

to be eliminated step by step and replaced by pedicabs. Many rickshaw pullers became pedicab drivers, although rickshaws were not officially abolished until 1956. (*Shanghai chungku*, 34; *Shanghai penghuqu*, 67).

86. A conventional word to describe this group is "underclass"; see Michael B. Katz, ed., *The "Underclass" Debate: Views from History* (Princeton, 1993). I choose the word "outcasts" to highlight that these former peasants were still outside of the mainstream of urban life.

87. *Shanghai Sojourners*, 11-12.

88. Informant Zhang Jiamei (born 1934, a Yangshupu resident). Another informant, Rao Yuanfu (born 1930, a Pudong resident), reports that even today people in Pudong still talk of going to the other side of the Huangpu River (or Puxi, where the downtown area is located) as "going to Shanghai," although by ferry the trip across the river takes barely ten minutes.

89. *Shanghai penghuqu*, 28-30; *Creating Chinese Ethnicity*, 44-53.

90. Many slums in Shanghai were formed and expanded during and after the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). For example, Yaoshuiling had one thousand households in 1930; this number increased to five thousand in 1939. Zhaojiabang and many other slums in Nanshi and Pudong were formed after 1945. *Shanghai penghuqu*, 4-6; *Shanghai chanye*, 90-91.

91. *Shanghai chungku*, C7.

ETHNICITY AND THE HORIZONTAL CITY Mexican Americans and the Chicano Movement in San Jose, California

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The Chicano movement of the late 1960s is generally seen as an outgrowth of the civil rights movement. The leaders of the Chicano movement sought to increase in the Mexican American community pride in the group's mestizo heritage, support for farmworkers, political activism, opposition to discrimination, and demands for economic and educational equality. Commonly, the movement is analyzed in reference to the so-called "Big Four": César Chávez's United Farm Workers; Rodolfo "Corky" González's Chicano nationalism; José Angel Gutiérrez's political success in Crystal City, Texas; and Reies López Tijerina's Alianza Federal de Mercedes, which pressed for the return of land grants to Mexican Americans in the Southwest dating from the Spanish and Mexican periods.¹

The impact of these leaders on the movement was great. Yet in cities throughout the West, neighborhood organizers played a large role in shaping the issues the national leaders confronted. In many western cities, particularly those undergoing horizontal expansion during the 1950s and 1960s, urban development created problems and tensions that led to the formation of community groups which struggled to provide social services to barrio residents while opposing the various urban renewal plans that threatened Mexican neighborhoods. Also in these western cities, Mexican American students reacted against urban administrators who earmarked municipal dollars for the promotion of downtown businesses. Thus Mexican American community groups and student activists participated in what became known as the Chicano movement in direct response to the new problems that the rapid