of the interviewees became interviewers and vice versa, the project is a collectively produced archive of community history, loss, and resistance, as well as an important historical document of San

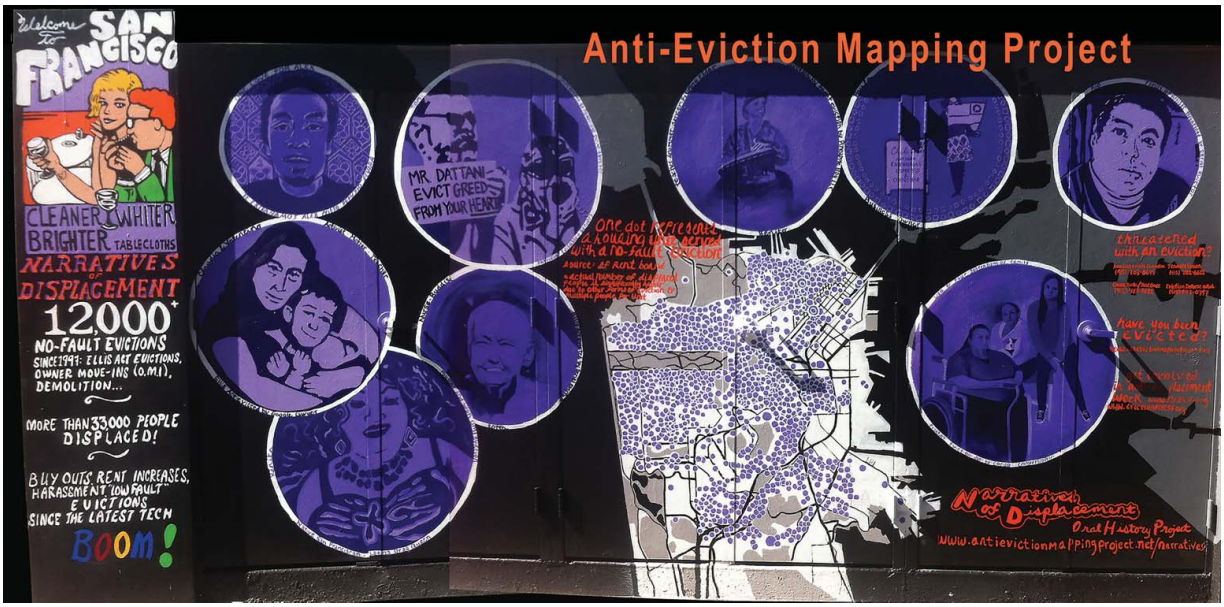

Figure 2. Narratives of Displacement and Resistance mural, painted in the Mission's Clarion Alley in collaboration with Clarion Alley Mural Project. More photos and videos of the mural live can be found online at https://antievictionmap.squarespace.com/mural-in-clarion-alley, and the map's digital version can be found at http://www.antievictionmappingproject.net/narratives.html. (Color figure available online.)

Francisco's massive political and economic transformations. Moreover, as many of these narrators and archivists are also involved in various forms of activism and organizing together, the NDR project itself functions as just one facet of a broader effort to build a community of resistance. Thus, the tactical work of archiving publicly accessible stories works alongside other strategies—such as campaigns to fight specific types of eviction, as well as legal and direct action campaigns against various engines of gentrification. These strategies, tactics, and forms of resistance all amount to a process of place making in the Bay Area.

Place Making and Power Mapping

Place making is a vital component of social justice work. As Gilmore (2002) wrote, "The violence of abstraction produces all kinds of fetishes: states, races, normative views of how people fit into and make places in the world. A geographical imperative lies at the heart of every struggle for social justice; if justice is embodied, it is then therefore always spatial, which is to say part of the process of making a place" (16). The place-making practices of the NDR project are multiple and embodied in various ways. Although the digital archive and maps primarily live online, it takes various embodied and material forms offline as well.

For instance, when we released our Narratives Map in the spring of 2015, after having recorded our first thirty oral history interviews, we partnered with the Clarion Alley Mural Project and a team of muralists to paint an image of the oral history map on the Mission's Clarion Alley wall (Figure 2). In addition to depicting evictions across the city, the mural features nine portraits, each paired with a five-minute oral history clip that passersby could access and listen to through a "call-the-wall" function that operated by visitors simply calling a number painted on the wall. In this way, visitors could hear from tenants themselves, learning from stories of loss as well as resistance as they move through the spaces of the city.

