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Arroyo Seco Placekeepers: The Use of Dramaturgy to Cultivate Creative Placekeeping and Community Networks in Pasadena, California

By

MARCUS VALADON RENNER
DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Geography

in the

OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

DAVIS

Approved:

Elisabeth Rose Middleton Manning, chair

Michael Ziser

Jon Rossini

Mary Cadenasso

Committee in Charge

2025

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This research took place on the traditional, ancestral and unceded territory of those who do possess this cultural knowledge. I next acknowledge the Gabrieleno/Tongva caretakers of Tovaangar (Los Angeles basin and south Channel Islands) and their Maara'yam/Serrano neighbors, the Kizh Nation, and the Fernandeño Tataviam Band of Mission Indians, all of whom have important ties to the Arroyo and the region as a whole. This works seeks to honor their determination and wisdom, provide information that supports their ongoing care for the land, and aid in their quest for health and a sense of home that endures across generations.

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Abstract

Achieving community-based conservation and a sustainable and just future at the local level requires strong and enduring networks of neighborhood advocates. This dissertation explores how to create, cultivate, and strengthen local advocacy networks by piloting a cultural organizing process called creative placekeeping in the neighborhoods along the Arroyo Seco, a tributary of the Los Angeles River. Focusing on Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo parklands, this research contributes to a growing dialogue about the role of arts and culture in community development. The dissertation tests the use of a dramaturgical approach to creative placekeeping by using participatory action research and artmaking to generate data on Pasadena, the placekeeping process, and ways to sustain a network of creative placekeepers over time. This approach compared narratives emerging from the Arroyo related to historical ecology, Native American experiences of the landscape, Pasadena's arts and culture sector, neighborhood development, parkland advocacy, race relations, and recreation. This comparative process proved successful at identifying a shared narrative for Arroyo Seco advocates and generating relevant, multi-dimensional creative placekeeping proposals grounded in local history and community experience. Feedback from community stakeholders and participating artists suggests sustaining a network of creative placekeepers for the Arroyo Seco watershed will require streamlining the community research process, establishing a social platform to facilitate ongoing, creative, cross-sector engagement with the landscape, and a fundraising strategy that acknowledges the potential need to fund cultural planning, cultural organizing and artist engagement, and project implementation separately. Extensive appendices provide documentation of the project pilot and detailed research findings on the Arroyo and the neighborhoods of West Pasadena.

Keywords: creative placekeeping, community development, cultural geography, dramaturgy, narrative analysis, historical ecology

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Note: Figures include images, such as photos, maps, and diagrams, that contain specific information that augment the meaning of the text. I have not given the figures that originate with me citations. In appendices 34-39, I have included a sample of the images used as prompts for story map interviews. Most of these images come from the internet and consist of clip art or photos I have taken. When these images convey specific information about Pasadena or the Arroyo, I have included them in the list above as figures. When they do not and simply serve as a generic reference for an idea, I do not. In this case, when images come from the internet, I have included a link underneath the image; when they are my photos, I have left them uncredited. I have not included page numbers in my list of figures to make this list easier to read. Readers can use the figure numbers to find a specific image since the figures occur regularly throughout the text.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"What if we cut the fence?" This was the question that Nicole Possert, the head of the Highland Park Heritage Trust, shouted to me in 2001 as we stood next to the Historic Arroyo Seco Parkway, the road most people call the Pasadena Freeway. Cars were zooming past on what was the first freeway west of the Mississippi. Landscape architects had originally envisioned the road as a pleasure ride through the scenic canyon that runs between Pasadena and downtown Los Angeles. Nicole and I were part of the steering committee for ArroyoFest, then an audacious dream of local activists to close the Parkway for a walk, bike ride, and community festival. Our plan was to draw attention to the potential of the corridor to represent a more livable L.A., with multi-modal transportation, affordable housing, parks and open space, a living stream, dynamic arts programming, and preservation of the area's rich cultural heritage. Two years later, five thousand people biked, skated, or strolled down the road on a Sunday morning and entered Sycamore Grove Park through the hole in the fence that Nicole and I had first imagined (Gottlieb 2007; Renner 2004).

I like to begin the story of ArroyoFest with that question because cutting the fence represents the kind of imaginative slingshot that we need to be firing at the assumptions of what it means to live in a city and region like Los Angeles, which has been exemplary at generating wealth for a storied handful while writing the rest of the population and the local ecology out of the narrative. The ArroyoFest Steering Committee, made up of representatives from environmental, transportation, and heritage groups along with neighborhood associations from Los Angeles and Pasadena, hoped to kick start a different story by altering how people experienced the landscape, changing how bodies moved through space. In the symbolic capital of car culture, on the road that in 1940 ushered in its freeway era, we thought this might send up

a flare that the people of Los Angeles were ready to build a different kind of city. ArroyoFest offered a disruptive invitation to start a conversation about the future.



Figure 1. *Cyclists enjoy the first ArroyoFest on June 15, 2003 (Renner 2003).*

One reason to start a conversation about Los Angeles' future with the Arroyo is how important this canyon has been to the region's past. Arroyo Seco means "dry gulch," a name the first Spanish explorers to arrive in Los Angeles bestowed on the creek in the summer of 1769 when they first glimpsed the sandy wash near where it joins the Los Angeles River. What they didn't know was that despite its dry appearance water was flowing underground, and if they had followed the wash northeast through what today constitutes the hilly neighborhoods of Northeast Los Angeles and then turned north toward where Pasadena and the Rose Bowl football stadium sit today, they would have encountered a lush riparian forest with springs cascading from the canyon walls and wetland seeps, sycamores, and cottonwoods wrapped in wild grape vines. They would have seen encampments of Gabrieleno/Tongva families gathering acorns from the oak

woodlands and savannas that covered the uplands and berries from the alluvial scrub vegetation that blanketed those areas where the River spread out into a braided network of channels.[1] If they had taken in this scene during the winter rains, they would have seen steelhead trout coursing up the Arroyo Seco toward the San Gabriel Mountains from where they had originally hatched and traveled to the ocean. The Arroyo was a highway for fish before it became one for cars. The Arroyo served as the boundary between two Spanish *ranchos* and flowed through some of Los Angeles' earliest suburban developments. The canyon inspired architects and artists and at the turn of the 20th century became a center for California's arts and crafts movement. In response to the floods of 1914, Los Angeles County built its first flood control dam across the Arroyo, connecting Pasadena with the settlements of La Cañada and Flintridge. It was also the scene for landmark civil rights cases for the State of California and played a prominent role in the battles over the siting of the region's freeways.

[1] There is disagreement over the proper name of the people indigenous to the Arroyo Seco and the Los Angeles Basin. Prior to Spanish colonization, individuals identified themselves by their villages, which existed with relative autonomy and provided a base for temporary encampments for related families (Johnston 1962; McCawley 1996; Northwest Economic Associates and King 2004; Reid 1926). The names of the villages closest to the Arroyo are not clear (Northwest Economic Associates and King 2004). During colonization, soldiers forced Native people to live near the San Gabriel Mission, and many of the descendants of these people came to know themselves as Gabrieleno (or Gabrielino) Indians. More recently, some have accepted the name Tongva as the proper name for people indigenous to the Los Angeles Basin. But this is not universal. Groups with connections to the Arroyo that do not use Tongva include the Gabrieleño Band of Mission Indians – Kizh Nation and the Gabrielino-Shoshone Nation of Southern California. I have chosen to follow the convention of the Gabrieleno Band of Mission Indians that use Gabrieleno/Tongva as their name. This is the band based closest to Pasadena and the Arroyo and members of this band assisted me with this research.



Figure 2. *Map of the Arroyo Seco Watershed. The Arroyo Seco is one of the main tributaries of the Los Angeles River and includes portions of Northeast Los Angeles, South Pasadena, Pasadena, La Cañada-Flintridge, and the Town of Altadena. (Mountains Recreation and Conservation Authority 2002)*

Though I grew up in Pasadena, I knew none of this before starting a job with the Urban and Environmental Policy Institute at Occidental College in the fall of 2000. I began as a research assistant on an investigation of the watershed's historical ecology and began sitting in on monthly meetings of the newly formed Arroyo Seco Collaborative. I became the Institute's Education and Outreach Coordinator with my first responsibility to lead the Collaborative, which became the ArroyoFest Steering Committee. For this new position, I drew on the research I had completed for my first master's degree on how to design education and outreach programs to

support community-based conservation. Based on a survey of fourteen conservation groups in the western United States and two in-depth case studies, I had concluded that artistic and cultural strategies had the greatest potential to motivate the care and protection of local landscapes (Renner 2000).



Figure 3. *ArroyoFest walkers exiting the Parkway into Sycamore Grove Park. This is where we cut the fence on June 15, 2003 (Dooley 2003)*

But when Nicole and I came up with the idea to cut the fence, I was not thinking about ArroyoFest as a cultural event, much less something called "creative placekeeping," which is the subject of this dissertation. It was a party, a socially-conscious spectacle, with a vision that held together a shifting coalition of stakeholders for two years until we blew the horn and a cavalcade of cyclists launched down the Parkway on June, 15, 2003. By the day of the event, the cultural

importance of what we were trying to pull off was clear. Similar events had taken place in other cities around the country, but context is everything, and the place that freeways have in the psyche of the region had captured resident's imagination. The momentum in the month before the event was breathless as people registered for the ride, permits finally came through, stacks of posters filled one corner of the office and boxes of t-shirts filled another. We began rounds of interviews promoting the event with the hope that the sense of possibility and imagination the event conjured would extend to the policy agenda that the Institute had crafted.

The event itself was magical for everyone, and the press reports in the weeks after the event were glowing. People were eager to make it an annual affair. But the Institute was spent. We submitted grants to do oral histories and listening sessions to further develop the policy agenda, but foundations turned us down. The lasting impact was in the relationships we had forged across two years of organizing with groups up and down the Arroyo. A network of environmental, heritage, transportation, housing, arts, and education advocates had grown stronger and recognized what it could accomplish by working together (Renner 2004). The Institute moved on to other projects, and needing a change of pace, I left Los Angeles. It was in figuring out what to do next that I discovered that ArroyoFest aligned with the well-established practice of using arts and cultural activities to address community issues and that this work was much broader and deeper than the small sliver related to land conservation that I had written about for my first master's degree (Renner 2000). At the time, in 2004, this type of work went by many names. The two I encountered most often were "community cultural development" and "community arts." What was clear to me was that I needed to learn more about a field I suddenly felt I was always meant to pursue. The next section of this chapter continues the origin story for this dissertation before providing the academic lineage for the specific questions it tries to

answer about narrative, community cultural development, the discipline of geography, and regional studies of greater Los Angeles. The chapter ends with a list of research questions, the values and biases that inform this work, and an overview of the chapters.

Strengthening community-based networks through storytelling

My experience with ArroyoFest tells me that what is needed to create a just and sustainable future for the Arroyo Seco is an effective network of advocates that care about the watershed and its neighborhoods.[2] In the twenty years since the first ArroyoFest, this network has continued to evolve. It comes out for community cleanups, attends city council meetings, donates to local non-profits, files lawsuits, restores wildlife habitat, creates public art, and advocates--for historic preservation, stream restoration, bike lanes, affordable housing, and reparations. But place-based, cross-sector coalitions like this don't typically come together on their own. And if they do, in response to either a threat or an opportunity, they have a hard time sustaining their collaboration. The purpose of this dissertation has been to strengthen the Arroyo Seco's network of individuals and organizations working for a just and sustainable future. In order to have the research process itself make these networks stronger, I created a pilot project called Arroyo Seco Placekeepers (ASP) as a vehicle for my inquiry, an action I hoped would provide short-term benefits and hold long-term promise, lend immediate value to the investigation, win allies, and allow me to learn by doing. This dissertation recounts this pilot

[2] The concepts of "justice" and "sustainability" are guideposts for this dissertation. The collaborative approach that I used in this dissertation means that that a precise definition is less important than the role these terms have in orienting participants. My understanding of justice, however, comes primarily from the environmental justice literature that emphasizes equity in the distribution of harm and amenities and the capacity to fully participate in society and determine the policies that govern community life (Anguelovski 2014; Middleton 2011; Pellow 2018; Pellow and Brulle 2005; Peña 2005). Sustainability is a vague term, but this makes it an effective touchstone for discussion about how to balance ecology, economics, social relations, and culture to create solutions that endure and provide stability and resilience (Hawkes 2001). In some corners of scholarship, authors discuss the convergence of justice and sustainability and their interdependence (Sze et al. 2018).

project, the discoveries that it offered, and what this experience suggests about how to sustain place-based coalitions over time. While my ambition moving forward is for this project to touch all corners of the Arroyo's watershed, the pilot phase focuses on Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo, from Devil's Gate Dam to the border with South Pasadena.

Understanding my intentions with Arroyo Seco Placekeepers necessitates telling the second half of this dissertation's origin story. After discovering the field of community cultural development in 2004, I began to look for ways to integrate arts and cultural strategies into the education and organizing work that had become my abiding interest since college. This led me to theater as a highly collaborative art form and Cornerstone Theater Company, a pioneer in community-based theater based in Los Angeles. Cornerstone establishes partnerships with communities and uses research to write plays that touch upon important issues that those communities are working to resolve. The company then organizes a community-based production, incorporating community members into the cast and crew alongside their ensemble of professional performers, directors, and designers. Support from the James Irvine Foundation allowed Cornerstone to hold a month-long summer institute to share their methodology with aspiring artists, organizers, and culture workers. For ten years participants moved to a California community and helped Cornerstone with a summer production. I attended the sixth institute and worked as a production assistant, script supervisor, outreach worker, and puppeteer for *Jason in Eureka*, ensemble member Peter Howard's adaptation of *Jason and Argonauts*, set in Eureka, California. The play grappled with the trauma of veterans and Native people within the context of one gentrifying block in West Eureka.

My experience with Cornerstone validated the direction I had chosen to take my career and led to three years in the graduate playwriting program at University of California, Riverside.

For my final play, I used Cornerstone's methodology to research and write *The Washing of the Water*, an original story about characters from Northwest Pasadena, Altadena, and La Cañada-Flintridge and their relationship to Hahamongna Watershed Park, the semi-wild expanse of land between where the Arroyo Seco emerges from the San Gabriel Mountains and Devil's Gate Dam, the flood control structure I mentioned above. The culmination of this process was a staged reading of the play as part of the California Institute of Technology's play reading series in the spring of 2013.



Figure 4. *Group photo of the cast for the staged reading of "The Washing of the Water." The reading was part of Caltech's 2013 Play Reading series.*

The inspiration for this dissertation was the process of researching and writing this play. I based *The Washing of the Water* on sixty-five interviews with people who lived or worked in the three communities. This included scientists, real estate agents, teachers, elected officials, environmental advocates, park users, and water engineers. I conducted four story circles and did

archival research on the historical ecology and social history of the three communities. Pulling all this information together into a script that would resonate across all three communities and spark a dialogue about the park proved difficult. The play ends with the characters forming a coalition to prevent the closure of nearby Muir High School and create an environmental education center in the park--a yet-to-be-realized element in the park's 2005 Master Plan. In working out this story, I felt I was gaining insights into community dynamics that I would have missed if I had only approached these neighborhoods as an organizer, and I realized the craft of storytelling could help in deciding on what organizing strategy or community projects held the most promise. This dissertation explores this possibility.

The struggle to create a shared narrative about the park for my play aligns with research that suggests a lack of social cohesion is the main obstacle to community-based conservation (Calfucura 2018; Ostrom 1990; Singleton 2002). For urban park areas like the Arroyo, one of the main reasons for this lack of social cohesion are racial and ethnic divisions (Byrne and Wolch 2009). But research also shows that a shared narrative can be a powerful tool to hold political and social movements together (Benford 2002; Davis 2002; Fine 2002; Hochschild 2016; Polletta 1998; Polletta and Callahan 2017). Specifically in relation to community-based conservation, Lejano et al. (2013) describe how a shared narrative created social cohesion in two case studies, one centered in the Sonoran Desert bioregion on either side of the U.S.-Mexico border and the other around sea turtle protection in the Philippines. They argue that these environmental networks would not exist if members did not have a common story linking them together. Their work is distinctive in their attempts to include the nonhuman world as members of the network and contributors to the collective story. The stories these and other environmental groups draw upon often tap more enduring narratives that environmental historians and eco-

critics have been adept at critiquing. For example, the declension narrative of exile from an Edenic state of harmony with the rest of creation is one of the most common environmental narratives and relates to one of the main stories to emerge from my research on Pasadena's Arroyo, a story I call a Quest for Wholeness (Clark 2011; Cronon 1992; Glacken 1999; Oelschlaeger 1991; Turner 1992). In the chapters that follow, I will explain the process I used to identify this and other emergent narratives from the networks and neighborhoods along Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo.

Native American and Indigenous scholars Tuck and Yang (2012) would question this entire approach. For them, community-based conservation aimed at helping settlers, migrants, refugees, and other displaced persons develop a more intimate relationship with the place they call home only furthers settler colonialism, a mode of empire building that strives to dismiss or erase Native people from the past, present, and future of a place. They would likely view my Arroyo Seco Placekeepers pilot as contributing to a "re-inhabitation" narrative (James and Morel 2018; Thayer 2003). Tuck and Yang (2012) argue re-inhabitation prioritizes settler futurities, and if it doesn't actively marginalize the local Indigenous population, it objectifies, romanticizes, and sometimes commodifies the relationship that the original inhabitants developed with their landscapes over millennia without shifting power to Indigenous groups. They list re-inhabitation as one of several "moves to innocence" that settler populations make to avoid facing discussion of the return of land to Native people. They say that the future of settlers is an ancillary issue. An approach truly focused on sustainability and justice would encourage settlers and their descendants to self-deport themselves back to the countries of their forebearers.

Choctaw scholar and novelist LeeAnne Howe accepts the validity of this critique but takes it as prologue. She has elaborated a process she calls "tribalography" that uses storytelling

to create social cohesion and construct a shared future that steers away from settler colonialism. "[T]ribalography comes from the native propensity for bringing things together, for making consensus, and for symbiotically connecting one thing to another" (Howe 2013, 31). Within a tribalography, settler futurities are not the starting place, but they remain in the mix. Howe would say the key is to find the right story, a story that integrates all the people within a community and that speaks to the present moment (Doerfler 2014). Tribalography does not ignore settler colonialism but posits an alternative future beyond the horizon of current thinking:

> Perhaps most importantly, tribalography also helps to reveal the ways in which Native narratives and knowledges fundamentally enable readers and writers to imagine otherwise. That is, to imagine a reconfiguration of authority away from settler orientations toward relations that account for Indigenous claims and acknowledge the enduring tradition of migration shared by human and nonhuman people (Bauerkemper 2014, 7).

Howe is also explicit about how tribalography does not manifest solely through narration but is embodied in the performance of daily life, be it through softball, hymnals, or the architecture of effigy mounds (Howe 2014). In its focus on bringing diverse groups and histories together through narrative and performance around a future that strengthens relationships and reciprocity with the landscape, tribalography speaks directly to the question above of how to achieve social cohesion necessary to sustain care for the landscape over the long-term. This dissertation uses tribalography to discuss Native American experiences along the Arroyo and across greater Los Angeles (see chapter 4)

The challenge for tribalography and any attempt to identify, let alone craft, a shared narrative is the sheer number of stories that influence community decision-making. In the introduction to their co-edited volume *Story and Sustainability* (2003), English professor Barbara Eckstein and planner James Throgmorton argue that plurivocality should be the goal and that the process of simply bringing these narratives into dialogue helps to bind a community together and

generates durable public support for local plans and policies.[3] Beauregard (2003) in the same volume picks up this argument and says that public, place-based storytelling is foundational to democracy and essential for sustainability.

For this dissertation, I have incorporated this search for a shared narrative into a planning process for creative placekeeping, which uses arts and culture to connect people to the landscape, encourages a sense of belonging, and counters legacies of displacement. The Arroyo Seco Placekeepers is an effort to build a network of placekeepers for the Arroyo Seco watershed versed in a placing different stories from the community into conversation with one another and using this dialogue to devise projects with transformative power and potential. This is similar to the role of a dramaturg in the theater, and I use this metaphor to elaborate my approach to creative placekeeping in chapter 3 when I describe my methodology. But to put the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers effort into context, I need to first explain the evolution of creative placekeeping and how its development has shaped my inquiry.

Creative placemaking, creative placekeeping, and community cultural development

Cultural organizing

My month with Cornerstone Theater in 2009 not only introduced me to their methodology for producing community-based theater but connected me to an entire network of theater-makers who try to improve their communities through storytelling. One of my first forays

[3] With their emphasis on plurivocality, it should be no surprise to see Russian literary theorist Mikhail Bakhtin as an important source for these scholars. Eckstein (2003) draws on Bakhtin when she says part of aligning various narratives within a public process means recognizing that how people represent space and time in language and discourse, what Bakhtin calls their chronotope, often differs, both on the ground and in the plan. James Lawson, a political scientist, argues this is especially important in land disputes between settlers and Indigenous people, who have very different space-time experiences of the landscape (Lawson 2011).

into this world came in 2011 when I flew to Baltimore for a National Learning Exchange hosted by Alternate Roots, an organization focused on the southern United States that supports art rooted in a particular community of place, tradition or spirit and that contributes to social and economic justice and the protection of the natural world (Alternate Roots 2024). I arrived late from the airport and so entered the first session after it was already underway. The room was full and most of us sat on the floor of the carpeted classroom as the facilitators solicited ideas for a definition of cultural organizing. The definition on the sheet of butcher paper at the end of the session said, "It's about integrating art and culture throughout an organizing strategy and organizing from a particular tradition, cultural identity, and community or place or worldview."[4]

In the United States, the lineage of cultural organizing that focuses on social justice and neighborhood needs reaches back to the settlement houses of the late 19th century and the Depression-era jobs programs that employed artists like Dorothea Lange and Diego Rivera. It includes attempts to document and support rural folk arts in the 1930s and '40s, the creation of an Arts Extension Service in a handful of states, and artmaking of all types surrounding the Civil Rights movement of the 1950s and '60s. The creation of the NEA in 1965 provided some support, but it was the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1973 that provided the funding for neighborhood organizations to hire artists as cultural organizers or start their own community arts centers, many of which served communities of color (Adams and Goldbard 2001).[5]

[4] This remains the definition on the website of Arts and Democracy, one of the organizations present that day and a leader in the field (https://artsanddemocracy.org/).

[5] CETA allowed the Pasadena Community Arts Center to turn the abandoned Fannie Morrison Horticultural Center in Pasadena's Central Arroyo into a theater and galleries that hosted all manner of shows and exhibitions for a handful of years. The Regan administration ended the program in 1981, which forced the center to close. Similar centers around the country, however, cobbled together enough funding to remain open, often incubating other grassroots arts initiatives.

Internationally, cultural organizing grew as a response to the end of colonialism and an attempt to create separation from the Western standards of "fine arts" that marginalized artmaking in developing countries. Development organizations began using theater to educate communities about public health and environmental issues. In Brazil, Augusto Boal experimented with performance techniques to challenge people's conceptions of power. This evolved into what's known as Theatre of the Oppressed, a methodology that quickly got him exiled from his home country but spread around the world as a technique to rehearse the revolution (Boal 1985). European and Commonwealth governments also invested in these practices. Australia took a leading role in bringing socially-engaged art to rural communities in the 1990s before backsliding into a more mainstream arts model over past two decades. These international efforts percolated back to the United States, which drastically reduced its arts funding during the 1980s and '90s, leaving cultural organizers on the periphery of an art world that found itself growing more dependent on private capital (Adams and Goldbard 2001; Goldbard 2006).

Creative placemaking

In parallel with these developments, urban renewal programs and freeway construction of the 1950s and '60s in the United States sparked a backlash that lent value to human-scale neighborhood design, famously represented in the battle between planner Robert Moses and journalist and researcher Jane Jacobs over the fate of Greenwich Village. An ally of Jacobs in the Greenwich Village fight, urbanist William H. Whyte initiated the Street Life Project while working for the New York City Planning Commissioner. The project resulted in detailed reporting on pedestrian life in New York City and the importance of public spaces (Project for Public Spaces 2010). The writings of Jacobs and Whyte cultivated the concept of "placemaking,"

which first began to appear in academic literature in the mid-1970s, primarily in journals focused on geography and urban design (Basaraba 2023). The Project for Public Spaces began in 1975, and to this day works around the world to create places that foster positive social interactions and draw guidance and inspiration from local residents (Project for Public Spaces 2018). Since 2010, the popularity of temporary forms of placemaking, such as guerrilla gardening, crosswalk painting, pop-up events, and other temporary alterations of urban spaces such as ArroyoFest, has found a home under the banner of "tactical urbanism" (Brenner 2021; Courage 2017). Typically, local governments do not sanction these interventions, though in some cases they have accommodated them as contributing to a more livable city. The Project for Public Spaces has put forward their own version of tactical urbanism that they call "Lighter, Cheaper, Faster," as a way to quickly shift people's relationship with a place and prototype more permanent solutions for problematic parcels (Project for Public Spaces 2018).

In 2010 the National Endowment for the Arts commissioned a report by economic development scholar Anne Markusen and planner Anne Gadwa Nicodemus that combined the longstanding work of cultural organizers with the human-scale design approaches advocated by Project for Public Spaces under the title of *Creative Placemaking* (Markusen and Gadwa 2010). Reporting on a number of projects around the country, the authors wrote, "In creative placemaking, partners from public, private, non-profit, and community sectors strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town, city, or region around arts and cultural activities" (3).[6] This 2010 report became the foundation for a robust investment in

[6] The roots of this report were in the Obama administration's particular response to the Great Recession. The administration sought to address economic distress in a more holistic manner and directed federal agencies to work together through collaborative programs such as the Partnership for Sustainable Communities, which brought together the departments of Transportation, Housing and Urban Development and the Environmental Protection Agency to address community challenges in an integrated way. The chair of the National Endowment for the Arts, Rocco Landsman, saw an opportunity to position arts and culture as a vehicle that could facilitate these cross-sector

creative placemaking, not only by the NEA but the entire arts funding community. The NEA created the *Our Town* grant program in 2010 to fund projects that partnered arts organizations with municipal entities and focused on livability. That same year they organized ArtPlace America, a consortium of foundations, federal agencies, and financial institutions that would invest $150 million dollars over its ten-year lifespan to infuse creative placemaking across the community development sector. Their National Creative Placemaking Fund provided six-figure grants to cross-sector coalitions using arts to further development. ArtPlace also funded research and multi-year investments at a handful of sites to better understand how creative placemaking worked in different social and cultural contexts. The NEA also invested in technical assistance, contracting with the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC), PolicyLink, and the Kresge Foundation to support a selection of *Our Town* and Kresge-funded projects (Crane et al. 2020). At the same time, Americans for the Arts, a leading national advocate for arts since 1960, and Animating Democracy, its program supporting and studying arts for social change, turned its attention to cross-sector arts partnerships. This rush of investment over the past fifteen years in creative placemaking has generated a raft of research articles, reports, conferences, essays collections, and books working to hone the language and practice of this new field.

The evolution of an idea

But the initial marriage between cultural organizers focused on social justice and community empowerment and the architects, designers, and developers hoping to use the arts and cultural activities to boost life on the street and increase property values did not start out well. Fueling this conflict was a vein of scholarship offering cities a pathway to economic

partnerships, a smart strategy at a time when fundraising for the arts was drying up in the wake of the economic crisis (Hughes 2021).

prosperity. Books by planner Charles Landry and urban scholar Richard Florida suggested the economic future of urban areas depended upon their ability to support creative industries, such as fashion, design, and software development. The arts served as a proxy for creativity so that cities with strong arts and culture sectors would see more innovation, investment, and economic growth (Edensor et al. 2010; Flew 2010; Gilmore 2013; Heying and Ryder 2010). Florida (2003) argued that by investing in artistic and cultural amenities cities could attract the creative class: young, highly educated, mobile professionals. Companies hoping to hire from this workforce would relocate to these hip locations leading to an urban renaissance. Planning and development agencies around the country picked up on this argument, especially during the Great Recession, creating a demand for creative placemaking projects that could attract investment capital and boost sagging tax revenue.[7]

Many cultural organizers felt linking decades of grassroots work with marginalized communities to the real estate sector that in many cities had played a strong role in this marginalization was offensive. To see six-figure grants flowing, not to artists and culture workers serving the physical, social, and spiritual needs of existing residents, but to architects and designers far removed from the life on the street they extolled generated anger (Courage 2017; Crane et al. 2020; Markusen and Gadwa Nicodemus 2018; McKeown and Courage 2019; Pritchard 2019). Language was important. For many, "placemaking" implies that specific sites lacked meaning or definition and that existing residents are not as important or valuable as newcomers that many creative placemakers hope to attract (Whang 2018).

The year after the conference in Baltimore, I signed up to participate in Microfest USA, a series of four weekend gatherings exploring the connections between arts, culture, and

[7] You can see vestiges of this approach in Pasadena's most recent economic development plan focused on innovation (Streetsense 2024).

community development hosted by the Network of Ensemble Theaters (NET). Each gathering took place in a community where this conversation was active and alive with possibility--Detroit; the Appalachian communities of Knoxville, Tennessee and Harlan County, Kentucky; New Orleans; and Honolulu—and exposed me to individuals, dialogues, organizations, and case studies that brought to life my reading about community arts and community cultural development. One of the people I met over dinner in January 2013 in New Orleans was Roberto Bedoya, then Executive Director for Tucson Pima Arts Council. Bedoya crystallized the disconnect with creative placemaking that many cultural organizers were grappling with in his essay *Placemaking and the Politics of Belonging and Dis-belonging*, writing "One needs to reflect upon US history and its troubling legacy of 'placemaking' manifested in acts of displacement, removal, and containment" (Bedoya 2013). Bedoya promoted the notion of "placekeeping" in order to prioritize the placemaking of existing residents. He warned, "If Creative Placemaking activities support the politics of dis-belonging through acts of gentrification, racism, real estate speculation, all in the name of neighborhood revitalization, then it betrays the democratic ideal of having an equitable and just civil society." Rather than real estate values, according to Bedoya, the best measure of change should be the sense of belonging that it generates among current residents.

The particular dynamic that many critics focused on was the gentrification of neighborhoods where placemaking had found a foothold, leading to the eventual displacement of individuals, families, and businesses unable to afford increased rents or property taxes. Scholars have canonized the narrative that artists often represent the "shock troops" of gentrification, increasing an area's value to the point where the artists themselves have to move in search of cheaper space for studios and production (Kudla 2023; Markusen and Gadwa Nicodemus 2018;

Mathews 2010; Shaw and Sullivan 2011). In Los Angeles, these dynamics have led to protests against art galleries moving into the Boyle Heights neighborhood (Pritchard 2019). Pritchard (2019) has labeled creative placemaking as an irredeemable form of "art-washing" and called for a militant anti-art activism as a form of "place-guarding." In response, Markusen and Gadwa Nicodemus, the authors of the NEA's original white paper, have called for including anti-displacement elements, such as support for community land trusts, rent control, and affordable housing for artists, in creative placemaking projects (Markusen and Gadwa Nicodemus 2018). Recent studies have suggested that a more nuanced view of the relationship between creative placemaking and displacement is in order (Grodach, et al. 2014; Jackson 2021a; Shannon et al. 2023; Strom 2010). The focus on gentrification and displacement has been helpful to the evolution of creative placemaking as a field because it forces funders, artists, designers, sponsoring agencies, and community partners to clearly position themselves in relation to the global capitalist system rather than turning a blind eye to its systemic impacts.[8] A deeper critique of creative placemaking is that it provides small-scale, palliative remedies to problems of neighborhood disinvestment, capitalist exploitation, and diminished democratic governance, remedies that distract from the privatization of the public realm and government's retreat from their responsibilities (Courage 2017).

[8] During my attendance at the NET gatherings what captured my attention was how similar the conversations and the culture at these gatherings were to the dialogue and aims of the networks I participate in related to sustainable local economies and community wealthbuilding. These discussions are about local food systems, renewable energy, zero-waste businesses, community land trusts, worker cooperatives, and other strategies to repurpose our economic system to serve people, the planet, and democracy. By the time the final Microfest had finished, I decided to find ways to bring these two networks together, a resolution that led to interviewing over 200 people across the country working either as cultural organizers or in the sustainability sectors listed above. I named this project *The Art of Localism*. This experience led to a contract with Animating Democracy for more interviews and writing about cross-sector arts partnerships. And this led to more research to support ArtPlace America's publication of *Farther, Faster, Together: How Arts and Culture Can Accelerate Environmental Progress* (Helicon Collaborative 2018).

Currently, creative placemaking consists of assembling a suite of arts- and culture-based activities and processes to achieve a mix of economic, physical, social, and systemic changes that improve the quality of life for existing residents of a particular neighborhood, town, city, or region. Applicants to the *Our Town* grant program now specify which of these four realms of change their proposed project will emphasize (National Endowment for the Arts 2021). Core elements include robust public engagement that provides a voice for marginalized groups, cross-sector partnerships, and program development or design interventions that strengthen residents sense of community, place attachment, and ability to heal from past trauma or disruption (Calderon and Takeshita 2021; Courage 2017; Crane et al. 2020; Jackson 2021d; Wyckoff 2014). The priority that project teams give to physical, economic, social or systemic change and how they measure success determines the type of placemaking project it is. In addition to creative placemaking and placekeeping, the still evolving lexicon surrounding this work includes the aforementioned placeguarding, place shaping, and place knowing. The revised definition of placemaking with which ArtPlace America ended its decade of work in 2020 speaks to this evolution:

> [T]he intentional integration of arts, culture, and community-engaged design strategies into the process of equitable community planning and development. It's about artists, culture-bearers, and designers acting as allies to creatively address challenges and opportunities. It's about these artists and all of the allies together contributing to community defined social, physical, and economic outcomes and honoring a sense of place (Crane et al. 2020, 10).

The creative placekeeping process that I have used for this dissertation comports with this definition. It invites participants into an open-ended partnership and frames the role of the artist as a facilitator and problem-poser who views their artistic training as a complement to the local knowledge of residents as they collaborate to improvise solutions. Courage (2017) calls this style "social practice placemaking" while Shannon et al. (2023) use "co-creative equitable

placekeeping" to describe how artists can serve as conduits for the imagination, support the aspirations of local residents, and help different corners of their communities listen to and work with one another. In the preface of Shannon et al. (2023), Roberto Bedoya says that so much of what these artists are doing is creating a context for creativity to happen: this is their art form, an approach that aligns with the dramaturgical approach that I elaborate in chapter 3.[9] Bedoya, who moved on from Tucson to become Cultural Affairs Manager for the City of Oakland, spearheaded the creation of a new cultural plan for Oakland in 2018 with the tagline "Equity is the Driving Force, Culture is the Frame, and Belonging is the Goal" (Whang 2018). In conversation with Vanessa Whang, the plan's author, Bedoya admits that he's interested in the dramaturgy of public policy and if the dramaturg has tools that can help the artist and the policymaker to talk to one another and have fruitful conversations. "I am interested in what's in the dramaturgy toolbox (stage, script, actors, setting…) and how these frames could be of use for artists and policymakers who are working on arts-based civic engagement projects" (Bedoya and Whang 2018, 12). This dissertation provides an honest exploration of this possibility.

The challenge in creating such a cultural plan is evaluation. Figuring out evaluation is one of the primary needs for all forms of creative placemaking (Hand 2021; Jackson 2021b, 2021d; Markusen and Gadwa Nicodemus 2018). Revising their approach to evaluation was an important part of the evolution of the ArtPlace and *Our Town* programs. The NEA administrator under President Biden, Maria Rosario Jackson, reframed this task as moving from indicators to indications in estimating impact. This framing has opened up a dialogue about how to measure

[9] Examples of placekeeping projects that the Tucson Pima Arts Council supported during Bedoya's tenure included a folklife field school that trained adult learners to document cultural traditions, the use of dance to stimulate dialogue about a local watershed, and work with refugee youth to create arts projects in malls, bus stops, and other locations that validate their civic identity and demonstrates how they belong in their new home (Tucson Pima Arts Council 2013).

fuzzy concepts like place attachment or social cohesion and then find ways to connect this data to more quantitative measures such as unemployment rate and years completed in school that are available through the census (Alvarez 2021; Hand 2021; Jackson 2021b, 2021d, 2021c; Whang 2018).[10] Patricia Shafer, deputy director of research at the NEA, says that one thing that would help with evaluation is sorting out leading, trailing, and long-term indications of success (Jackson 2021d). In terms of belonging, Bedoya hired Marisa Raya and Saneta deVuono-Powel (Raya and deVuono-powell 2024) to help construct measures of belonging for Oakland. After an extensive literature review, they said belonging is a civic practice and framed that practice not in terms of "knowing your place" but as knowing you have the power to participate in the co-creation of the world you live within. The measures they suggested included the number of neighborhood spaces where that co-creation can take place; opportunities to build or remove infrastructure so that people can actually construct the environment they live within; the number and diversity of cultural events that residents have access to; and actions taken to repair specific instances of dis-belonging by, for example, returning land to Native Americans or providing support for refugee communities. Raya and deVuono-Powell (2023) also suggest a role for geography in mapping these measures across the city to identify places where belonging happens and where it might be missing. The next section elaborates on the links between creative placekeeping and the discipline of geography and the potential role geography can have in the continued evolution of creative placekeeping within the arts and culture sector.

[10] Jamie Hand, the former research director for ArtPlace wrote that this shift away from hard data has been easier to justify within the arts sector than with some cross-sector partners, such as transportation or public works departments, that seemingly demand cost-benefit calculations or other measures of efficiency. Hand, however, feels helping such partners embrace indications, rather than indicators, of success is one of the outcomes that an arts partnership can accomplish (Hand 2021).

A role for geography

It should be no surprise that the discipline of geography intersects with creative placemaking and placekeeping. Space, place, and landscape are foundational concepts that geographers have tackled empirically and philosophically across most of the 20th century. But geography also has a strong aesthetic tradition going back to Alexander von Humboldt, who advocated for not only the study of the arts within geography but using an aesthetic awareness during fieldwork (Hawkins and Straughan 2015; Humboldt 1850). In 1947, John Wright revived this tradition with his presidential address to the American Association of Geographers entitled *Terrae Incognitae: The Place of the Imagination in Geography* (Wright 1947). Wright's lecture failed to gain adherents during geography's mid-century quantitative revolution but found a revival during the '70s and '80s with the rise humanistic geography and an exploration of the experiential aspects of space and place (Lowenthal 1961; Lowenthal and Prince 1976; Relph 1985, 1997; Tuan 1977, 2001).[11] Cultural geographers in the '80s and '90s also took up Wright's call to look carefully at how literature and art express geographic concepts (Cosgrove 1985, 2011; Hawkins 2014; Horton and Kraftl 2014; Tally Jr. 2016, 2017; Thacker 2017).[12] While these scholars apply geographic concepts and tools to literature, some are also running the analysis the other way and using literary ideas to gain new insights into geography (Daniels 1992; Luria 2011; Ryan, et al. 2016). This dissertation points in this direction by using narrative elements to interpret the landscape (see chapter 3).

[11] Gillian Rose in her book *Feminism and Geography* tries to keep humanistic geographers honest about the gendered nature of their sensuous observations. Rose also notes that a key figure in Wright's *Terra Incognitae* lecture is the female siren, calling geographers to explore empty spaces. Rose suggests paying closer attention to the imaginative and creative geographies of women (Rose 1993)

[12] Non-European geographers also have a strong tradition of integrating aesthetics and embodiment into their work (Louis 2007; Louis and Kahele 2017).

Within geography this interest in the body and sensation gathers today under the broad banner of non-representational theory (Horton and Kraftl 2014; Thrift 2007, 2008). Emphasizing affect, everyday practices, and performativity, non-representational theory has a built-in link to aesthetics.[13] This growing interest in performance and comfort with ideas of performativity has led some geographers to think of places themselves as performances (Benson and Jackson 2013; Gregson and Rose 2000; Rose-Redwood and Glass 2014; Thrift 2007). Geographer Doreen Massey's re-framing of places as moments in time rather than fixed containers makes them subject to the same performative analysis one might conduct in the theater, an analysis I lean on in this dissertation and discuss more in chapter 3 (Massey 1991). Massey says, "Instead then, of thinking of places as areas with boundaries around, they can be imagined as articulated moments in networks of social relations and understandings" (28). For Massey, places are instances, encounters, moments. Geographer Tim Creswell (2009) extends this idea. "Places are continuously enacted as people go about their everyday lives...The sense we get of a place is heavily dependent on practice and, particularly, the reiteration of practice on a regular basis" (2). Creswell's framing of places as performances turns placemaking from a drafting exercise for urban designers into an artform for performers and other artists, a new medium that cultural organizers and the communities they work with can use to express themselves.

Geographer Harriet Hawkins (2017) has played a leading role in drawing together these explorations of aesthetics as both subject matter and method with geographic studies of the creative industries. "Creativity in a myriad of forms, practices, and understandings is now common across the discipline, whether we look to the economic, political and social geographies

[13] Non-representational theory comes with a critical edge. It accepts the socially-constructed, and in many cases, the socially-imposed, nature of reality and seeks to understand how this reality conditions the body so that creative interventions result in a greater measure of personal and collective freedom (Horton and Kraftl 2014; Thrift 2007, 2008)

of the creative economy, the cultural and social geographies of creative practices -- fine art, literature, film, music or vernacular creativities -- or to the attention geographers have been paying to creative practices as research methods" (11). Combining these streams of inquiry, she has named “creative geographies” as its own field within the larger discipline. She says the field is primed for action research on place-making related to urban planning, memory studies, and radical art practices. "What remains to be engaged substantively by geographers is how mobilizing arts practices might enable self-conscious forms of place-based interventions" (Hawkins 2015, 253).

Geography can be helpful with many of creative placekeeping’s unresolved questions. For example, one of primary blind spots for creative placekeeping has been an acknowledgement of the more-than-human world. In the conclusion of their 2019 collection *Creative Placemaking: Research, Theory and Practice,* Anita McKewon and Cara Courage argue this represents a frontier for the field.

> It is noteworthy that an analysis of creative placemaking definitions by twelve key actors in the field identified no overt statement of environmental criteria (McKeown, 2015a). Furthermore, all the chapters within this book consider human-centric approaches, highlighting one of creative placemaking’s pressing vulnerabilities – its human-centric default. The editors offer that a beyond-human lens is severely lacking from the creative placemaking field, yet this addition offers an important direction for future research if creative placemaking as a sector is to contribute to the development of sustainable and resilient places. (208)

Baldwin (2021) asks whether humans can see and learn from the placemaking activities of other species. He offers the beaver as a clear example of another placemaking animal and says that not accounting for beavers has impoverished stream restoration efforts. Eckenwiler (2021) says that placemakers need to conceive of humans as ecological subjects and put more of an emphasis on humans’ animality. Geography is not the only discipline to give the more-than-human world

serious study, but it has a tradition of synthesizing biotic and abiotic elements across a landscape into a discernible whole as well as making humans one among many actors determining a place's nature (Mitchell 2008; Sauer 1996). Vaughn et al. (2021) notes that assessment of environmental impacts is often missing in evaluations of creative placekeeping projects; they say placemaking indicators are often narrow and human-centered. Baldwin (2021) argues that one of the placemaking's core components should be finding ways to cooperate with non-humans and enhance the density of relationships we have with other forms of life. Native Americans have done a better job at this than settlers. Indigenous scholars Jojola and Shirley (2021) argue that places make people; people don't make places, which was the conclusion that Basso (1996) arrived at after studying Western Apache stories about places. This dissertation experiments with translating patterns in the more-than-human landscape into human stories that we can measure against our own.

Another question placekeepers struggle with is how to balance the desires of local residents with the needs and interests of the broader populace. Shannon et al. (2023) give an example from the Eagle Rock neighborhood of Los Angeles just west of the Arroyo where the neighborhood council protested street alterations to accommodate rapid bus transit down West Colorado Boulevard. How should a placekeeper balance the neighborhood preferences against the need of the poor and working-class people who depend on public transit to have more efficient service. They say that equitable placekeepers channel the interests of local residents but not at the expense of others. These same dynamics come into play when local wishes conflict with actions to address global problems like the loss of biodiversity or climate change. Geography's affinity for maps can help by tracing the myriads of cultural and material connections that support how a place functions. This is what Massey (1991) argues for in talking

about the need for a "global sense of place." "The question is how to hold on to that notion of geographical difference, of uniqueness, even of rootedness if people want that, without it being reactionary" (26). She says it would be impossible to define a sense of place for her neighborhood in London without bringing the entire world into the picture given the flows of material goods and products and ecological links to the larger biosphere. In their article on the performance of place, Gregson and Rose (2000) note how prices set on the international market end up setting the terms for interaction between sellers and buyers at local flea markets in Britain. Geographers also spend a lot of time thinking about migration, which also activates this local-global tension within placemaking (Benson and Jackson 2013; Chapin and Knapp 2015). The same dynamics exist in grappling with the impact of digital geographies on placemaking (Basaraba 2023; Shannon et al. 2023). Digital geography is a relatively new branch of study that is disentangling the material impact on local places from links to global media and technology (Ash et al. 2016; Zook 2006).

A third and related issue where geography could prove useful to creative placekeeping is around issues of scale. Creative placekeeping offers hyperlocal and often ephemeral interventions that create micro-publics organized around singular neighborhood sites (Courage 2017). Given the urgency of global issues, it is difficult to argue that creative placekeeping is a practice equipped to meet the moment. Sunil Iyengar, the head of program evaluation for the NEA, admits that these scale questions have confounded evaluators of creative placemaking programs (Iyengar 2019). Creative placekeeping ultimately operates using a viral theory of change that involves scaling out rather than up (Bedoya and Whang 2018). Fitzgerald (2021) describes this as a molecular, rather than Marxist, revolution, where small sites of wealthbuilding, social cohesion, and defiance of the status quo replicate themselves to create

systemic change. This is certainly the rationale for the emphasis ArtPlace America placed on infusing creative placemaking into ten professional sectors related to community development and the *Our Town* program's advocacy for placing artists-in-residence within city governments. Geography is in many ways the science of scale and has the potential to make this process more efficient and effective by identifying leverage points and places where the interests of different groups intersect and coalition-building might prove most fruitful (Sayre 2005).

While this speaks to spreading the practice of placekeeping across space, a more complex challenge is how to extend the impact of this work across time. The organizing for ArroyoFest took two years, but the event itself was over by noon; mural projects take months; a community-based theater production from first interview to closing curtain lasts perhaps a year or two. But the market forces and social dynamics that creative placekeeping is trying to counter have impacts that last generations, and the narratives that stand behind them are enduring and hegemonic, making the most imaginative alternatives seem threatening. In my experience, the most impressive cultural organizing outcomes occur when an individual artist or arts organization remains committed to a particular place for decades. But even this exemplary work has a hard time outlasting the context created by national politics, economic development, and shifts in technology. This is why the original description of this work as "community cultural development" remains useful. Creative placemaking implies one's job is done once the place is made; placekeeping implies duration but also a defensive posture; cultural development gives community cultures space to breathe, grow, and evolve in response to changing conditions. It extends the time horizon for cultural organizing to centuries to where it can perhaps shape the identity, expectations, and assumptions about a place seven generations into the future. This is why this dissertation has focused not on piloting a specific placekeeping project but piloting a

process to devise projects and to build a network of placekeepers that can carry forward this task of community cultural development into the future. The long-term vision is that such a network can effectively move and mobilize between smaller neighborhood-scale projects and larger watershed-wide initiatives, such as redesigning the Parkway or restoring a living stream, and perhaps even influence the trajectory of Los Angeles as a region. The next two sections put this dissertation's pilot project into dialogue with these longer cycles of cultural development in order to argue for its promise but also to justify some of the methodological choices I describe in chapter 3.

Community performance and path dependency

In their 2000 article, *History Repeats Itself, But How? City Character, Urban Tradition, and the Accomplishment of Place*, sociologists Harvey Molotch, William Freudenberg, and Krista Paulsen (2000) compare the development trajectories of the cities of Ventura and Santa Barbara, which have very different characters, political identities, and traditions of civic involvement. They ask why this is the case and use a review of news reports going back to the founding of the cities and extensive interviews with community members to try to find the answer. The broader issue they want to explore is how urban or regional identities transfer themselves across generations. There is often a vague attribution to "culture," but they say the mechanism of cultural reproduction of character and tradition is not well understood or theorized. The concepts of "character" and "tradition" that they discuss are similar to Raymond Williams' "structures of feeling," which define a general governing aesthetic for a region, or influential geographer Carl Sauer's approach to define the distinctive "morphology" for different cultural landscapes (Sauer 1996; Williams 1977).

To answer the first question about how these cities developed their distinctive characters, they rely on actor network theory to describe how a collection of physical, social, and cultural elements come together in what they call a “lash up of co-occurrences” (793). Once these elements come together, they interact to change the landscape, shape social dynamics and cultural norms, and set places on particular trajectories of development. "Ventura's lash-up included acceptance of oil, an uncontested freeway, and a venerated county fair that reflected, in social and symbolic terms, the complementarity of agriculture with these other elements" (809).

To answer the second question about how this lash-up reproduces itself across time and becomes a tradition, they draw on the concept of structuration and path dependencies. "The end results, then, are not just a matter of 'mere' chance but stem from the way initial events, some of them chance, interacted with deliberate and coherent choices, which the initial events influenced but did not determine (see Arthur 1988, 1994)[22]" (811). Important for this dissertation, they found that social networks were a powerful multiplier of the lash-up and that widely shared and accepted narratives about each city helped to reinforce and reproduce their distinctive characters and traditions of civic involvement. They also provide two examples from Santa Barbara in which arts partnerships provided a platform for social networks to assemble around expressions of local character and community values. They say that “interaction routines” within these social networks provide the mechanism for the transference and perpetuation of the cities’ character and tradition.

These interaction routines are the performances of everyday life creative placekeepers try to understand, make visible, and, at times, disrupt to generate reflection, assessment, and a choice to either affirm or alter their performance and the culture they enact. The knowledge that geographic identity is a function of performance has prompted scholars in different fields to

study how changes in the performance of daily life can push back against a "lash-up" that no longer serves a neighborhood, city, or region. For example, folklore studies examine local or regional character by noting the performance of routines and vernacular expressions of creativity. Many folklorists have embraced the concept of critical regionalism, which defines ways that communities create and maintain a distinct cultural identity at the local level while negotiating their cultural relationship to the globalized world (Frampton 1983; Miller 2007). One example would be the local repurposing of materials in the landscape that are present as a result of these larger forces. Hufford (2002) gives the example of using railroad spikes to stake tomato plants or a stop sign to patch a wheelbarrow. Bedoya (2014) calls this re-purposing "rasquachification," the name of a Latinx aesthetic of creatively re-using elements from the dominant society to serve material needs and aesthetic desires. This re-purposing is a way to assert one's presence and could be another indication of belonging in a creative placekeeping evaluation. Folk art and expressions of folk life are instances of what Hufford and Miller (2007) call "regionalizing from within." Miller (2007) describes what this means. "To regionalize from within is to build a collectivity, a social body that will participate in the larger body politic, gain cultural recognition, and control the context in which community identity is positioned (Hufford and Miller 2006:38)" (364). In their study of the Village of Arts and Humanities, a pioneering community arts organization in North Philadelphia, they give the example of organizing family walks around the neighborhood, both for exercise and to discourage drug dealing. These performances incubate an alternative lash-up within the neighborhood that organizations such as the Village reinforce with their programming.

Geographers Katherine Gibson and Julie Graham embrace a performative approach to the economy as a way to loosen the grip that capitalism has on the imagination of both the general

public and academia. Using J.K. Gibson-Graham as their pen name, they advocate for "diverse economies" that recognize economically productive activities that fall outside of strict capitalism, such as public utilities, housework, worker cooperatives, skill sharing and time banking, and overlooked material practices such as breastfeeding and composting (Gibson-Graham 2006a; Gibson-Graham et al. 2013). Gibson-Graham argues that an important first step in creating a more just and sustainable economy is shifting people's understanding of themselves as economic subjects by allowing them to perform new and more expansive economic roles. In *A postcapitalist politics* (Gibson-Graham 2006b), they describe their action research with community members in the Latrobe Valley outside Melbourne and the Pioneer Valley in Western Massachusetts as they worked with residents to conceptualize and plan economic alternatives for their community. These devising sessions allowed participants to perform new economic roles and could qualify as a form of community cultural development.

Performativity also runs through new perspectives on environmental justice and political ecology. In her 2014 book, *Neighborhood as refuge: Community reconstruction, place remaking, and environmental justice in the city*, urban planning scholar Isabelle Anguelovski argues that grassroots livability initiatives she studied in poor neighborhoods in Boston, Havana, and Barcelona constitute a new, generative form of environmental justice. Activities include urban farming, affordable housing, park construction, clean-ups, and creative protests against displacement and gentrification, all of which fit within a creative placemaking framework.

> As they remake a place for residents, local activists work to create a self-sustained urban village, celebrate the community, rebuild a local collective identity, enhance ties between residents, and encourage them to continue to participate in the reconstruction and protection of their community. Place remaking is thus a dynamic and dialectic activity. Urban sustainability is present in environmental justice activism, but it is enriched here with social dimensions that are not limited to poverty alleviation, local wealth generation, and job creation. Social aspects of

> urban sustainability include focusing on place remaking, addressing trauma, and fear of erasure, and rebuilding a stronger local identity. (26)

Writing in 2005, Devon Peña (2005) similarly argues that the performance of this type of autonomy and sovereignty provides a stronger framework for the environmental justice movement than rights-based arguments since sovereignty is a condition that supports collective power. The performance of sovereignty is one way to describe place-based communities seeking defend their economic security against mobile capital and corporate interests (Benford 2005; Hess 2009). Sovereignty also translates for Native American and First Nations communities enacting their political self-determination within the matrix of settler governance (Klein 2014).

Political ecology, which is the field that has the most experience describing the lash-up of social, political, and economic factors governing human-environment relations, typically has discounted the role of culture in its analysis of power relations (Peet and Watts 2004). But after a robust review of the literature, Perz et al. (2018) selected performativity as one of four innovative ways to research political economy in environmental and resource sociology. These authors echo Molotch et al. (2000) by emphasizing the iterative nature of performance and how this provides openings for people to challenge injustice. Similarly, Native American Studies scholar Beth Rose Middleton (2015) argues that the dominance of Marxist and post-structuralist thinking in political ecology has downplayed the agency of Indigenous peoples. She advocates for the use of more Indigenous framings "derived from indigenous jurisprudence, story, art, language and ceremony" (564).

These moves toward performance as a way to understand the notable and enduring qualities of a place suggests a dramaturgical approach to research and analysis, one that interprets everyday routines, momentous decision, and special events as part of an unfolding narrative and uses this story to generate questions for research, debate, and political activism.

Chapter 3 describes how I have tried to build this approach into my methodology. It also argues for having a wide-angle lens when searching for a community's character, sense of place, or structure of feeling. Molotch et al. (2000) echo the approach I have taken, "Given that there is no single engine of history, places comprise an ensemble of forces that somehow must be examined together" (792). They say the key research task is finding the links where different forces collaborate to either change or reinforce an area's character and tradition. "One needs not a representative sample, but as with paleontological work, the capacity to spot the crucial links. Otherwise, one can easily miss the moves through which actions that are adjacent in time, but which come from different realms, shape history" (816-17). Here again, the skill of a dramaturg, adept at identifying the hinge in a storyline, would be useful. Molotch et al. (2000) says a researcher always needs to assess the strength of the current lash-up and understand when and why it might disintegrate. Part of the answer to this is understanding the larger systems, or lash-ups, that cities like Santa Barbara or watersheds like the Arroyo, find themselves a part of. The next section provides just a slight sketch of the political, economic, and cultural dynamics that have shaped the stories of places across Los Angeles in order to put the discoveries about the Arroyo into a broader geographic context.

L.A. stories

Adam Clark Vroman founded his bookstore in Pasadena in 1894, and today it is the oldest and largest independent bookstore in Southern California. Vroman was a photographer, and many of the best historic photos of the Arroyo came from his camera. Having grown up in Pasadena as the child of two librarians, the store has anchored my experience of my hometown. Whenever I go, I make a habit of browsing the store's books on Southern California so that I feel up-to-date with what people are writing about the cultural realities that Los Angeles embodies

and continues to generate. This dissertation does not claim a full exploration of how the Arroyo or Pasadena fits into the larger performance of the Los Angeles metropolitan region, but my research must engage with this larger context and the library of literature that has sought to explain the nation's second largest city to itself and the rest of the world. To narrow this discussion, I have picked a handful of sources that touch on the subjects most relevant to this dissertation: planning, parks, neighborhood development, rivers, and creative placekeeping.

According to the Trust for Public Land, in 2024 Los Angeles ranks 88th out of 100 cities for park access, equity, acreage, investment, and amenities (Walker 2024). A helpful touchstone for understanding how this situation came to be is the story of a 1930 report entitled *Parks, Playgrounds and Beaches for the Los Angeles Region* authored by two of the most prominent planning firms in the country: the Olmstead Brothers and Harland Bartholomew and Associates. Seventy years later, historians Greg Hise and Bill Deverell released *Eden by Design: The 1930 Olmsted-Bartholomew Plan for the Los Angeles Region* to raise the profile of the alternative future that these illustrious planners once envisioned for a city on the cusp of explosive growth (Hise et al. 2000). The two planning firms looked at both the vast open spaces surrounding the still adolescent city and the automobile as opportunities to create a one-of-a-kind urban experience. The plan forecast growth over the next half century to a surprisingly accurate degree and urged city and county authorities to set aside vast amounts of land for parks and playgrounds across the area's plains and valleys to complement tracts of single-family housing they believed would prevent urban congestion and support healthy suburban living. Greenbelts up to a quarter-mile wide would connect these areas and feature parkways screened from surrounding communities and turn commuting into a leisurely activity. Many of these parkways would travel along the wide floodplains of the rivers spilling from the hills and mountains. Taking this land

for parkways would prevent costly damage from flooding and ensure recreational opportunities for working class communities across the Southland (Davis 1996; Hise et al. 2000). The prototype for this design would be the Arroyo Seco, which neighborhood groups had wanted to turn into a public park and roadway since the turn of the century (see chapter 5). Olmstead and Bartholomew's plan proposed that the Arroyo should include a parkway from the Los Angeles River all the way to Devil's Gate Dam.[14]

The Olmsteads and Bartholomew worked with cities across the country and knew creating a roadmap for implementation was an essential part of the plan. They had designed a traffic plan for Los Angeles in 1924 and so were familiar with the city's political dynamics. Major selling points they returned to include the importance of investing in park space before land prices increased and the return on investment the City would reap as its public beaches and distinctive network of green spaces attracted tourists from around the world. Hise and Deverell provide a nuanced analysis of why the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce that had commissioned the plan and sanctioned a Blue-Ribbon Committee of famous and important people to support it disavowed the plan so quickly after its release and sought its erasure from the public's consciousness. The cost of land acquisition was one issue, but more important was the proposal to set up an independent park board and various park districts to lead implementation. "The planned park board, with its jurisdictional authorities extending to the creation of its own police force, simply scared the Chamber members, many of whom clearly feared that the new body would exert powers over and above the Chamber itself" (Hise et al. 2000, 39).

[14] For decades, city officials dreamed of building such a road all the way up the Arroyo's narrow mountain canyon, over the Angeles Crest and down into the high desert north of the city.

So much of the story that unfolded in and around the Arroyo connects to what happened with the Olmstead-Bartholomew Plan.[15] There is the valorization of zoning for single-family housing that today is a battleground in debates over affordable housing in the neighborhoods along the Arroyo. There is a misreading of how Los Angeles' relationship with the automobile would evolve as the planners' concept for greenbelt parkways morphed into the modern freeway system. The fight to keep both a parkway and freeway out of Pasadena's portion of the Arroyo would continue for the next seventy-five years. There are the plan's ties to the City Beautiful movement, for which Pasadena had organized its own association, as well as the plan's direct appeal to tourism, which almost from Pasadena's inception has been central to the community's sense of itself. Finally, there is the power of business interests working its will on planning, policy, and governance, especially decisions having to do with real estate, which has always fueled the region's economy. Urban historian Mike Davis describes what might have been had the City gotten behind the plan:

> The existing hierarchy of public and private space in Los Angeles would have been fundamentally overturned. A dramatically enlarged Commons, not the private subdivision, would have become the commanding element in the Southern California landscape. Preserved natural ecosystems (Olmstead was a passionate proponent of native flora) would have imposed clear boundaries on urbanization. The speculative real estate market would have been counterbalanced by a vigorous social democracy of beaches and playgrounds. Needless to say, such extravagant conceptions of public space alarmed guardians of Los Angeles' reputation as the capital of antiradicalism and the open shop. (Davis 1996, 164).

Davis notes that it was William H. Whyte, whose writings became the inspiration for the Project for Public Spaces, who coined the term "urban sprawl" after watching from a plane as bulldozers

[15] Screen actress Marry Pickford was one of the driving forces behind the plan, arguing to the Chamber of Commerce that Los Angeles needed to beautify its city because visitors often decamped to Pasadena's resort hotels because of its concentration of attractions and recreational opportunities, one of which was the Arroyo (Hise et al. 2000).

cleared land between Los Angeles and San Bernardino. Davis says real estate interests led by the Southern Pacific Railroad, the largest owner of floodplain land, organized against taking floodplain land off the market. "The opposing solution was to deepen and 'armor' (pave) a narrow width of the channel in order to maximize potential industrial development within the floodplain. Although beneficial to large landowners, this strategy would entomb the natural River in a concrete straightjacket -- effectively destroying the riparian landscape." (Davis 1996, 165). By the 1990s, Davis had concluded, "County government in Southern California is so hopelessly captive to the land development industry that sweeping electoral reforms, comparable to California's Progressive revolution of 1911, are probably the prerequisite for overthrowing the 'new Octopus' and transforming land use priorities." (Davis 1996, 177).

Pasadena's history contains these same dynamics in microcosm with a particularly stark racial overlay. Historian Becky Nicolaides (2024) in *The New Suburbia: How Diversity Remade Suburban Life in Los Angeles after 1945* puts this history into the broader context of suburban landscapes as places of exclusion, not just in Southern California but across the country. Los Angeles, however, was a pioneer in suburban living and the efforts to shut out people of color. How communities negotiated these tensions was intensely local. In Pasadena, the desegregation of the schools transformed local politics, but despite the promise of an integrated city in the early 1970s, much of Pasadena's white population retreated into a world of private schools and social institutions contributing to a city that has arguably the worst income inequality in the state (Dreier and Maier 2014; Nicolaides 2024). Nicolaides writes about how the symbolic power of the single-family suburban home is so great that families of color who achieve this stepping stone often adopt the same exclusionary practices that made their own journey to home ownership so difficult.

Laura Barraclough's 2011 book *Making the San Fernando Valley: Rural Landscapes, Urban Development, and White Privilege* documents how this suburban ideal evolved in the San Fernando Valley into what she calls "rural urbanism," a unique aesthetic that has guided planning decisions and reinforced white identity politics across the 20th century (Barraclough 2011). My research on Pasadena is similar to hers in combining archival research and historic newspaper articles with contemporary interviews to identify expressions of an underlying cultural narrative that has had an ongoing impact on land-use and decision-making at the local level. Barraclough finds productive veins of this narrative to explore in the Valley's role as a backdrop for Hollywood Westerns and the preservation of horse ranches in the Valley's hillside communities. In a comparable fashion, this dissertation explores the history of community arts in Pasadena and the dynamics governing recreation in Arroyo.

Rather than using planning and policy to reinforce a singular narrative as has happened in the Valley, Goldstein et al. (2015) echoes Eckstein and Throgmorton (2003) in arguing that planning should facilitate community storytelling and work to represent and weave together a plurality of stories into the urban blueprint. They describe how this is starting to happen with the Los Angeles River as grassroots advocacy groups like Friends of the Los Angeles River (FoLAR) re-introduce the urban waterway to the city. The authors note how, because of federal involvement in funding and designing the River's flood control system in 1930s, the River's governance and its story became disconnected from surrounding neighborhoods. Artistic and cultural events have been a primary means of healing this rift. FoLAR itself was started by the late poet and performance artist Lewis McAdams, who in 2009 performed in Cornerstone Theater Company's play *Touch the Water* along the edge of the River's flood control channel.

Given my goal to strengthen the networks focused on the Arroyo, the following passage from Goldstein et al. (2015) is especially meaningful.

> The emerging plurivocal narrative does not necessarily replace the foundational story of the river's extraordinary regional flood potential—if anything, ongoing urbanisation and more frequent extreme weather events have increased this danger—but rather, unsettles and complements this unitary narrative, with its external locus of control and responsibility, with a more porous and experiential scale of recognition and relationship. Thus, the local networks of river governance are reconstructed as meaningful to the thousands of citizens who must ultimately enact the region's resilience, or lack thereof. (1295)

Whether this new set of narratives is compatible with the story of speculation and gentrification that greening of the River will initiate is worth asking. But the contrast between the immediate narrative generated by cultural events and arts-based activism and the slow, inexorable story of real estate turnover is stark. These narratives hold different types of power, and which emerges victorious will likely depend on the broader narrative of the region as whole.

The recently released volume, *Co-Creative Placekeeping in Los Angeles: Artists and Communities Working Together*, collectively authored by Brettany Shannon, David Sloane, and Anne Bray asks this same question while exploring the power, process, and potential of co-creative placekeeping in Los Angeles (Shannon et al. 2023). This book synthesizes interviews with eight artists or artist teams working to maintain or improve the quality of life in neighborhoods across Los Angeles. These artists, such as John Malpede who founded the Los Angeles Poverty Department that works on Skid Row, and Tricia Ward, who worked with the Highland Park neighbors to create the La Tierra de la Culebra art park, are insurgents who disrupt the planning and development process. Part of what this dissertation grapples with is how to create a network of these types of artists and their allies for the Arroyo Seco watershed and distribute the skills and knowledge for co-creative placekeeping so that it can become a defining attribute of neighborhood life.

Almost twenty years ago, in their introduction to *Land of Sunshine*, a collection of essays on the environmental history of Los Angeles, Hise and Deverell (2005) argue that what holds the most promise in making the metropolitan region more sustainable is connecting neighborhood sustainability efforts, such as those happening in and along the Arroyo, to regional plans so that everyone can pull in the same direction. Part of this coordination is fitting together the narratives that guide our actions at different scales, which is why this regional environmental literature is so important to review. In this dissertation's conclusion, I return to this discussion to review how the stories from Pasadena's Arroyo in chapters 4, 5, and 6 relate to these larger narrative patterns.

Questions, values, positionality, & promise

This review provides the professional and academic context for the research questions I chose for this study. The specific question I set out to answer at the start of this investigation was "What opportunities to increase the diversity and vibrancy of community networks come from comparing the types of stories people tell about their local landscape?" [16] From here, several specific, secondary questions opened up for the Arroyo Seco:

- How compatible are the stories of different people and groups in the Arroyo Seco?

[16] Diversifying networks of environmental advocates, across several dimensions, has been an obstacle almost from the start of the environmental movement (Gottlieb 2005). The association between environmental activism and a white, middle- and upper-class demographic has crossed over to newer frameworks such as sustainability despite of the long history of communities of color fighting environmental racism as well as more recent work to bend environmental agendas toward justice (Gottlieb 2005; Pellow 2018; Pellow and Brulle 2005; Sze et al. 2018). The goal of increasing this network's "vibrancy" is a way to express the need for it to grow in size, to maintain its health and resiliency, and resonate within people's imagination. During the first years of ArtPlace America, the staff used publicly available data to present a set of Vibrancy Indicators that grantees could use to measure their impact. Heavily weighted toward shifts in neighborhood economic performance, they earned criticism for being out-of-touch with the substance of creative placemaking work (Crane et al. 2020; Hand 2021). My use of vibrancy hopes to redeem the word for the field by using it to describe a network of people rather than the built environment or economic activity and captures this project's emphasis on creative expression.

- How compatible are human stories of the Arroyo with stories enacted by the more-than-human world?
- How do these stories show up in the performance of the landscape, the daily rituals, special events, and organizational dynamics that constitute everyday life in the watershed? And what does this reveal about local power dynamics?
- How does our understanding of the Arroyo Seco change when we center the stories of Indigenous peoples?
- How do these local stories interact with larger narratives enacted at regional, national, and global scales?

All but the last of these questions are methodological in nature, which is why I chose to pilot the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers and use the experience to assess the efficacy of a dramaturgical approach to collecting, analyzing, and synthesizing information as part of a creative placekeeping process. As the project progressed, it became clear the experience would generate results at three levels. The questions above touch on the first level, which are conclusions about the Arroyo Seco itself. The second level concerns the efficacy of the process I designed to generate creative placekeeping projects that I describe in chapter 3. The third level speaks to ways to sustain this process and use it to create a network of Arroyo Seco Placekeepers that can influence the environmental, social, and cultural character and trajectory of the watershed through time. The final chapter of this dissertation reflects upon all three levels of results and offers preliminary answers to the specific, instrumental questions above.

My interpretation of the data I have collected grows from the core values that I articulated for the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers of respect, reciprocity, openness, creativity and belonging (see appendix 1). Respect and reciprocity underscore the importance of relationality

in studying and building networks and advocating for greater recognition of our connections to the more-than-human world; respect and reciprocity are also values central to Indigenous research methodologies (Christopher et al. 2013; Kovach 2009; Smith 2012). Openness relates to “cultural humility” cited by Israel et al. (2013) as vital for cross-cultural research. Creativity is essential for a dissertation about arts and culture and stems from a belief in the capacity each person has for creative self-expression.

Belonging is central to creative placekeeping. Shannon et al. (2023) states "Belonging is meaningful, powerful, and, like capital, unequally distributed in society. Without a sense of belonging, we struggle to access the benefits of community, engagement, relations, and the collective power to enact resistance. Therefore, Co-Creative artists exist as conduits for art-inspired, art-produced, community-determined belonging" (200). Belonging can also serve as a measure of our relationship to the more-than-human world and the depth of commitment to community-based conservation. One way to describe my aim with this project is to move people from believing that the land belongs to them to a feeling that they belong to the land as they might belong to a family, giving them a responsibility to contribute to its well-being. Belonging also generates contestation. Do eucalyptus trees belong in the Arroyo? Not according to ecologists. Does this particular eucalyptus tree that is over a hundred years old belong? This has generated fierce debate (Save Pasadena Trees 2020). Does affordable housing belong in neighborhoods that have historically had only single-family zoning? Another point of contention. But belonging as a value promotes a necessary transparency in answering these questions. If a tree or a particular group of people do not belong, what is the reasoning? What is the basis for this judgment? Belonging forces these conversations and challenges people to look closely at the boundaries they draw and barriers they erect, which in my interpretation is an important piece of

the story of Pasadena's Arroyo. It is also part of a larger debate of how we mediate the local and the global and how much cosmopolitanism we can manage in a city before people begin to feel one city is just like any other and anonymity replaces belonging in the life on the street (Antonsich 2010; Calhoun 2003; Turner 2019). Finally, belonging is also inherently geographical, often defined by lines on a map. A recurring question in the pages that follow is how impenetrable should those lines be (Appadurai 1996; Castree 2004; Dirlik and Prazniak 2001; DuPuis and Goodman 2005; Gibson-Graham 2006b; Harvey 1990; Watts 2003). These values working in concert have informed my choice of justice and sustainability as the twin conceptual goals to pursue through the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers project.

Beyond these values and goals, which represent my intentions, there remain biases that shape my interpretation of the data. Growing up, my parents' foothold in the middle class was tenuous. Like so many Pasadena parents in the 1970s, mine chose to put me into Pasadena's private school system, aided by scholarships that increased as the schools that accepted me became more expensive. This, along with a father who watched his family situation deteriorate during the Great Depression, has made me sensitive to economic inequality and skeptical that a capitalist economic system provides the best path to widespread prosperity. Still, I do believe in the promise of democratic self-governance and believe that working across lines of difference is possible and powerful. As a White man, this optimism comes from a place of relative privilege, and I respect that where I see potential for collaboration and reconciliation, others might see incommensurability or a move to establish innocence or absolve guilt (Tuck and Yang 2012). In terms of storytelling, my own aesthetic holds a strong bias toward narrative closure, which carries the danger of crafting definitive resolutions where the evidence calls for indeterminacy. Some loose ends are better left untied, some circles left unsquared. Another important bias is a

desire to position humans as one among millions of other species and to see society adjust accordingly, a bias that developed while living in remote locations where human civilization has a limited footprint. This eco-centric viewpoint does not have much practical purchase in the world of planning and policy but has been the dominant poetic for most of human evolutionary history. These biases have found their way into my interpretation of the Arroyo.

A final bias comes from my memories of growing up in and around the Arroyo. One of my earliest memories is of my parents carrying me down South Orange Grove Boulevard to watch the Rose Parade. A few years later, I was riding horses and being thrown in the mud pit as a Tom Sawyer camper in what would become Hahamongna Watershed Park. My parents visited houses in Linda Vista in the 1970s before buying in East Pasadena and dragged me to the Norton Simon Museum and the Rose Bowl Flea Market. Later, I attended Chandler School where my father became the upper school librarian. Each day I waited for him to close the library by sitting on the canyon rim overlooking the Rose Bowl and watching the red-tail hawks surf the air currents of the Arroyo. At Chandler, we played soccer on the fields in front of the stadium and baseball in Brookside Park. My father took me for a tour of The Gamble House and later to a soccer game at the Rose Bowl for the 1984 Olympics. In high school, I joined the Boy Scouts and did an overnight at Switzer's Camp in the mountain Arroyo, did driver's education on the Arroyo Seco Parkway, ran cross country on the Arroyo's trails, and went to a house party in the San Rafael neighborhood after opening night of our high school musical. A friend's house on South Arroyo Boulevard was the gathering spot for movie nights and another lived near the Art Center in Linda Vista. Despite all of this, and my subsequent experience organizing ArroyoFest and writing my play, I have been astounded during this research of what I didn't know or understand about this extraordinary canyon and these storied neighborhoods. While my

familiarity with Pasadena gave me a head start interpreting the data, it is important to note that I did not pursue this project as an outsider might, without prejudice.

While I stated the purpose of this research and the pilot for the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers as strengthening the network of Arroyo residents working to create a just and sustainable future, the promise that has pulled me forward through this process has been both broader and deeper. There are global challenges that deeply concern me. Three in particular relate to this dissertation: the climate crises, the loss of biodiversity, and the global movement toward sovereignty and self-determination for Indigenous people. I decided long ago that the most effective way to influence issues of this scope and scale is to make a tangible difference in one's local community and tell the story of these victories in as compelling a manner as possible. This research follows this blueprint with the lessons from the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers hopefully being of use to artists, activists, and academics working in Los Angeles and beyond. But for me what holds particular promise in the work of cultural organizing, creative placekeeping, and community cultural development is its fractal pattern, fractal because the same spark of creative agency and personal growth, of belonging and collective purpose, that occurs within the individual involved with effective arts programming can occur within a neighborhood, and from there can occur within a city and a region. And this makes sense because art taps into the magic of metaphor, which typically takes something small and connects it to something big, or shows how something universal occurs in something close at hand. My intuition is that within this poetry is the key to our collective well-being, to finding solutions that have integrity and can be their own energy source. This dissertation recounts an attempt to write this type of poem by exploring a placekeeping process in the context of Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo. It validates what other authors have written about this process but potentially breaks new methodological ground

in three areas: the integration of the more-than-human world into the placekeeping conversation, the use of narrative analysis and dramaturgy to identify promising places to begin devising placekeeping projects, and grappling with how to support and sustain a network of placekeepers that can ensure that community cultural development continues indefinitely.

Chapter overview

In a 2016 interview with me in Tucson, Roberto Bedoya told me that context is everything. The next chapter, which describes the world of the Arroyo provides the geographic context for the research and ASP's pilot project. This chapter moves from a profile of the physical geography of the watershed to the cultural geography of Pasadena, featuring descriptions of five narratives that have had power and influence over decision-making in the city. Chapter 3 provides an overview of the methodology for the dissertation, including the design of the pilot project, a description of the sources of data, and the dramaturgical method that I used to identify key questions for the community consider about how it performs everyday life along the Arroyo. Chapters, 4, 5, and 6 review the stories of the Arroyo based on community interviews and archival research. Chapter 4 looks at the Arroyo's geologic and ecological narratives, Native American priorities and storylines, and provides a storied reading of creative placekeeping in Pasadena in relation to its robust arts and culture sector. Chapter 5 examines the narrative patterns in neighborhood development along this section of the Arroyo, the story of Arroyo advocacy and how the land became a park, and narratives linked to recreation. The final set of stories that I analyze for the dissertation come from in-depth interviews with a handful of neighborhood leaders who have worked to care for the Arroyo or improve the quality of life in their neighborhood. Chapter 6 explains the narrative thread that I found in the 70 hours of conversations with these individuals. The title of Chapter 7 is "Meaning of the Arroyo" and

reviews how I sought to synthesize the stories from Chapters 4, 5, and 6 to generate questions for a group of stakeholders to discuss. The chapter then reviews the movement of this group from a Creative Dialogue Session to devising a first round of creative placekeeping projects to pursue. and defining the purpose and function of the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers. The chapter also reflects on my work with ASP's community advisory group and the creative team of artists that helped with this process and then outlines a proposal for how ASP can achieve its larger goals of supporting community cultural development in the Arroyo. Chapter 8 returns to the questions raised in this introduction to assess what larger lessons this action research holds for Los Angeles as a region, the placekeeping process, and the task of building place-based networks of placekeepers committed to a specific geography. Throughout the dissertation extensive appendices provide documentation and supporting materials that I hope will prove useful to community researchers and Arroyo advocates not yet born.

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Chapter 2 – World of the Arroyo

The Arroyo Seco's canyon has always been at the center of life for both humans and wildlife in the western San Gabriel Valley. The water from the San Gabriel Mountains and the springs that lined the canyon walls supported a variety of ecological communities adapted to the regular regime of fires and floods that swept across the landscape. The water was essential for Gabrieleno/Tongva families to process the acorns that were their primary staple by the time the first Europeans marched into the Los Angeles basin in 1769. Native villages and settlements clustered along the canyon for thousands of years. And when Daniel Berry, the agent for a group of would-be colonists from Indiana, saw the water flowing through the canyon, he hurriedly wrote to his brother-in-law, Dr. Thomas Elliot, that he had found their future home (Saavedra 2018). The world of the Arroyo, therefore, is so intertwined with the history and identity of what today we call Pasadena that you cannot describe one without spilling over into talk about the other, even though the Arroyo's watershed boundaries narrow considerably as one moves south of the 210 Freeway (see figure 5). Underground, however, the ancient Arroyo's canyon runs west to east across Pasadena, and by the time it reaches Pasadena's eastern boundary, the filled-in canyon is nearly a thousand feet deep. Both above and below ground, the Arroyo is the spiritual spine of Pasadena (Buwalda 1940).

This chapter sets the context for the research to follow. It provides a geographic profile of Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo and describes the topography, demographics, economics, and politics of the city. The stories of the Arroyo that I outline in chapters 4, 5, and 6 exist as part of larger narratives that continue to shape the culture, politics, and landscape of Pasadena. The second half of this chapter reviews these larger narratives, related to Pasadena exceptionalism, Progressive politics, racial capitalism, the merging of wilderness with the city, and

decolonization. These narratives themselves reflect regional and national storylines, some older than the United States.

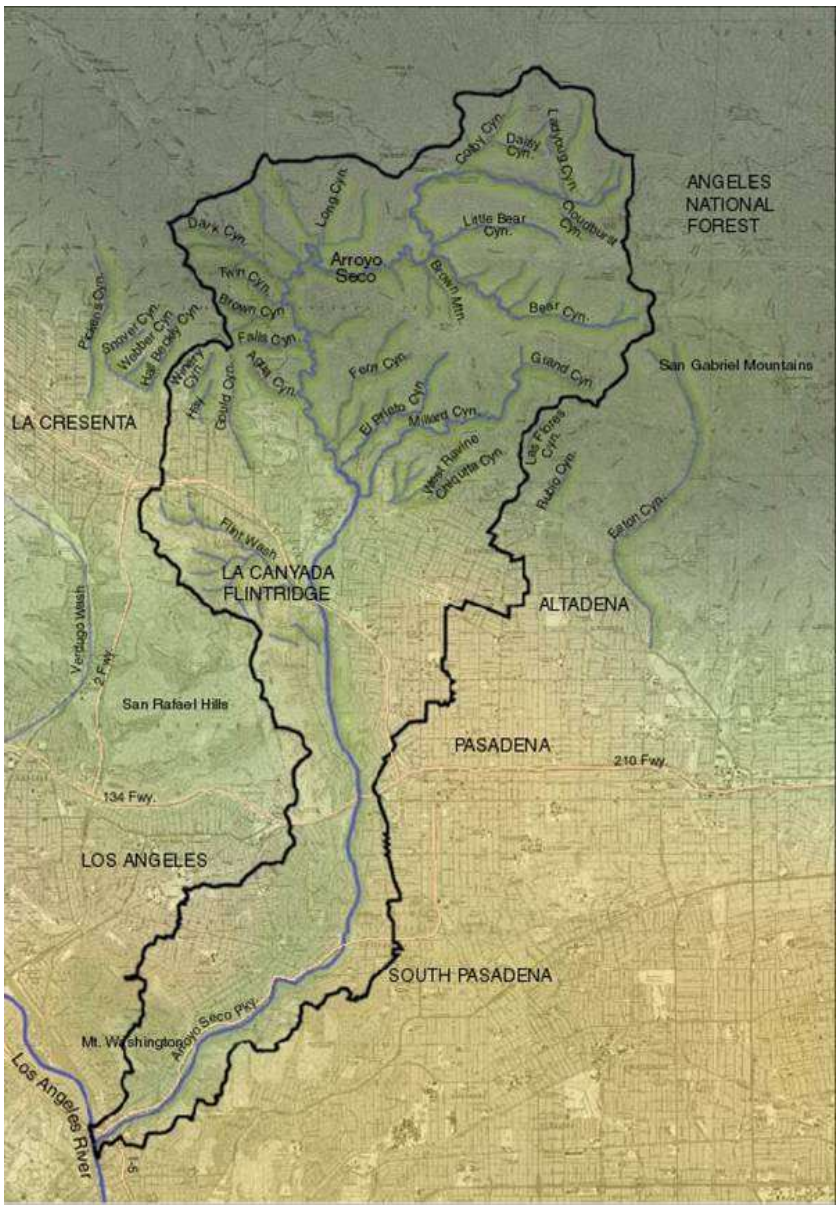


Figure 5. *Watershed boundaries for the Arroyo Seco. Roughly half the watershed is within Angeles National Forest (Northeast Trees and Arroyo Seco Foundation 2001).*

Environmental geography of the Arroyo

Geographically, the 25-mile Arroyo Seco consists of six, or possibly seven, sections depending on whether one groups Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo together, as I have, or

considers them separately. The first and largest section is the mountain watershed that begins below the Angeles Crest Highway and winds its way through a narrow canyon, stepping down and falling over flood control dams and structures the Forest Service installed during the middle of the 20th century. The structures did not work; the River quickly filled them with sediment, making them obsolete. In 2024, President Joe Biden used the Antiquities Act to add this portion of the Arroyo to the San Gabriel Mountains National Monument (Rivera 2024).



Figure 6. *The Arroyo Seco in February 2005 after a heavy rain. This photo is just north of where it emerges from its mountain canyon near the Jet Propulsion Laboratory).*

Once it emerges from the San Gabriel Mountains near NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory, it spreads out into the wide, braided floodplain that constitutes the 1300 acres of Hahamongna Watershed Park, a peninsula of Pasadena land that separates the City of La Cañada-Flintridge on the west from the unincorporated Town of Altadena east of the canyon. After flowing roughly 1.5 miles through the park, the River runs into Devil's Gate Dam. Los Angeles County built the dam

in 1920 using a distinctive rock formation settlers named the Devil's Gate for the dam's foundation. The structure was the very first of Los Angeles County's flood control dams. As with the flood control structures in the mountains, the area behind the dam routinely fills with sediment, reducing its effectiveness. Between 2014 and 2021, environmentalists and the Los Angeles County of Public Works fought in court over the removal of sediment washed into the basin after the 2009 Station Fire. The Arroyo Seco Foundation filed two lawsuits to stop habitat destruction and reduce air pollution from the diesel trucks hauling the sediment to a designated dumping ground (Brick 2017; Save Hahamongna 2020).[17] Environmentalists named the operation "The Big Dig," and their opposition resulted in a settlement that provided funding for habitat restoration and park improvements in this, the second section of the Arroyo (Wilson 2021).

[17] The County's original plan estimated over 400 diesel truck trips per day over a 3- to 5-year period.



Figure 7. *Photo of Hahamongna Watershed Park and the Jet Propulsion Laboratory campus. The green depressions in the lower right are settling ponds that take water during high flows to replenish the Raymond Basin aquifer. Compaction makes them less efficient at percolation than the alluvial scrub habitat in the floodplain*

Below the dam, the River enters what Pasadena calls its Central Arroyo. Prior to the 1930s, the River was free to choose its path across a broad, rocky plain of alluvial scrub vegetation and clusters of trees and galleries of springs and small wetlands fed the stream. Today, the River passes into a 2.5-mile flood control channel that the city first excavated in the early 1920s to protect the Rose Bowl stadium. West of the Central Arroyo, the San Rafael Hills rise to a sharp ridge that separates Pasadena from Glendale. East of the Central Arroyo, long sloping alluvial fans stretch down from the mountain front, one after the other, all the way to the end of the San Gabriel Valley in San Bernardino.



Figure 8. *The Central Arroyo and the Rose Bowl with the Brookside Golf Course on either side of the flood control channel. The San Rafael Hills rise above the Linda Vista neighborhood. The right side shows the East Arroyo neighborhood on the bluffs above the canyon ("Rose Bowl Stadium" n.d.)*

Toward the southern end of Central Arroyo, the geology again narrows the canyon and raises the water table, which prevented engineers from continuing the flood control channel. Here the River again runs free for a quarter mile under the iconic Colorado Street Bridge and the 134 Freeway before again entering a flood channel that Los Angeles County constructed in the late 1940s. This begins Pasadena's Lower Arroyo Park, a 1.75-mile stretch that White settlers described as a "jungle" with lush vegetation, springs, and swimming holes. The largest of these was Rocky Basin, a deep pool created where San Rafael Creek cascaded into the Lower Arroyo, carrying the outflow from Johnston Lake, a wetland complex that White settlers turned into a lake located on the sloping mesa west of Lower Arroyo's canyon. In 1991, the Arroyo Seco Foundation facilitated an agreement between the City and the waste company Browning-Ferris Industries that resulted in construction of two low-flow channels on either side of the main

control channel (see figure 9). Since 1997, these clay-lined diversions have taken water from the stream before it enters the main channel. The water travels 0.7 miles through restored riparian habitat after which it re-enters the main channel. Before this restoration, much of the Lower Arroyo was bare gravel. Now, willows, cattails, and elderberry grow beneath a canopy of California black walnut, white alder, California sycamore, and cottonwood trees (City of Pasadena 2015; Giovannini 1998; Soussan 1996). This dissertation treats Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo as the second third section of Arroyo Seco watershed even though the City of Pasadena has given each its own master plan in recognition of their different character and recreational uses.

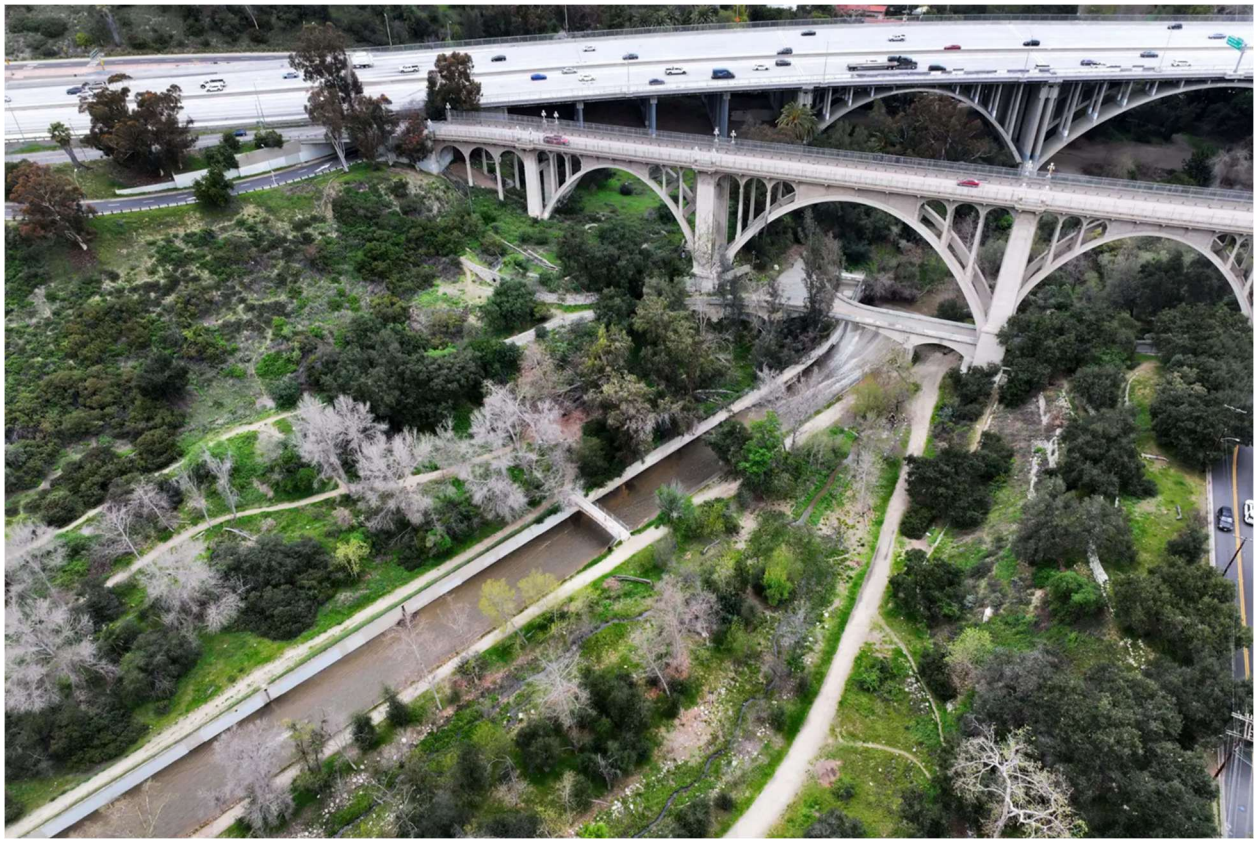


Figure 9. *The start of the flood control channel in the Lower Arroyo. The channel for the Lower Arroyo begins beneath the Colorado Street Bridge and the 134 Freeway. The low-flow diversions run between the main channel and the trails in the photo. Note the restored trees and vegetation in this area. South Arroyo Boulevard is visible on the right. (Musgrove 2024a).*

Shortly after reaching the City of South Pasadena, the flood channel curves west and meets the Historic Arroyo Seco Parkway, the first freeway west of the Mississippi, completed in 1940. This is the fourth section and includes Garvanza, the Los Angeles neighborhood on the west side of the channel. From here, the flood channel and Parkway snake through the hilly neighborhoods of Northeast Los Angeles: Highland Park, Mt. Washington, Hermon, Montecito Heights, Lincoln Heights, and Cypress Park. This Parkway section of the Arroyo contains cultural landmarks such as the now-shuttered Southwest Museum, the first museum in Los Angeles, which housed rare materials bought or taken from Native American groups, primarily in the Southwestern United States. The museum was the vision of Charles Lummis, a writer, editor, and booster of early Los Angeles who has a complicated legacy (Thompson 2001). Lummis built his home, El Alisal, out of Arroyo stones, and it now sits above the Parkway at Avenue 43. At the bottom of the Arroyo Seco watershed, the fifth and final reach of the Arroyo meets the broad concrete expanse that the Los Angeles River has become. Here the 5 and 110 Freeways converge with the flood infrastructure creating a multi-layered canopy of concrete. This confluence section of the Arroyo is more industrial in character but contains the Los Angeles River Center and Gardens, a shared workspace for a number of state and federal conservation agencies and non-profit organizations, including the Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy and Friends of the Los Angeles River (FoLAR), and has become an anchor for restoration efforts along the Los Angeles River.



Figure 10. *The Arroyo Seco Parkway and flood control channel share a narrow floodplain through Northeast Los Angeles. Both wind their way southwest toward the Los Angeles River and downtown Los Angeles. Pocket parks line the channel through this stretch of the Arroyo. (Musgrove 2024b).*

The marriage of the River and the Parkway underscores the role of canyon as a transportation corridor. The Gabrieleno/Tongva footpath along the River became the first wagon road between Pasadena and Los Angeles.[18] Rail and electric car trolley tracks eventually extended up the canyon from downtown Los Angeles to Pasadena. With the growth of automobile use at the start of the 20th century, neighborhood leaders in Pasadena and Los Angeles began clamoring for a scenic roadway that would shorten the travel time between the two cities. Rather than opposing the roadway, early Arroyo advocates envisioned parkland and roadway as complementary uses, though the specific nature and route of this road was a matter

[18] The recent transfer of twelve acres of land in the Monterey Hills just over the ridge from the Native footpath to the Gabrielino Shoshone Tribal Nation of Southern California underscores the continual presence of Native peoples in and around the Arroyo (Gomez 2023).

of debate. Some envisioned a super boulevard while others wanted a narrow road suited more to horse carriages than automobiles. Residents along Pasadena's Lower Arroyo neighborhood were able to steer the route of the Parkway away from their neighborhood and toward Central Pasadena. Today, the Parkway is one of the busiest and most accident-prone routes in the Los Angeles freeway system, its curves and short ramps struggling to accommodate modern drivers (Gottlieb 2007). In 2003, Los Angeles Metropolitan Transit Authority opened light rail service between Pasadena and Los Angeles using the old rail lines from a bygone era as one way to relieve some of this congestion. More than perhaps any other issue, ArroyoFest underscored the benefits of having a dedicated bikeway through the Arroyo's canyon, something cycling advocates continue to push for.[19]

In addition to the flood control and transportation infrastructure, recreation has left an imprint on the Arroyo's topography, especially in Pasadena. Hahamongna Watershed Park has the least development: within an ancient grove of oak trees is a single athletic field, picnic tables and grills, a collection of stables for equestrian groups, and the first frisbee disc golf course in the world. The limited development here is the result of environmentalists fighting off plans to install multiple athletic fields, light towers, and a plastic-lined lake during the creation of the Hahamongna Watershed Park Master Plan. What made it into the plan was an environmental education center, which after fifteen years now has a chance to move forward as a coalition of environmental, youth, arts, and tribal organizations have come together to advocate for the Climate Resilience Environmental Education Center (CREEC) project. Negotiations with the City of Pasadena about use of an old Forest Service ranger station for the Center are ongoing.

[19] Former Pasadena Mayor Horace Dobbins and his California Cycleways company purchased the right-of-way down the Arroyo to Avenue 43 for elevated wooden bikeway from Pasadena. Dobbins only finished two miles of his bike toll road from the Hotel Green to the South Pasadena border before investors pulled their support. But the bikeway vision fueled the push for the Parkway, which approximated Dobbins planned route (Meares 2019)



Figure 11. *The northern portion of Hahamongna Watershed Park in March 2024. This photo looks north toward the Jet Propulsion Laboratory campus. The lone athletic field in the park is visible to the left. The photo shows the floodplain after a rainstorm with green riparian habitat next to the lake created by Devil's Gate Dam, which stands at the southern end of the park, out of the picture. (Musgrove 2024c).*

In the 550-acre Central Arroyo, the Rose Bowl, its asphalt parking lots, and the municipal Brookside Golf Course dominates the floodplain. Each day thousands of people walk, run, and ride their bikes around the three-mile loop that parallels the roads ringing this complex. On the east side of the loop, the Brookside Clubhouse contains a pro shop, conference room, and restaurant. In addition to UCLA home football games, the stadium hosts large concerts and a monthly flea market that is one of the largest on the west coast. Recently, the golf courses have doubled as a location for several well-attended music festivals. South of the Rose Bowl is Area H, a large grassy area where soccer games take place, and people fly kites and model airplanes. Further south is sixty-two-acre Brookside Park that dates back to 1913. The list of attractions at Brookside has changed over the years and once included an elaborate fountain complex called

the Rockery, a hillside amphitheater, a horticultural center that became a community arts center and is today the home of Kidspace Children's Museum. Today's park also includes a small baseball stadium; the Rose Bowl Aquatics Center, a bandstand, tennis courts, lighted athletic fields, picnic grounds, and playground equipment.

The Lower Arroyo is 150-acres and includes the oldest, continuously-operated field archery range in the world dating back to 1934. The Pasadena Roving Archers maintain the range, offers classes, and holds tournaments. The Pasadena Casting Club arranged for the installation of a concrete pond to practice fly-fishing and a clubhouse in 1953. Hikers, runners, bird watchers, horseback riders, and unauthorized mountain bikers share dirt trails that travel the length of the canyon on both sides of the channel.

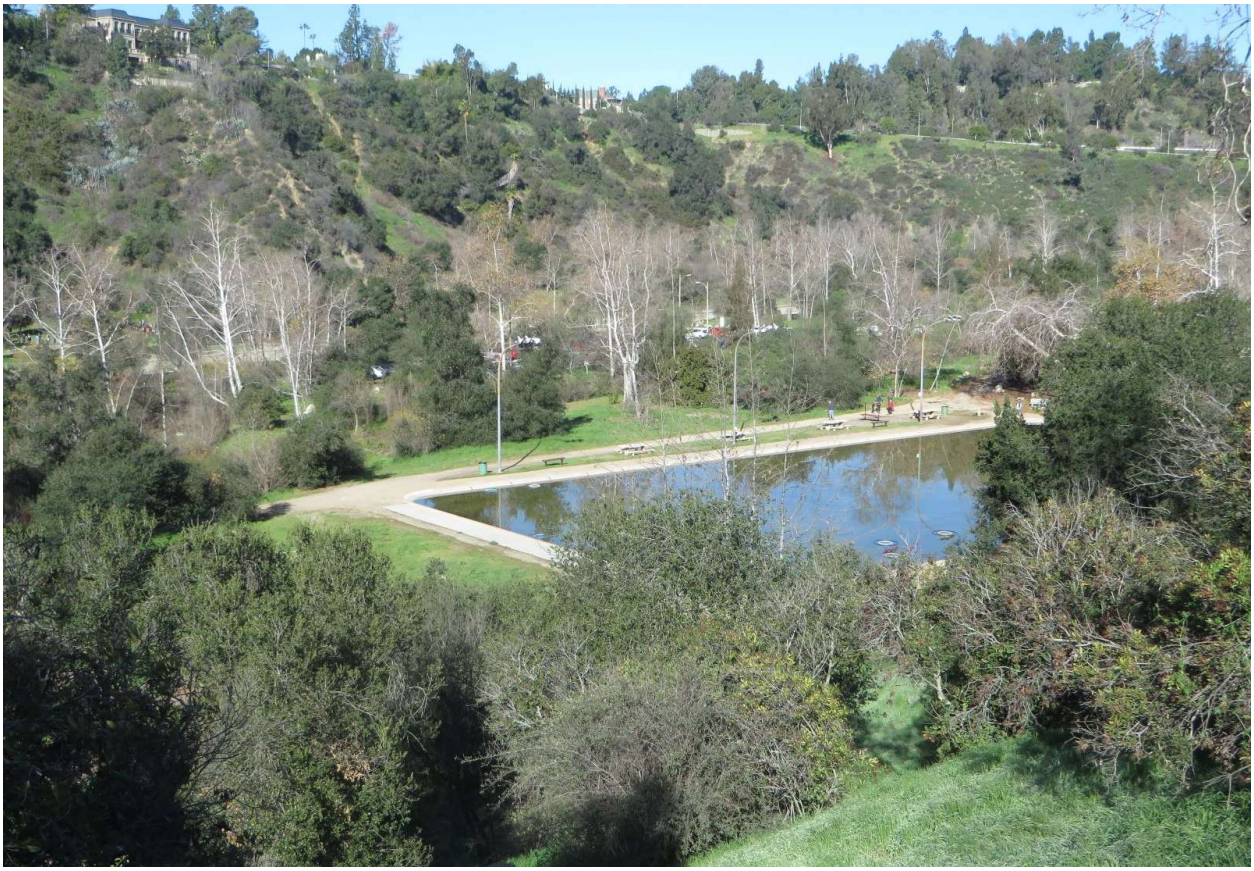


Figure 12. *The Lower Arroyo looking northwest over the Pasadena Casting Club's fly casting pond. The flood channel passes behind the cars and trees. On the other side of the channel is the start of the Pasadena Roving Archers' field archery range.*

On the east side of channel just before reaching the end of the trail, a long wooden fence screens from view a subdivision of homes that pushes into the park. This subdivision sits on what was once part of Busch Gardens. Beer magnate Adolphus Busch, opened his Gardens to the public in 1906, and it became a major tourist attraction for Pasadena. Opulent parties and fundraisers for thousands of people once took place in this section of the Arroyo. Roughly a hundred yards after the subdivision, the trail ends next to San Pascual Stables, a private facility that hosts riding classes and boards horses for equestrians that make use of the trails. Except for Los Angeles' beaches, the Arroyo is arguably the busiest recreation area in the region, with a large percentage of users coming from outside Pasadena.[20]

[20] Personal communication, Jens Weiden, Rose Bowl Operating Company, January 24, 2023



Figure 13. *Looking south from the San Rafael Bridge near South Pasadena. San Pascual Stables stands behind the large cluster of trees on the left. Looking north from the bridge would provide a view of the subdivision that was once part of Busch Gardens.*

Four Arroyo Seco neighborhoods

Distinctive neighborhoods line the Arroyo from the mountains down to the Los Angeles River, but this study focuses only on the four that sit on either side of Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo. Chapter 5 compares the development stories of these neighborhoods, and I provide detailed geographic profiles of each area in the appendices. Here, I simply review the physical and built environment.

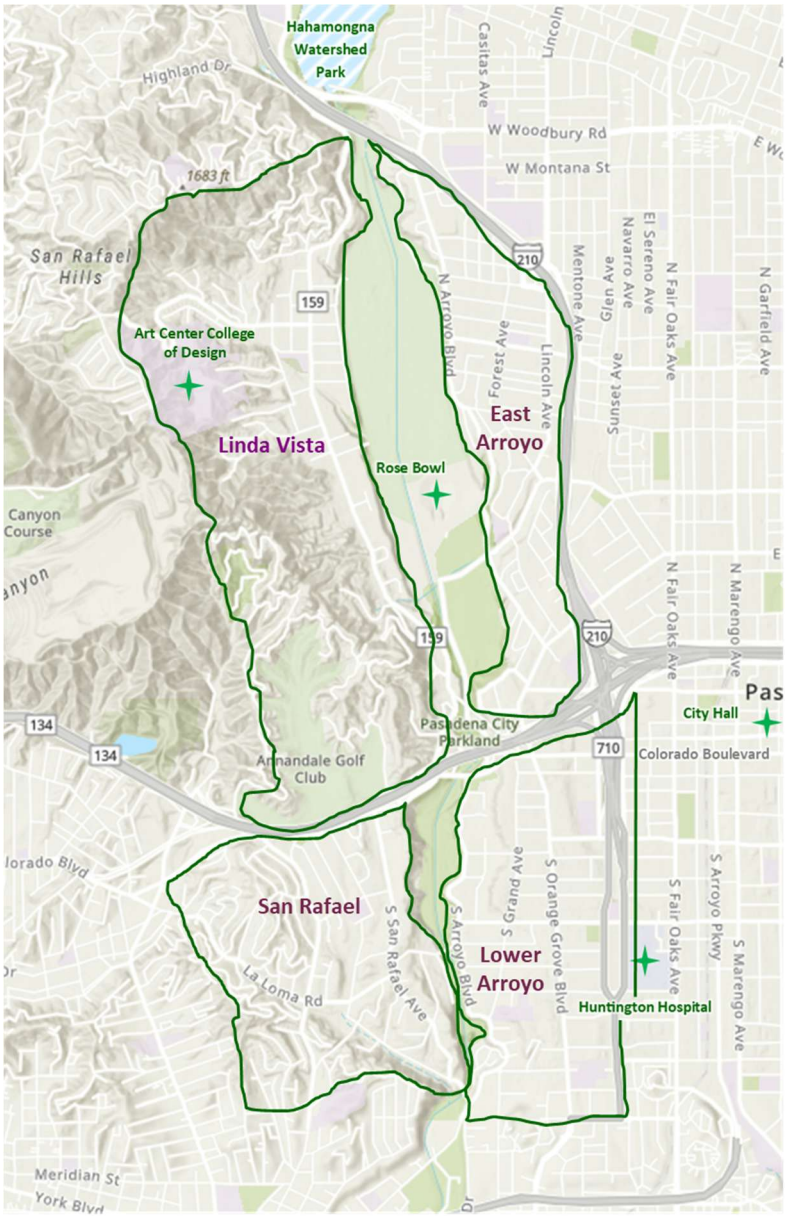


Figure 14. *Map of the neighborhoods that are the focus of this study*

The East Arroyo neighborhood encompasses the area between the east rim of the Arroyo's canyon and the northern spur of the 210 Freeway (see figure 15). The East Arroyo Residents Association began in 1974 and is the active neighborhood association serving the area. Today's neighborhood consists of over 80 percent single-family homes ranging in size from small bungalows and cottages closer to the main thoroughfare of Lincoln Avenue to the large mansions along the canyon rim. Renters have occupied roughly a quarter to a third of properties

since 1950. Seco Street branches off from Lincoln Avenue and descends to the Rose Bowl through what was once the canyon created by a tributary to the Arroyo. A bridge crosses the chasm of this canyon, connecting Prospect Park, Pasadena's first subdivision, to the rest of the neighborhood that hugs the canyon rim. Sequoyah School's high school campus and Chandler School (K-8) are the two main private schools in the neighborhood. A public charter school currently uses the campus of Cleveland Elementary, the long-time neighborhood school that the district closed in 2018 due to low enrollment. In 2019 the district also closed Roosevelt Elementary, which sits next to the intersection of the two freeways. The district recently approved use of the site for affordable housing for their teachers and staff. John Muir High School, one of Pasadena's four public high schools, is immediately north of the 210 Freeway on Lincoln Avenue. In 2013, the City Council approved a specific plan for Lincoln Avenue and the semi-industrial corridor that parallels an old rail line and the freeway. The Council approved a revision of this plan in 2021. Both plans call for mixed-used housing, light commercial development, beautification, and traffic calming measures (City of Pasadena 2015, 2021). In addition to demolishing 900 homes and displacing 1600 people, construction of the 210 Freeway's northern spur, hardened the boundary between the East Arroyo neighborhood and the rest of Northwest Pasadena, which historically has been the area of the city with the highest concentration of working-class residents and communities of color. Connections remain, however, and East Arroyo is the most diverse of the four neighborhoods in terms of class and ethnicity.

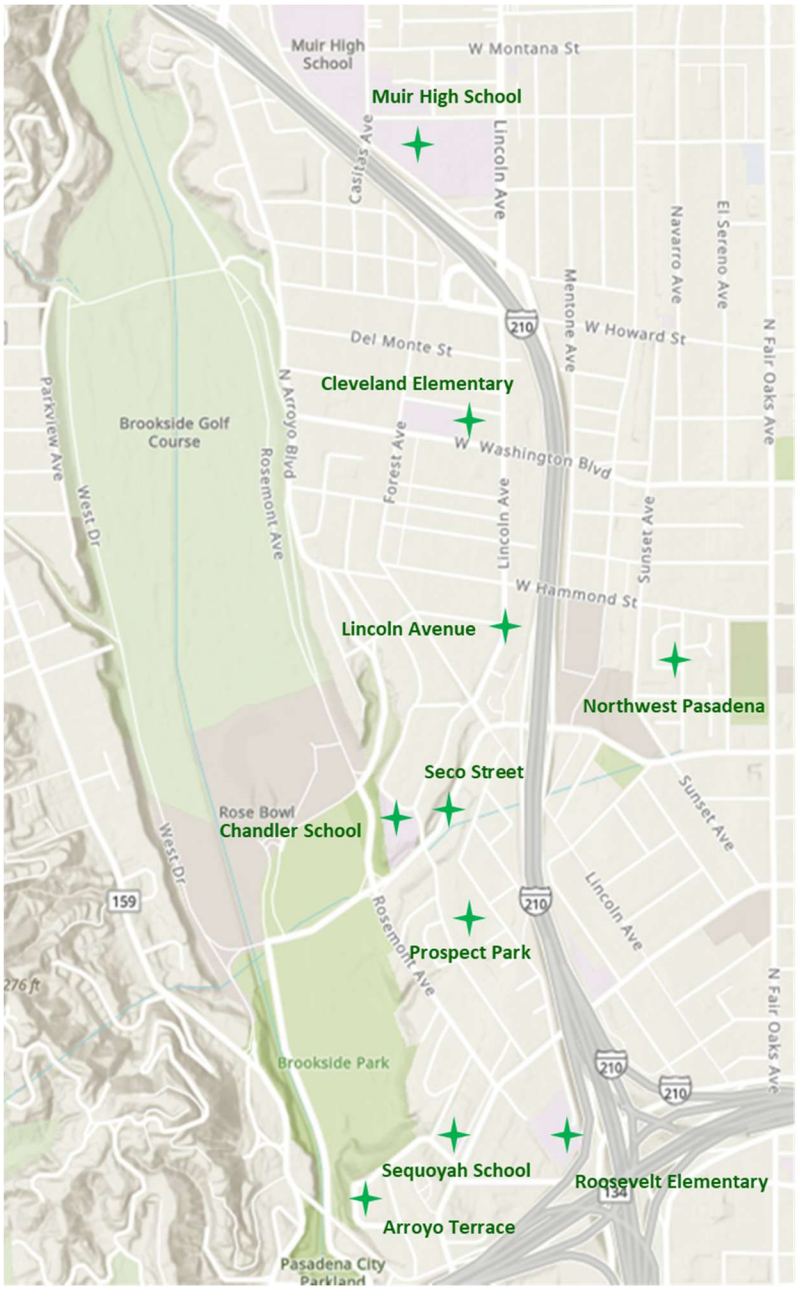


Figure 15. *Map of East Arroyo neighborhood*

The Lower Arroyo neighborhood encompasses the houses, apartments, condos, and townhomes that occupy the sloping terraces south of the 134 Freeway between Orange Grove Boulevard and South Arroyo Boulevard, which curves its way along the rim of the Lower

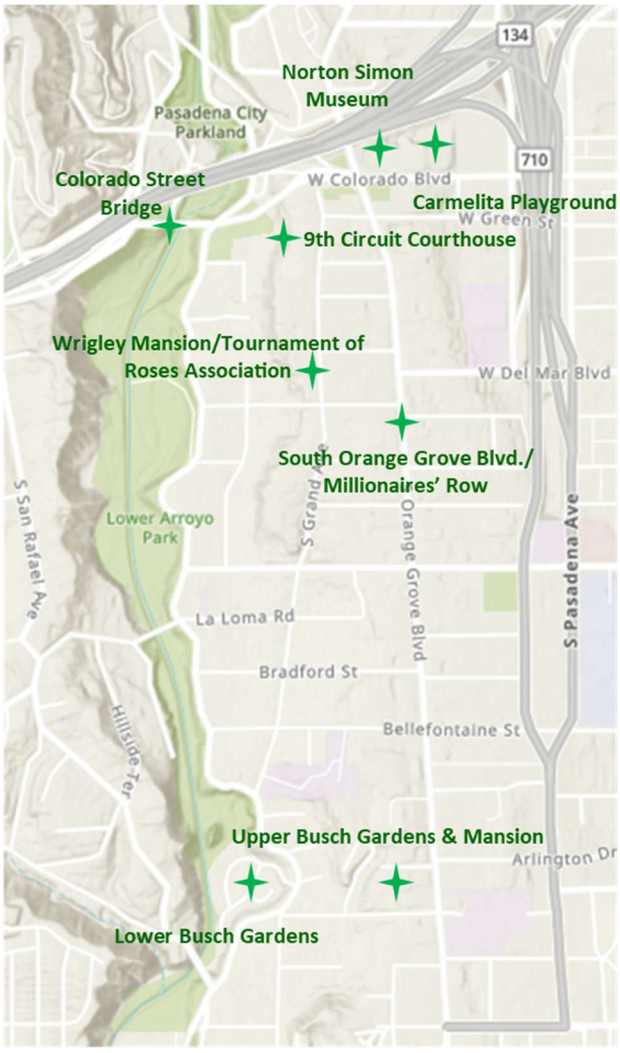


Figure 16. *Map of Lower Arroyo neighborhood*

Arroyo's canyon (see figure 16). South Orange Grove Boulevard earned the name Millionaire's Row during the first half of the 20th century for the mansions and estates that lined its length. Many of these were the winter homes of wealthy industrialists, such as Adolphus Busch, and had full staffs of servants filled by members of Pasadena's working-class families. The Great Depression depleted the fortunes of these wealthy families, and many of the homes fell into disrepair. The city council voted in 1948 to re-zone the boulevard for garden-style apartments, a change which shifted the look and feel of the neighborhood (Scheid Lund 1999).[21] Today, the Wrigley Mansion remains as an icon of this bygone era and serves as the headquarters for the Tournament of Roses Association, which lines up floats for the annual New Year's Day Rose Parade all the way down South Orange Grove Boulevard. Other historically important landmarks include what was once the Vista del Arroyo Hotel on the rim of the Arroyo and that serves today as the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals and the Norton Simon

[21] Interestingly, the 1970 census shows that the breakdown of single-unit and different concentrations of multi-unit structures in the Lower Arroyo was comparable to tracts in Northwest Pasadena, though these Lower Arroyo census tracts reach east of Orange Grove to Fair Oaks Avenue, an area with a greater diversity of housing types. For most decades since 1950, renters have occupied a third of the housing units between South Arroyo Boulevard and Fair Oaks Avenue. For the 2020 census, this percentage increased to 4 percent.

Museum on the northeast corner of Orange Grove and Colorado Boulevard. Prior to the construction of the freeway, this property was part of Carmelita Park, a cultural center for early Pasadena and the site of Pasadena's first public playground. This intersection is also where the iconic Colorado Street Bridge crosses the Arroyo. Once the western gateway into Pasadena, the bridge has suffered from regular attempts to commit suicide by leaping from its span into the canyon. Chain-link fencing now lines the bridge to prevent suicides as the city considers ways to re-design the structure. Downslope from Orange Grove are attractive homes ranging from large mansions to small bungalows, many in the Craftsman style. The terraced topography here represents ancient floodplains that evolved into an oak woodland, the remnants of which still arch over the neighborhood's sidewalks and front lawns. Residents of this area have always had a strong attachment to the Lower Arroyo Canyon and going back to the turn of the 20th century were some of the strongest advocates for protecting the area as a park (see chapter 5).



Figure 17. *Trails leading from South Arroyo Boulevard down into the Lower Arroyo's canyon.*

The Linda Vista neighborhood borders the west side of the Central Arroyo and nestles into the San Rafael Hills (see figure 18). Settlers first called this area "Indian Flat" because an informal "rancheria" settlement of Native Americans existed on this mesa. These settlements provided a sense of security for displaced Native people who worked in the orchards and vineyards of Los Angeles County during the second half of the 19th century (Linda Vista History Book Committee 1988; Monroy 1990). The Arroyo's River and the San Rafael Hills made the Indian Flat area difficult to access and absentee owners only used the land for grazing, making it a good location for landless people to find refuge. The American settlers who eventually crossed the Arroyo into what were then Pasadena's outskirts, planted orchards and other crops before turning to real estate development. As land sales picked up, Linda Vista grew and residents voted to join Pasadena in 1914 (Wayte 1992). In 1940, renters occupied a quarter of housing units in Linda Vista, but after World War II, the neighborhood saw a building boom and soon became the most affluent neighborhood in West Pasadena. Today, Linda Vista Avenue forms the spine of the neighborhood of well-kept, single-family homes; according to the 2020 census, renters now occupy less than 1 percent of housing units. The neighborhood's historic hub consists of the campus of the now-closed Linda Vista Elementary, Linda Vista Park tucked behind the campus, a branch library, a child care center, and a fire station just south of Salvia Canyon Road. A single stoplight near this community hub marks Lida Avenue, the road that crosses over the hills into Glendale and leads up to the Art Center College of Design, a private institution that moved to the hills above Linda Vista in 1977. While the Art Center is invisible to people looking west across the Arroyo, the same cannot be said for several large mansions along the ridgelines. This situation prompted the neighborhood in 1979 to successfully advocate for a ridgeline ordinance, which the city strengthened in 2004. In 2009, at the behest of neighbors, the city purchased

twenty-one acres and created Annandale Canyon Preserve, which sits on the south-facing portion of the San Rafael Hills high above the 134 Freeway and the Annandale Country Club Golf Course.

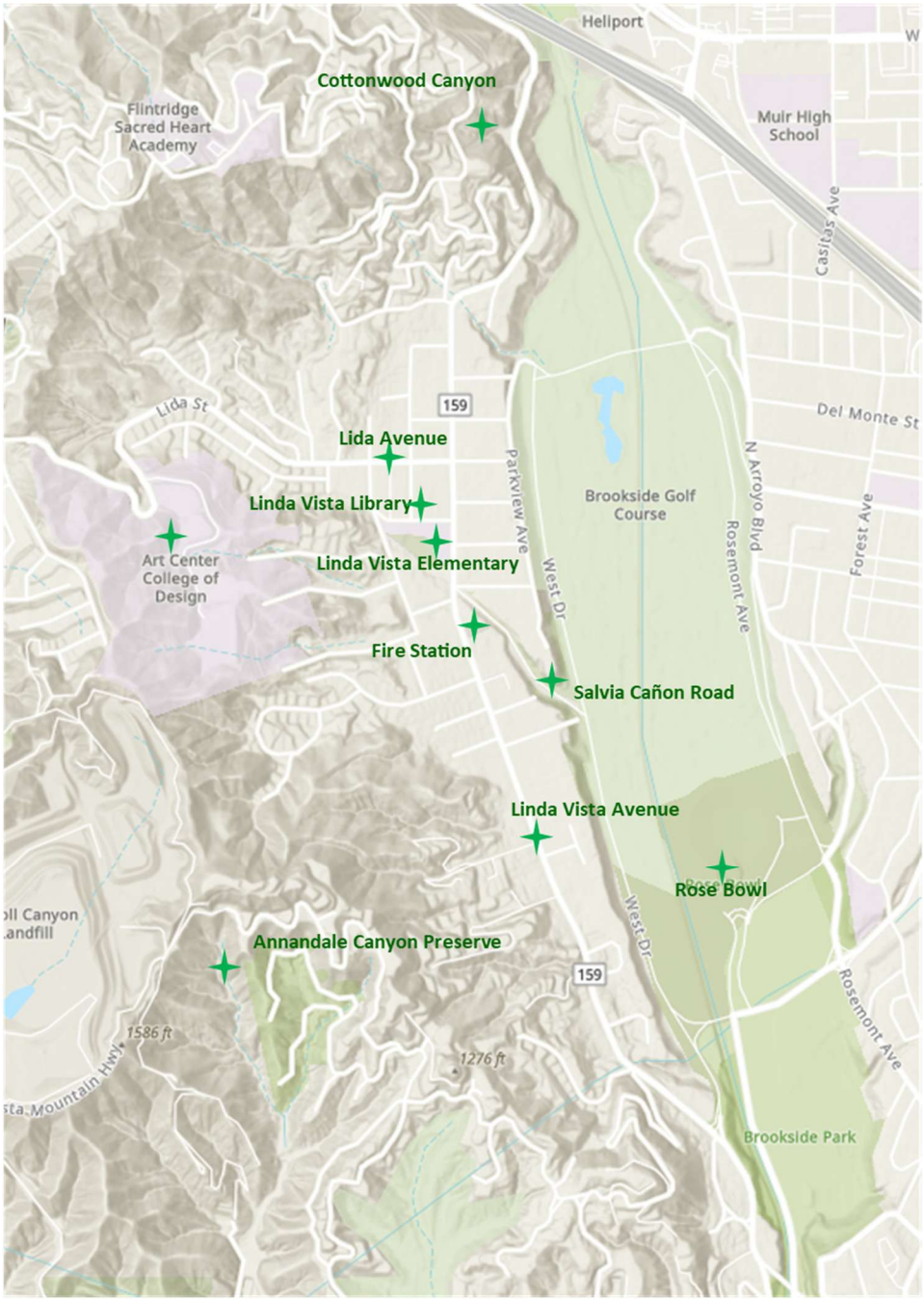


Figure 18. *Map of Linda Vista neighborhood*

In 2018, at the other end of the neighborhood, the Arroyos & Foothills Conservancy purchased eleven acres of Cottonwood Canyon to allow wildlife to move from the Arroyo into the San Rafael Hills. The Linda Vista Annandale Association is the oldest neighborhood association in the city and works to preserve the neighborhood's rural character and diverse architectural heritage and limit the acoustic and traffic impacts of large events at the Rose Bowl. The most recent census reported no new housing construction in between 2010 and 2020, suggesting a remarkably stable neighborhood, but because of its position in the hills, parts of the neighborhood must reckon with the risk of fires, floods, and mudslides. The residents in these areas have organized themselves to help one another in case of emergencies, such as the recent fires across the canyon in Altadena.

The San Rafael neighborhood sits on a sloping square of land west of the Lower Arroyo's canyon (see figure 19). This area was originally part of the Rancho San Rafael and eventually landed in the hands of a Scottish diplomat, Robert Alexander Campbell-Johnston in 1883. Campbell-Johnston owned several working ranches around the world and turned it over to his sons to manage. Sheep grazing and wine supported the ranch as the sons worked on securing water and road access for their planned subdivisions. The neighborhood developed in three phases. The grand, villa estates of San Rafael Heights along the bluffs above the Arroyo went on the market first just after the turn of the century, followed by Annandale in the 1920s. Realtors today call the Annandale area the Flats, a function of its history as the first golf course for the Annandale Country Club, which has now moved north of the 134 Freeway. Further west, the Cheviotdale Heights and Poppy Peak areas, that realtors call the San Rafael Hills, experienced a building boom in the 1940s and '50s (Crocker 1968). Almost all of the housing in San Rafael constitutes single-family homes with renters occupying 6 to 11 percent of these units since 1950.

As with Linda Vista, the most recent census reported no housing construction between 2010 and 2020. These three areas in San Rafael have distinct personalities, and the location of the neighborhood in the far southwestern corner of Pasadena and next to the 134 Freeway facilitates connections to Los Angeles and makes the area convenient for commuting.

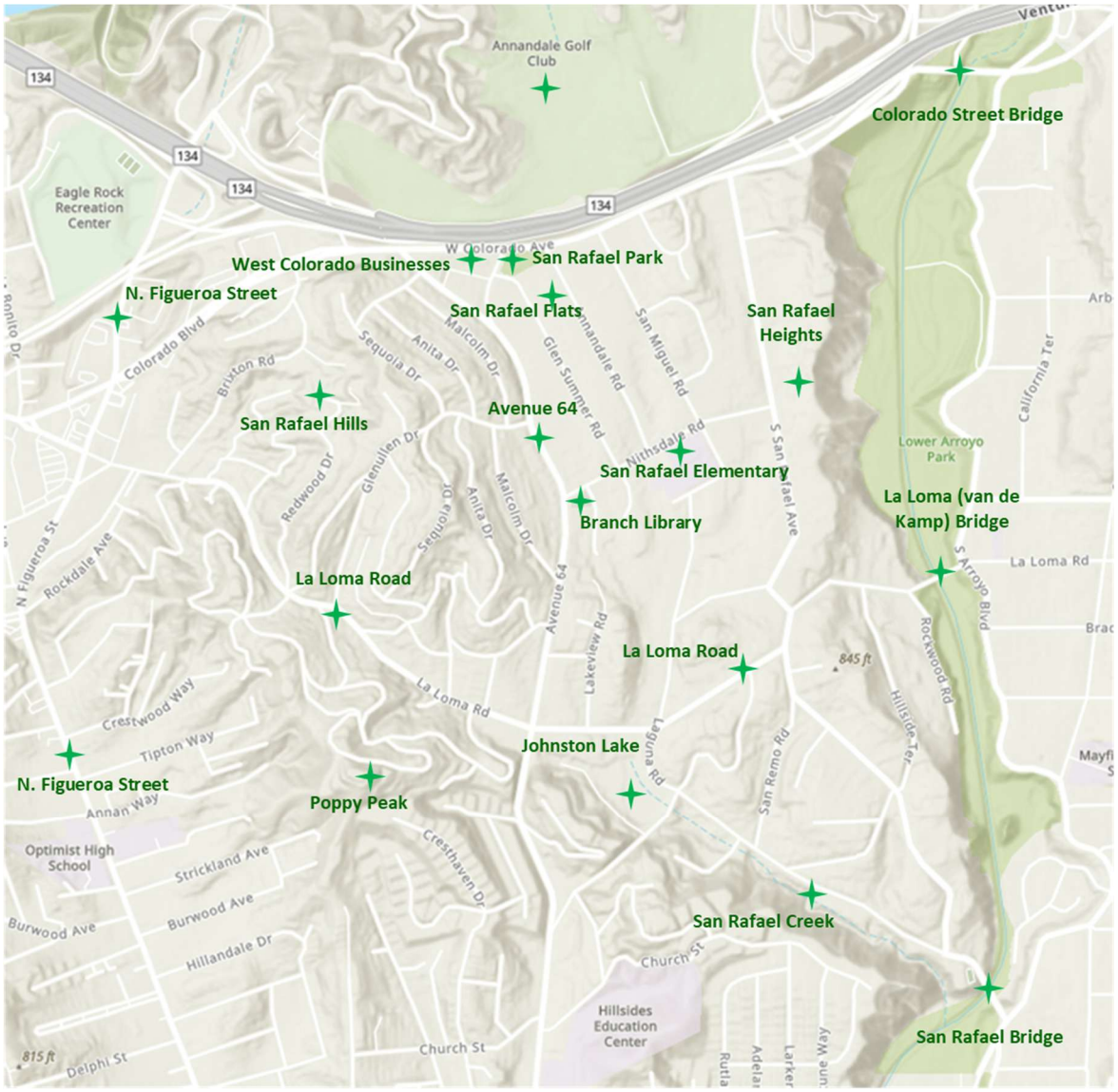


Figure 19. *Map of San Rafael neighborhood*

San Rafael Park is a small but busy green space that sits below the 134 Freeway along West Colorado Boulevard; just west of the park is the Little Flower Cafe, some medical offices, and the Stoney Point Bar and Grill, which is the extent of the area's commercial development.

Avenue 64 bisects the neighborhood north-to-south, running from West Colorado Boulevard down into Los Angeles where it connects to the Arroyo Seco Parkway. La Loma Road creates an east-west axis that runs from Figueroa Boulevard in Los Angeles through the hills, across Avenue 64, and over to the Arroyo where a bridge has existed since the 1880s to connect the area to the rest of Pasadena. The San Rafael Bridge further south provides access to South Pasadena. San Rafael Elementary, which hosts a popular dual language immersion program, and a branch library are the two main community institutions in the neighborhood and occupy the same block near its center. Both the San Rafael and Lower Arroyo neighborhoods are within the boundaries of the West Pasadena Residents Association, what most consider the most powerful neighborhood association in the city, though residents of San Rafael organized their own neighborhood association in 2012 to advocate for and activate their corner of Pasadena.



Figure 20. *Annandale Road in San Rafael Flats presents an iconic neighborhood scene*

Demographic history and profile

This physical environment has hosted a diverse demography. For thousands of years, Gabrieleno/Tongva groups lived along the base of the San Gabriel Mountains and along the Raymond fault, an east-west ridge that created a line of spring-fed canyons between Pasadena and San Marino to the south. Based on the registries at the San Gabriel Mission, anthropologist and ethnohistorian Chester King suggests Western Pasadena and Altadena contained two villages, which likely would have ranged in size from 50 to 150 people, but artifacts confirm at least the presence of seasonal camps all along the Arroyo (McCawley 1996; Northwest Economic Associates and King 2004). The City of Pasadena began as the "Indiana Colony" in 1874, and by the1880 census had a population of 391. While most of the landowners came from the Midwest, Mexican American and African American, Native people and Chinese immigrants were all living in and around Pasadena from its earliest days.



Figure 21. *Mexican American home in the Arroyo. Early historical sources describe Mexican American woodcutters living in the Arroyo. ("Mexican American Dwelling in Arroyo Seco ca1897" ca 1897. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, M2-20)*

Pasadena then began to grow. The coming of the railroad in late 1885 created a real estate boom that caused the population to increase to 12,000 people. During the bust, the population fell by half, to just under 5,000 people in 1890, the inaugural year of the Rose Parade. Pasadena's population took another significant jump during the first decade of the 20th century, tripling to 30,291 people and then rising again by 1930 to 76,086. Growth slowed but continued, the population rising to 116,407 in 1960, dropping slightly over the next decade before picking up again and rising to 138,699 in 2020 (City of Pasadena). Estimates suggest that the population has begun to drop closer to 132,000 since the last official count (Cubit 2024; World Population Review 2024). West of the Arroyo, the Linda Vista and San Rafael neighborhoods saw a post-World War II increase in their population. Based on the 2020 census Linda Vista contain 3,219

and San Rafael has 3,953 people (Manson et al. 2024). The East Arroyo and Lower Arroyo neighborhoods are more dense but difficult to estimate precisely because the geographic boundaries I have drawn do not correspond to census tracts for recording information.[22] These areas saw drops in their population due to displacement caused by freeway construction, in the 1960s for the East Arroyo and the 1970s for the Lower Arroyo, but have rebounded and remained stable (Loukaitou-Sideris et al. 2023; Manson et al. 2024).

The residents in these four Arroyo neighborhoods are older than the city's median age of 39 years: five years older in the East Arroyo area, ten in the Lower Arroyo and San Rafael, and 15 years older in Linda Vista. School-age children make up 10 to 20 percent of the population in these neighborhoods; the size of the school-age population in the Lower Arroyo neighborhood has decreased over the past 20 years and now is a bit over 6 percent (Manson et al. 2024). Overall, the proportion of children in Pasadena has been below Los Angeles County average for the entire postwar period (Nicolaides 2024).

In terms of race and ethnicity, Pasadena's White population steadily dropped from 88 percent in 1950 to 39 percent in 2010 before rebounding to 42 percent by 2020. The African American population grew to 18 percent in 1990 but has dropped in the decades since, and in 2020 was just over 8 percent. The Asian and Pacific Islander population is now 18 percent of the population while the 2020 census recorded 16 percent selecting "Other" as their racial category and 15 percent choosing "Two or more races." For the past twenty years, roughly one third of the

[22] The census tracts that include the Lower Arroyo neighborhood reach east to South Fair Oaks Avenue, which is a commercial corridor that has little direct connection to the Arroyo. But the numbers I report for the Lower Arroyo does include the Fair Oaks corridor. The tracts for the East Arroyo area reach east of the 210 Freeway, which since 1970 has served as a hard neighborhood boundary for the East Arroyo. The numbers I report for this area include the northern tract covering this area but not the southern one as a compromise to reduce the influence of the population east of the Freeway.

city has identified as Hispanic for the census (Nicolaides 2024; United States Census Bureau 2024).

Within these trends, the East Arroyo neighborhood saw extreme White flight during the 1950s, with the White population dropping from 84 percent in 1950 to 34 percent ten years later when the Black population made up 52 percent of the neighborhood. By 1970, the East Arroyo neighborhood was 80 percent non-White, and 69 percent Black. By 2000, the Black population had dropped to 38 percent while 43 percent of the neighborhood noted Hispanic ethnicity. In 2020, the East Arroyo comprised one of the most diverse neighborhoods in the city with 26 percent White, 19 percent Black, 35 percent Asian or Pacific Islanders, 18 percent belonging to two or more races, and 49 percent recording Hispanic ethnicity (Manson et al. 2024).

The census tracts covering the Lower Arroyo show that the area became more White, from 76 percent in 1950 to 94 percent in 1970, likely due to the construction of the Pasadena portion of the 710 Freeway that displaced communities of color. This has dropped to 58 percent White in 2020 with an increase in the population of Asian-Pacific Islanders, which now comprise almost a quarter of the neighborhood, while 12 percent belong to two or more races. Notably only 15 percent of the neighborhood's population today claims Hispanic ethnicity (Manson et al. 2024).

The Linda Vista and San Rafael neighborhoods have a similar, if more consistent, trajectory to the Lower Arroyo. Their populations were 98 to 99 percent White in 1970 with Asian-Pacific Islander and mixed-race residents moving in starting in the 1980s. Today, these neighborhoods are two-thirds White, 20 percent Asian-Pacific Islander, 12 to 15 percent claiming two or more races, and 2 to 3 percent African American. Similar to the Lower Arroyo, only 12 to 15 percent claim Hispanic ethnicity (Manson et al. 2024).

Economic history and profile

The economic aspirations of Pasadena's leaders have had a profound impact on the Arroyo and its neighborhoods. Pasadena has cast itself as the protagonist in three different economic narratives over the past 150 years, each focused on attracting wealth from elsewhere, making the city subject to the rules and precepts of a global economy that has discounted the principles of sustainability and justice that are central to the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers. This suggests that creative placekeeping initiatives prioritizing sustainability and justice will need to advance a new economic story for the city.

The city's first economic narrative promoted the area as a tourist haven, especially to wealthy industrialists from Midwestern and Eastern cities. Based on the area's beauty, recreational diversions, and clean air, investors built grand hotels to attract winter visitors (Scheid Lund 1999). The Raymond Hotel, for example, at the boundary between Pasadena and South Pasadena had its own train station to bring in tourists. These visitors often chose to move to Pasadena year-round, bringing their wealth with them, building a mansion on South Orange Grove Avenue, and employing an entire staff of laborers and servants to attend to their needs, most of whom were African American, Japanese American, and Chinese American, but also included recent immigrants from Europe. To be sure, many working- and middle-class families came to Pasadena to enjoy these same advantages. But until after World War II, the economic axis of power ran down Millionaire's Row. But while Pasadena gladly accepted the wealth created in the dirty factories back east, the city itself sought out only "clean" industries that wouldn't spoil Pasadena's image as a healthy, recreational playground (Scheid Lund 1999). Transforming the Arroyo from a random assortment of private woodlots and a dumping ground for the city's garbage into a natural haven fit into this plan. One of the organizations that nurtured

this idea was the Valley Hunt Club, which organized hunting parties with horses and hounds that chased coyotes and bobcats up and down the Arroyo (Scheid 1988). The invitation-only club, which still has property on South Orange Grove Boulevard, organized the first Rose Parade and founded the Tournament of Roses Association, which raised funds to build the Rose Bowl football stadium in the Central Arroyo in 1922 and cemented the economic narrative that Pasadena was a place of leisure. By the early 20th century, Pasadena was arguably the wealthiest city in the country, with much of this wealth settling in the Lower Arroyo, Linda Vista, and San Rafael Heights. This wealth built up local institutions and infrastructure that helped the city thrive. As just one example, Throop Polytechnic Institute, an institution focused on vocational training, became Caltech and set the stage for the creation of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory next to where the Arroyo emerges from the mountains. As stated above, this strategy of relying on wealthy individuals began to falter with the stock market crash of 1929 and officially ended with the rezoning of Millionaires' Row for garden apartments in 1948 (Scheid Lund 1999).



Figure 22. *The Wrigley Mansion on South Orange Grove Boulevard. The mansion holds the offices of the Tournament of Roses Association and provides a reminder of a time when Pasadena's economy depended upon the private capital of wealthy individuals ("Tournament House and Wrigley Gardens" 2023)*

In the second economic narrative, Pasadena shifted its focus from the private capital of individuals to the corporate capital of national and international firms. Nicolaides (2024) describes this shift:

> By the 1950s and 1960s, Pasadena emerged as a bona fide edge city. Driven by federal subsidies, local pro-growth initiatives, and unrelenting population growth, Pasadena transitioned from a tourist-dependent, old-money space into a more forward-looking, Space Age city. One catalyst was the 1940 completion of the Arroyo Seco Parkway, LA's first freeway, which linked Pasadena to downtown and drew business and shoppers to the area. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Chamber of Commerce and the city vigorously worked to attract more convention and tourism dollars, retail, offices, and clean industries. (152)

Pasadena's leaders decided that the key to this mid-century re-invention was urban renewal and freeway construction. Urban renewal would create modern housing attractive to corporate

leaders and open land for commercial development; making Pasadena a freeway hub would make this land more valuable for business. The flagship example was the Ralph M. Parsons Corporation, an international engineering and construction firm, that opened its corporate headquarters on redeveloped land next to the new 210-134-710 Freeway interchange in 1974 (Nicolaides 2024). Nicolaides says that this strategy gave suburban Pasadena its own identity as a city, independent and apart from Los Angeles.

> As an edge city, Pasadena represented a key urban node within the Los Angeles metropolis, an anchor for many suburban towns around it.[31] Even within its own borders, it represented a kind of metropolis in microcosm—'downtown' hubs surrounded by suburban neighborhoods. Colorado Boulevard and Lake Avenue were shopping and office districts; north Fair Oaks Avenue was the economic heart of Black Pasadena. Surrounding these downtown corridors were leafy residential neighborhoods of single-family homes, ranging from modest to opulent. (155)

Many of the homes on the opulent end of the spectrum are located in the Lower Arroyo, Linda Vista, and San Rafael neighborhoods. Neighborhood census data from this period shows that the East Arroyo neighborhood was significantly behind its Arroyo neighbors in terms of home values, contract rent, and income and far ahead in unemployment and the percent below the poverty line. For example, the median home value in Linda Vista was twice that of the East Arroyo neighborhood for decades. Per capita income in 1970 for the East Arroyo neighborhood was half the value in the San Rafael and the Lower Arroyo neighborhoods and only a third of the earnings of their neighbors across the Arroyo in Linda Vista. It is important to note that the East Arroyo was still doing better economically than the rest of Northwest Pasadena (Manson et al. 2024). Nicolaides writes that most of Pasadena during this period was middle-class and had a sizable share of blue-collar families.

> Despite the area's reputation as a center of high culture, high tech, and higher education, 84% of residents did not possess a college diploma, reflecting national rates during these years. Pasadena, in fact, compared only slightly higher in terms

> of white-collar work and education than the LA County average. Pasadena had its wealthy and well-educated—who dominated the social columns of the local press— but most residents were in the middle and working classes. In 1960, just 12.5% of Pasadena families fell in the "upper income" category. (157)

This has changed during the last several decades as Pasadena has seen a dramatic rise in inequality. The second economic narrative ended with voter passage of a controversial growth control initiative in 1989 as many of those same middle-class families felt that redevelopment was threatening the quality of life that attracted them to Pasadena. Pasadena Heritage began in 1977 and became one of the nation's pioneers in historic preservation and a cornerstone of this anti-growth coalition (Pincetl 1992). A seeming last gasp of the second narrative was the failed effort to recruit a National Football League team to play its home games at the Rose Bowl, which more than two-thirds of Pasadena voters rejected in 2006 (Charles 2011).



Figure 23. *The Parsons redevelopment project next to freeway interchange. Completed in 1974, the project displaced countless small businesses and served as the prototype for Pasadena's mid-century economic strategy. Note the proximity of the interchange to the Arroyo ("City Scenes - Aerial: Outlook, Bird's Eye View" n.d. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, C12-297)*

As the political consensus frayed and the corporate narrative stalled, Pasadena leaned into its advantages in higher education, especially in the sciences, to evolve a third economic strategy. The watchword for the new narrative has been "innovation." Pasadena now aspires to be a hub for start-ups in science, technology, and light manufacturing (City of Pasadena 2012; Streetsense 2024). If during the first economic era the target was personal capital and the second aimed at corporate capital, the goal now is to pull in venture capital. Real estate is still important, but this time the need is for lab space and fabrication studios. As a sign of these shifting dynamics, the

Parsons Corporation decided to move its headquarters to Virginia in 2019, leading to a new mixed-use development at the site of its Pasadena campus. As with the rest of the country, the challenge has been affordability and a shrinking middle class. Pasadena's Black and Latinx incomes have declined while its Asian populations have made economic gains (Nicolaides 2024). Today, Pasadena has some of the highest rates of income inequality in California (Dreier and Maier 2014).

This inequality shows up in the Arroyo neighborhoods in the longstanding differences between the East Arroyo and the other three neighborhoods. In 2020, the median home value in East Arroyo was $784,000. But in the Lower Arroyo and San Rafael neighborhoods, the median value is roughly $1.25 million, and in Linda Vista, the value is $1.75 million. Per capita income in 2020 in Northwest Pasadena was $37,000. The East Arroyo neighborhood is significantly higher at $58,000. But in Lower Arroyo and San Rafael this figure was $87,000, and in Linda Vista it was $140,000. Poverty levels track with this data: 19 percent in Northwest Pasadena, 14 percent in East Arroyo, and a bit over 3 percent in Linda Vista and San Rafael. And while the number of people with college degrees in the three more affluent neighborhoods is between 70 percent and 80 percent; the number of college graduates in the East Arroyo neighborhood is 39 percent (Manson et al. 2024). The inequalities here and across the city reflect what many say is a tale of "Two Pasadenas" for which the 210 Freeway that runs east-west across the city is the dividing line (Dreier and Maier 2014).

The Arroyo itself has an important, albeit indirect, role in Pasadena's current economic situation primarily due the Rose Bowl. While Rose Bowl games and events do bring revenue to the city and its businesses, the stadium itself has consistently lost money. Renovations completed in 2016 left the city with a $192 million-dollar debt (see chapter 5). During the pandemic, the

city had to use roughly $21 million from its general fund for service payments on this debt, money that could have gone to other uses (Williams 2022). At the same time, there might be opportunities for the Arroyo to reduce costs for the city and its residents. For example, using more of the Arroyo to capture stormwater and replenish the Raymond Basin aquifer could slow the rise in water rates that are set to increase 50 percent over the next five years (Liu 2024).

Politics the Pasadena Way

The phrase "The Pasadena Way" provides a mirror for residents' views about how Pasadena works, so much so that I began regularly asking people for their interpretation. The most broadly acknowledged definition is bringing a sense of civility and spirit of public interest to resolving community issues. In reference to City government, it is supposed to mean that the City Council and staff listen to the public. Some, however, told me it means they listen, and then do what they want. The Pasadena Police Department has adopted the phrase to summarize its guiding ethic of being in service to the community. But many in Northwest Pasadena use the phrase ruefully in reference to the lack of transparency surrounding police shootings, of which there have been several (Aguilar 2014; Dixson 2022; Orona 2023). The person who first told me about the phrase over a decade ago used it to reference networks of power within the city that undermine anyone who, in their eyes, steps out of line. Former mayor William Paparian recalled that when he joined the City's Board of Directors in 1987, his new colleagues introduced the Pasadena Way to him as resolving the issues on the agenda in private, a clear violation of the Brown Act, something he halted through a lawsuit (Paparian 2020). What is clear is that the myriads of meanings for the phrase indicates a community that is not of one mind about its political identity.

Pasadena's politics have undergone significant swings. For much of the 20th century, Pasadena was decidedly Republican in its partisan leanings and conservative in its social norms and approach to local issues. This grew from a strong culture of religious worship and temperance organizing going back to the founding of the settlement. The first political divisions in the city revolved around the regulation of alcohol (James 2001; Wood 1917). Though many of Pasadena's first settlers were active in the Abolition movement, racial segregation was a priority for the local leaders even before the City incorporated in 1886 (James 2005). Segregation of public facilities and private businesses gradually grew to become accepted practice. Prejudice restricted employment opportunities. A slate of candidates backed by the Pasadena chapter of the Ku Klux Klan won a majority of City Commissioner seats in 1925, and by 1940, racial covenants applied to 60 percent of the properties in Pasadena (Crimi 1941; Hudson 2020).[23] A decade later influential residents arranged for the California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate Pasadena's schools and held televised hearings at City Hall after a new superintendent took the first small steps toward desegregation (James 2005).

Pasadena's African American community, however, took the lead in organizing resistance to these moves, and by the 1930s, interracial forums provided a home for more progressive voices (Kelley 1984). Over the next fifty years, race relations improved across the city and within City government. The turning point came in 1970 when Pasadena became the first school district outside the South to undergo court-ordered desegregation. This prompted many of the more conservative segments of the community to leave and allowed for the election of a more

[23] By comparison, Redford (2017) reports that in 1939, 47 percent of neighborhoods in Los Angeles had racially restrictive covenants. Neighboring cities, such as Glendale and South Pasadena, were more restrictive and passed laws requiring people of color to leave town at nightfall or face arrest (Friedman 2022, Seidman 2020). Pasadena had a similar ordinance banning Chinese American people from downtown during the last part of the 19th century (James 2005)

liberal City Board of Directors (Nicolaides 2024). The new political consensus and the school district, however, struggled with the growing economic inequality as more well-off families drifted apart from the realities of the working-class experience in the city. The choice to enroll their children in private schools was a key driver of this retreat. In the Lower Arroyo neighborhood in 1970, 37 percent of K-12 students attended private school. By 2010, this had risen to 87 percent. Similar increases took hold in Linda Vista and San Rafael with only the East Arroyo neighborhood keeping their private school enrollment in the low teens (Manson et al. 2024). Nicolaides (2024) argues that this has created a more divided city.

> It was within this multiracial liberal milieu, marked by rising income inequality, that lines of segregation were again drawn, separating rich from poor, whites from nonwhites. By supporting local policies like redevelopment and gentrification, which wiped out affordable housing, and by abandoning the public schools, white middle- and upper-class families exacerbated social divisions that long characterized Pasadena. Long-standing institutions like elite private clubs continued to close ranks and limit benefits to their own members. More than social hubs, these clubs were economic strongholds and political influencers; their racial and class exclusivity thus had public consequences. Low-income families of color, and eventually middle-class whites, found it harder to achieve upward mobility or even to afford to live in Pasadena. These actions helped create and sustain the city's resegregation. (207)

This dynamic makes the current politics opaque as multiple power centers exert their influence on the public debate. These power centers include the following: real estate developers, who are often the largest contributors to city council campaigns; large institutions, such as Caltech; the most affluent neighborhood associations, such as the West Pasadena Residents Association and the Linda Vista Annandale Association; the Chamber of Commerce; the business improvement districts; the Tournament of Roses and Rose Bowl Operating Company; houses of worship and their congregations; and social institutions, such as the Valley Hunt Club.

All of this power must ultimately run through the City Council, which over time has changed its structure. For much of the 20th century, the City had a Board of Directors, which rotated mayoral responsibilities between its members, and a strong City Manager that supervised municipal operations. Voters passed a charter amendment in 1980 that switched from citywide runoff elections to district representation. This allowed candidates of color to break through and win seats on the Council for the first time (Scheid Lund 1999). In 1993, the Board of Directors became a City Council, and in 1999, Pasadena elected former City Board member Bill Bogaard from West Pasadena as its first Mayor in 80 years. This added an eighth seat to the City Council and provided an elected counterweight to the powerful City Manager's office. Bogaard served as Mayor for 15 years with subsequent Mayors elected after serving on the City Council.

Consistent across these changes has been an active civic culture, with voluntarism an almost inescapable aspect of city life. The Tournament of Roses, for example, that organizes the annual Rose Parade and football game, is an almost all-volunteer organization. Pasadena's women have often taken the lead in finding and acting on ways to improve the city's quality of life (Nicolaides 2024). The legacy of this civic spirit is a large concentration of non-profit and philanthropic organizations within the city and a culture of political initiative and organizing that Nicolaides (2024) says holds the most promise for creating a more unified city and a positive example of "multiracial suburban living" (207-208). Along these lines, the non-profit Center for Restorative Justice began in 2016 as a "soft place for hard conversations" about Pasadena's racial history and its implications for the city's future (Center for Restorative Justice 2024). In 2022 a grassroots campaign succeeded in passing a charter amendment to establish rent control in Pasadena. And while the school district continues to struggle with budget cuts and low

enrollment, the 2024 election saw approval of both a school bond measure and a parcel tax that could signal a growing belief that the public school system is worthy of investment.

Larger narratives

Moving from physical and human geography to cultural geography requires recognizing how values and experience influence perception. This is especially important when looking at the world with a narrative eye. The cultural narratives that I present below are ones that I feel are relevant to achieving the broad goals of sustainability and justice. These narratives did not necessarily start in Pasadena, but they found expression here and have had an enduring imprint on how people have performed their lives and the community that those performances bring to life. An important choice for creative placekeepers is when to work within a community's existing narratives and when to challenge them with new narrative possibilities.

Pasadena exceptionalism

Historian Michael James (2005) in his book *Conspiracy of the Good: Civil Rights and the Struggle for Community in Two American Cities 1875-2000* argues that the narrative of Pasadena exceptionalism has roots in the conservative Protestant religion of its founders and in the vehemence with which it pursued the cause of temperance in the late 19th century. From the beginning, Pasadena's leaders sought to set the City both apart from and above rough and tumble Los Angeles. James points to the Raymond Hotel, vaulted above Pasadena's plain on an isolated hilltop, as embodying Pasadena's aspiration to be the "city on the hill." The Raymond became the landing spot for the wealthy tourists that formed the basis of Pasadena's early economy. Many of these tourists moved to Pasadena, and the wealth they brought with them seemingly put these dreams within reach. James says, "By World War I, the City on the Hill could very well have shown itself to the outside world as 'The White City' as racial practices, religious

orthodoxy, class and racial violence, were all cloaked behind a carefully planned gentility that rejected, at least publicly, any suggestion of social discord." (James 2005, 31).



Figure 24. *Aerial view of the second Raymond Hotel circa 1918. The first Raymond Hotel burned down in 1895. The second Raymond closed in 1931 due to the Depression and was demolished in 1934 ("Aerial view of the Hotel Raymond in Pasadena, ca.1918," 1918. USC Digital Library, https://doi.org/10.25549/chs-m6709)*

The embodiment of this practice was the Rose Parade, started in 1890 as a way to fill the subdivisions that Pasadena's leaders had platted and hoped to cash in. The parade trained Pasadena to curate its image more than a century before the invention of social media. Nicolaides (2024) explains:

> The notion of Pasadena as a divided city contrasted sharply with the image it projected to the world through the Rose Parade, its annual flower-covered procession of floats down Colorado Boulevard. Pasadena prided itself on being a cultured, sophisticated place, with wealth, beauty, a cosmopolitan character, and an ability to grow in innovative ways. In contrast to postwar Southern cities such

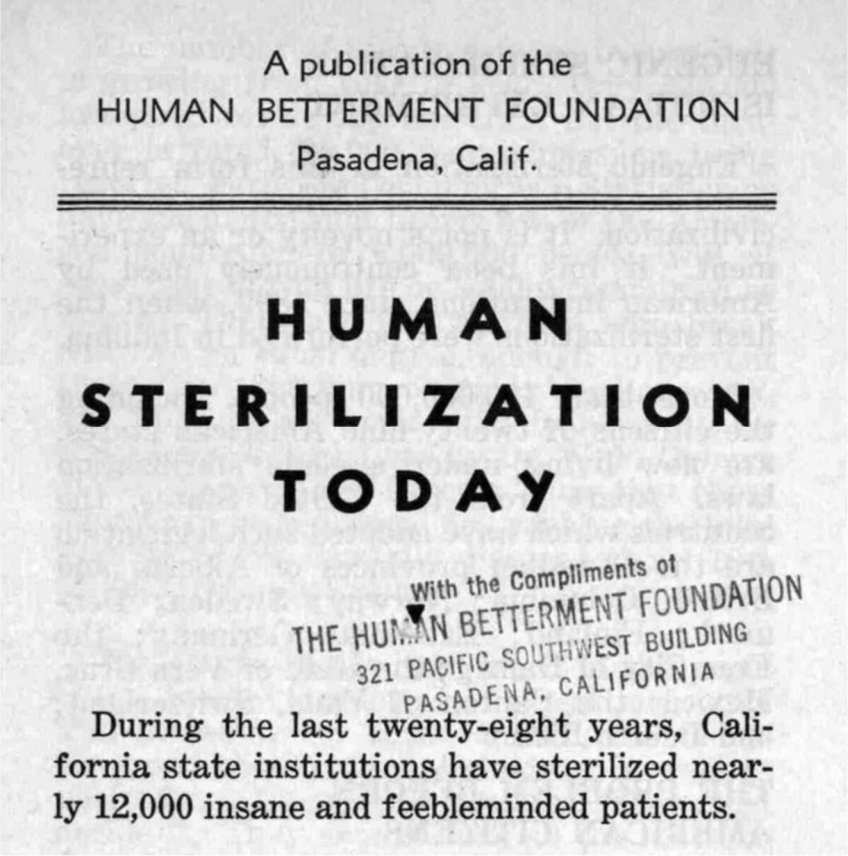
> as Atlanta and Charlotte that confronted race in public discourse about growth and civic identity, Pasadena simply ignored race in its paeans to civic progress.[4] (144).

At the root of this narrative of Pasadena exceptionalism is belief in hierarchy, ranking, and status, which suggests that Pasadena's current position as one of the most unequal cities in California is not only an issue of affordability but one of culture. Many commented to me on the sense of *noblesse oblige* that permeates philanthropy in Pasadena, a form of engagement that reinforces one's superiority. Almost by necessity, Pasadena has also developed a tradition of satirizing itself, from a group called the Komical Knights of Karnival of the early 20th century to the Doo-Dah Parade, this tradition helps bring Pasadena back down to earth (Lawrence 1982). Today, while the Tournament of Roses Association has made admirable progress in diversifying its ranks and the parade itself, membership still requires nomination, the Rose Bowl bills itself as "America's Stadium," and the Mayor routinely says in speeches that Pasadena is the center of the universe because it has the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, along with a wealth of cultural resources and opportunities. The narrative of Pasadena exceptionalism is a sustaining myth that offers both opportunities and creates obstacles to achieving a just and sustainable future for the city.

Progressivism

The narrative of Pasadena exceptionalism bolstered the acceptance and promotion of another national narrative from the early 20th century, that science would lead to unending progress. I call this narrative Progressivism, in recognition of how this story came to express itself through the Progressive movement of the early 20th century. Most agree that the Progressive movement has a mixed legacy. With its focus on health and safety, the Progressive movement tempered the worst abuses of industrial capitalism, but its faith in science led to horrors of the eugenics movement and often sacrificed deliberative democracy for technocratic

expertise. This has given the Progressive movement a Janus-faced quality relative to the modern liberal and conservative movements. Pasadena provides a textbook case study for how this narrative unfolded at the municipal level. Pasadena's origins as a health colony and eventual economic dependence on maintaining this identity primed city leaders to embrace the latest scientific ideas, especially within the school system, which became a national model for testing and evaluation (James 2005). The community created a City Beautiful Association and promoted city planning, resulting in a city center that still impresses visitors with its design (Scheid 2010). But Pasadena was also the home of the Human Betterment Foundation, one of the leading eugenics organizations in the country (James 2005). The Foundation promoted forced sterilization and wrote letters supporting the Nazi Germany's policies. Its board members included Harry Chandler, the owner of the Los Angeles Times, and Robert Millikan, the president of Caltech (Hiltzik 2020).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During the last twenty-eight years, California state institutions have sterilized nearly 12,000 insane and feebleminded patients.

Figure 25. *Part of a 1938 pamphlet from the Human Betterment Foundation. An example of the negative side of Progressivism, the Foundation operated from 1928 to 1942. ("Human sterilization today. Human betterment foundation." 1938)*

Progressivism also supported the notion that humans could and should master the natural environment, and Pasadena's Arroyo became the test case for flood control engineers, who have succeeded in paving almost every stream in the city (Orsi 2004). This narrative of Progressivism is a story grounded in optimism but also a desire for control. It manifests today in the City's penchant for hiring consultants to evaluate issues and make recommendations that can give decisions the imprimatur of expertise. It also has created barriers between City government and the citizenry. My interviews also unearthed frustration that City staff believe they know better than what they view as an uninformed public, leading them to shun ideas and feedback from the community.

Racial capitalism

As articulated by political scientist and philosopher Cedric Robinson (2000), racial capitalism is the concept that capitalism depends upon establishing racialized hierarchies that result in exploitation aimed at generating wealth for the ruling classes. Maintaining these racialized hierarchies requires physically controlling where these populations live, work, and play and depends upon surveillance and use of police power to keep the system operating at maximum efficiency. It also depends upon the promotion of a false history that normalizes the system and labels anyone who questions this arrangement as a danger to public safety (Bhattacharyya 2018; Dawson 2018; Robinson 2000). Beyond an assemblage of individual acts of violence and discrimination, Pasadena's leaders initiated and maintained a decades-long pressure campaign to subjugate people of color. These actions support the racial capitalism narrative, as does the City's simultaneous maintenance of the veneer of an All American city free of racial and class conflict (Anderson 1995; Crimi 1941; Hudson 2020). The most important and consistent economic driver within Pasadena has been real estate development, and across the last century, White leaders used targeted violence, redevelopment, and freeway construction to repossess real estate that they then used to generate wealth for their benefit. Table 1 lists some of the ways this narrative appears in the history of the city. Prior to American settlement, the San Gabriel Mission also enacted the racial capitalism narrative by enslaving Native people and using their labor to build an agricultural and livestock empire (Jurmain and McCawley 2009; Monroy 1990).

Table 1. Presence of the racial capitalism narrative in Pasadena's history

Racial capitalism element	Presence in Pasadena history
Social differentiation and hierarchy	Mansion on Millionaire's Row staffed by domestic workers Employment severely restricted for people of color (Hudson 2020, Williams 2001) One of the highest rates of income inequality in the state (Dreier and Maier 2014)
Spatial segregation	Redlining of neighborhoods restricting people of color to Northwest Pasadena (Anderson 1995) Sixty percent of homes possessing racial covenants in 1940 (Crimi 1941) School district that allowed de facto segregation until 1970 (James 2005) Brookside Plunge and other private and public facilities prohibiting people of color (Carland 1948)
Restrictions on mobility	Laws keeping Chinese workers from downtown shortly after incorporation (James 2005)
Incarceration and surveillance	Fenced labor camp north of Raymond Hill in the 1920s (James 2005) Japanese American internment Racial profiling of people of color outside of Northwest Pasadena (James 2005)
Violence and terror	Anti-Chinese riot of 1885 (James 2005) KKK-sponsored candidates elected as City Commissioners ("All Ready for Recall" 1925) Cross burnings and arson to keep people of color from moving to neighborhoods (Hudson 2020) Police shootings of unarmed men (Aguilar 2014; Dixson 2022; Orona 2023).
Sanitization of history	Unwillingness to acknowledge racial and class issues Erasure of people of color from Pasadena's history Presentation of Pasadena as a perfect city for the Rose Parade
Rhetorical tropes ● Scarcity and competition ● Frontiers, pioneers, abandonment ● Plantation, prisons, and quarantine ● Surplus populations and disposability ● Progress and continuous improvement	Pasadena founders celebrated as "pioneers" Disposability of homes for urban renewal and freeway construction in the 1960s & 1970s Labeling of communities of color as "blighted" (Lloyd n.d.; Pincetl 1992) Consistent message of scientific advancement and progress as part of civic culture (James 2005)

The tragedy is that Pasadena had alternative narratives to draw upon. Many of the city's founders had been active in the Abolitionist movement. Three of John Brown's children settled in Pasadena and lived next to the Arroyo just as the City was first forming, and for a time, the Browns were Pasadena's most famous residents (Deverell 2022). Pasadena's early African American community found opportunity and fewer restrictions than in other parts of California. After visiting Los Angeles and Pasadena in 1913, W.E.B. DuBois, one of the writers that Robinson used to support his formulation of racial capitalism, wrote an article praising Pasadena as place of opportunity (Anderson 1995). The following year, however, the city decided to segregate the new public swimming pool, marking a turn away from a narrative that held the promise of fellowship. Today, the racial capitalism narrative appears in the racial wealth gap in the city, the separation of the public and private school populations, the recurrence of police shootings, and the need to maintain a Northwest Commission to ensure communities of color receives a fair share of resources and services. For those concerned with the Arroyo's natural environment, it is important to understand that the economic system that so often results in destruction of wildlife and their habitat depends upon racial discrimination to operate. Changing this system to reduce environmental impacts requires confronting systemic racial disparities and discrimination, especially the specific elements from table 1 that support racial capitalism.

Wilderness in the city

The first three narratives have shaped Pasadena as a whole rather than just the Arroyo and its neighborhoods. But one narrative that did originate in the canyon itself is that of "wilderness in the city," which served to loosen the starched collars of Pasadena's conservative culture. Writers, artists, naturalists, and architects celebrated their access to the San Gabriel Mountains and the dynamic canyon that ran along the city's western edge. Boosted by a bevy of early

conservation writers and advocates who lived in Pasadena or were frequent visitors, such as Charles Lummis, John Muir, Charles Frederick Holder, George Wharton James, and Joseph Grinnell, this narrative argued that "life in the open," which was the title of one of Holder's books, was an essential aspect of building a healthy, moral, and prosperous society (Holder 1906). This narrative received the endorsement of Theodore Roosevelt during his visit to Pasadena in 1903 when he said the Arroyo could be one of the finest parks in the world (Reid 1904).[24]

But a canyon with a wild, unpredictable river and an ever-changing floodplain injecting itself into a rapidly developing metropolis demanded its own story and found expression in the arts. A century ago, the Arroyo became a common subject for California Impressionist painters, and noted Craftsman architects Charles and Henry Greene incorporated Arroyo stone into their designs. Exactly how to manage the genuine wildness that came with the Arroyo has been a point of tension that has animated policy debates for over a hundred years. Early Arroyo advocates insisted that it remain a refuge for native flora and fauna at the same time as Adolphus Busch turned a portion of its banks into sculpted gardens (Hunt et al. 1918). Today, while some environmentalists argue for restoring native vegetation, others protest the removal of non-native pines and eucalyptus from the canyon. While some neighbors thrill to the howl of the Arroyo's coyotes, others sense peril for themselves and their pets. If the narrative of Progressivism promises technocratic progress and control, the Arroyo's narrative of "wilderness in the city" represents a counterweight that lends humility to human enterprise. In recognizing the value of

[24] Lummis, in particular, added a racial element to this argument, arguing that the wilderness invigorated the Anglo-Saxon race (Thompson 2001). The concept of wilderness itself is a function of alienation from and destruction of the more-than-human world and thoroughly woven into narratives of the frontier and the erasure of Native peoples from the landscape (Cronon 1992).

the more-than-human world, it also resists the drive to generate revenue from every available inch of real estate.



Figure 26. *Theodore Roosevelt with Charles Lummis in Highland Park in 1912. During Roosevelt's visit to Pasadena in 1903, he told his hosts that the Arroyo should be left as wild as possible (Portrait of Charles F. Lummis and President Theodore Roosevelt in Highland Park, Los Angeles, 1912. USC Digital Library - https://doi.org/10.25549/chs-m1960)*

Decolonization

A final narrative essential to recognize is older than all the others but new in its visibility to most of Pasadena's community. This is the narrative of decolonization and the resilience of the Native people of Southern California. Archaeological evidence suggests that Native people have

had a long association with the Arroyo. In historic times, this narrative of resistance and resilience of the Native people in Southern California goes back to the founding of the missions, to individuals such as Toypurina and Nicolás José, who led rebellions against the enslavement of Native people. Consistent with the racial capitalism narrative, however, a false history about either the peaceful conversion of Native people or their extinction took hold in Pasadena and across Los Angeles. Across the 20th century, generations of families have worked to recover and reconstruct their heritage and have increasingly gained recognition by state and local governments that at one time endorsed their disappearance (Jurmain and McCawley 2009).

The Arroyo has been an important part of this narrative. For example, Sycamore Grove Park in Highland Park hosted the first California Indian Day in 1939, organized by the California Indian Rights Association, and regular Pow-Wows at the Park brought hundreds of Native Americans together in the canyon (Smith 2024). More recently, the Southwest Museum began hosting its Intertribal Marketplace in 1990, eventually attracting over a hundred Native American artists from across the United States each fall. Thousands of attendees came to the Arroyo each year for the marketplace (Wray 2015).[25] It is also important to note that the first two transfers of land back to Native groups in Los Angeles County occurred close to the Arroyo. The first was the transfer of one-acre of land in Altadena to the Tongva Taraxat Paxaavxa Conservancy (TTPC), which affiliates with the Gabrieleno Band of Mission Indians based in San Gabriel; the second was the transfer a twelve-acre parcel in El Sereno just south of the Arroyo to the Gabrielino Shoshone Tribal Nation of Southern California, a group closely involved with changing the name of the area behind Devil's Gate Dam to Hahamongna Watershed Park, the village name most associated with the Pasadena and Glendale area.

[25] The event, now called the American Indian Arts Festival, continues to takes place at the Autry Museum of the American West that took over management of the Southwest Museum in 2004.

As I interviewed people with an interest in the Arroyo for this project, many, without prompting, expressed an interest in supporting the Native groups with links to Pasadena and the canyon. Their understanding of the history of these groups and present circumstances varied, but all recognized past injustices, their presence today, and supported ways to honor their knowledge and interests. This increased recognition is challenging long held suppositions of how Pasadena came to be, potentially casting the other narratives I have featured in this section in a new light (see chapter 4). During the course of this research, TTPC has joined the coalition of groups advocating to create an environmental education center in Hahamongna where they would have a presence and discussions about co-management of the park with Native people have begun. The narrative of decolonization has a presence in Pasadena and is having an impact.

Conclusion

Nicolaides (2024) sums up her Pasadena case study with the following assessment:

> Pasadena illustrates the possibilities and limits of multiracial coexistence in the new suburbia. White residents remained in Pasadena in their own separate spaces and as members of robust communities, all contained in a place that prided itself on being a world-class city of knowledge. Their pivot toward privatization in everyday life signaled an abandonment of Pasadena's public sphere, especially its schools, once a linchpin of local civic engagement and opportunity. This ultimately worked to disconnect the public schools from the city itself.[188] Trends of suburban inequality in turn accelerated. The city's fortunes rose as redevelopment brought high-end stores, restaurants, apartments, and condos to the refurbished Old Town. In nearby neighborhoods, poverty and homelessness, housing unaffordability, and racialized policing plagued the city's Black, brown, and poor residents. Within suburbia, the haves and have nots, poverty and progress, coexisted. As late as 2005, the rate of private school attendance in Pasadena was three times the state and national averages. Reflecting on those divides in 2013, PUSD president Renatta Cooper lamented Pasadena's persistent separate and unequal reality. She conceded, "The community is still . . . I think wounded is the right word.[189] (208).

As is true everywhere, the context for creative placekeeping in Pasadena and the Arroyo offers both obstacles and opportunities. Understanding this broader context--the environmental

geography, demographic trends, the economic and political history, and larger narratives this history has produced--helps in interpreting the landscape at a deeper level. For example, the clearest manifestation of the wound referenced above is the gash created by the incomplete 710 Freeway protruding down from the 210-134-710 Freeway interchange. The excavation of what most people call “the 710 ditch” or “stub” in 1976 resulted in the displacement of thousands of people and businesses. In 2022, the state of California relinquished this parcel of roughly fifty acres to the City of Pasadena that is now creating a specific plan with the help of a community advisory group that will guide redevelopment of the area over the next ten to twenty years. This planning process is activating each of the community narratives that I describe above. The city aspires to create a redevelopment plan that is an example for other communities and that shows Pasadena can still be the “a city upon a hill.” The project requires technocratic expertise and the city thus far has hired four teams of consultants to assist with the plan amid widespread concerns about transparency in decision-making. The job of the community advisory group is to help the city understand what restorative justice means for the families of those who lost their homes and businesses sixty years ago. This invokes the narrative of racial capitalism, as the ditch inscribed a boundary between West Pasadena and Pasadena’s communities of color that were, at the time, just figuring out how to work together. Looking forward, a racial capitalism framework suggests implementing the project within the capitalist system without contributing to the differentiation, control, and exploitation of communities of color will require vigilance by the community over at least the next two decades. There are significant environmental issues to consider in this project, ranging from tree selection, to landscaping, to stormwater management, to connectivity to the Arroyo, which will see increased use from the neighborhood’s new residents. Addressing these issues brings Pasadena’s “wilderness in the city” narrative into play. The explicit focus on

restorative justice for displaced families raises the important question of how far back the window of recompense should extend. For example, to what extent are City leaders considering Native American displacement and possible return of some of this land or resources generated by its use to Native groups?



Figure 27. *The 710 ditch or stub shortly after completion in the mid-1970s. The ditch physically represents the wounds of past and current divisions within Pasadena. Caltrans relinquished the fifty-acre corridor in 2022, and the city is in the process of creating a plan to reincorporate the land back into the fabric of the city ("Aerial view of 710 freeway stub" n.d. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, C12-133)*

Finally, the wound of the 710 exists in conversation with the other wound upon the landscape, namely, the flood control channel that serves as a coffin for the Arroyo's river. This inter-textual landscape reading immediately suggests looking at stories of healing for guidance. Endorsing this conclusion before presenting the results of this research, however, would be premature. What is important to appreciate at this point is how approaching these issues through narrative allows one to make meaningful connections across space and time that might otherwise slip unnoticed. The next chapter outlines the methodology I have used to make these connections between the stories of the Arroyo and how I have used them to devise creative placekeeping projects that can serve the city.

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Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

This dissertation presents the results and lessons of a pilot project, which makes this chapter more extensive than methodology descriptions in most academic research: here, the methodology was not just a means to an end but very much the end itself. This focus on methodology generated in three types of data: data about the Arroyo; data about the placekeeping process, especially the research methodology I outline here; and finally, data about how to support creative placekeeping long-term, including how to transfer a version of the research methodology and the lessons of this dissertation to a network of potential placekeepers throughout the Arroyo Seco watershed. Far from being a flyover chapter between the introduction and the results, this section is critical to understanding the results of the dissertation. The chapter begins with a description of the foundational beliefs supporting the project's design followed by a brief discussion about the standards by which to judge the validity of the conclusions. I then review the overall design of the pilot project and the community process that I began in September of 2021 with the recruitment of a community advisory group. This includes a description of the dramaturgical approach that is at the heart of this study. I follow this with an explanation of how I collected, analyzed and synthesized the data. I close the chapter by reviewing the ethical issues and limitations encountered in project design and implementation. The goal of this chapter is to provide a foundation for understanding and evaluating the results.

Some foundational beliefs

The decision to structure my dissertation research around a pilot project has its roots in a set of foundational beliefs about the nature of reality, our capacity to know and understand that reality, and the responsibilities that flow from those beliefs toward one another and the more-than-human world. Beyond the values I outlined in the introduction, these beliefs filter what I

hear in the stories people have told me over the past two years and color my interpretation of the Arroyo's past, present, and potential future.

First, I believe that what we perceive as reality emerges through interaction, between humans and their surroundings but also between plants, animals, rocks, water, and weather interacting all on their own. apart from human beings (Arons and May 2013; Bennett 2010; Creswell 2014; Schein 1997). To my mind, these interactions constitute performances, and collectively we are all one another's audience.[26] These interactions or performances occur in specific locations in space, where they generate meaning that we share through images, words, names, and narratives. These meanings transform raw space into particular places (Creswell 2009; Low 2017; Relph 1976; Sack 1997; Tuan 1977) Humanity, however, is not the only species participating in the construction of these realities, nor the only one making meaning from living within them. Long before the evolution of modern humans, other species were performing reality into existence on the banks of an early Arroyo and drawing meaning from the landscape.

The acceptance of a relational reality, continuously renewed through performance, means that our knowledge of that reality only occurs through relationships, at the intersections, of events, ideas, and people. As the sites where these intersections occur, places are where knowledge happens, which makes them central to my "epistemology," or theory about how we come to know or understand something. In terms of my project design and methodological choices, this epistemology doesn't allow for studying the world at a distance. Humans are always in relation, always embedded, our physical contact with the material world feeding into the very reality we wish to study. This means research, by definition, must be participatory, with

[26] We are also one another's food. Putting this into the context of the more-than-human realm, the most significant interaction or performance is the transfer of energy as animals consume plants and each other and then decompose and become food for the soil. While I cast these performances as a form of art, I do not view them as bloodless.

community members as partners in collection, analysis, and synthesis of the data. The research must also be inclusive and attend to the physical experience of interacting with the Arroyo landscape and its role in forming and maintaining relationships.

This emphasis on interaction and performance come from a constructivist philosophy informed by pragmatism, phenomenology, systems theory, and various elements of performance studies (Bell 2008; Carlson 2004; Creswell 2014; Thrift 2007). But it also aligns with Indigenous research strategies, which have influenced my methodology in four specific ways (Kovach 2009; Smith 2012). First, many Indigenous people believe time is not linear but patterned, like music. The past, present, and future intermingle, a shuffling that occurs most vividly in specific places on the landscape (Basso 1996; Kovach 2009; Lapier 2017; Larsen and Johnston. 2012; Miller 2009; Momaday 1987; Shepard 1998; Smith 2012). Within my research this has meant looking for how the present rhymes with the past. It has also meant resisting the progressive, conquest narrative of Southern California history that suggests certain changes to Pasadena's landscape are irreversible or that Gabrieleno/Tongva claims to the land lack legitimacy. Second, the kinship that most Indigenous people recognize with plants, animals, and other elements of the material world means leaving the more-than-human world in the frame when looking for patterns, considering themes, or identifying questions for the community to consider. It means translating the responses of the more-than-human world through careful and experienced observation, scientific investigation, and Indigenous knowledge (Kimmerer 2013; Simpson 2014; Latour 2004; Bennett 2010). Third, within Indigenous research, knowledge and understanding most often appears as spontaneous insight or revelation, guided by what Kovach (2009) calls an "inward knowing." I kept a research journal to record these realizations, but I also based most of my analysis on pattern recognition rather than analytical dissection of the data (Kovach 2009;

Louis 2007; Martin and Mirraboopa 2003; Tuck and McKenzie 2015). The characterization of insight as primarily intuitive and epiphanous aligns well with the integration of the arts and images into the research process. Images, especially historic photos, triggered many of my most important insights. Finally, within Indigenous epistemologies knowledge requires action (Kovach 2009; Tuck and McKenzie 2015). Larsen and Johnson (2012) say that Indigenous research consists of "concrete, place-based encounters and relationships oriented toward the creation of ethical social and ecological worlds" (2). The action-research design of this dissertation supports this orientation. These foundational beliefs, closely aligned with Indigenous methodologies, illustrate how the practice of placekeeping is about more than the fate of public spaces. It is about supporting the ongoing performance of a social world of reciprocal relationships and the knowledge that performance generates. Placekeeping is about sharing what Keith Basso (1996) calls "the wisdom that sits in places" and passing that wisdom down to the next generation.[27]

Validity and dissemination

Riessman (2008) notes that there is no specific threshold for establishing validity of narrative research, and Yin (2018) concurs that within case study research the best practice is triangulation of sources and methods, clear documentation of one's interpretative decisions, and the consideration of rival explanations. The trustworthiness of the findings comes from the

[27] Kovach (2009) argues best practices for Indigenous research calls for working within the epistemology of a specific tribe in the area of study and to avoid a broader pan-Indigenous approach. This is difficult in Southern California as the Mission Period and later American occupation shattered Gabrieleno/Tongva society and erased tribal customs and culture. Gabrieleno/Tongva individuals and groups have made great strides in recovering language and piecing together past worldviews and philosophies (Jurmain and McCawley 2009). But the mixing of Indigenous groups at the missions established a form of pan-Indigenous culture in Southern California that is now over 250 years old.

following:

- The diversity of methods, sources, and participants;
- The consistent application of collection and analysis protocols;
- The depth of evidence;
- The strength and transparency of the logic guiding interpretation of the evidence;
- The coherence and plausibility of conclusions in light of rival explanations;
- Ongoing checks with participants about the fidelity of these conclusions;
- The feedback gathered during the presentation of findings at public events.

I have tried to build all of these elements into the design and methodology I present below. In particular, I have disseminated the results of the research to participants through videos of seven narrated slide presentations over the course of the research. I have also shared the passages of this dissertation where I attribute quotes or statements to particular participants so, if needed, they can correct the record. The final dissertation will go to everyone I've spoken to along with an invitation to provide reactions and feedback.

Project design - A dramaturgical approach

Within the world of theater, dramaturgy encompasses a number of functions to enhance the impact of the final performance on an audience. These functions include background research about the author, characters, setting, and past productions; asking questions within rehearsals and production meetings to deepen understanding of the source material; and writing about the production in the program to frame the performance for the audience. With new and devised work, a dramaturg helps playwrights and actors track the evolution of their ideas and suggest new directions to explore (Brown 2011; Fuchs 2015; Proehl 1996; Turner and Behrndt 2016).

The social sciences have drawn upon the analytical functions of dramaturgy to describe

specific social interactions and public events (Alexander 2006; Brisset and Edgley 2006; Goffman 1959; Turner 1982; Young and Massey 1978). My approach extends this "social dramaturgy" to the performance of the social and ecological community life writ large. This "community dramaturgy" focuses on everyday routines and activities as well as consequential events for both the human and more-than-human world. It also seeks to move beyond analysis and critique to actively find ways to enhance the performance of community.[28]

Several things flow from using community dramaturgy to frame my research. First, the structure of the work takes on the character of a show or production, which means that it is necessarily participatory and collaborative. Second, within this production process there is a set of defined roles, which minimally includes a creative team or ensemble, an audience, a director, and a dramaturg. Third, there is a process of rehearsal and refinement and a spirit of experimentation. In this spirit, community dramaturgy relies on abductive reasoning, which moves from specific observations to the best possible explanation (Inkpen and Wilson 2005). Arriving at this conclusion, however, requires considering rival explanations before settling on one that seems best (Yin 2018). Fourth, it directs the researcher-as-dramaturg to focus on the qualities, power, and artistic unity of the stories that the production has to work with. Fifth, this work consists primarily of framing thoughtful questions that will propel a creative team forward and deepen the meaning and impact of their work. Finally, the goal of community dramaturgy is not only knowledge but performance, action on the community stage that will have a transformative impact on the community audience. The approach I have developed uses narrative analysis as a vehicle to achieve the sustainable and just performance of community life.

[28] The discipline where something like community dramaturgy already exists is public folklore. Public folklore, like community dramaturgy, is based upon place-specific, cultural research; it coordinates opportunities for vernacular performances; and it has a constant concern with presenting and translating these genres of place to larger audiences (Hufford 1986, 2016; Hufford and Miller 2007; Kodish 2012; Wells 2006).

Storytelling and narrative analysis are tools to achieve the goals of performance and action.

Project overview: Arroyo Seco Placekeepers

This discussion of community dramaturgy has been a prelude to figure 28, which presents the production cycle for creative placekeeping that guided project design and illustrates the different steps in the pilot project. The diagram divides this production cycle into four phases and names the key individuals and groups for each one. Crucially, the diagram presents the phases *as a cycle* that a group can learn from and improve upon.

Reflection phase

For the pilot, the production cycle began in the lower left quadrant, the reflection phase, during the spring and summer of 2021 as I began to reach out to individuals and organizations involved in the Arroyo. This "Reconnaissance & Scoping" allowed me to understand the current issues and controversies in and around the Arroyo. For the pilot, Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo provided a geographic focus. Prior to these meetings, I designed a fact sheet describing the project to attach to an introductory email (see appendix 2).

The lower left quadrant also names the essential roles for the project -- an artistic and managing director who works with a core ensemble, board, or advisory group made up of members of the community. As project lead, I played the role of the artistic and managing director. The recruitment of a community advisory group took four months. I sought and succeeded in recruiting a diverse roster of individuals affiliated with local environmental, arts and heritage organizations (see appendix 3). I discuss the composition and structure of the community advisory group in more detail below.

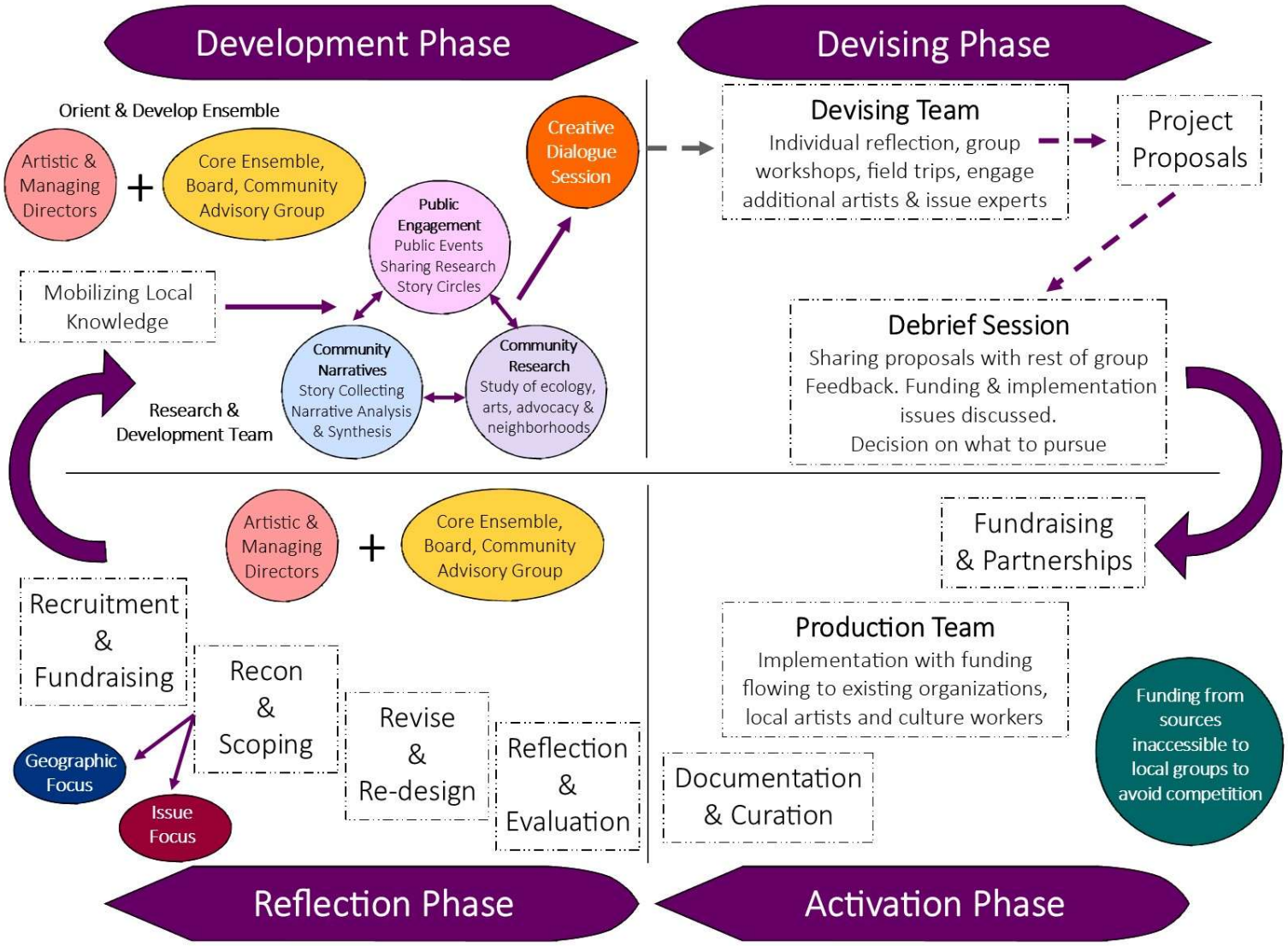

Figure 28. *Arroyo Seco Placekeepers Production Cycle*

The advisory group

The initial advisory group of 16 people encompassed several dimensions of diversity. There were ten men and six women; half were people of color; three identified as Native or Indigenous. While most lived or worked in Pasadena, three had stronger connections to the Arroyo in Northeast Los Angeles, which I decided would help communicate that the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers was not solely focused on Pasadena but in the future planned to work with other Arroyo neighborhoods. Each individual had multiple affiliations and several had worked together before or knew one another. But the group allowed new relationships to form, especially between environmental organizations and those whose primary orientation was in the arts and culture sector. Four members worked for organizations focused on cultural heritage; five worked for arts organizations; five for environmental groups; one 18-year-old represented a youth leadership organization.