The mural also featured a portrait of Alex Nieto, a Latino man who was killed by the San Francisco police in 2014 in Bernal Heights Park. Born and raised in the Mission, Nieto was killed while eating a burrito in the park before he went to his job as a security guard, after Justin Fritz, a white man who was new to the neighborhood, called 911 reporting Nieto as a person acting "suspiciously." When the police arrived, they shot and killed Nieto on the spot, allegedly mistaking his security guard's Taser for a gun. Many activists and residents in the Mission subsequently connected his death to the violence of gentrification in San Francisco (Solnit 2016). Our mural was positioned directly across from the Mission police station, where the police who killed him were stationed—and on it

Alex's portrait (partly painted by his parents) was accompanied by his parents' narrative of the aftermath of his death on their lives. By including his portrait, we sought to honor not only Alex but also the work of the Justice for Alex Nieto Coalition and to contribute to a political analysis that connects gentrification, racialized surveillance, and police brutality.

Leading up to the release of our oral history map and mural, AEMP volunteers also simultaneously produced a zine titled *We Are Here*, featuring transcriptions of some our oral histories, as well as photographs of antieviction actions, poems, artwork, essays on the idea of displacement written by activists, and page-by-page collages. In the back is a "know-your-rights" information section, explaining how to fight an eviction and find support in the region, followed by a list of wins achieved through direct action by groups in which members of AEMP were involved. We distributed the first print edition of *We Are Here* in Clarion Alley during the mural's unveiling, where we also invited each of the tenants featured on the wall, as well as Alex Nieto's parents, to be part of a dedication ceremony. At the time of the ceremony, all of the tenants featured were still in their homes, each of them choosing to fight his or her eviction through a variety of direct action tactics including street protests, call-in campaigns, and a refusal to leave. Thus, the dedication ceremony was also a celebration of the power of protest and resistance, a sign of refusal to simply becoming a statistic or a docile dot on a map of loss.

Building on these experiences in San Francisco, we worked toward a regional analysis of gentrification and resistance struggles by starting a collaborative mapping project with the statewide group Tenants Together. Using eviction data from Alameda County (focusing on the cites of Oakland, Fremont, and Alameda), as well as data from the Oakland Rent Board, the project began mapping evictions in these cities, in tandem with producing oral histories and video work. In collaboration with groups that included the Oakland Creative Neighborhood Coalition, the Alameda Renters Coalition, Fremont RISE, Filipino Advocates for Justice, Causa Justa/Just Cause, and more, this cartographic and narrative work coalesced into report entitled *Counterpoints: Data and Stories for Resisting Displacement* (Graziani et al. 2016). As part of our partnership with the Oakland Creative Neighborhood Coalition, we also created a Community Power Map

Figure 3. Oakland Community Power Map, made in collaboration with the Betti Ono Gallery and the Oakland Creative Neighborhood Coalition. A digital crowdsource-able version of the map is available at http://arcg.is/2bnNUMa. (Color figure available online.)

(Figure 3) in the Betti Ono Gallery in downtown Oakland. This collaborative map aimed to reframe representations of the spaces of gentrification and struggle in Oakland by overlaying existing geographies with images of community power. The base layer for the map was collectively drawn by AEMP and Betti Ono members on two walls, representing Oakland's geography. Subsequently, gallery visitors could add what they considered assets and markers of community power on the map. As we wrote on the wall:

> In a city that has historically faced disinvestment by the powers that be, the current tide of changes and development in Oakland does not take into account what the heart and soul of Oakland want. What is valuable to our cultural identities, and what threatens our very place here. It is crucial, at this time, that we let the city know what we have, what we value, and what we want. This is a community power map. Your offerings to the map will live beyond this installation in an online map made with Anti-Eviction Mapping Project in collaboration with The Oakland Creative Neighborhoods Coalition. (Graziani et al. 2016, 17)

Before taking down the Community Power Map, we digitized its contents, so that it now lives online and is crowdsource-able, continuing to reframe the ways in which Oakland is imagined (Anti-Eviction Mapping Project 2016). As such, we hope that it will feed political imaginations antithetical to real estate development and foment imaginaries of everyday means of resisting hypergentrification.