Individuals who agreed to participate signed a letter of information agreeing to roughly twelve hours of participation over the course of a year (see appendix 4). This included five one-hour meetings, two hours of helping with a public event, and five additional hours split between the Creative Dialogue Session during the development phase and a final debrief at the end of the devising phase (see below). The benefits to participants included a stipend, discussion of how to apply creative placekeeping to the Arroyo, the opportunity to network, and an invitation to discuss applying the results to their specific organization. The potential for placekeeping to attract grant funding that could support their work remained in the background but was also a selling point.

Because the time commitment for participation was modest, I framed the function of the group as providing advice, feedback, and assisting with the outreach to other individuals and

groups. I retained decision-making authority over the project and its direction. Decision-making authority rightfully defines the quality and depth of engagement in community-engaged research. But absent the significant time and resources needed to sustain a formal "placekeeping coalition," I decided to keep the group advisory in nature. Chapter 7 uses lessons from the pilot to address how to create such a coalition, but for this initial phase, finding a common meeting time proved challenging enough. Meetings took place in person at various locations within Pasadena, though we used a laptop on occasion for individuals that needed to participate virtually. Because of scheduling conflicts and members' prior commitments, only about half of the group was ever able to meet together at one time prior to the Creative Dialogue Session. One-hour meetings took place in February, April, June, and September of 2022, followed by a meeting in January of 2023. The group then met for the Creative Dialogue Session in May of 2023 and a final two-hour debrief session the next month in June. Chapter 7 provides a summary of these meetings and reflects on the efficacy of this format as a means for engagement.

Development phase

The first meeting of the advisory group marked the transition to the development phase of the cycle shown in the upper left portion of figure 28. The development phase is typically where members of a theater ensemble will explore their interests, do research, journal, and experiment with structured activities to discover pieces of performance around which to build a show. Within the diagram's idealized model, members of the advisory group who find fascination in this exploratory process would form a research and development team that would mobilize local knowledge about the Arroyo. This process would include doing interviews, hosting story circles, and delving into local archives. In my estimation, this would have been

asking too much from the advisory group for a pilot project. This meant that I performed the tasks outlined in the blue, pink, and lavender circles in the upper left quadrant of figure 28. Chapters 4, 5, and 6 share the results of this work. In the future, additional resources would allow this community research step to be more participatory. Members of the advisory group, however, did assist with the two public events that I organized, including facilitating the story circles at the second gathering (see chapter 7).

Within figure 28, the development phase ends with what I call a Creative Dialogue Session where the full advisory group, neighborhood leaders, and invited guests discuss key questions emerging from the research. For the pilot, this session consisted of a four-hour workshop in late May 2023 that I facilitated with the help of a creative team made up of local artists. Before continuing with the diagram, I will explain the formation and work of this creative team.

Creative team

Three months prior to the workshop, I posted a call for artists to assist me with the Creative Dialogue Session. The time commitment for each artist was fourteen to eighteen hours, which included a handful of team meetings, the session itself, and roughly six to ten hours to develop a work-in-progress based on specific questions I wanted community members to discuss at the Creative Dialogue Session (see appendix 5 for the letter of information provided to the artists). Works-in-progress could include performances, groups exercises, sketches, stories, photos, or simply journal entries describing the artist's engagement with the topic. The aim was to have these works-in-progress provoke a kinesthetic, emotional, or intuitive response to the questions rather than a reflexive or rote reaction based on entrenched positions many participants have developed during their decades of engagement around the Arroyo. The

unfinished nature of this assignment was an attempt to focus attention on the discussion question rather than the artwork. After the artists' presentations and some brief discussion, attendees chose which question they wanted to discuss further, with the artists facilitating these small groups using a list of questions that I provided (see appendix 6). I chose from a pool of nine responses to my call for artists three individual artists--Lisa McNeely, D.W. Jacobs, and Debra Scacco—and The Gold Collective, a dance ensemble, (see appendix 7 for descriptions of the artists' work).

Meetings with the artists leading up to the Creative Dialogue Session created a shared sense of purpose. We met together for an hour one month before the May 2023 workshop. Here we clarified expectations, shared our backgrounds, and divided up the four questions I had crafted for the session. Each question came with a 1000- to 1200-word background essay, and over the course of a month, I met with artists individually and provided additional materials that I thought would be helpful. Two weeks after our first meeting and two weeks before the dialogue session we met for lunch where each artist shared the development of their work-in-progress, and we finalized the schedule for the session. After the Creative Dialogue Session, the group met one final time to debrief the experience and discuss what went well and what to consider for the future. I summarize this dialogue in chapter 7. Artists received a stipend to thank them for their work on the project.

Devising phase

While the development phase lasted fourteen months, the devising phase, in the upper right quadrant of figure 28, finished in a month's time. The Creative Dialogue Session ended with an invitation for six to ten people to join a devising team to generate project ideas for the community advisory group to consider. The commitment to be on the devising team consisted of

twelve hours, including at least six hours of time preparing a work-in-progress representing an idea for a placekeeping project (see appendix 8). This work-in-progress could be a set of journal entries, the draft of a poem, a reading, or even a photograph. Devising team members met once with me and one of the artists from the creative team to discuss their thoughts and ideas. The five people who joined me on the devising team included two members of the advisory group, two of the artists from the creative team, and the former chair of the Pasadena Unified School District that I had invited to attend the Creative Dialogue Session.

The plan for the half-day devising workshop was for everyone to share their work-in-progress and their project idea and through discussion identify similarities in the outcomes, audiences, issues, forms of placekeeping, and theories of change embodied in the ideas. Based on these clusters of commonalities, the six of us would divide into small groups to brainstorm project possibilities. These possibilities would then go to the community advisory group for feedback and refinement. This agenda was too ambitious for a three-hour workshop. The group was, however, able to discuss the elements of each project idea and used dots to identify the characteristics they felt most strongly about. I then took this feedback and finished drafting project proposals that incorporated the devising team's priorities.

The final step in the devising phase consisted of a joint debrief session with members of the advisory group and the devising team. The goal of this session was to share the project proposals, receive first impressions and feedback from the group, and get suggestions for funding, potential partners, and implementation strategies. I shared a summary of the devising process and outlined proposals for two placekeeping project. Attendees then divided in two groups to discuss the proposal that they were most interested in for 30 minutes. I then presented a proposal for how to structure the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers moving forward and had people

fill out worksheets identifying the roles they would like to have in the future of the initiative. This debrief session marked the formal end of the devising phase and the community advisory group since implementation of the proposed projects would require a new set of partners, and the expansion of the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers to other sections of the Arroyo would require a new set of neighborhood representatives to serve as advisors.

Activation phase

This dissertation reports the results and lessons gathered through the end of the devising phase in figure 28. The model, however, maps out the subsequent activation phase, which I am using to guide the next steps for the initiative. This phase consists of forming production teams to implement the project ideas and a fundraising campaign to support their work. With fundraising, the intention is to have funding come from sources that existing organizations cannot access on their own. The hope is to bring additional resources to the Arroyo rather than compete for local funding. The timeline for the activation of each project depends upon its nature. A special event, for example, would have a definite end date, but the launching of an organization or business would not. After documentation and curation of the project, the cycle moves back into the reflection phase in the lower left quadrant where there is time for evaluation and revision of the overall process for the next round of creative placekeeping. Thus far, the activation phase for the projects coming from the pilot has included two public presentations about Arroyo Seco Placekeepers, three guided walks in the Arroyo sharing information from the research with roughly 30 people attending each sojourn, and the convening of a working group to create a K-12 action-research curriculum around Pasadena's re-purposing of their portion of the 710 freeway.

Conclusion

Most creative placemaking projects include only the right side of figure 28. Funding exists for an artistic or cultural project related to a specific community sector, such as transportation, housing, or public health. The relevant agencies engage artists and culture workers to produce a mural, a play, or video, which hopefully includes a strong element of collaboration and co-creation with neighborhood residents. But funding has already determined both the subject matter and the form the final product will take. The production process is typically a straight line from devising to activation, and most projects are "one-and-done," with evaluation and lessons going to the funding agency in a grant report rather than remaining in the community. These projects have significant value and can provide shining memories, but their impact is often short-term and instrumental and does not fundamentally transform either local culture or the structural dynamics that keep neighborhoods from fulfilling their potential. Framing placekeeping as a production cycle tied to a specific geography shifts the focus from the completion of a project to the cultivation of a network, from placekeeping to placekeepers. By adding a development phase further upstream consisting of in-depth community research, it is more likely that the projects will address longstanding community dynamics, have greater power to heal, and generate ongoing commitment because the projects resonate with a broad cross-section of the community. I discuss the challenges in achieving this potential in chapter 7.

This overview also hopefully clarifies the three streams of data and analysis that this project design has generated.

1) The community research about Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo Seco and its adjacent neighborhoods within the development phase of the project, the results of which are the subject of chapters 4, 5, and 6.

2) The evaluation of the overall production cycle put forward in figure 28 for generating project ideas, which I discuss in the first part of chapter 7.
3) The assessment of the time, money, networking, and organization necessary to extend this planning and production process to other sections of the Arroyo and maintain a network of Arroyo Seco Placekeepers in perpetuity. The second part of chapter 7 addresses this question.

The benefit of completing a pilot project is that one can experience this complexity in real time. The results present lessons and recommendations from all three levels of methodological engagement, which I explain in chapter 8, this dissertation's conclusion.

Data collection

Introduction

Narrative research typically draws conclusions based on stories crafted by narrators for the researcher who serves as the audience (Creswell 2014; Riessman 2008). This is not what I have done. Instead, I have gathered a diverse array of information on the Arroyo and its adjacent neighborhoods--from interviews, newspaper articles, secondary sources, historic maps and photos, census data, and personal observation--to create composite stories whose analysis can reveal community dynamics and inform advocacy and organizing. In this I am following the work of qualitative scholars working in narrative policy analysis (Lejano, Ingram, and Ingram 2013; Lejano and Leong 2012; Lejano et al. 2019; Roe 1994; Throgmorton 2013). Collecting a broad range of material allows for all the ways that storytelling seeps into our discourse. It also allows me to include stories that stretch beyond the life of a single storyteller and to infer stories from the more-than-human world that lack a human narrator.

Drawing story from an assemblage of material and incomplete narrative threads is what

theatrical dramaturgs do. A dramaturg's questions help writers and directors decide what stories in a script are most compelling and will help them fulfill their vision (Brown 2011; Turner and Behrndt 2016). Communities and landscapes are like scripts; they also contain a diversity of stories. To find the stories that can fulfill the vision of a just and sustainable Arroyo, I chose six topics to research. The first is the Arroyo's historical landscape, which means translating the geology and historical ecology of the canyon into narrative forms. The second topic was Native American experiences with the Arroyo, specifically the stories of Gabrieleno/Tongva society. The third concerns the arts and culture sector in Pasadena and specifically the experience of organizations that use cultural organizing in their work or have a specific connection with the Arroyo. The fourth topic is the development of the neighborhoods bordering the Central and Lower Arroyo, which relates to the political economy of the landscape. The ultimate aim of this project, however, is to generate a groundswell of support for 1) the restoration of the Arroyo and 2) environmental justice within Pasadena. For this reason, the fifth topic is the story of advocacy around the Arroyo that resulted in it becoming public parkland while the sixth is the story of recreation in the Arroyo and the fight to overcome segregation and make that parkland accessible to the entire community. Similar to Molotch et al. (2000), the goal in assessing each of these topics is to understand the "lash up" of forces determining the character of this section of the Arroyo. Because dramaturgy is an exercise in pattern recognition, looking at Pasadena and the Arroyo through a variety of lenses is important to discern the thread that binds them together. The selection of these six topics, however, underscores how the story one tells about a place depends on the broad goals one brings to a project, in this case sustainability and justice. A different set of topics based on different priorities could lead to a very different approach to data collection. While these topics are specific to the Arroyo, the general formula of

investigating the ecology, Indigenous experiences, the arts and culture sector, the local political economy, the history of advocacy, and race and class relations, is one that I believe can serve any creative placekeeping project focused on justice and sustainability.

Sources of data

Table 2 below lists the data that I collected for each of these topics. I report the results of my analysis of this data in chapters 4 and 5 while the synthesis of all these topics provides the substance for chapter 7.

Table 2. *Sources of data*

Topic	**Data sources**
Geological and ecological stories	Five community expert interviews Primary sources – letters, diaries, journal accounts Secondary sources – local histories, textbooks, natural histories Academic journal articles on different habitats, species, geology Scientific reports on the historical ecology of Southern California Historic newspaper articles, photographs, maps
Native American experiences	Five community expert interviews Primary sources – J.P. Harrington journal notes, Hugo Reid accounts Key secondary sources - *California's Gabrielino Indians* (Johnston 1962); *The First Angelinos* (McCawley 1996); *O 'My Ancestor: Recognition and Renewal for the Gabrielino-*

	Tongva People of the Los Angeles Area (Jurmain and McCawley 2009) Academic journal articles on Native experiences in Southern California Anthropological and archaeological reports Oral histories from UCLA Historic newspaper articles, photographs, maps
Arts and culture sector	Twelve community expert interviews Key secondary sources – *Armory Center for the Arts: Fifty Years* (Register 1997); *Cultural Nexus: An Action Plan for the Cultural Sector in Pasadena* (City of Pasadena Arts Commission et al. 2005) Oral histories from Pasadena Heritage Historic newspaper articles
Neighborhood stories	Fourteen community expert interviews Six sets of neighborhood leader interviews (Ten hrs. per set) Secondary sources – local histories Historic newspaper articles, photographs, maps Oral histories from Pasadena Museum of History & Pasadena Heritage Census tract data – 1940 to 2020 Neighborhood observations
Arroyo advocacy	Six sets of neighborhood leader interviews (Ten hrs. per set) Four community expert interviews

	Secondary sources – local histories Government reports and plans Historic newspaper articles, photographs, maps Participant observation
Recreation access	Ten community expert interviews Key secondary sources – *A Study of the Mexican Population in Pasadena, California* (Lofstedt 1922); *The Social Status of the Negro in Pasadena, California* (Crimi 1941); *A Study of the Negroes Living in Pasadena* (Cartland 1948); *Ethnic History Research Project, Pasadena, CA* (Anderson 1995); *Conspiracy of the Good* (James 2005); *Latinos in Pasadena* (Martinez 2009) Oral histories from Pasadena Museum of History Academic journal articles on race relations in Pasadena Government reports and plans Historic newspaper articles

Referring back to the production cycle, the table above lists the data I collected within the development phase of the project, specifically the triangle of blue, pink, and lavender circles in the upper left quadrant of figure 28. But as stated above, the larger production process that this research fits within also generated data that I've used to assess the effectiveness of the project design. This data includes the following:

- Stories and project ideas generated from roughly thirty people at the creative placekeeping workshop held at Lineage Performing Arts Center;
- Video and audio recordings of the four-hour Creative Dialogue Session;

- Audio recording of meetings with artists from the creative team after the Creative Dialogue Session;
- Audio recordings of three small group meetings between one of the creative team artists and a member of the devising team to share initial project ideas;
- Video recording and flip chart notes from the three-hour devising session;
- Video and audio recording of the final debrief session with the community advising group and the devising team;

Finally, the third stream of data involves how to maintain an ongoing placekeeping process and a network of Arroyo Seco Placekeepers over the long-term. The two primary sources of data to address this question are interviews I conducted late in the process with members of the advisory group and my research journal from the two-and-a-half years that the pilot project took place.

Types of data

An important reason for undertaking a pilot project is to understand what such an endeavor demands at a granular level. As a cultural organizer, my instinct is to try to make the creative placekeeping process as participatory as possible. But this requires a firm grasp on the time and training required for tasks such as data collection. Below I provide brief summaries of the types of data I collected and how and where I sought this data out.

Community Expert Interviews - Referencing table 2, most of the interviews I conducted were with community experts, individuals who possess specific knowledge about a topic. Examples include staff of arts and culture organizations or the different recreation groups using the Arroyo. This also included individuals such as the CEO of the Rose Bowl, a local realtor, and individuals whose families moved as a result of freeway construction. Networking during

the reflection phase of the project helped me to identify initial people to speak with and snowball sampling helped me find others (see appendix 9 for a list of the community experts I interviewed). These semi-structured interviews lasted one to two hours and focused on the individual's area of expertise while also including some general questions that I asked everyone about the meaning of the Arroyo, their hopes for the area, and what stories they thought would be most useful (see appendix 10 for the standard interview question for community experts).

Neighborhood Leader Interviews - While the majority of my interviews were with community experts, the most important interviews for the project were with individuals who have had a longstanding involvement with the Arroyo or their specific neighborhood, individuals I named "neighborhood leaders." I interviewed these individuals five times, each meeting lasting roughly two hours. The premise of these in-depth interviews was that if the broad aim of creative placekeeping is sparking grassroots advocacy, understanding the experiences, perspectives, and motivations of the individuals who have been performing this role on the community stage is essential (see appendix 11 for a list of neighborhood leaders). In addition to the interviews, I also invited the neighborhood leaders to participate in the Creative Dialogue Session in May of 2023 to see how their interviews fit into the larger dialogue about the Arroyo.

Each of the five interviews with the neighborhood leaders had a specific focus and an overarching question (see figure 29). The Orientation interview used a map to capture the experience of living in their neighborhood or working in the Arroyo. The Personal History interview sought to understand how their neighborhood work or Arroyo advocacy fits within the story of their lives. The Storytelling interview consisted of top-of-mind answers to questions related to different literary genres. The Connections interview asked leaders to tell me the story

of the Arroyo and where they think that story will go in the future. The final Story Map interview allowed me to clarify and correct my analysis of the first eight hours of conversation as we worked together to create a collage or "story map" to illustrate their relationship with the neighborhood and the Arroyo. I provide a summary and synthesis of each set of interviews in chapter 6 and provide a synopsis of final Story Map interviews in the appendices. A full list of the questions for each of these five interviews is available in appendix 12.

1. Orientation - What is it like to live in your neighborhood?
2. Personal history – How is your neighborhood work part of your story?
3. Storytelling – What stories resonate with the neighborhood?
4. Connections – Where does the story go from here?
5. Story map - What parts of your story are most important?

Figure 29. *Primary questions for each neighborhood leader interview*

These interviews assumed a privileged place within the research for several reasons. In table 2, I listed these interviews as contributing to Neighborhood Stories and to Arroyo Advocacy, but they contributed data on many of the other topics as well. Because the five interviews together generated almost 100 pages of transcript for each neighborhood leader, they afforded a more rigorous and detailed narrative analysis. Because of this central role, I was selective in who to invite to participate at this level in order ensure racial, ethnic, age and geographic diversity. Three of the seven neighborhood leaders were people of color, and together they represented three of the four neighborhoods along the Central and Lower Arroyo.

To manage the logistics of the interviews, I provided a letter of information to community experts and neighborhood leaders (see appendices 13 and 14). The letter described the purpose of the project, potential future uses of the information, and the overall time

commitment. Most important, I committed to provide any quotes from the interview to each participant, in context, for approval prior to sharing with others. To thank community experts, I provided the opportunity to select a $20 gift card from a selection of local businesses. In recognition of the twelve hours of participation I requested from neighborhood leaders, I provided a stipend of $250. Several participants asked me to donate these gratuities to specific organizations.

The final collection step for interviews is transcription. I chose to transcribe the interviews myself to preserve the confidentiality of participants. I abandoned initial plans to only transcribe key passages of the interviews because the narrative analysis I performed on the neighborhood leader and community expert interviews required a more detailed transcript than I initially anticipated. This was especially true for the neighborhood leader interviews where even small turns of phrase proved revealing. While time consuming, the stop-and-start nature of the process gave me multiple opportunities to reflect on people's statements. I secured the original audio files on a password protected hard drive.

Public events - Two public events for the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers took place in October 2022: an historical ecology walk in the Arroyo and a creative placekeeping workshop at Lineage Performing Arts Center in Pasadena. The outline for each event moved from the presentation of research results to having participants share stories of their own in story circles facilitated by members of the advisory group. While the historical ecology walk received rave reviews, there wasn't enough time to do story circles. The placekeeping workshop did hold story circles, and each small group succeeded in converting their collection of stories into an idea for a specific creative placekeeping project. I share more about these events in chapter 7.

Historic newspaper articles - ProQuest maintains a searchable online collection from

the Los Angeles Times. The Pasadena Public Library also maintains a microfilm collection of Pasadena newspapers stretching back to the 1880s. Working with library staff, I was able to create digital clippings of articles related to the topics listed above. Together, I collected over 2,700 newspaper articles for review. I grouped these articles under the topics above, organized them chronologically, and took detailed notes to trace the trajectory of numerous issues and controversies and gain a sense of daily life within each of the different neighborhoods.

Historic photographs - Calisphere is a website that provides an effective online portal to numerous collections of historic photographs of the Arroyo, from the Huntington Library, USC, the Los Angeles Public Library, the California State Archive, the County Museum of Natural History, and other institutions. Overall, I collected approximately 500 historic photos, drawings, and illustrations related to Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo.

Historic maps - I was able to download digital copies of roughly a hundred historic maps from the online collections of the Huntington Library, the California State Archive, UC Berkeley and other online sources. An 1887 Real Estate Map of Pasadena from the Huntington Library was especially useful in matching landowners with specific parcels in and along the Arroyo. Sanborn Fire Insurance maps were important to understand the physical build out of the neighborhoods along the Arroyo.

Census data - Census tract data of Pasadena is available from 1940 to 2020. I downloaded spreadsheets containing information on age, race and ethnicity, education, housing, and economic data. Table 3 contains a complete list of the variables I collected and organized into neighborhood-specific spreadsheets. These sheets allowed me to develop descriptive profiles of how each neighborhood has changed over time. The census data is unruly in that tract boundaries shift slightly over time and only roughly align with neighborhood boundaries.

The variables the government has measured over the decades are also not consistent. I summarized these differences in notes attached to each spreadsheet. Despite these inconsistencies, the approximations I compiled were adequate to discern trends and provide valuable quantitative snapshots into neighborhood life over the past eighty years.

Table 3. *Census tract variables collected and organized by neighborhood*

Age & sex measures	Total population, percent male & female, and median age
Race, ethnicity measures	Race, ethnicity, and percent native & foreign-born
Education measures	Educational attainment for those 25 and over and percent in private school
Housing measures	Units in structure, # people in structure, age of structure, median year structure built, percent lacking full plumbing, percent negative housing conditions, percent housing occupied & vacant, percent owner-occupied & renter-occupied, year moved into unit
Economic measures	Property values, median home value, contract rent, median contract rent, rent as percent of income, family income, median family income, median household income, per capita income, employment status, means of transportation to work, travel time to work, ratio of family income to poverty level, percent below poverty line, percent on public assistance, percent of no vehicles, Gini index of inequality

Geological and ecological data - I did not collect original scientific data, such as bird counts, water quality samples, or erosion rates. Instead, I used primary and secondary sources, historic maps and photographs, and newspaper articles to glean information about the historical ecology of the Arroyo. I provide more information on the assembly and analysis of this information in chapter 4. The integration of data collection on the historical ecological landscape into the creative placekeeping process holds great potential.

Oral histories - Published oral histories are available from the Pasadena Museum of History, Pasadena Heritage, UCLA, and NELA Stories, a project of Occidental College focused on the neighborhoods of Northeast Los Angeles. These sources were helpful in providing context and color to the topics above.

Observation data - I collected observation data formally and informally. Formal collection included observations at specific neighborhood locations and specific meetings or events. I used sources on landscape assessment and social dramaturgy to design protocols to guide these observations (see appendix 15) (Cronon et al. 2008; Dalglish and Leslie 2016; Duncan and Duncan 1988; Duncan and Duncan 2001; Olwig et al. 2016; Schein 1997; Spirn 1998; Vannini 2015). Informal observations consisted of itinerant notes that I recorded in my research journal after specific field experiences or meetings.

Primary source material - Time constraints required me to be selective in my review of primary source material, such as letters, surveys, field notes, and legal documents. The most important materials I reviewed were the letters of Daniel Berry to Thomas Elliot from 1873 housed at the Huntington Library (Elliott 1873-74). Elliot was the leader of the group of Midwestern settlers who pooled their resources to purchase the land that eventually became Pasadena. Elliot dispatched Berry and two others to Southern California to locate a suitable

location for a settlement. Other primary sources included a selection of papers from Jeanne Carr; property deeds related to the Arroyo provided by the City of Pasadena; survey notes from state irrigation officials, the note cards from anthropologist J.P. Harrington on the presence of Gabrieleno/Tongva peoples in the Pasadena area; and the notes from UCLA professor Robin Kelley who researched African American history in Pasadena (Kelley 1984).[29]

Secondary source material - Pasadena has a wide selection of local histories to tell the story of the city. These local histories are a source of factual information but also provide a window into the cultural norms during the periods when they were written. Several neighborhood and institutional histories complement these sources. Beverly Wayte's *At the Arroyo's Edge* (Wayte 1992) provides a history of the Linda Vista neighborhood and Donald Crocker's *Within the Veil of Annandale* (Crocker 1968) reviews the development of the San Rafael area. Histories of Busch Gardens, the Armory Center for the Arts, the Valley Hunt Club all provided rich context on unique institutions. The two most helpful secondary sources were Michael James' *Conspiracy of the Good* (James 2005), which examines how race and class relations have impacted schooling in Pasadena, Becky Nicolaides' *The New Suburbia: How Diversity Remade Suburban Life in Los Angeles after 1945,* which includes a case study of Pasadena (Nicolaides 2024). The late David Wolf, a Pasadena resident trained in urban design and architecture, compiled detailed histories of municipal planning in Pasadena that were also helpful (Wolf 2016, 2019).

[29] Jeanne and Ezra Carr purchased a 40-acre parcel of land in 1877 that reached west from Fair Oaks Avenue to South Orange Grove Avenue and the bluffs along the eastern rim of the Arroyo's canyon. Ezra Carr had a medical degree but was one of the first professors at the University of Wisconsin and the University of California, Berkeley. He later served as the California Superintendent of Instruction. Jeanne Carr served as his deputy and had several published articles in periodicals of the day. She was one of the closest friends of John Muir, who her husband had taught at the University of Wisconsin. Between 1880 and 1892, their home above the Arroyo was at the center of intellectual and cultural life in Pasadena. Jeanne Carr named the property Carmelita and it eventually became a beloved city park (see appendix 27).

Other original works of scholarship such as academic journal articles, commissioned reports, government planning documents, or graduate master's theses all made important contributions to the research.

Data analysis

Analyzing this woolly collection of data and turning it into different narratives to compare, contrast, and synthesize required an interpretive framework flexible enough to apply to individual interviews, stories within interviews, multiple interviews with neighborhood leaders, notes from newspaper articles, descriptions of the local ecology, and even census data. This choice to work with this diverse assemblage of data risks making the interpretive process unruly and impressionistic. To lend the process more rigor, I grounded my analysis in writings about genre, story types, and what I call "narrative elements," such as plot, characters, setting, tone, metaphor, language, and theme. One of the most helpful volumes I encountered in study of these narrative elements is Suzanne Keen's (2015) *Narrative Form*, which provides literature reviews for each element. I supplemented Keen's work with reviews on my own about progression and plot (Bakhtin 1981; Herman et al. 2012; Levine 2015; Lowe 2000; Murphy 2015a, 2015b; Richardson 2002; White 2014), characters and relationships (Bolen 1984, 1989; Hyers 1996; Schleifer and Velie 1987; Woloch 2003), setting (Bakhtin 1981; Fuchs 2015; Herman et al. 2012; Lawson 2011; Ryan et al. 2016; Saricks 2009), tone and narrative emotion (Fowler 1982; Hogan 2003, 2011; Hyers 1996; Hyvärinen 2015; Wiek von Mossner 2017), narrative situation and point of view (Eggan 2018; Herman et al. 2012; Smith 1981), metaphor and image (Bakhtin 1981; Lakoff and Johnson 2003; Murphy 2015a, 2015b), theme (Abbott 2002; Bruner 1991b, 1991a; Herman et al. 2012; Herman and Vervaeck 2007; Phelan 2007; Riessman 2008; White 2014; White 1987, 2002), and language (Bruner 1991b; Lakoff and

Johnson 2003; Saricks 2009; White 2014).

This focus on narrative elements aligns my analysis most closely with New Formalism within the world of literary criticism (Bakhtin 1981; Levine 2015; Olson and Copland 2016). At the same time, other approaches to literary criticism also have a role (Culler 1997). My interest in facilitating an ongoing interpretive process that allows for multiple narratives to coexist fits with feminist and post-structuralist assumptions about cultural production. Deconstruction, feminist, post-colonial, and queer theory are all helpful in unsettling accepted community narratives that neighborhood groups can choose to affirm or revise as needed. Psychoanalytic and cognitive approaches are useful in understanding the power and influence of symbolism within stories. Marxism, cultural materialism and New Historicism address the influence of processes operating at broader scales of space and time (Culler 1997). Eco-criticism can help in translating ecological phenomena into narrative form (James and Morel 2018; Kerridge 2014). Hermeneutics, with its emphasis on intertextual relationships, can help with comparative analysis (Lejano and Leong 2012).

Novelists, poets, playwrights, and screenwriters also need to understand the function of these narrative elements. Keen incorporates viewpoints from practical handbooks on writing in her reviews, bridging the gap between narrative theory and craft. I supplemented Keen's review with one of my own to build an interpretive framework for my data (Barranger 2004; Bickham 1994; Card 1988; Downs and Russin 2004; Gerke 2010; Gibbs 2018; Kress 1993; McKee 1997; Russin and Downs 2003; Schmidt 2005; Seger 1990; Snyder 2005; Tobias 2012; Vogler 1998).

One of the tools that many of these books use to compare stories is a description of different genres. Putting lists of genres from these various books side-by-side, however, is a bewildering experience. The lists overlap but also contain unique entries. Similarly, discussions of genre

within literary criticism are messy (Frow 2015; Hyvärinen 2015; Swales 1990, 2009). Fowler (1982) outlines a generic repertoire of kinds, modes, sub-genre, and qualities of formal construction. Abbott (2002) says there is a hierarchy of forms, genres, and masterplots. Fludernik (2000) uses a linguistic hierarchy of text types, genres, and discourse modes. Bawarshi and Reiff (2010) discuss genre in the context of rhetoric and speech acts. And Derrida and Ronell (1980) insist that genre as a concept is inherently unstable. Keen (2015) provides a reasonable definition that allows for genre's unkempt nature. "[A] genre means the name by which we recognize a group of texts dynamically linked through shared formal, stylistic, and thematic features. Typically, a genre persists through more than one literary period…To become a full-fledged genre, the cluster of qualities must appear in texts by different authors" (141). For his part, Fowler (1982) is suspicious of any global classification system and says distinguishing different kinds of literature is ultimately about pattern recognition and family resemblance.

Two realizations during this literature review have been helpful. The first is that my fundamental interest does not require committing or creating a single classification system. My interest is in comparing texts with one another rather than an abstract taxonomy. My interest is also in facilitating a conversation with participants. In this context, I have used genre as a tool to get this conversation started and puzzle with participants about how the different narratives can fit together. The second realization is that different narrative elements can take the lead in earning a particular class of stories its status as a genre. For example, setting, more than plot or character, establishes the Western as a genre. Comedy as a genre depends primarily on tone. Plot is the lead element for a mystery. This is helpful as it suggests if a particular narrative element, such as character, makes a strong impression within an interview or story, one can look

first at the handful of genres where character is the defining or leading feature. The closest match will then suggest qualities to look for in the other elements, and this can form the basis for a conversation with a participant who can confirm, deny, or shift their emphasis to clarify their intentions. The advantage of this approach to genre, what I call "genre by element," is that it is open-ended. New genres and those from non-Western traditions can find their own place in this loose schema. Certainly, some genres are hard to classify this way. Cinderella stories, for example, depend both on basic plot elements and the theme of wish fulfillment. But in this schema, one can list Cinderella in both places. Table 4 presents an *abbreviated* list of genres from theatre, fiction, and film according to their leading narrative elements. Some of these labels are cultural movements, (modernism), some are topical categories (sports), some recognizable plots (Cinderella), and some are idiosyncratic tags created by the specific authors above (individual vs. the state).

Table 4. *Breakdown of genres by narrative element*

Plot-based Genres	Character-based Genres	Setting-based Genres
Hero's journey	Tragedy	Workplace drama
Epic	Quest	Western
Action-adventure	Coming of age	War
Terror & horror	Hero's journey	Historical fiction
Mystery	Love	Science fiction
Suspense	Rivalry	Fantasy
Thriller	Sacrifice	Slice of life
Cinderella	Revenge	Sports
Sleeping beauty	Picaresque	Modernism/realism
Romanticism (melodrama)	Redemption	Docudrama
	Solo performance text	Interculturalism

Tone-based Genres	Theme-based Genres	Metaphor-based Genres
Comedy	Tragedy	Sleeping beauty
Farce	Interculturalism	Minimalism & the absurd
Satire	Cinderella	Expressionism
Tragicomedy	Beauty and the beast	Postmodernism
Expressionism	Individual vs. the state	
Absurdist	Social drama	
	Science fiction	
	Feminist drama	

The book within literary theory that grapples most directly with these issues is Northrup Frye's *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957). The four essays within Frye's anatomy provide numerous entry points into the question of how different works of literature relate to one another, in terms of plot, character, metaphor, and language. It is possible to make productive use of these suggested relationships without committing to the all-encompassing maps of human storytelling that Frye puts forward, albeit provisionally. Frye himself says, "The purpose of criticism by genre is not so much to classify as to clarify such traditions and affinities, thereby bringing out a large number of literary relationships that would not be noticed as long as there were no context established for them" (247-248). The frameworks that Frye and others provide suggest clues to the puzzle of how the Arroyo's different narratives might fit together. This type of puzzle work is often the analysis that dramaturgs do within the theater.

I put this review of the literature to work by constructing a set of descriptive and diagnostic questions for each narrative element (see appendix 16 for a sample of these questions). These sets of questions are comparable to a botanical key. Instead of assessing the leaves or flowers or counting the number of stamens, I used questions to evaluate plot, setting,

and other elements present in an interview or set of notes. The *descriptive* questions helped me to create a more complete profile of each element for each interview, participant, neighborhood or other unit of analysis. The *diagnostic* questions then allowed me to align that description with one or more genres or story types. Rather than forcing the genre systems from the authors above into a single compact set of questions, I mostly preserved the systems and schematics from authors like Frye so that each system could serve as a lens through which to look at the text. In addition to literary sources, I also included diagnostic questions from scholars working with narrative in anthropology (Turner 1982, 1990), systems theory (Stroh 2015), planning (Throgmorton 2003, 2005, 2013), and policy analysis (Goldstein et al. 2015; Lejano et al. 2013; Lejano et al. 2019; Shanahan et al. 2018; Stone 2002).

The one narrative element for which I did not create such a protocol was narrative situation or point of view, which describes the relationship of the narrator to the story they are narrating and includes the broader context for the telling of the tale. In most cases, the narrative situation was consistent across all of the interviews while the contextual details for government reports, academic research, and newspaper articles are difficult to ascertain without a significant investment of time. The most powerful way that the narrative situation and point of view influenced the project was in my presentation of justice and sustainability as the project's goal. This framing defined the implied audience for the interviews and gave the participants a sense of how to craft their responses. These values also framed what I noticed and took away from the written material. The narrative situation and point of view is indeed a powerful determinant of the meaning of the story, but within the context of community research, it is the researcher rather than the narrator who holds more power over the point of view.

These sets of descriptive and diagnostic questions then became the filter that almost all

of my data passed through. In the neighborhood leader interviews, for example, I did an inventory of all the narrative elements and individual stories or vignettes across the first four interviews and then used the descriptive and diagnostic questions to look for patterns and affinities related to particular genres. This process generated questions and helped me notice gaps in my understanding that I followed up on in the final Story Map interview. I also used this interpretive framework to characterize events gathered from historic newspaper articles and to analyze my neighborhood observations. I applied it to the notes I assembled on different habitat types existing in Pasadena prior to European American settlement (see chapter 4). In addition to the narrative elements, the data contained other types of information: opinions about specific types of land uses, descriptions of political dynamics, recommendations for the city. My analysis felt most revealing when this informational content was in conversation with the narrative analysis and most generative when the set of potential narratives coming from the analysis could talk back to the specific challenges and issues participants identified in the interviews. The descriptive and diagnostic questions for the analysis also helped me to make a final revision of my interview questions to ensure that they would generate the details I needed to use the framework.

There are other scholars who have analyzed narrative elements in stakeholder accounts and created summary descriptions that allow for incisive comparisons. Susan Lanser and Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan (2016) use a similar process to analyze the narratives that Israelis and Palestinians hold in their conflict over the Holy Lands. Lejano et al. (2013) use narrative elements to characterize the common narrative that binds together a network of environmental advocates in the Sonoran Desert bioregion on both sides of the border. In a focused case study closely mirroring the approach I describe here, Lejano et al. (2019) created composite narratives

for people holding different values related to a controversial development plan outside Hong Kong. The presumption in these analyses, and mine, is that understanding the story or stories in play will expose the underlying dynamics surrounding an issue and help in finding lasting solutions. My research extends these approaches by using this analysis and interpretation as the basis for generating creative placekeeping ideas in partnership with community residents.

Data synthesis

I emerged from each round of analysis with a collection of provisional story lines, each maintaining a resemblance to one or more specific genres. The next step involved putting these storylines in conversation with one another to assess the potential to bring them together in a larger story. Some stories, however, are fundamentally incompatible and compete with one another in the public sphere. I performed this data synthesis with the stories from all the neighborhood leaders, the narratives from my study of the four neighborhoods along the Central and Lower Arroyo, and the stories within the analysis of each of the six topics above. In preparation for the Creative Dialogue Session, I brought all the narrative threads from all these topics together to generate questions for community members to reflect upon and discuss. Finally, in generating project ideas to offer to the group, I synthesized the discussion of the devising team and interviews with members of the advisory group.

I did not use a particular formula to perform these comparisons or attempt this integration, and I'm not convinced that such a formula exists as evidenced by the messy nature of genre studies and the many different ways to classify stories. For the ecological narratives, the radical change before and after European settlement seemingly called for a temporal ordering of the different stories. To draw together stories about Native American experiences, I used tribalography, an approach to centering Indigenous narratives outlined by novelist,

playwright, and scholar LeAnne Howe. The three stories that emerged from the analysis of the arts and culture sector--Cinderella, the party, and fish out of water--share certain themes and plot elements that facilitated synthesis into a single narrative. For the neighborhood leaders, I compared my inventories of the narrative elements and three summaries I had created (World of the Arroyo, Story of the Arroyo, and Personal Story) for each leader. Finally, I availed myself of the following comparative approaches that I drew from a review of the academic literature.

- ***Distillation*** – This entails reducing a story to a single sentence or short outline. There are a number of ways to distill narratives down (Doniger 2011; Franklin 1994; Lejano et al. 2019; Roof 2015; Schleifer and Velie 1987). Doniger (2011), a scholar of comparative religion, distills the story of Genesis down to "A woman and serpent in a tree give a man a piece of fruit."
- ***Mismatches and misalignment*** - In seeking to integrate stories, some authors go straight to the sore spots where the stories seem incompatible (Lanser and Rimmon-Kenan 2016; Roe 1994) LeAnne Howe does this with tribalography, using conflict as a starting place to craft new narratives that can transform the relationships of everyone involved (Bauerkemper 2014; Howe 2013). In this vein, Doniger (2011) advocates listening for "sideshadowing" or the paths not taken surrounding a conflict as they could suggest a new approach.
- ***Elemental comparisons*** - One can assess the compatibility of different stories by comparing their narrative elements. One element that can generate unseen incompatibilities is a story's chronotope, a term meaning the sense of space and time in the world of the story (Bakhtin 1981; Carr 1986; Ryan et al. 2016). Lawson (2011) found this is especially important when trying to reconcile Indigenous and settler

narratives about the land.

- ***Narrative origins*** - Another way to compare stories is to look at their origins, at the questions they are trying to answer or the issues they are trying to resolve (Doniger 2011). Stories that have a similar origin will be easier to synthesize than stories addressing fundamentally different or competing questions.
- ***Present performance*** - By looking at how people are performing stories in their everyday lives, you see how the stories intersect in the material world. The compatibility of stories might be simply a matter of shifting the habits, routines, and timing of certain activities in the landscape. The performance of a new, more integrated story then simply needs transcription.
- ***Prospective storytelling*** - Jill Doerfler (2014) used tribalography to explore Anishinaabe identity on the White Earth Reservation in the early 20th century. Her goal was to tell "useful stories" that could speak to the topics and issues people need to discuss. This is prospective storytelling, storytelling with a mission, which can be another place to look for congruence between stories.

Appendix 17 contains the template that I used to organize the notes from these comparisons and crucially contains a column both for similarities and differences between interviews.

Synthesis of the narrative threads for the entire project posed a higher degree of difficulty. To facilitate this process, I used concept mapping software to create a storyboard where I could arrange the constellations of stories that I collected and visualize connections. I anticipated one of four possibilities to emerge from this process:

- ***A single unified narrative*** - Integrated narratives have the advantage of generating deep emotional engagement but also run the risk of diminishing some stories by putting them in

service to a dominant narrative.

- ***Common plot with variants*** - In their study of the political battle over water recycling in the San Fernando Valley, Lejano and Leong (2012) found a common plot based around opposition to the phrase "toilet to tap" but with important variants in the story among different stakeholders. Similarly, within the core narrative of "homecoming" for defenders of the Sonoran Desert bioregion, Lejano et al. (2013) found biologists had their own branch narrative related to their professional development and that Native American groups had their own interpretation of the theme.
- ***Narrative collage*** - The next step away from a unified narrative would be what Doniger (2011) describes as a collage or a palimpsest. Mythmakers, she says, are bricoleurs that assemble myths from layers of cultural material. This layered quality allows myths to express multiple truths as they weave into the story conflicts operating at different scales of space and time.
- ***Space for dialogue*** – Finally, the possibility exists that the complexity of the stories emerging from community research could be impenetrable and point toward the need for a safe and engaging environment in which people can listen to and experience the diversity of narratives within their community and debate and discuss what makes a story relevant. This could be a physical space, a workshop (Gibson-Graham 2006; Howe 1999), an ongoing roundtable (Livesey et al. 2009), a book (Lanser and Rimmon-Kenan 2016), website or other type of media (Jacobs and Smith 1997).

I explain the results of this synthesis process in chapter 7 in more detail. But overall, my research pointed toward a common plot with variants, which I entitled the "Quest for Wholeness." This plot line raised a handful of specific questions from which I chose four to

give to the creative team of artists to generate their works-in-progress for the Creative Dialogue Session. The job of these questions was to stimulate visioning for community projects, and so the criteria I used to choose the questions (see table 5) and the specific wording of the questions proved important (Brown 2011). The questions catalyzed further synthesis of the research. This included the 1000 to 1200-word summaries describing the dimensions of each question that I provided to the artists on the creative team and a video that I invited advisory group members to watch prior to the Creative Dialogue Session.

Table 5. *Criteria for questions to ask community at the Creative Dialogue Session*

Primary criteria
Generates visionary ideas for the community
Generates creative project ideas
Connects to how bodies move through space
Easy for people to connect to their personal experience
Important to the overall "Quest for wholeness" narrative
Gives artist something substantial to work with
Connects to geological and ecological narratives of the Arroyo
Connects to Native experiences of the Arroyo
Unlocks a longstanding community issue
Addresses a particular sore spot in the community
Secondary criteria
Specific to Pasadena
Right time to ask question in the community
Relates to a specific literary genre
Easy to explain the lineage of the question
Doesn't require extensive experience with Arroyo
Connects to the neighborhood leader stories
Connects to the experience of young people
Implicates race relations

Implicates economics
Implicates water
Doesn't call out specific individuals or groups
Relates to specific locations in the Arroyo
Would generate buzz in the community

A final act of synthesis within the pilot came during and after the devising session. The devising team synthesized and prioritized the goals, audiences, issues, placekeeping activities, and theories of change for the project. I then used these priorities to create a provisional vision statement for the group and generate project proposals that combined ideas from the creative placekeeping workshop, the advisory group discussions, the creative dialogue session, and the devising team workshop. I present these results in the first half of chapter 7

Analysis of the data about the organizing process and ways to support Arroyo Seco Placekeepers as an ongoing initiative took a more conventional route of identifying clusters of similar ideas from my project journal and interviews with members of the advisory group. I present the synthesis of this information in the second half of chapter 7.

Ethical choices, limitations, and concerns

The first set of ethical choices for any community-based research project is the structure of the community partnership and who has the authority to make decisions. The ideal is for local stakeholders to define the purpose, goals, and methodologies of an investigation; fully participate in their execution; and maintain ownership and control over the use of the results (Cornwall and Jewkes 1995; Stoecker 2008). Within this scenario, the researcher acts as a liaison and helps their institution serve the public interest. This model, however, posits a single community partner or a unified coalition with established decision-making processes able to define their research needs and critical issues impacting the community. The network of

advocates for the Arroyo, however, is diffuse and fragile.[30] Just within Pasadena, there are several small organizations, user groups, and neighborhood associations that are often at odds. Given this, the choice of purpose, goals, and research questions were mine alone.

Absent high-level consultation on purpose, goals, and research questions, I did what I could to ensure benefits flowed back to members of the advisory group. This included sending them historic photos and news articles of interest, donating educational posterboards from the historical ecology walk, and sharing the results of the research as it became available. The potential for the work to attract grants that give material support to the organizations still exists. The group that I was most conscious about providing benefits to were the Native American individuals and organizations represented on the advisory group and those that I interviewed during the course of the research. These individuals expressed that the collection and collation of information related to Native Americans in and along the Arroyo would be of most use since information in the early histories of Pasadena is often biased, inaccurate, or lacking in evidence. My hope is that the two videos I created based on these findings will be useful as they work to re-assert their relationship to these lands (Tuck and McKenzie 2015). After meeting with Wallace Cleaves, the president of the Tongva Taraxat Paxaavxa Conservancy, I extended invitations to use the public events I organized as an opportunity to share their work. Ian Schiffer, Resource Mobilizer for the Conservancy, spoke and participated in the creative placekeeping workshop and the Creative Dialogue Session.

At the start of the project, I had concerns that the advisory group would not encompass the social, cultural, and economic diversity of the community. While half the initial group was

[30] In 2023 the fracturing in the leadership of the Arroyo Seco Foundation exposed this vulnerability, as Tim Brick, the co-founder and director of the organization for over 30 years, left in a dispute with the group's board of directors. Brick has now moved his work to another group called Stewards of Public Land.

made up of people of color, the group did not include individuals who learned English as a second language. There were only two individuals under thirty years old, and one of these individuals moved and had to stop participating after a few months. In order to give specific attention to the issues and concerns of Native people, I hoped to have roughly one third of the group identify as Native or Indigenous. Finding these individuals took additional time and pushed the first meeting of the group from November to February. Cleaves explained that their members receive an overwhelming number of requests to share information, participate in coalitions, and speak at events.

One obstacle to gaining Indigenous representation in the group was the fractious relationship between different bands of Gabrieleno/Tongva in the Los Angeles area. The Tongva Taraxat Paxaavxa Conservancy, for example, affiliates with the Gabrieleno San Gabriel Band of Mission Indians based in nearby San Gabriel, California. Ten years ago, when conducting interviews for my play *The Washing of the Water*, I met with another group, the Kizh Nation, also known as the Gabrieleño Band of Mission Indians, which is based further to the east near the site of the first San Gabriel Mission at Whittier Narrows. Members of the Kizh Nation have ancestors who worked on the Rancho San Pascual that became Pasadena. Members of a third group, The Gabrielino-Shoshone Nation of Southern California, were involved with the naming and dedication of Hahamongna Watershed Park in the early 1990s and recently received twelve acres of land in the Monterey Hills of Los Angeles very close to the Arroyo's watershed boundary.[31] There are other Gabrieleno/Tongva groups in Los Angeles as well, and each is

[31] Ya'anna Vera Rocha, the late, long-time chief of the Gabrielino-Shoshone Nation of Southern California, served on the Devil's Gate Multi-Use Advisory Committee that created the first plan for Hahamongna Watershed Park. She was the individual who suggested Hahamongna as a name to honor the Native American inhabitants of the region. During this time period, Rocha also was involved with protesting the 1992 Rose Parade for its controversial celebration of Christopher Columbus. The new land received by the group in the Monterey Hills will host the Chief Ya'anna Vera Rocha Learning Village in her name.

working on their own to achieve federal recognition.[32] The benefits that come with this recognition are substantial. But the process is rigorous and requires documenting a continuous line of Indigenous descent. The Kizh Nation has made strong claims that members of the other groups, including respected elders, do not descend from Gabrieleno/Tongva ancestors. This has resulted in legal action and public disputes over who can claim Gabrieleno/Tongva ancestry, the proper name to call the Native people of the Los Angeles basin, and disagreements over tribal history, language, and customs.

This situation was difficult to navigate and is something that many non-Indigenous organizations across Los Angeles struggle with. Some choose sides while others recognize everyone and honor the choices of individuals in the name they use for their own identity and their people. I took chose this latter position. The chair of Kizh Nation, Andy Salas, could not support this decision, and we agreed during a phone conversation that my project was not a good fit given their goals and objectives. This was unfortunate as my conversation with Salas and his father ten years ago revealed the deep connections that the Salas family has to the Pasadena area. The decision of Salas to forego participation, however, afforded the opportunity to work with other individuals and groups who otherwise stated that they would not participate due to the above conflicts.

One step in resolving this situation was drafting an orientation letter for everyone who agreed to join the advisory group spelling out the values of the project (see appendix 1). This helped to clarify that the project is not about establishing one true story. Rather, it is about

[32] For example, a bill submitted by U.S. Rep. Sydney Kamlager-Dove (D-Los Angeles) in December of 2023 on the behalf of the Gabrielino/Tongva Nation, which is another group based in Los Angeles, would allow this group to bypass the normal recognition process and create a 300-acre reservation within Los Angeles County (Sahagún 2023).

honoring the validity of each person's story and seeing what we can learn by putting stories into conversation with one another. This conversation could reveal discrepancies and disagreements but also larger truths that can become the basis for coalition-building and political action. In the end, the advisory group began with three individuals with a tribal affiliation: Kimberly Morales Johnson, of the Gabrieleno/Tongva San Gabriel Band of Mission Indians; Rich Toyon, a 14th-generation Native Californian with Acjachemen ancestry who sits on the board of the Arroyos & Foothills Conservancy, and Tom Allard, a Shawnee Cherokee storyteller and member of the Native Voices theater ensemble and teacher at Polytechnic High School in Pasadena. Due to time commitments, only Rich Toyon was able to continue with the group until the end.

Another ethical decision involves maintaining confidentiality and the process for disseminating research. My commitment to everyone was that I would share quotes from my interviews with them for review and approval prior to public disclosure. I sought permission before recording conversations and have not shared these recordings, transcripts, or notes from my interviews. I feel strongly that participants should control their intellectual property. I committed to send a copy of this dissertation to everyone who participated. The seven narrated slide presentations summarizing the results of the research also went out to the advisory group and other participants. The project thus far has resulted in six public events or presentations in Pasadena on different aspects of the research. Five of the six events had attendance of more than thirty people. For the two videos on Native American experiences with the Arroyo, I shared both scripts in their entirety and the full recorded videos for feedback from the people I interviewed before sending them out to a wider audience. This resulted in a few small changes in wording to the scripts and securing of permission to use some family photos.

I encountered three important challenges to using the interpretation process outlined

above. The first is the inherent danger in downplaying important differences between the stories I gathered. Synthesis lends itself to simplification, a smoothing out of sharp edges and incongruities even between the stories shared by a single person. Several authors have written about the central role for disjuncture, contradiction, and juxtaposition of radically different elements within Native American stories, literature, and drama (Glancy 2012; Maufort 2014; Swain 2014). Choctaw scholar LeAnne Howe, in outlining her concept of tribalography, takes these contradictions as a starting point not only for interpretation but for cultural transformation (Bauerkemper 2014; Howe 2013, 2014). I tried to address this by consciously noting aspects that didn't fit my overall characterization and, where possible, discussing them with participants. This emphasis on incongruities is present in Roe (1994) and Lejano et al. (2013) and is one way to guard against reducing place-specific narratives to a generic story type without losing the power of genre to facilitate comparison and generate animating questions. The differences from established genres are what can set stories apart and reveal their deeper meaning.

A second challenge is that the interpretive framework that I have constructed comes primarily from studies of Western literature and fairy tales.[33] The format, however, is open-ended and in the future can accommodate genres from other storytelling traditions. For example, I have tried to incorporate perspectives from Native American authors in evaluating stories (Goeman 2013; King 2003; Momaday 1987; Vizenor 1987).

A third challenge is making this interpretive process collaborative and participatory. Dramaturgs earn their position through their knowledge of theater history and familiarity with

[33] Hogan (2003) in his study of links between literature and emotion does draw on Sanskrit literary traditions and Ainu folktales in constructing his schematic of different types of literature.

the dynamics of storytelling. I used the story maps with neighborhood leaders as one way to make the interpretive process a more collaborative venture and expose my biases to the daylight of dialogue. The best strategy for making analysis more participatory, however, is to hold one's conclusions with a loose grasp and use them primarily to generate questions and frame choices for stakeholders in the community. This is what dramaturgs do when they work with a creative team on a production.

A final ethical concern involves capacity. The pilot project for Arroyo Seco Placekeepers focused attention on two public parks and four neighborhoods. This required three years of research and analysis, which will typically prove too long of a time frame for an effective community project. This was due primarily to the density of the histories, voices, and experiences that accumulate around a geographic examination of any urban center. Balancing the desire to be comprehensive with the need to produce outcomes for a community project has been challenging. An initial work plan to get through the devising phase in a year stretched to sixteen months. I also cut the plan for three public events down to two. I address these issues in chapters 7 and 8, but a smaller geographic scope or a more focused research question, at least in urban areas, might be more appropriate.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the overall dramaturgical approach I adopted to research for the dissertation as well as the specific steps in the collection, analysis, and synthesis of data on Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo. The next three chapters present results of this labor during the development phase of the creative placekeeping (see figure 28). These chapters consist of looking at different aspects of the landscape and the Arroyo's social and cultural history and discussing the types of narratives that emerge from the data and the dramaturgical

questions these narratives suggest. Chapter 7 reviews the overall synthesis of these stories and the use of this synthesis to plan creative placekeeping projects. The ultimate power of these project ideas, however, depends on the details that community members can relate to in human terms. The next three chapters spotlight these specifics.

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Chapter 4 – Stories of the Arroyo, Part I – Ecological and cultural stories

The previous chapter outlined three streams of data and analysis for this research. The first stream contains stories related to the six topics I believe are important to understand sustainability and justice in Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo.

- geological and ecological stories from the more-than-human world;
- Native experiences of the Arroyo;
- the arts and culture sector in Pasadena;
- the narratives of neighborhood development along the Arroyo;
- the history of Arroyo advocacy; and
- the struggle to make recreation in the Arroyo accessible to everyone.

This chapter addresses the first three topics related broadly to the ecological and cultural history of the Arroyo. Chapter 5 reviews the second three topics, which contain stories that emphasize the political and economic dimensions of the landscape. An important source for this first stream of data comes from my interviews with a handful of neighborhood leaders. These stories bring the history of Arroyo advocacy up to the current moment, but because they refract this history through a single life story, I have presented them separately in chapter 6. Each section in the next three chapters presents what I call ″narrative threads″ or potential storylines present in the data. That these stories feel unfinished or speculative is by design as their job is not to provide definitive conclusions for any of these topics but to suggest dramaturgical questions for the community advisory group and the broader community to consider when devising creative placekeeping projects. The data supporting this analysis is too extensive to fully present within the main text. So, I have put many of these details into appendices. The first set of narratives I

will present comes from study of the historic landscape of the Arroyo with an emphasis on the more-than-human world.

Geological and ecological stories of Central and Lower Arroyo

The stories I drew from my study of the historic landscape suggest that another name for Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo could be "the place where things come together" as the geologic and ecological record reinforce the canyon as a place of connection and exchange. For thousands of years, Gabrieleno/Tongva groups and individuals facilitated this coming together by using fire to manage the landscape (Ethington et al. 2020; Raab 2005). One hundred and fifty years ago there was a sudden shift in the landscape with onset of White settlement. Western Pasadena was still a place where different ecologies came together, but the non-human participants in these exchanges now came from all corners of the globe, with the best example being a lush urban forest now rooted in the Ancient Arroyo mudflows that comprise the bedrock for the city and its landscape.

From the point of view of native plants and wildlife, it is hard to view the present Arroyo landscape as anything but a fragmented ruin, a condition that betrays the romantic vision of "wilderness in the city" that the first white settlers began to cultivate after they arrived and used to promote the region. Water is the controlling variable for this story pattern, and its disappearance from the landscape has transformed Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo from a place of abundance to an ecological attenuation. The story of this transformation is worth exploring in more detail, however, because the story seems ready to shift again, and the specifics can offer lessons for the future. I describe the methods I used to identify, translate, and interpret these specifics in appendix 18.

A land of abundance - Grand Hotel and the Savanna Dance

The first elements that came together in this section of the Arroyo was the land and sea. The land that would become the Arroyo Seco watershed didn't rise out of the sea until a hundred million years ago, with the San Gabriel Mountains only achieving its distinctive east-west orientation twelve million years ago (Harden 1998). One to two million years ago Pasadena was a beach, as geologists have found ocean fossils on the north side of Raymond Hill, which marks the boundary between Pasadena and South Pasadena (Woodward et al. 1954).

Another element that comes together in Central and Lower Arroyo are the waters that form the River itself. The San Rafael Hills rise more than one thousand feet to form the Arroyo Seco watershed's western edge. The quartz diorite of the Hills provided initial resistance to the Arroyo's southerly flow. Figure 30 shows that roughly 100,000 years ago, the Ancient Arroyo took a hard left around Monk Hill, an elevated knob of this same quartz diorite, and carved a deep canyon a thousand feet deep as it cut across Pasadena (Buwalda 1940). Between 50,000 to 100,000 years ago, more and more alluvium from the rapidly rising San Gabriels began to fill the Ancient Arroyo's canyon, turning the stream into a broad, braided, wandering river, similar to other washes along the southern front of the mountains. The outwash from Eaton Canyon to the east likely played a major role in blocking the Arroyo and steering it in a more southerly direction.

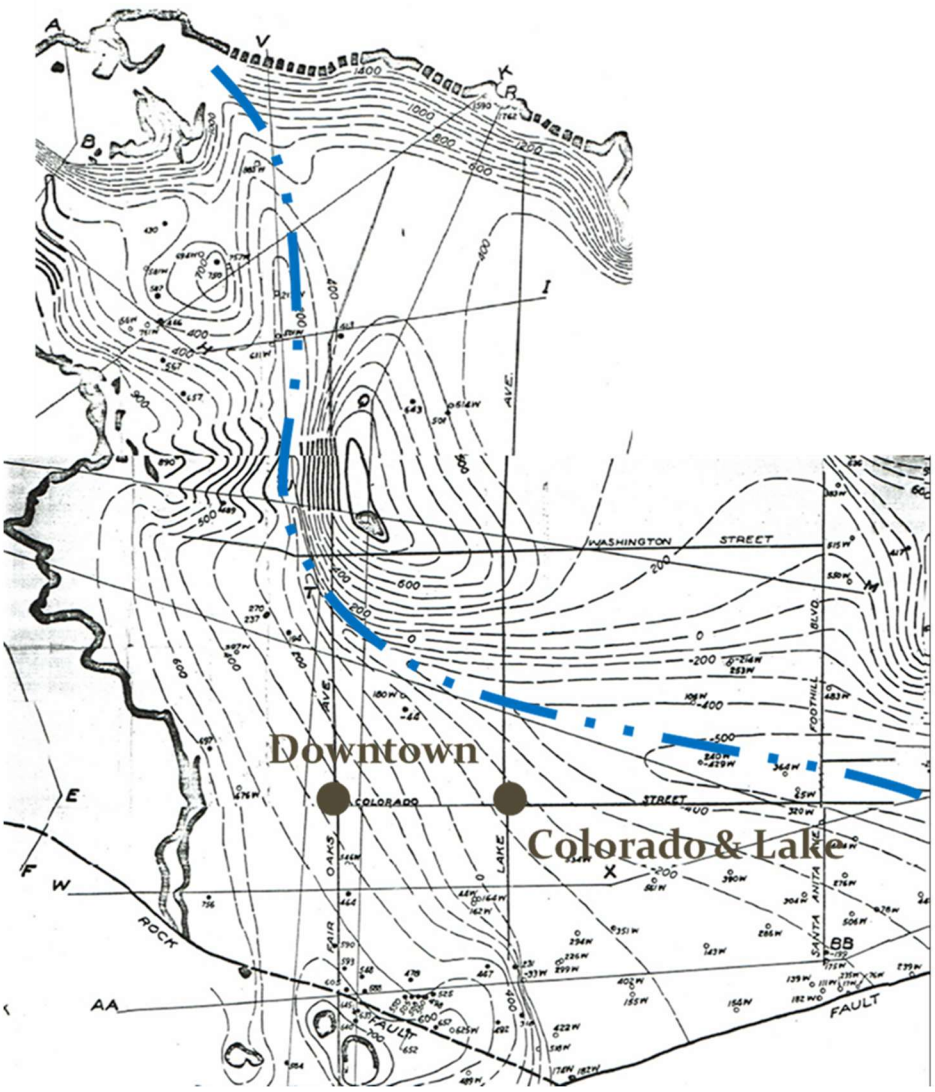

Figure 30: *Topography of the bedrock under Pasadena. This shows the route of Ancient Arroyo through Pasadena 100 to 50,000 B.P. Adapted from Buwalda (1940)*

Figure 31 shows a 1915 soil map of Pasadena revealing the path of the Arroyo during this period. The yellow indicates Ramona loam. The gray is Ramona gravelly loam. Here you can see an extension of gray, gravelly Ramona loam soil stretching from downtown Pasadena to Raymond Hill, following Alhambra Wash into South Pasadena. From here, it wound its way east toward Whittier Narrows, joining the Rio Hondo and San Gabriel River. At the same time, a smaller arroyo collected water from the hills around Garvanza and South Pasadena and sent it toward the Los Angeles River. This stream began to cut its way north, creating a gully that

eventually reached past the site of the Colorado Street Bridge. Most likely during a large storm event, perhaps as recently as 10,000 years ago, the floodwaters from the wide sandy swale of Pasadena's Arroyo topped over the small ridge separating its watershed from the steeper, narrow canyon draining Garvanza, South Pasadena, and Highland Park, giving rise to the Arroyo we have today.

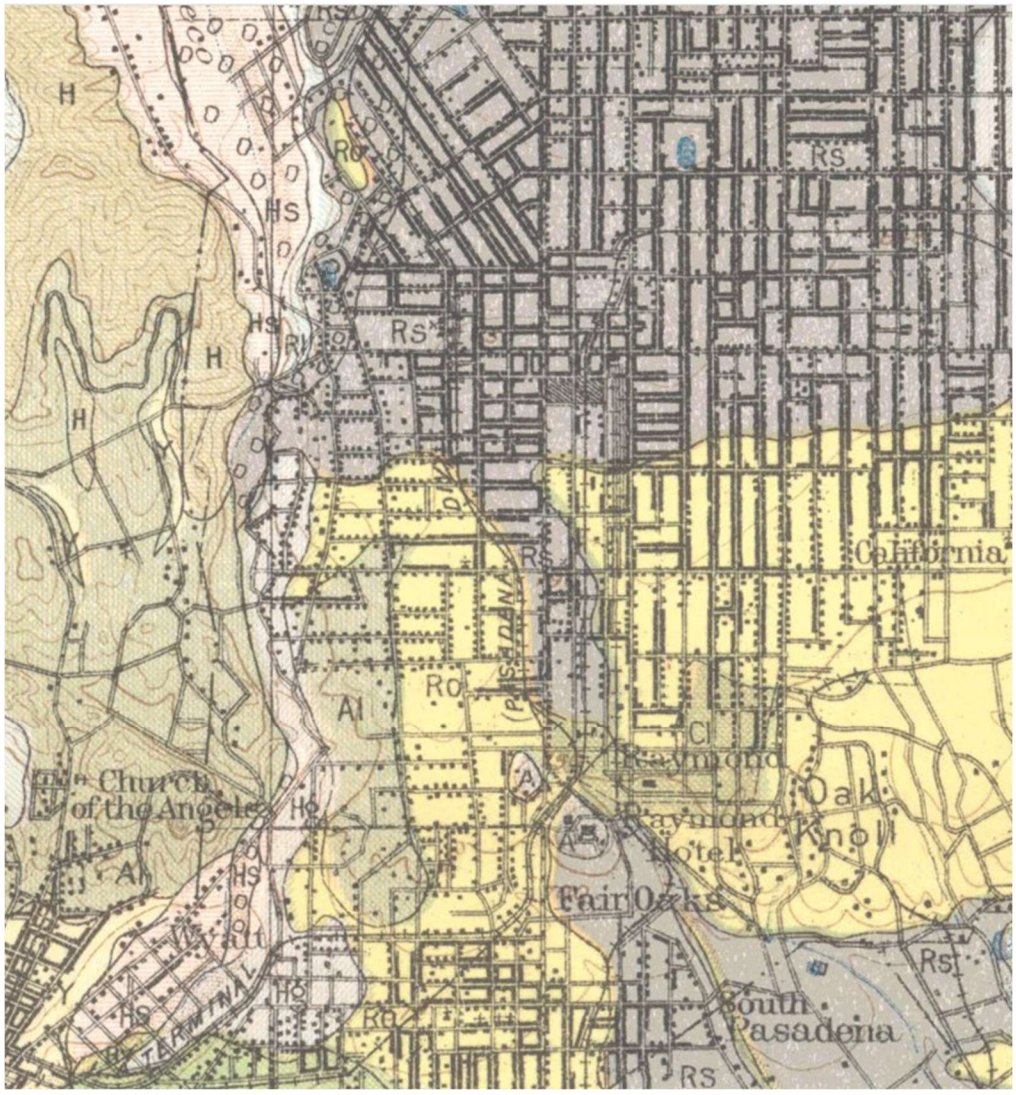

Figure 31. *1915 soil map showing the route of Pasadena's Arroyo prior to stream capture by Los Angeles' Arroyo (Eckmann and Zinn 1917)*

This was a seminal event in the history of the watershed and so from a dramaturgical point of view, it is important to consider what kind of story this suggests. Geologists call this “river piracy” or “stream capture,” suggesting a change of direction that was sudden or violent. (see figure 32). But the shape of this story is in the eyes of the beholder. It could be more romantic, one river drifting westward over thousands of years finally falling into the arms of another, as silent, irresistible, and effortless as water running downhill. But best stick to the basics. There was a change of direction. And as one of the curious legacies of this event, the Arroyo is one of the rare rivers where its surface waters feed one watershed while a significant portion of its groundwater feeds another, as the underground flows of the Raymond Basin still head toward the San Gabriel rather than the Los Angeles River. So, in some sense the Arroyo belongs to both.

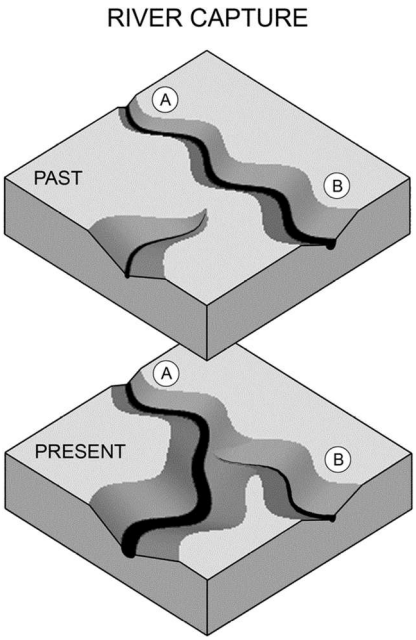

Figure 32. *Diagram of river capture (Varghese 2025)*

We also know the result of these two rivers coming together. Shortly after this event, and possibly caused by it, there was a period of downcutting, deepening the Lower Arroyo’s canyon, and exposing numerous springs along the Arroyo’s course. Relatively quickly after this, an enormously productive riparian forest emerged. Early settlers consistently described this area as a “jungle” of trees covered in vines of wild grape (Carr 1893; Holder 1888). The diversity of habitats in such close proximity to this forest is rare. To the west, chaparral from the San Rafael Hills sat above the canyon. To the east was an oak woodland. Alluvial sage scrub species followed the stream down from the area around the today’s Rose Bowl. Springs likely hosted

rushes and other wetland species. This confluence of habitat types and year-round water, indicated by the alder trees in historic photos, brought together an incredible panoply of species in one narrow space (Faber et al. 1989).



Figure 33. *Alder trees near foot of California Boulevard circa 1900 (Vroman n.d., Courtesy Pasadena Public Library)*

The other result of the joining of two rivers is that it provided a shorter route for the steelhead trout to reach the mountain waters they treasured. Millennia before the Arroyo Seco Parkway, the new, unified Arroyo became an expressway for steelhead to pass from the

mountains to the sea. Riparian forests are the most fecund of Southern California habitats and the steelhead would become the highest expression of the area's abundance, feasting on the insect life and using the Lower Arroyo's rocky bottom to support its life cycle.

As a thoroughfare, the Lower Arroyo served as a Main Street for Pasadena before there were people, a central market where one could find anything, the ultimate ecotone where it was possible to cross paths with almost any species in the region. In terms of storytelling, there is an entire genre of stories based on these types of places--train stations, theaters, ocean liners--where an assortment of characters cross paths: These are typically ensemble narratives where the particular place works its magic on visitors. Considering Pasadena's collection of famous resort hotels from the early 20th century, I refer to this narrative as "Grand Hotel," after the 1932 Oscar Winner with Greta Garbo and John Barrymore. Today, the outlines of this story come to life the second Sunday of every month at the Rose Bowl Flea Market, which has been happening for over fifty years.

One also sees this pattern of coming together in the uplands above the Central and Lower Arroyo. The prevailing narrative about this area is that it was a barren, treeless plain, taken over by exotic grasses, battered by cattle and sheep grazing, and then redeemed for a brief time as vineyards and orchards, before the railroads came, which resulted in a rapid build out of the city. But my research suggests that much of Pasadena was actually an oak savanna, a habitat-type with roughly 10 to 30 percent tree cover (see appendix 18).

This is important because the story of the savanna is different from that of the grassland, sage scrub, chaparral, or woodland. The best metaphor I can think of to represent this story is a slow and intricate dance, as oak trees, coastal sage scrub, and native forbs and grasses shift positions across a time span of hundreds of years. The music for the dance is complex and

always changing. Factors driving these changes include fire; climate extremes of drought and deluge; the browsing of deer, antelope, elk and later, cattle and sheep; the gophers and squirrels that love to eat acorns; badgers and grizzly bears that churned up large mounds of earth. This dancing was not free of form, however. There were steps, patterns of actions and reactions to the multi-layered rhythms, more of a very slow tango or bachata. As with all dances, the timing of all these factors mattered and determined the changes in the landscape. The ones who knew this best were Gabrieleno/Tongva people. The research compiled by the Los Angeles Landscape History group suggests Gabrieleno/Tongva used fire deliberately to create a mosaic of different habitats favoring large oaks and annual forbs and flowers like chia, from which they made a nutritious drink (Ethington et al. 2020). More than anything else, Gabrieleno/Tongva managed the music for this savanna dance and let the different species improvise across Pasadena's long, sloping plain. As a genre, the nature of this dance is comic. Things are always changing. There are established relationships between different species, which make surprises and disruptions particularly entertaining. Most importantly, despite ongoing shifts in fortune, all the species survive and the music plays ever on.

Ecological wasteland - Desiccation and the Carnival Forest

During the Mission and Rancho periods, the stories of Pasadena's landscape did not dramatically shift. People thinned the oak woodlands for firewood and tools, exotic grasses replaced much of the area's forblands and sage scrub, but grazing likely maintained the savanna dynamics. There was scant harvesting of groundwater and no appreciable irrigation from the Arroyo. What finally stopped the music for the savanna dance was the broad planting of vineyards and orange groves that marked Pasadena's brief period as an agricultural settlement from 1874 to 1886 when the arrival of the railroad ushered in the area’s first real estate

boom. The belief that one could grow anything in Pasadena's peerless climate captured the imagination of the city's founders and became one of the city's selling points (Holder 1888). The flexible partnership that Native people maintained with the more-than-human world gave way to the rigid subjugation necessary to maintain Pasadena as a garden city. Trees became a particular point of pride. John Muir sent tree seeds to Jeanne Carr to plant at her Carmelita homestead above the Arroyo, and Theodore Lukens and Abbot Kinney, both noted forestry advocates, lived in Pasadena (Gisel 2001; Pomeroy 2001). The fondness for exotics, especially pepper trees and eucalyptus, did not come from an antipathy for oaks. The city's founders actually angled the route of Orange Grove Avenue to include a grand oak at the intersection with California Boulevard and another near Columbia Street further south. The American settlers loved the oaks but lacked an appreciation for the intricate set of ecological relationships the trees supported and depended upon.



Figure 34. *The ancient oak tree at the intersection of California Street and Orange Grove Avenue circa 1895. This tree was a favorite meeting spot and had benches around its base. The tree died in 1911 after the City paved the roads marking the end of an era (Kohler 1895. California State Library; Masters 2017).*

Pasadena's agricultural abundance and the maturation of its exotic urban forest depended upon the waters of the Arroyo. Benjamin Eaton, the caretaker of the Rancho San Pascual from which Pasadena was born, used his training as an engineer to channel water from above the Devil's Gate to the Orange Grove Reservoir that settlers constructed on a promontory overlooking the Arroyo (Reid and McClatchie 1895; Scheid Lund 1999; Zack 2004). Water also came from the abundant springs, especially a natural wetland complex called Sheep Corral Springs that in 1914 the city would transform into the Brookside Plunge and where the Rose Bowl Aquatics Center sits today. By the turn of the century, settlers had depleted these surface waters and began to draw down the Raymond Basin aquifer. Notably Adolphus Busch built his own pump house on Fair Oaks Avenue to draw water for the fountains, lawns, and flower beds of his famous gardens that stretched down into the Lower Arroyo (Logan 2020).



Figure 35. *Fountain in the lower section of Busch Gardens. Water for gardens and estates was taken from the Arroyo and Raymond Basin aquifer (Graham 1909. Courtesy of the Archives. Pasadena Museum of History, B7-73)*

As the water table dropped and pumping became more difficult, the city began to import water from the Colorado River to provide for the growing population and maintain its dream of a garden city (Brick 2001). In geologic terms, the desiccation of the Arroyo and the hollowing out of its native ecology happened in the blink of an eye. Figure 36 shows the decline in the groundwater levels over the past century. While the concrete that now encases of the stream through the Central and most of the Lower Arroyo is the clearest symbol of this transformation from cornucopia to wasteland, the disconnect between the Arroyo's floodplain and the water table is what makes reproducing something akin to historic conditions incredibly difficult.

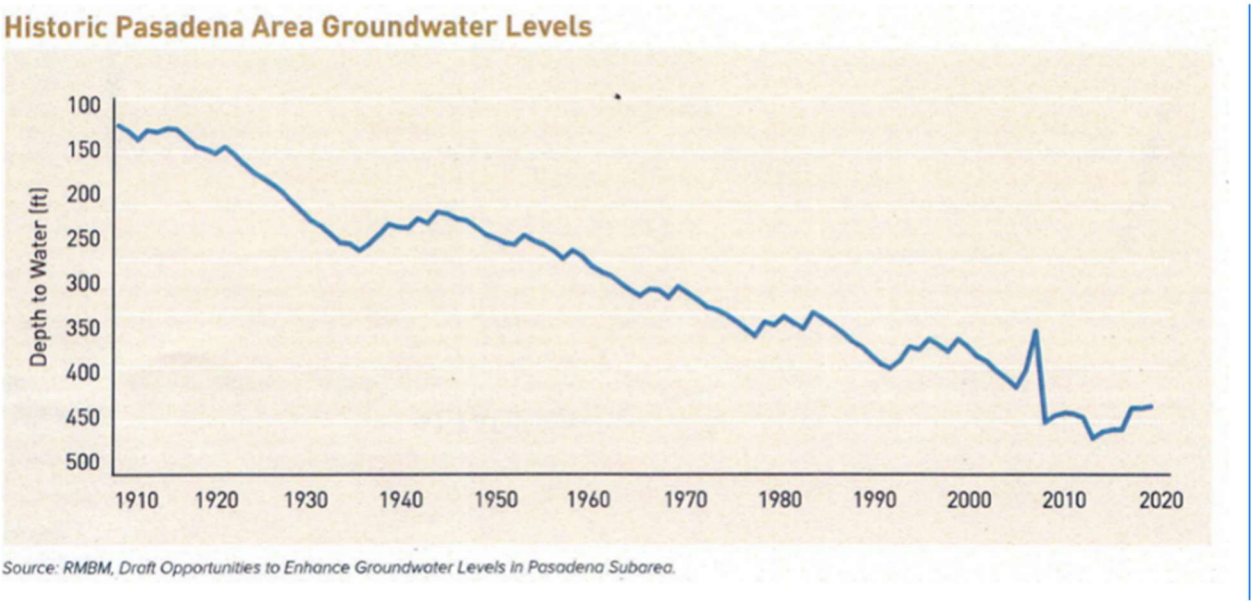

Figure 36. *Graph cited by Pasadena Water and Power showing declining groundwater levels (Woodard & Curran 2020)*

From the point of view of native plants and animals, the kaleidoscope of exotic species that make up the urban forest, while leafy green, also qualifies as a wasteland. The understory is so fragmented with roads and the overstory so pixelated with different species that it is hard for ecologists to discern any consistent relationships or principles at work. Rather than oaks supporting a bevy of edible insects, exotic trees are empty tables for bird life (Wood and Esaian 2020). For wildlife, the urban forest does not exactly constitute an invasion because it is chaotic and unorganized. The story is more of a disaster movie in which the aftermath is literally rooted in place. I think the best analogy for the urban forest is a carnival -- a circus, a world's fair, a kind of Star Wars Cantina of species rubbing shoulders against one another. Carnivals have a long tradition across cultures as a social safety valve. They turn established relationships upside down and inside out. They are fun, subversive, dangerous, and unpredictable. As a dance, there are no steps in this Carnival Forest, no particular style, every tree (and its owner) seems to be dancing to the beat of their own drum.

Restoring health and fertility: The Fisher King and Homecoming

In the future, the stakes for the outcome of this more-than-human story will continue to rise. Climate change will only intensify drought conditions in Southern California and forthcoming cuts in California's allotment of water from the Colorado River will result in drastically higher water bills for area residents (James 2024; Pineda 2022). An important role that dramaturgs fill in the theater is to ask questions and offer options for storytellers in search of an ending. With this in mind, this section leans into the narratives above to suggest some storied responses for the third act of the Arroyo's landscape.

The drawdown of the water table and the encasement of the Arroyo stream in a concrete coffin has made the once abundant Lower Arroyo a shell of the grand ecological marketplace that it once was. At the same time, many advocates have put forward the distant goal of returning steelhead trout to the River as a beacon to lead the Arroyo back toward health (Rivera 2021). These two facts call to mind the Arthurian legend of the Holy Grail and more specifically the many variants of the Fisher King. In most versions of this story, a challenger drives a lance through the loins of a young king who is not ready for the throne (Gonzalez 2017; Johnson 1993). With the source of his own fertility damaged, the land he represents becomes a wasteland, the once glorious kingdom, a place of disarray and death. The Grail, which was the cup Christ drank from at The Last Supper and that caught his blood as he was nailed to the cross, has the power to heal the king and the land but will only appear to those who are worthy. There are many versions of the Fisher King story, but the one that is most intriguing for the Arroyo tells of Percival, Arthur's most unrefined knight, who meets the injured king and has dinner in his castle. He sees the king suffering, but feels bound to the knight's code of silence and so fails to ask the question that will heal his wound. Percival falls into a deep sleep and

wakes the next morning to an empty castle. Percival suffers for seven years during his subsequent efforts to find the Grail. Finally, after Percival has learned humility, the Grail King and his castle appears to him again, and seeing the king in pain, he abandons the code and in a spontaneous act of compassion asks "What ails you Uncle?" The Grail then appears to him full of water, which the king drinks, healing himself and the land.

This picture of an area starved for food and water due to some transgression is a common story the world over.[34] Returning the rain and fertility to the land typically requires some form of sacrifice. The broader question that this story pattern points to is what are people willing to sacrifice as a means to restore abundance. Is this sacrifice material, social, or spiritual? Is it individual or is it necessarily collective? One interpretation of the Fisher King story is that Percival sacrifices during the seven years of physical trials he endures as he searches for the Grail. But other knights searching for the Grail went through similar trials. In the tale of the Fisher King, redemption comes not through righteous battles, grand achievement, or the slaying of dragons so common to the romance tradition in literature but through personal authenticity, humility, and spontaneous compassion for the suffering of others. Grafting this tale onto the Arroyo generates a series of questions. Who or what does the sick king represent within the Arroyo? What is the nature of the wound? Does the restoration of steelhead trout represent the Grail? In the legend, fishing, which has associations with the imagination and the unconscious, is the only activity that brings the king relief. Is this a clue to the spiritual importance for the community of rescuing the River from concrete? Notably, the Grail only

[34] Patrick Colm Hogan, in his book *The Mind and its Stories* (2003), argues that the sacrificial plot is fundamental to the human condition and is primarily about avoiding hunger. "Sacrificial plots often raise issues about the proper treatment of nature, which is bound up with divinity in these narratives. They touch on what we would now see as ecological questions regarding humanity's relation to the rest of the natural world. Specifically, they address the conflict between the human need to consume nature and the ethical imperative to respect or revere nature" (p. 199). Hogan added the sacrificial plot to his model after studying Ainu stories from 17th century Japan.

appears when Percival sacrifices his status by abandoning the knight's code and asking the king what ails him. Indeed, in some versions of the tale, the one who finds the Grail is not a knight at all but a fool. As noted in chapter 2, the narrative of Pasadena exceptionalism emphasizes status and rank. The question that this bit of landscape dramaturgy prompts for Pasadena then is "How can sacrificing one's attachment to status facilitate environmental restoration?" This is an example of how a dramaturgical approach can generate new and locally-specific ways to think about seemingly technical matters like stream restoration.

The metaphor of the Carnival Forest is also suggestive. Like the Fisher King, carnival stories also engage the unconscious realm by suspending social rules and exposing characters to experiences that are fantastic, dangerous, and strange (Bakhtin 1981). The character most comfortable in this world is the *picaro*, rogue, or trickster. These are the individuals who adapt to any situation, play the angles, and are allergic to attachments; they expose hypocrisy, satirize foolishness, and lob social commentary amid injustice. Specific to the Carnival Forest, these are characters who would gladly leverage the climate crisis to tell Pasadena some hard hydrological truths about the consequences of not appreciating the beauty of the native landscape, the planting of thirsty exotic trees such as eucalyptus and magnolia seemingly an appropriate target for their satiric barbs.

A more important point is that the carnival or circus eventually leaves town. To understand the Savanna Dance, you have to think in terms of centuries. And the same is true of the Carnival Forest. Just as the carnival will eventually move on, more expensive water will eventually transform the urban forest back to native, or at least drought tolerant, trees. In terms of a story, the key question is how this return to normal life, this homecoming, unfolds. Think about Dorothy returning from Oz or Alice waking up from her wonderland. What elements do

they retain from their adventure? What lessons can we learn from our time in the Carnival Forest? If characters from the carnival decide to stay behind, how do communities integrate them into local life? Extending this question of exotic trees, how can they become functional members of an ecological community? Science has a poor understanding of urban forests as forests. We don't know what tree species serve a functional purpose and which are merely decorative. We don't have a good understanding of food webs or nutrient flows. One of the people I spoke with for this research is Dr. Eric Wood at Cal State Los Angeles who is researching how native birds actually utilize the urban forest (Wood and Esaian 2020). He has found native birds do use certain exotic trees, such as the deodars and Chinese elms while leaving the rest alone. Could these trees find a place alongside oaks and sycamores as valued members of a novel ecological community? With climate change rapidly shifting the ecological context, the encouragement of novel but functional ecological communities might become a necessity. It is clear that reproducing the dynamics of the Savanna Dance will require re-establishing the flexible and responsive partnership with the more-than-human world of the pre-Mission era. This provides a strong rationale to compensate Gabrieleno/Tongva individuals and groups for their instruction and ecological knowledge. Figure 37 from the San Francisco Estuary Institute provides a concept for the process of re-oaking urban landscapes (Grossinger et al. 2008a). To maintain the Savanna Dance without fire would require a large pool of volunteer labor, but that is what this research hopes to inspire.



Figure 37. *A conceptual model from the San Francisco Estuary Institute for re-oaking urbanized landscapes (Grossinger et al. 2008b)*

Conclusion

What does it mean to perform the story of "the place where things come together"? Here are some practical takeaways. Before one thing can come together with something else, they both have to have their own identity. Each section of the Arroyo, each neighborhood, needs a better understanding of its own ecological identity, how that identity has changed over time, and how it fits into a larger puzzle of resilience and sustainability. This means more in-depth study of the historic landscape and contemporary urban ecology of each neighborhood, including opportunities to capture stormwater to replenish the Raymond Basin aquifer, and an assessment of the ecological function and water needs of each neighborhood's urban forest. Currently, the Pasadena Audubon Society is using Dr. Wood's research to advocate for ecology to play a greater role in the city's tree selection. Once different sections of the city have an established ecological identity, the boundaries between different areas deserve special study and more intensive management. The next step would be identifying and strengthening wildlife corridors at several scales for several species within the urban fabric. While all species are important, those like the steelhead trout that connect different habitats have a vital role to play in rebuilding a functional ecology. Finally, trying to grow anything and everything in local gardens needs to be the exception rather than rule, and urban environmental education that gives

the general public a greater appreciation of the genius of native plants and the impacts of climate change should be a priority.

The legend of the Fisher King and stories of homecoming are both about personal growth and making smarter, more mature choices that yield tangible benefits for one's own life and the community as a whole (Johnson 1993). And this is perhaps the best way to frame the forthcoming Act III of the city's ecological narrative. A positive ending is by no means assured but is possible if the community can learn from its past experience and present reality.

Native American experiences with the Arroyo

Introduction

> On Saturday morning, December 28, 1940, a symbolic and highly colorful special ceremony was staged in the Arroyo Seco. Chief Tahachwee of the Kawie Indians, whose ancestors lived in the Arroyo wilderness hundreds of years before the coming of Father Junipero Serra and his Franciscan Mission builders, smoked the 'pipe of peace' with State Director of Public Works Frank W. Clark and to the beating of tribal drums relinquished the rights of his people in the Arroyo and formally transferred the property to the State (Bozzani 1941).

This event in the days leading up to the opening of the Arroyo Seco Parkway is important because it encapsulates the attempt to erase Gabrieleno/Tongva people and their stories from the Arroyo's landscape. The Kawie Indians are a fictitious tribe. Chief Tahachwee's actual name was Jeff Davis Tahchee Cypert, an actor of Cherokee descent who had appeared in movies for decades (S.D. 2021).[35] The event demonstrates the public relations necessity of acknowledging Native Americans, the callous disregard of the State in perpetrating

[35] Cypert began working as an extra for the studios in 1920, appeared on stage at the Pasadena Playhouse in a 1927 production of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and from 1950 to 1953 appeared in local commercials for Rath's Meats. He was also one of the founders of the War Paint Club that organized Native American actors in Hollywood and advocated for honorable portrayals on Native American characters. The club eventually became part of the Indian Actors' Association (S.D. 2021).

this fiction, and the ignorance of the general public about actual history of Gabrieleno/Tongva people in the Los Angeles basin and the Arroyo.[36]



Figure 38. *State Director of Public Works Frank W. Clark smokes a peace pipe prior to the opening of the Arroyo Seco Parkway. The Native Americans in the photo are Hollywood actors representing a fictitious tribe. ("Symbolic smoking of the peace pipe" 1940. Courtesy of the Pasadena Public Library, Pasadena, California)*

The research I conducted on Native Americans relations with the Arroyo attempts to correct and counter this attitude and approach. At the core of this research are five conversations with Native people who have had a hand in land and water conservation in and around the Arroyo (see appendix 9). During these interviews, I asked about their conservation priorities, their experience with the Arroyo, what they would like the public to understand, and what kinds

[36] The *Los Angeles Times* reported on the ceremony the next day and did not question the event or the ceremony ("Peace Reigns in Freeway: Indians, Who Lived in Arroyo Seco Before Padres, Show Good Will" 1940).

of stories would be useful and support their work (see appendix 19 for a list of questions). I supplemented these interviews with oral histories and interviews from books and newspapers, secondary sources, and historic newspaper articles. I also looked at field notes referencing Pasadena from J.P. Harrington, a prominent anthropologist, who conducted many early 20th century interviews with Native peoples. Four priorities emerged from the five interviews I conducted: greater visibility for Gabrieleno/Tongva people and culture, more control over land and water resources, continued progress reconstructing Gabrieleno/Tongva culture and relationships with the land, and opportunities for Gabrieleno/Tongva to tell their own story. Below I talk about each in turn.

After discussing these priorities, I share the results from the application of tribalography to the information I gathered. As I described in the introduction, tribalography is an interpretive process advanced by Choctaw scholar, novelist, and playwright LeAnne Howe (Howe 1999, 2013, 2014). It facilitates a form of prospective storytelling that helps people move toward a future beyond settler colonialism. It does this by centering Native people and their stories and asking four essential questions (see figure 39). The first is "What stories do Native people need?" What stories would be useful in achieving their desired future? The second question is "What elements within existing Native stories, practices, and customs support the telling of these useful stories?" This involves reading traditional stories from the past for insight on the present and reinterpreting past myths and legends in light of present needs and circumstances. The third question is "What aspects of colonial thought do these useful stories work to counter?" This question can open up a productive dialogue between Native and settler societies, a conversation that should have started 250 years ago but is still possible today. The final question is "What are ways to embody these useful stories in the world, to bring them to life in

everyday practices, social rituals, and for placekeeping, the physical design of our neighborhoods and open spaces?" The overarching narrative that emerged for the Arroyo and that became the basis for answering these questions is a story I call the "quest for health and home."

1. What stories do Native people need? What stories would be useful in achieving their desired future?
2. What elements within Native culture support the telling of these useful stories?
3. What aspects of colonial thought do these useful stories work to counter? What opportunities for dialogue exist between Indigenous people and settlers?
4. How can we embody these useful stories in the world, to bring them to life in everyday practices, social rituals, and the physical design of our neighborhoods?

Figure 39. *Four essential questions for tribalography*

I preface the presentation of these results by stating that my heritage and identity have inescapably influenced my interpretation. Native people, especially Gabrieleno/Tongva individuals, likely would see other or additional patterns and processes at work. The power of tribalography is that it builds upon the shared humanity of storytelling. What I offer below is an invitation to a longer conversation that hopefully generates stories that everyone can respect and appreciate.

Four priorities

Analysis of the five personal interviews I conducted revealed the following four themes or priorities for the future (see appendix 9 for a list of the individuals I interviewed).

Greater visibility

Until recently, the City of Pasadena has facilitated the erasure of Gabrieleno/Tongva presence from Pasadena. This erasure began with the name of the city. The Midwestern settlers who founded the settlement intentionally sought a Native American name for their new community. But rather than choosing a Gabrieleno/Tongva name, they selected ″Pasadena″ because it was the word for ″valley″ in Anishinaabe, a large and powerful nation in the Upper Midwest (Reid and McClatchie 1895). For most of the 20th century Pasadena went along with the 1925 declaration of prominent anthropologist Alfred Kroeber that Gabrieleno culture was extinct (Singleton 2004). In addition to the 1940 fiasco at the opening of the Parkway, the Tournament of Roses named a descendant of Christopher Columbus to be the Grand Marshall of the 1992 Rose Parade in celebration of the 500-year anniversary of his ″discovery″ of America. Responding to protests, the Tournament invited Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell (Southern Ute), the highest-ranking Native American in government at the time to also be a grand marshal rather than a person of Gabrieleno/Tongva descent.[37] Native Americans were also excluded from the ethnic history profiles that the City commissioned in 1995 (Anderson 1995). And Pasadena′s General Plan update from 2014 says the nearest Native settlement was Ochuunca, near present-day El Sereno (Harvey, Richards, and Gust 2014).[38]

[37] Protests on the day of the parade by the Gabrielino-Shoshone Nation of Southern California and others led to the deployment of officers in riot gear to protect a float of the Nina, Pinta, and Santa Maria along the route, visually re-enacting a scene from 1492 (Clifford and Weinstein 1992; Kazmin 1992). Chief Anthony Morales of the Gabrieleno San Gabriel Band of Mission Indians rode on the City of San Gabriel′s float in 2013 (Gold 2012).

[38] This report leans on the work of J.P. Harrington, an anthropologist who researched the Gabrieleno/Tongva presence during visits to Los Angeles between 1914 and 1933. One of his guides said that there were no Native Americans living in Pasadena during “Indian times.” This might have been true in upland areas without water but not along the Arroyo (McCawley 1996).

Evidence of a Gabrieleno/Tongva imprint on the Arroyo′s landscape, however, is diverse and abundant, including eleven locations along Pasadena′s portion of the Arroyo where settlers unearthed Native artifacts (see appendix 20). The most significant of these excavations occurred at Sheldon Reservoir, where in 1937 archaeologist Edwin Walker directed the removal of the remains of 53 individuals and a large cache of cultural material to the Southwest Museum (Walker 1952). A study of the San Gabriel Mission registries suggests the existence of at least two pre-Mission Native American village sites in the Pasadena area (Northwest Economic Associates and King 2004). I review the evidence for these Pasadena village sites in appendix 21. During historic times, oral tradition describes the Arroyo as the site of a running battle between Mexican troops and Natives conscripted to defend the Mission San Gabriel, eventually resulting in a brutal massacre in Las Flores Canyon at the top of Lake Avenue (Mosher 1895).[39] As noted in chapter 2, there was also a Native settlement or *rancheria* that Pasadena settlers called Indian Flat in the Central Arroyo west of Rose Bowl until the 1890s (Linda Vista History Book Committee 1988; Reid and McClatchie 1895). Wallace Cleaves, president of the Tongva Taraxat Paxaavxa Conservancy (TTPC), suggests that achieving greater visibility along the Arroyo would mean starting the story of the canyon with Gabrieleno/Tongva people.

> The most important thing is to make sure that any place that is a park, that is a place with any history of the place being displayed, it starts with us. It has to, and so that we′re acknowledged in that and then represented in that, at least some Tongva group or organization is represented there. So, that′s the important thing....Again, in the late ′80s and early ′90s, our biggest struggle was making people aware that we still existed because so many history books said we didn′t. – 8/8/22

[39] In addition to oral tradition, an account in an 1895 article in the *Los Angeles Times* describes the perpetrators of this massacre as troops sent by the Mexican Governor of California to confiscate the lands of the San Gabriel Mission after secularization. This would have taken place between 1826 and 1834. Some of the dates and details in the article do not match the historical record. But if this or something like it occurred, it would be a very significant event in the history of the Arroyo and the San Gabriel Valley as a whole (Mosher 1895).

This history makes the City′s naming of the portion of the Arroyo north of Devil′s Gate Dam ″Hahamongna Watershed Park″ in 1993 all the more significant and provides a starting place to correct these past errors and omissions.

More control over land and water

The second priority emerging from my interviews is more control over the land and water resources that Gabrieleno/Tongva groups managed prior to the Mission era. Across the country, the ″land back″ movement is gaining momentum with the return of the two parcels noted in chapter 2. In the master plan for Hahamongna Watershed Park, the city identified showcasing Native American culture as one of four themes that should guide park management (City of Pasadena 2003). This provides the foundation for well-thought-out agreements with specific tribal groups or land conservancies to co-manage the natural resources and restoration efforts at the park.[40] Cleaves told me an important focus for his group is protecting and caring for oaks, which are central to Gabrieleno/Tongva culture, and discouraging the illegal harvesting of white sage, which has decimated populations of local plants.

Many of the people I spoke with stressed how important having direct access to natural spaces, especially places with water, is for the mental health and wellness of Native people. Kat High (Hupa descendant) served as program coordinator for Haramokngna American Indian Cultural Center, which sits at the top of the Arroyo Seco along the Angeles Crest Highway.

> I think there′s a huge need to connect mental health with time in nature. We′re trying to establish a network of dynamic balance. A lot of Native people have been uprooted. Working with the Arroyo could be a way to sink their roots in and feel connected, that you′re part of it, and you can take care of it. There needs

[40] In 2023, the Gabrieleno San Gabriel Band of Mission Indians approached the City of Glendale with a similar proposal for the management of parkland in Verdugo Wash (Rich Toyon, 7/28/2023, personal communication).

> to be reciprocity, a give and take. We have to make sure we′re only going forward with a good heart and that we give thanks. We need to cultivate our sense of belonging. Most people in L.A. are uprooted and seeking a connection. We need people to take ownership and partnership, to get the message that ″You belong. This is part of you.″ Planting your own [native plant] garden is one way for people to put down roots. It can strengthen and nourish your sense of commitment to a place. -5/9/22

This statement parallels the emphasis on belonging within creative placekeeping. One of the ways to facilitate this direct connection is to put Gabrieleno/Tongva knowledge and concerns at the center of management of rivers and streams like the Arroyo. AnMarie Mendoza (Tongva) is a water advocate, filmmaker, board member of the TTPC and a Ph.D. student in the UCLA Urban Planning Department. She is currently exploring what this would look like for the Los Angeles River.

> My community has never been asked these things before. And we weren′t given that time to be given that imagination because we′re such an afterthought, and people want to just tokenize our involvement a lot of times. So, it does take time to un-tokenize what our ideas could be. It involves teaching on my part; it involves listening on my part; it involves trying things that have never been done before. So, that′s where my triumph would be. And getting my community members to engage with that righteous rage that we should have because we shouldn′t be afterthoughts. We should be mad that we′re put to the side and tokenized and asked to open events, but then after the event is started, then we′re nowhere to be seen, or we′re not even engaged with the political aspect. Our sovereignty is totally ignored. So, for me, it′s just getting everyone on the same page and making sure that we′re all mad because that′s what it′s going to take. – 8/26/22

Involvement of TTPC in planning for the Climate Resilience Environmental Education Center (CREEC) project in Hahamongna Watershed Park is one step toward this type of long-term collaboration.

Reconstruction of cultural heritage

The third priority from the interviews is the recovery of knowledge about Gabrieleno/Tongva culture. The people I spoke with stressed that the stories of their people′s resiliency, their battles for recognition, their righteous anger and warrior traditions, are the stories that need telling. Nathan Nuñez (Japchivit lineal descendant) is a field instructor for Outward Bound Adventures.

> That fighting spirit never disappeared. It just came in a new form. The word in our culture for warrior is ″mahe″ It meant you were a warrior for your people. And in the original sense it meant you put your life on your line for your people. You would actually fight and die potentially. Nowadays, it looks a little different. We′re advocating for our people in spaces like universities or in certain conservancy areas or out there at the political level. Or we′re advocating not just for the cultural aspects but for our own mental health, for our own physical health, for the health of our people and what that looks like. So, the warrior word is super important for our culture because it encapsulates so much in that fighting spirit to stay alive and stay visible. And if that′s taken away and that truth is not being told, how can we stay visible, how can we say that we kept ourselves alive during every possible circumstance that should have prevented us from being here today. – 8/17/22

The interviews, along with the other sources, make clear that the recovery and sharing of Native culture with Native youth is central to Native identity in Los Angeles. The people I spoke with pointed me to elders who had recently passed, such as Barbara Drake and Julia Bogany, both of whom invested enormous time and energy to pass on cultural knowledge to younger generations. Cleaves said Drake′s impact was widely felt:

> And she taught generations of us and other people how we interacted with the plants and what we knew about the plants and preserved that in the memory of our people and people who are interested in Native culture and people who are just interested in botany and biology and did that for decades and decades and decades. -- 8/8/22

Cleaves said that Drake was the one who tasked him with working for the Conservancy because they needed a place for ceremony and to care for their animal and plant ancestors.

Another aspect of cultural renewal is the revitalization of ways in which Gabrieleno/Tongva groups cared for these ancestors along with rivers and mountains. I have tried to make my research on the historical ecology of Pasadena relevant to these efforts. Appendix 22, for example, shows maps that to some degree reconstruct what native management looked and felt like along the Arroyo.[41]

Opportunities to tell their own story

The fourth priority emphasized by the people I spoke with was the opportunity for Native people to tell their own story. In most histories of Pasadena, the bias toward the written record results in authors condensing thousands of years of Native presence on the landscape into only a few paragraphs that serves to introduce a larger narrative of progress. The most notable local example is the story of the Cathedral Oak that stood on the rim of the Arroyo in South Pasadena. Early settlers fashioned an elaborate legend around this tree. The legend described how the first Spanish expedition to California, returning south from Monterey, got lost and stumbled upon a village at this site where Chief Hahamovic welcomed them with food and smoked a peace pipe with Captain Portola, the leader of the expedition. The legend continues that on a return trip Father Crespi conducted the first Easter Mass in California at the site. Thus inspired, Hahamovic traveled to the site of the Old Mission and was baptized with the name "Pascual." Beyond a photo of a cross carved in the trunk of the tree, there is no evidence for these events. The Daughters of the American Revolution, however, marked the location with a

[41] Similar work is underway by researchers for the Los Angeles Landscape History Project for six of the larger village sites across Los Angeles. Of particular interest for the Arroyo are ways in which Southern California tribes managed inland wetlands and fisheries and encouraged the replenishment of the water table.

monument that still stands today as the only instance of ″placekeeping″ related to Native people in the Pasadena area, even though the monument itself fails to mention their presence.



Figure 40. *The Cathedral Oak at the border of Pasadena and South Pasadena and the monument erected after the oak fell (Pierce n.d., photCL Pierce 05972, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA)*

Mendoza says this tendency to segregate recognition of Native people into a prologue of official storytelling applies to planning documents for the Los Angeles River.

> I don′t want to be a stoic Native that is just looking at the River and telling you I love the River. No, I′m fighting for the River. I′m mad that these systems are in place, and these systems are the same ones that get to tell me whether or not I have the first ten pages of a master plan that doesn′t follow that value system, that just tips a hat toward Native people. ″Sucks that you′re dispossessed and now let′s talk about how we′re going to further damage the River.″ We′re living in such a contradiction that we don′t get to call those things out. – 8/26/22

Rich Toyon (Acjachemem) serves on the board of the Arroyos & Foothills Conservancy:

> Having us tell our own stories is vital. Native people need to feel their stories are vital and necessary. People want to know that all those years preserving the culture and telling our stories had a reason behind them. Having those stories accepted and embraced is a huge validation. - 4/4/22

Based upon my research, Gabrieleno/Tongva stories would have an audience. Many of non-Native individuals I interviewed brought up the importance of listening to Gabrieleno/Tongva voices, recognizing their expertise, and forming partnerships for the future. As noted in chapter 2, the consistency of this unprompted response made a strong impression.

Quest for health and home

Both erasing and re-writing Native stories was integral to the genocide of Native Californians, and so listening to Native stories, and the people who tell them, is essential to steering the Arroyo′s communities toward sustainability and justice. But which stories are most important? The conversations I had and the oral histories and interviews I read contained all kinds: positive stories of advocacy and cultural renewal; negative stories of personal struggle, discrimination, and abuse; and personal stories of family relationships and connecting with the landscape. Cleaves urged me to stay anchored in the present:

> It′s so hard because there is this essentializing of the Native as something that′s past, so telling the stories of the people that are struggling to try to bring back their sleeping language, to re-matriate their lands, to bring back their culture as much as possible. So, I think yeah, those are the stories that need to be told, the people who are working on it now. Those are the important ones, not necessarily the stories of the past but those who are working on it in the present. – 8/8/22

The first question to do a tribalography is what stories do Native people need? What stories would be useful in achieving their desired future? (Doerfler 2014). The answers I received from the individuals I spoke with varied (see figure 41).

Native individuals I spoke with said useful stories would...

Nourish our capacity for imagination

Connect us to the landscape

Speak about community and interdependence

Tell about the leaders who have helped us recover our culture

Highlight our resistance of colonization

Show how sophisticated and complex our culture was

Get us all on the same page to fight for our values

Move us toward our rightful leadership role in planning and governance

Figure 41. *The stories that would be most useful for Native people*

Each of the stories in figure 41 could form the basis of a tribalography. But as a dramaturg, I wanted to find a common thread to tie them together and sought patterns in the narrative elements present in the data: typical plots, characters and relationships, settings, tone, metaphors and distinctive language. From this assemblage of elements, a shared meta-narrative among the modern leaders that Cleaves refers to above began to emerge, one that represents a quest for health, home, wholeness, and unity that takes place across the landscape of 21st century Los Angeles. In the rest of this section, I provide a brief description to allow for comparison with the other narratives from the research. Appendix 23 provides a more robust description of this story, its tribalography, and the implications for the Arroyo.

To understand this story, it is helpful to examine its narrative elements. In terms of the story type or *genre*, it is a quest, one that involves a search for health and home at both an individual and collective level. It is also generational, a quest that began with figures like Nicolás José and Toypurina, who led revolts against the Mission San Gabriel, and that future

generations will carry forward. The quest is political but also spiritual and like all quests is ultimately a story of self-discovery (Tobias 2012). The *settings* that form the backdrop for the stories I reviewed were often small-scale intimate places, often in the natural world, that can facilitate revelation. The settings can also include dreamscapes and visions from a mythic past, as quests often defy the rules of normal space and time. While quest *plots* involve travel and pursuit, they are more fundamentally about searching and typically take the form of a mystery, a puzzle that an individual or group must piece together while overcoming various obstacles. For Gabrieleno/Tongva these obstacles include capitalist exploitation and its messages of scarcity, the distractions and demands of modern life, differences between settler and Indigenous worldviews, and the physical transformation of their homeland, which suggests the quest involves the discovery of a new synthesis of past and present practices rather than simply a return to the old ways. If this interpretation is correct, if this quest for health and home is an animating force for Gabrieleno/Tongva, useful stories are those that aid the quest and help in avoiding or overcoming these various obstacles.

The second step in tribalography is asking what elements within Native culture can help with this task. And in putting Gabrieleno/Tongva myths and legends alongside modern history, there are several. For example, Cleaves pointed out how the sacrifice that current advocates make for their descendants finds support in the myth of how the first people transformed themselves into plants and animals so future generations could survive. Stories also tell how Chengiichngech, an important creator god for Gabrieleno/Tongva, went through his own process of spiritual discovery to become a powerful deity. There is the myth of the race between the river and the coyote that underscores the importance of endurance and taking a long-term view. Appendix 23 describes more of these cultural connections.

The third question within this tribalography is identifying what aspects of colonial thought the quest for health and home works to counter for both Gabrieleno/Tongva and settlers. Many settlers came to the Los Angeles area, and Pasadena in particular, also searching for health and home. How they conducted this search proved destructive of Native people and the land, but this point of connection provides a place to start a dialogue about what health and home mean. One of the greatest challenges for Gabrieleno/Tongva people in this quest is the meaning of having a mixed ethnic heritage. This is something that many settlers face as well. The obstacles in the quest related to capitalism and notions of scarcity can also prompt discussion of the economic future of Los Angeles and how we treat the land, water, and other species. A final aspect of colonialism that this narrative can challenge is the idea that Gabrieleno/Tongva children are born into tragedy. Cleaves describes how to reframe this idea to highlight his people′s resilience.

> So often, the stories that are represented of our communities are stories of tragedy, and that′s totally understandable to some extent because there is so much tragedy there and so much generational trauma that does need to be dealt with and acknowledged. But I think the stories that need to be told are these stories of triumph. Okay, we didn′t get federal recognition. Yeah, but we did get state recognition. We do have a generation of Tongva who are learning their language, who are learning their culture, who are participating in ceremony from an increasingly young age, who are aware of their Tongva heritage and are proud of their Tongva heritage. Tongva heritage is now something we have to worry about people appropriating rather than having to hide because it was dangerous...Those uplifting stories that aren′t just about trauma, like I said, Barbara Drake′s story, the story of people who kept their culture going and brought people together and managed to do it right and do it beautifully...We′ve had people who have done amazing stuff and they need to be remembered. Those are the stories that need to be told. - 8/8/22

The quest for health and home provides a platform to challenge and reframe life in Southern California for everyone.

But this depends not just on telling the story but living it, which is the necessary fourth step to complete a tribalography. And the actions this story point to parallel many of the recommendations from research on the Arroyo's ecology. Restoring trout, for example, takes on greater importance as their homecoming up the Arroyo to the mountain streams where they hatched would provide a living metaphor of the quest for home. Since water, oaks, and native plants like white sage are central to a Gabrieleno/Tongva sense of health, restoring habitat and replenishing the aquifer are also part of the quest. The importance of intergenerational connection points to managing Arroyo lands to facilitate families′ ability to connect with the natural world.

While the quest for health and home is a narrative that Native and Indigenous people share across the world, the Gabrieleno/Tongva version of the story serves to reframe and deepen the meaning of the four specific priorities I list above and provides a direction for placekeeping in the Arroyo, a direction I revisit in chapter 7 after describing the other stories of sustainability and justice uncovered by the research.

Arts, culture, and creative placekeeping in Pasadena

Introduction

Understanding the history and dynamics within the local arts and culture sector is essential for the design and implication any creative placekeeping initiative, if for no other reason than to find allies and partners, avoid duplication, and stave off unintended competition for resources. But the arts and culture sector is also a good place to discover distillations of what it means to live in a particular community since it typically speaks its truth in image and narrative. The arts and culture sector also often overlaps with groups devoted to preserving and

presenting heritage and local history, which plays a crucial role embedding narratives in local consciousness. Exploration of the arts and culture sector also connects placekeepers to folklife and craft traditions that often have an emergent connection to a particular landscape and geography.

All of this is true of arts and culture in Pasadena, which has several notes of distinction. Gabrieleno/Tongva basketweaving was perhaps the Arroyo's first recognized art form, with baskets widely admired for their beauty (Chavez 2019). After colonization, Pasadena and the Arroyo became the center of both the Arts and Crafts movement in California and the practice of plein-air painting that took hold at the start of the 20th century. Pasadena's position as one of the wealthiest communities in the country meant that the formal arts also have a long history in the city. Pasadena had the state's first free public library, first museum of modern art, and first arts council (City of Pasadena Arts Commission et al. 2005). Today, Pasadena boasts a robust set of arts and cultural institutions, from the designated state theater, the Pasadena Playhouse; to the Norton Simon Art Gallery and the Art Center College of Design, located on either side of Arroyo; to the Rose Parade, which supports its own craft industry of floral design and float construction. Pasadena Heritage was also a pioneer in the local preservation movement when it began in 1977 and today runs one of the largest preservation programs in the state.

As with most places, however, the individuals and organizations working in a more participatory way to make art with neighborhood residents are not as well-known. These are the groups that I sought out to better understand the creative placekeeping work already happening in the city. I conducted twelve interviews with representatives of ten organizations (see appendix 9 for a list of organizations). Beyond the questions I asked people as community experts (see appendix 10), I also asked the following:

- What is the story of your organization?
- What is the story of community arts in Pasadena?[42]
- What is the position of community arts in Pasadena?
- What questions do you have about doing this kind of work in Pasadena?
- What would strengthen community arts and local folklife in Pasadena?
- What change would represent a setback?

I catalogued and compared the answers to these questions. But it was the narrative study of people's responses, combined with a review of City of Pasadena's 2005 Cultural Nexus report, that helped me to identify three interlinked genres—Cinderella, the Party, and Fish-out-of-Water-- that I believe capture the experience of these community-based arts organizations in Pasadena (City of Pasadena Arts Commission et al. 2005).

Community-based arts in Pasadena

While two decades old, the 2005 report *Cultural Nexus: An Action Plan for the Cultural Sector in Pasadena*, provides a helpful snapshot of the arts and cultural ecosystem for the City of Pasadena. The report calls out arts and cultural opportunities, organizations, and institutions as one of the city's strengths. At the time of the report, Pasadena had ten times the county average for cultural organizations and twice the number of large-budget institutions. The report also measured the economic contribution of these non-profits as four to six times that of cities of comparable size. Despite this, the city spends far less in direct funding on arts and cultural activities per capita than comparable cities across the nation. The report recommended a five-

[42] I discovered that many organizations think about themselves as "community arts" organizations because they work with the schools or work in some way to make their work accessible to the community. This often initiated a productive dialogue about different levels of collaboration with the community that allowed the interviews to move past confusion over terms.

fold increase in the city's budget allocation (City of Pasadena Arts Commission et al. 2005). More telling perhaps is that the city did not fund the implementation of the Cultural Nexus plan that it commissioned. This has left the Cultural Affairs office to chip away at the action items as best it can. There was a feeling among the organizations that I spoke with that anything that boosts the recognition of arts and culture within the city, especially by elected officials, would be helpful.

The city's Cultural Affairs office does administer a much-appreciated small grant program and facilitates a popular ArtNight festival twice a year. But what has allowed the sector as a whole to remain strong despite limited investment from the city government has been a robust local network of donors. Rochelle Branch, Pasadena's Cultural Affairs Manager, told me that Pasadena organizations are much more reliant on individual giving than in other cities. This is a tremendous asset, but a donor-based system often relies on personal networks that not everyone has access to.

Besides funding, the organizations that I spoke with were also concerned with affordable housing and the displacement of artists, arts organizations, and their audiences. This concern has roots in the construction of the 210 Freeway and the redevelopment of Old Pasadena in the 1970s that displaced Pasadena's artists, forcing many of them to move to Northwest Pasadena.

A turning point within the sector was the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978, which led to cuts in the school art programs. In response, arts organizations worked with the school district and the city to develop award-winning partnerships to fill gaps in the district's offerings. Over time, the district has been able to build back some of its arts capacity, but the partnerships remain vibrant, with different organizations sharing their special talents and providing a means for individual artists to work with students. Leslie Ito, the executive director of the Armory

Center for the Arts, said these art programs were responsible for her own career as an arts administrator

> I think it's such a special place for the arts. If it weren't for PUSD's strong arts program, I probably wouldn't be sitting here doing this work. I went to San Rafael Elementary School from '79 to '85, and there in elementary school, I sang in the choir and played a district cello and was doing arts integration with arts and science before it was even a thing. When I see Ramon Cortinez around town, I always thank him because I think it was his vision as a superintendent that set that path. The ecosystem of the arts in Pasadena is so strong, and I think it takes that entire ecosystem to make this an arts city. – 5/2/22

While art education is a strength, the overwhelming focus on the schools has meant that partnerships with other sectors responsible for community development are not as familiar to local arts organizations or donors. Appendix 24 contains a timeline for Pasadena's arts and cultural activities related to creative placekeeping and the Arroyo, and appendix 25 describes creative placekeeping activities that I discovered have taken place in Pasadena and their relationship to the challenges that the field as a whole is grappling with. Strong attendance at the creative placekeeping workshop that I hosted as part of this project suggests that there is an interest in and an audience for this type of work in the city. My interviews revealed a story pattern for community-based arts organizations of courageous visionaries going through a process of figuring out where they fit in and finding allies that allow them to be resilient and slowly build their program. Hilary Thomas shared her experience founding Lineage Dance Company, which does work based on community stories.

> I often describe it as a snowball effect that started with this tiny, one-time idea, and so many people from the community started folding into the mix and offering support, creativity, energy, love, and enthusiasm for what we are doing. These were people who were artists and community members and members of various non-profits and people related to issues that we were telling the stories of. And this little tiny snowball has just become this huge thing. – 4/15/22

The individuals I spoke with said, in addition to more funding and help finding affordable spaces to live and work, strengthening community-based arts in Pasadena is a matter of focused advocacy, improved communication, and more collaboration between arts organizations.[43] Some also felt it would be exciting to have more engagement with the Arroyo as a venue for performances. Appendix 26 reviews Pasadena's history of artmaking about, in, and with the Arroyo. But perhaps the greatest barrier to these organizations fulfilling their visions for social justice and community empowerment comes from ongoing segregation in the arts and culture ecosystem. The *Cultural Nexus* report from 2005 mentioned these inequities:

> Many of those involved in Cultural Nexus voiced frustration at a perceived unequal valuing of certain forms of artistic experience and community arts organizations, particularly those that are ethnically specific or that serve certain areas of the city. Many discussions during the planning process centered on a desire for the city to improve its recognition and support of these expressions of culture and celebration. (City of Pasadena Arts Commission et al. 2005, 32)

Almost 20 years later, several people felt these same dynamics were present. Given the depth and breadth of the efforts to maintain White supremacy within Pasadena during the 20th century, this finding is not surprising. Today, the recent emphasis on diversity, equity, and inclusion across society is leading many of Pasadena's arts and culture institutions to ask how they can ensure their programs are relevant and meaningful to everyone in the community. One step several people mentioned would be recognizing the value of non-formal and culturally-specific art forms to the creative life of a community. Leslie Ito provided examples:

> I think there's a lot more happening that we have yet to call out as part of the ecosystem, and they don't even see themselves as part of the ecosystem. I'm thinking about the taiko group that practices at the Buddhist temple. I don't think that's recognized yet as being part of the ecosystem. The church choirs, oh my gosh, they need to be part of this ecosystem as well. The murals that are painted,

[43] Pasadena is fortunate to have a regular forum for arts and cultural organizations to talk. The Arts and Culture Leaders of Pasadena meets regularly to exchange information, offer mutual support, and solve common problems.

> so I think thinking about it more broadly in terms of creativity is the next step. – 5/2/22

These issues are front-of-mind for Pasadena's community-based arts organizations. The premise of this research is that a narrative approach to these issues can generate new perspectives and new questions that can move past what seem like perpetual obstacles. The next section presents three stories that, together, might offer some insight and ideas for moving forward.

Three Stories

Cinderella

With more than 700 versions and a genealogy stretching back to ninth-century China, the tale of Cinderella has widespread cultural currency and continues to inspire revisions to fit specific contexts (Bottigheimer 2016; Crowley and Pennington 2010; Parsons 2004; Williams 2010). Despite her role as the poster child for the passive female rescued by the prince on the white horse, some scholars have noted Cinderella, at least in the version from the Brothers Grimm, is more determined and resourceful than other fairy tale princesses, her primary goal being to attend the party at the castle, with the prince, who she runs away from three times, being an ancillary concern (Parsons 2004; Williams 2010).

Parallels to Cinderella, as the unwanted stepchild clearly demonstrating her value to the family but not receiving any validation or recognition, appear in Pasadena's arts and culture sector. For the sector as a whole, there is the unrecognized contribution that the sector makes to the economy and civic life; the ability of arts organizations to weave magic from scant resources; and its role in schools often seen simply as a creative way to teach other subjects. Specifically for community-based arts organizations, the parallels include the necessity of making due with

inadequate, leftover, out-of-the-way spaces in the same way the future princess sleeps in the ashes by the fire with her broom. Side Street Projects is a "mobile, artist-run organization that supports artists, projects, and programs to foster leadership through socially engaged art and a DIY (Do it yourself) & DIT (Do it together) ethos" (Side Street Projects 2024). Side Street currently works out of trailers and storage containers on the Muir High School campus, but in 2015 they were the lead partner with the City of Pasadena on *My Pasadena*, a creative placekeeping project funded by the NEA's *Our Town* program. The project focused on making communities of color north of the 210 Freeway more comfortable coming to City Hall. Side Street coordinated the participation of twelve different artists and arts organizations to pull off monthly events and performances. Emily Hopkins, Side Street's director, also co-coordinates the Arts and Culture Leaders of Pasadena. In the context of Cinderella, this quote from my interview with her is striking:

> We always joke that we're the janitors of the art world because we go around in the background and clean stuff up and do all the grunt work. I'm a community organizer, and so Brian from Lineage and I organize the arts leaders. We're just like a connector. If someone comes to us with something and it's not our thing, we'll help them get to the right people. – 5/6/22

In Pasadena, the Cinderella pattern appears most strongly in the story of how the Pasadena Art Workshops became the Armory Center for the Arts. The program began in 1947 as the Junior Museum in the north wing of the top floor of the Pasadena Art Institute, then located in the Grace Nicholson Building, which today is the USC Pacific Asia Museum. Run by the Junior League, the museum ran one of the first progressive art education programs in the country and eventually moved with the Pasadena Art Museum to its new location at the corner of Orange Grove and Colorado Boulevard in late 1969.

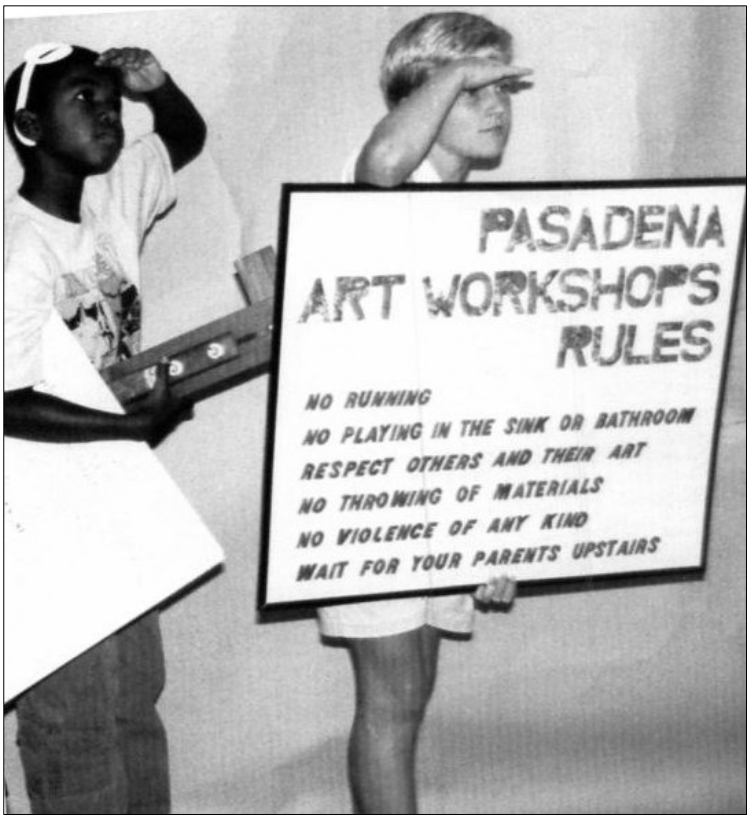

Figure 42. *Rules for Pasadena Art Workshops in 1985 ("Rules" 1985 in Register 1997)*

Participating parents and their children respected and loved the program (Register 1997). But in 1974 when industrialist Norton Simon took over the Pasadena Museum of Modern Art in a marriage necessitated by financial trouble, the Workshops became the unwanted stepchild and had to scramble to find a new home. From here, Elisa Callow, the former executive director, picks up the story:

> But Pasadena Art Workshops had some very determined leaders, especially Susan Caldwell and Jane Olson. And they moved into the old Lincoln School Building and started painting the walls and setting up space in the cafeteria, and it was an enormous lift. But they were really strong on their conceptual pedagogy. Debra Brewer was the director, and she was very committed to engaging the local community many of whom were kids of color and kids in poverty and that added another layer to the essence of what the program was about. It really started to engage deeply with issues of community development and think about access. Debra felt strongly about hiring artists from the local community. They were ladies on the run holding up the program. – 7/1/22

Seven years later the school was demolished to make way for a post office, and the Workshops had to move again. This time they settled into the gymnasium above McKinley School in the central part of the city. While Cinderella had to pick lentils out of the fire, the Workshops' volunteers had to clean up hundreds of smelly tennis shoes, socks, and tee-shirts left behind in the gym (Register 1997).

In 1983, with the organization's board allowing artists to use office space in lieu of pay, they hired 24-year-old Elisa Callow as the director.

> I quickly discovered that they were in a real financial pickle and were going to close pretty quickly if they didn't figure something out...My father was head of the county parks, and I came home one day and asked him what it meant to have a lien on the organization's bank account because the organization owed the IRS the employee taxes. And he said that I should bring home every file in the office, and he and I did, and we pored over every receipt to try to get the financials figured out. We worked for weeks with a volunteer accountant, Henry Fauvre, father-in-law of Joan Fauvre, a long-time board member. And I remember him just drawing a red line across the ledger and saying "Let's just start over." I was too young to be afraid. So, we decided to get a loan to pay off the IRS because their interest payments were impossible. And half the board quit and the other half stayed and put their names down for the loan. − 7/1/22

At that point, donors did their best fairy godmother impersonation, providing the funds to keep the doors open and eventually helping with the move to Old Pasadena on Raymond Avenue in 1989. Callow continued:

> I give credit to Bill Reynolds who saw the redevelopment of Old Pasadena and recognized the need for something cultural to pull people into the area. And so, we took over the Armory Building that was being used by a badminton club. It was the marching ground for the national guard at one point. -7/1/22

And while the Armory Building is not exactly a castle, it serves a similar function. Even here, however, Callow′s description shows that Cinderella had to break out her broom.

There were birds flying around the rafters when we looked at it, and the floors were covered in some kind of goo. But we felt we could work with it. - 7/1/22.



Figure 43. *Armory Center for the Arts before and after renovation ("Armory Center for the Arts then" ca1985 in Register 1997). Top photo shows the Armory in the 1980s. Today the Armory is central to Pasadena's creative capacity ("Armory Center for the Arts" 2023)*

The Party

The point in Callow's story where Henry Fauvre, her volunteer accountant, drew a red line across the ledger and says "Let's just start over" is where I think the Cinderella story ends and a new narrative takes over, both for the Armory and, I would argue, for the sector as a whole. I'll call this story simply, The Party.

Here you have to ask what would happen to Cinderella without the prince and his palace? It is probable she would either get thrown out of the house or decide to run away, making her own home in the forest with her furry and feathered friends, finding an abandoned hovel or cottage where she could unleash her mad cleaning skills. We also know she dreams of palatial parties, so she would likely do her best to host makeshift balls of her own where those in tattered clothes would always be welcome.

In my conversations with community-based arts organizations, there were several stories of memorable parties, from Jirayr Zorthian's all-night revelries at his art ranch in Altadena to dancing with Duchamp at the Green Hotel to the Mindful Moves dance parties at Lineage to the Art Night celebration at Alkebu-lan Cultural Center. Exhibitions and performances are all essentially parties while the theater workshops that groups like ImaginAction and the Tayer Performance Collective facilitate are infused with games and a spirit of play. A mature Cinderella, with or without a spouse, would likely grow into the beloved hostess, the mother who nurtures a sense of collective, creative abundance and promotes a good time gathering for all. And you see this in the Armory's history of sharing their space with a number of smaller arts organizations over the years.

Party narratives all start on a high note and then something happens to turn things upside down. From here, the dramatic question is whether the collection of characters can figure out how to restore the celebration. Success typically comes from embracing the disruption and

everyone gaining a bit of wisdom. Failure stems from a lack of flexibility and resolutely ignoring the problem. Most of these stories are comedies because, in the end, we feel the party must go on, and the hosts, with help from the guests, find a way to work things out. This narrative brings me back to a conversation I had in 2016 with Roberto Bedoya. He said it is important to remember that well-meaning arts organizations, foundations, and people of means are always guests when working with communities. Too often, however, these groups insist on being hosts, which provides the security of being in control but ultimately defeats the stated goals of empowerment and agency that are fundamental to this work. This speaks to issues of equity highlighted in the *Cultural Nexus* report and the interviews I completed this summer, and it connects to the third story I feel can be a useful guide for the sector.

Fish-out-of-water

Whether someone lives north or south of the freeway in Pasadena, being a guest at a party full of strangers causes people to feel like a fish-out-of-water. Fish-out-of-water stories require the protagonist to adapt to an unfamiliar world. These stories typically involve mistakes based on lack of knowledge, some successes, a big failure, and, hopefully, a victory that demonstrates everything the main character has learned and how their triumph adds meaning to the lives of everyone in the story.

This suggests that to move the sector forward, whoever is hosting the party needs to give these out-of-place fish some water. This means choosing activities for the party at which everyone can excel, switching up the music, having different types of food, providing translation, and welcoming newcomers. Hilary Thomas says this is central to the vision for Lineage Performing Arts Center:

> I think the vibe is a really important thing to me. We've talked so much about it. No matter how much we grow and how much we do, it's so important to me to maintain the vibe that I love so much about this space, which is a very open, welcoming, loving space. And sometimes it's hard when you have an arts organization because the open, welcoming, and loving space can also easily not be equated with high quality art. And I want to make sure we continue to have high quality art and that can sometimes be a challenge. – 4/15/22

It also means expanding the guest list to include the child with autism, the elder with Parkinson's, the cross-dresser in a play about gay marriage, the small boy who has figured out he can repel bullies by peeing in his pants. These were all characters from the interviews that experienced triumph, laughter, and joy because of the artists and arts organizations working in Pasadena. Welcoming people who don't fit in is the province of the arts. Leslie Ito, current director of the Armory, echoes Thomas' goal of creating a welcoming space.

> We've been having a lot of discussions about what it means to welcome someone to a building, and what a comfortable, safe, but courageous space looks and feels like and how we can provide that here in our building. We're still trying to figure that out and what that looks and feels like - 5/2/22.

This is the context in which to understand Dianne Lewis' decision to host events at Alkebu-lan Cultural Center that allow the community to get to know the police officers that patrol the neighborhood. Lewis has been director of the Center since 2012.

> There's a lot of tension right now. I don't know if you saw the young man's picture on your way up. He was killed right there by two police officers. And as a result, they won't allow the police in the schools to talk to the kids. So, I put myself in the middle of that. And I'm talking to the parents, and I met with the police chief. And what I did was to have an art show reception for a police officer who had passed away. That's one of his pieces right there. His name was Chuck Brucker, and I asked his son, "Let's honor him for Father's Day." And we invited the whole police department. And I said, that's a way to get them into this community, and that's a way to start building our relationships. And so, the reception is for the entire community. And I was very pleased because the police chief came; his community rep came; his night commanders came; the officers

> that patrol this area were here. I felt that was a great start. And so now we're going to do is try to meet once a month and officers will come in out of uniform and just be people. They need to know you're just people. You're not vigilantes, and you're not there to hurt them…So, somebody has to reach out and say, "Let's see what we can do to build these relationships back up." So, the officers that patrol this area know that this door is always open, and they are always welcome. I keep cold water in the fridge all the time, and if you want to come in and have a glass of cold water and see what's going on, whatever, you're welcome to do that. And that's what I want to see happen, here, in this community because this seems to be the hub for Northwest. Tyrone Hampton is the city councilman in this area. He's amazing. Whenever I say that I want to try something, he says, "Are you sure, Ms. D?" And I said, "You know what. We have to do something. We can't just sit and have elementary kids say that they hate police." That's not okay. – 7/6/22

The themes and elements of these three genres—Cinderella, The Party, Fish-out-of-water—overlap and fit together into a single narrative arc that suggest specific questions when thinking about Pasadena's arts and culture sector.

Questions for the future

The point of a dramaturgical approach to researching different aspects of community life is to discover catalyst questions that can help stakeholders think about longstanding challenges in new ways. The broad question of what makes a really good party in Pasadena sparks other more specific queries. For example, what leads people to accept an invitation to a party where they know they'll be the fish-out-of-water gasping for air? Perhaps a moral dilemma forces someone out of their comfort zone. Perhaps it is a matter of healing or a matter of survival. Or perhaps it is simply in one's nature to stretch and learn and explore. Cinderella was a fish out of water at the ball, albeit one who was in disguise. One might also ask who pays for these parties? And does that payment allow one to choose what sort of party it will be? Then again, perhaps what makes a good party is not how much it costs but the things that money can't buy. Emily

Hopkins shared that one lesson from the *My Pasadena* project was that local history was a good way to bring different sides of the community together.

> My questions are about how to help people see their blind spots so we can be more equitable in our work. - 5/6/22

One of these blind spots is in what people think qualifies as art. Embracing cultural art forms, such as singing in the church choir or taiko drumming, isn't just about putting them on the guest list but understanding the party they already have going on and seeing if there's ways to help them make it better. Leslie Ito said that the promise for Pasadena in figuring this out, how to alternate between gracious guest and generous host, is a multi-directional, free flow of creativity that can pour in from every corner of the community.

> For example, we had a very long-running program called Walk to Art as a way to get our art education classes beyond this building and take them out to the community so that everyone could "walk to art." And that's been great and successful in parks and community centers and also in schools, particularly in Northwest Pasadena. And my vision is that the participants in those classes also feel comfortable and welcome coming to this building on Raymond [Avenue]. That's really, really important to me, and also, that those pathways run in both directions, that we can help build a path for people to explore outside of their bubbles and explore the city. If you're not used to going north of the freeway, go check it out.
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> ***
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> The pandemic was exhausting and we've survived so far, but this piece of creating this multi-directional world is what I'm interested in doing here. I feel whatever I can contribute to the City of Pasadena in melting down these barriers, that's where I want to spend my time and energy once we survive the pandemic. It's much more severe of an issue, the segregation and the boundaries and the borders than I ever thought it would be stepping into this position. You just barely scratch the surface, and it's right there. – 5/2/22

These dynamics, which have impacted the arts and culture sector for decades, trace their roots back to the start of the city and the development of its neighborhoods, especially the

neighborhoods along the Arroyo. And the questions of what makes a good party and how to create a welcoming space apply just as much to outdoor venues like the Arroyo as they do the arts. The next chapter takes up this history and these questions in full.

Conclusion

The ecological and cultural stories emerging from the Arroyo originate in relationships that stand apart from the political and economic structures that govern today's Arroyo. This is not to say that these structures are not part of these stories; they very much are. But the roots of these stories are older and more easily grafted onto mythic narratives and archetypes that remain influential but are harder to see. The next chapter confronts Arroyo stories that have arisen within the last 150 years, a time period that coincides with the rise and fall of industrial capitalism and the changing politics of race and class that has and continues to shape the development of the Los Angeles region. The next chapter will add to the list of narrative threads and dramaturgical questions presented here in an effort to gain a more robust picture of the narratives embedded in the Arroyo's history and geography. This will allow creative placekeeping for this area to feel both rooted and resonant with the lived experience of the community.

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Chapter 5 – Stories of the Arroyo, Part II – Economic and political stories

This chapter looks at the narratives spinning out of the economic and political dynamics surrounding the Arroyo's canyon and adjacent neighborhoods. These dynamics include how the neighborhoods along Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo developed, the creation and advocacy for the Arroyo as natural open space, and the use of the park for recreation. Race and real estate are the themes that stitch these narratives together. But notions of health, aesthetics, and ecological responsibility have also had an influence. The storylines identified in my analysis fit within larger regional, state, and national narratives, such as freeway development. But what is most relevant for creative placekeepers is the unique way these larger narratives expressed themselves on the ground and in people's lives. This chapter continues the project started in chapter 4 of assembling narrative threads and dramaturgical questions to consider in devising creative placekeeping projects.

Narratives of neighborhood development

Frank Prince was 13 in 1884 when he moved from Tennessee with his father and two brothers to Los Angeles. In 1887, he followed his older brother William and relocated to Pasadena, finding employment as a coachman with the Scoville family, who lived in a large house on the Arroyo's eastern rim near the future site of the Colorado Street Bridge (Anderson 1995). As the coachman for the Scovilles and other wealthy families along Orange Grove, Prince would have had more than a passing familiarity with the Arroyo. In 1906, Prince began 47 years as an attendant at the Pasadena First National Bank. That same year or in 1907, one of

his employers gave Prince a house on the condition that he move the structure to a lot on Kensington Street near the Scovilles. Prince's son Clifford provides details on the move:

> It was moved by Basor Moving Company, who used horses which walked around a contraption with a steel cable. As the horses circled it, stepping over the cable, the house would move forward a few inches. Then the men would move the contraption up and repeat the process. It took them two weeks to move that house. Papa had an addition built on the house by the same carpenters who later erected First A.M.E. Church. The family home was 319 Kensington Place until the freeway came through. The "Place" on that street's name was a mark of distinction in those days. Papa and Uncle William used to meet each other every day on the corner of Kensington and Vernon and walk to work (Simon and Hubert 1985).

In 1910, the First A.M.E. Church bought that corner of Kensington and Vernon and began to erect the church that would house the congregation until the late 1960s when Caltrans took the property and surrounding parcels for the 134/210/710 freeway interchange. But on March 2, 1910 the church was a half-built shell that Frank Prince, a church trustee, kept an eye on from his new house across the street. That evening someone placed a five-gallon can of gasoline under the porch of the newly completed parsonage building and attempted to light an improvised fuse. The fuse came apart and failed to ignite, saving the life of the caretaker, who was sleeping inside and found the makeshift bomb the next morning ("Infernal machine placed at residence of negro narrowly misses destroying house" 1910). The attempted bombing of this church followed a pattern. The previous year, before two African American families could move into two homes on Cypress Avenue, they burned to the ground. In June of 1909, more than twenty copies on a typewritten note appeared plastered on the property at 128 Waverly where the Metropolitan Baptist Church planned to build their new house of worship. The note said — "Warning — If you niggers build upon this property, remember Cypress Avenue." The warnings came after the City Council approved the church construction despite a petition from

by White neighbors saying the congregation lacked the resources to build a church up to the neighborhood's standards ("Threats to Burn Church: 'Remember Cypress Avenue,' Warning Given" 1909). Now, less than a year later, a similar campaign was taking shape against the First A.M.E. Threatening notes appeared in the yards of the Prince brothers; unnamed individuals tried to get church trustees fired from their jobs. To make sure the message was clear, the perpetrators sent a clipping of an article from a Los Angeles paper to the church's pastor in which neighbors stated they would defend their property values, if necessary, with their lives ("Negroes Describe Many Attempts at Injury" 1910). The response of parishioners, including the Prince brothers, was to take shifts guarding the church property with rifles (Scheid Lund 1999).

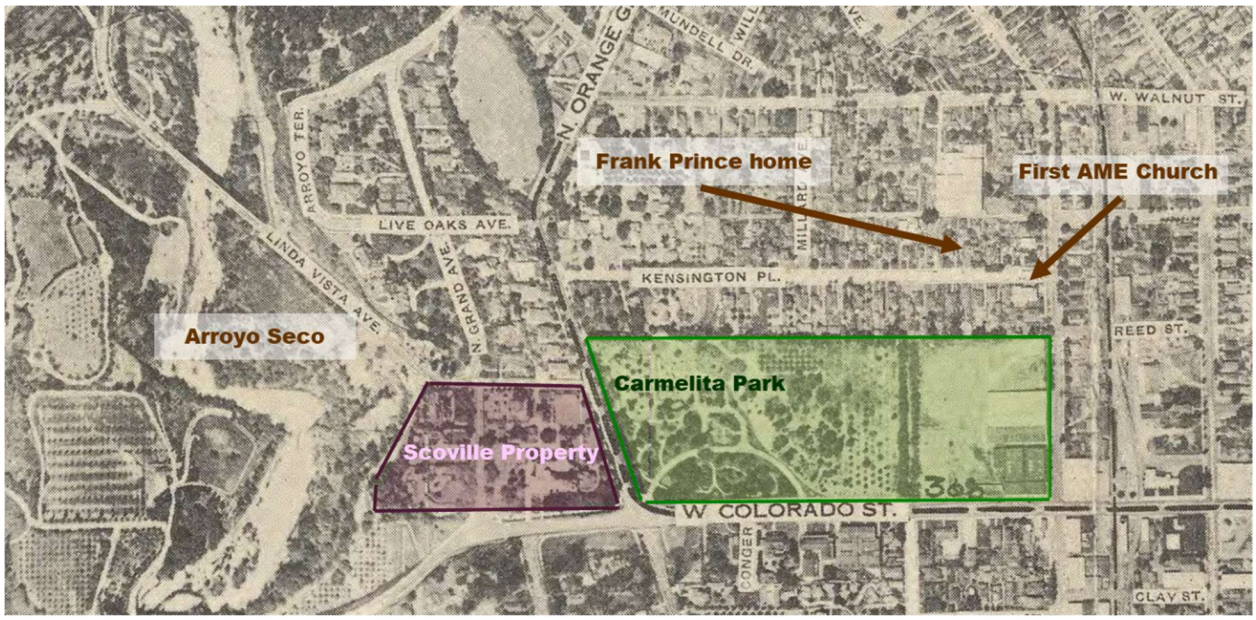

Figure 44. *Photomap from 1922 adapted to show the location of the home of Frank Prince and the First A.M.E. Church. In 1910, the First A.M.E. Church marked one of the color lines in Pasadena (Photomap Company and First National Trust and Savings Bank of Pasadena 1922)*

Studying the development of the neighborhoods along the Arroyo brings the political economy of the landscape into the creative placekeeping conversation. Within Pasadena, this conversation cannot escape the city's troubled history of race relations and more specifically the

coordinated plan to use redlining and racial covenants to restricted where people of color could live, which made more land available for White developers and commercial interests. In 1924, a slate of candidates with backing of the Ku Klux Klan took over Pasadena's board of City Commissioners, which at the time functioned as a city council ("All Ready for Recall: Pasadena's Political Pow-wow Centers in Hunt for Scalps of City" 1925).[44] Two years later, the Pasadena Realty Board met with several neighborhood associations to organize a campaign to restrict where people of color could buy land, and by 1941, racial covenants applied to 60 percent of the properties in Pasadena (Crimi 1941; "Realtors Study Property Topics" 1926). Redlining was a particularly effective tool for racial capitalism because it both differentiates and ranks the races and prices land in a way that provides White homeowners the surplus wealth they need to function as the ownership class. Once this wealth gap is in place, those on top are able to capture institutions to solidify and expand their gains. In Pasadena, this included attempts to corral people of color into ever-smaller areas of the city, limit job opportunities, and maintain social hierarchies through segregation of the Brookside Plunge, restaurants, movie theaters, medical facilities, and other businesses (Hudson 2020). These dynamics played out before Pasadena was even a city as a mob attacked a Chinese laundry and boarding house in 1885 that occupied a particularly important piece of downtown real estate just as speculation was picking up in advance of the arrival of the city's first rail line. The town's leaders had an ordinance ready to go the next day banning Chinese from downtown and had already made arrangements to relocate the remaining Chinese to the South Raymond neighborhood where the police and local government could control their movement while continuing to exploit their labor (James 2001).

[44] The language in this headline itself suggests how racial stereotyping and tropes were common at the time.



Figure 45. *Frank Prince and his family. The Prince family continues to have a presence in Pasadena. (Prince Family group portrait, n.d. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History)*

This provides the background to understand the attempted bombing of the First A.M.E. church as more than the work of a few hateful neighbors. Just south of the church property was Carmelita Park (see figure 44), an historic property that a syndicate of businessmen affiliated with the Board of Trade were attempting to turn into a convention hall and casino. Newspaper articles indicate that the syndicate hoped to acquire the strip of land along Kensington, including the church property, to strengthen their proposal ("Get Ready to Submit Ideas: Carmelita Gardens Plans to be Discussed Today" 1910). The day after the attempted bombing a

passerby told an African American parishioner he should stop working on the building because the city was going to take the property for the convention auditorium ("Negroes Describe Many Attempts at Injury" 1910). This small story is an illustration of how important maintaining racial boundaries was to Pasadena's White population and how intertwined this obsession was with property values and landed conceptions of wealth.

Stories about boundaries typically fall into the category of heroic romance, which create a world and storyline based on wish fulfillment (Frye 1957). One of the most powerful wishes for residents of Pasadena in the early 20th century was the dream of suburban home ownership, which not only held most of a family's accumulated wealth but was a powerful status symbol. For those who believed that non-White neighbors reduced property values, their presence represented a fundamental threat and presented a target upon which to project their animus, at times with violence. So, one can only imagine the visual impact of Frank Prince's house moving inches at a time over a two-week period into position along Kensington, which marked one of the more prominent color lines in the city.

To understand the stories that emerged from neighborhood development, I combined the geography of landforms with the boundaries of the current neighborhood associations to define four neighborhood areas: Lower Arroyo, East Arroyo, Linda Vista, and San Rafael (see figure 46). I analyzed the diverse data sources I outlined in chapter 3 to describe narratives at work in each neighborhood, which I present in essay form in the appendices (appendices 27 thru 30). The purpose of these essays is to show the evidence upon which I have based the conclusions I summarize here. Each essay ends with dramaturgical questions spurred by the stories from each neighborhood. In the future these questions could serve as conversation starters with neighborhood associations interested in working with Arroyo Seco Placekeepers. While the

stories emerging from each neighborhood area present different challenges and opportunities in moving toward a just and sustainable future, they share the common theme of residents pursuing the suburban dream and then defending it.

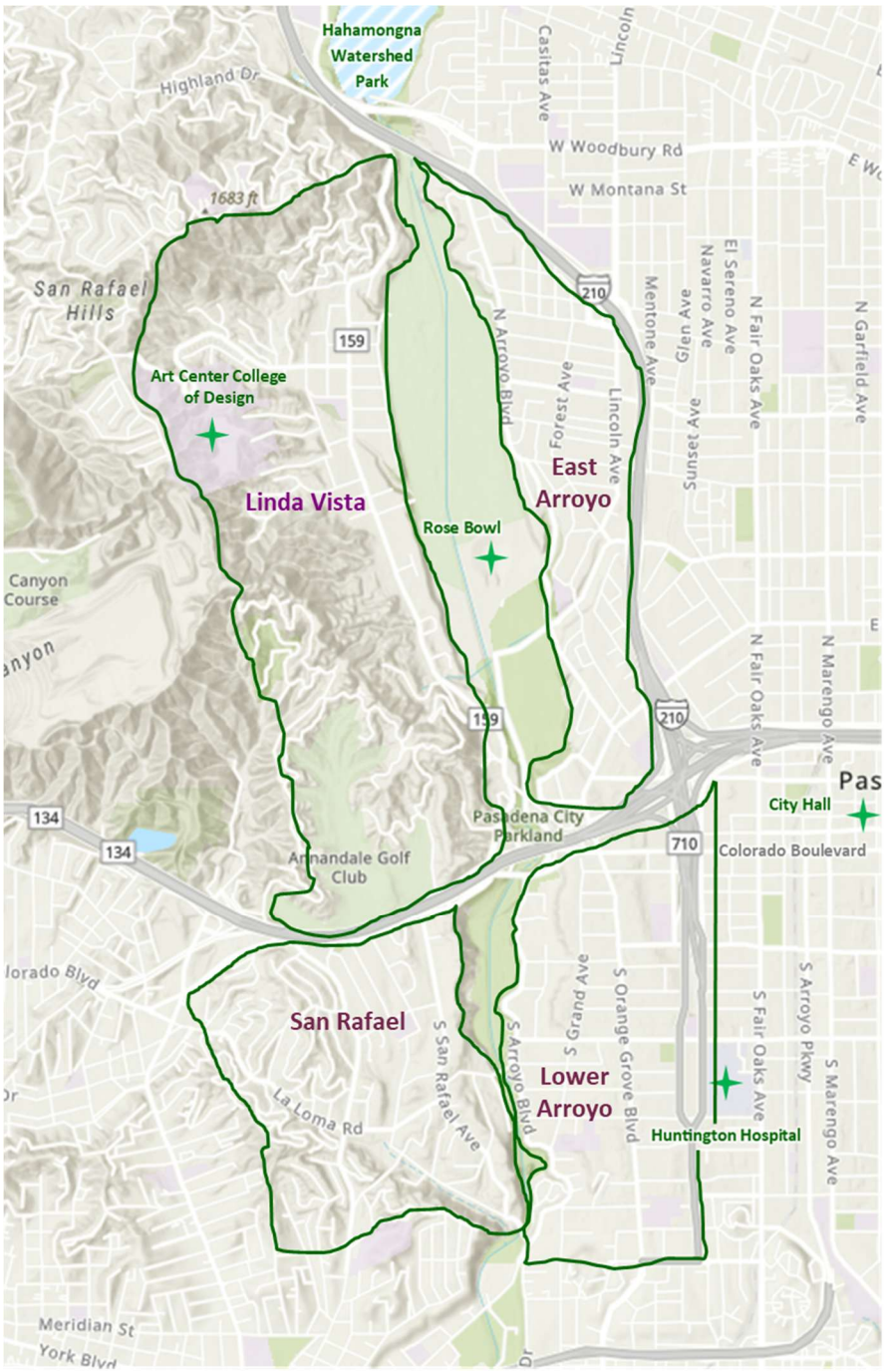

Figure 46. *Neighborhoods along Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo.*

The Heroic Romance within neighborhood development

The romance tradition is much broader than romantic love. Literary critic Northrup Frye (1957) says the core element of the heroic romance is adventure and that these stories typically take the form of quests, with a well-defined hero battling negative forces to achieve a desired end. While some romance stories can result in psychological growth, many are stories of adventure and achievement with little nuance or self-discovery for the main character. The "hero's journey," which some scholars believe is the mythic structure that fuels all human storytelling, is part of this tradition (Campbell 1972). For Frye, romance is one of four storytelling modes, the others being tragedy, comedy, and satire or irony.[45]

The heroic romance narrative is a good fit for the racial capitalism so central to Pasadena's development. Both depend upon and draw their strength from division and hierarchy.[46] Given this, it should be no surprise that the contours of the romance pattern in each neighborhood depends on point of view. For many residents of these relatively affluent neighborhoods, the romance is about defending both their quality of life and their property values from a variety of perceived threats. An exaggerated portrait of this dynamic would give this sense of siege an almost medieval quality, with the largest homes taking the form of castles within a suburban kingdom where boundaries become important, slippery slopes prove menacing, unity flattens into conformity, and the lines on a map, be it for where people can live or what school they can send their children to, become the basis for war and peace. The danger

[45] Frye's student, Patrick Colm Hogan, influenced by his study of Ancient Indian texts, provides a slightly different breakdown in which romantic love has greater prominence. Hogan separates romantic love from stories of heroism while also defining stories of sacrifice, and those about transcendence (Hogan 2003).

[46] Within *Black Marxism* (2000), Robinson's excavations of the origins of racialism and capitalism take him back to Medieval Europe, a time when the heroic romance as a narrative form had great purchase. The heroic romance has also fueled settler colonial ambitions including the ideology of Manifest Destiny that drove American conquest of California. The alignment between these ideologies at the granular level of neighborhood development in Pasadena suggest that the historical interplay between popular storytelling and the development of the economic systems that govern our lives and influence our imagination is worth additional research.

with this story pattern is that it can turn in on itself, as the defensiveness that helps to hold the line begins to eat away at trust between neighbors, eroding the quality of life that people have mobilized to protect. The defensiveness at the root of this response can generate blind spots for the hero that, if not recognized and attended to, can lead to personal, if not communal, tragedy. Alternatively, the irony of a defensiveness that erodes the very qualities people work to defend can move the story into existential terrain.



Figure 47. *Professor Thaddeus Lowe's mansion. Lowe built on the west side of South Orange Grove Avenue, south of Bellefontaine Street. Over ninety home castles such as these lined the avenue during the first half of the 20th century (Altadena Historical Society n.d.).*

By contrast, for Pasadena families fighting to attain middle class status or in the first generation of wealth building, the romantic quest is about climbing the class ladder. In this story, determination, creativity, and resiliency are the qualities that define the hero's journey. The forces the hero must overcome are poverty, racial prejudice, and violence. These forces are not random but pervasive and systemic. Succeeding often requires a network of allies cultivated through family, work, or religious institutions that provide a sense of solidarity, which can turn

the hero's journey into a trip to bountiful that everyone takes together. The clear-eyed recognition that the contest is not taking place on a level playing field can give this story a rueful irony. Secret allies inside the castle walls can be instrumental to success. Nicolaides (2024) notes that in Pasadena interracial organizing that started in the 1940s was able to break through in the '60s and '70s and transform the politics of the city before the more recent trend toward privatism took hold. Both versions of this story, however, fall within the realm of romance-quest.

The version of this story in the Lower Arroyo neighborhood reflects the yearning for status, both for the homeowners along Millionaire's Row and for the city as a whole. This played a role in the fate of two semi-public spaces important to the community's sense of itself: Carmelita Park and Busch Gardens. Both spaces stimulated people's imagination and, combined with the canyon of the Lower Arroyo, activated unconscious fears and desires that continue to this day around where and how to draw social, class, and ecological boundaries (see appendix 27).

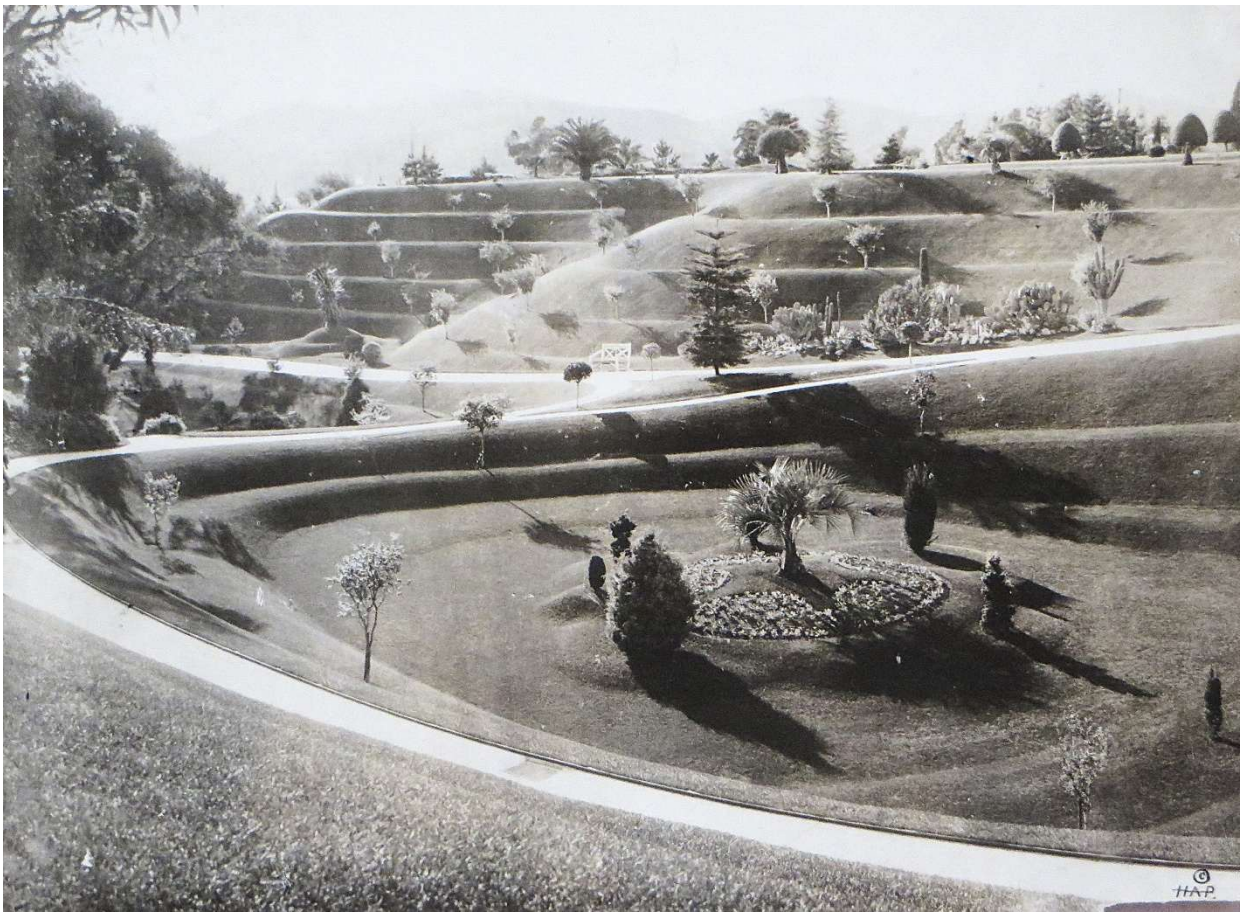

Figure 48 *Busch's sunken gardens in 1928. The gardens provided a fantasy landscape that helped generate heroic romance narratives for the Lower Arroyo neighborhood (Parker 1928. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, PSN-Busch Gardens-18)*

North of the 134/210 Freeway, along the eastern rim of the Arroyo, the aspirations of Pasadena's diverse communities of color frustrated attempts to enforce a color line. The quest here was for families to build wealth for their children and grandchildren, a quest that, to a large degree, succeeded prior to redevelopment and freeway construction, which disrupted a strong sense of community. The 210 Freeway has created a hard boundary around the East Arroyo neighborhood, which somewhat ironically presents an opportunity for the area to become a model of a diverse, stable, and prosperous community. Responding to disasters, such as freeway construction, and pulling together to overcome obstacles is also within the romance tradition,

but success requires relationship building and a renewed understanding of the neighborhood's past (see appendix 28).



Figure 49. *Middle and working-class homes in the East Arroyo neighborhood. Working class families tried to build generational wealth from these homes in the middle of the 20th century.*

Within Linda Vista, the romantic quest to establish the ideal garden suburb succeeded but at the cost of face-to-face interaction as privacy has become an overriding concern. Today, the shuttered and silent Linda Vista Elementary at the center of the neighborhood stands as an unfortunate symbol of how steps taken in the past to ensure White and affluent homeownership can isolate a neighborhood and individual homeowners from one another. An understandable and human desire to maintain the status quo in Linda Vista has seemingly kept the neighborhood frozen in time. Learning from the native chaparral and its adaptive responses to fire and drought is perhaps one way to shift the narrative arc of Linda Vista toward greater engagement and confidence in the future (see appendix 29).



Figure 50. *Aerial photo of northern Linda Vista in 1946. Photo shows the neighborhood at the start of the postwar building boom. ("Aerial view of north area of Linda Vista in 1946" 1946. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, LV-C-23)*

Finally, in the San Rafael neighborhood, the imprint of efforts to meld capitalist real estate development with the accents of aristocracy have created a neighborhood defined by privacy and property values. The varied topography and historical circumstances have resulted in three distinct districts within San Rafael that have struggled to find common cause in tending the neighborhood's public resources and institutions. The difficult in breaking down these entrenched patterns of interaction suggests that a satiric approach might be most productive in moving neighborhood forward (see appendix 30).



Figure 51. *San Rafael Elementary. The school is one of the few public institutions in the neighborhood and committed parents have fought to keep the school open even though, according to the 2020 census, two-thirds of K-8 students in San Rafael attend private school.*

Freeways, as a phenomenon, have played an important role in these neighborhood stories, due to perceived and actual impacts on property values. In the Lower Arroyo neighborhood, the threat of freeway development unified the community and allowed them to turn back a battery of proposals between 1925 and 1939 to jam a road through the Lower Arroyo's canyon. Almost a hundred years later, a proposal to finish the 710 Freeway helped the diverse constituencies of San Rafael speak with one voice and brought the neighborhood's well-funded and well-connected allies into the anti-710 coalition. In the 1920s, as car culture was just taking root, leaders in Linda Vista advocated running a parkway through the center of their neighborhood. The thinking was that having a modern highway a stone's throw from one's

driveway would boost property values. Forty years later, Linda Vista celebrated removal of Linda Vista Avenue from the state highway map and sighed in relief as the 210 Freeway bypassed their neighborhood ("Truck Traffic Faces Ban on Linda Vista." 1961). Residents along the East Arroyo have not been so fortunate. The northern spur of the 210 Freeway destroyed more than 900 housing units and displaced over 2600 as it cut a swath along the Arroyo's eastern rim (Loukaitou-Sideris et al. 2023). Today, the freeway continues to broadcast noise and pollution across the neighborhood from its elevated position above Lincoln Avenue. Freeway construction also served as a wedge issue, disrupting the interracial coalition just beginning to emerge in Pasadena in the late '60s and early '70s. Indifference to freeway displacement and the destruction of communities of color it caused were some of the first signs that the privatism Nicolaides discusses was taking hold (see appendix 27). The common thread lacing through all of these freeway stories is property values, which underscores the essential role of real estate speculation in Pasadena's economy, both historically and for the future. This past informs and animates discussions currently underway about how to repurpose the fifty acres of the unfinished 710 Freeway that residents call the 710 stub or ditch.



Figure 52. *Lincoln Avenue at Del Monte Street in the East Arroyo neighborhood. Note the elevated freeway that broadcasts noise and pollution across the neighborhood*

Ronald Tobias (2012) in his book *20 Master Plots and How to Build Them* makes a helpful distinction between romance stories focused purely on adventure, which typically take the form of plot-driven swashbucklers in which heroes and villains do battle, and quests, which while taking on the shape of a swashbuckler, engage the hero in a measure of self-discovery. While both the adventure and the quest sit squarely within the realm of romance, the character-driven quest plot turns more on the main character's personal reckoning and realizations than their decisive action. They typically contain less adrenaline but more meaning and make a deeper impression on audiences. The dramaturgical questions I present below can hopefully spark this type of self-realization for residents of the Arroyo neighborhoods so that the romance narratives they participate in mature from simplistic battles between good and evil to more nuanced quests that prove salutary for the public debate and result in wiser and more sustainable

solutions. These questions come from comparing the results from my narrative analysis of each neighborhood.

The first question for neighborhood residents is "What will help them learn from the past, from one another, from the landscape, and about themselves?" The meeting of a mentor who oversees the training and preparation of the hero is a well-worn pattern within the romance tradition, so the first question is asking would-be neighborhood heroes what type of preparation they need and how best to receive it. Injecting some education into the quest also encourages humility and openness to the possibility that the typically affluent and well-educated residents of West Pasadena do not always know what is best for the city as a whole. This question serves as a reminder that creative placekeeping should almost always involve learning.

An openness to learning is one answer to the second question, which is "How can residents dismantle hierarchies and de-emphasize status within these neighborhoods?" Other answers include the use of satire and self-deprecation, something that Lower Arroyo residents deploy whenever they hold meetings of the Pasadena Martini Society (see appendix 27). For the neighborhoods along the Arroyo, questions about status and rank tap into their relationship to the rest of the city. Going back to the days of Millionaire's Row, the Valley Hunt Club, and the origins of the Rose Parade, West Pasadena holds a privileged position within the city. Whether this position should come with more influence is the real question. After the demise of Millionaire's Row during the Depression, Pasadena has generally favored understatement in expressions of its affluence, and Pasadena does have a long history of making fun of itself and a robust countercultural history that speaks to this question. Productive placekeeping interventions can build on this tradition, encourage expansive thinking, and promote an abundance mindset rather than status-driven competition.

A third question for these neighborhoods is "What approaches, ideas, or interventions will support healing, wellness, and renewal?" While Pasadena works hard to put on a pristine parade each New Year's Day, the city has consequential blemishes. White supremacy within the city has caused harm across generations. Economically, Pasadena is one of the most unequal cities in the state and has one of the highest percentages in the country of private school attendance, indicating a shocking lack of support for public education. This question points toward recreation, exercise, getting things to grow, creating things with one's hands, and re-directs the story away from external achievement and the righteousness of romance narratives toward the comic concern for reconciliation and an internal awareness of well-being.

The fourth question is "What will promote positive social interactions and build trust between different groups?" Within these neighborhoods historically, the conviviality that this question points towards happened through the elementary schools. In both Linda Vista and the East Arroyo neighborhood, the elementary school has closed due to low enrollment. San Rafael Elementary has avoided closure, sometimes quite narrowly, and is always under threat because most San Rafael parents choose to send their children to private school. These school closures have set off discussion and debate about how to use the shuttered campuses in ways that support neighborhood goals. Social events that foster shared goals both within and between the neighborhoods along the Arroyo would be a productive course of action.

Because economics is such a strong driver of these neighborhood narratives, the fifth question concerns how to create and sustain broad-based prosperity within these communities. The story of the Lower Arroyo relates closely to the economic strategies the City has adopted over its history, and my essay for that neighborhood puts forward the concept of commonwealth as an alternate framework for economic development in Pasadena (see appendix 27). In the East

Arroyo, this question relates to implementation of the Lincoln Avenue Specific Plan. In Linda Vista and San Rafael, which have little to no commercial activity, investment in public institutions, such as the branch libraries, provides a place to start, though alternative approaches to wealthbuilding, such as time banking and skill sharing, deserve an audience.

The final question is "What types of creative interventions in terms of spaces, events, or public programming in these neighborhoods can address the above questions?" This applies the tools of placekeeping to the Arroyo's neighborhood landscapes and directs attention toward specific locations and the potential uses of public land. The Arroyo Seco itself can play a key role as a space to build community, a site for wealthbuilding and wellness, and a place where encounters with the elements and wild nature put everyone on equal footing. To explore this potential, however, it is important to understand the history of Arroyo advocacy and how the Arroyo as a recreational space has served to both bring people together and drive them apart. This is the subject of the next two sections.

Stories of Arroyo Advocacy: The River and the Rose Bowl

On August 13, 2022 a collection of over 1000 affluent guests, celebrities, sports stars, and politicians sat at round dinner tables amid plastic palm trees on arguably the most famous football field in the world. They listened to big band music and flashed auction paddles, happy to raise over $2 million for the Rose Bowl's Legacy Foundation. Dubbed the "Party of the Century," the event celebrated the 100-year anniversary of the stadium, and by most accounts was a stirring success, with its 1920s theme decorations and dress, eight-plane flyover to start the evening, and fireworks to bring it to a close (Mattman 2022; "Rose Bowl 'Party of Century' Raises More Than $2 Million" 2022). But from the 50-yard line, attendees were cut off from any views of the Arroyo's canyon or the neighborhoods subject to the noise and lights of

another Rose Bowl event, albeit one with fewer traffic problems than the typical concert or football game. The social and geographic bubble that this event took place within and the disconnect with both the canyon itself and the network of grassroots advocates working for the River's restoration provides a touchstone for the story of Pasadena's Arroyo parklands.

This section describes the narrative elements that come from reviewing 150 years of advocacy on behalf of the Arroyo and proceeds with the recognition that this advocacy has taken many forms. Humans have advocated on behalf of the River and wildlife, first in the name of aesthetics and more recently with an eye toward ecological function. They have also advocated for civil rights in the form of equal access to the Arroyo's recreational facilities. There have been campaigns for and against specific activities, including archery, horseback riding, fly casting, bicycling, baseball, soccer, golf, frisbee, and N.F.L. football. There's also been advocacy for and against building a highway through the Arroyo, an idea that seems discredited, at least for now. The Party of the Century was a form of advocacy as well, advancing the argument that the stadium should be the City and the community's top priority when it comes to the Arroyo.



Figure 53. *Party of Century fundraiser on the Rose Bowl's 50-yard line on August 13, 2022 (BDI Events 2025).*

To facilitate this analysis, I divided a historical review of events into twenty-year increments, constructed timelines, and assessed the narrative elements for each period to construct summaries that I pieced together into an overall story arc (see appendix 31). The advocacy surrounding racial segregation of the Brookside Plunge that lasted from 1914 to 1947 is a significant part of the story and underscores the importance of reviewing the creation and maintenance of parklands alongside the fight for civil and human rights as it allows for deeper insights into the interpenetration of social and environmental issues. The next section on equitable access to recreation opportunities in the Arroyo will zoom in to look at these dynamics in more detail. This section examines the actions and policies that have resulted in the Arroyo becoming Pasadena's premiere public park, a public commons, not just for Pasadena but for people across Northeast Los Angeles and the San Gabriel Valley.

A question of values

The governance of a commons such as the Arroyo reveals conflicts within a community over its values as well as the power dynamics that determine whose values take precedence. The history of Pasadena's Arroyo parklands shows that Pasadena, as a city and community, has, over most of its history, chosen to value material wealth and status over sustainability, justice, and community fellowship. There have been examples, especially in the last half century, where the latter set of values have carried the day, but these instances have been exceptions. Tim Brick has been the Arroyo's leading advocate over the past 30 years

> There's not a unified view of the Arroyo in Pasadena. There have always been people who wanted to protect the natural character of it. It's been going on as long as people have lived around here. But were they dominant? No, we lost a lot of battles, and there are still battles going on. -- 1/8/23

The unresolved nature of this conflict that Brick refers to is important. For those prioritizing sustainability and justice, the River's tragic story arc creates the set up for a comic twist that could release the grip that the past currently has upon the community's imagination and redeems all that has come before. Using creative placekeeping to achieve such a shift, however, requires understanding these past patterns.

For the first half of the 20th century, Arroyo conservation advanced when it served to preserve or enhance property values or generate revenue for the City. But when the distribution of these economic impacts across the community has been uneven or unclear, there has been drama. For example, the first concerted movement to create a park in the Arroyo came in response to efforts to turn the unincorporated Arroyo land between South Pasadena and Los Angeles into an industrial district that would generate tax revenue and jobs but threaten property values with pollution ("Park Project In Danger: Arroyo Seco May Become A Manufacturing Site" 1906 -- see appendix 27). In the 1920s, the Pasadena Realty Board stood to reap benefits

from building a highway through the Lower Arroyo, but affluent homeowners living along the canyon's edge opposed the plan ("Bars Motor Traffic on Park Lands" 1925).[47] The puzzling failure of a key 1913 park bond measure despite support from Pasadena's leading citizens and newspapers might seem to violate the links between wealth, status, and conservation. Instead, it brings into focus questions of exactly who stood to gain from the measure, what sort of relationship people wanted with their landscape, and whether the creation of a widely accessible open space worked against the desire of the White population to restrict where the city's communities of color could live, work, and play (see appendix 28).

A 1964 resolution from City Board member Richard Jencks that committed Pasadena to conserving natural aspects of Pasadena's Arroyo parks marked the first substantial win for those prioritizing the health of the land over monetary gain ("Pasadena Program: Arroyo Becomes Natural Park Arroyo" 1964). This was followed by a number of incremental victories by grassroots environmental advocates, such as the City's refusal to pave over the remaining, soft-bottomed section of the stream, an Arroyo Seco Lands Ordinance, the restoration of native habitat, and most importantly the creation of Hahamongna Watershed Park north of the Devil's Gate flood control dam and its maintenance for the past 30 years as a semi-wild ecological reserve. But these victories, accomplished due to tireless work of a small number of committed activists, did not mark a dramatic shift toward environmental consciousness within City government or the community as a whole. The tax revolt and government cutbacks of the late 1970s and '80s made a hands-off approach to the Arroyo the path of least resistance since it saved the City money. The increase in property values that being adjacent to a natural area brought to affluent West Pasadena homeowners also made nature conservation an easy choice.

[47] This conflict over the route of what would become the Arroyo Seco Parkway continued for almost 15 years and was then reborn in the 1960s with efforts to use the same route to complete the 710 Freeway.

In the contest between the use value and the exchange values of Arroyo lands, the lack of hard dollars committed to park maintenance and restoration during this period suggests that market values still held sway.

In the 21st century, the Arroyo and the Rose Bowl have both continued to struggle with funding. Five years of intense advocacy and debate resulted in a 2003 master plan for the Arroyo with a list of desired improvements costing over $80 million. In the 20 years since, this list has gotten perpetually lost in discussions of the capital improvement budget for the city. At the same time, the Rose Bowl's struggle to break even led to a bid to attract a professional football team to use the stadium. The decision to abandon these efforts in 2012 left the City with no long-term solution to supporting their iconic stadium. Stadium renovations during the 2010s have put the City on the hook for annual debt payments and increased the financial pressure on the Rose Bowl.

In response, the current and former mayor and the former head of the Rose Bowl Operating Company created the Arroyo Advisory Group and recruited wealthy and well-connected residents to gather public input on how to improve the Arroyo. This approach amounted to a recognition that an increase in funding for the Rose Bowl will only gain public support if framed as part of an overall strategy for Arroyo parklands. The Rose Bowl Legacy Foundation served as the fiscal agent for the Advisory Group, and the Rose Bowl provided money for the effort. This Advisory Group has become the One Arroyo Foundation, a non-profit that is now taking the lead on raising money for Arroyo parklands and implementing physical improvements to the park separate from the City's annual budgeting process. Long-term the group has an interest in becoming a quasi-independent governing body for the park similar to the Central Park Conservancy in New York City. In the summer of 2024, the group broke

ground on a $2.4 million trail improvement project (Gould 2024). Real concerns exist, however, among the Arroyo's grassroots advocates over the group's origins in the Rose Bowl's financial crisis, the elite composition of the board, the lack of clear mechanisms for public accountability, the lack of focus on the ecology of the River and watershed, and the City's seeming abdication of responsibility for implementing the Arroyo Seco's master plan.



Figure 54. *Mayor Victor Gordo speaks at the groundbreaking of One Arroyo Foundation's Trail Linkages Project. The well-attended event took place in July of 2024 in Brookside Park.*

By contrast, Tim Brick, a co-founder of the Arroyo Seco Foundation over thirty years ago and until a recent split its executive director, has advocated for removal of the flood control channel and non-native plants, the restoration of a steelhead trout run, and replenishment of the Raymond Basin aquifer by removing paving throughout the city. At the same time, the Arroyos and Foothills Conservancy is working on purchasing land for wildlife corridors across the

Arroyo region, and the Pasadena Audubon Society is advocating for bird-friendly shifts in management of Pasadena's urban forest. Finally, Outward Bound Adventures, a pioneering outdoor education and workforce development program focused on young people of color, is leading a coalition of grassroots groups to establish an environmental education center in Hahamongna Watershed Park that can become a hub for Arroyo advocacy. These projects are all compatible with One Arroyo's trail projects. But potential collaboration has been stymied by mistrust, class differences, lack of capacity, and a lack of knowledge about the history of the Arroyo.

The historic absence of strong leadership from the City with regards to management has made it challenging to balance the needs and desires of organized user groups, such as the Pasadena Roving Archers, the Pasadena Casting Club, cyclists and equestrians, with new groups that want to use the space and the unorganized walkers and hikers that enjoy the Arroyo on their own schedule. Some argue that overuse is taking its toll on the natural environment while others believe that getting additional and more diverse groups of people to use the Arroyo is the best way to build a constituency for greater investment in the park. These conflicts, often over very specific locations and uses, sometimes find their way to the City Council that result in wrenching debates and personal attacks leading to general discord that obscures users' common appreciation of the park and the need for additional resources. This type of creative confusion is where a dramaturg's perspective and questions can be useful, which is what I try to provide below.

A tragedy set in concrete

In the spring of 1971, City Board member Charles McKenney and Ted Calleton, chair of Pasadena's newly created Arroyo Seco Master Plan Steering Committee, scrambled to get an

injunction to stop construction of the new eight-lane freeway bridge across the Arroyo Seco just south of Devil's Gate Dam. Workers were filling in parts of the canyon to provide support for the bridge and moving the meandering stream 200-feet to the west into a concrete and rock-lined flood control channel, effectively decimating sixty acres of wildlife habitat in one of the two small sections of the Arroyo below the dam with a soft bottom (Leiren 1971). McKenney noted that the construction work was not following the blueprints the City had approved and violated the Jenck's Resolution, the 1964 measure that committed the City to protect the natural character of the Arroyo ("McKenney Finds Arroyo Construction Discrepancy" 1971). Calleton organized a meeting to discuss an injunction to stop construction but concluded the damage was done. An injunction would cost $200,000, and most wanted the freeway finished as quickly as possible, so McKenney and Calleton watched grimly as bulldozers pulverized the streambanks and removed the large oaks and sycamores between the dam and the northern edge of the golf course ("Action to Halt Arroyo Bridge Held Fruitless" 1971).

This, however, was only the start of the tragedy. On October 17, 1972 as contractors began to pour concrete into the scaffolding for the bridge pylons, the north-bound lanes crossing over the Arroyo began to move. The *Pasadena Star-News* quoted a surviving workman: "'I heard it go whoo-o-m. I ran back from where I was working. Those guys working on the deck in the center had no chance. I saw some go down with it all.'" The construction superintendent said it started to go, and then it collapsed all of sudden. "He watched in horror as bodies went down in the collapsing welter of massive green steel girders, heavy lumber pinnings and forms for pouring concrete." The newspaper described the scene of the accident: "A jumble of 14 of the girders was tangled like immense jack straws at the bottom of the arroyo. A single crane was lifting each one, laboriously and slowly, so that more than 100 rescue workers could search

underneath for bodies" (Barber 1972b). The volunteers found that the wet concrete had dried around the fallen workers requiring jackhammers to get them out of the wreckage (Sweeney 1972). Six-people died in the accident, which inspectors attributed to improper bracing. The bridge finally opened to traffic in August of 1974. [48]

Both tragedy and irony could apply to the story of the bridge. Tragedies focus on a great individual who breaks a moral law and sets in motion larger forces that bring the protagonist to ruin. The tragic hero's unwavering commitment to a particular law or logic narrows the field of acceptable choices, blinding them to alternatives, and leading them toward his or her fated outcome (Frye 1957). The ironic tradition conveys this same sense of a fated outcome but accepts this as the normal course of affairs. There are no heroes or ennobling purpose to mitigate defeat, despair, and disappointment. Which tradition applies in this case depends on one's point of view, but the commitment to an exclusive economic logic, which generates governing aphorisms such as "time is money," was the ultimate cause of the destruction of both habitat and human life. And it has been this same commitment to economic thinking that has been the driving force in decision-making about the Arroyo since the start of American settlement (see appendix 27).

As storytelling traditions, both tragedy and irony deny the possibility for changing course or achieving redemption (White 2014). They present a world that is perpetually stuck, as if cast in concrete, unable to move forward, a characterization that seems apt not only for Pasadena's Arroyo but, at times, the city as a whole. Part of this is structural. With eight voting members on the City Council, many initiatives die in a 4-4 tie. With no real campaign finance

[48] State inspectors and union officials had flagged the construction firm, Polich-Benedict Construction Company, for multiple violations leading up to the accident. Workers had complained to the union about the company's rushed approach to the work and the expectation that they work 12-hour shifts for 8 hours of pay (Barber 1972a). The company folded in 1983.

limits, candidates can run and win their seat with just a small number of affluent supporters, which can give these supporters extra power and influence. Frequent turnover of the City's staff and departmental reorganizations can lead to a lack of institutional knowledge. For the Arroyo, much of this knowledge resided with Rosa Laveaga, who worked for almost two decades as Pasadena's Arroyo Seco Project Supervisor before retiring in December 2020. In 2005, the City added thirty acres of land to Hahamongna Watershed Park and Laveaga facilitated a community planning process to decide how to use the space and what features to add to the master plan for the park.

> There was a lot of energy around the idea of an environmental education center. The City was going to make it bigger and better than Eaton Canyon [Nature Center], and they were going to run classes, and JPL wanted to use it as an adjunct campus. So, there was a lot of energy around it, and now here we are ten years later, and the City hasn't put any money into it, and the buildings are starting to fall apart. They had the option to work with Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy, which has properties like this and organizes classes and other public uses, and the City said "No. We want to do this ourselves. SMMC will try to take it away from us." And so, nothing happens. - 5/18/22

But this is not just a City phenomenon. Martin Sweeney is a neighborhood resident trying to make part of the trail in the Arroyo accessible for anyone with a mobility or sensory need.

> I will typically get people in a room who are all nodding in agreement. But how to move that to where they feel they have a stake in it and have some ownership, I haven't figured it out. Sometimes it feels like "nice talk." "Wouldn't that be great to have an accessible trail. I'll help you do that." But then nothing happens. And I take responsibility for that. – 3/14/23

And sometimes staff and officials simply don't respond to residents. Wes Reutimann is co-founder of the bike and pedestrian group Active SGV and a leader within the Pasadena Complete Streets Coalition.

> It's so hard to even get a meeting. I've lived here for ten years and have been asking for months now to have a meeting with four other constituents, all of

> whom are community leaders in some form. We can't even get 15 minutes of our Councilmember's time or an email response. – 5/27/22

Laveaga, the former superintendent for the Arroyo, shared that public criticism has made top officials reticent to share information.

> The City in general is not in favor of the City staff helping the public...There's just a sense that it's going to create problems and that the public doesn't need to know everything and so the default is not to be open and share information.
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> From my position in middle management of the City, at the department level, it's been that way for a while. There's a sense that the more they share, the more likely it is people will find fault with what they do. So, from the department head to those lower down there was pressure on me and suggestions that I was saying too much. I never felt like I could open up and be honest with the community. - 5/18/22.

Forward movement is also difficult when residents feel as though they have to continue litigating past fights. Joan Hearst was a leader in organizing public comments on the Arroyo Seco Master Plan in the early 2000s:

> And another realization is that you can make change and get the plan approved, but then you find the City will ignore it unless you're there to hold them accountable… You put all this effort in and fifteen years later, they don't care. That's where I parted company with One Arroyo because I don't think they were following the master plan. Terry Tornek, the former mayor, wanted to put all kinds of housing in the Arroyo. I'm not sure he had ever been down in the Arroyo. People keep trying to put a bike lane down in the Arroyo, and it goes against the Arroyo Seco Lands Ordinance. Pat Shanks sued them, but why does she have to pay money to hire a lawyer to get the City to follow its own master plan? – 10/12/22

Reutimann, who works closely with cities across the San Gabriel Valley, shared his strategy in Pasadena:

> I think the only way to overcome the many institutional challenges, is really broad-based advocacy, building very broad coalitions, and engaging, soliciting, and garnering the support of at least one of the more entrenched power interests in the city. There are some neighborhood

> associations that wield undue influence over the city's politics, who is elected, and what they support. And so, when there are opportunities to solicit them or have them support a community-led initiatives, that can be effective, or, I would say, has been, traditionally, relatively effective. – 5/27/22

Casting a wide net and holding the City to account, however, is exhausting. Some feel the City's strategy is to wear down the volunteer advocates so the staff can run the city without interference from the public.

Hubris is, of course, the most common source of trouble within tragedies and several people said this is a problem in Pasadena. Tim Brick compared Pasadena to surrounding cities.

> We think we're great leaders about the environment, but we're not. We're followers. Even L.A. is far more advanced. There's this arrogance about Pasadena, that saying you care about the Arroyo is enough, and it's not. - 2/14/22.

The most relevant example is the insistence by a former City Manager that he did not need to hire a project manager for renovations to the Rose Bowl. The resulting mismanagement led to tens of millions of dollars in additional debt for the City that slowed progress on other projects, such as an earthquake retrofit for the main branch of the public library.[49] This hubris is perhaps also what prevents the City from establishing partnerships with grassroots groups focused on the Arroyo. Tim Martinez is Land Manager and Community Liaison at Arroyos & Foothills Conservancy and chairs the Hahamongna Park Advisory Commission.

> I don't feel that they [local non-profit organizations] are sufficiently viewed as partners, as resources. I don't think the City empowers them enough. I would like to see a lot more of that type of approach rather than all these expensive consultants. I'd rather see us partnering with these different non-profits and user

[49] Personal interview, Tom Seifert & Dianne Philibosian, (6/27/22)

groups and getting joint grants together. I'd rather see something like that. - 8/19/22

Several people mentioned Pasadena's penchant for spending money on out-of-town, private consultants rather than take advantage of the city's robust non-profit sector, which could keep money circulating in the local economy and facilitate job opportunities for local youth in conservation and trail work.[50]

Over a period of decades, there have been several positive examples of the City working closely with grassroots groups around the Arroyo: collaborating with the Pasadena Garden Club on renovation of La Casita del Arroyo, working with the Arroyo Seco Foundation (ASF) to host 35,000 people as part of the 1990 Arroyo Seco Earth Festival, subsequent work with ASF on habitat restoration projects, and, perhaps most importantly, Pasadena Water and Power engineer Tom Underbrink's work facilitating an inclusive community planning process in the late 1980s and early 1990s that resulted in the creation of Hahamongna Watershed Park. The examples of Underbrink, Laveaga, and others in the City government demonstrate how effective collaboration and open communication can get things moving in the City government. The Arroyo advocates I spoke with want this to be the rule rather than the exception.

The greatest symbol of the lack of progress in restoring the Arroyo is the flood control channel itself. The Los Angeles County Flood Control Division completed the channel through the Lower Arroyo in 1947. Almost immediately neighbors objected and wanted a free-flowing stream restored through the park. The Jenks Resolution in 1964 called for restoration of the River, and this question became the focus of two master plan proposals for the Lower Arroyo in the 1980s. The Arroyo Seco Foundation finished a feasibility study in 2003, and the Army

[50] The One Arroyo Foundation's trail project is a partnership with the City, but since elected officials worked with the Rose Bowl to create the group, most would place this partnership in a different category and much of the project funding is going to consultants.

Corps of Engineers began their own evaluation of restoration possibilities in 2005. Brick told me what's missing is an honest discussion about removing the flood control channel in the Central and Lower Arroyo:

> I've never underestimated the impact and possibility of flood here. I've studied the floods and know what they can do. And the floods we had here in 1938 and 1969, two specific instances, were so enormous compared to anything that's happened since then. But they're going to come back. There will be floods that big, maybe bigger. And this channel won't handle them. And it's foolish to think that it will. And those people that say, "How can you question the flood system they've put in place with the floods that are coming in the future?" Well, the big floods in the future are going to swamp this system. It's not adequate. It's not adequate right now probably for a 10-year storm, let alone a 100-year storm or a 500-year storm. So, that's the biggest conceit or arrogance of people or government, that they can pour concrete to control the nature of the Arroyo. - 8/20/22

Brick believes the problem is broader than the channel and involves a false confidence in engineering.

> Part of it is there is a religion of engineering. We defer to the engineers as solution providers and experts because we don't really know. But the engineering perspective in general has been very narrow and limited to the concerns of civil engineering. It's how do you make the wall thick enough or where do you put the braces. It's not about what will happen to the frogs or the fish or even how much water conservation are you going to get. - 12/13/21

Los Angeles County Public Works is now, after a long hiatus, working to finish the Army Corps' Restoration Feasibility Study. This study should provide initial thinking on how to remove the channel south of the Colorado Street Bridge along with an estimated cost that can become the basis for future planning and funding requests. In the meantime, the channel provides a constant visual reminder that the River flows through a concrete coffin, local government seems unresponsive, and the power needed to effect change feels reserved for those in the upper echelons of Pasadena's society.



Figure 55. *Flood control channel in the Lower Arroyo after a summer storm*

Searching for a comic twist

If tragedies narrow the narrative to a small set of fateful choices, comedies provide options by putting troublesome situations in context. If tragedies arrest social progress and ironies question the notion of progress altogether, comedies suggest that humans can learn, forgive, and reconcile. If tragedies block the natural flow of life, comedies dislodge obstacles and restore a sense of balance to the world (Meeker 1997). What transforms a seeming tragedy into a joyous comedy is the plot twist, the surprising turning point that smartly outwits the main antagonist and rallies the larger community to embrace a sense of possibility and abundance (Frye 1957). Seeing the signs of tragedy in the story of the Arroyo's parklands, a good dramaturg will also be gauging the potential for a comic twist. The place to start is by

identifying what fear, obsession, or steadfast position keeps society fixed in concrete or knotted in what Frye (1957) calls “ritual bondage.”

With Pasadena’s Arroyo, a clue comes from a 1922 aerial photo map of Pasadena. Taken less than two years after the completion of Devil’s Gate Dam but before completion of the flood control channel, the photo shows a braided outwash plain in the Central Arroyo and a large circular sand pit next to which someone has written “Stadium Site” to mark the future location of the Rose Bowl, which crews were in the process of building.



Figure 56. *Portion of 1922 aerial photomap of the Central Arroyo’s floodplain and the Rose Bowl stadium site (Photomap Company, and First National Trust and Savings Bank of Pasadena. 1922)*

The history of the Arroyo parklands shows that the City and community have prioritized the promise of material wealth, represented for the past century by the Rose Bowl, above the

Arroyo's ecological health and well-being, represented by the River. The photo captures the slow-motion moment when this seeming rivalry begins. In so doing it crystallizes a story that explains Arroyo advocacy for the past century up to the present day. If the City and community of Pasadena were parents, the River would be the first born, the dutiful daughter, supplying the family with the water and wood it needs to survive. By the early 20th century, the River also provided relief from the growing bustle of the fast-growing city, all while absorbing parental abuse in the form of rock crushing, gravel mining, dumping, and the rapid drawdown of its aquifer and springs. In 1922, the parents welcomed the Rose Bowl as the newest addition to the family and moved him into the daughter's room. This is the moment that the aerial photo captures. The new son proves to be the golden child in the eyes of his parents. They spoil him and shower him with gifts and privileges never offered to the daughter, who continues to do her best under increasingly trying circumstances, represented by a new flood control channel confining her flow; the construction of roads, parking lots, and golf courses across her floodplain; and the depletion of the aquifer that is her life source. As he grows, the prodigal son continues finding himself in debt and returns to the parents, who excuse the spending due to the fun and enjoyment that he adds to the family drama.

While the sacrifice of long-term ecological health for short-term economic gain is a common environmental storyline, the encapsulation of this story in two specific landscape features sharing the same geographic space focuses the narrative, turning it into a family drama with the River as the sympathetic protagonist, whose story parallels the Cinderella storyline of Pasadena's community arts sector (see chapter 4). This story helps to make sense of statements about the Arroyo such as this one from Claire Bogaard, the founding director of Pasadena Heritage:

> I think it's probably the most important historic resource in this community that we have and that it's been very badly maintained for years and years and years. And I think it's a treasure…I can't believe that this community hasn't taken better care of it - 3/17/23.

Or a similar statement from her husband Bill Bogaard, the former mayor:

> One of the problems with the Arroyo was how much of a priority it was for our staff. I'm not criticizing anyone, but the City Manager has a lot of things coming at them, and the Arroyo has always been a lower priority from the staff's point of view. - 7/21/22

The word that came up in interviews again and again in terms of the City's relationship with the Arroyo was "neglect." Rosa Laveaga described what this looked like from her vantage point within City government:

> I think people have the idea that a natural area doesn't cost anything to maintain. People think it's just fine and that it doesn't need any more money. And there are a lot of problems that need fixing. One is the flood control channel and the impact of the sediment that gets passed downstream. And then you have to look at the impact of excavating behind the dam. And then Brookside needs a lot of renovation. But people think it's a natural area, and people think it's okay as it is. - 5/18/22

John Dean, former president of the East Arroyo Residents Association, traces this neglect back to the breaking of color barrier at the Brookside Plunge and the increased presence of people of color in the park:

> I dare say that the park at one time fell into disrepair and that coincided with the more frequent use of the park by minorities. And so, Whites kind of abandoned that. And the word was that it wasn't safe to go down there… So, the care and attention to the park that would have been demanded by White users, you now had minority users, and it wasn't cared for as well for a long time. - 12/20/22

Community activist Brian Biery, who lives in a condominium along the east rim of the Arroyo, said that this neglect includes the future of what the Arroyo could become:

> And just to cut to the value of master planning, you have a vision of what it could be. But then you have to dedicate resources, time, energy toward the

> achievement of that vision, and that's what hasn't happened. So, the Arroyo, I wouldn't say it's languishing exactly, but it's sort of in a static state. Especially from the outside you look at it and say, "Oh, it's pretty good," but the amazing and visionary ideas that have been brought up through these planning processes are not being applied. And as a result, the Arroyo could be even better than it is. And there are various aspects to that. One is, of course, access to the Arroyo and use of the Arroyo and the recreational components of the Arroyo. But another is this whole concept of how it might be restored to a more natural setting as opposed to a flood channel and how does that happen in a way that allows for…another part of the value of the Arroyo is the water that is being utilized and drawn down into the aquifer and replenishing the aquifer.
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> And so bottom line, the Arroyo is a beautiful, extraordinary piece of landscape that most cities would love to have, and most cities don't have anything that's comparable. And yet it could even be of more value if there was a little bit more investment in it and dedication to it. -- 12/15/22

It's important, however, to remember what the Rose Bowl and the River represent in this story. The attention lavished on the Rose Bowl represents the priority the City and the community give to monetary wealth over ecological health and a blindness to value of the River and its contribution the well-being of the city's residents. Wes Reutimann explained how this blindness plays out in decision-making about the Arroyo.

> The types of things that I think a lot of open space advocates, environmental advocates, park advocates, see in the Arroyo are not things that generate direct financial revenue for the City. I think what's really going to drive what we see in the Arroyo is how much parking revenue the City is getting at UCLA games and other major events and what they can do to turn the stadium from an anchor to a net positive for the City again… But I don't hear discussions about re-naturalizing the Arroyo anymore. That concrete channel should be re-naturalized. They've studied it for thirty-plus years. – 5/27/22

Blindness is the leading cause of literary tragedy, and so if there is to be a comic twist, an action that will restore the vision of the community and help Pasadena avert the catastrophe that necessarily accompanies all tragedies, it must turn the City and community's attention from the monetary wealth that the Rose Bowl represents toward a recognition of the River's true value.

Re-casting the Rose Bowl

Jens Weiden has a tough job. Weiden served as the Chief Revenue Officer for the Rose Bowl for ten years before taking over as the stadium's CEO and General Manager in 2022. Daryl Dunn, the previous CEO, held the position for 23 years, giving the Rose Bowl a stable leadership team to weather what's proven to be a tumultuous 21st century. During my interview with Weiden, he made a compelling case for the importance of the stadium:

> When the Rose Bowl was built, it was built for one game a year. We're now the most famous soccer stadium in the United States. We've hosted concerts for Coldplay and the Rolling Stones. We are the best music festival site in Los Angeles. We do hundreds of other enterprise events throughout the year, from gala dinners to walk and runs, and that's not even taking into account our golf course, which is one of the top-five busiest golf courses on the west coast. - 1/24/23.

Over its history, in addition to the New Year's day college football game, the stadium has hosted five National Football League (NFL) Super Bowls, two Olympic Games (with the third rapidly approaching in 2028), both the men's and women's World Cup soccer finals, and once a month, what is arguably the largest flea market on the West Coast.[51] The Rose Bowl promotes itself as "America's Stadium," and it is hard to think of a more distinctive stadium or arena anywhere in the world. Despite this pedigree, Weiden faces a challenge in finding a way for the roughly 300 acres of the Central Arroyo that he oversees, including the stadium, parking lots, and two golf courses, to support itself. This means earning enough revenue to not only pay annual operating expenses but also maintenance and renovations that will keep the Rose Bowl competitive with the newer stadiums and arenas in the Los Angeles area. At the same time, due to complaints by

[51] The Rose Bowl also came close to serving as the temporary home for the Los Angeles Dodgers from 1958 to 1961 during the construction of Dodger Stadium. The Dodgers ended up playing in the Los Angeles Coliseum, and negotiations with the Rose Bowl might have simply been a ploy to secure a better deal. But the same complaints that surrounded hosting a professional football team in the early 2000s took place in the 1950s about hosting the Dodgers (Finch 1957).

Pasadena's most affluent residents about noise and traffic, the City has placed a cap on the major events the stadium can hold, constraining its bookings, and sending Weiden and his staff in search of novel ways to generate revenue.

Casting the Rose Bowl as the prodigal son in the story above reflects its history. From the start, the Rose Bowl's boosters, which included the Chamber of Commerce, promised the stadium would pay for itself ("Arroyo for Stadium Urged" 1920). But just six weeks before the first game, the Tournament of Roses needed the City's help in securing a loan to finish constructions as advance sales of seats fell far short of projections ("Trouble About Stadium Over" 1922; "Urge Action on Arroyo Stadium" 1922). Don McIntyre served as the City Manager from 1973 to 1990 and said that when he started the Rose Bowl was "a real loser" and that people told him that the City should either begin marketing the stadium more aggressively or get rid of it (Mann 1982). The stadium finally netted a profit in 1982 thanks to hosting its first two Super Bowls. An audit in 1992, however, showed the stadium had lost money five of the six previous years, which is when the city council created the Rose Bowl Operating Company (RBOC) to market and manage the stadium (Newton 1992b, 1992a). Weiden explains the rationale.

> The idea was that you had some kind of structure that reported up, that represented our tenants that committed to us long-term or to the residents of Pasadena that are ultimately the owners of the stadium. The City Council are owner's reps, but they don't own the stadium. The taxpayers of Pasadena own the stadium. So, I believe the course of the RBOC has been to try to have a fiduciary responsibility so we don't become a massive drain on the City budget. If you look at a city of 150,000 people, it's really not big enough to support a stadium of this size, let alone one that's 100 years old. So, how do we over time find new revenues to offset the expenses to maintain a building that's 100 years young and also the rising expenses for our industry in general. - 1/24/23.

It's been a struggle. In 1999, the Rose Bowl had an operating loss of $700,000 and debt service payments of $1.1 million on $32 million in renovations. At the time, Mayor Bill Bogaard was quoted as saying that given the amount of money put into the stadium over the previous decade, the City hoped for better financial performance (Ulrich 1999). By 2005, annual losses for the stadium amounted to $2 million a year (Scott 2005). This was the context that made chasing a long-term contract with an NFL. team so tempting. But a proposed $450 million retrofit of the stadium that included two giant towers for luxury boxes generated strong objections from Pasadena Heritage, and voters ultimately rejected the proposal in 2006 (DiMassa 2004). In lieu of the NFL, the RBOC has pressed all the buttons to find financial stability. Strategies include fundraising from individuals using events and campaigns, such as the Party of the Century; corporate sponsorships; support from the local, county, state, and federal government; and event income, which includes long-term contracts with the Tournament of Roses and UCLA for football, individual concerts, and smaller events organized by businesses and non-profits. For many years, revenue from the two adjacent golf courses subsidized losses from the stadium itself (Scott 2005). Prior to the pandemic, however, the popularity of golf waned. Fortunately, as people searched for safe outdoor recreation opportunities during the pandemic, the number of people signing up for tee times surged, helping the RBOC's bottom line. But in fiscal years 2021 and 2022, the City had to use over $10 million from the general fund to cover bond payments from the $192 million in renovations completed in 2016 (Williams 2022).[52] The most recent annual budget report projected the stadium will still lose money, but this fiscal year will not need additional money from the City ("Rose Bowl Operating Company to Present 2024 Budget to Finance Committee Monday" 2023).

[52] Bonuses of $100,000 to $150,000 given to the Rose Bowl's top staff during this period did not endear the stadium to the city council or Arroyo advocates (Williams 2022).

Evidence for the Rose Bowl's status as its golden child came from the City Council in 2001. The contract the City made with American Golf to manage the Arroyo's two golf courses in 1985 stipulated 10 percent of green fees would go to toward projects in the greater Arroyo, which a staff report said meant projects outlined in the Lower Arroyo Master Plan (Lee 2000b). A re-organization of the finances in 2000 revealed this amounted to $2.3 million dollars that both the Recreation and Parks Commission and the Rose Bowl sought to use. At the time, Michael Hurley, the chair of the Recreation and Parks Commission stated "'We just feel the rest of the Arroyo deserves the same kind of financial commitment as the Rose Bowl and the golf course'" (Lee 2000a). The City Council voted that the Rose Bowl should be able to claim 100 percent of golf course fees moving forward with some councilors arguing that since the RBOC generated money for local hotels and businesses, it was financially prudent to give them support (Cherniss 2001; Lee 2001). The stadium's history, however, calls this reasoning into question. This mostly forgotten incident demonstrates how short-term economic thinking has often captured the imagination of the City's leadership to the exclusion of a broader understanding of wealth and well-being.

Weiden said the RBOC has come to realize that what sets the Rose Bowl apart from other stadiums in the Los Angeles area is its setting. This led to using the golf course for music festivals and the discussion of building an outdoor amphitheater.

> I was walking around with a politician when we started our music festivals, and he had this epiphany and was like, "This is the best part of Pasadena. This our five-star park, and before this time the only people who got to use it were people who tailgated for a sporting event or golfers." And now with this music festival, it's very eclectic. There are kids running around, there's activity going on; it's another way to show what's magical about the Central Arroyo to different people that come at it from a different perspective. That's something that I've really focused on. As a steward for this place, we need to find other ways to protect it. You know, I'm a golfer. It could be easy to say, "You're wrecking the golf

> course. Look at all these festivals. They're a mess, and there are all these other things going on." I also come at it from a business standpoint and say, "This ground, the golf course, now punches at $5 million, not $2. So, it's much more difficult for us to talk about paving it or putting up a hotel or other things that might not be in line with current uses because it doesn't punch its weight." Now, with the music festival paired with the golf course, you start to have the ability to say, "Hey, the financial success of this area could protect the area." And to me that's why I think it's a really good story for us, is how do we go into this to try to find financial wins but also protect what's special about this place. - 1/24/23.

With this nod toward the importance of the condition of the Arroyo beyond the stadium, the RBOC is entering the broader conversation about Arroyo parklands for the first time. Weiden recognizes that the economic perspective that he and his team bring to this conversation is different from that of the Arroyo advocates interested in wildlife and stream restoration.

> This is my opinion. I think we play an important role because we're a current user. We're a very large current user. And if you look at the ideas about what the future of the Arroyo is, replacing the RBOC…There are conversations, there is the Army Corps of Engineers that are talking about re-naturalizing the Central Arroyo and so there are a multitude of groups being involved. In my opinion, the current uses of the Central Arroyo were not necessarily dictated by the RBOC, they were dictated by the market. So, the market said, "We want a place to recreate." Golfers said, "We want a place to play golf. We want a place to go to music festivals. We're UCLA and we want to come and play our games there." So, the market is driving what the Central Arroyo looks like. I would also make the case that it's been less impacted than most areas of Los Angeles. Sometimes that's a win. Saying, "Never touch it. Leave it alone." That's one way to go. But when you get to a point where you're financially struggling, you might get to a point where you start making bad decisions whereas if you can make decisions in the Arroyo that are also good financial decisions, those financial decisions can help protect it.
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> The perspective that my organization comes at this from is that what makes us magic as compared to SoFi Stadium and the Coliseum is our setting, and so how can we monetize our setting while protecting it because guess what, if we wreck our setting, we aren't different. We're just an older version of those other places. So, that's where I hope the Rose Bowl can help because you can say, "Maybe down at the casting pond we're not going to go full Rose Bowl, but is there a way it can spin off and be something and make that place better." I'm making it

> up. Does REI want to have casting lessons down there and would they pay for it? It's not a great example, but that's how I look at my area. How do we protect it through activity? - 1/24/23.

Within the sibling story of the River and the Rose Bowl, this comment represents a recognition that the stadium is part of a family unit. This framing, however, foregrounds the financial bottom line and defines success of any Arroyo initiative in a way that redirects attention back to the stadium: if the measure of success is what activity generates the most revenue, the Rose Bowl will always be first in line. But on the expense side of the ledger, in addition to paying off its $192 million dollar bond, the RBOC is already eyeing additional renovations. Weiden explained the stadium's needs and what has his attention:

> You know the Rose Bowl is a hundred years old and there's a feeling that we're done, that "Didn't you do your renovation ten years ago?" That would be like having a hundred-year-old house saying, "Didn't you renovate your kitchen ten years ago? Aren't you done?" No, no, no. It's a hundred years old, and we need to keep renting it out and keep it vibrant. So, our next phase is to look at our seating bowl. Our leg room is 27 inches, which is below industry standards. We need more aisles in places where we have thirty seats in a row. So, there is quite a bit of that stuff that we need to look at. And on the golf course improvements, we have other capital projects.
>
> ***
>
> So, the two things that are massively important to my organization right now is solving our operating deficit, which we're on track to do, and we're going to go to Council in the coming months to show them the path. And then almost more importantly is identifying long-term capital funding sources for the campus and not just the stadium. - 1/24/23.

This pressurized context generated by the market lends itself to solutions that discount broader goals related to wildlife, mental and physical health, social justice, and community fellowship. As an example, the RBOC is currently pushing the installation of a lighted, artificial turf, miniature golf course on two acres of land adjacent to the flood control channel. Investing in new infrastructure right next to the flood control channel is not only risky given the channel's inadequacies but would make it much more difficult in the future to restore the River through

this stretch of the canyon. Advocates would argue that the Arroyo is not just a setting but a river system with fluvial dynamics, a distinct riparian ecology, and a place that can absorb and store millions of gallons of desperately needed water for the city.



Figure 57. *Diagram showing the proposed new driving range and miniature golf course. Placing this next to the flood channel will make restoration more difficult (PlaceWorks 2023).*

It is important to state that almost everyone I spoke with wants the Rose Bowl to succeed. Even Tim Brick, the most consistent advocate for taking a more-than-human point of view, sees the RBOC as a potential partner rather than an adversary. When I asked who in the Arroyo needed more humility, he mentioned the RBOC, but was quick to qualify his answer:

> Sometimes the Rose Bowl Operating Company, which has kind of had a narrow approach to what the Arroyo is about and has basically not always been sensitive

> to neighbors and not been sensitive to recreational users in the Arroyo…Now, I have to say that Darryl Dunn tried very hard to be responsive to the community, and in many ways, was a model public servant, who really did try hard. Now, they didn't turn the golf course natural, which would have been a great thing to do, which we discussed with them at times. But there was more of a sensitivity to neighbors and recreation users and noise and other kinds of things like that. Darryl was a good public servant, so I wouldn't go hammers and tongs against the Rose Bowl Operating Company. They haven't been a super big villain. - 8/20/22

What advocates for the River are looking for, however, is a sense of balance, a situation in which the City and community, as parents, sit their prodigal son down and say, "We love you. You're important, but this is your older sister's moment to shine." This is the comic twist that could potentially avert the reckoning that Arroyo advocates fear for Pasadena's future, a reckoning I discuss further in chapter 6.

River of dreams

In 1988, the City of Pasadena paid Cal-Poly Pomona's Landscape Architecture Department $25,000 to create a master plan for its Lower Arroyo Seco Park. Graduate students in the department's design studio described three design options for the canyon before endorsing and beautifully illustrating what they titled their Life Stream Concept as the preferred option for the master plan, which advocated for removal of the Lower Arroyo's concrete flood control channel and restoration of a living stream. The plan states ""Life stream inspires a life giving force that seeds and nourishes the land, plants and wildlife. It draws people towards its edges and restore[s] the magical and emotional spirit of wildness in the Lower Arroyo" (Aultfather et al. 1988, 28). The plan provides a blueprint for removal of the channel between the Colorado Street Bridge and La Loma (now John van de Kamp) Bridges, including plans for the repositioning of existing user groups within the Lower Arroyo, restoration of native habitat, flood control possibilities, circulation and parking recommendations, funding mechanisms,

management and staff options, and a description of education and outreach opportunities to engage the community. The plan forecasts that "Once again a stream will flow through the Lower Arroyo Seco. It will bring nourishment to the land and restore the magical and emotional spirit of wildness that brought people and fame to the City of Pasadena. Where there now is a concrete flood control channel there will soon be a stream of life" (33).



Figure 58. *Aerial photo of Rose Bowl Game, New Year's Day 1929. Photo shows the Arroyo confined to a ditch but with a soft-bottom. Work crews would convert this channel to concrete during the Great Depression. ("Arroyo Seco during Georgia Tech - California Game" 1929. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, C12-64 oversize)*

This plan was not a flight of fancy from idealistic students. It was a response to decades of advocacy for removing the channel, an aspiration included in the Jencks Resolution from 1964, reaffirmed by the City's Arroyo Seco Master Plan Committee in 1971, incorporated into

the City's general plan in 1977, and validated by an Army Corps of Engineers study in 1980. A review of newspaper articles and planning documents back through time reveal a consistent drumbeat of advocacy to take out the channel (see appendix 32). Longtime Arroyo advocate Tom Seifert explained what taking out the channel would mean:

> It would be a rallying point beyond belief. I think that would spark a whole era of restoration. - 8/17/22.

The easiest answer for why concrete remains in the River is the cost of removing it. Across the decades, estimates have varied from $4.4 million to $500 million, depending on the location and length of channel slated for removal. Currently, Los Angeles County Public Works is finishing a long-stalled technical feasibility study that the Army Corps of Engineers started in 2005 on restoration opportunities along the Arroyo Seco that will hopefully provide some numbers for different restoration scenarios. But ultimately removing the flood control channel is not a question of money. It is a question of what the community values most. The dramaturgical question that can move Pasadena toward this comic twist is how can the city build its economy around a healthy River. How can the health of the River become a line that the community is not willing to cross in its pursuit of prosperity? The Native people I interviewed discussed the importance of rivers and riparian areas for their mental and spiritual health, and this question certainly aligns with what records of Gabrieleno/Tongva cosmology and worldview (Johnston 1962; Jurmain and McCawley 2009; McCawley 1996; Monroy 1990). It is not that measuring the costs and benefits is unimportant, but in an era of climate change, species collapse, economic inequality, and environmental injustice, how we measure those costs and benefits needs to change. This question applies not just to the Arroyo but to all public space, which in our economic system will always be under pressure to produce an economic return to taxpayers.

The sibling story of the Rose Bowl and the River gives Pasadena a concrete way to grapple with this question.

For a comic twist to work in a story it has to be surprising, almost unimaginable, and leave the audience in a state of bemused wonder. Choosing the River over the Rose Bowl for once would accomplish this. Tim Sales is an urban planner and developer who served on Pasadena's Design Commission:

> We're so in that camp of having a huge golf course and a stadium, it's hard to imagine anything else. Obviously, you could have a very different environment. But the City is very stodgy in that way. Again, it's the historic preservation thing. That's an identity and historic preservation priority for the city. - 8/2/22

For Andrew Salimian, former Preservation Director for Pasadena Heritage, imagining the Arroyo without the Rose Bowl is hard to picture:

> The Rose Bowl is an important visual backdrop even if you're not using it. It's important to have a place marker there. Parks around the country have these kinds of relics or buildings, even if you're not inside, it's important for the experience. Without it, the Arroyo would just be a big open space and you'd have to program it somehow. - 6/17/22

Putting aside the fact that a big open space in the Central Arroyo is what the 1918 Arroyo Park Plan called for, the possibility of holding open space for populations of plants and animals or as a space to capture stormwater and replenish the City's aquifer has a hard time breaking through. In discussing the future of the Arroyo and the Rose Bowl, Joan Aarestad, president of the East Arroyo Residents Association said she's been trying to dream up an alternative activity that could capture the public's imagination and be just as lucrative as football.

> I just wonder if we can get people excited about another idea like the Rose Parade. I just think there's something else we can do. - 7/11/22

Within a well-planned placekeeping process, a mixed team of artists and stakeholders could take on the task of devising alternatives. One productive place for such a team to start

would be with water conservation. Pasadena currently receives roughly 40 percent of its water from the Raymond Basin aquifer with the remainder coming from the Colorado River. The cost of imported water is already rising sharply, which makes slowing down, capturing, and percolating runoff into the aquifer financially smart. Jens Weiden said the RBOC spends about $1 million a year on water and has pursued multiple projects in partnership with Pasadena Water and Power to reduce its use.

> The best way we've been part of it is being a part of Pasadena's water solution. If I'm the general manager of Water and Power and I have 300 acres of land with lakes and storage facilities on it, that can be part of my water solution. It's not a problem. It's a water solution. So, I think there's some opportunity for us there. We've also done a massive amount of turf reduction and water reduction. Just this year, we're reducing our water use by 20 percent, which is very hard to do when our use has gone up by more than 20 percent...From fifteen years ago, we're using way less water, way less water. It's still not enough though. – 1/24/23

Finding ways to use the golf courses to not only hold stormwater in its lakes but boost groundwater levels could not only reduce the RBOC's water bill but lower the water bills for the entire city, giving the golf course greater value in the eyes of the community. This type of broad-based, long-term, full-cost accounting should be the norm when determining land-use policies and budgets.[53]

[53] A second element where the Rose Bowl could achieve cost savings is in thinking about soil. Between the music festivals and tailgating parties, the soil underneath the greens and fairways of the golf course has suffered compaction, reducing its health, and requiring more fertilizers to maintain. A potential solution presented itself in 2016 when the stadium contracted with 301 Organics, a local composting company, that helped create a trial on-site composting operation to collect food scraps during large events and from the Brookside Clubhouse Restaurant next to the golf course. The company not only turned this food waste into a high-quality soil amendment but created a green jobs training program for local youth. (Lenches-Hinkel n.d.; Thompson 2024). Unfortunately, with a turnover in staffing, the RBOC reverted to a narrow-form of accounting and decided it would be cheaper to hire a traditional hauler to transport its food waste off-site, thereby ending the program and increasing its greenhouse gas emissions.

This is the brilliance of Tim Brick's audacious question in asking what it would take to restore steelhead trout to the Arroyo Seco. He explained what we can learn from the steelhead:

> They are the height of pyramid of special species. And they represent a healthy water system and a society that has some respect for nature and the ability to manage nature in a sensible and resilient way. This trout is very interesting because it's the species that's most used to dry conditions. So, looking at the future, these fish could be very important to the survival of other salmonids. We need to figure out why they are so successful at surviving the dry conditions. - 2/14/22

Brick's question provides a living measure of progress for not only the ecological health of the River but the social and spiritual health of Pasadena as a community. It helps the community to realize that material wealth should ultimately support physical, social, and spiritual wellness for the community. A vital relationship with a complex species and the river that it depends on is not the only measure of health, but it is one of the best we have. I expand on what steps Pasadena can take to move toward restoration of the River in chapter 7.

Another strategy to find the comic twist in the story of Arroyo parklands is to focus attention on the one quality that the Arroyo possesses in great abundance: the space to play. Comedy relies on and results in play. And so, the final section of this chapter will look at stories about recreation and making play accessible to all corners of the community.

Recreation stories in the Arroyo

On March 18, 1942 two Pasadena baseball players went down to Brookside Park in the Arroyo Seco where the Chicago White Sox were in the midst of their spring training. The older of the two was 27-year-old Nate Moreland, who was both a pitcher and a catcher.[54] His teammate and friend was a 23-year-old shortstop named Jackie Robinson. A newspaper

[54] Moreland's age is in dispute. I've opted for 1914 as the year he was born rather than 1917 listed in some sources.

correspondent had arranged a tryout and meeting with the White Sox manager Jimmy Dykes. Four years earlier, Robinson had gotten Dykes attention in an exhibition game against the White Sox at Brookside. That day he recorded two hits, stole a base, and handled a smash by batting champion Luke Appling to turn a double play. Dykes let Robinson and Moreland workout with the team but explained that they would not be getting a contract: professional teams didn't allow African Americans to play baseball (Kamka 2019). Of course, five years later in 1947, Branch Rickey, the general manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers, broke that rule and put Robinson on his opening day roster. That same year, Moreland would become the first African American to play professional baseball west of the Mississippi by pitching for the El Centro Imperials, a minor league professional team near California's southern border (McConnell 1998).

This forgotten footnote of baseball history contains many of the most important elements of the Arroyo's recreation story. First, the fact that the tryout happened at all is a testament to the relatively integrated nature of baseball at Brookside. Pasadena baseball since the first decades of the 20th century included teams of African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Japanese Americans as well as integrated school teams like the one at Pasadena Junior College for whom Moreland and Robinson were star players. Multi-racial crowds gathered at Brookside to cheer on their teams and favorite players with little trouble.[55] Despite this, if Robinson and Moreland walked roughly a hundred yards from the baseball diamond to the Brookside Plunge swimming pool, the city attendant would have refused to let them enter because of the color of their skin. In Pasadena, recreation was where the promise of an

[55] The Ku Klux Klan had several teams playing in amateur leagues in Los Angeles starting in 1924. Klan teams across the country were an attempt to normalize the KKK as an accepted part of mainstream American life (Harcourt 2014).

integrated community first came into view, and these hundred yards between the Plunge and baseball diamond served as the spatial representation of this unfolding change.



Figure 59. *Pasadena Star-News photo showing Jackie Robinson as part of integrated Pasadena Junior College baseball team. This image from an article on March 11, 1939 shows that Pasadena witnessed Jackie Robinson playing on an integrated team a decade before he became the first African American to play Major League baseball in 1947("White Sox Play Pasadena Sox Sunday at Brookside" 1939).*

Second, this change only happened as the result of collective struggle. Jackie Robinson has become a symbol of the exceptional and heroic individual that overcomes segregation. But this image obscures the role that the entire community played in his achievement and diverts attention from the structural barriers Pasadena's leaders put in place that caused Robinson to vow he would never go back to Pasadena (Kaliss 2018).[56] This is why Nate Moreland is an

[56] Focusing exclusively on Robinson's individual achievement implicitly blames the victim of discrimination, essentially saying, "If Jackie Robinson could succeed, why can't you?"

important part of this story. In a 1998 interview, Moreland's sister said Robinson was always at their house, and her brother served as a mentor for him, encouraging Robinson to focus on baseball. "'His motto was 'we lift as we climb.' His whole life was devoted to helping others. And there was no one Nate helped more than Jackie Robinson'" (McConnell 1998). Moreland's motto is an apt summary of the determined, collective response across thirty-three years that finally desegregated the Brookside Plunge in 1947, the same year Robinson and Moreland broke into professional baseball.[57]

Third, the story underscores the national impact of the Arroyo's recreation story. The imprint of Jackie Robinson's story is the clearest example, but the NAACP's court victory in desegregating the Brookside Plunge set an important precedent for battling similar restrictions across the country (Hudson 2020; Shorr 2002). The Rose Parade and Rose Bowl football game are also Arroyo-related recreation activities with a national profile. Less well-known is how in 1959, at Cleveland Elementary just east of the Arroyo, the school that all the Robinson children attended growing up, a White science teacher would start a Junior Audubon Science Club that would grow to become a national leader for introducing young people of color to wild spaces and career pathways in conservation.

Far from being an escape from more serious issues, the topic of recreation provides a window into the city's past and touches almost everyone's lives in the present. It is fundamental to the city's economy and its identity. As Pasadena's main playground, the Arroyo sits at the

[57] This community response against segregation came from several races, including Whites. The very same day that Robinson and Moreland had their tryout in Brookside Park, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9102 establishing the War Relocation Authority to create the internment camps that would imprison Japanese American citizens. The following week, just up the hill from Brookside at Lincoln Elementary School, the Japanese American Citizens League told close to 500 Japanese American they had three days to put their affairs in order and urged them to volunteer for "evacuation." (Corliss 1942). The Robinsons were one of several families that would take care of Japanese American property during internment until their return (see appendix 28).

center of a recreation story that is fundamentally comic but slides toward satiric in relation to past discrimination and the cultural barriers that still discourage full enjoyment of the park.

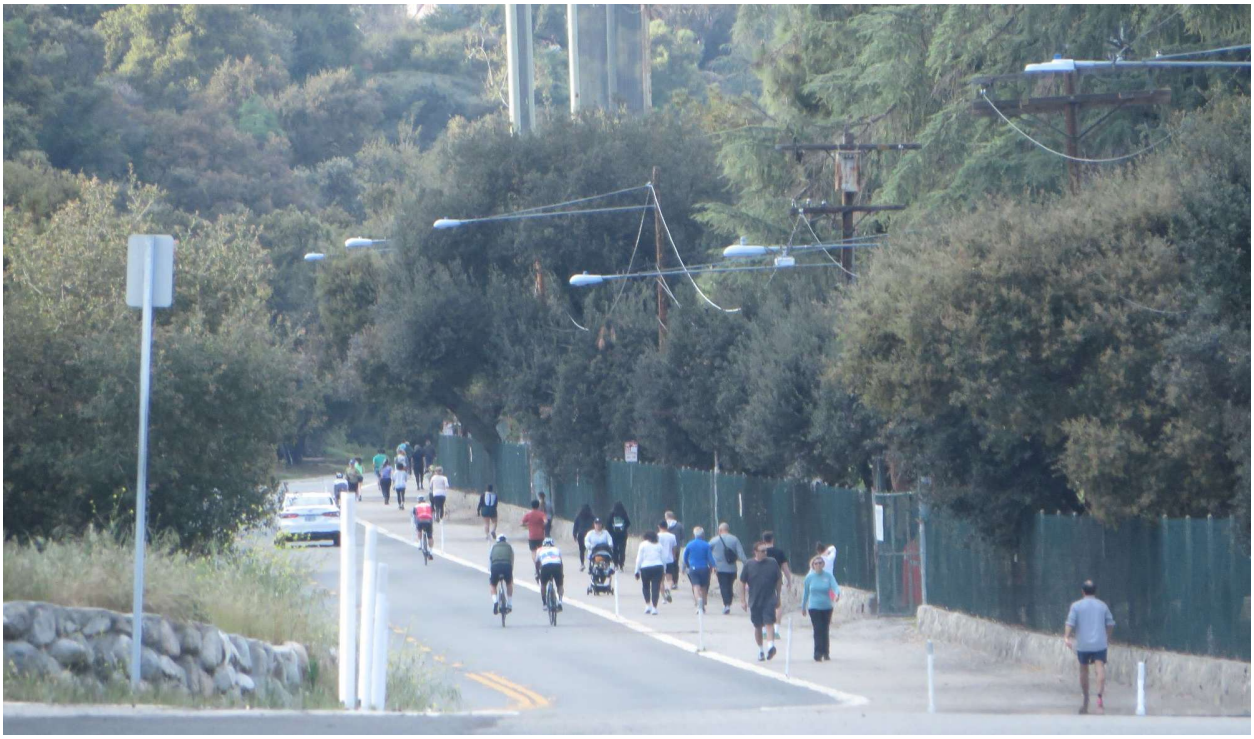

Figure 60. Runners and cyclists using the loop around the Rose Bowl and Brookside Golf Course. *Thousands of people use the three-mile loop every day for exercise.*

Recreational comedy

While the narrative of Arroyo advocacy only aspired to a comic twist that might reverse the community's disheartening neglect of the River, the story of Arroyo recreation is necessarily comic because it grounds itself in play. Literary ecologist Joseph Meeker writes about the close connection between play and the comic spirit:

> Play is the enactment of the comic spirit...play is comedy in action...Play promotes equality among playmates, and accommodates novelty and spontaneity in their relationships. Genuine play is not goal-oriented behavior, but it appears to provide a necessary foundation for successful living, and perhaps for the creation of art, music, and literature. (Meeker 1997, 10).

The role of play and leisure in Pasadena's economy is longstanding. Multiple resort hotels dotted the early city and attracted wealthy tourists who bought land, built mansions above the

Arroyo, and began to cultivate the recreational pursuits that their life of leisure demanded, such as horseback riding and golf (see appendix 33). Many of these families joined the Valley Hunt Club, whose hunting parties chased wildlife up and down the canyon (Scheid 1988). In 1890, members of the club organized the Tournament of Roses, which became a premiere recreation event for New Year's Day, first for Los Angeles and then for the nation. Before building the Rose Bowl and settling on an annual football game, the tournament included running, cycling, horse and chariot races, and a series of contests rooted in the region's Hispanic past (Martinez 2009; Scheid 1988). Today, the stadium and attached golf courses form a three-mile loop that thousands of runners, walkers, and cyclists use every day. South of the stadium, Brookside Park contains not only the Aquatics Center and baseball diamond, but tennis courts, Kidspace Children's Museum, two playgrounds, and several athletic fields where people can activate the comic spirit of play.

Pasadena's recreation story is also comic because of the importance the community has always placed on health. Both Meeker (1997) and Frye (1957) argue that comedy roots itself in an ethic of health and balance. Before White settlement, Gabrieleno/Tongva families used Sheep Corral Springs, where the Rose Bowl Aquatics Center is today, for therapeutic sweats (Reid and McClatchie 1895). Many of the founders of Pasadena moved from the Midwest in the 1870s to rescue their health from the hard winters, and these founders quickly began promoting the area's restorative climate through their writing, attracting numerous families hoping to rehabilitate the lungs of beloved family members (Farnsworth 1883; Holder 1888).[58] The Arroyo has also always been important for mental health.

[58] Emma Bangs' boarding house, which overlooked the Arroyo and would eventually become the Vista del Arroyo Hotel and then an army hospital, was particularly popular with those suffering from tuberculosis (Hudson 1985).



Figure 61. *Chariot race for the Tournament of Roses in 1911. Before organizing the Rose Bowl football game, post parade festivities for the Tournament of Roses included chariot races and other physical contests. ("Pasadena Tournament of Roses chariot race, 1911" 1911. https://doi.org/10.25549/chs-m11230)*

The third reason that Pasadena's recreation story belongs in the comic mode is because it has been the place where there has been real progress in dispelling discrimination. Most comic stories are about overcoming unreasonable obstructions that have thrown the world out of balance. This would be a euphemistic description for the prejudice and terrorism that blanketed Pasadena in the middle of the last century. Racism in Pasadena's business community and City government policies was most explicit in the 1930s and 1940s. In addition to housing discrimination, the City and local businesses would only hire African Americans for low-status positions, if at all.[59] Restaurants, skating rinks, movie theaters, and public dances all practiced segregation (Cartland 1948). But as the 1940s moved forward, it was recreation where these barriers first began to fall. In 1939, the Pasadena Sox won the California Amateur Baseball

[59] With the city, this meant sweeping the streets or collecting rubbish (Williams 2001)

Championship at Brookside with Jackie Robinson and Nate Moreland as their star players. In 1942, the NAACP won its case to desegregate the Plunge, and by 1947, the color line was breaking down at the YMCA and YWCA, the Pasadena City College pool, and within the girl scouts, which not only had integrated troops but held mixers for the parents (Cartland 1948; Shorr 2002; "Title Taken by Pasadena Sox" 1939). In 1955, an African American won the Pasadena Golf Championship at Brookside, and later African Americans held jobs managing reservations for the Brookside courses and acting as course marshals, giving them on-site authority over what many identify as a White sport ("McDaniel Pasadena Golf King" 1955).[60] Perhaps the most important progress has come in a concerted effort to diversify the Tournament of Roses Association, that, until the end of 20th century, consisted primarily of older White men. Pressure in the 1990s from local activists and figures like the Reverend Jesse Jackson resulted in a transformation of the organization so that today it is much more representative of Pasadena as a whole (Newton 1993). As the most well-attended, historically meaningful, and economically important activity in the city, the parade provides more evidence of racial progress in and around community recreation.

A satiric response

This progress would not have occurred if a multi-racial coalition had not come together to call out prejudice and segregation as ridiculous, small-minded, and self-interested. Literary critic Northrup Frye (1957) argues that a subset of comic stories focuses on dispelling of illusions stemming from "disguises, obsession, hypocrisy, or unknown parentage" (170). This is the type of story that most closely matches with recreation in the Arroyo. To dispel illusions,

[60] Today, the majority of golfers using the Brookside courses are Asian Americans, a boom that is helping to boost revenue for the Rose Bowl Operating Company. Personal interview, Larry Wilson, 1/23/23

such racial superiority, an ironic attitude and satiric response is almost essential and wholly inescapable.

The first surprising irony is that, given how central health and recreation has been to the history and development of Pasadena, the community was slow to invest in public parks and playgrounds. Voters approved the bond to create Central and Memorial Park in 1902, but the city didn't have an official playground until 1909 (see appendix 33).[61] Almost overnight, this recreation spot on the Carmelita property became the most popular place in town. But this burst of public enthusiasm didn't last. In the spring of 1913, the community not only failed to pass a modest bond for Arroyo parkland but voted down proposals to purchase Carmelita, Monk Hill and parkland in East Pasadena ("Defeat all Bonds" 1913). This election result is what led to the creation of Brookside Park, as the city decided to move much of its recreational infrastructure from Carmelita down to the Arroyo land that they acquired from the local water companies ("Pasadena: Wreck Victims to Lie at Rest" 1913). This lack of public investment meant recreation became an increasing focus for local philanthropy. The most noted gift was $6,0000 from Mrs. E. W. Brooks for a community pool. With this donation Arroyo Springs Park became Brookside Park, and the city dedicated the Brookside Plunge on July 4, 1914. It quickly became one of the busiest public pools in California (Hudson 2020).

The Plunge is central to the story of Arroyo recreation and to Pasadena as a city. Less than ten days after opening the pool, the board of city commissioners imposed racial segregation on the facility, allowing people of color to use the pool only on Wednesday afternoons from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m. The Plunge quickly became a symbol of White supremacy and focal point over the next three decades in the struggle for civil rights. After the African

[61] The original name of Memorial Park was Library Park because it was next to the original library.

American community boycotted the pool in protest, city leaders banned non-Whites from the pool altogether before creating "International Day" for people of color in 1930 (Shorr 2002). City leaders offered a number of specious arguments in and out of court to justify segregation (see appendix 33 for a detailed summary). Most galling was casting segregation as a matter of public health. For example, they relieved White concern by draining the pool after people of color would swim.[62] And after the California Supreme Court refused to hear the City's appeal of their integration decision, the city manager, C. W. Koiner, asked the city attorney if the city could require patrons to present a health certificate to use the pool (Shorr 2002). Racial segregation at the time supported the promotion of Pasadena as a healthy place for Whites to live, work, and play. A century later, many recognize such White supremacy as an illness, or at the very least, nonsensical. John Dean, former president of the East Arroyo Residents Association speaks to this in relation to the Plunge:

> But when you look at a lot of these reports and studies, they almost always characterize the victim as a problem and being a pox on the good community. The Brookside Plunge, the fact that you can only swim on the last day, and then we're going to drain the pool. You don't want to be around them because they're dirty people, and there's disease and all of that. But these are the same people that you have coming in your house, cleaning it...taking care of your kids, preparing your food, They're drivers transporting you wherever you want to go. They are intimately involved with your life, but you don't want them living next door to you. That doesn't make any sense. — 7/13/22

[62] A pool attendant during this period later admitted that they only drained the pool enough so people would think they were refilling the entire pool with fresh water. Refilling the entire pool would have been too expensive for the City (Baker 1990).



Figure 62. *African Americans at Brookside Plunge in 1933. In response to community organizing, the city in 1930 again allowed people of color to use the pool once a week on what they called "International Day," after which they promised to drain the pool. ("*Brookside Plunge – 1933" *1933. Courtesy of the Pasadena Public Library, Pasadena, California)*

However, the logic behind segregating the Plunge and other forms of recreation becomes clearer when recognized as a systematic effort to monopolize real estate and manipulate property values by stoking racial and class anxieties (Crimi 1941; Nicolaides 2024). Having different races successfully play together, as many had done at the Carmelita playground and in the school system, disrupted this enterprise, so White leaders correctly surmised that drawing a color line within recreation was essential to their wealth-building scheme. In 1933 City Attorney Herbert Hahn became the head of the recreation department that managed the City and school district recreation programs. City Director A.I. Stewart was one of department's officers ("H.L. Hahn Will Lead Activities" 1933). In 1939, Hahn and Stewart would become the most prominent leaders of the Pasadena Improvement Association, the group that paid canvassers to knock on doors asking if owners wanted to restrict future sale of their home to members of the

White race. For five dollars, the Association filed all the appropriate paperwork, and by 1940, 60 percent of all homes in the city had restrictions (Crimi 1941). Hahn and Stewart organized the Association less than two weeks after the NAACP filed the lawsuit that would finally desegregate the Plunge (Shorr 2002).

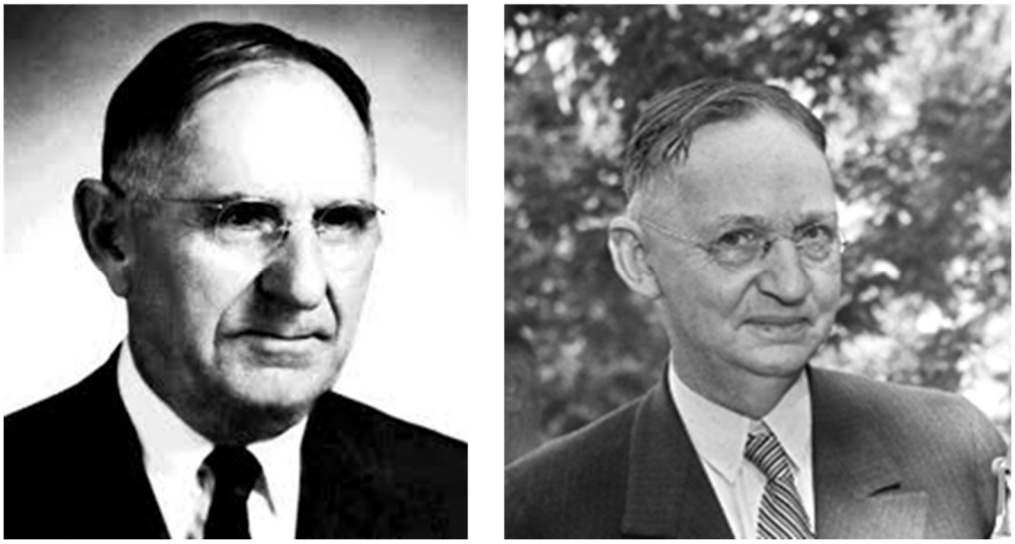

Figure 63. *Herbert L. Hahn (left) and Albert I. Stewart (right). Hahn was a longtime trustee of Caltech. Stewart was a city director, mayor, and State Assemblyman. ("Trustee Herbert L. Hahn" n.d. Caltech Images Collection; "John Steven McGroarty at a microphone" 1935. Los Angeles Times Photographic Archive, UCLA Library Special Collections, licensed under CC by 4.0UCLA Special Collections).*

Richard Castellano grew up on Del Monte Street in the East Arroyo neighborhood in the early 1950s and '60s (see appendix 28). He recalled the times growing up when his uncles would come over and help his father build the house that he grew up in.

> So, my grandfather was very light-skinned with blonde hair and blue eyes. My dad was olive-skinned, black hair, and brown eyes. And three of his boys had light hair like my grandfather, like their dad. So, anyway they could get into Brookside, put the quarter on the desk and just keep right on walking into the pool. And my dad and his brothers that didn't look white, they would have to sit on the outside. And they would laugh; they would just joke because his other two brothers could walk right in because they had blue eyes, very light brown hair, and very light skin...They had to put up with that. The best thing about that though was that these were the guys that were now adults helping my dad with

> the house. They never resented it. They never passed any of that prejudice onto us. They'd just laugh about it. Come home and they'd work on a Saturday. Somebody would get a case of beer, and they'd sit around just joke and just laugh about it. "Remember how we used to get in there. Don't say a word. Don't say anything. Put your quarter there and keep on walking." – 8/23/22

Here, the Castellano family found a way to make fun of the discrimination they faced, to defeat its power through laughter. There are similar stories where individuals overcame the nonsensical nature of bigotry in Pasadena's dance halls, movie theaters, and other recreation spots through bold statements or actions that left White clerks or attendants at a loss for words (Carr 1984; Wheeldin 1998; Williams 2001).

A scarcity mindset

Heading into the 1980s, Proposition 13 imposed financial constraints on local governments across California, which pushed Pasadena to seek out public-private partnerships to support the community's recreation needs, including contracting out management of the Brookside Golf Course, replacement of the Plunge with the Rose Bowl Aquatics Center, and the creation of the Rose Bowl Operating Company (RBOC), among other ventures (see appendix 33). This turn toward public-private partnerships often involved exchanging the use of land or buildings for public programming, which has resulted in a sense of scarcity and intense competition for space within the Arroyo. Over the past quarter century, conflicts have erupted between cyclists and equestrians, soccer leagues and nature enthusiasts, and archers and hikers that distract from the larger fact that Pasadena needs more parkland (City of Pasadena 2007). With each additional user group added to the recreation mix in the Arroyo, environmental advocates see an erosion of the natural character and ecological health of the park. This in turn has led some to label these advocates as elitists who want to keep the Arroyo all to the themselves, a response which fails to recognize that these advocates are actually prioritizing the

needs and rights of native plants and wildlife, a constituency that cannot speak on their own behalf in front of City Council. These fights over space often twist toward irony. For example, some individuals I spoke with in 2012 cast a fifteen-year dispute over building soccer fields in the floodplain of Hahamongna Watershed Park as an environmental justice issue, pitting rich, white environmentalists against working-class parents of color looking for a place for their kids to play the game they love. Nature-based recreation, however, costs less than soccer and doesn't require fertilizers and herbicides to maintain the fields or result in the destruction of habitat. Years of acrimony finally ended when someone suggested building a new field at Muir High School instead, providing a win-win for the City and the school district (Figueroa 2013).



Figure 64. *The habitat in Hahamongna Watershed Park that would have been sacrificed for athletic fields*

The legacy of having an assortment of independent organizations responsible for Arroyo recreation is that outreach to working-class communities of color is disjointed. When one travels to the Arroyo, it is not immediately clear where one can go, what one is allowed to do, and who has oversight over what parts of the landscape. Many of the recreation offerings come with a daily fee or require joining a club or purchasing tickets, expenses which are beyond the budgets of most working-class families. Transit to and around the Arroyo is also an issue. The most substantial barrier for working-class families might simply be time and energy. Many of the parents in these communities work overtime or take a second job to pay their bills, leaving little time for recreation, much less a trip to the Arroyo. All of the recreation groups I spoke with would like to diversify their membership along the lines of race, class, and ethnicity, but figuring out how is a work in progress, with varying levels of commitment.

One of the largest challenges for these groups is overcoming the legacies of discrimination. Former Executive Director of the Rose Bowl Aquatics Center Jimmy Francis explained this relative to the pool.

> I believe some people still have perceptions about the Brookside Plunge that they associate with the RBAC, as well as who we are and the community we serve. One of our goals is to ensure that everyone understands this is a place where all are welcome. - 9/2/2022

It doesn't help that the sports and other activities prominent within the Arroyo today—golf, archery, fly-fishing, horseback riding, aquatics, hiking—all have strong associations with upper-class, White culture. This cultural messaging can show up in subtle but impactful ways. Mark Fritz is the program director for First Tee of Greater Pasadena, a golfing and life skills development program for young people. He explained how they have adjusted golf's typical dress code to make diverse youth more comfortable at the Brookside courses:

> Our program, kids don't have to wear polos. They're allowed to wear t-shirts; sneakers are all right as well. Now, as they go into our tournament league, we provide the kids with a team polo shirt that they're able to wear. As the kids go through our introductory levels, we talk to them about what dress code is about and why it's important, about wearing a collared shirt and tucking your shirt tail in. It's like going to a job. If you are going to work at McDonald's, you can't just roll up in your t-shirt and jeans. - 9/28/22

An awareness of how one dresses is not just a matter of social convention. For people of color, it can be much more consequential. Frankie Washington is African American and grew up in Pasadena. As a recent high school graduate, he has led hikes in the Arroyo for the Ignite Youth program of the Pasadena Altadena Coalition of Transformative Leaders (PACTL). As a child he routinely walked through the Prospect Park neighborhood to a special summer program at Chandler School, which overlooks the Arroyo. He said walking through the same neighborhood as a teenager, however, would require more thought.

> But I feel like a lot of people don't feel comfortable walking to areas that are in "nice" neighborhoods because of the stigmas and stereotypes. Like, I don't want to walk in an area where my face is uncommon that's just going to make other people uncomfortable or make me uncomfortable. And that uncomfortableness shies people away from exploring the Rose Bowl.
>
> ***
>
> I think going in a group would help. I think bringing younger cousins would help. I think if I walked there with three of my guy friends, and we're just walking somewhere, people sometimes look at that like, "Oh, they're criminals." But if you have a little kid with you, it disarms the bias. I don't think a lot of people think like that, but for you to be safe, you have to think about how you look and how people perceive you as you leave your house. You can't just be ignorant to the biases of others. If I go outside with a tank top, people are going to look at me as a threat. And so, I have to dress a different way, no matter how hot it is. These are the things you have to keep in mind, especially in Pasadena or L.A. in general. You've got to be aware of the way people look at you. It's important. - 6/11/22

Successful outreach programs need to take note of all these cultural signals and historical associations, realizing that where White people might find serenity in the Arroyo's landscape, people of color might feel anxiety and stress over their personal safety (Finney 2014).

Outward Bound Adventures – "I guess that's what it takes"

Breaking through these barriers requires fearlessness, determination, and a willingness to break with convention, qualities that you often find within satire. This is where Outward Bound Adventures (OBA) enters the story, the oldest non-profit in the country dedicated to outdoor education for young-people of color.[63] Helen Mary Williams, a White science teacher at Cleveland Elementary, felt a deep calling to help the students of color in her classroom develop to their full potential. In 1959 she began a sixth-grade Junior Audubon Science Club and took students on field trips down into the Arroyo. She noticed improved grades and better behavior from her students. She connected with Bud Ross, an African American mountaineer, and Leroy and Helen Criss, an African American couple who enjoyed the outdoors. Together they turned the club into Outward Bound Adventures in 1962 and began running more extensive wilderness expeditions up the Arroyo, into the High Sierras, down to Baja California, and across the western United States. By the 1970s, Williams retired from teaching to run OBA full-time. The holistic approach that she developed and that the organization follows today supports the physical, mental, and emotional health of young people alongside the health of the more-than-human world through land care and habitat restoration. It also provides jobs and job training that supports the economic health and material well-being of communities of color.

[63] Outward Bound Adventures (OBA) is different than Outward Bound, the worldwide outdoor leadership and experiential education non-profit. The two organizations had a brief affiliation from 2008 to 2010, but this unwound as Outward Bound wanted OBA to move away from its mission of serving low-income communities of color.



Figure 65. *Helen Mary Williams (far right) in 1961 with her sixth-grade class from Cleveland Elementary School. Williams started the school's Junior Audubon Science Club in 1959 that grew into Outward Bound Adventures. ("Cleveland Elementary School Sixth Grade" 1961)*

The story of OBA provides a deep and powerful contrast to the narrative of the Brookside Plunge. One of the first hikes that OBA takes students on is up Brown Mountain, the location in the Altadena foothills above the Arroyo where Jason and Owen Brown, the sons of the abolitionist John Brown, built their cabin in the late 1800s. Here they talk about the deep history people of color have with the local mountains and the Arroyo to give their students the knowledge that they belong on and with the land. [64] The OBA experience is important both to

[64] Charles Thomas, personal interview, 7/19/22. Co-founder Bud Ross' grandfather attended Owen Brown's funeral in 1889 in Pasadena alongside Biddy Mason and other prominent African Americans in Pasadena and Los Angeles. Biddy Mason was a well-known African American nurse, real estate investor, and philanthropist who won her freedom from slavery in court when her owner brought her to Los Angeles. As a nurse, Mason also worked for Dr. J.S. Griffin, the person who sold the western portion of the Rancho San Pascual to the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, the corporate name the settlers used before the founding the City of Pasadena. OBA also shares the story of Robert Owen, another African American who lived and cut timber in the Arroyo Seco watershed and became the wealthiest African American in Los Angeles in the middle of 19th century ("Negro Canyon History is Recalled" 1930; Zack 2004).

the practical matter of how to outreach to communities of color and to the narrative analysis of the Arroyo's recreational story. Outward Bound Adventures focuses broadly on youth development and the teaching of life skills. This often involves building ongoing relationships with specific individuals and providing job opportunities so what starts out as a fun experience can grow into a vocation and then a career. To better understand the power of this approach, the stories of OBA's executive director Charles Thomas are revealing.

Thomas, whose mother was Japanese and whose father was African American and Native American, began as an OBA student in the 1960s and developed a close, personal relationship with Helen Mary Williams that lasted for almost 40 years.

> She'd look at you and have this sparkle in her eye. She didn't accept "No" from anybody about anything that she wanted to do. She'd always be pushing us out there. I remember we were at something that she dragged us to, and Tom Bradley was there, [Los Angeles] Mayor Tom Bradley. And she said, "Go talk to him, honey. Go meet him. Go meet him." And I was like, "For what? I don't know how to talk to that guy." "Just tell him who you are." She was always doing stuff like that. She was unsinkable. Nothing could bring that woman down. Nothing. She was just going to charge ahead all the time. And that's what she did. She was always charging ahead. - 8/8/22

Thomas said she saw a direct connection between OBA's work and the struggle for civil rights.

> She knew that people of color weren't using the outdoors. She knew that we, as people of color, didn't have certain rights and didn't feel comfortable, that we didn't see people that looked like us out there. She said, "Let us colorize the outdoor world." She always said, "You belong here more than anybody." It was really a civil rights thing for her too. She was the person who said, "Oh, they closed that door on you. There's 18 more. Just keep knocking on those other doors." She just really believed strongly in that. - 8/8/22

One of these closed doors in the 1960s was the West Los Angeles chapter of the Sierra Club. Thomas relayed how when the Club finally let Williams in, they told her that OBA could run backpacking trips in the San Gabriels but they had to stay out of the High Sierras.

So, one of the first things they did was that they got a group of kids from Watts and did a 100-mile trek through the Sierras. - 7/19/22



Figure 66. *Helen Mary Williams on the trail ("Helen Mary Williams" n.d.)*

In addition to recruiting participants from Northwest Pasadena, Williams developed a special relationship with the young people from the Watts neighborhood in Los Angeles. Thomas describes Williams literally walking through fire to get young people into the mountains.

> She would be going down into Watts, after the riots. And this little old White lady walking down through Watts. And people would admire and respect her. They knew her down there. The worst projects in the United States, Nickerson Gardens, they knew her. "No, that's Miss Williams, man. Leave her alone." So, South Central walking around there, recruiting people to get in the program. She said nothing ever really happened to her…She was amazing. She was fearless. So, we started working in Watts, way back, before the riots. And then after the riots, she was recruiting leaders from the gangs. I was at the services recently of an OBA member, and one of the sons of Bud Ross, one of the founders, came up to me and said, "You know, Watts was burning in 1965. Watts was on fire." And he said, "You know how I saw it?" And I said, "No, how did you see it?" And he

> said, “I saw it from the rearview mirror of a bus because we were headed to the High Sierras.” I said, “What?” He said, “Yeah, Ms. Williams came in with a bus and picked us all up and took us up to the Sierras.” She was crazy, man. She was just fearless. That was the most dangerous place ever for a White person to be during that time. But she just went in and did it. I guess that’s what it takes. - 8/8/22

Williams developed a special relationship with Thomas, whose mother had a stroke when he was in third grade and whose father was away from his eight children for long periods of time.

> Mrs. Williams was really helping us out because she would take us on trips. And we could eat on OBA trips because sometimes we weren’t eating at home. It was really nice. OBA was instrumental in keeping my family together. Every one of my siblings went through OBA. Every one. - 8/8/22

In addition to facing down fears that come with crossing the color line, Williams’ example also demonstrates the importance of patience and determination in pulling young people along.

> I was in 8th grade, so I was 13 or 14 years old. That summer I went on a couple of Sierra backpacking trips and have been involved with it ever since. And she was my mentor. She mentored me through junior high, high school, two degrees in undergrad, and a graduate degree, and she died before I got my PhD. She was there the whole time. In fact, she was responsible for me getting into college. I wasn’t going to go to college. I hated school. She called up the college in Oregon and said, “I’ve got a guy who’s got a lot of potential, and you guys have got to have him up there.” She knew that I couldn’t get through it down here because I was getting into a lot of trouble. So, I got into Southern Oregon University. I didn’t even apply. My brother and Mrs. Williams filled out the application for me.
>
> My first two quarters I remember saying “I’m coming home. I can’t stand it up here. I’m coming home.” And she’s the one who talked me through it. She said, “Stay there. Don’t go. Stay there.” And so, I did. And I came out, and she helped me get into Cal Poly to do my graduate work, and the rest is history. So, she mentored me for well over 35 years. - 8/8/22

Thomas described the gradual process of transformation that he went through while in the program and that he and his staff now cultivate among participants.

> The first time I went to the Sierras, it was very difficult for me. I remember standing at the edge of a lake and being able to see to the bottom of the lake and being like, “This is like a cartoon. Is this really real?” It didn’t change my life. I didn’t have an epiphany because I came home and got in trouble and got incarcerated. But while I was in juvenile hall, I was sitting there in my room, and I was like, “This is an opportunity for me to be thinking bigger.” For some reason, that came across my mind. And the biggest thing I thought of was the freedom that I experienced in the Sierras. If I hadn’t gone with OBA, I wouldn’t have been able to think big like that. I would have only thought about the streets and neighborhoods and all that kind of stuff. But my head went to that. And I remember going, “Yeah, I want to go back up to the Sierras. I want to go there.” So, it gave me a way to dream. It almost gave me a different identity. I wasn’t just some thug on the street. I had an identity. I can be in the mountains. And it gave me a different vocabulary for how to describe stuff. It’s a slow transformation that happens. And it’s not necessarily an epiphany, but it happens in the juxtaposition of those things. That’s where I was. I was sitting in this eight by ten cinder block room, thinking, “This is not right. I need something bigger than this.” - 8/8/22

Thomas says a point of pride for OBA is not focusing on the youth ready to sign-up but the ones who are most difficult to reach.

> One thing she didn’t want to do was serve all the kids who raised their hand when we said, “Who wants to go camping?” She didn’t care about those kids. She wanted the kids that said, “Fuck you, you’re not taking me camping.” She wanted *those* kids. She’d be really happy with that. I’m training these guys how to do that. Don’t do the ones that appear to step forward. You do the ones that step back. You’re going to take those guys camping. - 8/8/22

Her dedication turned OBA into a family, one that eventually came to replace her own.

> Her husband, his name was Joe Williams, and he said to her, “You’ve got to make a decision. It’s either going to be those kids or me.” And she said, “She you later, Joe.” And she kept running OBA. The first Black pilot that flew for Continental and Northwest Airlines was in the first cohort that she took out on a trip. He lives here. He’s well into his seventies, and he tells stories about Mrs. Williams, and he tells about packing kids in the car and taking them up to Santa Barbara and showing them the beach. And it’s like, “Wow.” She was really ahead of her time. Packing up these little black kids and taking them up to Santa Barbara. You can’t do that now. - 8/8/22



Figure 67. *The Outward Bound Adventures bus headed for the wilderness ("OBA Bus" n.d.).*

These stories of Helen Mary Williams underscore what it takes, at a personal level, to confront and face down systemic racism, to bring health to communities our political and economic system has targeted across generations for exploitation. The image of Williams rounding up teens for a backpacking in the midst of the unrest in Watts is indelible. But successful outreach is about more than grit. Thomas has worked out systemically the four ingredients that have allowed OBA to be successful. He says first, young people of color need to be able to see people who look like them in the outdoors, ideally in positions of authority. Second, they need to know that wild places like Hahamongna Watershed Park exist and gain more understanding about the plants, the wildlife, and the geology of the places they're visiting. They need to know what they are looking at in the landscape and how it works. Third, they need to realize economic benefit from being involved in the program, which is why workforce development and training people for careers in conservation is so important for OBA. Finally, they need transportation, so if the family can't get them to the program, the program can come

to them. Consistent with an ethic of creative placekeeping, OBA believes strongly that everyone belongs and no one should be left behind.

Playing at the edge of comedy and satire

Rather than looking toward what could be, recreation storytellers in Pasadena can look backward and take the measure of positive changes in society, whether it has been desegregating the Plunge, enjoying integrated baseball at Brookside, or the diversification of the Tournament of Roses Association. At the same time, achieving this progress required calling out the ridiculousness of the racist ideology that gripped Pasadena for generations, be it through organizing a boycott of the pool, taking legal action, hitting a home run, or leading a group of young people into the mountains the Sierra Club said was off limits. Pasadena's recreation story has had to lean into satire to expose, undermine, and push past discrimination. Outward Bound Adventures embodies the Arroyo's recreation story, both a past that demonstrates progress in expanding civil rights and the promise of a future where environmental justice begins to reshape the economic opportunities that Pasadena can provide. From Charles Thomas' stories, Helen Mary Williams stands out as a satiric hero in this regard, someone who did not suffer fools or take "no" for an answer.

The placement of the Arroyo's recreation story at the boundary between comedy and satire generates three dramaturgical questions for the community to consider. The first is "What constitutes health and wellness?" A deeper engagement with this question in light of Pasadena's history generates more specific questions such as "How is racism and inequity unhealthy?" Or "How does the health of the more-than-human world affect our sense of well-being?" In talking with the Arroyo's recreation leaders, it's clear that the park provides tremendous but often unacknowledged mental health benefits to the community. In asking about the essence of their

particular activities, the leaders I spoke with in the Pasadena Roving Archers, the Casting Club, and the San Pascual Stables all brought up the meditative nature of what they do and the benefits this has for people's sense of well-being. The semi-wild landscape of the Arroyo is an essential part of the experience. Thomas said that Outward Bound Adventures makes this link in their adaptation of Thoreau's turn of phrase in *Walden*, "grow wild according to thy nature."

> Every child deserves the right to grow wild according to their own nature, in nature. But they don't get that right if they can't get out there. - 8/8/22

Ensuring young people of color are able to grow wild according to their own nature in nature provides both the rationale for the program and for restoring and protecting the more-than-human world.

A second dramaturgical question for the community is "How can recreation advance equity within the community?" This again connects to the more-than-human world, as plants, wildlife, and the elements stand unaware of human status and hierarchy. Jimmy Francis said he sees this every day in the Aquatics Center pool, that water is an incredible equalizer, especially for people with mobility challenges.[65] One of the ways that the Aquatics Center advances equity is by providing swim classes to all third graders in the Pasadena Unified school district. In a similar vein, Mark Fritz from First Tee of Greater Pasadena said the First Tee program encodes equity in the code of conduct that it teaches young people: respect for yourself, respect for others and respect for your surroundings. But the question of how to use recreation to advance equity requires looking at the structures and systems that affect people's experience of the Arroyo and questions about pricing recreation in the park, whether and how to charge for

[65] Personal interview, Jimmy Francis (9/2/22)

parking, and whether considerations of equity should extend to plant and animal life in the Arroyo and influence how the City manages the landscape.

The deep links between Arroyo recreation and Pasadena's economy, which reach back over a hundred years and today involve the fate of Rose Bowl, prompts the third question: "How can we switch from talking about a healthy economy to creating an economy for health?" This might mean, for example, evaluating the various economic sectors in Pasadena for their contribution to the physical, social, and spiritual health of the community (see appendix 27). In any such evaluation, OBA's workforce development program would be close to the top of the list as it not only advances a holistic notion of human health but also the health of the land.

The story of recreation in the Arroyo is powerful and optimistic and leads to challenging but potentially transformative questions that the community is well set-up to explore.[66] The three questions I list above can potentially motivate new partnerships and provide deeper insight into recreation proposals, such the proposed miniature golf course west of the Rose Bowl or the creation of the Climate Resiliency Environmental Education Center in Hahamongna. As topics, recreation and health also afford the ability to build broad and diverse coalitions precisely because they align with the comic tradition that in its nature is inclusive and joyful. But just as the last section discussed the potential for a comic twist, there is potential here for a tragic turn. Without investment in this holistic vision of health, greater equity, and an inclusive economy, recreation in the Arroyo could devolve into a classic story of winners and losers that only fuels division.

[66] Pasadena is home to a regional hospital and medical center. It is one of only three cities in the state with its own public health department. It has a robust non-profit sector deeply concerned about health, especially the health of young people.

Conclusion

Taken together, the last two chapters have assembled a collection of narrative threads and dramaturgical questions by looking at Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo through a distinct set of lenses, the topics that are important for a creative placekeeping practice. Artists and designers often benefit from this type of immersion, in feeding their imagination with the kind of specific characters, events, and images detailed in these chapters and related appendices. Dramaturgy, however, is the art of synthesis, of consolidating vast amounts of information into a single comment or insightful question. Chapter 7 describes my attempt to distill the list of narrative possibilities from the last two chapters into prompts for a devising process. There is, however, one more angle from which to look at Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo, and that is from the perspectives of individual leaders who have devoted a large portion of life and spirit to the well-being of the Arroyo and their neighborhood. If the goal is to build a network of Arroyo Seco placekeepers with a commitment to sustainability and justice, understanding their story and perspective on the Arroyo is important. This is the subject of the next chapter.

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Chapter 6

Stories of the Arroyo III – Neighborhood Leader Stories

The seven neighborhood leaders that I spoke with have devoted a large portion of their lives and careers to advocacy on behalf of the Arroyo or their neighborhood (see appendix 11 for a list of neighborhood leaders). They represent what Arroyo Seco Placekeepers hopes to cultivate: a network of motivated advocates. This makes the stories they believe in and enact through their life and work particularly compelling. I engaged each leader with twelve hours of conversation across five meetings, which allowed for a more in-depth narrative analysis and a substantive anchor for my interpretation of data for the entire project.

After the fourth interview in the series (see appendix 12 for a list of interview questions), I synthesized my analysis into three summaries for each leader: the world of the Arroyo, the story of the Arroyo, and the leader's personal story, noting questions or points to clarify. We then met for a fifth time, what I named the "Story Map Interview," where I used a set of images that I gleaned from the internet to present each of the three summaries. Each set of images generated conversation and helped to answer some of my own outstanding questions. This final interview also allowed participants to correct what they felt were mistakes in my interpretation or emphasis. When time allowed, I asked participants to choose ten images that resonated with them from the stack of roughly forty pictures. They gave them a rough arrangement, which I finalized into a single story map or collage that represented the most important points from our conversations. Appendices 34 to 39 summarize each of these story map interviews and provide a window into the collaborative nature of these conversations.

After the story map interviews, I compared my summaries outlining the world of the Arroyo, the story of the Arroyo, and the personal stories of the leaders; the narrative elements

across the interviews; and the leaders' responses to specific questions (see chapter 3). Below I present summaries of my analysis for each neighborhood leader. I start with their background and relationship to the Arroyo. I then describe how they understand the story of the Arroyo and give a description of the story that they perform through their advocacy. Throughout these profiles I reflect on the connections of these stories to different narrative traditions. Overall, the stories emerging from this analysis somewhat surprisingly coalesced around a single narrative, what I call the "Quest for Wholeness." The final section of the chapter describes this shared narrative as well as differences between the leaders and the dramaturgical questions prompted by these comparisons to add to those from chapters 4 and 5.

Tom Seifert and Dianne Philibosian

Tom Seifert and Dianne Philibosian have been active on city and non-profit boards and commissions in Pasadena for over forty years. Seifert explained.

> One of our commitments in getting married was that our commitment was to community and that together we could do more for the community than we could do independently. - 6/2/22

At the top of the list of causes to which they have devoted time and energy is the health of the Arroyo Seco. Over the years, they have both served as the president of the board for the Arroyo Seco Foundation and founded Stewards of the Public Land, a non-profit focused on making sure public parkland, especially in the Arroyo Seco, remains fully accessible to the public and not cordoned off for the exclusive use of even well-meaning private groups. They live in a Craftsman home on South Arroyo Boulevard on the east rim of Pasadena's Lower Arroyo and walk its trails several times a week.

Seifert grew up in Cincinnati and began his career in 1965 as finance manager for Huffy Bicycles, which moved him to the San Gabriel Valley to work at their manufacturing plant in

Azusa. He left Huffy in 1972 to start his own specialty bike company, and then in the early 1980s took over a company specializing in stone products for outdoor landscaping. After a short stint living in Sierra Madre, he moved to Pasadena in 1979. He became involved in the community, and he said once you're involved in Pasadena, you tend to get sucked in. He began volunteering for Pasadena Beautiful, became a member of the West Pasadena Recreation Association, chaired the City's Recreation Commission and the Hahamongna Watershed Park Advisory Committee, has been on the Rose Bowl Operating Company Board, and chaired the board of the Pasadena Center Operating Company, overseeing the Civic Auditorium, the Visitor's Bureau, and the conference and convention center, including a major renovation. He also has been on the Upper Los Angeles River Tributaries Working Group for the Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy, which has identified the Lower Arroyo as a prime opportunity for river restoration.

Philibosian grew up in the town of Selma, California, south of Fresno, and went to the University of the Pacific to study theater. She earned a Ph.D. in early childhood education from Southern Illinois University and secured a teaching position at Cal State Northridge. She moved to the San Rafael neighborhood in 1976 and got involved in ACT, a progressive political action group. She met Seifert in 1982, and together they became involved with Pasadena Heritage. She's been on the board of the Pasadena Playhouse, Caltech's Children's Center, and Families Forward, a program serving families and children in Northwest Pasadena. She's also strengthened child care programs across the San Fernando Valley through Cal State Northridge, most recently serving as the inaugural director for the Institute of Community Health and Well-Being. In her spare time, she chaired the Board of Trustees for her alma mater, the University of the Pacific in Stockton, California.

Living along the Arroyo affords Seifert and Philibosian the opportunity to restore and recharge their spirit, which they then pour back into their community work. Philibosian explained:

> It's a tremendous peaceful, centering opportunity so that coming home is an embracing feeling, and you can just come home and go "ahhh." And you begin to reintegrate your personality from having been out of this area and having it ripped apart by all the stresses and interactions and the cars and everything that's going on. You come here and you can totally reintegrate. - 6/2/22

On weekends, however, their quiet sanctuary transforms as the streets fill up with parked cars, and the Lower Arroyo draws overflow crowds that turn their quiet, curvy street into a busy thoroughfare. But Seifert and Philibosian take it all in stride, often engaging with the visitors to find out where they are from. Dogs, ecstatic to be outside, often spur greetings and conversation. They love to listen to the coyotes in the canyon at night and keep a tally of the times they've had to relocate critters from their backyard. Philibosian told me the story of rescuing a precocious baby raccoon from the pond in their backyard.

> As soon as the parents picked it up, they took it back up in the tree. Somehow, it got away from them again and ended up back in the pool, and so we go through the same thing all over again. [Laughter] Clearly that teenager didn't want to be controlled by the parents, exercising independence. - 7/21/22.

Philibosian said the design of their Craftsman home and its position across the street from the canyon's rim facilitates their connection to the canyon.

> We get a natural breeze that comes in through there. You can feel it a little bit this afternoon. We hardly have to air-condition our house because the way the architect set it on the property you get this beautiful natural breeze that comes right up from the Arroyo. So, one feels very integrated into nature here, which was the intent of the Craftsman architects. They wanted you to have this feeling of being indoors outdoors seamlessly. - 6/2/22

Seifert said he feels fortunate to have a home along the Arroyo.

> Every time I walk down the hill and get close to the stream I think to myself, "You're one lucky son of a bitch" - 6/2/22.



Figure 68. *Tom Seifert and Dianne Philibosian's Craftsman home at 436 S. Arroyo Boulevard*

Their home is an important node in a network of neighbors who share wildlife sightings and sometimes gather to socialize at the promontories above the canyon. They place a high value on the connection they feel with their neighbors and help organize an annual picnic and a well-attended Halloween parade for neighborhood children. Philibosian explained:

> All the little kids and the parents and the young people come, and they have volunteers set up: cupcake decorating, face painting, fortune telling, all this fabulous food. And then we have the Halloween Parade with the little kids in the costumes, and a lot of the adults are in costume as well. They close off both sides of the street, and we have a good time watching all the kids parade in their costumes. - 6/2/22

She added that people rarely move away from the neighborhood once they move in. Their neighbors' big wish for the Lower Arroyo area is to maintain the quality of life and increase

appreciation of the architecture and the natural environment. One of our interviews took place the same week they had hosted two different discussions about affordable housing in their backyard, a compelling issue that some view as a threat to the neighborhood's residential character.

In terms of genre, the story of the Arroyo that Seifert and Philibosian tell fits most comfortably within the romance tradition. At a personal level, the Arroyo has provided a source of energy for their love and partnership. Philibosian explained,

> It's woven our lives together because we met, and then Seif lived on one side, and I lived on the other side, and so it's become a focal point for us. - 6/27/22

They chose to get married at La Casita del Arroyo, a Works Progress Administration meeting house perched above the Lower Arroyo, surrounded by rock walls, oak trees, and a native plant garden. The house suffered vandalism in the 1980s, but Seifert mobilized the community and succeeded in restoring it to its former glory:

> We started a fundraiser and got the city to match what we raised dollar-for-dollar, which was a big accomplishment and developed with a wonderful groundswell of support for renovating La Casita. For me, it was a very personal achievement because I felt it captured the spirit of the neighborhood. And we raised a tremendous amount of money and even got a contribution from the Buddhist monks that live across the street. - 7/21/22

Seifert was able to locate landscape paintings of the Arroyo to put on the walls of the meeting house, turning it into a small gallery. He now keeps the appointment book for La Casita, helping non-profits use the facility for a small fee.



Figure 69. *La Casita Del Arroyo. The Pasadena Garden Club enlisted noted architect Myron Hunt to design La Casita del Arroyo, in 1933 (La Casita del Arroyo Foundation 2025)*

The romance emanating from the Arroyo for Philibosian reaches back to a time when the River ran wild and Gabrieleno/Tongva traversed the canyon. In talking about the neighborhood's past, Seifert focuses on the Arroyo's importance to the Art and Crafts movement in California. Both invoked the presence of the work crews in the 1930s who built the rock walls, bridges, and other amenities with the hope that more people will come to appreciate the investment across the generations in making the Arroyo a public resource. This includes the installation of a low-flow landscape feature and habitat restoration project in the Lower Arroyo (see chapter 2). Seifert and Philibosian were champions of the project in the 1990s while working with the Arroyo Seco Foundation.



Figure 70. *Low-flow stream on the west side of the Arroyo after a storm.*

The last decade in the Arroyo, however, has been discouraging. Increased use of the Lower Arroyo aggravated chronic tensions between hikers, the Pasadena Casting Club, the Pasadena Roving Archers, and equestrians, all of whom have used the area for decades. Oak trees from the low-flow restoration project, for example, have grown to the point where they catch the fishing line of the fly casters. Seifert stepped up to negotiate an agreement with the Pasadena Casting Club to take down a single oak. The largest controversy, however, has been over the archery range. When one of Seifert and Philibosian's neighbors decided the archery range posed a safety hazard and complained to the City, the City Council decided to restrict the public to the walking trail for the length of the range, effectively giving the archers a monopoly over eight-to-ten acres of previously open parkland. Seifert and Philibosian worked with friends

and neighbors to create Stewards of Public Land and sued the City, but the court upheld the City's plan in 2016.

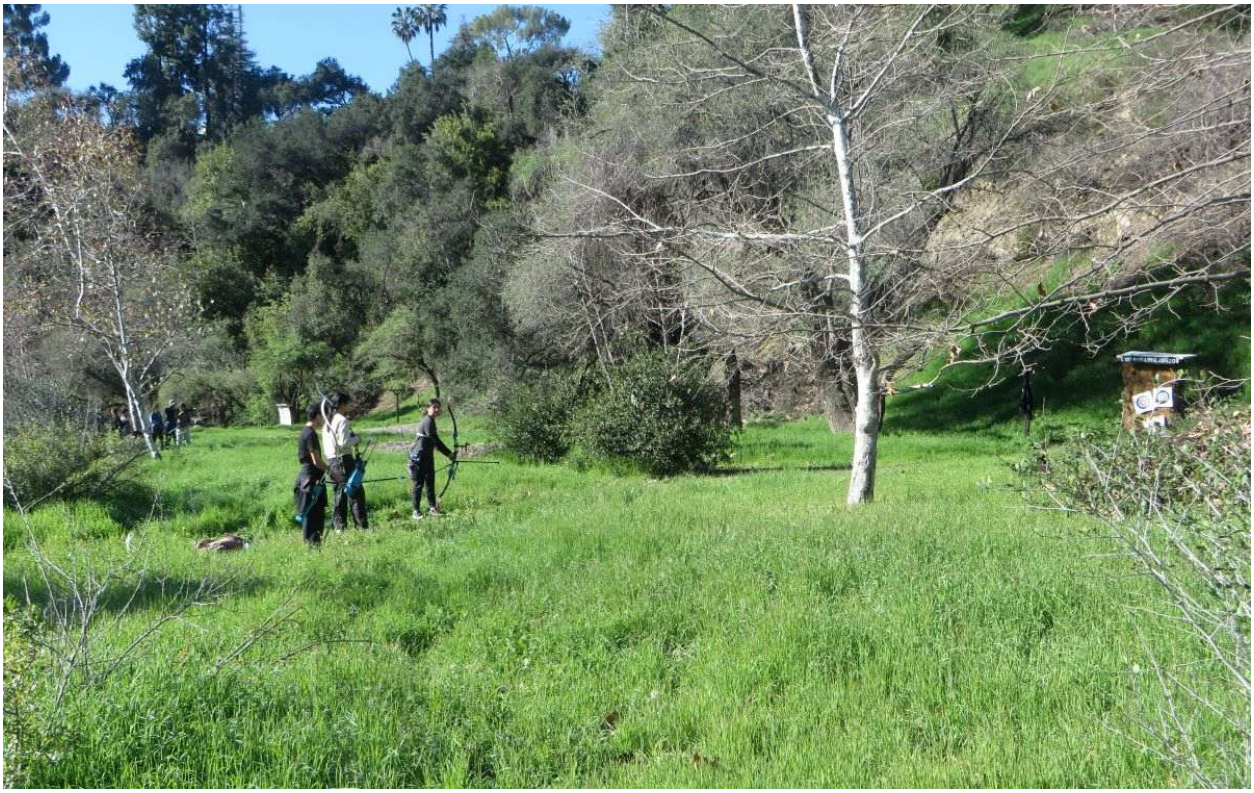

Figure 71. *A portion of the archery range area where walkers have to stay on the trail.*

The scars on all sides of this battle have yet to heal. Seifert says that ultimately there needs to be balance between recreation and caring for the land and habitat:

> One of the things that's continuing to happen…you get this slow, slow, interruption, invasion, and slow taking over, and you look at all the users of the Arroyo, and certainly they do a lot of good, and they make a contribution, most of them anyway, but they want more and more and more of the Arroyo. And the people who don't have the biggest voice, who have the least voice are the people who walk and hike and go there and meditate, who aren't with a big group behind them who comes to City Hall and makes their point and holds their little kiddies up. Those are the ones who are losing out, who have lost out. It's a battle. It's a struggle. People talk a good game, the former mayor, "Oh yes, we can't have that happen. We have to protect the Arroyo," and yet they turn their back. - 6/27/22

Several times Seifert used the metaphor for the camel whose nose gets under the tent to describe what is happening as private groups and institutions claim more of the Arroyo for their exclusive use. Seifert says he is hopeful the trail restoration project of the One Arroyo Foundation will make it easier to organize passive users of the area. The inconsistent record of the City in terms of maintaining the park continues to be a frustration. Seifert and Philibosian gave the city high marks for maintaining a recent set of native plantings north of the Van de Kamp (La Loma) Bridge. But at the One Arroyo groundbreaking event (see chapter 5), Seifert expressed dismay at crews who had recently destroyed riparian vegetation along the low flow streams.



Figure 72. *Restored native vegetation along the trail in the Lower Arroyo. The City completed this restoration as part of the retrofit of the John van de Kamp Bridge.*

Seifert and Philibosian believe the future of the Arroyo and their neighborhood depends on three potential turning points. The first is the fate of the Rose Bowl (see chapter 5). Living south of the stadium, major events at the stadium do not impact their neighborhood in the same way as residents of the Linda Vista or the East Arroyo neighborhood, but if the stadium continues to be a financial drag on the City's budget, the City and community might begin to imagine alternatives for the Central Arroyo. Seifert thinks this is unlikely, that the stadium will continue to struggle along because of its cultural significance to the city. The second potential turning point involves the statewide push for more affordable housing that could increase density within their neighborhood. Here, Seifert and Philibosian believe there are lessons in the bungalow court that Habitat for Humanity recently constructed at the site of a former Desiderio Army Reserve Center (see appendix 27). Philibosian believes the city should look at adaptive re-use of existing structures for affordable housing before trying to load up neighborhoods with multi-family housing.

> We have enough places to house the unsheltered. We just don't have the funding in place to move in and sustain life in those places. So, the unsheltered is not the result of not enough housing, it's that we don't have affordable housing or not enough support for the mental health issues. - 8/17/22

The third potential turning point is the new era of drought that climate change has begun to unleash on Southern California. Philibosian sees an opportunity here to both address the problem and improve the health of the Arroyo.

> Well, from a water perspective, which is a global issue, climate change, water…We can impact our aquifer by getting out this flood control channel and letting the water percolate naturally into our Raymond Basin. We're fortunate that we have the Raymond Basin right here, and we're fortunate that we're a watershed from the San Gabriels, but it's all running out to the ocean. And so, if everybody thinks about groundwater recapture, I think we can begin to [have an] impact locally. - 8/17/22

Removing the flood control channel in the Lower Arroyo is their grandest hope for the future, including having the city purchase the homes constructed in the floodplain on what once served as Lower Busch Gardens (see appendix 27). Philibosian notes that the existing channel won't be able to contain more frequent flooding projected for the region.

> Those houses should never have been built because they are in a flood zone, and in the 1990s, the Arroyo Seco Foundation sponsored a symposium that brought in water experts and the consensus was that the channel wouldn't maintain a 100-year flood, so why have it? - 8/17/22

Seifert and Philibosian's advocacy on behalf of the Arroyo has its roots in their parents' ethic of service and in their love of native plants and wildlife, especially oak trees and coyotes. One of the discouraging aspects of recent battles over the Arroyo is that they feel they have been miscast as wealthy elites who want to preserve the Arroyo for themselves and exclude other users. They said nothing is further from the truth. What they have fought for across the decades is preserving and restoring the ecological function of the Arroyo. Limits on human use, they argue, are essential to ensure that the spirit of the Arroyo survives for the next generation. The precise path to achieving that goal requires adaptation and the community working together on a vision for the future. Philibosian used the long debate over what to put at the Desiderio site as an example of neighbors working together and being flexible:

> When the armory used to be where the Habitat for Humanity and Desiderio Park is now, we wanted a natural park. We didn't want it to be a developed park, period. As it turned out, we've adapted to accept it. We've adapted to accept, and indeed celebrate, the Habitat for Humanity homes and the people who live there. - 8/17/22

The reason that removing the flood control channel has such appeal, in addition to its contribution to replenishing the aquifer, is because it would be a clear demonstration that the priority in the Lower Arroyo is the ecological health of the land and wildlife; it would force

humans to adapt their uses of the park to that goal. Far from being the view of a small set of West Pasadena homeowners, this has been the stated policy of the city since 1964 and, based on my interviews, is something that most user groups would likely support (see chapter 5).

Tim Brick

During the summer of 1968, Tim Brick had finished his first two years at a seminary in New Jersey when he returned to his parent's house in San Marino for a knee operation and subsequent recovery. Brick's mother was devoted to the church and had seven children to raise while Brick's father worked for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Brick said that summer was a turning point in his life:

> And so, I was there in the summer when the Democratic convention occurred in Chicago. And so, I'm sitting in the den with my father, the FBI agent, and we were watching the demonstrations and Tom Hayden and Bobby Seale and Rennie Davis, and Mayor Daley turned the police loose. It was really a police riot. The police rioted.
>
> ***And so, you were 21 or so?***
>
> Yeah. So, you can imagine the conversation that me and my father had. I was "The demonstrators were right." And my father was like, "We have to have law and order." It was quite a clash.
>
> So, I left the Salesians that year and came back to Southern California and got involved immediately in the anti-war movement. - 6/3/22

Brick enrolled at Cal State Los Angeles and majored in philosophy while becoming a leader in the Anti-War movement in Southern California. He moved to Pasadena in 1970 and decided to focus on restructuring utility rates for low-income customers. Working closely with Don Wheeldin, a leading African American organizer in Northwest Pasadena, he won a place on the city's Public Utilities Commission that he held for fourteen years, chairing the board four times. He also was a leader on water issues with a campaign and lawsuit against the

Metropolitan Water District (MWD), a cooperative wholesaler of water to Southern California, to stop the Peripheral Canal, a diversion of water from the Sacramento River Delta down to Southern California. In 1985, he won appointment to the MWD board, a post he retained for twenty-eight years, fighting to infuse more social and ecological responsibility into the agency. Brick summarized this period in his life:

> I think there's been a consistency in terms of the vision but some change in the issues that I've been dealing with. But I started dealing with water issues in 1974, and that's almost 50 years ago, so that's a long time. And I've stuck with it. And that's important too. Persistence is important too. And focus is important. And I think I've had both of those. - 6/3/22

Persistence and focus are something Brick learned at a young age. In 1952, when Brick was five years old, his family moved from Omaha to Temple City, which Brick said felt like "the edge of the universe."

> Everything beyond Temple City was still orange groves and horses and cows, a lot of citrus. - 6/3/22.

But during his first year in Southern California, Brick contracted polio and had to live in a children's home for six months while receiving treatments and learning to walk again. A spinal curvature required three stints in body casts before he reached ten years of age; the casts went from right below his chin down to his hips. At fourteen, he moved away to a Catholic junior seminary:

> It was right on the road between Watsonville and Gilroy, so Mt. Madonna with those beautiful mountains right there. And so that's what we did for recreation on the weekends was to go hike the mountains and visit streams and eat spaghetti lunches under oak trees. The Salesians were very much into that kind of stuff and training young people to enjoy nature was very much part of their educational pedagogy. - 6/3/22

Brick began visiting the Arroyo Seco in the early '70s shortly after moving to Pasadena:

> I used to come to the Arroyo and take hikes with my good friend Jim Hite, and this was probably around '72 and '73, and I was just learning about nature. And it just had a great attraction for me that motivated me to keep coming back and learning more about it and advocating for it. And it's almost become like, it's become a real focus of my life and shaped it in many ways…And I realize that it's not the biggest stream in the world and maybe even the most important stream in the world. Maybe it's not. But it's our stream. It's the local resource. It's our greatest local treasure, and we have a responsibility to ourselves and future generations to preserve and protect it. - 8/20/22

For Brick, however, the Arroyo is not just a stream, it's a watershed, intimately connected with the aquifer that reaches under all of Pasadena.

> Very much related to the Arroyo is the Raymond Groundwater Basin. So, what kind of sacrifices are people ready to make to end the draw down of the Raymond Basin? I think the sacrifice that they're going to have to make are lawns. That could be a big sacrifice for people. Pavement. We're going to start a campaign called "Unpave Pasadena." You know, it's fairly common now to have government subsidies for lawn replacement or turf replacement, and there's even money in the Inflation Reduction Act for turf replacement. So, that's a good thing to do if they do it right. We'd definitely encourage that. But there's even more potential I think in unpaving areas, to go back and unpave all these parking lots and unpave the massive parts of the urban area. A lot of people are thinking about stormwater, but if we unpaved the community, the stormwater would naturally replenish the groundwater basin. But nobody is thinking like that. I think there is great potential. I think we could measure the improvement in the groundwater basin by how much asphalt we could remove from schools and playgrounds and businesses and driveways. And some people might think of that as a sacrifice. - 8/20/22

One of the specific project ideas to come from the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers devising process is to add an arts and cultural component to such a campaign (see chapter 7).

Brick's almost forty years of Arroyo advocacy included co-founding the Arroyo Seco Foundation in 1990 and organizing the Arroyo Seco Earth Festival for the 20-year anniversary of the original Earth Day. This event drew over 35,000 people and was one of the largest public gatherings on the West Coast (Gottlieb 2007). In addition to public awareness and education, Brick has won grants for habitat restoration; organized feasibility studies; worked for dam

removal along the stream; started a native plant nursery; and advocated for and against the City and County's plans, programs and designs, sometimes filing lawsuits. Most recently, he has championed the restoration of steelhead trout to the Arroyo, which would mean removing the flood control channel from not only the Arroyo but the Los Angeles River as well.



Figure 73. *Trout Scouts for the Arroyo Seco Foundation. This program looked for native trout fingerlings in the mountain pools of the Arroyo Seco*

In 2023, a rift with the Arroyo Seco Foundation's Board of Directors led Brick leave the organization he founded and continue his work through the Stewards of Public Land, a separate non-profit Brick had helped Seifert and Philibosian create during the conflict over the archery range in the Lower Arroyo (see appendix 33).

Through this work, Brick has accumulated an intricate knowledge of the Arroyo's landscape and as well as attachments to specific places, places like the AIDS Memorial Grove located below where West California Boulevard meets the canyon's east rim. Brick organized

the planting of a grove of native trees in the 1990s to remember Pasadena friends and neighbors who passed due to AIDS. The most important place in the Arroyo for Brick is Hahamongna Watershed Park. Brick was involved in the Devils Gate Multi-Use Advisory Committee that created the park in 1993. He was hired by the city as director of the short-lived Hahamongna Operating Company and set up the Hahamongna Native Plant Nursery there for the Arroyo Seco Foundation. In spring of 2023, he organized an important thirty-year anniversary celebration of the park in partnership with the California Art Club, which had its members set up their paints and easels for a spring plein air session. This partnership with the Art Club reflects Brick's interest in and promotion of "Arroyo Culture," a name that encompasses the work of the plein air painters, architects, craftsmen, and writers who took their inspiration from the Arroyo in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.



Figure 74. *Tim Brick speaking at the Hahamongna Walkabout on March 18, 2023. The event celebrated the 30th anniversary of the park's dedication.*

For Brick, the world of the Arroyo is also one of organizations and bureaucracies. Twenty years ago, as part of the Arroyo Seco Foundation's restoration feasibility study, Brick organized two networks. The first, the Council of Arroyo Seco Agencies, allows the cities and agencies involved with the Arroyo to meet and share information. The second, the Council of Arroyo Seco Organizations, served a similar function for non-profit organizations, lasted several years, and is something Brick would like to revive.

An ongoing challenge for Brick is the lack of ecological literacy in the community. This came up when Brick got funding for the City to remove non-native trees from the Lower Arroyo.

> A lot of our supporters live very close to the Arroyo, but their attitudes vary a lot. For instance, I'm thinking about the case where the City did the Lower Arroyo restoration, and the City was working with Somas to restore as much of the natural habitat as possible, and that entailed removing a bunch of eucalyptus and Canary Island pines. We supported that. But unfortunately, a lot of our best supporters did not. They said "They are historic and they're so large. And they provide shade." But if you go down to the John van de Kamp Bridge and go to the west side above the bridge and you'll see that the eucalyptus and pines dwarf the restoration project. And the City had the funding to take those out, and it was the neighbors who went to Steve Madison and rattled the cage of Public Works, and they eventually folded and decided they'd leave taking out those trees for later, even though the eucalyptuses are a fire hazard, and the pine trees have problems with bugs and pests and things. It didn't matter. So, you ask me what do people want. These are some of our best supporters, and they got maybe a bit mad at us for taking a purist position, but that's what ecological restoration is. It's not that you pick the plants you like. It's "go with the science." We made the case. I don't think we convinced them. - 8/20/22

He says he often gets puzzled stares from young people in Southern California when he asks them to name their nearest river.

> That's a big quandary to me. Why don't people recognize the centrality of the stream in the canyon? They think of the golf course or the Rose Bowl or the Aquatics Center or sediment. But they don't think of the stream. - 11/29/22.

This is the rationale for being a champion of returning a steelhead trout run to the Arroyo:

> And that's why steelhead and trout are so important as well. Because to say "steelhead" is to say "Wait a minute. There was once a thriving steelhead run. There were once nine- or ten-pound or twenty-pound trout moving in the stream. Whatever happened? What happened to that? And are we a little bit poorer kind of in a biological or biodiversity or spiritual sense even?" Yeah, we are. - 11/29/22

For Brick the story of the Arroyo must begin with Native people. Brick was the person who questioned continuing to use the name "Devil's Gate" to describe the park and asked Vera

Rocha, the Gabrielino-Shoshone representative on the task force creating the park, what her people called the area. She was the person who named the park.

> When we set up Hahamongna Watershed Park it was meant to be a lasting testament to the Native people and hasn't been that as much as it should be. So, begin there... There's just a lot of wisdom that comes from Native Americans all around us. - 6/3/2022



Figure 75. *Tim Brick and a spokesperson from the group Apache Stronghold. Brick provided space at the Hahamongna Walkabout for the group to discuss their fight against a copper mine.*

Since the turn of the last century, however, an engineering mindset and what Brick terms the "religion of flood control" has driven the narrative:

> We really need to question the fundamental tenets of the religion, the priests who came along and said "Let's pour concrete everywhere. And let's get rid of this water. It's a nuisance. Let's get it out to the ocean." And that's had harmful effects everywhere. It's harmed the ocean; it's harmed the groundwater basin; it's harmed the stream zone; and it's harmed us as people and our ability to enjoy

> Nature. And so that's why people can't tell you where the nearest river is…I think, even to this day, that religion is still unchallenged by most people...I'm a total apostate in that religion. These water agencies, for instance, they're exploiting natural resources, and they're destroying them, and they're not conscious of what they're really doing. - 11/29/22

Brick gives the example of the city staff in 1972 putting the channelization of a quarter-mile section of the Arroyo beneath the Colorado Street Bridge on the consent calendar for routine approval. A high groundwater table prevented the original channel builders from extending the concrete over this section back in the 1940s. But Los Angeles County Public Works was ready to finish the job with the blessing of city staff. It was Charles McKinney, the City Board Member for West Pasadena at the time, who noticed the item as the Board was getting ready to approve the calendar. He had it removed from the docket for discussion. This portion of the River today is most people's favorite stretch of the canyon. Over the years, Brick has been at odds with the City many times but hopes for partnership and would like to see the City investing more in community-based organizations. He said that instead of giving large contracts to engineering firms, the City could save money by hiring his group, who would then hire local young people to help, sending that money back into the community.

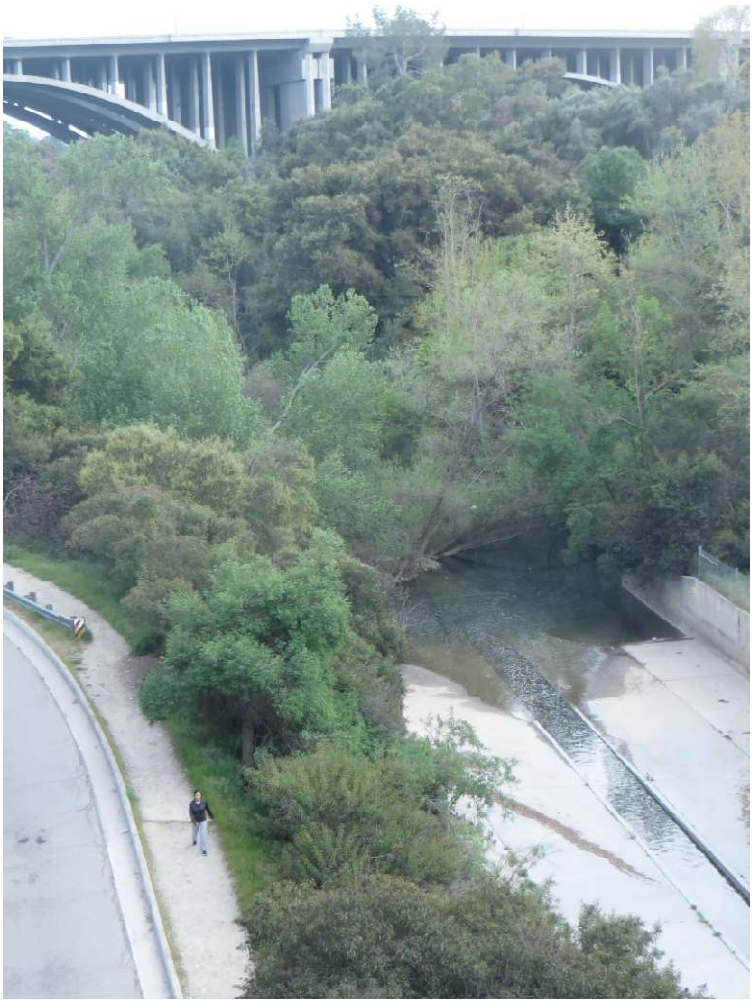

Figure 76. *The start of the un-channelized portion of the Lower Arroyo. Engineers wanted to pave this portion of the Arroyo in 1972 but the City's Board of Directors withdrew its support*

More recently, the story of the Arroyo for Brick has been one of death by a thousand cuts. He says that even projects that have good intentions slowly degrade the natural character of the landscape. Brick was involved in trench warfare twenty years ago as Pasadena went through a master planning process for the Arroyo. The Arroyo Seco Foundation and its allies defeated proposals for recreational facilities that would have compromised the natural character of Hahamongna and the Lower Arroyo. But the plan itself proved only aspirational as most of its proposed improvements have lacked funding. Brick said it's time for new thinking:

> So, is that enough, just to do a big master plan, which at a certain point is outdated and becomes a barrier to getting projects done? And it's at that point

> now where it's really a barrier. And it's blocked people's thinking to a more natural approach to the Arroyo. - 8/20/22

Some of that new thinking has started because of the need to capture stormwater and replenish the aquifer as a way to address the increasing costs of imported water. For example, he sees changes in the investments by the board of MWD, or Met.

> To take an example, when I was on the Met Board, I fought so hard to get money for conservation, and I don't think I ever got more than a couple of million dollars a year. And that was ten years ago, and now they've given out hundreds of millions of dollars for lawn rebate programs. There's been an incredible investment in that already, which is a clear indication to me that they've heard the bell ringing. It's amazing, and it's a lot of money and a lot of commitment - 1/8/23

Brick feels climate change is going to result in dramatic changes in the community's relationship with the Arroyo.

> I think that to some extent climate change is Nature's way of fighting back. And that we're going to find that the flood channel isn't adequate, and it's going to be incredibly expensive to alter. How are they going to alter it? What are they going to do? And we're going to find that we have to try to capture stormwater, and we have to try to replenish the groundwater basin. That's just essential for the next couple of generations. - 11/29/22

He thinks the failure of the Arroyo's flood control channel could be the tipping point. Such a cataclysmic event would provide an opportunity to take a fresh look at the Arroyo's floodplain as a groundwater recharge zone.

> I think we're going to see a lot of concrete coming out of the Arroyo, and we're going to see a lot more efforts to stow away stormwater and stuff like that. - 11/29/22

His focus right now is on being prepared with site-specific restoration plans to support steelhead trout migration and maximize biodiversity.

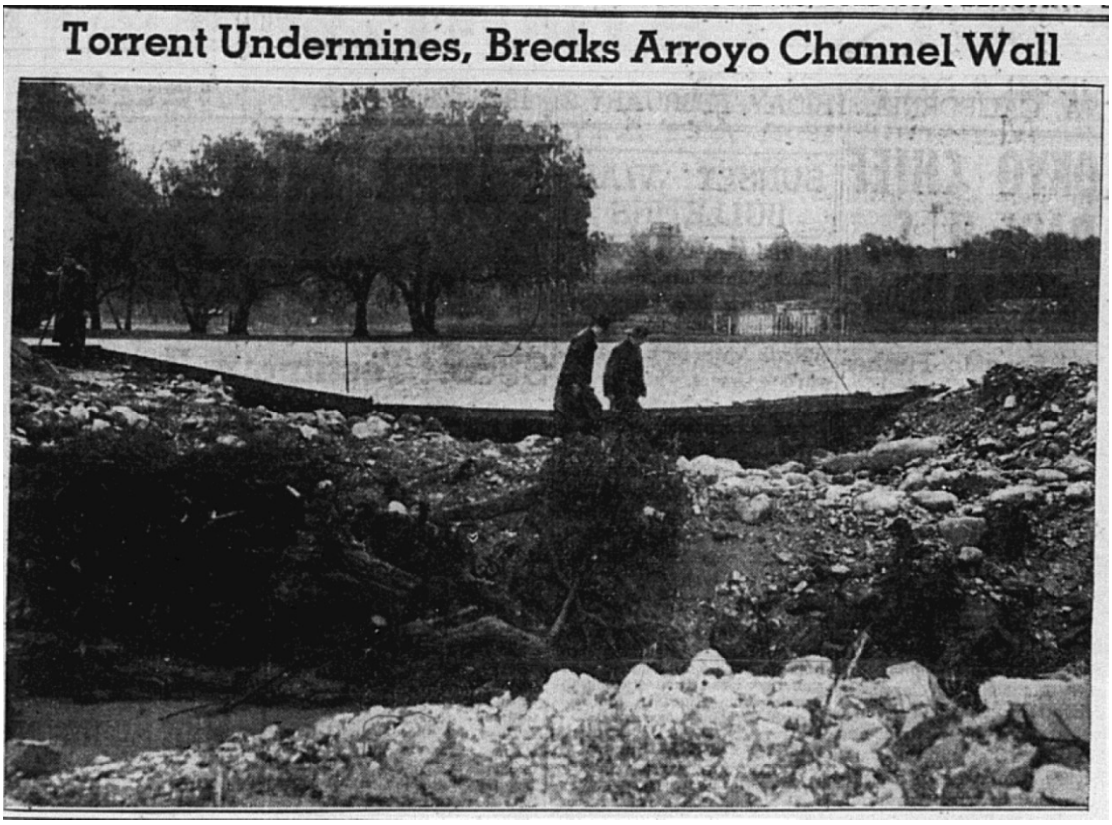

Figure 77. *Broken flood control channel north of the Rose Bowl. The last time flooding broke the channel was February 1941 near the intersection with Salvia Canyon. ("Five More Days of Rain Forecast as Crews Rush to Repair Channel Break" 1941)*

In the end, he feels the coming reckoning will be positive because it will force a shift in consciousness. Fittingly, Brick has already thought through a fictional story in his head that involves the Arroyo and the discovery by a set of young people of a collection of newly-minted baby frogs struggling to find water because of the overabundance of curbs, roads, and barriers installed in Hahamongna Watershed Park.

> Of course, it's a heroic story of kids becoming champions of restoring the Arroyo. They go to their parents. They go to their school. They go to their friends. They hear the stories from some old geezers who have been around a while. And they decide to take action, and they make a difference. They get, I don't know, some barrier removed or something like that that enhances the conditions.
>
> ***Indulge me. What would be the turning point for that story?***

> Maybe a confrontation at City Hall or something. They go to the City Council meeting and they kind of wake up the City Council people to "Wait a minute. This is the future generation. Maybe we should be thinking…" - 11/29/22

The idea of people waking up seems to be the essential plot point, which Brick has faith will happen because of young people questioning the status quo, the shock of rising water rates, or a catastrophic flood washing away the Rose Bowl.

The story that Brick's advocacy enacts is one fueled by a strong moral perspective on the importance of reaching beyond oneself to improve the lives of others.

> Through my life experience and my parents and schools and the Salesians, I've always had a big social conscience and a big awareness of the impacts of various things on people and the dedication to service and trying to right some of those injustices and trying to think not just of myself but of the common good and how we move forward as a community and as a society. - 6/3/22

He said early high points for his advocacy included the campaign against the Peripheral Canal and his organizing around utility rates, which had a very direct impact on people's lives. More recently, the progress at Hahamongna Watershed Park has been gratifying.

> I think the most important thing to emphasize is that we need to take a very active stance in terms of righting the injustices of the past and protecting nature and wildlife and natural resources for the future. So, the activist spirit needs to be cultivated and encouraged. - 6/3/22

Brick said a wonderful set of mentors encouraged this spirit in him, and he generously credits them as inspirations. These include Don Wheeldin, Tom Underbrink, Irv Sarnoff, Ellen Stern Harris, and Dorothy Green.

He said that it is important to work towards a positive vision rather than living a life of opposition. He ultimately thinks that people should be working for something they love and that the source of his love is the natural world. Crucially, he feels that this work must be collective in nature:

> One of the things that I find very interesting is that our society really promotes rugged individualism and that goes for the activists. I find that people resist organizations. They don't want to be part of an organization because they want to do it themselves. So, everyone starts a new organization when they want to do something... We have a hard time getting good board members. We really do. People talk about grassroots democracy and power to the people and all this, but people resist organization. - 8/20/22

Another thing that people resist is prioritizing the needs of the more-than-human world. Brick has often been the leading, and sometimes lonely, champion of this perspective in rooms where decisions about the Arroyo are happening.

> We need to cultivate a culture of stewardship in which people feel some responsibility for protecting nature and taking care of nature and putting nature first before other things like parking lots and trails even, people-oriented things. So, this thing that the way to improve the Arroyo is to enhance things for people, that should be secondary, not that some of that isn't appropriate, that should be secondary to really restoring the natural health of the Arroyo Seco, meaning the stream value, restoring it for birds and fish and bugs and wildlife. That's what should really be the basis of the program. So, making a commitment to do that, that's the stewardship mentality and we need to encourage it through individuals and organizations and through the City government, the public agencies that are supposed to represent the city, but that really hasn't been a priority for many years. - 8/20/22

He thinks the best person to stir this spirit in the Arroyo would be someone like Lewis McAdams, the poet who founded the Friends of the Los Angeles River.

> Lewis didn't have a detailed perspective on biology and fish and botany. He was a poet, and he did a good job of summoning the spirit of what the L.A. River could be. I remember that FoLAR had a great t-shirt, and it said “Steelhead back in the L.A. River by 2020.” And I saw him once in the parking lot at the River Center when I was wearing that shirt and I said, "Lewis, I love this t-shirt, but what's the plan?" And he looked at me and said, "The plan?" I'm not kidding. He was a poet. It didn't bother me, that answer. He was a poet. He had a vision, not a plan. Lewis is a good example. I wish we had a poet, a troubadour of some sort, a singer could do it. Jackson Browne, he grew up on the Arroyo. His family has Arroyo roots. - 8/20/22

Despite his stated need for a troubadour, Brick is not a romantic. The story of his advocacy is one of an enduring commitment based on a strong moral critique better suited to satire and irony than the pursuit of ultimate victory.

> John Muir said at one point and I'm paraphrasing, but he said something to the effect of, "The battle for conservation is a never-ending battle. It is part of man's eternal quest and fight for right versus wrong." A never-ending battle and he was right. And so those who have a romantic concept that all of sudden we're going to pass an ordinance, set up a structure or promote a project that's will create Shangri-La in the Arroyo have a misconception. - 8/20/22

But Brick faces this never-ending task with a faith in the redemptive power of nature that feels appropriate for the seminarian-turned-activist

> It's one, protecting what's still left of the natural Arroyo and then restoring as much of the natural character of the Arroyo as possible. It's based on a view that even a lot of these degradations of the Arroyo, such as the flood channel and the dams and things like that, aren't permanent structures and in time, Nature is probably going to take it all back. I don't think a lot of people realize that, but that's what's going to happen. It might be one hundred years from now. It might be ten years from now. It might be a thousand years from now, who knows? I've always been for protecting the natural character as much as possible, and that means respecting habitat, the wildlife that was here and trying to bring some of that back and trying to mobilize community support for that. - 11/29/22

For Brick, seeming defeats just represent future victories.

> I think we're in a transitional period, and we're moving toward a more enlightened respect for Nature and resources and Indigenous people and respect for science and figuring out how to work these programs so they work in harmony with nature rather than challenging nature, rather than trying to defeat nature. (11/29/22).

Brian Biery

Brian Biery's roots in Pasadena run deep. In 1922, a wealthy couple who lived in Minnesota hired his grandfather, Lester Biery, to drive them across the country to Pasadena. Like so many others, he appreciated the mild climate and decided to stay in Southern California.

He found work as a cab driver, saved money, took the train back to Minnesota, convinced Biery's grandmother to marry him and move to Pasadena. While working as a cab driver, one of his fares offered him a job as his chauffeur, groundskeeper, and handyman at his home. The job came with an apartment above the garage of his employer's mansion at 395 South Grand Avenue just off Millionaire's Row and behind the Wrigley Mansion. Biery's father and uncles grew up in this small apartment, two blocks from the Lower Arroyo, and walked down Grand Avenue to attend Arroyo Seco Elementary School (see appendix 27).

While Biery's White parents and grandparents knew Pasadena during the height of segregation, he himself grew up during a time when many of these barriers were coming down. Pasadena was the first school district outside the South to undergo court-ordered desegregation, and Biery rode the buses that placed students from different parts of the city together in the same classroom.

> The interesting part of being in that experiment of integration is that it really opened my eyes to other cultures and other experiences and other people…although Hamilton was relatively diverse…I probably wouldn't have run into a lot of those folks who are still colleagues or friends of mine to this day. I work on a project with a good friend of mine who went to Muir, and he ended up working for the police department. And we talk about integration and this whole experience of throwing kids together, and we feel on many levels it was pretty successful. - 6/29/22

This exposure to the positive impact of integration extended to Biery's Boy Scout troop, which took him on monthly camping trips and was an important part of his life.

> My uncle was a teacher at Lincoln School and then at Burbank and at Madison for a number of years. He recruited some of his students at Madison, and these were Spanish-speaking kids. There was a family from Mexico and a family from Panama. He recruited them to come to Boy Scouts because he thought this would be a wonderful experience to teach them about the outdoors. So, when you look at the photographs of our Boy Scout troop from the 1970s, you'd think, "That's pretty diverse." - 6/29/22

Biery joined the Peace Corps after college and lived and worked in Guatemala for nearly three years, which gave him a global perspective on how to build an equitable and inclusive society. After traveling around the U.S. searching for a place to live with the best balance of career opportunities, access to the outdoors, and progressive vision, Biery decided to settle back in Pasadena.

> I decided to come back to Pasadena and spend the next whatever amount of years, specifically with friends and family. So, that's what I've been doing for a while now. And the reason was that of all the cities that I've lived in or visited or passed through…Pasadena was at the top of the heap….The main reason, though, was at that particular time, I had three grandparents who were still alive, my aunt and uncle in Altadena, my mom, my sister, my cousins, and all my nieces and nephews and as a result, for my sister's kids in particular, I went to every one of their softball or baseball games, every single one of my niece's softball games for three years, and every one of my nephew's baseball games. And that's just an example, made every single birthday, for every family member as well. - 6/29/22

Biery's grandparents on his father's side were frugal and were able to buy a home and then save enough for retirement with his grandfather working as a gardener, chauffeur, handyman, and landscape designer for Pasadena's wealthy landowners. Biery's grandfather on his mother's side was also able to buy a home in Pasadena and raise his family while working as a Goodyear Tire salesman. As with many families with Pasadena roots, however, Biery doesn't feel their place in Pasadena is secure:

> Teachers can't buy a house in Pasadena, truck drivers can't, landscape architects can't, tire salesmen can't. This is somewhat of a digression, but I feel like our family is slowly going to be pushed out of Pasadena. My cousin's son and daughter live with her in Altadena. My other cousin lives in Sierra Madre with his two kids. And they're all fine with it. They all get along fairly well. But I don't know. It's more of a European model of where the kids live with their parents into their 30s or maybe forever. So, maybe that's what we'll default to because none of them can even afford rent on their own with the entry-level jobs that they have. So, I think our foothold here is tenuous, even though my uncle owns his house, my mom owns hers, my sister owns hers, my cousin in Sierra Madre owns his, and I own mine. But the irony with Pasadena is that every day I

> receive notes from realtors that are like, "You want to sell? I have a buyer." But where would I go? The only thing I could do is go to Las Vegas or to Phoenix and buy something there because I couldn't afford anything in Southern California - 6/29/22

Pushing back against these economic forces and helping Pasadena residents feel a healthy and secure sense of connection and belonging has animated Biery's career. He worked for eleven years for Neighborhood Connections, a now-closed city agency set up to support neighborhood groups and associations. He then served as Director of Community Organizing for the Flintridge Center for eight years, supporting violence prevention and re-entry programs in Altadena and Pasadena. Biery now works as an independent consultant and has facilitated dialogues and workshops on affordable housing opportunities, homelessness prevention/intervention, police/community relations, and African American history in Pasadena. He was also an Adjunct Professor of Advocacy/Social Justice and Human Development at Pacific Oaks College in Pasadena. Currently, he hosts and produces the 'Power of One' a televised interview show featuring local changemakers.

From going to his father's Owl League softball games as a child, to working as a lifeguard at the old Brookside Plunge, the Arroyo Seco has played an important role in Biery's life. Today, he lives across the street from The Gamble House and regularly walks along the Arroyo's rim, circling back through Brookside Park. For one of his contracts, he works with Muir High School's Engineering and Environmental Science Academy to place interns in the community with several nonprofit organizations working in the Arroyo. Most importantly he is facilitating the planning process for a coalition of local environmental, arts, and tribal organizations aiming to create a Climate Resilience Environmental Education Center (CREEC) in Hahamongna Watershed Park, where Biery's Boy Scout troop once participated in regional Boy Scout Camporees.

Biery's broader awareness of social and economic inequalities within Pasadena influences his perspective on the Arroyo and its adjacent neighborhoods.

> I could take you to blocks not so far from the Arroyo and not so far from here where there are three families living in an apartment, two families living in an apartment, a large family living in an apartment that's designed for two or three people that has five, six, or maybe eight people. I can take you to places where parents are working two jobs, three jobs, four jobs to keep the family together, or one parent is gone, and the other is trying to struggle raising three kids. It's all right over there and yet, there's a certain obliviousness in more affluent neighborhoods that aren't aware that there are gangs in the city, that there's gang violence, that aren't aware there are people from other countries struggling desperately to survive. — 12/15/22

In 2014, a report by the Urban and Environmental Policy Institute at Occidental College studied economic data and confirmed what many had felt to be true for some time: Pasadena competes with San Francisco for the California city with the greatest income inequality (Dreier and Maier 2014). The title of the report is "A Tale of Two Cities," and this phrase or alternatively, "Two Pasadenas," now lives in the lexicon of the city. When I asked about what is needed to help neighborhoods along the Arroyo to flourish, Biery called upon this phrase as a way to not only understand the city and the Arroyo today but back through history.

> I'm sure in the 1880s or 1890s with Millionaires Row, it was stark where you had the extreme affluence and then just a couple blocks over where Old Pasadena is now on Vernon Avenue and Pasadena Avenue and De Lacey, there were working class folks who would just walk up Green Street and Del Mar and Colorado Boulevards to go to work at the Gamble's house and the Wrigley's house and the Busch Garden's house. It was harder to blend in as it is now. But anyway, when we're talking about flourishing, it feels as though there are some people who are flourishing on many, many levels and yet many other people are not. -- 12/15/22

In both the past and present, working-class individuals and families in Pasadena have an unacknowledged presence in the city.

> And this is the fascinating part that's so frustrating. If you go to the affluent restaurants on Arroyo Parkway or Lake or Colorado in Old Pasadena where

> you're paying $54 for a prime rib or a steak, the people who work in the back are people who live up the street on Marengo or Garfield or El Molino or Los Robles in one of those apartment buildings and ride their bikes across the freeway to make sure that the people down here near Madeline and Bellefontaine and Arlington have a delicious meal. Likewise at the Westin or the Hilton, the people who change the sheets there--some of the guests are people from outside, especially with the Rose Parade coming up--a lot of those people are from Pasadena as well. And so, they benefit from the local labor pool that's willing to take those jobs. I think there's a disconnect that they're separate from us, or they're different from us, or they don't exist, or they aren't from our town. But they actually are in our town. – 7/27/22

Biery said this other-ing can bleed into the policy debates in front of City Council on topics such as affordable housing:

> The hypocritical nature of that perspective is that we can block whatever goes there. But when you want to put high density on Fair Oaks and Orange Grove or up in Northwest Pasadena, we don't want to hear from those people. We don't have enough time for them to come down to City Hall and have them say, 'Oh gosh, could we scale this back a little bit? Could we have greater setbacks?'" It's this bifurcation of "We want the right to be able to say whatever we want to local government, but those other people have to wait, or they have to accept whatever we give them." So, those are some of the barriers involved. – 7/27/22

The "tale of two cities" is also a tale of two education systems. Because of the court-ordered busing in the 1970s, many Pasadena parents decided to send their children to nonpublic schools or move from Pasadena. Biery said that approximately 48 percent of school-age children in the school district attend Pasadena Unified schools, which ranks Pasadena close to or at the bottom, in terms of public school enrollment for the entire country. Biery said that cultural beliefs and attitudes guide parents' decisions on schooling.

> There's fear. I won't say it's the only emotional aspect, and I'll describe what that fear is. It's on a couple of levels. It's that "I don't want my kid to go to school with *those kids*," whoever those kids are. The fear is that if my kids go to school with those kids, they'll be either damaged in some way or twisted in some way or they'll be impacted in some way. So especially when we're talking about academic achievement, "I don't want my kids to be in classes with students who are performing below grade level because it will bring my kid down." And some of the fears are not irrational. Some of the fears have a fundamental thread of

> accuracy. “I don’t want my kid in classes with kids who are misbehaving. I don’t want my kid in classes with people of color. I don’t want my kid in classes with people who have a different sexual orientation than my family because I don’t want my kids to be influenced by them. I don’t want my kids to be in substandard facilities. I’m fearful that my kids…” Here’s the key part…certainly safety is the key concern, but the second one is that my kids will have a horrible life. That’s the equation, is my kid plus public school equals a miserable life.
>
> And the reason is that they are so caught up in the political, social system is that there has been this belief that “We’ve got to get good grades. We’ve got to get into the best college possible. We’ve got to earn a degree, and then we’ll have this terrific life because we’ll have all of the core or foundational aspects to success.” And success is, in our society, all about who you are and how much money you make as opposed to how you contribute to society in general terms. And the calculus that they’re playing is if I send my kid to public school…and then my kid is not going to get into the right college, their life is going to spin out of control with drugs and homelessness and suffering. -- 12/15/22

While Pasadena’s public schools have struggled, in the last decade the district has made noticeable gains (Kahlenberg 2016).

In terms of the Arroyo Seco, Biery sees it as a landscape that contains the history of exclusion, through the segregation of the Brookside Plunge and the legacy of redlining and racial covenants in surrounding neighborhoods, but it is also a place where there is great potential to break down barriers and bring people together. For example, Biery pointed out how the loop around the Rose Bowl attracts walkers, runners, and cyclists of all backgrounds.

> The RBAC, Kidspace, the baseball field was used by PCC and is used by a variety of schools, and the walkers and cyclists, the Rose Bowl loop is used by literally thousands of people a day, which is wonderful. - 12/15/22

Even so, Biery observes that the impact of the Arroyo on the community could be even greater.

> I know there are a lot of people around town and especially around Muir High School or just east of Muir, near Washington School, that…that aren’t connected to the Arroyo and aren’t aware of it and aren’t active. I have talked to a lot of people who live in those neighborhoods, and they actually go down and take walks and exercise in the Arroyo. But I think there are quite a few who don’t. -- 12/15/22

The story of the Arroyo for Biery hinges upon this dynamic. Does the Arroyo reproduce and reinforce the "tale of two cities" narrative or does it serve to repair the rift between the two Pasadenas? Biery began his story of the Arroyo with Native people who called the area home. He then discussed the gathering of intellectual and cultural luminaries, such as John Muir and Helen Hunt Jackson, at Carmelita in the late 19th century (see appendix 27). An essential piece of the narrative was the decision to segregate the Brookside Plunge in 1914. Biery also identified the construction of the Rose Bowl in 1922 as a turning point because a century later it still absorbs most of the city's investment in the Arroyo. Biery said the debt from the stadium's recent renovation and the increased cost sharing of California cities for the public employment retirement system (PERS) have prevented discussion of implementing the $80 million dollars of improvements listed in the Arroyo Seco Master Plan passed in the early 2000s. Biery thinks getting people down into the Arroyo is essential so that people will protect it in the future. He has tried to help by placing Muir High School students as interns with 301 Organics, the company that piloted a composting program at the Rose Bowl (see chapter 5).

> So, I've placed a dozen interns there, or more. And I hear back from 301 Organics that the students are just amazed about working at the Rose Bowl and being able to spend time in the Arroyo. It's opened up this new territory for them that is vast and fascinating, and so they're just thrilled to have that. - 12/15/22

Biery feels that the public needs more exposure to the history of communities of color in the Arroyo going all the way back to Native people's presence and use of the Arroyo. For example, he said more public recognition about the over thirty years of discrimination at the Brookside Plunge would be helpful.

> Part of the healing would be to have the RBAC...to have some sort of exhibit to say that this is the way it was, but it's not like that anymore. And to their credit, every year they provide free swim lessons for third graders from PUSD, which is

> extremely admirable. So, that is where some healing could take place around the pool. - 9/15/22

Biery said that personal stories are important as well because they show how meaningful and memorable experiences in the Arroyo Seco are for Pasadena residents.



Figure 78. *Information board on the history of swimming and water sports in the Arroyo. In September 2023, the Rose Bowl Aquatics Center dedicated one of its pools to Dr. Edna Griffin who led the fight to desegregate the Brookside Plunge while serving as the president of Pasadena's chapter of the NAACP. The RBAC installed this information board in the lobby that does precisely what Biery said is needed*

The story that Biery's advocacy expresses and enacts is ultimately about supporting an inclusive, democratic society that promotes self-determination at the neighborhood level.

> One the main goals is to train others. Another goal is to help nonprofit organizations or community groups to be as effective as possible. And then another one is to be as supportive as possible in helping them achieve their goals. The larger vision is to make Pasadena, Altadena, and Sierra Madre a more inclusive space and embrace the diversity that we have, then hold it up as a value to enable everyone to have access to a high quality of life. - 7/27/22

Biery said that he views his organizing work as a form of coaching:

> There's this notion of "doing with" and "doing for," and my perspective on the U.S. and even locally too, is that most of it is "doing for," which can create dependencies. But when you do "with," which is more of a coaching model, it's more impactful, and it's more sustainable because the people, they can carry on those activities after you leave. I think all community organizers should be working their way out of a job to allow people to be able to carry forward with their goals on their own. - 7/27/22

The measure of success for Biery is the amount of trust that neighbors place in one another, arguing that a good question to ask to measure the strength of the social fabric in a community is whether in an emergency, a parent feels comfortable asking a neighbor to watch their children. Another way to ask this question is whether one's neighbors feel like family.

> There need to be more places where you have those types of bonds with the people you live with. Otherwise, you're going from 2015 to 2025 just in time but not in space. You're not really sharing any parts of your lives with other people because there are walls between our yards or our apartments, and we don't talk to anybody, and they don't talk to us, and we don't really care about their lives. - 6/29/22

This connects Biery's professional work back to the personal importance he has placed on staying connected to his immediate and extended family. Weaving these community connections and supporting self-determination is what Biery did every day for eleven years through the Neighborhood Connections office.

> I worked for the City of Pasadena in the Neighborhood Connections office for over eleven years, and my job was to organize neighborhoods into associations and help support them as they addressed quality-of-life issues. The key point for me was for neighbors to create neighborhoods where they knew each other, they cared about each other, they actually wanted to do things together, which has been extremely difficult, and not just because it's Pasadena but because in the United States, it's not a high priority. And I still see that today. - 6/29/22

The closure of the office in 2017 after thirty years provides a window into the City's relationship with its citizenry. Biery provided a concise overview of the important role that the office played not only in Pasadena but for all of Southern California.

Pasadena started Neighborhood Connections in 1987, as the result of community input and the desire for there to be support for neighborhood associations. Early on, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, they actually hired neighborhood organizers with Community Development Block Grant funds. At any given point, they had three or four organizers, walking the streets, supported by federal dollars, particularly in Northwest Pasadena, to talk with people about neighborhood issues and help people along the path of self-determination. So, Pasadena was a trendsetter. At that time, there were very few other cities that had neighborhood support centers. And I also know this because there's a national organization called Neighborhoods USA that I've been a member of. And Pasadena ended up hosting the Neighborhoods USA conference in 1993 before I was hired. So, Pasadena was represented on a national level. We actually had a board member from Hastings Ranch, who was on the board for seven years, so we were out on the forefront of neighborhood organizing.

As I was leaving Neighborhood Connections, we ended up building a coalition of neighborhood groups in Southern California. It was called Southern California Neighborhood Partners. And that's actually a high point of my career. We met quarterly and rotated from city to city and learned about what was happening in neighborhoods in those cities. The three key members were Long Beach, Pasadena, and Riverside. And then we had other members: Santa Ana; Los Angeles ended up joining because they were forming the neighborhood councils at that time; Glendale ended up being a major component of it as well as Monrovia. What we were doing in Pasadena had ramifications in other cities around Southern California. Long Beach came to Pasadena and said, "What are you doing with Neighborhood Connections?" They modeled their Neighborhood Resource Center after Neighborhood Connections. L.A., I can't even tell you how many meetings I had with them. His name was Greg Nelson, and he was a field representative for Joel Wachs, in our office, and it started when I was first hired, he came to our office and asked, "What is Neighborhood Connections? How do you organize neighborhoods?" He went to the Neighborhoods USA conference and talked to people there because we told him all about NUSA. They created a different system, mainly because of scale, four million compared to 140,000. Their system makes sense for what they have. But we were leaders in the field of neighborhood organizing, and we were guiding and educating other people. And we were bringing other cities together to talk about this confluence of neighborhood activism. And at the same time, inspired by a workshop at the NUSA Conference, we started the Pasadena Neighborhood Leadership Institute (PNLI), which helped neighborhood leaders to step into their roles and feel more comfortable being neighborhood presidents or neighborhood association board members. So, by shutting the office down, it completely ignored that whole history, the thirty years of service to the city but also the trendsetting, being on the edge of this concept that nationally was just evolving at the time…

> What happened is that the City in its infinite wisdom, after thirty years, closed the Neighborhood Connections office. When I left there were eighty-eight neighborhoods that were organized. I left ten years before they closed it, and they lost a couple, but even if it was down to seventy, that's a huge number. So, then COVID hit too, and that knocked a lot of them back. But I've done a quick survey of neighborhoods that are active, and it can't be more than 25 that are meeting regularly and have programs. It's probably even less than that. I think a contributing factor was that the City, first of all, didn't invest in the Neighborhood Connections office, but then secondly, ultimately closed it down for political reasons, though they said it was about funding. – 7/27/22

Biery shared that at its peak the city spent between $250,000 and $300,000 on the effort, which is less than 0.1 percent of the City's $300 million annual general fund budget. In its place, they instituted a Citizen's Service Center Line where residents can call in to report problems with sidewalks, potholes, or other minor problems or questions. The Mayor and the City Manager claimed at the time that the neighborhood associations said that they did not need Neighborhood Connections' services anymore. Biery said this might have been true for the larger neighborhood associations in more affluent areas that have large budgets, but for smaller groups, the office remained essential. Biery said both the Mayor and City Manager in 2017 had worked for the City for decades and felt they knew what was best for the City and its residents. And they complained that greater civic engagement just slowed down City processes and was a nuisance, a view that completely misses the role of an engaged and active citizenry in maintaining a healthy community and democracy.

Biery's involvement with Neighborhoods USA has shown him how Pasadena reflects a microcosm not only of the state but also the entire country. This knowledge gives his work with Pasadena's community organizations greater meaning. For example, Biery's work organizing two cultural history bus tours of the City of Pasadena helped the Garfield Heights

Neighborhood Association earn the national Neighborhood of the Year (NOTY) award at NUSA's 2023 National Conference.

Returning to the topic of the Arroyo Seco, Biery's approach to organizing suggests that deeper analysis should go into contemplating how to use the Arroyo to generate greater equity within the city, which is certainly an objective that Biery is working on with Charles Thomas of Outward Bound Adventures and seven other community based organizations as part of the CREEC project in Hahamongna Watershed Park.

John Dean

John Dean bought his house on North Arroyo Boulevard in the 1970s. He has served as the president of the East Arroyo Residents Association, a board member of Pasadena Heritage, and a volunteer with the Friends of La Pintoresca Library, an essential community resource for Northwest Pasadena. His grandparents arrived in Pasadena during the 1920s at the start of the Great Migration when African Americans moved north and west in search of opportunity. His mother's family founded Lincoln Avenue Baptist Church, while his grandfather on his father's side was a trash hauler and did well enough that he was able to put meat on the table every night for his fourteen children during the Great Depression. His father was a truck driver, and at one point, owned the gas station at the intersection of Lincoln Avenue and Fair Oaks Avenue, which was a hub for Pasadena's African American community before construction of the 210 Freeway erased it from the map.[67] Dean grew up in Northwest Pasadena near the border with Altadena, graduated from Muir High School, and won a football scholarship to the University of Arizona, where he played wide receiver and earned a degree in education.

[67] Known during this time as "The Point," this was originally the location of Stickney Memorial Hall, the location of the Shakespeare Club meetings and art classes for Throop Polytechnic Institute.

> I certainly had hoped to go on to play professional football. But I was also acutely aware that not everyone was going to get a shot. But one of the things I knew I had control over was my time here in school, at the university, I'm not leaving out of here without my degree. That was the real goal. - 8/10/22

After working in Tucson for a time as a reporter, he returned to Los Angeles, working first with the Los Angeles County Probation Department before securing a position that he held for twenty-four years as a court officer at the U.S. District Court, collecting information on cases for federal judges. He considers himself fortunate.

> I would say it was a combination of luck, personal fortitude, learning how to maneuver in the world, parents, and just being in an environment that was not structured in a way that guaranteed failure So, just being able to be successful despite the obstacles that were out there, not being traumatized by severe racism. But I didn't grow up in a Pollyanna world. You understood. But things have continued to get progressively better as a society even though we seem to be tumbling backward. But all democracies go through these periods of chaos, if you will. And they have to keep working forward. - 8/10/22

Dean got to know the Arroyo at a young age. His grandparents lived near the east rim on Del Monte Street where he would often stay overnight, riding his red Thunderbird bike up and down the street. His bicycle became the means for him to explore the Arroyo and its neighborhoods.

> One of my friend's moms was a maid at Prospect Park. I know where that house is today. But anyway, she told him to come down at noon so she could give him some money so that we that could get some ice cream later. Now, I had my money, so we got on our bikes, rode down Lincoln, stayed on the sidewalk, rode down Lincoln, rolled into Prospect Park, rolled over to the house, went to the back door, she came to the door. I think she gave him fifty cents, or something like that, and got back on our bikes and off we went. Another time three or four of us, maybe five of us, got on our bikes, we had a little saddlebag in the back and you'd put a sandwich in there, and off we rode, came down through the golf course, went up through Linda Vista, just riding all over the place. - 7/19/22

Dean shared that they rode up to what is today Hahamongna Watershed Park to explore the wild land behind the dam and also went down to Brookside to buy a hamburger or malt at the concession stand next to the Plunge.

> For the Fourth of July, we would drive down, my mother spread a blanket out in front of the car, and they gave us something to drink and eat, and sit there and wait for the fireworks. Back then the fireworks lasted for almost an hour. And you'd sit there, "Whoa, whoa." So, it was an area to explore, an area to have some entertainment, an area to do something different than be in your immediate neighborhood, it didn't cost anything. So, it was part of the growing up experience and anyone that lived in Pasadena at one point or another came down here to the Arroyo Seco. And if nothing else when the flood control channel was filled all the way up, you'd want to come and watch the water race down the channel. 7/19/22

Dean said that racial restrictions were "part of the landscape."

> You know you were kids, and your parents are not loading you up with all the horrible things that are going on. They warn you, "Don't be gone too long." And talking with your friends, you get an idea of "This and that." A lot of this is passed down without being written down, but you know. You hear, "You don't want to get caught in that neighborhood." You don't know what "get caught" means, but you know that you've got to get gone. The police department for a lot of minorities was seen as their first responsibility was to protect Whites, not to protect you. Their second obligation was to get the threat, i.e. you, out of this area by whatever means necessary and ensure that you don't get the idea of coming back here. So, you might get asked, "Are you working in this area?" And you might say, "Yes, I'm working for Mr. Wrigley." "What do you do?" "I'm his driver." And then it starts to make some sense about why you are in this expensive car. "This is Mr. Wrigley's car and I'm driving it. I'm his driver." "Where you going with it?" "To pick him up if you let me go." - 7/19/22

Brookside Plunge was open to everyone when Dean was growing up, but the scars of segregation were still present in the living memory of his community. He said that the Arroyo in the 1960s and '70s slowly fell into disrepair, a condition that some felt was due to people of color using Brookside more often once these restrictions fell. Dean said that he is currently not aware of any actions that explicitly exclude anyone from using the Arroyo, but people have experienced subtle disparities by neighborhood in City response times to street repairs, and

during Rose Bowl events, young people in the Police Explorer program take charge of the street barricades for the Linda Vista neighborhood on the other side of the Arroyo whereas only daily workers manage the barricades for the East Arroyo area. He noted a well-documented 2022 incident when a neighbor's call resulted in the police putting a janitor who was working overtime at San Rafael Elementary School in handcuffs as evidence that racial profiling is not uncommon (Petri 2022; Wilson 2022).

Dean believes that efforts to restore the Arroyo might be well-intentioned, but to some degree, reflect the same urge to control and manage the landscape that led to encasing the River in concrete.

> But everyone wants to manage it because it's power and control, and to an important extent, it's money. You get a grant to put in a hundred trees, and you get $200,000, and you can put in a hundred trees. But do you really need to? Or do you leave nature alone and let nature do what it's always done? "No, you can't do that. Nature doesn't know what it's doing." So, we need to control it. When you step back and look at all this, this is what you see. Can we enhance it? Yeah, I guess. Can we put things in a certain place where we think they ought to go? Maybe so. But really, we are determined to manage something because we want to control it, and we want to dictate how it ultimately looks and where things go. We have a hard time not managing stuff. We just can't let something be its own. We say, we need to re-channel this River so we can take this floodplain and turn it into houses, even though there is a good bet that we get a massive storm, the River is not going to cooperate with what we said it should do. — 7/13/22

Dean said he would tell the story of the Arroyo by asking how we arrived at the current circumstances. He believes that an honest assessment of the past is essential to keep a community from backsliding toward prejudice and exploitation. The story, for him, must begin with Indigenous people and would progress to the attack by a Pasadena mob on a Chinese washhouse in 1885.

> You have to take the key points from what we know the beginning is to where we are today. I can envision a picture of the Native people walking unimpeded. The

> next picture that you see is of the cross, and perhaps you now see Native people toiling in these fields, which they never toiled in fields before. They gathered their sustenance from Nature itself. And then you move forward to when the Chinese got here and their building on fire and them being banned. And you could bounce forward again, and pick up another element of discrimination, whether that's a copy of a restrictive covenant, which they estimated at their peak covered 60 percent of Pasadena. Then you also have the more recent issue of the minorities standing outside Brookside Plunge. - 12/20/22

Dean's story is one of modest improvement since the desegregation of the Plunge.

> Here we are sixty years later, and we're still grappling with the after effects of how society has operated. But that's going to continue in the future. But, you know, things slowly improve, maybe not very fast, maybe not enough at each step, but certainly this is not the 1930s. And you look back at it, and it's certainly not the 1870s in how people were treated or not treated. —7/19/22

But this story of racism, violence, and its lingering impact raises important questions. There are really two stories for Dean. The first is the story of survival enacted by individuals and families that endured through and fought against racial terrorism in 20th century Pasadena.

> When you're pulling all these stories together, it's really just a story about racism's heritage, its legacy. Racism impacted everything for minorities, if you're black or brown or yellow or pink or whatever. That really is the story. It's not a singular incident here or there. It's the way society was, the way it's trying to still be, and the way it might be going into the future. It's less and less, bit by bit, but nonetheless it still exists. All you have to do is look around and listen to people —7/13/22

This story shows provisional improvement but is not one of unqualified triumph. The second story is that of Pasadena's White community, which leads to grappling with difficult psychological questions and a narrative grounded in personal darkness and, hopefully, a measure of personal growth.

> Maybe the story of the Arroyo is why do White Americans hate minorities so much? Why did we hate the Native people so much? What do we hate people of Asian descent that we encouraged to come here to provide labor, but we want them to have nothing to do with society? We want you to stay hidden somewhere. Why do we hate these people? Why do we have these people that we don't want anything to do with, cook our meals, raise our children, clean our

> homes, do all the other menial tasks, wash our laundry, but we don't want anyone like that from living next door to us? Why do we pass laws to keep them from using the same facilities that their tax dollars help support? Why was there such a long fight over the Plunge? Why are we fighting so vigorously have the Arroyo Seco return to its roots when we actively sought to destroy it? Put a golf course in, put the Rose Bowl in, put the flood channel in. Why, as White people, did we do these things? Why do we turn the story around and say the victim is one who is at fault?…Why do we hate? I don't know. —7/19/22

Putting both these stories in the same frame spins out a hierarchical world with a universe of characters: heroes, villains, victims, beneficiaries, allies to resistance and accessories to oppression. Perhaps most important in this story are the decision-makers, the people with the authority to decide who wins and who loses: the teachers, principals, city staff, elected officials, and especially the judges, whose rulings put an end to discrimination at the Plunge or declared racial covenants unenforceable. In this story, one measure of progress is who ends up filling the role of the decision-makers. For Dean, however, even court decisions do not represent a definitive and final victory

> There isn't a defining moment where you can say "This happened and everything changed." It's all part of a gradual, insidious process that's been in place from the beginning. We're the group of people, i.e. Whites, that are in charge, and we're going to define how everything works and who is going to be where and what kind of jobs we're going to have and what level of participation in the fabric of the city and make that determination. —7/13/22

Change in this story depends on the ability to resist this urge to control and manage other humans and the more-than-human world. It hinges on the human capacity for growth, the ability under stress to not devolve to self-interest, the length of people's memories, and the willingness of an individual to extend themselves to help another. Relative to this final point, Dean talked about the struggle to prevent people from committing suicide by jumping into the Arroyo from the Colorado Street Bridge. He noted that the City was willing to pay to station a 24-hour guard at City Hall to protect City offices but not on the bridge, where a matter of minutes could allow

responders to arrive and convince someone to accept help. Dean asked me what this means in terms of the community's priorities.

Humanity's unreliable nature is why Dean's story of the Arroyo is one of only modest gains. This story aligns with what literary critic Northrup Frye calls "low-norm satire," which are narratives often set in war zones and show protagonists keeping their head down and keeping their conscience, as they struggle to survive challenging times. Dean's description of key lessons from his parents fit this description:

> I would say my parents knew how to navigate. They told me what I needed to do and how I needed to conduct myself, not as subservient to anybody, but you get respect if you give respect. Conduct yourself appropriately. Do not act stupid. Then, you're more than likely to be dealt with in that same way, but you're certainly not giving someone an excuse to say that you are the problem. Again, somebody else's experience might be completely different, and what they're encounter was, if unfortunately, a bad one, you hope it wasn't, but reality is, that occurs. You ran at the wrong time or ran the wrong circumstance, whatever it might be, and the outcome is not what would be preferred. - 7/19/22

The overriding value in these stories is flexible pragmatism. Within such a story, Dean suggests that an honest rendering of the past can serve as a moral compass

> I'm not fatalist about it, but this stuff is shifting and changing, as it always has, and we just have to keep shifting and changing and adjusting along the way. I think being honest with our past helps us be honest with our future because if you have to operate and you're trying to hide from something, then you have to continue to operate that way, and that's dishonest, not only with yourself but with others. - 9/14/22

The Arroyo in this case serves as a proving ground on questions of justice, decency, and compassion, for individuals, institutions, and the community as a whole. In the process, the Arroyo's landscape records and holds the results of these tests and is a venue that current and future generations can learn from. Dean feels that climate-induced droughts on the horizon will yield a new round of trials that Pasadena will need to confront and is perhaps the next chapter in the story of the Arroyo.

Dean enacts this genre with his advocacy on behalf of the La Pintoresca Branch Library, raising funds, for example, so the library can build a collection of books focused on social justice.

> Helping the library help these kids, for me, is just a good thing to do. Somebody helped me, somebody helped everybody, whether they admit it or not. But you don't get from there to here without having some form of help. So, being able to help that library do a better job of helping all those kids that come in there, you're making better citizens, and you're helping them see that they can be something as opposed to whatever it is they're not seeing. But it's something that's important. - 8/10/22

Dean's approach to activism emphasizes the collective nature of advocacy and activism.

> The range of positive, good things that people were doing is limitless. I wasn't around in 1938 when they started the fight to have access to the swimming pool. But the people that were leading that, I didn't know them. But I benefited from them; everyone benefited from them. But you see from a historical standpoint, people doing positive things for the majority of people. At some point, people don't pay attention to what that fight accomplished because it seems normal. It seems regular, and there's no appreciation for when you couldn't do that. - 8/10/22

Highlighting the generational nature of social progress is evidence that Dean's story is not within the traditions of romance or tragedy that hold up singular heroes for adulation. At the same time, because the forces of opposition in this story deploy terror rather than ignorance or absurdity, the story is not truly comic in nature. And as Dean says, he doesn't believe in fatalism and the paralyzing apathy that deep-seated irony can generate: action is necessary.

> In spite of all these obstacles, you can either capitulate or you can fight and struggle, and you don't give up and you keep pushing to achieve whatever it is that you're trying to achieve, and even then, you're still going to run into more discrimination. — 12/20/22

Dean's advocacy leans into the idea of provisional progress, an approach that fits most comfortably within the clear-eyed realm of satire, a realm where supporting the local library is the most obvious course of action.

Barbara Richardson King

Barbara Richardson King feels fortunate to have grown up in Pasadena. The daughter of an African American father and a Japanese American mother, she experienced a strong sense of community growing up in the 1950s on Del Monte Street in the East Arroyo neighborhood, less than two blocks from the rim of the canyon. Every morning, she walked around the corner to Cleveland Elementary School, which formed the center of a tight-knit, multiracial neighborhood.

> The thing about it was that you trusted everybody, no matter what they did: a dentist, a doctor, the junkman. It was all small-town, local people you could trust. - 7/12/22

After Cleveland, she walked just a little further in the other direction to Muir High School where she graduated in 1965. Married at 19, she quickly had two daughters and a home to build. After separating from her husband, she returned to school, eventually transferring to UCLA to get a business and economics degree while using food stamps to fill the pantry. While working in the airline industry, she found an opportunity in real estate and took it, partially because buying and selling properties had been one of the many strategies her father had used to support their family.

> I thought if I became a realtor because of my father's background in real estate and what he did…I was still trying to please my father, right. He was passed away, but I was accepted and passed the test the first time. The secretary called me to say, "I just called to tell you that you passed your test." And I said, "No!" And she said, "Yes." And I said, "No." And she said, "Yes." "Really?" She said, "Really." So, I was still working for the airlines and doing real estate. - 7/12/22

Richardson King married her second husband, Lee, at La Casita del Arroyo and moved to a house her father bought and moved from the path of the advancing freeway to a lot on North

Arroyo Drive overlooking the canyon. Still, Caltrans located the Arroyo/Windsor freeway exit less than a hundred yards from the front door.

Richardson King's life and work in the community in many ways honors her family's roots in Pasadena (see appendix 28 for a fuller history of the Grant family).

> My grandfather, as I mentioned, came out here on the train. And my dad said his father didn't have more than a fourth-grade education, and my dad said that he was one of the smartest people he ever knew [Emotional]. It's just really hard to have people find that much respect for their parents and their communities today, and a man with no education, he did so well. My grandfather did so well. I'm sorry. These people were so big to me in my life. I mentioned that my grandfather brought his brothers out one at a time, and he gave them a truck. One had the Altadena Refuse, and my grandfather had Golden State, and Uncle Earl had something else. And these men who were not only entrepreneurs, but they were very handsome men too. They got together and they bought a hog farm in Perris, California.[68] The story is that they would pick up the garbage here, and take it to the hog farm. And from that my Uncle Earl had enough money to open Family Savings and Loan, which was at one time the largest African American savings and loan west of the Mississippi. So, again, all of this stuff was happening. I remember as a young girl going down to Crenshaw. He had just opened his second location in the Crenshaw District, and I'm going to my great uncle's savings and loan. How big is that? That's incredible. So…
>
> ***Opportunity.***
>
> I have nothing but wonderful things to say. Like, I don't know why anybody would even move out of Pasadena. [Laughter]

Richardson King's father, Alfred Grant, was born in Pasadena in 1912 and grew up at 283 North Vernon Avenue on the east side of the Arroyo, which gave him a front row seat to construction of the Rose Bowl in 1922. Grant branched out from the family rubbish business and founded his own custodial and building security enterprise but also graduated from Cal State, was a leading actor in Black Hollywood, owned and operated a cafe and dance hall for African Americans in

[68] During an oral history with Earl Grant, he stated that the hog farm was in El Monte. He sold the pork to Farmer John, a regional meat packing company started in 1931 in Vernon, California. The profits from the hog farm allowed Earl Grant to invest in real estate and eventually accumulate enough capital to start Family Savings and Loan (Grant 1984).

Old Pasadena, and built the house on Del Monte Street where Richardson King grew up. Richardson King's Japanese American mother was Hannah (Betty) Oye, and shortly after she eloped with Grant to escape California's anti-miscegenation laws, she had to report to the waystation at Santa Anita Race Track prior to transport to the internment camp at Manzanar for World War II. But Alfred Grant was a widower, had two small children, and was serving as an entertainer for the USO. He sent a letter to Washington, D.C. to appeal and was able to find a Pasadena judge to act as a sponsor for his new wife. This earned her a pass card that allowed her to live with Grant's parents in Pasadena and take care of her step-children for the duration of the war. Richardson King paints her as unflinching.

> It was difficult for her. That's why she's my hero. To do that for both of them. She went against her parents and her family. My father's parents embraced my mom, but there were these other fringes that didn't understand what was going on. My father was a great provider and a great family man. And my mom ended up doing better than all of her sisters if you want to judge it like that. - 7/12/22



Figure 79. *Pass card for Betty Grant. Grant had to carry this card while living in Pasadena during World War II. Barbara Richardson King carries it to this day* (Richardson King 2024).

After the war, when she and her brother were born and her mother's family returned from internment to Los Angeles, Richardson King got to know her mother's side of the family, especially her Aunt Dorothy.

> They were always over for holidays. We had sushi and chitlins. And the one she was closest to was Dorothy because they looked so much alike. My father just won everyone over because he was a great person. And they could see that my mom was really happy. And then we came along, which was great. That ended up being a great story about how everybody is the same. And my mom, she was so tolerant. She was something else. She was really a trailblazer. 7/12/22

Richardson King's mother raised the children, led the Parent-Teacher Association for Cleveland Elementary School, kept the books for the family business, and later helped her father prepare bids on Caltrans homes slated for demolition.

Alfred Grant was able to move several homes to various locations in Northwest Pasadena and talked the city's Board of Directors into handing out neighborhood beautification awards for the blocks that he developed. Richardson King not only followed his example with her career in real estate but also with community advocacy, organizing the North Arroyo Neighborhood Association.

While looking at a map of the area, Richardson King explained that through the years the Arroyo has been vital to her well-being.

> Well as a young girl in the late 50s, the best thing that could happen to me is that my brother could take me down into the Arroyo, and we would walk the trail and we'd end up at JPL [Jet Propulsion Laboratory]. We could go all the way under here. There was rapid water flowing and greenery and it was great. You know the freeway wasn't there. We still had the echo chamber. That was great.
>
> ***Was that the tunnel at the base of the dam?***
>
> Yes. And that was recreational. Take your dog. I'd beg my brother, "Please take me down there." It was a full day of recreation. You didn't have to have any radio or other thing entertain you. You could listen to the water. And if it rained

> really hard, oh my god, that was an event in itself, to see the rushing water coming through.
>
> ***The release from the dam?***
>
> Right. And you could sit there for a long time just watching that water. Most of the time if we walked down from Del Monte into the Arroyo, that riverbed was full most of the time. - 6/1/22

Richardson King recalled family picnics down at Brookside Park but remembers the park as lusher than it is today. Richardson King shared that having access to the Arroyo fueled a sense of possibility for her life.

> We were always taught that we could do anything. Maybe because of where we lived, because of Pasadena, because of the Arroyo, because of the openness and the feeling that we felt really comfortable, that we didn't feel we had any restraints, and we could do what we wanted to do. - 12/6/22

Today, she takes her grandson to Kidspace Children's Museum in Brookside Park, enjoys the activity around the Rose Bowl loop, and often revisits her childhood haunts.

> We went walking below the dam and on the other side of the golf course, and my dog just ran into some water, and it was delightful. And it's just enough of wilderness so you don't get spooked or scared. If you are really into hiking, you can go up by JPL and be gone all day. You could go up into Switzer's. And people do. And then, talk about character, the path around the Rose Bowl and golf course is three miles. And they're always doing 5K runs there. It's a place for me if I do the Rose Bowl and seeing people and listening to the birds and watching the golfers: it's just a very spiritual place. - 7/12/22

The counterpoint to this idyll is the 210 Freeway that now rings her neighborhood and has brought commercial and industrial development to her doorstep.

> Like I was telling you about my neighborhood, here you have the freeway; up here you have two heliports; you have the Rose Bowl, which is a benefit, but it also brings a lot of traffic, debris, and usage to the area; and then you have the water reclamation center, which is on Windsor that is cleaning up JPL's water problem that we had to deal with. And then a lot of people had a problem with

Jack-in-the-Box and then the Highway Patrol office is up there.[69] So, it's a lot of commercial and invasion into a residential neighborhood that's brought in a lot of noise and pollution. 6/1/22

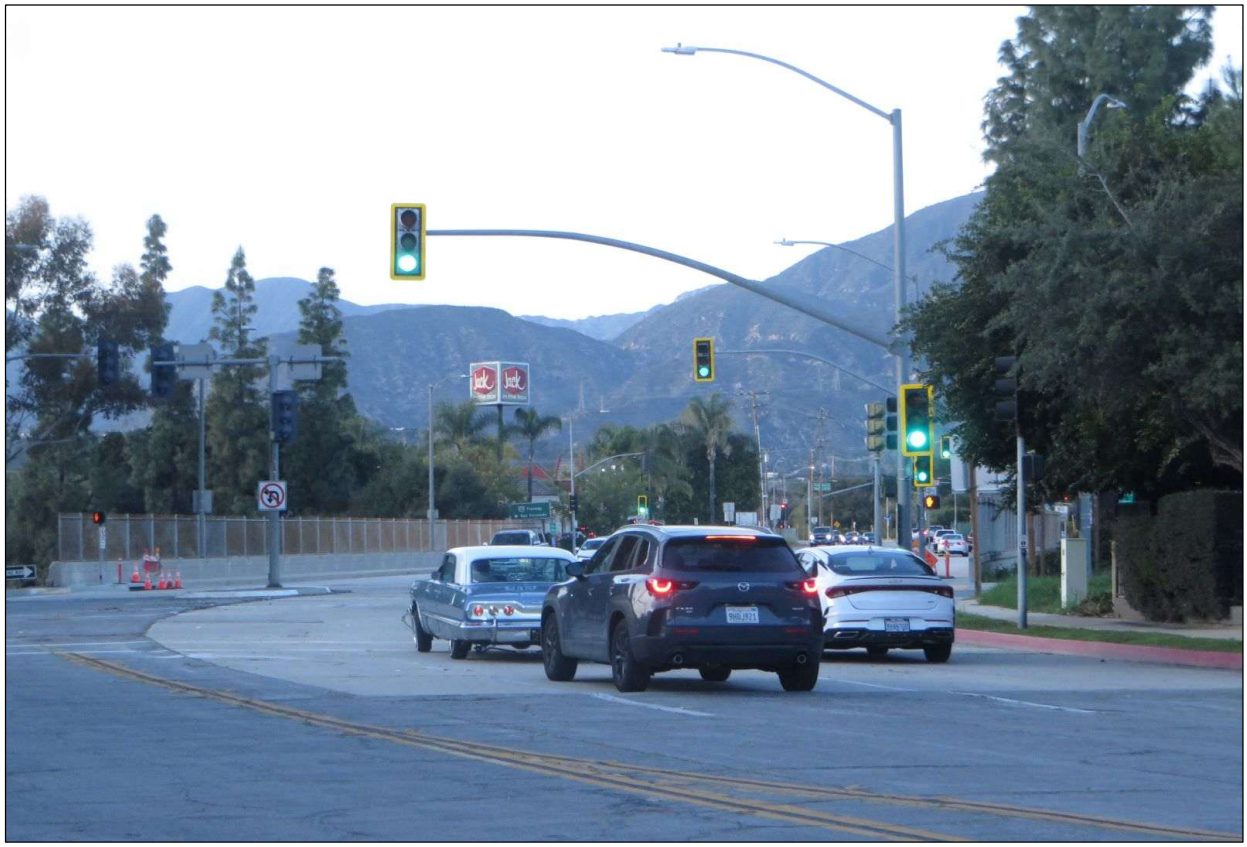

Figure 80. *Looking north from near Richardson King's house toward the 210 Freeway exit.*

The advent of the freeway marked a turning point in how Richardson King tells the story of the Arroyo. She said the story should begin with the Indigenous communities that lived along its banks. Richardson King is interested in the unwritten early history of these Native communities but also the Hispanic families that lived in the Altadena canyons during the Rancho Era. She also would like to investigate the rumor that the land beneath the Rose Bowl at

[69] NASA is nearing the end of a 20-year process of cleaning groundwater in the Monk Hill groundwater basin that technicians contaminated with chemical solvents as part of early rocket tests they conducted in the area behind Devil's Gate Dam. Several water wells east of Hahamongna Watershed Park closed due to contamination.

one time belonged to an African American family.[70] The story overall, however, is one of decline from the lush, green Arroyo she remembers from her childhood.

> It's not as natural, the natural habitat. I blame everything on the freeway: the vibrations and the noise and everything. I don't know if that's the cause because we are in a drought. But it appears to be different. It feels different. It sounds different. - 6/1/22

Richardson King described the area as experiencing a dip in popularity during the last half of the 20th century, beginning in the early 1960s.

> We were always swimmers and I used to swim a lot. And my daddy was like, "I don't want her to go down to Brookside because it's too thuggish or too dangerous." So, he ended up building a pool and putting in the backyard, and it became a neighborhood pool, and that was another great adventure. But the reason was because it wasn't safe because of the gangs. And it was mostly Black gangs.
>
> ***This would have been in the sixties?***
>
> Early sixties. The lowriders. I guess they liked the open space. They could spin their cars around. Daddy wasn't having that. And it was a little scary, they get to fighting. The funny thing about it then was that they would have a fist fight. But it's not like it is now. The worst thing was that they would have these brass knuckles but no shootings. I don't remember people getting shot when I was coming up. It's totally different now because of drugs. Everyone's got guns. That element they got rid of at the park. But it did go through a time when there was gang violence in the park. - 6/1/22

Later, as redlining across Pasadena wound down, African American families in the East Arroyo area began to move across town.

> I remember when I started real estate in the 1980s that African Americans who were educated and making good money wanted to get out. The best thing to do was to buy a property on the east side of town rather than reinvest in their own community. (6/1/22)

[70] Robert Owen, an African American entrepreneur, lived in what is today El Prieto Canyon, north of where the Arroyo Seco emerges from the San Gabriel Mountains. His daughter gave this land to the City of Pasadena during the 19th century. But this land is located in the Altadena foothills and far from the Rose Bowl (Hudson 2020).

But Richardson King said in the last twenty years, the reputation of the East Arroyo has bounced back.

> The resurgence of a demand and desirability to come back to this community has picked up a lot to a point where…It was so below the other side [Linda Vista]. Now, it's not equal to there because the lots and houses are larger, but they're almost comparable in price per square footage. - 6/1/22

The future for the Arroyo and its neighborhoods is full of questions. The impact of SB9 that allows homeowners to add additional housing units to their property is uncertain. Richardson King has a large lot and has thought about using income from additional units to support her retirement but wonders about the impact on her neighbors. She also would like to see redevelopment along Lincoln Avenue but fears gentrification creating more turnover in the community. Over it all, the impact of the freeway lingers:

> I think being that close to the freeway has taken a bit of the old-fashioned neighborhood community away. I'm talking about walking the dog in the evening, talking to your neighbors, getting to know your neighbors. Right now, on my little block of eight or nine houses, we have four vacancies. The one closest the freeway, I sold it to the parents, and they fixed it up for the daughter, but she continues to have people show up on her doorstep. The homeless people can tell by how it looks that no one is there, and they've come up in the middle of the night and either ransack or go in the houses or go in the cars. And so, there's a little bit more fear of transients and the availability to people like that in that neighborhood. - 7/12/22

The story of Richardson King's own activism goes back to the example set by her parents.

> I mentioned that I watched my father start the first beautification in Pasadena program because he was buying property in a not-so-great area. And so, I watched that. I watched him go down to City Hall and make presentations to the City Council when I was a kid…I didn't know what he was doing, but he was speaking on behalf of the community. He went down there to talk to the City Council to encourage them to put more money into these depressed areas and to also support his program of beautification. - 12/6/22

She credits her background in real estate for helping her think about the well-being of an entire neighborhood.

> I think real estate changed that as far as me venturing out and really doing it for community. You have to be willing to say, 'I'm doing this for the community and I don't care if I don't get anything out of it for myself or my business, this is what my commitment is.' If you do it like that, it's obviously more rewarding. - 7/12/22

The North Arroyo Neighborhood Association came together when one of Richardson King's neighbors told her the owner of a 5,000-square-foot house down the street had a stack of twenty mattresses in his garage. They researched online and saw the owner had started advertising the home as a sober-living facility.

> I went to Kenneth Way down to Forest and Howard and up. We got together and thank God we had an attorney who lived on Kenneth Way, and he took a lead. We went before City Council and presented our case, and we were able to change the local ordinance to say that more than six people is a rooming house, and you can't have a rooming house in a residential-zoned area. So, he had to close it down and eventually sold it to someone from Linda Vista who was getting a divorce. And then it just sold again for $2.5 million. - 7/12/22

This advocacy led Richardson King to talk with Brian Biery about how to approach neighborhood organizing, and she went with him as a city representative to a Neighborhoods USA conference. She also served on the city's Northwest Commission and Code Enforcement Commission.

> It changed my whole life. I hadn't been particularly active. I had been focused on building up my real estate career. But this was different. It was about community and doing the right thing and saving the status quo of our community and also our real estate values. So, I also found that people really want to get involved. You just have to tell them what needs to be done. They would say, "I can do this. I can do that" We'd have a meeting…Most times we would meet at my house, out on the grass, and we'd have the police department come. So, it was really a learning process for me about how communities and neighborhoods work together. And you can't always be the people complaining. You have to be the people who have solutions. - 7/12/22

Richardson King has also expressed this motivation to improve the community through Friendship Baptist Church.

> So, one of the things that my church does is that we have a community service day, and we partnered with the City of Pasadena, their program where they hire young men and women who might not be able to get a job where they have something on their record, not a felony, but you know….So we partnered with them, and we got the councilman involved, we got local businesses involved, and we helped homeowners who were seniors or living on a fixed income, and we go in and clean up their yard, haul trash away, and fix minor repairs. And if they need a larger repair, we refer them to different programs where they can get a loan with no-interest rate. - 6/1/22

These experiences led her to become an important part of a church team that has worked for the last ten years to develop affordable housing for the community, starting with one of the Caltrans properties in South Pasadena's portion of the 710 Freeway corridor.

As she looks to her retirement, Richardson King is motivated to assemble similar projects that support Northwest Pasadena and her immediate neighborhood. This includes visions of re-opening the Cleveland campus as a neighborhood school.[71]

> Think about South Pasadena, San Marino, La Cañada. Those people who go there and can afford it, specifically one of the reasons that they go there is the school system. So, Pasadena, Northwest Pasadena, people in my neighborhood, "Hey, you guys. Let's get together and save Cleveland." What does that look like? You're going to have to come over here and volunteer. We're going to have volunteers clean everything up. We're going to have volunteers come in and read for the kids. We're going to have volunteers come in and take kids to extracurricular activities. Because we know when we went to school, everything was free. And now, nothing is free. So, the schools and the community have to come together. I would fight for that! - 12/6/22

If not a neighborhood school, Richardson King thinks the campus could become a home for community- and faith-based organizations.

[71] The Cleveland campus currently hosts a small charter school and a child care center. The charter is technically a public school but is not under district control and is not a neighborhood school as students attend from across Pasadena.

Richardson King wonders if her wish to restore the sense of belonging she grew up with is misguided, that perhaps change is inevitable. It is hard to wish away the freeway, and people now might just have different interests and expectations for what a neighborhood should be.

> It's harder to get people together nowadays because, like I said, they're in their little cubby holes, but they're very suspicious. We bought the house from my mother in 2006, and just now because the neighbor's dog was jumping over the fence and coming to our fence, we and our neighbors are getting closer because her house is all walled up, and I very seldom see her but since her dog kept coming over, because she wants to play with our dog, and I didn't make a big deal of it. - 8/24/22

But the story Richardson King enacts with her advocacy is ultimately optimistic. She said she can imagine telling the story of the community with a pageant in the Rose Bowl that celebrates everyone. This vision of a thriving, inclusive society aligns with the comic tradition in literature, but there are so many questions surrounding the pursuit of this vision that the narrative has the feel of a mystery or detective drama, one that most likely will find its resolution in future neighborhood developments, such as a new business or affordable housing project on Lincoln Avenue or a new or increased community engagement with the Cleveland campus (see appendix 28 for information on the Lincoln Avenue Specific Plan). For Richardson King, the link between this potential future and the neighborhood she knew and grew up in is important to maintain.

Tim Martinez

Tim Martinez has invested in the Arroyo as his home. He grew up in the Linda Vista neighborhood below the San Rafael Hills on a cul-de-sac in a house that backed up on undeveloped land belonging to the Art Center College of Design. He attended Linda Vista Elementary and sits on the board of the Linda Vista-Annandale Association as his mother did before him. Building on a series of volunteer positions with Pasadena-based environmental

groups, he has built a career caring for the place he loves. He currently works as Land Manager and Community Liaison for the Arroyos and Foothills Conservancy, a land trust that preserves land and restores habitat in and around the San Gabriel and La Crescenta Valleys. Martinez also chairs the city's Hahamongna Watershed Park Advisory Commission, advising on management of Arroyo land north of Devil's Gate Dam. In 2018, the Conservancy purchased Cottonwood Canyon, the main wildlife corridor between Hahamongna and the San Rafael Hills. The canyon is a short distance from Martinez's home, and as part of his job, he coordinates a volunteer group called Friends of Cottonwood Canyon that holds regular work days restoring wildlife habitat.

Martinez said when his parents drove down Linda Vista Avenue under its lush canopy of trees for the first time to look at what would become their home, they kept expecting the neighborhood to take a turn for the worse. But it never did. The house wasn't much, but it sat on a third of an acre in a remnant oak woodland. Martinez said the backyard made the sale.

> My parents lucked out in the '80s and bought a house that was falling apart, and they lived in it for twenty years before we fixed it up. That's how I grew up, was in a house that was falling apart. Everything was from the '40s. So, you might think I'm some rich elite from Linda Vista, but I was just lucky that I grew up in a falling apart house in one of the most beautiful areas in Pasadena. - 7/15/22

Martinez's parents met in law school at UCLA. His mother grew up in Sacramento, her grandparents having homesteaded land near Tulelake, California in the 1930s. His great-grandfather was a *bracero,* migrating back and forth across the U.S.-Mexico border and his grandmother was born in San Bernardino. His father was born outside Guadalajara, and his father's parents brought him to the U.S. when he was five where grew up in East Los Angeles. While Martinez's mother worked long hours for financial firms, his father was a musician and became an entertainment lawyer. Martinez's parents divorced when he was in fifth grade, and

his father passed away right before his senior year of high school. Having just gone through a divorce himself, he lives with his mother, younger brother, and young son in the family home on Chamberlain Road above Linda Vista Park and the closed elementary school where Martinez went as a child (see appendix 29)

The relationship Martinez forged with the Arroyo began with the hills rising above his backyard and, at a friend's urging, slipping through a fence to explore.

> I would stare up at them and imagine. I was doing that my whole life, just looking up at these natural hills. It was really sort of what I call an illusion of wilderness because it looked like what we were surrounded by nothing but hills and nature. And I couldn't even see the Art Center up there. It was just hills. So, when we finally slipped through and I got into that little canyon and saw this water gushing through, it was one of the most magical things I'd ever seen. I couldn't believe it, just so vital, full of life, this water gushing out. I would pretty much dream about it. It was this magical discovery almost for me. - 7/15/22

Martinez's parents augmented this personal exploration with family time in the Arroyo. His mother took him and his brother to the Lower Arroyo to catch tadpoles, and his dad walked with him down to the Rose Bowl to watch UCLA football games.

> I remember I was eight or nine and I was walking back up Salvia Canyon [Road] with my dad. And he saw this patch of what we call, nopales, or prickly pear cactus, and said, "Ah Nopales!" And he gathered some because this was a favorite food or vegetable of his. He was born in Mexico, and it was a common food, and so he gathered some of the cactus pads. And my babysitter Rosa, who was from El Salvador and was very familiar with them, and she processed them and sautéed them up with onions and tomatoes and stuff. And so that was one of the first wild foods that I ate from the area. And I still see that cactus patch every time I run down or up Salvia Canyon and still think back on that time when we gathered those. - 7/15/22

Later, Martinez shared, the Arroyo and the San Rafael Hills provided solace that helped him cope with his parents' divorce and the loss of his father.

But the construction of several large houses on the ridges above his home proved to be a turning point for Martinez and launched him into a career of environmental advocacy.

> I saw those being built up there [points to houses on the ridgeline of the San Rafael Hills]. I saw it get destroyed, the one thing that was there for me, that I saw as somewhat solid and unchanging, it's getting bulldozed and destroyed. The stream is getting polluted with plastic and trash that's going to the ocean.
>
> ***So, you felt called.***
>
> I did. I felt a calling that I am from this land. I am this place and that I have to rise up. It was this sense of destiny that I have to take action. - 9/2/22

Martinez began going to Sierra Club meetings at Eaton Canyon Nature Center where he met Tim Brick and began to volunteer for the Arroyo Seco Foundation, leading trash clean-ups and educational hikes. At the same time, he took a course with Christopher Nyerges, a local expert in native plants and wild land survival skills. Today, he passes this same knowledge onto others in his position with the Conservancy.

> Martinez's lifelong interest in history influences his perspective on the Arroyo.
>
> I was probably an odd kid because when I was on the playground, I wasn't thinking about Nikes and Michael Jordan, I was thinking about what this was like when this was a Gabrieleño village. - 7/15/22.[72]

Martinez sees continuity in the story of the Arroyo despite the distinct eras governing its past.

> It's almost like there's a spirit to the land. There's a heritage to the land that I identify with. I really was aware that there was a village here, and that was magical. And I'd imagine what that was like. And then there's this whole history of the Spanish and Mexican times, and I identified very much with that as well. And even simple things like growing up here in Linda Vista and having Mexican heritage and understanding Spanish and simple things like going to the oldest Mexican restaurant in Pasadena and being babysit by my Nana and going to San Gabriel and all their hokey, Mission architecture they have out there…So, I identify with all of that history as my own, as part of that continuum, all the way from the Indigenous times to the Mexican times and even the early farming days

[72] Artifacts discovered in Salvia Canyon suggest that the location of Linda Vista Elementary and Linda Vista Park once held a Native settlement.

> here in Linda Vista…I don't romanticize history. I knew from a young age that the Missions were a bad thing. So, I don't romanticize it, but I know it wasn't all bad either. I just identify with it and I feel like I'm a part of it, a continuum of it. - 8/19/22

This valorization of the past provides a grounding that Martinez appreciates but also creates a strong contrast with the current state of the world and what Martinez believes are ominous signs for the future.

> I don't know if I feel it anymore, but this place used to be magic. This place used to be paradise. You can still sense the remnants of it. There are people who come here now and think that it's amazing. And it is. But this place used to be even better. All of this place, all of Pasadena, all of the Arroyo, it used to be the most amazing paradise. Does that mean that there weren't problems? Of course, there were problems. I'm a student of history. Nothing has ever been perfect. But I'm grateful for the people who have fought to keep it this way. – 7/15/22

One of the most noticeable signs of a decline was the disappearance of many of the natural springs that he encountered as a boy.

> It's all dried up. It was still there maybe by the time I was seventeen, when I was in high school, back in 2006. It was maybe becoming seasonal. It would fill up when it rained. That's pretty much the way it is now. Now, it's almost all gone. It's almost all dry. When I first got up there, it was probably around 1998. And several canyons back then, over twenty years ago, several of the canyons had year-round springs, just gushing water. - 7/15/22

Martinez also gauges the condition of the land through the presence of native versus exotic plants.

> I work with the land, and so I know which plants belong and which don't belong, and a lot of people these days don't know that. They'll just look out at so-called open space, which is really undeveloped land and think that, "This is nature." But they won't see the Castor bean or the black mustard or the Tree of Heaven, "Wow. These don't belong." When I look at that, I see these alien species that are popping up that are foreign and don't belong in California - 7/15/22

Martinez feels the same sense of violation with the "mansionization" of existing houses by owners looking to maximize their square footage and sell for a profit.

> Frankly, it's not respectful of this place. There's a total disregard for our sense of place, for our history, for continuity. It's just "We're going to do this to extract as much money as we can off of this venture, and we're going to move on." That's what it says to me. If it were done in a more thoughtful way where "We're considerate of our next-door neighbors," even if was a more modern design, let's say, that maybe isn't to my taste…There are modern houses around here, maybe they're on a very large lot, and they don't take away from the 1930s Tudor that's also a mansion that's next door. But there are other examples where there's just a blatant disregard for all of our surroundings, and so that's what I personally take issue with. - 7/15/22

Martinez feels recent passage of SB 9 that allows individual homeowner to subdivide their property without regard to existing zoning regulations as potentially opening the door to development that could fundamentally alter the neighborhood's character, a possibility that violates the desire of the neighborhood association to maintain local control over zoning.

> I think local communities know what's best for themselves, and I think that's the way that government is most accountable is on the local level. So, I definitely don't believe in centralization, that the State is going to decide all this for us. I believe as local you can get in decision-making is probably the best. Some people might call this NIMBY-ism, and there may be some merit to that. But what my experience has been, and people might say this is just because I'm a privileged elite from Linda Vista, but my experience is that no matter where you go, NIMBYism is just people actually caring about where they live. What's the alternative to that, not caring about where you live and wanting to make things better and protect your neighborhood? I think we need more NIMBY, frankly. - 7/15/22

The association has successfully prevented commercial development within the neighborhood, but Martinez feels this could change with increased use of the Rose Bowl for concerts and other events.

> With the Central Arroyo, the main issue that's always going to be there is commercialization…the more that power is with these corporate entities that

> want to see what we can do to make a profit, and maybe they'll be some sort of public process that's really just there for show, I think that's the biggest threat. I wouldn't be surprised if in a hundred years Linda Vista looked more like some neighborhood in Hollywood where it is very dense. Even if it's a nice neighborhood, it's more urban and much more dense. I wouldn't be surprised if there's enough powerful people with means who say, "We're going to turn this whole thing into festival grounds" and just commercialize it. - 12/1/22

With regard to the rest of the Arroyo, Martinez is marginally more hopeful. In the Lower Arroyo, he imagines the status quo will prevail because the City will continue its policy of benign neglect. But as chair of the Hahamongna Advisory Commission, he is hopeful that he can help the city work out a joint-management agreement with Native groups to tend to the natural and cultural resources of Hahamongna.

> I'm not representing them. I'm not a liaison, but I want to make sure that there is at least an opportunity for Native people to be considered and consulted. The ultimate goal is that they're partners, and they're the ones who are helping to steward Hahamongna and educate about Hahamongna. - 8/19/22

Martinez feels the key to the future of the Arroyo is forming partnerships with existing non-profit organizations.

> I think we should be creating partnerships. Not partnerships that we spend millions of dollars on consultants. Instead, we should be forming partnerships with the non-profits, with the local user groups that are already raising money for the Arroyo. They would happily write grants if we gave them permission. They would fix up the [native plant] nursery; they would fix up MACH-1 [adaptive equestrian program]; they would fix up the horse stable; they would fix up the archery range. All you have to do is make sure there's a public benefit. But those are the types of partnerships that are missing. I was there when we were battling the Rec and Parks Commission to save the nursery because they didn't have the right permits. But it's like, "Look what the community created here." The City couldn't recreate that if they tried. It's organic. It's grassroots, and if only if the City would support that, you would see a revitalization of the Arroyo. - 8/19/22

At the same time, he is wary about the role of the One Arroyo Foundation:

> If One Arroyo can bring some funds in and do some nice things, that's good. What I worry about is their governance. I worry about the power that they may have that's at least removed of accountability from our elected officials, the people who are supposed to represent us and the community. They are going to say, "Well that's hands off because that's the One Arroyo Foundation, and that's a bunch of fancy people that we appointed who are rich and have resources, and they get to decide now." - 8/19/22

Martinez sees his own advocacy and activism as part of a continuum of people who have worked to preserve Linda Vista as a neighborhood and the Arroyo as essential habitat.