Since producing this first community power map, we have produced several more, aligned with traditions of participatory GIS (Weiner and Harris 2003; Rouse, Bergeron, and Harris 2009). For instance, in partnership with the Bay Area Video Collaborative and Seven Tepees, we coproduced maps of youth power assets. Further, with University of California Berkeley students, we are currently mapping resources for undocumented students on campus. In these ways, through collaborative mural painting, organizing community events, and producing power maps alongside more traditional mapping, archiving, and storytelling, we have sought to build collective resistance to regional processes of dispossession.

Conclusion

Both the AEMP and the NDR project are multifaceted: at once an archive, a coproduced digital ethnographic object, a mural, a zine, and a collective political project of community and place making. In building AEMP and NDR, we have had to ask ourselves this: How can producing narrative and cartographic work online help foment embodied and material sociopolitical change? How can such a methodological approach work with and not merely for impacted communities (Tallbear 2014)? We have found numerous answers to these questions, answers that point to the ways in which archiving, mapmaking, storytelling, and political organizing can be intertwined and symbiotic, treated as important tools in an arsenal of tactics and strategies for resistance, place making, and political community building in the Bay Area.

One participant in the NDR project, Claudia Tirado, an elementary school teacher in San Francisco who fought her Ellis Act eviction, described how through the process of contesting her eviction, she found a political home: "I talk to Patricia, I talk to Benito, I talk to people who have been evicted before and who are there to fight evictions. They understand, they understand what it feels like. They understand what it is about and I feel a little more at home there" (this interview is available in full at http://www.antievictionmappingproject.net/narratives.html). Embedded within the larger AEMP, the NDR project demonstrates how the landscapes of property speculation are not an abstract terrain but rather an intimate topography composed of the clatter and clang of objects moved, lives and homes disrupted. Mapping this intimate terrain points to ways that collective resistance can be waged, and in doing so we must keep asking how cartographic activism and storytelling can support those waging rebellion and how such projects can provide a political "home" for people as they fight to save their physical homes.

Acknowledgments

Both authors contributed equally to this article and are listed in alphabetical order. We thank the collective members (past and present) of the AEMP for their vital work on the project. This project would not be possible without the many narrators who contributed, and we are grateful for their words and stories. Two anonymous reviewers and Zoltan Gluck provided exceedingly helpful comments and we thank them for this.

Funding

Manissa M. Maharawal was provided funding for research and writing by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the American Council

for Learned Societies/Mellon, The New York Council of Humanities, and a Digital Innovation Grant from The Graduate Center, CUNY. Erin McElroy received funding for this research from the Creative Work Fund, UCSC's Blum Center on Poverty, and UCSC's Eugene V. Cota-Robles Fellowship.

References

Anti-Eviction Mapping Project. 2014. Tech bus evictions. Accessed November 10, 2016. http://www.antevictionmappingproject.net/techbusevictions.html.

———. 2016. Oakland community power map. Accessed November 10, 2016. http://arcg.is/2bnNUMa.

Anti-Eviction Mapping Project and Eviction Defense Collaborative. 2016. *Eviction report, 2015: A report by the eviction defense collaborative and the anti-eviction mapping project*. San Francisco: Anti-Eviction Mapping Project.

Anti-Eviction Mapping Project and Tenants Together. 2014. The speculator loophole: Ellis Act evictions in San Francisco. Accessed March 20, 2017. http://antievictionmappingproject.net/speculatorloophole.html.

Autonomous Geographies Collective. 2010. Beyond scholar activism: Making strategic interventions inside and outside the neoliberal university. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 9 (2):245–75.

Barnes, T., and N. Heynen. 2011. A classic in human geography: William Bunge's (1971) Fitzgerald: Geography of a revolution. *Progress in Human Geography* 35 (5):712–20.

Brahinsky, R. 2014. The death of the city? *Boom: A Journal of California* 4 (2):43–54.