> The people, who for generations even before I was born, the people for over a hundreds years or longer, who have fought and advocated to keep Linda Vista a certain way, to me I view those people as heroes. And it's the same with the Arroyo. Like Tim Brick, a mentor of mine, he's a hero to me because of everything he's done and continues to do for the Arroyo. - 7/15/22

Martinez says he wants people to understand the Arroyo as a wildlife corridor and a resource for capturing stormwater.

> What I see happening is that there's so much focus and just repetition of "Climate. Climate. Climate," like it's all about the weather, that we completely lose sight and are not focused on, and have no understanding of, the broader processes of ecology that are completely interrelated to not just the climate but to everything, to just supporting life. So, that's what personally motivates me and what I see as the most important aspect of AFC's work, including work to view the Arroyo as a wildlife corridor and as a place that's connecting habitat, as a place that contains habitat and importantly as a place where natural processes, like the stream, should be capturing all this water and runoff and percolating and cleaning it. - 12/1/22

Martinez views his work at this point, however, as mostly about mitigating damage, reducing harm, and protecting his family.

> I've just resigned myself to the fact that I see industrialization and urbanization as a blight that destroys everything. And I don't think this place is going to be spared. My whole approach is just to try to save as much as we can. - 7/15/22

Until a few years ago, Martinez thought he might run for City Council, reasoning that Pasadena could become a model city for the rest of the world in terms of managing its water and waste and preserving wildlife habitat. He was very active in a successful local campaign to ban polystyrene but admits that he was a bit of a zealot.

> It was the developers, the evil developers, who don't care. It was the plastic manufacturers, the American Chemistry Council, these dark industries that don't care. It was Monsanto who was patenting the seeds and trying to own life and trying to make everything Roundup Ready so they can spray all our food with roundup and poison all of us. So, it was very black and white early on. - 9/2/22

The government restrictions in response to COVID and their impact on small businesses, State mandates around affordable housing, and the sense that corporations, including media and technology companies, have too much power have caused him to rethink his views on individual rights and the role of government. Martinez feels this all represents a trend toward greater centralization of power that does not bode well for the future.

> I'm at a point now where I don't feel like I can stop the coming tide. And I think I mentioned this the last time to you. My whole approach was local—local, local, local. That's what I believe in. And I do want global change, I guess. But I feel globalization, these global agendas, I think some of them are…nefarious, honestly…Frankly, that concerns me greatly. It really frightens me. I'll just put it simply. Globalism, it's a coming tide that I feel like it's going to wash over everything, and so my efforts, I try to do the best that I can with what I can do, here in Pasadena, in this local region. I'm going to make the best impact I can so that when my boy is growing up, I can maybe show him some good things. - 8/19/22

The increasing impacts of climate change and trends in species loss and habitat destruction add to his sense of despair and has refocused his attention on his own family and his role as a father:

> I plan on raising my son to view himself as part of nature and participate and make it better. I guess I feel some motivation for the future, but it's not maybe what it would have been. It's not that I'm going to make the world a better place for my son. I'm more focused now on what I can actually control to almost insulate us form where I think things are going…The next war we have is

> probably going to be here on our home ground. I want to make sure that yes, you raise or rear someone who enjoys life in the moment and sees the beauty in the world and all these wonderful things but also who is savvy and self-reliant and can take care of themselves because I think that's going to be necessary. So, I guess that's how I feel about being a dad right now. - 8/19/22

In terms of the Arroyo, the local emphasis Martinez brings to his work means thinking more about Cottonwood Canyon.

> I think things might get really crazy in the future and dystopian, especially as the environment gets more screwed up and politics become more extreme...I guess my hope now is that they'll just be a little left after it all crumbles. So, if Cottonwood Canyon can still be there, even after Linda Vista becomes dense like Hollywood and maybe there's graffiti and carvings all over the oak trees or the oak trees always die. But maybe they'll be something left.
>
> ***
>
> They can go to Cottonwood and say, hey, maybe the stream is still flowing and maybe it still looks like it does now. I don't know. That's all just make-believe, but it's the best that I can come up with. - 12/1/22

Quest for Wholeness

The connections between the stories of these neighborhood leaders center around a quest to restore a lost sense of wholeness, either related to ecological health or a sense of community. This quest presents a mystery that leaders are working to solve, following clues left in the near or distant past on the Arroyo's landscape. Mysteries, as a specific type of quest, are what Levine (Levine 2015) would call "network" narratives. As a genre, they have an episodic structure in which the protagonists move through a series of situations and encounter a variety of characters woven together by an invisible thread. The leaders here are looking for that thread in different ways. Tim Brick focuses his attention on working to build and transform institutions and agencies while Barbara Richardson King works through her faith community on affordable

housing. Brian Biery has an eye on neighborhood relations and the education system while Tim Martinez supports volunteers in search of a personal connection with the landscape. Below I review the similarities and differences in the neighborhood leaders' stories and describe the dramaturgical questions they suggest.

Similarities

In terms of *plot*, the specific shared objective is a physically, economically, and emotionally secure home and a sense of family that extends to one's neighbors and, for some, to the more-than-human world. There is a broad desire for this wholeness to be inclusive of various user groups and interests, but wholeness by definition implies drawing boundaries necessary to sustain a certain integrity and cohesiveness. How to achieve this while remaining open and accessible to diverse classes and cultures is perhaps at the heart of mystery. The resistance that these protagonists and their forebears have encountered has shifted over time, but all the leaders sense that the root cause of this opposition is greed and self-interest that most identify as inherent in a capitalist economic system. One of the primary puzzles within the mystery is how to envision a more sustainable economic future for the planet as a whole and for Pasadena in particular. An important plot element is the sense of a future reckoning. At a global level, this might be climate change, ecological collapse, or economic inequality. Locally, this might mean drought or the fiscal situation of the Rose Bowl. In general, leaders would like to see more urgency from City officials to address water scarcity, climate change, affordable housing or other issues. Most agree that water scarcity is where this reckoning will first appear and that the Arroyo is a key piece of the puzzle. This reckoning will mark a decisive turn in the story, though there is disagreement on what direction the turn will be and how the community will respond.

In terms of *setting and tone*, this sense of reckoning creates a chronotope steeped in anticipation. There is an expectation of surprise, and that gives the narrative and the Arroyo an unsettled energy. These surprises are not always negative. The natural spaces of the Arroyo provide a sense of magic and discovery that is especially compelling for young people. Within this general mood, different parts of the landscape have distinct time signatures, ranging from the elemental timelessness of the park's wild areas to the grating thrum of life next to the freeway.

In terms of *characters*, most believe pragmatic protagonists that maintain their humility and authenticity are the best ones to lead the quest. Everyone agrees that Indigenous populations living in and around the Arroyo, both in the past and the present, need more recognition and have an essential role to play in the story, but the precise nature of this role is unclear due at least in part to the political divisions between different Gabrieleno/Tongva groups. The motivation for these leaders' own search for wholeness often goes back to their family background. For some this might be healing a personal wound in the family's past or one forced upon the family by events, such as the construction of a freeway. For others, the quest is a way to honor the example of people they admire. This gives the quest a redemptive aspect and spiritual quality. The leaders share a strong sense of agency and an optimism that one person can make a difference. There is a notable lack of specific villains across the interviews, perhaps in recognition of the fact that the challenges are systemic and not specific to a particular individual.

There are clusters of similar *images* that appear across these conversations. The image of free movement through natural spaces has strong positive connotations for these neighborhood leaders, ranging from the runners and cyclists around the Rose Bowl loop to youth riding

through neighborhoods on bikes to bobcats and coyotes finding their way through the canyon and up into the hills. Images related to homes and housing were common. Leaders contrasted an abundant and lush natural world in the past with a present and potential wasteland, though images of the wasteland varied from a drought-ridden landscape to broad expanses of asphalt and concrete to commercial development and even a sense of emotional isolation.

A few shared *themes* stand out from these interviews. The first is an expansive notion of family that can extend to both human neighbors and wildlife. A second recurring theme is the Arroyo as a place of sustenance, spiritual renewal, and escape. Imagery associating the Arroyo with sleep and dreams endow the canyon with restorative power.

In response to the question of what stories would be useful for the community, the most common response invoked the role of the past in shaping our understanding of the future. Almost everyone said the stories told by Indigenous people would be useful for people to hear. Another shared response was that stories that demonstrate the power and resiliency of the more-than-human world can provide hope and justify not only these leaders' faith but also their optimism.

Taken together, this compendium of narrative elements suggests a tragicomic tale that shades into satire and irony. Within literary critic Northrup Frye's taxonomy of story types, his "shipwreck comedy" is one candidate because it mixes into its comic formula strains of romance and irony. Frye says that this pattern, represented in Shakespeare by *Twelfth Night* and *The Tempest,* is less festive and more pensive and does not banish tragedy but contains it. As a comedy, it ends well but in a provisional way, a tone that matches the qualified optimism that most of these leaders carry with them and that fuels their work. Another candidate in Frye's

pantheon would be the “low-norm satire” in which the protagonist succeeds in avoiding ruin and enjoying life despite a chaotic context (Frye 1957).

Differences

While the similarities across these profiles allow for comparison with the narrative threads from chapters 4 and 5, the differences, disagreements, and silences spur important dramaturgical questions. One of the factors that gives the Quest for Wholeness such resonance in Pasadena is that it speaks to the aspirations of different, and in some cases, diametrically opposed, networks within the community. A Quest for Wholeness speaks to the desire of Pasadena’s founders to establish a “city on the hill,” a colony of health, wellness, and gentleman farming, free of alcohol but flush with faith. The Rose Parade has presented a version of this vision each New Year’s Day since 1890. For many, this vision of wholeness excluded people of color and the working class and justified their campaign for racial covenants, redlining, and racial terrorism. But within communities of color, these insults created its own quest for wholeness, one that could heal the wounds of discrimination and came with the opportunity to own a home, raise a family, and have one’s children live and learn and prosper free of worry. This is the wholeness that Barbara Richardson King experienced growing up. Finally, a third vision of wholeness, and the most difficult one for humans to understand and accept, consists of a functional ecological system in which humans support and care for other species and the habitat that they depend upon. As a theoretical notion, this garners support, but as a practical matter, it requires sacrifices that only a few are willing to accept. The crossover appeal of the Quest for Wholeness suggests that using the language of health and wholeness to frame issues might allow contending groups to talk to one another and construct a contemporary narrative with historical relevance that could support a shared political agenda.

Achieving this coalition, however, requires grappling with challenging questions, such as “When does defending the wholeness of a neighborhood tip into exclusion and isolation?” Or the related question of “How does wholeness avoid becoming static? How can a sense of personal and civic wholeness adapt, evolve, and renew itself over time?” Questions such as these with no easy answers are the preferred starting place for creative placekeeping. They are the sore spots that can preface transformation.

Another difference between the leaders is between those primarily concerned with reducing racial and class divisions and those seeking reconciliation with the more-than-human world. This prompts the question of whether these are two branches of the same tree or entirely separate battles? Almost all of these neighborhood leaders acknowledged the long-term impact that racism has had on Pasadena, but not everyone places it at the top of their list of priorities. Tim Brick’s struggle to get even other environmentalists to take an eco-centric point of view and prioritize removal of non-native trees speaks to how social and ecological interests often pull in different directions. What's missing are concrete ways to marry care for the environment with coalition building across racial and class differences. Chapter 5 ended with a profile of Outward Bound Adventures as an Arroyo-based organization that has been working on this issue for over sixty years.

There are also differences among these leaders in the projected impact of the reckoning that most see on the horizon, and this provides a strong signal for the genre that each leader lives within. Since most of these leaders view capitalism as a source of trouble, the first question is “What opportunities exist to create a more sustainable, local economy that prioritizes health, wellness, ecology and community relationships over the capital accumulation and real estate?” The second question is how to raise awareness of the fundamental importance of water

to Pasadena's survival? One important note is that Barbara Richardson King is the only leader in this group who stands on the far side of a reckoning, which in her story was the construction of the freeway that scattered houses across her neighborhood and at this point is a fixture on the landscape. The efforts to restore a strong sense of community and create a flourishing commercial corridor along Lincoln Avenue after the disaster of freeway displacement could be a case study for crafting a post-reckoning life (see appendix 28).

There are also several groups that only appear around the edges of this quest for wholeness and whose absence sparks questions worth exploring. For example, these neighborhood leaders all acknowledged the importance of Native people to the story of the Arroyo. Gabrieleno/Tongva families' quest for health and home that I describe in chapter 4 closely parallels the Quest for Wholeness of neighborhood leaders and offers a starting place for dialogue. Tim Martinez, for example, has been taking a leading role in advocating for an agreement that would allow Gabrieleno/Tongva representatives a role in management of Hahamongna Watershed Park. The Tongva Taraxat Paxaavxa Conservancy also recently joined the coalition working to establish the Climate Resilience Environmental Education Center (CREEC) in the park. Recognizing the similarities in these narratives could facilitate and focus these partnerships. Similarly, both Tim Martinez and Brian Biery mentioned recent immigrants during their interviews, but how this group, which has their own distinct set of narratives, interacts with the Arroyo was missing in these interviews and could represents a gap in knowledge about how this group uses the park. The CREEC project could provide a foundation for long-term engagement of young people with the story of the Arroyo. But youth interests and perspectives did not figure prominently in the stories of these neighborhood leaders shared with

me. Young people today might have an even stronger sense of reckoning in their own vision of the future.

Conclusion

This chapter compares and contrasts the narratives that neighborhood leaders believe in and enact as they live, work, and play around the Arroyo. An overarching goal of the pilot phase for the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers is to cultivate a network of committed advocates, which means understanding the stories of leaders currently performing this role. The broad convergence of these stories around a Quest for Wholeness comes with differences and distinctions that generate questions that can serve as touchstones for devising creative placekeeping projects. The next chapter describes how I combined these narratives and associated questions with those emerging from chapters 4 and 5 to generate prompts for artmaking, community dialogue, and devising of project proposals. The next chapter also reflects on the process I used across two years of research and organizing and offers a proposal for the future of the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers initiative.

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Chapter 7: Meaning of the Arroyo

Introduction

The previous three chapters have used specific topics as lenses to provide a dramaturgical analysis of life in and around Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo. This chapter is about synthesis. It draws out meaning by putting the narratives from this analysis into conversation with one another with the eventual goal of devising powerful creative placekeeping projects. There are four parts to this chapter. The first reviews the process of synthesis that I used to distill the stories of the Arroyo down into four questions for the community to consider. The second section describes the Creative Dialogue Session that I hosted in May of 2023 to discuss these questions with Arroyo stakeholders. Referring back to figure 28, this session marks the transition from the development to the devising phase of the project. The third section describes the devising phase, including the conversations of the small devising team and the three project ideas that I brought to the final meeting of the community advisory group for their feedback. The final section begins with feedback on the overall pilot project from the advisory group and the creative team of artists that I worked with and then presents my proposal for how the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers can continue and thrive as a community initiative, both within Pasadena but also in other parts of the Arroyo.

Story synthesis

Dramaturgs help writers, directors, actors, and designers deepen the power and significance of their production by asking these creative contributors questions that unlock new insights and hidden meaning in the material. For the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers, the dramaturgical challenge was to synthesize the narrative threads and questions from the previous

three chapters into a handful of questions for the community discuss. The metaphor of locks and keys proved helpful in thinking about this process. The narrative dynamics within a community determine the nature of the lock on the door to the community's imagination. The questions are the keys that can unlock the door. Understanding these dynamics through dramaturgy helps in crafting the "key" questions stakeholders can use to open the door and imagine transformative solutions to longstanding issues or problems. The six topics that I investigated, along with the neighborhood leader interviews, provided a number of narrative threads to sort through. For convenience I have listed all the narrative threads and dramaturgical questions from chapters 4, 5, and 6 in appendix 40. To help with the task of making sense of these narratives, I used a concept mapping program to create a "storyboard" where I clustered the stories into groups and looked for patterns (see figure 81).

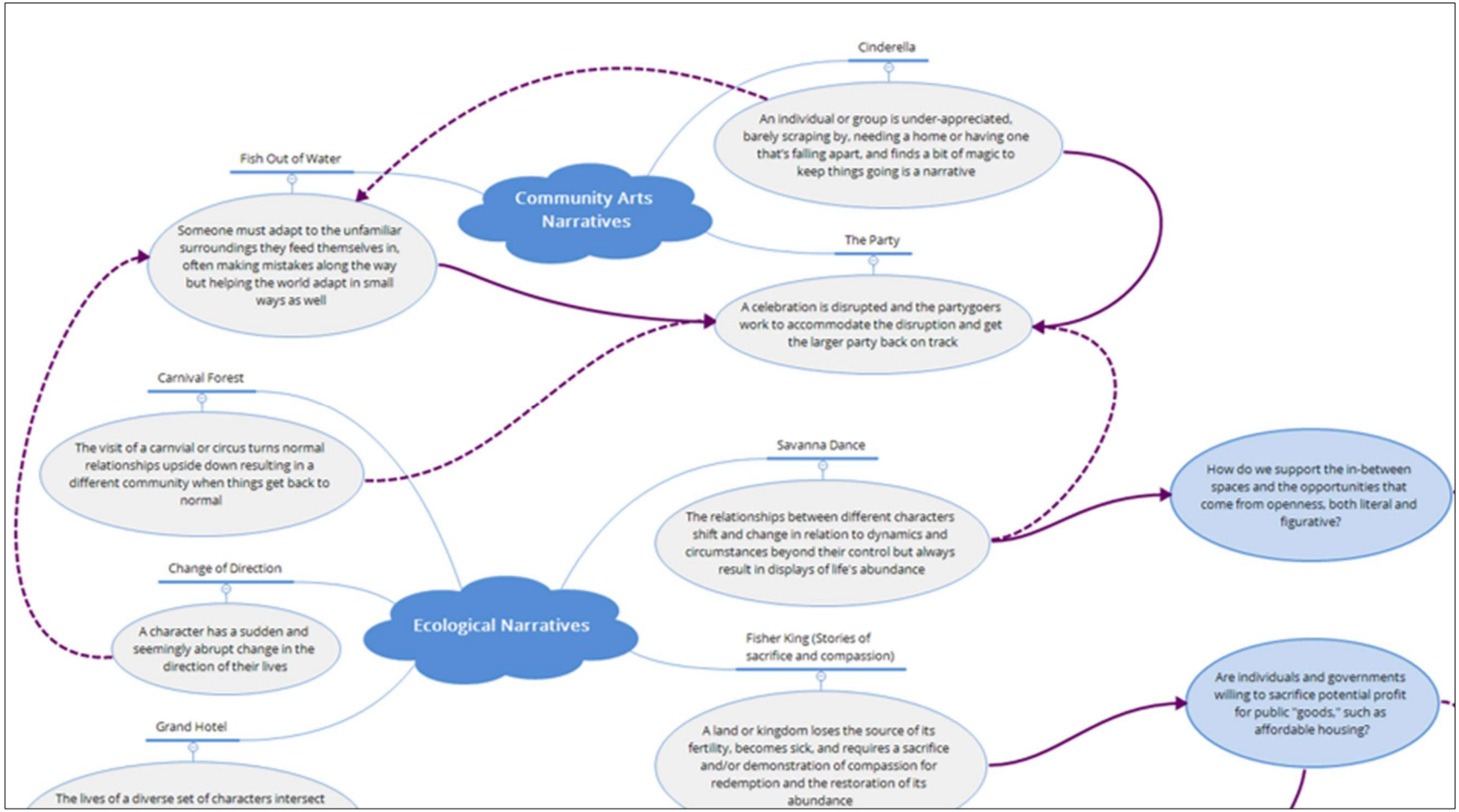

Figure 81. *Snapshot of a portion of the Project Storyboard*

Certain similarities jumped out immediately from the storyboard. First, the neighborhood leaders' Quest for Wholeness" mirrors the "quest for health and home" that I identified as central to Gabrieleno/Tongva experiences in contemporary Los Angeles. There are also echoes of this story in the story of the ailing Fisher King and the promise of the restoration of the wasteland through the healing power of water. The pursuit of health fueled the rise of Pasadena and is central to the recreation story of the Arroyo as well. Finally, you also see the quest for home in the past migrations of the steelhead trout running up the Arroyo to return to their spawning grounds. A second cluster of narratives relate to family dynamics. The Cinderella role of community arts programs in Pasadena parallels the family dynamics in the story of the River and the Rose Bowl that I describe in chapter 5. A third cluster of stories center the idea of gathering and celebration. Prior to European colonization, the Arroyo was "the place where things come together," with the Grand Hotel story representing the Lower Arroyo as Pasadena's first Main Street, a cornucopia of life's necessities gathered together along the River. The Savanna Dance story from this period and the Carnival Forest created after colonization also suggest a dynamic gathering space of diverse individuals while the story of The Party from the community arts research also fits under this theme of gathering, spectacle, and celebration. This does not even account for the Rose Parade, which was not a specific subject of research.

Each of these clusters of stories is productive to think about on its own, but quest narratives come with strong temporal momentum and a linear structure that affords multiple subplots each presenting a particular question to solve or obstacle to overcome. Quests differ from adventures in that these breakthroughs typically take the form of inner revelations or insights rather than outward victories (Tobias 2012). This led me to arrange the stories in a linear fashion, marking a progression from a time of health and abundance to one of destruction

and exile that then moves toward revelation and then restoration and celebration (see appendix 41). As a community dramaturg, my focus then became the sticking points in this progression, the locks that closed off the community from the revelation(s) necessary for the Quest for Wholeness to be successful. One of these sticking points is inherent in wholeness as a goal. Literary scholar Caroline Levine (2015) notes that "wholes" as a form create unity by defining a boundary between those who belong and those who don't. For most of the 20th century, Pasadena's White leaders drew this boundary based on race, equating wholeness and health with whiteness (Nicolaides 2024). To represent the hollowness of this equivalence, I added the name "Pasadena Noir" to the storyboard as a stand-in for the neighborhood stories created by redlining and racial exclusion. Fundamental to overcoming these divides is a sense of trust, which should be strongest within one's family. This shines a light on a second sticking point in the Quest for Wholeness: the imbalance in the family dynamics that is at the heart of the Cinderella tale and the sibling story of the River and the Rose Bowl. The storyboard then suggested four topics to craft questions around: health, equity, trust, and the relationship between the River and the Rose Bowl. Crafting these questions required reflection. The wording needed to be broad enough for the artists and stakeholders to explore from several different angles but point towards specific projects that could take place in and around the Arroyo. Table 4 in chapter 3 lists the criteria that I used in evaluating potential questions and that helped me refine their wording. Figure 82 gives the four questions that I settled on for the Creative Dialogue Session as well as other questions I crafted but ultimately did not include.

Questions chosen for the Creative Dialogue Session

- What would convince Pasadenans that their health and the health of their family depend on a healthy Arroyo
- How can the Arroyo become an engine of equity for Pasadena in the 21st century?
- How can the Arroyo inspire trust?
- What would it take for the city and the community to invest more in the River than they do the Rose Bowl?

Secondary questions not chosen:

- What would happen in the Arroyo and its neighborhoods if we thought about everyone, human and more-than-human, as part of our extended family?
- What is the River trying to teach us? What would happen in the Arroyo if those lessons were taken to heart?
- How can we make volunteering for a work party in the Arroyo be as important as volunteering for the Rose Parade?

Figure 82. *Dramaturgical questions for Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo*

As I weighed the pros and cons of the different questions to give to the creative team of artists, a particular image continued to hover in my thinking, haunting the process. This was an aerial photo from 1922 of the Arroyo Seco's unchanneled floodplain wrapped like a scarf around the newly constructed Rose Bowl (figure 83). In chapter 5, I suggested the Rose Bowl and the River represented the differences between a short-term economic perspective and a long-term environmental worldview. But this photo also offers a geometric contrast that is compelling. The Rose Bowl's oval-shaped form represents the wholeness that is the goal of

quest. The braided, sandy floodplain of the River, on the other hand, takes the form of a "network." Levine (2015) defines the network form as a set of connections linking discrete elements and says certain stories, such as mysteries and quests, that readily utilize plotted suspense, take on this form in how they unfold. Her main example is Dickens' *Bleak House*, which she says conveys society as a network of networks that the characters must negotiate. Levins studies how forms like wholes and networks interact within stories and within society. She says that networks can both disrupt wholes and link them together, in both politically positive and negative ways. The Quest for Wholeness as a narrative has at its heart a paradox because it entails using a quest, which takes the form of a network, to achieve a whole, an end state inherently resistant to the growth, change, and exploration that is essential to networking. Ryan et al. (2016) make a similar observation in describing the different characteristics that space can take on within a narrative. He contrasts the representation of space as a network versus space as a container in the James Joyce story *The Dubliners*. The same paradox exists when you think about wholes in relationship to time. Narratives that take the form of a whole demand closure, a definite end to the story. The future doesn't exist for these narratives. But fully committing to this form of narrative means resisting the natural processes of evolution and change. By contrast, network narratives go on and on. Endings are simply stopping points in an endless journey. So, an important question is not only what does wholeness mean in terms of managing the spatial boundaries, of neighborhoods, for example, but what does it mean in managing time and the process of change. The 1922 photo of the River and the stadium beautifully embodies these paradoxes as they exists within the Arroyo's landscape. If one image tells the story of Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo, this is it.



Figure 83. *The central image for the Quest for Wholeness narrative. This image illustrates the intersection of "whole" and "network" forms that are central to the story of Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo ("Rose Bowl under construction, view 1" 1922. Security Pacific National Bank Collection, Los Angeles Public Library)*

Creative Dialogue Session

The first step in preparing for the Creative Dialogue Session was to recruit artists to be a part of the creative team. I sent my call for artists to the community arts organizations that I interviewed, the Arroyo Arts Collective, and LACultureNet, an arts and culture listserv for the Los Angeles area. The call included the details for two information sessions. Four artists attended the first session at Occidental College's OxyArts storefront space on York Boulevard. D.W. Jacobs, one of the artists I chose to work with, attended the second at the Lineage

Performing Arts Center in Pasadena. I scored the nine artist submissions and chose four artists (see appendix 7 for descriptions of the artists' work).[73]

I met the creative team of artists one month before the Creative Dialogue Session in late April 2023 at La Casita del Arroyo, where the dialogue session would take place. Prior to the meeting, I sent each a link to a 15-minute video providing more background on creative placekeeping and how the dialogue session fit into the overall project. I also prepared a 1000- to 1200-word brief for each question with relevant information from my research. The meeting only lasted an hour. I started with ice breakers, asked each person what helps them collaborate, reviewed the schedule and expectations for the Creative Dialogue Session, and answered questions about their role. We ended the meeting dividing up the four questions.

Two weeks later, we met for lunch at the Brookside Restaurant adjacent to the golf course to discuss their initial ideas. This was a dynamic meeting with the rapidly approaching event adding energy to the discussion. In comparison to other meetings and interviews I was conducting, the artists' direct engagement with the Arroyo as a landscape layered with symbolism was notable. The artists' sharing of their initial ideas allowed me to send them additional newspaper articles, images, and other material from the research to feed their imagination. In the final two weeks before the event, I made myself available for questions and feedback, including meeting Debra Scacco for a hike in the Lower Arroyo and giving D.W. Jacobs a driving tour of sites in and around the Arroyo.

[73] I had decided each artist would receive one question from which to develop a work-in-progress to share at the session. But the choice of whom to work with was difficult, and I considered expanding the creative team from four to five artists and adding a fifth question. But I had an allotted time for artist presentations within the Creative Dialogue Session and felt that the schedule could not accommodate a fifth presentation. With more time and support, the potential exists for more collaboration within the creative team so that each work-in-progress could represent a collective effort.

In designing the Creative Dialogue Session, I had several goals. The first was to make the data analysis and synthesis more collaborative by finding out which of the conclusions resonated with key stakeholders and where additional information and perspective was needed. For example, I encouraged the artist/facilitators and participants to assess whether the four questions I identified were the right ones to ask. I recognized that subtle shifts in wording or making a question more specific could make a difference. A second goal was to recruit participants for the devising team, the group of people who would transform the research and discussion into creative placekeeping projects. Another goal for the session was to model a discussion that welcomed imagination, intuition, emotion, poetic language, and multi-sensory awareness. These qualities are often absent from economic, scientific, and policy discussions, an absence that can limit notions of what is possible. Having the creative team of artists present works-in-progress was a strategy to both encourage a more creative mindset and to pull back the curtain on the artistic process so that people who do not identify as artists would feel more comfortable joining the devising team. Within the project design, I intended the Creative Dialogue Session to be a middle ground where artists and non-artists could come together.

The logistics for the session followed from what seemed possible and practical for the various audiences I wanted to engage. These audiences included the community advisory group, the neighborhood leaders featured in chapter 6, and a handful of additional guests affiliated with important organizations or who held important knowledge of Pasadena and the Arroyo. In all, I sent invitations to thirty people not including the artists on the creative team. I scheduled the session from 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. on a Tuesday afternoon, brought snacks, and rolled out six round tables upon which I put table cloths and flowers. I made posters of the three story maps from the neighborhood leader interviews to display and also posted a list of existing Arroyo projects and

project ideas that had emerged over the previous year, including those from the creative placekeeping workshop the previous October (see below). Prior to the session, I sent out a link to a 28-minute video of a slide presentation explaining the purpose of the session and introducing each of the four questions for discussion. The video also invited participants to sign-up for the devising team after the session.

The schedule for the day began with roughly a half-hour of ice breakers interspersed with the sharing of the guiding values of the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers (see appendix 1). Anticipating that most participants likely did not have the opportunity to watch the pre-session video, I presented a twenty-minute summary, going over the day and explaining the opportunity to join the devising team. Next, the artists each had twenty minutes to share their works in progress. We agreed their presentations would last roughly ten minutes after which participants would have the chance to share immediate reactions, thoughts, or questions. After a short break, participants could "vote with their feet" and join a small group discussion about one of the four questions. The artist who had that question, facilitated the discussion using a worksheet (see appendix 42). After forty minutes of small group discussion, I planned to bring the groups back together to share the small group dialogue and then use the remaining ten minutes to have the group reflect on similarities and differences in these discussions and consider takeaways for the devising team to focus on when thinking about potential placekeeping projects.

The day itself followed this design, but a late start meant there was no time for the small groups to share the results of their discussion. At 1:00 p.m., only a handful of people had arrived, and I decided to wait until 1:20 before I gathered people in front of La Casita for the introduction and ice breakers. There were some additional late arrivals and a few who left early, but overall, 19 people in addition to the artist team were present for some of the workshop. The

ice breakers went well and set a collegial tone for the day. My opening presentation took longer than twenty minutes as a handful of questions took some additional time to address. By the time, the creative team started their presentations we were forty-five minutes behind schedule.

The Gold Collective presented first and shared how, as dancers and physical performers, they used their bodies to research the question about how to connect the health of families and the health of the Arroyo. Their time in the Arroyo initiated reflection on the function of concrete as a substance that separates the land from the River and generates disharmony and unhealthiness in the natural system. Sarah Leddy shared that this also prompted thinking about the figurative concrete that separates people from one another, be it race, class, or other divisions that feel fixed and prove resistant to change. This framed an invitation for a five-minute body-centered meditation. Some participants stood up; others remained seated. Leddy drew upon the metaphor of the circulatory system as a river in talking the group through the exercise, "Noticing within our body that we have our own river, tributaries that are flowing, constantly, as we're alive, so the blood that is going through our veins and pumping back through, thinking about the health of our bodies and how that is connected to the health of the Arroyo." Julieta Garza then introduced the metaphor of concrete as blocking this natural flow, "And whenever you feel anything that might feel stuck, just thinking about the concrete that sort of interrupts the flow of the river, the natural flow of river. Think about what kind of blockage might exist within you in this moment" (5/23/23). Leddy and Garza invited people to shake out their bodies at the end of the exercise as a way to break up the concrete. Leddy and Garza then introduced a video of the Collective's exploration of the area beneath the Colorado Street Bridge and their improvisational movements in response to the environment. The video showed the discovery of a large gopher snake sunning itself along a rock wall, a family of ducks in the

eddy of the stream, and a tree that had grown through a decaying concrete staircase underneath the bridges. Leddy and Garza noted how they were impressed by the resiliency of other creatures in adapting to the imposition of the concrete infrastructure.

D.W. Jacobs presented next, using music selections and photos to string together a series of reflections about how the Arroyo could be an engine of equity for the community. Jacobs came to the project after having written and performed a one-person show on Buckminster Fuller, and he introduced a number of ideas from Fuller in his presentation, including showing the geometric shapes that Fuller explored in constructing his geodesic structures. Jacobs explained that Fuller's geometry is all based on the tetrahedron, the most basic system in the universe, and any system has an inside and an outside created by a boundary, a border, or a membrane. Fuller knew, according to Jacobs, that "Any boundary that's too hard, impermeable, is never a healthy boundary. The whole system locks up. It can't breathe. It can't take in food or send out waste. It will die, decay, fall apart." (5/23/23). With a rendition of "Take Me Out to the Ballgame" playing, he showed the photos he took of Jackie Robinson Field in Brookside Park and spoke of how creating a level playing field for everyone was central to achievement of equity. His larger message was that all the pieces for the Arroyo to become an engine of equity were already present: Jackie Robinson field, a marker for Ruby McKnight Williams, a local civil rights leader (see appendix 28), groups like Outward Bound Adventures, the environmental programming at John Muir High School, and plans to establish the CREEC center in Hahamongna. But to do any work, the pieces of the engine need assembling and fuel, which in this case would mean resources and greater visibility.

Next, Lisa McNeely commanded the attention of the room scampering into the space, howling and yapping as Coyote, a mother visiting with her pups, who had come to share stories

with her human neighbors and talk about how the Arroyo can engender trust. Her clown coyote elicited nervous laughter with lines like, "There are more of me today than there has ever been. So, thank you for that...We are not just surviving, we are thriving in your mess" (5/23/23). Stating child care was hard to come by, Coyote passed out stuffed coyote pups Nip, Yip, and Yowelly to members of the audience stating, "You all can help me…Neighbors look out for each other, right?" The pleasantries then turned as Coyote began to describe human hostility and harassment.

> So, what can I do for you? Huh? What could you ask of this humble coyote? Rather, what I really want to know is what can I do...for you to leave me alone?…Let me paint the real picture for you, okay. We don't come into your homes. We don't set traps for you. But I can't even count the number of brothers, sisters, cousins, that have just gone missing. -5/23/23

After sharing a story of her mother who limped back to her den with a maimed leg, Coyote began to get nervous for her pups, accused audience members of mistreating them, and frantically took them back. “I thought I could trust you!” she lamented. Growing more agitated, she yelled at the group, "Stop looking at me!” before Leddy clapped two boards in the back of the room to represent a gunshot, and Coyote collapsed on the floor. The performance proved affecting as participants seemed to welcome a collective sense of guilt, relating empathetically to Coyote in the same way one would a human parent with children. McNeely shared that when she considered the question about trust, she thought about what it meant to be a good neighbor.

> I thought, wow, Coyote represents all of us. He's a gun-toting hunter. He's an oppressed person without a voice. And I thought, hey, why don't I just speak from that perspective as a way to talk about trust between different cultures, different kinds of people with different languages and the lack of actually being able to communicate with the people that surround you. That was the seed. – 5/23/23

As I watched McNeely’s performance, I applied its dynamics to the police killings of African Americans where mistrust escalates to violent ends.

Visual artist Debra Scacco began her presentation about the River and the Rose Bowl by saying the terms "placemaking" and "placekeeping" are both problematic because the first implies that there is nothing there, and the second suggests that what is there needs to stay. Scacco challenged the group to think about co-evolution and adapting to changing conditions, especially as necessitated by accelerating climate change. She shared line drawings, one based on a map of the changing course of the Los Angeles River over time, and the other based on the 1922 photo that I shared above of the Arroyo floodplain wrapping around the Rose Bowl. Scacco said that for her the photo illustrates the violence of humans building directly into the River's floodplain. She noted how we have sacrificed the River's beautiful braided pattern of veins and arteries on the land for a flood control system that will not survive climate change. Because of the iconic status of the Rose Bowl, river restoration in the Arroyo could become a powerful case study for climate adaptation. "How can we really think about the Arroyo as a micro-site for thinking not just how we value nature but how to be collective and proactive in climate adaptation, in mitigation, in actually being realistic about what's coming and saying this is not going to be safe" (5/23/23). The question about the Rose Bowl and the River for Scacco sparked a number of other questions that she shared with the audience, such as "What if we acknowledged that water should not be owned?" and "What does investment actually imply - money, time, vision, love?" and "How can we be forward-facing and realistic?" Scacco noted that while she has nothing against the Rose Bowl and recognizes the importance of the stadium to Pasadena's past, that should not keep the community from asking whether a stadium that has generated a $192 million debt for the City to pay off, and at the very least abetted significant ecological harm was, ultimately, not the best idea and that its current situation is fraught. Scacco said we need to invest in what's really needed to survive, and we should be able to do that while

respecting history. Tina Williams, with the Restorative Justice 710 Coalition and a former City Council field rep, shared that she appreciated how Scacco was framing the issue and said for her the larger question was how to work with the Rose Bowl to make it more useful for the larger community.

After the break, the small group discussions were energetic. Two people joined Leddy and Garza to discuss health and the Arroyo. John Dean noted that the discrimination at the Brookside Plunge drove many young people of color to swim in the reservoir behind Devil's Gate Dam where drownings were routine. He wanted people to realize how racism was fundamentally unhealthy for the community. A main topic of discussion was how to balance the health of wild nature and the habitat needs of wildlife with active human recreation. The group thought that this would be a more precise question to ask the community. Three people sat with Jacobs to talk about how the Arroyo could be an engine of equity and focused on job creation and ways to embed artists and historians inside City departments. Three people joined McNeely to talk about the Arroyo's role in building trust within the community, with the conversation turning to mistrust of institutions and ways to hold them accountable. McNeely said that her group was drawn to the character she had created:

> I inevitably had a group of rabble rousers. They were like, "We're here for Coyote. We love Coyote." And I was like "Great." And similarly, the discussion was all about "What would Coyote do?" And in terms of breaking up the concrete and trying to surpass the powers that be, we were just talking about subversion." - 6/2/23

This included discussion about ways to use creative displays, QR codes, and negative publicity to provoke discussion and challenge the lack of transparency that seems to have become the norm. They proposed the question, "How can the truth set the River free?" as an alternative to my question.



Figure 84. *Small group discussions during the Creative Dialogue Session*

Five people gravitated to Scacco's table to discuss the question about what would it take for the City to invest more in the Arroyo than the Rose Bowl. One response in this group was that you need to find a way for the Arroyo to make money for the City. Most at the table had a strong interest in water and climate issues, but people agreed it was important not just to invest in the River but in the entire watershed. Tim Brick shared his vision for pulling out concrete and asphalt to increase groundwater recharge:

> We need a program called Unpave Pasadena. We need to actually have a really aggressive program to remove concrete and asphalt from as many areas as we possibly can to allow the groundwater basin to replenish because the groundwater basin has been in radical decline for a hundred years. And the groundwater basin is in really bad shape in this area. - 5/23/23

Brick noted that the county passed Measure W in 2018 that provides $283 million dollars for stormwater retention each year. Tina Williams said that the lesson from the recent passage of a rent control ordinance in Pasadena was that you need a broad-based coalition to demonstrate voter interest to City Council members. In such a campaign, making sure that each council district walked away with benefits would be important to earn City Councilmembers' support. Scacco felt energized by the discussion:

> I was really excited by the conversation at my table, it was like we were ready to change the world. It was amazing, you know. By the end of the conversation, we had actually moved into practically how do we get this policy changed. So, I was like "This is amazing. These people are the real deal. I'm ready to go." You know what I mean? So that was exciting. It felt like if there were more meetings of that group, that something could actually budge. Also, because at that table there were City Council people, you know what I mean, there were people who had the ear of folks that are needed to change things. I was also impressed with the caliber of folks who were there and the kind of leverage they have to move things forward. - 6/2/23

After bringing everyone back together, I closed the Creative Dialogue Session by passing around a heart-shaped stone from the Arroyo and asked the remaining participants to share one thing they would like to give to the devising team to help them design powerful placekeeping projects. This brought out a few additional questions to consider, affirmations of emotional and organizational support, advice and values to take to heart, and well-wishes.

After thanking everyone, putting away the tables and chairs, and packing up all the supplies, I walked down from La Casita to the Arroyo to the pedestrian bridge next to the parking area in the Lower Arroyo and looked at the concrete channel, needing to reflect on the day. Just a few days prior to the event, I learned that Tim Brick and the Arroyo Seco Foundation that he co-founded over thirty years ago had parted ways. This combined with the absence of several key individuals and organizations who had RSVPed underscored the fragility of the

Arroyo networks this session had sought to bolster. I had told the creative team that if the four questions that I had chosen were not the most powerful and resonant ones for Pasadena, the discussion would hopefully surface questions with true transformative potential. Now, standing on the pedestrian bridge, I realized that the question I was seeking was below me in the seeming permanence of the flood control channel - "How can we break up the concrete, both literal and metaphorical, that has kept Pasadena's inequities frozen in place and pushed Arroyo advocates to the margins?" All of the obstacles to overcome in this area's Quest for Wholeness seem cast in concrete. The Gold Collective's guided meditation equating our bloodstream with rivers and envisioning breaking up the concrete that stops the flows inside of us brought home the emotional and psychological energy that progress on breaking up concrete could release. This realization felt like a substantial step forward for the project and suggested a point of focus for what might become an unwieldy devising process.

Ten days after the event, I met with the creative team to debrief the session. The team of artists noted the difficulty of the late start but overall felt engaged by the event and interested in talking about how the project could evolve. Jacobs noted the diversity of the team's presentations.

> The texture of it was really good. The artists were very different. And that was the thing, someone would plug into this, and somebody else plugs into that. And Coyote was a huge hit. But the tones of it were so different that it never felt like you were in a conference where someone is droning on. - 6/2/23.

Scacco concurred:

> I also really appreciated the diversity of presentations. I think the four of us were so radically different that I think it made very difficult conversations much less draining because usually if you're trying to address those four questions in a room through the lens of policy or problem solving or whatever it might be, I feel by the fourth conversation people's eyes would be rolling back in their head. And maybe they were because I was talking, so I don't know. But I think having that

> diversity of presentation and diversity of content and the diversity of approach, it seemed to be able to keep people's attention differently. - 6/2/23

Leddy felt some resistance in the audience to the guided meditation.

> The people who were there deal with policy, and it's easier for them to deal with that than asking them to think about the blood in their body. They're like, "What are we here for? That's too woo-woo." They might not have been ready to go there. But I think the maps [by Scacco] really grabbed people. - 6/2/23

This underscored for me how simple creative exercises, especially those that involve embodied engagement, can push people who don't identify as artists outside their comfort zone. This is not necessarily a bad thing but requires advance work so participants know what to expect.

McNeely noted that Scacco's small group discussion about the Rose Bowl drew the most people and appeared more animated than the other groups.

> I feel like everybody wanted to be at the Rose Bowl table a little bit just because that particular subject has more gravitas. Literally, it's a bigger thing; it's got a bigger gravitational pull. It's like a place to start. Even though I believe talking about the health of the River is super important and talking about trust and talking about equity is super important. They all feel like the little subsidiaries that need to be figured out around the Rose Bowl issue. - 6/2/23

Scacco recognized this.

> The Rose Bowl is the only tangible thing. Everything else is like these hyper-objects. They're much more abstract. Like, what is trust to me might not be trust to you. But the fact that the Rose Bowl owes $192 million dollars is just a fact. It's a target that is visible if something changes. So, I think it's kind of more accessible for folks to say, "Okay, there's this issue of the Rose Bowl and that's a tangible thing that we can act on. - 6/2/23

I argued that if everyone had just discussed the Rose Bowl, the discussion would have been too tangible and become a conversation about organizing strategies. The more abstract questions allow more space for imagination to enter and that ultimately having the contrast is helpful. This prompted McNeely to wonder if there's a question that could bring these qualities together.

> I think the River and the Rose Bowl are just so tangible. I'm wondering if there's a way to marry the tangible nature of the Rose Bowl and the River with the more metaphysical ideas so that we could talk about trust in context of something tangible like the Rose Bowl and the River. Perhaps there's another kind of question. - 6/2/23

Finding the right question is, of course, the substance of dramaturgy. For me, the question that touches the tangible while engaging the metaphysical is about breaking up the concrete. I shared my realization on the pedestrian bridge with the team over email, which prompted an entry in Garza's journal that she shared at our debrief.

> There should be something radical in order for us to break the concrete. I personally feel like we were onto something thinking about that, to break it. I also thought about the resiliency of nature and that something radical would be to look down, look down to the grass that grows through the concrete and think about grassroots movements. We keep looking up to power, and I feel like instead we should look down and organize in a way that we make a grassroots movement and talk to the people because there are power in numbers, and there are many, many people out there, not in power, but that care about the Arroyo. - 6/2/23

Devising creative placekeeping projects

The development phase containing the research for the pilot project lasted two years; the devising phase lasted less than a month. This short time period, however, involved planning for a complex array of variables. First, the task was not only to devise a handful of project ideas but also an organizational structure for an ongoing initiative. Five people who participated in the Creative Dialogue Session joined me on the devising team. My desire to make this process collaborative required tending to relationship building within this group, some of whom had only just met. There was also the challenge of helping the team understand the different forms creative placekeeping projects can take and introducing a process of open-ended devising, which for some was unfamiliar. I also needed to craft a process to fit the condensed timeline of

the overall project and match the limited availability of the team members given their other commitments.

I asked team members to commit to twelve hours over the course of a month. This included working for at least six hours to prepare a work-in-progress to share at a three-hour workshop for the devising team in June. I also asked participants to meet for an hour with me and one of the artists from the creative team to discuss their thoughts and ideas. In addition to stimulating the imagination, these creative consults also facilitated relationship building in advance of the workshop. Finally, I asked members of the team to attend the final meeting of the community advisory group where I planned to share the results of the devising workshop and a proposal for the future of the initiative.

Because devising must proceed from a personal interest, I asked the devising team to base their work on something that caught them from the dialogue session. I believed that the Quest for the Wholeness narrative, the four questions I identified for the Creative Dialogue Session, and previous project ideas should inform rather than dictate each deviser's work-in-progress. Emphasizing the provisional nature of what we were doing helped lower the stakes and keep the focus on building on one another's ideas. I stressed that any project idea would likely shift based on the input of new stakeholders and partners needed for implementation.

The creative consults provide a window into the devisers' creative engagement. Both Debra Scacco and Lisa McNeely decided to join the devising team and so the three of us met to discuss what had stayed with them from the Creative Dialogue Session and what they wanted to bring to the devising workshop. McNeely said that she wanted to explore the idea of using displays to hold public institutions accountable. She referenced an acknowledgment at the Denver International Airport that the buildings sit on a Native American burial ground. I

mentioned how greater visibility is a priority for Gabrieleno/Tongva people, and McNeely responded.

> If the Rose Bowl is the hot ticket site and the subject matter is Native visibility, then let's put some curio cabinets in the hall spaces [of the stadium] to be viewed with lots of information, maybe a small skit or walkaround actors or performers that are there to talk to you or tell you their story. - 6/10/23

I then mentioned the Rose Bowl Museum, which is located off of one of the tunnels underneath the seats. For the devising workshop, McNeely brought two drawings of potential art installations, one of a set of giant handcuffs draped over the edge of the Rose Bowl, the other a crucifixion of a coyote placed at various locations along the flood control channel.

Scacco said what caught her from the Creative Dialogue Session was the question, "How do we start from now?"

> How do we start with what we have and what we know we need and actually make educated decisions, also building in the fact that the decisions we made over the last 400 years as a country have had extreme bias against most people. So, this idea of how do we start from now is the thing that's been rolling around. How do you overcome nostalgia? How do you overcome values that are frankly irrelevant in today's world? How do you overcome this idea that infrastructure is the only thing that has value? (6/10/23)

Scacco said that if we start from now, the climate crisis has to be at the center of a conversation of pragmatic ecological reversals. At the workshop, Scacco shared a flow chart of questions, working through a logical progression to guide this conversation and noted that one of the most valuable questions is "What happens if we do nothing?" She said that there's an assumption among those with power.

> If we just do nothing, everything will be fine. If we're unresponsive and we're concrete, we'll be able to preserve that for us, for our children, for their children. And that's not true. - 6/10/23.

She said that it is water scarcity that will make these questions "undismissable" in the future.

Elizabeth Pomeroy chaired the Pasadena Unified School Board and has written several local history books. She attended the Creative Dialogue Session and was caught by the question of how to balance human health through recreation with the health of wildlife and their habitat. During the creative consult with Pomeroy and Debra Scacco, the conversation shifted to highlighting the unwritten histories of the area with Pomeroy mentioning a living history presentation organized by the African American Parents Council in which students portray important figures in African American history. Pomeroy said,

> I'm seeing a convergence here: history, the natural world, and current human uses. How do we raise awareness of all three of those things and the interrelationships of all those things? ... How have human uses changed the Arroyo? - 6/12/23

For the workshop, she shared the idea of having a troupe of performers use primary sources to create pop-up, street theater performances that highlight local history and convey the bittersweet balancing of human uses of the Arroyo with the needs of plants and animals.

Brian Biery did his creative consult with me and Sarah Leddy from The Gold Collective at Arlington Garden, a public garden space that features native and drought-tolerant landscaping. Biery shared that eight years ago the city did an assessment of all city-owned land for its suitability for pocket parks in the city and that Arlington Garden could serve as a template in such an effort.

> The pocket park idea was one that would manifest as a neighborhood green space and could be done by the restoration crews from OBA and utilize this template in numerous areas around the city. So, we were trying to encourage the city to create a pocket park plan to do those. - 6/12/23

Reflecting on the Creative Dialogue Session, Biery said that the question of how to use the Arroyo as an engine of equity intrigued him because of his work through OBA facilitating the coalition of organizations seeking to build the Climate Resilience Environmental Education

Center in Hahamongna Watershed Park, which is focused on providing Arroyo access to working-class families and communities of color. For the devising workshop, Biery shared a schematic of the proposed center and talked about how it could provide a home for placekeeping ideas and initiatives. He said the intention is to design a place and a program that is so inviting that elected officials, funders, and the public can't help but get on board.

Ralph Waxman is co-president of the Arroyo Arts Collective in Highland Park and served as their representative on the community advisory group. His creative consult took place over dinner with me and Lisa McNeely. The conversation turned to the history of the Arroyo, writer and editor Charles Lummis, and his Southwest Museum that currently sits vacant on a hill above Highland Park. Waxman referenced McNeely's Coyote performance when I asked what caught his attention from the Creative Dialogue Session:

> I've been ruminating on your performance. I've been ruminating on the last session. I guess I was doing some thought about the idea of trying to create something for the Rose Parade. People seemed really psyched about that. But talking tonight and talking about the Southwest Museum has got me fired up about that, and I know it's not in our current geographical area that we're focusing on, but a few times over the years, I've played Charles Lummis on stage, and so I was thinking maybe I could do something in the guise of Chuck. I have the costume. [Laughter] - 6/14/23

At the workshop, Waxman showed off a t-shirt with a photo of Lummis, saying that some in Highland Park call Lumms the "original hipster" as a pejorative, associating him and his stone house that once sat at the edge of the Arroyo with White gentrifiers moving into what has been for the many decades a Latinx community. But Lummis was a complex individual who lived a life of contradiction. He was an early advocate of Native American rights but also was a champion of both the Spanish Missions and the Anglo-Saxon race. He was disagreeable and demanding but also hosted parties and salons of writers and academics, what he called "noises," that went late into the night (Thompson 2001). For Waxman, Lummis provided a jumping off

point to talk about the importance of being truthful about the complexities of our past without resorting to demonization, which giving him the "hipster" title seems to do. In many ways, he is the personification of the Coyote energy that McNeely had introduced into the project with her performance.



Figure 85. *Devising Workshop held at Arlington Garden*

I held the devising workshop outside at Arlington Garden on June 19, 2023, a week before the final meeting of the community advisory group. After each individual shared their "work-in-progress," I asked the group what caught their attention and was notable. For each project idea, we collected thoughts relative to the goals, audiences, issues or topics addressed, form of placekeeping, and what theory of change the idea suggests (see appendix 43 for the worksheet the group used to record their thoughts). I put these on flip chart sheets that we then laid out on tables. I provided dots to allow each individual to mark statements on these flip chart sheets that resonated strongly with them. I read the items with three or more dots and then asked the group "What do we know about Arroyo Seco Placekeepers after our discussion

today?" This question and subsequent discussion produced a final flip chart with key attributes for the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers. While not a list of concrete project ideas, we realized that these attributes, based on a synthesis of the devising team's interests and ideas, provided a template for the kinds of projects that ASP should take on, at least in Pasadena. The list also began to speak to some of the organizational attributes, such as a funding strategy and the need to define a vision for the group, something I will discuss in the final section of this chapter.

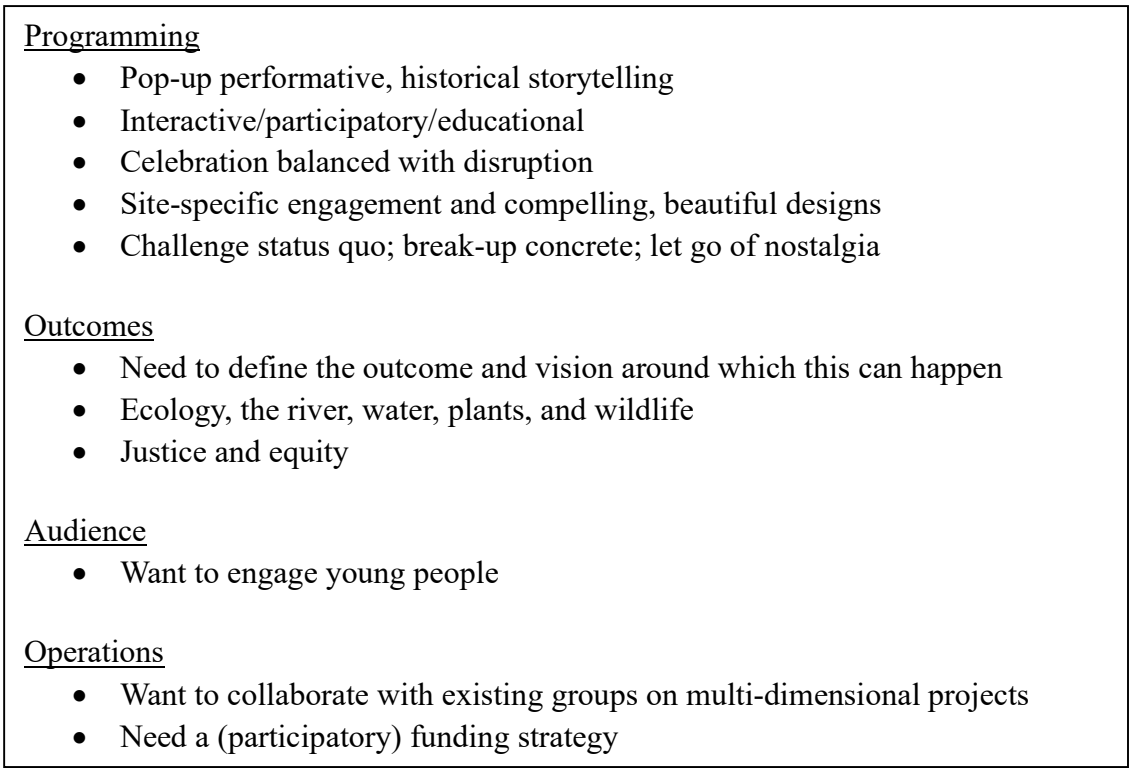

Figure 86. *The final flip chart page at the devising workshop*

My job then became using this template to craft specific projects for which the community advisory group and devising team could provide feedback. Overall, the devising workshop would have benefited from more time, but through careful listening, building on one another's ideas, and keeping the conversation moving, the team was able to find consensus on the key attributes relatively quickly.

Unpave Pasadena

Three project ideas came together quickly after the workshop, incorporating ideas from the project template, elements from the Creative Dialogue Session, the creative consults, and existing projects or project ideas. The first builds on Tim Brick's concept for an Unpave Pasadena campaign by using the actual removal of concrete to address both environmental harm and social and class divisions within Pasadena. The small group discussing the Rose Bowl and the River during the Creative Dialogue Session stressed the necessity of building support on the City Council. With this in mind, the campaign in the near-term would work with the City's Department of Public Works and Department of Water and Power to identify parcels of paved land, intersections, or medians in each council district with the greatest potential to capture stormwater runoff and replenish the aquifer. The City's study of potential pocket park locations would be a good place to start this search. Arroyo Seco Placekeepers could then serve as a liaison to local neighborhood associations and other organizations, building support for each pocket park. Providing a ribbon-cutting ceremony for each Councilmember could demonstrate the benefits and viability of unpaving the city and build toward the long-term goal of removal of the Arroyo Seco's flood control channel through the Central and Lower Arroyo and collaboration with the Rose Bowl Operating Company on engineering solutions that could turn the golf courses into an infiltration gallery during large storm events while also providing additional water for irrigation to reduce the RBOC's water bill, helping its bottom line.

For the pocket park portion of Unpave Pasadena, ASP would raise funds to pay for local historians, artists, urban ecologists, and potential Native consultants to work with the neighborhood associations on the design of a green space. Arlington Garden could serve as a template in the use of native and drought tolerant landscaping that provides a habitat to

pollinators and local bird species. Visual and installation artists would integrate public art into the park that tells one or more neighborhood stories based on the type of neighborhood historical research that I completed here for this dissertation (see appendices 27-30). Native American consultants could advise on elements in the design, including signs or plaques, that educate the public about the Native presence and use of the area.[74] Funding for construction could come from the nearly $300 million Los Angeles County generates every year from Measure W for just these sorts of projects.



Figure 87. *Altadena Triangle Park at Lave Avenue and Altadena Drive. This is one example of a pocket park that includes stormwater capture and historical interpretation (Amigos de los Rios 2023).*

[74] In addition to Arlington Garden, there are two other examples of what these pocket parks could look like. The local non-profit Amigos de los Rios created Altadena Triangle Park, which features stormwater collection, native vegetation, and local history interpretation as part of the design. Arroyos and Foothills Conservancy and Altadena Heritage collaborated to create Old Marengo Park that similarly features native plants and a rain garden.

A second component of the campaign would focus on workforce development. Scacco commented during the Creative Dialogue Session that during the Great Depression building the flood control channel was a key local strategy to create jobs for people living on the margins. Today, taking out the channel and taking up pavement can create a pathway of economic opportunity. Outward Bound Adventures (OBA) already anchors workforce development in this sector for young people of color. A spin-off project from this program could incubate a worker cooperative focused on sustainable landscaping that introduces an alternative economic structure into the economic development matrix for the city. Cities such as New York and Philadelphia have created funds to support the start-up of worker co-operative because they accomplish the twin goals of economic development and boosting the everyday performance of democratic norms and principles.[75]

Unpave Pasadena would break up the social concrete that separates the Two Pasadenas by working with neighbors to organize a party for the OBA work crew that installs the park and their families. Sparked by a story by Tom Seifert and Dianne Philibosian about a party the One Arroyo Foundation organized for a work crew from the California Conservation Corps, the parties could incorporate Pomeroy's pop-up street theatre performances about neighborhood history, native plants, and Native people.[76] To give these events a moniker, I named them Pocket Park Pop-up Parties with Performances or Px5. Working with ASP to organize such a party could be a condition for the neighborhood to receive the park. Charles Thomas, OBA's Executive Director, argued that this type of relationship building is important so the youth in his

[75] The Los Angeles Co-op Lab could be one source of support for such a project, in addition to the U.S. Federation of Worker Cooperatives and the Democracy at Work Institute. One model to follow could the CERO composting cooperative that operates in Boston (Flanders 2015).

[76] This could also serve as an opportunity to tell the stories of the working-class gardeners and landscapers such as Brian's Biery's grandfather who maintained the grand gardens on Millionaires Row or Busch Gardens (see chapter 6). This sector has a complex multiracial history in Pasadena.

program grow more comfortable entering other neighborhoods. This would be one way the Arroyo could inspire trust within the community and provide outreach for both OBA and artists and arts groups who ASP contracts with. The event production itself could be another avenue of workforce development. Light Bringer Project is an expert in designing these interactive events and getting youth started with careers in the arts. They could be a great collaborator.

A final piece of the campaign would address the challenge of generating an economic benefit from restoration of the River. With a potentially astronomical rise in people's water bills, the demand for stormwater capture and climate resilient landscaping will be a growth sector not only in Southern California but around the world. Pasadena could become a center for regenerative landscaping through the development of nurseries, landscape architecture firms, environmental engineering, urban ecology research and monitoring, native landscaping companies, and composting. This would not only generate local jobs but reduce water rates for everyone in the city. This aligns with the creation of Arlington Garden's Creative Urban Ecology Center, proposed as a use for the old Durand Mansion across Pasadena Avenue from the Garden, which is one of the abandoned Caltrans homes in the old 710 Freeway corridor. One of the first steps in this direction would be conducting a market study for regenerative landscaping in the San Gabriel Valley and a convening of landscaping architecture firms to discuss how to strengthen the sector. With the removal of the flood control channel, Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo could become the showpiece for tours of green infrastructure projects around the city. The maintenance, monitoring, and care of the Arroyo and its water-conversing features could become a focus for volunteer work parties, citizen science initiatives, and school science projects. And as Scacco stated during the devising workshop, the water crisis is what turns this project from a starry-eyed dream to an economic and political imperative for the City.

Starting in July 2024, Pasadena's Department of Water and Power began to phase in a five-year rate increase of 50 percent to account for the increased cost of water from the Colorado River and repairs to local infrastructure (Liu 2024).



Figure 88. *Tim Brick (center) shares feedback on Unpave Pasadena project idea at the final meeting of the community advisory group. Also, pictured (clockwise) is Ralph Waxman, Debra Scacco, Auxenia Grace Privett-Mendoza, and Lisa McNeely.*

At the final joint meeting of the community advisory group and devising team, a small group provided feedback and suggestions for improving this proposal. Tim Brick said that the campaign needs to be broader and create a network to help individual homeowners re-landscape their property, install permeable paving, and use rain barrels wherever possible. He stressed the importance of guarding against presenting the program as a collection of plumbing projects and said ASP should emphasize nature-based solutions and use the campaign as a touchstone to discuss watershed management and climate-change. Pomeroy also suggested that Caltech and Pasadena City College could be important partners. Advisory group member Julianna Delgado said that ASP could learn from the experience of City Repair, an organization that has used

ecological landscaping in and around neighborhood intersections in Portland, Oregon. The group felt that overcoming neighborhood opposition to pocket park construction might be a challenge. Advisory group member Auxenia Grace Privett-Mendoza said that neighbors around the Old Marengo Park in Altadena have expressed safety concerns about vegetation providing a place for people to hide. McNeely mentioned the possibility of transforming slabs of broken concrete into pieces of art that could become collectibles for people in Pasadena, especially if it was a piece of the flood control channel. Privett-Mendoza suggested that a walk down the flood control channel could dispel the idea that this piece of infamous infrastructure is sacrosanct and off limits.

Activate the 710

The second project proposal seeks to make the most of the re-purposing Pasadena's portion of the abandoned 710 Freeway. Caltrans relinquished the roughly 50-acres of land to the City of Pasadena in August of 2022, and the city secured a $2 million federal grant from the Bipartisan Infrastructure Law's Reconnecting Communities Pilot program. The City has created its own community advisory group for this project and contracted with three different historical consultants to research the impact of freeway construction on displaced communities and help the city understand what restorative justice means in the context of this project. This growing collection of oral histories, maps, photographs, and census data about the displacement presents a rich resource that artists and storytellers can use to engage the public on local history and landscape change. For Arroyo Seco Placekeepers, an Activate the 710 program would use partnerships and grant funding to support a series of exhibits, art installations, performances, and pop-up events, including possibly closing the short stretch of highway for a large spectacle to make people familiar with the space and what it might become. The firm that the city has

contracted with to present possible designs has its own community outreach plan, which an ASP program would complement.

The program would have two other components. The first would be a program of guest speakers and panel discussions to educate the community about creative placekeeping and local history that would highlight possibilities for ongoing programming and interpretation on the site. The second component is the creation of a K-12 place-based curriculum that uses the story of the 710-corridor to teach Pasadena students about their city's past while also looking toward the future with potential lessons in regenerative landscaping, urban design and planning, architecture, transportation, and perhaps most importantly civic engagement. Once the city approves its specific plan for the new neighborhood in the 710 area, it will take ten to twenty years for developers to construct its components. This means that an entire generation of both public and private school students could benefit from field trips, tours, and student projects that prepare them to be lifelong advocates for better neighborhoods. The design of this curriculum could also serve as a vehicle for building constructive relationships between contending stakeholders surrounding the project.

A critique of this project idea is that the 710 area is not in the Arroyo. However, there are several points of connection. First, the Ancient Arroyo once flowed through the area (see chapter 4). The southern end of the property currently gathers stormwater from a large portion of the city while the property's central location could significantly increase the visibility of water conservation and awareness of the aquifer. Second, the footprint of the 710 Freeway and its associated interchange is enormous and sits next to the canyon's rim. The histories of the East and Lower Arroyo neighborhoods are also intimately tied to freeway construction (see appendices 27 and 28). The Arroyo will also be the closest park space for residents of the new

housing units that are sure to occupy a portion of the property. Finally, part of the concrete to break down are the boundaries between neighborhoods and social groups. This area could be a place of social integration through the design of spaces like public markets, amphitheaters, and art parks.



Figure 89. *Pasadena's 710 Freeway extension shortly after completion in the 1970s. Caltrans had planned to extend the freeway to the horizon. Note how the construction separates neighborhoods from one another ("Intersection of 134 & 210 Freeways" n.d. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, C-12-131).*

During the joint meeting of the community advisory group and the devising team at the end of June, Charles Thomas noted there should be engagement with the issue of reparations for the displaced families, not necessarily of money but a formal apology or perhaps the naming of streets in the new neighborhood after the families who once lived there. Thomas shared that his family lived on Waverly Drive in 1963 before the freeway bisected the street and said that the old, brown house that belonged to Mrs. Adams where the Cub Scouts once met is still standing. His family later moved to Northwest Pasadena and then had to move a second time because of construction of the northern spur of the 210 Freeway.[77] Brian Elerding, then the Executive Director of Lineage Performing Arts Center, said it would be easy for artists to use primary source material to turn stories such as these into performances. I raised the possibility of applying to the National Endowment for the Arts *Our Town* grant program, though with the deadline approaching in August, the group felt it might be best to wait a year. Participants said success stories of creative placemaking on repurposed roadways will be important to help people envision what the space could become and suggested the Trust for Public Land, the Pasadena Complete Streets Coalition, Huntington Hospital, and the Pasadena Public Library as potential partners. One caution from the worksheets noted that not everyone wants the barriers between the neighborhoods broken down (see appendix 44).

Production of *The Washing of the Water*

The third project idea that I offered to the group, but that we did not discuss in detail, was producing my play, *The Washing of the Water*, as a way to support the Climate Resilience Environmental Education Center (CREEC) project that many of the organizations represented in the community advisory group have a stake in. The play's plot tells the story of how a coalition

[77] Thomas' family was displaced again in 2025 after losing their home in the Eaton Fire.

of advocates from Altadena, Northwest Pasadena, and La Cañada-Flintridge come together to support Muir High School, resulting in an environmental education center in Hahamongna Watershed Park.[78] A site-specific production on the athletic field in the park would give the CREEC project visibility and momentum as it seeks approval from the City Council and works to raise private funds. Putting on the play would also help build an ASP production team for other performance, such as those called for in the Unpave Pasadena proposal above. The center itself also could provide a venue for ongoing storytelling and performances about the Arroyo and a home base for arts-focused programs, such as the Armory Center's Children Investigate the Arroyo program.

***

The final meeting of the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers community advisory group took place with members of the devising team in the offices of Outward Bound Adventures on the campus of Muir High School. I began stating that the development phase of the project was a search for the right question and then shared the story of walking down to the flood control channel after the Creative Dialogue Session and realizing that, for me, this question had to do with breaking apart concrete. I summarized the devising workshop and shared the contents of the final flip chart that offered a template for ASP projects in Pasadena. I then passed out worksheets for each person to record their reactions to my presentation of the Unpave Pasadena and Activate the 710 project proposals (see appendix 44). Participants then split into two groups to share what they noted on their worksheets. This is what generated the discussions I summarize above. But there was another portion of the devising process I shared and gathered feedback on. This was a proposal for the future form, function, and structure of Arroyo Seco

[78] Long before the CREEC proposal, the 2005 Hahamongna Annex Master Plan identified building an environmental education center on the property that CREEC is focused on as a priority.

Placekeepers as an ongoing initiative. The final section of this chapter, reviews feedback from the community advisory group and creative team of artists, and then describes how I used this feedback to outline a proposal for ASP to continue beyond the three projects proposed above.



Figure 90. *Final presentation to the community advisory group and devising team. The presentation took place in the offices of Outward Bound Adventures, June 26, 2023.*

The process of placekeeping in the Arroyo

Understanding the challenge of moving beyond singular placekeeping projects and sustaining a creative placekeeping process over time within a community or across a specific landscape was one of main reasons I chose to implement a pilot project such as the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers. The feedback I received on the overall process from members of the advisory group and the creative team, as well as the reflections I recorded in my research journal, represent the third stream of data that the project generated (see chapter 3). Below I review the work of the community advisory group, including the two public events members assisted with. I then present the feedback I received from members of the group and the issues that it raises

about how to sustain the process of placekeeping over time. I also review feedback from the creative team of artists. Finally, I describe the proposal I offered to the advisory group about how to make the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers a sustainable venture.

Community advisory group

Chapter 3 outlined some of the challenges in recruiting participants for the community advisory group. I was grateful for the participation of the individuals and organizations who agreed to participate, and I received positive feedback on the diversity of the group. My sense was that simply having the opportunity to join a group of arts, cultural, and environmental organizations focused on the Arroyo was compelling. Several factors, however, prevented the group from reaching its potential, not the least of which was finding times for everyone to meet. My excitement about getting all fifteen members talking together in the same room waned as it became clear that I could only expect half this number to attend meetings due to scheduling conflicts and other priorities. Even members who did not attend meetings, however, provided valuable advice and perspective in one-on-one conversations. The meetings were only an hour and blended relationship building, training, and strategic planning for the project's future.

In order to make the meetings as interactive as possible, I shared most of my research through seven videos of slide presentations that were optional for group members. This included introductory videos: one covering the calendar and logistics for the project and another providing background on creative placekeeping and two additional videos providing background on the Arroyo's history and geography. My hope was that the videos would convey a sense of momentum during the extended development phase of the project, and the feedback from group members was positive, even though several said that they only watched one or two.

Auxenia Grace Privett-Mendoza from the Arroyos & Foothills Conservancy, for example, shared the following:

> I think what did really work for me was the presentation of your research findings. I think the videos were really useful because they were something you could do on your own time when you had a moment to do it. I'm sure I'm not the only one that accountability to watch those videos was not always a 100 percent [laughter]"
>
> ***I didn't have an expectation that people would watch them.***
>
> But I think they were so useful and important in providing context, so maybe as individuals we had some but not all and we were learning a little bit…I wonder if another interactive format might present an opportunity to get more people engaged with the learnings that you are carrying through those things. – 6/21/23

Below is a summary of the five one-hour meetings I held over the course of the project.

Meeting 1 - February 5th and 6th, 2022 - Due to scheduling conflicts, I split the first meeting into an in-person meeting on Saturday, the 5th in Brookside Park and a zoom meeting on the 6th. The meeting covered introductions and asked people to tell a story about what would happen to them, their organization or the Arroyo if the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers fulfilled its potential. I felt I tried to layer too many things into this prompt, which led some to share a discursive response rather than a story.

Meeting 2 - April 10th, 2022 - This meeting came on the heels of sending a video summarizing my research about the ecological narratives of the Arroyo and took place at the South Pasadena Nature Park just north of the York Boulevard Bridge. I sensed that uncertainty remained about the project and the process, and so I asked individuals to form small groups and use one of the ecological narratives to brainstorm placekeeping possibilities. I provided a worksheet to help facilitate this process.

Meeting 3, June 5th, 2022 - This meeting took place at the Arroyo Seco Foundation's Hahamongna Native Plant Nursery and focused on identifying criteria for a successful placekeeping projects.

Meeting 4, September 6th, 2022 - This meeting at Arlington Garden was the most successful of the regular meetings, primarily because it involved a focused run-through on how to facilitate story circles planned for the two public events held in October. This afforded the opportunity for members to tell a story, which other members enjoyed.



Figure 91. *Preparation for running story circles by the community advisory group. From left to right: Brian Biery, Jeremiah Axelrod, and Brian Elerding. September 6, 2022*

Meeting 5, January 9th, 2023 - The public events during October of 2022 — an historical ecology walk and a creative placekeeping workshop — were both very successful, thanks in no small part to having advisory group members serve as volunteers. Witnessing the role these members played shifted my attention from the process of choosing projects for the community to the question of the best way to sustain involvement of such a group over time. I wondered, for example, if I should be thinking about something akin to a creative placekeeping training

program that people could sign up for. Having existed for almost a year, I felt the January meeting, which occurred at Blinn House, the home of Pasadena Heritage, would be a good time to ask members to draw on their experience with the project to answer this question.

For several reasons, however, this meeting was not successful. Attendance was small. Two members tried to attend virtually but the signal in the house was too weak, and they eventually excused themselves. Discussion of lessons learned led to a digression comparing the network of Arroyo Seco Placekeepers I hoped to create with the formerly active Council of Arroyo Seco Organizations, championed by Tim Brick and the Arroyo Seco Foundation. The question I was asking the group to address was also abstract and required more time for individuals to ponder than a twenty-minute small group discussion.

The failure of this meeting was useful. I decided after this that these regular meetings had run their course and instead asked members to meet with me individually or in pairs during the spring of 2023 so that we could discuss these issues in a more concentrated way. These conversations helped me to identify specific challenges with the process I was using and influenced the organizational proposal I presented to the group at the final meeting. Preparation for these one-on-one conversations also prompted me to create the diagram in figure 28 to better explain the different phases of the production cycle I envisioned as well the figure in appendix 45 listing the production components or tasks required to complete the development phase of the project.

Public events

Organizing and hosting the two public events were essential to this cycle of learning and yielded insight on where and how a community advisory group can be effective. The premise within the overall design was that the events would provide a venue to collect additional stories

from the community about specific topics, help to expand the project's mailing list, and give the project a presence and profile in the community. Perhaps the most important benefit, however, was one I did not fully appreciate: providing advisory group members with a clearer understanding of what creative placekeeping entails and giving them a sense of accomplishment. I have included fliers advertising the events that I distributed over email in appendix 46.[79]

Historical ecology walk - October 9th, 2022

The Historical Ecology Walk was not terribly long. It moved roughly 40 people from a grassy swale in Brookside Park up the trail behind the Rose Bowl Aquatics Center to Arroyo Terrace and then two blocks to a large oak tree next on the back lawn of The Gamble House, a museum that showcases the Arts and Crafts movement within Pasadena. The event involved a partnering with the Arroyos & Foothills Conservancy, Arroyo Seco Foundation, Pasadena Audubon Society, and the Gamble House. The event allowed these organizations to present their own work and advocacy but within the context of the ecological narratives I outlined in chapter 4. After the initial announcement went out for the event, the Pasadena Complete Streets Coalition asked if they could include the event on their Walktober calendar. This not only added the Coalition and their partner Day One to the list of collaborating organizations but helped with publicity.

[79] I created and distributed a version of these fliers in Spanish that included the offer for bilingual interpretation at the events.



Figure 92. *Leading the Historical Ecology Walk on the trail behind the Rose Bowl Aquatics Center. Here I am talking about the geology of the Lower Arroyo and its diversity of habitats.*

One of the compelling aspects of the event was the passing of the storytelling baton throughout the walk. In Brookside, I first described the Lower Arroyo as "The Place Where Things Come Together" and then proceeded to show how the Ancient Arroyo had changed direction through an instance of river piracy, creating the Lower Arroyo canyon. We then split the group in half, one group being led by me and the other by Privett-Mendoza. We switched groups at the top of the hill and proceeded to the Gamble House. With me, participants learned about the pre-European *Grand Hotel* story for the Lower Arroyo and subsequent decline of the water table with the founding of Pasadena (see chapter 4); from Privet Mendoza, walkers heard about the Arroyos & Foothills Conservancy efforts to monitor and map wildlife corridors along the Arroyo and throughout the Western San Gabriel Valley. Just below the top of the hill at a

scenic viewpoint, Tim Brick shared the work of the Arroyo Seco Foundation to restore a steelhead trout run up to the mountains. Underneath the spreading live oak behind the Gamble House, I likened the ecological story of the declining water table with *The Fisher King* and talked about the transition from the *Savanna Dance* narrative to the *Carnival Forest*. Professor Eric Wood from Cal State Los Angeles then shared his research on how native birds use this urban forest and Pasadena Audubon Society's efforts to influence the City's tree selection. The event outline called for members of the advisory group to facilitate story circles with attendees, but I cut this activity because of time. The event ended with Jennifer Trotoux, Director of Collections and Interpretation for the Gamble House Conservancy, sharing information about the museum and noting that the enormous live oak we were sitting under was planted rather than a relic of pre-European times.



Figure 93. *Dr. Eric Wood talks about avian uses of Pasadena's urban forest*

While not demonstrably artistic in its presentation, the alignment of natural history and ecology with well-known narratives and Hollywood films gave the event a creative cast that distinguished it from a typical naturalist walk. Privett-Mendoza thought the walk opened up new outreach possibilities:

> I still think about that walk. I think it was a beautiful way to connect the multiple organizations that were a part of that event space and the story aspect. From the organizational perspective that I have, how do we fit storytelling in mediums other than just social media or other things like that? That event was a moment of clarity for how storytelling can bring these organizations and these people together to do that kind of work. - 6/21/23

She stated that it provided important background for the Arroyos & Foothills Conservancy's work.

> I think the framing of the ecology that you have put forth is really impactful. I feel like maybe presenting that kind of historical ecology to our organization contextualizes the work we're doing in the Arroyo, further than just our history. - 6/21/23

The success of the event led to several additional walks based on my Arroyo research. For the Pasadena Complete Streets Coalition, I led a cultural history walk through the Central Arroyo and a walk through the Lower Arroyo sharing the history of Arroyo advocacy. The second walk connected me with a teacher from Westridge School who asked if I could share information with her fourth-grade class for a unit she was teaching on water. I recruited staff from the stormwater program for City of Pasadena's Department of Public Works and together we led a field trip to the Lower Arroyo for the students, where the staff members described plans for a water quality and habitat restoration project planned for 2025.

Creative placekeeping workshop - October 28th, 2022

The second public event grew from my research on the arts and culture sector in Pasadena (see chapter 4) and provided an opportunity to pull additional people into a

conversation about creative placekeeping. I worked with Brian Elerding, then the Executive Director of the Lineage Performing Arts Center, to host the event on a Friday afternoon. Roughly thirty-five people attended the two-hour event, including a class of twelve ninth grade students from Sequoyah High School's Social Innovation Program.

The plan for the event had three parts. The first was a short slide show about creative placekeeping with examples from Pasadena's arts and culture sector. The second section divided the room into five groups where members of the advisory group facilitated story circles based on the prompt: "That's the kind of thing that happens in Pasadena...." Each person in the circle had three minutes to tell their story, followed by a discussion about similarities and differences in the story and the search for a thread to connect the stories together. For the third part of the event, the story circle groups began to brainstorm a potential creative placekeeping project for Pasadena. I provided a list of questions and a worksheet for the advisory group members to facilitate this process (see appendix 47).



Figure 94. *The final circle for the creative placekeeping workshop. Small groups shared their project ideas for based on their story circles.*

The room was full of energy during the sharing of the stories and the subsequent conversations. What stood out for me was the ability of the small groups, in roughly thirty minutes, to move from a discussion of their stories to a solid idea for a creative placekeeping project. The projects included the following:

- creation of "sustainable parkways" through the installation of green infrastructure and native plants along the major roads in the city;
- recording of sounds of the Arroyo to share with elders in retirement homes and nursing facilities in the city;
- a residency for a public historian within city government who would find locations in the city where the histories of different cultural groups overlap and intersect;
- a series of guided walks or walking routes using QR codes throughout Arroyo neighborhoods that feature the natural and cultural history of the area;

- a march from Pasadena's City Hall to the old amphitheater built into the hillside below Arroyo Terrace. The march would commence with a public statement about the importance of homes for Native people, plants and animals, and the houseless population and end with a performance highlighting the history of the area.

A fourth part of the event involved each group devising a creative way to share their project idea with the rest of the group, but I decided to cut this element as the small group discussions were running over. With ten minutes left in the event, I reconvened participants in a large circle and the groups shared their project ideas, ideas that I injected into the devising process the following spring.

The event showed a strong interest in the use of arts and culture to address community issues. If everyone who RSVPed for the event had come, the audience would have been well over forty people for a Friday afternoon. Heather Hoggan, co-president of the Arroyo Arts Collective later shared with me her enjoyment of the process.

> The event I went to was a blast. I walked out of there so wanting to do our project with my group. - 2/23/23

She said that it put her into a creative relationship with a diverse group of interesting people.

> I think the coalition-building kind of is more in those public events. One of the things that was so fascinating about that event I went to in Pasadena was how diverse that group of people was. I was pleasantly surprised to see people I knew, and I didn't even know why they were there, like "Oh, I didn't realize you were a writer." - 2/23/23

For me, the event also brought into focus how members of the advisory group could grow to become a network of placekeepers. The event asked them to perform essential tasks of the placekeeping approach I believe in: gathering stories, listening to how the stories relate to one another, turning those conversations into on-the-ground projects, and building relationships

among participants. After the event, the importance of cultivating interest and commitment to placekeeping among the voluntary leadership of the project became clear. Here is an entry from my research journal after the event:

> What we're doing is growing a network but also building an identity, especially a social identity, and we're imparting skills— (how to think and interpret and organize and facilitate – asking questions, listening, synthesizing, recognizing opportunities for a project, how to do a tribalography, etc.). So that could be the subject of a next meeting – define a curriculum or course to teach placekeeping. And have that exercise surface questions people have, areas where they need greater clarity – it would be a struggle, but it could also be a lesson, part of the training sequence. These public events were part of a training sequence for the members of the advisory group. That is their primary value. - 10/28/22

Planning vs. product

In fall of 2021, when I first spoke about the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers with Mark Valdez, current artistic director of Mixed Blood Theater in Minneapolis, he was still living in Highland Park and using performance to facilitate conversations about affordable housing across four cities. I knew Valdez through his time as the first director of the Network of Ensemble Theaters when he was bringing theater makers together to discuss how to use ensemble practice to address community issues. After talking about my idea for ASP and my dissertation, we realized the pilot project would end at the point in the production cycle that Valdez usually begins his work, the point where a group has specific focus, like affordable housing, and a specific artistic form to address the issue, such as producing a play. My pilot project for Arroyo Seco Placekeepers focused on how one arrives at that this jumping off point for creative work, with the assumption that attentive research and creative dialogue in advance of choosing an issue or artform can increase the impact of creative placekeeping and build a more diverse, vibrant, and lasting network of neighborhood advocates. The challenge with this

approach is that open-ended research and planning takes time and can leave an advisory group feeling as if nothing is happening.

In June of 2022, four months after the first meeting of the advisory group, Brian Elerding, then the Executive Director at Lineage Performing Arts Center in Pasadena, called me to discuss the project.[80] He shared that he didn't understand the desired outcomes for the initiative and felt as though he didn't know what he was supposed to do. He said he felt the request for twelve hours of time was simultaneously not enough and too much. He expressed his interest in organizing the Center's dance ensemble to do something about the Arroyo, but he felt he didn't have anything intelligent to say about planning issues. I appreciated his candor and assured him that bringing his artistic mind to bear on planning issues in the Arroyo was the point of the project. He didn't sound convinced. But the conversation was important because it highlighted an endemic tension between careful research, planning, and analysis and the action orientation shared by artists and advocates.

By winter of 2023, I sensed group members wanting to see something happen. Some members suggested or implied that I should choose one of the existing Arroyo initiatives to support and offered their own projects as candidates. In the end, I did include support for the CREEC project as one of the three project suggestions but insisted that project ideas emerge from the analysis of story patterns and the identification of specific dramaturgical questions for the community to grapple with. Crucially, I did begin to analyze the data and identify questions before finishing my research on neighborhood stories and Arroyo recreation (see chapter 5). I had completed the interviews for this research and was in the midst of reviewing newspaper

[80] Elerding had joined the advisory group after the Lineage staff member initially assigned to the project left to work for the City of Los Angeles Cultural Affairs Department. This meant that the orientation I provided early in the project was missing.

articles on these topics but had not completed the analysis. In the end, this analysis only reinforced the Quest for Wholeness narrative and the four questions I gave to the creative team. But finishing this analysis took an additional nine months of work. Putting off the Creative Dialogue Session until completion of this work would have stalled any sense of forward momentum and frustrated attempts to keep the advisory group engaged.

During a February 2023 conversation about lessons to apply to the convening of a new advisory group for the Arroyo's Highland Park neighborhood, Elerding provided insightful feedback that is worth quoting in full:

> I told you this when we started that I was confused, and I still remain slightly confused about what we are and what your position is in relation to all of this. I more or less know now. But I was confused because you are being very diplomatic about it and are not centering yourself in the conversations, and you're trying to make room for everyone to be able to bring something to the table. And you're trying to train people to think about these things the way you think about them, which is all of these things [referring to the diagram of the Production Components in appendix 45]. You're making us all into Relationship Builders; you're making us all into Story Gatherers. And you're training us on all these things. You're training us on ecology. You're training us on placemaking. You're giving yourself a huge job, and I think that you might, next time for the Highland Parks folks, let people do the things that they're good at and confident in because you might get faster and easier buy-in that way. That might break your goals because you do want to train people in all of these things. But you might get to them faster because your avoidance of the product might scare people away because…I enjoy it because I'm a process guy, but especially people who are over-sweating all of their stuff, they need a thing that they're working towards, otherwise it has to become de-prioritized because they're working on other things with specific deadlines.
>
> So, if you had come to me and said, "I want to activate the Arroyo with some art and storytelling and would like for there to be some dance involved." That's an easier yes than "I'm building a placekeeping organization that's non-hierarchical and we're going to have a bunch of meetings before we decide what we're doing." That's harder for me to say "yes" to.

If you say to me, “Do you want to do some dances that involves ecology and this particular place that is around you?” The answer is “yes” and then in the building of the thing, you can bring in experts and get people exposed to each other. I know you were product averse, but I would encourage you…from my own point of view, it’s easier for me to say “yes” if I know what the product is for two reasons. First, it’s easier to motivate people to produce a product. But it also makes me more confident that what we’re doing is not…people all the time want to “beautify themselves with our feathers.” Do you know what I’m saying?

Right.

If I know that the product is ours and we’re not just here to beautify the coordinator of this whole thing, and in talking with you I started to get that this wasn’t just you trying to beautify yourself with our feathers, but next time around I think you could have cut my time of my understanding by more talk about product. Outside of this place, I have my activist life where people talk about process. But you have to have product because it keeps people around.
I think that the talks and walks and videos are all lovely, but it would have been easier for me if I had known from the top that “We’re going to do some cool stuff and we’re getting a lot of collaboration and we’re going to make something. And we’re going to do something in the Arroyo and it would be great to get some dances down in the Arroyo.” And you did that, but your hesitancy to commit to product made me go “Do I have time for a non-product, purely academic feeling…thing?” There is the danger also that if there is no product, you’re not beautifying yourself with our feathers, but you are using our time and expertise, and we’re not getting anything out of it. If we’re not activating anything and we’re not participating in anything other than teaching you, then….I feel like I gained a lot out of this. The two videos that I watched were fantastic, and I loved meeting the other people involved, but the whole time I felt like I was cautiously optimistic, only one toe dipped in, and I think you could get more buy-in from folks like me if it’s like, “I’m not going to tell you how to do this at all, and I’m not trying to be your artistic director in any way, but we’re trying to do some placemaking, and I want to be a catalyst. I want to get people together who want to get together and make stuff and there’s going to be a product if you want to have a product. If you aren’t into product, then you can just be an instigator or another catalyst like me.” Looking back now, I think that would be what I would do for the Highland Park piece, the next iteration. - 2/24/23

Elerding then identified the key balancing act between learning and doing necessary for the process to succeed over the long-term.

> I kept wondering, "Where is this going? Am I useful here?" I kept on feeling that all I was was sort of a pain in the ass to you because I kept giving you feedback about what you were doing. Yeah, I think it will be more exciting for your second round because you'll be more confident because you know you can connect people, and you can meet people wherever they are at the speed that they want to go. I'm excited for you to take the training wheels off of yourself and all the participants. Again, this is the last time I'll say it, "Not being afraid of product." It's okay to talk about product right off the top especially for people who make product. That's what we do. We make things. We love making things. And we can learn and make things at the same time.
>
> Is there a product that you have in mind. It seems like there is, but you say there is not. It seems like there's no way that you don't have some sort of dream to make something, and I respect that you're trying to keep yourself quiet on that front so it can come from the group, but I also feel like the oyster might need a grain of sand to get that pearl started.
>
> ***Who is the oyster?***
>
> All of us, this group. There needs to be something to build on. We have frameworks but we need a thing. The oyster is the frameworks and that oyster can't make a pearl without a grain of sand; something bugs it, and then it builds and builds and builds. So, let's bug ourselves and build something. This last year felt like training for the thing, and I think that maybe training and the thing can happen at the same time. - 2/24/23

I used this metaphor in the final meeting of the group, saying that my question about how to break up literal and metaphorical concrete was the grain of sand that Elerding had been looking for. Whether I would have identified this question with a shorter and more selective research and planning process is uncertain. I think what is clear is that my preference for a more deliberative and thorough planning process is a function of my personality and that a different facilitator would be more comfortable moving into the devising phase sooner. Having co-leaders in charge of this process who lean in opposite directions could help find the right balance between planning and product.

Communicating about placekeeping

Creative placekeeping is not new, but its recognition as an artistic practice, or perhaps more specifically, as a practice akin to art, is still novel. Communicating about creative placekeeping was a challenge throughout the project. This began with the drafting of the first flier for the project, continued with the recruitment of advisory group members, and persists today as I seek to build partnerships with other non-profits and City agencies. This challenge proved particularly vexing in bridging the gaps between self-identified artists and individuals engaged in other professions, such as education, planning, or advocacy. The artistic process and the individuals who earn a living by honing a craft can seem mysterious to those engaged in work outside the arts. Recognizing the artistry and craft within non-arts professions is important for artists and non-artists to collaborate on equal footing within a creative placekeeping project. But this is easier to write than to operationalize.

This challenge forced me to create diagrams and visuals to explain both the process and the product for my version of creative placekeeping, which emphasizes story collection and analysis, dramaturgy, and ecological assessment to a greater degree than other approaches. Elerding said that the effort needs a clear logline:

> So, if Danny Feldman contacted me from the Playhouse and said, "I got contacted by this Marcus Renner guy. Do you know him? What's the whole deal?" I would say today, "Marcus is a geographer and is interested in how a place like the Arroyo is activated by artists, ecologists, all the people who use the space, and he's probably talking to you about how we as artists can tell the stories of the space and how we can preserve the space and how we can be good stewards of this space." That's my best take on what we are. If that's not true, I want to know that. - 2/24/23

Elerding said he was still hedging because he was unsure if the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers is an advocacy group. It is, but this concern underlined the need to define a clear vision, mission, and scope for the effort.

Concerned with whether Arroyo Seco Placekeepers would be welcome as a newcomer in the Pasadena's arts and culture community I asked Elerding if there was a group already fulfilling the group's function.

> In terms of this ecosystem nothing quite exists in this way that's space-specific but not arts-specific. It's arts-specific but it's not one type of art. There are visual arts organizations and there are space-specific organizations like the Arroyo Seco Foundation, but to my knowledge, there's nothing that's bridging things in the way you're doing it. So, I don't think anyone will be mad at you for doing that. - 2/24/23

To define this position more precisely, I spoke with Tom Coston, a member of the advisory group and one of the co-founders of Light Bringer Project, a Pasadena arts group that provides art education and creative career pathways to underserved students as well as bringing creative events to Pasadena, such as a world-renowned chalk festival and Pasadena's Doo-Dah Parade. Coston recognized the challenge of making Arroyo Seco Placekeepers more than a one-off project. In our conversation, I called it a platform. Coston said it could be a waystation for good ideas. I then said it was a project generator, and he recognized that in a certain sense, the advisory group is the project. I said that I was comfortable having the process play out, but others were not.

> I'm very comfortable thinking about the projects as a black box that comes out of the creative process. But most people are not comfortable with that. They're all like "What are we doing? We need to actually do something. - 3/22/22

He was intrigued.

> Okay, okay. That's where people are at. That's really interesting. So, basically you need to model the model, in a way, if you're going to create some projects that they can hang onto - 3/22/22.

Coston said the goal should then be to set up a sustainable process that people can use years down the line to generate creative placekeeping projects. This requires bringing people into leadership who are specifically interested in exploring and advancing creative placekeeping as an artistic practice and building and supporting a milieu where that exploration can happen.

Making participation valuable

There were several insights from members of the advisory group about how to make participation in the project valuable to them and their organization. Jeremiah Axelrod, who joined the advisory group as founding director of the Institute for the Study of Los Angeles at Occidental College, and Brian Biery recommended making the gatherings more social and taking meetings out into the field so members feel as though they are learning as part of their participation. Biery said that regular artmaking should be part of the mix for the group. Axelrod recognized the importance of establishing a value to the process that goes beyond funding.

> Everything lives and dies with the grant, and you build a lot of community and then when the money runs out what do you do? You're doing this, trying to create the community before the grant, which is probably a good idea because it means it can be resilient when there isn't as much grant funding. But I certainly hope you find a pot of money because you'll find a lot of people very interested when you find some money, and it doesn't take very much to get people interested. - 1/23/23

Elerding described how effective devising requires a certain level of trust, which social gatherings could help engender.

> I want to do some stuff in the Arroyo. And I don't want to do it by committee. Committee is brutal and that's different than devising. Devising is there are kernels that people bring to the group, and then you work on them together and you make something. But art by committee takes forever, and it's often lame because you don't trust everybody. And when you're making stuff, you want to

> trust everybody involved. That's why my theater company struggled for a while because people got involved because they knew me and trusted me, but I wanted them to trust everyone else. But they didn't know everyone else. - 2/24/23

Elerding's comments suggest a loose structure within the group for devising that preserves members' independence and creative autonomy. Elerding elaborated on how this could work:

> So, if I were in this group and you brought in someone who is a visual artist who said, "I want to do something in the Arroyo." I'd be very happy to be part of a brain trust for that person. If that person was a muralist and said, "I want to do something in the Arroyo but I'm stuck can you guys help me out?" I'd be like "Yes, I have an idea." All of a sudden, I'm activated. I'm not a visual artist, but I know the Arroyo well enough where there might be places to erect a temporary structure or paint on a permanent structure. And I can give them ideas about that. And I feel useful and I get excited about it, and then once it's done, I get to go look at it and feel excited and be like, "Look, that thing that we talked about two years ago. There it is. It's done." - 2/24/23

When I shared about the challenge of bridging the gap in the group between artists, who might be very comfortable with this process and those who don't identify with artists, Elerding brought up the proposed miniature golf course next to the flood control channel.

> Not everyone can be an expert in what's being talked about in that moment. I might come to them and say, "I have this Shakespeare group and want to do this thing in the Arroyo," and they're like "I don't have anything for you." Or I could say, "Guys, I'm looking for inspiration. Hit me with things in the Arroyo that are interesting for you." Everybody will have something. Some people will be pissed about the miniature golf course, and I'll be "Tell me more about this golf course because there's tension there and theater-makers love tension and drama." And all of a sudden, they don't need to be an arts expert, but they are advisers on an arts project. Or they can come to the group and say, "Guys, I'm pissed about this golf course. Are there ways that we can activate the community around this issue?" And you say, "I don't know what this is, but I'm going to find something for you from the Pasadena Museum of History." Or "Let's go to the Pasadena Museum of History together and look at some primary sources." Or "One of my skills is interviewing people. Do you want to go to the golf course and interview some people, and then you can contrast a Shakespeare monologue with something that's come from the interviews?" You don't have to have the answer in that moment. It's the beginning of things. And then people can start partnering up. They would

> be “I’m not a theater person, but I’m passionate about this thing if that’s helpful.” It’s wonderful to partner with non-theater people for stuff. - 2/24/23

He said as the coordinator of the effort moving forward, it will be helpful to let people move at their own speed.

> You are the catalyst, and that means you have to meet people where they are, and you meet someone like me, and I’m like, “Let’s make a thing.” And you go, “Great. What do you need?” And I’d be like, “I don’t really know the Arroyo. I know the Arroyo as a consumer, but I could use some inspiration from the ecology.” And so, you go “Great. I’ve got an ecologist. Let’s get you together” And all of a sudden that ecologist gets activated, and we get activated because we’re taking inspiration from that person. And then we’re off to the races, and we can move at our speed. And that doesn’t keep us from coming to these general meetings. In fact, the general meetings become more fun because we have a thing that we’re excited about. - 2/24/23

This is one way to look at the intermittent attendance at the regular meetings, as a function, not of disinterest, but people engaging with creative placekeeping at their own speed. My tacit acceptance of this early in the process likely kept group members on board.

Privett-Mendoza said the process could provide value in helping organizations like the Arroyos & Foothills Conservancy see how their work fits into a broader effort to protect the Arroyo in a more grounded, authentic way than relationships between organizations that can often feel reactive or transactional.

> I think for a lot of organizations that are doing environmental work, there is a difficulty of mission. You can only really have one mission. You want to be inclusive and comprehensive in how you move towards that mission, and I think having that deeper context allows you to do that without diverting your mission towards other things that are still important, but trying to address it in alternative ways.
>
> ***It can help you see how what you’re doing is connected to everything else.***
>
> Yes, yes, without having to do a complete shift.

In this way, Privett-Mendoza suggested placekeeping could be an efficient way to build an effective and energizing coalition, something most organizations don't have the time or resources to invest in.

Feedback from the creative team

The other group to provide feedback on the overall project was the creative team of artists that I engaged. One of the primary topics we discussed in our debrief was the role that I asked them to play. Sarah Leddy of The Gold Collective provided a key insight:

> I think what you're trying to do is very complex, and all the different arts are so useful in a way, but what tool do you need to do the job. And what's the job? That's partly why I was interested in applying to begin with because artists affecting policy is not usual. That's not what we're usually up to, not that directly, unless you're doing protest theater, which is very didactic with the signs. I feel what you're doing is also about coalition-building, and the aim is not necessarily excellent art or beautiful art. Maybe something comes out it, but that's not really the point. The best thing I can say, and maybe I'm wrong about what you're thinking about it, but in translation of what I think is happening is that we're acting as consultants to get people to think differently and maybe to work together differently, so, a little bit like what art therapy or dance therapy does in getting people to shift a little bit and to think differently but also sparking creativity or being creative catalysts or creative consultants to get the people who are doing the "Let's make policy" kind of thing thinking differently. - 6/2/23

I found Leddy's framing of the artist role as being a creative consultant useful. To answer Leddy asking "What's the job?" I said that for Pasadena the job is breaking up concrete. The central dramaturgical question defines the job, and once a group knows the job, they are able to choose the tools, including specific art forms, to get the job done. In this process, the role of artist-as-creative-consultant was to help the "Let's make policy" people discover what the job is by finding the right question.

For me, a key concept in framing the role of the artist-as-creative-consultant was the "work-in-progress." Scacco zeroed in on this.

> I also just appreciate the work-in-progress feeling of it because I think that, number one, again, that is respectful of our time, but that's an insight that a lot of folks don't have into how artists work. And so, especially for an audience that might not be fluent in creative languages, it's also a novel experience for them to maybe understand some of the thought processes behind creative endeavors and maybe not see the finished product. So, I'm interested in what kind of feedback you get from folks about that. - 6/2/23

Despite my explanation of the artists' role before the Creative Dialogue Session, one member of the advisory group did relay back to me an expectation for a more polished product. And the artists themselves said they felt like impostors, uncertain over how best to step into this consultant role. This underscored how challenging it is to loosen the artist-audience roles and expectations within modern society and the importance of the project leader supporting both the artists and the audience in creating a more free-flowing creative exchange.

Similar to the advisory group, Leddy had questions about outcomes, though focused less on the "what" and more on the "why."

> Within that, I still have questions about well, what is the aim. Is it that we want the water in the Arroyo Seco to be healthier? Is it that we want to break up the concrete so the ecosystem can return? Is it to redistribute wealth? I think it's all of the things, which is what's so exciting about it, comprehensive, but sometimes it's hard to build around that level of broadness. But you've gone so deep, and you've gone so wide in what you're doing that you're playing a really important role. And I don't want you to be too discouraged because I feel what you're doing is so important. - 6/2/23

This led to a discussion about the role of art in creating change. Leddy said that creative placekeeping feels more like reform rather than revolution. She said that if the job is breaking up concrete, art might need to be more disruptive. Part of the reason that Lisa McNeely gravitated toward the character of Coyote in her presentation was her belief in provocation:

> Being a provocative artist is definitely the only reason why I make art. I don't want to do something that just makes everybody feel good afterwards. I want you to feel all kinds of things and be uncomfortable with what you feel, which was also my whole arc with the coyote piece as well. "I want you to love me and then I want you to be responsible for murdering me and hold that space for the rest of the meeting." That was my idea. - 6/10/23

Drawing from his show about Buckminster Fuller, D.W. Jacobs said that Fuller thought of himself as a "new former" rather than a "reformer," someone who creates something new that's compelling and draws organic support rather than expending energy fighting against the existing system. This prompted me to give the example of the golf courses in the Arroyo. Revolution would be taking out the golf courses; reform would be planting native trees along the fairways; new form would be re-engineering the golf course to act as a sponge to absorb stormwater and replenish the aquifer. Creative placekeeping leans toward discovering new forms, and this formulation factored into the theory of change for the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers that I outline below.

The artists uniformly appreciated the opportunity to meet together and share ideas and wished that there had been more time for their creative engagement to be more collaborative. McNeely expressed how important this was for her as a performer:

> Time is always super valuable, and I know it is the most difficult thing to create. But just the meeting together once we had all started ruminating on what we were going to create was super helpful. And I wanted more of that. I was able to weasel in some time with just Doug [D.W.] going to museums and talking about stuff. It is difficult to create art in an insular vacuum, especially since I was leaning more towards doing a more clown, kind of provocative, piece, I really wanted and needed somebody to watch me do it or people to buck ideas with, to see how they would respond so it wouldn't be so foreign to me once I was in a room with potentially thirty people. So, I wanted that even though I know of course that's super difficult. Our schedules are all so insane because we're artists and are hustling extra hard. That was super valuable to me, and I appreciated that one opportunity to get together and talk about what we were working on. - 6/2/23

Scacco agreed that meeting together was a highlight and suggested that allowing more time for this would be helpful.

> Everyone here is so smart and so interesting and even though we were working independently I felt like knowing everybody in the room was really helpful in developing my own work, even though I was terrified. "They're all performers, and I just, like, draw things." [Laughter] So, that would be my key suggestion is maybe make those one-hour meetings two hours so that folks have more time to get to know each other and really get into it. - 6/2/23

The artists also appreciated the short timeline of a month to create their works-in-progress. Jacobs expressed this most clearly.

> I think the thing to hold onto is an old phrase, 'Art is long and life is short.' The tight schedule is interesting because it creates immediacy. - 6/2/23

They shared that though they generally spent the allotted six to ten hours working on their pieces, they were ruminating on what to do throughout the month, and it was helpful to only have to carry this creative load for a short time. The artists appreciated the clear parameters I provided for time expectations and felt the compensation I provided was respectful of their time and expertise (see appendix 5).

Arroyo Seco Placekeepers proposal

Based on this feedback from the advisory group and the creative team and the key attributes for projects that the devising team identified, I drafted a proposal for Arroyo Seco Placekeepers to become an ongoing initiative. I presented an overview of this proposal during the last twenty minutes of the final meeting of the advisory group and the devising team on June 26, 2023. I asked participants to write down their feedback on the worksheets that I had distributed and mark what future roles they might want to fill. The proposal began with a presentation of a short- and long-term vision of organizational impacts, a theory of change, and a set of guiding concepts, which I add to below.

The vision of success for the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers included the following outcomes for the next ten years:

- Pasadena will be actively pursuing restoration of a living stream in the Central and Lower Arroyo;
- The 710 area will be a vibrant space where every demographic in the community feels welcome and draws inspiration from those whose struggle has made the area more just and sustainable;
- The percentage of school-age children enrolled in public school has increased to the point where Pasadena is comparable to other communities across the country;
- The Southwest Museum is a vital community hub;
- Confluence Park where the Arroyo Seco meets the Los Angeles River is under construction.

Long-term, the vision would expand to include the following:

- Steelhead trout have returned to the Arroyo;
- The Arroyo Seco Foundation's Arroyo River Parks plan has become the prototype for the Los Angeles River;
- Every new City staff person and elected official participates in an Arroyo work party as a rite of passage;
- Volunteering for the Arroyo has the same status as wearing a white jacket for the Tournament of Roses volunteers at the Rose Parade;
- The Arroyo is known nationwide as a center of placekeeping the same way it was known a century ago as a center of the Arts and Crafts movement, and people come to study the community spaces ASP has had a hand in creating in the same way they visit the Gamble House today.

Achieving these outcomes requires a theory of change that is viral in nature. Here, I used a formulation that Brian Biery offered during the devising workshop of "activating the imagination to change the paradigms that governs our relationship to Arroyo, to our economy, and to the past." Sometimes this activation process needs to disrupt the status quo while at the same time drawing people into creative dialogue. Biery spoke about how it is possible to change things by designing something beautiful that it creates a community demand. This is the same "new form" approach that Jacobs attributes to Buckminster Fuller. The design of something beautiful could apply to an environmental education center, a business, a youth program, or a pocket park. Upon reflection, "activating the imagination" sounds innocent and "changing the paradigms" is brash. Making the target of change our relationship to the Arroyo, the economy, and the past feels more substantial. There are layers to this theory of change that need more interrogation.

The next organizational element to craft would be a mission statement, but rather than taking this consequential step, I shared with the group two key concepts that emerged from the devising team discussion. The first is the goal of creating convivial common ground through storytelling and performance. This invokes both social relations and public parkland and measures them against a standard of vibrancy and fellowship. This function roots the ASP in ecological sustainability and justice, which I had identified as the priority for the pilot. The second concept is the idea of offering disruptive invitations, of challenging the status quo with Coyote energy but doing it in a way that invites dialogue, that comes with generosity and an open hand. There are additional concepts that could factor into a mission statement for the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers. These could include the use of stories to set strategy; the importance of finding the right question; the building of neighborhood culture through a discourse of plots,

characters, images, and words (e.g. the character of Coyote from McNeeley's presentation); the immanence of the past in the present; and using the lens of performance to understand what happens across a landscape and the potential this affords for direct and immediate change.

The final flip chart from the devising workshop (figure 86) was helpful in defining the function of Arroyo Seco Placekeepers, at least relative to Pasadena. At the final meeting, I suggested that ASP could specialize in two things: 1) interactive events, performances, and celebrations grounded in neighborhood history linked to 2) the (re)design of site-specific places and programs that build community (among people but also with the nonhuman world). To evaluate this formulation, I took all of the existing Arroyo projects compatible with ASP's goals and values and all the project ideas generated during the pilot and found they fit under one of these two functions. This led to a provisional log line for what ASP does - "Cultural planning and production of public storytelling, performances, parties, provocations, and site-specific projects that cultivate lasting joy in both human and nonhuman communities."

One of the most difficult questions is what organizational form or identity is the best fit to serve these functions. I proposed the initiative retain its status as an informal collective or placekeeping ensemble in the near-term. It could become a non-profit organization, a cooperative of creative workers, or a production company in the future, but the greatest need now is to demonstrate tangible success in order to attract supporters and allies. Functionally, Arroyo Seco Placekeepers should take the form of a creative production team that carries out residencies initially in the different neighborhoods within the Arroyo.

The different roles that participants can fill in the group also need definition. Managing the production process illustrated in figure 28 requires at least one person who can serve as the Artistic Director. There then needs to be a group of volunteers devoted to creative placekeeping

as a practice that can take initiative to organize gatherings, volunteer for events, and when necessary, attend meetings and guide decision-making. This would be the board of directors if ASP became a non-profit organization. A primary job of this group would be to build and support an organizational culture grounded in the values I articulated at the beginning of the pilot-respect, reciprocity, openness, creativity, and belonging-and that the group practices through convivial gatherings these individuals would help organize. Heather Hoggan, co-president of the Arroyo Arts Collective, said finding individuals with a deep belief in cultural organizing will be crucial.

> If you don't start with a core group of people who understand that they aren't going to get anything out of it other than the satisfaction of doing something, these things don't work. Those are the people that are going to stick by you and go to those workshops and step-up and volunteer and be there when you need them. You just have to find that core group of people. And it's getting harder because people need to work, and they need to make money, and they're working a couple of different jobs or they got kids now or they got this or that. It's not like when I first started and everybody was like, "Hey, you know what, I don't mind doing all this for free. I'll just do it." - 2/23/23

Initially the regular gatherings of this core group and satellite supporters would have a strong social component and take place quarterly with other opportunities for outings, workshops, devising sessions, and trainings interspersed across the year. Mark Valdez said that he would hope events and gatherings would be interactive.

> I love the walking tour that you did. Things like that where people can be active, do something that's going to be informative and interesting. I'm less interested in seeing a play or going to a meeting. Things that feel more like a festival or something that breaks the norm feels interesting. In terms of topics that I'm curious about in Los Angeles-environment, land, housing, transportation. And it feels like all of these things that you're doing somehow touch on all of these things. I'm interested in how these things start to stack up so you can kind of cross through them. The problems are just getting so big that I think folks are open to everything. People are desperate to know. How can we imagine what we want and talk to each other about what we want? - 1/27/23

As Elerding suggested above, the group could provide inspiration, ideas, feedback, and strategizing on issues or works-in-progress that members bring in to share. This group would also be ambassadors to interested community members, help the Artistic Director build networks across the Arroyo, and assist in publicizing and documenting activities related creative placekeeping already happening in the watershed through a website or social media presence. In order to validate participants' expertise, having them share skills or explain their work could be a feature of this group. For example, Privett-Mendoza said that a field trip from Millard Canyon to Cottonwood Canyon could simulate the route that wildlife takes from the San Gabriel Mountains to the San Rafael Hills. Ideally, the collective would have the skills to carry out all the production elements listed in appendix 45, and this list could provide a guide for recruitment. Beyond the advisory group, additional roles include collaborating artists and project partners as well as friends or supporters who could at some point become dues-paying members of a growing and prosperous organization.

In my mind, the pilot project validated the four-phase production cycle for generating and implementing project ideas. The question is how to sustain this cycle over an extended time period, especially given its open-ended nature, a challenge shared with most arts-producing organizations. The program budget for the pilot came in just short of $14,000. But two years of funding for my role as a full-time graduate student researcher would cost roughly $150,000. The pilot for Arroyo Seco Placekeepers generated three project ideas that are multidimensional in their scope and execution. The Unpave Pasadena campaign lashes together landscape design, business development, and pop-up performances. Activate the 710 combines an event series with a place-based education initiative. It is difficult to imagine forecasting such projects and making a strong case for their merits within a grant proposal without the research, analysis, and

community dialogue to inform an explanation of how they will work and why they fit the landscape and the community. But finding funding for such research and a devising process without a definitive outcome in place also faces long odds. One realization from this research is that these different phases should draw from different funding sources.

The project development phase that entails a great deal of networking, research, and analysis requires grants and contracts that explicitly support cultural planning. The pool for this type of funding is small. Research grants most often run through universities, and so partnerships with faculty at local colleges or universities such as Occidental College or Caltech would be one way to fund this phase of the production cycle. These costs also provide a strong argument for focusing the research and making strategic choices about what topics will provide the most insight into community dynamics. My own commitment to centering the more-than-human world and the narratives of Native people would make these the priority, combined perhaps with the stories of Arroyo advocacy, as the conflicts and controversies this recalls can be revealing. Researching the narratives of different neighborhoods provides a ready-made collaboration with neighborhood councils and associations, but this research takes a great deal of time when a thumbnail sketch acquired through a handful of one-hour interviews and a windshield driving tour might be sufficient. Limiting the scope of original research in favor of coordinating and connecting a consortium of organizations and academics already doing research might be a more practical approach. The focus on the 710-Freeway in Pasadena, for example, has surfaced a number of independent research efforts on neighborhood history. Curation of these efforts with the concrete goal of creating an exhibition or event series is another approach to garner support for the development phase of the placekeeping process.

Creating a web portal for the submission of images and text related to the Arroyo and neighborhood history might be a place to start.

The development phase of the cycle ends with the identification of key questions to hand over to a creative team of artists that brings them to life for community stakeholders. At this phase, local and state arts grants are likely the best source to provide compensation for the artists and sponsor the devising phase of the process. Within the pilot, this part of the process took roughly $5,000 of the total program budget, but this phase would benefit from being twice as long, which would require twice the budget.

Finally, once devised projects are ready to put into implementation, funding from local, state, and federal departments and agencies as well funding from larger foundations supporting creative placekeeping become a possibility. For example, the Measure W funding available for stormwater capture is a ready source of funds for the landscape design element of the Unpave Pasadena project. Mark Valdez, who has relationships with funders working at the intersection of arts and community development, was encouraging, especially about the potential of Arroyo Seco Placekeepers to connect diverse neighborhoods and professional disciplines across the watershed. This opens up the possibility to combine arts funding with infrastructure money or with support from foundations focused on education or the environment. The multidimensional nature of the projects provides a diverse set of entry points for potential funders.

Part of the rationale for the project is that, rather than competing for funds with existing organizations, ASP, through its role as a connector and coordinator, can funnel resources to grassroots groups and local artists that would be out of reach if they were working on their own. Absent status as a non-profit organization, all of this funding would have to move through a partner organization who would serve as a fiscal agent.

Arroyo Seco Placekeepers also would not be the only such networking organization in the Arroyo Seco. Tim Brick has plans to reconstitute the Council of Arroyo Seco Organizations (CASO) for which Arroyo-based organizations would make an annual contribution to support Arroyo-wide campaigns. He is also interested in coordinating small businesses across the watershed. The Arroyo Arts Collective works to connect creative artists to the community, with a particular focus on Northeast Los Angeles. Museums of the Arroyo has also existed as a consortium for decades and organizes a "free day" for patrons who want to visit the various institutions in Pasadena and Los Angeles with an Arroyo connection. What distinguishes ASP from these other efforts is the production cycle and intentional devising process. If these other networking organizations exist as hardware for the Arroyo, ASP is a particular piece of software that can plug into these networks to generate creative project ideas and attract resources into the watershed that help everyone to rise.

Conclusion

At the final meeting, the reaction to the proposal for how to make Arroyo Seco Placekeepers an ongoing initiative was generally positive, though feedback on the worksheets I had passed out was sparse. Participants approved of the idea of inclusive partnerships. There was a comment that there should be more focus on the more-than-human world. The meeting ended with a discussion of holding our first party/gathering in September of 2023. That gathering has not happened, primarily due to the need to finish the research for the neighborhood and recreation sections of this dissertation and assemble this document.

The work has advanced, however, in small ways. In addition to the walk events described earlier, I met with the coordinator of the City of Pasadena's stormwater program to discuss working together on an Unpave Pasadena campaign and the potential use of Measure W

funds. I have regularly attended the monthly meetings of the city's Reconnecting Communities 710 Advisory Group that first convened in the spring of 2023. In January of 2024, I met with the staff at the Armory Center for the Arts about applying to the National Endowment for the Arts' *Our Town* grant program to support the Activate the 710 program. They saw potential, and though they decided to forego applying in 2024, executive director Leslie Ito believes a focus on the 710 should be the next four to five-year program that the Armory takes on. I have organized a working group that has met seven times thus far about the place-based, K-12 curriculum element of the project. At the same time, the CREEC project has gained renewed momentum and additional partners, including the Tongva Taraxat Paxaavxa Conservancy. And I have a poetry campaign ready to launch as a way to advocate against the construction of the Rose Bowl's miniature golf course next to the flood control channel.

Central to the initial vision for the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers was extending the network of placekeepers downstream to the Los Angeles neighborhoods of Highland Park, Lincoln Heights, and smaller enclaves within the canyon. The best way to do this has been an ongoing topic of discussion. Jeremiah Axelrod, for example, sees the Lummis Home at Avenue 43 in Highland Park as a potential focal point while Ralph Waxman would like to see a campaign around the Southwest Museum, which has been closed since its takeover by the Autry Museum of the American West in 2004. The museum's tower, perched on Mt. Washington, is iconic and the clearest place in need of keeping within the neighborhood. In addition to the Arroyo Arts Collective, OxyArts, Rock Rose Gallery, Avenue 50 Studio, the Audubon Center at Debs Park, and the neighborhood councils could all serve as allies. Collaborative opportunities also exist closer to downtown in Lincoln Heights and Cypress Park around the confluence of the Arroyo with the Los Angeles River. Metabolic Studio and Clockshop are two arts organizations that are

using the arts to activate spaces along the Los Angeles River. There is also a raft of environmental organizations at the Los Angeles River Center at Avenue 26 and Figueroa Boulevard that could join a future advisory group. In this portion of the Arroyo, the long-stalled vision for Confluence Park, tucked in between freeway ramps and bridges, could become a focus. Field trips to these locations could provide the agenda for several gatherings once this dissertation is done.

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Chapter 8: Conclusion

The impact of creative placekeeping work can take time to reveal itself. One of the surprising legacies of the first ArroyoFest in 2003 was that it proved there was an audience for these sorts of "open streets" events in Los Angeles. Since the 1970s, major cities in Colombia have shut down main thoroughfares on Sunday mornings to allow cyclists and pedestrians more room to use the streets as public parks. With the precedent set by ArroyoFest, the organizers of CicLAvia began working with public agencies to organize similar events in Los Angeles, not on freeways, but on major boulevards across Los Angeles. The first event took place in 2010 and since then, more than 1.8 million people have participated in 58 CicLAvia events, exploring 336 miles of streets (CicLAvia 2025). The events have been so successful, at times attracting over 100,000 people, that the bike and pedestrian group ActiveSGV began organizing their own "open streets" events for cities in the San Gabriel Valley. In 2018, this group decided it was time to organize ArroyoFest 2.0.

Another surprising legacy of the first ArroyoFest was its staying power in the public's imagination. At the time, neighbors along the Parkway, many of whom sat in lawn chairs to take in the procession, referred to it as "the happening," but we didn't realize how the magic of the day would linger in people's memory and create a demand to do it again. Wes Reutimann, a resident of the Linda Vista neighborhood and the co-founder of ActiveSGV, took the lead organizing the event with funding from the Metropolitan Transit Authority. Despite having secure funding, the process again was not easy. The pandemic caused a postponement and planning proved complex. But on October 29, 2023, 4,000 runners poured down Mission Street in South Pasadena and onto the Parkway enjoying an early morning 10K-run. This time I was ready with my bicycle and pedaled all the way down to Avenue 26 in Lincoln Heights and then

back up to Pasadena before switching to the southbound lanes and walking back to Sycamore Grove Park, where the Highland Park Neighborhood Council had organized its now-annual Lummis Days Festival.



Figure 95. *A teenage cover band at the York Boulevard exit during ArroyoFest 2.0*

In 2003, one of the most impressive aspects of the event was how the canyon fell silent without its regular river of automobiles. In 2023, silence was in short supply because of the sheer number of people who came out for the event. Official estimates put the total just shy of 50,000 people, a tenfold increase from the first ArroyoFest. Every type of bike was on display, and often cyclists had to stop because they clogged the road's three lanes. On the other side of the road's low barrier, walkers, runners, equestrians, rollerbladers, razor scooters, all celebrated being able to experience their morning commute from a new vantage point. People wore

costumes; someone rolled a piano onto the freeway, people strung hammocks between the trees in the median, a teenage garage band set up at the York Boulevard exit and started playing covers. The city had found a literal avenue for spontaneous self-expression, pent-up energy from the pandemic finally finding its wonderful release.



Figure 96. *A portion of the almost 50,000 people who participated in ArroyoFest 2.0.*

For me, the event felt like the culmination of a single moment that had lasted for two decades as I linked what was happening all around me to the conference table around which our initial planning meetings took place and the office that I often closed well past 10 p.m. on weekends, working on some loose end for an event that most thought would never actually happen. This is all to say that the somewhat indeterminate conclusion of the pilot phase and uncertain future of the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers is not a cause of consternation. In time, its lessons will find their

home. At this moment, however, it is worthwhile to return to the intentions for the project and draw some provisional conclusions

A return to the research questions

The specific research question I chose for this dissertation was "What opportunities to increase the diversity and vibrancy of community networks come from comparing the types of stories people tell about their local landscape?" Here, diversity and vibrancy serve as a stand-in for the social cohesion that researchers agree is essential for successful community-based conservation (Calfucura 2018; Ostrom 1990; Singleton 2002). The comparison of the types of stories in this dissertation occurred through a narrative analysis and synthesis process while the dramaturgical questions the process generated represent the opportunities I was searching for. Now at the culmination of this project, a more concise statement of this research question might be, "How effective is a dramaturgical approach at creating the social cohesion necessary for community-based conservation?" This is, of course, a long-term question and so the evidence is incomplete, but initial signs are promising.

Relative to diversity, this approach identified the Quest for Wholeness as a shared narrative for neighborhood leaders, Native people, and advocates of racial reconciliation; this narrative also matches the stories suggested by urban and historical ecology. A broadly shared narrative can help diverse groups stick together despite their different priorities and backgrounds. The synthesis of different stories also linked the control of the River and exploitation of the natural environment with the attempt to control the movements of Pasadena's communities of color. This framing, if Arroyo advocates choose to use it in discussing the Arroyo's past, holds potential to engage a diverse coalition. This analysis also led to a recognition of how important the re-purposing of Pasadena's portion of the 710 Freeway is the

Quest for Wholeness; preliminary work on Activate the 710 campaign has already resulted in engagement with a multi-racial group of community stakeholders. I did also receive positive feedback on the diversity of stakeholders attending the Creative Dialogue Session, which could form the nucleus of the diverse network of placekeepers that ASP hopes to foster.

In one of its early attempts at evaluation, ArtPlace America gathered together metrics from the census related to economic performance and named them "Vibrancy Indicators." In the minds of cultural organizers, "vibrancy" became a proxy for gentrification, tarnishing the word. In this dissertation, vibrancy refers to a network of people rather than a measure of real estate, and it appeared in the positive energy surrounding the two public events and the meetings with the creative team of artists. The attendance at two subsequent walk events and the partnership with the Armory Center to advance the Activate the 710 campaign have carried vibrancy as well. Vibrancy to me suggests vibration and is something that I could sense in the four questions that I presented as prompts to the creative team of artists. The questions each had enough complexity to support different interpretations and forced people to pause and reflect, almost like a poem. This sense of vibrancy gave me confidence that these were the right questions to ask the group.

I also outlined several more specific questions in the introduction to which I can give an initial response.

How compatible are stories of different people and groups in the Arroyo Seco? - I was surprised how compatible the stories were and how the various narrative threads for each part of the analysis found a place beneath the central storyline of a Quest for Wholeness. The racist organizers of redlining, racial covenants, and school segregation were, from their perspective, trying to preserve a wholeness that they viewed as threatened. This is disturbing but useful

because it points toward a common aspiration and the deeper questions of, “What does wholeness mean? What does it feel like?” These questions are substantial and might be a productive place to start a dialogue about racial reconciliation in Pasadena. The stories of current residents not only felt compatible with one another but also compatible with the stories of past generations. The wound that school district president Renatta Cooper mentioned at the end of chapter 2 today has currency in the discussions of the restorative justice surrounding the 710 Freeway but also relates to children of John Brown and strong partisan ties people had coming out of the Civil War and that were still fresh in 1874 when the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association purchased the land that would become Pasadena. The durability of community narratives, at least in Pasadena, has been impressive.

How compatible are human stories of the Arroyo with stories enacted by the more-than-human world? - The wound described above becomes gaping when one stops to acknowledge the full scope of habitat destruction in the Arroyo and across Pasadena over the past 150 years. While the flood control channel is easy to associate with a wound, a vandalism of the River itself, the more profound impact on the area’s ecology has been the drawing down of the Raymond Basin aquifer that has left a desiccated land that residents keep green by importing water that is becoming prohibitively expensive. The metaphor of concrete as applicable to the River, the groundwater basin, social relations, and power dynamics within Pasadena also provides an effective frame for the Unpave Pasadena campaign and point toward community discussion that will, by necessity, draw upon the lived experience of the more-than-human world.

How do these stories show up in the performance of the landscape, the daily rituals, special events, and organizational dynamics that constitute everyday life in the watershed? And what does this reveal about local power dynamics?

This is essentially the same question that Molotch et al. (2000) answered when studying Ventura and Santa Barbara. It asks what is included in the lash-up for Pasadena and the Arroyo. The answers are diverse and might include the Rose Bowl's Party of the Century inside the stadium and the walkers, runners and cyclists circling them on the outside on their own quest for health. As stated above, the 710 ditch and the flood control channel express these stories in the landscape, but Desiderio Park does as well, with two bridges crossing the Arroyo near the park reflecting two different economic eras. The contrast of luxury condos towering above the Habitat for Humanity bungalows perfectly expresses Pasadena's struggle to make housing affordable and the Tale of Two Pasadenas storyline that is simply the latest version of a class-based narrative that reaches back to the city's founding (see appendix 27). Power dynamics are evident in the fact that the Rose Bowl Legacy Foundation just announced they have plans to raise $30 million to install a new videoboard along the rim of the stadium at the same time that the City continues slow walk granting use of the land in Hahamongna Watershed Park by the coalition of environmental, arts, and tribal groups hoping to build the Climate Resilience Environmental Education Center (CREEC) so they can start a fundraising campaign of their own. The clearest manifestation of the Quest for Wholeness is, of course, Pasadena's New Year's Day festivities of the Rose Parade and Rose Bowl football game, celebrations marking a fresh start and a new year, a ritual restoration of wholeness broadcast out to the entire world. But this list is by no means exhaustive. With an eye trained to spot the performance of a particular story line, more instances would certainly come into view.

How does our understanding of the Arroyo Seco change when we center the stories of Indigenous peoples? - The underlying story of Gabrieleno/Tongva people emerging from this research is a quest for health and home that aligns with the larger, shared narrative of a Quest for Wholeness. This is not to subsume the first within the second. The profound dislocation, displacement, and violence that Gabrieleno/Tongva populations faced is not comparable with White settler angst, but it does suggest there is a shared aspiration that could be the basis for discussion. Does wholeness mean additional transfers of land to the Tongva Taraxat Paxaavxa Conservancy or other Native groups? Tending to Native sovereignty and aspirations was one of the measures of belonging identified for the City of Oakland's cultural plan (Raya and deVuono-powell 2024). I was heartened throughout this research by how many individuals discussed recognition and justice for Gabrieleno/Tongva people. Centering the story of these families also moves an understanding of the Arroyo Seco to a longer timeline and gives the situation a more hopeful cast. Perseverance and mutual support have strengthened Gabrieleno/Tongva presence in the region. Collectively, their story is one of determination and adaptation, which everyone should feel heartened by and take lessons from. While the Native American people that I spoke with identified greater visibility as a priority for Gabrieleno/Tongva groups, cultural organizers need to allow these groups to define the nature and scope of that visibility around the Arroyo.

How do these local stories interact with larger narratives enacted at regional, national, and global scales? - This question provides a transition to the next section. Beyond answers to these specific research questions, this dissertation collected data on three things: the Arroyo Seco and its adjacent neighborhoods, a production process for creative placekeeping projects (see figure 28), and information on how to support this production process over the long-term and build a

network of placekeepers for the Arroyo Seco watershed. To maximize the learning from this exercise, the remainder of this concluding chapter reflects on each level of analysis in turn, beginning with how the stories of the Arroyo relate to narratives about Los Angeles as a city and region that I touched on in the introduction.

On the Arroyo Seco and Los Angeles

The past and current dynamics surrounding the Arroyo illuminate different aspects of land-use planning in Los Angeles. The first is the inadequacies of disconnected and detached planning processes, even from illustrious firms such as Olmstead Brothers and Harland Bartholomew & Associates. Their 1930 plan to run a parkway through Pasadena's Lower Arroyo up to Devil's Gate Dam was not new. Leaders in Los Angeles and Pasadena had been discussing this idea for decades ("Advances work on Arroyo Seco Park" 1912; Cox 1911; Mische 1922). But by 1929, Ernest Batchelder and his neighbors along the Lower Arroyo had already fought and won their battle against the Pasadena Realty Board and the Regional Planning Commission and convinced the Pasadena Chamber of Commerce that the plan was unworkable (see appendix 27). All of South Arroyo Boulevard along the canyon rim would have become part of the proposed parkway, and the engineers would have needed to fill in the Lower Arroyo's canyon, which would have been an engineering and political nightmare. Olmstead and Bartholomew clearly needed a more detailed survey of the area and community consultation. The Olmstead-Bartholomew Plan contrasts sharply with the placekeeping ethics that I describe in the introduction, which calls for working with the community to co-design neighborhood parks, transit hubs, and public common spaces. While beautifully written and illustrated, the plan was the work of a handful of planners in a studio rather than a deep conversation with communities about their needs and desired outcomes. Shannon et al. (2023) say that the

equitable placekeepers in Los Angeles that they profile actively subvert the traditional top-down planning paradigm. Similarly, in writing about the Los Angeles River, Goldstein et al. (2015) suggest that a central responsibility of planners should be to engage communities in inclusive, collective storytelling, for this is how stakeholders find the ability to articulate a foundational narrative that “even in its simplest form, is then codified and recodified in a stream of planning reports, circulars, ordinances and even institutional designs" (1290) This is one goal of the Activate the 710 project, which will use the arts to translate the information the City is collecting about the historic displacement into stories that people can understand. These stories can beget others and help Pasadena consider a more just and sustainable foundational story for the 21st century. As Goldstein et al. (2015) say, "Change the story, and you change the city."

A second aspect of Los Angeles land-use planning that the Arroyo’s story highlights is the grip that capitalism, and, in particular, property values, has on the process. As with the Los Angeles River, the Arroyo illustrates how open space becomes cramped and compromised when economic interests drive the planning conversation (Davis 1996). The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce commissioned the 1930 Olmstead-Bartholomew Plan as a means to boost tourism, investment, and property values across the region. But removing large swaths of real estate from the market to create public common spaces and granting a public body decision-making power over the landscape created too much uncertainty for the Chamber despite the promise of broad-based economic returns (Hise et al. 2000). Creative placekeeping in Los Angeles must recover the path not taken with the rejection of the Olmstead-Bartholomew Plan and secure protections that remove land from the market, through public ownership, conservancies, or community land trusts. In the most practical terms, placekeeping is about commoning real estate. But the Arroyo’s story also shows how creative placekeeping must advance alternative economic

models to contribute to a just and sustainable future. This includes aggressively re-framing the meaning of wealth for the general public and building into projects opportunities for community wealthbuilding that keep money circulating locally, support local food systems, or promote worker cooperatives and zero-waste businesses (Shannon et al. 2023; Webster et al. 2021 – see appendix 27). At a minimum, new designs for the 710 Freeway in Pasadena should use space to subsidize locally-owned business and artists by creating a public market or including common spaces that permit flower and food carts, newsstands, and tables for artisan makers. The proposal for Unpave Pasadena includes an explicit focus on building up the economic sector around water conservation and regenerative landscaping as well as working with Outward Bound Adventures to start a landscaping cooperative as part of their career education and workforce development program. Countering real estate speculation could also mean leaning into *rasquachification*, vernacular art, and regional architectural forms, and moving away from a cosmopolitan aesthetics that target anywhere audiences (Bedoya 2014). Placekeepers should consider ways to make places illegible to footloose capital.

The rejection of the Olmstead-Bartholomew Plan underscored the challenges of regional planning in Southern California but also the need to link neighborhood initiatives to regional frameworks as a matter of social justice and sustainability (Hise et al. 2000). The Arroyo can contribute to current regional conversations related to housing, transportation, water, and river restoration. In terms of housing, the State of California has approved the housing element of Pasadena's General Plan, after sending it back several times for revision. Still, there is anxiety over what the need for affordable housing will mean for the neighborhoods along the Arroyo. Habitat for Humanity's bungalow court next to Desiderio Park in the Arroyo is one example of affordable, single-family homes that most acknowledge fit the character of the Lower Arroyo

(see appendix 27). But these homes could be a model for the city in more ways than just design. These low-density projects are often hard for private developers to make profitable, so replicating the partnership between the City and Habitat for Humanity for the Desiderio project with other nonprofit developers deserves attention. For transportation, much of what happens with the 710 "ditch" will depend moving vehicles through the new neighborhood. Designers are currently contemplating ways to use the northern edge of the area's fifty acres for a public transit hub that could help remove cars from the road. There is also proposals for a pedestrian and bike path from City Hall down into the Arroyo, called Arroyo Link, that would allow the residents of the new 710 neighborhood ready access to recreation opportunities in the Arroyo (Wolf 2019). The Unpave Pasadena campaign would position the city and the Arroyo as the center of water conservation, river restoration, and regenerative landscaping for the entire region. This idea of looking at the Arroyo as a proving ground and exemplar for the region could also apply to the CREEC project. Outward Bound Adventures is already a pioneer in connecting communities of color to outdoor experiences and conservation careers. CREEC could become a regional training center for environmental education, especially if it hosted programs and projects focused on urban ecology, backyard habitat restoration, daylighting urban streams, and Indigenous land management. The global profile of the Rose Parade, Rose Bowl, and Jet Propulsion Laboratory affords opportunities to spread the impact of any innovations that Pasadena discovers in addressing these problems.

Culturally, my findings largely parallel Barraclough's research on the San Fernando Valley (Barraclough 2011). Pasadena traveled a similar trajectory to the Valley but much earlier. The initial stage of gentleman farming that Barraclough discusses in the Valley was essentially over by the turn of the century in Pasadena. Rather than rural character functioning as a

repository for White identity, the cultural touchstone in Pasadena and in the neighborhoods along the Arroyo was the English aristocracy. The Campbell-Johnstons were explicit in their attempts to create an English estate in San Rafael with sheep grazing and golf as essential elements of a curated landscape (see appendix 30). The Anglophilic tastes of Henry Huntington shaped the aesthetic of his library and gardens once his estate became a public research institution.[81] The Shakespeare Club was a women's literary society whose first clubhouse was a replica of Anne Hathaway's cottage located where Lincoln Avenue and Fair Oaks came together (see appendices 24, 26, and 28). The Valley Hunt Club regularly organized the local version of an English fox hunt, complete with hounds and riding parties. Adolphus Busch hired Robert Gordon Fraser, a Scotsman, to design his gardens that spilled down into the Arroyo (see appendix 27). Just as Barraclough cites the horse ranch as a landscape central to the production of White privilege, Pasadena's White leaders tried to use the Arroyo to reinforce their status. This is one way to understand the segregation at the Brookside Plunge. But in comparison, communities of color in Pasadena were more militant in contesting White supremacy in Pasadena than in the Valley. Communities of color had a presence in the Arroyo from the earliest days of settlement, including Robert Owen's home in the mountain Arroyo in the 1850s, the Indian Flat settlement in the Linda Vista area, and the houses of Mexican Americans in the woodlots and clearings throughout the canyons ("Negro Canyon History is Recalled" 1930; Linda Vista History Book Committee 1988; Wing 1935). African Americans protested immediately after the city restricted use of the pool; they continually used Brookside Park and occasionally made use of the Rose Bowl, even during the 1920s and '30s when White

[81] The Huntington Library, Art Museum, and Botanical Garden is next to the city boundary with Pasadena in the adjacent city of San Marino, CA. The first public parks grew from the English aristocracy enclosing the commons and turning them into private estates, so the entire conception of turning the Arroyo into a park aligns with the ideals of aristocratic rule (Byrne and Wolch 2009).

supremacy was on the rise. Highlighting the history of these community efforts rather than monuments to White aristocracy is one of the roles that Arroyo Seco Placekeepers can play.

The importance of defending boundaries to the stories of neighborhood development that I describe in chapter 5, validates Nicolaides' narrative of Pasadena as a diverse city in which many White families have carved out a separate existence and school campuses function as sites of cohesion or division (Nicolaides 2024). The different story patterns across these neighborhoods also confirm her statement that how the issues surrounding zoning, schooling, architecture, and advocacy play out is site-specific. As Nicolaides shows, people of all races who have achieved suburban homeownership have embraced protective measures to defend against perceived threats to their property values. My findings put these actions into the broader narrative context of a "Quest for Wholeness" and prompts the question of what wholeness means since it can refer to efforts to keep people out of a neighborhood as well as efforts to heal racial trauma and achieve restorative justice; it can refer to human health or to restoring ecological function to an ecosystem. These different gateways into a discussion of wholeness relate to space, but it is worth asking what wholeness looks like over time. Wholes require closure, just as the Rose Bowl closed the horseshoe at its south end and became a true "bowl" stadium starting in 1928. But closure can freeze things in place and prevent adaptation (see appendix 29). How can wholeness evolve and maintain its integrity? Here again, the more-than-human world and how it adjusts to disturbance can be instructive. The neighborhood most primed to answer this question is the East Arroyo (see appendix 28). It is one place where the color line broke down and where there has been a balance of different races and classes across the 20th century. Residents here have had to adapt to the construction of the 210 Freeway and have tried for decades to redevelop Lincoln Avenue without triggering gentrification. The East

Arroyo will be where these questions of wholeness will be most salient, especially as the 710 Freeway neighborhood comes on-line and makes the area an even more desirable place to live.

On the production process

Planner, geographer, and UC Davis professor Michael Rios supports and studies community-driven placemaking and says that he is most interested in scholarship that discusses the challenges to arts-based community development:

> I think more about the critical evaluation of creative placemaking, not as a way to undermine the work but actually as a way to elevate it further, to make it more substantive. A lot of the research is really promoting this work, legitimizing this work, and I believe in it. But I think we really have to step back and understand some of its limits and find ways to get that research back to [those who] practice so that those issues get addressed over time. (Johnson et al. 2019, 152)

The feedback from members of ASP's community advisory group and creative team of artists as well as my own reflections on the placekeeping process surfaced specific challenges for devising creative projects. I review these challenges below using the four phases of the project production process I illustrated with figure 28 in chapter 3. While this organization of the process is my own and not something that many practitioners share, walking through the challenges I encountered from start to finish will hopefully prove helpful to other co-creative placekeepers. This represents lessons from the second category of data to come from the project.

Reflection phase

The reflection phase of the production cycle is where one gathers background on the geographic or issue area that will be the focus of the work and decides on the scale and scope of the research to support the planning process. It is also where one recruits community members

to serve an advisory group and decision-making body. These are difficult decisions and they are related.

The decision on scale and scope of the research should come first. While Molotch et al. (2000) suggest the importance of studying particular communities or neighborhoods with a wide-angle lens, the six topics I chose to research for Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo were too wide to be practical and required extending the development phase by six to eight months. The dramaturgical method I used requires researching each topic to a depth to where particular characters, scenes, and decisions come into view. To critique existing narratives or create new ones means having the basic building blocks for a story and enough evidence to anchor one's interpretation. Candidates for potential storylines or sub-plots to follow emerge during the course of the research and require exploration. Not all of these explorations bear fruit. This makes it difficult to accurately estimate the amount of time required for research and suggests research commitments should remain small at the beginning so there is room to grow.

In describing their research on the lash-up for Ventura and Santa Barbara, Molotch et al. (2000) say the pervasive nature of a community performing itself into being means that, wherever you start, your analysis will likely converge on some central conclusions. "It further follows that if the local ways of doing things are 'everywhere,' there is no need to debate whether research should begin or center on the economy, civic organization, architecture, or nature. Given a focus on connective tissues among all of them, where to start becomes a matter of research resources and accessibility" (817). In their study of Ventura and Santa Barbara, they started with oil development and freeways because they were of a large enough magnitude to impact the landscape and generated lots of data. I unintentionally tested this principle because I conducted an initial synthesis of the data before finishing research on neighborhood

development or recreational access. The conclusions from this research fortified the emerging narrative rather than sending the investigation in a new direction.

My biases suggest that any geographic creative placekeeping project should include research on the more-than-human narratives embodied in the geologic record and the historical ecology of the landscape. Understanding how water, a currency for all forms of life, moves through the landscape is especially important. I believe research should also include engagement with Native American communities to understand what wisdom comes from centering their experience with the landscape and what information can best serve their interests and needs. Finally, research on previous cultural organizing efforts in the area is important for no other reason than to honor past work and understand the context for one's creative community work (Johnson et al. 2019). Beyond this, I feel the reflection phase can initially sustain one other topic of importance within a neighborhood area similar to what I have studied here. As stated above, understanding efforts at community wealthbuilding that can move neighborhoods away from dynamics of division, competition, and exploitation inherent in extractive capitalism will be helpful in devising effective and powerful projects and should receive strong consideration.

The broader the geographic area one focuses on, the more important it is to narrow the scope of the research. In discussing how to approach working in the neighborhoods along the Parkway in Highland Park, Jeremiah Axelrod advocated for using the Lummis Home as a focal point, arguing that focusing on a specific site would allow me to compare the efficacy of researching at a micro-scale versus the broad geographic net I cast for this dissertation. He said the Lummis Home, which is under the supervision of Los Angeles Department of Recreation and Parks, is also a good location for convivial gatherings that could carry on the legacy of

Lummis' salons and parties from an earlier era. I wondered if choosing a single site would narrow the frame of issues and hence narrow the potential coalition. But Axelrod said that I could go into the process knowing that gentrification would be the primary issue dominating neighborhood discourse. Choosing a single issue would be another way to reduce the research burden. A third approach would be to form an interdisciplinary team where people with a particular expertise such as the natural sciences could take on the historical ecology research while an artist could research the arts sector and a planner could dig into the local dynamics around housing.

This speaks to the other task during the reflection phase: recruitment of a community advisory group. My experience with the pilot project exposed the challenge of describing creative placekeeping in order to accurately set expectations for prospective members of an advisory group. This requires clarifying for artists that they are serving the role of creative consultants rather than artmakers. Those without a professional arts background must understand that the process will require them to explore their own creative capacities and look upon whatever expertise they provide as a creative contribution. More reflection on how to present creative placekeeping and orient members of an advisory group is necessary. The other challenge with recruitment is finding ways to make the process valuable for the organizations and agencies that participate. Spending more time with the leadership of participating organizations at the outset to discuss their challenges would be helpful. Members of the advisory group found benefits in meeting one another, the research I presented in the videos, and the public events, but there are additional benefits in helping an organization understand how their work fits into the larger story of the community. A dramaturgical analysis can illuminate the deep context for the performance of their mission (Johnson et al. 2019).

Development phase

Once the topics to research are clear and members of the community advisory group are in place, the development phase starts where everyone makes discoveries about the community. One of the main challenges during this phase is socializing the research and analysis process. Data collection consists of library research, field trips, interviews, and public events. Ideally, this work is collaborative and communal, with a broad sharing of expertise and knowledge across the group. For the pilot, I took on all the research myself. This not only slowed the work, but did not model the co-creative practice that should be at the heart of creative placekeeping. Shannon et al. (2023) describes the participatory ideal:

> Co-Creative artists use their art practice as a central element of their process. Second, and consequently, they enter alliances without any predetermined notions about what strategies will work best in a particular context. In this way, they differ from social practice artists who are participatory in that they often consult with residents and civic leaders prior to making their artifacts. In the Co-Creative praxis, community members make the decisions and act on them. The artists serve as conduits, using their skills and creativity to support community efforts. (4)

The premise of the pilot was that deeper research and a dramaturgical analysis would generate more transformative placekeeping projects. Based on the pilot, I believe this is true. But making neighborhood research, and especially a dramaturgical analysis, a participatory affair requires time, training, compensation, and coordination. It also means simplifying collection, curation, and analysis protocols. In the context of international development, participatory and rapid rural appraisals achieve this simplification of tools and methods precisely to establish the collaborative process required for co-creative placekeeping (Chambers 1994). There are significant benefits to this approach but material costs that I could not sustain for this dissertation.

Even with collaborative community-based research, balancing planning versus product is important. Artists will want to make something. Issue advocates will want to do something, preferably about their particular issue. Holding this urgency at bay until the group has a sense of the area's stories and the dramaturgical questions to ask the community is difficult. One thing the research does do, however, is provide material to share at public events. These were the most successful elements of the pilot project and what I would expand in the future. As the exchange with Brian Elerding that I shared in chapter 7 revealed, there is room for arts groups to begin to make work before all the research and analysis is complete. The sharing of this work with the public and subsequent feedback and dialogue this can generate provides an additional batch of data that can further illuminate and clarify an emerging storyline. As with the creative team, these short engagements with the material through improvisations or works-in-progress would all focus on identifying the right question for more substantial devising.

Within this dramaturgical process, there are two places that can be particularly revealing. The first are the sore spots within the storytelling. These are where there are disagreements over language, debates over history, contested land, or unrecognized pain. Each of these instances prompts the question of what that soreness reveals about the lived experience of the community. Within the emotional dynamics under the surface of people's reactions will be strong hints at questions that can move the community forward. For example, a common story in Pasadena's African American community is that the land in the Central Arroyo underneath the Rose Bowl once belonged to an African American man whose family gave their property to the City of Pasadena for the enjoyment of all. This story refers to the homestead of Robert Owen, an African American who became one of the wealthiest landowners in early Los Angeles. He harvested lumber for the U.S. Army from El Prieto Canyon, which feeds into the Arroyo's

canyon a short distance north of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory. His daughter gave their land in El Prieto Canyon to the City of Pasadena as part of the City's purchase of land in the Arroyo's canyon to protect the city's water supply. The story of Robert Owen establishes an African American presence in the Arroyo three decades before the founding of Pasadena ("Negro Canyon History is Recalled" 1930). A local hiking club recently installed a marker in El Prieto Canyon to recognize his presence (Lowelifes Trail Crew 2021). But El Prieto Canyon is not near the Rose Bowl. This conflation occurs in a *Pasadena Journal* opinion piece in the year 2000 and then is repeated in Lynn Hudson's 2020 book *West of Jim Crow: The Fight against California's Color Line* (Clay 2000; Hudson 2020). The more important question is what this belief that African Americans gave the City the land for the Rose Bowl represents for those who hold this story and pass it on to others.

The challenge is, of course, many people do not want to reflect upon or address the emotions underneath contested topics. In this case, another tact to take is the converse, to note the points of pride and joy and ask about the origin and meaning of those acts, places, and people that represent the best of the city. Del Monte Street in the East Arroyo neighborhood, where Barbara Richardson King and Richard Castellano grew up, was a multiracial oasis in a deeply segregated city. It is one example of a place and situation that placekeeping can lift up (see appendix 28). Places where important stories have taken place for different groups of people are also important to pay attention to. These locations, like the site of the Brookside Plunge, materialize intersectionality and can be a place for coalition building. The northeast corner of Colorado and Orange Grove Boulevards is one such place (see appendix 27). The 710 ditch is another. Paying attention to shifts in the meaning of specific sites such as these can

provide a window into the story of the city and help shorten the research and planning part of the process.

Devising phase

The challenge of communicating about placekeeping I discuss above becomes acute in helping participants understand the mysterious process of devising. The emphasis on presenting "works-in-progress" put the creative team of artists at ease but was not typical for a contracted engagement. It also made the subsequent devising process more accessible for non-artists. At the same time, the routine segregation of the arts and artistry from normal life cast a shadow on what I hoped would be a free-flowing creative dialogue about the questions I posed to stakeholders and potential projects that Arroyo Seco Placekeepers could take on. Most creative placekeeping or placemaking projects have the basic parameters for the project set by the facilitating artists' expertise while the issue or topic remains open to public input. For example, the project will be producing a play or painting a mural. Having both the topic and the artistic medium open for discussion creates an extra degree of difficulty. This difficulty, however, might be warranted as not all mediums are a good match for a particular issue or community dynamic that placekeepers want to highlight. While the three-hour devising workshop helped define the types of projects ASP should pursue in the future, I estimate eight to twelve hours would be necessary to collaboratively develop projects comparable to those I presented to the community advisory group at the final meeting. This would be ideal, both in terms of building community support for the projects and maintaining the democratic spirit of the process. This is also just devising an idea for a project. Filling in this idea and working out the necessary specifics for implementation requires pulling other partners into the process. This is what is occurring now as the working group I have organized to create a K-12 arts-based curriculum on the 710 Freeway

begins to define the shape of the project and develop a budget and workplan for implementation. More models and tools for facilitating devising, especially between self-identified artists and non-artists, would help practitioners organize a process that is productive, joyful, and a true amalgam of cross-sector expertise.

One way to illustrate how the arts already penetrate everyday life and make artistry and devising feel more attainable for participants is to highlight local folk artists and vernacular forms of creativity. One aspect of research on Pasadena's arts and culture sector that I chose to abbreviate was a local inventory of these artforms. Pasadena and the Arroyo have a rich history of craft production linked to the architects Greene and Greene, Ernest Batchelder, and the Arroyo Guild, which was based out of what today are the Judson Studios in Garvanza. Many experts also rank Gabrieleno/Tongva basketry as some of the finest in North America. Artistry such as this, or Greene and Greene's use of Arroyo stone, that makes use of local materials can create an enduring and inspiring connection to the landscape (see appendix 26). Cooking, weaving, woodworking, and gardening are all forms of vernacular creativity that could emerge from a creative placekeeping devising process. But there are also surprises that research can unearth. Andrew Salimian, formerly of Pasadena Heritage, told me how the use of board-form concrete, where one can see the grains of the wood used to form the mold, is distinctive in the early-20th-century architecture in Pasadena. One of the best examples is visible in the Arroyo at the base of the Colorado Street Bridge in Desiderio Park.[82] Float-design and construction are also an endemic craft form to Pasadena that deserves more recognition and linkage to the city's arts programming.

[82] Personal interview, Andrew Salimian (6/17/22)

The work with the creative team of artists for the pilot project was a success. More time and resources would allow these artists to collaborate on presenting their works-in-progress, which they all expressed strong interest in. This wouldn't necessarily result in a single presentation. It would allow for more discussion of how to move people around the space where the Creative Dialogue Session or an equivalent event takes place, which would make this portion of the workshop more seamless. Not surprisingly the creative team was the group most eager to engage through metaphor and embodied experience with the Arroyo and the results of the research. Finding ways to infuse this spirit into the community advisory group, public events, and work with community stakeholders is deserving of exploration.

Finally, the dialogue among the creative team about whether the work of Arroyo Seco Placekeepers should strive for reform or revolution echoes an ongoing debate within the field of creative placekeeping between top-down or bottom-up approaches to the work (Basaraba 2023; Fitzgerald 2021; McKeown and Courage 2019; Pritchard 2019; Shannon et al. 2023; Umney and Symon 2020; Webster et al. 2021). Shannon et al. (2023) identify defiance as one of the core attributes of co-creative placekeeping in Los Angeles, which they break down into subversion, unity, and resistance. In the preface of Shannon et al (2023), Bedoya appreciates the ability of the featured artists to trouble extractive policy designs and be "poetic interlopers" that boost accountability to the land and the community. Within the pilot, Lisa McNeeley unleashed the chaotic energy of Coyote into the discussion, which became a touchstone for debate about what theory of change stands the greatest chance of success given social, emotional, and political concrete in Pasadena that often prevents needed adaptation and evolution. This debate became distilled down into the definition of one of ASP's core functions as presenting "disruptive invitations" to the public. The decision about how disruptive these invitations

should be will depend on the personalities of those involved, a strategic assessment of the most effective advocacy for a particular issue, and the role of ASP in relation to other organizations within a particular coalition. These decisions are where relationships with allies who understand local political dynamics are eminently useful. The promise of an arts-based approach to advocacy is that it can bridge the gap between human-scale experience and policy design, which by necessity discounts individual experience as it attempts to make larger systems more effective. By bridging these two scales, creative placekeeping can generate new approaches to urban policy, planning, and management. Placekeepin artists can become the "new formers" that D.W. Jacobs raised during the artist debrief session. This is one of the best arguments for embedding an artist or cultural organizer within local government.

Activation phase

The activation phase of the production process was not part of the research window for this dissertation and has only just begun with Unpave Pasadena and Activate the 710 projects. But this is the phase where one has to consider evaluation. Relative to the co-creative placekeeping happening in Los Angeles, Shannon et al. (2023) suggests that evaluation will depend on the nature of the project. "Success can be new, improved networks, a new generation of informed activists, and a new park and trail and journey. Some successes are ephemeral even if they are made of stone, others are material even if they consist of people meeting people (Figure 6.2)" (194). Taking a dramaturgical approach to creative placekeeping means thinking about the questions one would ask an audience after a show: about emotions during the course of the project or event, unanswered questions or points of confusion, memorable images or interactions that will linger. It also means looking for indications of impact in how people perform their daily lives. In dramaturgy, narrative analysis is ultimately in service to a

performance, which is something placekeepers can evaluate. For example, do people shift to native landscaping in their yard because of the Unpave Pasadena campaign; do they begin shopping at locally-owned nurseries; do they compost; do they participate in walking or native garden tours of neighborhoods beyond their own; do they advocate for removing the Arroyo's flood control? Attendance at an event is an embodied act and an important indicator but so is the energy in the room and level of interest and engagement. Building in opportunities to take an embodied action into the structure of an event is one way to measure this. A dramaturg also pays attention to language and so the transference of some of the metaphors, questions, or integration of specific verbs into official language such as "unpave" or "activate" could also be indications of impact. Finally, a dramaturg looks carefully at the logic of a story to understand what should or could happen next. This can play a role in evaluation. If the story is a "Quest for Wholeness," how do we measure wholeness and where does the community currently stand on that scale? What upcoming decisions could serve as turning points in that story? Building a program evaluation means linking a chain of indicators together at different scales. A dramaturgical approach will lean into the logic of a particular narrative to guide this process.

On sustaining a network of creative placekeepers

The third type of data that this research generated was preliminary reflections on how to carry this process to other portions of the Arroyo and cultivate a network of placekeepers for the Arroyo Seco Watershed. The final section of chapter 7 describes my proposal for Arroyo Seco Placekeepers to continue as a production ensemble and network focused on creating a more just and sustainable future for the Arroyo Seco watershed. This proposal includes a short- and long-term vision that ranged from removal of the flood control channel to the revival of the Southwest Museum campus as a dynamic cultural center to the realization of Confluence Park

at the Arroyo's junction with the Los Angeles River. This final section expands on this proposal and adds context from the writing and discussions in the arts and cultural sector. In the parlance of this sector, this section explores ways to support cultural organizers using creative placekeeping to advance community cultural development for the Arroyo Seco.

Confronting this challenge, I think back upon the Network for Ensemble Theater's MicroFest USA series of gatherings in 2012-2013 that I attended while pursuing my M.F.A. and working on *The Washing of the Water*. The gatherings in Detroit; the Appalachian communities of Knoxville, Tennessee and Harlan County, Kentucky; New Orleans; and Honolulu brought theater artists from around the country together with local artists and performers whose work advanced community development. Most of the discussion and subsequent writing was about the work, its lessons, how to measure its impact, and the support it needs to thrive. Shining in the background of these gatherings, however, was always the work of the cultural organizer the Network of Ensemble Theaters hired to coordinate these gatherings, Ashley Sparks. Sparks describes herself as a theatre maker, engagement strategist, facilitator, coach and consultant and received an M.F.A. in Directing and Public Dialogue from Virginia Tech University. In curating these miniature festivals/think tanks/learning exchanges, Sparks enriched the dialogue of the networks of artists and arts organizations in each city or region by asking them to share their connections to community development. This coordination is the closest I have seen to the creation of the network of creative placekeepers I envision for the Arroyo Seco. One of the points made in a final report on MicroFest USA written by Pam Korza (2013) was on the role that longstanding youth arts organizations, but especially community colleges, design schools, and universities, had played in sustaining these arts-based community development efforts within their communities:

> In Detroit, there is no local arts agency to provide leadership or infrastructure for an ongoing program like Community + Public Art: Detroit. The College for Creative Studies has supplied the community-based expertise of faculty to help design as well as administer the program. Higher Ground was initiated and is led by the Appalachian Program at Southeast Kentucky Community and Technical College in Harlan County. In New Orleans, Xavier and Tulane Universities have been instrumental in their own initiatives linking student engagement in arts, humanities, and design to the restoration of the city post-Katrina. In all these ways, colleges and universities are developing leadership and creating a pipeline of socially engaged artists and citizens. (25)

The other concept that weaving together a local network of creative placekeepers can draw upon is the Naturally-Occurring Cultural District (NOCD). Korza describes how NOCDs differ from conventional arts districts:

> The movement toward Naturally Occurring Cultural Districts (NOCD) is an important counterpoint to districts typically centered around major cultural institutions like symphonies and museums, typically the official projects of civic entities. NOCDs are self-determined by the artists, cultural groups, businesses, sympathetic officials, and community members in neighborhoods where distinct and naturally occurring layers of culture provide a vital and desirable mix for local people and may also be a destination for others. (25)

Many of the outings that Sparks organized for MicroFest USA took participants to these districts to talk with gallery owners, theatre groups, and developers about how they were negotiating changes in the real estate market and avoiding displacement. Mark Stern and Susan Siefert (2007) with the Social Impact of the Arts Project (SIAP) at the University of Pennsylvania have studied the economic and social impact of NOCDs on neighborhoods in Philadelphia and found that they typically add value to their neighborhoods without prompting displacement, likely because the district's arts organizations and businesses have deep roots in the neighborhood. They say maximizing the benefits of these districts requires a different approach to planning that is more about facilitating social connection than engineering neighborhoods to produce a particular outcome.

> Recognizing the importance of natural cultural districts to the metropolitan arts world turns our understanding of cultural planning and policy on its head. The goal of policy and planning should be to nurture grass-roots districts, remove impediments that prevent them from achieving their potential, and provide the resources they need to flourish. These self-organized districts are a gift to the city; we need policies to assure that the city take advantage of them. (5)

The corridor of neighborhoods along the Arroyo is long enough that it could contain several Naturally-Occurring Cultural Districts. What I find helpful here is the recognition that arts and cultural organizations and businesses often self-organize for their own collective benefit. Understanding how best to support that self-organization is the question that needs more attention. Korza agrees: "Questions of how to ensure and sustain healthy communities and the role of arts and culture in making and maintaining vital and just places loom large. They are outside the scope of MicroFest or NET alone to tackle, and they remain for the field at large to address" (Korza 2013, 9). As I discuss in the introduction, ArtPlace America took on this challenge, but their approach focused more on cultivating creative placemaking in particular sectors but not in particular places or how to identify the particular opportunities and challenges when working within a particular geography. I asked Mark Valdez about whether cultivating place-based networks was part of the national conversation about art, culture, and community development.

> I think it's not being thought about. Within the process itself, it happens. A bunch of that happens through working on the projects and outcomes. It's a collateral benefit or accident of working on the concrete project. I've been at tables where people have named that larger process, but I don't know that people are writing about it or putting it in the center. I think people talk broadly about the side benefits, and it's often listed as a benefit rather than an intention. I don't think people are invested in that process, and that's why people are not talking about it. Plants grow toward the sun. Because that's not the thing that funders are latching onto, people aren't talking about it because there's a sense that that's not what funders want to hear. The strategy these days is to list it as a benefit. - 1/27/23

I asked if he felt that it had to be that way given that cultivating a network is one-step removed from on-the-ground projects. He didn't think this attitude was foreordained.

> No, it's all choices. Nobody has been able to break through to broaden the conversation. So, I think if that conversation could catch fire, then it could influence things. But what we lost with ArtPlace was that convening where practitioners come together, and you could take the temperature and plant seeds and catalyze something because everyone was together. - 1/27/23

One way to advance creative placekeeping in a particular city or watershed would be with artist residencies inside specific institutions, departments, or agencies. The Pasadena Water and Power Department had one version of this back in 1987, contracting with artists Helen and Newton Harrison on their large format, conceptual photography exhibit titled *Devil's Gate Transformation/A Refuge for Pasadena* as part of the planning for how to manage what would become Hahamongna Watershed Park (see appendix 26). The Water and Power Department also formed a partnership with the Armory Center for the Arts in 1989 to create the Children Investigate the Environment program that takes fourth grade students in Pasadena Unified School District to the Arroyo for an arts-based, environmental education lesson.

Investment in training and program development for a single, community-based development organization is another approach. This was the strategy with ArtPlace America's Community Development Investments program that provided $3 million dollars in funding along with technical assistance to six organizations around the country: Fairmount Park Conservancy in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; the Jackson Medical Mall Foundation in Jackson, Mississippi; the Little Tokyo Service Center in Los Angeles, California; the Southwest Minnesota Housing Partnership in southwestern Minnesota; the Zuni Youth Enrichment Project in Zuni Pueblo, New Mexico; and the Cook Inlet Housing Authority in Anchorage, Alaska (Crane et al. 2020). This provides a place-based, anchor institution in the community with the

ability to use creative placemaking as part of their work. Both these approaches, however, fall short of creating a network that supports creative placekeeping practice across a watershed the size of the Arroyo.

The network I envision would host gatherings to foster a culture of creative placekeeping. Based on the work of creative placekeepers across Los Angeles, Shannon et al. (2023) define the essential elements of this culture as community, engagement, relationships, and defiance. They describe the role of an artist in a creative placekeeping coalition as a conduit, a vehicle for the community's interests and desires to find expression. I prefer positioning the artist as a dramaturg, which is more active in that they ask the community questions based on their understanding of the neighborhood context. Placing emphasis on dramaturgy requires certain habits of attention, such as a sensitivity to literary form and narrative structure and an eye for performance that can recognize how a body moving through space conveys meaning. This allows the artist to recognize the story patterns unfolding all around them in the immediacy of daily life. This focus on performance can also influence the language practitioners use so that the emphasis is more on the process rather than the outcomes, on "inclusiveness" rather than "diversity" or "reciprocity" instead of "sustainability." In this regard, the values I outlined at the beginning of this dissertation (respect, reciprocity, creativity, openness, and belonging) should guide ASP's research methodology, facilitation techniques, public events, and measures of success.

The culture for the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers needs to broaden the definition of "artistry" beyond having professional training as an artist. Gatherings should always engage the imagination and involve making or fashioning something, either individually or in group, but should embrace a "work-in-progress" approach to creativity. Arroyo Seco Placekeepers needs to

be a platform for creative cross-sector engagement with a landscape rather than simply an extension of the arts into the civic realm. ASP's goal will be to de-mystify and de-professionalize the skills of creative placekeeping. Defining roles and levels of engagement so people can decide for themselves where they fit in at any given time will be important. In talking with Mark Valdez, he said that facilitating such a network will require adept leadership.

> It's the delicate balance that you're doing between creating space for people to drive and people just needing leadership. It's just a constant…it's walking a very fine line. Both are necessary. People need to feel there is vision and leadership there and people also want to direct, and knowing when it's your decision to make because something has to get done and knowing when to collect input and wisdom and shared decision-making, just naming that there is a spectrum that you're moving on. - 1/27/23

Gatherings should be social, with relationship-building as both the means and the ends of a gathering. Beyond this, my inclination would be to allow members to follow the ideas for projects that fascinate them and enlist others for feedback and support.

As a platform and a process, Arroyo Seco Placekeepers should be a vehicle to bring additional resources to existing arts and culture organizations. For example, ASP could help a coalition of Arroyo arts and culture organizations apply for a grant that would provide a foundation for creative placekeeping work. From Side Street Projects, the Armory Center for the Arts, and Light Bringer Project in Pasadena to the Arroyo Arts Collective, OxyArts, and La Culebra Action League in Northeast Los Angeles to Clockshop and Metabolic Studio along the Los Angeles River, these and other organizations could partner on a grant proposal focused on the following:

- mapping cultural assets, creative spaces, and performance venues along the Arroyo;
- developing relationships with key staff in local government agencies and departments;

- providing seed money for a creative team of artists to work on creative placekeeping projects throughout the Arroyo;
- working with local arts groups to provide student internships and build partnerships with colleges that focus on workforce development in the arts and culture sector;
- exploring specific anti-displacement tools and strategies that arts organizations can incorporate into their community development work.

Arroyo Seco Placekeepers could continue to seek funding for research and cultural planning, for projects that offer disruptive invitations and create convivial common ground, and for implementation and evaluation of these projects within the community. But the grant above would be to build the social infrastructure needed to support a renaissance of community-based arts in the Arroyo without triggering gentrification

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This dissertation has fulfilled its premise that close attention to storytelling and performance can add value to the networks of individuals and organizations advocating sustainability and justice for the Arroyo and its adjacent neighborhoods. Through the dissertation I was able to curate data on Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo, generate helpful feedback on the process of planning and devising creative placekeeping projects, and think through what is needed to sustain a network of creative placekeepers for the Arroyo into the future. I have listed my main takeaways from the project in appendix 48. The most fulfilling evidence of the value of this research is that it has found an audience. Planning continues with the Armory Center for the Arts to launch the Activate the 710 project and possibly apply to the NEA *Our Town* grant program. Initial conversations have begun with the City of Pasadena on how Arroyo Seco Placekeepers can facilitate stormwater capture in Pasadena neighborhoods. If

the CREEC project comes to fruition, the research I have compiled on the Arroyo Seco will provide a foundation for place-based environmental education for generations of young people. The cutting of the fence over twenty years ago for ArroyoFest was an act of imagination, an act that facilitated a temporary transformation of the Arroyo Seco into a place that was easier for people to love and take pride in. My hope is that this work can seed other acts of imagination that will give the people who live near the Arroyo something everyone needs: the knowledge and confidence that they belong.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Advisory group orientation letter

Dear Arroyo Seco Placekeeper,

I want to thank you for your belief in the potential of the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers (ASP) and for your trust in me to pursue its promise consistent with its goals of community building, respect and care for the land, and the creation of a space for people to share their stories and, more importantly, listen to the stories of others.

As we prepare to work together, I want to share more about the values and intentions I bring to the project, to clarify what the project is, and what it is not, so you know what to expect and how to talk about ASP with others.

Arroyo Seco Placekeepers is about...

Listening - I've shared with all of you about how the challenge of bringing diverse stories together for my play about Hahamongna Watershed Park, *The Washing of the Water*, was the inspiration for this project. Coming out of that project, I wanted to learn how to listen more fully, not just to what people say but how and why they are sharing their story. I also wanted to find ways to listen more closely to the land and to find a way to translate the experience of plants, animals, and ecosystems into stories we can learn from.

Sharing - The project encourages people to share their stories, their places and the meanings they attach to each. But the project is also about what we share, how a landscape can literally provide a common ground upon which we build community. Author Dan Kemmis says that the land is the table across which people can share their differences. This project strives to emphasize what we have common without losing sight of the inescapable differences in our experience and inequalities in treatment across society and under the law.

Networking - Networks are more than a set of relationships; networks share an orientation and a set of values that often come together in a shared story. Each person tells this story a bit differently, but these shared narratives allow people to mobilize for common cause. The most direct aim of ASP is to strengthen the network of people who care about the future of the Arroyo and sustainability and justice within our neighborhoods.

Acting - This project will consistently return to the question of how we can enact the stories that we believe in. Gaps between the stories we tell and the stories we act out in our lives will become touchstones for critical and creative thinking about potential policies, projects, and processes that can bring these two into alignment. The power of stories is in how they shape our actions. This is why the ASP emphasizes both storytelling *and* performance.

Arroyo Seco Placekeepers is not about...

Objective truth - Stories can never represent the full truth. People always tell them from a particular vantage point. Rather than objective truth, ASP seeks the personal truth for the individual telling a story. This project seeks to capture the full diversity of narratives in a particular place and trusts putting multiple truths next to one another can lead to discovery. This is not to diminish the fight against misinformation or that more attention for certain social, historical, and ecological truths about the Arroyo are long overdue, simply that establishing objective truth is not the project's focus.

Choosing *one* story - Too often stories are set against one another: the winning story goes unquestioned while the losing one can't find an audience. Rather than choosing a single story or brand for the Arroyo, ASP seeks to generate as many stories as possible and put them in conversation. Taking a step back, the broad outlines of a larger, more encompassing narrative for the community might appear. But this will then be a tale everyone feels connected to rather than one that certain groups feel forced to accept. While welcoming diverse narratives, the project will not support stories that seek to silence or dehumanize others or run counter to the values and intentions in this letter.

A single issue or campaign - One potential outcome for the pilot is that a single issue or campaign takes on great importance and becomes the focus for the next phase of the project. But if this happens, it will be because it draws together a myriad of issues, and it becomes clear that a victory can achieve a breakthrough. ASP is not about one issue but in finding the narrative threads that connect issues together. One assumption of the project is that following these threads can lead to transformative solutions.

Artistic achievement - While I applaud the joyful pursuit of artistic excellence, this project is not about celebrating individual genius. Rather, it strives to make creative engagement accessible to everyone and to recognize the overlooked aspects of artistry woven into everyday life. This project is about using the arts as a means to heal, build community, foster dialogue, and solve problems. As such, it embraces the notion of "works in progress."

Academic outcomes - Reflecting upon and writing about the pilot phase of ASP will be the final step in earning my doctoral degree. But my degree does not depend on the project achieving a particular outcome or proving a particular theory. While academic study informs the questions I ask, the nature of the research is exploratory, providing wide latitude for the project to be responsive to your perspectives and community needs. I have tried to design a research project that provides value to you, the organizations that you represent, and the community as a whole.

To achieve these intentions, I name below a handful of key values, what they mean to me personally, and what they mean for our work together

Values for Arroyo Seco Placekeepers

Respect - For me, respect carries an implicit recognition of an individual or group's right to self-determination. Respect also confers value, even admiration, and counters the dehumanization of other people and careless destruction of nonhuman life. In the context of our work together, respect means:

- Listening to understand rather than to respond;
- Being fully present and leaving distractions at the door;
- Recognizing everyone's experience as valid;
- Honoring boundaries and asking permission, especially with touch;
- Maintaining confidentiality (sharing the message, not the messenger);
- Agreeing to disagree;
- Starting and ending on time;
- Acknowledging our presence on lands of the Gabrieleño/Tongva/Kizh people.

Reciprocity - Reciprocity to me implies a sense of equality, interdependence, and gratitude. Reciprocity is impossible without mutual benefit, a sense of balance and kinship, and recognition that our family ties and obligations run back through time and require attention. We are embedded and inseparable from creation and our capacity to be in right relation with others depends on understanding and honoring these connections. In the context of our work together, reciprocity means:

- Active listening with eyes, ears, and heart;
- Seeing things from another's point of view;
- Expressing gratitude and generosity;
- Looking for solutions that provide mutual benefit;
- Stepping back so others can share;
- Practicing self-awareness and self-care.

Openness - Openness includes the humility to recognize that we all only see a part of what's going on, which means being receptive to new information, flexible in the face of changing circumstances, and optimistic that discoveries that can change everything are within reach. As a value, openness also underscores how opportunities that should be accessible to all remain closed off to many. Openness is not achieved without struggle and this struggle belongs to everyone. In the context of our work together, openness means:

- Giving and receiving feedback thoughtfully;
- Challenging ideas rather than the person who shares them;
- Asking rather than assuming;
- Separating one's position from one's interest;

- Recognizing there's more than one way to reach a goal;
- Welcoming feeling and emotion into the room.

Creativity - With its origins in personal imagination and collaborative endeavors, creativity can conjure beauty and meaning from thin air, a power that makes it a measure of resilience and personal freedom and essential for a thriving democracy. It is also often messy, chaotic, sometimes joyful, often frustrating, and full of risk. Creative engagement in any field requires personal courage that deserves support and celebration. In the context of our work together, creativity means:

- Recognizing everyone is brimming with insight and vision;
- Cultivating an abundance mindset;
- Building on one another's comments and ideas ("Practicing Yes, and..."");
- Sharing intentions and seeking help in achieving them;
- Being a generous audience and providing the artistic feedback people ask for;
- Shaking ideas and turning them upside down like presents;
- Making other laugh and welcoming whimsy;
- Thinking about what the group needs to move forward.

Belonging - Belonging for me is about making a space for everyone and looking for points of connection and kinship within and across differences. Many of the norms we live with are actually culturally specific and reinforce exclusion. Those worth preserving can withstand scrutiny. Belonging means attending to the needs and accommodations that allow people to fully participate and make the experience their own. More broadly, it means acknowledging the privileges that markers such as race, class, and nationality provide as well the diversity within ourselves, that no one has only one identity: each of us contains multitudes. In the context of our work together, belonging means:

- Taking responsibility for both the positive and negative impact of our words;
- Using language that's accessible and welcoming to everyone (e.g. sharing pronouns, providing translation);
- Noticing, naming, and improving group dynamics in the moment;
- Allowing people to define their own contribution to the group;
- Speaking from personal experience rather than generalization (use "I" statements);
- Welcoming elders and children and attention to their needs;
- Following up with everyone so no one's ideas get left behind;
- Sharing your appreciation of others' presence and actions.

My own attempt to live by these values applies not only to my relationships with other people but to the land as well. Respect, reciprocity, and a sense of kinship and belonging to the land

contain an ethical orientation that has guided Native American and Indigenous societies back through time. Openness suggests humility before life's complexity and a recognition that the land has a life, if not a mind, all its own. And the land itself is both a witness and a result of life's creativity and inherent abundance.

With this declaration of values and intentions, I welcome you to Arroyo Seco Placekeepers and look forward to sharing the discoveries about the land, our community, and one another.

Sincerely,

Marcus Renner

Appendix 2: Arroyo Seco Placekeepers fact sheet

ARROYO SECO PLACEKEEPERS

Arroyo Seco Placekeepers is a community organizing project exploring new ways to support community-based conservation and neighborhood activism through storytelling and performance. The project assists the networks working to enhance and restore the Arroyo Seco and improve the quality of life within its neighborhoods. The initial pilot for Arroyo Seco Placekeepers focuses on the neighborhoods adjacent to Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo with plans to engage other neighborhoods in the near future.

The pilot serves as the doctoral research for Marcus Renner, a Ph.D. candidate in geography at the University of California, Davis. Marcus grew up in Pasadena and chaired the steering committee for ArroyoFest, a 2003 event that shut down the Historic Arroyo Seco Parkway for a walk, bike ride, and community festival. He has also conducted workshops for area teachers on how to integrate study of the Arroyo in their classrooms and in 2013 presented a play about Northwest Pasadena, Altadena, and La Cañada-Flintridge, and their shared connection to Hahamongna Watershed Park. His play, *The Washing of the Water*, was part of Caltech's New Plays Festival.

Description

Arroyo Seco Placekeepers brings together advocates for the Arroyo and its neighborhoods with artists and cultural workers to consider what stories can ensure a just and sustainable future for the region. The project combines research, public engagement, networking, and community-building through the arts and cultural practices with the goal of devising initiatives that can transform our relationship to the land and with one another. Values guiding this process are respect, reciprocity, openness, creativity, and belonging.

Rather than promoting a single story, Arroyo Seco Placekeepers puts diverse stories into conversation with one another to build mutual understanding and respect. This includes translating stories from the land itself and creating spaces where Indigenous people can share their connections to the Arroyo. The promise is for a lasting network of Arroyo Seco Placekeepers, from the mountains to the Los Angeles River, finding creative ways to unify the Arroyo's neighborhoods and advocate for their well-being.

To Get Involved: The pilot for Arroyo Seco Placekeepers will continue into 2023 and includes public events and calls for participating artists. To get involved and stay informed, join the mailing list by contacting Marcus Renner at mvrenner@gmail.com or 970-426-8392.

Appendix 3: Arroyo Seco Placekeepers advisory group

Membership in the group shifted over the 16 months from the first meeting in February 2022 to the final meeting of the group in June 2023. Below are the rosters at the start and end of the project.

Membership - February 2022

Tom Allard (Shawnee Cherokee), Polytechnic School & Native Voices at the Autry

Paloma Avila, Arlington Garden in Pasadena

Jeremiah Axelrod, Occidental College, Institute for the Study of Los Angeles

Brian Biery, DBK Group

Tim Brick, Arroyo Seco Foundation

Tom Coston, Light Bringer Project

Julianna Delgado, Cal-Poly Pomona, Department of Urban and Regional Planning

Kimberly Johnson (Gabrieleno/Tongva), Gabrieleno (Tongva) San Gabriel Band of Mission Indians

Michelle Matthews, Arlington Garden in Pasadena

Debbie Ortiz, Lineage Performing Arts Center

Auxenia Privett-Mendoza, Arroyos and Foothills Conservancy

Charles Thomas, Outward Bound Adventures

Richard Toyon (Acjachemen), Arroyos and Foothills Conservancy

Mark Valdez, Cornerstone Theater & Mark-n-Sparks

Frankie Washington, Pasadena/Altadena Coalition of Transformative Leaders

Ralph Waxman, Teatro Arroyo/Arroyo Arts Collective

Membership - June 2023

Jeremiah Axelrod, Occidental College, Institute for the Study of Los Angeles

Brian Biery, DBK Group

Tim Brick, Stewards of the Arroyo

Tom Coston, Light Bringer Project

Julianna Delgado, Cal-Poly Pomona, Department of Urban and Regional Planning

Brian Elerding, Lineage Performing Arts Center

Michelle Matthews, Arlington Garden in Pasadena

Auxenia Privett-Mendoza, Arroyos and Foothills Conservancy

Charles Thomas, Outward Bound Adventures

Richard Toyon (Acjachemen), Arroyos and Foothills Conservancy

Mark Valdez, Mixed Blood Theater & Mark-n-Sparks

Ralph Waxman, Teatro Arroyo/Arroyo Arts Collective

Appendix 4: Letter for the community advisory group

Arroyo Seco Placekeepers is a cultural organizing project exploring new ways to support community-based conservation and neighborhood activism through storytelling and performance. The project aims to assist the community networks trying to enhance and restore the Arroyo Seco and improve the quality of life within its neighborhoods. The initial pilot for Arroyo Seco Placekeepers focuses on the neighborhoods adjacent to Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo with plans to engage other neighborhoods in the near future.

Participation is completely voluntary and you can stop participating at any time. The advisory group will **meet every other month for an hour**, participate in **two half-day workshops,** and assist with **one two-hour public event** between October 2021 and October 2022. All meetings will either be in-person or virtual depending on current public health protocols and the preference of the group. Overall participation in the **Project Advisory Group** should take about **12 hours**

This pilot project serves as my doctoral research for the geography program at the University of California, Davis and could result in a journal article, conference presentation, monograph, book, or other publication. The intention of the research is to benefit the outreach efforts of neighborhood groups and organizations focused on place-based conservation and community building.

To thank you for your assistance, I will be available to discuss how the findings could apply to the work of your specific group or organization. I can also provide a **stipend of $250** after the final meeting of the pilot project (roughly October 2022). Withdrawal from the project prior to completion will result in a reduced stipend, corresponding to $20 per hour of participation.

As research, I will be taking notes during meetings. These notes will remain confidential, stored on a private, password-protected computer, and not shared or circulated to others without your written permission. I will provide an opportunity by email to review and revise any direct quotation from your participation prior to its disclosure or publication. You can decline the publication or disclosure of your words at any time. If you do not respond within a month's time from the initial request, you are agreeing that I can use the quotation as part of a publication.

If you have any questions about the project, please feel free to contact me at 970-426-8392 or mvrenner@gmail.com.

Signing below indicates that we have reviewed this information together, and I've offered you a written copy for your records.

Appendix 5: Letter of information for the creative team

Arroyo Seco Placekeepers is a community organizing project exploring new ways to support community-based conservation and neighborhood activism through storytelling and performance. The project aims to assist the community networks trying to enhance and restore the Arroyo Seco and improve the quality of life within its neighborhoods. Participation on the creative team consists of the following:

- A **one-hour** orientation meeting with other artists between April 17th and 25th
- A **one-hour** preparation meeting with other artists between May 2nd and 12th
- The Creative Dialogue Session on **Tuesday, May 23rd from 1 to 5 p.m.** with community stakeholders, which includes
    - Sharing of an initial work-in-progress based on one of a handful of prompts generated by the project's interviews and community research. A work-in-progress could consist of initial illustrations, designs, journal entries, movement or music explorations, draft poems or dramatic scenes, a collection of images, or some other documentation of creative engagement with the prompt that will provide the 20 to 30 attendees something to react to and initiate discussion. The expectation is artists will spend between 6 and 10 hours developing their work-in-progress;
    - Facilitation of a 45- minute small-group discussion with community stakeholders of the prompt using a discussion guide provided by Marcus Renner.
- **Two one-hour meetings** with Marcus and different members of a community devising team to provide feedback on the members' works-in-progress in preparation for a June devising workshop. This individual coaching will be informal, require no preparation, and take place at a convenient place and time during the end of May and beginning of June.

Overall participation in the **Creative Team** should take between **14 and 18 hours.** To thank you for your assistance for this part of the project, I will provide a **stipend of $1000** at the end of the Creative Dialogue Session on May 23rd. Withdrawal from the project prior to completion will result in a reduced stipend, corresponding to $55 per hour of participation. Arroyo Seco Placekeepers is a community-based research project and is not a business or non-profit organization and will not provide a 1099 form for the stipend.

As research, I will be taking notes, photographs, and video during some of the meetings outlined above. I will provide an opportunity by email to review and revise any direct quotation stemming from your participation prior to its disclosure or publication. You can decline the publication or disclosure of your words or image at any time. If you do not respond within a month's time from the initial request, you are agreeing that I can use the quotation or image as part of a publication. If you have any questions about the project, please feel free to contact me at 970-426-8392 or mvrenner@gmail.com.

Appendix 6: Facilitation outline for creative dialogue session

What question are you discussing?