Bunge, W. 2011. *Fitzgerald: Geography of a revolution*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

Chambers, K., J. Corbett, C. Keller, and C. Wood. 2014. Indigenous knowledge, mapping, and GIS: A diffusion of innovation perspective. *Cartographica: The International Journal for Geographic Information and Geovisualization* 39 (3):19–31.

Cope, M. 2008. Becoming a scholar-advocate: Participatory research with children. *Antipode* 40:428–35.

Dai, D., and D. Weinzimmer 2014. *Riding first class: Impacts of Silicon Valley shuttles on commute & residential location choice*. Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley, Institute of Transportation Studies.

Elwood, S., and M. Cope. 2009. Introduction: Qualitative GIS: Forging mixed methods through representations, analytical innovations, and conceptual engagements. In *Qualitative GIS: A mixed methods approach*, ed. M. Cope and S. Elwood, 1–12. Los Angeles: Sage.

Frisch, M. 1990. *Shared authority: Essays on the craft and meaning of oral and public history*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Gilmore, R. W. 2002. Fatal couplings of power and difference: Notes on racism and geography. *The Professional Geographer* 54 (1):15–24.

Graziani, T., E. McElroy, M. Shi, and L. Simon-Weisberg. 2016. *Counterpoints: Data and stories for resisting displacement*. San Francisco: Anti-Eviction Mapping Project.

Harvey, D. 1984. On the history and present condition of geography: An historical materialist manifesto. *The Professional Geographer* 36 (1):1–11.

———. 1990. Between space and time: Reflections on the geographical imagination. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80 (3):418–34.

Ignazio, C. 2015. *What would feminist data visualization look like?* MIT Blog. Accessed February 10, 2017. https://civic.mit.edu/feminist-data-visualization.

Katz, C. 2011. Accumulation, excess, childhood: Toward a countertopography of risk and waste. *Documents D'anàlisi Geogràfica* 57 (1):47–60.

Kerr, D. 2008. Countering corporate narratives from the street: The Cleveland Homeless oral history project. In *Oral history and public memories*, ed. P. Hamilton and L. Shopes, 231–51. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Kurgan, L. 2013. *Close up at a distance: Mapping, technology, and politics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Kwan, M. 2002. Feminist visualization: Re-envisioning GIS as a method in feminist geographic research. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 92 (4):645–61.

Lang, M. 2015. Companies avoid $34M in city taxes thanks to "Twitter tax break." *SF Gate* October 29. Accessed August 8, 2016. http://www.sfgate.com/business/article/Companies-avoid-34M-in-city-taxes-thanks-to-6578396.php.

Maharawal, M. 2014. Protest of gentrification and eviction technologies in San Francisco. *Progressive Planning* 199:20–24.

———. 2017a. San Francisco's tech-led gentrification: Public space, protest, and the urban commons. In *City unsilenced: Urban resistance and public space in the age of shrinking democracy*, ed. J. Hou and S. Knierbein, 30–43. London and New York: Routledge.

———. 2017b. Black Lives Matter, gentrification and the security state in the San Francisco Bay area. *Anthropological Theory*. Advance online publication.

Maharawal, M., and E. McElroy. 2017. In the time of trump: Housing, whiteness, and abolition. In *Contested property claims: What disagreement tells us about ownership*, ed. M. Hojer Bruun, P. Cockburn, B. Skærlund Risager, and M. Thorup. Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

Massey, D. 1994. *Space, place and gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

McElroy, E. 2016. Intersectional contours of loss and resistance: Mapping Bay Area gentrification. Accessed March 29, 2017. https://antipodefoundation.org/2016/08/18/intersectional-contours-of-loss-and-resistance.

———. 2017. Postsocialism and the Tech Boom 2.0: Techno-utopics of racial/spatial dispossession. *Social Identities* 23:1–16.