Why did people choose this question to discuss?

What similarities or differences do you hear in people's reasons for being in this group?

What are your initial thoughts on how to answer the question?

Does this question make you think about…

- Specific locations in the Arroyo or its neighborhoods;
- Specific Arroyo events, projects, or neighborhood activities;
- Particular audiences, organizations, or community partners to pull into this discussion

When you think about the question, where does your imagination get stuck? What obstacles keep you from imagining success?

Is this the right question? Or is there a deeper question the devising team (and the community) should consider?

In relation to our question, what kind of stories can you envision for the Arroyo's future?

What would it look like for people to perform or participate in those stories?

Additional notes:

Appendix 7: Members of the creative team

Below are the artist members of the creative team and the brief introductions they gave to one another over email. All of the artists live in Highland Park neighborhood of Northeast Los Angeles further down the Arroyo Seco watershed.

The Gold Collective (David Bernal-Fuentes, Julieta Garza, Carol McDowell, and Sarah Leddy)

"The Gold Collective was founded in the fall of 2018 by Los Angeles-based dance artists Madison Clark, Sarah Leddy, Carol McDowell, Daniel Miramontes, and alexx shilling. Together we collaborate, curate, and produce dance works that surround shades and themes of gold. Through the Gold Series, we create a platform for both local and national experimental work to be produced. We bring together artists and dance works that speak to one another about "the gold we find at the intersection of life and art" while also presenting our own work. The first two installments of Gold Series were performed at ARC (A Room to Create) in Pasadena, CA. During the first year of the pandemic, Gold Series re-emerged as an online gathering, performance event, and activist space. We simultaneously led a virtual voting initiative (Gold Your Vote) that utilized performance networks to engage in political movement building, and curated nine artists to present live work online. The Gold Collective has shifted as many members moved out of Los Angeles, and others (Julieta Garza and David Bernal-Fuentes) have joined. We are currently redefining "gold" as connecting with each other and the land and water, and have begun developing an outdoor movement practice in different park spaces in Los Angeles. We are delighted to be joining the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers pilot project."

D.W. Jacobs – "I'm a playwright, actor, director, poet and photographer. I've lived in California my whole life, both North and South, and in almost all of the major geographic regions of

the “Golden” State. I started visiting HP about 25 years ago, had an office here in 2001, then an apartment in Eagle Rock, and then I moved to the desert. I started living here again in 2008, on Ave 64. In 2012, I moved closer to the Gold line station. Here’s the first page intro I wrote for this Placekeeping application: *I co-founded San Diego Repertory Theater, where I served as artistic director for 20 years. We created the Rep to be a home for an eclectic range of work, from seldom seen classics to contemporary plays. We developed active policies of non-traditional casting from the beginning, and produced a broad range of plays, with a strong emphasis on works written by members of under-represented communities. We also worked blend all of the arts in unique ways.*

***

In Highland Park, Raul Cardona, Ralph Waxman and I co-founded TEATRO ARROYO // Theater Stream, with the idea of pulling from local talent, as an experiment aimed at doing something parallel to the slow food movement, where restaurants draw on local agricultural resources. Our motto... "Make art where you are, take it to the world." They have performed in schools, art galleries (Ave 50, the Owl), the old Bank building, clubs (the Ebell), homes and parks (La Culebra, Audubon, Sycamore Grove, Heritage Square). We marched in the holiday parade. With each show, we got to know the Arroyo Seco in a fresh and deeper way.

My most successful play... R. Buckminster Fuller: THE HISTORY (and Mystery) OF THE UNIVERSE. The through-line of the play asks the question... "What can the little individual do to make the world work for all of humanity." That was also the super objective of Bucky Fuller's life. The play has had about 1,000 performances around the USA, as well as in Montreal, Wrocław & Krakow (Poland.)

Lisa McNeely – "I am an actor, dancer, clown, musician, puppeteer and creator of theatrical experiences. I studied physical theater at Dell' Arte and currently work as a full suit puppeteer at the Natural History Museum and La Brea Tar Pits. As an artist I have dedicated and developed a consistent practice with building collaborative original work with various groups of people. Everything from music, theater, storytelling and dance."

Debra Scacco – "I'm an interdisciplinary visual artist heavily inspired by collaborations with cartographers, historians and scientists; and of course, community members and community organizations. For over 25 years, I have analyzed and interpreted how boundaries - specifically political and geographic lines at the intersection of history, ecology and policy - shape the way we live in and move through cities. My work takes many forms, including drawing, painting, sculpture, installation, teaching and community activations. Upcoming project Procession is a great example of the collaborative nature of my practice.

Since my time as artist-in-residence at Ellis Island Museum (2012), oral history has been a particular passion of mine. In 2018, I co-founded (NE)LA Stories oral history archive with Occidental College. The work from this process continues, with a collaborative exhibition happening at Los Angeles Public Library (Central Branch) focused on connecting historic cartographic indexes with contemporary legacy impacts of displacement via infrastructure. The project examines the stories of key freeway interchanges in Los Angeles, celebrating the culture and resilience of the communities that thrived in these locations."

Appendix 8: Letter of information for the devising team

Arroyo Seco Placekeepers is a community organizing project exploring new ways to support community-based conservation and neighborhood activism through storytelling and performance. The project aims to assist the community networks trying to enhance and restore the Arroyo Seco and improve the quality of life within its neighborhoods. The initial pilot for Arroyo Seco Placekeepers focuses on the neighborhoods adjacent to Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo with plans to engage other neighborhoods in the near future.

Participation is completely voluntary and you can stop participating at any time. Members of the devising team engage creatively in some way with one of the themes or questions arising from the project **(6 to 7 hours).** They meet once with a member of the ASP creative team to discuss their ideas and interests **(1 hour).** They share their creative work with other team members at **a devising workshop** with other team members **(3 hours).** If available they will share project ideas at the final ASP advisory group meeting on June 26th **(2 hours)**. Overall participation in the **Devising Group** should take about **12 hours**

To thank you for your assistance for this part of the project, I will provide a **stipend of $250** after the final meeting. Withdrawal from the project prior to completion will result in a reduced stipend, corresponding to $20 per hour of participation.

As research, I will be taking notes during meetings outlined above. These notes will remain confidential, stored on a private, password-protected computer, and not shared or circulated to others without your written permission. I will provide an opportunity by email to review and revise any direct quotation from your participation prior to its disclosure or publication. You can decline the publication or disclosure of your words at any time. If you do not respond within a month's time from the initial request, you are agreeing that I can use the quotation as part of a publication.

If you have any questions about the project, please feel free to contact me at 970-426-8392 or mvrenner@gmail.com.

Signing below indicates that we have reviewed this information together, and I've offered you a written copy for your records.

Appendix 9: Community experts interviewed for dissertation

Geological and ecological narratives

Tim Brick - Stewards of the Arroyo Seco, executive director; Arroyo Seco Foundation, co-founder and former managing director, 4/15/22.

Lois Brunet - Pasadena Audubon Society, former executive director, 1/27/22.

Shawna Dark - University of California, Berkeley, chief academic technology officer & executive director - research, teaching, and learning, 1/24/22.

Mickey Long - Los Angeles County Department of Parks and Recreation, former director of the Los Angeles County Natural Areas and Nature Centers; Pasadena Audubon Society, former president, 2/1/22.

Native American experience in the Arroyo

Wallace Cleaves (Gabrieleno/Tongva) - Tongva Taraxat Paxaavxa Conservancy, president, 8/8/22.

Kat High (Hupa descendant) - Haramokngna American Indian Cultural Center, former program coordinator, 4/18/22 & 5/8/22.

AnMarie Mendoza (Gabrieleno/Tongva) - water advocate; Tongva Taraxat Paxaavxa Conservancy, board member; UCLA Urban Planning Department, Ph.D. student. 8/26/22.

Kevin Nunez (lineal descendant of Japchivit, a Maara'yam (Serrano) village) - Angeles National Forest, cultural liaison, and Nathan Nunez (lineal descendant of Japchivit, a Maara'yam (Serrano) village) - Outward Bound Adventures, field instructor, 8/17/22.

Rich Toyon (Acjachemem) - Arroyos and Foothills Conservancy, board member, 4/4/22.

Pasadena's Arts and Culture Sector

Hector Aristizabal - ImaginAction, founder and artistic director, 5/31/22.

Rochelle Branch - City of Pasadena, cultural affairs manager, 6/30/22.

Elisa Callow - Armory Center for the Arts, former executive director, 7/1/22.

Fernando Castro - TA'YER Multicultural Performance Collective, executive director, 6/25/22.

Tom Coston – Light Bringer Project, co-founder and board chair, 8/25/22.

Hilary Thomas - Lineage Dance Ensemble, founder and artistic director, and Brian Eleding - Lineage Performing Arts Center, former executive director, 4/15/22.

Emily Hopkins - Side Street Projects, executive director, 5/6/22.

Leslie Ito - Armory Center for the Arts, executive director, 5/2/22.

Karen Koyano - Makoto Taiko, executive director, 5/27/22.

Dianne Lewis - Alkebu-lan Cultural Center, chief executive officer, 7/6/22.

Will Salmon - Open Gate Theater, founder and director, 5/25/22.

Scott Ward - Armory Center for the Arts, former executive director 5/27/22.

History of Arroyo Advocacy

Bill Bogaard - City of Pasadena, mayor, 1999-2015; One Arroyo Foundation, board member, 7/21/22.

Tim Brick - Stewards of the Arroyo Seco, executive director; Arroyo Seco Foundation, co-founder and former managing director, 12/13/21.

Garret Crawford - City of Pasadena, superintendent of parks, 12/28/22.

Joan Hearst - Coalition for the Protection of the Arroyo Seco, coordinator; West Pasadena Residents Association, board member, 10/1/22.

Rosa Laveaga - City of Pasadena, former superintendent of the Arroyo Seco, 5/18/22

Equitable access to recreation

Jaymie Bickford - Pasadena Roving Archers, president and Gary Spiers - Pasadena Roving Archers, former president, 1/21/23.

Eric Callow - Pasadena Casting Club, former president, 8/13/22.

Jimmy Francis - Rose Bowl Aquatics Center, former executive director, 9/2/22.

Mark Fritz, First Tee - Greater Pasadena, director of programming and development, 9/28/22.

Rebecca Ring - San Pascual Stables, barn manager, 8/24/22.

Martin Sweeney - City of Pasadena, Accessibility and Disability Commission, former commissioner, 3/14/23.

Charles Thomas - Outward Bound Adventures, executive director, 7/19/22 & 8/8/22.

Frankie Washington - Ignite Youth, Pasadena/Altadena Coalition of Transformative Leaders, former staff member, 6/11/22.

Jens Weiden - Rose Bowl Stadium, chief executive officer/general manager, 1/24/23.

Neighborhood History and Development

Joan Aarestad - East Arroyo Residents Association, president, 6/7/22 & 7/11/22.

Claire Bogaard - Pasadena Heritage, former executive director, 3/17/23.

Richard Castellanos - Pacific Bell, 8/23/22.

Michael Darling - DPP-Compass Real Estate, founding partner, 8/18/22.

Roberta H. Martinez - community advocate, historian, host, lecturer, author (*Latinos in Pasadena*), 6/28/22.

Sue Mossman - Pasadena Heritage, former executive director, 6/28/22.

Jeannette O'Malley - Pasadena Museum of History, executive director, 9/9/22.

Alexandra Rasic - Gamble House Conservancy, executive director, and Jennifer Trotoux, Gamble House Conservancy, director of collections & interpretation, 6/21/22

Marsha Rood - Downtown Pasadena Neighborhood Association, vice president; City of Pasadena, former development administrator, 6/22/22.

Wes Reutimann - Active San Gabriel Valley, special programs director, 5/27/22.

Andrew Salimian - Pasadena Heritage, former preservation director, 6/17/22.

RJ Sakai - Sequoyah School, director of social innovation, 6/21/22.

Tim Sales - City of Pasadena Design Commission, former commissioner, 8/6/22.

Sharon Scull, Michael Udell, and Bill Grassie - Putney Area Neighbors, 6/2/22

Larry Wilson - Pasadena Star-News, San Gabriel Valley Tribune and Whittier Daily News, public editor, 1/23/23

Freeway Displacement

Juan Luis Correa - Reconnecting Communities 710 Advisory Group, member, 3/30/23.

Tim Ivison - Southern California Institute of Architecture, Faculty; Art Center College of Design, faculty, 3/28/23.

Stan Kong - ArtCenter College of Design, faculty, 5/12/23.

Heather Lindquist - “Exploring Pasadena’s Past,” rearcher/curator, 8/5/22.

Appendix 10: General questions for community experts

Places

If you were going to film a slice of life movie in the neighborhood, where would you go? If this neighborhood was a television show, what would be important settings?

What iconic images or scenes convey the social life of the neighborhood? Where would I go to take a photo of that scene?

What spaces have symbolic or emotional meaning for you? For the general public? What is the source of this meaning (e.g. memories, relationships, etc.)?

How do connections to the larger city, region, or globe show up in the neighborhood? What material ties does the neighborhood have to the larger city, region, or globe?

Neighborhood Identity

What makes the neighborhood unique and compelling, different from surrounding areas?

What associations are attached to saying you're from the neighborhood? What's the reputation of the neighborhood in the rest of the city? How is it seen by others?

How is the neighborhood represented in the media? What do they get right and what do they miss?

How would you describe the spirit of the community?

Would more people in the neighborhood side with dreamers or realists? Lovers or fighters?

How does the neighborhood leave its mark on people, events, practices? How has the Arroyo changed you?

What story do you want the public to understand about the neighborhood or the Arroyo?

Neighborhood Life

To what degree do patterns or themes emerge when you look at the neighborhood's past?

What kind of differences matter in the neighborhood (e.g. geography, class, race, education, etc.)?

Who do you respect in the community and why?

What pleases people in the neighborhood by virtue of its beauty or excellence?

Other forms of Craftsmanship or folk art within the neighborhood (e.g. murals, Plein air, Judson glass, Batchelder tiles)?

What are you still trying to figure out about this community? If you could ask each person in the neighborhood a question, what would it be?

Public Issues

What is going right and what's going wrong in the Arroyo/neighborhood right now?

What seem to be impossible conflicts within the community?

What issues is no one paying attention to?

Where is there conflict over places or places that have different meanings for different people?

How strong is civic involvement in the neighborhood? What are barriers to engagement in public issues?

How diverse are the networks of people working to improve the neighborhood? Who else would you like to become involved in these networks?

Whose voices need amplification within the neighborhood?

Future

What does the neighborhood need to figure out about itself?

What is your wish for the neighborhood's future? What is your dream for the Arroyo?

In terms of making life better in the neighborhood, what should be the priority?

What choices does this community face in the future?

What change would give people a sense of triumph?

What change would give people a sense of loss?

Given that, what stories do you think would be most useful?

Appendix 11: Neighborhood leaders interviewed for dissertation

Tom Seifert – Tom Seifert is an entrepreneur and former CEO of Dura Art Stone, a commercial design and construction firm with projects across the country. He was has been a volunteer in Pasadena for over 40 years, including serving as Board Chair of the Arroyo Seco Foundation, president of the La Casita Foundation and the Stewards of Public Land, board member of Pasadena Heritage, chair of the City's Hahamongna Watershed Park Advisory Committee and the Recreation and Parks Commission. As a member of the Pasadena Center Operating Company, he oversaw the renovation of the Pasadena's Convention Center. He currently serves as Pasadena's representative for Upper Los Angeles River and Tributaries Working Group under the auspices of the Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy and is on the advisory council for the West Pasadena Residents Association. Tom met Dianne Philibosian in 1982, and they married in 1991 at La Casita overlooking the Arroyo. They live in a Craftsman home on South Arroyo Boulevard near the entrance to the Lower Arroyo's parking area

Dianne Philibosian, **Ph.D.** - Dianne Philibosian is a national expert on early childhood education and former dean of the College of Communication, Health and Human Development and former director of the Institute for Community Health and Wellbeing at Cal State Northridge. Growing up in California's Central Valley, she attended the University of Pacific and went on to serve on its Board of Regents for 19 years, including four years as the chair. She moved to Pasadena in 1976 and quickly became involved in the community, including serving on the board of the West Pasadena Residents Association, the Pasadena Playhouse, the Caltech Children's Center, and as board chair of the Arroyo Seco Foundation. She was also a mayoral appointee and chair of the Pasadena Center Operating Company (Convention Center, Civic

Auditorium, and Visitors Bureau) president of the board for Families Forward, a group focused on families and children in Northwest Pasadena. She continues her community contributions by serving on the board of the Arroyos and Foothills Conservancy, the City of Pasadena Early Childhood Task Force, and two Los Angeles County commissions on early childhood. She also serves on the board of Western University of Health Sciences with campuses in Pomona and Oregon.

Tim Brick - Tim Brick co-founded the Arroyo Seco Foundation in 1989 and served as its managing director for over 30 years. He is currently the executive director of Stewards of the Arroyo Seco. He served on city committees and working groups to establish Hahamongna Watershed Park and was director of the park's operating company from 1995 to 1998. He also served as Pasadena's representative on the board of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California from 1985 to 2012, chairing the board from 2006 to 2010. This role built on years of activism on water and energy issues in Pasadena and across California. Brick was also a founding board member and secretary of the Alliance for Water Efficiency, a North American conservation campaign, from 2007 to 2017. Earlier in his career he was founder and co-coordinator of Campaign Against Utility Service Exploitation (CAUSE) from 1975-1982, a coalition of 30 community, environmental and senior citizen organizations, which worked for utility accountability and to establish lifeline utility rates to ensure affordable water and power for consumers. He also served on and chaired Pasadena's Utility Advisory Committee from 1979 to 1993 was chair of the Pasadena Bicycle Advisory Committee and coordinator of the Pasadena AIDS Community Coordinating Council.

Brian Biery – Brian Biery is a community organizer who for over 25 years has worked on a broad spectrum of issues across Pasadena, including affordable housing, education,

environmental stewardship, and police/community relationships. He was an adjunct professor of advocacy/social justice at Pacific Oaks College for five years and currently coordinates a coalition of organizations working to launch the Climate Resilience Environmental Education Center (CREEC) in Hahamongna Watershed Park. Previously, Biery was program coordinator for the Neighborhood Connections office for the City of Pasadena, which supported neighborhood associations and groups across the city, and was director of community organizing for the Flintridge Center. He is a documentary photographer and hosts and produces the Power of One, a television show that features Pasadena individuals who are making a difference through personal initiative and positive action. Biery's grandfather moved to Pasadena in the 1920s and lived above the Lower Arroyo while caring for the grounds of an estate on South Grand Avenue, near Pasadena's Millionaire's Row.

John Dean - John Dean is former board member and secretary for Pasadena Heritage (2021 - 2024). He is currently president of La Pintoresca Library Associates, an affiliate of the Friends of the Pasadena Public Library. He previously served as the president of the East Arroyo Residents Association. John worked for the United States District Court - Central District of California at Los Angeles as a court officer assisting federal judges. John was born and raised in Pasadena, attended public schools and graduated from John Muir High School. He earned a BS degree in Education and History from the University of Arizona at Tucson, and took graduate classes in business and finance at Pepperdine University

Barbara Richardson King - Barbara Richardson King is a founding partner of Hythe Realty, focused on Pasadena, Altadena, South Pasadena, and San Gabriel. Her African American grandfather came to Pasadena at the start of the 20th century and raised his family on Vernon Avenue, south of Orange Grove Boulevard. The family lost this house and the five-car garage

that served her grandfather's hauling business to freeway construction in the 1960s. Richardson King's father was an entrepreneur and as a teenager, was part of a lawsuit to integrate Pasadena's Brookside Plunge. While Pasadena's Japanese population was forced into internment camps during World War II, Richardson King's Japanese American mother remained in Pasadena to care for her two step-brothers. She grew up two blocks from the east rim of the Arroyo and around the corner from Cleveland Elementary School. She graduated from Muir High School in 1965, served on the Northwest Commission for the City of Pasadena, and has volunteered for Friendship Baptist Church in a number of capacities. She currently lives on North Arroyo Boulevard and has organized North Arroyo Neighborhood Association to address community issues.

Tim Martinez - Tim Martinez is Land Manager and Community Liaison for the Arroyos & Foothills Conservancy, serves on the board of the Linda Vista Annandale Association, chairs the Hahamongna Watershed Park Advisory Committee, and is a member of the City's Recreation and Parks Commission. He has also served on the board of the Arroyo Seco Foundation and worked as their outreach coordinator. Martinez grew up in the Linda Vista neighborhood and attended Linda Vista elementary and St. Francis High School. As part of his work for the Arroyos and Foothills Conservancy, he oversees the Friends of Cottonwood Canyon, the group of neighbors that care for a small nature preserve at the north end of the Linda Vista neighborhood.

Appendix 12: Questions for neighborhood leader interviews

Orientation interview: What is it like to live in your neighborhood?

This session will help me get a general picture of life in the neighborhood. Most of the interview will involve the creation of a map of their neighborhood that we will use to discuss physical, social, and cultural boundaries around and within the neighborhood as well important nodes of activity, travel routes, and important landmarks. I will follow up with observations in many of these areas. I will also ask them to describe everyday life in the neighborhood, with questions about people's experiences of space and time, sensory experiences, events, and other activities or characteristics that make the neighborhood unique. The final set of questions asks questions about the nonhuman world and their direct experience with the Arroyo parks and stream.

Cognitive mapping of the neighborhood – 20 minutes

The first thing to put on the map is the visible and invisible boundaries for the neighborhood as you understand it. Save room around the edges

What determines the boundary between the neighborhood and outside world? What are the gateways to the neighborhood?

What boundaries exist inside the neighborhood? What defines those boundaries?

Can you add the primary routes that people use to move through the neighborhood?

Is where you live on the map? Roughly where?

What locations in the neighborhood are important to your daily life (e.g. office, grocery store, pharmacy, post office, etc.)? Can you trace any regular routes or routines that you use?

What about evenings and weekends? Are there are regular meetings you attend? Where?

Neighborhood Distinctiveness – 60 minutes

Quality of time in the neighborhood (Movements, pace, and rhythm) – 20 minutes

What mode of transportation do you use for these activities? Walk, bike, car, bus, light rail?

At what pace do you move through the neighborhood during these activities? When do you rush? Where do you linger?

What other notable clusters of people and activities do you regularly encounter or pass by?

Where are those clusters on the map? How does the pace and rhythm of those people compare with yours?

Does the neighborhood have a distinctive pace or rhythm or does it vary by person and location? How would you describe it? How does it change over 24 hours?

Can you think of any daily rituals or routines you or others have in the neighborhood?

What are other activities that involve repetition, events that occur daily, weekly or seasonally?

What are common activities or sequences of action that everyone would recognize because they're so common?

Events – 15 minutes

What neighborhood events do people look forward to?

Are there any cultural events or fairs? Annual contests, concerts, or competitions?

Can you think of memorable special events that were really one of a kind and different for the neighborhood? What made them unique for the neighborhood?

What religious activities or traditions are an important part of community life?

Neighborhood identity – 25 minutes

What sensory details are specific to life in the neighborhood? What sights are representative of the neighborhood? What sounds, tastes, textures, and smells are part of the neighborhood?

What languages do you hear in the neighborhood?

If you had to leave this area, what would you miss the most?

What makes the neighborhood unique and compelling, different from surrounding areas?

What are people in the neighborhood proud of?

In terms of the neighborhood, is there anything that people are ashamed of?

What is important for newcomers to the neighborhood to understand?

How does the neighborhood leave its mark on people, events, practices? How has the Arroyo changed you?

Important locations – 30 minutes

If you were going to film a slice of life movie in the neighborhood, where would you go? If this neighborhood was a television show, what would be important settings?

What iconic images or scenes from the neighborhood can you think of that convey the "here-ness" and "now-ness" of social life? Where would I go to take of photo of that scene?

What spaces have symbolic or emotional meaning for you? For the general public? What is the source of this meaning (e.g. memories, relationships, etc.)?

What places are anchors that keep people feeling rooted, places that seem like fixtures in the neighborhood?

Which places represent the identity of the neighborhood, either symbolically or because of what happens there?

Where is there conflict over places or places that have different meanings for different people?

Where are the most dangerous places? What makes them seem dangerous?

What are important places for children? For teenagers? For elders? Are there places where the different generations come together?

What places do families experience together?

What spaces in the neighborhood haven't we talked about? Why haven't we?

What names (place names, business names, family names, etc.) have a special meaning or status within the neighborhood?

Nature and ecology – 10 minutes

What natural features are important and where should they go on the map?

How often do you go down to the Arroyo parks? Where do you go and what do you do?

What animals do you associate with the neighborhood?

What trees, plants, or other vegetation do you associate with the neighborhood?

What cycles of nature or ecological processes are important or noteworthy?

What was the most meaningful thing you shared with me today?

Personal history interview: How is your neighborhood work part of your personal story?

The goal of this session is to understand how their work to improve their neighborhood or the Arroyo fits into their personal narrative and that of their family. This entails sharing their personal goals, the challenges they've encountered, important life events or decisions as well as surprises or unexpected turns in their journey. Bruner (Bruner 1991, 2004) provides a model for this type of biographical interview. Once they have told a story about themselves, I will ask them to describe the social and leadership dynamics in the neighborhood. This will allow me to put their civic involvement into a social context. The final third of the interview will have them describe their work on behalf the neighborhood broadly and then focus on outreach and the story they want other people to understand about the neighborhood.

Personal and family history – 45 minutes

Where do you like to begin the story of your life?

- What's important to know about your childhood? Your adolescence?
- How does your profession or current work fit into the story? What's important to know about?
- What pursuits outside of work have had an impact on your life?
- What has been a high point in your life so far? What has been a low point?
- What have been turning points?
- Where are you now in the story and where are they headed?

What goals or motivations have you had throughout your life? What inspired those goals?

What challenges have you encountered in pursuing those goals? What's been the greatest challenge?

What values or ethics have guided you?

What is drawing your energy and attention right now?

Review basic timeline and ask about gaps…

How does your story fit into the larger story of your family? Think about your parents, grandparents, siblings, children, grandchildren

How would you describe your connection to the neighborhood and the Arroyo?

- To what degree do you feel like you belong? When do you feel like an insider or an outsider?
- What part has the neighborhood or the Arroyo played in your life story?

Leadership and social dynamics within the Arroyo – 30 minutes

To what degree is it possible to characterize the people who live here? Who is attracted to this neighborhood?

Tell me about the formal or informal networks that influence life in the neighborhood?

To what degree do these networks interact with one another? When do they collaborate and when are they in conflict? Who are the super-connectors?

What is the position of your network in the community? What is the position of the network working specifically on the Arroyo?

What other groups, associations, or congregations have an impact on the neighborhood? The impact could be positive or negative.

What kind of differences matter in the neighborhood (e.g. geography, class, race, education, etc.)?

What sort of hierarchies are there in the neighborhood? What individuals or groups have high status within the neighborhood? Who has low status? How do those individuals or groups display their status?

How divided is the community? What divisions need healing? Where is reconciliation needed?

Who or what is in a position of authority within the neighborhood? What is the relationship of that authority to the community? What does that authority respond to?

Who do you respect in the community and why?

Who are the rightful leaders of the neighborhood?

Who has power in the neighborhood and how is it expressed (power is different than authority)?

How strong is civic involvement in the neighborhood? What are barriers to engagement in public issues?

What do you know about the history of civic involvement and public engagement in the neighborhood?

What types of cooperative enterprises (e.g. community gardens, food co-ops, credit unions) exist in the neighborhood?

What issues generate the most participation and involvement within the neighborhood?

How does information get out to people in the neighborhood? Is that where you get your information on the neighborhood? How do people mobilize?

Neighborhood involvement – 45 minutes

What brought you to the neighborhood? Why did you move here?

Tell me how you became involved in neighborhood?

What was your motivation? To what degree has that motivation changed over time?

What have you done since becoming involved?

What have been your goals? How have your goals changed over time?

What's been your strategy or approach?

What has been the high point of the work? What accomplishments are you most proud of?

What challenges have you encountered? Can you name a low point?

Exercise – I want to use a literary framework to define your neighborhood work that puts you as the subject or protagonist in a story.

- Sought-for-good - What are they seeking to accomplish?
- Receiver - Who receives the benefit of that accomplishment?
- Sender - Who or what is pushing you to do this work?
- Opposition - Who or what is standing in your way?
- Helper - Who is providing the greatest assistance?

Can you tell me about the nature of the opposition? What does it entail?

How do you talk or write about the opposition within your group or with friends and allies?

What story do you want the public to understand about the Arroyo or your neighborhood?

- Who are the different audiences you're trying to reach? Who is your primary audience? Can you give an example?
- How do you connect with your audience?
- What do I need to understand about the past or the future to understand your story?
- What do you hope will happen as a result of the story?
- What's the role of the more-than-human world in this story?
- What's a potential title for that story?

To be an effective change maker in this neighborhood, what do you need to know? What works and what doesn't? Can you give me an example of a successful community initiative?

How diverse is your network of people working to improve the neighborhood? Who else would you like to become involved in these networks?

Whose voices need amplification within the neighborhood?

What have you discovered about yourself?

What do you still need to figure out about this community? If you could ask each person in the neighborhood a question, what would it be?

How does this work in the neighborhood connect back to your life story?

What was the most meaningful thing you shared with me today?

Storytelling interview – What stories resonate with the neighborhood?

The purpose of this interview is to understand how neighborhood experiences translate into cultural forms, especially different types of narratives. The interview begins discussing folklife in the neighborhood. This includes both artistic expression and a broad definition of Craftsmanship that seeks to capture practices that achieve a certain level of excellence and gain recognition and respect within the neighborhood. The most important instances of folklife to record are those that reach beyond a single individual and are passed around and passed down within the community. The next part of the interview seeks to understand what types of stories would resonate within the neighborhood. This section asks questions about the different narrative elements, such as what type of character that people in the community would root for and the important decisions or discoveries people make while living in the neighborhood. It also includes questions to unearth whether satire, tragedy, comedy or romance would match people's neighborhood experience. The final section of the interview would take place during a "windshield tour" and include specific neighborhood stories that participants want to share. Stops on the tour could be related to the stories but could also be sites that have come up in previous interviews.

Folklife in the neighborhood – 30 minutes

Who are people in the neighborhood that have earned respect because of some special skill or technical expertise, where people recognize that there's an art to what they do? Is that just them or has it been passed on to family or other people?

Other forms of Craftsmanship or folk art within the neighborhood (e.g. murals, Plein air, Judson glass, Batchelder tiles)?

What pleases people in the neighborhood by virtue of its beauty or excellence?

Are there practices that are done other places but, in this neighborhood, have their own special twist?

Can you think of ways the traces of the past are still woven into the life of the neighborhood? This could be old rail lines in the street, place names, traditions, ceremonies, etc.

What are traditions in the neighborhood? Who are the bearers of those traditions and how are they passed on?

Storytelling exercise – 60 minutes

Plots/Sequences/Dramatic situations

What are some of the aspirations of people in the neighborhood? What stands in their way?

What are the people who move here looking for? What determines whether they stay or move on?

What pleasures or freedoms come with living in this neighborhood?

What pleasures or freedoms are people missing and do people yearn for? What stands in the way of these pleasures or freedoms?

Characters and relationships

What type of person would people in your community, or your neighbors, relate to and root for? What qualities would make them sympathetic?

What would be that character's big wish?

Who are the characters that stand out in the neighborhood? They can either be from the past or the present. Why do they stand out?

What characters don't get enough attention?

Themes

What puzzle about the neighborhood or the Arroyo needs a solution?

If you could ask each person in the neighborhood a question, what would it be?

Tone, affect, and emotion

How would you describe the spirit of the community?

What's the mood of the neighborhood?

What type of music matches the neighborhood? If you had to create a soundtrack for a film set in the neighborhood, what would be on it?

Metaphor and Image

What images come to mind when you think of the neighborhood? the Arroyo?

Which of those images trigger emotions in you? How so?

Description of certain dynamics related to certain kinds of stories

Satire

How often do people feel powerless?

What generates shared frustration across the neighborhood?

How often does the neighborhood have to put up with foolishness? Can you think of examples?

What or who would the neighborhood enjoy seeing humbled or made fun of? Would they deserve it?

What situations in the neighborhood illustrate human weakness?

Tragedy

To what degree does the neighborhood support those with ambition?

Why do initiatives fail in this neighborhood?

What do people in this neighborhood fight for?

What sacrifices do they make? Toward what end?

Comedy

In what situations is life prevented from flourishing in the neighborhood and the natural flow and desires of life blocked? What is the origin or source of this blockage?

What are the sources of love in the community? How does it flow out into the community and where does it miss?

If you could bring two entities together in marriage within the neighborhood, what would they be?

How does the community like to celebrate?

Romance

Can you think of widely acknowledged or widely felt injustices in the neighborhood?

Who or what is the neighborhood's dragon? What are people's greatest fears?

What does the neighborhood need to defeat the dragon?

What victory would give the neighborhood a feeling of triumph?

Would more people in the neighborhood side with dreamers or realists? Lovers or fighters?

Neighborhood storytelling – 30 minutes

Can you tell me a neighborhood story….

…that reflects the spirit of the community?

…that ends in collective joy and celebration?

…that involves learning a lesson?

…that takes place in a park?

…in which people organize to defend themselves from a specific threat?

…of a local adventure?

…about a heroic achievement?

…about when you were proud of the community?

…about healing divides within the neighborhood?

…about an injustice?

…about when you were ashamed or angry at your community?

…about someone who has failed in something despite putting in huge effort?

…about a humbling experience?

…about personal or community transformation?

…about individuals or organizations collaborating for community benefit?

…about something out of the ordinary?

…about individuals or organizations breaking norms or routines?

…about something that interrupted or intruded on community life?

…about people making a change in the neighborhood?

…about an individual who makes a difference?

…about the forces of nature?

…about the Arroyo?

…about wildlife?

…about a storm?

Windshield tour

Choose places that…

Relate to one of the stories that you tell

Are community hubs of activity

Are the places that represent the neighborhood

Are places that are distinctive and unique

What was the most meaningful thing you told me today?

Connections interview – Where does the story go from here?

The final interview of this phase asks participants to place their section of the Arroyo in relationship to Greater Los Angeles and asks them to place their own involvement in the Arroyo's sustainability networks in relation to larger issues that they are concerned about. The interview will start with a discussion of the neighborhoods' past, review current issues and controversies, and then transition into thinking about each neighborhood's future. I think it would be useful here to ask about their perceptions around climate change, the loss and conservation of biodiversity, and Indigenous sovereignty, though concerns over other global issues might take precedence. The interview will end with a conversation about what type of stories the neighborhood needs going forward.

Understanding of the neighborhood's past – 20 minutes

To tell the story of this neighborhood up to this point, where would you start?

What have been key turning points in the community's past?

To what degree do patterns or themes emerge when you look at the neighborhood's past?

- What issues has the neighborhood grappled with over time? What have the main conflicts been about?
- What have been the drivers of history within the neighborhood?
- What hasn't changed over time and been enduring?
- How has the neighborhood responded in the past to change? How resilient has it been?

Where do you see the influence of this past on the present life in the neighborhood?

- What haunts this neighborhood? What ghosts exist in this neighborhood?
- To what degree do you think the neighborhood's past will determine its future?
- How has civic involvement in the neighborhood changed over time?

Where do things stand now? – 20 minutes

Network follow-up questions

What is the position of the network working specifically on the Arroyo?

Who or what is in a position of authority within the neighborhood?

What is the relationship of that authority to the community?

What does that authority respond to?

Who has power in the neighborhood and how is it expressed (power is different than authority)?

What kind of differences matter in the neighborhood (e.g. geography, class, race, education, etc.)?

How strong is civic involvement in the neighborhood? What are barriers to engagement in public issues?

What issues generate the most participation and involvement within the neighborhood?

What would they fight to defend or what are they fighting to establish?

What types of cooperative enterprises (e.g. community gardens, food co-ops, credit unions) exist in the neighborhood?

How do the dynamics in Pasadena compare to other communities that you've seen?

What's is your understanding of the Pasadena way?

What is going right and what's going wrong in the Arroyo/neighborhood right now?

- What aspects of life in the neighborhood are getting better? Which are getting worse?
- What aspects of the neighborhood or Arroyo are in a state of balance and which are out of balance?
- Overall, has the quality of life in the neighborhood gotten better, worse, or stayed the same?

How would you define the current period we're in?

- What separates it from, and what is consistent with, the past?
- What changes are occurring?

What issues are the neighborhood dealing with?

- What seem to be impossible conflicts within the community?
- What issues is no one paying attention to?
- How are these issues and challenges reflected in the lives of individuals and small groups?
- To what degree is the neighborhood divided?

Where are things headed? – 20 minutes

What do you anticipate could be turning points in the future?

What alternative future scenarios can you imagine?

- What choices does this community face in the future?
- What is out of their control?
- What do you expect will change?
- What do you expect will not change? What will be enduring?

To what degree do you think the neighborhood's past will determine its future?

What is your wish for the neighborhood's future? What is your dream for the Arroyo?

- What would have to happen for that wish to come true?
- If there is one thing you could bring to the neighborhood, what would it be? What would be one thing you'd take away? Why?
- What is your nightmare?

What change would give people a sense of triumph?

What change would give people a sense of loss?

To what degree is there a "promised land" in the neighborhood?

Connections beyond the neighborhood – 15 minutes

How do connections to the larger city, region, or globe show up in the neighborhood? What material ties does the neighborhood have to the larger city, region, or globe?

What do these connections do for people? What's the impact on the life of the neighborhood?

How have these connections changed over time?

Where are these connections activated in the neighborhood?

What institutions from outside the neighborhood have the largest impact on the story of the neighborhood?

Connections to other issues – 15 minutes

What broader issues do you see your work on behalf of the neighborhood connecting with?

How does your understanding of the broader issue influence your work?

What connections do you see between your work and climate change? Conservation of biodiversity? Indigenous self-determination?

Outside perceptions and the media? – 15 minutes

What associations are attached to saying you're from the neighborhood? What's the reputation of the neighborhood in the rest of the city? How is it seen by others?

What would you like others to know about your neighborhood?

How is the neighborhood represented in media? What do they get right and what do they miss?

How has this story changed over time?

How do residents feel about this representation? What identity would you like projected to the outside world and to visitors?

What stories do people need – 20 minutes

In terms of making life better in the neighborhood, what should be the priority?

Do you feel the neighborhood needs more knowledge or more power?

What does the neighborhood need to figure out about itself?

Given that, what stories do you think would be most useful?

What's the role of your work and that of the network you're a part of in that story?

What was the most meaningful thing you told me today?

Story Map Interview

- What parts of the map feel true to your experience? How would you change the map to make it a more accurate reflection of these stories and how the intersect for you?
- What's missing from this map and my interpretation of these stories?
- What is an idea, question, or theme related to what we're talking about that you'd like to explore or express creatively? What would you like to reflect upon more deeply?

- What artistic medium(s) would you like to use to explore that idea, question, or theme?
- What kind of stories do people in the neighborhood need right now? What kind of stories do people in your community network need? How could people enact that story in the neighborhood? What would enacting that story entail?

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Appendix 13: Letter for community expert interviews

Thank you for your assistance. Arroyo Seco Placekeepers is a community organizing project exploring new ways to support community-based conservation and neighborhood activism through storytelling and performance. The project aims to assist the community networks trying to enhance and restore the Arroyo Seco and improve the quality of life within its neighborhoods. The initial pilot for Arroyo Seco Placekeepers focuses on the neighborhoods adjacent to Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo with plans to engage other neighborhoods in the near future.

Participation is completely voluntary. You can stop participating at any time and place limits on how I able to use or share the information you provide. I will ask a series of questions about the Arroyo Seco, neighborhood life, civic engagement, and the area's future. Your participation in this research should take approximately **1 hour**.

This pilot project serves as my doctoral research for the geography program at the University of California, Davis and could result in a journal article, conference presentation, monograph, book, or other publication. The intention of the research is to benefit the outreach efforts of neighborhood groups and organizations focused on place-based conservation and community building. I will send an email with a copy of the final dissertation once it is complete in 2023.

To thank you for your assistance, I will also provide **a gift card to a local business for $20** upon completion of the interview

As research, I would like to audio record our conversation so I can accurately note your words. I can stop the recording at any time or not make a recording if that is your preference. I will take notes during the interview. These notes will remain confidential, stored on a private, password-protected computer, and not shared or circulated to others without your written permission. I will provide an opportunity by email to review and revise any direct quotation from our conversation prior to its disclosure or publication. You can decline the publication or disclosure of your words at any time. If you do not respond within a month's time from this initial request, you are agreeing that I can use the quotation as part of a publication.

If you have any questions about the project, please feel free to contact me at 970-426-8392 or mvrenner@gmail.com.

Signing below indicates that we have reviewed this information together, and I've offered you a written copy for your records.

Appendix 14: Letter for neighborhood leader interviews

Arroyo Seco Placekeepers is a cultural organizing project exploring new ways to support community-based conservation and neighborhood activism through storytelling and performance. The project aims to assist the community networks trying to enhance and restore the Arroyo Seco and improve the quality of life within its neighborhoods. The initial pilot for Arroyo Seco Placekeepers focuses on the neighborhoods adjacent to Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo with plans to engage other neighborhoods in the near future.

Participation is completely voluntary and you can stop participating at any time. For this project, neighborhood leaders meet with me for **five one-on-one interviews**, scheduled at your convenience, which all together will last about 9 hours. Neighborhood leaders will also attend **a half-day workshop** during the summer or fall of 2022 to discuss preliminary results of the research. All meetings will either be in-person or virtual depending on current public health protocols and the preference of the group. Your total participation as a neighborhood leader will take about **12 hours**.

This pilot project serves as my doctoral research for the geography program at the University of California, Davis and could result in a journal article, conference presentation, monograph, book, or other publication. The intention of the research is to benefit the outreach efforts of neighborhood groups and organizations focused on place-based conservation and community building.

To thank you for your assistance, I will be available to discuss how the findings could apply to the work of your specific group or organization. I can also provide a **stipend of $250** after the final meeting of the pilot project (roughly October 2022). Withdrawal from the project prior to completion will result in a reduced stipend, corresponding to $20 per hour of participation.

As research, I would like to audio record our one-on-one interviews so I can accurately note your words. I can stop the recording at any time or not make a recording if that is your preference. I will take notes during the interviews and the workshop. These notes will remain confidential, stored on a private, password-protected computer, and not shared or circulated to others without your written permission. I will provide an opportunity by email to review and revise any direct quotation from your participation prior to its disclosure or publication. You can decline the publication or disclosure of your words at any time. If you do not respond within a month's time from the initial request, you are agreeing that I can use the quotation as part of a publication.

If you have any questions about the project, please feel free to contact me at 970-426-8392 or mvrenner@gmail.com. Signing below indicates that we have reviewed this information together, and I've offered you a written copy for your records.

Appendix 15: Landscape observation protocol

Sensory experience - (sounds, smells, textures/materials, colors, shapes, water/air/temps)

Structure & Spatial arrangement (gathering space/commons, venues, refuge/prospect, path, node, edge, gateway/threshold, wholes, hierarchies, rhythms, network, patterns of movement, flow)

Environmental factors (position in landscape, water, trees/vegetation, wildlife, succession, disturbance)

Performances - (domesticity, socializing, recreation, spirituality, consumerism, work/production, creativity, civic activities)

Relationship to time - (pace, tempo, rhythm, chronotope, architectural tense/preservation elements, allusions to past or future, memorials/interpretations)

Narrative activities - (sequences of activities, affordances for particular stories, sense of closure or resolution)

Paradoxes, anomalies, surprises

Presentational elements (cleanliness, gateways, etc.)

Liminal spaces (frontstage/backstage, decay, disorder, chaos, fear)

Signs of personal agency and individual design

Characters or character types associated with space

Images, words, names, and symbols within the space

Allusions to storytelling genres or literary modes

Summary questions

What are constraining factors or process within the neighborhood and how do they interact?

What types of placemaking/placekeeping is happening? (physical alteration or extraction; boundary creation; separation of back and frontstage; display of names or symbols; commodification; measurement or surveying, wildlife and habitat)

What links exist to other places? (through transportation, allusive elements, economic relationship, migration corridors)

How is discipline maintained in the neighborhood? What is sacrosanct and what would represent a violation? (rules of behavior, signs of conflict, who has authority, signs of belonging or exclusion, surveillance and enforcement, official notices)

What is the role of the area in capitalist production? What other economies are present?

Legacies of inequality, exclusion, injustice, or exploitation? (markers of racial, class, gender differences; sharp divisions between nature and culture)

Questions or ideas to open up a dialogue about sustainability or justice?

Appendix 16: Sample descriptive and diagnostic questions by narrative element

(This contains only a sample of the questions within the interpretive framework)

Plot/progression

Descriptive Questions

- What change or potential change is the story about? What are the main events?
- How has the author/narrator arranged these events to tell the story?
- How does the sequence and subplots give shape to the narrative?
- Given these plot choices, what's driving the narrative?
- How is the plot problematic?
- How does non-narrative discourse enter the story and how does the narrator use it to support the narrative?
- How do the plot choices aim to engage the audience?
- How does the teller manage time within the narrative?
- What provides unity and coherence to the plot of the story?

Diagnostic Questions

From Levine (2015)

- Networks - Does the story reflect a multiple causalities and chronologies at different scales?
- Hierarchies - How important is difference and gradation and status to the story to the events of the story?
- Wholes - How important are spatial and temporal boundaries to the story, either to the substance of the story or to their presentation in terms of closure, coherence, and causation?

- Rhythms - How important is repetitive temporal rhythm, either to the events of the story or in the way story's presentation to the reader?

From White (2014)

- To what degree does satire enter into the story? What does the story suggest requires a satiric treatment?
- Does the story speak to structural stasis or structural transformation?
- Does the story speak to human potential and agency or accommodation to larger forces?
- Romance - To what degree is the story one of redemption and heroic achievement?
- Satire - To what degree is the story one of powerlessness and human weakness?
- Comedy - To what degree does the story suggest peace and reconciliation is possible?
- Tragedy - To what degree does the story teach a moral lesson about the limits of human power and ambition?

From Barranger (2004)

- Do past choices weigh on the present and a fateful choice loom in the future?
- Does the plot revolve around a physical or spiritual journey leading to a fuller understanding and hope for change?
- Does the story revolve around a particular, perpetual and unchanging situation?
- Does the plot pushback against a coherent narrative and present a fractured reality?

Setting

Descriptive questions

- What are important details about the setting?
- What are the spatial and temporal boundaries of the world? What distinguishes the world of the story?
- How would you describe people's subjective experience within this setting?
- What doesn't fit within this setting? Whose presence generates friction or static?
- What literary devices is the author using to present the setting?
- What is the role of landscape and the nonhuman?
- What types of placekeeping and placemaking are present in the narrative?
- What are the particular places and spaces that are important in the narrative?
- What kinds of sense of place or place attachment are expressed in the narrative?

Diagnostic Questions

From Bakhtin (1981)

- The Greek Romance - Does the narrative take place in a timeless present where the characters are constantly reacting and don't appreciably change from one adventure to the next?
- Character transformation - Does the narrative present episodes of extraordinary events that combine to reveal the true nature of the hero?
- Ancient biography & autobiography - Does the narrative present a form of biographical time where the narrator recounts the hero's deeds in the public square?

- The Chivalric Romance - Does the narrative present the road not just as a metaphor for the quest or a life but for the entire world? Is the world of the story miraculous, with subjective and shifting experience for both time and space?
- Picaresque Novel - Does the narrative combine an episodic engagement with life along the road focused on satirizing and subverting conventions? Is the setting akin to the theatre, something set apart in time where the normal rules and relationships don't hold fast?

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Appendix 17: Template for comparing stories of neighborhood leaders

Similarities	**Differences**
Stories	
Narrative Elements	
Plots/Events -	Plots/Events -
Setting -	Setting -
Tone/Emotion -	Tone/Emotion -
Characters/Relationships -	Characters/Relationships -
Metaphor/Imagery -	Metaphor/Imagery -
Themes -	Themes -
Language -	Language -
Genre -	Genre –

Story Map Summaries	
World of the Arroyo -	World of the Arroyo -
Stories of the Arroyo -	Stories of the Arroyo -
Personal Stories -	Personal Stories -
Genre -	Genre -
Comparison Exercises	
Distillations -	Distillations -
Origins -	Origins -
Performance -	Performance -
Missing in Performance -	Missing in Performance -
Shadow Stories -	Shadow Stories -
Useful Stories -	Useful Stories -

What makes the profile of the stories special (unique or exemplary)?

How does it relate to narratives of the city or region? What's the context that this narrative/performance is operating within?

Decide if and how the stories come together - one unified story, story w/ variants, contending stories, collage, etc. Compare with what stories people said the community needed to consider

Given that, identify the challenges/sore spots/sticking points, gaps, unanswered questions or clear choices for production

- look at what's missing from specific stories/project ideas
- look at what stories do people need
- look what do the story lessons from genre work suggest
- you might have to do more investigation (e.g. read about The Fisher King, look up an archetype, etc.)
- think about specific comparable stories and how they resolve

Figure out how to frame the most important issues for the creative team to think about

- Name the issue
- Relate it to lessons from genre/form/plot
- Provide a comparable example of the issue from a story/fairy tale/myth/film
- Identify examples of how the issue plays out in the Arroyo or Pasadena
- Identify important location related to the issues
- Pull related questions from the question bank that are both abstract and concrete
- Frame a prompt/question for the creative dialogue session

Issue:	
Description of challenge	
Lessons from genre, form, plot	
Related stories	
Examples from Arroyo area	
Related locations in Arroyo	
Project ideas	
Related questions	

Appendix 18: Landscape dramaturgy: Data collection and analysis of the Arroyo′s historical landscape

One of the foundational beliefs that I state in chapter 3 is that human beings are not the sole actors and authors in the performance of community life. It follows from this belief that creative placekeepers must understand and make room for the creative contributions of the more-than-human world. The idea of creative collaboration between human and more-than-human worlds is as old as humanity itself (Abram 1996; Martin 1992; Shepard 1998) and is one that still animates Gabrieleno/Tongva perspectives along with those of Indigenous peoples around the world (Cajete 1994; Johnston 1962; Jurmain and McCawley 2009; Kawagley 2006; McCawley 1996; Teves, Smith, and Raheja 2015).

The question is how to facilitate communication between the two worlds. I view this problem as one of translation. This assumes that we receive the languages of the land-- of rivers, plants, animals, and whole assemblages of natural elements such as forests or prairies-- as human concepts, names, and stories but that their source is a physical and biological world that exists apart from humanity (Abram 1996; Basso 1996; Kohn 2013). “Apart” does not mean separate. Humans are “a part” of the more-than-human world, perhaps a vital part, but the rest of this world has enough independence to have its own set of languages that humans need to work to understand, be it through science, poetry, or prayer. The data collection and analysis process that I describe here is an attempt to translate the languages of the land into narratives that humanity can understand and compare with human stories of justice and sustainability.[83] One reason for providing more detail to this aspect of community dramaturgy is that while several creative

[83] While we often relate concerns for other forms of life with sustainability, this is also a matter of justice. From an eco-centric perspective, solutions that do not account the more-than-human world are fundamentally unjust.

placekeeping projects address environmental concerns, most do not engage the more-than-human world in a rigorous or systematic way. For me, giving attention to the more-than-human world is a sign of respect and recognition.

Step one: Data collection

The first challenge to translating the more-than-human world into narrative form is deciding what data collect. Elinor Fuchs (2015) argues that dramaturgy must start with understanding the world of a play. But this is challenging for the more-than-human world because there is no singular character to focus upon, no specific vantage point from which to take in the world, making the scales of space and time from which to glean stories almost limitless. This requires choosing a particular ecological lens or criterion through which to understand the more-than-human world. In literary terms, this means choosing a point of view. It also requires defining the spatial and temporal extent across which to extend this perspective (Ahl and Allen 1996; Allen and Hoekstra 1992). Making these decisions helps determine what language to pull from the cacophonous noise of the more-than-human world for translation. I do not believe there is a consistent rule of thumb for making these choices; rather, I believe it depends upon the scope of the project and people's particular experience within a given landscape. In some cases, choosing the point of view of a particularly important organism might be best. In others, it could be a particular natural process, such as fire, or a specific local landmark or natural feature central to a community's identity. Finding out what more-than-human features and processes are central to community life should be part of the initial reconnaissance for a project.

For the pilot, a central question was what makes Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo stand out as a place from other parts of the Arroyo and from other places across Southern

California. The answer to this question does not have to be something that makes a place unique. A place can stand out because it is exemplary in a particular way. Setting the Central and Lower Arroyo against the backdrop of the geology and ecology of the rest of the Los Angeles basin, two qualities immediately jump out. The first is the topography of the canyon. Most streams spill from the San Gabriel Mountains into broad, shallow floodplains or "washes." Eaton Wash is immediately to the east of the Arroyo; Tujunga Wash is to the west. "Arroyo" means "gulch," which immediately sets it apart. The Lower Arroyo's canyon is also quite narrow. In some places it is possible to throw a rock across from one rim to the other. This relates to the canyon's other defining quality: the proximity of diverse habitats in and around this portion of the Arroyo. During Gabrieleno/Tongva times, the wider Central Arroyo would have hosted alluvial scrub habitat common to other washes while the Lower Arroyo held a riparian forest that more typically occurs in mountain canyons. The San Rafael Hills, which the River flows below, and through which it ultimately carves a path, brings the chaparral vegetation of the mountains almost down to the River. The numerous springs seeping from the canyon floor and walls would have supported wetland vegetation while oak woodlands crowd the north-facing hill slopes and gullies caused by the rolling topography. What makes this portion of the Arroyo distinctive, then, is first, the geomorphology of the River and second, its diversity of habitats. The story of these two elements provides a place to start or a particular point of view. To define the spatial extent of this area, I chose the watershed boundaries, with the recognition that different habitats would have spilled over these boundaries and shifted over time in response to fires, floods, and changes in climate. There are two temporal scales this point of view suggest. The first is a time scale of millions of years during which geologic processes shaped the River's course. The second is the hundreds to thousands of years over which the particular collection of habitat types I mention

above formed a semi-stable matrix that species, including humans, lived within. After making these choices of point of view and temporal and spatial scales, my search for data began to narrow.

To understand the geomorphology of the River, I began to construct a geologic timeline for the Arroyo. Secondary sources describing the geology of Southern California provided the broad context; academic journal articles about the Western San Gabriel mountains provided specific details (McPhee 1993; Reilly 1932; Robinson 1977; Schoenherr 1992; Sharp 1972; Weaver and Dolan 2000; Yerkes et al. 1965). The most important source was a report by John Buwalda (1940) for the Pasadena Water and Power Department on the geology of the Raymond Basin aquifer. Buwalda's maps show an Ancient Arroyo flowed west-to-east across Pasadena through a canyon that was once over a thousand feet deep. Buwalda and others suggest that the alluvium flowing out of the San Gabriel Mountains gradually pushed the River west, from three o'clock to five o'clock on a clock face, so that it flowed down through the Alhambra Wash and into the Rio Hondo, which once formed the bed of the San Gabriel River (Buwalda 1940; Crook Jr. et al. 1987; Smith 1986). Crook et al. (1987) says a second stream, draining the waters flowing from hills above Northeast Los Angeles and South Pasadena, most likely captured Pasadena's Ancient Arroyo near where the Rose Bowl is located today and turned these two separate streams into the current Arroyo. The timing of this seminal event is unclear. Given the age of the alluvium deposits on either side of the Arroyo, it could have taken place anytime between roughly 50,000 and 11,000 years ago (Crook Jr. et al. 1987).[84] This event, however, marks a clear turning point in the narrative of the River.

With regard to the different habitats of the Arroyo, disagreements between sources about

[84] During a personal conversation in 2001, scientist Richard Crook said the river capture was likely closer to 10,000 than to 50,000 years before present.

the historic landscape of Pasadena drove my data collection (Carr 1893; Ethington et al. 2020; Pomeroy 2007; Zack 2004). At first glance historic photos to suggest that Pasadena was a barren grassy, plain prior to white settlement.



Figure 97. *1876 photo of Lower and Central Arroyo. Photo looks northeast at the location of today's Colorado Street Bridge and downtown Pasadena (Pierce 1876. USC Digital Library. https://doi.org/10.25549/chs-m5996).*

Early maps of the Rancho San Pascual, however, show significant woodlands, especially in the southern and northeast sections of Pasadena (see figure 98). The final report of the Los Angeles Landscape History report, which used a computer model to combine soils, climate, and topography and assign historic habitat types across a grid at the scale of one square kilometer, said the most likely "potential natural vegetation" for Pasadena was coastal sage scrub (Ethington et al. 2020). The report says, however, a more fine-grain analysis is necessary to improve the accuracy of the model at a neighborhood scale.

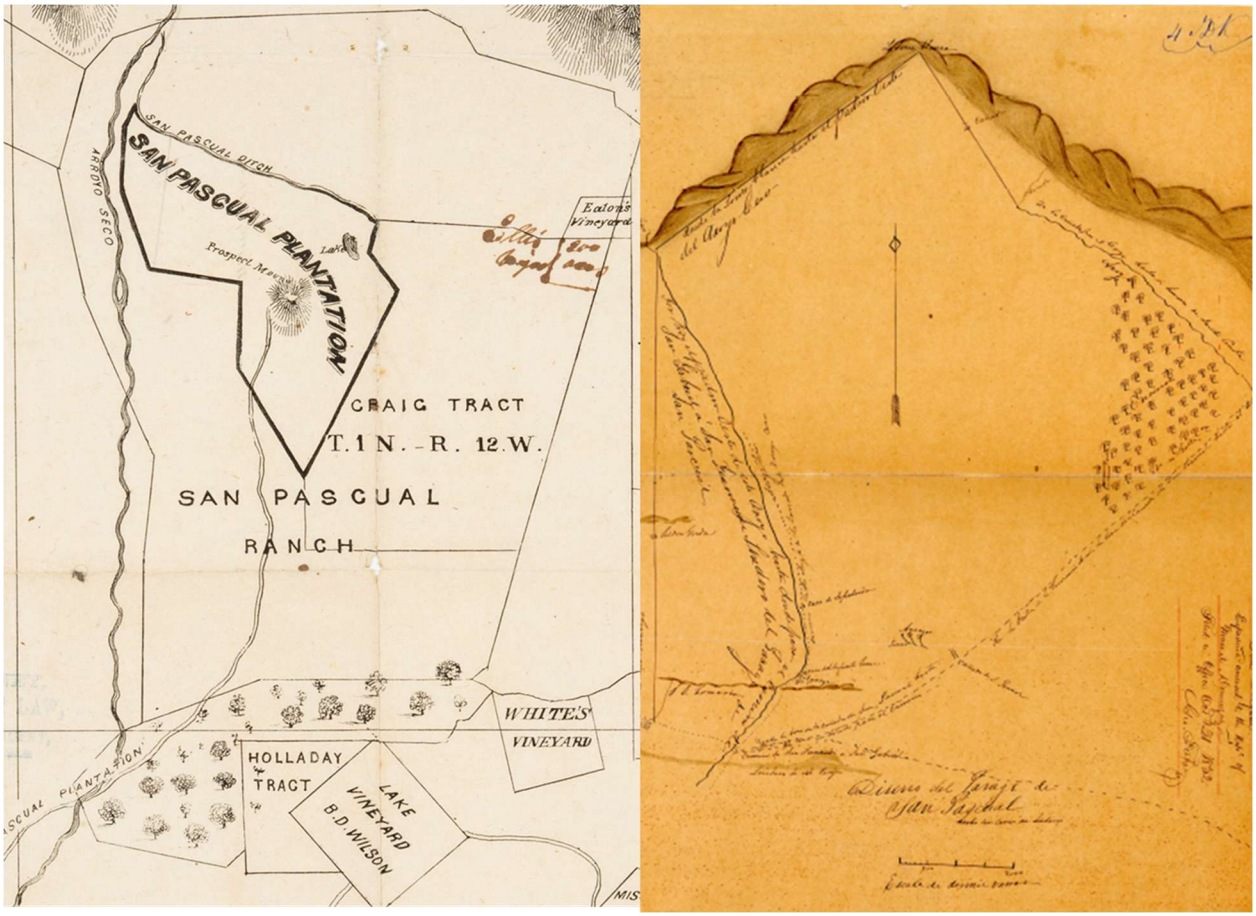

Figure 98. *Early maps of Rancho San Pascual. Maps show oak groves in the southern and northeastern sections of Pasadena. To the left is detail from a promotional real estate map from 1870* (Baker 1870. *255611. The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.*). *To the right is a diseño map from prior to 1858 when Benjamin Wilson and John S. Griffin took ownership of the Rancho* ("San Pascual (Garfias)" n.d.).

My research took on this challenge by gathering data points from local histories, settler letters and journal entries, and historic maps, photos, and newspaper articles. Daniel Berry's letters to Thomas Elliot, for example, provide some of the earliest observations and assessments of the undeveloped landscape that would become Pasadena, including descriptions of the oaks surrounding the house on Benjamin Eaton's Fair Oaks Ranch in what is today northeast Pasadena (Berry 1873-74). Eaton was an engineer and one of the first people to live on the Rancho San Pascual after it was taken over by Benjamin Wilson and John S. Griffin in 1858. Dr. Hiram Reid in his 1895 *History of Pasadena* quotes Eaton telling the story of an attack on two prospectors

camping in the Arroyo by Native Americans (Reid and McClatchie 1895). One prospector was found dead in "thick brush" along the Arroyo's East Rim (30). I began to collect these off-hand remarks about the landscape and organized them into "districts" defined by different reaches in and along Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo. This research greatly benefited from the books and monographs of Charles Frederick Holder, a 19th century naturalist and co-founder of the Valley Hunt Club who is widely credited for the idea to create Pasadena's Tournament of Roses. Holder's colorful, and at times disturbing, prose recounts chasing coyotes, bobcats, and other wildlife with horses and hounds down the Arroyo but also provides close-to-the-ground details, including plant species and the location of important springs (Holder 1888b, 1888a, 1889, 1906). He also includes descriptions of steelhead trout that during times of high water took advantage of the Arroyo as the shortest route from the Los Angeles River to their spawning grounds in the mountains. Geographer and fire ecologist Richard Minnich (2008) makes a strong case that Altadena and northern Pasadena were covered with flowerfields rather than chaparral or the sage scrub one might expect. Historic photographs of white alder trees (*Alnus rhombifolia*) at the base of California Street are a tell-tale sign that the stream here had water year-round as this is a precondition for this particular species (Faber et al. 1989). The mapping of historic springs also suggests where willows and other wetland vegetation might have existed. To this end, I secured a high-quality scan of an irrigation map from the 1880s where field surveyors drew in several springs along the Arroyo (Hall 1880). Finally, soil surveys and maps from the early 20th century provide an ability to make informed guesses of the past vegetation (Eckmann and Zinn 1917; Mesmer 1903; Nelson et al. 1919).

At the same time that I was collecting and collating this site-specific data, I spent time creating profiles of the various habitat types I knew were present in the Pasadena area: riparian

forest, alluvial scrub, oak woodland and savanna, coastal sage scrub, chaparral, grassland, forblands and flowerfields, and valley wetlands. In addition to textbook descriptions of these ecological communities, I conducted reviews of the scientific literature. Particularly helpful were studies of the historical ecology of similar landscapes. A report on the San Gabriel River floodplain was helpful in thinking about the Central Arroyo (Stein et al. 2007). And a report by Grossinger et al. (2008) on the historical ecology of the South Santa Clara Valley pushed me to think about oak savannas as a distinct habitat for Pasadena's past. Following Allen and Hoesktra (1992), I organized this information according to the different criterion ecologists use to study the biological world -- landscape, ecosystem, community, population, organism, and biome. This provided me with a holistic understanding of each type of habitat, including keystone species, responses to disturbances, preferred soil types, and rainfall conditions. These notes helped me to further refine my search for data and allowed me to better interpret the site-specific historical notations I had already collected.

The Los Angeles Landscape History report also underscores the central role that Native Californians had in managing these habitat areas across Los Angeles and how this management shifted roughly 2500 years ago from a focus on seeds, bulbs, and small game to the processing of large acorn harvests that required year-round supplies of water to wash away the acorn's bitter tannins (Ethington et al. 2020). A portrait of the Arroyo region emerged from the research as an almost ideal location for human settlement, with groves of large oak trees, a year-round stream stocked with fish, flowerfields in Altadena to provide chia and other nutritious seeds, springs surrounded by cattails, willows, and rushes ideal for basketmaking and house construction, and an alluvial scrub habitat in the Central Arroyo that, once mature, provided an abundant harvests of yucca, prickly-pear, laurel sumac, golden currant, California juniper, Lemonade berry,

Mexican elderberry, and spiny redberry (Smith 1980). Gabrieleno/Tongva would have intensely managed these areas with fire to encourage large oaks and the flower and forb species they most prized. This fire regime would have kept different areas in various states of succession to provide the resources necessary to support a relatively large population base (Ethington et al. 2020).

Within this matrix, it became clear that the historic extent of oak trees in Pasadena was the outstanding question to resolve as oak woodlands have different ecological dynamics than the other habitats and give rise to a different set of stories. Because modern agriculture only began 150 years ago, oak trees that pre-date American settlement are still alive. I used a 2011 inventory of street trees from the City of Pasadena to map oaks over 48 inches in diameter (City of Pasadena Department of Public Works 2011). It is possible that settlers planted these oaks. Well-watered oaks in suitable soil can achieve a large girth within a hundred years.[85] But oaks were not the favored street trees in Pasadena's earliest days making it more likely that these trees were historic. In addition, I used historic photos and newspaper articles to identify locations of other large oaks in the Pasadena area. Many of the photos were from the early 20th century, and so large oaks in these photos likely pre-dated settlement. I also georeferenced the original land survey of the Rancho San Pascual by Henry Hancock from 1858 in order identify the location of the oak trees that Hancock used as survey markers and referenced in his notes (Hancock 1858). In all I mapped 71 large oaks in and around Pasadena. The point data show a cluster along the Lower Arroyo and south of California Boulevard near the border with San Marino (figure 99). This aligns with accounts in primary sources (Carr 1889, 1893). Another band of oaks from this data, however, exists in northwest Pasadena, which would defy the notion that Pasadena was a solely an open prairie or coastal sage scrub. A closer look at historic photos reveals a number of

[85] Coring would be the only way to confirm whether these oaks were part of the original landscape.

oak trees standing among settlers' agricultural fields. A lithograph map of Pasadena from 1886 (figure 100) also shows open, undeveloped land in southeast Pasadena with an oak savanna. Given the use of oak trees for building materials stretching back to the Mission era, the most likely habitat type south of the Altadena poppy fields cited by Minnich (2008) would be an oak savanna. I describe the implications of this conclusion for storytelling in chapter 4.

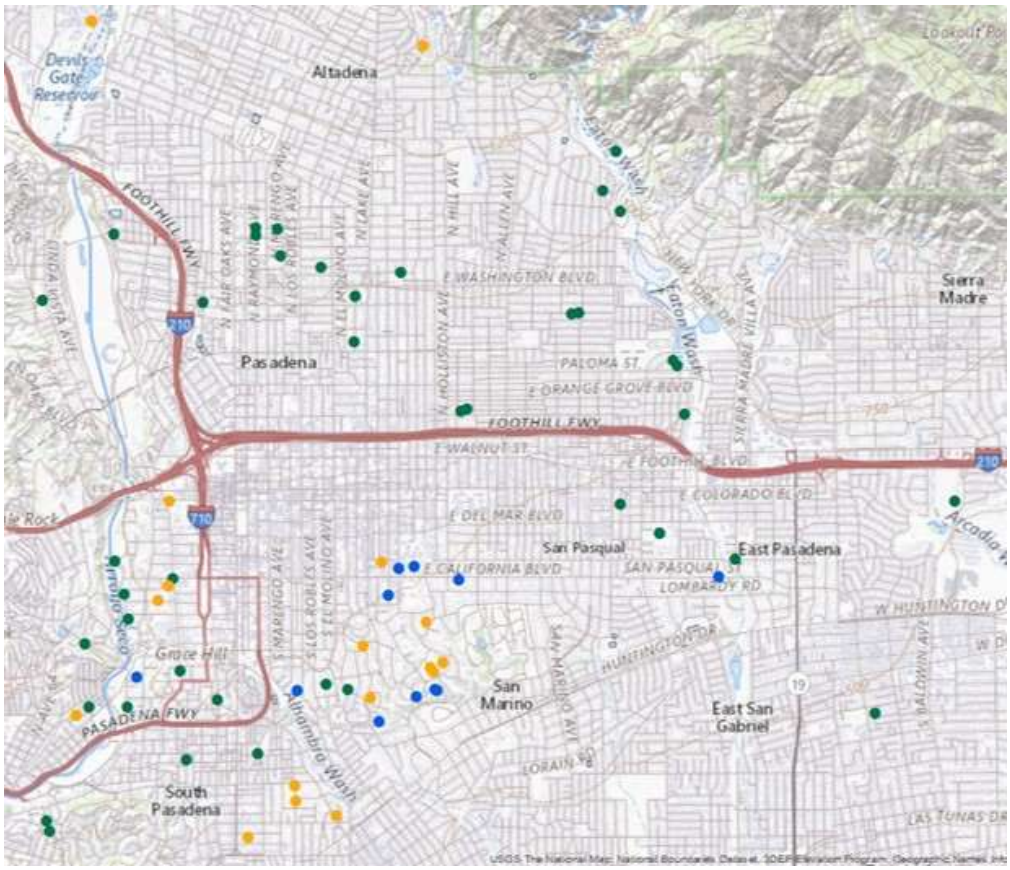

Figure 99. *Survey of historic oaks. Map shows the distribution of the seventy-one oaks likely to be historic. The green dots are coast live oak; the blue dots are Engelmann oak and the gold are where the species is not clear.*

Information about changes to the landscape since settlement is easier to gather from the historical record. Agnes Elliot, Thomas Elliot's daughter, criticized the cutting of oak trees and ruin of the Arroyo in her 1886 commencement address at Pasadena's first high school graduation (Elliott 1886). While native trees were coming down, early settlers took particular pride in the landscape's ability to support exotics in their gardens and along their thoroughfares. Jeanne

Carr's horticultural collection of trees on her Carmelita Ranch was an early tourist attraction (Holder 1888a); the construction of Pasadena's Busch Gardens in 1906 included a number of exotic trees, fountains pulling water from Pasadena's aquifer, and terraced lawns that reached down into the Lower Arroyo (Logan 2020). Gardens such as these, as well as the fruit orchards and a sharp rise in the city's population, led to a precipitous decline of the water table that has continued unabated in the 21st century (Woodard & Curran 2020).

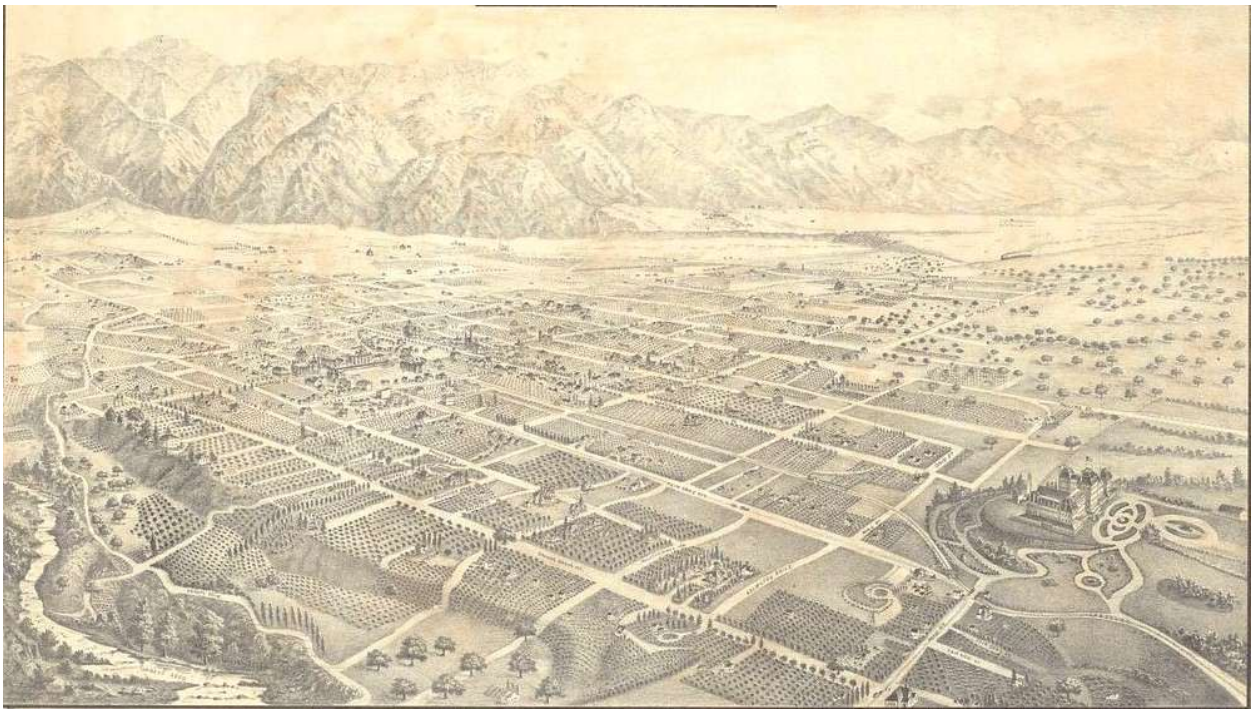

Figure 100. *Detail from an 1885 bird's eye view map of Pasadena. The right side of the lithograph shows savanna conditions in the undeveloped land east of the city and in the Arroyo on lower left* (Elliot Lith 1885).

This is the diverse assembly of data that a landscape dramaturg should gather in order to include the more-than-human world within a creative placekeeping project. But this takes time. For the pilot project, data collection on the Arroyo's historic landscape took roughly six months, which does not include initial research on the geology and soils that I completed 20 years ago during an early attempt at this research. This is all the more reason for creative placekeeping practitioners to establish partnerships with biologist, geographers, and geologists who have this

data close at hand or know how to get it without creating an undue burden. With this data in hand, the next step is the translation of this information into stories that humans can understand and compare with their own.

Step two: Data analysis

I reached the data analysis stage with two types of data. First, I had collected general information on different habitat types that were candidates for Pasadena's landscape prior to settlement. Second, I had a more site-specific observations from books, articles, maps, photos, survey notes, and newspaper articles, which I compiled into note sheets by "districts" defined by geography and local landmarks. In the future, it would be helpful to define these districts by census tracts as this would allow for a more integrated presentation of socio-ecological information for each area. Comparing these site-specific notations, especially about soil types, with the general notes on habitat types allowed me to create habitat maps for Pasadena and Altadena prior to arrival of Spanish missionaries and Mexican settlers (figures 101 and 102).

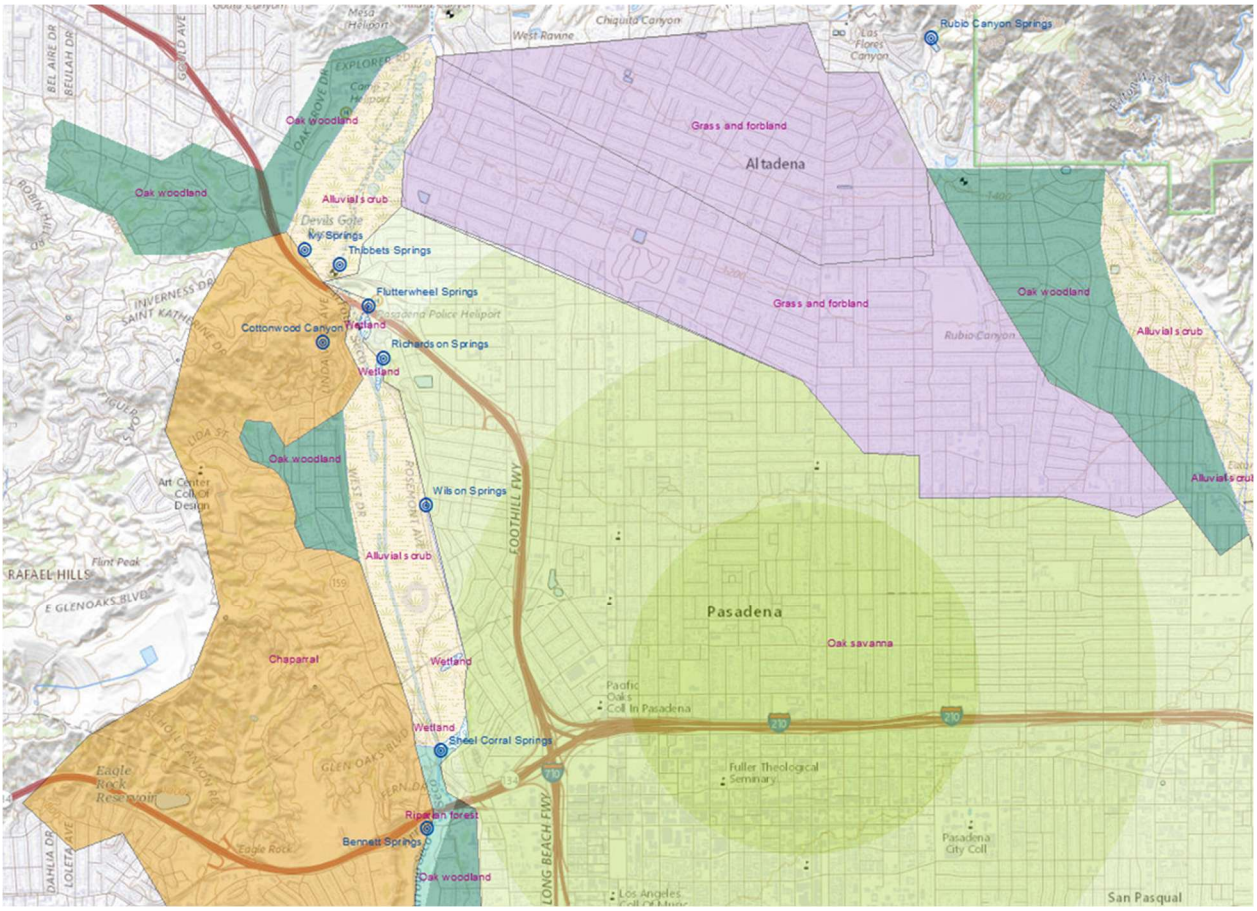

Figure 101. *Habitat map and historic springs for Pasadena's Central Arroyo, Hahamongna Watershed Park, and upland plateau. Habitat key: oak woodland (dark green); riparian forest (light green); oak savanna (yellow green); chaparral (orange); alluvial scrub (yellow); grass and forblands (lavender).*

The dramaturgical task then became translating these maps, and how they changed over time, into narratives. Returning to the general information on habitat types, I synthesized information on each ecological criterion into short descriptions highlighting the most important process, dynamics, or species. For example, my notes on the riparian forest from the perspective of landscape ecology include the following. "It's really the story of floods and regeneration. There is nothing you can count on in the landscape. Things are constantly shifting the mosaic of vegetation. The one thing you can count on is that there will be a lot of growth and wildlife will use the Arroyo as a corridor."

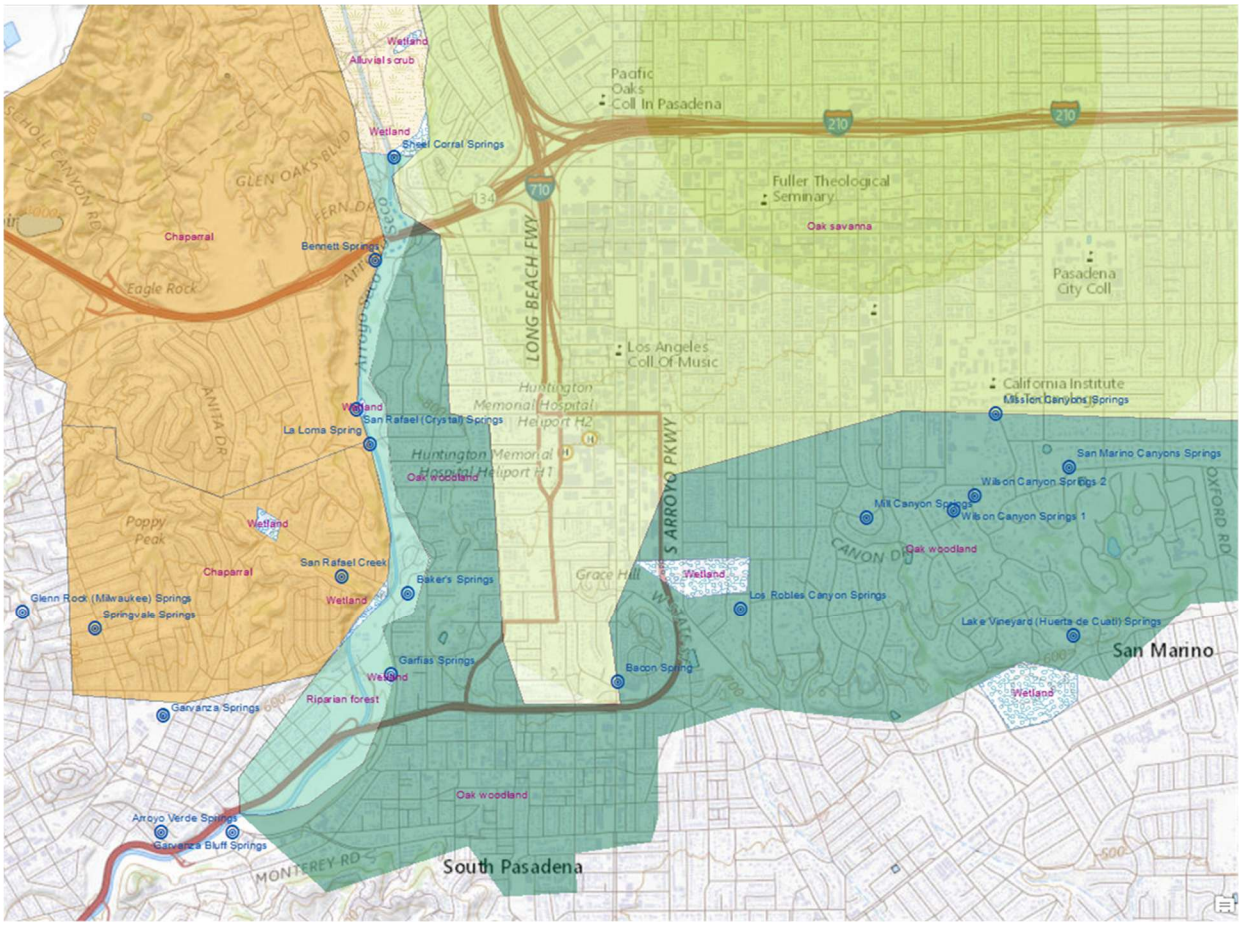

Figure 102. *Habitat map and historic springs for Pasadena's Lower Arroyo, San Marino, and South Pasadena. Habitat key: oak woodland (dark green); riparian forest (light green); oak savanna (yellow green); chaparral (orange); alluvial scrub (yellow); wetland (light blue).*

I gave the following description of the ecosystem criterion for the oak woodland: "Oaks cultivate lichen, bacteria, insects and other biota and gather water to become "islands of fertility." It also has a distinct summer shut down of primary production. The timing and rate of cycling has accelerated with annual grasses, and tree removal has eliminated the relationships that were so beneficial." One of the distinguishing characteristics of the oak woodland is how much the oak trees control the environment under their branches. Here are my notes using the criterion of the individual organism:

> You have the entire woodland as a mechanism to ensure seedling survival. The spongey woodland is a nursery. And so, you have symbiosis with the acorn cachers and a dependence on predators to keep herbivores and acorn stealers like

> ground squirrels and pocket gophers at bay. You have basically a lot of orphaned oaks just thrown into the world without their family to provide context and safety [due to the clearing of woodland by American settlers]. Native people in some ways were surrogate parents but in other ways messed with the fire cycle and made it more difficult for young oaks to survive. Could humans be adoptive parents again?

You can see metaphors such as “young oaks as orphans” in these descriptions providing a bridge between ecological dynamics and narrative elements of plot, characters, tone, etc. This continues as I combined these summaries from each of these different perspectives (geophysical, landscape, community, ecosystem, population, biome, organism) in a summary of the overall story pattern. Here is the summary for the oak woodland:

> The pre-contact narrative is a family story and trying to provide a nurturing space to raise the young so the family can continue. The context the trees create is a complex web of relationships and interdependencies with other species. The Western Scrub Jay is particularly important as is the close dependence on predators to keep the herbivores at bay. There is an alliance with humans around preserving the woodland as well.

With this narrative sketch of the oak woodland habitat, I then did a quick inventory of the narrative elements within the story.

> Plot is essentially about survival and organisms working together to make their life in an unpredictable and chaotic environment, similar to a disaster or war story. It's also a plot about gaining and maintaining control over one's surroundings. It's a story about raising young ones. Characters are the mature oaks, seedlings, scrub jay, Native people, new grasses, old grasses, shrubs, predators (cougar/raptors). Themes are control, change, coming-of-age, survival, cooperation, home.

I completed this interpretive process for each of the native habitat types I studied: riparian forest, alluvial scrub, oak woodland, coastal sage scrub, chaparral, prairie grasslands and forblands. Wetland areas seemed as though they would be too localized around springs to generate narratives for large areas of the landscape. There also is scant information on spring-fed wetlands along the canyons and washes of Southern California. Given these factors, I didn’t include

wetlands in this interpretive step. Once I realized the importance of oak savannas to Pasadena's landscape, I turned back to the literature to understand this habitat's unique ecological dynamics and complete these story summaries for the savanna. This type of synthesis is very similar to the work of Lejano et al. (2019) who, in studying a dispute over a development near a natural area, distilled the stories of each major stakeholder group into a single paragraph. I've done essentially the same thing but for the different ecological communities.

With this baseline narrative for each habitat type and the placement of these habitats and their stories on maps of the pre-Mission landscape, I was able to evaluate how these narratives shifted during the Mission, Rancho, and American periods of settlement, along with the urbanization of Pasadena's landscape that began in the late 19th century. For the oak woodland narrative, you move from a nurturing environment overseen by mature trees to having the entire fabric of this more-than-human society ripped apart. This didn't occur, however, until the planting of the orchards and plowing of the farms by Pasadena's American settlers after 1874. Prior to this, livestock replaced fire as a means of disturbance and the oak woodlands remained mostly intact albeit thinned out as the San Gabriel Mission undoubtedly used oaks to fashion structures and tools for their needs. The baseline narrative revolved around metaphors of family with the seedlings as children. The advent of agriculture pushes this story toward one of invasion and refugees.

> The plot is one of starting over, resiliency, and finding new allies. It's a plot of orphans and refugees and discovery of lost "roots." It's very similar to the story of Native peoples. Characters are the farmers and orchardist, arborists, scrub jay, tree-loving human allies. The system is also a character in that there's a whole complex that controls what happens. In many ways, this is similar to the oaks control over the woodland. The tone could vary from grim to optimistic. It's still the point-of-view of the oak trees. Metaphors or images are that of refugees and war survivors who have to start again from the rubble.

Comparing this summary to different genres generated this note for the oak woodland:

“It’s a story of orphans searching for a home and lost parents. It's one of healing trauma and moving on. It's essentially a story of healing.” This type of story summary allows one to return to the pre-Mission location of the oak woodlands with fresh eyes. The oak in image below sits behind the Gamble House.



Figure 103. *Large oak behind the Gamble House. Dr. Eric Wood from Cal State Los Angeles discusses avian use of the urban forest during Arroyo Seco Placekeepers’ historical ecology walk. Historic photos show that owners planted this oak in the early 20th century.*

Historic photos reveal this oak was planted, but its broad canopy has started to reproduce the spongey oak duff essential to reproducing the society of oaks that once dominated the hilly terraces along Pasadena’s Lower Arroyo. The translation of the ecological dynamics of an oak woodland into a story of refugees trying to rebuild and reunite *humanizes* oaks and their companion species in ways that facilitate care and consideration by human beings. For my

purposes, these translations also allow me to look for parallels between the stories of these habitat types and stories of the human societies that now dominate the landscape. The section on geological and ecological narratives in chapter 4 describes how I pulled the storylines from these habitat narratives and used them to generate key questions for the community to consider as it ponders what a sustainable and just landscape along the Arroyo might look like and how to establish a reciprocal relationship with Pasadena's more-than-human world.

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Appendix 19: Questions for Native American participants

- What can you share about the place of the Arroyo, or the Pasadena area, within the Gabrieleno/Tongva world?
- Today, are there any locations in the Arroyo that are particularly important to Native people?
- Is there anything that would make these places more accessible to Native people?
- Can you share any personal stories about experiences within the Arroyo?
- Recognizing that some stories need to be protected, are there any cultural or historic stories connected to the Arroyo that you'd feel comfortable sharing?
- What would you like to know more about in terms of Native experience within and around the Arroyo Seco? What information can I uncover that would be helpful?
- When working on conservation and restoration of the Arroyo, what would you like advocates to prioritize?
- What would you like the general public to understand about the Arroyo or more generally about our urban waterways, gardens, and parks in the Los Angeles area?
- What Native American or Indigenous experiences, stories, or narratives from Los Angeles should receive more attention?
- Can you think of any forms of artistic or cultural expression linked to the Indigenous connection with the Arroyo lands?
- What would strengthen Native and Indigenous artistic and cultural expression in the Los Angeles area? What would strengthen Native and Indigenous storytelling and performance?
- What change would give the Native American and Indigenous communities in the Los Angeles area a sense of triumph?
- What change would represent a setback?

- Thinking about the future, what kinds of stories would be most useful for Native American and Indigenous peoples in the Los Angeles area?

Appendix 20: Sites of Native American artifacts along Pasadena′s Arroyo

One of the priorities for the individuals that I spoke with, both those who identify with an Indigenous group and those who do not, is to increase the visibility of Native people across Southern California, especially Gabrieleno/Tongva groups and individuals. An important aspect of this visibility is geography. Especially relevant for creative placekeeping is establishing Native presence in specific locations on the landscape. Local newspapers and written histories since the American takeover of Southern California have provided scattered information about the chance discoveries of artifacts in the Pasadena area. This appendix compiles these observations for Pasadena's portion of the Arroyo, from its emergence near the Jet Propulsion Laboratory to South Pasadena.

It is important to recognize that professional and amateur archaeological endeavors in Pasadena were deeply problematic. They often collapsed complex cultures into curiosities and thoughtlessly disturbed sacred spaces. The purpose of this inventory is not to establish precise coordinates for these spaces. Rather the goal is to demonstrate the extensive presence of Native people in and around this portion of the Arroyo Seco. This inventory does not include the Los Angeles portion of the Arroyo or the mountain watershed, which had its own network of trails and village sites. This information can hopefully provide information for use in education programs within the community and keep the Native presence at the forefront of people's minds. From north to south, these are the locations that local newspapers and written histories have documented thus far (see maps in appendix 22):

La Viña and Millard Canyon - Starting in the north, the Giddings family, as some of Altadena's first white settlers, unearthed artifacts while breaking ground for their fields on property that today constitutes Loma Alta Park and the La Viña development (Holder 1888; Reid and McClatchie 1895). Some reports say there was a village at the "mouth of Millard Canyon," which is further to the west (City of Pasadena 2003). But the extent of archaeological finds at that location is uncertain. The attraction of the La Viña site would be the supply of seeds gathered from the prairies and forblands of Altadena and the acorns from the oaks up in the canyon. The trail up Millard Canyon was also a major trade route that ran to the Angeles Crest and onto the village of Jabchabit, which anthropologist Chester King has identified as a major center for the Maara'yam or Serrano people (Northwest Economic Associates and King 2004).

Sheldon Reservoir - On the eastern rim above the Central Arroyo, workers in 1938 unearthed a significant burial site while enlarging Sheldon Reservoir. The supervising engineer from Pasadena Water and Power called the Southwest Museum, and, archaeologist Edwin Walker worked over the next week with an ad hoc group of volunteers to unearth and remove the remains of 53 people and 2 cremations. The graves existed 2 ½ and 4 ½ feet beneath the surface, indicating two distinct time periods of use. Dates for the use of the site range from 200 to 1000 years before present (Walker 1952). The landowner north of the reservoir commented at the time that he had found manos and metates, or grinding stones, in his orange grove, and in 1955, construction workers found more artifacts across the street on La Cresta Drive (Johnston 1962; "Tribal Grave Carefully Searched" 1938). This is consistent with the observations of naturalist Charles Frederick Holder, who, in 1889, wrote about artifacts he encountered at this location next to a set of fern-covered springs gushing from the hillside (Holder 1889).



HERE'S THE LATEST IN ANTIQUE PASADENA POTTERY

Miss Mae Haney of the Pasadena Water Department is shown practically surrounded by a huge metate and mortar unearthed by a water department crew excavating for the Sheldon Reservoir on North Arroyo Boulevard. Archeologists say the primitive implements were used by Shoshone Indians about three to four hundred years ago, skeletons of which are being excavated at the reservoir site. The bowls were found buried with their owners.

SIX PRIZED SKELETONS UNCOVERED IN GRAVES

Museum To Run Water Department Race In Excavating

Archeologists 'Move In' In Full Force

By GRAHAM BERRY

It's going to be a race between the Southwest Museum and the Pasadena Water Department as to which will excavate the Sheldon Reservoir.

With the uncovering yesterday evening of a group of some half dozen Indian skeletons by a water department scraper, the museum plans to move in in full force this morning to finish up the excavation. The relics will be placed in the museum.

Must Work Fast

The race developed after this latest discovery, which followed the finding of metates and a mortar and the first skeleton, probably that of a woman. The museum will have to work fast, it was indicated.

Figure 104. *Pasadena Post article from October 22, 1938. Article describes artifacts and grave goods from the Sheldon Reservoir site. Edwin Walker from the Southwest Museum directed volunteers during a full week of excavation while crowds damaged and desecrated some of the remains (Berry 1938). In 2017, Gabrieleno/Tongva representatives met with the Autry Museum of the American West, which inherited skeletal remains and funerary objects from the Southwest Museum and paid to rematriate this material to an undisclosed location (Posadas et al. 2017)*

Linda Vista - Moving down the Arroyo, settlers in the Linda Vista area found artifacts where Linda Vista Elementary School exists today. Part of the school's playground is now Linda Vista Park, but centuries ago, there was an encampment and possible village under the oaks next to a year-round stream that ran down Salvia Canyon to the Arroyo (Johnston 1962).

Arroyo Terrace - Moving south, American settlers unearthed a significant cache of mortars, metates, and discs with chiseled notches during the excavation of Orange Grove Reservoir at Arroyo Terrace. As with the Sheldon site, the Orange Grove Reservoir sits atop a hill and artifacts were three to four feet below the surface (Reid and McClatchie 1895).

Sheep Corral Springs - Below Arroyo Terrace, where the Aquatic Center is today, was Sheep Corral Springs, a significant wetland area marking the location where the Arroyo's canyon begins to narrow. Bernice Johnston, in her 1962 book on Gabrieleno/Tongva people, reported artifacts from this site, and Hiram Reid's *History of Pasadena* from 1895 says that Gabrieleno/Tongva were using this site for sweats and bathing some time before 1846 (Johnston 1962; Reid and McClatchie 1895).



Figure 105. *Submerged dam and pumping station at Sheep Corral Springs ("Arroyo Seco – Submerged dam and pumping station, Pasadena Land and Water Company n.d. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, A7-24)*

Lower Arroyo - Holder, a founder of the Valley Hunt Club and the Tournament of Roses, reported artifacts on the west side of the Arroyo across from California Boulevard. It's not clear

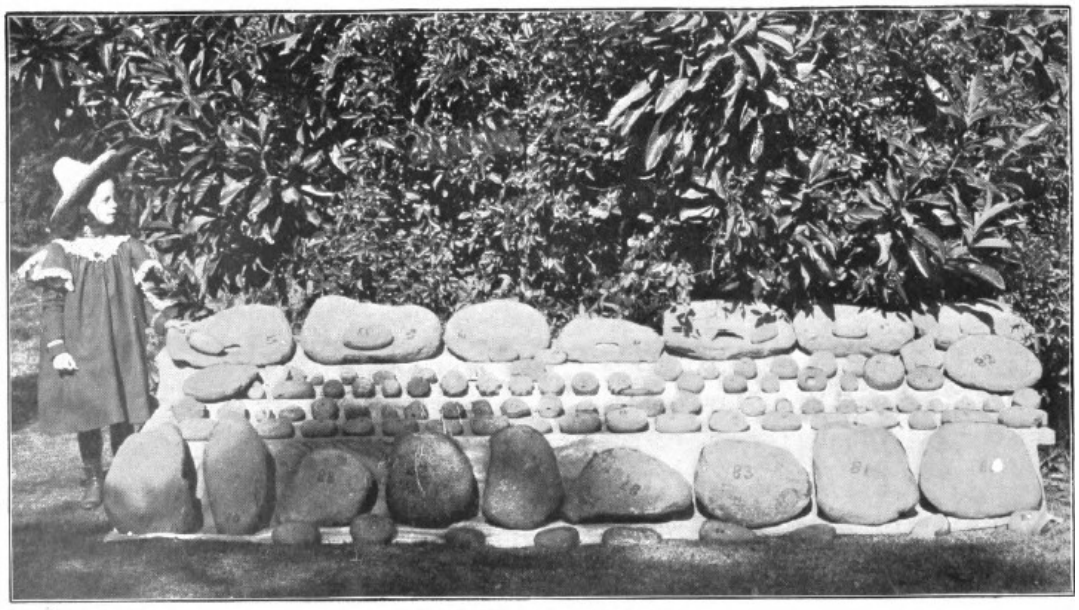
if these artifacts were down in the Lower Arroyo's canyon or higher up on the mesa (Holder 1888).

Orange Grove Avenue - Holder's friend, Horatio Rust, was an amateur archaeologist who lived in South Pasadena and set up a school for Native people in Perris, California, which would eventually become the Sherman Indian School in Riverside. In a *Los Angeles Times* article from 1899, Rust details the location of artifacts, including one site on the west side of South Orange Grove Avenue, south of Bellefontaine Street, the approximate site of Thaddeus Lowe's mansion, later owned by Benjamin Blossom and Adolphus Busch. Today this site contains apartment buildings and Mayfield Senior School (Rust 1899).

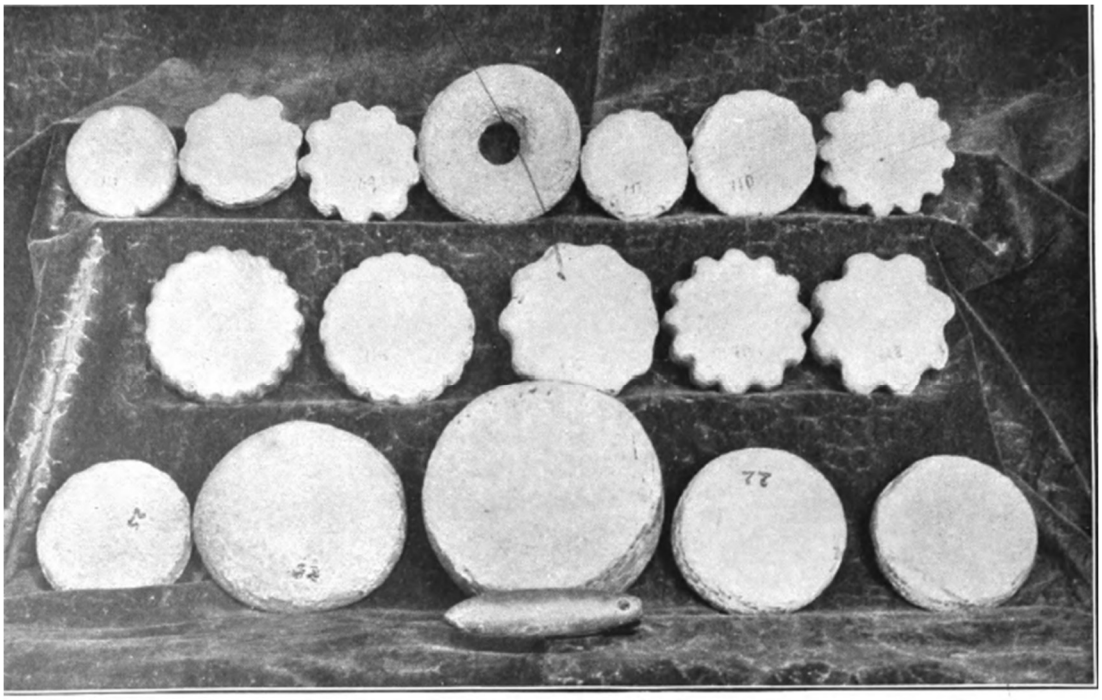
Garfias Springs - While many anecdotes place the site of a village at Garfias Springs along Arroyo Boulevard just over the Pasadena-South Pasadena border, Rust says he found "only a few specimens but nothing to indicate a favorite residence" (Rust 1899). This was the location of the Cathedral Oak: a metal cross still marks the site of this massive oak tree that once towered over the Arroyo (see chapter 4).

Buena Vista Street - By contrast, Rust excavated over 100 artifacts during the grading of Buena Vista Street in South Pasadena, concentrated on the north side of the road cut between Fairview and Meridian. He interpreted the clustering of artifacts on the site as indicating the location of houses or shelters (Militello 2005; Rust 1899).

San Rafael Creek - Finally, on the west side of the Arroyo, developers unearthed artifacts on a mesa north of San Rafael Creek, the stream that drains Johnston Lake, flows beneath homes in Laguna Canyon, and empties into the Arroyo south of the San Rafael Bridge (Crocker 1968; "Indian Relics Mark History" 1906; Johnston 1962).



PASADENA VILLAGE-SITE ARTIFACTS.
Rust collection.



PASADENA VILLAGE-SITE ARTIFACTS.
Rust collection.

Figure 106. *Artifacts from the 1897 Buena Vista Street excavation in South Pasadena. These artifacts are possibly from the village of Tobpet (see appendix 21). Photos from Smithsonian Anthropological Report ("Plate 43 & 44 - Pasadena Village Artifacts - Rust Collection" ca1902 in Holmes 1902)*

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"Plate 43 & 44 - Pasadena Village Artifacts - Rust Collection," ca1902, black and white photograph. In *Anthropological Studies in California* by William Henry Holmes, edited by Smithsonian Institution. 182 (facing page). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1902. https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433081682068&seq=13

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Appendix 21: Locations of Indigenous villages before and after Southern California′s Mission period

A recent report by the Los Angeles Landscape History Project describes how a thousand years ago Gabrieleno/Tongva villages intensified their land management in response to population growth and drought. This resulted in more permanent village sites, a greater dependency on acorns, and a more hierarchical social structure to ensure there was enough food for everyone. By 1400 what some scholars call "acorn aristocracies" had stabilized (Ethington et al. 2020). But within after colonization, the San Gabriel Mission and Spanish soldiers would shatter this social geography in a single generation. The rapid destruction of Gabrieleno/Tongva society makes reconstructing this geography difficult; the associated uncertainty demands humility and a recognition that new sources of information could materialize and transform our understanding. A focus on this past geography, while important, should not distract from the today's Gabrieleno/Tongva communities and the priorities I outline in chapter 4. Rather, this picture should enhance our appreciation that the descendants from these villages are neighbors and colleagues and a vital group in the today's Southern California. Below are the names of the village sites with links to the Pasadena area.

Hahamongna or Jajamovit

The name "Hahamongna" first appears in the written record in 1852 in a series of newspaper articles by Scotsman Hugo Reid collected into a volume about the Indians of Los Angeles County (Reid 1926). Reid was the second husband of Bartolomea Comicrabit, also known as Victoria Reid, who was the daughter of a Gabrieleno/Tongva chief from the Santa Monica area. This connection gave Hugo Reid, who with his wife built an adobe on the current site of the Los Angeles County Arboretum just east of Pasadena, more access to

Gabrieleno/Tongva culture (Casas 2005). His list of villages in the Los Angeles basin is one of the main written sources available to reconstruct life prior to the missions. With regard to Hahamongna, or "Jajamovit," which is one of a number of alternate spellings, the only geographical marker Reid provides is that it was attached to Rancho de los Verdugos, officially known as Rancho San Rafael, a large land grant stretching north and west from the Arroyo Seco, up the Los Angeles River and across Glendale (Reid 1926).

Hahamongna means "the place where people sit," but one of the mysteries is exactly where within this area people were sitting. This mystery provides an opportunity for deeper engagement with area's pre-settlement past. The maps on figure 107 illustrate what one finds through an online search.

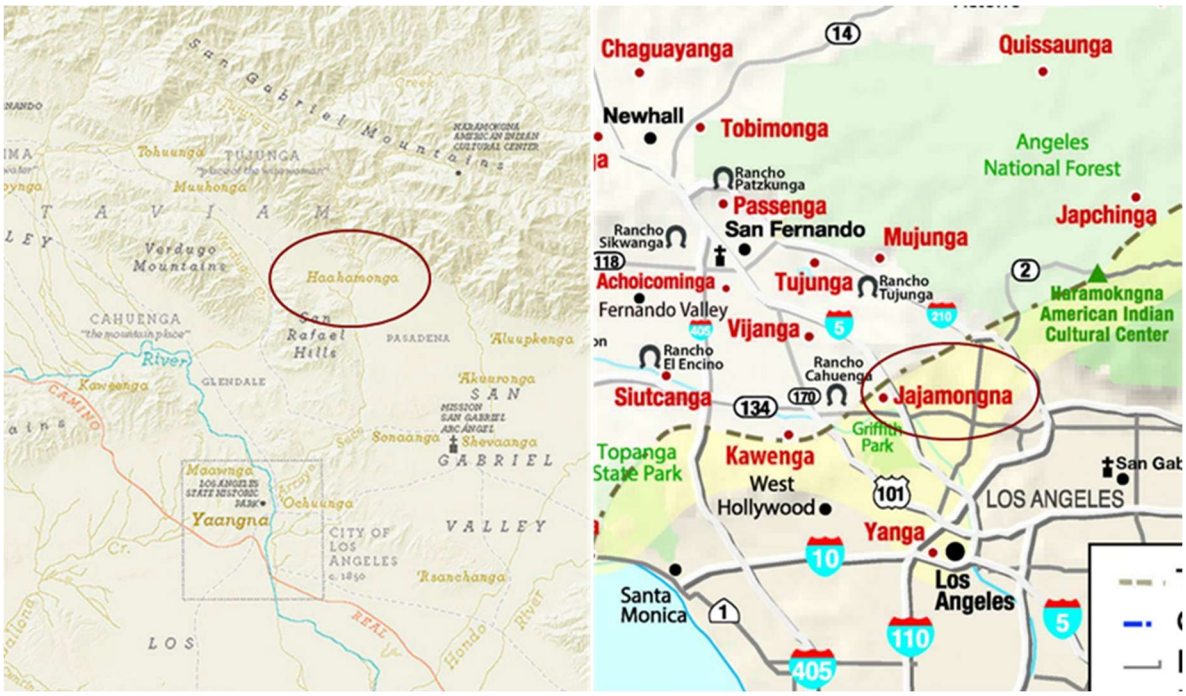

Figure 107. *Two online maps of Gabrieleno/Tongva village sites showing the location of Hahamongna. The map on the left is by David Deis in the book Latitudes (Wakida et al. 2015); the map on the right from the Los Angeles County Natural History Museum (Portner 2022).*

The map on the left shows Hahamongna in Altadena while the one on the right places it north of Griffith Park next to the Los Angeles River. Johnston (1962) describes the main evidence for the

Griffith Park location as the report of a priest traveling across the Rancho San Rafael in 1795 who describes a Native work crew harvesting melons and beans near the present location of the Los Angeles Zoo. She also cites a Mission era document that describes a Native individual from Hahamongna living three leagues from the San Gabriel Mission, which would put it far west of Pasadena. One of J.P. Harrington's informants also said that it was closer to San Fernando. The archaeological support for Hahamongna being closer to Glendale than Pasadena comes from discoveries of artifacts throughout Verdugo Canyon and near the intersection of the 134 and 2 Freeways (Johnston 1962).

Back in Pasadena, most associate Hahamongna with the archaeological finds on what is today the La Viña property leading into Millard Canyon. Some follow the legend of the Cathedral Oak and Chief Hahamovic (see chapter 4) and place Hahamongna at Garfias Spring in South Pasadena. Hiram Reid relays a conversation he had with 83-year-old Maria Guillen de Lopez, the daughter of Eulalia Perez, the first grantee of the Rancho San Pascual. Guillen de Lopez said she knew Hahamovic when she was a girl and that he had gone on to marry a White woman named Angelina Sysa (or Angela Siese) and lived in San Gabriel to an old age (Reid and McClatchie 1895). Pasadena has certainly been more assertive in its use of the name Hahamongna over the past 120 years and several contemporary Gabrieleño individuals, including Vera Rocha, who participated on the committee that created Hahamongna Watershed Park in the early 1990s, said that the area around the park was known as Hahamongna. It's also possible that there were two villages with the same name or that Hahamongna was the name for a region that encompassed the area both east and west of the San Rafael Hills.

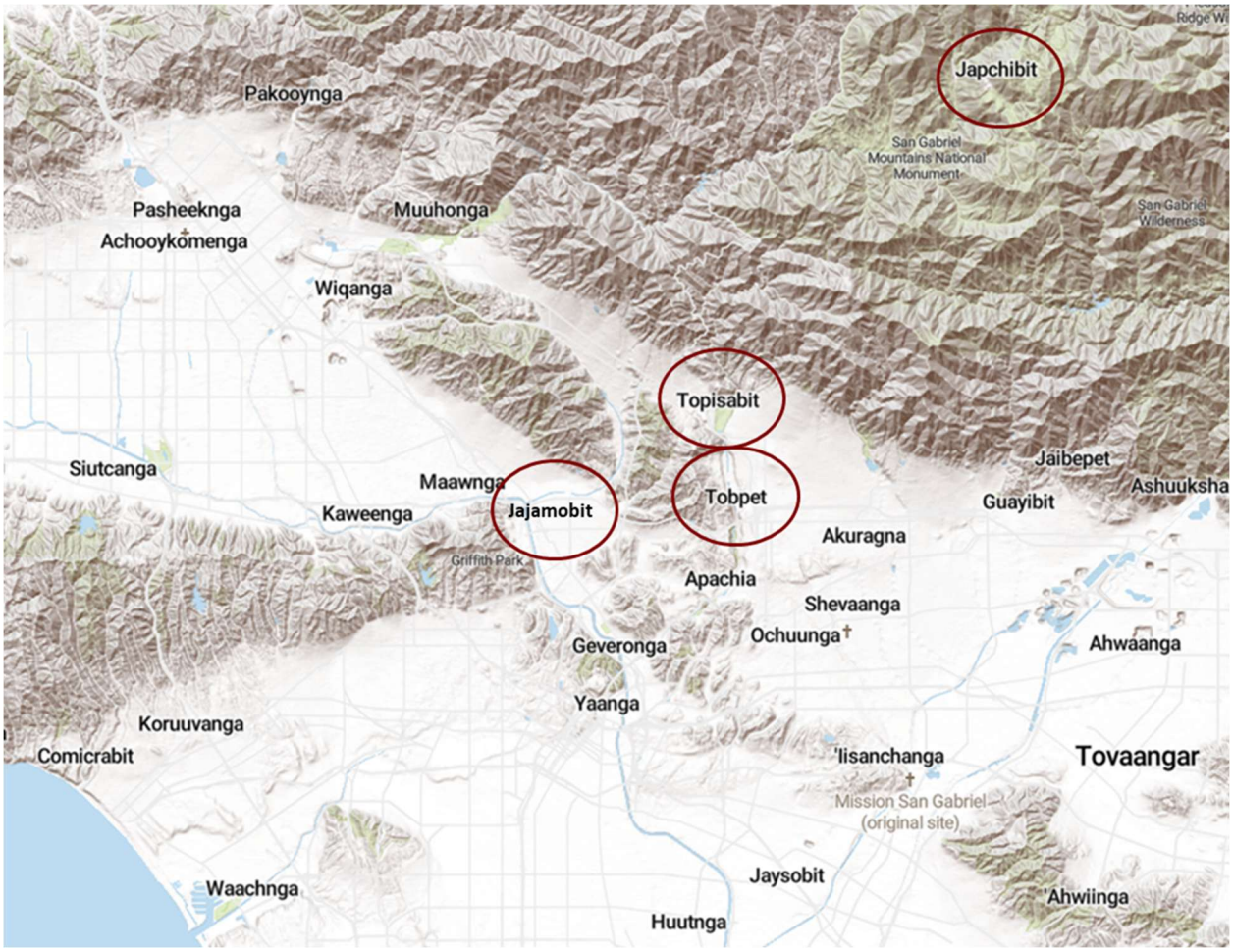

Figure 108. *Adaptation of Los Angeles Times village map (Greene and Curwen 2019). Map shows the location of villages linked to Pasadena by Chester King (Northwest Economic Associates and King 2004a). King places Jajamobit near the Los Angeles Zoo, argues Topisabit was located in the foothills of the Western San Gabriel mountains, and places Tobpet near the Lower Arroyo.*

Topisabit

An alternative explanation for the artifacts at the La Viña property comes from anthropologist Chester King, who has done extensive work reviewing registers of births, deaths baptisms, confirmations, and marriages at the San Gabriel and San Fernando Missions (Northwest Economic Associates and King 2004a). These registers often describe a Native person's home village and family ties. By mapping these relationships and the dates that different villages show up in the registers, it's possible to determine their approximate location (see figure

108). King places Jajamobit near the Los Angeles Zoo and says that the records show 42 Native individuals from Jajamobit at Mission San Gabriel and 27 at Mission San Fernando. The closest kin ties for these Native people were to the villages at Yagna, or downtown Los Angeles, Cahuenga, and Tujunga, which are both further to the west and closer to San Fernando.

For settlements near La Viña, he points to the village of Topisabit, which he estimates existed along the foothills in Altadena or La Cañada-Flintridge, halfway between the villages at Tujunga and Santa Anita. This could account for the archaeological sites on the La Viña property, at the mouth of Millard Canyon, and/or the site at Sheldon Reservoir that I describe in appendix 20 as this would place it along the trade route to Japchibit, a major trade center located in the heart of the San Gabriel Mountains.

Tobpet

King believes the village of Tobpet was located near the Lower Arroyo based on close kin ties to Jajamobit and Sibapet near San Gabriel. Tobpet could account for the artifacts Rust collected from the Buena Vista Street in South Pasadena (see appendix 20). The chief or captain of Tobpet, with the Christian name of Francisco Solano, and his son, Baltasar, were both in the mission registry, which could signal that Tobpet was an important political center (Northwest Economic Associates and King 2004a).

King argues that the boundary between Maara'yam or Serrano settlements and those of Gabrieleno/Tongva territory was the southern front of the San Gabriel Mountains. He categorizes Topisabit as a Maara'yam village and Tobpet as Gabrieleno/Tongva. He acknowledges that the standard practice has been to take the Angeles Crest in the San Gabriel Mountains as the boundary between these groups but points to other examples where this is not the case.

Cucumongna, for example, was a Maara'yam settlement, and in 1814, was the last remaining village in the San Gabriel Valley foothills.

King notes that the Mission priests reported four different Native languages at Mission San Gabriel: an Eastern and Western dialect of the Gabrieleno/Tongva language, along with the languages of the Maara'yam and Cahuilla people (Northwest Economic Associates and King 2004). Interestingly, King's maps place Pasadena and the Arroyo at the nexus of three of these language groups. King says individual from Jajamobit, for example, spoke Western Gabrielino while Sibapet, the village at San Gabriel, spoke Eastern. Tobpet stood between the two (see figure 109).

A master's thesis by Thomas Wheeler from Cal-State Sacramento suggests that ritual burial sites were a way for Gabrieleno/Tongva groups to mark their territory (Wheeler 2004). If King is correct, the Sheldon Reservoir site could mark the boundary between Tobpet and Topisabit or between different language groups.



Figure 109. *Language groups of the Western San Gabriel Valley. Adaptation of map showing how the Arroyo was the boundary for different language groups in the San Gabriel Valley (Northwest Economic Associates and King 2004b)*

Indian Flat

One important gap in our knowledge of Native settlements concerns the lives of people who lived in the Central Arroyo below Linda Vista at a settlement called Indian Flat. Today, Linda Vista Avenue and West Drive run through this area, past the Rose Bowl and Brookside Golf Course. After the secularization of the missions in 1834, Native people had to find work to survive while being hunted, harassed, arrested, and enslaved for the crime of unemployment. Informal encampments or rancherias cropped up in out of the way corners of Los Angeles County that provided some measure of safety and solidarity. One such rancheria was along this western edge of the Central Arroyo along the ramparts of Linda Vista. Figure 110 shows a portion of a state irrigation map from 1888 that labels this area Indian Flat. It also shows the only known photo from this area; the photo's caption places it near the site where the current Holly

Street Bridge meets Linda Vista Avenue. Hiram Reid (1895) mentions this settlement in his *History of Pasadena*, as does Linda Vista resident Blanche Dorn in her unpublished memoir, which contains the following description:

> On the West side of the Arroyo was a parcel of land composed of mesa, shelf and arroyo bottom land. It was part of the Rancho San Rafael, known as Indian Flat. In 1835-37 when the mission lands were broken up and sold by the Mexican Government, most of the Indians were left landless and homeless. Some of them worked for local ranchers and had some sort of dwelling on the ranch property. Others refused this life. They huddled together in fragmentary tribes living as best they could by chopping wood, grubbing brush, begging or stealing. There were many such bands about and some of them were still living in Indian Flat as late as 1885. (Linda Vista History Book Committee 1988, 5-6)

Uncovering more about the story of Indian Flat could provide lessons in resilience that allowed Native people to survive this dark period.

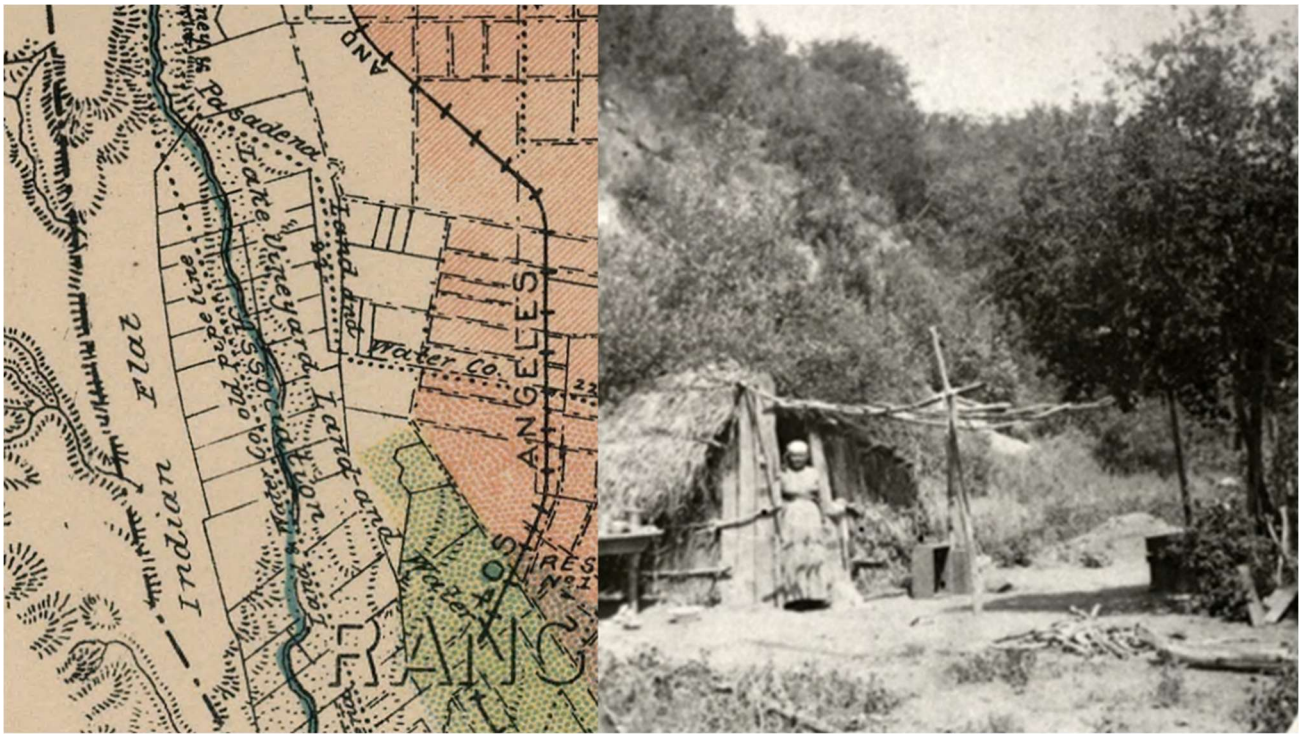

Figure 110. *The state irrigation map from 1888 and an 1880 photo of Indian Flat. Map on the left clearly labels the area below the ramparts of Linda Vista as a Native settlement (Hall 1888). The caption on the photo locates this encampment where today's Holly Street Bridge meets Linda Vista Avenue (Ellis & Son 1880. Courtesy of the Pasadena Public Library, Pasadena, California)*

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Appendix 22: Maps of Native American pre-Mission land-use for Pasadena

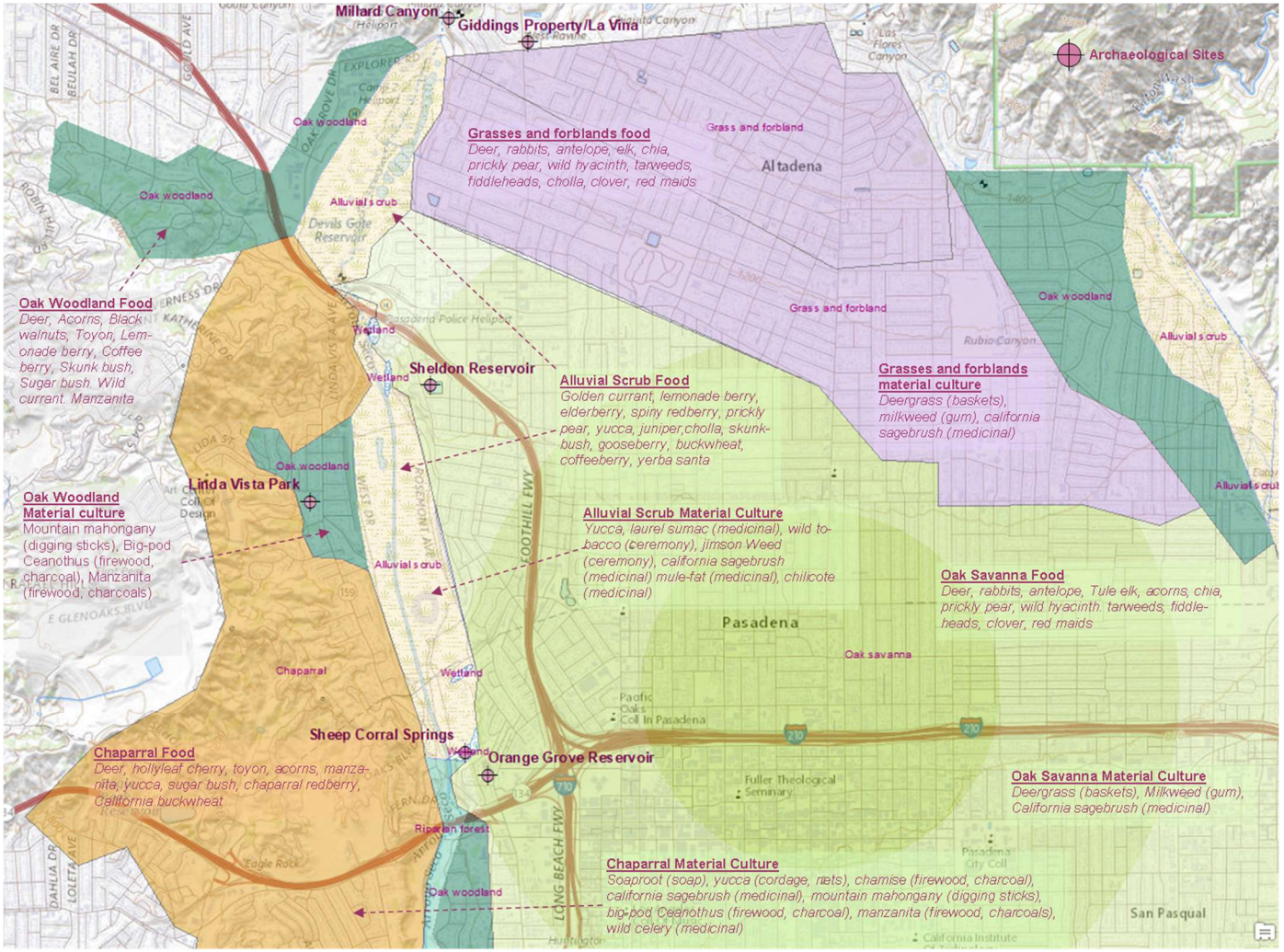

Figure 111. *Map of native plants and animals and their uses by Native people in the Pasadena's Central Arroyo.*

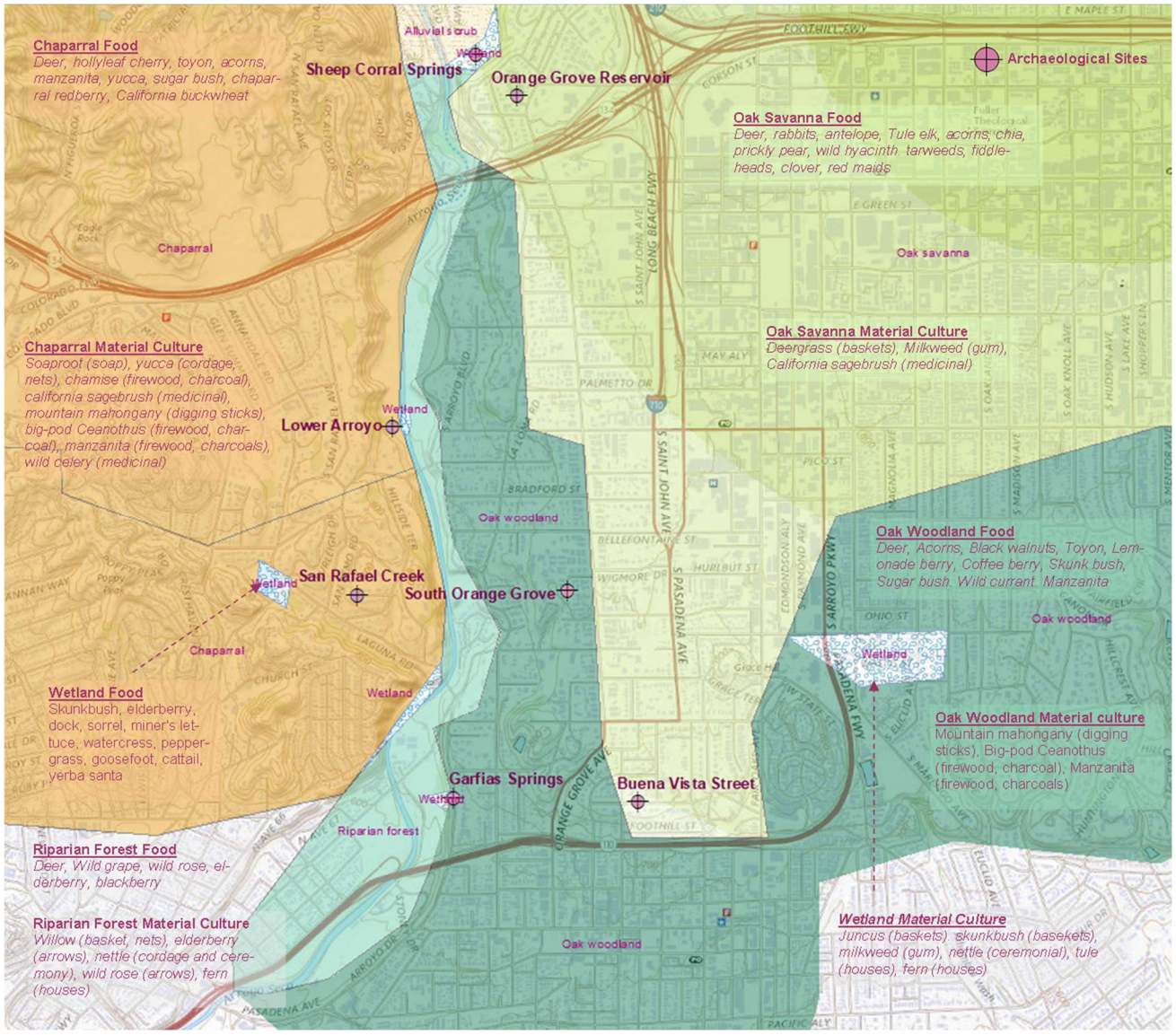

Figure 112. *Map of native plants and animals and their uses by Native people in the Pasadena's Lower Arroyo.*

Appendix 23: Tribalography of Pasadena′s Arroyo Seco

Tribalography is an interpretive practice. It builds on Native peoples' gift for synthesis, their ability to weave together diverse tribal experiences, their heroes and villains, their curiosities and contradictions, their past, present, and imagined future, into narratives that reinforce collective identity (Bauerkemper 2014; Meland 2014). The term and approach come from LeAnne Howe, a poet, playwright, novelist, and distinguished professor of English at the University of Georgia who is also member of the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma (Howe 1999, 2013, 2014). I have adopted and adapted Howe's approach to narrative analysis to interpret the stories embedded in my research on Gabrieleno/Tongva experiences with the Arroyo.

To explain tribalography, Howe offers the example of the Haudenosaunee what the English called the Iroquois League or Confederacy (Howe 2013). The Haudenosaunee was the vision of a leader named Peacemaker, who advocated that the warring tribes of upstate New York should bury their weapons and live united under what he called the Great Law of Peace. Peacemaker, however, had a speech impediment, and so he partnered with a great warrior, Hiawatha, who was a gifted speaker. Together, the story they offered of a diverse but united people provided a model for the United States and its constitution.

Within this example are all the relevant elements for tribalography. The story is not solely for entertainment but serves a social purpose. That purpose involves harmonizing conflict and creating a more inclusive society. The story offers a vision of the future but has its roots in the past. A tribalography is also not the work of a single storyteller. It inspires others to tell their stories that collectively carry the culture where it needs to go (Howe 1999). Howe says, "I have tried to show that tribalography comes from the native propensity for bringing things together, for making consensus, and for symbiotically connecting one thing to another. It is a cultural bias,

if you will" (Howe 2013, 31). Tribalography is not just about telling the stories; the purpose is to enact them so the story appears in everyday practices, such as building the long houses that provide the literal and symbolic meaning of “Haudenosaunee” for the tribes.

In addition, a tribalography conjures a story that applies not only to Native people but also to settler societies like the United States. Howe’s approach, however, always starts with the Native story, which means that the resulting tale will, more likely than not, challenge the colonial assumptions that still permeate the contemporary world. For some in the world of Native American and Indigenous Studies, Howe’s approach is too optimistic (Tuck and Yang 2012). Howe leans toward reconciliation, which makes tribalography a natural ally of the comic perspective on life, land, and society. At the same time, the power of tribalography comes from its ability to confront the most difficult contradictions. For example, to gain peace, Hiawatha had to negotiate with the chief who had murdered his children. Tribalography activates Native storytelling as a force for social integration, mutual understanding, and justice. Scholar Carter Meland, who uses tribalography to teach Native American literature, says, "The transformative dialogues of tribalography seek to challenge but not dehumanize those that colonialism privileges even as it simultaneously strives to elaborate ways to bring peoples together in place and across time on the back of this turtle that some call America, but others call mother" (Meland 2014, 28). I believe tribalography can assist with the intractable conflicts surrounding management of the Arroyo.

Practicing tribalography requires answering the four questions I listed in chapter 4: 1) What stories do Native people need? What stories would be useful in achieving their desired future? 2) What elements within Native culture support the telling of these useful stories? 3) What aspects of colonial thought do these useful stories counter? What dialogues between

Indigenous people and settlers do they prompt? 4) How can we embody these useful stories in the world and bring them to life in everyday practices, social rituals, and the physical design of our neighborhoods? One efficient way to answer the first question, would be to hold a story circle with Native people and ask people to share the stories most important for the future of their community. That is not what I did. Instead, I held five conversational interviews focused on the Arroyo Seco, care for the land and water, and the broader Native American experience in Los Angeles. Within these conversations, I asked what stories needed more attention and what stories would be useful (see appendix 19 for my list of questions). I also reviewed oral histories and interviews with Gabrieleno/Tongva individuals published in books and on the internet. Together, these conversations and interviews contained all kinds of stories. Some jumped out fully formed as stories of specific events or campaigns. Others, such as life stories, one can piece together from various fragments of talk. And then there are broader stories shared by people with a common heritage, class position, or life experience that operate under the surface, something the conversations may only suggest but never directly express. To understand these stories, I looked for narrative elements such as typical plots, characters and relationships, settings, tone, metaphors, and distinctive language. Using these narrative elements, I generated an outline of the story standing behind each conversation. Putting these outlines together, the shape of a shared narrative began to emerge that I named the "quest for health and home" to emphasize the search for health, home, wholeness and unity that so many local Native leaders emphasize.

Kevin Nunez, a lineal descendant of Japchivit, a Maara'yam (Serrano) village located in the heart of the San Gabriel Mountains, expressed the fundamental motivation behind this quest.

> Like my son said, we′re homeless in our homeland. If we want to do anything, we have to ask someone else to give us the green light so we can go there. Now, that′s okay. We can work with other groups, individuals, and organizations where we have spots set aside for us, and we can have the keys to the gate so to speak.

> But again, it′s quite a challenge. As more people come here and the land becomes more expensive, it becomes very difficult to hold anything down
>
> ***
>
> [What we want is] to be able to come together as a people on our land and say, ″We′re home.″ Because right now, we′re just like displaced. We′re home, but we′re not. And I think for us, not so much that we′re federally-recognized, but that we have a place to go when we say this is home. This is where our people are. – 8/17/22

Fundamental to this quest is that it′s generational. Individuals take on the quest as way to honor the ancestors but view the ultimate beneficiaries as their children. One generation passes onto the next the emerging map for this quest. Wallace Cleaves, president of the Tongva Taraxat Paxaavxa Conservancy (TTPC), feels this generational quality with his own daughter.

> You hear a lot about the 7th generation stuff. But it means something to me. My great-great-great-grandmother was one of the last born-speakers of the Tongva language. If you look up Tongva on Wikipedia, it′s her picture that you see. And my daughter will be the 7th generation from her who was raised at the Mission. To my daughter, who has grown up proud of her culture and tradition and is helping to reclaim it by learning the language and all that, that′s a big arc. That′s seven generations from being told you couldn′t speak your language, couldn′t use your language, having to hide it, and try to preserve it, being taken from your mission to a reservation, having the reservation being stolen, going through all of that, to this point where we have land back. That′s a big arc of the story. – 8/8/22

While this quest is collective and generational, it is also extremely personal. With Gabrieleno/Tongva culture and society fractured into pieces, each person has their own puzzle to assemble. This requires relying on what leader Cindi Alvitre calls a ″silent knowing″ a sense of intuition connecting family, culture, and spirituality (Jurmain and McCawley 2009). Kevin Nunez illustrates the way that ″silent knowing″ works when he speaks about various situations in

which his elders stressed the importance of acclimating to cold water, be it taking cold showers, retrieving fishing lines from a February river, or surfing without a wet suit.

> And I thought this is crazy. What is it with my family and the cold water? And so, I was doing more and more research, and it was paralleling my family experiences, and I realized that this was a warrior way, a warrior tradition, of strengthening a body and building endurance. They believed it helped you in ways, preventing sickness and different things. And it had survived and so it was a way to make you tougher. – 8/17/22

When cultural practices such as these become disconnected from the underlying story that gives them meaning, all that is left is the intuition of the performer about their importance. Nunez describes how reconnecting the practice to its deeper meaning provided a rush of validation.

> We didn′t have the stories and we didn′t have the songs, but we still had those ways of doing things, and by going back and doing that research, I was able to find those origin points and what those stories were and why they did those things. And today, we′re doing those traditions, but we′re now enriched in knowing the past is how we got to this point. That′s pretty powerful. And so now when we go back to these places in the mountains, we have more story to tell, we have more depth to it. So, now this becomes even more important to us than just the fact that we love the mountains, and we know we′re of these mountains. The things that we′re doing today, protecting the mountains are the same as our ancestors did, except they took to bows, arrows, slings, and war clubs, and today we′re using words and paper and laptops and modern communication, but we′re just continuing the same warrior tradition. So, I′m just condensing a lot of different things with our family, but it tells us what we′ve been doing for the past 250 years. – 8/17/22

Looking at the dynamics of the different narrative elements for this story, one of the most important is setting. Nunez also underscored how the quest for health and home is anchored in relationships with the more-than-human world *in specific places*.

> There′s a difference in saying this is where I′m staying and this is where I′m from. So, when we talk about the cultural experience, if you were to go into the mountains with us, we′re talking to you this way [speaking in Gabrieleño]. I′m

> telling you I′m from here, and this is where my lineage is from, and now I′ll walk you over to a tree. And say, ″I want you to touch this tree. My family has touched this tree for hundreds of years or we′ve sat under this tree.″ That′s powerful. That′s a powerful connection. It changes as opposed to going to a pow-wow where they say, ″These are the cultures of our ancestors, these are the ways of our people,″ but they′re in a different place. They don′t origin from there. When we take you to the mountains, and I take you to this spot and then I take you to the river, and I say, ″Come and touch the water″ and I pray with you, and I′m there and say, ″I want you enter this ceremony,″ you′re entering into ceremonies that are hundreds of years old. That′s powerful. So, as we connect, that′s part of what our people are doing, we′re reconnecting with these places, and that′s a powerful thing for us. That gives us that medicine, and that gives us that power to go forward as we recover. – 8/17/22

While the entire Los Angeles basin serves as the backdrop for the quest, the setting for the story's moments of intuitive recognition are small, specific places such as these, where there are family gathering, rituals, or burials. This ability to experience or define intimate places in the landscape for spiritual revelation mirrors the traditional Gabrieleno/Tongva practice of creating an enclosure of sacred space, or *yovaar*, at the center of each village that served as a portal between different worlds (McCawley 1996). In current times, two important settings for Gabrieleno/Tongva people are Povuu'ngna in Long Beach, the place of emergence, and the Kuruvungna Springs in West Los Angeles (Jurmain and McCawley 2009). Achieving protection for these places has provided tangible signs of progress on the quest and motivation for continuing the work. This is also what makes the TTPC's purchase of an acre of land above Eaton Canyon incredibly important. It will not only become a shared setting for the story, but as the first instance of "land back" in Los Angeles County, represents a true milestone in the quest for health and home that validates the efforts of elders and ancestors across the generations.

Settings have a way of generating images and metaphors that themselves can initiate storytelling. In an interview about Kuruvungna Springs, Angela Dorame Behrns described the contrast between the sacred space they are trying to encourage at Kuruvungna and the drug paraphernalia that they often find there (Jurmain and McCawley 2009). For me, this is a powerful image for the quest story as it encapsulates both the struggle to overcome, and the potential to transform, the legacy of colonialism.

In terms of plot, Tobias (2012) makes the point that while adventures are about personal achievement, quests are about personal discovery, and this provides each individual with a character arc for the story. The plot, or progression, of a quest, however, is one of overcoming obstacles, and for Gabrieleno/Tongva groups and individuals the list of obstacles is long. At the top is capitalist exploitation. During the Mission Era, the priests exploited the labor of Native people to build the wealth of the mission. Later, the American government′s decision not to recognize Gabrieleno/Tongva as a people protected White wealth and its access to enslaved labor. Today, runaway real estate markets make it difficult for young Gabrieleno/Tongva to find housing. AnMarie Mendoza, a water advocate, filmmaker, board member of the TTPC, says that this is happening quickly, mirroring the abrupt evictions of times past.

> I guess if we focus on the material reality that we actually live in L.A. and Tongva people who have these histories of dispossession, of slavery, of all these things, a lot of us now are barely hanging on to living in our homeland because we′re getting priced out so rapidly that we don′t have access to even living here at this point. It′s not even access to the Arroyo Seco or to hiking but to just live and stay here...A lot of Tongva people can′t afford to live here. And growing up as a poor Tongva person, that′s hard to swallow, to think that my ancestors helped build this city, but yet we′re always given the bottom of the barrel. – 8/26/22

As an obstacle, capitalist exploitation is behind the demand for smudge sticks and oils that decimates populations of white sage and causes developers to push forward with building projects that result in the relocation of ancestors.

The capitalist notion of zero-sum, that there is a limited cache of resources for Gabrieleno/Tongva people, has also fueled conflict between contending groups. Cleaves says that this mindset has pushed people away from the unity that most desire and that is needed for federal recognition.

> We need to come together. Why are we divided? It all comes back to economic resource scarcity. People are divided because, as L. Frank always says, we′re always being told there′s a pie, that there′s only so much of the pie, and if you don′t grab your piece of the pie, somebody else is going to grab it from you. And the pie is a lie. If we′re equitable and reasonable, there is certainly enough. – 8/8/22

Another obstacle cited in my conversations are distractions: people and organizations who intentionally or unintentionally marginalize Native people, environmentalists who tokenize Native participation, and researchers like me asking for interviews. Cleaves says,

> It′s a wonderful problem to have because it used to be that we were yelling and screaming for anyone to pay attention to us at all, and that was even harder because you were doing this all on a volunteer basis and feeling like you′re getting nowhere. Now, we have this opposite problem, which is really different, which is that people are really interested in it. And we just have limited capacity. We need to train the next generation up and we do. We have a lot of great folks in the next generation. We need to train them up and support them. – 8/8/22

Obtaining funds needed to train this next generation of Gabrieleno/Tongva youth becomes another part of the quest.

There are also the amorphous obstacles that are probably the most difficult to overcome. This includes a clash of worldviews. For Gabrieleno/Tongva, health and home include a strong

sense of reciprocity while contrasts sharply with the greed and gluttony that are at least tolerated, if not celebrated, in the dominant culture. An added challenge is that within the dominant society, time moves forward in a straight line whereas the truest time for Gabrieleno/Tongva takes the form of a spiral (Johnston 1962). This often comes into play in land-use planning where project timelines drive the process like a train barreling toward a pre-determined end, often preventing a more holistic assessment and dialogue about the best course of action.

A final obstacle to overcome is the reality that what health and home mean for Gabrieleno/Tongva today is different than in the 18th century. Cleaves describes this challenge well.

> One of the hardest things is that being Tongva, people don′t realize how hard it was for our community. We were colonized not once, but twice, colonized by the Mission period and then colonized with the creation of California as a state. And apart from the genocide and everything else, we live on one of the most urbanized landscapes that′s just buried, that′s just covered over our territory in concrete that makes it almost unrecognizable. - 8/8/22

Overcoming these obstacles generates subplots in the main story. For example, this story helps reframe much of the work that culture leaders do as questing for tools needed to achieve the larger goal of health and a homecoming. These tools include land they can call their own, federal recognition, and cultural knowledge, especially reviving their language. As a collective quest, the story is an ensemble narrative with different individuals going after these different items for the community.

Understanding the plot as one of overcoming obstacles helps in imagining the most difficult questions the protagonists will face, such what to do when one person′s assertion of Gabrieleno/Tongva heritage feels like a threat to one’s own identity, part of an erasure that goes

back generations. Other questions that pose seemingly insurmountable challenges for Gabrieleno/Tongva questers might include the following:

- How do you step out settler time with its linear structures and institutional deadlines and still be an effective agent for changing these structures?
- How do you locate and define a shared, cultural tradition that relies on personal intuition and epiphany to establish its authenticity and is, at the same time, always changing and evolving into something new?
- How do you put water back into our rivers and streams for wildlife amidst record droughts and increasing population?

To identify what stories Native people need and which would be most useful, tribalography zeroes in on the most difficult questions as jumping off points for imagining new stories and new cultural practices that can heal division and transform the future. This is what happened with the Haudenosaunee. Only in figuring out how to forgive the murderer of his children, could Hiawatha lead his people into a peaceful future. In addressing these impossible questions, Gabrieleno/Tongva storytellers can call upon the power of coyote, the trickster, who embodies the resolution, or at least co-existence, of conflicting pulls and contradictions.

Coyote is one character that's available from Gabrieleno/Tongva myths and legends but there are others. Maniisaar is a female deity associated with Datura or jimsonweed, a plant that Gabrieleno/Tongva used to transport people to the supernatural realm (McCawley 1996). She speaks to the need to step outside of settler time and stay in touch with the eternal. There is the cannibal demon spirit of Taakwesh, who is notoriously difficult to kill and lives at Lily Rock near Idyllwild (McCawley 1996). Such a demon could serve as a reasonable stand-in for forms capitalism focused on extraction, commodification, and consumption. Finally, Chengiichngech, an important creator god for Gabrieleno/Tongva, had his own spiritual initiation or quest, going

from a god who could not dance, to one who could, to one who would dance in full regalia (Johnston 1962). This reference to traditional stories and characters is part of answering the second question for tribalography, which is what elements of the traditional culture can support the stories that the people need.

There are also characters from the more-than-human world to populate these new stories or new versions of old tales. The river, for example, provides a lesson in continuity and endurance. Native plants provide an example in how to establish roots. Perhaps most important is the steelhead trout that provides a symbol of the ability to travel far and wide and always find their way home. The creation story itself underscores the familial nature of the quest for health and home. Cleaves explains:

> For us, it's a family story because we literally believe that our ancestors gave of themselves to become the land, the plants, the animals that we use, so our duty, our responsibility, for that life that they give us is to protect and preserve that land. So, it is a family history for us. We're trying to preserve and keep that and return it. - 8/8/22

Ancestors from historic time also have a role to play. Particularly relevant for the Arroyo is Bartolomea Comicrabit, also known as Victoria Reid, the daughter of a Gabrieleno/Tongva chief. An assistant at Mission San Gabriel to Eulalia Perez de Guillen, the first owner of the Rancho San Pascual. Doña Victoria, as she was later known in Californio society, married the Scotsman Hugo Reid, lived at Rancho Santa Anita, and was one of the few Native individuals to receive a land grant from the Mexican government, her 128-acre Rancho Huerta de Cuati, land that was sold to, some say stolen by, Benjamin Wilson, who owned large portion of what would become Pasadena (Casas 2005). Today this land encompasses the grounds of the Huntington Library where I conducted portions of this research. In the 20th century, Kimberly Morales Johnson, tribal secretary for the Gabrieleno (Tongva) San Gabriel Band of Mission Indians, said

Bea Alva and Dorothy Poole were important culture bearers that contributed to the quest. Bea was the first Gabrieleno Queen of the Mission Fiesta, and Dorothy was a non-native ethnobotanist who helped many people learn Gabrieleno/Tongva plant medicines (Kimberly Morales Johnson, email communication. 10/26/2022). Reflecting on the life and lessons of elders Barbara Drake and Julia Bogany, AnMarie Mendoza said how important the women have been to keeping the intergenerational question going.

> And then even thinking of our elders who passed. They set such a high standard for us of doing it all because you're not just thinking about the current moment. You're thinking about future generations. That's something I constantly heard from both Julia and Barbara was that they had to go to all these events and work with these community groups because they wanted to leave something for the next generation. They knew the value of that...But I take that page from the women in our community because if we don't do this work, then how is it going to continue. And that it's okay to be tired. It's okay to deal with that because it will be worth it for the next generation. So, I think I'm trying to get to the point that our women are carrying a lot of that load. And it's for a reason. It's not because we want to be out there like that. It's because we're thinking about the next generation of people who will do the work and we want it to be easier for them. – 8/26/22

The important role that women have in the quest could be a theme, which is its own narrative element. Other themes might include the following:

- ***Endurance*** - In drawing from traditional legends, there is the story of the River and the Coyote in which Coyote challenges the River to race to the sea. As the coyote stops, gasping for breath, the River just keeps moving on. This story speaks to the endurance of Gabrieleno/Tongva in their fight for recognition and how the struggle continues across generations and operates on its own timeline, independent from the stops and starts of official bureaucracy and demands of settler society.
- ***Ensemble and collective struggle*** - There is also the traditional belief that the world travels on the shoulders of seven giants and that earthquakes happen when one of them stumbles.

This could be representative of the group nature of the quest for health and home, with each person helping to recover and renew the culture in their own way.

- ***Sacrifice*** - Most spiritual quests involve some measure of sacrifice, and you see this in one of the creation stories, where the original dying god, Weywoot, is represented by the ritual sacrifice of an eagle within the traditional death and mourning ceremony (McCawley 1996).
- ***Importance of letting go and moving on*** - Another theme coming from these myths and legends is letting go and moving on. The story of the Death of Weywoot includes Earth Mother's attempt to revive the dead chief. But Coyote tips over the special medicine before it can cure him, forcing the world to move on without their leader (McCawley 1996). Similarly, there is a legend about a husband who tries to bring his wife back from the land of the dead. But his attempt to embrace her turns her again to dust (McCawley 1996). These stories both speak to the difficult necessity of healing and moving on, essential for people who, like many Gabrieleno/Tongva, have experienced overwhelming trauma
- ***Warnings against greed*** - The stories within my research specifically about the Arroyo suggest it should be a place for reflection about both reciprocity and greed. One story recounted in Hugo Reid's 1852 book *The Indians of Los Angeles County* tells of the destruction of the village of Hahamongna by a wizard chief as retribution for the punishment of his selfish daughter (Reid 1926). Kevin Nunez shared with me that in historic times, Native people had also placed a curse on the area around Devil's Gate Dam due to a non-Native violation of ceremonies and protocols. Finally, there is also a story relayed in an old *Los Angeles Times* clipping about a terrible massacre of Native people along the Arroyo and Las Flores Canyon that would have taken place sometime between 1826 and 1834. The story traces this event back to disputes between the priests at Mission San Gabriel and the

Governor of California over the Mission's wealth (Mosher 1895). As Hahamongna means "the place where people sit," perhaps it is these stories and their legacy that people have to sit and reflect upon.

As stated in chapter 4, themes can serve as a prompt for dialogue and discussion between Native people and settlers and ultimately help to undermine colonial attitudes and practices. This is the third step within a tribalography.

Another subject where this dialogue can take place is in discussion of genre and the tone or narrative emotion of the story. Scholars of Indigenous literature and storytelling say that we should expect Native stories to juxtapose different forms of storytelling (Glancy 2012; King 2003). And Gabrieleno/Tongva stories do. As I state in chapter 4, at first glance, it's difficult to cast the story of the Gabrieleno/Tongva's colonial experience as anything but a tragedy. This sense of tragedy also exists in the creation tale of Weywoot, a leader against whom the people rebel, followed by sacrifices by a number of the characters so future generations can survive. And yet within the interviews, I conducted and the oral histories I read, there is an enduring faith in the eternal nature of both the land and of family, a faith that speaks to the genre of comedy. The pride in Gabrieleno/Tongva identity and belief that their culture will only get stronger aligns with a comic vision of the world. You also have a mixing of romance and irony. The plot I describe above of a spiritual quest is common to genre of romantic adventure, but this is tempered by a knowing irony that comes with trying to recover one's indigenous identity within a landscape covered in concrete. This quest, almost by necessity, has a satiric edge that allows one to laugh off defeats and persevere, the attitude of any self-respecting trickster. To my ear,

Gabrieleno/Tongva manage to leaven their pride and optimism with a healthy dose of realism, which is both uncommon and appealing.[86]

Finally, as a matter of form, the ultimate goal within the story is wholeness: wholeness of health, wholeness of home and family, and unity among the different bands of Gabrieleno/Tongva. But the story itself takes the form of a network, an episodic adventure, with multiple characters and causalities, subplots, and surprises, occurring across different realms of existence. Scholar Caroline Levine (2015) says that these two literary forms, the whole and the network, typically work at cross-purposes, but within Gabrieleno/Tongva narratives they are somehow in sync. Levine says that within network stories, the openness and uncertainty of what can happen next necessitates humility among its characters. The most natural plot for these stories is a mystery because the characters discover connections that require continual recalibration. Network narratives, however, should feel familiar to Gabrieleno/Tongva, as webs of relationships, alliances, and ritual interdependencies are what bound their villages together for thousands of years before the arrival of the Spanish (Johnston 1962; McCawley 1996).

The final step in building a tribalography is asking how to embody the stories that you identify as vital and what actions you can take to further their performance. For the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers an additional question is what role the Arroyo can play in making this happen. As I

[86] Cultural sociologists Ronald Jacobs and Philip Smith argue that a balance of genres within public discourse is essential to a healthy political culture. After analyzing the media narratives about the 1992 Los Angeles uprising in response to the Rodney King verdict, they saw a need for a response that combined romantic calls for change, which can create solidarity and mobilize people, and the ironic perspective that preserves freedom of thought and expression. They say one way that societies can balance romance and irony in their discourse is through festival events that have both romantic appeal and but celebrate individual creativity. Another strategy could be to create space in the media and civic culture for modern versions of the romantic bard and the ironic jester, who once had the job of bringing these two forms of discourse into the public sphere (Jacobs and Smith 1997).

state in chapter 4, the quest for health and home immediately moves the restoration of steelhead trout to the top of the list. Part of restoring trout is raising the water table, and so the installation of green infrastructure and rain gardens across the city, and especially in the neighborhoods along the Arroyo, could go hand-in-hand with the rehabilitation of the Arroyo's springs and tributaries. Long-term, the return of the springs could be a measure of success. This sounds like folly with worsening droughts, but Gabrieleno/Tongva teach the importance of thinking seven generations into the future (Jurmain and McCawley 2009).

Another complementary project is the protection and restoration of native plants, especially white sage that is suffering from illegal harvesting across Southern California. Kat High (Hupa descendant) says that growing non-natives that are culturally important can carry spiritual power as well.

> Knowing the plants are ways to establish roots. If you're not from this place, what are the sacred plants in the places that you're from? You can grow those here, and that can give you a sense of roots...So, check your roots. Figure out what they are and grow the plants that relate. The Hupa don't use white sage. We use mugwort and angelica. Angelica doesn't grow here. The Plains Indians use basin sage and sweetgrass. So, grow your Indian plants. - 5/8/22

Another way to support the quest for health and home is to recognize the healing power of the land for everyone but especially for Native people. Managing spaces such as Hahamongna and the Lower Arroyo with an eye toward wellness and healing for people and wildlife is a simple guideline that can make an important difference. Embracing Hahamongna as the place where one sits, as a place for reflection and silent knowing, is one way for everyone to step off the locomotive of settler time and become more attuned to natural rhythms of the landscape. This works best when multiple generations can experience a place together.

Programming focused on families will provide deep and lasting benefits to both Native and settler communities and create a foundation of shared love for the Arroyo.

A final way to bring the quest for health and home to life is crafting with natural materials, be it baskets, pottery, or sculpture. The close connection with the more-than-human world that this promotes is healing and the making of something beautiful with one's hands is an ideal way to work out the contradictions and ironies of this quest (Jurmain and McCawley 2009). This relates directly back to one version of the Gabrieleno/Tongva creation story in which Chengichngech formed the first humans out of clay. Today the Armory Center for the Arts takes all fourth graders in Pasadena Unified School District down to the Lower Arroyo for an arts-based field experience in nature. Here again is where Native people and settlers can potentially come together around an education process and with a young audience both believe in and value. Including an artist workshop or craft studio as part of the proposed Hahamongna environmental education center should receive strong consideration.

Tribalography is a powerful framework because it puts Native stories to work, using them to seed the imagination with visions of what a future could and should look like for Native people as well as settlers working to overcome their own sense of displacement. The example presented here demonstrates how tribalography and a narrative approach to longstanding issues can point the way toward the types of deeply grounded, innovative projects that creative placekeepers seek.

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Appendix 24: Creative placekeeping in Pasadena

Introduction

The creative placekeeping workshop that Arroyo Seco Placekeepers sponsored during October of 2022 at Lineage Performing Arts Center demonstrated two things. First, there is interest in creative placekeeping. The only advertising for the event was a flier that members of the advisory group and individuals that I interviewed sent to their email lists, which meant the turnout of roughly 30 people for the two-hour workshop on a Friday afternoon was encouraging. Several additional people who had planned to come were kept away at the last minute, suggesting an even larger audience was possible. The second takeaway was that in a short time it is possible to transforms individual stories into creative placekeeping project ideas. The workshop began with a twenty-minute presentation on creative placekeeping that described the different formats that placekeeping projects can take along with examples of each type of project in Pasadena. The crowd then broke down into five story circles. Members of the advisory group facilitated the groups in which each person had three minutes to respond with a story to the following prompt: "That's the kind of thing that happens in Pasadena...." Story circles lasted for roughly 40 minutes, which left a half hour for groups to find a common thread among the five to seven stories in each circle and weave that thread into a project idea with outcomes, an audience, a location, and a short description. Here are the project ideas devised by each group.

- *Sustainable parkways* - neighbor-designed, green infrastructure with native plants and the ability to capture stormwater;
- *Guided plant walks* - walking routes with native plant signage or QR codes to provide information on native habitat;

- *Hidden hubs* - a long-term residency for a public historian in the city's Public Works department that would identify, restore, and memorialize locations important to multiple ethnic groups in the city, with an initial focus on the abandoned open-air theater in Brookside Park;
- *The Tune of Nature* - sound recordings of the Arroyo to check-out and distribute to individuals in nursing homes for whom a visit to the Arroyo is difficult;
- *March for home* - A march to the Arroyo from a city council meeting for a performance/dance/ritual focused on dispossession of Native people, affordable housing, and the destruction of habitat the leaves wildlife without a home.

Back in a big circle, each group shared these ideas, and the event ended with a buzz in the air about the potential to creatively engage with the city's natural and built environment.



Figure 113. *Creative placekeeping workshop at Lineage Performing Arts Center, October 28, 2022*

Creative placekeeping is not novel for Pasadena. A number of past and current initiatives would qualify as creative placekeeping and engage with the issues I outline in chapter 1 that the field as a whole is grappling with. But the particular focus on supporting arts programming within the school district has kept many arts organizations from innovating other forms of creative community engagements and actively participating in policy and planning debates beyond the cultural sector. In my discussion with the leaders of community-engaged arts organizations, one of their first ideas when I described creative placekeeping was to find ways to leverage the work with the schools to impact the lives of students' families and thus the community as a whole. Leslie Ito, who directs the Armory and formerly was involved with the creative placekeeping project Sustainable Little Tokyo, viewed creative placekeeping as complementing work with the schools:

> It's really important. It's part of the foundation I would say. I think it goes hand in hand with the arts education piece and what's happening in the schools and how do we serve the community outside of the schools and how do we connect to community beyond. That is really important. It's really at the heart of ecosystem as I see it. But if you're a third-generation art patron in Pasadena, you might not see it that way. But many of the community-based arts organizations are doing the work in the schools and many are also concerned about how we support those families, the caretakers, the adults in their lives, the older adults. It's also important to keep in mind. So, at the Armory we have programs for older adults in low-income, senior housing. So, we've been dabbling in that. We can't be all things to all people, but in very intentional ways, we're trying to serve all ages. – 5/2/22

Understanding the position of creative placekeeping relative to art education and to more traditional forms of arts and cultural programming requires a quick detour into the history of Pasadena's arts and culture sector that will provide important context not only for the different creative placekeeping activities that I share below but also for what occurred at ASP's creative

placekeeping workshop. I provide a detailed summary of the Arroyo's role in this story in appendix 26.

Pasadena as an arts and culture case study

One way into the story of the arts and culture sector in Pasadena is through the decades-long effort to organize a world-class art museum for the city, an ambition that was certainly plausible, given that Pasadena in the early 20th century was one of the wealthiest communities in the country. Many community leaders believed that a public display of fine art that built upon, and possibly drew from, the private collections of the city's elite was not only in the public interest but would attract what today we would call "creative industries," especially artisan manufacturing and designers (Batchelder 1922). This was a conscious strategy to promote Pasadena as a "creative city" a century before this term came into vogue. The aspiration was that with a robust combination of artistic and scientific institutions, Pasadena could become the "Athens of the West" (Scheid Lund 1999). The Pasadena Art Institute began in 1922 to raise funds for an art museum on the grounds of Carmelita, the land that Dr. Ezra Carr owned with his wife Jeanne during the first decade of the settlement and that sat on a hill on eastern rim of the Arroyo.[87] Jeanne Carr was a horticulturalist and close confidant of John Muir. She transformed Carmelita into one of the first botanical gardens in Los Angeles County and opened her home to writers and artists so that it quickly became a cultural center for the growing region (Scheid Lund 1999; Shippey 1932). By the 1930s, local banks owned the property while the city served as caretaker; for decades Carmelita was always on the verge of development into a commercial strip. The board of the Art Institute was able to transform the Victorian mansion on the property

[87] Today, this property remains arguably the city's most well-known piece of real estate as it forms the backdrop for the televised broadcast of Rose Parade seen by millions around the world every New Year's Day, more people certainly than watch the Rose Bowl football game, which would perhaps be its only competition.

into a gallery for art shows but had larger ambitions for an art museum that would greet motorists crossing the Arroyo on the much-admired Colorado Street Bridge, forming a prominent western gateway to the city.

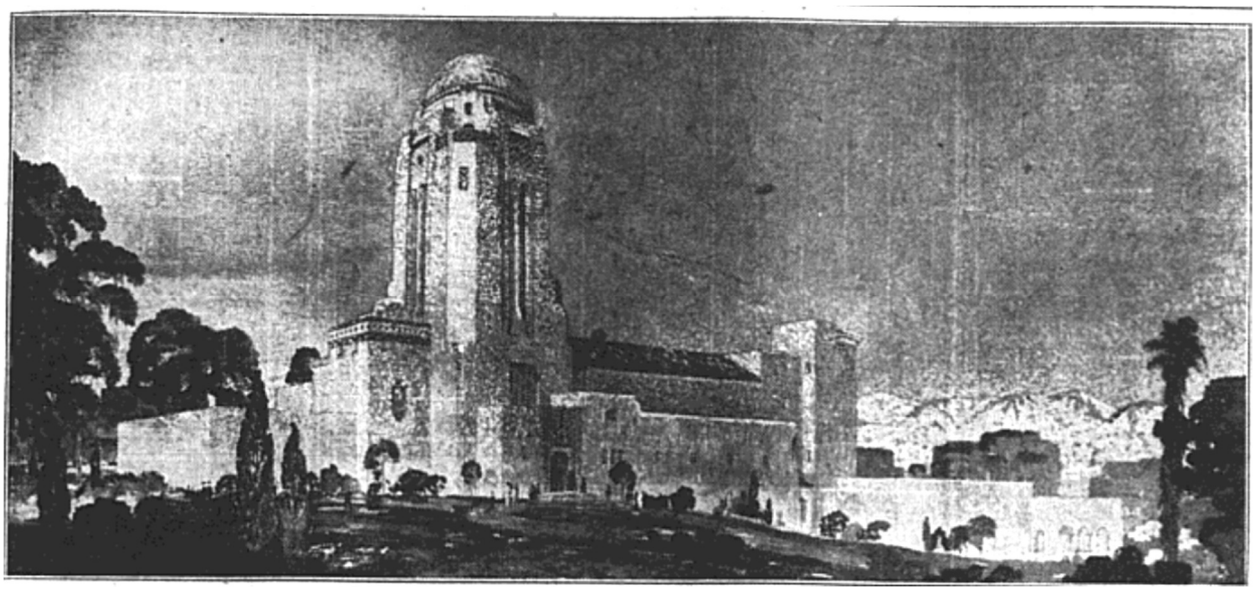

Figure 114. *Drawing of the planned Pasadena Art Institute at Carmelita. ("Building Planned for Local Art Institute Seen Placing City in Forefront of Arts" 1927)*

The Depression put a stay on this vision, but the Institute negotiated an option on the property until 1961 and moved into the Grace Nicholson Building, which would eventually become the USC Pacific Asia Museum. In 1953, the Institute acquired the Galka E. Scheyer Collection of 400 works by 20th century German Expressionists, such as Kandinsky, Klee, Feininger, Jawlensky, known as The Blue Four; the organization changed its name to the Pasadena Art Museum the following year. Through a series of exhibitions, it became the center of the contemporary art world in Southern California and gained national attention for organizing the first retrospective exhibitions of Duchamp, Wayne Thiebaud, and Richard Diebenkorn (Kim and Newman 2022; Register 1997). Local women formed the Pasadena Art Alliance in 1955, and from the beginning were hands-on when it came to supporting the museum: painting the galleries, handling exhibitions, organizing receptions and openings. The Pasadena Art Museum

became a central location to view modern art in Los Angeles during the 1950s and '60s. Tom Coston, co-founder and director of Light Bringer Project provides a thumbnail sketch.

> It was the volunteers that built this arts environment here. It was volunteers, most of them women, champions, that built the cultural institutions. And they had husbands who had really good jobs and could write checks and help these things grow. But the women really got together and broke through a lot of barriers to make the city decision-makers see that. You know the Pacific-Asia Museum, it used to be called the Grace Nicholson Building, and she gave it over to be the Pasadena Art Museum. That was a huge thing for Pasadena because then it went to where the Norton Simon is and became the most important contemporary art museum west of the Mississippi and launched careers of major household names, including Andy Warhol and other people. And so, it was those people who really made this happen here. – 3/9/22

But the backers of the Pasadena Art Museum were not of one mind. Tensions between the older generation attached to classical fine art, the younger generation excited about contemporary art, and still others focused on local artists and a broader vision of art that encompassed design and folk art splintered the energies of local arts advocates (Coplans 1975; Register 1997). At the same time, a vibrant countercultural art scene had taken root in Pasadena and Altadena, anchored by Armenian American muralist and sculptor Jirayr Zorthian, who constructed his art ranch in the foothills at the top of Fair Oaks Avenue, hosting bacchanal parties with the likes of Charlie Parker, Andy Warhol, and the physicist Richard Feynman (Hue 2014; Karlstrom 2014). The splits in artistic sentiment were so great that when the Pasadena Art Museum finally made the move back to Carmelita property in 1969, it could not raise the funds for an endowment and required rescue by the wealthy industrialist Norton Simon, who merged the museum's collection with his own and jettisoned the work of local artists, leaving many embittered and angry. By this time, a massive, multilevel freeway interchange had cut through the beloved Carmelita property. Today the Norton Simon Museum houses a world-renowned art collection while freeway traffic hums just beyond its walls. In terms of creative placekeeping,

Pasadena could be a productive case study for the debates highlighted in chapter 1 about the relative value fine art versus a more inclusive view of creativity.

Pasadena as a national leader in arts education

It was against this backdrop that Pasadena's commitment to art education developed. Shortly after the Pasadena Art Institute moved into the Grace Nicholson Building, Pasadena's chapter of the Junior League launched the Junior Museum on the upper floor of the building's north wing in 1947 (Register 1997).

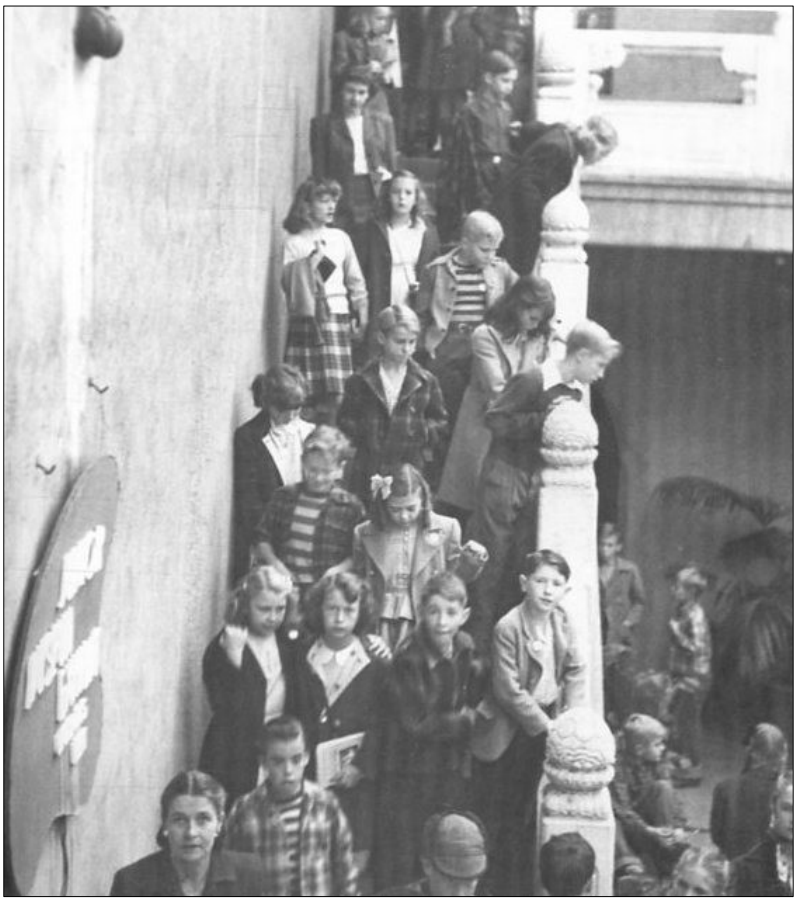

Figure 115. *Opening day of the Junior Museum at the Pasadena Art Institute in 1947 ("Opening Day of the Junior Museum" 1947 in Register 1997)*

The program served students from 3rd grade to junior high school, and in just two months, over 1300 students signed up and paid the $1 membership fee. The museum had free Saturday

programs that included a morning exhibition tour followed by a puppet show, movie, or play and afternoons spent in the workshop, often with guest artists. Crucially, they specifically decided not to teach art but to provide open studio time for children as they didn't want to duplicate what was done in the schools. The Junior Museum's program became a model for other League chapters around the country and was featured in several national magazines (Register 1997).[88]

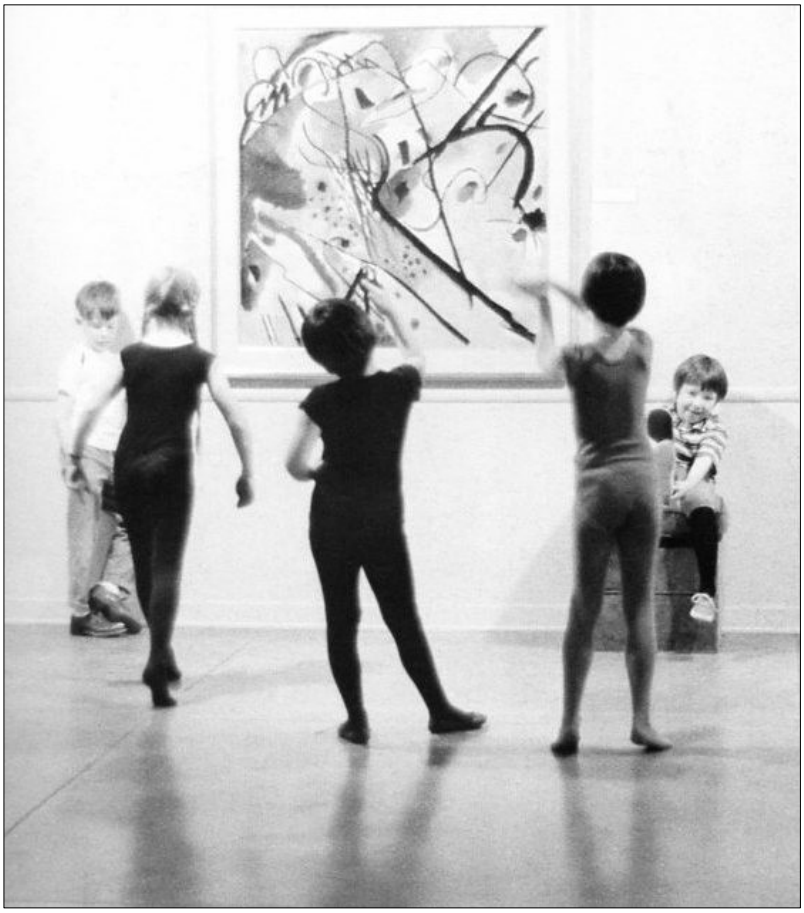

Figure 116. *Inspired by Kandinsky at Pasadena Art Museum, 1968 ("Inspired by Kandinsky" 1968 in Register 1997)*

[88] The Junior Museum was contemporaneous with the development of the People's Art Center at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, which was also emphasizing the importance of giving young people the means to be creative and letting their imagination be their guide. This new approach to art education was seen as way to promote freedom of thought and strengthen democratic culture (Turner 2013).

The Pasadena Art Museum took over the program in 1956 and changed the name of the program to the Junior Art Workshop. They began offering classes in art, dance, and music along with satellite programs in Glendale and Fullerton. A scholarship program was established in 1962 to support the attendance of underprivileged youth. Once Norton Simon took over what was then the Pasadena Museum of Modern Art, the new board decided they did not want to continue the art education program, so Pasadena Art Workshops (PAW) became an independent organization and moved to the closed campus of Lincoln Elementary School in 1974 (Register 1997). A retrospective of the organization quoted PAW's first director Deborah Brewer as saying, "'We had kids from the deepest poverty you could imagine, as well as children and adults from San Marino. That's what was so neat. It brought everyone together in the studio'" (Register 1997, 6). During its first year at Lincoln, it served more than 3,500 children and adults with a variety of classes, including tuition-based classes in art, drama, and dance. It had ethnic art workshops and classes for kids with special needs. Eventually 450 students a week were coming through the doors for classes that included animation, film-making, creative percussion and batik (Register 1997).

As a young writer, Tom Coston and his friends came to Pasadena during the late ‘80s with the notion of forming an arts organization. Some of the first people they spoke with pointed them to the artists living in Northwest Pasadena.

> And as they were talking, they didn't touch on much about the arts, and these are artists. They talked about the community. They talked about the way the community changed, the way the 210 [freeway] came through and divided the community. They talked about all the things that they saw. And we were really speaking with the older artists, the established artists, as they called themselves, our elders. And then we realized that it was this whole legacy of mentorship, that they had taught the next generation who became teachers and who lent themselves into working with youth and teaching those things at the root of their disciplines to young people. And then they mentored the next generation, and we thought,

> "Oh my god, there's this whole scene happening here." And we realized it was vast; it was huge. There were so many people in the woodwork of Pasadena, and this legacy of handing down the baton--I teach you and you teach the next guy. It was really stirring, and it was wonderful. And we met people, a lot of them just before they passed—we were really lucky when we were doing this oral history. It was like a Ph.D. program in community-based work. – 3/9/22

This experience inspired them to focus on arts education, and Light Bringer Project has been an innovator in bringing artists into schools in Pasadena and Los Angeles for the almost 35 years. This is why the seven years that Pasadena Art Workshops was at Lincoln Elementary were so important. It forged relationships between the faction of mostly White art advocates who fought to maintain the program and the artists, many of whom were artists of color, who the freeway had displaced from Old Pasadena. These artists found employment as teaching artists with the program.



Figure 117. *Curtis Tann, master artist and teacher, Pasadena Art Workshops, 1981 ("Curtis Tann, master artist and teacher" 1981 in Register 1997)*

The final piece to this history is that in 1970 Pasadena Unified became the first school district outside the South to go under court-ordered desegregation as the result of decades of allowing White parents to avoid schools with large numbers of students of color. With this decision, busing intensified, and the subsequent White flight reduced funding and parental involvement in the success of the district. The passage of Proposition 13 in 1978, which reduced property tax revenue, made maintaining a district with declining enrollment even more challenging. Today, over half of Pasadena's school-age children attend private or charter schools, and the district continues to struggle with low enrollment. In this context, art education represents the application of arts and culture to Pasadena's deepest historical wound and is an attempt to address social, racial, and economic justice. But supporting the schools is also without controversy and does not pose a direct challenge to norms around policing, public investment, affordable housing, economic opportunity, and environmental harm that impact the immediate well-being of the entire community.

Creative placekeeping in Pasadena

While Pasadena's arts organizations have focused on supporting the school district and arts education, some organizations have conducted more direct forays into community development. Below I discuss these incursions into creative placekeeping.

One of the most basic elements of creative placekeeping is using arts and culture to engage the community in decision-making. Side Street Projects models this by basing its priorities and programming decisions on surveys and conversations with the justice-impacted populations of Pasadena and Altadena (Side Street Projects 2024). As another example, the city recently allocated $200,000 for a public art project at the Jackie Robinson Center in Northwest

Pasadena. Much of this investment supported community engagement and research by the artists so residents of the surrounding neighborhoods can guide the themes and stories the artists feature in the artwork. In proposing the Activate the 710 campaign for Arroyo Seco Placekeepers (see chapter 7), I propose using arts and cultural activities and performances to engage and involve Pasadena residents in the designs for re-purposing the city's portion of 710 freeway. Precedent for using creative strategies to elicit public input for planning in Pasadena goes back to 1916 and the *My City* exhibit, which used photos, maps, and a diorama of property values to engage residents in the relatively new science of urban planning. The Pasadena's City Beautiful Association organized the exhibit working in partnership with the Board of Trade. The Arroyo was one of the designated "Projects and Problems of Pasadena" and had its own corner. Residents could vote on their favorite "city beautiful" and "city orderly" projects (Damon 1916).



Figure 118. *The 1916 My City exhibit. Exhibit was an early attempt at participatory planning (Damon 1916)*

There have also been some notable partnerships between artists or arts organizations and institutions working in planning, transportation, public health, and other fields. In 1985, for example, the Pasadena Garden Club brought environmental artists Helen and Newton Harrison to the Arroyo. They created *Arroyo Seco Release - A Serpentine for Pasadena*, a work of wall-sized photographs, handwritten poetry, and technical designs for how to restore the stream in the city's Lower Arroyo Park (Harrison, Harrison, and Belloli 1985). In 1987, Ernest Messner, from the group Community Action for Parks, suggested the Harrison apply their imaginations to Devil's Gate Dam, as the city had recently taken over management of what would become Hahamongna Watershed Park. The Harrison's photo collage, *Devil's Gate Transformation - A Refuge for Pasadena,* appeared in the Art Center College of Design's gallery in Old Pasadena (Harrison and Harrison 1987). These projects challenged the engineering orientation of the city and county had toward these places and fueled the imagination of environmental advocates for what the Arroyo could become.



Figure 119. *Arroyo Seco Release – A Serpentine for Pasadena by Helen and Newton Harrison. Baxter Art Gallery, California Institute of Technology, 1985 (Ronald Feldman Gallery 2025)*

Similarly, Elisa Callow, the first director of the Armory Center for the Arts, said one of the secrets to the Armory's early success was becoming a "partnership juggernaut."

> I wanted to be with other people. When you work with people in public health, for example, they totally get how arts can be used in their work. And we've got to learn from them. And often arts organizations say, "Our door is open, but they don't come to us." Actually, we have to go to them and learn from them. You have to figure out what matters to them. – 7/1/22

Callow told me a story about how a partnership with Pasadena's Public Works Department led to the incorporation of student-designed tiles for the signs at the city's parks.

> We did a project with public works where the director at the time asked if we could make signs for the parks. And I said, "We're not a design firm. We don't do signs; we do programs" And so we got Public Works to pay for the entire Walk to Art program that year, and we had artists organize a program for each park in the city and help kids come up with designs related to some aspect of the park's history or activities. For example, the one at Villa Parke had fruits and vegetables because they host a farmers' market. And they made decorative tiles for all the park signs. And all the city councilors loved it...And I did a lot of outreach in the community. We bought a lot of the materials at Target, and I went to their team meeting at 7 a.m. to talk about the project and encouraged all the Target employees to get their kids to participate. And I got the Public Works staff to get their kids involved. And then the Public Works people were really careful with the final signs and nothing ended up broken. And we were able to work with an amazing ceramic artist. That was 2000 or 2001. - 7/1/22

The Children Investigate the Environment program started as partnership between the Armory and Pasadena Water and Power, which was struggling to spread its message of water conservation. The program takes all fourth graders in Pasadena Unified School District to the Arroyo for a field-based experience that combines nature education with artmaking. The initial partnership helped the Armory find additional sponsors for a program that is now over thirty years old. My proposal for ASP to catalyze an Unpave Pasadena campaign would depend on a partnership with the city's public works department and would tap into a stormwater fund created by Los Angeles County voters with Measure W (see chapter 7).



Figure 120. *Brookside Park Art Tile Sign. An example of the tile project partnership between the Armory Center for the Arts and City of Pasadena Public Works Department*.

Another trend in creative placekeeping is lengthening the term of engagement for artists and cultural workers so their work is about more than a single project. Hector Aristizabal, co-founder of ImaginAction, shared what this means for him.

> My primary issue there lies in the project's sustainability, which seems to consistently elude us. Securing a grant, initiating a project, and then waiting for another grant cycle, all while the gang members I've been collaborating with end up incarcerated—it's disheartening. There's an urgent need for the city to fully commit to continuously supporting arts programs in schools and communities. It's a modest investment compared to the cost of a semi-automatic weapon. Imagine having an artist stationed at every park, offering instruction in dance, music, theater, poetry—whatever captures the children's interest. But crucially, this support should be ongoing, not dependent on sporadic grants or occasional initiatives from the Playhouse for community engagement. – 5/31/22

A recent example of long-term engagement was the four-year residency of interdisciplinary artist Alan Nakagawa at the Pasadena Buddhist Temple sponsored by Side Street Projects. Nakagawa entitled his project *Invisible Tea House* because his interest was sparked by a hand-painted sign indicating where a Japanese tea house once sat until 2011 when it was moved to be part of the Japanese Garden at the Huntington Library. The project has involved the creation of podcasts and videos, the compiling of archival photos, a pop-up exhibit, a tea ceremony, fabrication of tea ceremony accoutrements, and activities during Pasadena's Art Night. The focus of the project is the experience of Japanese Americans connected to the Temple during the post-World War II period as they returned from internment camps and began to rebuild Pasadena's Japanese American community. The value of multi-year residencies or open-ended engagements rooted in the community are immense. Personal and social transformation requires time and needs to operate at the speed of trust rather than grant deadlines. One way the City could generate resources to support longer engagements is through community benefit agreements that requires arts and culture funding from developers. This was what paid for the research and installation of *Exploring Pasadena's Past*, the City's first public history display installed in 2022 in Old Pasadena.

Cities can also help by providing spaces to arts organizations like the Armory, whose location on North Raymond Avenue adds vibrancy Old Pasadena. Over the past thirty years, the Armory has used this location and other spaces to support smaller arts organizations. Former director Scott Ward explains:

> And part of the way we did that was with space, with real estate, by opening the Armory itself but also all the auxiliary spaces we ran, whether it was Armory NW or other spaces. Armory NW was 56,000 feet of space. You could say to fledging theater people, "Here's your theater space. And I'll come back and see how things are going." And it worked. – 5/27/22

The city's planned sale of the Armory's building as surplus property is now motivating a capital campaign to secure the building as the permanent home for the organization. Creative spaces often become central to the life of their neighborhood, places where relationships form and strengthen and help communities remain resilient. Alkebu-lan Cultural Center also operates out of a city-owned building in Northwest Pasadena and blends arts workshops, cultural education, and human services. Executive Director Dianne Lewis explains the importance of the Center.

> This is the only African American cultural center in the San Gabriel Valley, and we need to have it here because we need a place so we can educate this community and Pasadena and Altadena about our history and our culture. And I think it's very important that they learn about who we are and where we're from and what our culture is. There are still so many people who have no idea of what the culture is of African Americans. They talk a little bit about slavery and think that's all over now. But they don't know or understand the imprinting in your mind about what that's about and how that affects you emotionally as you're growing up as a kid and a child. – 7/6/22

The Pasadena Japanese Culture Institute serves a similar role, as did El Centro de Acción Social, which unfortunately closed in 2015. The city can also make official spaces accessible for artists and arts organization. The *My Pasadena* project, funded by a 2015 grant from *Our Town*, the NEA's creative placemaking program, featured a year of monthly performances, interactive installations, and video projections at City Hall as a way to make the seat of government feel more accessible to residents living north of the 210 Freeway. Similarly, in 2018, the TA'YER Multicultural Performance Collective was able to conduct theater workshops with day laborers at the Pasadena Job Center and stage several devised performances with workers. One of the most important conversations now happening is the use of City land in Hahamongna Watershed Park for the Climate Resilience Environmental Education Center (CREEC) project, which could be another creative space that can bring people together and help people connect with the Arroyo.

Finally, the city has helped transform the streets into temporary creative spaces by facilitating cultural events and celebration, such as the Black History Parade and Latino Heritage Festival and Parade, which volunteers have been organizing for decades.



Figure 121. *Alkebu-lan Cultural Center, North Raymond Avenue (Alkebu-lan Cultural Center 2022)*

While creative placekeeping and community-based art has a clear impact on individual participants, knowing how to leverage these impacts to further systemic change is still a struggle. One project where this came up was *Mi Historia, Mi Manera,* a community-engaged, forum theatre project sponsored by the Pasadena Playhouse in 2015 that focused on the dynamics of gentrification and displacement in Northwest Pasadena. Hector Aristizabal of ImaginAction, who facilitated the project, described what happened:

> It was a beautiful process that culminated in a play. We staged it a couple of times, outdoors near one of those grand houses, turning the street into our stage. A street fair accompanied the play, drawing many from the neighborhood who watched and actively participated as "spect-actors," sparking meaningful dialogues within the community. However, I wish we could have gone beyond that because this is not merely an event; it's a continuous process. This is also true for the Theater of the Oppressed work I do with communities. The process itself is the outcome; it's not just about the final play. – 5/31/22

Aristizabal emphasized that to achieve a broader impact, more time and a means to prolong and expand the process are necessary. This might involve integrating theater with other forms of community organizing to devise tailored solutions that address the specific challenges facing Northwest Pasadena. Under Scott Ward's leadership, the Armory had success working with other arts organizations across Southern California to form the Arts for Healing and Justice Network, which uses art to heal incarcerated youth and change the systems that serve them. Ward told me that by coming together they were able to attract support from bigger donors that helped all the groups to thrive.

> The idea was not to act as a tiny little do-gooder because you can't get work done. But by taking 10 smaller organizations, and the Armory was probably the biggest, it included Actor's Gang and artworxL.A. and others, instead of it seeming like an earnest group of volunteers, it had clout. For this group that has flourished, in a lot of ways, scale and clout matter, not just good intentions. – 5/27/22

This approach of building coalitions that can attract funding not accessible to individual organizations is the strategy that I have chosen to pursue for Arroyo Seco Placekeepers. The most concrete example of community-based arts impacting policy for the Arroyo came from Elisa Callow, Ward's predecessor at the Armory. She described how youth from their Children Investigating the Environment (CIE) program advocated for the Arroyo at city council.

> Back in 1998 or 1999, when there was a proposal to put soccer fields in Hahamongna, it was really interesting because you had a city council meeting with these more well-to-do kids in their spiffy soccer uniforms, and then you had

> a more diverse set of kids from CIE getting up and reading their poetry and showing their art. And they carried the day. – 7/1/22

Bridging this gap between individual and community transformation was the rationale for extending the development phase of the creative placekeeping process for the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers pilot. Additional time can allow a group to identify the issues and questions that can catalyze impacts on multiple levels.

As far as bringing the more-than-human into this process, 2005 provided two examples. Environmental installation artists Daniel McCormick and Mary O'Brien, designed three sculptures using native tree saplings to catch and hold eroding soil under the Colorado Street Bridge. This was also the year when artist Joel Tauber adopted a lone sycamore stranded in the middle of the Rose Bowl's parking lot K. His project *Sick-Amour* used art to draw attention to the tree as he worked with the Rose Bowl to nurse the sycamore back to health (Tauber 2024).



Figure 122. *Sick-Amour by artist Joel Tauber. Tauber was able to install railings to protect this small sycamore tree in parking lot K outside the Rose Bowl (Tauber 2024)*

The project continued until 2019, when Tauber returned to the parking lot to find the tree replaced by a fresh patch of asphalt. Having planted seeds from the tree in various location, he visits, cares for, and honors the tree's descendants (Tauber 2024).

The historical ecology walk that I organized in October 2022 was an explicit attempt to highlight the agency of the rocks, River, trees, and wildlife within the narratives of the Arroyo. The relatively short walk drew attention to these presences, experientially, metaphorically, and practically, pointing to needed policy changes related to water conservation, urban forestry management, and ecological restoration. ASP's Unpave Pasadena campaign (see chapter 7) calls for neighbors to collaborate with the more-than-human elements in the design, installation, and

care for neighborhood pocket parks. The parks themselves can become catalysts for hyper-local discussions of urban ecological stewardship, all leading back Arlington Garden's proposed urban ecology center, a resource that could help Pasadena become a center for regenerative landscaping in Southern California, in much the same way that it once served as an exemplar for the arts and crafts movement.



Figure 123. *Arroyo Seco Placekeepers' Historical Ecology Walk. Discussing the geology of the Arroyo's canyon just below Arroyo Terrace on, October 9, 2022.*

Conclusion

The projects above illustrate that creative placekeeping does have a lineage in Pasadena. What might be new, however, is the use of the term "creative placekeeping" to link these diverse projects together. The relative ease with which the small groups from the workshop were able to

use the concepts of creative placekeeping to devise project ideas illustrates the potential of the practice. When I asked Elisa Callow what was needed to advance creative placekeeping in Pasadena, her response was “more.”

> More collaboration. More awareness of more diverse populations. More work with organizations and agencies in other sectors. I looked to partner with non-arts organizations because I saw benefit there, and I think that proved to be a pretty good bet. – 7/1/22

Because of its history, Pasadena has always been ambitious. The term Will Salmon, co-founder and director of Open Gate Theater, used was “megalomania,” but he used with affection.

> There’s just this sweet megalomania that pervades these structures and this town. Even though people aren’t building that way now, people who love Pasadena, and almost everyone who’s in Pasadena, loves Pasadena, is drawn to that and likes that - the Pasadena Auditorium, the library. Whoa. – 5/25/22

The story of the Pasadena Art Museum, along with the determination and grit of all of Pasadena’s arts and culture pioneers, and their patrons, shows how this ambition has enriched generations of residents from all walks of life. Applying this ambition to creative placekeeping by embracing the projects emerging from ASP’s pilot could again move Pasadena to the center of a national conversation about the impact of arts and culture on community life.

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Appendix 25: Art about, in, and with Pasadena′s Arroyo

> The story of Pasadena is contained in that Arroyo, and it's just holding it. And how to give voice to those invisible stories that are still being held in the Arroyo…and why is it *seco*? How can we fill it with life again, with beauty, I don't know if with water, but with the waters of our stories, with the waters of what's contained in this beautiful scenario? ~ Hector Aristizabal, founder of ImaginAction, 5/31/22

> There's something very dreamlike about the Arroyo. It's very dreamlike, and I can't remember where I put that, "Art is a dream that we dream together." ~ Will Salmon, founder Open Gate Theater, 5/25/22

Art about the Arroyo - Arroyo as inspiration

Miss Agnes Elliot arrived in Pasadena in 1874 with her parents, the leaders of the troupe of Midwestern settlers who decided to relocate to the San Gabriel Valley and start what would become Pasadena. The Elliots built a large house overlooking the Lower Arroyo, and Agnes went on to became the head of the history department at the Los Angeles Normal School, which was the state school for training teachers. In 1886, at the Pasadena's first high school graduation, she read her short story called "The Spirit of the Arroyo" that told of a crowd of Mexican revelers in what is today Hahamongna Watershed Park witnessing a female spirit made of moonlit mist rising over the Arroyo, a spirit to which all the trees seemed to bow. In the story, an old-timer explains to the frightened onlookers that the spirit is mourning the destruction of the oak trees in the Arroyo and the disappearance of its water. He says if the water disappears, the spirit will leave and never return (Elliott 1886). While steeped in romantic stereotypes of Mexican California, this prophetic story, told just a dozen years after the founding of the settlement, provides an important jumping off point for discussion of art that draws its inspiration from the Arroyo.

More widely known, is the influence that the Arroyo had on California Impressionism. Painters flocked to the Arroyo at the turn of the last century and made it the focus of what's called *plein air* painting, or painting outdoors in the natural light. Tom Coston, the co-founder of Light Bringer Project, described the scene.

> There were like 39 painters who were regularly painting in the Arroyo at the turn of the last century, and they all knew each other. We're talking 1900 to 1905. They were the Arroyo artists; they were the vanguard of American landscape painting. The reason they were here was the light and the foothills. There was a coziness and a backdrop....The Arroyo Artists had uniforms. It was black pants, white shirt, and a black skinny tie. They would line up and you would recognize them and they wanted to be branded. They were completely assured with who they were and what they were about. - 3/9/22



Figure 124. *Arroyo Seco Bridge by Franz Bischoff – 1915. ("Plein Air Painters of the Arroyo Seco and Highland Park" 2013)*

Among this group were Franz Bischoff, Alson Skinner Clark, Elmer and Marion Wachtel, Guy Rose, Hanson Puthuff, Orrin White, Jean Mannheim, Frederick Zimmerman, John Frost, and William Lees Judson, who founded the USC School of Fine Arts on the west bluff of the Arroyo across from South Pasadena. Plein air painting of the Arroyo continues today under the auspices of The California Art Club, whose office and gallery sits above the Arroyo in Pasadena at 65 South Grand Avenue, not far from where the Elliots built their home. The club began in 1909 with many of the Arroyo artists as founding members. Membership dwindled in the 1970s and 1980s as traditional painting fell out favor. But the club began a revival under the leadership Peter and Elaine Adams who live along the Arroyo. Now the club is one of the largest art organizations in the country (Gallagher 2023). In March of 2023, the club co-sponsored The Great Hahamongna Paint-Out and Walkabout in which several dozen artists brought out their easels to create work in honor of the 30th anniversary of Hahamongna Watershed Park north of the Devil's Gate Dam. In October of the same year, the club organized an exhibit, *The Diverse Environments of the Arroyo Seco: Paintings from the California Art Club,* in partnership with the Pasadena Museum of History.

William Lees Judson's School of Fine Arts above the Arroyo became the headquarters for the Arroyo Guild, founded in 1909 by Judson and George Wharton James, a writer and collector of Native American baskets living in Pasadena. The Guild gathered Craftsman and artisan workers together into a one-stop shop for the furnishings and fixtures for the Craftsman homes going up during this period. Later that year, they published the first (and only) issue of *The Arroyo Craftsman*, aspiring to create a West Coast version of *The Craftsman*, a magazine put out by Gustav Stickley, the famous furniture maker. The Arroyo Guild lasted until 1914 when the materials for Craftsman homes became difficult to obtain and business dried up (Bell 2011).



Figure 125. *Judson Studios on Avenue 66. Located in Garvanza, Judson Studios once housed the USC School of Fine Arts and the Arroyo Guild. Today, it makes fine stained art glass.*

Part of the rationale for the formation of the Guild was the presence of noted architects Charles and Henry Greene, who settled in Pasadena at the turn of the last century and designed numerous homes along the Arroyo. Charles' own home sits on a bluff called Arroyo Terrace, the hill where the settlers gathered in 1874 to subdivide the town and build the first reservoir. The Greene home is located a block from the Gamble House, the iconic Craftsman mansion now managed by the non-profit Gamble Conservancy in partnership with the City of Pasadena. The Arroyo provided consistent inspiration for the Greene's work, their goal being to blur the lines between indoor and outdoor living.

Ernest Batchelder also took inspiration from the Arroyo in the aesthetic of his handcrafted ceramic art tiles that became part of homes and businesses across the country prior to the Great Depression. Batchelder drew upon medieval and nature-based themes and built his first kiln behind his Craftsman cottage on South Arroyo Drive above what is today Pasadena's Lower Arroyo Park. Batchelder and wife Alice Coleman were leaders in Pasadena's arts community during the first half of the 20th century.[89]



Figure 126. *Batchelder Tile Detail* (Winter 1999)

[89] Batchelder was the head of the art department at Throop Polytechnic Institute, the forerunner of Caltech. He was on the board of the Pasadena Playhouse and the Pasadena Art Institute and led the effort to establish an art museum at Carmelita Park, a dream finally realized in 1969 with the building that would become the Norton Simon Museum. He also led the fight against a plan by the Pasadena Realty Board to route the Arroyo Seco Parkway through Pasadena's Lower Arroyo. Alice established the Coleman Chamber Music Concert series in 1904, which continues to this day. She was a leader of the Music and Art Association, which established the Stickney School of Fine Arts in an ivy-covered brick building in 1914. The painter Jean Manheim, who lived a few houses down from the Batchelders along Arroyo Drive, was the lead instructor and took students from the school down to the Arroyo to paint. Proceeds from the sale of the building in 1934 went to support the Pasadena Art Institute's vision for what they called at one point the Carmelita Cultural Center. The site of the Stickney School, at the intersection of Lincoln and Fair Oaks Avenues, became a hub for the African American community during the 1950s and 1960s before being wiped away by the construction of the 210 freeway.

The Arroyo was also the inspiration for the husband-and-wife team of Newton and Helen Mayer Harrison. In the 1980s, they worked with the Pasadena Garden Club, Community Action for Parks, and the Devil's Gate Multi-Use Advisory Committee, which was the City entity that created Hahamongna Watershed Park, to assemble a series of visionary designs for removing Devil's Gate Dam and re-naturalizing the flood channel in the Lower Arroyo (Harrison, Harrison, and Belloli 1985; Harrison and Harrison 1987). The designs, featured in exhibitions at Caltech and in Old Pasadena, crystallized early advocacy for removal of the channel from the Lower Arroyo. Cal Poly Pomona's landscape architecture graduate studio class followed their work with a technical plan for channel removal in 1988. Today's dialogue about restoring the Arroyo's stream has the Harrisons' creative engagement with the landscape as its inspiration.

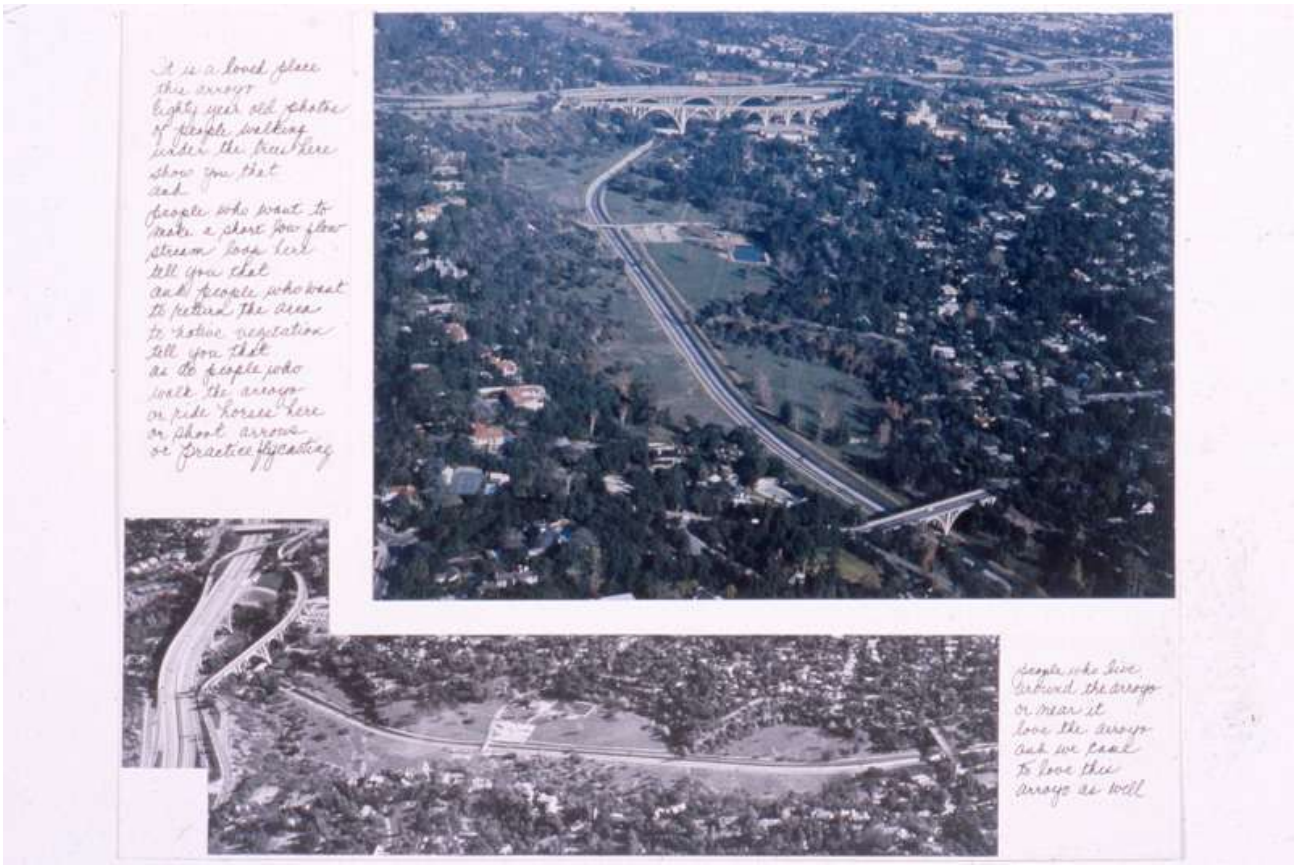

Figure 127. *A portion of Arroyo Seco Release – A Serpentine for Pasadena. The Harrisons exhibited this work at Baxter Art Gallery in 1985 (Harrison, Harrison, and Belloli 1985).*

Hahamongna Watershed Park became the touchstone for my play, *The Washing of the Water*, that was part of Caltech's play reading series in 2013. The play took its themes from 65 interviews with people in Altadena, Northwest Pasadena, and La Cañada-Flintridge along with the social and environmental history of these neighborhoods and the park. The plot tells the story about how individuals in these communities came together to build the long-planned environmental education center in Hahamongna, overcoming the heritage of pollution and racism that has plagued local school districts. Community groups, many of whom joined the community advisory group for this project, are currently trying to get City approvals to begin fundraising for the Climate Resilience Environmental Education Center (CREEC) in the park, which would provide a home base for Outward Bound Adventures and incorporate the Arroyo Seco Foundation's native plant nursery.



Figure 128. *The final scene at the 2013 reading of "The Washing of the Water." This community-based play is about Hahamongna Watershed Park (Fellows 2013).*

An inventory of Arroyo references within other stories, novels, poetry, and plays is wanting. The place to start, however, would be with the work of Margaret Collier Graham, noted

writer of short stories, early Arroyo advocate, and suffragette, who hosted Charles Lummis, John Muir, and Mary Austin at her home in South Pasadena. She was also editor of Pasadena's first newspaper, issued in script by the literary society and called *The Reservoir*. More recently, Chip Jacobs' 2019 *Arroyo: A Novel* takes the Colorado Street Bridge's moniker as "Suicide Bridge" as the literal jumping off point for a plot that unwinds in many of the Arroyo's most notable settings.



Figure 129. *Poppy fields in Altadena (Pierce n.d., photCL Pierce 07174, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.)*

The Arroyo's landscape is also connected to Pasadena's largest creative endeavor, the Tournament of Roses, headlined by the Rose Parade and Rose Bowl Football game. Biogeographer and fire ecologist Richard Minnich argues that the flowerfields and forblands that

once blanketed Altadena's outwash plains was the reference point for the parade (Minnich 2008). The original idea for a tournament to showcase Pasadena's fertility and flowers is credited to Charles Frederick Holder, a noted naturalist and co-founder of the Valley Hunt Club, who in several of his volumes revels in hunting parties he led up and down the Arroyo during the 1880s (Holder 1888, 1889; Scheid Lund 1999). Apart from the spectacle of the parade, the construction and decoration of flowered floats is a folk art to which Pasadena can lay a special claim. Alice Coleman's sister, Isabella, became a noted innovator in float design (Hendrickson 1971; Riffey and Adams 2007). Leslie Ito, director of the Armory Center for the Arts said that float design is an example of the non-traditional arts that the arts and culture sector needs to pay more attention to.

> All the people who come in January don't come to see art. They come to see football, mostly. And that's the disconnect between what we do and the tourism that comes to Pasadena. But the float making industry, we should be much more connected to. I was mentioning that I went to Lancaster this weekend, and the Lost Angels Children's Project there teaches kids in Lancaster and the high desert how to fix old cars. But that's just the hook because the real industry is the aerospace industry that's out that way. It's a job readiness program. The hook is fixing old cars, but they're teaching them skills to get jobs in the aerospace industry. It would be interesting to know about the float companies and the designers. Is it super insular? Are they hiring locals? Are there things that we could train folks for to get good jobs? – 5/2/22

Art in the Arroyo - Arroyo as venue

The Arroyo has also served as an important venue for performances and exhibitions almost from the start the city. Understanding this history is important for creative placekeeping, both to feed the imagination for future events and to demonstrate to the powers that be that there is precedent for injecting creativity into the landscape.

The first performance by settlers to take place in the Arroyo might have been the one organized by Judge Benjamin Eaton in April 1890 for the Society of California Pioneers of New England. While roughly four hundred people gathered on picnic grounds around the city's reservoir at Arroyo Terrace to eat ice cream, cake, and strawberries, a handful ventured down into the Arroyo where Eaton had arranged a living history presentation complete with Pasadena residents dressed as 49ers leading a train of burros, panning for gold, making coffee over a campfire, purchasing dry goods from a makeshift general store made of brush, and even engaging in gun-fight. Eaton dressed his own daughter in a sunbonnet to represent the arrival of the first woman in the mining camp. The presentation warmed the hearts of the old miners in attendance, who while in Pasadena were staying at the luxurious Raymond Hotel, but also shows how easily the Arroyo fit into the settlers' unquestioned narrative of conquest, colonization, and extraction that resulted in the displacement and genocide of Native peoples ("'The Days of Gold': 'Tenting on the old camp ground' in the Arroyo" 1890).



Figure 130. *Brookside Open Air Theater Seats (Martin 1924, California State Library)*

The area just north of where Eaton staged this performance would become Brookside Park. In July of 1920, just a few years after city officials christened the segregated Brookside Plunge, the Pasadena Playhouse inaugurated the Brookside Open Air Theater on the hillside above the pool with a production of *The Merry Wives of Windsor* ("Players Present "Wives of Windsor"" 1920). One month later, Friendship Baptist Church organized a two-night benefit with the Afro-American Concert Band of Los Angeles, choral singing, and the poetry of Paul Laurence Dunbar in a review of racial progress ("Negro Pageant of Nations Next Week" 1920). Proceeds went to retire the debt for an African American retirement home in Watts, but it also was likely to an attempt to present a counter-narrative to the segregated pool that would have been visible from the amphitheater's seats. The amphitheater could seat more three thousand people, and symphony orchestras played to sold-out audiences in the 1940s ("Second Concert at Brookside Due Sunday Night" 1943). Restoration of this amphitheater is in the city's Arroyo Seco master plan but has no funding.

But this wasn't the only theater space in the Arroyo. At the same time, that the Pasadena Playhouse began managing the Brookside Open Air Theater, they were also assisting in the creation of a smaller outdoor Greek-style theater in Arroyo Glen at the foot of Bradford Street, immediately south of the La Loma Bridge (now called the John van de Kamp Bridge). The city had a plan and contract for the installations of benches in the fall of 1919, but the first performances don't appear to have taken place until the mid- to late-1920s ("Brush Fire Aids Workers" 1919; "Hiawatha Ceremonial Dance: Legend of Thunder, Bird, Cloud, Wasp" 1928).

This space was very close to Busch Gardens, and a possible rationale for investing in this more intimate performance area was that Mrs. Adolphus Busch decided in 1919 that she could not afford to maintain the gardens as a public space. The gardens that reached down to the flood

control channel in the Lower Arroyo had hosted conventions and gatherings of groups like the American Medical Association. Between 1919 and 1937, the Gardens would continue to host sporadic special benefit events that included full orchestras, operatic singing, flower and dog shows, and film shoots, until the Busch Estate sold the Upper Gardens to private developers in 1937 (Logan 2020).

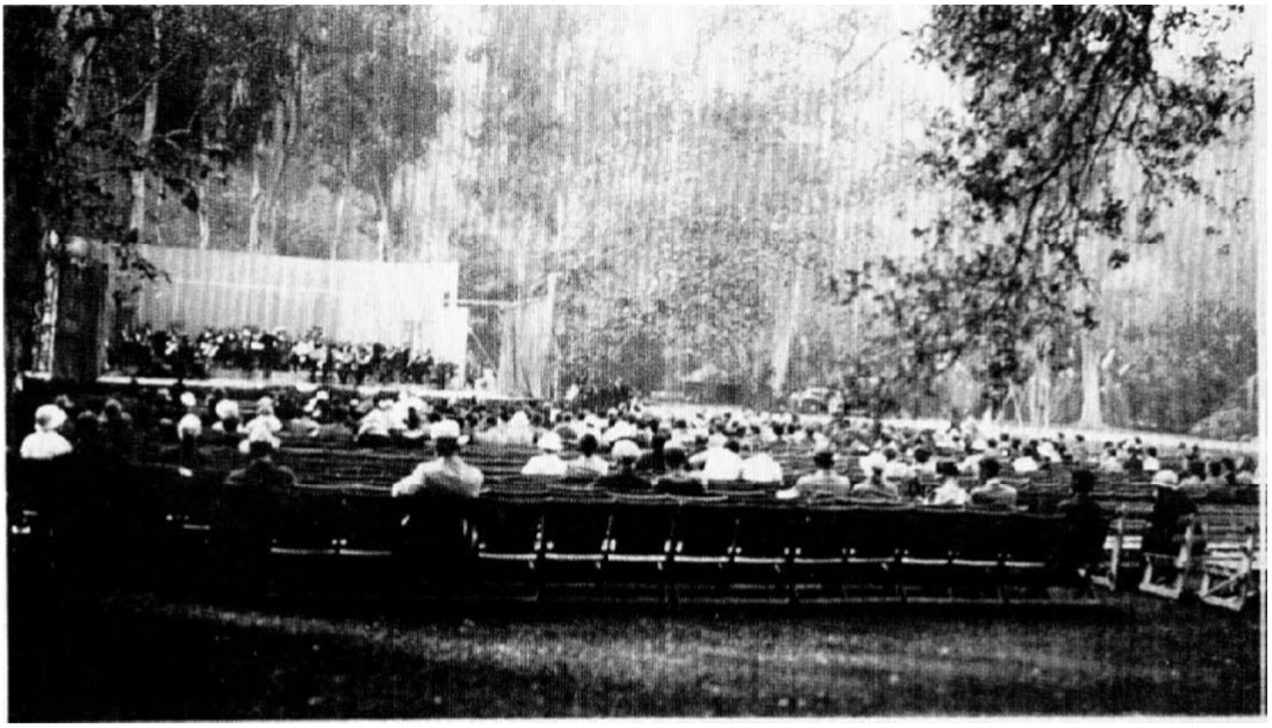

Figure 131. *1933 Don Phillipini Band Concert in Lower Busch Gardens (Busch family 1933, in Logan 2020)*

Not to be outdone, the Rose Bowl has across decades hosted impressive events and spectacles. This included a two-night concert of a large Mexican Tipica Orchestra in August of 1928 ("Real Mexican Music, Dance Promised" 1928); the “Festival of Lights” performance by the famous Japanese avant-garde dancer, Michio Itō, with the Hollywood Symphony, the Pasadena choral society, and dancers from across Southern California in 1929 ("Big Pageant is Marked Success" 1929; Perron 2021); and a performance of *Aida* in 1938 that drew 25,000 people ("25,000 Persons, City's Largest Opera Audience, Hear 'Aida' in Rose Bowl" 1938). In

1930, Pasadena's Municipal Band had halted its tradition of regular summer concerts due to lack of funds. Seeing this in the local paper, an elder in the African American community suggested a gospel benefit in the Rose Bowl to raise money for the band. The idea spread and a committee of sixty leaders in the African American community organized gospel choirs from across Southern California for the performance with the goal of raising $1000. Henri J. Van Praang, the band director, responded to the gift in the *Star-News* saying "Personally, I thank you for the spirit of co-operation you show, and I herewith pledge myself to assist you in your own work whenever or wherever I may be of help to you. Thanking you again I beg to remain in all sincerity and gratitude. Loyally yours" ("Negro Concert is Arranged for Band" 1930). This occurred not only in the earliest days of the Great Depression but just a few years after a slate of candidates backed by the Pasadena chapter of the Ku Klux Klan won a majority on the city council (see appendix , and the Realty Board began organizing white property owners to put racial covenants on their homes ("Realtors Study Property Topics" 1926).

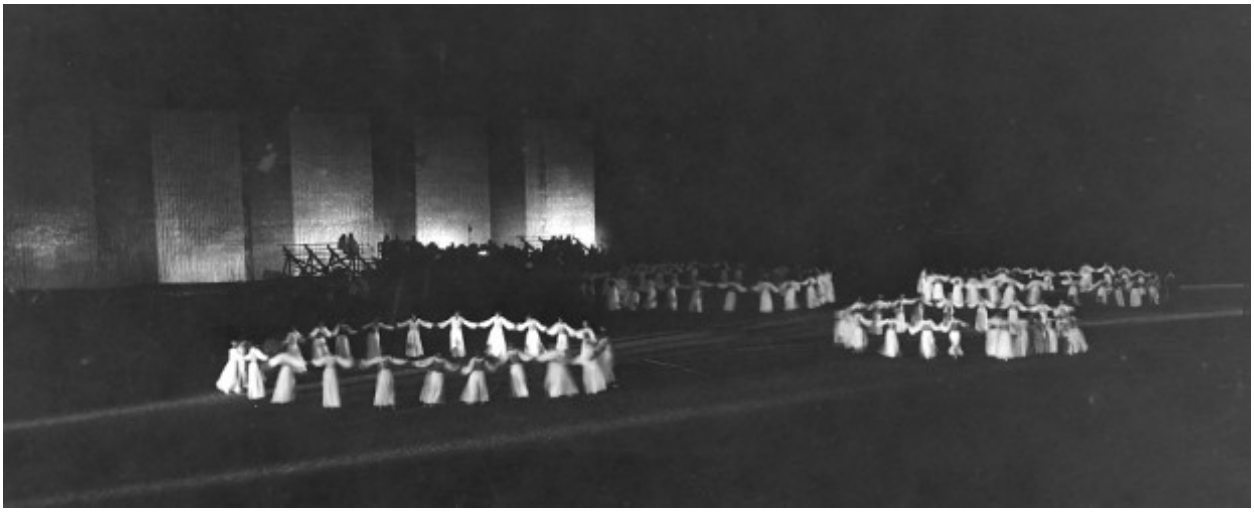

Figure 132. *Avant-garde dancer Michio Itō's Festival of Lights. Ito brought 5,000 people to the Rose Bowl in 1929 (Toyo Miyatake Studio 1929)*

In the 1975, the City Board of Directors approved rock concerts in the Rose Bowl, initiating a series of memorable music events, including a concert and rally against nuclear weapons in June

of 1982 that attracted over 100,000 (Braidhill 1982; "Rock Concerts in Rose Bowl Win City's Approval" 1975). Most recently, these music events have spilled outside the stadium onto the golf course with the Arroyo Seco Music Festival now being an important revenue source for the Rose Bowl.

The buildings of the Fannie E. Morrison Horticulture Center have also been a center of creative activities. Ms. Morrison's donation in 1938 gave the Pasadena Flower Show Association a home befitting of the host of the Rose Parade. Tens of thousands of people attended that year's Southern California Flower Show when the center opened its doors ("Fall Flower Show Seen by 13,000" 1938). In the 1950s and '60s, the buildings housed an award-winning youth theater program (Loper 1965; "Theater Project Report Awaited" 1959). The dream of a multipurpose art center was realized in 1977, when the Pasadena Community Arts Center took over the buildings with support from the federal Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) that allowed the center to pay artists to go out and work in the community until budget cuts during the Reagan administration eliminated their funding (Forster 1977). In 1983, the space hosted *Target L.A. The Art of Survival*, what the periodical Artweek described as "a performance-carnival-festival of anti-nuclear artistic activities" (Goldman 1983). Assembled across six days by a network of over 300 Southern California artists, Target L.A. featured theater, film, video, music, games of nuclear chance, and children's activities, an Atomic Cabaret, and a Fallout Fashion Costume Ball (Goldman 1983). Since 2004, these buildings have been the home of Kidspace Children's Museum, which routinely incorporates art activities into their work with young people.

Pasadena's Arroyo has also served as a venue for major environmental and cultural events. In 1990, for the 20th anniversary of Earth Day, the Arroyo Seco Earth Festival drew over 35,000

people to nine villages spread throughout the Arroyo. The event was the largest Earth Day anniversary celebration on the West Coast (Gottlieb 2007; Hudson 1990). In 1995, the Arroyo Seco Foundation organized an Earth Day Walkabout that led one thousand people down the Arroyo channel to Highland Park. The event featured art stations along the trails of the Lower Arroyo. The 1990s also saw the beginning of the Museums of the Arroyo Day, in which five of the Arroyo's museums open their doors for free and coordinate shuttle service for patrons. Building on these events, Occidental College's Urban and Environmental Policy Institute coordinated the ArroyoFest: Freeway Walk and Bike Ride in June of 2003. The event closed the Historic Arroyo Seco Parkway, the first freeway west of the Mississippi, for a walk, bike ride, and community festival to draw attention to the potential for the Arroyo to serve as a model for a sustainable Los Angeles (Gottlieb 2007). A second ArroyoFest took place in the October of 2023 attracting almost 50,000 people (Reutimann, Gottlieb, and Renner 2023).



Figure 133. *The ArroyoFest Freeway Walk and Bike Ride, June 15, 2003. The first ArroyoFest closed the Historic Arroyo Seco Parkway from 6 a.m. to 10 a.m. (Mendoza 2003)*

The Armory Center for the Arts has used Pasadena's Arroyo for their Children Investigate the Environment (C.I.E.) Program for over thirty years. Growing from a partnership between the Armory and the Pasadena Water and Power Department, the program brings all the fourth graders in the Pasadena Unified School District to the Arroyo for field-based experiences that

combine nature education with artmaking. In recent years, the traditional ecological knowledge of Native people has become one of the guiding principles for C.I.E's programming. The planned environmental education center in Hahamongna Watershed Park could open up new avenues for art education and training.

Finally, returning to performance, the Cirque du Soleil, the largest circus performing arts company in the world approached Pasadena about staging a six-week run of shows at Brookside Park in 2002. But opposition from the board of the Linda Vista Annandale Association over concerns about noise and traffic deterred them (Wilson 2002). Smaller stagings have been more successful. Open Gate Theater has staged and filmed small music and movement performances in Brookside and the Lower Arroyo, often drawing on mythic themes. In 2004, TigerLion Works produced a traveling play along the trails of the Lower Arroyo called The Buddha Prince about the life of the 14th Dalai Lama in conjunction with his visit to Southern California ("The Buddha Prince - Performances" 2025). The hundred-year arc from an Arroyo performance honoring the 49ers to one honoring the Dalai Lama highlights changes in society. Social commentary was on the mind of Pasadena artist Richard Jackson in 2012 when he crashed a remote-controlled drone aircraft loaded with paint into a plywood wall in front the Rose Bowl. The Armory Center exhibited the wreckage and the resulting paint splatter, titled *Accidents in Abstract Painting,* as part of the multi-institution Pacific Standard Time art festival (Kirby 2012). This satiric performance art possessed a subtext on drone warfare but also referenced the assembly and testing in the Arroyo of the *Gossamer Condor*, a human-powered flight machine, developed by Paul MacCready who received his Ph.D. from Caltech and lived along the east rim of the Arroyo (Lambie 1978). The *Condor*, still on display at the Smithsonian, evolved into the *Albatross*, which famously crossed the English Channel in 1979.

There now seems to again be an interest in using the Arroyo as a venue for performance. Will Salmon, the founder and director of Open Gate Theater raised this in our interview.

> It seems to be a natural that we could have more outdoor theater. It hasn't really happened, but it should. So, if you're talking about things where I'd like to go, I would love to have an outdoor theatre festival or something ongoing in the outdoors, preferably in the Arroyo. -- 5/25/2022

And Brian Elerding, former Executive Director of Lineage Performing Arts Center told me his participation on this project's community advisory council has gotten him thinking about how to get his own theater company down into the canyon.

> Honestly, the way I see this project being very useful in a practical way is setting up opportunities for arts organizations to interact with the Arroyo and take consideration from a landscape that you've been shining a light on. I honestly don't know if people have time for a new ensemble. I bet they would have time for a festival, so the Arroyo Arts Festival might be a thing. I think it would be really fun and be really beneficial to have an arts and Arroyo mutual awareness society. – 4/15/22

Art with the Arroyo - Arroyo as collaborator

Elerding's description of a mutual awareness society suggests a final intersection between the arts and the Arroyo: collaboration. Site-specific artwork makes the physical experience of being in the Arroyo fundamental to its expressive power. But collaboration can also come through the use of physical materials from the landscape in design and construction. The anonymously-constructed rock spirals along the trail in the Lower Arroyo embody both these traditions.

In terms of site-specific work, there have been a number of notable achievements. NewTown is a consortium of artists that convened over twenty years ago to create an artworld that reaches beyond institutional confines. Over this time, they have staged several weekend events featuring land art, sculptures, installations and performances along the Arroyo's trails. In

this vein, environmental installation artists Daniel McCormick and Mary O'Brien worked with the City of Pasadena in 2005 to install three sculptures made from branches of sycamore, willow, alder, and cottonwood, all native to the Arroyo, under the 134 freeway bridge overpass. McCormick and O'Brien designed the strategically-placed sculptures to assist in controlling erosion (McIntyre 2007).



Figure 134. *Erosion control native tree sculptures. Artists Dan McCormick and Mary O'Brien worked with the City of Pasadena in 2005 to prevent erosion in Pasadena's Lower Arroyo (McCormick 2005).*

In 2005, the artist Joel Tauber adopted a small, forlorn sycamore tree that sat isolated amid the asphalt of the Rose Bowl's Parking Lot K in what would become his project Sick-Amour, a curated love affair that speaks to our relationship with the more-than-human world (Mizota 2007). Tauber succeeded first in getting protective railings around the tree, then won agreements

to remove asphalt in favor of mulch. He decorated the tree with artistic earrings, collected seeds that he replanted at various locations, and documented the entire process on video.



Figure 135. *Tree-sized earrings for Sick-Amour. Artist Joel Tauber's decorated the sycamore tree at the center of Sick-Amour project (Tauber 2024)*

In 2019, the city removed the tree and covered the area in asphalt. Devastated, Tauber decorated the asphalt and has continued to document the growth of the tree's descendants (Tauber 2024).

In 2019 Margaret Adachi, who works as a teaching artist with Side Street Projects, partnered with the Arroyos and Foothills Conservancy to place decorated wooden sculptures of Arroyo wildlife along local trails and paths as a way to raise awareness of wildlife corridors in the landscape (Cardine 2019). This project harkens back to the turn of the 20th century when terra cotta figurines of characters from well-known fairy tales like Cinderella and Little Red-Riding Hood populated Lower Busch Gardens and created tableaus from the stories. The Lower Gardens

also featured ceramic gnomes, deer, and numerous storks, which in Busch's native Germany were a sign of good luck. To prepare for a re-opening of the Gardens in 1935, Glendale artist Helen Burke was hired to restore the figurines. By November 1935 most of the restoration work was complete, but Burke remained in the Lower Arroyo as the keeper of Rosy Wall, the studio/gift shop where tourist could purchase keepsakes from their visit to the gardens. In 1936, high school students Don and Ron Winton, twin brothers, began working with Burke at the Rosy Wall studio crafting clay sculptures. For over two years, a kiln behind the studio fired fanciful figures for their new company Burke-Winton Creations. After the final closing of the property in 1938, Don Winton went on to do sculpture work for Disney and other companies (Logan 2020).

Any review of art made with materials from the Arroyo must include basketweaving by Gabrieleno/Tongva, who use juncus, willow, and deergrass to craft some of the finest Native American baskets in existence. My understanding is that local basketweavers no longer collect from the Arroyo due to the risk of pollution, but this is very much a living tradition and was Pasadena's first art form (Chavez 2019).

The second most notable gift from the Arroyo to Pasadena artists and designers has been its stone. Arroyo cobbles and boulders form decorative walls throughout the Arroyo's parks all the way down the Los Angeles River; Greene & Greene and other architects used them liberally in their designs.



Figure 136. *Stonework at Brookside Park behind the Aquatics Center.*

Less visible is the fact that much of the concrete used to build Pasadena comes from Arroyo sand and gravel extracted from Hahamongna Watershed Park and the Central Arroyo. This includes the 11,000 cubic yards of concrete used to construct the Colorado Street Bridge, arguably Pasadena's most defining architectural feature, the material of the Arroyo transformed into spandrels and promenades (Masters 2013). The bridge also provides one of the best examples of board-form concrete, a process that imprints in the concrete the grain of the wood that was used to support the structure during construction, an architectural detail that's endemic to Pasadena.



Figure 137. *The Colorado Street Bridge illustrates board-form concrete. The sand and gravel to make the bridge's concrete comes from the Arroyo.*

To carry forward and grow these design traditions into a genuine form of folk life connected to the Arroyo's landscape requires a mechanism or social structure — a form of apprenticeship, association, guild, or family business. This is the impetus behind the California Indian Basketweavers' Association, which advocates for protection and restoration of the native species that will allow their tradition to continue for generations. Most do not know that until 1907, Pasadena's Throop Polytechnic Institute, the forerunner of Caltech, focused primarily on training in the manual arts and had a strong emphasis on artisanship and craft (Winter 1980). This supported the Craftsman ideals represented in the Arroyo Guild and Greene & Greene's approach to architecture. The roots of the Arroyo arts and crafts movement are present with each venture down into the canyon and are always ready to rise again, if afforded institutional investment, attention to education, and structured opportunities for on-the-

job training. These are elements that percolated into the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers proposal for a campaign to “Unpave Pasadena” that I describe in chapter 7.

It is important to note that this review only covers Pasadena’s portion of the Arroyo Seco. A similarly rich history and tradition of art about, in, and with the Arroyo exists in South Pasadena and Northeast Los Angeles. Important organizations working from the Pasadena border to the Los Angeles River include the Arroyo Arts Collective and Teatro Arroyo, which participated in this project’s community advisory group; Tierra de la Culebra, a celebrated art park on Avenue 57; Art in the Park, a longstanding arts education program that partners with the Los Angeles Department of Cultural Affairs; Metabolic Studio, which primarily focuses on the Los Angeles River; Clockshop, who has supported artists’ work with the River and done cultural mapping in Lincoln Heights and Cypress Park; and OxyArts, a community creative space in Eagle Rock affiliated with Occidental College. Rock Rose Gallery and Avenue 50 Studio have also been important creative hubs for Northeast Los Angeles. Creating a comparable review for this section of the Arroyo should seek to engage all of these organizations and others drawn toward creative engagement with the River.

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Appendix 26: Timeline for Pasadena arts and culture references in text

The purpose of this timeline is to provide context for the arts and cultural references in the text of the dissertation. It is not all-inclusive or comprehensive of arts and cultural life of Pasadena.

1890 - First annual Tournament of Roses parade

1890 - Benjamin Eaton organizes living history performance in Arroyo for '49ers picnic

1893 - Charles and Henry Greene move to Pasadena and establish their architecture practice

1898 – Susan Stickney pays for construction of Stickney Memorial Hall at intersection of Fair Oaks and Lincoln Avenue for the Shakespeare Club, which uses it for lectures, performances, and art exhibits, many featuring plein air paintings of the Arroyo

> Pasadena has a lot of resources. In terms of financial support, I think it's evolving. But there was a significant culture of giving and support, of time and energy and money. It's hard to know how that culture will survive. It's changing broadly in our culture in terms of who gives and why and what they give for. But I think it was essential in Pasadena that there was so much commitment, whether that was old money or a tradition of gender roles that don't really exist anymore. ~ Scott Ward

1901 - William Lees Judson moves the USC School of Fine Arts to the site of Judson Studios at the edge of the Arroyo in Garvanza across from South Pasadena

1901 - Ernest Batchelder moves to Pasadena and begins teaching art and design at Throop Polytechnic Institute

1904 - Stickney Memorial Hall given to Throop art department for classes

1904 - Coleman Chamber Music Concert series started by Alice Coleman, wife of Ernest Batchelder

1906 - Busch Gardens opens to the public

1908 - Gamble House completed

1908 - Jean Mannheim moves to Pasadena and builds his house overlooking the Lower Arroyo the following year

1909 - The first meeting of the California Art Club

1909 - Arroyo Guild founded in Garvanza by William Lees Judson and George Wharton James

1909 - Ernest Batchelder begins firing tiles behind his house overlooking the Arroyo

1914 - Stickney Memorial Hall given to Music and Art Association for School of Fine Arts

1914 - Stickney School of Fine Arts opens with Jean Mannheim as lead instructor

1917 – Gilmer Brown arrives and begins producing theater

1918 - Thousands attend Red Cross Benefit at Busch Gardens

1919 - Construction begins on the Arroyo Glen amphitheater south of the La Loma Bridge; performances begin in the late 1920s

1920 - Pasadena Community Playhouse performs *Merry Wives of Windsor* to open the Brookside Open Air Theater

1922 – Pasadena Art Institute first meeting

1922 - Rose Bowl hosts first football game

1927 – Pasadena Playhouse opens to great fanfare

1928 - Rose Bowl hosts Mexican Tipica Orchestra in August

1929 - Michio Itō, with the Hollywood Symphony, the Pasadena choral society, and dancers from across Southern California perform at Rose Bowl for 5,000 people

1930 - Rose Bowl hosts benefit gospel concert organized by Pasadena's African American community

1934 – Stickney School razed and Reed Mansion in Carmelita converted to a gallery run by the Pasadena Art Institute

1937 - Southern California School of Design opens in the Reed Mansion

1937 - Pasadena Playhouse named the State Theater of California

1937 – Upper Busch Gardens subdivided by the Fowler-Modisette development firm

1938 - A performance of *Aida* at the Rose Bowl draws over 25,000 people

1938 - Thousands of people attend the *Southern California Flower Show* at the newly completed Fannie E. Morrison Horticulture Center at Brookside Park

1938 - Busch Gardens closes to the public

1941 - California Graduate School of Design becomes part of Caltech and deeds Carmelita property to City of Pasadena for public purposes

1943 – Pasadena Art Institute moves to Grace Nicholson Building (current site of the USC Pacific-Asia Museum)

1946 – Armenian American artist Jirayr Zorthian arrives in Altadena and buys his six-acre ranch at the top of Fair Oaks Avenue

1947 - Junior League begins arts education program on the top floor of the north wing of the Grace Nicholson Building.

> And it was in the 1960s that the community-based arts became established. And again, it was the women who got these organizations off the ground. They loved contemporary art. There were a lot of little art hot spots. The Junior Art Museum that was a precursor to the Arts Workshops. People understood the value of teaching and sharing the love of art with other people...The Junior Art Museum operated out of the top floor of the Grace Nicholson building and was one of the country's first arts education programs. ~ Tom Coston

1947 - Octavia Butler is born in Pasadena and spends much of her childhood at Pasadena's Central Library

1952 - Charlie Parker plays at Zorthian Ranch Party

1953 - Pasadena Art Institute acquires the Galka E. Scheyer Collection of 400 works by 20th century German Expressionists, including Kandinsky, Klee, Fininger, Jawlensky, known as The Blue Four

1954 – Pasadena Art Institute changes its name to the Pasadena Art Museum

1955 - Pasadena Art Alliance founded

> There was a group of ladies called the Pasadena Art Alliance that raised money for the Pasadena Art Museum and other arts initiatives and causes. And they had a big party on the other side of the hotel, the Hotel Green, and they had a ball there and they all danced with Duchamp and had a great time. That was late 1960s and early 1970s. And those were the women who started the Armory. ~ Tom Coston

1956 - Pasadena Art Museum takes over the Junior Museum and changes its name to Junior Art Workshop

1958 - Pasadena Youth Theater Workshop begins at Brookside Park started by Dulce Odriozola and Margarette Brown Meggs

1961 - Pasadena Art Museum reclaims its title to the Carmelita Property and launches fundraising campaign to build the Carmelita Cultural Center

1962 - Art Workshop begins offering scholarship program

1962 - Pasadena Japanese Culture Institute founded

1963 - Marcel Duchamp has his first career retrospective at the Pasadena Art Museum

1964 – Pasadena Arts Council forms to service local arts organizations

1965 - Octavia Butler graduates from Muir High School and begins classes at PCC

1968 - El Centro de Accion Social founded

1969 – Pasadena Art Museum moves to Carmelita Property at Colorado & Orange Grove

1969 - Junior Art Workshop becomes Art Workshop

1973 - Pasadena Art Museum becomes the Pasadena Museum of Modern Art

> The Pasadena Museum of Modern Art was a wild place. They had installations stretching the length of the building. They pushed the envelope on conceptual art and the education department reflected that. ~ Elisa Callow

1974 – Norton Simon takes over Pasadena Art Museum

1974 - *California Design 1910* Exhibition takes place at the Pasadena Center focused on the impact of the California landscape on the Arts and Crafts movement

1974 - Pasadena Art Workshops becomes an independent organization and moves to the closed Lincoln School where board members used the cafeteria and classrooms for instruction

> It was my experience that there were kick-ass women who had enormous energy to give and gave it for decades with enormous dedication. And I think there was a genteel quality that might exist that doesn't necessarily exist other places, a willingness to nurture. ~ Scott Ward

1976 – Art Center College of Design relocates to Pasadena.

1977 - Pasadena Community Art Center opens in the Fannie Morrison Horticulture Center buildings

1978 – Proposition 13 results in substantial cuts to PUSD arts programs

> The golden triangle is school, industry, and community groups. Imagine if all the community groups got together and figured out a master plan. People would want to send their kids to public schools because there would be so many more choices there. It won't be the swath that Poly or Westridge cuts. It would be a wider thing that goes in lots of different directions with more diversity of experience. ~ Tom Coston

1978 - The Espresso Bar (E-Bar) opens in Old Pasadena and becomes a popular spot for artists

1978 - Pasadena's first *Doo Dah Parade*

1980 - Pasadena Art Workshops moves to McKinley School on South El Molino

1982 - First Black History Parade and Festival in Pasadena

1983 - Brookside Park hosts Target L.A., an arts-based anti-nuclear weapons festival

1983 - Elisa (Crystal) Callow becomes the director of the Pasadena Art Workshops

> We had formed a board steering committee to run the Workshops. In the meantime, this bright young woman named Elisa Crystal [now Callow] came to our attention. Maureen Carlson and I interviewed her and we thought, "This lady is too incredible to let go. She's the answer." – Diane Magee, board president, *Armory Center for the Arts: Fifty Years*

1985 - Helen and Newton Harrison's *Arroyo Seco Release* exhibited at Caltech's Baxter Art Gallery

1985 - Pasadena Art Workshops begins its *Children Investigate the Environment* program that takes 4th grade students to the Arroyo for arts-based, environmental education

1987 - Harrison's *Devil's Gate Transformation* project opens at the Art Center downtown art gallery

1988 – City of Pasadena starts a Percent for Art on all new construction

1989 - Armory Center for the Arts opens in Old Pasadena

> So, you asked what allowed the Armory to succeed. It was good community education programming and good creative bones, some really committed people, and paying attention to the design constraints for the organization and using them to guide development of the program. By the time the building opened, we had 50 partnerships and good staff and a fantastic board. The board became too large because we merged the two organizations, and no one wanted to quit. So, we had about 35 board members, and I think it's still that way. So, I did it for almost 20 years, and it was incredibly difficult, and I loved it. ~ Elisa Callow

1989 - Alkebu-lan Cultural Center founded by Versie Mae Richardson, Emerson Terry, and Dr. Marie Battle on Orange Grove Avenue

1990 - Arroyo Seco Foundation organizes the *Arroyo Seco Earth Festival* that draws over 35,000 people and was the largest Earth Day Anniversary celebration on the West Coast

1990 - Light Bringer Project founded in Pasadena inspired by the historic contributions that artists, architects and craftsmen made to the local environment

1991 - Jirayr Zorthian at age 80 inaugurates his spring *Primavera* party

1991 - Light Bringer Project organizes first *Pasadena Chalk Festival*

1992 - City establishes a municipal office for arts and culture to provide grants, produce events, market the arts and advocate for arts education

1993 – The city does its first cultural resource inventory

1995 – The city commissions the Ethnic History Research Project to document the historical experience of distinct ethnic groups in the city

1997 - Dedication of the *Pasadena Robinson Memorial* sculptures by Ralph Helmich, John Outterbridge, and Stuart Schechter across from City Hall

1999 - Makoto Taiko, originally the Shumei America Taiko Group, established in Pasadena

> But just generally Pasadena is very open and welcoming to the Japanese American community in general, which is one of the reasons that we're here and why I think the original group was here in Pasadena. ~ Karen Koyano

1999 - First Latino Heritage Festival and Parade

2000 – Pasadena Art Night begins

2001 – Side Street Projects moves to Pasadena

2003 - First *ArroyoFest Freeway Walk and Bike Ride* on the Historic Arroyo Seco Parkway

2004 - Jirayr Zorthian passes away

2004 - Kidspace Museum opens in the Fannie E. Morrison Horticultural Center buildings at Brookside Park

2004 - TigerLion Works performs The Buddha Prince in the Lower Arroyo

2005 – Cultural Nexus Report becomes the city's cultural plan

> What I've benefited from is that there were a lot of people who organized for the Pasadena Arts Museum and when the Norton Simon took it over, they kept raising money for the arts and that's why there's such good philanthropy for the arts in the city. ~ Emily Hopkins

2005 - Artist Joel Tauber adopts a lone sycamore in Parking Lot K of the Rose Bowl beginning the *Sick-Amour* project

2006 - Octavia Butler passes away

2012 - Artist Richard Jackson crashes a paint-filled drone airplane for his *Accidents in Abstract Painting* for the Pacific Standard Time exhibit

2015 - City partners with Side Street Projects to win a $100,000 NEA *Our Town* creative placemaking grant

> We really did have artist projects that were having a lot of the conversations that I wanted to be having and engaging the people that normally don't feel engaged and made the history people feel valued. We had a whole project about why are there lions on City Hall. And we ask that question of a historian and they were like "We'll get back to you in a month." It was cool to bring those kinds of conversations together. ~ Emily Hopkins

2015 - Pasadena Playhouse sponsors the *Mi Historia, Mi Manera* forum theater workshops and performance on gentrification and displacement

2015 - Armory helps to start the Arts for Healing and Justice Network in order to serve at-risk and in-crisis youth

2018 - TA'YER Multicultural Performance Collective works with day laborers as part of a year-long residency at the Pasadena Job Center

2019 - Sycamore tree that was focus of the *Sick-Amour* project by Joel Tauber cut down

2019 - Margaret Adachi installs her Animals of the Arroyo project

2022 - Lineage Performing Arts Center opens on Lake and Mountain Avenue

> When I look at all of our shows and all of our dreams of what this place can be, it all comes back to treating everyone as an artist with a story to tell. If they don't see themselves as an artist, one of the first things we do is invite them in to participate in whatever. One of the great phrases to get people to dance is you don't tell them it's dance, you tell them it's movement. So, there's people who have never done art in their lives and who after a couple of years hanging out with us, start calling themselves artists. And they get better at telling their story either through dance or words or art. To me, that could be a thread and one of our driving factors. And one of our qualities is seeing that in everybody. ~ Brian Elerding

2023 - Arroyo Seco Foundation and California Art Club sponsors the *Great Hahamongna Paint-Out and Walkabout* to celebrate the 30th anniversary of Hahahmonga Watershed Park

2023 - Second *ArroyoFest* takes place attracting almost 50,000 participants

> What we've all talked about is having an organization that collects all the information about all our events and shares that out to local papers and puts everything on a website that's accessible to the public. It sounds easy, but it would require a part-time employee to handle all of that data. ~ Brian Elerding

Appendix 27: The Lower Arroyo

For 364 days each year, the rhythms of traffic rule the most well-known piece of real estate in the City of Pasadena. The intersection of Orange Grove Boulevard and Colorado Boulevard contains the entrance to a freeway and the exit from the iconic Colorado Street Bridge. A steady stream of northbound traffic coming up Orange Grove passes through the intersection, crests a slight rise, and crosses an overpass from which you can stare down at ten lanes of cars zooming east through downtown or west across the Arroyo Seco. The pulse and din of constant motion makes this one of least restful locations in the city to stand and absorb the surrounding landscape. But a 360-degree view from the intersection's northeast corner, cluttered and crowded as it now is with freeway signs and fences, tall trees, and low-slung condominiums, allows one to take in the entire history of Pasadena.

On New Year's Day, a different sort of traffic dominates this intersection as more than fifty million viewers watch floral floats make the right turn from Orange Grove onto Colorado to begin their five-and-a-half-mile journey to the city's eastern edge. The Tournament of Roses annual parade is the reason the southeast corner of the intersection remains the most valuable vacant lot in Pasadena. This is where the grandstand and television towers go that bring the city's signature calling card to the rest of the world. But every other day of the year, it is merely a grassy patch next to an expansive parking lot with a single, small mandarin orange tree, a symbol of the flicker of time when rows of citrus reached east down the hill on Colorado Boulevard to embrace the entire San Gabriel Valley.

City leaders once envisioned this intersection as the grand western gateway to that valley, especially after 1913 and the completion of the Colorado Street Bridge across the Arroyo Seco's canyon (Scheid 2010). The first encounter for cars crossing the bridge was Carmelita Park, the

former estate of Ezra and Jeanne Carr, who began in 1877 transforming the long, 40-acre, sheep-scrabble lot reaching from Orange Grove to Fair Oaks Avenue into a waystation for visiting writers and artists and boosted the colony's cultural aspirations. Jeanne Carr hoped to found a horticultural training center for women on the property and effectively turned it into Southern California's first botanic garden. Roughly a hundred yards northwest of Carmelita, between Orange Grove and the Arroyo, was the oak tree beneath which Pasadena's founders gathered in January of 1874 to divide up lots. The tree soon sat next to Orange Grove Reservoir, the critical first piece of infrastructure that allowed those settlers to irrigate their orchards. The excavation of that reservoir unearthed wagonloads of Native artifacts, a sign of the long tenure of Gabrieleno/Tongva families in the area (Reid and McClatchie 1895). Within a stone's throw of the reservoir was the original clubhouse of the Valley Hunt Club that founded the Tournament of Roses in 1890 as well as the homes of Charles Greene and Myron Hunt, two of the architects whose buildings would inspire the founding of Pasadena Heritage, an organization that would make the city a leader in the historic preservation movement during last half of the 20th century.

A hundred yards south of Carmelita was the start of Millionaire's Row, the long line of mansions and estates that served as the winter homes of the country's wealthiest families, including beer magnate Adolphus Busch, whose terraced garden stretched down into the Arroyo and was, for the first several decades of the 20th century, one of Southern California's most popular attractions. Busch and other millionaires first experienced Pasadena by staying at one of several deluxe resort hotels, and from the northeast corner of the intersection one can see the tower of what was once the Vista del Arroyo Hotel, perched on the edge of the Arroyo. The hotel and its attached bungalows became a fashionable retreat for Hollywood stars in the early 1930s before the United States Army transformed the resort into a hospital during World War II; it now

houses the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. The battle over the fate of the hotel and a proposal to build high-rise apartments on the corner opposite the intersection in 1961 led to the founding of the West Pasadena Residents Association, which has become the most powerful neighborhood association in the city (King n.d.).

These layers of history, however, were not enough to save this august intersection from the imperatives of progress, hence the ten lanes that Caltrans punched through the Arroyo's headland for the new freeway. From 1953 onward, the vision of an attractive western gateway took a backseat to Southern California's wild affair with the automobile leading to the illegitimate birth of car culture. The goal was no longer boosting Pasadena's aspirations to be the "Athens of the West" but rather building a city that was on the move, a corporate headquarters for a country headed to the moon and back. The City moved the Defenders Flagpole that once formed a roundabout in the center of the intersection to the northeast corner, in front of a bank of eucalyptus trees possibly leftover from Jeanne Carr's original garden. The bronze sculpture encircling the flagpoles base displays scenes from the First World War, including a nurse wrapping the head of a wounded soldier, a coincidental reminder that Pasadena's chapter of the Red Cross used Carmelita as its headquarters during World War II.[90]

All of these narrative threads, which influence the collective performance of community life in what I call the Lower Arroyo neighborhood, come together at this now utterly functional intersection whose very nondescript appearance indicates an underlying ambivalence and tension surrounding its history. Untangling these storylines and understanding how they connect is important because it can help current residents decipher the most important questions to ask themselves and one another about the neighborhood's future. The current issues about which

[90] The Defenders Flagpole was completed in 1926. The sculptor was Lee Lawrie.

neighbors confer, such as affordable housing, historic preservation, development of the abandoned 710 freeway extension, and management of the Arroyo Seco, sit atop these deeper narratives that remain active and alive within the neighborhood. These narratives include stories about the drawing and defense of boundaries, the meaning of private and public space, and the influence that unconscious desires and fears can have on policy debates. These narratives have combined across the decades to affect Pasadena's core narratives about the genesis, meaning, and purpose of wealth and the city's best path to a prosperous future. Because the Lower Arroyo neighborhood formed the oldest portion of Pasadena's original settlement, its stories raise questions relevant to the entire city.



Figure 138. *Mandarin orange tree near the intersection of Colorado and Orange Grove Boulevards. The tree suggests the brief time Pasadena was an agricultural colony.*

Defining and defending boundaries

The narrative thread directly related to the Lower Arroyo's geography involves the definition, defense, and management of boundaries, a theme that weaves its way through the area's past. My own boundaries for the Lower Arroyo neighborhood run east from the Arroyo Seco's canyon across Orange Grove Boulevard to Pasadena Avenue and the edge of the Old Pasadena shopping district. The 134/210 freeway defines the northern limit of this area while Columbia Avenue and the border with South Pasadena traces its southern edge. The boundaries for both Pasadena's Council District 6 and the West Pasadena Residents Association stretch further west into the San Rafael neighborhood and further east to Fair Oaks Avenue.[91] I address San Rafael as a separate neighborhood in appendix 30 and have left out the area east of Pasadena Avenue because its topographic links with the Arroyo are more tenuous.

[91] The census tract covering the Lower Arroyo neighborhood goes from the Arroyo on the west to Fair Oaks Avenue on the east. This broader geography boosts the demographic diversity of the neighborhood, and I've worked to account for this in my interpretation of this data.

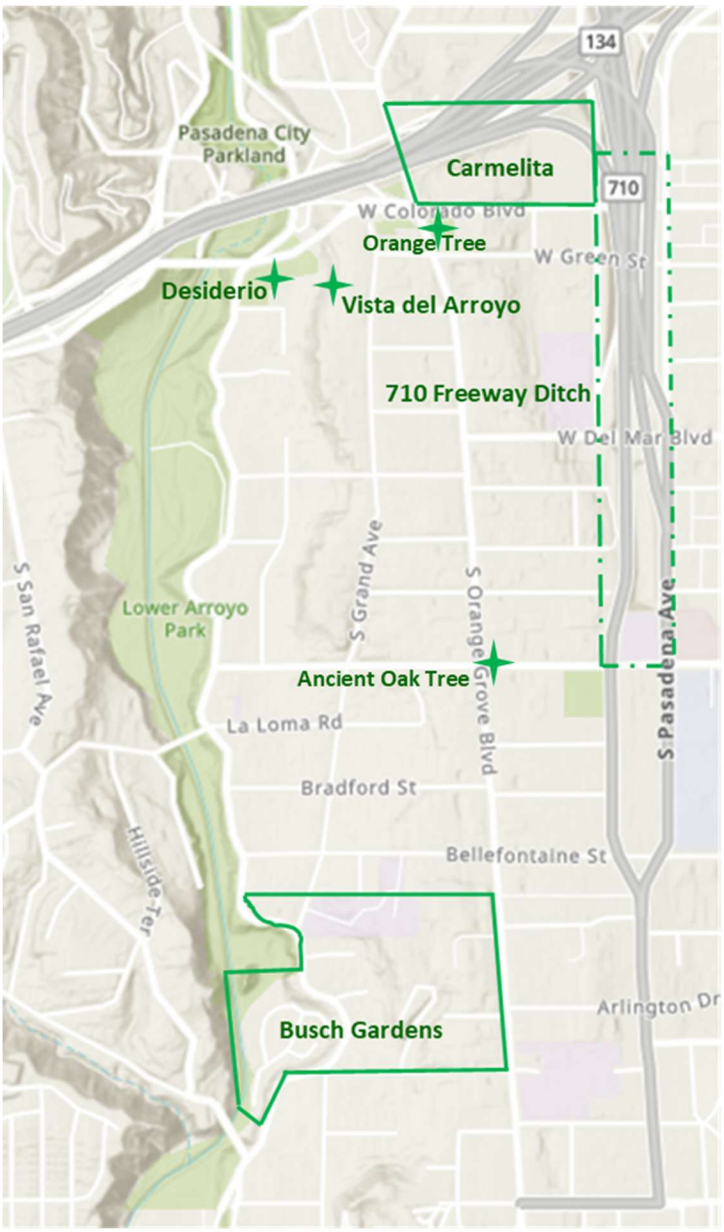

Figure 139. *Map of the Lower Arroyo neighborhood. The dotted lines show the roughly fifty acres in the 710 "ditch" that Caltrans has returned to the city and which will likely become housing, commercial, and open space.*

This topography comes from the imprint of the Ancient Arroyo that once ran between Orange Grove and Pasadena Avenue. Approximately 50,000 years ago, the Arroyo Seco flowed into the Alhambra Wash, eventually joining the Rio Hondo and the San Gabriel River on its way to the ocean (see chapter 4). Maps of the soil and geology show the path of this ancient

rivercourse.[92] Topographically, the Lower Arroyo neighborhood consists of a ridge with Orange Grove Boulevard running down its center; the current Arroyo sits to the west and the Ancient Arroyo on the east. This landscape configuration defined the boundaries of different ecological communities and eventually human settlement patterns. For example, a switch in soil type from Ramona to Altamont Loam south of California Boulevard between Orange Grove and the Arroyo allowed a thick oak woodland to form on terraces left behind by the modern Arroyo's downcutting. Gabrieleno/Tongva families relished the acorns produced by this woodland and its proximity to year-round water. They undoubtedly used fire to keep the understory open and promote the growth of large trees that could produce bountiful harvests (Ethington et al. 2020). For American settlers, removing this woodland for their orchards, grapevines and fields of grain would have been difficult. They chose instead to build their houses along the ridge and clear the more open savanna to the east.[93]

These biophysical boundaries set the stage for a distinctive class geography. Within twenty years most of the early settlers subdivided and sold their property along Orange Grove to millionaires taken with the climate, orange blossoms, and views of the San Gabriel Mountains (Wood 1917). Columnist Jack Smith wrote in one 1984 article for the *Los Angeles Times*, "Everyone knows the myth about Pasadena society and culture in the 1920s."

> A Midwestern merchant in cheese, beer, pickles, shoes or some other such necessity makes a pile of money by working hard and sticking to most of the Ten Commandments, sells out, comes to Southern California on the train with his wife and kids, buys a lot on or near Orange Grove Avenue, builds a mansion, puts in a goldfish pond and a rose garden, and becomes a patron of the arts (Smith 1984).

[92] The other boundary that the geologic maps show is an ancient coastline, defined by the Eagle Rock fault, that once ran northwest from Raymond Hill, crossing the Arroyo at La Loma Road, passing underneath San Rafael School and hitting the 134 freeway at San Rafael Park. Further south, the Raymond Fault marks the southern boundary of the neighborhood.

[93] There is record of orange trees running down to the Arroyo along Columbia Street, and James Scoville planted an orchard at the head of the Lower Arroyo's Canyon, but the remaining neighborhood oaks suggest that these areas were the exception.

For these travelers, the first stop was typically the Raymond Hotel, sitting like a palace on a hill rising above the alluvial fans blanketed with sage scrub and oak savanna. The drop off from the Raymond Fault down to South Pasadena made the structure seem even more elevated to visitors taking the rail line up the Arroyo from Los Angeles. Stopping at the hotel's personalized train station, coaches would whisk these capitalist princes up to the hotel from which they could survey a prospective kingdom and think about the best site for their own castle along the ridge. This was the story on the ridge (James 2001; Masters 2012; Scheid Lund 1999).

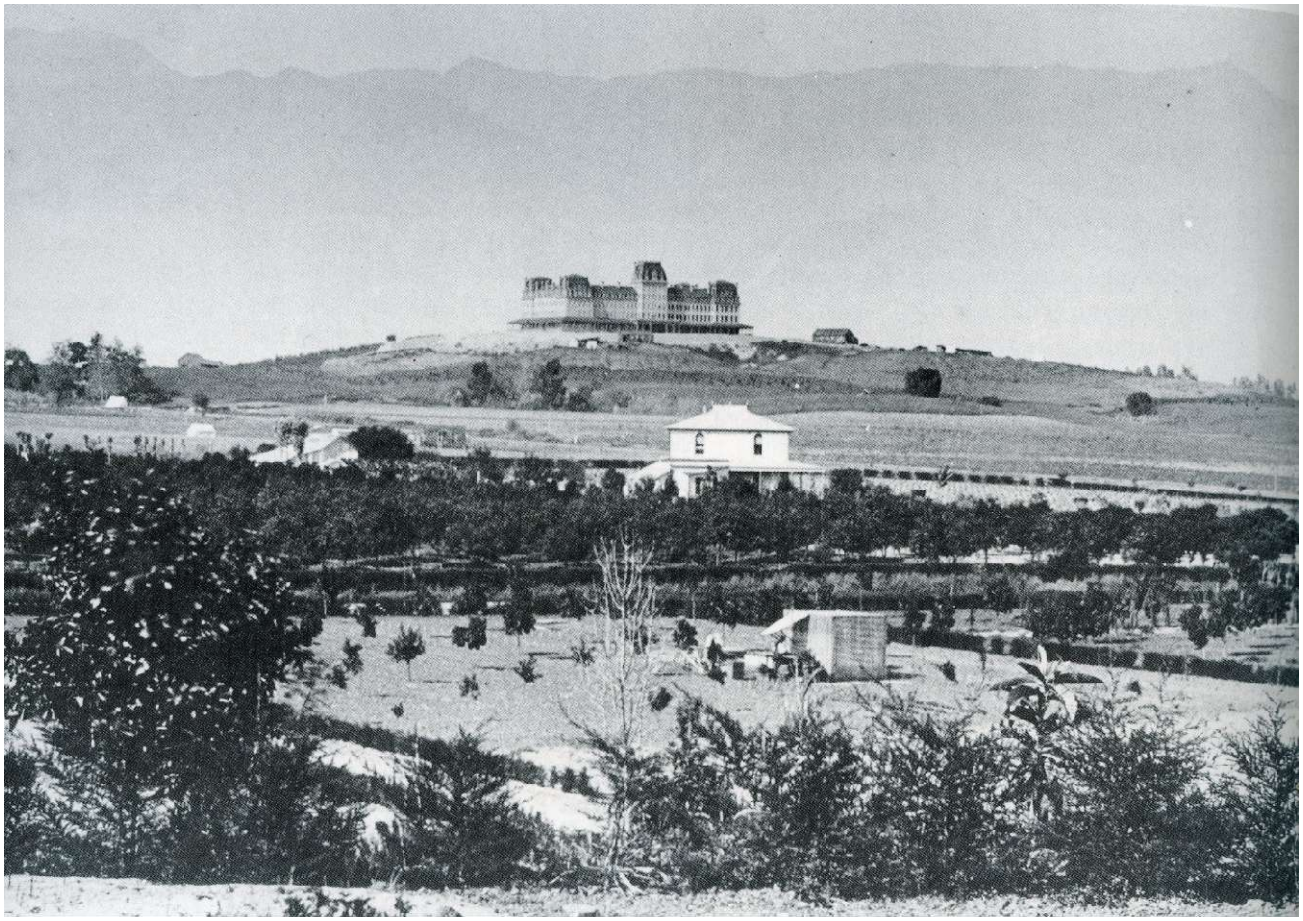

Figure 140. *Raymond Hotel in the 1880s. The first Raymond Hotel was called the Royal Raymond and sat at the top of a hill at the edge the Raymond Fault, which vaulted it above the surrounding alluvial plain making it seem like a castle. This hotel burned down in 1895. ("The First Raymond Hotel 1883" 1883. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, H-77-19A).*

On the terraces along the Arroyo and below the ridge, a collection of farmers and gardeners, craftsmen and artists, plumbers and contractors began to carve out modest homesteads under the trees. These were people like Sylvanus Tyler, a landscape architect born in England who moved to Santa Monica in 1879 and relocated to Pasadena in 1881 where he purchased the south side of Bradford Street between what would become South Arroyo Drive along the canyon's rim and Grand Avenue. In 1887, his growing family camped under the oaks trees while they built their home. Sylvanus had eight children, many finding work on the estates on the ridge while Sylvanus and his wife Margaret raised chickens to supply eggs to the growing city. In a 1999 oral history, Sylvanus' grandson Ted Tyler recounted family stories of the development of Bradford Street, including his uncle's construction by lantern light of the house he grew up in and the relocation and conversion of the servants' quarters from the Cravens' estate into a cottage where he would eventually raise his own children. He recalled the gradual filling in of vacant lots and the conversion of small shacks into functional bungalows; how everyone unearthed Native grinding stones during construction; and how their immediate neighbor was a Chinese man named Sang who grew vegetables for his produce wagon (Tyler 2002).[94] The land below the ridge became a backstage area for the public display of wealth along the avenue. The canyon itself was private but uncared for land during this period. Subject to regular flooding, it became a source for firewood, an informal garbage dump, a place to gather gravel, the grazing ground for stray cows and sheep, and the location of a motley collection of pig farms, rock crushers, and squatter's cabins (Chapin 1929; "Hog Farms Menace Lower Valley of Arroyo Seco" 1906; "May Make an Arroyo Park: Move to Preserve a Natural Beauty Spot" 1905; "New Enterprise Starts

[94] Just up the block at 522 Bradford a factory for condensed vegetables evaporated potatoes, tomatoes, carrots, and pumpkins, employing fifty people in 1895 (Shoop 1953). Instead of upstairs-downstairs, what developed was an uphill-downhill relationship between the aristocrats of Orange Grove and their workers and contractors.

Up in Arroyo" 1907; "Start Campaign for Clean City" 1908; Tyler 2002; Wing 1935; Wood 1917).

This woodland neighborhood took on the aesthetic of a medieval village. To the extent that the millionaires saw their homes as their castles, the landscape encouraged a type of feudal relationship with their workers, as many of these kings of industry traded parcels of subdivided land and back houses for services, an arrangement which kept workers close at hand and facilitated downslope development. In 1911, artist and designer Ernest Batchelder moved into a Craftsman cottage he built along South Arroyo Drive between California Avenue and La Loma Road. Batchelder became the head of the art department at Throop Polytechnic Institute, the forerunner of Caltech, and was fascinated with artisan work of all kinds. Even before he finished his house, he began to fire decorative art tiles in a kiln on his property. The tiles, many with medieval motifs and designs, became fashionable, and he soon opened a factory in Pasadena and began shipping bundles of glazed tiles to builders across the country (Winter 1999).



Figure 141. *Home of Ernest Batchelder at 626 S. Arroyo Boulevard, completed in 1910.*

Further down the Arroyo, at the border of South Pasadena and Los Angeles, the painter William Lee Judson and Pasadena writer George Wharton James founded the Arroyo Guild, a consortium of artisan makers that architects such as Charles and Henry Greene could draw upon to create the decorative woodwork, furniture, and stained-glass integral to their Craftsman designs (Bell 2011). The association with the pre-industrial guilds of Europe contributed to the medieval sensibility taking shape in the canyon, as did the proliferation of garden gnomes and other ceramic figurines from German fairy tales that Adolphus Busch had installed throughout his gardens. In 1938, Warner Brothers Studios even filmed the archery contest from *The Adventures of Robin Hood* with Errol Flynn and Olivia DeHavilland at Busch Gardens, using the Lower Arroyo as a set piece for its medieval romance (Logan 2020).



Figure 142. *Woman and child viewing the Hansel and Gretel Cottage at Busch Gardens in the 1920s. The portrayal of German fairy tales contributed to the Lower Arroyo's medieval aesthetic. ("Woman and child viewing the Hansel and Gretel Cottage at Busch Gardens" n.d. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, B7-16b)*

The imprint of this aesthetic lingers. As I explain below, the reproduction of these romance stories, even if make-believe and a century distant, continues to influence residents' felt sense of what constitutes appropriate development and lends itself to a "man the ramparts" mentality when circumstances threaten the aesthetic integrity of the neighborhood or the walls of one's personal castle.[95] The romance tradition also aligns to a longstanding approach to civic

[95] "Romance" in this essay signifies belonging to the romance tradition that includes most adventures, war stories, and hero tales. Literary scholar Northrup Frye characterizes the romance tradition as emphasizing good vs. evil and righteous battles and quests. The other traditions he places alongside romance are comedy, tragedy, and satire, with each carrying an implicit message or mode through which one lives and perceives the world (Frye 1957).

participation in Pasadena that many described to me as *noblesse oblige*, the belief that those with wealth and power have a responsibility to share their advantages with those less fortunate.[96] Busch Gardens provides the clearest example. Adolphus Busch bought property on Orange Grove Avenue shortly after arriving at the Hotel Raymond in 1904 and quickly began to add to his holdings with the intention of building a grand set of gardens for his family to enjoy. Shortly after completing the gardens in 1906, he decided to open them to the public on Wednesday afternoons. A few months later, he expanded access to Sunday, and by 1909, they were open seven days a week for what became essentially a privately-funded, public park. Busch passed away in 1913, but the gardens remained in the family for two more decades, with proceeds from admissions and film shoots going to upkeep and to local charities (Logan 2020). The continued use of the luxurious gardens to fundraise for Pasadena charities, especially during the Depression, is laudable but also unsettling because of the light it shines on the vast disparities of wealth at a time of acute economic distress. These dynamics are not unique to Pasadena, but because of the area's historical affluence, the city's deference to and dependence on *noblesse oblige* developed deep roots.

[96] The subtext of this generosity, however, is a recognition and reinforcement of the donor's higher status; it substitutes charity for partnership and collaboration.



Figure 143. *Busch sunken gardens carved into the terraces above the Lower Arroyo ("Busch Gardens" 1909. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, B7-9)*

While a class boundary separated the kings of industry along the ridge from their village attendants, the hardening of racial boundaries in the neighborhood took more time. One of the Lower Arroyo's most well-known residents at the turn of the last century was Ruth Brown Thompson and her husband Henry, who lived at 997 South Arroyo Drive, where today South Grand and Arroyo Boulevard come together at the canyon rim.[97] Ruth was the daughter of John Brown, the abolitionist, and came to Pasadena with her family in 1884, just ten years after the founding of the settlement. A few years later her brothers, Owen and Jason, settled in Pasadena

[97] The listing in the city directory is 997 S. Arroyo View Drive. Newspaper articles describing property at the intersection of Arroyo and Grand Avenue confirm that S. Arroyo View and S. Arroyo Drive (now Boulevard) are the same street.

as well, living together in a small house in the foothills above Altadena (Deverell 2022). The earliest settlers in Pasadena tilted toward the Union in the War between the States, and some, including the colony's leader, Dr. Thomas Elliot, had involvement in the Underground Railroad before moving west (Gally 2013; Scheid Lund 1999). The deeply religious community respected and even revered the righteousness of John Brown and his family, even as it led to violence. Owen's death at Ruth's home in 1889 was a notable event, and the subsequent funeral procession drew thousands to Pasadena (Deverell 2022).



Figure 144. *Funeral procession for Owen Brown, January 10, 1889. Photo looks east along Colorado Boulevard from Raymond Avenue (Jarvis 1889. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, B6-18).*

The African American community forged close ties with Ruth and Henry, who struggled with health problems and had very little money. In 1891, a celebration of their wedding anniversary included the Prince brothers, one of the first African American families of Pasadena, singing as a

trio ("Pasadena: Sunday's Budget" 1891). In 1901, the African American community organized a benefit to raise money to pay off Ruth's mortgage and then another to pay for her daughters' education ("Pasadena's Steel Bridge of Sighs" 1901). Ruth's daughter Mary would work for the school district for decades, teaching at Garfield School. William Prince, writing in the *California Eagle*, recalled that whenever he would bring African American ministers to Pasadena he would take them to Ruth's home to picnic in the Arroyo. He then continued:

> After one of our Emancipation celebrations, which was held in the old William's Hall corner of Colorado and Fair Oaks, Mrs. Thompson stayed all night at the writer's house on South Vernon avenue. Our third child was just born. Mrs. Thompson said she wanted to name our baby. My wife told her that she might do so. She named her Ruth Brown Prince. My wife told her the baby would be brown enough anyway. We have been delighted with the name that was given a good many years ago, but don't mention this to Mrs. Ruth Brown Prince Gregor (Prince 1940).

Sylvanus Tyler's grandson Ted entered the world in September 1916 in his family's home on the corner of Grand and Bradford, one block from the Arroyo, and grew up like his father before him: picnicking in the canyon with his family, jumping into swimming holes, and sneaking into Busch Gardens. However, one of his earliest memories, which he shared in a 2002 oral history with Pasadena Heritage, was of Mr. and Mrs. Barber who lived less than a block away on South Grand.

> [W]hen I was small, maybe three years old, on the corner of Grand and Bellefontaine there was a cottage, and Mr. Barber lived there. And Mr. Barber was a black guy. His wife used to bake her own bread. And I could smell it a block away. And I'd go down there and she'd give me a slab of bread with big chunks of butter on it, just out of the over. But I would go down and talk to Mr. Barber. He was an older man. I have no idea [exactly how old]. At three years old, I guess thirty years old would have seemed old [laughter]. He could have been ninety. But he worked in his vegetable garden. And I was out helping him one time and he took his shirt off. And I could see scars on his back from being whipped as a slave (Tyler 2002, Appendix C, pp. 4-5).

The two families were on good terms, Ted's father even giving Mr. Barber one of his jackets. The relationship was important enough that his family clearly discussed with Ted what happened next.

> The interesting thing is I went to Arroyo Seco School when it was on the corner of Bellefontaine and Grand. And it was in the bungalow where Mr. Barber and Mrs. Barber lived. But some so-called public-spirited person in the neighborhood bought the house from Mr. Barber and gave it to the Pasadena City Schools for a school. Well, what he really was doing was getting the black guy out of his neighborhood. [laughter]. And I don't know whatever happened to the Barbers. But I went to first grade in that bungalow (Tyler 2002, Appendix C, pp. 5-6).[98]

The context surrounding this memory only makes it more striking because the school district created Arroyo Seco School in 1916 at the request of White parents who didn't want to send their children to Garfield School, on the corner of California and Pasadena Avenue, because it had a significant number of African American, Japanese American, and Mexican American students. Arroyo Seco School was supposed to be a temporary home for these White students, who would attend San Rafael School on the other side of the Arroyo once crews finished

[98] Pasadena's city directories list George and May Barber at 807 S. Grand Avenue beginning in 1906. The last listing for them at this address is in the 1919-1920 directory. It says "Mrs. May Barber (wid. Geo)," which indicates that she was now a widow and that George had passed away. But this would preclude Ted's memory of meeting Mr. Barber in 1919 when he was three years old. It's possible that he met May Barber's father or another relative who was staying with her at 807 S. Grand. Tyler says that they heard Mr. Barber was hit by a car after the couple sold their property, though he thought he had survived. In the 1919-1920 directory, May Barber has a second address of 136 S. Vernon, which was likely where she moved after the sale of the house on Grand Avenue.

Online census records indicate that George Barber was born in 1861 and worked as a servant, coachman and janitor. He first appears in the Pasadena city directory in 1904 with the listing "gardener" next to the name of J.L. Loughery. The 1905 directory lists him as a gardener with his address as 437 S. Orange Grove, which is just south of the Wrigley Mansion. At the time, this address is linked to Henry Bond Sherman a station agent for the Santa Fe Railroad. The connection between the two men is unclear. Census records show May Barber was born between 1870 and 1875 in Kansas, married George in 1893. The 1930 census lists her as the owner of a home at 1027 Kirkwood Avenue in Pasadena, just west of Fair Oaks Avenue, with the occupation of cook.

In a 1955 annual report from the school superintendent, a short description of Arroyo Seco School fails to mention the Barbers. It says that in 1916 the district moved a one-room bungalow onto the lot at the corner of Bellefontaine and Grand, which they leased from the estate of G. Roscoe Thomas, a millionaire who had lived up the hill on Orange Grove (Pasadena Department of Education 1955). The school district could have purchased the Barber's house as an additional building as they sought to expand the campus. Minutes from the school board meetings at the time might clarify these discrepancies. What is clear is that the Barbers lived on the land that later became the segregated Arroyo Seco School.

building the school. But in 1919, the board decided to keep Arroyo Seco School open and replace the one-room bungalow that Tyler mentions with a large schoolhouse (Pasadena Department of Education 1955). In 1923, Tyler began second grade at the new school. Thirty years later, this school was bursting with students while classrooms at Garfield School sat half-empty. Rather than transfer the 65 White students to Garfield, the school board voted to spend $15,000 to build temporary classrooms at Arroyo Seco. The Pasadena chapter of the NAACP characterized the decision as using taxpayer money to support segregation and sued the district (James 2005). In 1954, just weeks after the Supreme Court's landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision ending segregation in public schools, a Los Angeles Superior Court ordered the district to end the transfer policy that allowed families to avoid Garfield. The district decided not to appeal. If they had, the NAACP would have been included Pasadena as a western example of segregation in a companion case to Brown that Thurgood Marshall was preparing for the NAACP's national office. Once this threat subsided, however, the school board continued to allow "hardship" transfers for White families (James 2005; "Pasadena Schools Face 'Segregation' Test" 1954). The reality that the district used the home of an ex-slave to create a segregated school is significant and foreshadowed the 1970 decision that made Pasadena the first school district outside the South implement court-ordered busing to integrate its public schools, a decision that has had a profound long-term impact on Pasadena's civic culture (Nicolaides 2024).

The children at Garfield that White parents viewed as a threat came from the other side of Millionaire's Row. While some of the people who serviced the millionaire class built their homes on the terrace slopes west of Orange Grove Avenue, most took refuge in the swale of the Ancient Arroyo to the east, between Orange Grove and what today is Old Pasadena. In the center of this depression was Vernon Avenue, which became the heart of Pasadena's African American

business community. Further to the east, was a Mexican neighborhood along Raymond Avenue (Martinez 2009). Japanese American families lived in-between and ran businesses like the Meiji Laundry at 244 West Colorado that kept the shirts and sheets of Pasadena's elite free of blemish. Each day domestics, gardeners, chauffeurs, and other support staff climbed the hill to South Orange Grove Avenue to work in and about the mansions on the ridge.

The sharp contrast between abolitionist picnics during one era and sharply defined segregation during the next mirrors the whipsaw attitudes local residents had toward wild nature. Many wealthy residents maintained a clear boundary between their manicured gardens and untidy native habitat. For example, the parties and gatherings at Busch Gardens were carefully curated events that required a high-degree of environmental manipulation and control. The clearest manifestation of this attempt to control wild nature was the wall that Busch built to protect his gardens from the Arroyo's floods. A *Los Angeles Times* article from 1910 describes this project:

> Down in Arroyo Gardens or that part of the Busch parks on the west side of Grand avenue, clear on down to the Arroyo Seco $15,000 have been spent in the last few months building what Mr. Busch calls his 'sea wall.' Great rubble concrete walls twelve feet high, eight feet wide at the top have been constructed the entire length of his property. The walls are thirty feet apart, giving ample room for the entire flow of the Arroyo Seco during flood times. All the way along the 'sea wall' a private roadway has been made, with pretty parkings on either side. The great chicken, duck, geese, pigeon, peacock, and rabbit pens have been built alongside the roadway. Two arched bridges have been placed across the roaring arroyo (Cerhart 1910).

Similarly, James Scoville, the owner of the land at the top of the Lower Arroyo's canyon had tried repeatedly to hold back these same floods, building and rebuilding dams that the wild Arroyo would wash away ("The Arroyo Park: Work Progressing on Mr. Scoville's Project" 1890).



Figure 145. *A comparison of two elementary schools. Above: 1961 third grade class at Arroyo Seco Elementary (Arroyo Seco School 1961). Below: 1963 Third grade class at Garfield Elementary (Garfield School 1963)*

At the same time, the earliest park advocates pushed back against planting petunias and other garden flowers in the Arroyo, arguing it was the native plants, wildlife, and an unchecked stream that made the area special (Hunt et al. 1918). The county did not build a flood channel in the Lower Arroyo until the mid-1940s, and neighbors were quick to protest. A 1949 petition asking the city to purchase the twelve acres that comprised Lower Busch Gardens for a public park stated that, “The construction of the storm drain has seriously impaired, if not totally ruined this area as a scenic asset” ("Seeks Busch Gardens for Park: Petition Asks City Steps" 1949). The petition was the last of several attempts to have the city step in and preserve Busch Gardens as a public space. The floods are what had kept the area undeveloped, but with the concrete channel in place, the Lower Gardens were now ripe for subdivision. Today, a wooden fence sits where Busch’s sea-wall once ran, and the attractive homes behind this fence present a significant obstacle standing in the way of environmentalists’ dream of removing the channel and bringing the stream back to life. All of these boundary stories are important to the history of the neighborhood, but this theme has found its most elaborate and recurring expression in debates about the line between private and public space and the fate and function of the quasi-public spaces, such as Carmelita Park, Busch Gardens, and most of all Pasadena’s Arroyo Seco parklands.



Figure 146. *Busch's "sea wall," looking south from the western bluff above the Arroyo in 1917. Busch's wall creates a sharp boundary between the domesticate garden landscape and the wild nature of the River (Martin 1917, California State Library)*

Spaces both private and public

It was Jeanne Carr who first advocated for a soft boundary between private and public space in Pasadena, urging residents to plant hedgerows instead of erecting walls and fences. For her Carmelita property along Orange Grove Avenue, she planted a line of Mexican limes behind a row of pepper trees, and along Colorado, she put roses and grapevines enveloped by four-foot-tall Monterey cypress trees (Scheid Lund 1999). Carmelita itself, as a garden that the public enjoyed for years, became the epitome of a private-public space.

The conflict this ambiguity could engender for the city first flashed over the exact location of South Arroyo Drive. In May of 1899, the Board of Trade invited the City's trustees to

tour the rim of the Lower Arroyo and imagine a scenic drive beneath the oaks and above the canyon that could captivate visitors and bring more wealth and acclaim to the young municipality. The problem was the road wasn't where the map said it should be. A *Los Angeles Times* article from April of 1910 provides some background:

> For many years there has been a trail along the course where it is now planned to improve this road. No definite pathway has been observed in years past on account of constant changes brought about by mud holes and other obstructions. The trail has changed from side to side, although the main course has always prevailed. As the center of the city filled up and property became expensive, the rugged hills and embankments began to be looked on as desirable building sites, until the Arroyo Seco was reached, and the land, which formerly was considered worthless, became valuable city residence property.
>
> Fences were built, until now the right of way is in dispute, and the abutting property owners are claiming the entire roadway. Campbell Johnston, who owns most of the Arroyo Seco, contiguous to the drive, has laid claim to the entire roadway abutting his property. Much bantering and coaxing has been done to get him to give enough ground to build a driveway fifty feet wide. In some instances, he has given in, but in others he still holds out ("Plan to Open Arroyo Drive" 1910).

The Board raised money to grade North Arroyo Drive in 1900, but by 1903, the effort to continue the work on South Arroyo stalled at Westminster Street for lack of funds and disputes over property lines.

Negotiations became more complicated when Adolphus Busch purchased additional properties reaching down to the Arroyo and put up his own fence blocking travel on South Grand Avenue. It wasn't until July of 1911 when E.J. Marshall, a wealthy neighbor to Busch, bought out the Campbell Johnston family's claim to the eastern rim and transferred a public right-of-way to the City across what many of the landowners considered their private domain. Today, the drive and the public trail that runs along the rim is a defining feature of the neighborhood ("Arroyo Drive is Located at Last" 1911).



Figure 147. *South Arroyo Drive ca1905 ("Arroyo Drive" n.d. in Lyons 1905)*

Advocates for preserving Carmelita as a city park also struggled with the city's ambivalence toward public space. Carmelita was culturally rich but cash poor, and the Carrs had to sell portions of their property over time to give them money to live on during retirement. The final piece between Orange Grove and Terrace Drive went to Simeon Reed, a transportation and shipping magnate from Portland, in 1892.[99] After the passing of Simeon's widow, Amanda, in 1904, the fate of the land became a topic of intense speculation. A syndicate of wealthy West Pasadena investors obtained the title to the eastern half of the property in 1906 and planned to build, and profit from, a casino and convention hall. The syndicate promised that the Carmelita Garden and Pleasure Park would become Pasadena's latest attraction. But they could only

[99] The estate of Simeon and Amanda Reed provided for the founding of Reed College in Portland.

recover $30,000 of the $50,000 pledged by their subscribers, and the project stalled. While they wrangled with the local banks, the City used the land to create its first public playground, with the 1909 dedication ceremony attracting 3,000 people ("People now would buy grounds" 1909). The *Pasadena Star* reported on the scene:

> The Carmelita Gardens play ground is open and every man, woman, and child in Pasadena is rejoicing accordingly. Even the band was there and, to a small boy, a brass band gives the height of bliss. The opening was enjoyed by a crowd of grown-ups and, in comparison to their numbers, by a vast concourse of excited youngsters. A number of prominent people came from Los Angeles while every woman's club in Pasadena attended en masse.
>
> The remainder of the program consisted of games and exhibitions. Every piece of apparatus was in place and every sand box full of clean white sand and covered by a nice pink awning.
>
> The sun was shining brightly and the children were smiling in pleased anticipation when, at 2:30 o'clock, Superintendent Ryerson opened the gates for the first time to the public. There was an immediate wild stampede to get to the nearest piece of apparatus and, in a second, the grounds were a mass of flying legs and arms ("Mayor Thomas Earley Opens With Address Carmelita Play Grounds for People of Valley Crown" 1909).

The playground proved immensely popular with children, but this didn't win over voters, who failed to pass bond issues in 1913 that would have allowed the city to purchase the land outright.[100] Subsequent referendums to purchase the property in 1922, 1929, and 1934 also failed. Headlines often followed each defeat, warning that the bank was about to sell the property to the highest bidder ("Defeat All Bonds" 1913; "Carmelita's Future Studied by Planners" 1934; "Plan Set on Foot to Purchase Carmelita for Pasadena" 1922; "Voters Fail to Secure Gardens"

[100] The failure of this measure prompted the relocation of the playground equipment to the Arroyo and the creation there of what would become Brookside Park. In 1915, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that the syndicate owning the title to half of Carmelita would not give the land to the City for a park and playground because they saw no benefit flowing back to them ("Pasadena: Civic Center for Pasadena" 1915).

1929). Each time, a pledge drive or last-minute plan kept the property off the auction block and suspended it between the public and private realm.

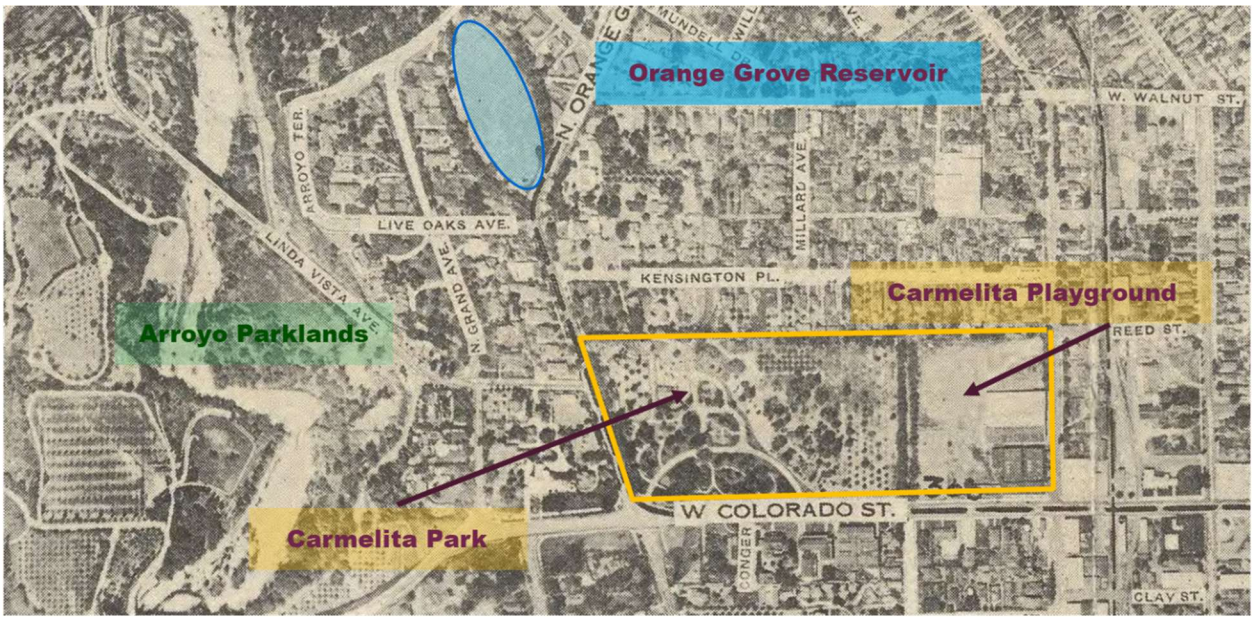

Figure 148. *A 1922 aerial photo of the Carmelita property showing its proximity to the Arroyo. The area the city had used for a playground sits barren and would eventually become a car dealership (Photomap Company and First National Trust and Savings Bank of Pasadena 1922)*

One of the leading advocates for Carmelita was Ernest Batchelder, who raised money and negotiated a long-term lease between the City and the Pasadena Art Institute that reserved the space for the eventual construction of a public art museum and cultural center ("Plan Set on Foot to Purchase Carmelita for Pasadena" 1922). It was Batchelder and his friends who figured out how to pay off the property taxes and street assessments that consistently imperiled the property's future by organizing the Carmelita Civic Grandstand Association in 1935 and selling tickets to watch the Rose Parade ("Secret Donor Offers $50,000 to Construct Carmelita Art Center" 1935). This grandstand forms the background for the Parade's television viewers, who have little idea that those seats literally saved the property for public use. The Art Institute converted the Reed's mansion into an art gallery where it held a number of exhibitions throughout the 1920s and '30s. In 1941, the city transformed the gardens around the mansion

into a pitch-n'-putt golf course as a way to offset some of the maintenance costs. The road cut for the new Colorado Freeway bridge shaved away the northern half of the park in 1952 ("Park Being Destroyed for Freeway Approach" 1952).[101] By the late '60s, the successor to the Art Institute, the Pasadena Art Museum raised enough money to open what would become the Pasadena Museum of Modern Art in 1969 on what was left of the park grounds (Gardner 1971). But lacking an endowment, the museum fell into debt and reached out to wealthy industrialist Norton Simon, the symbolic heir to the Reeds and the Busches, who purchased the building and the art collection and rebranded the museum under his own name (Scheid Lund 1999). The saga of Carmelita exposes an uncertainty within the neighborhood and the city as a whole about how to negotiate the boundary between private and public space. Today, the Norton Simon is a significant cultural asset for the city. Still, the $20 entrance fee gives the space an air of exclusivity, while the sound of the freeway and lack of functional outdoor seating make it a single-purpose location and far from the signature landmark that it might have been if the city and the community had prioritized public space.

[101] Caltrans paid the City $80,000 for the Carmelita parkland they destroyed, which in today's dollars would amount to $950,000 ("City Manager Suggests Carmelita Park Site for Art Institute, Offices in Old Building" 1951).

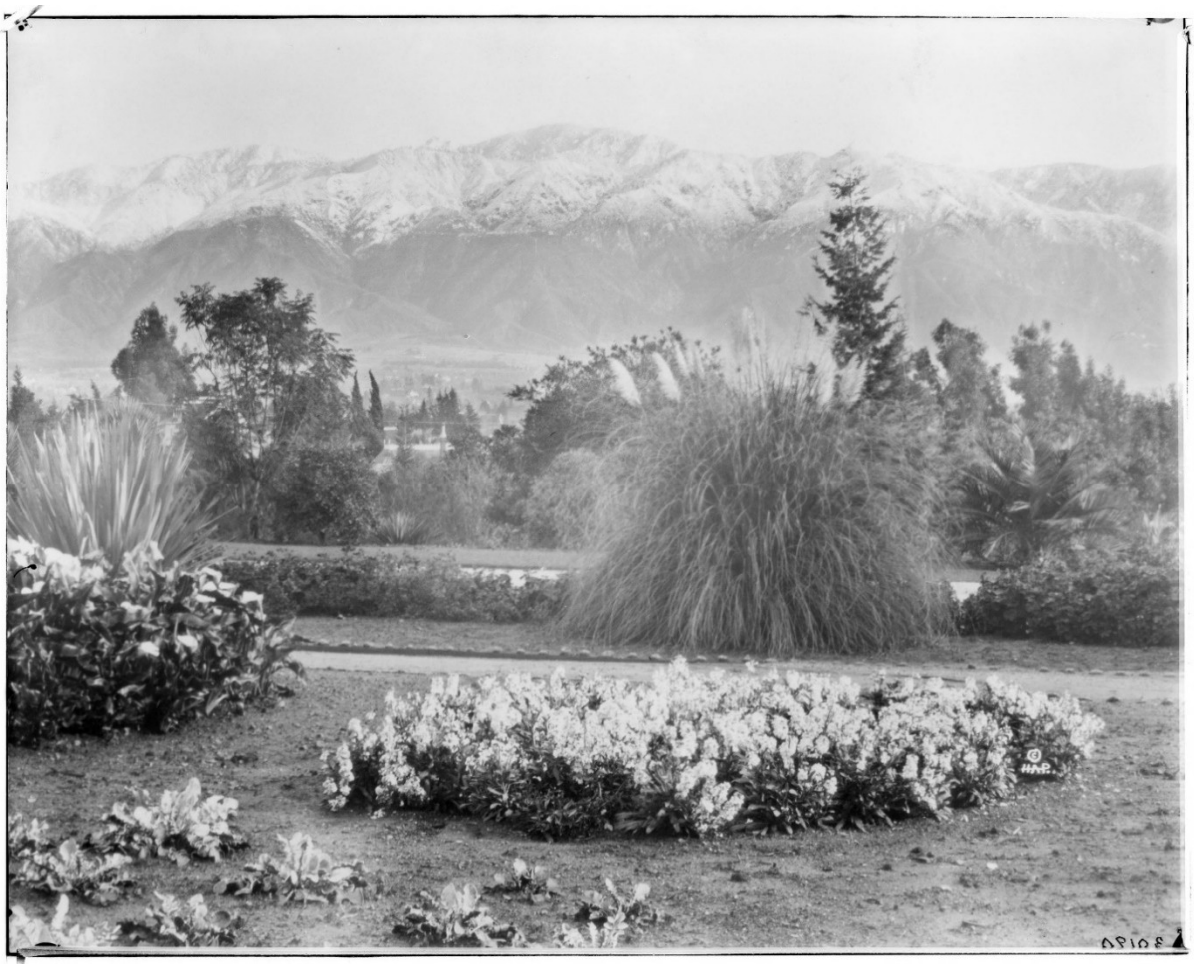

Figure 149. *Looking north from Carmelita Gardens approximately 1905.*[102] *Arguably, the first botanical garden in Los Angeles, Pasadena repeatedly failed to make the parcel public parkland. (Parker ca1926, photCL 402 (30190), Harold A. Parker Studio Collection of Negatives, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California).*

The land down under

If the debate over Carmelita occupied the northern end of Millionaires Row, the fate of Busch Gardens loomed over the southern end of the avenue. Carmelita sat at the crest of a hill and appealed to the city's highest ideals and civic spirit; Busch Gardens began at the top of the ridge and led people down into the Arroyo's canyon and the private imagination of Adolphus Busch, who used his sunken gardens to create a fantasy landscape, with otherworldly grassy

[102] The date from the Huntington Library on this photo is approximately 1926, but the photo appears in the book "Pasadena: Crown of the Valley" from 1905 (Rieder 1905).

terraces, exotic plantings, and ceramic figurines positioned in the glens and grottos of the Arroyo.

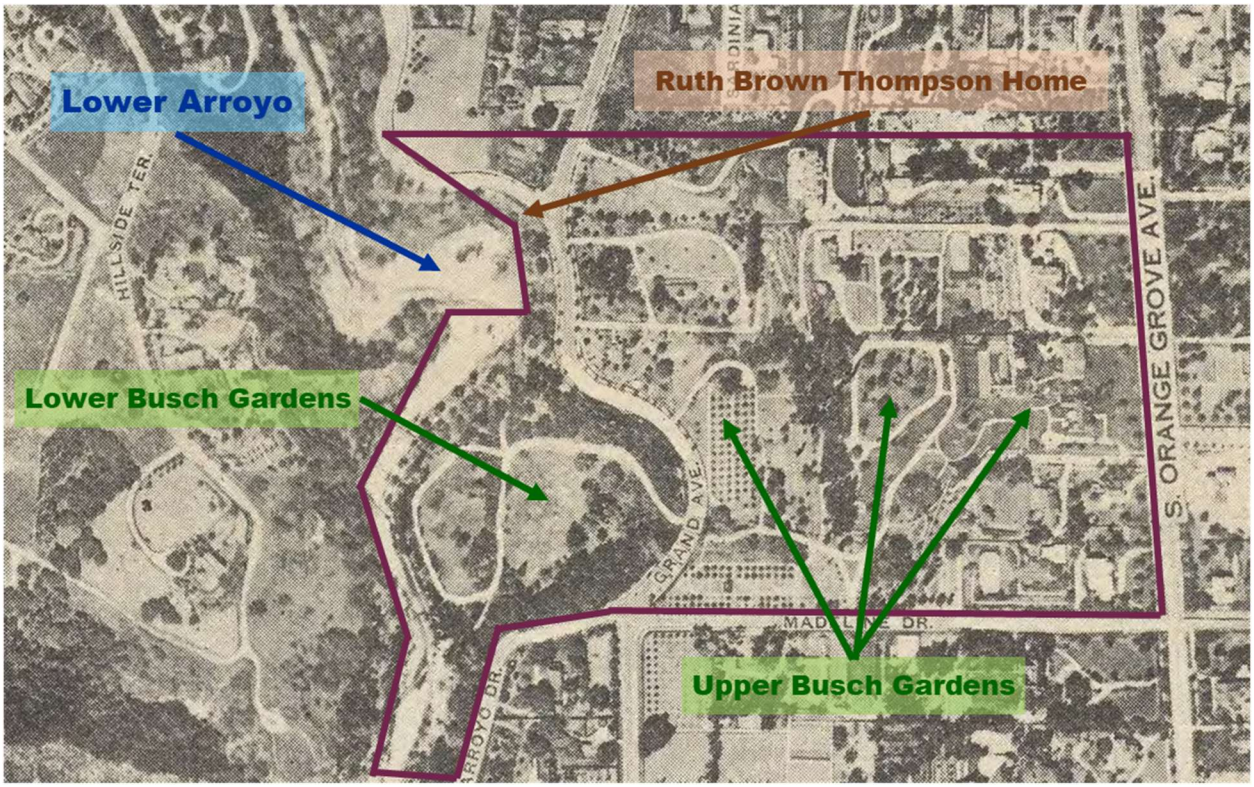

Figure 150. *The approximate outlines of Busch Gardens after 1917. This 1922 aerial photomap shows the extent of Busch Gardens. Prior to this, Busch owned an additional strip north of line shown here (Logan 2020; Photomap Company and First National Trust and Savings Bank of Pasadena 1922)*

Themed parties in the Gardens activated and augmented the imagination of guests as they descended the winding paths into the bottom of the canyon. For a 1911 convention of the American Medical Association, Busch and the entertainment company he hired leaned heavily into what scholars have term the "Spanish fantasy past," buoyant at that time across Southern California. The *Los Angeles Times* reported:

> There will be tables miles in length filled with everything good to eat a la Spanish. There will be chili con carne, hot tamales, enchiladas [sic], frijoles, muncho [sic] caliente, appolinaris water with and without labels, some with foam and some without, but all thirst-quenching. Provision has been made to feed 10,000 persons all at the same time. Pretty waitresses, costumed in typical Spanish ragalie [sic] will serve the guests. Real Mexican vaqueros will act as

> guides and Mexican music will be played by the Santa Catalina band. In short, it will be a great replica of an old-fashioned feast day of the kind which used to prevail in Southern California many years ago ("Pasadena Prepared To Feast Ten Thousand At Once Today" 1911).

Even after Busch's death, the backdrop of Busch Garden afforded opportunities for event organizers to choose their fantasy. Tapping into the medieval aesthetic that I referenced earlier, the Gardens hosted a gathering of almost 4,000 men belonging to the masonic order Knights Templar. Knights and their ladies "were met by a great bevy of beautiful women, all in white, representing Southland Chapter and Pasadena Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star, who presented carnations to the ladies and souvenirs in the shape of miniature bungalows, within which were scenes and descriptive matter regarding Pasadena, issued by the Pasadena Board of Trade" ("Crown City Hostess To Knights And Ladies" 1916). The *Los Angeles Times* reported that the highlight of the day was the "orange frolic," when a synchronized set of attendants at the top of the garden's hill turned crates of oranges on their side. "The golden fruit poured down in a gleaming cascade over the close-cropped green turf, and the guests were invited to catch the fruit as it fell. Seven thousand of the finest oranges to be secured in the Pasadena district were thus offered to the visitors." A fifty-piece band played throughout the morning leading to the distribution of 4,000 box lunches for a picnic on the garden's lower lawn where guests were entertained by "a cabaret of eight Spanish musicians and dancers and a company of Hawaiian singers. Turkish rugs were placed at various points about the lawn and the entertainers moved from spot to spot" ("Crown City Hostess To Knights And Ladies" 1916).



Figure 151. *Lower Busch Gardens during the 1933 reopening celebration. Lower Busch Gardens provided a stage for elaborate parties (Busch family 1933 in Logan 2020)*

If Millionaire's Row presented a conscious daydream with its sunny display of wealth and status, Busch Gardens tapped into to the unconscious dreams and fantasies of its visitors. Part of this is the topography, the Lower Arroyo's canyon serving as a seam in both the earth and in people's consciousness from which both their desires and fears found their way to the surface. Visit the edge of the Lower Arroyo today and the unruly green space below stirs the subconscious. Dianne Philibosian, one of the neighborhood leaders I interviewed who lives on South Arroyo Boulevard, said sometimes morning fog can linger in the canyon below blue skies, accentuating this dreamy feeling of depth. This quality can provide relief for a consciousness crowded by the demands of the city, but it also links the Lower Arroyo to the spirit world and suggests to some the possibility of crossing over. In a 1935 *Los Angeles Times* article, writer Will E. Wing asks "What strange spell hangs like a pall over the Arroyo Seco bridge, gateway of Pasadena at Colorado street, luring to the spot its desperate horde, until the ensuing tragedies have brought to that beautiful structure the cruel name of 'Suicide Bridge?'" He recounts a legend from the 1890s of a grandmother from Pasadena's Mexican settlement who sold into matrimony her granddaughter of 14 to a man in middle age.

> The marriage rites were barely done when the frightened girl-bride fled, her wedding veil streaming behind her. The grandmother and others tried to follow but the girl eluded them, running on and on until she reached the rimrock. It was there that she leaped, her lifeless body crumpling in the arroyo below.
>
> "The shock of that death so crazed the grandmother that she, herself, became a homeless wanderer in the arroyo seco, hearing the voice of the girl-bride calling and always reaching...searching" (Wing 1935).

More than a century later, the Lower Arroyo and the bridge still call to people in distress. Between 2006 and 2016, 28 people leapt from the bridge into the Arroyo's chasm (Lindhal 2018). In 2017 alone, police responded to ten attempts (Lindahl 2018). The city, having lined the bridge with a tall chain link fence, is currently searching for a design for a permanent barrier that will preserve the architectural integrity of the graceful span and delay those determined to take their own life so responders can attempt a rescue. This link to the spirit world extends to the claim that ghosts haunt the courthouse that sits across from the bridge and even relates to one of the longest running traditions in the neighborhood: the Halloween parade and block party for the children on California Terrace, which serves as an initiation of sorts into the dream world of sprits that float with the fog through Lower Arroyo.

***

These three motifs or themes – the management of boundaries, private and public space, and a link to the imagination and the unconscious – take on added importance because of how they have influenced the shape and structure of Pasadena's economy and the narratives people carry about the genesis, meaning, and purpose of wealth. The economy governs and guides the performance of day-to-day life and has a powerful influence on people's sense of identity, their priorities, and their attitudes toward public spaces like the Arroyo. The neighborhood of the Lower Arroyo has played a central role in debates about where wealth comes from and where it

should ultimately flow, which is why looking at the neighborhood's narratives through an economic lens is revealing, not only about the past but also its potential future.

The most important point to understand about these stories of wealth and prosperity is that they have changed over time. During the 1920s, Pasadena had the highest per capita income in the country (Scheid Lund 1999). Most of this income, however, was imported (Oliver 1959). The affluent families that decided to relocate to the city used their profits from industries thousands of miles away to build and maintain their mansions and support local causes like the preservation of Carmelita. After World War II, the city's economic strategy shifted. Rather than attracting wealthy individuals, the city used an aggressive redevelopment strategy tied to the region's burgeoning freeway system to attract the more mobile capital of corporations (Nicolaides 2024). This generated a backlash that shuffled political coalitions within the city and led to today's pursuit of a knowledge-based economy that generates wealth through innovation. The common thread weaving its way through each of these economic stories is real estate and how people use and misuse land to generate and preserve their wealth.

Private wealth and property values

The Lower Arroyo has always been central to stories of wealth, its oaks serving as the foundation of acorn economy of Gabrieleno/Tongva peoples for hundreds of years (Ethington et al. 2020). During the Rancho era, the final Mexican owner, Manuel Garfias, built his adobe overlooking the Lower Arroyo's canyon. The law stipulated that the government could reallocate idle land, something Garfias' mother-in-law, Encarnación Sepulveda, made sure wouldn't happen to her grandchildren's patrimony (Saavedra 2018). She took charge of making improvements on the Rancho San Pascual to keep it in good standing as the land provided not only wealth but status to the entire family. But it was 30 years later with American settlement that generating

wealth from the real estate become an obsession. Daniel Berry, the Colony's land scout, wrote to his brother-in-law, Thomas Elliot, arguing how the coming transcontinental railroad made the buying 1400 acres along the Arroyo a can't-miss proposition (Berry 1873-74). The transcontinental railroad would connect Los Angeles to the world just two years later, and its arrival in Pasadena in the fall of 1885 set off a real estate boom that made land speculation the apple in the city's origin story. In his first-person account of the boom, druggist and local historian J.W. Wood described how the population grew from 5,000 to 12,000 in two years before dropping back down once the fever subsided:

> The song of the robin in the Arroyo was forgotten, and the orchestration of the mocking-birds was unheeded, because the siren cry of the dealer in lots and the flubdub of speculators on the street corners drowned those sweet carols in more unusual and now more attractive strains.
>
> ***
>
> When the head of the family departed in the morning for his usual occupation his farewell kiss to this spouse was given fleetingly and with a promise to 'buy something' that day. His spouse, none the less interested, advised John to 'be sure and get that fine corner' on Euclid, on Colorado, or on some other attractive spot, so that it could be resold, right off, for a hundred or so advance! And it would be a cool reception for John if he returned lotless that evening (Wood 1917, 146).

Wood dates the first sale to September of 1885 with the subdivision of the Conger tract, which today is where the lone mandarin orange tree stands awaiting the grandstands and television towers on New Year's Day across from what once was Carmelita. The Conger lots sold from $180 to $550 and eventually rose in value to $8000 only to ruin many a buyer after dropping back down to their original sale price. The real estate boom marked the passing of the land from the original settlers along Orange Grove, like Berry and Elliot, and beginning of Millionaire's Row (Oliver 1959).

Materially, the private wealth of Pasadena's newest residents became the foundation of Pasadena's economy. From Sylvanus Tyler's eggs to Batchelder's tiles to the Meiji laundry, much of the city derived its livelihood from catering to the needs of West Pasadena's elite, many of whom only lived in the city for part of year (Oliver 1959). One loud example was Pasadena's goat herds. In 1916 the *Los Angeles Times* reported on the phenomenon:

> [A]mong the fine homes of Altadena and in the Arroyo Seco, near Orange Grove avenue, some 500 of the animals are today the bone and sinew of one of the largest industries of the sort in America. Swiss cheese is produced in large quantities and from the goat preserves many quarts of milk are sent daily for the babies, sick persons and the wealthy of the Crown City. So important is the industry, in fact, that a State association of goat raisers has opened headquarters at Pasadena."
>
> "Although the wealthy residents of Pasadena have objected strenuously to the bleating of the goats, they have taken the milk with avidity and fully 2000 quarts of it are sold each day by the goat raisers. When it is understood that goat's milk sells at 25 cents a quarter, the profit in keeping the animals may readily be realized ("Goat Neighbor of the Elite: Big Herds Bleat in Bon-ton District at Pasadena" 1916).

The article includes photos of the goats belonging to Mrs. L.O. Rhoses of 121 West Bellevue, which is just east of where Mijares Restaurant is today, and mentions Miss H.A. Woods, who kept her goats in the Arroyo near the Colorado Street bridge.

The city passed an ordinance that effectively pushed the goat farms beyond city limits, which was in keeping with leaders' overall interests to keep the activities of the city's working-class behind the scenes of leisure, health, and wellness that they promoted to the rest of the country (James 2001). The smokestacks, slag heaps, and labor unrest surrounding the factories generating this wealth remained thousands of miles away, and the Board of Trade made clear that it would only welcome "clean" industries in the city (Nicolaides 2024; Scheid Lund 1999). At the same time, the newly formed City Beautiful Association, championed by some of the city's

most prominent women, worked to clean up vacant lots, prevent billboards, and advocate for planning that would preserve Pasadena's ideal of the perfect garden city (Wolf 2016).

It was the incompatibility of this vision with the growing presence of industry in Arroyo at the border of South Pasadena and Los Angeles that catalyzed the push to turn the Arroyo into a park. The deep irony for the City Beautiful set was that one of the main perpetrators of this industrial invasion was one of their own. Professor Thaddeus Lowe, an engineer, inventor and entrepreneur, claimed his place on Millionaires Row in 1890 with 24,000 square foot mansion.[103] By 1904, however, Lowe had lost control of his famous Incline Railway in mountains above Pasadena and was struggling to avoid bankruptcy. His one bet was that he could cash in on supplying natural gas to the tracts of homes mushrooming across the Los Angeles basin. To this end, he had won approval to build a natural gas plant in the Arroyo directly below the studio and home of William Lees Judson, the landscape painter and co-founder of the Arroyo Guild. Judson sued Lowe over the sulphureous fumes the plant's smokestack emitted and that the canyon's natural breeze distributed across West Pasadena ("Garvanzaites' hot protest: citizens speak out against gas works" 1904). That same year a proposal to build an iron smelter, combined the with rock crushers, gravel mining, pig farms, and dairies in the same area, was too much for West Pasadena residents. At the Board of Supervisors meeting, a Mrs. Creighton, who lived in an artist colony near the smelter site and had spent time in the mining towns of Montana, stated the economic interests plainly:

> "Millionaires are here right now from Montana. They make their money there and come here to spend it. If we poison the air with noxious fumes from manufactories, then are we going against our own interests, as well as against our sense of beauty. People come here to buy ozone. How long will they continue to

[103] Horatio Rust reported that the Lowe property was a location rich in native artifacts and was likely the site of a Native settlement (Rust 1899). Adolphus Busch purchased this home, then known as the Blossom estate, in 1910 and incorporated it into his gardens (Logan 2020).

> come if we have only tainted air to offer? And if the tourist traffic is stopped, who will be affected?" ("At the Courthouse, Hot Inning of Arroyoites" 1904).

West Pasadena residents networked with their counterparts in South Pasadena and Los Angeles to advance the vision of a park and parkway from the mountains to the Los Angeles River and that would preserve their "beauty spot," and their property values, for future generations (see chapter 5).[104]

With a large percentage of the economic ties binding the community together running back to Millionaire's Row prior to World War II and the mansions themselves a public symbol of wealth and status within the community, it should come as no surprise that property values became the preeminent measure of status and wealth within the Pasadena. This made the community particularly vulnerable to the arguments of the Pasadena Realty Board that the presence of people of color, especially African Americans, would lower property values. The Realty Board activated the unconscious fears of residents about financial ruin and public health to justify the racial covenants and redlining that began in the 1920s and metastasized within the community (Cartland 1948; Crimi 1941). James Crimi, a sociologist who completed his master's research on Pasadena in 1941, surveyed 244 White residents, 40 percent of whom believed that the African American population of Pasadena was two to four times larger than the census records indicate. Crimi also reported on the widespread perception that African Americans were primarily interested in socializing among Whites and moving into White neighborhoods. The reality was that African American families living in White areas in 1940 had arrived first and

[104] The section of the Arroyo between South Pasadena and Los Angeles remained unclaimed because neither city wanted to be responsible for repairing the railroad and trolley bridges that floods would often destroy or bear the full cost of a new bridge in the future ("At the Courthouse: Nuisance Fight Waxes Warm" 1904). Because of this, the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors governed land use in this part of the Arroyo, which business interests lobbied to have declared an industrial district. Citizen groups defeated this proposal, though the City of Los Angeles did create an industrial district in the Arroyo below Avenue 35, which became a bane of neighborhood groups and whose legacy is visible in the factory landscape in this area present to this day.

subsequently became surrounded by White neighbors (Crimi 1941). These beliefs along with the fear of integrated schools are examples of what can happen when the imagination cultivated in White enclaves like Lower Arroyo turns in on itself and runs away from reality. The insidious links between race, real estate, and violence were on display just a few months after the subdivision of the Conger tract in 1885 when downtown business interests staged an anti-Chinese riot to justify an ordinance forcing Chinese to relocate to the south end of town (James 2001). This is an example of the narratives described thus far reinforcing one another: the drawing and defense of boundaries, fueled by a dark fantasy of what could happen in the downtown's unregulated public spaces, all in service to capturing the rising value of real estate.

Sometimes, however, these narratives worked against one another, resulting in conflict. This was the case with the fight to keep the real estate interests from running Los Angeles' first freeway up the Arroyo's canyon. In June 1925, the Pasadena Realty Board unanimously passed a proposal for a 4-track super-boulevard to travel from Los Angeles through the Lower Arroyo, past the Rose Bowl to Devil's Gate Dam. The eventual hope was to continue the road up the Arroyo's canyon and over the San Gabriel Mountains. The proposal had the support from the heads of the planning commissions in Los Angeles and Pasadena, the L.A. Traffic Commission, Pasadena's city engineer, and, most importantly, the recently created Regional Planning Commission, whose maps would provide the blueprint for freeways far into the future. The Realty Board recommended sending the plan to Pasadena's city directors for approval, promising that they could finish the job within a year ("Realtors Submit Project of Pasadena-Los Angeles Highway in Arroyo Seco" 1925). The board saw the roadway as an opportunity to spur development and raise property values across the city by providing ready access to downtown Los Angeles.

> Think of driving home through a beautiful park system after a hard day's work. This boulevard will add to the convenience and pleasure of every family, for almost every family owns a car, many own several, all of use drive to Los Angeles numerous times during the year. It will not only give pleasure and convenience to all of us but we all will receive direct benefit therefrom ("Realtors Submit Project of Pasadena-Los Angeles Highway in Arroyo Seco" 1925).

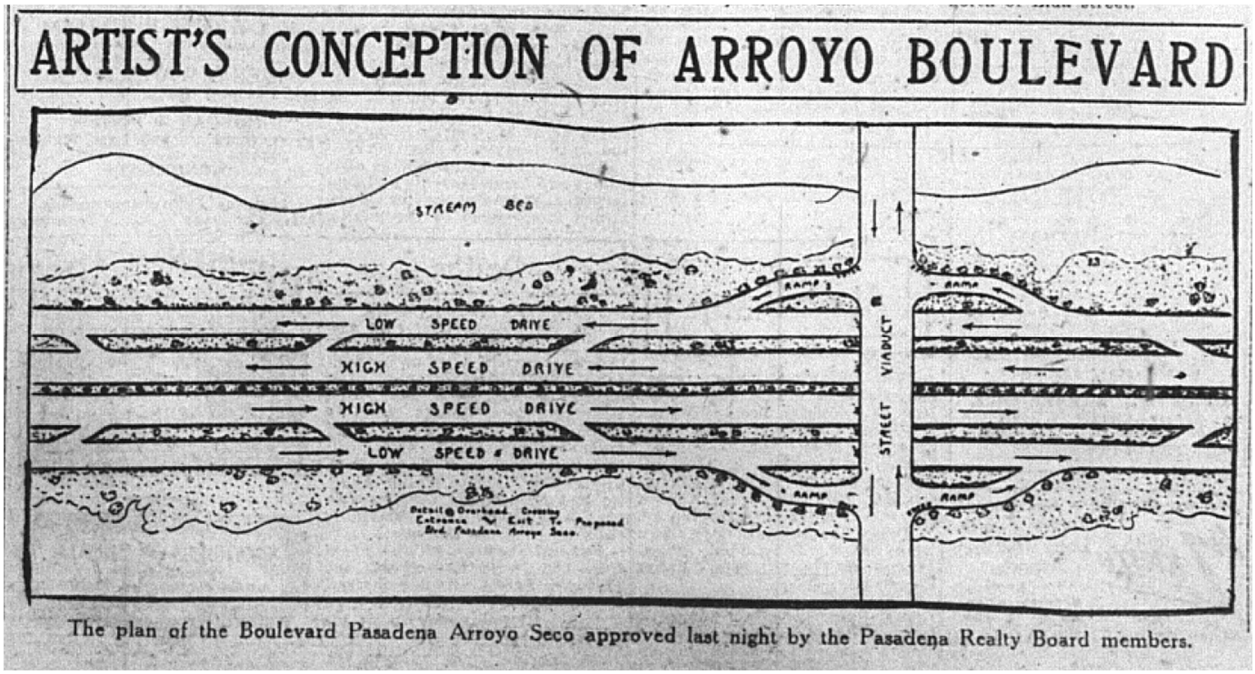

Figure 152. *Pasadena Evening Post illustrates the Pasadena Realty Board plan for the Lower Arroyo ("Realtors Approve 4-track Boulevard in Arroyo Seco; Opposition is Development" 1925)*

The residents of West Pasadena felt that the super-boulevard would lower rather than raise their property values and violated the original purpose of acquiring Lower Arroyo's lands for a park. Arthur Fleming, a lumber executive who lived on South Orange Grove Avenue next to Busch Gardens, said that he had raised much of the money needed for the City to purchase the land in the canyon. He wrote to the Board of Directors that "'my special interest in it was to not only preserve the natural beauty, but provide a place in that part of the Arroyo park where women and children might go to be safe from all automobile traffic. To build there such a speedway would destroy that section completely for park uses'" ("Bars Motor Traffic on Park Lands" 1925). Judge G.E. Waldo concurred, arguing in defense of the neighborhood's boundaries:

> If this project is carried out...it will utterly devastate the beautiful natural park from Colorado street bridge to the south limits. Great trees and wonderful wildwood will be destroyed and the natural conformation of the Arroyo leveled and tunneled for concrete curbs and roadways.
>
> Is it selfish not to want Brookside park jammed with a mob to the exclusion of our children, who now find there a solution to the playing on the street problem. Who wants his child in the pool with a horde from a great city? Is it asking too much of Los Angeles to build her own park and take care of her own people? ("Bars Motor Traffic on Park Lands" 1925)

The Regional Planning Commission continued pushing the proposal, releasing a plan in 1929 for a 100-foot roadway that would go up the Lower Arroyo, through lower Busch Gardens, to a point north of the Rose Bowl where it would fork, with one road going through Linda Vista and over the San Rafael Hills to connect with Chevy Chase Drive and the other merging with North Arroyo Drive that would connect with the proposed highway up the Arroyo's canyon, over the San Gabriel Mountains and into the high desert ("Arroyo Road Plan Meets Objection" 1929). In March of 1929, property owners met at Ernest Batchelder's home on South Arroyo Drive to form the Arroyo Seco Park Protective Association ("Arroyo Seco Highway to be Fought" 1929). Batchelder was on the City Planning Commission, which he persuaded to withdraw its previous support, writing, "In view of the rapid increase of population in Pasadena and vicinity, we believe that in years to come this park system will be looked upon as one of our finest assets and that its preservation for the enjoyment of our citizens is in accord with the highest ideals of Pasadena" ("Arroyo Seco Highway is Opposed" 1929). The commission directed the City's engineer, who had endorsed the plan, to find alternate routes to propose to the RPC.

The Pasadena Chamber of Commerce now found itself caught in the middle between contending narratives. On the one side was the Realty Board who saw a development bonanza. On the other were Pasadena's most affluent residents who could easily flee the city and take their

wealth with them if their houses now overlooked a super-boulevard rather than a sylvan canyon. The next week the Chamber had lunch in the Lower Arroyo to personally walk the distance from the Colorado Street bridge to the border with South Pasadena and decide on a recommendation for the City Directors and the RPC.[105] The Chamber decided they preferred the highway to run along the rim of the canyon and discussed the possibility of straightening South Arroyo Drive, which would send the road through Batchelder's front yard ("Make Survey of Arroyo Project" 1929).

This debate over parkway routes through the Arroyo continued for another decade. Batchelder and the Protective Association looked for their own route, proposing either taking the highway up Avenue 64 or having it leave the Arroyo in South Pasadena at El Centro Street before turning north toward Pasadena ("Arroyo Seco Highway to be Fought" 1929). A 1935 state bill established the eventual route of the Arroyo Seco Parkway through South Pasadena to Glenarm Drive in Pasadena ("Arroyo Seco Parkway Project Gains Impetus" 1936). But Pasadena residents had to vote down the Lower Arroyo route again in a 1937 referendum, which they did by a margin of more than 2 to 1 ("Speed Road Action Taken Pasadena Directors Act on Parkway Route as Election Sequel" 1937). But this was not the end. In a perfect illustration of the conflicting narratives surrounding private and public space, Minerva Hamilton Hoyt, a South Pasadena socialite, donor to the Democratic Party, and heir to Jeanne Carr as a pioneering horticulturalist, lobbied state legislators to resurrect the highway route up the Arroyo ("Legislative Bribery Subpoenas Attacked" 1937). Hoyt was the leading advocate for conservation of California's desert landscapes and had almost single-handedly secured the

[105] The luncheon was held in the meadow below California Street. This area was once a dumping ground, but the community had cleaned it up, planted vegetation, and named it the Friendship Forum. In February of 1991, Tim Brick and the recently formed Arroyo Seco Foundation organized the planting of a native tree in this area, one for each Pasadena resident who had died of AIDS. Today, maps designate the area as the AIDS Memorial Grove.

creation of Joshua Tree National Monument by President Roosevelt. This spirit of conservation, however, did not extend to the Lower Arroyo. The agreed upon route would destroy a portion of her beloved palm garden, and so Hoyt, known for her lavish parties, hosted a dinner for legislators in Sacramento, which newspapers reported included rose petals strewn across the floor (Hanson 1937c). The effort succeeded in getting a bill switching the route back to the Lower Arroyo through the legislature only to have it die in the state senate (Hanson 1937a). The Rose Petal Dinner, however, prompted grand jury indictments for bribery, fist fights in the state capitol, and gleeful headlines in the famously Republican *Los Angeles Times* ("Legislative Bribery Subpoenas Attacked" 1937).[106] Groundbreaking for the parkway took place in South Pasadena in 1938, but in 1939 a state representative from La Cañada won approval for a survey of a spur route through the Lower Arroyo's Canyon, which was a precursor to another five decades of battles over the route of the 710 or Long Beach Freeway starting in the mid-1960s (see below) ("Road Survey Bill Approved" 1939).

Freeway to prosperity

John Dean, a former president of the East Arroyo Residents Association and a former board member of Pasadena Heritage, grew up in Northwest Pasadena. He said as a child when his father would drive down Orange Grove Avenue with him and his sister in the back seat, the two of them would play a game. The first one to catch sight and name one of the mansions could claim it as their own. You could claim as many mansions as you wanted, and when he was

[106] The story contains even more drama as the bill initially went down to defeat before a call went out to the California Highway Patrol to bring Democrats who had left the capital back to Sacramento. Three legislators arrived near midnight to help pass the bill on a re-vote with the 71-year-old Mrs. Hoyt in the gallery (Hanson 1937b). Later, Hoyt was charged with contempt of court for refusing to appear as a witness in the grand jury proceeding but was excused by presiding judge due to poor health ("Court Clears Mrs. Hoyt" 1937). Hoyt had founded the International Desert Conservation League and in addition to Joshua Tree lobbied for the creation of parks in Death Valley and Anza-Borrego. She passed away in South Pasadena in December of 1945.

growing up during the 1950s, this wasn't far from the truth, for the grand estates along Orange Grove were falling into disrepair and giving way to the garden apartment complexes that line the boulevard today. The Depression had taken a toll on the fortunes of the families along Orange Grove Avenue, but the death of Millionaires Row and the transition to a new economic narrative didn't come without a fight. In 1941, Edmund Krug, the manager of the Busch estate and 20 other landowners approached the city's Board of Directors asking them to re-zone the avenue for multi-family housing: they refused (Logan 2020). In 1946, they rejected another attempt to re-zone the row of 95 mansions on the promenade ("Orange Grove Ave.'s Old Glories Preserved" 1946). But it was undeniable that the reliance on the private fortunes of the kings of industry was no longer working. The following year Ambassador College, the scholastic arm of the Worldwide Church of God, began purchasing estates at the northern end of the avenue and repurposing the mansions as classrooms, and in May of 1948, the city finally re-zoned the avenue (Scheid Lund 1999). Four years later, developers replaced the Busch mansion with modern apartments that helped the city house an influx of new residents after the war (Logan 2020). The result of this reconfiguration for the Lower Arroyo was a flipping of the financial topography. Renters now filled Orange Grove Avenue while the wealth retreated down the hill into more modest castles.

As the city cast about for a new economic strategy, Ernest Batchelder stepped in with a novel idea. In addition to constructing an art museum on the Carmelita property, he proposed to create a college that would be the west coast equivalent of the Rhode Island School of Design, in much the same way that Caltech would come to mirror M.I.T. Building on the classes he taught at Throop and his well-regarded design textbook, he envisioned a postgraduate training center for local artisans and engineers that would make the city a center for Craftsmanship that could carry

the anti-industrial ethic of the arts and crafts movement into the 20th century (Batchelder 1922). In 1937, with Batchelder's grandstand association helping to clear Carmelita's debts, the California Graduate School of Design began classes in the Reed mansion at Carmelita, drawing instructors from both Occidental and Caltech and students from across the country ("Carmelita Saved, School of Design to Open" 1937; "Grandstand Paying Off Tax Liens at Carmelita" 1937). The school lasted until 1941 when it became part of Caltech, and the City formally accepted the Carmelita property as City property and worked out a 20-year option for the Pasadena Art Institute to reclaim use of the property for its art museum ("City Offered Carmelita as Gift" 1941). Batchelder's idea for an economy based on design and Craftsmanship, exemplified by his Pasadena tile factory, represented something of a middle ground, generating wealth from small manufacturing firms rather than importing it from elsewhere or becoming a town of smokestacks and plant whistles.

But Pasadena went in the opposite direction. The strategy that Pasadena's planners settled upon was to take advantage of the money the federal and state governments were funneling into freeway construction and transform Pasadena into a regional center for large corporations and retail shopping with some light manufacturing and auto dealerships thrown into the mix (Nicolaides 2024; Oliver 1959). Their rationale was that Caltech, Jet Propulsion Laboratory, and its cultural institutions and amenities made it an attractive location for office workers in science, technology, and finance. Corporations would take the place of the wealthy patrons of decades past and would fulfill the Pasadena's longstanding preference for "clean industries." If the city's previous economic narrative centered on the mansion, the symbol for the new story would be the freeway. Freeways represented a link to the global economy and mobile capital; it was a marker of progress that the City Manager John Phillips said would create a broader tax base and make

the city the economic center of the western San Gabriel Valley ("Three Freeways Eventually to Run Through Pasadena: Five-Level Interchange in the Works" 1968).

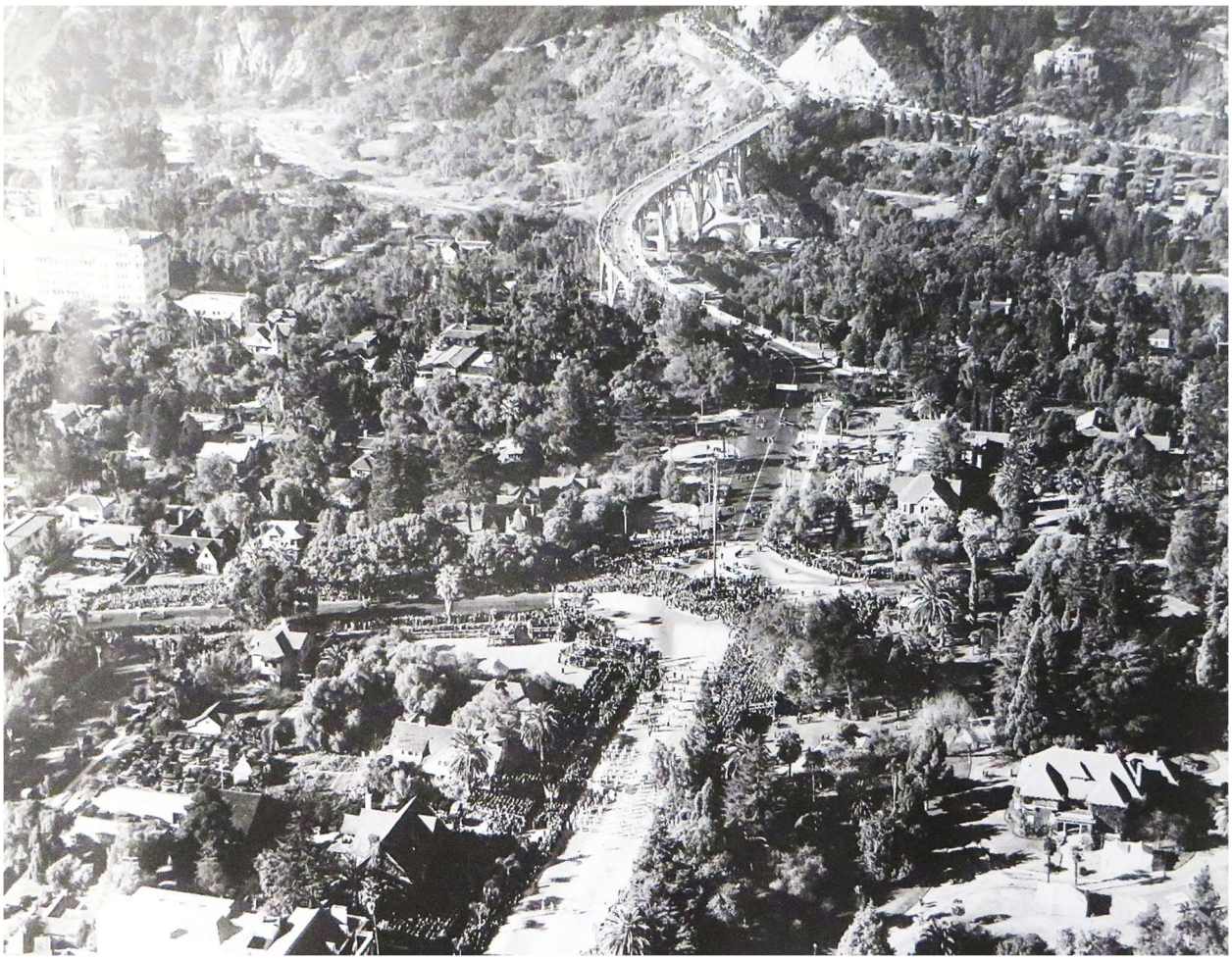

Figure 153. *Intersection of Colorado and Orange Grove, New Year's Day 1935. Crowds line roads to watch the Rose Parade. Carmelita Park is in the lower right. This was the first year for grandstands along the Carmelita Park frontage on Colorado Boulevard. The grandstands helped pay off the property's debts and preserved it for use as an art museum. Note the Pasadena Memorial Flagpole at this time was in the center of the intersection. ("Colorado and Orange Grove," Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, C12-127)*

The strongest visual metaphor for this transition became the new Colorado Freeway bridge across the Arroyo. The City signed a freeway agreement with Caltrans in 1947 with assurances from the state highway engineer that the department would spare Carmelita Park from

demolition ("City Approves Highway Pact" 1947). Five years later this proved to be a false promise.

> Once serene Carmelita Park is echoing with the thunderous roar of mighty earth-moving vehicles as construction men rush to complete the eastern approach to the new Colorado Freeway Bridge before New Year's Day.
>
> ***
>
> Scores of onlookers line the ever-deepening cut daily to watch progress on the new six-lane highway which will pass under Orange Grove Ave. just north of Colorado St. When completed, the highway and bridge will be the first link in a new east-west freeway which will bypass Pasadena's heavily-traveled main business section ("Park Being Destroyed for Freeway Approach" 1952).

Once the bulldozers were done, pedestrians on Orange Grove Avenue, who once walked past Jeanne Carr's hedgerow of Mexican lime and pepper trees, looked down on six lanes of freeway traffic. In the same way that a skyscraper towering over a cathedral illustrates the shift in consciousness from spirituality to commerce, the new freeway span running parallel to the graceful and iconic Colorado Street Bridge symbolized the passing of one economic story and the rise of another.



Figure 154. *Pioneer Freeway Bridge (left) and the Colorado Street Bridge (right). The two bridges represent the transition from an economy based on aesthetics and tourism to one based on corporate mobility. The Vista del Arroyo hotel on bluff served as an Army hospital before becoming a courthouse for the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals ("Colorado Street Bridge and 134 Freeway Bridge" n.d. Courtesy of the Archives. Pasadena Museum of History, C12-38, oversize)*

Notably, civic investment in public spaces was not part of the strategy. The City transformed the garden landscape of Carmelita into a pitch-n'-putt golf course in 1941 as a way to maintain the grounds of what many felt had become an eyesore ("City-Owned Pitch, Putt Golf Course Proposed for Carmelita Gardens" 1941). And in 1945 the city rejected an offer to buy the 12-acres of gardens behind Busch's sea-wall for $125,000, preferring a subdivision that would generate tax revenue over an expansion of the Arroyo's parkland (Logan 2020). Four years later, when this parcel went to auction, the winning bid was only $66,000 and came from a White man

backed by an African American real estate company ("Famous Busch Gardens Bring $66,000 at Sale" 1949). The sale not only breached the neighborhood's color line but would have given African Americans ownership of land central to the imaginary of Pasadena's White population. A few days after the auction, the syndicate selling the land refused the offer saying it was too low, only to re-sell the land a few months later ("Busch Gardens Bid of $66,000 Turned Down" 1949; "Busch Gardens Survey Made" 1949). Unwilling to step in, the City saw the land as a potential drain on their budget and ignored pleas from neighbors to secure the great lawn and gardens for public use ("Sale May Aid Park in Busch Gardens" 1949). The larger Arroyo as well suffered from neglect, the City closing the Brookside Plunge for five years after losing the case that forced them to desegregate the pool (Shorr 2002).[107]

The City's plan, for the most part, delivered on its desired outcomes (Nicolaides 2024). Financial firms located on South Lake Avenue; shopping districts grew on Lake Avenue and in the Hastings Ranch neighborhood. A pharmaceutical company and Avon cosmetics matched the City's criteria for "clean industries" and found space in East Pasadena (Scheid Lund 1999). And in 1974, Parsons, a global engineering firm specializing in defense contracts and municipal infrastructure, built its headquarters next to the massive, multi-level interchange of the 134, 210, and 710 freeways. The City's strategy was essentially an early example of placemaking, using the on- and offramps and the area's cultural amenities as inducements to corporations and their workers instead of the parks, performances, and colorful murals that placemakers might utilize today.

Unstated was that in order for the plan to work, the City needed real estate both for the freeways and for the commercial developments they were relying upon to bring tax revenue into

[107] Many believe that as more people of color began to use Brookside, the City gave the park less attention (see chapter 5).

the City. Central to the previous era's economy, real estate was again fundamental to generating wealth. To meet this need, city leaders aggressively went after the land where Pasadena's communities of color had built up their own measure of wealth and prosperity and woven together a strong social fabric. The freeway interchange by itself forced the relocation of three churches and the African American business community on Vernon Avenue. The freeway created a hard boundary between a predominantly White population south of the freeway and poorer communities of color to the north. The Pasadena Realty Board, which had orchestrated racial covenants and redlining for four decades, worked with Caltrans to determine compensation levels for those who lost their properties, with the designation of freeway or redevelopment areas immediately lowering property values ("First Appraisals Near Completion on Freeway Route" 1964). Because of redlining, displaced residents and businesses could only move to certain areas in the city, frustrating many, who decided to leave Pasadena for good, which many felt was also part of the plan (Wheeldin 1998).

Besides real estate, the City also depended state and federal agencies to finance the freeway and redevelopment. But this meant ceding much of the decision-making to state and federal agencies. The City Board of Directors, for example, lobbied Caltrans to move the route for the 710 or Long Beach Freeway further away from the affluent homes of West Pasadena and closer to Fair Oaks Avenue where it hoped to create a long corridor of factory and shipping facilities (Birkinshaw 1965). But with South Pasadena advocating for a western route that would run up the Arroyo's canyon, Caltrans decided to stick to its "green route" along Pasadena Avenue. Around the same time, the Board protested the expansion of the Colorado Freeway bridge to eight lanes, saying it amounted to a "desecration" of the city's western gateway ("Freeway Plans Called Detrimental to West Entrance to Pasadena" 1966). The fate of the

western gateway, however, was already under the sway of the federal government, which had taken over the old Vista del Arroyo hotel during World War II and converted the resort and bungalows at the Arroyo's edge into a military hospital and then into offices for an array of federal agencies. In 1958, the government proposed turning it into an army induction center. Envisioning buses bringing recruits in and out of the area, a handful of neighbors protested to the City. When local officials said they couldn't fight the federal government, the neighbors organized and made themselves enough of a nuisance that the Army decided to retreat from its plans (King n.d.).

This battle became the inciting incident that led to the formation of the West Pasadena Residents Association. Their next fight was against the City's proposal for high-rise apartments along Orange Grove, beginning with two 15-story projects on either side of new freeway bridge, one set diagonally across from Carmelita and the Defender's flagpole. The City's Board of Directors had already granted the necessary zoning variance, when the Association was able to make the high-rise proposal subject to a referendum. High-rise apartments were part of the City's redevelopment plan. The City had finally run-out of buildable land, and many thought answer was to build toward the sky. The group Pasadena Forward, who favored the high-rises, used the slogan "Nowhere to go but up" in their campaign, and they won the support of the Chamber of Commerce, the Pasadena Realty Board, local labor unions, the Women's Club, and the *Pasadena Star-News*, who editorialized about the project's potential to revive the West Colorado business district and boost tax revenue for the city ("Pasadenans to Vote on High Rise Tuesday" 1961; "High-Rise: Yes or No?" 1961). In response WPRA waged a grassroots campaign in November of 1961, using the slogan, "Vote YES on NO for high-rise." They worked hard to rally voters to protect Orange Grove, which they saw as a scenic asset down on its luck

(King n.d.). The anti-high-rise coalition highlighted the importance of the intersection at Colorado and Orange Grove to the Rose Parade and the fact that for millions it would be the only part of Pasadena they'll ever see. Resident Mary Fonda put it plainly in her letter to the *Star-News*, saying the Board of Directors, "want to turn our New Year's Parade into a ticker tape Broadway production, with bodies hanging out the windows of the high-rise apartments." She continued, "We are about to lose a billion-dollar view -- all because out-of-town speculators want to take advantage of everyone else's view too" ("Reader's Forum: High-Rise Issue" 1961). WPRA won a surprise 56 percent to 44 percent victory and established itself as a new political force within the city, ready to question policies on transportation, housing, and redevelopment. Richard Jencks, chairman of the WPRA campaign and a soon-to-be-elected member of the Board of Directors himself, said, "This is only the beginning of greater and more effective participation by Pasadena citizens in the governmental affairs of the city" ("High-Rise Issue Beaten at Polls" 1961)

It is difficult to read Jencks' call for greater participation in governmental affairs without thinking about the decades-long struggle by the Pasadena NAACP and others to break down racial segregation in housing, employment, and education. One of the reasons for WPRA's victory was that African American voters battling Pasadena's other high-profile redevelopment project supported WPRA's position in large numbers ("High-Rise Issue Beaten at Polls" 1961). This was the Pepper Project, the clearing of several blocks of mostly owner-occupied homes and businesses with the goal of bringing White wealth into Northwest Pasadena.[108] The alignment

[108] The Pepper Project was explicitly racist in its conception and bungled in its execution, with almost ten years going by between its designation as a redevelopment zone and groundbreaking. By the time the city finished the project, White families had no interest in living in Northwest Pasadena, displaced African American families and businesses had scattered, and the poor families that moved into the development had no neighborhood ties, helping to make it entry point for crime and violence that Northwest Pasadena continues to grapple with (Nicolaides 2024; Pincetl 1992).

between WPRA and the African American organizations fighting the Pepper Project fits with the growing strength a multiracial political coalition that over the next two decades would support the court-ordered desegregation of the public schools and eventually replace the city's conservative leadership (Nicolaides 2024; Pincetl 1992). One participant in the school desegregation fight was Ted Tyler, perhaps influenced by his experience learning to read in the Barber's bungalow at all-White Arroyo Seco Elementary (Tyler 2002).

The branch of this coalition focused on historic preservation played a role in curbing the economic narrative centered on freeways and redevelopment. The message of historic preservation appealed to a set of well-connected young parents that had recently moved to the city, many of whom lived in the Lower Arroyo neighborhood. There was also a set of older people nostalgic for a bygone era.[109] Together, they founded Pasadena Heritage in 1977 and helped move the City off its plans to build "Tech Square," a phalanx of proposed corporate office buildings south of Colorado Boulevard ("Pasadena Studying Proposed Plan for Redevelopment Area" 1964). Instead, they turned the City's attention to refurbishing Old Pasadena's storefronts into a shopping and entertainment district, a switch that ironically fulfilled the City's original economic development goals, with Old Pasadena becoming a regional commercial hotspot and one of the largest contributors to the City's tax base. Pasadena Heritage also opposed the National Football League's use of the Rose Bowl, which arguably marked the last attempt to attract corporate wealth based on the city's freeway links (DiMassa 2004). The rejection of this scenario, which occurred not once but twice, involved fears of sacrificing the area's public space

[109] Personal interview, Claire Bogaard, 3/17/2023

for the dollars of rowdy football fans but was also about transforming an historic structure into an overtly commercial sports venue (Farmer 2015; Ruiz 2006).[110]

From the transformation of Millionaire's Row to the battle against high-rise apartments and the NFL to redevelopment of Old Pasadena, the Lower Arroyo neighborhood has been in the thick of shaping Pasadena's post-war economic storyline. It stands to reason that its landscape themes of boundary maintenance, private-public spaces, and tapping of unconscious fears and desires would influence the city's search for wealth in the 21st century.

Mining the frontiers of knowledge

The two most recent economic development plans for the City of Pasadena, from 2012 and 2024, shift Pasadena's search for "clean industries" toward knowledge-based enterprises. Seeking to leverage the presence of Caltech and the Art Center College of Design, there is a greater emphasis on supporting start-ups in the technology and engineering sectors than attracting large, well-established corporations (City of Pasadena 2012; Streetsense 2024). Venture capital now seems to be the target rather than the private capital of the mansioneers or the corporate capital of firms like Parsons, which after fifty years is now relocating its offices and selling off its land next to the freeway. The plans are in some ways an unintentional homage to Batchelder's vision of an economy focused on design and artisanship, though lacking in the ethics of the arts-and-crafts movement that gave Batchelder's vision a moral compass. Both

[110] Pasadena voters rejected making the Rose Bowl the permanent home for an NFL team in November 2006 and the Rose Bowl ended its bid to serve as a temporary NFL venue in July of 2015 after staunch community opposition. Initial proposals to attract an NFL team included doubling the size of the stadium, building a 2000-space underground parking garage in the middle of the Arroyo's floodplain, and two 4-level towers with 200 luxury suites (DiMassa 2004; Farmer 2003). Most don't know that the Los Angeles Dodgers almost used the Rose Bowl as their temporary home between 1958 and 1962. Dodger owner Walter O'Malley eventually chose to play in the Los Angeles Coliseum while waiting for the completion of Dodger Stadium in Chavez Ravine. The negotiations with Pasadena might have been a ploy to get a better deal from the Coliseum, but debates at the time about neighborhood disruption and traffic mirror those fifty years later about a potential NFL team making the Rose Bowl home (Finch 1957)

plans point again to the essential role of real estate in the generation of wealth. The "Tech Square" plan of the 1960s has become a "tech campus," potentially located somewhere in central Pasadena, where start-ups and university researchers can prototype discoveries and ready them for production. The 2024 plan, perhaps seeking to integrate creative placemaking into its portfolio of strategies, makes a nod toward embedding public space for community gatherings into revitalized neighborhood shopping districts (Streetsense 2024). Since taking large swaths of land for redevelopment is no longer an option, the plans discuss repurposing existing real estate by turning vacant office space into biotech labs, fabrication hangars, and computing centers or converting ground-floor retail space into apartments to address the area's affordable housing crunch (Streetsense 2024). The one piece of open land for the city to play with is the 50-acre parcel that forms the connector to the now-defunct 710 freeway. This parcel sits between Old Pasadena and Orange Grove Avenue, which once again gives the Lower Arroyo neighborhood an important stake in the city's economic story.

The debate about the future of the 710 "ditch" should take note of the past. As WPRA and the Lower Arroyo neighborhood articulates its interests and desires around the 710, it would be wise to embrace an economic vision that generates jobs and lower costs for neighborhoods beyond its own boundaries. While ultimately successful, the 1989 campaign by historical preservationists and environmentalists to implement growth control measures across the city provides a cautionary tale. The coalition pushing the measures called itself PRIDE, standing for Pasadena Residents in Defense of our Environment, and according to land-use scholar Stephanie Pincetl, consisted of "historic preservationists, left progressives (long active in civil rights battles in the city), environmentalists, and affluent homeowners," (Pincetl 1992, 453). While the coalition was mostly White, middle- and upper-middle class, its roots to the interracial effort to

desegregate Pasadena's schools. The effort, however, generated opposition and lawsuits not only by the Chamber of Commerce but also by African American organizations in Northwest Pasadena, who argued it would slow construction of affordable housing and curtail employment opportunities (Pincetl 1992). Regardless of PRIDE's liberal leanings, its campaign coincided with a wider slow-growth movement at the time that deployed zoning and land-use regulations to keep people of color, immigrants, and working-class residents from moving into White suburban neighborhoods across Southern California (Nicolaides 2024). Looking back, it is hard to know whether the battle against high-rises in the West Pasadena was driven by the practical issues of traffic and parking, design issues about the height of buildings and neighborhood aesthetics, or a desire to keep people of color, who might live in small, cramped apartments, off of Orange Grove. Even though Northwest Pasadena supported the anti-high-rise campaign, all of these motives might have been present in the anti-high-rise campaign. Bulldozers didn't begin clearing homes for the Pepper Project until 1966, giving five years for West Pasadena residents who organized the referendum against high-rises on Orange Grove to help Northwest Pasadena force a similar referendum on the Pepper Project, redirect the energies of the Pasadena Redevelopment Agency, or abolish the agency altogether. Pincetl (1992) notes that an interracial coalition did fight against the Pepper Project, but was ultimately unsuccessful. Given Pasadena's long history housing discrimination and displacement, PRIDE's campaign almost three decades later would have benefited from greater collaboration with African American leaders in framing the issues at play. Pincetl (1992) reports that PRIDE decided to forego concerted outreach to communities of color because they had limited resources and didn't expect high turnout in Northwest Pasadena. African American leaders felt slighted, creating an opening for Pasadena's pro-growth regime, who felt their power slipping and needed allies to keep the development dollars flowing.



Figure 155. *Aerial photo looking north along the 710 "ditch" in the early 1970s. The tower in the upper right is Parsons Engineering next to the large freeway interchange. In the upper left is the Arroyo and the Rose Bowl ("Calif. Project" ca1970s. Courtesy of the Pasadena Public Library, Pasadena, California.)*

The raw feelings within Pasadena's African American community had roots in the freeway battle. The activism and energy for historic preservation flowing from West Pasadena came a decade too late to block the bulldozers from wiping away generations of wealth-building by Pasadena's communities of color (Giordani 1996). Construction of the 201/134/710 interchange began in 1976, the year before Pasadena Heritage incorporated as a non-profit ("A Long Road: A timeline of the 710 Freeway Project" 1999). WPRA did become a key player in the 50-year struggle to stop completion of the 710. They fought off a renewed attempt to run the freeway up the Arroyo's canyon and helped to preserve part of the neighborhood along Pasadena

Avenue (Seidenbaum 1976). But the ditch physically separated the Lower Arroyo area from the rest of the city, and the displacement of communities of color that lived east of Orange Grove Avenue fundamentally changed the socioeconomic profile WPRA's catchment area, making the area both more White and more affluent.[111] And as more and more Lower Arroyo families opted out of the public school system, old patterns of privatism reasserted themselves, the interracial coalition frayed, and completion of the 710 turned into a wedge issue (Nicolaides 2024). During a 2001 referendum on completion of the 710, voters in Northwest Pasadena mostly favored the freeway, saying it would provide easier access to working-class jobs in downtown Los Angeles and the ports ("Signature Gathering Begins for 710 Freeway Ballot Measure" 2000). Others felt that, regardless of the merits, it was unfair that White, affluent communities were able to stop Caltrans while their own protests failed to gain a hearing (Giordani 1996). A similar dynamic developed around the question of bringing the NFL to the Rose Bowl, with the leader of the NAACP arguing against historic preservationists and westside neighbors, saying the NFL would bring jobs that would benefit Northwest Pasadena and the city as a whole (DiMassa 2004).

Looking forward, this history provides the subtext for the current debate over how to use the 50-acres of the abandoned 710 freeway. Should it accommodate affordable housing, provide lab space for tech start-ups, storefronts for small businesses from Northwest Pasadena, or be a venue for community gatherings? Even if it can serve all these purposes, which should be the priority? Answers to these questions will come most easily if a broad and diverse coalition can come together around a larger narrative about how to create a prosperity that's both shared and sustainable. The final section of this essay outlines lessons from all this storytelling and some places to start piecing together this narrative for the future.

[111] The Black population in the census tract covering the Lower Arroyo has never recovered from freeway displacement, going from 20 percent in 1950 to 5 percent today.



Figure 156. *Aerial rendering of current 710 ditch and what it could look like once filled in. (Moule & Polyzoides 2016)*

Toward a commonwealth

Similar to the intersection of Colorado and Orange Grove Boulevards, Desiderio Park is a location that holds tension. Sitting on a natural terrace above the stream and beneath the spot where the 1913 Colorado Street bridge meets the eastern rim of the Arroyo, the city opened the four-acre park in 2019 after more than a decade of planning and controversy. The small parking lot under the bridge's lofty arches backs up on a tall black chain link fence separating the park from a gated community of luxury condominiums piled onto the slope. Families will typically proceed from their car past a restroom with a Craftsman bungalow design to a small playground with the old Vista del Arroyo Hotel towering above them. A concrete path moves past the other side of the bathroom along a dry cobble streambed that routes any storm runoff toward the Arroyo. Native plants and young oaks and sycamores line the creek feature. On the other bank a wooden fence surrounds a courtyard of nine Craftsman bungalows Habitat for Humanity constructed in 2018. Separating the carefully designed park from the winding two lanes of South Arroyo Boulevard is a broad open expanse of bare ground around the base of the bridge's concrete arches. This empty ground feels anomalous and unsettling. The decision to leave an empty space here might be to allow visibility into park and promote public safety; or it could be a way to reduce maintenance or simply be due to a lack of funding. Regardless, it allows sunlight to wash over the park most afternoons providing a sense to its visitors that is both stark and clean. From the park, you can look across South Arroyo Boulevard at the tops of trees rooted next to the Arroyo stream as this is one of only two sections of the Arroyo below Devil's Gate Dam where the River is free of its concrete channel. A bit farther on, the cars speeding across the 1953 Colorado Freeway bridge creates a wall of sound that reminds one of waves at the beach and clashes with the variety of birdsong coming from the creek. The sound keeps one from doing

what one should at such a promontory -- settle in and absorb the scene. This, despite the consistent cool breeze that flows up the canyon and blows through the old bridge's grand arches. The arches themselves feel like portals to another world, as if you could walk underneath them into another time. And then you remember the people who have jumped from the bridge, and the bracing experience of space and light and sound in the park somehow makes sense, and the arches enter your consciousness in a new way. You turn around and look up at the Arroyo's bluff and see the Art Deco tower of the old hotel reaching to the sky above the building's two wings, making it took like an altar. If nothing else, the park serves as a powerful gateway to the Lower Arroyo.

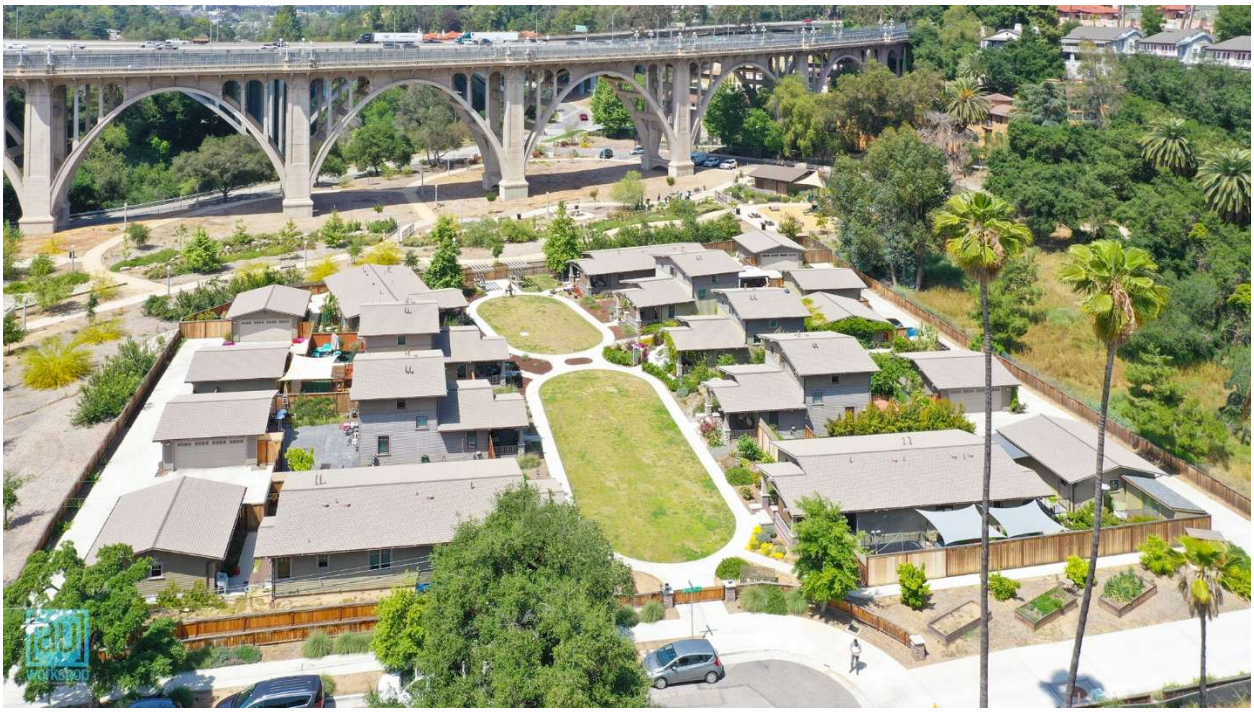

Figure 157. *An overview of Desiderio Park. On a terrace above the Lower Arroyo and below the Colorado Street Bridge, the Habitat for Humanity bungalow court sits in the foreground backed by the stormwater stream feature. The Grand Vista Partners condominiums are behind trees on the right. Note the broad, empty space under the bridge. ([au]workshop 2025)*

The park also represents the confluence of issue and controversies that have disturbed the neighborhood for decades and invokes each of the recurring themes from the area's past. The

theme of boundary maintenance is present in the gated nature of the condominium development on the hillside. Resembling a miniature fortress village you one might find in Old Europe, the forty-five condos grew from a desire to preserve a handful of historic bungalows along the Arroyo's rim that Hollywood stars and other wealthy elites built on the hotel grounds in the 1920s and 1930s. By the late '90s, however, they had become a refuge for the unhoused and a target for vandals and arson (Faught 2001). One plan to build senior housing on the site fell apart because the developers decided they could not save the bungalows (Williams 1999). Another coalition wanted to refurbish the structures to house nonprofit organizations ("Coalition plans to save bungalows" 1999). Instead, Grand Vista Partners, a local real estate firm, agreed to save the bungalows in exchange for permission to build luxury units down to the terrace under the bridge (Lee 2001b). Except for a handful environmentalists who noted a lost opportunity to preserve wildlife habitat, most, including WPRA and Pasadena Heritage welcomed the project (Lee 2001a). The City required six of the units to be affordable to moderate income individuals, though the lowest price reported in the paper was $1.35 million and at least nine units sold for $6 million in 2010 (Beresford 2010; Scott 2006). As a boundary, the vaulted chain link that separates the development from Desiderio Park is certainly the opposite of the Jeanne Carr's hedgerows of Mexican lime and Monterey cypress.

Prior to becoming a City park, the park was the Captain Reginald B. Desiderio U.S. Army Reserve Center. It was the Department of Defense's decision to divest from the property in 2007 that prompted a fierce debate about fate of this somewhat private-public space (Williams 2007b). The City sought for many months to combine the two proposals with the most community support -- The Arroyo Center for Art & the Environment, which would re-purpose buildings on the site, and San Gabriel Valley Habitat for Humanity's combination of a bungalow

courtyard and neighborhood park (Williams 2007a). Different visions and priorities made these plans irreconcilable, and the City decided that building some truly affordable housing was the priority. But the debate on the purpose of such a public space also raised the question about the degree to which the decision belonged to the entire city or to Lower Arroyo residents alone (Gold 2014).

This became especially important around whether the park should include a bathroom. Many neighbors imagined the bathroom as a hideout for the unhoused or a place to shoot-up drugs and feared these people posed a threat to their homes and families. In response to overflow crowds cheering and jeering at City Council meetings, officials moved the precise location of the $700,000 bathroom with a Craftsman exterior three times without satisfying the opposition (Lindahl 2018a; Lindhal 2018b). Some councilors made the point that having a bathroom would be more welcoming for families from other parts of the city who couldn't simply run home to empty their bladders (Gold 2014). In the end, it took the Mayor to cast the deciding vote to move the project forward and avoid sending the entire plan back to the drawing board (Lindahl 2018b). As with Busch Gardens, the Brookside Plunge, and Arroyo Seco School, the decisions surrounding Desiderio Park surfaced many unconscious fears and desires



Figure 158. *The Desiderio Park Craftsman bathroom. City staff moved the location of the bathroom three times to satisfy protesting neighbors.*

Finally, it's also possible from the park to see signs of all three eras of Pasadena's economy on display. The old hotel on the bluff comes from a time when Pasadena sold itself as a resort town catering to the wealthy families from the rest of the country. The two bridges across the Arroyo mark the transition to Pasadena as a hub for corporate commerce premised upon freeways and redevelopment. In the 21st century, Pasadena has become one of the most unequal cities in California with its primary economic issue the lack of affordable housing (Dreier and Maier 2014). The contrast of luxury condominiums towering above the Habitat for Humanity bungalows puts this inequality on display.

Understanding the narrative patterns within a neighborhood can help one to not only draw more meaning for the current landscape but ask questions and envision possibilities that point toward a more sustainable and just future. For example, a world of hard boundaries is one that promotes stories of us versus them, of battles between good and evil, and within the medieval aesthetic so prevalent in the Lower Arroyo, one of noble knights defending castles from fire-breathing dragons. These narratives belong to the romance tradition; they promote unity and motivate collective effort toward righteous causes. They have their uses. But I would argue going scorched earth over a bathroom is not one of them.

The genre of romance does not lead to reconciliation. For this, tragedy and satire are more useful. Many of the neighbors objected to putting a public park on the Desiderio site because they said it would become a landing spot for jumpers from the bridge above. But erasing the park would not diminish the personal tragedy of these events nor the collective tragedy of emptiness and isolation that drive people to such ends. Tragedy is part of the landscape of the Lower Arroyo. Native artifacts remind one of Gabrieleno/Tongva dispossession and enslavement. The destruction of the living stream and native habitat is tragic as well. The power in literary tragedy comes from the sympathy it generates for the suffering of others and the reminder of the enduring value of humility. The Lower Arroyo was the home for the kings of industry, such as Adolphus Busch and Thaddeus Lowe, individuals who had the power, ambition, and drive to strive far above even their station. But the Lower Arroyo also had farmers and artists, plumber and craftsmen, simply seeking a safe and comfortable home for their families. It also had individuals like Helen Brown Thompson, Ted Tyler, and Ernest Batchelder, who saw common cause in the struggles of others and took pleasure in sharing common purpose. Suicides from the bridge peaked during the Great Depression within sight of the Vista del Arroyo resort

where the rich and famous enjoyed swimming pools and played tennis. The contrast is jarring but not dissimilar to the inequities of today. Can past tragedies within the neighborhood point us to an economic narrative that allows everyone to feel connected and cared for, that allows for an adequate investment in mental health?

The path to humility also runs through satire. And for this, the Lower Arroyo has the Pasadena Martini Society. Dianne Philibosian and Tom Seifert, longtime residents on South Arroyo Boulevard, told me it started in 2004 with an evening of martinis at the home of Cynthia Kurtz and Jim McDermott and the gift of etched glasses labeled, "Pasadena Martini Society." That followed with a Christmas gift of a red wagon from Kurtz and McDermott with the idea it would become a kind of neighborhood cocktail cart that would facilitate kibbitzing on people's porches and lawns. From there it became a vehicle for some homespun satire on West Pasadena's elite reputation. Philibosian explained:

> And it grew and people kept hosting a party and inviting more people until we had about 50 people and people started to have more extensive parties with food in their homes or up at the Valley Hunt Club. And then it was written up in the Outlook. It really started as a joke and is an absolutely spontaneous happening with no rules or organization. When Bill Bogaard retired from being Mayor, we presented him with the "Order of the Olive." Someone once asked me if they could be invited to a martini party, and I said, "I don't know. I have to ask the "Grand Shaker," who is Jim McDermot. [Laughter] So, that is our spoof on status. - 8/17/22

Building from this homegrown satire, a dramaturgical question might be how to let the rest of the city in on the joke. Writing about narrative and political discourse, sociologists Ron Jacobs and Philip Smith (1997), argue that a healthy public discourse requires irony and self-deprecation to leaven righteous policy debates that adhere too closely to the romance tradition. The source of this irony within the courts of medieval kings was the jester or fool, a trickster and truthteller adept at taking the minority opinion. One dramaturgical task for the Lower Arroyo would be to

identify people (or animals) who could play this role. Such a character could move the Lower Arroyo's primary narrative affiliation from medieval romance to that of a green-world comedy such as Shakespeare's *As You Like It* or a shipwrecked comedy, such as *The Tempest*, that as Northrup Frye says, contains tragedy rather than banishing it to the outer realms (Frye 1957). In these stories, the Arroyo's canyon would be the green wood where magical transformations occur and nature's spirits conspire to bring forth restorative justice.

For a powerful organization like WPRA, the question that flows from humility is not "What can we do?" or even "How can we serve?" but rather "What can we learn from other neighborhoods in the city?" Humility can move an individual or group away from *noblesse oblige* toward shared discovery and partnership. A question this analysis suggests when confronting issues such as affordable housing or management of the Arroyo is how the neighborhood can be expansive rather than defensive in its approach. Rather than a private imagination that turns in on itself, the task would be to find ways to dream together with other neighborhoods on matters such as the future of the 710 ditch. For example, WPRA has helped San Rafael Elementary school remain open amid repeated threats of closure, this despite the fact that most parents in the neighborhood send their children to private school. The group's continued involvement with the district is laudable. But if WPRA helped San Rafael partner with another elementary school in Northwest Pasadena so that both schools could rise together, the resulting relationships and shared discoveries could serve as a multiplier for WPRA's efforts.

I also heard this expansive intention from Tom Siefert in discussing the composition of the WPRA board.

> From the WPRA standpoint, and this is universal, we need to engage our younger members. We need to engage the younger part of the population. When I was on the board, it was clear it was graying out. We've been too long getting people who are specialists and have paid their dues in history or science or whatever it may be

> to qualify to be on the board. Another guy I had been talking with about coming on the board and he said that WPRA should focus on people who might not be an expert in this field or that but that bring a fresh attitude and a new perspective. And I think that's true. We're an evolving society and we need to keep young and we need to keep vibrant. - 8/17/22

A study of census data confirms that the area is changing. In 2010, just shy 40 percent of respondents for the census tracts south of Colorado between the Arroyo and Fair Oaks Avenue said they'd moved within the past year. For 2020, this number dropped to 10 percent, but this is still twice the number of any other area in the western part of the city. To go along with this large degree of turnover, the area has become more racially diverse. In 1960, prior to freeway construction, 82 percent of respondents identified as white. In 1980, after freeway construction, this percentage rose to 92 percent. In 2020, this percentage had fallen to 58 percent, with almost a quarter of respondents identifying as Asian, Asian American, or Pacific Islander and 12 percent identifying as having a mixed racial heritage. In terms of its housing profile, the area tracks much more closely with Central Pasadena than neighborhoods with comparable levels of affluence, such as San Rafael or Linda Vista. For example, in 1960, only 4 percent of buildings in the area contained ten or more housing units. In 2020, this number was 44 percent. Owners occupy only 35 percent of the area's housing units and only 40 percent of housing units are single-family homes. The integration of renters into WPRA leadership might be one way to provide the fresh perspective that Tom sees as beneficial. While some of the area's renters live in the garden-apartments and in the recent Westgate Pasadena development along Orange Grove, many live east of the 710 ditch, making reintegration of this area into the neighborhood an important means of unifying the community.

In terms of housing and questions about increasing density in the neighborhood, there are more people living the Lower Arroyo's census tracts than ever before. A population drop of 26

percent between 1960 and 2000 has made the 46 percent jump over the last 20 years seem that much greater. Seifert and Philibosian spoke about discussions on affordable housing they have hosted at their home along the Arroyo. Philibosian shared her sense of the neighbors' concerns:

> We're all kind of attached to our nostalgic experiences of coming home from school to our home in a neighborhood. And so, I think that's an important part here. We want to have that feeling that we're coming home to a familiar place. And if it changes with so much overdevelopment and density, then it is no longer that familiar, comfortable place for us. – 8/17/22

This same sentiment was the motivation for fighting the city's high-rise apartment plan for South Orange Grove over sixty years ago. Density did increase along the avenue but with a height restriction that preserved the sense of familiarity for neighborhood residents. This suggests that perhaps the issue is more one of design rather than density. In his oral history Ted Tyler talked about Morton Court, a collection of small bungalows built around a courtyard just off of Bellefontaine Street (Tyler 2002). This pocket of density fits so well into the neighborhood today it is almost invisible. These are humble homes, but charming, with historic links not to Millionaire's Row but to the artists, contractors, and Craftsman who gave the downhill community its start. Habitat for Humanity adopted this same bungalow court design for their Desiderio Homes, albeit on a slight larger scale. Seifert and Philibosian told me that the homes and the families have fit comfortably within the neighborhood. Thoughtful design, executed with humility, can perhaps get all parties to yes when it comes time to plan the housing for both the 710 ditch and for the corridor of Caltrans properties that runs to border with South Pasadena. Bungalow courts with a common greenspace can also facilitate management structures like housing cooperatives and community land trusts that prioritize stability over speculation when it comes to real estate. This might be especially useful for Caltrans properties that run south through South Pasadena and into the El Sereno neighborhood of Los Angeles.



Figure 159. *The collection of small homes that form Morton Court. The design for these houses could be a model for integrating additional housing into the Lower Arroyo.*

In terms of the city's economic future, an expansive vision grounded in humility could shift the narrative from one of generating or attracting private wealth to one that invests in the commonwealth of the entire community. Commonwealth means "common well-being" and putting this as the benchmark for Pasadena's economy rather than property values would be transformational and would harken back to the original intentions of the Indiana Colony, which most viewed as a cooperative venture (Chapin 1929; Saavedra 2018; Scheid Lund 1999). The problem with relying on private wealth to trickle down, especially the wealth coming from the tech sector, is that it is eminently portable and susceptible to the offers of other communities using the same strategy. By contrast, a commonwealth strategy invests in place-based sectors that improve the quality of life for local residents.

One such sector that is especially relevant for the Lower Arroyo is health care. The city's hospital has been on the eastern edge of the Lower Arroyo neighborhood for over a century. In first half of the 20th century, the hospital would not allow African American doctors to treat patients in its wards (Williams 2001). But today, Huntington is a hospital for everyone and drives the city's economy (City of Pasadena 2012). The narrative thread of health and healing also has a strong presence in the neighborhood's past. Dr. Thomas Elliot, the leader of the Indiana colony that became Pasadena, tended Union soldiers during the Civil War and owned the land where the Vista del Arroyo now stands ("Old Landmark to Make Way for Hotel" 1930). Ms. Emma Bangs began the hotel as a boarding house and her first customers were individuals suffering from tuberculosis, hoping Pasadena's mild climate could cure them (Hudson 1985). The hotel itself served as a military hospital during World War II, taking in soldiers from the Pacific theater recovering from wounds, both physical and emotional. At the same time, the old Reed Mansion at Carmelita became the Pasadena Red Cross Production Center, with nurses devoting the first floor to knitting and assembling surgical dressings and the second floor to garment cutting and sewing (Johnson 1941). Women volunteers worked from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m. five days a week and until 9 p.m. on Mondays. It was not a small operation. In 1943, the *Los Angeles Times* reported a call for volunteers:

> The Pasadena Red Cross center at Carmelita Gardens is crying for more workers in surgical dressings, sewing and knitting departments. Next month's Pasadena quota from the Army is 368,880 dressings.
>
> ***
>
> Mrs. Chester Erickson, chairman of production for the Pasadena Red Cross chapter, asks those with daytime leisure to lend assistance to a worthy cause. One day, she said, the sewing department at Carmelita, which occupies a room running the length of the building, had only one loyal worker. (Parker 1943)



Figure 160. *Red Cross volunteers move into wartime headquarters at Carmelita. (Johnson 1941)*

The dressings from the center would go to cover wounds of soldiers all around the world. But it is impossible for me to read this and not think about the wounds closer to home, wounds opened by stories that separate and draw boundaries based on race, class, social status, or even the sharp boundaries settlers drew between wild nature and civilization. The wounds I speak of extend to the more-than-human world. The oak woodland that covered much of the Lower Arroyo neighborhood was itself a nursery. The oak tree being one of those rare species that, like humans, is able to alter its environment to promote its own survival. The canopy and duff produced by mature trees create a perfect environment for young trees to grow and perpetuate the woodland, which itself is a tapestry of ecological relationships. The settler's axe and plow tore into this tapestry and created a food desert for local wildlife that often found itself running for their lives.

The naturalist Charles Frederick Holder, one of the founders of the Valley Hunt Club and the person widely credited with the idea for the Tournament of Roses, wrote several gleeful books detailing the terror unleashed upon wildlife by the Club's hunting parties. Holder's essays recount his frenzied hounds ripping apart a cornered bobcat, red fox, or coyote that the hunters would skin so a lady in the party could have something to wear around her neck and show off on the ride home (Holder 1906). The hunting parties left from their clubhouse across from Carmelita, where the 134 freeway now barrels through the Arroyo's bank. The freeways themselves are great gashes across the landscape, with the 710 ditch resembling an open wound in the center of the city.[112] These wounds are the heritage of a genre of stories that overemphasize an us-versus-them mentality, that are defensive rather than expansive.