McElroy, E., and F. Opillard. 2016. Les Villes Américaines/Objectivité dans l'action et Cartographie collective dans le san francisco Néolibéral: Du Travail du Collectif anti-eviction mapping project [Objectivity in action and collective mapping in neoliberal San Francisco. On the work of the anti-eviction mapping project collective]. Accessed March 29, 2017. http://www.revue-urbanites.fr/les-villes-americaines-objectivite-dans-laction-et-cartog

raphie-collective-dans-le-san-francisco-neoliberal-du-travail-du-collectif-anti-eviction-mapping-project/.
McNeill, D. 2016. Governing a city of unicorns: Technology capital and the urban politics of San Francisco. *Urban Geography* 374:494–513.
Mirabal, N. R. 2009. Geographies of displacement: Latina/os, oral history, and the politics of gentrification in San Francisco's Mission District. *The Public Historian* 31 (2):7–31.
Mitchell, K., ed. 2008. *Being and practicing public scholar*. London: Blackwell.
Pavlovskaya, M. 2009. Non-quantitative GIS. In *Qualitative GIS: A mixed methods approach*, ed. M. Cope and S. Elwood, 13–37. Los Angeles: Sage.
Pickles, J. 1995. *Ground truth: The social implications of geographic information systems*. New York: Guilford.
Povinelli, E. A. 2002. *The cunning of recognition: Indigenous alterities and the making of Australian multiculturalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Rouse, L. J., S. J. Bergeron, and T. M. Harris. 2009. Participating in the geospatial web: Collaborative mapping, social networks and participatory GIS. In *The geospatial web*, ed. A. Scharl and K. Tochtermann, 153–58. London: Springer.
San Francisco Tenants Union. 2016. Ellis Act evictions. Accessed November 30, 2016. https://www.sftu.org/ellis/.
Shabazz, R. 2015. *Spatializing blackness: Architectures of confinement and black masculinity in Chicago*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
Shaffer, A. 2016. West side stories. *Oral History Review* 43 (2):427–30.
Simpson, A. 2014. *Mohawk interruptus: Political life across the borders of settler states*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
Solnit, R. 2016. Death by gentrification: The killing that shamed San Francisco. *The Guardian* March 21. Accessed February 10, 2017. https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/mar/21/death-by-gentrification-the-killing-that-shamed-san-francisco.
Spivak, G. C. 1988. Can the subaltern speak? In *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory: A reader*, ed. P. Williams and L. Chrisman, 66–111. New York: Columbia University Press.
Stehlin, J. 2016. The post-industrial "shop floor": Emerging forms of gentrification in San Francisco's innovation economy. *Antipode* 48 (2):474–93.
Stoler, A. L. 2002. Colonial archives and the arts of governance. *Archival Science* 2 (1–2):87–109.
Tallbear, K. 2014. Standing with and speaking as faith: A feminist-indigenous approach to inquiry. *Journal of Research Practice* 10 (2):17. Accessed September 12, 2017. http://jrp.icaap.org/index.php/jrp/article/view/405/371
Van Baar, H. 2016. Evictability and the biopolitical bordering of Europe. *Antipode* 49:1–19.
Van der Vlist, F. 2017. Counter-mapping surveillance: A critical cartography of mass surveillance technology after Snowden. *Surveillance & Society* 15 (1):137–57.
Voyles, T. 2015. *Wastelanding: Legacies of uranium mining in Navajo Country*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
Walker, R., and A. Schafran. 2015. The strange case of the Bay Area. *Environment and Planning A* 47 (1):10–29.
Weiner, D., and T. Harris. 2003. Community-integrated GIS for land reform in South Africa. *URISA Journal* 15 (2):61–73.
Werth, A., and E. Merienthal. 2016. "Gentrification" as a grid of meaning: On bounding the deserving public of Oakland First Fridays. *City* 20 (5):719–36.
Wood, D., and J. Krygier. 2009. Critical cartography. In *The international encyclopedia of human geography*, ed. R. Kitchin and N. Thrift, 340–44. New York and London: Elsevier.
Woods, C. 2002. Life after death. *The Professional Geographer* 54 (1):62–66.

MANISSA M. MAHARAWAL is Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology at American University, Washington, DC 20016. E-mail: manissa@gmail.com. She is the cofounder of the Narratives of Displacement and Resistance Oral History project as part of the Anti-Eviction Mapping Project. Her research interests include urban transformation, social movements and resistance, race, oral history, and political subjectivity.

ERIN McELROY is a Doctoral Candidate in Feminist Studies at University of California Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz, CA 95064. E-mail: emmcelro@ucsc.edu. She is also cofounder of the Anti-Eviction Mapping Project based out of San Francisco. Her research interests focus on techno-utopics, racialized dispossession, feminist technology studies, and postsocialism.