The Lower Arroyo's landscape makes it easy to take a defensive view of the world, but it also supports stories of healing and wellness. These stories of healing can carry over to the land through regenerative landscaping that uses compost, permaculture, and native plants to bring the land back to life. The water that such landscaping can save and the rain that it can capture helps to lower water bills, which helps everyone's bottom line and builds the commonwealth of the entire community. The Lower Arroyo is central to this story as it can highlight the transition from Carmelita to Busch Gardens to Arlington Garden, which is a model of the type of residential landscaping we need across Southern California, one that approaches the land with humility and reciprocity, that works with and through the land's abundance rather than forcing it to conform to a particular, private fantasy. Arlington Garden hopes to create an urban ecology center to teach this form of landscaping, which could serve an integral role in the Unpave Pasadena campaign I propose in chapter 7. There are synergies here as well, such as using land in the 710 corridor for

[112] In discussing the redesign of the 710 ditch at the most recent WPRA annuals meeting, Mayor Gordo deployed this same metaphor and emphasized the need to stitch the community back together (Rivers 2024).

community gardens that grow fresh food for the hospital and that can contribute to community wellness.



Figure 161. *Arlington Garden serves as a demonstration site for regenerative landscaping (Hudson 2016)*

Investment in public spaces, such as community gardens, is an important ingredient in this inclusive and expansive economic story, not just as gathering spaces to enliven shopping districts but as places to see and experience commonwealth in real time. Plazas, pocket parks, public markets, performance spaces – all facilitate shared experience, collaboration, and creative expression. This is why the City must hold a good portion of the 710 ditch as a commons, that its staff supports, and perhaps programs, in partnership with neighborhood associations that collaborate to care for the space as a shared resource. Such a space would be the equivalent of Jeanne Carr's hedgerows, something that softens the boundaries between neighborhoods and allows the diverse lives and lifestyle of the city to intermingle.

The paramount public space in Pasadena, of course, is the Arroyo Seco, and here is where an expansive approach is needed to make this unique open space a commons for which everyone feels a sense of responsibility. Former Mayor Bill Bogaard told me more work is needed.

> One of the feelings that exist in the community is that the Arroyo is an elitist resource that only the neighbors of the Arroyo care about. And so that's one of the issues about funding for the Arroyo. If it's just a playground for the rich, then it's harder to justify from a budget point of view. - 7/21/22

This feeling stems from warnings by the neighbors, who use the Arroyo every day and know it best, that without thoughtful management, there could be a "tragedy of the commons" where the quality of the habitat and physical infrastructure decline. Some see this decline already underway. These warnings generate the feeling that the Lower Arroyo neighbors are trying to shut people out. Charges of elitism when it comes to the Arroyo match a stereotype of West Pasadena that is more than a century old but bears no relationship to the substance of the arguments about the acceptable and appropriate uses in the Lower Arroyo. What has come through in my interviews with Lower Arroyo neighbors is that their sense of the commonwealth includes wildlife and the space necessary to maintain a functioning ecology. Forty years ago, the Cal Poly Pomana graduate students who studied restoration of the Lower Arroyo canyon argued for dividing the canyon into zones for wildlife, passive use, and organized recreational activities (Aultfather et al. 1988). Such a zonation plan could ensure the Lower Arroyo remains true to its original purpose, which is a place where the city gives the more-than-human world the space it needs to thrive. In this way, the Arroyo could become a proving ground for improving urban ecology across the city. Making the native ecology a priority does not preclude helping people take advantage of the unique recreational resources and programs within the Arroyo, either through public subsidies to make them affordable or by providing better transit connections to make them accessible, especially to young people (see chapter 5). The city and groups such as

the One Arroyo Foundation can work to rehabilitate the trails. But programming is fundamental, which would be one of the benefits of the proposed Climate Resilience Environmental Education Center (CRREC) that a coalition of groups are working to advance in Hahamongna.

Within a commonwealth story, the Arroyo would not just be an amenity but a place for young people to learn skills and develop a career in landscape architecture, land management, and ecological research. Currently the city contracts with Outward Bound Adventures (OBA) youth crews to clear brush and do trail work in the Arroyo. The environmental consulting firm 301 Organics recently trained interns from Muir High School in how to transform food waste from the Rose Bowl into compost that could rehabilitate the golf course.[113] The Arroyos and Foothills Conservancy has wildlife cameras throughout the canyon collecting data on wildlife movements and organizing volunteers to care for native habitat. These are all experiences that distribute the care and investment in the Arroyo across the entire community and pass down a commonwealth story to the next generation. These and other initiatives would benefit from the proposed Climate Resilience Environmental Education Center (CREEC) that OBA and a coalition of other groups are proposing for Hahamongna. The city could multiply these opportunities, and raise the water table, if it gave more than passive rhetorical support to removal of the flood control channel and restoration of a living stream between the Colorado Street and the John van de Kamp bridges, as a prelude to perhaps a larger restoration project in the future. Such a project would be the ultimate aim of the Unpave Pasadena campaign I outline in chapter 7 and is a where Lower Arroyo neighbors could be powerful advocates.

[113] The Rose Bowl Operating Company recently ended this innovative program thwarting full implementation and a demonstration of the public benefit and cost savings.



Figure 162. *A crew from Outward Bound Adventures clears brush from the Lower Arroyo (City Pasadena Water and Power Department 2025)*

Conclusion

The Lower Arroyo neighborhood this essay describes runs south of the 210 freeway, from Pasadena Avenue to the Arroyo's flood control channel. A narrative analysis of 140 years of newspaper articles on this area, along with a review of census data, interviews with residents, a profile of the neighborhood's historical ecology, and studied landscape observations suggest three themes or motifs that hold resonance: the drawing and defining of boundaries; conflict over the definition, meaning and purpose of public space; and the Arroyo as a place that fuels people's imagination and taps into unconscious fears and desires. These three elements help to explain the neighborhood's central role in the city's changing approach to generating and channeling wealth

within the city. While the landscape and history of this area facilitates stories consistent with medieval romance, it also affords opportunities for more inclusive and expansive narratives that tap into the power of humility and reciprocity and enlivens an economic story that prioritizes the commonwealth, or common well-being, of the entire city. The first-step in supporting such a narrative could come in the planning for the 710 Freeway corridor that Caltrans recently relinquished to the city. A second step would mean investing in place-based sectors such as health care, regenerative landscaping, affordable housing that is consistent with neighborhood's character, and the creation and care for the city's public spaces, including the oft-neglected Arroyo Seco.



Figure 163. *Ancient oak at the intersection of California Boulevard and Orange Grove Avenue. This oak served as a meeting place for the settlers who created Pasadena and could serve as an icon for the Lower Arroyo neighborhood (Kohler ca. 1895, California State Library)*

The anecdotes and images that can spur this shift abound in the neighborhood's history and landscape, and this essay has been at attempt to catalog them. Two seem especially powerful and hold promise for artists and performers interested in engaging with Lower Arroyo. The first is the ancient oak tree that surveyors left at the intersection of California and Orange Grove

Avenue when they mapped out the settlement's first streets (Masters 2017). This tree became the preferred meeting spot for settlers, so much so that the neighbors outfitted it with benches. It was the community's council tree, a sentinel from another time, literally rooted at the crossroads of the new settlement with branches reaching out to gather sustenance from the sun. This was not a new tree but one that grew from an acorn that dropped before Spanish missionaries crossed into California, a tree that survived fires set by Gabrieleno/Tongva families living along the Arroyo. The tree survived until 1911 when the city paved the road in recognition that the age of the automobile was fast approaching ("Famous Old Oak Soon to Perish" 1911). But the tree had enough of a hold on people's imagination that the newspaper contained elegiac poems after work crews erased it from the landscape (Sherman 1911). There is perhaps no better symbol of the type of expansiveness that I feel the neighborhood and the city needs than the canopy of an oak tree.[114] The second image speaks more to the mundane but optimistic work that this moment in history requires. It is of a woman Red Cross volunteer in 1943, sitting alone in the Carmelita mansion, working late to stitch dressing after dressing to fill the wounds she senses all around her, a volunteer fueled simply by the need to heal.

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Woman and child viewing the Hansel and Gretel Cottage at Busch Garden,. n.d., black and white photograph, B7-16b. Courtesty of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History Collection. Pasadena Digital History Collaboration. https://www.pasadenadigitalhistory.com/Documents/Detail/woman-and-child-viewing-the-hansel-and-gretel-cottage-at-busch-gardens/116323.

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Appendix 28: East Arroyo

Expecting chaos, I exited the freeway at Mountain Street and drove north on Lincoln Avenue past modest houses two long blocks from the eastern rim of the Arroyo Seco. It was the 4th of July and not yet dark. Neighborhood residents had told me that the scene of people along the rim of the Arroyo for the annual Rose Bowl fireworks show was something to see. The orange and white sawhorse barricades were already blocking streets west of Lincoln; one or two crew members in neon yellow vests made sure drivers in search of parking didn't push them aside. I turned east on Hammond, drove under the freeway, and took a left on Mentone into a quiet neighborhood of small homes. I grabbed my backpack with a camera, water, food, journal and book and began to walk back to Lincoln, past the barricades, and towards the Arroyo. The small houses were alive with backyard conversations and the smell of charcoal, friends and neighbors grilling as they waited for nightfall. For all the hassle of dealing with college football games and concerts, this was one of the benefits of living near the 100-year-old stadium: one of the best fireworks shows in Southern California.

Along North Arroyo Boulevard, parents and children milled along the cobblestone wall running along the rim of the canyon. I found a spot where Rose Bowl Drive climbs up to North Arroyo Boulevard and began to take in the twilight scene. What seemed remarkable, but should have been unsurprising, were all the languages in the air: teenagers chitchatted with one another in Spanish; parents from China chased their precocious toddler; a South Asian family on a picnic blanket next to me enjoyed homemade naan as the anticipation grew. This crowd came from north of the 210 freeway, which cuts an east-west path across Pasadena before turning north through the neighborhoods east of the Arroyo; these were the working-class families of Pasadena trying to rise in one of the most unequal cities in California. On the other side of the Arroyo in

Linda Vista, and further south along Armada Drive, a Whiter, more affluent demographic was also watching the sky. Together, we were having a shared but separate experience, a description that could stand in for life in Pasadena as a whole.

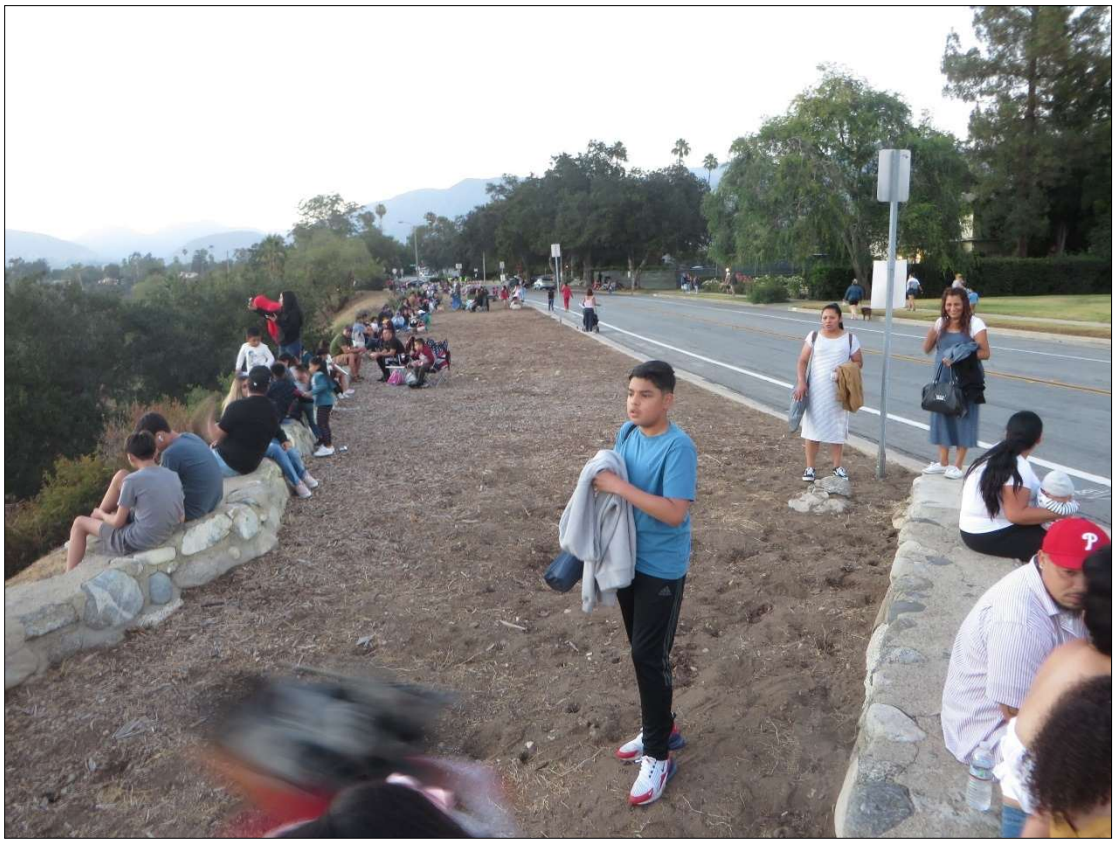

Figure 164. *Waiting for the Rose Bowl fireworks along North Arroyo Boulevard.*

The string of people along the road swelled, skateboarders decked out with flashing lights rolled past, two policemen leaned against the hood of their squad car enjoying the crowd. At the bottom of the canyon, the red lights from two bicycles traced the path of teenagers illicitly crossing the golf course toward Linda Vista. When the fireworks came, a chorus "Ooos" was followed by a synchronized gasp for air, "Ahhhs." I left before it was done, walking alone down a dark, empty street, back toward Lincoln Avenue and the freeway, past the abandoned barricades, now pushed to the side.

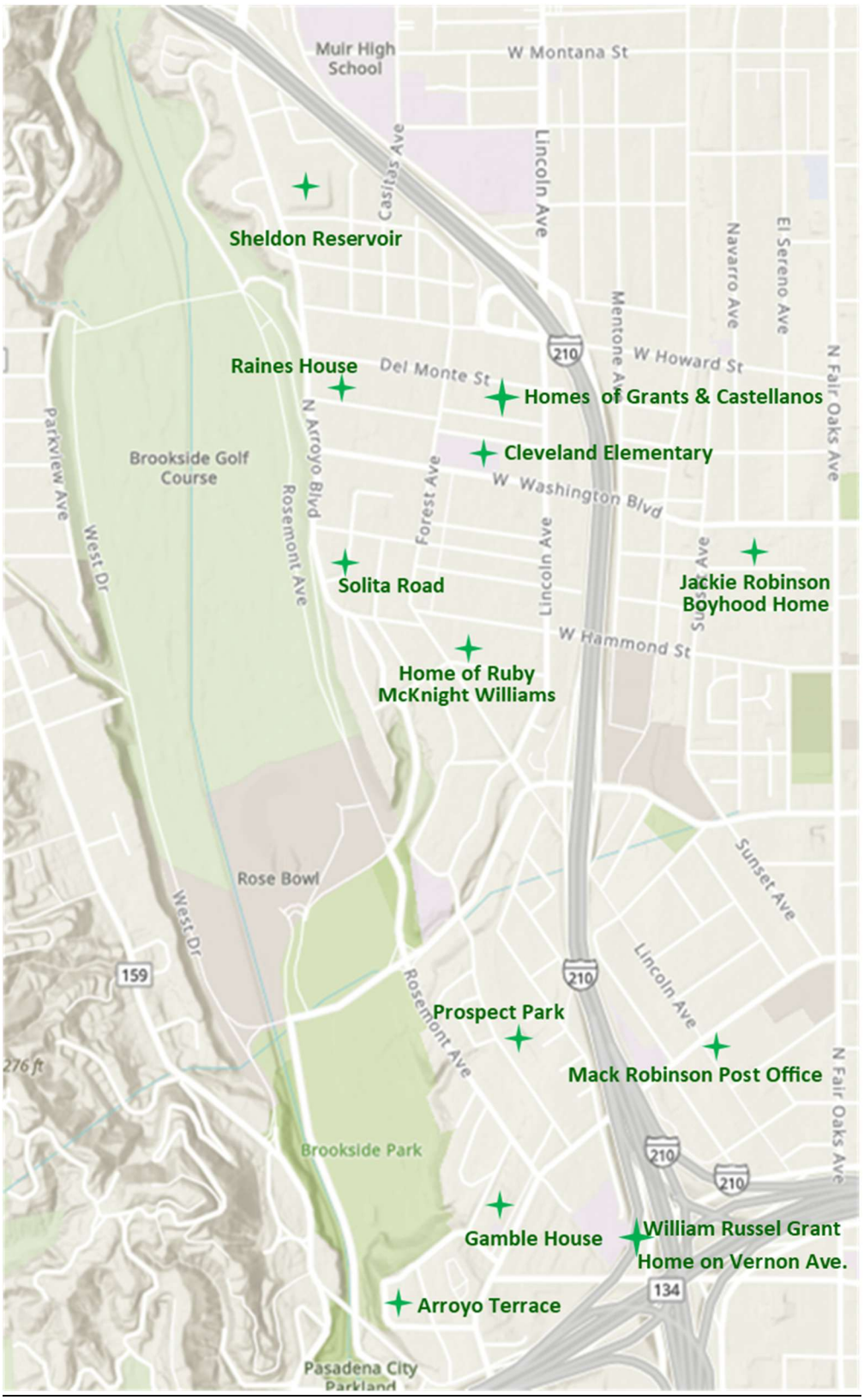

Figure 165. *Map of the East Arroyo Neighborhood west of 210 Freeway to the Arroyo Seco*

1906 – A new neighborhood comes to life

The East Arroyo neighborhood encompasses everything north of the Colorado Freeway bridge between the northern spur of the 210 freeway and the Arroyo Seco. Some called the neighborhood the "golden ghetto" because of its relative affluence compared to the rest of Northwest Pasadena (Nicolaides 2024). Robyn Kelley, a professor at UCLA who attended Muir High School, said they he and his friends called the area the "dark side of Linda Vista," the exclusive White enclave on the other side of the Arroyo (Kelley 1984b). It is the place where the various experiences of Pasadena intermingle, with Lincoln Avenue forming a fault line where one can see and feel the social, political, and economic frictions related to water, transportation, housing discrimination, historic preservation, schooling, and where to put Pasadena's industry and the resulting waste. Looking at this neighborhood through a literary lens, you see triumphant stories about the breaking of boundaries but also something akin to a disaster narrative where there is a scramble to survive in the face of great destructive power. Today, the relevant narratives and important questions for the neighborhood have to do with community cohesion and ways to build on the area's long history of adaptation and resilience.

A good year to enter this narrative is 1906. In June of that year Charles Collins (1906) wrote a profile of northern Pasadena for the *Pasadena Daily News* and noted a rising number of real estate sales in the East Arroyo.

> "The increased valuation of property has been nowhere marked more than in the northwest section, especially near Lincoln avenue and along the Arroyo Seco. In the first instance this increase is the result of electric car line extension movement and in the second the talk of making the Arroyo Seco a natural park has been a great incentive to speculators and home seekers, to procure property along the banks of the proposed park" (Collins 1906).

The neighborhood began to develop, one large block of real estate at a time, south to north along Lincoln Avenue up to the city's boundary with Altadena. In 1906, the southern section included five distinct clusters around North Orange Grove Avenue as it made its grand turn eastward, transforming from the north-south road that locals called Millionaire's Row because of its opulent mansions, into an east-west track across northern Pasadena through orchards and scattered bungalows. These clusters included the following:

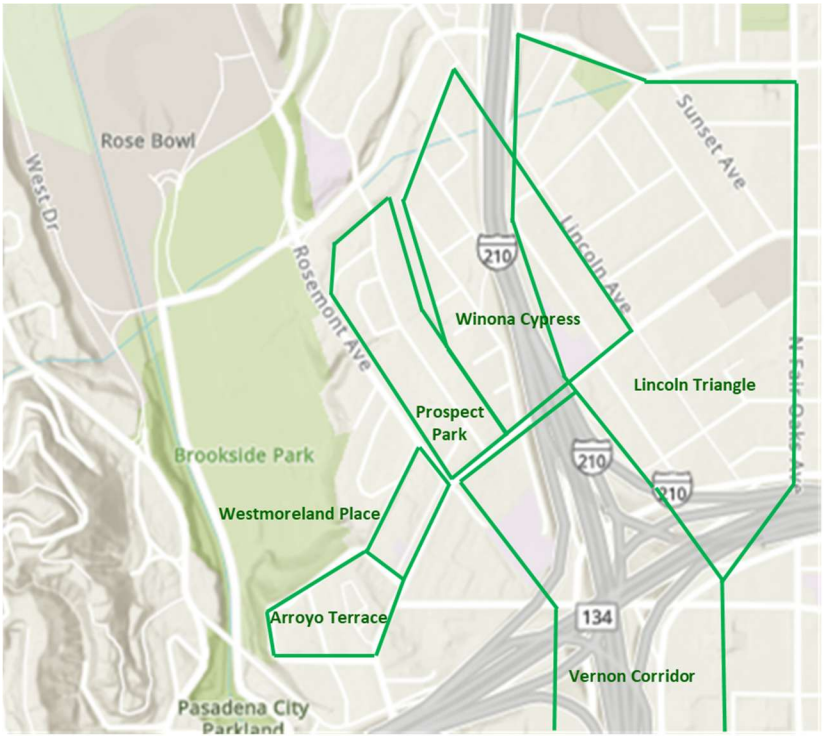

Figure 166. *Neighborhood clusters in southern portion of the East Arroyo.*

Park Place/Arroyo Terrace - The cluster closest to Millionaire's Row was called Park Place and sat on a peninsular ridge that juts into the canyon and marks the start of what Pasadena calls the Lower Arroyo. The peninsula contained a hill with a large oak tree where the American settlers that formed the city held a picnic in January of 1874 to divide up parcels for the settlement. This was also the location of the city's first reservoir, the essential water feature that the earliest settlers constructed to irrigate their orchards and vineyards. By 1906, Craftsman houses encircled

the reservoir with the chalet-inspired designs from architects Charles and Henry Greene earning the area the name of Little Switzerland. Myron Hunt, another prominent local architect and Arroyo champion, completed his house on the reservoir in 1905 and would go on to design the Pasadena Public Library, numerous buildings for Occidental College, and what is today the Huntington Library's main art gallery.



Figure 167. *Looking east across Arroyo at Arroyo Terrace in 1898. Linda Vista Bridge is in foreground. The circular form in background is the Orange Grove Reservoir* (Pierce ca1898. USC Digital Library - https://doi.org/10.25549/chs-m5991)

Westmoreland Place – Constituting a narrow strip of land between North Orange Grove Avenue and Scott Place, developer W.L. Green re-platted the strip into six large lots with a private street paralleling Orange Grove behind a large hedge that acted as a screen from the carriages, trolley

lines, and car traffic in the growing city. In 1906, Greene and Greene finished constructing the Cole House at 2 Westmoreland Place, with its impressive Arroyo stone chimney, and just three years later, on the largest of the six lots, finished the Gamble House, what many consider the finest example of Craftsman architecture in the country. The private street, Westmoreland Place, referenced the exclusive and well-known Westmoreland Place in St. Louis.



Figure 168. *The Cole House by Greene & Greene on Westmoreland Place ca1920. They completed the structure in 1906. Note the Arroyo cobble chimney to the left. (Martin ca1920, California State Library)*

Prospect Park - In 1906, Greene and Greene completed the Bentz House, a Swiss-chalet Craftsman home that served as the first house for Prospect Park, which has the distinction of being Pasadena's first subdivision.[115] The subdivision consisted of 64 spacious lots along curved

[115] The house is the best adaptation of the Greene's craftsman design to meet a middle-class budget.

streets and came with expensive building restrictions to ensure it would be an affluent neighborhood. The spur line of the Los Angeles and Salt Lake Railroad company separated Prospect Park from the working-class homes further to the east. The rail line itself dated back to 1888 and continued north half a block east of Lincoln Avenue all the way to the Altadena bluffs above cliffs of the Devil's Gate rock outcropping where it took a sharp right turn and progressed east to Lake Avenue. The rail line facilitated the development of industry along Lincoln Avenue and provided the eventual right-of-way for the freeway. The success of Prospect Park prompted another group of investors to build a bridge extending Prospect Boulevard across Seco Canyon in 1911 to the bluff above the future site of the Rose Bowl. A *Los Angeles Times* article from June of that year described the activity:

> Ground has been broken for a series of wide, winding driveways through "Arroyo Park Tract." Every foot of the tract affords excellent building sites, and the promoters expect to have the tract ready for sale of lots by next winter. Arrangements have been made with the Lake Vineyard Land and Water Company for running a large water main from a supplemental reservoir, which is to be built near Devil's Gate, directly to the tract ("Arroyo Seco Enchanted Spot: Natural Beauty of Valley to Be Preserved" 1911).

Winona-Cypress - On the other side of the tracks from Prospect Park, a quartet of diagonal avenues --North Pasadena, Winona, Cypress, and Old Fair Oaks (later renamed Lincoln) came down to meet North Orange Grove Avenue in the middle of its curve from a north-south to an east-west thoroughfare. It was at Old Fair Oaks and Orange Grove that A.O. Bristol became the first of the Indiana Colony settlers to complete a frame house in 1874. Just seven years later, along the west side of this road north of Orange Grove, J.S. Wallace built a factory for packing the peaches and other stone fruit harvested from Pasadena's orchards. By 1884, the Pasadena Packing Company was packing 50,000 cans a year and employed upwards of 50 workers, mostly women and girls (Shoop 1953). Across Old Fair Oaks from the cannery, Lincoln Nursery opened

in 1903 and in the past 120 years, has belonged to only three families: the first from Germany; the second from Japan; and since 2003, the Franco family, with its roots in Jalisco, Mexico. In 1906, residents in the Winona-Cypress neighborhood requested sidewalks from the city, indicating more of an identification with the burgeoning town than the rural hinterland that stretched further north into Altadena.

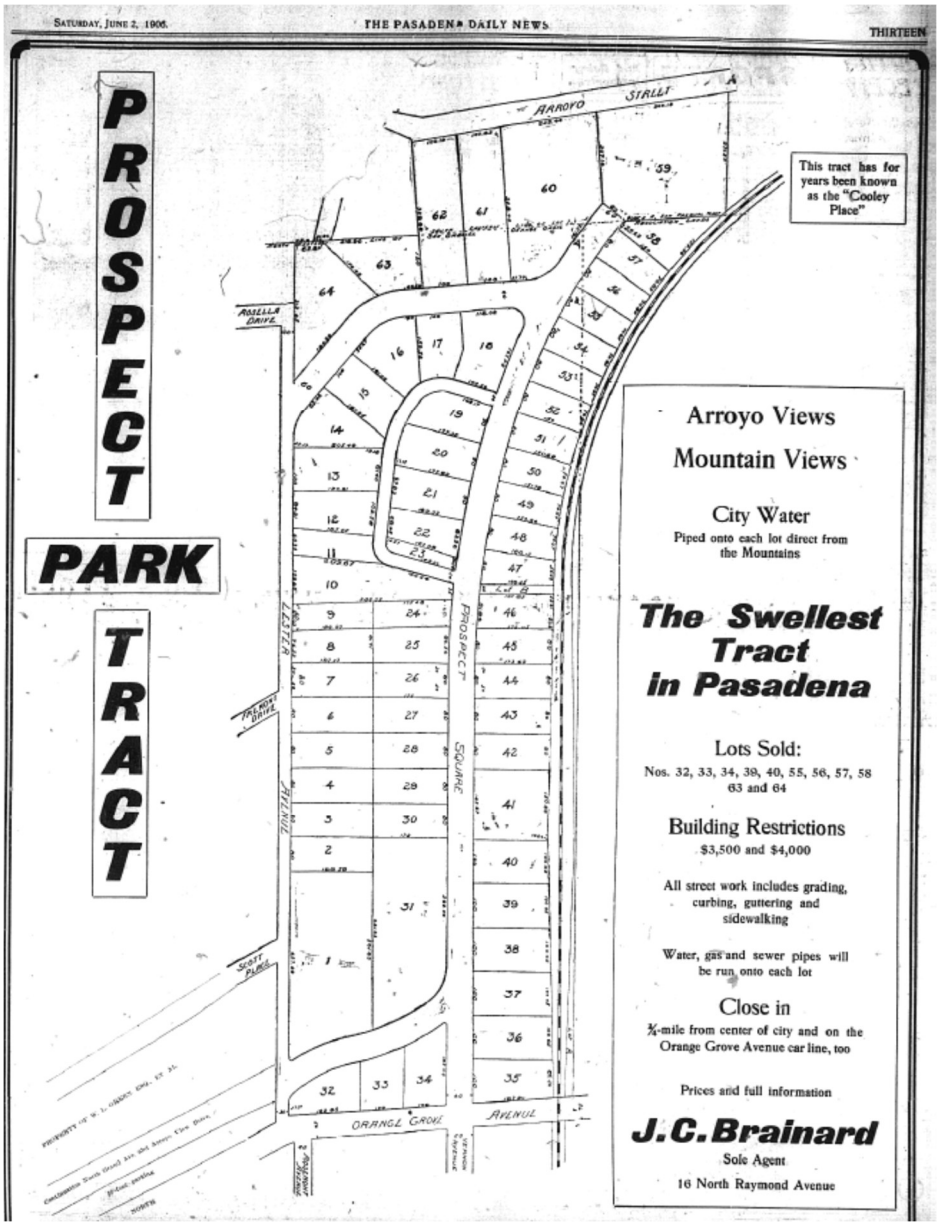

Figure 169. *Advertisement from June of 1906 for the Prospect Park Tract ("Prospect Park Tract" 1906).*

Vernon Avenue and Lincoln Triangle - Below Orange Grove Avenue, Prospect Boulevard turned into Vernon Avenue, which became the heart of the African American business district. In 1906, Eilza Overr came to Pasadena from Kansas, and by 1912 was living at 212 N. Vernon, just south of Walnut. Overr's daughter Edda Overr McKnight, and her granddaughter, Ruby McKnight Williams, would follow her from Kansas to Pasadena. Ruby became a civil rights crusader for Pasadena and President of Pasadena's chapter of the NAACP, all while living most of her life in the East Arroyo area. East of Vernon, near the corner of Old Fair Oaks Avenue (now Lincoln), the school district constructed Lincoln Elementary in 1895 and the First Methodist Church established itself in 1897. Old Fair Oaks continued past the school on a diagonal to meet Fair Oaks Avenue, the main road north out Pasadena's commercial district. In later years, neighbors called this intersection "The Point," and it marked an informal gateway into Northwest Pasadena. In 1906, however, it was the location of Stickney Memorial Hall, an ivy-covered English cottage inspired by Shakespeare's home in Stratford-Upon-Avon. Susan Stickney commissioned the building as a memorial to her sister in 1898. She gave the building to Pasadena's Shakespeare Club, a women's literary society and social service organization that still exists today, but in 1904, it became the site of art classes for Throop Polytechnic Institute, the forerunner of Caltech. Today, the massive freeway interchange has replaced Vernon Avenue and the Point; today, most call what remains of this area Lincoln Triangle.

Further north, between the railroad tracks and the Arroyo's eastern rim, construction was just getting started in 1906. A 1911 article in the *Los Angeles Times* says, "For years this territory has been occupied by small houses and shacks. It has been ostracized from the balance of the city by lack of water, and, with the exception of a little patch of lawn here and there, it has been

allowed to grow up in weeds and brush" ("Arroyo Seco Enchanted Spot: Natural Beauty of Valley to Be Preserved" 1911). John McDonald, who bought parcels of this scrubby plateau in 1887 said that back then Pasadena's water supply ran through the area in an open ditch, but it was below grade and so people couldn't access it. He described how he and others bought out the original owners, organized an independent water company, and developed the limited supply they had access to. The city also supplied area residents with water wagons. The city finally bought all the water companies in 1913 and connected the East Arroyo to the city's main supply ("Northwest is Gaining New Momentum" 1923).

For many years, this area was the hinterlands. One newspaper article said that every parcel for sale had a fruit tree and once was part of the orchards that surveyors carved into rectangles ("Northwest is Gaining New Momentum" 1923). Another article described the potential of using these empty lots to grow vegetables for sale at local restaurants or off vegetable carts that wound their way through town ("What Northwest Pasadena offers besides its unsurpassed climate" 1911). For two years, from late 1895 to 1897, the Crown Cycling Club maintained a third-of-a-mile racing track of packed dirt with grandstands to hold 3000 people behind a high fence near the intersection of Forest Avenue and Lincoln ("Cycling Men Meet: Opening of a New Track at Pasadena" 1896; "Pasadena. The Karnival Kirmes Closes with a Dance" 1897; "Cycle Track Now Sought" 1934). Further north, near the end of Old Fair Oaks Avenue, an ostrich farm began in 1885. The farm served as a precursor to the more famous Cawston Ostrich Farm in South Pasadena and lasted until 1891. The nine birds escaped in 1889 necessitating an ostrich roundup that took several days, with one ostrich captured on its way up the Arroyo and into the mountains (Reid and McClatchie 1895).[116]

[116] Reid mentions a Mr. Dennison as the ostrich owner. This was likely G.L. Dennison, a small-time real estate investor, who in 1887 owned a large plot of land just east of Lincoln and Washington that might have been the

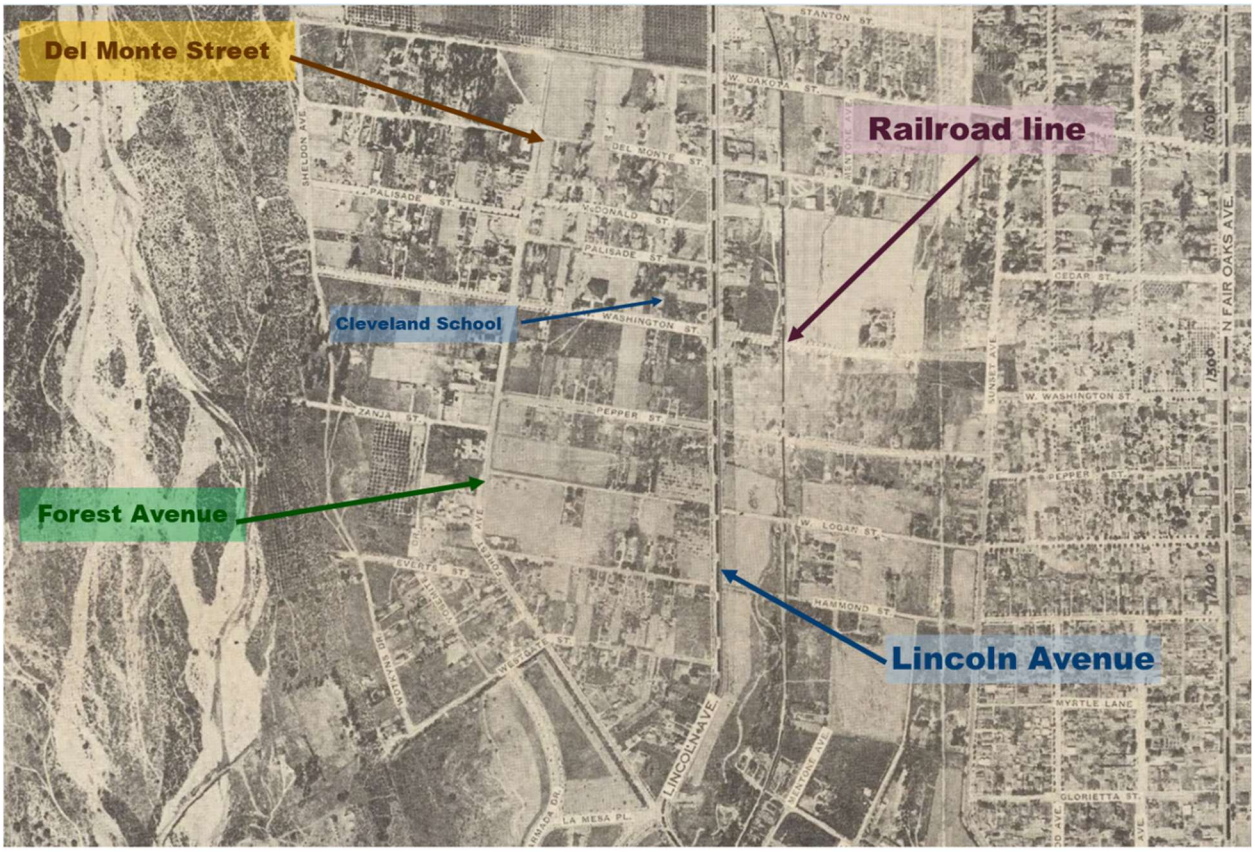

Figure 170. *A 1922 aerial photomap, showing undeveloped land east of Arroyo. Compare this to the dense development on the right side along Fair Oaks Avenue on the right (Photomap Company and First National Trust and Savings Bank of Pasadena 1922)*

In 1906, William Easterbrook, another early speculator and later, a City Commissioner, moved to 1523 Lincoln at the corner with Del Monte, not far from the location of the ostrich farm.[117] Easterbrook became president of the Southern Lincoln Avenue Improvement Association, and it was at his house in August of 1908 that sixty property owners voted to accept Henry E. Huntington's proposal to run a Pacific Electric line up Lincoln. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that Mayor Earley presided over the meeting and endorsed the idea ("Ready to Raise

location of the ostrich farm. The 210 freeway now splits this area. The original name of Del Monte Street was Dennison.

[117] The governing body for the city has had many names throughout Pasadena's history. During the 1920s, the population elected Commissioners. For most of the 20th century, the city had a Board of Directors. Now, elected leaders serve on the City Council.

Large Bonus" 1908). But even as attendees argued the electric rail line was vital to the future of the neighborhood, others were thinking about the automobile. That same year, 1908, the Los Angeles County Highway Commission visited Pasadena to discuss how to route a highway from Pasadena to La Cañada ("Highway Commission Visits In Pasadena" 1908).

It would be five more years before Huntington actually finished his Pacific Electric line, but the anticipation of transit boosted land sales. By 1911, level lots, 50' x 150' within two blocks of the proposed line sold for $300 and neighbors began to discourage land uses that didn't conform to a "respectable" neighborhood, scuttling plans by the Crown City Baseball Club, for example, to build a ballfield at the corner of Lincoln and Washington ("Baseball Park is Caught Off Base" 1911; "What Northwest Pasadena offers besides its unsurpassed climate" 1911). There would no longer be room for ostrich farms, bike racing, and baseball diamonds. Still, the exact direction of development remained unclear. Small houses went up in the shadow of mansions along the Arroyo's rim. The availability of cheaper land meant that many people of color succeeding in buying land in the new neighborhood, setting the stage for tension and conflict.

In August of 1913, the new Pacific Electric Line was busy and running every 20 minutes. The city was completing paving on Lincoln between Fair Oaks and Forest Avenue ("New Line is Busy" 1913). The city had connected new homes to the city's water supply and in three years would complete Sheldon Reservoir in the northern reach of the neighborhood. In 1914, Cleveland Elementary moved to its present location on Washington west of Lincoln (Pasadena Department of Education 1955). All the pieces were now in place for the neighborhood to move forward, but in what direction? The diverse racial, social, and economic makeup of the East Arroyo district, from the Craftsman homes on Arroyo Terrace to the middle-class mansions of Prospect Park to the working-class bungalows on Vernon, Cypress, Winona, and even Lincoln

itself, meant forming a cohesive identity for the East Arroyo was a challenge, one that persists to this day. Before considering how placekeeping can assist with this process, it is important identify the narrative patterns running through the area's past.

Breaking boundaries

The first of these narrative patterns involves the breaking of boundaries. While the most vivid boundary to break was the color line that dictated where people of color could purchase homes, the theme of boundaries runs through the landscape. Throughout the broad sloping plain east of the Arroyo, oak trees would have clustered in the swales and near seeps and springs creating a savanna in which grasses and sage scrub mingled with oaks and their affiliates. Here, in the savanna, species dance back and forth across habitat boundaries (see chapter 4).

Native Americans also mapped out boundaries. Maps from cultural anthropologist Chester King, who has studied in detail registries at the San Gabriel and San Fernando Missions, suggest that the Arroyo represented a boundary between two language groups among Gabrieleno/Tongva villages (Northwest Economic Associates and King 2004). The 1938 discovery that the site of Sheldon Reservoir once served as a burial ground for centuries suggest another important political or cultural boundary existed here (see appendix 20).[118]

[118]Excavators sent remains from this site to the Southwest Museum, which the Autry Museum of the American West now oversees. In 2017, the Autry worked with tribal representatives to rematriate the remains to an undisclosed location (Posadas et al. 2017).

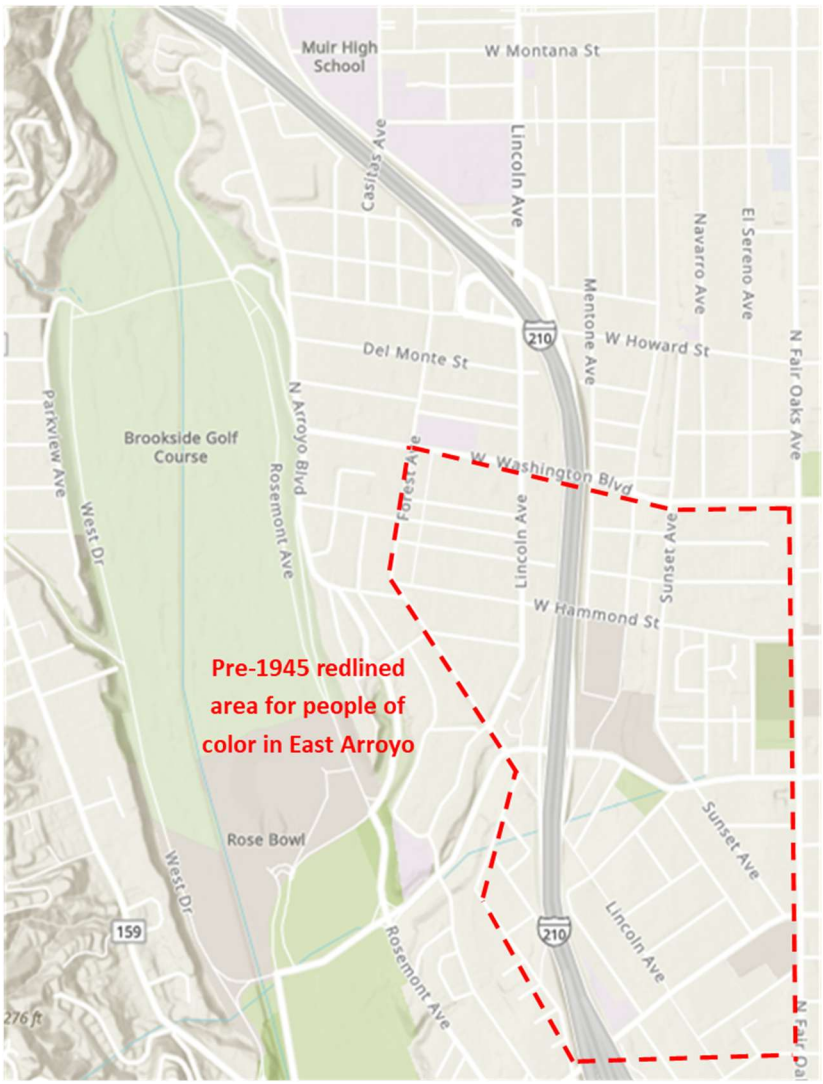

Figure 171. *Pre-1945 color line enforced by racial covenants, realtor and loan practices in the East Arroyo.*

The boundary that is easiest to document, however, is the one around race and real estate that existed since before Pasadena became a city. In 1885, with the imminent arrival of a railroad connection that would boost property values in the downtown area, a mob of townspeople attacked a building containing a Chinese laundry and boarding house. The sheriff had pre-arranged a place for the cornered Chinese men to relocate in the southern part of town, illustrating the complicity of Pasadena's leaders, who the next day passed an ordinance barring Chinese people from downtown (James 2001; Wood 1917). In the East Arroyo area, arsonists

burned the homes of two African American families to the ground on Cypress Avenue in 1909 ("Threats to Burn Church: ‘Remember Cypress Avenue,’ Warning Given" 1909). Benjamin McAdoo recalled in his oral history that 1909 was the year the pastor the First Methodist Church preached about African Americans “spilling over” into neighborhoods where they weren’t wanted (McAdoo 1980). The next year someone placed a can of gasoline with a makeshift fuse under the porch of the parsonage for the First African Methodist Episcopal Church, which was under construction on the corner of North Vernon and Kensington Avenue ("Infernal machine placed at residence of negro narrowly misses destroying house" 1910). The makeshift bomb failed to ignite, but members of the congregation traded shifts guarding the church with rifles for the remainder of construction (Scheid Lund 1999). Prior to the attempted bombing the pastor received a letter stating the neighbors opposed to the church would defend their property values with their lives ("Negroes Describe Many Attempts at Injury" 1910). Given this past, the fact that a wealthy syndicate of investors hoping to build a casino and convention hall adjacent to the church sought to attain the First A.M.E. property raises suspicions ("Get Ready to Submit Ideas: Carmelita Gardens Plans to be Discussed Today" 1910). The day after the attempted bombing a passerby suggested to an African American parishioner working on the property that the City would probably take the property for the convention auditorium and that he would do well to quit the project ("Negroes Describe Many Attempts at Injury" 1910).



Figure 172. *First A.M.E. Church on Kensington and Vernon Avenue circa 1950. African American architect Paul Revere Williams designed the building ("First AME Church at Kensington and Vernon" ca 1950. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, BH-D-18-42A)*

But defining and defending a color line across the East Arroyo was challenging for Whites because African American, Asian American, and Hispanic families had already established themselves there (Anderson 1995). Prior to the Pacific Electric line, land was more affordable here for these groups than in the rest of the city, and the trolley line itself opened up possibilities, such as living along the Lincoln Corridor while working in downtown Los Angeles. Families living in the nearby Prospect Park subdivision also employed working-class residents in their households. The smaller lots to the north provided housing for these workers who could

then walk home even though many Prospect Park homes had servant quarters. John Dean, a former president of the East Arroyo Residents Association, explains:

> Interesting to note that if you look restrictive covenants that were written for Pasadena, they made a provision in there that no minority person could live or purchase a home or whatever; however, if the homeowner had a servant, the servant was permitted to live on the premises while they were working. So, they made accommodations for minority persons to be there but not be there. You could only be there if you were working, and if the homeowner had provided provisions for you to be there. So, in many instances, a lot of these women that were going down to work in Prospect Park, some of them stayed there during the week and some of them came every day. A lot of them were taking care of the White woman's children.
>
> ***
>
> It seems to be somewhat incongruous, "I don't want you living in the neighborhood, but I'm okay with you fixing food, cleaning my house, and taking care of my children." I still can't figure that out. But a lot of things like that don't make any sense other than you have to look at it for what it is. You're exploiting people. And you're paying them as little as you can get away with, and you don't give them the opportunities to participate in society, don't allow them opportunities to advance, those kinds of things. – 7/13/22

Available land also afforded some people of color the opportunity to start their own businesses. William Russell Grant was born in West Viriginia in 1886, the son of an African American farmer. By the age of 26, he and his wife Henrietta were living in Pasadena and had just had their first child. Grant worked as a janitor for two of the leading real estate firms in Pasadena as his family grew. In 1921, he bought a large two-story house at 283 North Vernon with a five-car garage and a gas pump. Two years later, William's brother Earl, who had found work as chef on a cross-country train, moved to Pasadena and stayed with him until he was able to build his own home across the street (Grant 1984). Their brother Brock also settled on Vernon Avenue. The three brothers leveraged William's connections with the real estate companies and started different rubbish and hauling businesses using the five-car garage as their home base. Earl Grant took burnable garbage down to where the Rose Bowl is today, which then served as the

city's dumping grounds. But to make use of the organic waste, Earl started a hog ranch in El Monte that grew to 5,000 animals. Soon, Earl was earning money from both the rubbish business and from selling the hogs to Farmer John, a meat packing company. With this money, he began paying cash for land in Pasadena. Denied a loan for one piece of property from a local bank, he sought out other African American real estate men in Los Angeles, and in 1947 took a leading role in organizing Broadway Savings and Loan, the first African American savings and loan in Los Angeles. He went on to found Family Savings and Loan, which became a leading bank for the African American community in Los Angeles (Grant 1984).



Figure 173. *Earl Grant and family commemorate the groundbreaking of a new branch of the Family Savings and Loan* (Adams 2007 in Conyers et al. 2007)

The Grants were part of a stream of African American settlers to make their way to California during the first phase of The Great Migration out of the South. This migration out to California would increase after World War II, but this first wave included people like Mallie Robinson, the mother of future baseball star Jackie Robinson and Mack Robinson, who finished

second to Jesse Owens in the 200 meters at the 1936 Berlin Olympics, bringing home the silver medal. Jackie was a one-year-old, when Mallie brought her five children to Pasadena from Cairo, Georgia in 1920, eventually buying a small house on Pepper Street across the railroad tracks from Lincoln and the East Arroyo neighborhood. As the only African American family on the block, threatening notes appeared on their porch daily and unknown neighbors burned a cross on their front lawn (Kaliss 2018). Mallie Robinson endured the abuse, which represented a frantic attempt of segregationists to keep pace with shifting demographics on the ground.

The Robinson boys became friends with the brothers Hideo and Shigeo Takayama, and the two sets of brothers walked together to Muir High School and played on the same school sports teams. After graduating, the Takayamas scrambled to earn money for college: cooking in restaurants, picking grapes in the Central Valley, and working as gardeners at the Gamble House (Takayama-Ogawa 2012). The two Takayama brothers fought in World War II, but when the government imprisoned their father at an internment camp, the Robinsons took care of their large two-story home at 310 Green Street. The Takayama brothers were two of the roughly 700 Japanese living in Pasadena during the mid-1920s (Anderson 1995). While most lived in Central and Southern Pasadena, a significant cluster of Japanese families lived in the East Arroyo area and sent their children to either Lincoln or Cleveland Elementary School. These were families like the Takemuras, who bought Lincoln Nursery in 1923 and managed it for the next eighty years. In 1924, the Japanese Union Church constructed a new building on Kensington Street just down the block from the First A.M.E. The church was an important anchor institution for the Japanese American community and held many families' prized belongings during internment (Anderson 1995).[119]

[119] Caltrans demolished both churches to construct the 210 freeway in the early 1970s.



Figure 174. *Gathering in front of the Japanese Union Church at Kensington and Vernon ("A growing church and their new building" 1925, Pasadena City College Archives)*

During this period, Pasadena was growing at a phenomenal rate. The population jumped from 10,000 in 1900 to 45,000 in 1920 and then to 76,000 by 1930 (Scheid Lund 1999). In 1923, the school district expanded Cleveland Elementary to give it more space, and in 1926 Muir High School would open further north on Lincoln, close to the city limits. Now attached to transit lines and water mains, the proximity to downtown created a small real estate boom for the East Arroyo. The completion of the Rose Bowl in 1922 also confirmed that the Arroyo would soon transform from the city's dumping ground to a recreational amenity. An article from March of 1923 stated, "Recently the stadium and the fine improvements along the arroyo have attracted attention to the northwest and much interest is being shown at present. This has created an

opportunity for home seekers and investors, which many are now beginning to realize" ("Northwest is Gaining New Momentum" 1923). The same article goes on to say that not only did Lincoln have perhaps the best double-track Pacific Electric line in the city but was also preferred auto route to La Cañada, Tujunga, and San Fernando and so was becoming a busy thoroughfare. Rising property values along the rim of the Arroyo were percolating east toward Lincoln Avenue and making the entire district more reputable. The article says that the Los Angeles Real Estate firm Welsh & Campbell were "marketing a small close-in tract situated on Lincoln Avenue near the north end of the Arroyo Park tract. The tract is being well improved and placed on the market with suitable restrictions."

The “with suitable restrictions” undoubtedly refers to racial covenants that property owners added to their land titles in order to get higher prices. But petty speculators like William Easterbrook sometimes undermined their avowed commitment to blocking sales to people of color. Louis Castellano was born in 1915 on land just east of Lincoln and the railroad tracks on land that the city eventually took for its city yards. Eventually, he would move with his wife and child west of Lincoln to Del Monte Street. His son Richard explains the sequence of events that led up to the move.

> In those days, when my dad grew up, you could have horses in Pasadena. So, what happened was that he would come home from school and run across the street and pet the horses. He fell in love with horses. There was a wealthy man by the name of Easterbrook who had a horse ring there. And my dad would run over and pet the horses, and the man asked my dad if he wanted to work for him, cleaning out the stalls and stuff like that. And my dad said yes, and so he became friends with my dad and took him under his wing. He was a big landowner in Pasadena.
>
> As my dad got older, this Easterbrook said I have these lots on Del Monte Street, and if you continue to work for me, I’ll give you the lot for free, not for free, he’d work it off. And so that’s how we got to Del Monte Street. He didn’t have to buy the lot. And Easterbrook had a big house on Arroyo that’s still there, either Arroyo

> and Del Monte or Arroyo and Howard. I know that house because as a little boy, my dad became the gardener, and being the oldest boy, I used to go with him to garden the place.
>
> What happened was that once he got the lot, he was married and living up by the city yards, and he started to build the house. He built it himself. He had 4 or 5 brothers. So, they would come over and work on it every weekend. And there was a long driveway, and at the end of the driveway was a three-car garage. And when I was 3 or 4, we left my grandparents' home and moved into the garage. The two-car garage was the living space, and the third car garage was split between a small kitchen and a bathroom. And we lived there until the house was ready for us to move in. That's how I got to Del Monte Street. – 8/23/22

The city directories show that Wiliam Easterbrook moved from his home on Lincoln to 484 Del Monte Street in 1923. In 1943 he moved to 1560 North Arroyo Avenue and the large house that Castellano mentions. The Castellanos did not begin building their house until 1948, illustrating the conundrum of White landowners who did not want people of color as their neighbors but needed their workers close at hand to maintain their preferred lifestyle and tried to stay one step ahead of the shifting color line. Castellano described the struggle of his father to give his children a better start in life:

> My dad had a full-time job. He worked at a steel foundry, and he'd get home around 3 p.m., and he would load up the pickup truck with the gardening tools. "C'mon, let's go." And I would go with him and he had several houses that he had to garden. And he needed the money because the family was growing, plus he needed money for building supplies to finish the house.

The foundry was in downtown Los Angeles on Alameda Street.

> And it killed him because he died of lung cancer, and there was no OSHA in those days. So, he had no protections. There were no protections at all. He was one of the early guys who would start the furnaces up and get the heat going and all the toxic fumes, and there was no OSHA to protect the workers. So, he died at 55 of cancer and left nine kids. – 8/23/22

Castellano said that his father's love of horses lasted throughout his life as he spent much of his sparse free time at the Santa Anita Race Track.

The burning cross on the Robinson family's lawn reflected a rise in White supremacy during the 1920s and an organized effort by Pasadena's White establishment to control real estate in the city. Politically, the Pasadena chapter of the Ku Klux Klan backed a slate of City Commissioner candidates in 1925 that swept to victory ("League to take drastic stand" 1925). Their campaign began when the City Manager C.W. Koiner dismissed nine Pasadena police officers who belonged to the KKK. State Klan officials threatened to sue the City, and Klan leaders from surrounding cities came to the Pasadena commissioner meetings to protest. L.E. Burger, Exalted Cyclops of the Pasadena Klan, however, said what prompted their intervention in city politics was the denial of their request to use the Rose Bowl for their initiation ceremony. "'The initiation was to have been absolutely public, no masks were to be worn,'" Berger complained ("News of Southern Counties: Klan Attempts Texas Tactics" 1924). One month later, the *Star-News* reported on the large attendance at Klan meeting at 20 West Colorado Street ("Klan Meeting Has Large Attendance" 1924). The slate of KKK candidates included William Easterbrook, and the attempt by his voting block to bypass City staff and issue management directives led resignation by City Manager Koiner and several other staff members. [120] The reign of the KKK was short, as Easterbrook and his allies lost in 1927 ("Pasadena Board Loses" 1927).

Beyond the halls of power, White supremacy also infected neighborhood organizations. An April 1926 *Star-News* article with the innocuous title "Realtors Study Property Topics" reported that the Pasadena Realty Board in cooperation with several neighborhood improvement organizations planned to organize a drive for racial covenants ("Realtors Study Property Topics"

[120] Koiner was not a hero as he was an adamant defender of segregation of the Brookside Plunge, but condoning membership of City employees in the KKK was not something he wanted to sanction. Easterbrook and his allies welcomed his resignation as their ultimate aim was to go back to the mayoral form of government. One of the KKK's candidates, however, switched sides leading to threats of a recall and a deadlocked board ("League to take drastic stand" 1925).

1926). The paper reported that the meeting at the Civic Center Inn and "was very largely attended," with representatives of the improvement associations from Linda Vista, Northeast Pasadena, Altadena, and North Fair Oaks. In 1928, members of the Arroyo Seco Improvement Association complained about White students having to mix with Mexican American children in small, cramped classrooms ("Parents Protest School" 1928; "Segregation is Requested of Mexicans" 1928). Jackie, Mack, and the other Robinson children attended Cleveland during this time. Ultimately, the School Board ignored the protesting White parents, who feared their children would catch diseases from their brown classmates.

Breaking through these boundaries was a collective effort that communities of color achieved through a decades-long push that included the brave actions of individuals, strategically challenging City policies and hiring practices, and using the courts to address segregation. In the East Arroyo area, William Henry Harrison, one of the first African American realtors and contractors in Pasadena, built his home and office near the corner of Lincoln Avenue and Washington in 1926 and employed a large staff to help him purchase empty lots and build affordable homes, especially just east of the railroad tracks in the Benner Park neighborhood (Anderson 1995).[121] Another individual trailblazer was Ruby McKnight Williams, Eliza Overr's granddaughter, who arrived in Pasadena in 1930 and lived at corner of Forest and Hammond. Williams had worked as a teacher in Kansas. But in 1930, the school district didn't hire African American teachers. Instead, she found a job with the women's employment bureau helping African American women find employment around town. She was able to break down the color line for hiring one business at a time (Hudson 2020; Williams 2001). Throughout the first half of 20th century, the African American community exerted pressure to desegregate the pool in

[121] In 1988, the city council required the developer who built the business park at Lincoln and Washington to recognize his work with a plaque (Dunn 1987; Harpe 1987).

Brookside Park (see chapter 4 and appendix 33). This included the formation of the Negro Taxpayer's and Voters Association, challenging segregation in court, and collective resistance to the creation of a separate recreation facility for African Americans on the campus of Lincoln Elementary School (Cartland 1948; Kelley 1984a). In June of 1939, the NAACP handpicked African American men, including William Henry Harrison, to serve as plaintiffs in a lawsuit against the city (Shorr 2002). In response, the city fired the African American workers who worked cleaning the streets and doing refuse collection. This included Mack Robinson, who despite his Olympic medal and a degree in physical education from the University of Oregon, had to work as a street sweeper to support his family (Kaliss 2018).



Figure 175. *Ruby McKnight Williams with former Mayor Bill Bogaard, July 18, 1999 (Darakjy 1999 in Williams 2001)*

The next month, city board member A.I. Stewart, who represented Southwest Pasadena and would go on to become Mayor and a State Assembly representative for the city from 1944 to

1958, took the lead organizing the Pasadena Improvement Association, which went door-to-door registering people to put racial covenants on their properties. The Chamber of Commerce, Merchants Association, and Pasadena Realty Board endorsed the program and the directors in charge of the organization were local bankers who controlled lending across the city (Shorr 2002). By 1940, 7,500 properties in Pasadena had racial covenants, which covered about 60 percent of the city (Crimi 1941). In the East Arroyo, the campaign solidified for a time a color line that kept people of color south of Washington Boulevard, between Fair Oaks on the east and Forest Avenue on the west. This retained the highest value properties along the Arroyo's rim for White families. In 1945, for example, Ruby McKnight Williams and her husband wanted to purchase a home on the northern side of Washington Boulevard but instead had to purchase home at 545 Westgate south of the color line (Williams 2001).

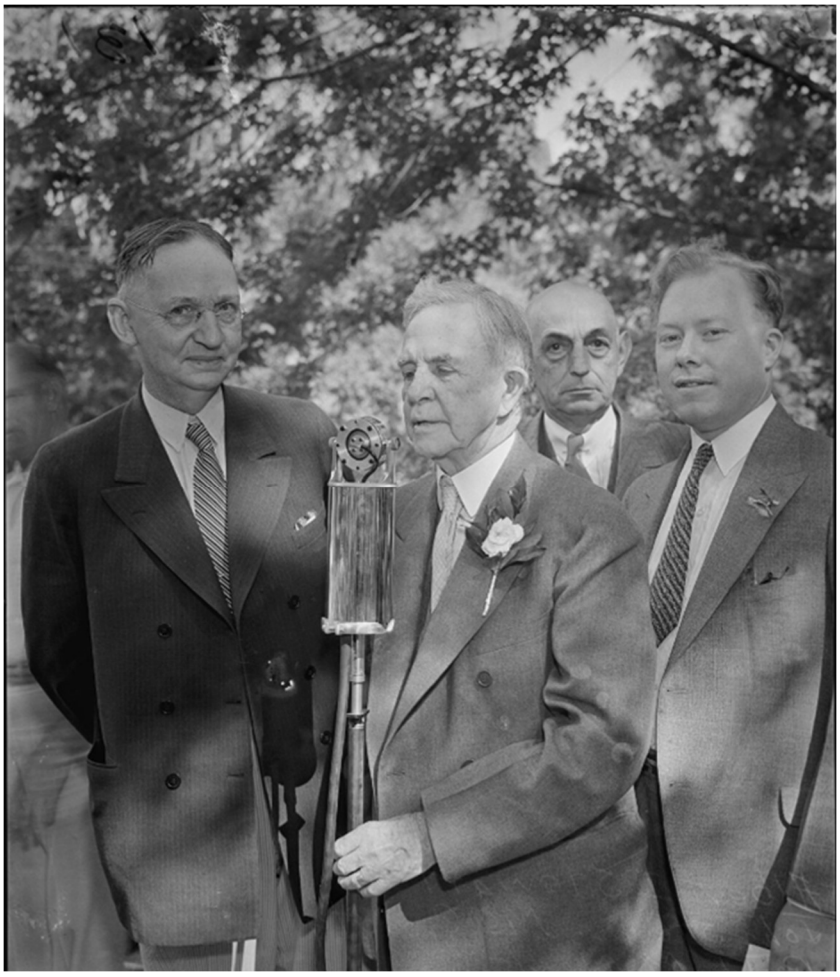

Figure 176. *Albert I. Stewart (left) at a picnic in Brookside Park on August 18, 1935. The event honored poet laureate, playwright, and congressman, John Steven McGroarty ("John Steven McGroarty at a microphone" 1935. Los Angeles Times Photographic Archive, UCLA Library Special Collections, licensed under CC by 4.0)*

James Crimi, in his 1941 masters's thesis for USC, *The Social Status of the Negro in Pasadena*, *California*, concluded that the immediate driver of racial prejudice in Pasadena was property values.

> The reasons for the program are, in the frank words or the association's officer who was interviewed, 'purely materialistic'. That is, according to this informant, the property values in Pasadena are being destroyed by Negroes moving in. Wherever a Negro family enters a neighborhood, values go down. Just at this point it is interesting to make note of the comments of several Negro leaders in the city who complained to the writer that the Negroes almost invariably have to pay higher rents than White people do for comparable property and facilities (Crimi 1941, 73).

Crimi says his research suggests there is a sense of "impending trouble" around race relations, and several suggested a joint council, possibly set up through the churches, to improve relations and work out issues around employment and segregation. He reproduces the following comment from one young African American, "'Pasadena Whites should awaken to the realization that THEY are creating a minority problem! One which is growing in intensity and one which will be tremendous if they don't awaken and attempt to do something about it'" (119). Crimi says that a "great many Negroes are perplexed by the entire problem, unable to see any way out of the difficulty, and thus are forced into a sort of hopeless acceptance of the conditions" (Crimi 1941, 120).

Seven years after Crimi's study, Earl Cartland of Whittier College submitted *A Study of the Negroes Living in Pasadena* for his master's thesis in education. Cartland's uses a veterans housing project in the East Arroyo area at Hammond and Lincoln Avenue to illustrate housing discrimination and its fallout in the community.

> These are typical barracks type of house that is usually built for this purpose. On Hammond Street, just east of Lincoln Avenue, one entire housing unit was built for the use of Negroes and Mexicans. It is occupied by twelve Negro and nine Mexican families. These dwellings are the ones in which the Japanese lived while they were being kept at Santa Anita during the war. None of the houses has hot water, wall board, space for flowers, or adequate heating. The ceiling is the under side of the roof sheeting. They are little more than barns partitioned into rooms
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> ***
>
> The partitions are covered only on one side with wall board. All woodwork is unpainted, the rafters are unpainted, there is no paper or paint on the wallboard, and the floor is bare wood. Until last spring the outside walls were covered with black roofing paper. Now they are covered with immitation (sic) brick paper. The yard has no lawn or grass and the only place for the children to play is in the drive that runs between the buildings. This drive is covered with an asphalt composition commonly called black top (Cartland 1948, 47-48).

He says the residents were grateful and happy to have this primitive housing until "on the opposite end of the same piece of property the city built some new housing units which are

incomparably better" (48). These were the Manzanita houses, small units with bright yellow paint, large windows, a hot water heater, refrigerator, stove, landscaping, and full furniture set. City staff told Cartland the reason for the disparity was that they built the Hammond units during the war, which limited the available materials. Several African Americans put in applications for these units but found out they were for Whites only.

> The reason they give for not putting any Negroes in the Manzanita units is that the Negroes had received their quota first, and the policy of the city is that the number of colored people securing city housing should be proportional to the ratio of Negroes to whites living in the city. On this basis the colored have received far more than their share of assistance from the city, for already they occupy about fifteen per cent of the housing space (Cartland 1948, 50).

African American applicants for the housing held a meeting and decided to take the issue to court and get an injunction against the city so the units would remain empty while the courts heard the case.

> The meeting was held in the Young Men's Christian Association on a Wednesday evening. The families had been notified to occupy the Manzanita housing unit on the following Monday. The Negroes planned to have the injunction served on the city on Friday. One Negro, however, talked too loudly and some city officials heard, with the result that by Thursday evening the units were occupied. Because of this, some of the colored people wanted to stone the city hall in protest, but were persuaded not to by a few influential Negroes (Cartland 1948, 49)

Miss Edna Jones, the superintendent of welfare for the city, said the fact that no African American families had moved out showed their satisfaction with what the city always intended to be temporary housing. Cartland says this ignores the fact that restrictive covenants limited the availability of an alternative. He quotes an African American mail carrier named Clifford Johnson who says that whenever they find a house without a covenant, the owners boost the price so high that they can't afford it. And those houses are about to fall down anyway.

> Before property will be sold to a Negro family it is often so dilapidated that a white American family would not buy it. But the Negro must buy if he is going to have a place in which to live, even though the house is ruined almost beyond repair before his family moves into it. Then he is blamed for its condition because he occupies it (Cartland 1948, 46).

Cartland also says because of the lack of decent paying jobs for African Americans, many simply have no money left for paint and flowers after buying groceries and paying bills. Cartland's research included an interview with C.D. Evans, the president of the Pasadena Realty Board, who said that property values are sure to drop after an African American family moves in even though African Americans keep their property in good condition and are well-behaved. "Other contradictory views that were expounded by Evans are the old cliches that if one Negro gets into an area it will soon be full of Negroes and that Negroes want to marry whites to 'thin their blood'" (Cartland 1948, 54). The fact that the city's solution to providing temporary housing for veterans of color was to relocate the barracks the army used for Japanese internment is telling.

After the early 1940s, steady pressure by the NAACP, other civic organizations, and pioneering individuals broke through the color line that ran along Forest Avenue. In 1942, Ross and Helen Raines, an African American couple, were able to purchase a small house at 743 Palisade Street, one block north of Washington Boulevard and west of Forest Avenue.[122] A previous owner had added a racial covenant to the title in 1927, and Hazel Fairchild, a neighboring homeowner along with several other white residents, convinced the Superior Court to issue an injunction that would force them to vacate the premises. But Raines appealed their case. After losing at the appellate level, they enlisted Loren Miller, an attorney and the co-

[122] In January of 1942, the California Supreme Court refused to take the city's appeal of the lower court's decision forcing the desegregation of the Brookside Plunge. In May, Japanese Americans had to leave their homes in the East Arroyo and across the city for internment, first at Santa Anita and later at camps in California and Arizona.

founder of the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, the main African American newspaper in Los Angeles, to take their case to the California Supreme Court. Rather than argue directly against settled precedent around racial covenants, Miller called a witness to testify that African American families lived in several adjoining properties, having taken advantage of homes without the restrictions. Because the composition of the area was now predominantly African American, the plaintiffs could not claim the Raines family caused them harm. In August 1944, seven justices of the California Supreme Court reversed the lower courts' decisions and Judge Robert Traynor wrote a concurring opinion saying the that racial covenants posed a threat to the public interest because of "congestion" they caused in the housing community of color (Cole 2021). The following year, Miller used the same argument to defend Academy-Award-winning actress Hattie McDaniel against a lawsuit by an all-White homeowner group after she purchased a home in the West Adams district of Los Angeles. Due to these successes, the NAACP chose to pair Miller with Thurgood Marshall for *Shelley v. Kraemer,* the 1948 Supreme Court case that struck down racial covenants across the country.



Figure 177. *House in dispute at 743 Palisade Street in the 1944 case Raines v. Fairchild*.

One of the plaintiffs in the Raines cases was none other than William Easterbrook, who in 1943 had moved to 1560 North Arroyo Drive, the large house, where Louis Castellano and his son Richard maintained the garden. The move from 484 Del Monte Street was no doubt in response to families of color beginning to move onto that street. These families would include two of the sons of William Russell Grant. Richard Grant moved to 510 Del Monte Street in 1947, and his brother Alfred built his home at 504 Del Monte in 1949, the lot next to where William Easterbrook once lived. The Easterbrooks move across Forest Avenue to avoid non-White neighbors was unsuccessful. In 1947, a light-skinned African American couple purchased a lot at 1310 North Arroyo, built a home, and became the first African American family on North Arroyo. Discovering the situation, the bank tried and failed to rescind the sale. Five years later, Earl Grant and his family would move to North Arroyo as well, and Solita Road, around the

corner from where I watched July Fourth fireworks, became a haven for African American doctors, lawyers, and other professionals, who commissioned architects to build a row of attractive upper-middle class homes.

Disaster narratives

The stories from the East Arroyo during the middle of the 20th century are similar to tales of survival after a natural disaster, invasion, or attack. These are disaster narratives. In this case, the combined disaster that the East Arroyo neighborhood needed to survive was redevelopment and freeway construction, which from roughly 1950 to 1975 constituted a kind of *Empire Strikes Back*-moment for the communities of color that had begun to break through White Pasadena's color lines. The first scene of every disaster narrative establishes the world prior to disruption, the normal world that the disaster is about to turn upside down. Along the East Arroyo, this was the world of Del Monte Street, where jacaranda trees shade the two blocks between Lincoln Avenue and the Arroyo, showering the modest houses with purple flowers during the month of June.



Figure 178. *Del Monte Steet today* between *Lincoln and Forest Avenues.*

Del Monte Street

Alfred Grant was born in Pasadena in 1912 as one of four children of William Russell Grant and his wife Henrietta. He grew up at 283 North Vernon listening to the hum of the family's rubbish trucks that fueled up using the gas tank in the yard. In 1937, already the father of two children, he was one of 16 African Americans that Loren Miller organized to challenge segregation of the Brookside Plunge ("Sixteen File Plunge Claim" 1937). Grant attended UCLA, graduated from Cal State L.A. with a degree in sociology, and became an actor in Black Hollywood, starring in films like *Mystery Swing* and *Son of Ingagi* in 1940. A short profile from the Internet Movie Database provides a description:

> Alfred Grant was one of the most suave, talented actors of Black Cinema and Golden Era Hollywood. He had quite a powerful presence on screen.

> He was the tough, macho type but still romantic and had a softness that the female movie-watchers loved. He could play any role there was and had an actor's voice if ever there was one; powerful, distinct, soothing and convincing ("Alfred Grant: Biography").

After the death of his first wife, he met and married Hannah (Betty) Oye, the daughter of Japanese immigrants. The two of them eloped to Las Vegas because of California's laws against miscegenation, but they had to overcome opposition from both sides of the family to their union. At the start of World War II, Grant put his acting skills to work and became a performer for the USO while Oye and her family had to report for internment at Santa Anita Racetrack. Barbara Richardson King, Grant's daughter, describes what happened:

> My dad was fighting to get her out of there. He was in the service by then, so he wrote a letter all the way to Washington D.C. And what happened was they said, "If you can get somebody to sponsor her…a good White person, we will honor that." And a judge, I don't remember who he was, sponsored her and wrote a letter to the government and got her out. Here's the irony was that they [Oye's family] were trying to get her to get a divorce, and because of my father and his family rallying for her, she got out and the family got shipped to Manzanar. – 7/12/22

Oye moved into the second-floor apartment with Grant's parents, William Russell and Henrietta, at 283 North Vernon and immediately began to take care of Grant's two boys, Bernal and Robert, while waiting for the war to end and her husband to return. She carried a pass card everywhere she went in case the police or others stopped her asked and why she was free from internment. Richardson King said that when her mother first moved in, Grant's brother and sister-in-law broke into her luggage because they thought she might be a spy.

> It was hysteria of war and who's the enemy and who are we going to blame. It was difficult for her. That's why she's my hero. To do that for both of them, she went against her parents and her family. My father's parents embraced my mom, but there were these other fringes that didn't understand what was going on. My father was a great provider and a great family man. And my mom ended up doing better than all of her sisters if you want to judge it like that. – 7/12/22

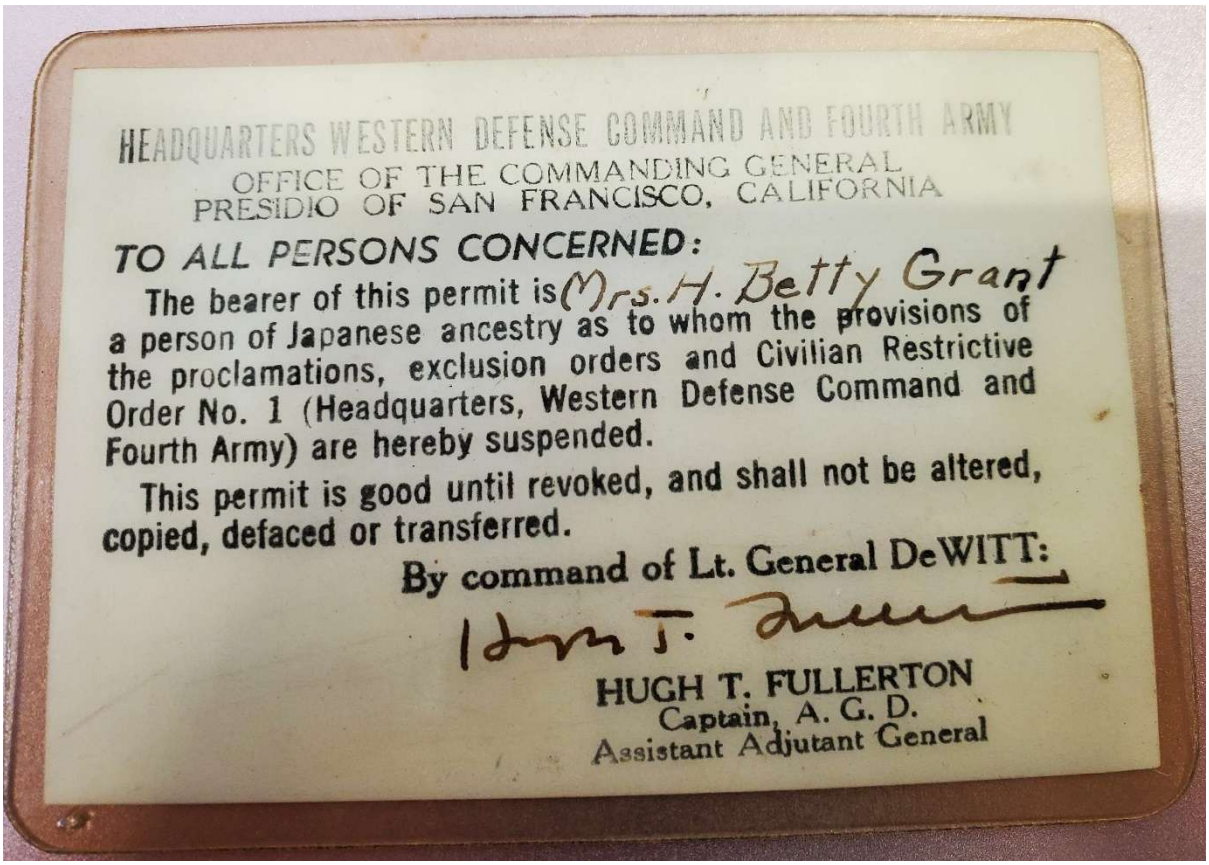

Figure 179. *The pass card that allowed Betty Grant to remain in Pasadena during World War II (Richardson King 2024)*

When the war was over, Alfred moved back into the second-floor apartment and began working with his father's rubbish business, eventually starting several companies of his own doing building maintenance and security for Pasadena offices and the hospital. One these ventures was the ownership of a café with pool tables and a dance hall called Casa Blanca at 39 Dayton Street in Old Pasadena. The dance hall filled a gap as the city barred African Americans from weekend dances at the civic auditorium as well as other entertainment venues, such as Pasadena's bowling alleys and skating rinks (Cartland 1948).

Grant and Oye soon had two more children, Kenneth and Barbara, and needed more space, leading to the purchase of a vacant lot on Del Monte Street next to his brother Richard's house. In 1949, Grant built his own home, just as Louis Castellano did the year before. Living

two doors down from one another, the children in the two families became fast friends. Richard Castellano was the oldest son of what would be a family of nine children and remains close to both Kenneth and Barbara. She describes life on Del Monte during the 1950s.

> I call him [Richard] my brother because he was my brother's best friend. His family lived two doors down from us and they had 9 kids. His sister was my blood sister, we cut the tips of our fingers and *[presents her two hands clasped together]*.
>
> ***Really.***
>
> Yeah, we were like "We're really going to do this?" And she was my best friend, and as I mentioned to you the other day, that was a wonderful street to grow up on. The Castellanos was the family with the nine kids. And then we had a Native American family that lived next door in between us. And then there were the Radcliffes that lived across the street. And then different elderly ladies dotted along the north side of the street. And then the Thompsons, who were both teachers with three kids, were on the other side from the Castellanos. And then Herbie Lewis, the Lewises, a single woman with three boys, and Herbie ended up being quite a significant African American jazz musician. And it was a safe place to grow up. We never locked our doors. The thing about it was that you trusted everybody, no matter what they did: a dentist, a doctor, the junkman. It was all small town, local people you could trust. - 7/12/22

Castellano concurred.

> It was just what you would think of in Mayberry. Kids up and down the street. It was incredibly safe. We didn't think of any harm whatsoever. None of that was…today, all these years later, it's tough to transport people back to that era because we're all family, everybody on the street. We all knew each other. We took care of each other. Because I had the biggest family and so that's where all the toys were, so all the neighborhood kids would come over to my house. So, they would play there. We play some games until dinnertime, and then people would have to go home. But it was a fun neighborhood. It was fun to grow up in. I didn't know any better. It was just how I grew up. This is what I knew. I didn't know that I was poor. I didn't know I was red-lined. I didn't even know that I was a minority. I didn't realize that I was a minority until I started going to high school. Then all the white…when I went to John Muir High School, La Cañada didn't have a high school. So, those kids came to my high school. That's when I found out that I was a minority because they would tell me. They would tease me

about their housekeepers with all the Latino names and their gardeners with the Latino names. That's when I realized I was a minority. – 8/23/22

What was most impressive in this multiracial neighborhood was the sense that everyone was one multi-racial family. Castellano explains how this felt:

Her [Barbara's] parents were my parents. Incredible mom and dad, absolutely incredible. Dad was Black, graduated from UCLA. Mom was Japanese, an incredible combination. My mom and dad could never give us enough attention because there was always somebody younger than us that was screaming that they needed attention. I would always go to Ken's house, and his dad would talk to us in his James Earl Jones big voice. Big, great guy. And he would love to talk to me and Ken, tell us the facts of life and say, "If I ever catch you smoking, I'm going to kick your ass." That kind of stuff. And I needed that. I loved it as a kid. So, when I found out I became a parent, the most important thing that you can give your child is…your free time. That's what they want. They want somebody to know that there is somebody there for them. – 8/23/22

Later, after Alfred Grant had passed away and Oye was in assisted living, Castellano remained close.

So, mom [Oye] is living alone. She was incredible to me, absolutely loved me. She called me one of her boys. So, Mother's Day, birthday, I would take her to lunch. She was wonderful for me. She was the mom I never had. I would take her to lunch. She would be all ready. She thought so much of me. So, they had to put her in a home in Pasadena. And I would call her daughter Barbara and say, "Hey Barbara, I'm taking mom to lunch." And she loved that I was doing this for her because her mom wanted me to marry her daughter Barbara. That's what she thought of me. I go up there. I'd pick her up, check-in, "I'm here to take out Betty Grant." So, we walk down the hallway, we get to the very first door, and she knocks on the door, "Hi Mabel, this my son Rich." Walk down to the next door and it was the same way. "Oh, hi Charlene, this…" It took about a half hour to get to the end of the hallway. "This is my son and he's taking me…." So, I would do that and she appreciated it and I knew it. I could feel it. She's was so good to me; I just couldn't stop. I did that for her, for years and years, I would take her to lunch. She meant the world to me. That's what a mom should have been like. – 8/23/22

At the other end of Del Monte, near the Arroyo, Tom Ito and his family had found a home. Leslie Ito, the executive director of the Armory Center for the Arts, said that her grandfather's home was known for its pool parties.

> "My grandpa was really active in the civic community of Japanese Americans in Pasadena. They were known for the Ito pool and their pool parties. My grandpa loved to party. My grandpa was known for two things, amazing pool parties in the backyard on Del Monte Street, and he was also known for being the insurance man that hand-delivered Norman Rockwell calendars to all his clients every December." – 5/2/22

At the center of this universe was Cleveland Elementary School, which was around the corner between Palisade and Washington. By the 1950s, students of color sat in almost every seat at Cleveland. Richardson King described how the school helped with community cohesion:

> That was a lot of fun. Small classrooms. Close to teachers. That's when the teacher would call your mother. My mother was always volunteering in the classroom. My mother was president of the PTA, and so she was always on campus. I remember Mrs. Moses was my teacher, and then she would be at my house at a function. And my brother has kept in touch with those kids that he went to Cleveland with. - 6/1/22

Mrs. Moses was one of the first African American teachers in Pasadena Unified as the school finally hired a handful of non-White teachers to match their student body.



Figure 180. *Grover Cleveland Elementary School on Palisade Street.*

Castellano explained the experience of growing up in such a tight-knit community is one that he sought to pass on to the children in the neighborhood he lives in today in East Pasadena:

> The most positive thing that I can say is that because of Del Monte Street, I have mirrored my friend's dad. Those are the values I used when I grew up. I modeled myself after him. The most important thing that I want to get people to understand is that the families that live there have a huge impact on you. They can have a huge impact, the neighbors. That's what I've tried to do with the kids here. That's why I went to five different Grandparents Visiting Days. Okay. There was this girl on the corner before [emotion]. Oh god, this girl was such a sweetheart. This family moved in twenty-two years ago. They had a 10-month-old boy and they got transferred and ended up here. The son, incredible son, just finished at MIT. His sister was also really bright, and she started using the telephone, and she would call me up after I retired. And she was like 5 years old and would call me up and ask me what I was having for dinner. And I'd say spaghetti. And she'd say, "My mom is making meatloaf, and I don't like meatloaf. Can I come over to your house?" And I'd say "Sure." And then I'd hear her talking to her mom, "Rich, just invited me over for dinner. Can I go?" And her mom would bring her over here,

> and it became a routine because the mom would get home and need time to fix dinner and didn't need this 5-year-old asking her questions all the time. So, I became really good friends with this little girl.
>
> This little girl [emotion]….she learned how to ride a bicycle. Her brother was playing baseball at Brookside. He was on a Little League team. But this little girl didn't want to watch baseball. She learned how to ride a bike, and so I had a van, and I said, "Look I'll bring my bike in it." And so, we went riding while her brother played the game, all over the place. She was thrilled. And her mother called me later that day and said, "Delaney said that this was the best day of her life." That's who I wanted to be! I wanted to be the person who would influence the kids like the Grants did for me. So, a couple of weeks later, mom calls me and says, "Delaney wants you to come over and read her a bedtime story." I'm just a friend! I'm just a frickin' neighbor! That's who I wanted to be! "Come over and read her…." So, I tell my wife and she says, "That's pretty damn incredible…" So, me and this little girl were like this. Just a beautiful child. – 8/23/22

Castellano's experience demonstrates how generating such trust and goodwill within one neighborhood can have a lasting effect on an entire community.

Wealth building

As Richardson King moved on to Muir High School, her father set to work as an entrepreneur to provide his family more economic security. While his building maintenance company was the main income for the family, he also ran the Casa Blanca café and dance hall on West Dayton Street until 1957. Richardson King explained how in supporting his family, he used his acting skills to perform someone of low-status when interacting with White people.

> And what he did do…some of the people at the building [that he cleaned] that he knew, he would go down and cater…he wouldn't cater, basically he would serve at their New Year's Eve parties and stuff like that. I think I told you he would always bring back a bunch of food. I wondered a lot…He had to be two people. He was a businessman and entrepreneur, which was very unique and special in his time. He had this fleet of trucks. He had this business over here. He was trying to be an actor. But then he had to be tight, closed in. And sometimes I saw him dumb down, not in the way he talked, but in his, "I'm just a lowly janitor." - 12/6/22

This dual identity extended down to the cars he drove around town.

> One of the businesses he had was a maintenance company, a building maintenance company. He had buildings down on Colorado. He had the hospital building that he cleaned up. He had staff. He had employees, and he would go around and check on them, and that's when he would use his raggedy car because he would run into people that were still there working in the evening, doing overtime, and he didn't want them to see him in a Cadillac. Heck no. - 12/6/22

His entrepreneurial spirit and sense of opportunity was something that he passed on to his children.

> We were always enterprising as a family and entrepreneurial, so I remember the various things my family would do to be part of the Rose Parade. (Laughter) I remember my brother bought a bushel of peanuts. But we spent days putting these peanuts into little bags and packaging them and stapling the packages. And he did the math, and he was going to make all this profit. Of course, it didn't work out that way. And then another thing, because my dad had trucks, he would clean out the bed of the truck and turn it around and park it at the Rose Parade and sell seats in the truck. So, we weren't official entrepreneurs of the parade, but it gave us an opportunity to be creative. - 6/1/22

Alfred Grant also followed his Uncle Earl and began to bid on real estate, eventually buying houses in the path of the 210 freeway from Caltrans and moving them to vacant lots. Freeway bulldozers destroyed the Grant family home at 283 North Vernon, where Grant had grown up with his father's five-car garage. But he found another house for his parents to live in and moved it next door to the Raines' house on Palisade. He also moved houses to Summit Avenue in Northwest Pasadena, became a landlord, and started the Pasadena Neighborhood Improvement Association. Richardson King credits her own neighborhood advocacy (see chapter 6) to her father's activism.

> He contacted a lot of the owners, and he created a contest for Neighborhood Beautification Awards. He contacted people at City Hall and got them to come down, and he got the owners to fix up their lawns, and he got people at City Hall to come down and give out awards. (6/1/22).

One of the reasons that Alfred Grant had success in real estate was a friendship he developed with William Morse, a vice-president and manager for the investment firm Wagenseller & Durst Inc. at 616 East Colorado Boulevard. Grant had the contract to clean the building, which is how he and Morse got to know one another. Richardson King explains the impact this relationship had on her family.

> Dad and he would get into really interesting conversations. You know, I told you my dad had a degree. He was…He had a good command of the English language and they talked politics and everything.
>
> I would like to say that Bill Morse is responsible for much of my father's success. You know as it was, I mean we lived a good life and never worried about anything. I'm sure they [her parents] did. I didn't. And he took a liking to my dad. He gave him business advice. He got him in the Rotary when I don't think there was another Black person in there. [emotion] … They became great friends…I remember…he took me to their house. He was going over there for something and he took me with him. And I'm like, "Wow." Great, beautiful location.
>
> ***
>
> But I watched them become good friends [emotion], and he didn't want anything from my father as far as money was concerned. He taught him how to bid on properties and contracts because these buildings down here, the hospital and all that, you didn't just walk in. You had to know how to create a professional looking proposal. Mom and Dad would work on it and then Dad could take it over to Bill for final review. And a lot of reasons that African American companies didn't make it is that they didn't have the money to have the bond and they weren't insured. And he taught him how important these things were. I mean we lived a humble life. I mean my dad didn't…he was not extravagant or flamboyant and buying stuff and wasting money. So, he had the money, but he told him what they needed to do. So, when you submitted a proposal, most of them are going to be thrown out. "But wait a minute, Al Grant, he's got his bond and he's insured."
>
> ***
>
> It just taught me as a very low-key observer, number one, that not all people are bad or prejudiced or against you. I don't know if it was fate that this happened. It wasn't anything planned. My father never tried to create this relationship to happen. It was a true friendship that they created. [emotion] I know that he, Bill, would wait sometimes for my dad to come so they could talk because he just

> loved to talk with him. It was good. It was just a really good learning experience for me to see, first hand.
>
> And then he got him in the Rotary, which was unheard of at that time. And Dad wasn't always comfortable with that situation…But Bill was doing everything that he could to get him right there and didn't want anything, anything for it. - 12/6/22

Unleashing disaster

But this unlikely friendship between an individual living in Northwest Pasadena and a member of Pasadena's financial establishment, which the generation before had organized the campaign for racial covenants, was not the norm. While this cabal had lost their fight to wall off portions of Pasadena to people of color and segregate the Brookside Plunge, they found other outlets for their animus. One was the school district, which resulted in the resignation of the school superintendent who wanted to phase out the transfer policy that allowed White parents to keep their children from attending schools with students of color. Another was urban renewal efforts, which began in the early '50s with "Operation Junkyard," a slum clearance project that resulted in the demolition of at least 1260 buildings and 230 citations, mostly for the illegal conversation of garages or sheds into sub-standard living quarters (Nicolaides 2024; Spehr 1953). In 1960, the city created the Pasadena Redevelopment Agency that immediately sought federal funds for the Pepper Project, an effort to attract White residents back into Northwest Pasadena by demolishing a middle-class, African American area, including the home where Jackie, Mack, and the rest of Robinsons had grown up.[123] The 1961 General Plan called for

[123] Protests against the plan and funding problems delayed construction for nine years. During this period, homeowners and businesses were not allowed to make any improvements to their properties because it would boost the compensation the City would have to pay through eminent domain (Scheid Lund 1999). As a result, what had been a solidly middle-class neighborhood went into a tailspin.

industrial zoning along Fair Oaks and concentrating over 2300 displaced residents into the Orange Grove-Lincoln area. This would have more than doubled the population density and required a change from R-1 to R-4 zoning, which would have allowed high-density apartment buildings along Lincoln Avenue.



Figure 181. *Jackie Robinson and family on Pepper Street circa 1942. Robinson, second row, fourth from the right, stands next to his mother at 121 Pepper Street. The city demolished this and surrounding homes as part of the Pepper Project (Fioresi and Perez 2024)*

The other blunt instrument the city used to eviscerate the wealth building by families of color was freeway construction. As early as 1911, highway officials had discussed creating a branch from a state north-south route through the La Cañada valley to Pasadena ("Foothill Highway Endorsed for State Road" 1911). This concept showed up on maps of the Regional

Planning Commission in 1943, and in July of 1949, the Chamber of Commerce organized a luncheon for state highway officials at the Huntington Hotel where they argued for east-west highway across Pasadena that would connect to a La Cañada-Devil's Gate Freeway and eliminate a troublesome bottleneck at Devil's Gate Dam ("New Colorado Street Bridge Discussed: Pasadena's Highway Problems Outlined by Planners for Visiting State Officials" 1949). Caltrans settled the location of Pasadena's freeways in the summer of 1964 after a single public hearing that attracted more than 1000 people (Snyder 1964). While the city wanted the route closer to North Fair Oaks and South Pasadena argued for a route that would go up the Lower Arroyo and past the Rose Bowl, the state engineer selected to follow the right-of-way of the Salt Lake-Los Angeles Railway just east of Lincoln Boulevard ("2 Freeway Routes Set Tentatively: Commission Will Consider Choices at Public Hearing" 1964). Initial designs from February of 1965 showed an elevated freeway through Northwest Pasadena and depressed highway through Central Pasadena and La Cañada Flintridge, maximizing freeway noise and depressing the values of East Arroyo homes (Snyder 1965). The City of Pasadena approved the route in November of 1965 with the first lanes across the Arroyo at Devil's Gate Dam opening in August of 1974 (Birkinshaw 1965; "Fateful Span Opens Today" 1974). The main interchange, which Caltrans built on top of Vernon Street and William Russell Grant's five-car garage, opened in March of 1976 (Hemmerick 1976). The northern spur of the 210 freeway, which now ironically carries the name the Jackie Robinson Memorial Highway, destroyed 900 homes and displaced over 2600 people (Loukaitou-Sideris et al. 2023). Using state and federal dollars, the city's White leaders tried to concentrate Pasadena communities of color into high-density

settlements in order to make as much real estate as possible available for White developers and residents.[124]

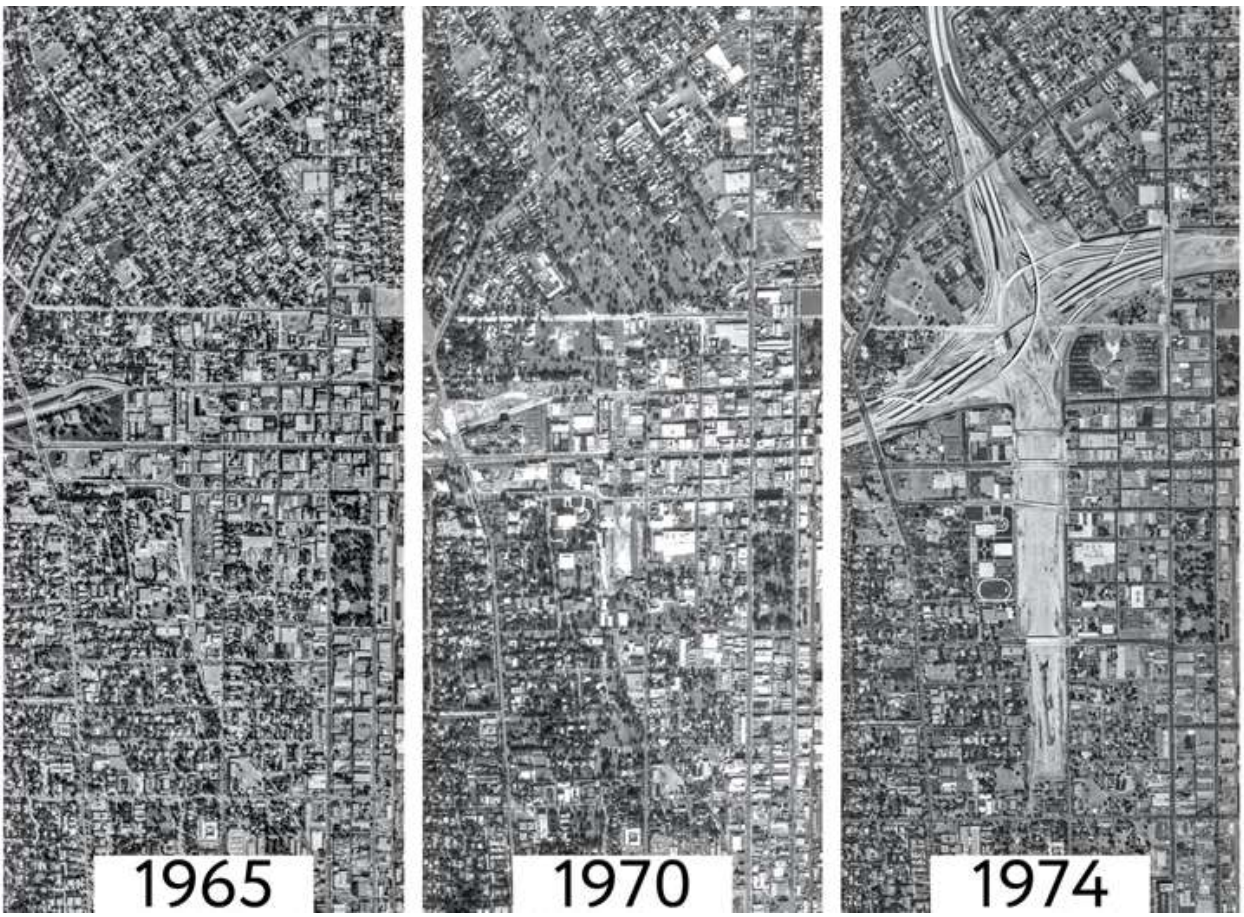

Figure 182. *The freeway interchange created new neighborhood boundaries. Note the open space created north of Walnut Boulevard in top of the 1970 photo in preparation for construction (City of Pasadena 2025)*

The impact of freeway construction on the East Arroyo was profound. For Barbara Richardson King there had always been a subtle class boundary between her neighborhood of modest, single-family homes along Del Monte Street and the multi-family housing east of Lincoln Avenue. But the freeway suddenly hardened this boundary, cutting off the East Arroyo

[124] One of the structures lost to the freeway was the Davis Apartments. African American developer Thomas Davis built this complex at Glen and Lincoln in 1954 as the first apartments in the city open to African Americans. Davis carefully selected his tenants and the complex did well ("Pasadena apartments broke racial barriers" 1994). Support for similar projects could have addressed some of the concerns driving redevelopment while keeping wealth within the African American community. The aim of many Whites, however, was to scatter the communities of color and mine the source of their wealth.

area from the rest of Northwest Pasadena (Nicolaides 2024). This hard boundary continued south before turning into an east-west route below Prospect Park, Westmoreland Place, and institutions such as The Gamble House, which the City had accepted as a gift in 1966. Whereas before the Gamble House and the Feynes Mansion, which now houses the Pasadena Museum of History, seemed an extension of Millionaires Row, they were now part of the East Arroyo. Perhaps unintentionally, the freeways reinforced the notion that all the streets north and west of the freeway to the rim of the Arroyo had a common cause. Functionally, these communities were now much closer together. For example, Scott Methodist, an African American church that the freeway destroyed, relocated to North Orange Grove directly across from the entrance to Prospect Park. Stories that follow the fallout from wars or natural disasters typically trace the arc of refugees creating coherence and cohesion as they help one another adapt and start over. In the five decades since the completion of the freeways, this has occurred to varying degrees in East Arroyo. The next section charts this adaptive response and search for cohesion. While admittedly a work in progress, the East Arroyo, perhaps more than any other neighborhood in the city, offers an opportunity for people from different cultures and classes to work together to create a sustainable and just future.



Figure 183. *Looking west in 1972 at the 210/134 freeway interchange under construction (Pasadena Complete Streets Coalition 2025).*

Pulling Together

Across the East Arroyo, the contrast between the affluent areas and those of more modest means is apparent in the response to freeway construction. In the northern part of this neighborhood, near Del Monte Street and Cleveland Elementary, Alfred Grant moved houses out of the way of bulldozers, including the one where his daughter Barbara now lives on North

Arroyo Drive. In the southern part of the neighborhood, the focus was on maintaining the historic ambience of a particular house very much rooted in place. In October 1971, Pasadena's zoning commission approved a plan to build 50 condominiums on the Westmoreland Place lots north of The Gamble House (Mann 1971). In response, neighbors fought the proposal for almost three years before the City's Board of Directors finally denied the required zoning variance in September of 1974 (Lee 1974). That same year the state declared The Gamble House a California Historical Landmark and the neighbors formed the East Arroyo Residents Association.



Figure 184. *The Gamble House. Completed in 1909, the Gamble House Conservancy operates the house as a museum open to the public.*

The story pattern of the last five decades in the East Arroyo is one that's still unfolding. Now ringed by the freeway on one side and the rim of the Arroyo on the other, the residents in

the north and the south share many of the same issues and interests, but working together in a coordinated fashion means turning cultural and class differences from obstacles into assets, orienting new people moving into the neighborhood, and coming together to plan the future of Lincoln Avenue and the Cleveland School campus.



Figure 185. *Bird's eye photo of the East Arroyo neighborhood after freeway construction. The freeways provided new, defined boundaries for the neighborhood. The lack of landscaping suggests that this photo was likely taken shortly after the freways opened in 1976. ("Freeway view" n.d. Courtesy of the Pasadena Public Library, Pasadena, California)*

Shortly after the freeways opened, the opportunities and benefits of collective advocacy came into focus. For example, the Norton Simon Museum jettisoned Pasadena Art Workshops from its programming mix after taking over the Pasadena Museum of Modern Art in 1974, forcing the innovative art education program to find a new home. That new home was the campus of Lincoln Elementary School, which the district closed for good in spring of 1974 because students filled only 360 of the 500 seats the school had to offer (Lee 1973; "Pasadena to Close Two Schools for $370,000 Saving" 1974). Over the next six years, the mostly White staff and volunteers built relationships with artists from Northwest Pasadena and became an integral and integrated afterschool option for the neighborhood (Register 1997, see chapter 4). One of the justifications for closing Lincoln School was that the City planned to rezone the Lincoln Triangle, the area west of Fair Oaks between the freeway and North Orange Grove, to build an $11 million auto center that would generate sales tax revenue. The plan would have displaced 108 families, but a coalition of 13 organizations protested. The advocacy paid off as the City abandoned the plan in spring of 1978 after the federal government rejected their grant proposal for $3 million (Mann 1978). Two years later, City Councilman John Crowley hosted a community meeting at the Gamble House about potential redevelopment along Lincoln Avenue, initiating a conversation that continues to this day. Attendees argued that housing was more important than jobs and wanted most commercial activities clustered north of Hammond Street (Lloyd 1980). That same year, residents in Prospect Park organized to have their area declared a historic district, a designation they received in 1983 ("Arroyo Seco neighbors make their mark in history" 1986). And in 1989, many of these same residents were present at the re-opening of the long-closed Prospect Boulevard bridge after upgrades for earthquake safety (Mandel 1989).

These post-freeway battles provided a blueprint and a network to turn the East Arroyo into a more cohesive neighborhood (East Arroyo Residents Association 2024).



Figure 186. *Pillars designed by Sylvanus Marston at the entrance to the Prospect Park subdivision.*

The challenges to this task, however, are not small. One is the consistent state of turnover in the area's population. Census tracts do not neatly encompass the area west of the 210 freeway, but the estimates I compiled show dramatic White flight in the 1950s, a rise in Black population in the 1960s and 70s, a significant decline in the decades since, a jump in the Asian-Pacific Islander population in the 1980s, the Hispanic population in the 1990s, and a return of Whites in

the 2000s, a subsequent drop, and a rise in racial category of "Other."[125] The two census tracts I reviewed report that two-thirds of respondents moved into their residence within the last 20 years. To the extent that a stable community deters crime, this turnover provides context to some of the street violence that has at times plagued the community. The year 2007 was particularly rough in this regard. In February there was a shooting at Lincoln and Orange Grove and another behind Cleveland Elementary (Gurton 2007). Then in May racially-charged graffiti with references to KKK and the N-word appeared on the exterior of the school ("Graffiti vandals hit Cleveland School" 2007). This was also the year newspaper articles focused on intensified gang violence and the infamous “Sock on Brown” phenomenon, where African American young men attacked Hispanic individuals on streets across Northwest Pasadena (Winton and DiMassa 2007). One recent trend in the area has been purchases of East Arroyo properties as investments. Barbara Richardson King works as a realtor and said that young couples might choose the area before they have children and then use profits from their sale to move to an area with better schools. John Dean was president of the East Arroyo Residents Association and has lived on North Arroyo Drive since the 1970s.

> There was a couple that bought a house at Washington and Arroyo, a Spanish style two-story that had been built by an African American man, a guy named George Halwell. When they bought it, this was two years back, it was $1.7 million. They stayed about three years and put it back on the market and sold it for $2.4 million. So, they made $700,000 and moved up to Ojai. So, a smart savvy-person will look where I can pay the least and get the most back. – 7/19/22

[125] Three census tracts cover the East Arroyo area. One encompasses Arroyo Terrace, Prospect Park, and the area west of Forest and south of Washington. The other two census tracts, however, include additional portions of Northwest Pasadena east of the freeway to Fair Oaks Avenue. For analysis and comparison, I chose to use the northern tract that includes portions of Northwest Pasadena between Montana and Washington and east to Fair Oaks. This choice leaves out portions of the area south of Washington, between Forest and Prospect and the 210 freeway. A recent UCLA study of the impact of the 210 Freeway displacement, while important and informative, does not map onto the neighborhood either. While not absolutely specific to the East Arroyo, the analysis of these tracts does reveal important trends.

What these figures suggest is that one hurdle to creating more cohesion is the lack of common history and collective memory. Residents who are new to the area are also likely to lack an understanding of the neighborhood's past.

Lincoln Avenue

Given this turnover, the consistency of advocacy over the past forty years to improve conditions along Lincoln Avenue is impressive (Tranquada 1984). As early as 1924, 48 property owners asked the city to clear rubbish from the land between the railroad tracks and Lincoln Avenue up to Hammond Street. The *Pasadena Evening Post* reported that the developers subdividing these lots were using the rubbish as fill, making the area unsightly ("Clear Lots of Rubbish, Plea" 1924). In the 1950s, Alfred and Betty Grant told their daughter Barbara to stay off of Lincoln. But one day she took her bike around the corner, down Lincoln, to McDonald Street:

> I'm not supposed to go off the block, but here I am going down Lincoln and around the corner and met with this guy, Danny. And he had some kind of machete, and he's up there like….He must have seen some movie or something, and he was a big bad guy. He said the word "Fuck." I remember that because I went home and told my mother. He probably wanted us to give him some money or pass something. I hurried back and told my mother [excited], "Yeah, there was somebody down there! And you know…." But that was right across the street from the liquor store too on McDonald and Lincoln. That's the menace. That's the dragon…The liquor store created a whole bunch of bad actors, hanging out, sitting down, you know…Drunks would sit down there all day, and you'd pass by as a kid, and they would "What ya' doing?" You're scared to death, and I don't know what else is going on because I'm a kid, if they were doing drugs or whatever, rundown cars, just attracting a bad element. And sometimes we had to go through it, we had to drive through it, or we had to walk through it because when we walked to school, we walked down Lincoln past McDonald to Palisade to go to school. – 8/24/22

This particular liquor store at the corner of McDonald and Lincoln has been a sore spot for decades. Mack Robinson eventually settled on McDonald, and in 1963, he organized a 142-

name petition against the store and the attached bar called the International Club ("City Orders Crackdown on Taverns: Fair Oaks Ave. Bars Are Target of Board Action" 1963). Much of this came from zoning of Lincoln as an industrial corridor in the 1961 Master Plan, though the legacy of this area as a site for industry goes back to the turn of the last century. For example, the Smith Cash and Carry Sawmill began between the railroad tracks and Lincoln Avenue in 1903 (Scheid Lund 1999). Richardson King walked past the sawmill on the other side of Lincoln on her way to school.



Figure 187. *Liquor store at the corner of Lincoln and MacDonald. This store has generated controversy in the community for at least seventy years.*

Today, the walk along this two-block stretch continues to be uninviting. Cinder block walls crowd a cracked sidewalk littered with debris. There is a worn bus bench, bars on the window, and metal gates with “No Trespassing” signs. The avenue leaves one feeling isolated and exposed. Businesses include F & M Plumbing, J & J Roofing, and MM Action Automotive.

On the other side of Lincoln, on either side of the sawmill is the Church of Christ and Lincoln Avenue Celestial, sealed up during the week waiting for Sunday. In terms of performance, this section of the avenue feels like a liminal, backstage space and not a place where stories happen. The one spot that defies this description is a small cottage-like storefront with a green awning that serves as the studio for Makoto Taiko, a Japanese drumming school, that began renting the space about a decade ago (see chapter 4). Karen Koyano is the executive director:

> Up to this point, we've been happy being there. The neighbors, taiko is so loud and we're close to a residential area, but our neighbors have come to accept us and we haven't had complaints in eight or nine years. There are people that will walk by and peak in and are really excited to hear us. And I understand from our landlord that people kind of like us there. So, that's kind of nice. Sometimes we kind of get scared because there are homeless going up and down Lincoln, but in general the neighbors have been really good to us. – 5/27/22

As one continues further down Lincoln to the corner of Lincoln and West Washington Boulevard one encounters more industry: La Cañada Rustic Stone, ASAP Welding, and Robertson's Ready Mix Concrete. It was a proposal for a truck maintenance station at Lincoln and Washington in 1982 sparked a collective uprising against heavy industry on Lincoln and resulted in a 30-day moratorium on all Lincoln Avenue development ("Pasadena OKs moratorium for Lincoln area" 1982). A year later, the Pasadena Planning Commission voted to change the zoning from industrial to general commercial while allowing existing businesses, including the liquor store, to retain their properties (Estes 1983). At the time Channing Johnson, the only African American on the commission stated, "'The business community has had its way with the northwest with the open assistance of the Board of Directors and our predecessors on the Planning Commission for a long time. It's time for the pendulum to swing the other way and right some wrongs.'" Johnson went on to say that the city allowed industrial uses next to homes in the northwest "'because it is a black community, plain and simple'" (Tranquada 1983) Planning

director and future mayor, Terry Tornek, said that the corridor is "the most dramatic example of incompatible industrial-residential zoning in the city" (Tranquada 1983). The irony is that some of these industrial ventures causing complaints, including a rubbish business, were the means by which families such as the Grants were able to ascend into the middle class.



Figure 188. *Makoto Taiko drum studio on Lincoln Avenue. While the group's leaders worry about rising rents, the studio fits the vision of Pasadena's Lincoln Avenue Specific Plan.*

Despite the new zoning designation, change in the corridor wasn't going to happen on its own, and so neighborhood advocates pushed the City to do more. In response, the City created the Lincoln Avenue Redevelopment Project Area. The tax increment financing that came with this designation facilitated scattered projects, such as the elimination of the Monroe Auto Wrecking at the corner of Lincoln Avenue and Mountain in 1991 (Ulrich 1991). A driving force behind this and other projects along Lincoln Avenue was the late Jaylene Moseley, the co-founder and president of the Flintridge Foundation ("Jaylene Moseley, Local Crusader for Social

and Economic Justice, is Dead at 70" 2019; Wilson 2019). Mosely moved to Pasadena in 1975 and quickly became involved in the community issues in Altadena and Northwest Pasadena. In 1986, she founded the Flintridge Center in a low-slung building next to the 210 freeway to support education and community organizing in the area. She also founded a development company, and in 2002, began gathering ideas from 300 neighbors for a commercial development on Lincoln two blocks north of Muir High School (Cherniss 2002; Parker 2002). Five years later, her Palm Plaza opened with Perry's Joint, a café and sandwich shop, becoming both a gathering spot and a source of employment for Muir High School students.

Mosley also served on the advisory committee for the Lincoln Avenue Specific Plan (LASP). The planning effort, which began in 2009, was Councilmember Jacque Robinson's response to ongoing neighborhood advocacy. The LASP advisory committee included residents north and south of the freeway along Lincoln as well as homeowners from Prospect Park since Lincoln Avenue could be their closest commercial shopping area. The planning process included several workshops and resulted in a 2013 plan that while preserving existing businesses, created a blueprint for replacing them with pedestrian friendly shops (City of Pasadena 2013). Without referencing the specific plan, Barbara Richardson King voiced a similar idea in talking with me about the corridor:

> That's the thing is that we don't have a destination in our neighborhood, a hang out place. It would be so easy for it to be on Lincoln. But Lincoln right now is industrial. We have the La Cañada Stone and Gravel, and I love those people. Across the street, we've got another stone place. It's very industrial. That all needs to be turned into…Wouldn't you like to walk two blocks and go to…Like what they did to Figueroa in Highland Park…Saturday it's pretty jazzy...Several cafés or restaurants, a whole strip, local businesses. A couple of coffee shops, a dress shop, an art shop. We don't have that. We have to get in our cars. I go to La Cañada. Why? - 8/24/22

The plan also called for tree planting, façade improvements, traffic calming, and public art. In 2019, it seemed a cornerstone of the plan was about to fall into place when the city staff recommended approval of a mixed-use development at McDonald and Lincoln that would replace the liquor store that terrified Richardson King as a young girl ("Commission to review new Lincoln Avenue residential Development at site of former liquor store" 2019). Unfortunately, the project fell through preserving, for now, the status quo.

The City approved an update to LASP in 2021 with the following vision statement: "Lincoln Avenue will be the heart of the greater residential neighborhood where commercial and multifamily uses co-exist in a walkable, vibrant environment with public realm improvements that create a cohesive and well-connected corridor" (City of Pasadena 2021, 3).

Speaking to the holistic approach local stakeholders have taken, the updated plan organized its goals under the following categories: Public Realm & Community Cohesion, Development & Design, Economic Development, and Multi-family Housing. Highly relevant to creative placekeeping, the plan identified the following goals for the public realm and community cohesion:

- “A high-quality public realm, including sidewalks and public open spaces, that contribute to Lincoln Avenue’s overall identity and sense of place”;
- “A comfortable and well-connected corridor that encourages sustainable modes of travel such as walking, biking, rolling, and bus riding”;
- “A safe, socially and culturally connected corridor supported by public art and community events”; and

- "A green corridor with sufficient landscaping and shade coverage to encourage pedestrian mobility and support sustainability objectives such as carbon sequestration, mitigating the urban heat island effect, and enhancing stormwater capture" (29, 31).



Lincoln South *- Conceptual illustration of a key community node at Lincoln Ave and Washington Blvd with residential/commercial mixed use, flexible office space, public open space, and an enhanced public realm.*

Figure 189. Vision *of what the City of Pasadena would like for Lincoln Avenue south of the freeway. This rendering is from the latest Lincoln Avenue Specific Plan (City of Pasadena 2021).*

As a community-driven process, the planning efforts for Lincoln Avenue have been very different from the top-down, federally-funded redevelopment efforts of the 1960s. The balancing of small-business development, affordable housing, community greening, multimodal transportation, creative expression, and heritage interpretation, all done with eye toward design that meshes with the residential neighborhood could become a proving ground for a context-sensitive, community-engaged development process. A key dynamic will be controlling gentrification along the corridor so that it remains affordable for both residents and businesses.

Karen Koyano worries that Makoto Taiko, which would fit nicely into the LASP vision, will have to find another location that is receptive to having a drumming school as a neighbor.

> The businesses around us are being bought by some kind of real estate investment firm. And so, we're expecting we're going to get kicked out of our facility when they get around to improving it (5/27/22).

Cleveland Elementary School

Somewhat surprisingly, one point that neither the original LASP or the updated plan address is the fate of the Cleveland Elementary School campus, which is only a half block from Lincoln Avenue. In 1950, White residents of the East Arroyo argued vociferously that they should be able to send their children across the Arroyo to Linda Vista Elementary (Zeman 1951). These parents got their wish, which is why the Cleveland classes for Richard Castellano and Barbara Richardson King had almost no white faces. For the next two decades Cleveland proved to be a haven for students of color. The 1970 desegregation order initiated a busing program that severed the close connection between the school and the neighborhood, as East Arroyo students went out to other schools and White students from other neighborhoods attended Cleveland. Busing was an essential stepping-stone toward a more just Pasadena, but it had collateral impacts. Becky Nicolaides explains:

> For years, civil rights activists had justifiably lambasted the "neighborhood schools" movement as a euphemism for maintaining racial segregation. As accurate as this critique was, there had been a historic connection between neighborhood schools and community cohesion that was disrupted by the busing of Black and white pupils alike. Profound geographic dispersal diminished the role of the local suburban neighborhood in everyday life and placed new strains on families across the class/race spectrum (Nicolaides 2024, 196-97).

Cleveland continued to do well with strong leadership, and in 1991 posted some of the highest test scores in the Western San Gabriel Valley (Estes 1991). However, the overall abandonment of the Pasadena Unified School District by middle- and upper-class families and

declining birth rates led to declining enrollment. In 1970, almost 30 percent of the population of the two census tracts I use to represent the East Arroyo attended a K-12 school. By 2020, this percentage had dropped to 11 percent, and with her knowledge of the real estate market, Richardson King confirmed with me that "it's not a big kid area right now."



Figure 190. *School garden along the back corner of Cleveland Elementary. The campus could again serve as a focal point for the community.*

In 2018, the school board voted 5 to 2 to close Cleveland because it only had 99 students (Lindhal 2018). Since that decision, the campus has hosted two different charter schools and a child care center. While the current charter tenant is a public school, it is open to students from across the district, eliminating the school as a focal point of community life. John Dean commented on the activities he sees at Cleveland now.

> When the charter school took it over and I saw these kids out, and it didn't make sense to me. What's wrong with this picture? Most of the kids on the playground were White kids. And I saw these cars lined up to pick the kids up. All these cars

> were the latest models of BMW, Audi, SUVs and on and on, even though where Cleveland is it's a largely minority area. But the charter school is there. It has a fairly large White enrollment with some cinnamon and nutmeg and maybe a little cumin. So, they wouldn't send their kids there with the district, but they will send them there for the charter school. You ask them if they'd send their kids to Cleveland and they said "No, it's too dangerous." But then when the charter school takes over the school in this "dangerous" neighborhood, they feel okay about sending their kids. So, it's just how people's minds work. – 9/14/22

Cleveland Elementary School was central to the sense of community that Richardson King and Castellano experienced growing up on Del Monte Street. As a major piece of real estate next to Lincoln Avenue, the campus could again serve again as a focal point with the neighborhood given the right programming and tie-in to redevelopment along Lincoln Avenue. Richardson King shared some of her ideas:

> My fantasy is to get some of the African American churches together and buy a place like Cleveland and turn it into a community center. Because we have pastors' appreciation and we'll go to the Hilton and we'll have 400 or 500 people, and they'll do the dinners and we'll spend like $15,000. We could be providing jobs for people. They could have a culinary school there. You could have a big community center that could seat 500 people and have it be high tech, a community center, so any group, the fraternity or sororities, anybody who wanted to do an event could come there and do it. And in the meantime, we could provide opportunities and jobs for training. It could be a training center. You could do a film school there. - 8/24/22

Freeway impacts

The troubled dynamics of Pasadena's educational system is one larger, structural dynamic standing in the way of creating a more cohesive neighborhood along the Arroyo's eastern rim. Another constraint is the abiding presence of the freeway. What makes the freeway an inescapable presence within the neighborhood is the sound. The ten-lane elevated highway broadcasts a steady hum across the rooftops of the East Arroyo, punctuated by the squeal of braking trucks. The freeway generates what literary

scholar Mikhail Bakhtin calls a chronotope, a distinctive experience of space-time, that permeates the neighborhood and competes with the more staid chronotope of a classic American garden suburb (Bakhtin 1981). Barbara Richardson King is sensitive to this impact because of her work as a realtor.

> I was writing to Tyrone [Hampton – City Councilperson for District 1] the other day and said, “We have to do something about the noise." And I think we have extenuating circumstances because we have the Rose Bowl noise, we have the freeway noise, we have the heliport noise, and then we have the noise from the Highway Patrol because they pull people over and turn their speakers on. This is how you erode a neighborhood. If we sold our house, I’d have to disclose that there’s freeway noise because that’s one of the questions on the disclosure statement. Some people would say, “I don’t want to even go look at that because I don’t want to be bothered.” But that bothers me. It wasn’t always like that. - 8/24/22



Figure 191. *Robertson’s Ready Mix concrete plant along Lincoln Avenue. Note the Wal-Mart truck on the elevated freeway in the background. This portion lacks sound walls provided other communities.*

Since the 1980s, neighbors have advocated for sound walls for the elevated highway as it runs along Lincoln Avenue. The clash between the two chronotopes within the neighborhood is sometimes literal. Richardson King, who lives next to the Arroyo-Windsor freeway exit, explains:

> Did I tell you about the accident that a guy ran into Tyrone's house? At 1:30 in the morning, my dog starts barking. I was dozing off when my dog started barking. I looked across the street and a car had jumped the curb and had hit his wife's car. The guy was knocking at their door. And I got on the phone and called her, and they didn't know what was going on. She said there was a strange man knocking at the door. So, I called the cops, and they came right away and by that time he was knocking at the neighbor's door. So, then everyone is outside in their curlers and bathrobes, and the police took the guy off. He was very non-combative. But this is the kind of thing that happens from being so close the freeway. The police said that he didn't even know where he was. – 1/10/23

Richardson King feels the freeway has also made neighbors more vulnerable to crime:

> I had a call from one of my neighbors one day who said "Barbara, I think someone broke into the Kayawatha's house." This older Japanese couple were still living there. She said, "I saw these young kids run down the driveway." And I said, "All right, I'll be right over." And it was so stupid. The two of us go right up to the front down and start knocking and saying, "Are you alright? Are you in there?" And these guys come running down the driveway and they jump in a car and sped away. They were being dropped off in our neighborhood. This was a rash of burglaries that was organized by adults who sent these kids to get into the houses. So, I wonder if the house was deeper into the neighborhood, would have they chosen that. - 7/12/22

The collective impact of the freeway seems as though it would call for a collective response, becoming perhaps a rallying point for neighbors to work together. But beyond sound walls or a conversion to quieter electric cars and trucks, it is hard to imagine improvement. Long-term, having an elevated freeway looming over Lincoln Avenue will make creating a pedestrian-friendly mixed-use shopping district more difficult, the only silver lining being that having to live next to the noise might make rents and real estate more affordable.

Questions for the future

The story of pulling together after a disaster falls within the literary tradition of heroic romance, a class of stories that hinge on clear binaries between good and evil, success and failure, life and death. In these stories there is a hero, a sought for good, and an antagonist, with allies or accomplices on both sides. Sometimes the hero is not a single character but a group or ensemble that must work together to win the championship, complete the mission, find the treasure, or simply survive the disaster. The East Arroyo area consists of clusters of streets and historic subdivisions divided by race, class, ethnicity, and attachment to and longevity in the neighborhood, and so it fits this ensemble pattern. The first part in such stories will typically establish each of the characters, reveal potential conflicts, and end with the realization of a shared goal and shared commitment to work together.

Over the last fifty years, different sets of East Arroyo neighbors have performed versions of this story. Some of these efforts have only engaged neighbors close at hand; others have engaged the entire east rim. In 2012, for example, local resident Berlinda Brown partnered with East Arroyo Residents Association, Pasadena Beautiful, and several local businesses and non-profits to organize a Zanja Community Work Day. Forty-six youth and 30 adult volunteers planted 320 drought-tolerant succulents and flowers and cleaned up Zanja Street between Lincoln and Forest, which had become a dumping ground and location for drug dealing and prostitution (Ituarte 2012). That same year a diverse coalition of neighbors came together to stop the closing of Pasadena's main post office at the corner of Lincoln and North Orange Grove, holding a rally with city officials and Congressman Adam Schiff that got the federal government to reverse course ("Community Rally to Save Mack Robinson Post Office" 2012).



Figure 192. *Trees planted in 2012 during the Zanja Street Community Work Day.*

But overall, finding common cause and a shared sense of purpose across this diverse neighborhood has been a challenge. Joan Aarestad, the current president of the East Arroyo Residents Association, told me that she'd like the area to be more cohesive and more engaged when it comes to maintaining the area's quality of life.[126] Neighbors might identify more as residents of Prospect Park or North Arroyo rather than the East Arroyo. Until recently, the East Arroyo Residents Association only went up West Washington Boulevard, leaving Barbara Richardson King to organize her own North Arroyo Association several years ago during a fight to keep a halfway house from locating down the street. While property values have risen in the

[126] Personal interview, 7/11/22

area, the turnover in the population, the construction of freeway, the closing of Cleveland Elementary, the frustrations about Lincoln Avenue, and the housing crisis all prevent the neighborhood from restoring the idyllic sense of family that once existed on Del Monte Street. The final section of this essay introduces the questions this narrative analysis suggests might be helpful for neighbors to discuss to achieve a more just and sustainable future.

The first question is what shared purpose, goal, or achievement can most of the East Arroyo neighborhood rally around. There are shared interests, such as maintaining property values, having quality schooling options, public safety, traffic, and noise. There are shared public venues, such as the Cleveland Elementary campus, Lincoln Avenue, the post office, and the Gamble House. There are shared organizations, such as the East Arroyo Residents Association and Council District 1. And there are shared frustrations, with the freeway, Rose Bowl events and concerts, and helicopter flights. One widely shared sentiment is that the East Arroyo doesn't receive as much respect, attention, or investment as the Lower Arroyo or Linda Vista (see appendices 27 and 29). For example, during Rose Bowl events, such as the 4th of July fireworks, the City sets up barricades around the East Arroyo neighborhood and in Linda Vista, on the other side of the canyon, to reduce traffic and parking conflicts. In Linda Vista, the people manning the barricades are in the Police Explorers program and wear blue vests. On the east side, the City hires people for the day and gives them fluorescent yellow vests. There is a sense that Explorers have more authority and do a better job at keeping people off the streets. People also compare the resources invested in refurbishing the John van de Kamp Bridge in the Lower Arroyo versus the Prospect Bridge across Seco Street or the money the city has spent on Desiderio Park compared with Brookside. Frustration with these disparities can serve to unify the neighborhood as could threats to the status quo, such the possibility of commercial development around the Rose Bowl

stadium or its potential bankruptcy and eventual demolition. Elusive, however, is an articulation of a shared goal or aspiration for the East Arroyo area. Organizing around a positive vision can be much more invigorating and gives the heroic adventure narrative a different tone than one focused solely on opposition. So, one question is what positive or visionary ideals, conceptual or concrete, could serve to integrate the neighborhood's diverse profile of streets from north to south.

A second question is what actions can bring both prosperity and stability to the neighborhood. The census tracts I used to represent the neighborhood show the area has higher poverty and unemployment rates, lower incomes and property values, and a higher rent burden than other neighborhoods around the Arroyo. This includes the more affluent portions of the neighborhood, which means in certain pockets the trend toward poverty is more pronounced. The Lincoln Avenue Specific Plan's prescription to create a vibrant, pedestrian-oriented shopping district with second- and third-floor apartments above small, ground-floor businesses provides a place to start. The ideal would be to find a developer with a commitment to the existing community, rather than one seeking to initiate a wave of gentrification.[127] The late Jaylene Moseley provides a role model for what local investment can do for local business. Prosperity, however, will invite instability. Absent measures such housing cooperatives, community land trusts, and public subsidies, organizations such as Makoto Taiko will not be able to remain on Lincoln Avenue and other non-profits and local entrepreneurs won't be able to get started. Lincoln Avenue could provide a laboratory for a form of neighborhood revitalization that prevents the displacement of existing residents. Having the Lincoln Avenue Specific Plan is

[127] Tina Williams, the field representative for Council District 1 during the Lincoln Avenue Specific Plan, shared conversations about Lincoln Avenue that she had with new business owners and potential developers who were focused on who might move into the neighborhood rather than who is already there.

important, but the next question should be how representatives from East Arroyo neighborhood can coordinate with the City's planning department to implement the plan and corral and control the market dynamics through innovative legal arrangements, land management, and financing.

The importance of Cleveland Elementary to community cohesion raises a third question: how can the neighborhood recreate the enduring intergenerational relationships of an earlier era without a true "neighborhood school." Barbara Richardson King underscored what success on this front looks like:

> That little Del Monte was a safe enclave for everybody and the school too. You know, we just knew that we were going to go here and go there and you carried your tribe with you. Richard and my brother were friends for a lifetime, since the second grade. I wonder if people have lasting relationships like that anymore. - 7/12/22

The census data suggest the percentage of school-age children attending private school from the East Arroyo area is only 10 to 15 percent whereas in the other neighborhoods along Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo, the percentage is between 60 and 75 percent. Could Alma Fuerte, the public charter school currently using the Cleveland campus, and the private schools in the neighborhood, such as Chandler, Sequoyah, New Horizons, and the Westmoreland Academy, collaborate on an initiative, such as a school garden or nature park, a shared maker space or athletic field? Perhaps a retrospective about Cleveland that included oral histories with former teachers and students would help the community create programming that weaves current families together into networks of mutual support. The Arroyo could play a central role in such a program.

A fourth question is about the role of creative placekeeping in pulling the neighborhood together and achieving the community's goals. Certainly, placekeeping aligns with the goals of the Lincoln Avenue Specific Plan, and the plan itself calls for the use of arts and culture

throughout the corridor to create a vibrant public commons (City of Pasadena 2013, 2021). Before presenting new ideas, it is important to understand the projects that have already happened and the resources that are available. For example, in 2015, the Pasadena Playhouse sponsored the forum theater project *Mi Historia, Mi Manera* about gentrification and displacement in the Lincoln Triangle neighborhood. The final street performances in the neighborhood became a happening and strengthened public engagement in the area's future (see appendix 25). Side Street Projects, one of the leading community arts groups in Pasadena, works out of the back of Muir High School, separated from the neighborhood by a single freeway underpass. Nearby, the Pasadena Department of Water and Power collaborated with Studio Petrichor in 2019 on the Coniston and Arroyo Garden Project, which transformed the area around Sheldon Reservoir into a native plant demonstration garden.

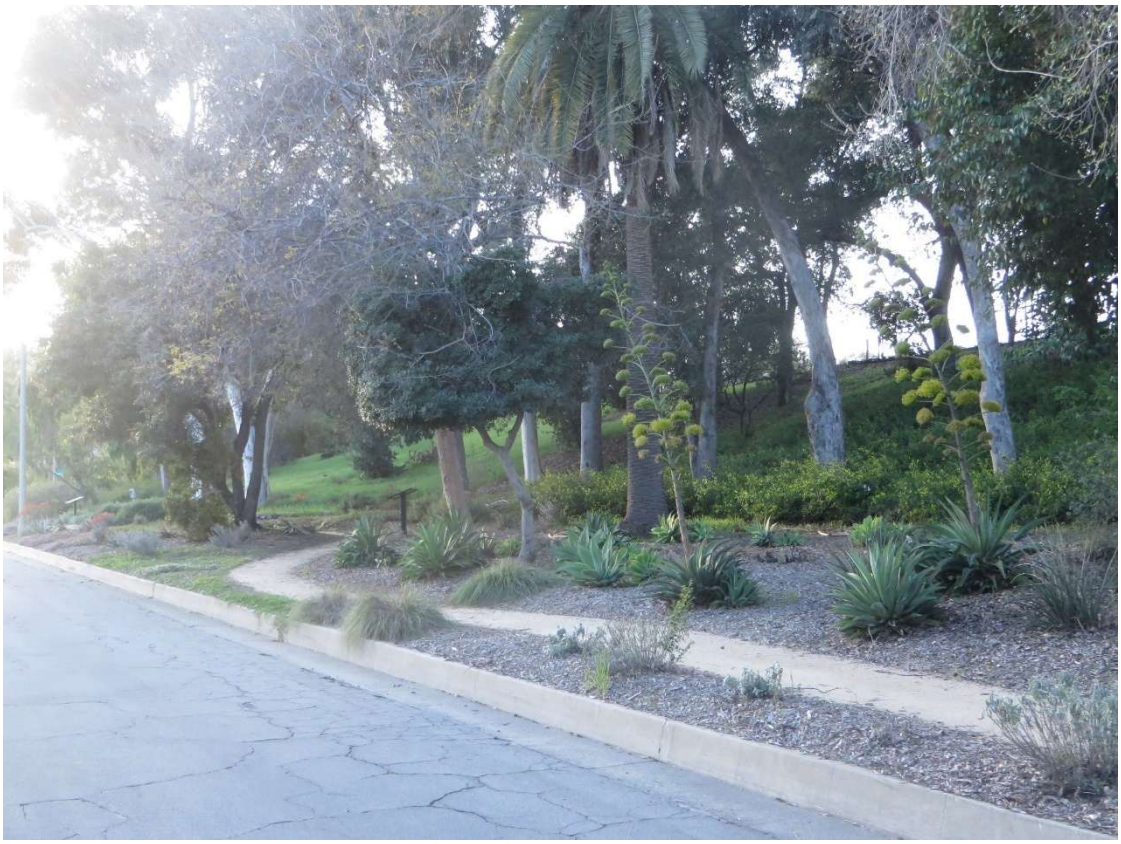

Figure 193. *Climate-smart landscaping along Sheldon Reservoir installed in 2019.*

At the other end of the neighborhood, The Gamble House and Westmoreland Place increasingly function as the neighborhood's front porch. The soft boundary between Westmoreland and Orange Grove contrast sharply with the private condos and townhomes across the street and make the area an attractive gathering spot. The Gamble House has increasingly used this to their advantage, partnering with Lineage Dance Ensemble to activate the space and draw in a crowd. Executive Director Alexandra Rasic expressed their interest in telling stories that reach beyond architecture and connect more broadly to the inspirations behind the Arts and Crafts movement.[128] There are also opportunities to build on existing social gatherings, such as the spontaneous lawn parties I was told about that occur on Bellmore Way and Armada Street, the East Arroyo Residents Association annual gathering, the 4th of July fireworks, and to take advantage of the Rose Bowl loop, which has become a place where the community goes to relax and rejuvenate.

A number of ideas for new placekeeping projects surfaced during my research. For example, Leslie Ito thinks it would be fitting to get Johnny's Sport Shop on Lincoln Avenue designated as an historic landmark. The Ota family opened their sporting goods store in 1958. Over time it has evolved into a fish-tackle store. Ito said that during the 1960's, working at Johnny's was almost a rite of passage for Japanese American young men, including her father who grew up on Del Monte Street. Recognition of the Raines house on Palisade, Mack Robinson's house on McDonald, and Ruby McKnight Williams' house on Westgate are all deserving of attention for their relationship to the civil rights struggle in Pasadena. Consultation with local tribal leaders could result in recognizing locations, such as Sheldon Reservoir, where Native people have had a presence and provide Gabrieleno/Tongva peoples greater visibility.

[128] Personal interview with Alexandra Rasic and Jennifer Trotoux, 6/21/22.

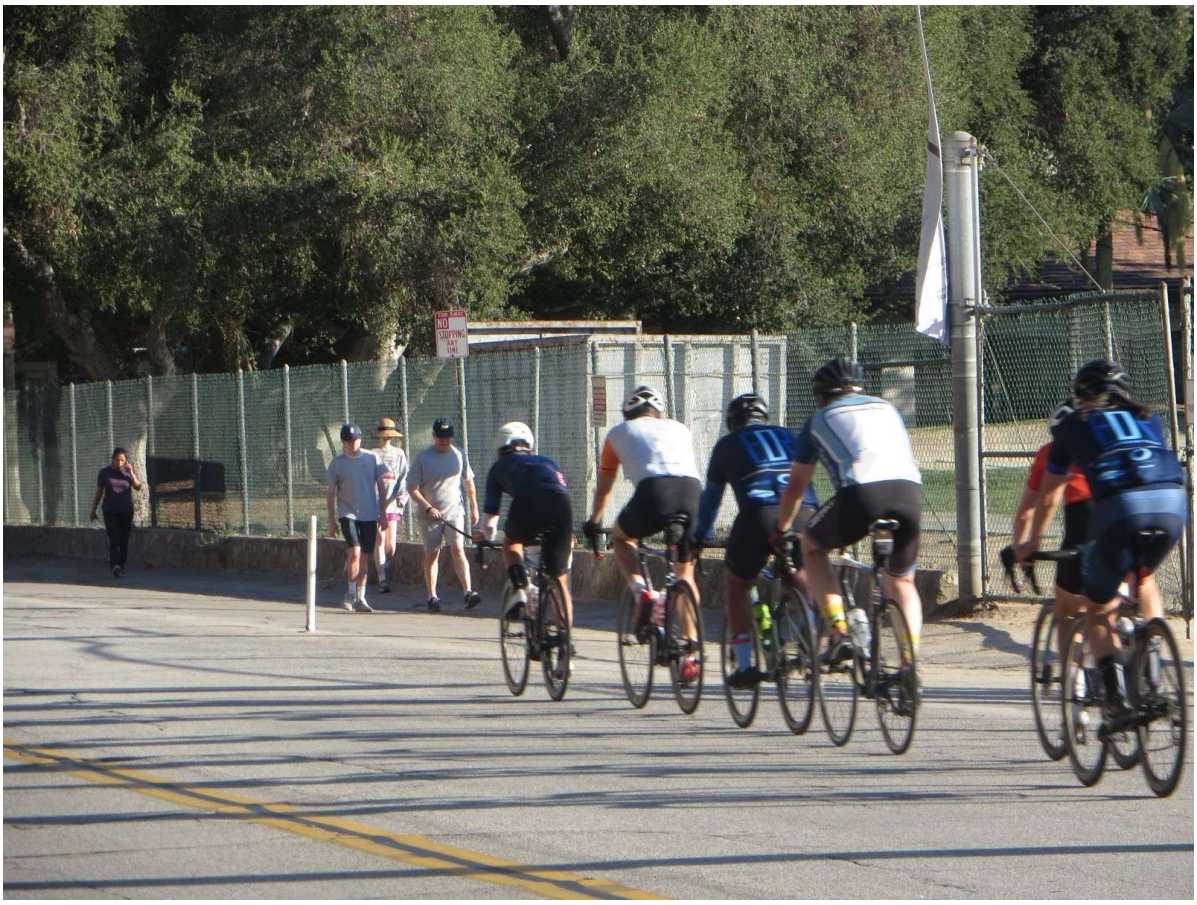

Figure 194. *Cyclists and walkers along the Rose Bowl Loop. The loop has become a gathering place for neighborhood residents and is a regional destination for those in need of open space.*

Barbara Richardson King is interested in erecting Craftsman pillars at the freeway exit at North Arroyo Boulevard to match the ones at either end of Prospect Boulevard. She believes these pillars would indicate to drivers that they are entering a neighborhood to which residents give care and attention. Finally, the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers pilot identified an area of blacktop that seems perfect for a native plant rain garden at the corner of North Arroyo and Westgate. Across from a pocket park dedicated to Ruby McKnight Williams, this type of green space could help catch stormwater to replenish the aquifer and provide an opportunity for a community-driven design that highlights local stories. This space could be the first project of an Unpave Pasadena campaign that leads to the eventual removal of the Arroyo Seco flood control channel (see chapter 7).



Figure 195. *Excessive blacktop at Westgate and North Arroyo Boulevard. Converting this space into a native plant pocket park to capture stormwater would provide an opportunitiy for neighborhood storytelling and cooperation.*

Conclusion

As a realtor for almost forty years, Barbara Richardson King has a good perspective on her neighborhood.

> It's for the most part a very safe place to live. People can walk their dogs. People pretty much know their neighbors, not like they used to, but you know. I think they're proud to bring their friends to the area. I think they're proud of the environment, that it's well maintained and kept. - 6/1/22.

When I asked what type of story she would tell to help the community achieve a future she could be proud of, she said it would be a story that demonstrates and celebrates the diversity of the neighborhood and of Pasadena as a whole. "We are many, but we are one" would be the

message.[129] The history of the neighborhood above the eastern rim of the Arroyo shows that making diversity work is a matter of openness, creativity, endurance, and resiliency. It's about Loren Miller figuring out how to win the housing case against discrimination; it's about Alfred Grant moving houses out of the way of the freeway; it's about two generations of advocates working to improve Lincoln Avenue. These same qualities are important to the flora and fauna of the oak savanna and sage scrub that once covered the neighborhood. This is a landscape in which the boundaries for different habitats shift with each lightning fire. It's an environment that's dynamic and that requires humility, adaptation, and learning. The final question for the neighborhood that this analysis suggests is how can everyone in the neighborhood learn from one another's experience so that the neighborhood can creatively respond to a dynamic and uncertain future. Finding events and venues that will build relationships, uncover similarities, and reveal hidden talents will put the neighborhood in the strongest possible position. This essay's presentation of the area's history could be a starting point as there is greater depth and detail than what I have been able to present here. With so many satisfied to retreat into their homes and shut the door on the world, however, this calls for more social gatherings, for taking pleasure in getting to know people from different classes and backgrounds, for discussing the neighborhood's past and potential future, might seem unrealistic. For Richardson King, it took the dog next door jumping over her backyard fence to break the ice with her neighbor. Somewhat surprisingly, this is the image that sticks with me the most when thinking about the future of the East Arroyo, of a dog leaping over a fence to find a friend.

It was kind of funny to me that dog would jump that high. - 8/24/22

[129] Personal interview, Barbara Richardson King, 12/6/22.

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John Steven McGroarty at a microphone with Albert I Stewart, Robert M. Clark and Bernard Brenner at a Brookside Park picnic, Pasadena, 1935, 1935, black and white photograph, uclamss_1429_10065, Los Angeles Times Photographic Archive, UCLA Library Special Collections, licensed under CC by 4.0. https://digital.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:/21198/zz002ddths.

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Appendix 29: Linda Vista

Driving across the Holly Street Bridge to the west of the Rose Bowl puts you at the edge of a long mesa, the terrace of an ancient floodplain that runs the length of Pasadena's Central Arroyo Seco Park. The floor of the canyon below consists of a mix of parking lots and grassy, golf-course hummocks arranged around the city's iconic stadium. Above the mesa, the San Rafael Hills climb to a prominent ridgeline punctuated by glaring mansions. But when you leave the bridge and turn north on Linda Vista Avenue what you first notice are the trees. Primarily Chinese elm, interspersed with palms, pines, eucalyptus, and a smattering of native oaks and sycamores, the trees provide an arboreal blanket that for almost everyone prompts a relaxing exhalation. And this treelined avenue seemingly goes on and on, past tidy, well-kempt homes and historic street lamps, seemingly plucked from the streets of London circa 1920. The landscape of the Linda Vista neighborhood is dreamy and cruising through the alley of trees invites one into a fantasy. The only stop light along the length of Linda Vista is at Lida Avenue, which leads up to the hidden, hillside campus of the Art Center College of Design, tucked into the hills behind a screen of trees. But just before this light a surprising sight shakes the visitor from their reverie: the remnants of what was once the heart of neighborhood life, the now closed campus of Linda Vista Elementary. Plywood covers the windows and fallen tree branches litter the grounds. Weeds reach to eye-level between the buildings. The only signs of life come from the back corner of the property, where a day care center operates in modular trailers, the young voices and line of cars waiting to pick them up in the afternoon providing a hushed reminder of how it used to sound when the school was open. This situation begs a question: why does a blighted school sit at the center of Pasadena's wealthiest community?

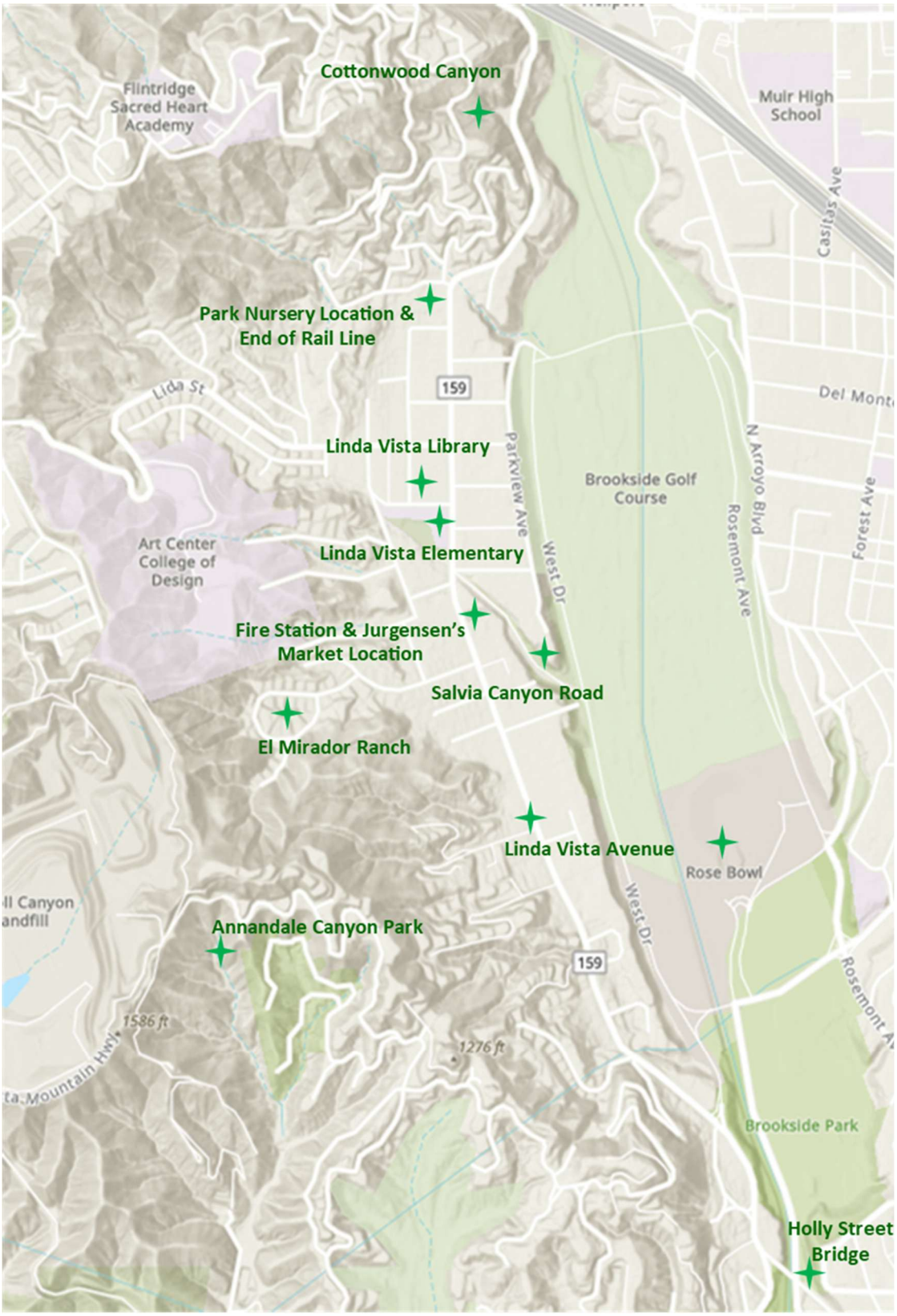

Figure 196. *Map of current and historic locations for Linda Vista*

The school district shuttered the campus in 2006, citing the small number of students from the neighborhood attending the school. Almost all of the 200 or so students attending Linda Vista Elementary when it closed arrived on buses from Northwest Pasadena; only 16 were from the neighborhood. Almost 300 of the kindergarten thru 8th grade students living in Linda Vista at the time attended private school (Hoffman 2005b). With an ever-expanding budget deficit to close and difficult choices to make, closing Linda Vista and moving the students from Northwest Pasadena back to schools in their own neighborhood would save not only the cost of operating a school but the cost of the busing program as well (Hoffman 2005a). This is the elevator explanation of what happened. The school, however, is representative of a deeper narrative thread running through Linda Vista's past like the dreamy avenue under the trees. Along this road are the landmarks of a literary tragedy: a noble and relentless pursuit, which sets a character or entity above and apart from the rest of society and increasingly narrows their vision of the future until they reach a seemingly fated end, often resulting in their own death or that of a beloved, and often innocent, victim from which it is hard to recover. Every neighborhood contains multiple story lines, and like a Greek chorus, there have been voices in Linda Vista warning against following this road toward its tragic conclusion. But as with all tragedies, a commitment to a particular set of assumptions has made it hard for the neighborhood to imagine alternatives. This essay travels this road pointing out these landmarks, shares voices of the dissenting chorus, and offers questions for the neighborhood to consider so that it can build on the best parts of Linda Vista's past and perhaps shift the neighborhood's story in a more salutary direction. While all tragedies involve loss, not all end in sorrow. The mood at the final curtain depends on reflections and realizations of those who remain. Sparking these reflections is the goal of this essay.



Figure 197. *The front of Linda Vista Elementary campus. The first school opened in 1888 and closed in 1891. The school re-opened at its current location in 1903 and closed in 2006.*

A noble and relentless pursuit

If one continues further north on Linda Vista Avenue, past the elementary school, there is a choice: either take a left on Inverness and climb a swerving series of narrow roads that service the ridgeline residences or bear right and continue on Linda Vista Avenue around the protruding bluff toward Devil's Gate Dam. If you choose the latter, you can park at the brow of the bluff, cross the street, walk past some collapsed wire fencing, and pierce the screen of leafy, low-hanging branches that separate Cottonwood Canyon from the road. Behind this screen the temperature drops immediately, and your eyes adjusts to the deep shade. The sound of trickling water directs your attention to a natural spring that wildlife uses as they travel from the Arroyo

Seco up into the San Rafael Hills. Human beings following this route must navigate a rollercoaster footpath that mostly climbs but sometimes dips through the spongy oak duff that blankets the ravine. Several hundred feet higher, the slope lessens, and you break through the trees to meet one of those narrow, winding roads. Above this point, there is only chaparral, what some call the "elfin forest."



Figure 198. *The Arroyos & Foothills Conservancy marker for Cottonwood Canyon along Linda Vista Avenue. The Conservancy purchased land in the canyon to serve as a wildlife corridor.*

Outside the canyons and ravines such as these, where oaks found enough water to thrive, most of Linda Vista was originally chaparral, a habitat comprised of hardscrabble plants that over millions of years have each developed a unique set of adaptations to cope with water stress and poor soils. For some, the trick is thick leaf tissue. For others, survival has to do with rooting depth – narrow and deep to tap hidden moisture or wide and shallow to capture sporadic rains.

Other plants survive by linking their seed production to the fire cycle and the opportunities it provides to colonize open ground. Each native plant is like an instrument in an orchestra with climate as their conductor, finely tuned to the timing and intensity of fire and rain (Parker et al. 2016). The importance of timing aligns these chaparral dynamics with the comic tradition, a broad genre that leverages uncertainty and surprise to hold the interest of an audience and teach the importance of flexibility, adaptation, and an openness to change.

This is a lesson Gabrieleno/Tongva families took to heart by using fire to mimic the patterns of change and disruption they witnessed in the chaparral and steer the landscape toward food production. M. Kat Anderson, an expert on Native Californians use of fire, and Jon Keeley, a former biology professor at Occidental College, state the following:

> Tribes discovered that if you burned the chaparral at the right time of year and at the right frequency, you could simultaneously open up the habitat for ease of movement and hunting, increase its ability to support deer and small mammals, increase the productivity of the plants used for food and medicine, encourage shrubs to produce shoots ideal for basketry, and reduce the vulnerability of villages to out-of-control, lightning-ignited summer wildfires (Timbrook et al. 1982; Lewis 1993; Shipek 1993; Keeley 2002; Anderson and Rosenthal 2015)" (Anderson and Keeley 2018, 80).

This process was so sophisticated that it not only affected species composition but the arrangement and structure of species on the landscape. Anderson and Keeley continue:

> "Frequent fires (e.g., more than one per decade) would extirpate chaparral shrubs that recruit entirely by seed (e.g., many species of *Ceanothus* and *Arctostaphylos*), and thin out facultatively seeding shrubs like *Adenostoma fasciculatum* (Keeley and Syphard 2018). Under such fire frequency, resprouting shrubs would persist as islands in a matrix of herbaceous vegetation and these resprouters include some important Native American food and basketry resources: *Prunus ilicifolia*, *Heteromeles arbutifolia, Sambucus spp., Ribes spp., Rhus aromatica*, other species of *Arctostaphylos*, and *Quercus berberifolia*. There is also value added to this scenario in that these resources are far more accessible when present in isolated island remnants, plus fruit production increases following such stand thinning due to reduced plant competition for soil water resources (Keeley and

> Keeley 1988). Burning removed dead biomass and encouraged maximal growth of fruit-bearing canes and branches (Anderson and Rosenthal 2015)" (110-111)

They say that of all the chaparral plants, the different species of manzanita (*Arctostaphylos spp*.) were perhaps most valuable to Native peoples. "Indians used the leaves, bark, and berries of *Arctostaphylos spp*. for various medicines and transformed its bark and wood into arrow straighteners, awl handles, digging sticks, canes, brooms, reels for string, containers, firewood, house construction, pipes, mush paddles, and ear- and nose-piercing sticks." Of note is a cider-like drink rich in vitamins from the manzanita berries. "Since any particular locality supported only a few of the 14 species of *Arctostaphylos* utilized in California chaparral, each tribe had its own local cider reflecting that particular *terroir* (Anderson and House 2012)" (Anderson and Keeley 2018, 84-85).



Figure 199. *Chaparral vegetation above the Art Center College of Design.*

There is evidence that Gabrieleno/Tongva families lived at the site of Linda Vista Elementary, and this fact spurs the imagination to picture what life must have been like prior to colonization (Crocker 1968; Johnston 1962). Along the stream that ran through Salvia Canyon, families likely harvested and hunted in the chaparral on the hills, used fire on the mesa to encourage flower fields and forblands rich in wild edibles, and managed the oaks in the canyons to maximize the acorn harvest. Below the mesa on the slopes above the Arroyo's floodplain, Native people would have cultivated and enjoyed a veritable supermarket of mature fruit-bearing plants, such as laurel sumac, golden currant, California juniper, Lemonade berry (*Rhus integrifolia*), Mexican elderberry (*Sambucus mexicana*), and spiny redberry (*Rhamnus crocea*), Prickly pear (*Opuntia spp.*), and prolific seed-producers like California buckwheat (*Eriogonum fasciculatum*) (Smith 1980). Having lived with this landscape for thousands of years, Native people had likely experienced their own tragedies and learned their own hard lessons about how to thrive in this landscape. As with the future elementary school, this site would have been the place where elders passed on these lessons to a new generation and taught them about how to work with fire, honor the plants and wildlife, use water wisely, and most of all, remain flexible and open to adaptation and change.

In contrast to this flexibility and openness to change, a tragic narrative features a noble and relentless pursuit of a compelling vision or goal (Frye 1957). With the distance of time, this vision can seem questionable, but within the social context of the story, most admire the goal at the center of this vision. The hero in these stories has a particular tragic flaw but also a steadfast moral grounding, which while tipping into righteousness also earns them respect from the other characters. The character who reaches for this prize has audacity and hubris, the defining character trait of tragic heroes, which gains them followers or subjects. It is no wonder that most

tragic heroes are royal in some regard. Their particular tragic flaw is why they pursue their righteous goal so relentlessly and why, in their singular focus, they lose sight of the big picture.

For European American settlers--the Spanish missionaries, the California rancheros, and the 19th century American farmers, speculators, and developers--this pursuit was for a landscape that they could associate with wealth and prosperity. This landscape of wealth took different forms. The priests at Mission San Gabriel, with their fervent belief in converting Native people, certainly match the description of the tragic hero, their moral righteousness leading them to label Native people as people "without reason" and use torture and slave labor to amass riches gained through the tallow trade (Monroy 1990; Reid 1926). Their tragic end came swiftly in 1833 with the secularization of the missions and their decision to slaughter their herds and vandalize their property rather than give it over to the government (Reid 1926). The San Gabriel Mission only exerted light control over Linda Vista for a scant 13 years because in 1784 the governor of Mexican California carved out the Rancho San Rafael, of which Linda Vista was a part, from the Mission's lands and granted title to the former soldier Jose Marie Verdugo. He and his son Julio used the land for cattle grazing until drought decimated their herd in the early 1860s. Similar to the Mission, their singular pursuit of wealth through cattle breeding and their blindness to the dynamic climate and ecology of the Southern California led to their own tragic end and scenes of a landscape littered with the carcasses of cattle from the drought. Losing the herd led to the seizure and partition of the rancho in 1869 to pay Julio's debts (Wayte 1992).

Linda Vista then went to Benjamin Dreyfuss, an Anaheim investor, who ran sheep across the hillsides, further degrading the complex mosaic of habitats that Gabrieleno/Tongva families had cultivated and depended upon (Miller 2018). Grazing by cattle and sheep opened up the ground for invasive annual grasses, which shortened the fire cycle so that only the most vigorous

chaparral plants, such as laurel sumac, could survive. Anderson and Keeley suggest that the chaparral of today is very different than before the arrival of Europeans:

> Pre-EuroAmerican contact chaparral was, at least in some locations, more spatially heterogeneous than what exists today. Its different successional stages formed mosaics of shrublands mixed with open grasslands and woodlands. This structural complexity, with its greater vegetational diversity and ecotonal area, translated into greater floristic and habitat diversity and an abundance of different niches for wildlife (Verner and Boss 1980). Simply put, the chaparral in much of pre-EuroAmerican contact California was species-rich in a way that a contemporary person struggling through a sea of chamise (*Adenostoma fasciculatum*) or contemplating a hillside of seemingly pure buckbrush (*Ceanothus cuneatus*) would find difficult to appreciate" (82).

A specific description of Linda Vista's chaparral is available from Emmanuel Mische (1922), a landscape architect commissioned to create the first park plan for the Arroyo:

> Upon the north and east slopes of the San Rafael hills is an evergreen covering of natural vegetation that is dense, lovely and distinct. During the long, dry summers when herbaceous foliage is dry and brown these hills in their cloak of fresh greens supply an anodyne to the overwrought nerves of visitors. Their colorings alone are a restful palliative and soothing in their freshness. Fortunately tree growth in the gulches of these slopes has been comparatively sparse and small statured; access to the property being more difficult than to the Arroyo Seco the needs of citizens for wood has been met without recourse to their slopes. All these conditions have combined to preserve the primeval garb of these hills from vandals' spoliation. It is now for the Pasadena citizens to say whether the conservation shall continue and be made perpetual by gaining control of that part that is desirable for park purposes, and is unsuited for residential uses (460).

The specific date of this observation is uncertain but likely occurred prior to the 1918 Arroyo park plan that served as the reason for his Pasadena visit (Hunt et al. 1918). The residents of Pasadena, however, did not follow Mische's suggestion to set aside the San Rafael Hills as a natural area.[130] Instead, as American settlers began to fill the area, the land went from supporting

[130] In 2009, the City acquired 21 acres for Annandale Canyon Park on the south slope of the hills above the 134 Freeway.

the wealth embodied by cattle and sheep to being valuable all on its own. The noble pursuit for this new group of settlers became turning Linda Vista into what urban historian Becky Nicolaides (2024) calls a "garden suburb," a particular urban form popular with affluent homeowners at the turn of the last century.

The pursuit of this new vision began in 1883 shortly after a real estate syndicate hoping to make a quick profit purchased Dreyfuss' stake in the land. At this point, the settlement that would become Pasadena on the other side of the Arroyo was almost ten years old and on the cusp of incorporation and explosive growth with the arrival of the first rail line in 1885. Pasadena settlers at this time referred to Linda Vista as "Indian Flat" because it served as a rancheria for Native people, Mexican Americans, and other landless workers in need of a home (Reid and McClatchie 1895). With their land confiscated, the habitats they depended upon collapsing, and laws calling for their extirpation, Native people across Southern California sought sanctuary in hidden corners of Los Angeles County such as Linda Vista. The abundance the area once provided likely attracted Native people to its hollows and sheltered ravines.



Figure 200. *Only known photo of Indian Flat taken in 1880. This is near where the Holly Street Bridge meets the western bank of the Arroyo (Ellis & Son 1880. Courtesy of the Pasadena Public Library, Pasadena, California).*

After holding the land for a few months, the syndicate sold all of Linda Vista, from the top of the San Rafael Hills down to the west bank of the Arroyo, to John Yocum, a farmer and teacher, who had moved his family to Pasadena in 1882 from Kentucky by way of Iowa. (Wayte 1992). For Yocum, the land presented an opportunity. While accounts say that he enjoyed farming, John Yocum was on his way to becoming a real estate developer, having already bought

and sold properties in Altadena before his purchase of Linda Vista (Wayte 1992). Yocum organized the Linda Vista Land Improvement Association with several associates to develop his land. In roughly 1887, he completed the first bridge across the Arroyo and proceeded to grade the roads, tap the springs in Cottonwood Canyon for water, and paid to build a school and a boarding house. He then sold 600 acres at the southern end of Linda Vista to his son Nathan, who himself tried to cash in on the real estate boom then at its peak. Nathan installed a two-horse rail line that pulled visitors, and prospective buyers, across the bridge and up what is today's Linda Vista Avenue (Wayte 1992). At this point, Linda Vista was still an independent farming community, and Pasadena residents riding the railway out from Pasadena regarded the area as a recreational getaway: for horseback riding, hikes, picnics, hayrides, and camp-outs (Wayte 1992).



Figure 201. *The West Pasadena Railway at the end of the line at what today is Linda Vista and Inverness. The line brought people from Pasadena to the Park Nursery from 1887 to 1892. Note how grazing has stripped the hillside of vegetation ("Linda Vista Terminus of West Pasadena Railway Train" n.d. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, LV-106).*

The last stop on this West Pasadena Railway was the Park Place Nursery, located on 20 acres north of Lida Avenue. Byron Clark, a partner in the Improvement Association, owned the nursery, and it became a primary source for the ornamental plants and exotic saplings that settlers scooped up and planted across Pasadena (Linda Vista History Book Committee n.d.; Wayte 1992). Specialties of the nursery included varieties of palms, pepper trees, and roses.[131] With the nursery serving as a primary source for gardening material for the young city, it is not surprising that the idea of turning Linda Vista into a garden suburb imprinted itself on the imagination of early residents. Garden suburb enclaves sold at the upper end of the real estate market and typically came with height restrictions, prescriptive setbacks, large lot sizes, and a high minimum price in terms of their homes' design and construction, including the landscaping surrounding the structure (Nicolaides 2024). Important examples of these communities included Palos Verdes, Pacific Palisades, Bel Air, and portions of Beverly Hills, along with La Cañada, Altadena, San Marino, and the San Rafael neighborhoods closer to home (see appendix 30). Unlike some of these other examples that appeared as master planned communities, Linda Vista evolved in a piecemeal fashion, one large estate or small subdivision at a time. In the meantime, small-scale agricultural production took hold on the mesa, anchored by the 12,000 peach and apricot trees Yocum planted on his land.

Despite the improvements that Yocum had made to attract additional settlers, sales were slow. In 1888, the Chamberlain family purchased 200 acres that would later become the Pegfair Estate (Wayte 1992). Dr. Jacob Hodge bought 45 acres in 1889 in the northwest corner of Linda Vista with the intention of building a sanitarium and retreat center for tuberculosis patients but

[131] In her history of Linda Vista, Beverly Wayte (1992) reports that in one ten-day period, the nursery sold 1000 pepper tree seedlings. As these seedlings grew over the next forty years, they helped give rise to Pasadena's urban forest and transformed Pasadena into one of the country's most attractive residential communities (see chapter 4).

gave up the plan after a windstorm damaged the windmill he was using to pump water. The clinic Hodge established in Pasadena would eventually give rise to Huntington Hospital (Wayte 1992). It proved to be a handful of wealthy merchants who moved across the Arroyo to Linda Vista in the early 1900s that were instrumental in steering the neighborhood toward the garden suburb ideal. M. Cochrane Armour, the president of Iroquois Iron Company in Chicago, came to Pasadena in 1905 and subdivided the land where today the Holly Street Bridge meets Linda Vista Avenue. Surveying his land, he initially hoped to challenge Busch Gardens as Pasadena premiere garden spot (see appendix 27) (Wayte 1992). William Robert Timken, the vice president of a roller bearing company, bought almost all of the land north of the El Mirador Ranch on which he constructed a collection of chalets and cottages. By the 1920s, the Linda Vista Improvement Association worked out a vision for the neighborhood among its members, crucially, agreeing to additional property assessments of almost $1 million to implement fifty-foot setbacks, hidden utility lines, wide paved roads, electric streetlights, and more convenient road connections. A *Star-News* article from January of 1925 describes the vision:

> Ultimate goals vision a skyline boulevard topping the San Rafael Hills, new homes surrounded with well-ordered private estates, an intertwining web of bridle paths connecting Brookside with Flintridge, Griffith Park, Beverly Hills and the sea, and the entire area transformed into one great natural park opened to modern facilities.
>
> Charles A. Davey, president of the Linda Vista Improvement Association, sees in the program as mapped out indications of Linda Vista taking its place among the choice country properties of the Southland.
>
> ***
>
> Mr. Davey states that the great improvement program, launched by the organization, is receiving the full support of Linda Vista residents. “After much consideration, long debates and frequent get-together meetings; after many disagreements but much real cooperation and earnest effort to harmonize views, Linda Vista owners are united solidly on a plan of general improvement covering every public way in the district, embracing all the customary installations

necessary to modern development" ("Linda Vista Now Looming Large in Planned Project" 1925)

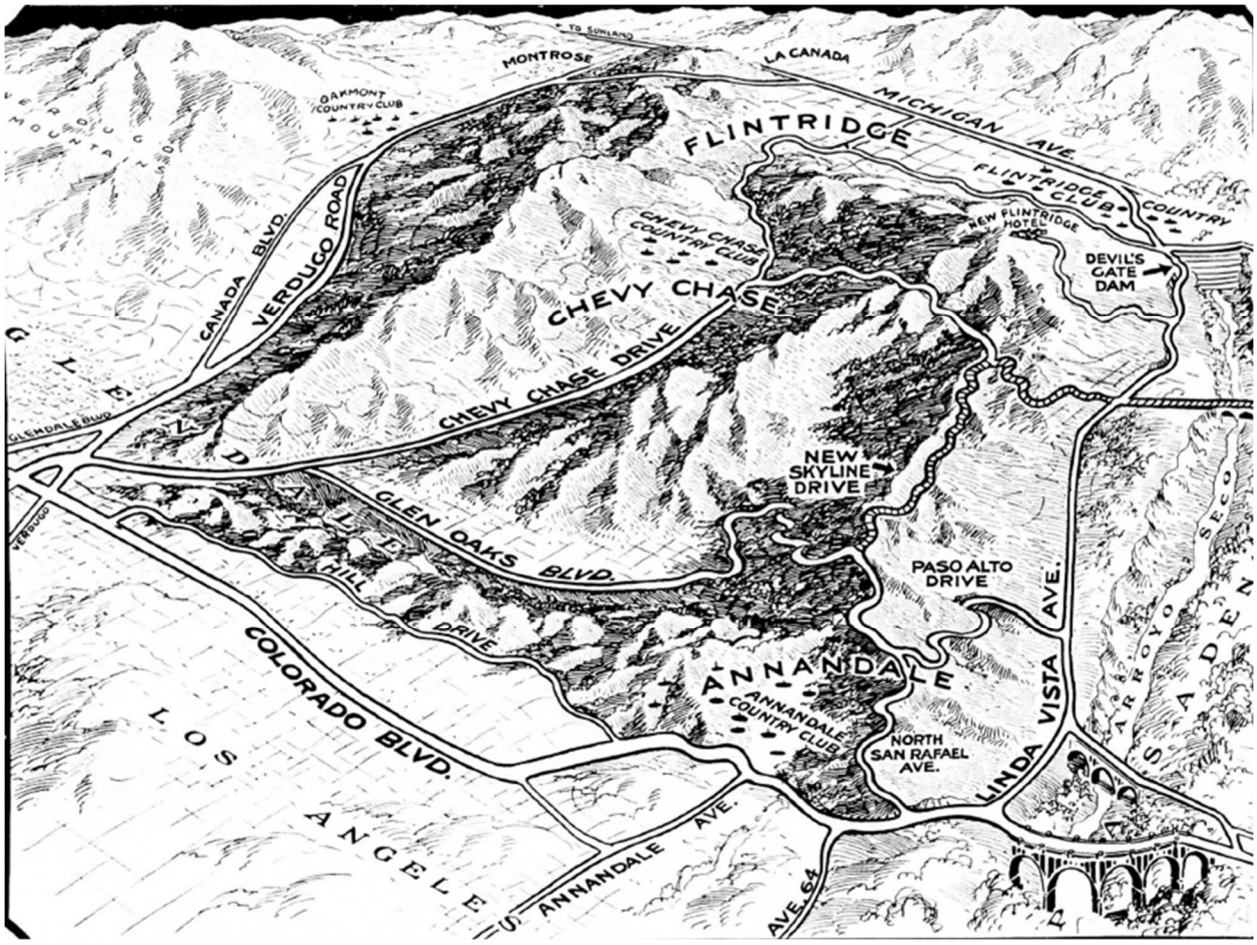

Figure 202. *Map of planned Linda Vista improvements from 1927. The map shows plans for a skyline boulevard along the crest of the hills and a bridge across the Arroyo connecting Lida Street and Washington Boulevard, shown on the right side of the map. (Rush 1927).*

As Linda Vista's flatlands filled in, developers pushed the garden suburb into the hills. Here the tightly-regulated, aesthetic garden landscape of civilization met the wild, dynamic, and dangerous chaparral that Gabrieleno/Tongva families had so successfully negotiated with to yield abundance. The brute force used to clear chaparral for these new developments was in service to the vision sketched out by the Improvement Association. The Association lobbied hard for a high bridge across the Central Arroyo to connect Lida Street in Linda Vista with Washington Boulevard on the canyon's east rim, which would then run east to Monrovia and Glendora. In

February 1926, the Pasadena's Board of Directors ordered the city manager and engineer to prepare a report on what became one of the initial proposals for the Foothill Freeway ("East-West Boulevard Is Planned" 1926).[132] The bridge never got off the ground, but the neighborhood associations' advocacy for it and the skyline boulevard along the crest of the San Rafael Hills reflected their hope developers would cover the hills with houses all serviced by a high-speed roadway that would boost property values by shortening commutes.

Within a tragedy, however, the mysterious forces of gods and nature defeat the protagonist's grand vision. In this case, those forces were fire and water. Local historian Hiram Reid describes a fire that ran through the Central Arroyo and flamed into Linda Vista, almost destroying Yocum's house in the late 1800s (Reid and McClatchie 1895). Newspaper articles reported on fires in 1909, 1910, 1913, 1915, 1922, 1937, 1959, and 1990 and major mudslides in 1969 and 2005.[133] Rather than random disasters, these events reminded those paying attention that change in the chaparral is unavoidable and without preparation can be cataclysmic. Michael Udell and Bill Grassie have lived in the hills above Linda Vista for years. Udell described their experience with a mudslide in 2005:

> We lived in kind of a canyon. It kept raining, raining, raining, and there was a waterfall, and it was just beautiful. And he was taking a nap and looking at how beautiful the waterfall was, and then all of sudden all the electricity started flashing, and we looked up the canyon and saw the trees rocking like this. The mud was coming down. We ran out. The mud came down through the house, filled the pool up ten feet higher than the pool. You could walk from mud onto the roof it was that bad. It went through the house. The fire department condemned the house. - 6/2/22

[132] Forty years later this idea would become one of the routes under consideration for the 210 freeway (Snyder 1964). The proposals for a skyline drive along the crest of the hills was not only the vision of local developers. It became part of the Bennett Plan the city commissioned in 1925 to better define the city center and help the city accommodate the explosive growth that occurred during the 1920s (Bennet Parsons and Frost 1925; Scheid 2010).
[133] The possibility of traffic blocking evacuation routes from Linda Vista has been one of the main arguments against holding large events at the Rose Bowl.

Sharon Scull lives close to Udell and Grassie, and together they organized the Putney Area Neighbors to help with emergency preparedness.

> I have a list of neighborhood disasters that's from 1967 or something to 1990. And a lot of them are related to water, flooding, mudslides, cave-ins, things like that. -- 6/2/22.

In the mid-20th century, however, these events were not enough to deter developers or homebuyers. In 1960, just after a thousand-acre fire forced evacuations, a *Los Angeles Times* article on the newest hillside development stated without irony, "Linda Vista residents will no doubt look with favor on good residential development as an end to the fire threat the open, brush-covered hills have long posed" ("Linda Vista Hills Homes Tract to Aerial Maps for Road Pattern " 1960). This approach, of course, only put more homes in harm's way.

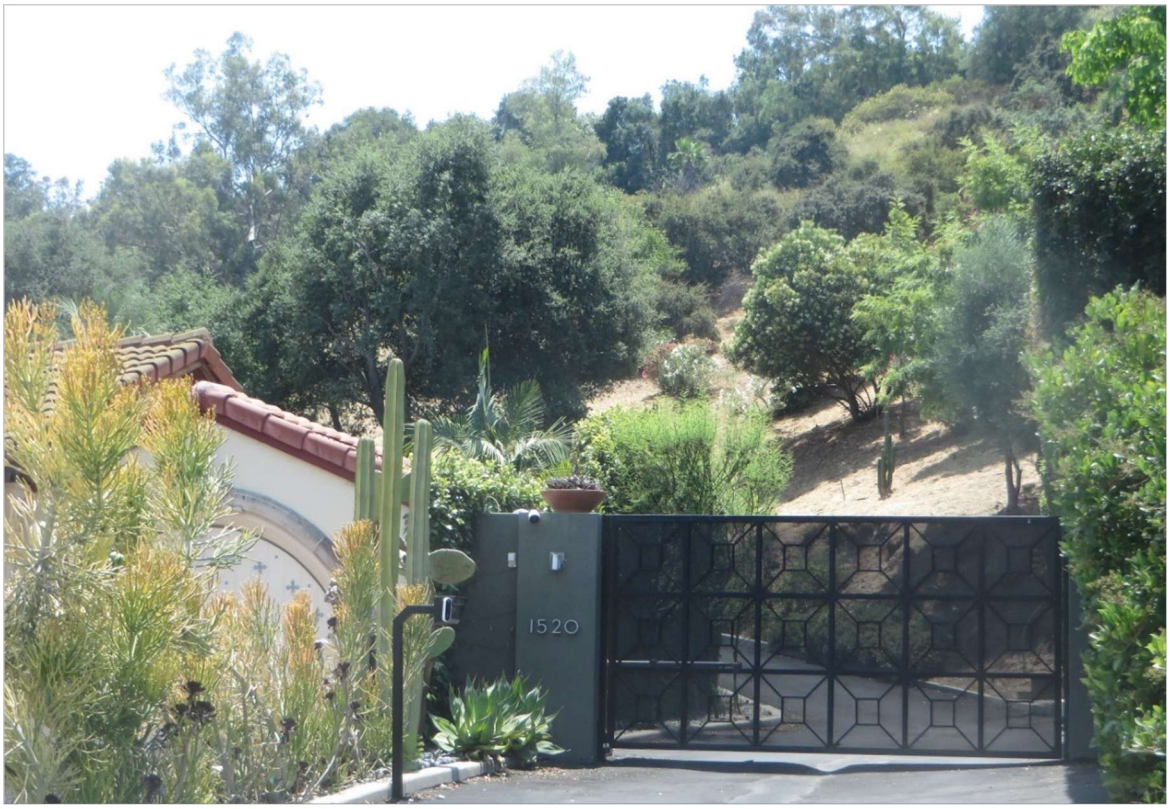

Figure 203. *Home in the Pegfair Estate subdivision pushing into the hillside chaparral.*

Two things moved Linda Vista's neighborhood association off the hillside development vision from 1925. The first was the fact that as houses climbed toward to the ridgeline, they marred the views of the hills that people had come to love.



Figure 204. *The hillside homes above Annandale Canyon Park. This scene shows the kind of homes the hillside ordinance is meant to prevent.*

The second was a growing awareness of ecological importance of the thorny, rough assemblage of native plants that made up the chaparral as habitat for local wildlife. The turning point came with the proposed subdivision of two major estates: the Hoffman family's El Mirador Ranch and the Pegfair Estate south of Lida Avenue. In confronting the future of these parcels, neighborhood residents, and eventually city officials, went from believing having houses covering the hills was inevitable to enactment of the Pasadena first hillside ordinance in 1979. In 1962, the Pasadena Board of Directors approved an update of the 1927 road plan for the hills, with wide north-south and east-west boulevards over the hills in an effort to make sure fire crews could quickly gain

access to future subdivisions (Birkinshaw 1962). But these roads were not to be. Conflicts over the widths of roads and minimum lot sizes ended up blocking development of the proposed construction of 178 homes on 91 acres of the El Mirador Ranch ("Commission Opposes Linda Vista Project" 1963). It wasn't until 1985 that the city finally granted approval for 44 homes on this land and only on the condition that roughly 70 percent of the land would remain open space (Wayte 1992).[134] A similarly modest subdivision went in on part of the Pegfair estate in the early 1960s. The Art Center College of Design then purchased 175 acres of the remaining land for its new campus, which opened in 1977. The Art Center agreed to leave all but 30 acres of their purchase as wilderness for at least 20 years, which helped earn the support of the Linda Vista Association (Leiren 1971a; Wayte 1992). But the overall neighborhood was split. A significant faction of neighbors organized into the Linda Vista Hills Property Owners and threatened a lawsuit (Leiren 1971b). They wanted residential development in the hills, arguing it would generate less traffic and bring in more tax revenue to the city than the school (Leiren 1971a).

[134] This El Mirador subdivision won an award in 1987 as the most outstanding residential development in the Western U.S. (Wayte 1992).



Figure 205. *El Mirador Ranch subdivision under construction in 1987. (Smith 1987. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, LV-R11A).*

All of these discussions were prelude to the approval of a hillside development standard for the Linda Vista area in 1979. The proposal included environmental language reflecting a desire to preserve habitat and vegetation that only two decades earlier residents viewed as fire hazard. While preventing subdivisions, the standards did not stop landowners from constructing ridgeline homes that many residents felt ruined the hills. In response, the Linda Vista-Annandale Association won approval of a stricter hillside ordinance in 2004. The *Pasadena Star-News* reported "a groundswell of criticism directed at new, large mansions on otherwise pristine ridgelines. Neighbors have complained that a wave of new construction in the city's western hills

has destroyed views, reshaped ridges, threatened wildlife, brought too many construction trucks to narrow switchbacks and threatened to erode the landscape" (Maddaus 2004). In the end, the hillside ordinance represents not an abandonment of the pursuit of the garden suburb vision but its redefinition, bringing it up-to-date with a more current environmental aesthetic. With climate change creating a longer fire seasons and more intense rainfalls, the message from the land is only growing louder: the only way to avoid tragedy is to accept and plan for change.[135] As the neighborhood considers its future, this willingness to adapt a long-held vision and recognize hillside habitat as more than just a fire threat is a hopeful sign and demonstrates a humility in the face of nature can serve as an antidote for tragedy.

Standing above

In her manuscript on her life growing up in Linda Vista, Blanche Dorn commented on a 1904 photo of Linda Vista's schoolhouse:

> 'In the picture of the old school there are, as you doubtless have noticed, six colored children. They were all of one family, the Hudsons, and had the distinction of being the only colored family ever to live in Linda Vista. They lived in a little house on Wellington. The father was a woodcutter and owned a buzz-saw which the older boys helped operate. Lawney, the oldest boy, was a very responsible, trustworthy boy and if the younger ones ever got out of line, one word from him would restore order. Miss McAdam never had any worries with any of them. The tallest Hudson girl was named Pearl and as Uncle Remus would say she was sing-inest girl' in the whole wide world' (Shoop 1951).

The name of this family was "Hutson," and they first appeared in the 1906-07 city directory with the listing of the father, Albert, as a "burnerman," which means someone who burns or heats something, typically the sawdust from a mill.[136] The directory suggests he worked

[135] Scientists, in fact, say Southern California residents should now expect landslides every year (United States Geological Survey 2021)
[136] The 1906-07 directory lists him as Alfred, but both the *Pasadena Star* and the *Los Angeles Times* give his name as Albert, which is why I use that name here.

for the Slayden Brothers Company, a fuel and feed store in West Pasadena, and simply lists his residence as “Linda Vista.” The family name disappears from the directories until 1912 when two men, who must have been the Albert’s sons Loncy and Alphonso appear. At this time, Alphonso also worked for Slayden Brothers as a burnerman and lived at 552 Sout Raymond Ave. His older brother Loncy (rather than “Lawney”) lived at 731 Cypress Avenue and has “oil burners” next to his name. And in 1916-17, the directory lists Emma Hutson as the widow of Albert, at 731 S. Fair Oaks Avenue, which is near today’s hospital between California and Bellefontaine. The family’s work, seemingly servicing stoves and furnaces, is ironic given the reporting in this *Los Angeles Times* article from July of 1910:

> The residents of the village of Linda Vista, just across the Arroyo Seco to the northwest, were aroused yesterday over the mysterious burning of the house and barn of a colored man named Albert Hutson early yesterday morning. The Hutsons are the only negroes living in Linda Vista, and it is said there has been much bitter feeling on the part of some white people ever since the family moved to the little mountain town a few months ago. Many threats are declared to have been made against the negroes.
>
> ***
>
> Hutson states that he has two witnesses who will testify that two men approached him a week ago and offered him $600 for his property in Linda Vista on the condition he would move back across the arroyo. He states that his refusal to accept the offer was followed by a threat that within a week the property would be burned ("Gets Hot Hint To Move Away" 1910).

An article in the *Pasadena Star* describes the structure as a five-room house on Hancock Street (which was the old name for Wellington) with a barn 100 feet away from the main house. Both burned to the ground, which along with the threat, indicated it was arson ("Negro's Home is Mysteriously Burned" 1910).



Figure 206. *Photo of Linda Vista School from 1904, including members of the Hutson family ("Attendance 1904" 1904, Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, LV-B-9)*

A second sign that a narrative could veer toward tragedy is when the main character stands above the rest of society. Literary theorist Northrup Frye says "Tragic heroes are so much the highest points in their human landscape that they seem the inevitable conductors of the power about them, great trees more likely to be struck by lightning than a clump of grass" (p. 207). While characters in comic stories experience a shared sense of humanity, characters in tragic narratives live within a hierarchy with tragic heroes standing on the top rung of the ladder.

As stated in chapter 2, Pasadena has always been acutely aware of status with the value of one's property as its measure. As the Linda Vista Improvement Association outlined its plan for residents to tax themselves $850,000 for neighborhood improvements in 1925, the understanding was that they would collectively recoup the cost through an increase in their property values ("Linda Vista Now Looming Large in Planned Project" 1925; "Sends Protests to City Board: Linda Vista Objects to Tall Telegraph Pole" 1925). At the time, property values were

not only a function of the physical landscape but also the social and economic composition of a neighborhood. Elevating the status and property values of Linda Vista depended upon blocking or evicting certain groups from living in the neighborhood. According to Nicolaides (2024), exclusionary tactics were integral to creating garden suburbs across Southern California, from Palos Verdes to Pacific Palisades to Altadena. Even before the incidents with the Hutsons, a mass meeting of residents resulted in a petition against a "health camp" for low-income patients suffering from tuberculosis. A single cottage with a canvas roof went up in 1906 with a plan for more to follow. Arguing that the camp posed a public health risk and would significantly depreciate property values, the residents threatened legal action ("Linda Vista Site Opposed" 1906). After three years of negotiations, the Pasadena Health Camp moved to Altadena in 1909 and became the La Vina Sanitarium (Wayte 1992). In 1926, when John Hall laid the foundations for a bungalow court of nine modest cottages, residents protested resulting in their excavation and removal (Wayte 1992). Residents saw the affordable bungalow courts, so popular in the rest of the Pasadena at the time, as thwarting their plan to create an affluent neighborhood. That same year John Lawrence, the president of the Linda Vista Improvement Association participated in a well-attended meeting of the Pasadena Realty Board to help put in place a campaign for redlining and racial covenants across Pasadena, describing to the assembled audience the restrictions currently in place in Linda Vista ("Realtors Study Property Topics" 1926). These examples underscore how the concepts of design, public health, planning, race, and class began to grow together into an impenetrable thicket of opposition, shutting out certain classes of people.

The postwar period was when the neighborhood first realized its social and economic status as an affluent enclave. According to 1940 census figures, 45 percent of Linda Vistans had

jobs in some form of manual labor, choosing the categories of craftsmen, operatives, domestics, service workers, or laborers to describe their occupation, reflecting the last vestiges of agricultural production in the area. Renters occupied 25 percent of the neighborhood's housing units and one quarter of the population said they hadn't completed high school. Ten years later these percentages began to drop off. In 1950, renters occupied only 9 percent of housing units in the district due to the rapid construction of single-family, owner-occupied homes. By 1970, only 8 percent had not finished high school, and by 2020, this applied to only 1 in 100 residents.

After the courts struck down racial covenants in 1948, neighborhood residents relied on zoning, realtors, and redlining to discourage people they felt posed a threat to their property values. For example, in 1963, Pasadena raised the minimum lot-size in the Linda Vista hills from 12,000 square feet to 20,000 square feet. At a meeting of the Board of Directors, resident Charles Worley protested, saying high-priced homes were driving young people from the city. He cited a development where homes on 12,000-foot lots were selling for $65,000 and said the people who were buying them "'are good substantial neighbors'" and that 90 percent of those living in Linda Vista live on lots at or below the 12,000-foot threshold. But the neighborhood association and city director representing the area approved of the change, arguing both that it would help avoid large scars on the hillsides and attract wealthier residents to the area (Birkinshaw 1963). In 1990, the Linda Vista-Annandale Association protested city approval of a dream house of an African American landowner because they asserted it did not adhere to the city's building code. This was less remarkable than an article in the Association's newsletter that integrated the titles of old songs with racial overtones, such as "Wish I Wuz in the Land of Cotton" and "K-K-K-Katie" (Gougis 1990). I was also told the story of the Williams family, an African American family in which the mother had fair skin. Realtors happily showed her homes

in Linda Vista, but when she returned with her husband, who had darker pigmentation, the realtors told them the houses were no longer available (Biery 2021).

The Williams eventually bought land and built their own house on Solita Road on the eastside of the Arroyo, what historian Robyn Kelley said he and other high school students at Muir called "the dark side of Linda Vista" (Kelley 1984). Census figures bear this out. While the African American population was 0.4 percent in Linda Vista in 1970, in the East Arroyo it was almost 70 percent.[137] The economic differences on the east and west sides of the Central Arroyo during this period were also stark. Since 1940, the median home values have been two to three times higher in Linda Vista. Between 1990 and 2000, unemployment was 9 to 10 times higher in the East Arroyo area, and the number of people in poverty was 4 to 6 times higher. Beyond the statistics, parents of color advised their children during the mid-20th century to avoid Linda Vista as a matter of personal safety.[138] While other neighborhoods in Pasadena used these same exclusionary tactics, the sharp contrast between the social, cultural, and economic worlds on either side of the Central Arroyo resulted in Linda Vista gaining a reputation for being particularly aggressive in policing racial and class differences.[139]

The formal and informal channels Linda Vista residents used to create a White, affluent garden suburb worked. By 1970, Linda Vista was 97 percent White and no residents categorized themselves as Hispanic. In terms of class, the small but consistent gap between Linda Vista and nearby areas around income and property values began to grow in 1980 and accelerated after

[137] The census tracts I used for this estimate do not perfectly align with the area between the 210 Freeway and the Arroyo's eastern rim; these tracts leave out one section of the neighborhood and grabs another part of Northwest Pasadena east of the freeway.
[138] Interview with John Dean, 7/19/22 and Richard Castellano, 8/23/2022.
[139] One belief is that the differences between Linda Vista and the East Arroyo originated in the Arroyo's history as the city's dumping ground and how the wind carried the smell east rather than west over the developing neighborhoods, though Linda Vista sent a delegation to Pasadena to complain about dumping in the Arroyo in 1908, even before it was part of the city ("To Make War on "Skimping"" 1908; Martin Sweeny, 3/14/23).

2000. According to the 2020 census, per capita income in Linda Vista was roughly $140,000, over $50,000 greater than La Cañada-Flintridge and the San Rafael and Lower Arroyo neighborhoods. Similarly, the median home value was $1.7 million, which is over $500,000 greater than San Rafael and Lower Arroyo and $1 million dollars greater than the East Arroyo. Today, comparing Linda Vista to the rest of Pasadena, resident Wes Reutimann noted the ongoing impact of this past:

> If there's anything that defines it, it's the legacy of the redlining. It's changing very slowly in the neighborhood. All the neighborhoods that were redlined or were exclusionary, you see that to this day in the demographics. There's no way of looking past it. -- 5/27/22.

In 2020, Linda Vista was 22 percent Asian American/Pacific Islander, 12 percent Other, and 1 percent African American. Thirteen percent of Linda Vista's residents have a Hispanic ethnicity. One of these people is Tim Martinez, who serves on the board of the Linda Vista-Annandale Association. As a Mexican American, Martinez's personal experience of growing up in the Linda Vista was almost uniformly positive.

> I grew up with my parents being an interracial couple, and nobody cared. I grew up with my Mexican family coming over and inviting people on my street and having these big parties. I grew up with a multicultural environment in Linda Vista. So, I don't think anyone cares. In fact, I think if there ever was an issue that came up with diversity be it class or whatever, I actually think there would be quite an outcry in my neighborhood and that we would say that we want Linda Vista to be a place that is safe for everyone. – 9/2/22

The experience of Martinez and his family since the 1990s is a positive sign that the social hierarchies of an earlier era have less power. The more recent challenge has been extending this welcoming attitude to people in search of more affordable housing, which many view as a threat to the neighborhood's quality of life. The issue of integrating affordable housing into established single-family neighborhoods is a statewide issue that touches on the histories of exclusion cited

above, the current struggle to house all the state's residents, state versus local control, the economics of affordable housing, the impacts of increasing density, and concerns about historic preservation and open space. There are a number of scenarios under which rental housing can become part of neighborhood. The least popular is when investment companies purchase homes from aging owners and convert them into short-term rental properties. These conversions often include efforts to expand the square footage to increase rental income, resulting in pushing beyond the original setbacks and spoiling the architectural character of the neighborhood. This type of "mansionization" typically is an extractive proposition and does not aid in affordability or increase the socioeconomic diversity of the neighborhood.[140] Opposition to mansionization is one of the Linda Vista-Annandale Association's top concerns. The Association has also opposed construction of true multi-family apartments, condominiums, townhomes or duplexes, based on concerns about parking, traffic and the introduction of a completely different architectural form into the neighborhood. In 1969, the Association opposed the construction of duplex townhomes on nine lots despite the fact that the developer's proposal complied with the 20,000 square foot minimum lot size, targeted high-income buyers, and came with a minimum age restriction for both adults and children. The developer argued that the duplexes had a ready market and that a single home on a 20,000-foot lot wouldn't sell (Birkinshaw 1969). The neighborhood association also defeated duplexes in the 1980s, this time a proposal for 38 units on El Mirador Ranch (Wayte 1992). Responding to advocacy by Linda Vista, the city council then approved an ordinance in 1980 saying that development must maintain the "rural character" of Linda Vista

[140] In January of 2023 the *Los Angeles Times* reported on a shooting that killed three and wounded four in the exclusive Benedict Canyon area north of Beverly Hills. For Linda Vista residents concerned about rental housing in Linda Vista, this is their worst nightmare. The shooting occurred in a house that the owners had converted into a short-term rental property, something that is becoming more common in the canyons above Beverly Hills where many longtime owners have recently passed away. New owners have converted these homes into party houses and then listed them on Vrbo and AirBnB for $600 to $7500 per night (Winton, Purtill, and Tchekmedyian 2023).

(Wayte 1992). Another scenario for rental housing is “accessory dwelling units” (ADU) that add structures behind or adjacent to an existing home for aging parents, children, and individual renters or families. Architecturally, these units do not necessarily impact the view from the street but can still bring more cars into the neighborhood. This was the basis of the Association’s advocacy in 2004 that resulted in a city ordinance restricting ADUs to lots of at least 15,000 square feet, which prevented almost all ADU construction in the city. Housing advocates at the time pointed to Altadena where homeowners were building ADUs on lots of 5,000 square feet (Abendschein 2010).

Within these debates it is often hard to separate opposition to rental housing from opposition to the renters a class of people. Assumptions that renters, by virtue of their lack of means and more temporary residence in the neighborhood, are less invested in the area’s quality of life have the potential to mushroom into other assumptions, such as an association with pollution, crime, social turmoil, or a decrease in property values. Racial prejudice can attach itself too easily to these suppositions loading seemingly technical discussions about zoning with the legacy of racism at the national and neighborhood level. Tim Martinez estimates that up to half of Linda Vista’s housing stock contains renters. Census data, however, doesn’t bear this out. Since 1980, the number of rental-occupied housing units has never gotten above 7 percent. The 2020 census figures show that renters occupy less than 1 percent of the housing units in Linda Vista. This figure could be artificially low due to reporting issues created by the pandemic or fail to capture illicit rental activity, but these numbers do not support widespread rental activity in the district. By contrast, renters occupied 11 percent of housing units in the San Rafael neighborhood and 7 percent of housing units in La Cañada Flintridge in 2020. In the Lower Arroyo census tracts, renters occupy 42 percent of housing units. In terms of physical structures, since 1940,

more than 95 percent of buildings in the neighborhood have been one-unit structures, and both the 2000 and 2020 census reports that single-family residences constituted 100 percent of reported housing units.

The legacy of the opposition to smaller, more affordable homes in Linda Vista and similar neighborhoods has come with unintended consequences. One example is that people like Martinez, who grew up in Linda Vista, cannot afford to buy their own home in the neighborhood they love.

> People like myself who have been here a long time, friends of mine who grew up here, they're coming back to live with their parents or grandparents. Because there's no way they could afford to buy them now. I think you'll find people who are putting down roots and establishing families here and plan to be here for a long time. When they design it for their family use, you don't see them going beyond their setbacks or using cheap materials. - 7/15/22

Another consequence is that state politicians have recently passed a number of laws that make it easier for landowners to build ADUs and subdivide large lots to build additional units on their properties. Martinez said these laws have caused anxiety within the neighborhood association.

> One thing with our neighborhood association, for instance, is that we strongly believe in local control. We're very much opposed to Sacramento saying that we need to accommodate more and more density and population, like just endlessly, period. We don't agree with that. - 7/15/22

Whether one frames the neighborhood association's opposition to affordable housing as a continuation of the exclusionary tactics of the past or a spirited attempt to preserve the neighborhood's quality of life, the reality is that apart from the elementary school campus, there is almost no buildable land left within the neighborhood. What the debate over this or any other property does activate, however, are questions of race, class, social rank, and property values that often accompany a tragic narrative.

Standing apart

A third characteristic of tragic storylines is the isolation of the main character, and with this, Linda Vista has to contend with its geography (Frye 1957). Linda Vista's location in a crescent below the San Rafael Hills and across the Arroyo has always set it apart from what many residents refer to as "mainland Pasadena." Before John Yocum built the first bridge across the Arroyo, Linda Vista had been an island nation, cut off at times from nearby settlements by winter flooding. This encouraged a certain sense of independence, self-reliance, and privacy that echoes to the present day, not only in the neighborhood's relationship with the rest of the city but also in neighbors' relations with one another.

The main reason Linda Vista voted to join Pasadena was water. While Linda Vista's landscape was replete with springs, early landowners tunneled into the hillside to capture this water, built private reservoirs, and drilled their own wells. The 1880s included years with record rainfall, which perhaps created the false impression that planning for irrigation and domestic supplies was unnecessary. This patchwork system slowed development and reduced property values. Solving this problem was the main goal of settlers who voted 61 to 14 in favor of annexing the area to Pasadena in 1914 (Linda Vista History Book Committee 1988).

But the marriage to Pasadena has not always been blissful. A year after the annexation vote, the president of the neighborhood association protested additional property taxes to pay for the neighborhood's water main. Others said they always knew annexation would come with more taxes and that the increase in their property values from being part of the City was worth the additional cost ("Linda Vista Protest is Denied" 1915). In 1922, as construction of the Rose Bowl began and the City moved forward to develop the Central Arroyo as a park, several residents owning land along the bluff protested, saying they had already improved the land running into

the Arroyo, and they should be able to maintain their ownership ("Do Not Want City to Purchase Land" 1922). The Rose Bowl itself has been an ongoing point of tension. Beyond the New Year's Day football game, the stadium only hosted a handful of events for most of the 20th century. Needing revenue to maintain the aging stadium, the City began to host a number of high profile concerts and other events in the 1980s. In response to neighbor complaints, the City in 1985 limited the number of large stadium events the staff could book without City Council approval to twelve per year. Forty years later, this number has grown to twenty-five. During this period, the City has twice considered making the stadium the home field for a professional football team. Pasadena voters rejected the pursuit of an NFL team in 2006, and when the idea arose for the Los Angeles Rams to use the Rose Bowl as a temporary home during construction of So-Fi Stadium, there was enough opposition that the Rose Bowl Operating Company dropped the idea. The openness of Linda Vista's City Council representative to this second proposal, however, led many to support a recall election (Piasecki 2012, 2013). The recall failed, but the rancor has carried over to proposals to use the golf course for music festivals and most recently the proposed installation of a lighted miniature golf course west of the stadium (see chapter 5). The highly publicized battles of Linda Vista against proposals by the Rose Bowl Operating Company (RBOC), whose job is generating revenue for the stadium and ultimately the City, has created tension with other neighborhoods that believe more events would at the least help the stadium more consistently break even and not create a drag on the City's budget. Tim Martinez mentioned this in his discussion of the neighborhood:

> You know they make us out in Linda Vista to be like these rich elites up in the hillsides that are always complaining about Rose Bowl events or just always complaining. I grew up here. I know a lot of really good people in this neighborhood. And like I said, not everyone…don't get me wrong, there are a lot of wealthy people in this neighborhood. This probably one of the most affluent neighborhoods in Pasadena. That doesn't mean that everyone is a bad person and

> that people don't care about the rest of our city and our community. And that doesn't mean that everyone who lives here is necessarily of great means or wealth (7/15/22).

For most of Linda Vista's existence, the most important link to the rest of Pasadena was Linda Vista Elementary School. The first school opened in 1888, but Pasadena's school district couldn't justify a school for such a small number of students and cancelled the salary for the teacher. For the next 12 years students went to Washington Elementary in Northwest Pasadena. When more funds became available in 1903, the school district began operating a school at the current site of Bryant Street and Wellington Avenue, which soon became the center of community life. A small grocery opened in 1930 just south of the school and fire station moved in next during the 1950s. A branch library opened just north of the school in 1957 and together these additions gave Linda Vista its village center (Linda Vista History Book Committee 1988; Wayte 1992). Meanwhile, an extremely active Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) organized in 1917 and made the school a haven: local artists turned its hallways into a gallery; parents organized an annual carnival, community groups routinely used the campus for their meetings.

But Pasadena Unified School District had a long history of allowing White parents to avoid sending their children to schools with students of color. This was important to affluent White parents across the city, including Linda Vista.[141] Prior to 1961, after finishing at the elementary school, Linda Vista students attended junior high school in La Cañada. But in 1960, La Cañada decided to create its own district, which meant Linda Vista students would need to attend either the mostly White McKinley Junior High School or Washington Junior High School

[141] Relatively minor attempts to change these policies in 1950 resulted public hearings about communist infiltration of Pasadena's public schools and the dismissal of the newly arrived and highly-credentialed superintendent (Hulburd 1951; James 2005).

in Northwest Pasadena, which was closer. The *Los Angeles Times* reported on a packed meeting with the school board at Linda Vista Elementary in December of that year.

> Concern over their children having to attend Washington Junior High School because of what they felt would be an unequal balance of racial groups was expressed to the Board of Education last week by a group of Linda Vista parents.
>
> ***
>
> Some of the 200 persons attending the board meeting at Linda Vista Elementary School said they were concerned about educational opportunity which might be jeopardized in a school with a high preponderance of children from racial minority groups. ("Linda Vista Residents Protest Student Shift" 1960).

The board voted 3-2 to send Linda Vista to McKinley. In this decision, the board followed the recommendation of a 17-person Citizen's Conference Group. The lone dissenter in the group was George Jones, the president of the Pasadena chapter of the NAACP, who accurately described the decision as setting a dangerous precedent for future school assignment decisions ("Board Approves Shift of Pasadena Students" 1961). Less than ten years later, due to decisions like this one, Pasadena became the first school district outside the Deep South to have a court mandate school integration ("Board Approves Shift of Pasadena Students" 1961; James 2005). With the start of a busing program, the majority of Linda Vista parents abandoned the public school system to a greater degree than other West Pasadena neighborhoods. The census shows enrollment in private school for Linda Vista's K-8 students between 1970 and 1980 jumped from 27 percent to 73 percent.

Buses brought students of color from Northwest Pasadena to fill the empty seats in the elementary school, and for the next 35 years only a handful of the more than 300 students at the school came from Linda Vista. One of these students was Tim Martinez, who attended the school in the 1990s. Looking back, he says it was a mixed bag. He recalled having good teachers and administrators and a strong school culture. But there were also behavioral problems with students

coming from difficult home environments. Martinez's mother remained active in the PTA and when the school district decided to close the Linda Vista Elementary in 2005, the Linda Vista-Annandale Association and the PTA delivered over 300 surveys to the School Board showing "parents of school-age children overwhelmingly wanted to see grades K-8 offered at their neighborhood school, with a magnet theme such as a focus on basic skills, math and science or gifted students" (Hoffman 2005c). But at the time only sixteen students in the Linda Vista neighborhood attended the school, and the board concluded parents' enrollment decisions were a better measure of parental commitment than an anonymous survey.[142]

The choice that most Linda Vista parents made to stand apart from the public school system occurred across the entire district. Today, over half of school-age children covered by the Pasadena Unified School District (PUSD) attend private or charter schools. This is one of the highest percentages in the country and leaves the district underenrolled with an almost perpetual budget shortfall that has resulted in additional school closures and consolidation. Linda Vista is not solely responsible for this situation. But studies show that socioeconomic diversity is a main driver of school district performance (Ayscue et al. 2017). The lack of support and involvement from more affluent families makes success less likely, which makes it more difficult to gain support, causing the cycle of disinvestment that the district has struggled with for the past half century. The 2020 census reported that 90 percent of K-8 students and 77 percent of K-12 students in Linda Vista attend private school. To the extent that the public school system

[142] The Association president at the time said the school board's lack of response to the survey was indicative of their lack of interest in serving the neighborhood. But if parents had remained committed to the school and the larger public system, the school would be open today. A subsequent letter to the editor urging the district to lease the campus to a high-performing private school seemed a more accurate reflection of neighborhood sentiment (Caldwell 2005; Warren 2005).

represents an investment in the future of the city as a whole, Linda Vista residents have excused themselves from this conversation.

Becky Nicolaides' chapter on Pasadena in her 2024 book *The New Suburbia: How Diversity Remade Suburban Life in Los Angeles after 1945* characterizes the racial politics within the city over the last forty years not as White flight but as White retreat--into affluent neighborhoods, private schools, and exclusive social networks, many of which have roots in an earlier era of White dominance. White retreat includes selective forays into the public sphere to elect and influence decision makers on specific policies that impact these enclaves. Linda Vista's political engagement exemplifies this pattern as they have weighed in on the Rose Bowl, ADU's, and historic preservation. The neighborhood has repeatedly rallied to raise money and maintain the branch library. Somewhat ironically, however, becoming the most affluent neighborhood in Pasadena has not generated a feeling of empowerment but rather frustration at a loss of influence. Some expressed that the neighborhood does not receive services commensurate with the property taxes they contribute to the City's budget. Neighbors feel the Rose Bowl Operating Company, other city agencies, and the City Council routinely ignore their advice and concerns. Martinez summarized this sentiment:

> I think people feel like we're going to say our piece, but it's going to be ignored. So, we have to fight. -- 9/2/22

My interviews suggest, however, that Linda Vista residents have not just pulled back from the city as a whole; they've also pulled back from one another. Many, such as Linda Vista resident Martin Sweeney, long for a greater sense of community.

> I'm always amazed that there aren't more people outside. So, it is a bedroom community. People drive in and go in their house and you might not see them. That's not necessarily a bad thing. People work hard and they want to relax when they come home and don't need to take a walk. If there was more of that and I

> saw people…I do a bit of that already…As a neighborhood, it could use a little more of that, if I wanted to paint a fantasy, that people felt a little more connected. I don't think Linda Vista has an identity that way. I think a lot about it, so maybe I'm overstating it. -- 3/14/23

Tim Martinez agrees.

> It's a quiet neighborhood and people generally keep to the themselves. I actually kind of wish we knew each other better. It was more like that when I was growing up but not so much anymore. Everyone's kids go to different schools. We don't even have the school anymore as a community hub. We still thankfully have the library and the fire station, but everyone is just private and it's quiet. – 9/2/22

Creeping privatism has permeated society as a whole in this online age but can become more intense in neighborhoods like Linda Vista where suburban development has left few third spaces for community interaction. Martinez said that he has noticed a shift over the course of his life.

> I feel that there was more of a sense of community when I was growing up in the '90s. Halloween, for instance, we had a lot more trick-or-treating, all the neighborhood kids. We were going around and interacting with our neighbors more. My neighbor down the street, who had been there since the '40s, she was a grandmother figure, like knitting me socks and whatever. It was just more of a sense of people knowing each other. I don't feel that exactly the same way anymore. – 9/2/22

One of the offshoots of this leaning into privacy as a value is a fear of crime and the suspicion and surveillance that it can generate. Martin Sweeney says that this can make Linda Vista feel unwelcoming.

> If I was in Northwest Pasadena, Linda Vista would not be a place I'd want to go because people can be pretty conservative in Linda Vista, with all these Ring door bells and worried about who is in their neighborhood. There's a fair amount of that. If someone gets a hold of a crime statistic, people start beating the bushes and want to scare people and say, "There are people all over the place and there's a bunch of crime." I can't pretend there isn't if there is. But if I hear those conversations, I wince a bit. "Well, are you sure there isn't someone putting something in your mailbox because they're a domestic worker, and they need a job." -- 3/14/23

But even before doorbell cameras, in 1998 there was enough anxiety about unsupervised activities in Linda Vista Park, a grassy area with two sets of playground equipment tucked behind the elementary school, that eighty-seven residents signed a petition against opening the area on weekends for public enjoyment, wanting not only to maintain their own privacy but deny the use of public space to other people (Karlak 1998). Changes in the media landscape that encourage screen time over face-to-face interaction can make it more difficult for groups like the Linda Vista-Annandale Association (LVAA) to generate enthusiasm. Martinez shared that recently participation in Association had dropped off.

> The challenge is that we don't have many members or at least not as many as we should. Not a lot of people are paying their dues. It's a big thing to send out the email and get people to send in their dues. So, we don't have much money to do the pancake breakfast at the fire station or the picnic in the park. It would be great if we had the resources to do those things more regularly. – 1/5/23



Figure 207. *View of Linda Vista Elementary from Linda Vista Park. This open-space used to be part of the school's playground. Many fear the school district will sell the property and it will become multi-unit housing and open the door to runaway development.*

It is important to note there are signs of spontaneous cooperation. Martinez himself spearheads the Friends of Cottonwood Canyon, a group that cares for the wildlife corridor purchased by the Arroyos & Foothills Conservancy and organizes volunteer workdays. Similarly, neighbors on the Annandale side of the neighborhood approved a property tax assessment that allowed the City to purchase Annandale Canyon Park in 2009. The Putney Area Neighbors group helps neighbors on Inverness and Normandie in case of fires or mudslides but also holds social gatherings. Sharon Scull was one of the founders.

> What the group has done is help people get to know one another. We have a couple social events now and then but haven't during the pandemic. Largely, it's mutual protection in a way. We're worried about fire safety and parking. Everyone is pretty cooperative. -- 8/2/22.

And regardless of the past, Tim Martinez said that now everyone loves Linda Vista Park. Recently, the park became the backdrop for a bubbling up of community spirit. While regulations stipulate that dog must remain on leash in city parks, early morning dog walkers had gotten used to letting their dogs run free and a sense of community began to build among visitors. Bill Grassie described the scene.

> There were thirty people and every day there were little celebrations of things, dog's birthdays, people's birthdays. The whole community met there, and it got really big, and they were the only ones using it, and then a single person complained and called the police while we were there and said, "These people have their dogs off the leash and it's against the law." And it was. – 6/2/22

The concern was that the dogs could imperil children, who often visited the park with their parents and nannies later in the day. Grassie was disappointed as this spontaneous bloom of community feeling wilted in face of city regulations.

> It seemed to me that there could have been some sort of compromise, like this isn't normally a dog park, but from 8 to 9 a.m. the dogs are off leash, and if that upsets you, come at 9 a.m. or send your nanny at 9 a.m." -- 6/2/22.

A more positive lesson from this anecdote is that there is, under the surface, a strong desire for a sense of community, for both people and dogs.

A frozen future

A 2007 article in the real estate section of the *Los Angeles Times* provides the following description of Linda Vista:

> Linda Vista's all-American look and strong sense of community, unchanged for decades, remind many residents of the era in which they grew up.
>
> A strong voluntary-membership neighborhood association counts almost half the area's residents as members. Through projects such as protecting the neighborhood's ornamental lighting and fighting a proposed Pasadena marathon that would temporarily close Linda Vista Avenue -- in addition to its never-ending

> conflict with Rose Bowl management over traffic and noise issues -- the association works to keep the streets here as residential as they were in the 1950s (Byker 2007).

Tragic narratives demonstrate the ultimate power of external fate and forces beyond human control. According to Aristotle (1996), tragedy evokes pity and fear in an audience: pity for the hero who believes they can overcome the forces of nature and fear from the realization that these same forces can strike us all. Frye (1957) says the force with perhaps the most power in tragedies is time. In tragedies, time represents an inescapable countdown to death. By contrast, time befriends characters in comedies by allowing all the complications to resolve themselves in a happy ending. In matching the story of a neighborhood to a particular genre, people's perception of time, especially the future, provides an essential clue.

The *Times'* real estate profile suggests that Linda Vista is a neighborhood that to many feels frozen in time. Nicolaides (2024) says this quality is characteristic of the garden suburbs across Southern California:

> The picturesque enclave was the most protected of the suburban landscapes, buffered by high pricing, deed restrictions, and stringent land use controls. More than any other suburban landscape, these areas retain their original aesthetic feel, frozen in place by a protective force field of class and property restrictions (43).

This characteristic appears in the census data that shows that there's been very little new housing construction since 1990 and none reported since 2010. Since 1970, in response to a question about changing residences in the past year, the highest percentage was 13 percent in 2010. In 2020, only 0.7 percent reported moving, though this was likely related to COVID. Linda Vista is the oldest neighborhood in West Pasadena, with a median age more than five years older than San Rafael or the Lower Arroyo, ten years older than East Arroyo, and 15 years older than residents of Central and Northwest Pasadena. In short, the population has been remarkably stable.

By 1970, Linda Vista's pursuit of creating an affluent and aesthetic suburban enclave had succeeded, and the energy shifted to defending the neighborhood from disruption, be it in the form of outside developers, rowdy football fans, or rental housing. In terms of storytelling, this meant switching from the narrative of a quest to that of a siege. Both the quest and the siege are part of the romance tradition within literature, a tradition that emphasizes strong dualities such as good versus evil or insider versus outsider. This tradition is very good at rallying support or opposition because it creates solidarity and uniformity among an "us" in order combat a "them" (Jacobs and Smith 1997). But it can also lead to policing one's neighbors to enforce conformity. In talking about the blind spots within the neighborhood, Tim Martinez said "I think you need to choose your battles."

> Sometimes, people might get all riled up about something when maybe it's not so big of a deal. Like maybe someone put up a fence that's taller than the code. And is this really what you want to use your social capital on? One of the blind spots is that you don't want people in the neighborhood to view you as the bad guy, like you're the Gestapo and going around and making sure everyone is following the rules. I think maybe there's too much of a focus on the negative. Maybe this is the blind spot, always focusing on the negative when really, we should also be building up the positive of this sense of place and this neighborhood, not always just focusing on these are the battles that we have to fight. – 9/2/22

Nicolaides (2024) argues almost all suburban neighborhoods share this sense of siege against what seems an increasingly chaotic world. But unlike the East Arroyo neighborhood, which had its boundaries shattered by the 210 freeway, or the Lower Arroyo that experienced the re-zoning of Millionaire's Row to garden apartments, Linda Vista has been able to avoid major disruptions, allowing its garden suburb identity over the past 50 years to harden to outside pressure.[143]

[143] In March 1961, the City of Pasadena asked the state to remove Linda Vista Avenue from the state highway map so the city could ban truck traffic in Linda Vista. Neighbors had long complained about gravel trucks on Linda Vista Avenue and expressed worries dump trucks on their way to the newly created Scholl Canyon Landfill on the other side of the San Rafael Hills would create a nuisance and safety hazard ("Truck Traffic Faces Ban on Linda Vista" 1961).

Planning scholar James Throgmorton (2013) uses storytelling to understand policy conflicts and describes what he calls "common urban narratives." The one that matches Linda Vista he calls The Founder's Tale.

> Thinking of a place as home often generates stories that elaborate on what I've termed 'the Founders Tale'. Such nostalgic tales typically focus on the families, institutions and buildings that have long been familiar parts of the place. At their best such tales can help people inhabit places with care, affection and a sense of belonging. But they can also be profoundly exclusionary. For instance, they often omit the people who live in the place for a few years and then move on. They disregard the multiple ways in which the place is (and has always been) connected with the external world. And they tend to gloss over the aspects of the place's history that old-timers would like to forget. At the extreme, such stories presume that residents of the place share a common identity authentically rooted in history. In brief, such stories essentially claim, 'this is our place' and around here 'we' have always done things this way.
>
> According to this 'essentialist' way of thinking about 'platial' identity, authentic places are under threat from a variety of forces, especially 'dangerous outsiders', mobile workers and tourists, and the homogenizing tendencies of global capital. In response to this threat, some people celebrate the place's unique features and traditions as an act of resistance, whereas others strive to exclude or marginalize unwanted newcomers. Still others don't see a problem; they advertise the place's unique qualities as a way of attracting new visitors and investment. Contrary to the essentialist view, therefore, one can argue that the meaning of a place is never finished but always becoming and always being performed. Such performances are, however, always constrained by structures (material landscapes, laws, rules, cultural and social expectations) that users did not create (7-8).

Throgmorton's last point about how places never stop changing is a point of tension within Linda Vista. The formalist literary scholar Caroline Levine (2015) explains why in her book *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network*. Of the four different literary forms Levine describes, Linda Vista enacts the form of the "whole" -- visually one can imagine a circle since it has erected strong boundaries against the outside world and maintained a tight grip on what counts as socially and architecturally acceptable within the neighborhood. As with the romance

tradition in literature, stories that take this form can simultaneously be both unifying and oppressive. For these stories to work *as stories*, however, there must be closure. There must be a clear resolution -- a happily-ever-after or a noble death or a cynical twist that establishes that the more things change, the more they stay the same. Closure is what seals the circle and gives stories shaped as wholes their power. This could explain why the future feels threatening for many residents in Linda Vista: it defies and disrupts the sense of closure that the neighborhood's story has depended upon. The following quote from Tim Martinez illustrates how grappling with the future of Linda Vista derails the "wholeness" narrative of a neighborhood happily frozen in time and sends it spinning into the unknown

> And I think we're at a turning point now because we're just at the end of that era where we're like this quiet suburban neighborhood that's tucked and nestled in the San Rafael Hills. We've had mansionization that we've had for years and was out of character with the neighborhood. But now what's happening is that we're starting to have multi-unit. That's starting to happen, and there are these sweeping laws like SB9 and people are saying it's the end of single-family housing. So, I think the era that we're entering now is the end of single-family housing. Will Linda Vista be able to stave that off? I don't know. Maybe. It's possible that we might be able to be designated as a historic district or put the whole neighborhood as a hillside area. It's possible we can hold that off a bit. – 12/1/22

Later in the interview, Martinez imagines a future that is the polar opposite of the stability of the "wholeness" narrative of the garden suburb:

> I think in a hundred years Linda Vista is going to be urbanized. I think it's very possible that we'll see high density housing along Linda Vista itself and businesses. I think definitely we're going to see multi-family. If I were to go a hundred years in the future, I think it will look like somewhere in Hollywood. – 12/1/22

Without an effective story to take the place of the "wholeness" narrative, one that allows for change, adaptation, or renewal, the future seems to offer only a series of slippery slopes and an

all-or-nothing vision when it comes to change that raises the stakes of every issue and makes it difficult as Martinez says, to pick your battles.

The struggle to imagine a different story that incorporates a positive vision of the future again highlights the centrality of Linda Vista Elementary. For decades the future of Linda Vista was enacted every day at the elementary school. The future of the neighborhood ran around the playground at recess. Investment in the PTA and student success allowed adults to think about and respond to the future they believed was in store for their children. Tim Martinez summarized how integral the school was to the neighborhood's sense of itself.

> I remember that my mom was part of the PTA and Friends of the Library. So, she knew the neighborhood association people, the library people, the folks at the school. Especially when the school was active in that way, there was a group of families in the neighborhood that had their kids at Linda Vista School. I had lots of friends in the neighborhood, and we would do sleepovers or would go swimming in their pool. These were all people in my neighborhood. It was much more close-knit. We've lost a lot of that. I think the school closing played a significant role. We've lost a lot of it. The school closing was a big one. - 1/5/23

Tragic narratives come with casualties. Often for tragic heroes their most profound suffering comes not from their own death but when they lose someone that they love more than themselves due to their noble pursuit. These victims are often children, who represent the promise of the future. It is the tragic hero's pursuit that blinds them to the wider consequences of their actions and what they are risking by thrusting themselves above and apart from the rest of society. The loss of what they love most is what finally breaks them and teaches humility. The closing of Linda Vista Elementary plays this role and is another indication that a tragic pattern has purchase within the neighborhood.

Martinez and others believe there are more families with young children moving into the neighborhood and said the image he would most associate with the neighborhood today is a

stroller and a dog on a leash[144]. And in the spring of 2017, more than two dozen parents and children from Linda Vista attended a school board meeting to advocate for re-opening the school. The only other school west of the Arroyo, San Rafael Elementary, is at capacity and so some believe re-opening Linda Vista with the popular dual-language immersion program would draw parents back to the district. But the PUSD facilities officer said re-opening the school would cost $11 million (Rivera 2017). With the end of COVID relief money and district laying off staff, the prospect of a school returning to the property seems distant ("Pasadena School District Approves Layoffs, Budget Cuts Amid Financial Woes" 2024). The district owns several closed schools, including Cleveland Elementary in the East Arroyo neighborhood (see appendix 28), and discussions about converting some of these campuses into affordable housing are gaining an audience.[145] But many fear converting the campus to housing would become the first domino to fall and trigger a cascade of development that would completely transform the neighborhood. This is not necessarily the case, but Linda Vista's confrontation with its future will most likely occur on this property. Despite the fact that tragedies narrow the field of options and lead toward a fated, and typically bleak, ending, the future of this property and the neighborhood as a whole is not a foregone conclusion. The final section of this essay explores questions that the neighborhood can use to open up its future and find ways forward that build on the past without being captured by it. Tragedies hold an enduring place in human storytelling because of the lessons they offer to their audiences, lessons that those left behind often state to the audience in a

[144] While I heard that there are more parents with children in the neighborhood, as with perceptions about the number of renters, the census data suggests the opposite. In 1970, 379 neighborhood children attended either a public or private K-8 school. This number dropped to 350 in 1980, 314 in 2000, jumped to 343 in 2010, but dropped precipitously to 255 in 2020, COVID-related school closures perhaps affecting how people filled out their census form or perhaps these numbers miss children under the five years of age, but it is not clear there are more children in the neighborhood than in the past.

[145] The school district is moving forward to convert the campus of Roosevelt Elementary School into workforce housing that they can use to attract qualified teachers and staff to the district. Rather than selling the site, the district plans to maintain ownership and work with a management company to handle to property.

coda or epilogue amid the ruins of the tale. Taking these lessons to heart allows the salutary effects of these stories to take hold and can perhaps help Linda Vista make peace with the passing of time.



Figure 208. *Linda Vista Park where early morning dog walkers came to find community.*

Learning the lessons of history

There are two written histories of Linda Vista that are available at the branch library across from the elementary school. A committee originally organized to celebrate the hundred-year anniversary of Linda Vista Elementary published *Linda Vista: Portrait of a Neighborhood* in 1988. Beverly Wayte published *At the Arroyo's Edge: A History of Linda Vista* in 1993 through the Historical Society of Southern California and the Linda Vista-Annandale Association. These books are important for their careful collection and organization of stories,

dates, details, and images that would otherwise be lost to time. What they do not do, however, is discuss how the lessons of the past apply to the present. There is the faint "march of progress" background narrative that sets off individual lives and events. There is also an implied celebration of the neighborhood association and community at large for sustaining such an idyllic neighborhood across a century of time. But the presentation of the neighborhood's past is literally a portrait, a frozen image that remains silent on the most important controversies and disagreements within the neighborhood. For example, if these histories extended to the present day, it would be difficult to imagine how the authors would account for the closing of the school. An analysis of the past thirty years suggests the success in making Linda Vista a beautiful place to live has been somewhat of a pyrrhic victory, as the embrace of privacy has eroded a strong sense of community. Martinez shared that he would like to increase the appreciation for the neighborhood's history. To make this history most useful, however, the neighborhood must discuss and debate the lessons from the Linda Vista's past.

For example, if Linda Vista's story has the markings of a tragedy, what is the tragic flaw that drove residents' pursuit of the ideal garden suburb? The story of John D. Yocum could provide a place to begin this conversation. The neighborhood histories above credit Yocum as the driving force behind the development of Linda Vista. They portray him sympathetically as a Midwestern Quaker with vision, a pious risk-taker and hero to future generations of Linda Vistans (Linda Vista History Book Committee 1988; Wayte 1992). But the story of the Yocums in Linda Vista contains a large vein of tragedy and exile, a story that serves as a cautionary tale about those who treat land as a commodity and risk home and health for profit. Ten years after purchasing Linda Vista, John Yocum filed for bankruptcy primarily due to the collapse of scheme to develop the community of Lucerne in the desert. This forced him to sell most of Linda Vista to

settle his debts and lawsuits that his associates filed against him. His son Nathan, similarly mired in real estate debt, fled Pasadena, leaving his young wife and children to survive on their own. John's brother committed suicide, and his grandson also mysteriously disappeared from Pasadena later in life. The West Pasadena Railway they opened closed within five years; the school they built closed in three. Rather than modestly tending to his orchard, Yocum wanted more, and as with all tragic figures, that more came at a cost. Beverly Wayte (1992) concludes,

> The events of the Yocums' days in Linda Vista are essentially tragic ones. Even though successful in developing their chosen site for a home and community, John and Hannah's life there was one of personal loss and financial misfortune. Much of their story suggests the ebullience of the real estate boom and then the disappointment arising out of the bust (43).

Was Yocum's striving about material wealth, social status, providing security for his children, or achieving a measure of self-worth? Is there a tragic flaw from the neighborhood's past that persists today, that blinds the neighborhood to the full range of possible responses to a range of issues? The importance of identifying and calling out the tragic pattern in Linda Vista's past is that it suggests questions that can steer the neighborhood's future in a different direction. These questions concern change, conviviality, connection, and renewal.

The first question for the neighborhood to consider is what will make the community more comfortable with change. In terms of the neighborhood's design, one strategy would be to avoid rejecting multi-family housing or ADUs out of hand. The all-or-nothing tenor of this debate, the rhetoric of slippery slopes, leaves little room for creativity and accommodation. Linda Vista resident Martin Sweeney feels the most important thing is to get the conversation going.

> I think that people aren't opposed to affordable and accessible housing except that the devil is in the details. And so, let's not be afraid of those details and confront them head on. I don't know if we're going to agree at the end of the day… The

> investment in your home and its value is a real thing. There's no apology that's necessary to talk about a beautiful neighborhood, but we need to talk about this as a whole community. It will probably impact Linda Vista, but it will have an impact on the whole community. -- 3/14/23

As Tim Martinez spoke about the future, he began to envision a version of increased density that could preserve the aspects of the neighborhood he values most:

> I don't know how it's going to go. I wouldn't be surprised if in a hundred years all of this was (pause) multi-family. It's just a matter of time, unless something changes. Who knows what could happen in a hundred years? One possible future…I don't think it will stay like this forever, nothing stays the same. Right? What I would hope, in order to save the quality of life, the nature, the character somewhat of the place, is I would hope to see these big houses split into two units or granny flats in the back, things like that to accommodate more density if we continue on our current trajectory of population growth. - 7/15/22

The ordinance that Linda Vista won in 1980 that requires preservation of a rural atmosphere within the district is only helpful if residents and the City agree on what this means. The neighborhood today is firmly suburban and would qualify as rural only to those living in skyscrapers. What is most vital to the character of the neighborhood that residents want to protect and where is there flexibility? As Sweeney says, these details are worth discussing.

Another way to become more comfortable with change is to show appreciation for native plants and habitat. Change is the defining feature of the chaparral surrounding Linda Vista, and its native plants are expert practitioners of resilience. Cottonwood Canyon and Annandale Canyon, two public natural areas at either end of the Linda Vista-Annandale area, provide opportunities to experience and learn the intricacies and adaptations of these plants. As part of his job with Arroyos and Foothills Conservancy, Martinez support the Friends of Cottonwood Canyon. Could a similar collection of individuals come together to care for Annandale Canyon? Are there opportunities to replace front lawns in the neighborhood with native landscaping? Are there locations for native plant pocket parks that could capture stormwater and help people

become more aware of the seasonal cycles within the chapparal? Could fire education for residents incorporate information about its role in maintaining native ecosystems? In becoming more amenable to change, Linda Vista's landscape could be the best teacher.

A second question is about how to increase the sense of community and conviviality within the neighborhood. I asked Martinez how important this was to his vision for Linda Vista.

> If everyone is isolated from one another, there's no community and how can you have a real sense of place. It's really important. - 1/5/2023

Here, history can be helpful. For example, one of the remnants from the El Mirador Ranch are the avocado trees growing across the subdivision. The ranch was a key piece of property that links the agricultural history of the area with its present identity as a garden suburb. A guacamole party to talk about this history could become a new tradition. Another lesson from history is the role small businesses can play in bringing people together. The neighborhood has been resolute for the last several decades that there is no place for commercial businesses in Linda Vista. But for decades Linda Vista maintained a small collection of cottage businesses that aided in their sense of self-reliance and helped build community (Wayte 1992). The most important of these was the general store near the school, which became part of Jurgensen's chain of markets in 1941. The store became a node of community activities, and for years residents enjoyed their deli sandwiches. A merger with another chain led the store to close in 1987, and now houses cover the location of the market. Perhaps, if the neighborhood works with the City and school district to repurpose the school campus, a small store or café could be part of the re-development and serve the same function as the Jurgensen's deli.



Figure 209. *A young avocado orchard on the El Mirador Ranch ("El Mirador Ranch" n.d. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, LV-118)*

A study of history could also recognize and celebrate past instances of community spirit and cooperation to highlight the precedent for people working together. The Linda Vista Parent Teacher Association, for example, organized special events, holiday programs, art shows, fossil exhibits, hot lunches, and afterschool tutoring to name just a few of their projects (Linda Vista History Book Committee. n.d.). Prominent artists living in Linda Vista donated paintings and turned the school's hallways into an art gallery. The Friends of the Library was a group that started in 1963 and fought off several attempts to close the branch in the 1970s, organizing residents to check out books whenever the status of the branch appeared at risk (Wayte 1992). Another example of community spirit was a garden cooperative started in 1942 on two vacant lots along Linda Vista ("Three Neighbors Launch Garden Co-operative" 1942). In 1946, mothers picking up their children at the school began a group called The Linda Vistans to discuss

community concerns. The group still exists. Residents also initiated an Adopt-a-Park program that has planted trees and enhanced landscaping along Linda Vista Avenue and other roadside patches (Wayte 1992). Martinez shared he would like to figure out how to engage the renters that do live into Linda Vista in these types of volunteer efforts. Linking these civic initiatives together into a narrative about how people can work together can give future cooperative endeavors an origin story and turn around the perception that residents are only interested in preserving their privacy.



Figure 210. *A volunteer beautification project organized by the Linda Vista Annandale Association. This planting was at Linda Vista and Seco Street (Linda Vista-Annandale Association n.d. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, LV-163).*

A final way to encourage conviviality, especially with the more-than-human world, would be to daylight some of the numerous springs and streams that once flowed through Linda Vista. Martinez described how when he was a boy, the discovery of springs gushing from the hillside convinced him he lived in a magical place.

> There's something about running water that makes people think like 'Wow. This is nature, this is alive.' So, to me, there is something magical about having these canyons with water gush out of them. So, when they dried up, that was a big change for me. -- (7/15/22).

The daylighting of the stream running through Linda Vista Park and along Salvia Canyn Road, for example, would create habitat for birds and insects in the center of the community. The project itself, from the planning to the design to the manual labor, would provide a significant opportunity for people to come together in a meaningful way.



Figure 211. *Lower Salvia Canyon in 1924. This photo shows what daylighting the stream (left of the road) might look like ("Salvia Canyon – Oct 1, 1924" 1924. Courtesy of the Pasadena Public Library, Pasadena, California)*

A third question for the neighborhood to consider involves ways to strengthen its relationship with other neighborhoods in Pasadena and the city as a whole. Tragic story lines hinge on the isolation for the protagonist, and so integrating Linda Vista into the life of the city is

important to get the neighborhood narrative on a different track. Martin Sweeney is hoping to build these bridges in discussions about affordable housing in the city:

> What I want for people in this neighborhood is to understand that affordable and accessible housing can't be addressed on a public policy level without your participation. You need to be part of that conversation. And we need to have that so that you're not being threatened. You don't want accessible units on your street. Fine. That's a valid point of view. But we need to have these conversations. You're my neighbor. You're not my adversary. Maybe out of a hundred people, that will resonate strongly with three people. But maybe those are the right three people. -- 3/14/23

Currently, the Linda Vista-Annandale Association works mostly closely with the West Pasadena Residents Association and the Madison Heights Neighborhood Association, forming a powerful coalition of the most affluent neighborhoods in the city. Shedding the identity as a singularly affluent suburb will require building relationships with other neighborhoods. The place to start is with the East Arroyo Residents Association. Currently, the Central Arroyo serves to separate the East Arroyo from Linda Vista. But it could bring them together. An annual picnic on the golf course to build links between the two groups and discuss shared interests, such as traffic, noise, trails, and wildlife would be a small but valuable step toward softening the boundaries between Linda Vista and the rest of the city.

Another way that Linda Vista residents can connect with the rest of the city is by choosing a public school for their children and getting involved with that school's PTA. Linda Vista is within the catchment area for Washington Elementary STEM Magnet, the Octavia Butler Middle School Magnet, and Muir High School. The historic resistance of Linda Vista parents to send their children to these schools contributed to school segregation and court-ordered busing. This would make Linda Vista's investment in their success particularly meaningful. But parents also have the option to go through the PUSD Open Enrollment process to send their children to

other schools in the district, including nearby San Rafael Elementary. Before the district would consider re-opening Linda Vista Elementary, the percentage of K-6 students from Linda Vista in the public system must increase. According to the 2020 census, all but twenty-six of the 255 K-8 students were attending private schools.

The ultimate question for the neighborhood is what are potential sources of renewal. Most tragic arcs end in renewal. And so, as the arc of the garden suburb runs its course and Linda Vista faces an uncertain future, there is a natural search for new beginnings. Many of the ideas in this section can serve as symbols of renewal. Rain is a source of renewal for the chapparal, and so focusing on capturing rain water and daylighting streams can help with regeneration. True gardens, rather than simply aesthetic landscaping, are always symbols of renewal, whether as a community garden providing food or a native plant garden that connects the neighborhood with its wild landscape. The idea for an Unpave Pasadena campaign emerging from the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers pilot project (see chapter 7) calls for native plant pocket parks and an initial survey suggests a possible location next to the child care center on the old school campus.



Figure 212. *An underutilized parking lot on the elementary school property. This patch of asphalt could accommodate a pocket park that could catch stormwater and help people learn about native plants.*

The future of this campus, of course, should be at the center of any renewal as it has always been at the center of the community. Tim Martinez suggests the spirit that many would welcome back to this land.

> When the school was open there would be pick-up and drop-off back in the day. And then there was daycare. There would be kids running and shouting and you could hear all that life, and kids running back forth from the school to the library. There was a lot more life, you'd hear the kids playing, bouncing balls, the whistles being blown, whatever. There was a lot more life. – 7/15/22

Figuring out how to bring the campus back to life in some way should be the priority. Martinez would like it preserved for public use so it can provide a "third space" that can encourage community interaction.

> It would help revive that sense of community if we could turn that whole building into a community center or preserve the parkland or lease out the campus for some type of use. It would be great. -- 1/5/23

Making such a center easily accessible to people from across the city for yoga sessions, art classes, or reading groups would help to integrate the Linda Vista into the daily routines of the rest of Pasadena. In order to achieve renewal, creative activities should be the priority. Perhaps a maker space would be appropriate. Or some combination of bungalow court housing for families, a community meeting space, child care center, native plant garden, and café or deli could work. Tim Martinez felt excited about the potential.

> What it would do is help create that small town feel. If we had this place, if we had the school, the library, the fire station, it would give us the feeling of being a small town when on a day like today and you couldn't cross the Arroyo when it was flooded, we had our own little community and amenities. It would be a community node and maybe that's part of the reason that we don't have the community and know our neighbors as we once did because our node has disintegrated. – 1/5/23

Unofficially, it could serve as the Linda Vista Renewal Center and become a different symbol for a different narrative that people drive by every day on their way to and from work.

Conclusion

A narrative analysis of the Pasadena's Linda Vista neighborhood, its history, landscape, and institutions, along with the values and beliefs of current residents, suggests a community frozen in time and uncertain about the future. During the 20th century, residents worked hard to make Linda Vista an exemplary Southern California garden suburb, using strict standards for new housing and discriminatory practices to keep out people of color and maintain an image of affluence. The achievement of this goal in terms of neighborhood design proved a pyrrhic victory as the neighborhood's preference for privacy has drained the area's sense of community and resulted in the abandonment and closing of Linda Vista Elementary, which was long the center of

community life. The narrative tradition that aligns most closely with these events is that of an ironic tragedy. The value in recognizing and reflecting on this story comes from learning and applying the lessons of the past and finding sources of renewal that can give the community a fresh start. Foremost among these sources would be a repurposing of the school's campus, but other shifts in attitudes toward native habitat, affordable housing, and community involvement could have a positive impact as well.

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Appendix 30: San Rafael

Perhaps the best way to gain an understanding of the San Rafael neighborhood in Pasadena is to go for a run. Running allows the small details of individual blocks to make an impression while also giving the body an acute sense of the varied topography that divides this tilting tableland west of the Arroyo Seco. My late afternoon January jaunt started at the corner of West Colorado Boulevard and San Miguel Road near San Rafael Park. The first section of the run took me past the twenty-foot-tall hedges of South San Rafael Avenue, broken only by a wrought-iron gate from which narrow driveways climb back to invisible mansions that sit on the bluff overlooking the Lower Arroyo. Taking a left at La Loma Road pulled me precipitously down toward the bridge across the canyon. But before reaching it, an unmarked dirt path allowed me to scramble down to the Lower Arroyo Park where I sprinted along the flood control channel to the San Rafael Bridge. From here, I climbed back into the neighborhood by following Laguna Road where modern houses use struts and pillars to straddle the creek that spills down a deep ravine from Johnston Lake. Created by damming up a natural wetland, the lake itself is barely visible, its eutrophic expanse belongs to the private homes that encircle it. Laguna Road brought me back up to La Loma where I crossed the traffic ripping down Avenue 64 toward Los Angeles.

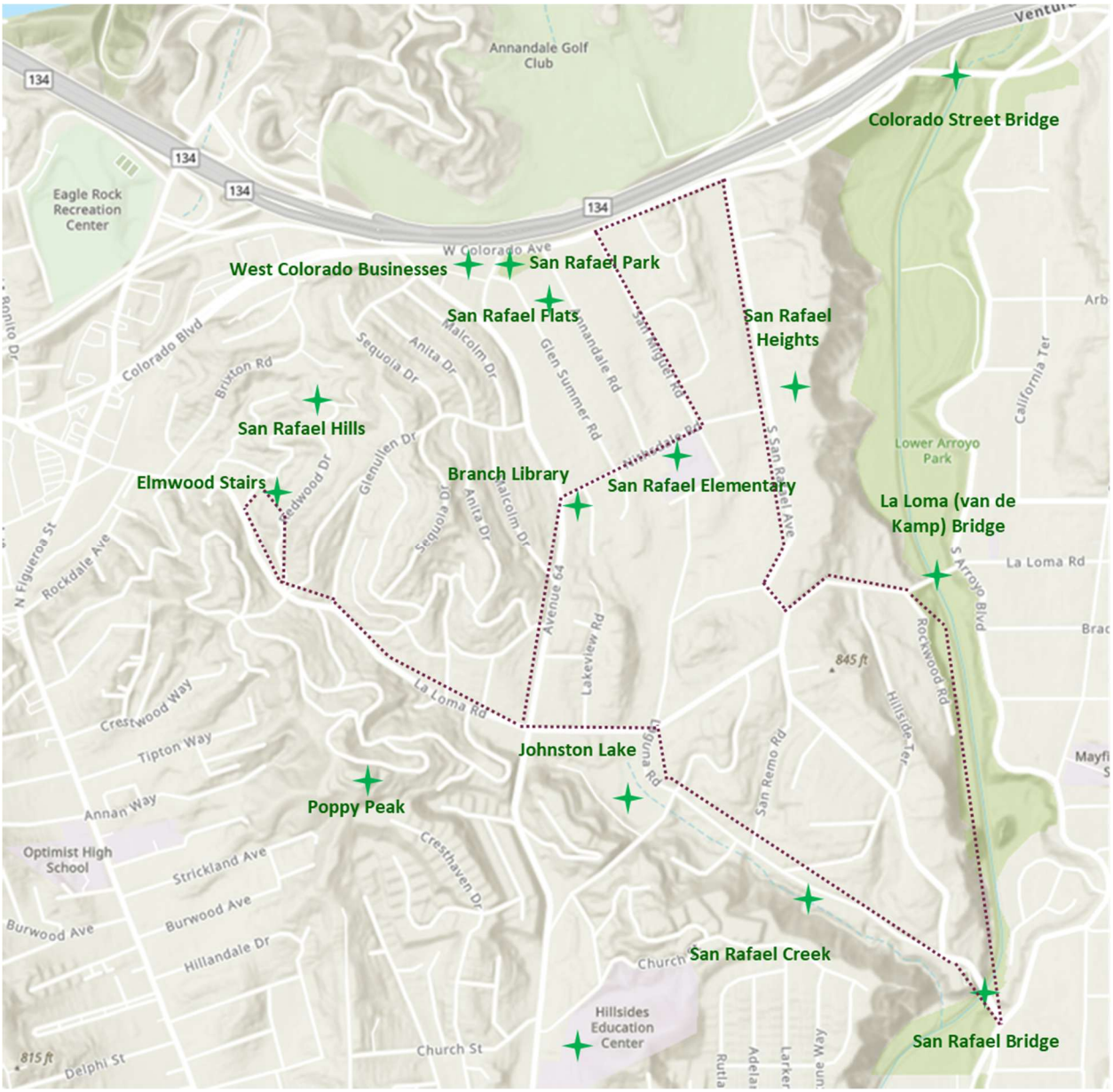

Figure 213. *Map of San Rafael Neighborhood. Note the three districts: San Rafael Heights, San Rafael Flats, and San Rafael Hills. Dotted line shows running route.*

Rather than climbing back up the hill toward my car, I decided I had enough in me to continue west on La Loma Road across the northern flanks of Poppy Peak, a steep local hump that divides Pasadena from Northeast Los Angeles and has houses seemingly stacked on top of one another. From La Loma Road north to West Colorado, long winding roads carve their way to houses that cling to sides of narrow ravines. I turned up Elmwood looking for the "secret stairs"

that developers stashed throughout these hilly subdivisions during the 1920s to cover the sewer line easements and help people reach the red car line on North Figueroa Avenue, which is where following La Loma would have taken me. The Elmwood stairs are non-descript, almost invisible, and go up and up. They would have been more enjoyable at the start of the run. But proud of cresting their top, I soon found myself back at the corner of La Loma and Avenue 64 and headed toward Nithsdale and the branch library. Inconspicuous with its low-slung brick façade, this unassuming reading room was once subject to a years-long dispute. Continuing east on Nithsdale brought me to the campus of San Rafael Elementary, assembled around a quaint, two-story mansion from 1935 that is perhaps one of the reasons the school has found neighborhood advocates. From here, I made a straight sprint up San Miguel Road to my car just as the light began to fade. The block is long here with speed bumps. Unlike the other roads that are part of this portion of the neighborhood, there are no sidewalks. But there is a collection of white-picket fences in front of comfortable but not grandiose homes, most of which appeared in the 1920s on what was one of the first golf courses in Los Angeles.

The varied nature of a run through San Rafael keeps your attention, each section of neighborhood reflecting the specific time and circumstance of converting a complex ecological landscape into sellable real estate. This has yielded a neighborhood in which the form of the architecture and the design of the streets seems to shape the performance of community, creating a neighborhood that while remarkably stable has not been particularly cohesive. The consistent power and influence of the community's architecture on inhabitants suggests a satiric narrative, perhaps an absurdist or existential play, where no matter the passions, dramas, or controversies, the same pattern of life repeats itself across the decades. This includes the reproduction of social hierarchies that stretch back to the time when the entire area belonged to a single family with

visions of giving their ranch the trappings of a Scottish estate. Shifting this narrative so San Rafael can more effectively organize for the public good, for sustainability, for equity, and for opportunity, will require finding ways to consciously subvert these hierarchies and build networks that unify the neighborhood. A good, common starting point for this task is the historic landscape of San Rafael prior to white settlement.

An impenetrable network

Early photos of the San Rafael area show barren hills and broad valleys and suggest the land was empty and ripe for development. The simplicity and monotony within these photos belie the existence of a complex quilt of habitats across the tablelands west of the Lower Arroyo's canyon. Chaparral and sage scrub species intermingled in San Rafael.[146] These plants possess diverse adaptations to drought, grow in response to winter rains, and respond productively to fire. Native people took advantages of these responses, often burning patches of this habitat in rotation to increase species richness and ensure that they would always have the specific plants they needed for their villages to thrive (Ethington et al. 2020). An 1876 description of the area by the Archduke of Austria called the head of the Eagle Rock Valley "'a wilderness of luxuriant vegetation that forms an almost impenetrable thicket, often the haunt of wild beasts'" (Crocker 1968, 57). Hikers and horseman from this period all agree that roads were necessary because the luxuriant growth of spine and bramble made off-trail travel in the

[146] The California poppy (*Eschscholzia californica*), for example, is a species that thrives in coastal sage scrub, chaparral, and grassland communities, and was known to set the slopes of Poppy Peak ablaze every spring (Ashkenazy and Ashkenazy 1975). The 1934 Wieslander Vegetation Maps show San Rafael as an urban area. But in the upper reaches of the San Rafael Hills above Linda Vista, the map calls out the following species as prominent Chamise (*Adenostoma fasciculatum*), White hornbrush or Hoaryleaf soapbloom (*Ceanothus crassifolius*), Laurel sumac (*Rhus laurina*), Black sage (*Salvia mellifera*), California sagebrush (*Artemisia californica*), California encelia (*Encelia californica*). In and around the canyons of this area, you find White alder (*Alnus rhombifolia*), California scrub oak (*Quercus dumosa*), and Birchleaf mountain-mahogany (*Cercocarpus betuloides*). These same species likely had a dominant role in the ecology of the San Rafael area.

San Rafael Hills a chore (Holder 1888, 1906). The chaparral would have been most prominent on the dry south-facing slopes, grading into more sage scrub and grassland species in the flatter areas north above Nithsdale Avenue.



Figure 214. *Oak woodland blending into chaparral and sage scrub near the Beaudry Tunnel ca1884. Burleigh Drive marks the location of the tunnel today, 1884 ("Cave" ca1884 in Crocker 1968)*

Given the photos of the area, the other surprise in the historical record is the frequent mention of oak trees, despite the fact that Spanish and Mexico settlers had been turning trees into lumber for over a hundred years. The north-facing slopes and moister areas in canyons and ravines between Avenue 64 and Figueroa likely had a solid canopy of coast live oaks and white alder and willows where there was year-round water.[147] Commenting on a road cut between Avenue 64 north to Johnston Lake, the *Los Angeles Times* said that "the hills stretch out covered

[147] A 1945 *Los Angeles Times* article about a brush fire that raced down the east side of Poppy Peak, jumped Avenue 64 and began burning through brush on its way to Johnston Lake consumed 150 acres and left charred oak trees in its wake ("Volunteers help quell raging flames: Brush Fire Endangers San Rafael Hills Homes " 1945).

with native timber, probably as heavy a natural growth as can be found within miles of Los Angeles" ("New Highway Pierces Hill: Mammoth Cut Begun on Hills of San Rafael" 1905). A 1922 aerial photo of the area shows oak woodland on the north slopes above Johnston Lake and all the way down San Rafael Creek canyon.[148] Another description from the *Times* provides a portrait on what this canyon looked like at ground level:

> "Rocky Fall [San Rafael Creek] rambles down into the Arroyo Seco from the mouth of the Church of the Angels tunnel and is a veritable lovers' lane, thickly overgrown with oak trees, willows and fern brakes. In the winter this canon is a [...] of wild flowers, and the air is heavy with that woody fragrance of which city folk so dearly love. Giant oaks are grouped here and there over the rolling hills that once were an expensive grape vineyard" ("Scenic golf links planned: Pasadena club breaks ground for artistic building" 1906).

Other articles comment on several groups of large oaks on the Jevne estate, which was located on the Arroyo's western bluff just north of Busch Gardens ("House like great hotel To have elevator service and pre-cooling plant" 1912).

[148] While this aerial photo shows few oaks north of Laguna Road in 1922, an isolated strip of trees and small cluster of oaks in this area suggest that even north of Laguna Road on a south-facing slopes, there was an oak woodland leading all the way down to the Arroyo.



Figure 215. *Barns sit above a stream feeding into Johnston Lake ca 1890. Taken at north end of Lakeview Road, where a pond still exists today ("San Rafael Ranch barns about 1890" ca1890, in Crocker 1968).*

Finally, early accounts also make clear that San Rafael area was blessed with springs that gave rise to wetlands within the chaparral-sage scrub, a rare occurrence that would only add to the complexity of the ecological networks present in the landscape. The same Archduke called the Garvanza neighborhood just south and west of San Rafael "a small green swamp with clumps of bunch-grass…which never dries out" (Crocker 1968, 57). A spring located at what today is 280 North Avenue 64, just north of the library, was surrounded by a blackberry bramble and was where people from Garvanza would come to fill five-gallon jugs. One of the earliest mentions of the Johnston Lake area is from 1873 in a document describing it as "a small valley of semi-moist land" (Crocker 1968, 16). In the 1930s, a stream flowing from San Rafael School to Johnston Lake overflowed, which is the origin of the pond that still exists at the end of Rosita Lane. Other reports from the 1920s describe this area south of Nithsdale as a bog. (Crocker 1968). Throughout the San Rafael area the high-water table routinely floods basements. Crocker (1968)

also reports that there was a spring and *cienaga* on the west bank of the Arroyo at the foot of La Loma Road. The Campbell-Johnstons installed a windmill that pumped water from this spring to the ranch house cisterns sitting atop the adjacent hill. The abundant water supply and oak woodlands in San Rafael Creek canyon would have made it a good location for Gabrieleno/Tongva families to settle, a supposition that developers confirmed by finding mortars and other artifacts near the intersection of San Remo Road and San Rafael Avenue (Johnston 1962). As late as 1871, a map showing land partitions included three "jacales," or brush houses, south of this point down in the Arroyo canyon, near the intersection of Avenue 67 and Hough Street, next to San Pascual School (Crocker 1968). Far from being a dry, barren plateau of scrubland, the San Rafael mesa embodied rich network of ecological relationships that stitched together a tapestry of diverse habitats.



Figure 216. *Johnston Lake looking northeast from Beaudry Tunnel (Burleigh Drive) ca1884. Shows intersection of La Loma and Laguna Road. ("Johnston Lake and Laguna Rd" ca 1884, in Crocker 1968).*

Re-made into real estate

The conversion of this complex landscape into developable real estate was not the work of small farmers and individual homeowners. Rather, two landowners over the course of roughly 35 years transformed the 1700 acres west of the Lower Arroyo into a working ranch and then auctioned off large sections to wealthy homebuyers and development companies who built the community in stages. The intention of White settlers for these highlands was never in doubt: real estate.

The first of these landowners was Prudent Beaudry. Beaudry was part of a syndicate that acquired the acreage in 1869 during the auction of the Rancho San Rafael. The Rancho was extensive and originally encompassed La Cañada, Glendale, Burbank and all of Northeast Los Angeles north and west of the Arroyo Seco. In 1784, the Spanish governor granted the rancho to a soldier, José Marie Verdugo, for his service protecting and defending the Mission San Gabriel. From this early date, the San Rafael area became grazing land for cattle and sheep. José Verdugo's son, Julio, borrowed money to improve his adobe and land shortly before the severe drought of 1861-1862 killed most of his cattle. Unable to pay his debts, the Rancho went to auction and became the property of Prudent Beaudry in 1871, three years before he would become the Mayor of Los Angeles (Crocker 1968; Wayte 1992). He ran sheep on the property and started the San Rafael Winery in the flats between Johnston Lake and the rutted dirt road that would become West Colorado Boulevard. Both were money making ventures, and both stripped the land of its ecological richness. Beaudry built a 480-foot tunnel to facilitate transport of his Angelica wine to Aliso Stret in downtown Los Angeles where he sold it for 20 cents a gallon. He used the excavations from the tunnel for an earthen dam that transformed the natural wetland into Johnston Lake where he dumped the mash from the winery. So polluted was the water that

ducks, geese, and cows reportedly became tipsy after drinking its water (Shoop 1952a). Beaudry eventually conveyed his land to his younger brother Victor, who sold it to Alexander Robert Campbell-Johnston, a Scottish colonial officer with a large family and a collection of working ranches in locations as far-flung as Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, and Liberia (Ashkenazy and Ashkenazy 1975).



Figure 217. *San Rafael Winery and Johnston Lake circa 1885. Note livestock on the far shore. ("San Rafael Winery with cattle and horses pastured nearby, about 1885" ca1885, in Crocker 1968)*

The San Rafael Ranch was not Campbell-Johnston's first venture into the California real estate market. He first came to California with his wife and three of his eight sons in 1880 betting that he could profitably replicate his ranch operations in the Golden State and capitalize on the anticipated land boom. He purchased the Carlotta Ranch outside Fresno and left his sons in charge of turning a profit. It was when he returned in October 1883 to check on their progress that he bought more than 2000 acres from Beaudry. At that point, pulverized by over a hundred years of grazing, his new purchase reminded Campbell-Johnston of his ancestral home in

Dumfriesshire, and he endowed the homestead with the name "Annandale." Elinor and Irvin Ashkenazy in a 1975 profile of the Campbell-Johnstons say that the land seemed "an exotic contradiction of desert highlands and rocky bluffs, with marshy swales lush with grass, reminding him of the lonely moors and braes of his native Dumphrieshire" (Ashkenazy and Ashkenazy 1975, 15). He called his sons down from Fresno to help manage his latest investment, imported a crew of herdsmen from England and Scotland, and put them under the direction of Robert Lindsay, the son of his cousin. The Ashkenazys noted the inscription with the coat of arms for the Johnston clan claimed they had lived in the vale of Annandale in Scotland for a millennium and would stay a thousand years more.

> They began building as if they fully expected to stay a thousand years in the valley of the Arroyo Seco. Stables, barns, bunkhouses and corrals were constructed, and a windmill built to pump water from Johnston's spring bubbling up from the bottom of the arroyo to be stored in a cistern atop the palisades (Ashkenazy and Ashkenazy 1975, 16).

But staying a thousand years was not their intention. From the start, the Campbell-Johnstons saw the ranch as an investment and before the end of 1884 had prepared a subdivision map with 34 lots varying in size from 2 ½ to 19 acres on both sides of North Figueroa north of Meridian Avenue (Crocker 1968).



Figure 218. *San Rafael Ranch stables from the north end of Lakeview Road ca 1885. Photo looks north toward what today is the Annandale Golf Club ("View about 1885 of San Rafael Ranch stable and teams" ca 1885 in Crocker 1968)*

In the meantime, the goal of the Campbell-Johnston sons was to squeeze as much profit from the land as possible. Drawing from a study of the ranch's account book, Ashkenazy and Ashkenazy describes what we would recognize today as a hard-driving development corporation:

> The boys' openhanded life-style, it is said, was maintained by tightfisted business policies. Since their most immediate sources of income was from grazing fees, signs advertising pasturage were placed far and wide: 'Yearlings $1 per month. Cows $2 per month. Thoroughbred Jersey Bull with the Herd.' Service by the bull was five dollars extra per cow.'
>
> ***
>
> Several hundred cows usually grazed the rolling grasslands. Those whose board bills became unreasonably overdue were confiscated without ado--all quite legally, of course. They either became part of the ranch herd or were sold to a Los Angeles butcher for whatever the meat and hides would bring (Ashkenazy and Ashkenazy 1975, 17).

In addition to grazing fees, the sons kept producing wine until 1897. In 1907 they set up a rock crushing operation in the Lower Arroyo just north of California Boulevard and a few years later drove a hard bargain in granting a right-of-way for South Arroyo Boulevard, insisting that their property extended across the Arroyo and included the eastern rim of the canyon ("Arroyo Drive

is Located at Last" 1911; "New Enterprise Starts Up in Arroyo" 1907; "Plan to Open Arroyo Drive" 1910).

Establishing roads and transit to the ranch became important as a way to increase the value of their land for development. Table 6 describes the steps the brothers took to connect their ranch to the both Pasadena and Los Angeles and increase the value of the land.

Table 6. - *Road and transit developments for the San Rafael Ranch Company*

Year	Description
1886 - May	Conveyed to L.A. County a strip of land forty feet wide for "Eagle Rock Road," which is now Colorado Boulevard (Crocker 1968).
1890	Donated an eighty-foot right-of-way to connect with the Scoville trestle bridge across the Arroyo at the current location of the Colorado Street Bridge. This provided a key linkage that made it a viable route into Los Angeles ("The New Boulevard: The Attractive Highway to Los Angeles" 1900).
1898	Erected a wooden toll bridge across the Arroyo where the John van de Kamp Bridge crosses today. The bridge not only generated revenue but was integral to their plan to sell lots in what would become San Rafael Heights (Crocker 1968).
1901	Offered to donate their toll bridge to the City of Pasadena if they would approve a bridge across the Arroyo further south that would connect to Madeline Street, which would provide a more direct route to Los Angeles ("Pasadena-Los Angeles Boulevard Project: Bridge Across the Arroyo" 1901).
1902	Secured an electric rail franchise and began to grade Avenue 64 ("New Electric Road: Work Begun on the Campbell-Johnstons' Line to Pasadena" 1902).[149]
1905	Paid $35,000 in construction fees to connect Avenue 64 with La Loma Road and used the dirt from construction to build up Beaudry's dam and

[149] The new electric rail line led to talk in 1903 that the Ranch could be a good location for an expanded University of Southern California campus but no one connected to USC ever endorsed the idea ("For Moving University: Movement Still in Motion for Change of Location" 1903).

	make Johnston Lake bigger ("New Highway Pierces Hill: Mammoth Cut Begun on Hills of San Rafael" 1905).

The other ingredient they needed to turn their ranch into real estate was water. And despite ample water on site, the Johnston-Campbell's plans required more. Like many communities, they sought annexation to the City of Los Angeles when it became clear that the Los Angeles Aqueduct would spur massive development. The Campbell-Johnstons wanted to get their share and presented their case before the annexation commission, as did South Pasadena and Glendale, who for a time also wanted to join Los Angeles ("Others Knock for Admission: Outside Territory Eager to be Annexed" 1901). When this didn't work, they created their own water company, with residents of San Rafael Heights buying water directly from the Ranch ("Object to Plan of Club" 1917).



Figure 219. *Sheep grazing on the west side of Avenue 64 ca 1888. Photo shows the Church of the Angels in the background. Grazing sheep and cattle stripped much of San Rafael of its native vegetation (C.C. Pierce & Co. 1888. USC Digital Library - https://doi.org/10.25549/chs-m852).*

The Campbell-Johnstons mixed this profit-seeking behavior with aspects of the English aristocratic life. Ashkenazy and Ashkenazy (1975) say. “It was here, near the west bank of the Arroyo Seco that the Campbell-Johnstons established the center of their ranching operations, laid out their 2,300-acre private kingdom, and made of it a little bit of Britain” (16). The authors provide a vivid description of what one encountered after passing through the Beaudry Tunnel and looked down on Johnston Lake and the sloping valley where the school, library, and park now stand.

> But in the youth and heyday of the San Rafael Ranch, the tunnel could almost be likened to the magic rabbit hole through which Alice fell en route to Wonderland. At its eastern end it opened into an enchanted valley set with a sparkling lake amid fields of grain, vineyards and orchards. About the lake were flocks of sheep attended by a Scottish shepherd and busy sheep dogs. Ranch hands working about

> the barns and corrals and cowboys tending cattle on distant slopes were generally large young men whose exotic accents, Scottish, Yorkshire and Cockney, dominated the verbal scene. There were others, more indigenous, including caretaker Felipe Estrada, who is remembered to this day by Pasadena businessman Herbert V. Nootbaar as a 'great little Yaqui Indian' (16).

In their free time, the family enjoyed two recreational activities popular with the British aristocracy: hunting and golf. Conway Campbell-Johnston became one of the founders of the Valley Hunt Club, chasing bobcats, foxes, and coyotes through the Arroyo behind the family's pack of hounds. In terms of golf, Conway, his brother Augustine, Lindsay, and Captain E.P. Tomkinson cleared the brush from the flattest portions of the valley to build one of the region's first golf courses in 1894. More sand than grass for its first decade, the course received a boost in 1905 when the real estate syndicate headed by Pacific Electric magnate Henry Huntington, himself an Anglophile, bought 320 acres of the ranch from which he set aside 150 for an improved golf course. The Annandale Golf Club formally incorporated in April 1906 with the new course opening that October. Huntington brought his Pacific Electric line to the backdoor of the new clubhouse on a small hill at what is now 450 Avenue 64, a block north of La Loma Road (Crocker 1968). The golf course and clubhouse became a favorite haunt of local and national elites, many of whom escaped to Southern California for their winters ("Annandale is a favorite resort of rich tourists" 1911). President Taft visited in 1909 and a reception for Andrew Carnegie in 1910, reportedly had 57 millionaires out of a crowd of 283 guests (Crocker 1968).

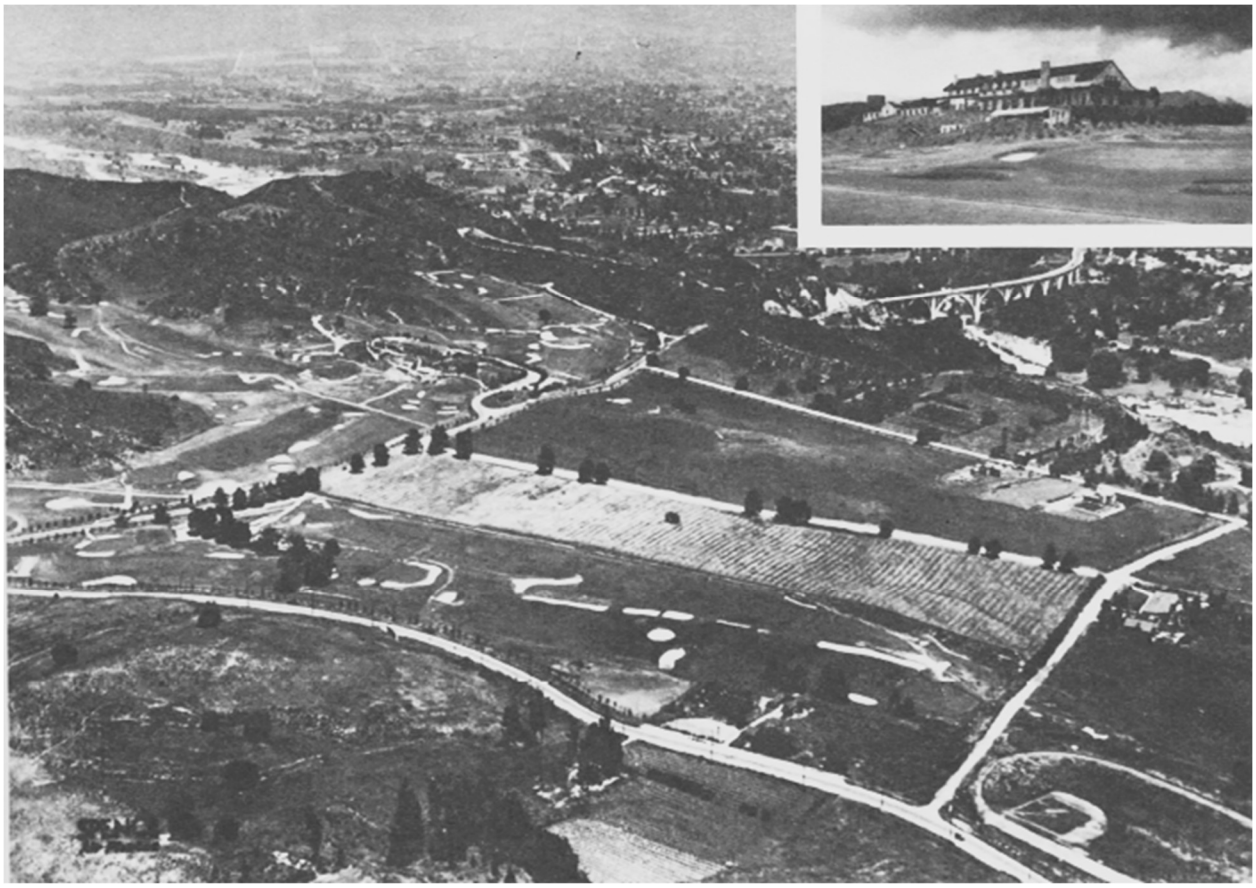

Figure 220. *Looking east toward Pasadena in 1921 from Poppy Peak area. The Colorado Street Bridge is in background. The road in the foreground is Avenue 64. The initial golf course sits next to vineyards north of Nithsdale Ave. The schoolhouse is across the street. The inset shows the new golf clubhouse built in 1919. ("Annandale Golf Club, 1921" 1921, in Crocker 1968).*

Implicit in this vision of aristocratic land development is a commitment to status and hierarchy, something that remains in the air today with the estates that line the western cliffs above the Lower Arroyo. This is San Rafael Heights, the first of the ranch's subdivisions to go on the market in 1901 and the first to become part of Pasadena in 1914. Tim Sales is an urban planner and developer who lives in San Rafael and says that these houses between South San Rafael Avenue and the edge of the Arroyo seem to stand apart from the rest of the neighborhood:

> It's really amazing. It's a very unique environment in the San Gabriel Valley. The only place you really get into that kind of thing again is when you go to like Bel Air or Beverly Hills or the Hollywood Hills. When they come up on the market and I see them, it's like, "Wow." The houses are big but also the lots. They are just

so big and deep and have landscaping and topography, and like area development, that they're like some sort of a villa somewhere.

Like tennis courts?

Classical gardens. That's a very rarified thing…they might face the street but they're hundreds of feet back and they have gates. And that's a different thing. I was talking to someone recently about Pasadena, and they were talking about Millionaire's Row. Well, Millionaires Row is Orange Grove, and Millionaire's Row back then was actually a very public display of wealth. There was this notion of "Here it is. Look at me." Whereas this is more from the teens and '20s and onwards where it's maybe you can see, maybe you can't. It's behind a big wall and stuff but very impressive. I don't know what they call that. It doesn't seem to be part of San Rafael. To me, San Rafael is sort of more, it's not middle class, but people might call themselves middle class because in the tiers of affluence, they're not super wealthy. – 8/6/22

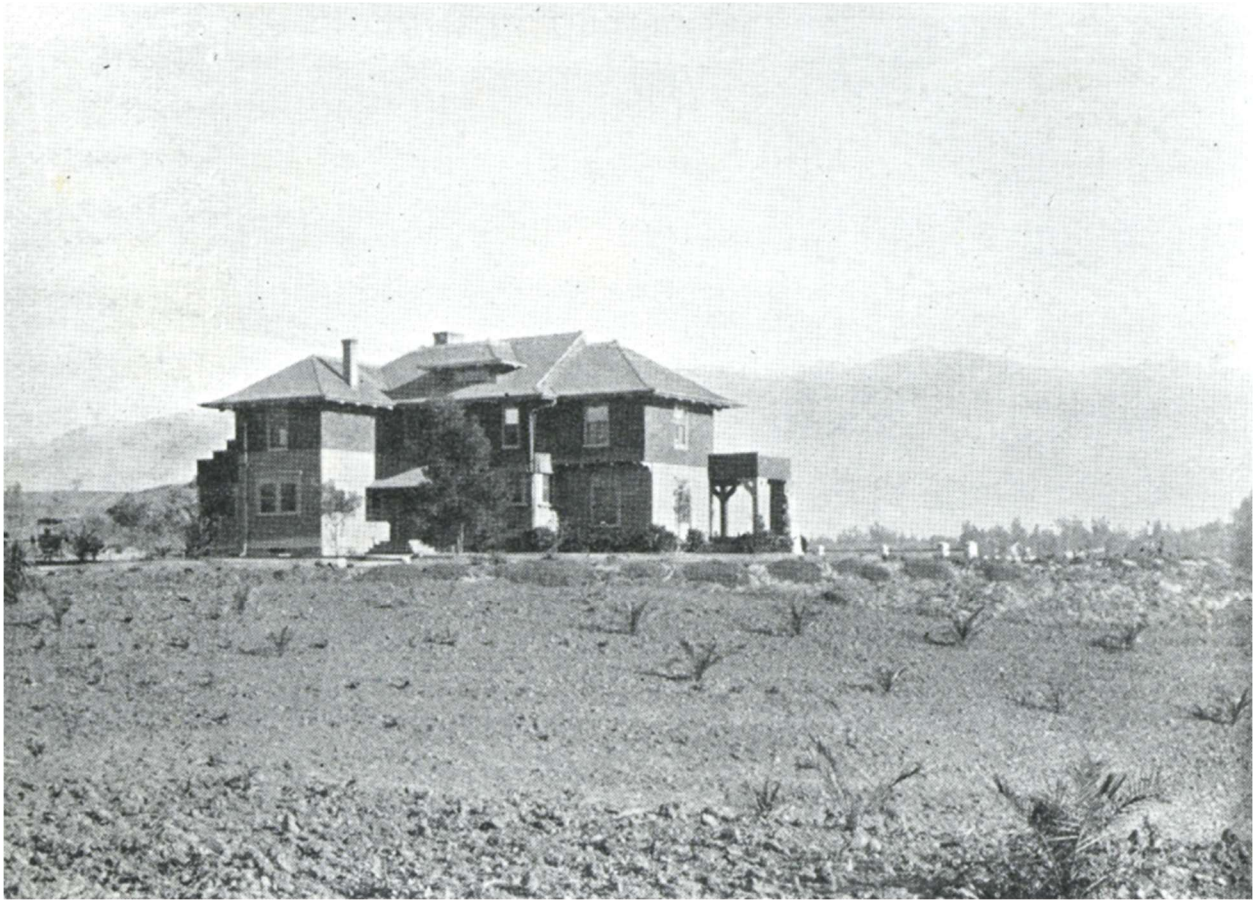

Figure 221. *Greene & Greene mansion from 1901 in San Rafael Heights. ("Views of and from the residence of Wm. B. Tomkins, San Rafael Heights" 1902. Courtesy of the Pasadena Public Library, Pasadena, California).*

One place where this social hierarchy was on display was the ramshackle, roadside stand started in 1919 in front of the new golf clubhouse on West Colorado Boulevard. Here, H.S. Sternberger and his son Van began selling oranges, candy bars, and hot dogs to club members and hungry caddies as a way to shake loose a bit of change from the high rollers going in and out of the front door. They then moved to the side of the golf course at the intersection of West Colorado and Avenue 64. The Huntington Land and Improvement Company leased that lot for a gas station, so the Sternbergers moved across the dirt road to what they named the Rite Spot Steakhouse at 1500 West Colorado Boulevard, that today is just east of the aptly named Patrician Way.

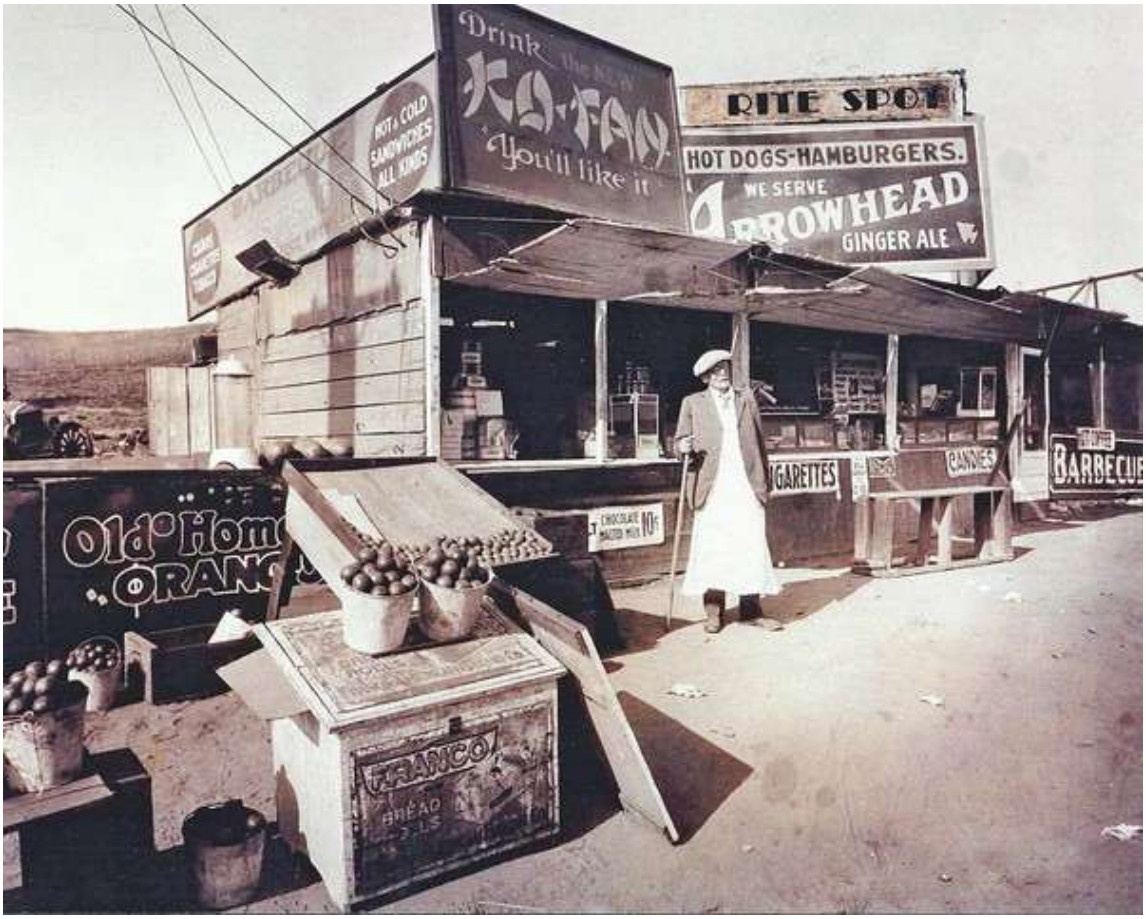

Figure 222. *The Rite Spot burger stand next to Annandale Golf Club in 1922. The Rite Spot started by the Sternberger family was one of the few neighborhood spaces where the class distinctions became visible ("The Rite Spot in Pasadena, CA" 1922)*

It was here in 1924 that Lionel Sternberger, Van's twin brother, burnt one of the patties on the grill and tried to cover the mistake with a slice of cheese. The City of Pasadena has installed a bronze plaque with the claim that this was the first time a restaurant ever sold a cheeseburger. More telling is that from that point forward the Sternberger's listed this innovation on their menu as the "Aristocratic Hamburger," which in the 1930s sold for 15 cents (Visit Pasadena 2023).

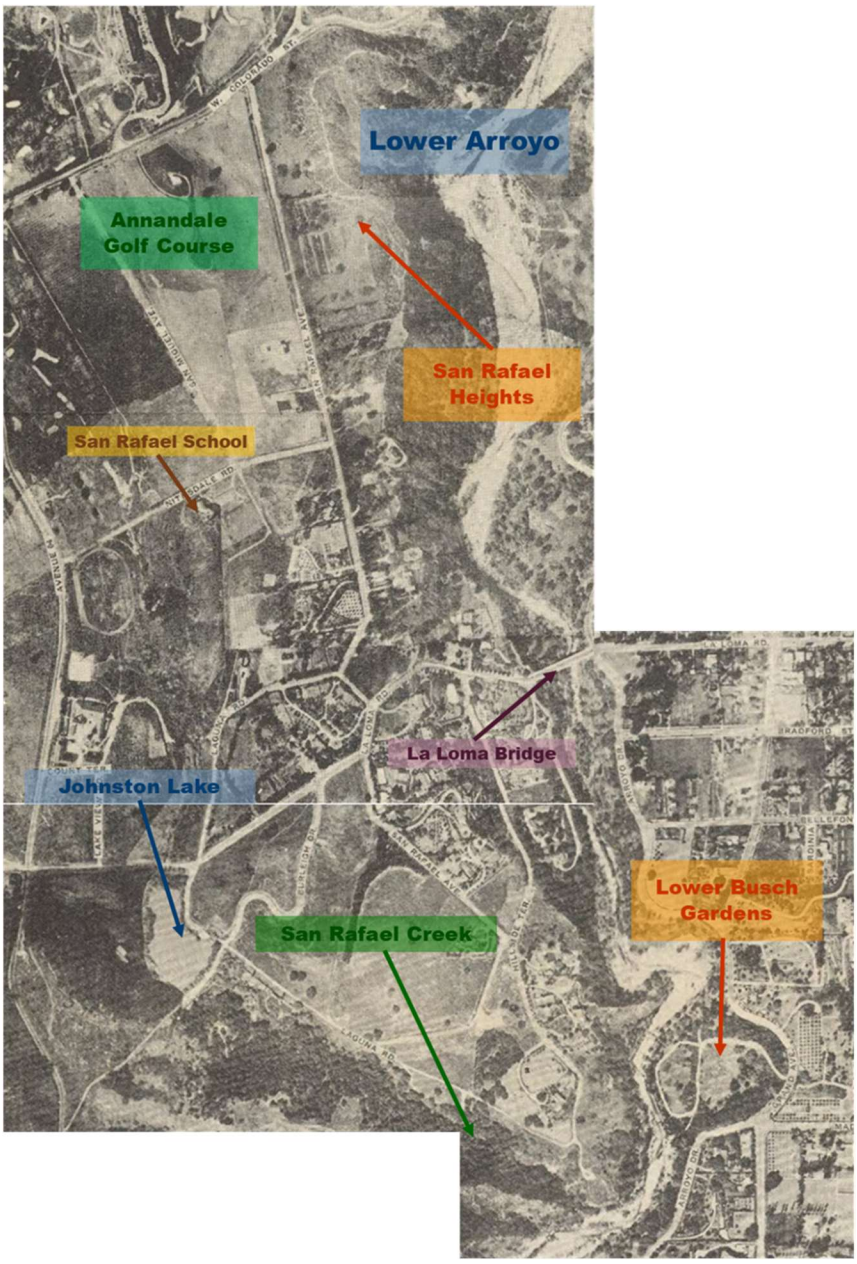

Figure 223. *Adaptation of 1922 aerial photomap showing the eastern portion of the largely undeveloped San Rafael neighborhood. After 1926, the golf course moved north of West Colorado Boulevard and the golf course in this photo became what people today call "the Flats." (Photomap Company and First National Trust and Savings Bank of Pasadena. 1922)*

The Annandale Golf Club moved its entire course north of West Colorado Boulevard in 1926, opening up the sloping flat lands between Colorado and Nithsdale for development. San Rafael Park and the small business district started by the Sternbergers on West Colorado sits along the northern edge of this portion of the neighborhood. The school and the library on

Nithsdale mark its southern boundary. This area joined Pasadena in 1917 and is what Sales identifies as the core of San Rafael and what others refer to as San Rafael Flats:[150]

> There's definitely sort of this very intact and consistent "San Rafael," which is easy to lump together because of its development period and its consistency of its urban form, like these nice beautiful straight streets, big lots, flat lots, great Historicist architecture and also the people here have seen it because they have a historic district. – 8/6/22

Sales says that this portion of San Rafael is an archetypal example of the classic American neighborhood and has a "Leave it Beaver" quality to it. Trick-or-treaters swarm this area during Halloween because the urban form is so iconic. This didn't save the area from heartache, however, during the Depression when banks foreclosed on forty homes along Glen Summer and Allandale Roads and sold the lots off for $800 each (Crocker 1968).

[150] Realtor Michael Darling told me that realtors divide San Rafael into the Hills, west of Avenue 64, and the Flats, between Avenue 64 and the Arroyo (8/18/2022). This would make San Rafael Heights part of the Flats. I've separated these two into separate districts because they were subdivided at different times and have very different socio-economic profiles.



Figure 224. *Classic neighborhood scene on Annandale Road in the San Rafael Flats district*.

The third distinct geographic area in the neighborhood consists of the hills and ravines west of Avenue 64, which Pasadena annexed in 1923. At that time, it carried the name Cheviotdale Heights; today realtors call it San Rafael Hills.[151] During the early 1920s, the portion of this area north of La Loma Road was a goat ranch leased from the Huntington Land and Improvement Company. A barb-wired fence ran along the west side of Avenue 64 to keep the goats off the golf course (Crocker 1968). Home construction in this area began in the 1920s. Real estate developer, William C. Carr purchased the southern portion of this area, including Poppy Peak, in 1924 and graded a road to the top

[151] The San Rafael Hills reach north, past Linda Vista and all the way to La Cañada-Flintridge. So, a home in "San Rafael Hills" could mean any of these areas, but specific to the San Rafael neighborhood, realtors use this name to indicate the area between Avenue 64 and North Figueroa (Personal interview – Michael Darling, 8/18/22).

of the hill. The majority of the homes in this section of San Rafael appeared in the post-war boom of the 1940s and ‘50s.



Figure 225. *San Rafael Hills and Poppy Peak area (center left) in 1923. Avenue 64 runs past the cluster of buildings in the center right. A narrow La Loma Road runs through a valley in the center of the photo. The hills on either side of La Loma will fill with houses in the 1940s and 1950s. The foreground shows Johnston Lake and the intersection of Laguna Road with Burleigh Drive and La Loma Roads. (“Poppy Peak” 1923, in Crocker 1968)*

Carr was one of the first people to subvert the social hierarchies firmly in place on the other side of Avenue 64. During the 1930s and ‘40s, when the realty boards in Pasadena and at the state level advocated for racial covenants and redlining, Carr, who was White, joined the NAACP and wrote a letter to fellow members saying he had properties in San Rafael available to show. During World War II, Carr founded the Friends of the American Way to support Japanese American families that the government

imprisoned with Executive Order 9066. He routinely drove from Pasadena to Gila River, Arizona to deliver care packages to the internment camp there and saved the homes of many families by managing them as rentals during the war.[152] In 1956, he sold homes on Brixton Road in the hill district to the Takayama and Osaki families that marked the first Japanese American family to move into the area after the war. After his death, when the City of Pasadena, presented him and his family with a humanitarian award, Japanese American gardeners blocked the street in front of City Hall with their trucks in his honor. His son John also went into real estate, sold to the first African American and Jewish families in San Rafael, was blacklisted by fellow realtors, and had bricks thrown through his window. His children also had to defend themselves on the schoolyard from attacks (Ling 2014; Tyler 2002), such was the animosity toward anyone who would challenge racial segregation in Pasadena. The aristocratic template that the Campbell-Johnston clan established undoubtedly contributed to this habit of distinction and found reinforcement in process of differentiation and hierarchy inherent in capitalism (see chapter 2), especially in the speculative real estate markets that fueled Southern California's economy in the 20th century (Nicolaides 2024; Robinson 2000).

[152] He also wrote numerous letters to elected officials and to the *Los Angeles Times* protesting their race-baiting editorials and cartoons, so many in fact that the paper finally published one with the disclaimer "For more than a year, The Times has been receiving letters such as the above from Mr. Carr, a real estate dealer at 1360 W. Colorado Street, Pasadena. This letter is published because of Mr. Carr's persistency not because of its merit" (Carr 1944).



Figure 226. *William Carr and his family. As a realtor, Carr (center) helped break the color lines in several neighborhoods in Pasadena, including San Rafael. He also founded Friends of the American Way to advocate for Japanese Americans during World War II (Ling 2014).*

Privacy, Property Values and the Public Interest

The built environment that came to cover San Rafael's landscape has entrenched neighborhood social patterns over the past hundred years. The villas of San Rafael Heights possess an almost impenetrable privacy; the rows of well-attended cottages and sidewalks in The Flats attract families; and the mid-century modern homes of The Hills appeal to creatives in search of both a refuge and a perch from which to explore greater Los Angeles (Waterman 1993). Michael Darling has specialized in San Rafael real estate for years and explained the main benefit of living in the neighborhood,

> Proximity. If you work at the studios, you're right there. If you want to be downtown, you're right there. There are views. There's a serenity with nature. I'd say mainly people want the location because of its proximity. -- 8/18/22.

Each part of San Rafael sends distinct signals of how to interact with neighbors and participate in civic life. As in the East Arroyo (see appendix 28), these differences have made forming a strong sense of community for all of San Rafael more challenging. Tim Sales says the layout of the neighborhood does not provide space for much positive social interaction:

> I think you just hit the nail on the head with the word "private." This is a residential neighborhood, which by its nature private. And it's not very walkable and so that's a challenge too. It just so happens that the commercial is at the edge…La Loma and Figueroa is a big gateway. The south property line and Avenue 64 is a big gateway. There's like a big cross that serves as gateways, but there's only publicly activated uses on one side of it. - 8/6/22

The public land that Sales is referencing includes San Rafael Park and the small commercial strip along West Colorado where the Rite Spot once served its historic cheeseburgers.

> Well, the park is the hub. The story I was telling about the change in the neighborhood, it's amazing how much that park gets used now. Every weekend now, it's the classic young kids' activities, the soccer, the moms working out in the park. That's definitely very used. Those are people that are different than me, and it would be interesting to infiltrate that and get their point of view. And also, Little Flower [Café], very, very popular. That's like the place that you go. The moms who do lunch, that's the place they go. - 8/6/22

These spaces, however, sit next to the 134 freeway and West Colorado Boulevard, which makes them feel liminal and restless. Sitting at a table in front of Little Flower it can be hard to hear the person next to you. The main public institutions such as the school or library have a relatively small footprint and don't serve as a nexus. The most promising potential gathering spot, Johnston Lake, is behind a gate and the domain of the lake's homeowner's association. The end result for many is a sense of privacy that can tip into isolation. Sales continues:

> It's very much a suburban state of mind. I don't think people are too connected to their neighbors. We all want to be good neighbors, but it's not…the topography of it and such…where I live, it's hard to really be connected. -- 8/6/22.



Figure 227. *Recreation at the San Rafael Park. Along West Colorado Boulevard at the top of the San Rafael Flats district, the park hosts a diverse stream of activities.*

This lack of connection can contribute to racial profiling. I was told about a recent incident where a resident near Johnston Lake called the police after seeing an African American who was visiting White friends who live at the lake. Finding out the police were on the way, the friends rushed to intercept the officers who, from their demeanor, were anticipating a confrontation.[153] There was also a well-publicized incident of a neighbor calling the police after seeing someone enter the school on a Sunday. This person was the janitor, who the principal had asked to come in to take care of final preparations for the first week of school. The principal had

[153] Personal communication - Briana Gonzalez, March 2023.

to come to the school to get the janitor out of handcuffs and voiced his frustration at the neighbor's hair-trigger response (Wilson 2022).

Michael Darling who lived in the same neighborhood west of Avenue 64 as Sales provided a more positive characterization:

> It's quiet to me, compared to some areas of Pasadena. I enjoyed getting in my car and going to Trader Joes in Eagle Rock and having access to everything. I enjoyed people taking pride in their homes. I knew all my neighbors. So, it's very neighbor-friendly.
>
> ***
>
> I think for someone coming from a different area, they get a sense of community. That's what I felt. You get to know the neighbors. And that's any area. But I think there was a pride in the area. Living in this area, "I live in San Rafael." That's good for you. There's some pride in that regard. It's a nice community. It's always been that way. - 8/18/22

These different impressions underscore how varied, what some might call splintered, experiences of San Rafael can be. One thing that has united the community are perceived threats to property values. I asked Sales how people would respond to a multi-story building that provides affordable housing.

> That would be a gargantuan change. People would freak out. That would be a threat. But again, I'm someone who works in development. I'm a planner and think that might be good. This is a high-service area location: you have the school, library, commercial, transit, it's low-crime, all these things. There's this whole move to get affordable housing into affluent neighborhoods because they're high-service level. And there is all this research on people who know people who are affluent, do better. You pattern your behavior. Papa Rich Guy tells his kid to save money and the other kid sees the kid doing that. So, it's a good thing. But it would be controversial, sure. - 8/8/2022

Census figures show that San Rafael is similar to Linda Vista and La Cañada-Flintridge in that since 1940, 96 percent of its buildings have been one-unit, single family structures.[154] The

[154] In August 1966, the Catholic Archdiocese of L.A. asked the Planning Commission to approve using the 3 ½-acre Valentine estate, east of South San Rafael Road between La Loma and San Remo, as a residence for young women

number of renter-occupied units in 1940 was 17 percent. This dropped to as low as 5.6 percent in 1980, but in the 2020 census increased to 11 percent. This is lower than all the other West Pasadena neighborhoods except Linda Vista, which has renters in only 1 percent of its structures. In terms of threats, less hypothetical was a 2012 proposal by L.A. Metro to bring the 710 or Long Beach Freeway through Pasadena by going up Avenue 64. Darling says the neighborhood quickly organized itself to oppose the move.

> When the 710 project was talked about over here, this neighborhood strongly voiced their opposition and people put "No on 710" signs throughout the neighborhood. Rightfully so. Because if they started those studies, that would have been a disclosure item if you wanted to sell your house. But you had a lot of political influence at the time…It was a horrible idea and still is. The freeway would have been almost eye level with some of the properties on the hills. It most likely would have had a profound effect on the community. - 8/18/22

The long-term stability in the San Rafael area likely contributed to this reaction (Villacana 2012). What stands out in the census figures is that between 2000 and 2020 there has been no home construction. The 2020 census shows that all of the homes in the area are over 30 years old, with the median year for home construction being 1952. Since 1970, less than 16 percent of people said they had moved within the past year; only Linda Vista has been more stable in terms of the turnover of its population. With such stable demographics and almost no new housing construction, the struggle San Rafael has had in managing and maintaining its public resources and institutions is puzzling. In the early 1950s, for example, a controversy over the creation of a branch library at the corner of Nithsdale and Avenue 64 dragged on for several years as one group of neighbors felt the traffic generated by the library would lower their

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training to become nuns. The proposal was voted down 4-3. The ones voting "no" said they didn't want to set a precedent for acceptable uses that deviated from the single-family zoning. Neighbors were split and submitted petitions on both sides. Opponents said it threatened to erode the minimum lot size of 20,000 square feet. Others said having nuns live on the property was better than seeing it subdivided (Birkinshaw 1967).

property values. As the case moved through the courts, two petitions appeared, one with 234 signatures against the library site and 524 signatures in favor ("City to Get Library Site Court Rules" 1952). In 1966, a group of irate landowners around Johnston Lake sued the City of Pasadena, the Los Angeles County Flood Control District, Annandale Golf Club, and neighbors for the silt and pollution washing into the lake from surrounding streets (Birkinshaw 1966). The City said that they could not spend funds to maintain a private development. After six years, the Flood Control District agreed to install a bypass, routing the polluted runoff around the lake, but the entire episode represents a failure to recognize the problems that come from private ownership of a public resource (Mann 1972).[155]

[155] This bypass still deposits polluted runoff into San Rafael Creek, which feeds into the Arroyo. The City plans construction in the Arroyo of a filtering system for this runoff to help the city remain in compliance with the standards set by the Regional Water Quality Control Board (see appendix 31).



Figure 228. *Johnston Lake sits behind a fence and tall vegetation. The lake struggles with eutrophication from fertilizers and other runoff. The water that travels from the lake down San Rafael Creek and into the Arroyo does not meet state water quality standards.*

The most important public resource to generate controversy has been San Rafael Elementary. The first school servicing the San Rafael area opened in 1918 at its present location on Nithsdale Road. The present building replaced the original small frame building in 1935 with the district adding an auditorium, cafeteria, and additional classrooms in 1951. The 1970 court decision that mandated busing to remedy decades of gerrymandered segregation in Pasadena schools caused many White and upper-middle-class families to abandon Pasadena Unified. In San Rafael, the percentage of K-8 students attending private school jumped from 17 percent in 1970 to 40 percent in 1980 to 81 percent in the year 2000. With so few students from the neighborhood attending San Rafael, the district put the school on a list of potential closures in 2005. This sparked protests from neighborhood parents who were able to avoid closure. But

support in the neighborhood for keeping the school open was not universal. Michael Darling said that the majority of the residents wanted to keep their public school, but some neighbors argued for creating a charter school on the site or demolishing the building in favor of single-family homes.

> "So, there was some strong debate between neighbors about what should happen with the school. I attended some meetings where there were some heated exchanges between neighbors" (8/18/22).



Figure 229. *San Rafael Elementary. The school provides a dual-language immersion program in English and Spanish that students from across Pasadena apply to get into.*

Supporters of the school came more from the San Rafael Hills district and eventually won out. But Darling described the issue:

> There were some neighbors who complained about the traffic on surrounding streets and others who were worried about people driving too fast and kids' safety. Eventually, they installed speed bumps on surrounding streets as compromise solution. - 8/18/22

One of the activities that helped save the school has been an English-Spanish dual immersion program that begins in kindergarten with 90 percent of instruction happening in Spanish and transitioning to a 50/50 English-Spanish mix by 5th grade. Parents across Pasadena want into the program, necessitating a lottery system for admission. In 2009, however, only 35 of the school's 304 students came from the San Rafael neighborhood and one school board member said the students from Northwest Pasadena bussed to San Rafael don't feel comfortable there (Charles 2010).[156] Support from the West Pasadena Residents Association has been important in keeping the school open. And in 2023, the school received $35 million dollars from a local bond measure to fund renovations to the school.

A satiric standstill

The distinct shape of development across the three districts within San Rafael has left an enduring imprint on the different ways residents perform community on a day-to-day basis. While extreme threats, such as the possibility of routing a freeway through the neighborhood, can join these areas in common cause, the seemingly different desires and expectations for neighborhood life over the years have kept the community from speaking with one voice on collective endeavors such as the library and the elementary school, not to mention race relations. The narrative tradition in which human actions ultimately depend upon social structures and conventions is satire (White 2014). Satire as a tradition is much broader than simple humor. It

[156] According census figures, the percentage of K-8 students in the neighborhood attending private school dropped from 81 percent in 2000 to 55 percent in 2010. While this might indicate a significant jump from 35 to over 150 students from the neighborhood at San Rafael Elementary, neighborhood students could be attending other schools in the district. San Rafael Elementary also only goes through 5th grade so part of this 55 percent could represent junior high school attendance. The percentage attending private K-8 school rose again in the 2020 census to 67 percent, but the pandemic could have impacted these numbers. While the 2020 census says that 63 percent of San Rafael neighborhood is White, only 13 percent of students at the elementary school are White, indicating a substantial percentage of students are coming from other parts of the city. At the high school level, the 2020 census reports that 85 percent of students from San Rafael attend a private school.

can range from incisive attacks exposing hypocrisy to a sense of despair that accompanies inescapable irony and existential emptiness. Satire pushes human weakness to the foreground. The goal of protagonists is not to rise above but to use one's wits to survive. If human failings hold sway within the world of the story, getting by is the best one can hope for (Frye 1957). Satire is perhaps the most well-worn tradition of the modern world and is essential in a globalized world where how power moves is hard to trace and moral questions prove to be complex puzzles without clear answers. But taken without leavening, satire can cause stories and the people in them to wither. Within the literary critic Northrup Frye's taxonomy of satire, the one that most closely matches conditions in San Rafael is what he terms "low-norm satire," which approaches the absurdities of society, such as racial prejudice or reproducing a Scottish estate in 20th century Southern California, with flexible pragmatism. Writing in the '50s, Frye mentions Will Rogers as a figure who fits comfortably within this type of satire, someone who tries to bend the arc of history toward justice while remaining inconspicuous (Frye 1957). The appropriate balance between satire and irony, of course, depends on the point of view. While the affluence of the area suggests relatively low stakes for the stories spinning out of daily life in the neighborhood, this is not the case for the more-than-human world that has had to cope with shredded food webs, decades of sheep and goats stripping the landscape bare, and water running down San Rafael Creek that is too polluted to release to the ocean. The stakes are also high for Gabrieleno/Tongva people, who grapple with a fertile foraging ground transformed into expansive lawns of Kentucky bluegrass and eucalyptus groves. Suffering can also afflict the affluent as it is impossible to know what type of loneliness lurks behind the tall hedges of San Rafael Heights, the straight streets of The Flats, or the hillside refuges alongside Poppy Peak.



Figure 230. *Sheep and cows grazing around Johnston Lake circa 1906 ("Johnston Lake on San Rafael Ranch" 1906. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, R-2-6)*

As a matter of form, each of San Rafael's three districts represents a self-contained whole while a sense of hierarchy continues to linger in the background through class differences, the division between private and public education, and even the continued subjugation of the land. Literary theorist Caroline Levine in her book *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network* (2015) presents each form as having both advantages and disadvantages. But wholes, hierarchies, and rhythms tend to maintain the world in a static state. Moving San Rafael away from hierarchy and toward a more integrated, cohesive community will require activating Levine's fourth form, networks. Networks can penetrate wholes, infiltrate hierarchies, and scramble rhythms in ways that allow a more organic sense of unity to coalesce. The protagonists of satiric stories -- the rogues, cynics, outsiders, and critics -- live through networks, and their flexible, pragmatic, and

disruptive energy can provide a model for these interventions. These are people like William C. Carr, who loved San Rafael but cut against the grain when he saw it moving in the wrong direction. With his spirit in mind, below are preliminary responses to four dramaturgical questions, each addressing one of Levine's forms. All draw on the power of networking to disrupt existing patterns that keep people apart and help the neighborhood become more cohesive so it can contribute to sustainability and justice within the Arroyo Seco watershed and Pasadena as a whole.

How can we bring the different self-contained wholes of San Rafael together?

One of the reasons that the different districts have such distinct identities is the dearth of public space in San Rafael. San Rafael Park is an oasis of lawn along the northern border of the neighborhood and affords the most opportunity for concerts, classes, and other activities that get residents from different parts of San Rafael to mingle. Activating other nominally public spaces, such as San Rafael Elementary, Church of the Angels, and the Elmwood Secret Stairs, with events can help dismantle the lingering trappings of hierarchy across the neighborhood. One of the ideas to emerge from the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers pilot phase is an Unpave Pasadena campaign that would start with the creation of pocket parks to catch stormwater, showcase native plants, and provide historic interpretation. The process, design, and installation of new public spaces could be a powerful way to engage with the idea of San Rafael as a place with its own distinct identity.

If constructing a shared space seems too ambitious, bringing the different parts of San Rafael together in written or visual form might be easier. The creation of an interpretive map, the design of a mural or mosaic, the hosting of a photo exhibit, or the posting of a website are all activities that would require dialogue about what it means to be from San Rafael and what the

different districts share. An update to Donald Crocker's 1968 book on San Rafael *Within the Veil of Annandale* could serve the same function. Crocker used a booklet that Boy Scout Troop 40 completed and that the San Rafael PTA published in 1955 as his starting place (Boy Scouts of Troop 40 Pasadena 1955; Crocker 1968). What has happened over the past 50 years that should be included in the story? This essay provides one approach, but the assembling of material for such a project could generate its own momentum.

Finally, simply getting people to spend time in each part of San Rafael can promote integration. The publication of walking routes that take people through the three districts could facilitate this. Home or garden tours that visit each district is another strategy. Anything from cleanups to donation drives to citizen science projects that can get people knocking on doors and getting to know their neighbors could make a difference.

How can we break down hierarchies?

All the above ideas can break down hierarchies through relationship building, but this also needs to happen at a structural level through investment in public institutions, such as the school and library. Tim Sales sees more young families moving into the neighborhood and believes that this will lead to more involvement and engagement by the community.

> The area has gone through this change to being more family-oriented, and I think that is something that is good for the neighborhood because it will support the institutions. The challenges here are just to use what's there to have people be more connected and be more engaged for the benefit of the community, the neighborhood, and for the city. – 8/6/22

Focusing on institutions supporting young people is one place to start as education and youth development can be a great equalizer. The most important of these institutions is San Rafael Elementary. Sending one's children to the school, getting involved with the PTA, or volunteering on campus all contributes to breaking down the ingrained division between private and public

education in Pasadena. Recently, volunteers installed a native plant garden in front of the school. Such projects are investments in a future less focused on status.



Figure 231. *Native plant garden and water conserving hügels in front of the San Rafael School.*

But the elementary school is not the only opportunity to invest in young people. Hillsides is a non-profit located just south of Church of the Angels that has provided a home, counseling, and support to abused and abandoned children since 1913. Evelyn Wile, a deaconess in the Episcopal Church, founded the organization as the Church Home for Children. Alexander Campbell-Johnston's widow Hannah served on the board and

donated land to the endeavor, establishing an orphanage that has won support from the neighborhood and the entire City of Pasadena for its groundbreaking work using therapy to help children succeed (Barber 1968; Whitaker 1932). The organization has now diversified its programming to support mental health for families and children through extensive outreach programs while also maintaining its residential facility in San Rafael (Hillsides 2024). Volunteering and fundraising for Hillsides has a long history in Pasadena and could be a point of pride for the neighborhood.

How can we synchronize rhythms within the neighborhood?

In discussing the geography of San Rafael, Tim Sales says that one place that people have a strong attachment to is the clock tower that sits across from San Rafael Park at the corner of West Colorado and Melrose.

> I think it used be a realty office. It's a cute little Spanish style building that has a clock tower, which doesn't always work. It's a chiropractor's office now. So, I don't think that has any meaning, but it's an important visual marker for the community. The guy who owns that owns a lot further to the west that was left over from all the freeway overpasses and underpasses. And he wanted to expand his office. And I was on the design commission and everyone came out of the woodwork. He owns it, but there's this piece of lawn that combined with the clocktower that makes it feel like a gateway and is a sort of precious little place. – 8/6/22



Figure 232. *The clock tower at the north end of the San Rafael neighborhood. The tower has become an accidental icon for the neighborhood*

While we often think about integration in terms of neighborhood spaces such as this, the fact that perhaps the most recognizable symbol or icon of San Rafael is a clock tower is a reminder of the role that time plays in bringing people together or keeping them apart. The architectures of the San Rafael's different districts also regulate the daily rhythms of the neighborhood in subtle ways. What type of interventions could synchronize the daily routines and yearly calendars of residents in San Rafael?

Fixing the clock on the clock tower is perhaps the low-hanging fruit. But thinking about time suggests that regular activities or events could be a way to bring people's schedules in line. Yoga classes in the park; neighborhood book clubs; knitting circles (which link back to San

Rafael's days as a sheep ranch); or annual events, such as a clean-up of Johnston Lake or San Rafael Creek could get different parts of the neighborhood more coordinated. Michael Darling told me that he used host a Halloween party in the park since San Rafael's Flats are such a popular spot for trick-or-treating. Other holiday or seasonal traditions could include caroling, scavenger hunts, parades. There is colorful precedent for San Rafael celebrations. In 1952, after interviewing past workers at the San Rafael winery, *Pasadena Star-News* columnist C.F. Shoop shared the following description. "One pretty legend is that frequent fiestas were held at the winery in an early day and that part of the time the celebrants would be dancing and part of the time they would be tramping the grapes under foot, singing merry festival songs well into the nights" (Shoop 1952b). A farmer's market or regular exchange of fruits and vegetables from people's gardens could be a modern way to connect people through seasonal harvest.

How can we strengthen networks within San Rafael?

One of the most powerful ways to enliven networks within San Rafael is to recognize, restore, and support the native ecology of the area. The intricate and layered ecological connections that once carpeted the area have come apart. But there are a number of organizations working to stitch together a functional urban ecology through native landscaping, the creation of wildlife corridors, and the daylighting of urban streams. The City of Pasadena plans to install a water-filtering, wetland system at the confluence of San Rafael Creek and the Arroyo. The new natural feature provides a reminder that while many San Rafael residents might feel cut off from the Arroyo, all of the water from the neighborhood eventually ends up there, either down San Rafael Creek or through the storm drains running down Avenue 64 or North Figueora. San Rafael is an important part of the Arroyo Seco watershed, and as Elinor and Irvin Ashkenazy

noted in their profile of San Rafael's early days, the Arroyo was once an integral part of community life.

> The arroyo at this pristine time, before its waters were coffined in cement, was a fun place not only for fox hunters. 'There was excitement in the wild, untrammeled Arroyo Seco,' Almeda Hill Breeze, a retired art teacher, fondly recalls. 'We explored from Devil's Gate south to the old Santa Fe Railway bridge in Garvanza. Wild grapes and cucumber vines, watercress, minnows and polliwogs -- they were all there. In the fall, holly and mistletoe; in the spring, wildflowers. And where did we have Sunday school picnics? Under the toll bridge, of course.'
>
> Whole families spent vacations along the creek, fishing and bathing in deep clear pools. One family even brought along the family cow to ensure a supply of fresh milk. At night campfires, torches and lanterns would jewel the arroyo like a fairyland (Ashkenazy and Ashkenazy 1975, 57, 61)

Safer and more defined access points from the west rim down into the Lower Arroyo's canyon would help connect the community to the stream and give greater direct exposure to plants and wildlife in need of restoration. The biggest need for the Arroyo as a whole right now is water conservation, something that doesn't match with large lawns and floristic flourishes of San Rafael's larger homes. Organizing a water savers' network for the neighborhood that supports the installation of native landscaping, in addition to helping the watershed, could be a fun way for people to get to know one another.

Another way to strengthen networks in San Rafael is through the San Rafael Neighborhood Association (SNRA). While San Rafael is within the boundaries of the West Pasadena Residents Association and that group's investment in the success of San Rafael Elementary is laudable, the SRNA has the potential to energize networks west of the Arroyo.

Conclusion

Given the stability and relative affluence of San Rafael, there is an argument for preserving the status quo rather than disrupt the social, spatial, and temporal patterns of life that have existed for well-over a century. But San Rafael is not an island. Climate change will make water conservation imperative. The state's housing crisis will continue to challenge the single-family zoning that residents have fought to preserve and that they see as essential to maintain their property values. Budget problems for both the City of Pasadena and the school district could close the elementary school or the library. Responding effectively to these and other challenges will require neighborhood networks that dispense with historic hierarchies and support public institutions, spaces, and events that can draw people out of their private world to experience the messy but enriching world of communal abundance.

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Appendix 31: Decadal summaries and timelines of Arroyo park advocacy and development

One of the tools that I used to make sense of stories surrounding Arroyo advocacy was a timeline divided into twenty-year increments from which I noted specific narrative elements: events, characters and relationships, setting, tone, metaphors and images. Most of the information on the timeline came from a review of articles in the *Los Angeles Times* and Pasadena newspapers. In order to document this review, I provide a summary of the notable narrative events for each period based on a timeline of events involving Arroyo advocacy and specific, physical changes to Pasadena's Arroyo Seco parklands. To attend to both sustainability and justice, I found it important to put the events within the park alongside the fight for civil rights in Pasadena. Putting these two struggles in the same frame leads to a different thematic understanding of each time period than if one considers both separately. Below I reproduce and elaborate on the timeline I used in my analysis. I also provide a collection of quotations from each twenty-year period. With this, I've tried to present information here that could be the foundation for a museum exhibit on Arroyo advocacy. My hope is that other Arroyo historians can build on this template and fill in gaps, correct mistakes, and add context. These timelines take Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo as their focus. For a more complete analysis, it would be necessary to compile a timeline for the entire Arroyo. This might prove unwieldy, however, and harder to craft into a coherent story. For more information on the Arroyo, prior to American settlement, see chapter 4 and appendices 20-22.

Prior to 1880

Summary

European American colonization and settlement in and around the Arroyo prior to 1880 caused an essential shift in the relationship between people and the Arroyo. A relationship of reciprocity changed to one of extraction. The resources settlers sought to extract from the Arroyo shifted over the course of a century. The mission fathers first used the land to build up their herds of livestock; they sought to extract pasture from the sloping upland plain that ran next to the Arroyo. According to Arturo Bandini, however, Rancho San Pascual did not make good range (Bandini 1891).[157] A severe drought during 1861 and 1862 effectively ended the livestock economy that had been the focus of wealth building across the Los Angeles area. Another important resource to extract was lumber as Millard and El Prieto Canyon that branched off the Arroyo just north of Pasadena were prime sources for building materials. But Pasadena, as an oak savanna with clusters of woodlands in its moister pockets, certainly was not a place for prolific forestry. Prospectors next searched for gold and coal deposits in the Arroyo's canyon with very limited success (Reid 1904). The true wealth of the Arroyo was its water, and it was Benjamin Eaton who figured out how to tap the Arroyo's springs and bring the water to the uplands and Orange Grove Reservoir, which sat on a bluff jutting out into the canyon west of the intersection of N. Orange Grove Avenue and West Walnut (Reid and McClatchie 1895; Scheid Lund 1999). Irrigation allowed for orchards, which provided a stable living until the arrival of the train in 1885, when the basis for the wealth shifted to something even more fundamental to Pasadena: its

[157] Bandini said many considered Manuel Garfias, the don who sold the rancho to John Griffin to pay his debts, shrewd in the transaction. Griffin once told a friend that he would give him the Rancho for free if he would pay the taxes (Bandini 1891).

climate. Pasadena's climate became the talisman that attracted affluent settlers and provided the capital for the initial growth of the settlement. The location that best represents this shift from reciprocity to extraction is Brookside Park and specifically the location of the Rose Bowl Aquatics Center. For the first forty years of the settlement, this was the site of Sheep Corral Springs, a wetland complex that Gabrieleno/Tongva families used for hygienic sweats (Reid and McClatchie 1895). This place of wellness then became a location that prospectors Carlos Hanewald and John Pine used to pan for gold. They were most likely the builders of a small, abandoned adobe house early settlers found over 20 years later on the site. The collection of abandoned adobes in the canyon is also a symbol of this era and the Arroyo's ability to frustrate the extractive explorers.

There are a handful of other important characteristics of the pre-1880 Arroyo to note in the timeline below. First, is the ongoing resistance of Native Americans to colonization stretching back to 1785 when Toypurina and Nicolás José led an unsuccessful revolt against the Mission San Gabriel (McCawley 1996). A second notable element is the racial and ethnic diversity linked to the Arroyo from its earliest days. From being the location of the first formal African American religious service in the Los Angeles area to the multiracial refuge community of Indian Flat to the Chinese laborers that worked in Pasadena's early orchards, the Arroyo has always been a multicultural space. The beginning of planning to transform the Arroyo into a park arguably began with settler Calvin Fletcher, who in early 1874 surveyed the land that became the Indiana Colony and later, Pasadena. His survey set aside land for what became Live Oak Park along the Arroyo's eastern rim near the present site of the York Avenue Bridge. This became a site for outings and picnics and planted an early seed for the public resource that the Arroyo could become (Giddings 1949). Ironically, this was the area that became overrun with industrial facilities after the start of the 20th century, which spurred a larger movement to transform the

Arroyo into public parkland. Overall, however, the broad shift from reciprocity to extraction is the story of this era. Creating a park in the context of an extractive economy is a pattern that repeats itself several times in the 20th century.

Timeline

Date	Relevant events	Physical changes to Pasadena's Arroyo parklands
1769	Portola expedition passes by the confluence of the Arroyo Seco and the Los Angeles River	
1771	San Gabriel Mission established near Whittier Narrows	
1776	San Gabriel Mission moves to current location in the City of San Gabriel adjacent to the Native villages of Sibagna and Tobiscanga. Gabrieleno-Tongva families enslaved by Spanish soldiers and missionaries to work the land and support the tallow trade (McCawley 1996; Monroy 1990).	
1784	Governor grants Rancho San Rafael, which include Linda Vista and San Rafael areas, to former-soldier José Marie Verdugo, who uses the land to graze cattle.	
1785	Leaders Toypurina and Nicolás José lead an unsuccessful revolt against the Mission San Gabriel (McCawley 1996)	
1810-1811	Native revolt against the Mission San Gabriel (McCawley 1996)	

1819		Joseph Chapman, an American, builds a sawmill near Millard Canyon, a tributary of the Arroyo. He cuts trees and brings them out of the canyon. Builders use this wood for the Plaza Church in center of the Pueblo de Los Angeles (Reid and McClatchie 1895).
1827	Mission San Gabriel fathers designate Eulalia Perez de Guillen, the keeper of the keys for the mission, to receive Rancho San Pascual (Saavedra 2018)	
1832 – Apr	Governor of Alta California orders a military regiment to seize assets of Mission San Gabriel after secularization. Possible military confrontation and massacre of Native population in the Arroyo and Las Flores Canyon (Mosher 1895; Reid and McClatchie 1895) (see appendix 23).	
1834 - May	Governor approves grant of Rancho San Pascual to Juan Marine, husband to Eulalia Perez de Guillen (Saavedra 2018).	
1836 – Apr	Marine's son Fruto sells half of Rancho San Pascual to José Perez for 6 horse and 10 head of cattle and opens the rest for settlement (Saavedra 2018).	
1838	Francisco Villa, an ex-solider, asks the governor for 1000 varas at the northwest point of Perez's section of the Rancho San Pascual. Juan Bandini, the administrator	Villa claims Perez had allowed him to establish a small ranchito on this land and that he had built an adobe house (Saavedra 2018).

	of the San Gabriel Mission, turns down the request because the Mission still uses this land to pasture horses (Saavedra 2018).	
1838		José Perez becomes the first non-Native American to live on the property and constructs his adobe in the South Pasadena Arroyo (Zack 2004).
1840	Perez and Enrique Sepulveda, after a dispute, join forces to refute a claim on the second half of Rancho San Pascual and are granted title to the entire Rancho.	Perez and Enrique Sepulveda build two small houses in the Arroyo Seco near the Pasadena-South Pasadena border (Scheid Lund 1999).
1843 – May	Governor grants the Linda Vista area to Ignacio Coronel as part of Rancho La Cañada, but Native American raids to steal horses cause his family to move back to Los Angeles (Wayte 1992).	
1843 – Nov	Manuel Garfias obtains San Pascual after Perez dies and Sepulveda abandons the land (Saavedra 2018).	
1844		Manuel Garfias' mother-in-law, Dona Encarnacia de Avila, moves horses, cattle, and sheep to Rancho San Pascual, sends vaqueros to the Perez adobe, enlarges the Sepulveda adobe, and sends a majordomo to manage the property (Saavedra 2018; Zack 2004).
1840s		Gabrieleno/Tongva people continue to use Sheep Corral Springs for sweats and bathing (Reid and McClatchie 1895)

1850-51	Garfias sells a mile square of land (about 640 acres) in the Arroyo for $2,000 at 4 percent per month interest to prospectors Carlos Hanewald and John Pine. This land began "'where the arroyo turns upward on the tillable land,'" which seemingly would be at the north end of the Lower Arroyo. Garfias receives $600 up front and begins construction of the Garfias Adobe. Hanewald and Pine never pay the remaining money and so the land reverts to Garfias (Saavedra 2018, 129).	
1851		Prospectors Carlos Hanewald and John Pine construct a small adobe below Arroyo Terrace and dig water ditches in this area, possibly to pan for gold (Reid and McClatchie 1895).
1852	Coronel sells Linda Vista area to Jonathan Scott and Benjamin Hayes (Wayte 1992).	Garfias expands the Perez Adobe (Zack 2004).
1853		Garfias constructs his own adobe near the Arroyo's rim in South Pasadena across from the Cathedral Oak using wood from a grove of sycamores on the west side of the Arroyo, near where the Holly Street Bridge is today. He builds what was known as the Fremont Trail out of the west side of Arroyo near the site of the Colorado Street Bridge (Chapin 1929; McCloskey 1971; Reid and McClatchie 1895; Zack 2004)

1853		Robert Owen builds cabin in El Prieto Canyon and earns enough to buy the freedom of his family who he brings from Texas (Lowelifes Trail Crew 2021).
1853-54	Small amounts of gold found in the Arroyo (Reid 1904; Reid and McClatchie 1895)	
1854	Robert Owen and his wife Winnie host the first formal religious ceremony for African Americans in Los Angeles County (Lowelifes Trail Crew 2021).	
1858	Scott trades Linda Vista to Julio Verdugo in exchange for what would become the City of Burbank (Wayte 1992).	Garfias sells San Pascual to John S. Griffin to pay off the debt on his hacienda. Griffin partners with Benjamin Wilson on ownership and management of Rancho San Pascual (Saavedra 2018; Scheid Lund 1999).
1858 - Dec		Benjamin Eaton moves into the Garfias Adobe and plants first eucalyptus in SoCal. But his wife dies in May 1859 and so he returns to the east coast, remarries and returns to Los Angeles in 1861. Griffin begins to graze sheep on Rancho San Pascual (Zack 2004).
1861-62		Massive flooding in 1861 precedes a severe drought that causes collapse of the livestock economy in Los Angeles area (Cleland 1941)
1862		Robert Owen gets a contract to provide wood for fuel to the U.S. military. He builds a steep road from El Prieto

		to Millard Canyon and then hauls timber from there to Los Angeles (Lowelifes Trail Crew 2021)
1862 - Dec	Wilson and Griffin sell 250 acres of northeast Pasadena and Altadena to Mrs. Albert Sidney Johnson. She names her ranch “Fair Oaks.” Benjamin Eaton takes over management of “Fair Oaks” ranch in 1865 (Scheid Lund 1999)	
1865 – Aug	Robert Owen passes away. His daughter later gives his land in El Prieto Canyon to the City of Pasadena, which helps protect the city’s water supply (Lowelifes Trail Crew 2021).	
1866	Two men go in search bee hives and their honey up the Arroyo. Ranch workers encounter their horses and a search finds them each dead from an arrow of black glass in the brush on the east bank of the Lower Arroyo, north of where California Boulevard meets the Arroyo today. Searchers also find an abandoned Native American encampment nearby. Two years later, near San Bernardino, a captured Native American leader whose group had killed local livestock for food said he had killed two men in the Arroyo (Reid and McClatchie 1895).	
1867		Benjamin Eaton directs the completion of Wilson’s Ditch, the first diversion of water from the Arroyo, to irrigate Pasadena’s uplands (Brick 2001).

1868	Wilson and Griffin sell 2000 acres and water rights in the northern Pasadena area to Henry G. Monk. Property includes Prospect Mount (Monk Hill) site of Washington School (Scheid Lund 1999).	
1869	Wilson and Griffin sell 5,000 acres between Altadena Drive and Lake Avenue to James Craig, who was the agent for Alexander Grogan of San Francisco (Zack 2004).	A tenant of Wilson and Griffin named Darque digs a ditch from above mouth of the Arroyo Seco's canyon to provide water to the Altadena area (Hall 1888).
1871	After Julio Verdugo defaults on the debts, the court-ordered partition of the Rancho San Rafael grants Benjamin Dreyfuss control of the Linda Vista area and Prudent Beaudry control over San Rafael area west of the Arroyo (Wayte 1992).	
1871	Griffin hires Eaton to bring prospective buyers to Rancho San Pascual (Zack 2004).	
1872		Construction of an early version of Arroyo Drive along the Arroyo's eastern rim (Grimes 2007)
1873 - Sept	Daniel Berry sees Rancho San Pascual and becomes convinced that it's perfect for the Indiana colonists (Zack 2004).	
1873 - Dec	Land deal for the Indiana colony completed. Griffin sells 4,000 acres of Rancho San Pascual to San Gabriel	

	Orange Grove Association. Wilson retains rights to his irrigation ditch. The SGOGA owns the land to the north in Altadena (Scheid Lund 1999).	
1874 - Jan		Lots chosen by investors in SGOGA. The group creatives Live Oak Park along the Arroyo in South Pasadena and divides the east side of the Central and Lower Arroyo into 15-acre wood lots (Chapin 1929; Reid and McClatchie 1895; Scheid Lund 1999; Wood 1917)
1874	First settlers haul water in buckets from the Arroyo prior to completion of the irrigation system later that year (Wood 1917).	Benjamin Eaton directs completion of irrigation system bringing water from Thibbet's Spring above the Devil's Gate area to newly created Orange Grove Reservoir, excavated on what today is Arroyo Terrace. Irrigation lines carry water from the reservoir to farmland and orchards of American settlers (Hall 1888; Reid and McClatchie 1895; Wood 1917)
1875	By end of the year in Pasadena there were 40 houses, 10,000 citrus trees, and 150,000 grapevines in colony. Members of the SGOGA settle on "Pasadena" as the future name for the growing town (Scheid Lund 1999; Zack 2004)	
1876		Sam Carson, son of Kit Carson, digs a tunnel into the eastern bank of the Arroyo for Prudent Beaudry in search of coal. The tunnel goes back 200 feet. The

		tunnel later caves in but was known as Carson's Cave (Reid 1904; Reid and McClatchie 1895).
1877		Large brush fire sweeps up the Arroyo and early American settlers work together to contain it ("Recalls Fire in Brush of the Arroyo" 1924)

Quotes

Letter from Daniel Berry to Thomas Elliot – September 12, 1873

> "I was out in the country last night looking for a place for Mrs. Elliot and did not get home till the next day. Found a tract of 2800 acres at $10 an acre about four miles from town, about 500 acres a wooded and watered canyon, suitable for wood and cattle grazing. The wood is plenty, the water delicious and cool, leaping out of the rocks on the side in little cascades.
>
> "I am trying to form a pool to take the whole and subdivide…It is on the same bench of land with Rose and Wilson and can be subdivided and sold at $100 per acre. Stoneman refuses $150 per acre for some of his unimproved land just like this. And then the climate and scenery are heavenly. I slept over there last night in the clear transpicuous air and awoke to the music of a thousand linnets and blackbirds in the evergreen oaks. It was the sweetest sleep of years. The land is not on the market, but the brother-in-law of the owner lives near and wants us over there, and will take 100 acres himself; and Judge Clancy of Grand Rapids, Mich who has been with me for the last two weeks, and has been travelling seven months in the state will take 100 acres. He says it is the finest spot he has yet found." (Berry 1873-74)

Benjamin Eaton on showing Rancho San Pascual to Daniel Berry

> "I showed him the waters of the various springs in the Arroyo, and knowing well the topography of the country, I explained to him how the waters could be brought out and distributed over the plains. Then we visited Wilson's and Rose's to see places that had been improved long before we broke ground on my place." (Chapin 1929, 96)

J.W. Wood on wood lots in the Arroyo Seco from *Pasadena, California, Historical and Personal*

"Of course, water was too precious to be wasted. Fuel, also, was scarce and was provided usually from 'wood lots' so called, these wood lots being a division of the wooded lands in the Arroyo bottoms, which contained a heavy growth of brushwood and saplings, alder, sycamore and scrub oak trees. These lots contained from three to seven acres and extended in narrow strips, entirely across the Arroyo. There was one hundred of these, one going with each parcel of the originally subdivided lands of the Colony. They were sold in the beginning at from $20 to $50 each, but the price was later raised to $62.50" (Wood 1917, 63-64)

J.W. Wood on settlers carrying buckets of water from the Arroyo from *Pasadena, California, Historical and Personal*

"Just as they entered the densest part of the brush, there broke upon them a frightful, ear splitting roar, as if by an animal in desperate fury. So close it sounded that the men, with one accordant yell, made a dive homeward at a pace never before equaled. They arrived, exhausted, with emptied buckets! Next morning a sportsman shot an enormous mountain lion, just where that mighty noise was heard by the two pioneers, and they believed ever after that they had a miraculous escape. (Wood 1917, 65-66).

Stuart W. French, chair of Pasadena Planning Commission, on tree cutting in early Arroyo

"The great Arroyo Seco, being the largest, offers the finest field for enjoyment. This channel has suffered much through lack of appreciation of its possibilities and because of ill-advised uses. In the early days its trees were ruthlessly cut for the very reason that should have saved them--'they were so big.' But appreciation of nature's beauties could not stand against the easiest way to fill the kitchen stove" (French 1924).

Hiram A. Reid, on early ditches around Sheep Corral Springs from *History of Pasadena*

“Pasadena’s ‘Sheep Corral Springs’ seem to have been a favorite point and place of resort among the Indians. When our colonists first came here there were some remains of a small old adobe house on the flare a short distance above the springs, at the foot of Hanaford’s bluff, and an old water ditch ran from the Arroyo bed out toward the house and down through the same rich bottom land that is now in use there by Byron O. Clark as a blackberry orchard, but the ancient adobe and ditch have entirely disappeared. At that time (1874) there were some pumpkin vines and other vegetables still occupying the ground, from seed of former cultivation. John W. Wilson, L.N. Mundell, and others remember noticing the old adobe walls and water ditch, but had no idea when or by whom they were made. And Mr. Wilson says when he first came here, in 1871, there was a similar water ditch on the west side of the Arroyo bottom a short distance above Devil’s Gate, and another one a little way above his adobe ranch house opposite the end of Logan street where he resided about twenty years. These ditches, however, were long ago filled up and

obliterated by vegetable growths and by sand wash from rains or overflow. They were only remnants of the improvements made by Carlos Hanewald and John Pine in 1850-51, who had bought from Don Manuel Garfias a mile square of land for $2,000 at 48 per cent interest. [See article on 'Complete Chain of Title of the Ranch']" (Reid and McClatchie 1895, 26).

Hiram A. Reid referencing description of Gabrieleno/Tongva sweat houses early near Sheep Corral Springs from *History of Pasadena*

"[T]his was a sort of aboriginal Turkish-bath process, peculiar to the South California Indians, for the cure of rheumatism and sundry other ailments, and was undoubtedly the pioneer sanitarium of Pasadena, which has been so prolific of such institutions in these later years. The native sweat-house or hot bath was operated thus. A hole was dug in the ground deep and large enough for a man to sit there in a squat posture and have it filled with water up to his waist. Over this was built a booth or hut of tules, having a small doorway that could be closed with a mat of woven rushes or some animal skin. This hole was filled with water, and from a fire outside hot stones were put into it until it was just as hot as the human body could endure. [T]hen the patient sat down in it and the door was closed, but an occasional hot stone was added to the water to produce steam and make him sweat freely. The patient was kept there about an hour. After he had been thoroughly sweated and almost par-boiled, he must rush out and dive head foremost into a ditch filled with cold water deep enough for him to go entirely under, then get out and take a lively run for a mile or two, when the blood would go rushing through the system like a race horse and the patient would feel as fine as a fresh-tuned piano. Sergeant Walter said he once went through the process there himself with the Indians, but once was enough for him. This adventure of Walter's was probably before 1846, and the Indians may have had a ditch or sluice there for their sweat-house business which was afterward utilized by Hanewald and Pine in 1850, in their search for placer gold deposits in this Arroyo sandwash" (Reid and McClatchie 1895, 26-27).

Lulu Chapin on tree cutting in the Arroyo from *Fair Pasadena: Her Defects and Possibilities*

"Thirty years ago there was a rare strip of natural woods upon our western border, which is now mutilated and unkempt almost to barrenness. Public foresight then should have preserved this section and today it would have been the priceless possession of the city. Where in all California is there another such possibility for a natural park as Pasadena had thirty years ago in Arroyo Seco? Yet the trees were used for fuel and the whole beautiful section is given over to pastures and little ranches, and the value of land is mounting up. But as long as the hills and rocks remain, there is the foundation and possibility of a wonderful park, which should belong to the city. Every city should have at least one large park, away from its center, where people can get away from the dust, and bustle, and noise, and be surrounded by restful nature. Nothing can compensate to a city for this lack" (Chapin 1904).

1880 – 1899

Summary

The last two decades of the 19th century set in place the fundamental dynamics for Pasadena's relationship with the Arroyo that persist to this day. The first dynamic was a desire to control the River. James Scoville was a banker from the Midwest who moved to Pasadena in 1886 and bought land reaching across the Arroyo where the Colorado Street Bridge stands today. Scoville built a mansion for his family on Orange Grove Avenue and set about trying to make the most of the River that ran through the center of his property. He gave jobs to the unemployed to build trails and walls along the side of the Arroyo. He graded roads into and out of the canyon and split the cost with the County for a bridge across the River, which shortened people's travel time to Los Angeles. He built a dam across the channel that allowed him to pump impounded water up the slope to water his orchards (Shoop 1953). His makeover of the Arroyo's floodplain, however, soon became a tug-of-war. A flood destroyed the dam shortly after its completion. He tried again, building a stronger dam that lasted less than a year. This prompted a third attempt in 1891. Scoville passed away two years later, leaving the maintenance of Scoville Park, as people called it, to his son Charles. Scoville's final dam lasted until the flood of 1914 turned it and his bridge into a tangled mass ("Wish to Build Another Bridge" 1914). For the Arroyo, Scoville was the first of many flood control engineers trying to control and confine the path of the River.

A second, parallel dynamic that emerged during this period was the beginning of the settlement's White leaders trying to control and confine the communities of color in the city (James 2001). This effort took many forms. In September of 1885, a mob attacked and set a Chinese laundry and boarding house on fire near the downtown corner of Fair Oaks and Colorado. The next day

leading citizens unveiled an ordinance banning Chinese from downtown (James 2005). Outside of threats and physical violence, White leaders sent clear cultural signals to boost their status. As was typical of the time, White Pasadena reveled in minstrelsy for entertainment. This included Whit Elliot, who served as a blackface driver for social wagon rides around the colony for his teenage peers (Wood 1917). Whit's father, Thomas, was the leader of the Indiana Colony who built his house on the site of the Vista del Arroyo hotel. Historian Michael James (2001) argues that White anxieties of the day became entangled with settlers' temperance crusade. From roughly 1884 to the start of the 20th century, Pasadena's "whisky wars" defined the early politics of the city, with Pasadena voting to incorporate as a way ban alcohol consumption and fulfill their desire to make Pasadena a "city on a hill." The growing population did not uniformly share the anti-liquor fervor, leading to threats and sometimes violent confrontations (Wood 1917). The compromise the city enacted allowed liquor in the local hotels but restricted it in the rest of the town, meaning that White, affluent tourists enjoyed recreational consumption while authorities went after working-class communities of color for consumption or distribution (James 2005). The efforts to control where people of color could live, work, and play in Pasadena would only become more intense in future decades, but White leaders tacitly endorsed this practice during this period. Many of the people pushed to the margins of the city ended up living in the Arroyo. For example, until the late 1880s, people called the Linda Vista area west of the Arroyo "Indian Flat," as a mix of Native American and Mexican American families lived in makeshift houses and huts from which they ventured each day to work in the Pasadena's orchards, fields, mansions, and streets (Reid and McClatchie 1895; Wing 1935). A.L. Carr, Jeanne Carr's son, (see appendix 27), said that celebration of the construction of the log cabin on the Carmelita property in 1886 fell flat until they were able to enlist a Mexican American woodcutter from the Arroyo to play his accordion (Shoop 1958).

A third dynamic that took root during this period was the reliance on real estate as the source of wealth within the community. The religious vision of a healthy, beautiful, pious, cooperative, and flowerful community, celebrated by the first Tournament of Roses' parade in 1890, became tangled with encouraging population growth and increasing property values. Two months after the anti-Chinese riot, the first train arrived in Pasadena setting off a real estate boom that would transform the small settlement of "gentleman farmers" into an actual city.[158] The organization of riot itself was most likely a means of gaining control over an essential piece of downtown real estate before land values spiked. The boom lasted roughly two years; it made a few quite rich and sent others to financial ruin. After it was over, the city so steadfast on banning liquor and shutting out saloons had a hangover from trying to subdivide and sell their way to riches (Wood 1917).

These larger trends generated an attitude of exploitation toward the nonhuman world and the Arroyo. The Arroyo became the source of wood for construction and water for residents flooding into Pasadena. It also became the dumping ground for the city. Most refuse went into the Central Arroyo near the future location of the Rose Bowl. But there was dumping all along the Lower Arroyo as well. Former city councilman John Crowley said that the owner of what would become the northern tip of the golf course above Washington Boulevard used to charge fifty cents to dump trash in his orchard. Soil tests under the soccer fields in front of the Rose Bowl revealed uncompacted trash between 10 and 26 feet deep (Crowley 1981). This period also saw the founding of the Valley Hunt Club, which organized the horseback pursuit and evisceration of local wildlife such as bobcats, coyotes, foxes, and rabbits by packs of

[158] To provide some sense of the frenzied nature of the real estate boom, the population of Pasadena in 1880 was 392. Between 1886 and 1888 the population exploded to 12,000 to 15,000 people before falling back to 5,000 by 1890 (Scheid Lund 1999).

baying hounds. Charles Frederick Holder, a naturalist, travel writer, and originator of the Tournament of Roses, co-founded the Club and reveled in the chase and the violence of these encounters (Holder 1906). The Arroyo also became the location of two shooting ranges, one in Scoville Park and the other at the foot of Arbor Street, the latter supposedly in preparation for bear hunts (Reid 1904; Shoop 1953). From the point of view of the nonhuman world, this was a time of unchecked, random destruction. Narratively, Pasadena practiced a romantic approach to storytelling that traded in sharp contrasts involving race, class, religion, temperance, and wild nature. The Arroyo assumed a liminal identity for the community; it became a sacrifice zone, a storage area, and a representation of the area's collective unconscious, a space both liberating and dangerous.

But this worldview did not lack for dissent, and this minority report would also carry on, informing future efforts to protect and restore the Arroyo and battle White supremacy. For example, most of the original settlers had been strong abolitionists with Thomas Elliot, Whit's father, participating in the Underground Railroad during the family's time in Indiana (Gally 2013b). The spiritual role models for these people were the three children of John Brown, the abolitionist martyr of Harper's Ferry, all of whom settled in Pasadena during this period. The righteousness of their anti-slavery cause, along with their simple, austere life, lived along the Arroyo, connected them to the conscience of the community. For example, Henry and Ruth Brown Thompson's wedding anniversary occasioned a well-attended multiracial celebration ("Pasadena: Sunday's Budget" 1891). In response to the Anti-Chinese ordinance, the Brown brothers hired Chinese workers to help them at their Altadena homestead even though they barely had enough to feed themselves ("Souls that March On" 1889). The destruction and dumping in the Arroyo also resulted in protests. In 1886, Agnes Elliot, Thomas Elliot's daughter, read a story at the school district's commencement address entitled "Spirit of the Arroyo," which decried the

chopping of oak trees and forecasted a time when the River will run dry (Elliott 1886). After the turn of the century, as the campaign to make the Arroyo a park gained momentum, the abuse of the Arroyo during this period became a cautionary tale. Picnickers, birders, and natural history hounds were already tramping through the Arroyo and enjoying Live Oak Park in South Pasadena and an area called Oak Grove north of Devil's Gate in the 1890 ("Oak Grove Park" 1882; "Science Association: The First Field Meeting at Devil's Gate Canon" 1892). And despite Holder's lust for the hunt, he recorded detailed descriptions of the landscape and celebrated the numerous plant and animal species using the Arroyo (Holder 1888, 1889).

Discussions on turning the Arroyo into a park began in the 1890s, with two subjects consistently coming up ("City Council Asked to Establish Three Parks" 1896). The first was how to include the desire for a road or highway in the vision for natural park space. The second was how such a park could benefit children. Future park advocates cited the work of Harriet M. Scott (1854-1906), a child advocate who organized a "Children's Day" in Library Park for several years. Scott hoped the city could set aside part of the Arroyo for children's games and education, an area for which she suggested the name "Children's Park," an idea that might have inspired the creation of Brookside ("After Park With A Vim: Pasadena Now Has Arroyo Seco Association" 1906). Setting aside the Arroyo as a wild place for children to play and explore amid increased urbanization proved a durable argument that would continue well into the 20th century. And in this, the preservation of the Arroyo would assume the shape of a redemptive project, a way to re-assert spiritual values that had perhaps gotten lost during the real estate boom. Owen Brown, John Brown's son who escaped the Harper's Ferry raid and lived with his brother Jason above the Arroyo in the Altadena foothills, was a fierce zealot in the temperance battle. But shortly before his death in January of 1899, he gave an autograph to a reporter with the following note: "The only true

religion is to be true to every human being, and to all animals so far as it is possible, and be just" (Nixson 1893) This is as a good a summary of the minority position for the Arroyo and Pasadena as one could hope for. After the turn of the century, this sentiment continued but always in a minor key as the voices of developers, boosters, and engineers came to dominate discussions about how to manage the Arroyo.

Timeline

Date	Relevant events	Physical changes to Pasadena's Arroyo parklands
1881		Settlers drill first wells tapping the Raymond Basin just north of the Raymond fault (Blomquist 1992)
1881		Painter and Ball build and enhance a water system and begin selling off tracts in Altadena area. They replace Wilson and Griffin's ditch with a pipe (Hall 1888).
1882	The Methodists of the San Gabriel Valley attract around 1000 people for a picnic in Live Oak Park (Oak Grove Park). They organize an association to try to purchase the land and create a park (W.E.B. 1882).	The San Gabriel Orange Grove Association constructs an irrigation canal to supply water to landowners in South Pasadena area from Sheep Corral Springs and builds pumping station to carry water from the springs up the hill to Orange Grove Reservoir (Holmes 1890).
1882		Emma Bangs opens her Arroyo Vista Boarding House on the site of the future Vista del Arroyo Hotel later to become the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals (Hudson 1985)

1883		Campbell-Johnston family that owns San Rafael Ranch installs a windmill at the site of the La Loma Toll Bridge to pump water from the Lower Arroyo onto their property (Scheid Lund 1999).
1883-84		Seasonal rainfall totals 48 inches, more than double the annual average, and leads to a massive flood in the Arroyo (Wood 1917).
1884 – Nov	Public meeting takes place over the opening of a saloon on Colorado Boulevard that ends with the saloon owner pointing a rifle at temperance leaders threatening his business. The desire to ban alcohol from the settlement leads the settlement to incorporate.	
1885 – Oct		Large fire in the Arroyo
1885 – Nov	Mob attacks laundry and boarding house for Chinese workers and city passes an ordinance banning them from downtown (James 2001).	
1885 – Nov	Rail service begins to Pasadena starting a real estate boom that lasts until 1888. Pasadena sees rapid population growth and a building boom.	
1885		Gardener's Ostrich Farm establishes itself on the east rim of the Arroyo near where the 210 freeway crosses the Arroyo today (Shoop 1952).

1886	James Scoville arrives in Pasadena and purchases land stretching from the northwest corner of Orange Grove and Colorado Street across the Arroyo and up the western bank of the canyon.	
1886 – Jun	Agnes Elliot, daughter of the leader of Indiana Colony, reads her story about the Spirit of the Arroyo at the graduation ceremony for Pasadena's high school (Elliott 1886).	
1887	John Yocum builds first bridge across the Arroyo to Linda Vista while his son Nathan purchases the Park Place tract on the east side of the Arroyo and installs the West Pasadena Railway to bring people to Linda Vista (Wayte 1992).	Architect John Hall organizes a quarry operation at Oak Grove Park ("How He Does It: The Way an Angeleno Lives Very Cheaply" 1887).
1887		Arroyo Drive established as dirt road along the rim of the canyon (Grimes 2007)
1887		Landowners build houses along Bradford and Bellefontaine down to the Arroyo (Tyler 2002)
1888	State engineer William Hammond Hall labels the broad swath of the land that would become Linda Vista as "Indian Flat" on his irrigation map of the area.	Pasadena's water supply completely dries up (Scheid Lund 1999)
1888	Robert Alexander Campbell-Johnston dies on the San Rafael ranch at Annandale and wife takes remains back to Britain (Crocker 1968)	North Pasadena Land and Water Company drills wells and builds impoundment just north of canyon mouth to bring water to Altadena area (Hall 1888)

1889 – Jan	Owen Brown, one of the sons of John Brown, passes away in Pasadena. Thousands attend his funeral procession.	
1889	Church of the Angels completed on the San Rafael Ranch as a memorial to Robert Alexander Campbell-Johnston by her widow, Frances (Crocker 1968)	Scoville finishes his dam and pumping station only to see if washed away in a December flood of the Arroyo ("A Pasadena Park: What Mr. Scoville is Doing" 1889; "The Storm: Bad Waters--The Scoville Dame a Thing of the Past " 1889)
1890		Scoville begins building a new dam with wooden foundation across the Arroyo. The dam will be 24 feet wide and filled with stone. The dam itself will be 12 wide and rise 6 feet above the surface of the water at its ordinary depth. Scoville will fill the central part of the structure with loose rock. His brides across the Arroyo connects to an 80-foot-wide easement across the San Rafael Ranch to Eagle Rock ("The Arroyo Park: Work Progressing on Mr. Scoville's Project" 1890; "The New Boulevard: The Attractive Highway to Los Angeles" 1890).
1890 - Apr	First meeting at First National Bank to discuss constructing a dam across the Arroyo at Devils Gate ("To Be Dammed: New And Important Water Scheme" 1890)	

1891 - Jan	Second Tournament of Roses Parade goes from Orange Grove to Oak Grove Park near Devils Gate (Scheid Lund 1999)	
1891 - Feb		Storm washes away Scoville's second dam ("Pasadena: Floods Descended Damage Wrought By The Storm About Town " 1891)
1892 – May	First meeting of the Science Association goes on a field trip to the Arroyo behind Devil's Gate for a natural history exploration ("Science Association: The First Field Meeting at Devil's Gate Canon" 1892)	
1893 – Nov	Death of James Scoville	
1894	South Pasadena newspaper editor George Glover recommends the creation of an Arroyo park from the mountains down to Los Angeles (Brick 2019)	
1896 – Jun		Highland Park Water Company buys water rights to most of the Lower Arroyo and begins tunneling into west canyon walls and damming the streams to facilitate supplies down to Highland Park ("Arroyo Water Rights: Two Rival Companies Established on Adjoining Lands" 1896).
1896	Discussions about turning the Arroyo into a long park with a roadway and a petition for a $100,000 bond	Fire in the San Gabriel Mountains significantly reduces water flow through the Arroyo to Pasadena; the fire burns for weeks across the Arroyo Seco watershed and

	measure for parks ("CIty Council Asked to Establish Three Parks" 1896)	destroys Switzers Camp and the Brown's cabin (Austin 1936).
1897 – Mar	Leaders from Los Angeles, South Pasadena, and Pasadena meet to discuss the best route for an improved road from Pasadena to downtown Los Angeles ("Boulevard Committee: Los Angeles and Pasadena Join Hands in the Project" 1897)	
1897 – Aug	After the Boulevard Committee decides the priority for road improvements between Pasadena and Los Angeles should be the old Mission or "Adobe" Road, Pasadena representative, G. Roscoe Thomas offers a resolution supporting the construction of a second boulevard up the Arroyo between Los Angeles and Pasadena. The committee constituted a new group, the Buena Vista Street, Pasadena Avenue, Orange Grove Avenue Boulevard Committee, to advance this idea. The committee elected Pasadena pioneer Perry M. Green as president. The Pasadena representatives include future U.S. Senator, Frank Flint and former Governor H.H. Markham ("A Second Boulevard To Los Angeles In Prospect." 1897).	
1897 – Oct		Storm washes away a submerged dam the city constructed across Devil's Gate to facilitate water collection and delivery ("Pasadena. Submerged Dam At Devil's Gate Obliterated by the Storm" 1897).

1897		Biedebach family purchases 10 acres at the current location of the Brookside Clubhouse and begins running a ranch there. Mr. Biedebach moves a house from Linda Vista onto the property (Biedebach 1983).
1897	City of Pasadena purchases ten acres in the Central Arroyo that they will use 25 years later for the Rose Bowl stadium (Grimes 2007)	
1898	The City of Pasadena hires water engineer J.B. Lippincott to advise them on their water supply. Lippincott tells the city they will need outside sources to supply the city. Nevertheless, the city relies on surface diversion and extractions from the Raymond Basin aquifer until the 1930s (Brick 2001).	
1899 – May	Board of Trade invites City Trustees to tour South Arroyo Blvd. to show its potential as a "show place," but no one is sure about where the right of way for the road is supposed to go ("Pasadena: Los Angeles Sunset Club Visits with Twilighters" 1899).	
1899		The Culver Well installed on the east side of the Arroyo, about 600 feet north of the Bradford Street well (see 1903 below). An electric pump that sends 40 miner inches into the South Pasadena irrigation line during dry periods (Mendenhall 1908)

Quotes

Los Angeles Times on the area behind Devil's Gate, what most came to call Oak Grove Park

> "Oak Grove, on the Arroyo Seco, between this city and Pasadena, is the handsomest park and picnic ground anywhere to be found in this vicinity. Its popularity is proven by the great number of persons who resort thither to spend a day or half day, with nature and to enjoy a stroll in the woods. It is most delightfully situated on two benches and flanked by high hills in the rear with the valley below -- a mass of trees shrubbery and tangled vines, with a cooling, sparkling stream coursing through the centre -- and the tract itself dotted completely over with large, spreading live oak trees, from which it takes the name of Oak Grove. It is about five miles distant from this city, but even with the poor road to it this distance does not deter hundreds of persons from visiting it weekly in the spring time, when the lawn is clothed with verdure. Such a place should be preserved to the city, and kept for all time. It has been intimated that if the city would build a road, a handsome boulevard, circling the hill up the arroyo, making a handsome and convenient drive, the owners of the Oak Grove property would set apart a portion of the tract as a park" ("Oak Grove Park" 1882).

J.W. Wood on the flood of 1884 from *Pasadena, California, Historical and Personal*

> "The Arroyo Seco was a raging torrent from bank to bank; the sluggish little stream of a few feet wide, normally, became an irresistible current several hundred feet wide, carrying with it a noisy collection of grinding cobblestones, uprooted trees and tons of soil from its sloughing sides. A team of horses and driver, attempting to ford the Arroyo near Garvanza, were swept into the current and man and horses drowned. It was a record storm, or rather a continuous series of them, lasting from January to April, with little intermission; and even May and June experiencing some extra showers" (Wood 1917, 528).

Arroyo Craftsman Magazine on wood cutting in the Arroyo

> "In the later seventies and early eighties when Pasadena was in the embryo stage, the portion of the Arroyo Seco nearest the town possessed no value or interest in the people, except for the firewood and kindling it furnished. It was subdivided into woodlots which were sold to Mexicans and others for from three dollars to ten dollars each, and cord-wood and brush were harvested therefrom" ("Parks for the People: California's Wisdom in Converting her Ancient Forests into Modern Playgrounds" 1912, 524).

From Agnes Elliot's story *The Spirit of the Arroyo* describing a misty apparition hovering near the mouth of Arroyo's canyon

“Presently an old man came forward, saying: 'Be not afraid, my children; it is only the Spirit of the Arroyo come to mourn over her lost treasures. She always visits the place where her trees have been destroyed, especially the aged oaks which she loves most of all--for they are connected with the mysteries of the past before men had come to mar and mutilate them.

"'As trees are cleared away from the mountain, the waters of the Arroyo grow less and less, and the Spirit grows fainter and more dim; and it is said that if the Arroyo should ever become dry, she would disappear, never to return.

"'When I was a little muchacho playing about my mother's knee, this was a deep, wide river, and all the canons were beautifully shaded by sycamores, oaks and willows. The spirit had then no reason to mourn, for we loved and respected the old trees and would not ruthlessly cut one down. But now years have passed away and the sparkling waters, the loved oaks and the Spirit itself are all disappearing, for another people are coming here who are mercenary and selfish. They have no love for the grand old trees, but are cutting them all away; they care not that the streams are left bare and the waters are drying up.'"

"While the old man was speaking, the Spirit lightly hovered over them, but, when he had ceased, it passed up and up through the soft moonlight which seemed to enfold it in a silvery halo. Higher and higher it ascended, and fainter and fainter it grew, till finally it passed out of sight” (Elliott 1886).

Los Angeles Times on Pasadena’s seemingly abundant water supply

"We cannot dismiss the subject without a few words concerning Pasadena's water supply. It is a matter of congratulation that our water supply is vastly in excess of our necessities. It is no exaggeration to declare that fully 90 per cent of our water is allowed to run to waste. At the Devil's Gate there is a splendid and constant flow, and of this we secure not more than 10 per cent, the remainder being allowed to sink in the sandy bed of the Arroyo Seco, and rise again at a point opposite the city, and flow on to meet the waters of the Los Angeles River. Today we have a population of 15,000 inhabitants, and with 10 per cent of our water supply visible at the Devil's Gate supplying all their wants, we can readily conclude that we have an abundant quantity to meet the demands of a great city. Then there are oceans of mountain water going to waste in the Los Flores, Eaton and other canons that could be had if there existed a necessity for it. In the matter of water supply, Pasadena is exceedingly fortunate. We need only to reach out our hands in an intelligent, business way to meet every necessity in this direction” ("Pasadena's Water Supply: An Extensive Reservoir Should Be Constructed Above the City" 1888).

Charles Frederick Holder on the vegetation in Pasadena’s Arroyo from *All About Pasadena and its Vicinity*

"To the west of Pasadena extends the cañon of the Arroyo Seco, which means literally a dry river. In the summer this is the bed of a little stream which now and then disappears, really forming a good body of water, though out of sight, and in the winter after a rain bearing in its tortuous channel a rushing torrent of great power, the drainage of the great cañon of the Arroyo that extends a third of the way across the Sierra Madre range. At Pasadena the Arroyo forms a complete jungle, a most attractive resort for the walker or equestrian. Tall sycamore trees rear their graceful forms, while over the limbs and branches are festoons of the wild grape, clematis, and other vines, so luxuriant that they form a complete bower in many places. Live oaks, the willow, alder, and a variety of trees grow here, with vines and flowering plants innumerable, so that in the winter season the Arroyo becomes a literal garden. In and out among the trees a trail has been worn, often leading down to the bed of the brook; and here one can wander for hours at Christmas time in this leafy retreat, with the birds singing all about, and trout darting from the horse's feet" (Holder 1888, 23).

"Between the point known as Park Place [Arroyo Terrace] and that a mile or two south, the Arroyo is thickly wooded; but to the north it branches out, becomes wider, and low brush, cacti and the yucca are the principal forms of vegetation. Here there is a good carriage road reached from Park Place, which can be followed to Devil's Gate, where, or nearby, a road leads out of the Arroyo" (Holder 1888, 23-24).

Charles Frederick Holder on habitat surrounding Devil's Gate and plans to create a recreation park in the area from *The Highlands of Pasadena (North Pasadena)*

"The stream bed from Los Angeles winds up through the valley of the Arroyo, skirting lofty hills and cliffs through groves of live oak and sycamore, growing more and more wooded until at Pasadena it becomes a veritable park thickly grown with large trees interlaced with vines, forming winter and summer a delightful resort replete with surprises and attractive nooks and corners to the stroller. At the junction of Colorado Street, the Arroyo is bridged and a dam erected; and a short distance further a high bridge crosses it at a picturesque spot leading to Linda Vista. From here it widens out, spreading over a large extent of country, gradually narrowing again a mile or more above where the mountain torrent has cut its way through the solid rock, forming what is known as the Devil's Gate. This, from its natural beauties, the abundance of trees and shrubbery, is the most attractive part of the arroyo. A portion immediately to the south, extending completely across the canon, and one-fourth of a mile along the bank, is being laid out as a pleasure resort and park by the Messrs. Painter" (Holder 1889, 33-35).

"Arroyo Park embraces thirty-two acres, and includes lands so diversified that it is admirably adapted by nature for the purpose to which it is being devoted; in fact, it is a natural park. It is reached from the Painter by the dummy and horsecar lines, the Altadena

road also running near it; while other roads lead from Pasadena. The road from the mesa winds down past an amphitheater formed by the confirmation of the arroyo, where a stand is to be place for music and other purposes. The bank here slopes gently, allowing walks, drives, and trails, that wind away beneath ancient oaks, -- majestic veterans that have been here untold years. One of these trees, *Quercus chrysolepsis*, is of gigantic size, while another of the black oaks, *Q. agrifolia,* have an enormous spread of branches, covering nearly one hundred and seventy-five feet. Standing upon the upper ridge, we may look down upon this nature's garden. Here are some of the largest sycamores in the valley, especially those north of the Gate. These trees are the true monarchs of the glen, their gnarled and rugged limbs extending out over the lower verdure, and their white forms rising many feet in the air. The sycamore attains in this country a diameter of nearly thirty feet. A lower form, looking like a bush from our vantage ground, is the California cottonwood, *Populus fremontii*, named for General Fremont. Higher up the cañon the fragrant bay greets the nostrils, its rich-green leaves and clean-cut branches making it an attractive feature of the upper arroyo banks" (Holder 1889, 35)

"Descending the sides of the park, we follow a trail which leads us by one of the finest springs in the valley affording a never-failing flow. About its borders we find many moisture-loving plans, dainty mosses and ferns, and other delicate forms. The banks are a mass of wild flowers -- the shooting star (*Dodcatheon*) or American cowslip, *Eschscholtzia californica*, or California poppy, brown-backed yellow violets, baby bluettes, painters' brush, daisies of great variety -- some pure white, others yellow with white-tipped petals, and others again orange with brown centers--wild forget-me-nots, and many more. Among the shrubs forming the growth upon the slopes are the salmon and other tinted mimulus, purple hibiscus lobelias of brilliant hue, wild roses, and many more. In the lower park the cacti of several varieties look forbidding; and here and there upon the opposite slopes the yucca give birth to its wondrous flower. In the lowland, in the immediate vicinity of the stream, eucalyptus trees have been planted; and the entire park is to be converted into a grove where will be found all the trees and plants." (Holder 1889, 37).

"No expense is to be spared to make this park one of the most attractive resorts about Pasadena. Among the improvements contemplated are fine baths, where the water will be heated to the desired temperature. Rare flowers and trees will be planted, yet the wild and natural features of the place will be preserved. A collection of native animals, fresh-water aquaria where the rainbow-trout can be seen, are some of the attractions under consideration; while a restaurant, swings, lawn-tennis grounds, arbors and other features will be added from time to time for the benefit of guests of the Painter and the general public. The springs in the Painter park are extremely valuable, and were evidently appreciated by the ancient inhabitants of the valley, as among the wild growth of ferns I noticed grinding-stones suggestive of an ancient camp; and undoubtedly some little search would be repaid with finds of an interesting character" (Holder 1889, 37).

Jeanne Carr on habitat in and along the Arroyo from *Pasadena -- The Crown of the Valley*

"The Pasadena settlement originally included Lincoln Park on the southeast and Altadena and the highlands on the northwest. The Arroyo Seco, having gathered its stream from unfailing sources in the Sierra Madre range of mountains, could be depended upon for an unfailing water supply as long as rains and snow should fall and the forest conservatories of springs and surface moisture were preserved. Within the limits of the purchase the stream meandered through a natural park, whose terraced banks were preserved from denudation by dense thickets of ceanothus, dwarf oak and manzanita. Five species of oaks, many of great size, filled the more open portions of the canon, and giant sycamore trees protected natural ferneries even richer than those which yet linger in their mountain retreats. No pen could describe the glory of the poppy fields which filled the valley and swept northward in waves in gold" (Carr 1893, 82).

Los Angeles Times reporting on discussions about turning Pasadena's Arroyo into a park

"Colin Stewart gave an account of the establishment of parks in Baltimore, and urged the Council to take some steps to provide a place where the poor might enjoy the shade and beauty of a park. Trustee Washburn did not favor parks outside the limits of the city, and Trustee Reynolds suggested that the arroyo, from Devil's Gate down to Pasadena, could be made a unique and lovely park that would benefit the whole city." ("City Council Asked to Establish Three Parks" 1896).

Walter C. Mendenhall on the Monk Hill sub-basin diverting groundwater to the San Gabriel River while the surface flow of the Arroyo goes to the L.A. River from *Ground Waters and Irrigation Enterprises in the Foothill Belt, Southern California*

"The effect of this barrier is to check the southward movement of the underground waters which accumulate above Devils Gate, and to force them to make a long detour to the eastward around Monk Hill before continuing southward. They are thus thrown into the San Gabriel drainage basin instead of being tributary to that of Los Angeles River as are the flood waters of Arroyo Seco. An underground barrier thus changes entirely the route followed by the underground circulation of the upper course of the stream, and we have the interesting spectacle of the surface flood waters of a drainage basin flowing seaward by way of one river system, and the underground waters seeking the same destination by another route" (Mendenhall 1908, 52).

Walter C. Mendenhall on harvesting of water from Sheep Corral Springs from *Ground Waters and Irrigation Enterprises in the Foothill Belt, Southern California*

"Before the Devils Gate developments were undertaken, some of the surplus underground waters which were held behind this Monk Hill barrier rose to the surface at Devils Gate in the series of springs which formed one of the important original sources of

Pasadena water. This surplus is now taken out by the tunnels and wells and the springs have ceased to flow. It is safe to say also that more water may be continuously developed by this system than the springs originally yielded, because much was lost by evaporation in the moist lands about the springs under the original conditions, and also because a part of the surplus which originally no doubt found its way eastward around Monk Hill is probably now brought out by way of the tunnels and wells. At the Sheep Corral springs, as at Devils Gate, Arroyo Seco cuts through a spur of the San Rafael Hills so that its canyon becomes narrow, with rock walls and bottom impermeable to percolating waters. These waters are thus forced to the surface or were before they were intercepted by development work and appeared as springs. The situation is less favorable here than at Devils Gate because the Monk Hill bed-rock ridge deflects much of the ground waters eastward away from Sheep Corral, and it is probable that the developments there are supplied in an important measure, perhaps almost entirely, by those Arroyo Seco flood waters which are absorbed in the wide part of the arroyo which lies between Devils Gate and Sheep Corral. At both points submerged dams have been built to bed rock across the narrow part of the arroyo to hold back the underground waters or to force them to the surface. (PI. II, B.)" (Mendenhall 1908, 52).

“The oldest of the water sources owned exclusively by the Pasadena Land and Water Company is the Sheep Corral Springs and development works. Before the sinking of wells and driving of tunnels in their immediate vicinity and the completion of more distant developments which have nevertheless affected their supply, these springs yielded from 50 to 130 miner's inches during the dry months of summer, and their average flow was given by Wm. Ham. Hall as 90 miner's inches.

"As the demand for water on the Pasadena mesa increased, work was undertaken at the springs, with the purpose of increasing the supply available from them. In 1890 a tunnel was begun just above the gorge at Sheep Corral Springs, at a depth of 29 feet, and during the three succeeding years it was extended northward until it reached a length of 1,345 feet, its construction having cost $14,500. At the same time (1890) a small gasoline engine was installed for the purpose of lifting the water developed in the tunnel into a receiving tank, whence it was pumped with other waters from the springs to a reservoir on the edge of the mesa 100 feet above the arroyo level. The plants for this greater lift were installed in 1882 and in 1892, and consist of two Wellington compound duplex pumps, each with a capacity of 100 miner's inches. In 1895, in order to recover whatever underflow might be escaping through the gravels of the gorge below the springs, a submerged dam was constructed across this gorge and extended from bed rock to 4 feet above the original surface of the gravels in the arroyo. The dam, which is of concrete-masonry construction, has a maximum depth of 28 feet, and a width of 4 feet and contains 336 cubic yards of material. Its cost was $5,200. Finally, in 1904 a well was sunk in the tunnel and water is now pumped from 40 feet below its floor" (Mendenhall 1908, 132).

Los Angeles Times reporting on long-time desire to turn Pasadena's Arroyo into a park

"From the time the early pioneers began arriving in the then little settlement of Pasadena, or the 'Indiana Colony,' the beauties and grandeur of the arroyo have been realized and everyone has looked forward to the day when it would be acquired for public park purposes. Every year for forty years the possibilities of the park have been discussed, but each year it was laid aside" ("Arroyo Seco Enchanted Spot: Natural Beauty of Valley to Be Preserved" 1911)

1900 – 1919

Summary

With the turn of the century, the racial and class disparities on display within the city hampered efforts to designate Pasadena's Arroyo as a park. The failure of a crucial bond measure that would have moved almost 200 private parcels into public ownership at a cost of $35,000 left the city's leading citizens puzzled ("Many Involved in Suit for Arroyo" 1913). One explanation is that inequities across Pasadena society exposed contradictions in these leaders' arguments and made their civic appeals unconvincing. By 1919, the city officials had established a piecemeal park in the Arroyo but only by buying and consolidating local water companies and the lands they owned. At the turn of the century, Pasadena had less than 10,000 people; this grew to 45,000 by 1920 (Schied Lund 1999). Rather than unifying the community during this period of rapid growth, the Arroyo instead became a symbol of division, especially between the affluent White residents living along its rim and the working class and communities of color that populated the rest of the city.

The first contradiction exposed at the start of the 20th century was the desire to maintain Pasadena as a wholly residential community of leisure, divorced from the industrial economy that provided the foundation for Pasadena's affluence. The factories of the corporate titans who resided part of the year on Pasadena's Millionaire's Row were in the Midwest or East and were out of sight, out of mind. This separation became harder to maintain, however, once industry found a home in Arroyo between South Pasadena and Los Angeles. Because neither city wanted to pay to maintain the rail bridges crossing the canyon, this section of the Arroyo went unclaimed and remained under the jurisdiction of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors ("At the Courthouse: Nuisance Fight Waxes Warm" 1904). This provided an opportunity for industry to gain a foothold and opened up the possibility for the sandy wash

below the bridges to become a factory zone. The area already housed hog farms just south of the border with Pasadena when the smokestack of the Lowe Gas Works began releasing sulphureous smoke below the Garvanza bluffs in 1902 ("Hog Farms Menace Lower Valley of Arroyo Seco" 1906). The ocean breeze naturally drawn up the canyon now mixed the odors from these two uses together and deposited them to the back porches of the mansions of West Pasadena. Almost immediately, the gas plant found itself in legal trouble as it began to cut corners in the race to create a franchise providing natural gas to the rows of bungalows sprouting across the L.A. basin ("The Lowe Gas Scrap Ending" 1904). The deep irony is that the owner of the gas plant was none other than Thaddeus Lowe, who lived at one of the more conspicuous mansions on Orange Grove Avenue. Rock crushers and a brick factory also found their way to this neutral territory ("Can Women Save Beautiful Arroyo?" 1906; "New Enterprise Starts Up in Arroyo" 1907). So, when the supervisors held a hearing in 1904 on a proposed iron smelter, resident groups from Pasadena, South Pasadena, and Los Angeles showed up en masse and made their case for the Arroyo Seco to become a public park stretching from Los Angeles through South Pasadena and Pasadena to the foot of the mountains ("At the Courthouse, Hot Inning of Arroyoites" 1904). Advocates understood that if they didn't win public protection for their Arroyo lands, the fights to keep out tax- and job-producing industry would never end. Their motivation for keeping the Arroyo free of industry was two-fold. First, pollution from industry would clearly reduce the value of their own land. Second, the rationale for many people coming to Pasadena was to support their own health or that of a close relative. The pollution not only put these plans in jeopardy but also threatened the City Beautiful bona fides of the growing town, a contributing factor in attracting and capturing wealthy industrialists, who wanted to leave factories behind rather than have them fill

the canyon below their winter home or hotel suite. Despite having benefited from similar production facilities in other parts of the country, the financial threat and the aesthetic injury generated authentic opposition to these ventures and excitement for the park ideal.

Exactly what that ideal would be, however, was debated. The sculpted lawns, exotics trees, and fanciful birdlife that populated Busch Gardens represented a romantic, pastoral vision of nature that many imagined for the rest of the Arroyo. At the same time, most leaders advocated for maintaining the native vegetation. The 1918 plan that noted architect Myron Hunt and his park committee put forward, which would become the city's unofficial blueprint into the 1960s, insisted on native vegetation and keeping the park rustic in appearance (Hunt et al. 1918). But even this plan made an exception for eucalyptus trees and included a lake behind Devil's Gate, which illustrates a lack of knowledge about the Southern California riparian ecology. A committee of the Federation of Men's Club insisted that park should be left alone and not spoiled with exotic plantings but then said what was needed was a "real woods" like they have in New England or Wisconsin ("Outdoor Schools and Parks are Favored" 1911). An editorial from the Arroyo Craftsman magazine said all the plantings should be native but that they should be segregated to allow for ease of study and advocated for "drinking fountains designed after old-time wells with oak moss-covered buckets" ("Parks for the People: California's Wisdom in Converting her Ancient Forests into Modern Playgrounds" 1912).

As part of these muddled musings about what kind of nature would be most appropriate for Pasadena's Arroyo, two specific questions were particularly important. The first was what kind of roads, if any, should run through the Arroyo. The conception of an Arroyo park and parkway evolved together and reached back to the first days of the automobile ("A Second Boulevard To Los Angeles In Prospect." 1897). An article in the *Los Angeles Times* answered a concern about visitors using a parkway to speed through the park

with reassurances that the law stated the maximum speed limit through parks was eight miles per hour ("Salient Facts As To Arroyo Seco Park" 1913). The 1918 plan explicitly said that Pasadena's Lower Arroyo was too narrow for a road and should only have a footpath. Emmanuel Mische, the landscape architect behind the plan, discouraged even a bridle path through Lower Arroyo arguing there were enough trails for horses between the Central Arroyo and mountain foothills already (Mische 1922b). But Hunt, Mayor William Thum, and others continued to advocate for a highway through the Arroyo's mountain canyon that would extend up to the Angeles Crest and drop down into the high desert north of the San Gabriel Mountains ("Auto Road for Arroyo Seco Favored" 1912).

The nature of an Arroyo parkway depended very much on management of the River that regularly rearranged the valley bottom. So, the second question was how to accommodate flooding. Mische argued for planting drooping shrubbery to overhang a meandering flood channel that would provide the illusion of a wild river (Mische 1922b). Others argued that a wild river was the Arroyo's most charming feature ("Park Project Taking Shape: Arroyo Seco May Be Planted To Various Trees" 1906). During a contentious public hearing, one county supervisor asked the Charles Daggett, the president of Pasadena's West Side Improvement Association, about whether a park was practical given that periodic floods would likely destroy any improvements. Daggett responded by saying since it only happened every twelve years or so, it would be fine with him ("At the Courthouse, Hot Inning of Arroyoites" 1904). Of greater concern than trails and drinking fountains were the railroad bridges that the floods routinely damaged. The floods in February 1914 proved a turning point because they triggered County and federal investment in flood control, with the dam across Devil's Gate as the first project of the County's flood control division (Orsi 2004). The elimination of the flood risk opened the door to

park development and parkway construction, though the exact route for a parkway would become a point of contention in the decades to follow.

This period also showcased the mobilization of a broad array of civic clubs and professional organizations in support of the Arroyo. This included coordinated advocacy by neighborhood groups in Pasadena, South Pasadena, and Los Angeles. In addition to the neighborhood and homeowner groups, women's organizations in the three cities led the effort to turn the Arroyo into a park ("Can Women Save Beautiful Arroyo?" 1906). The Outdoor Art Association was also quite popular and played a role (Chapin 1929). In Pasadena, the fact that westside homeowners populated most of the city's most powerful organizations, such as the Board of Trade, the Shakespeare Club, and the Valley Hunt Club, meant that Pasadena's elite were leading the charge in the run-up to the 1913 park referendum ("Now At Work In Earnest: Beautiful Arroyo Seco May Yet Be Parked" 1906). Both newspapers endorsed the bond measures, which in addition to the Arroyo included money for parks in every district of the growing city. The Mayor and other leading citizens wrote letters to the editor or penned opinion pieces. Arguments included an ethical obligation to future generations, the importance of giving children wild place to roam free, the fact that land would never be so cheap again, how an Arroyo park would attract tourists, and how it would improve property values across the city and make everyone more prosperous. But the bond measures failed. The $35,000 bond for the Arroyo won a majority but fell short of necessary two-thirds to pass, with the papers reporting voter apathy and low turnout ("Apathy at Polls" 1913; "Defeat all Bonds" 1913).

In 1901 a $300,000 bond measure for parks and other public improvements had almost universal support (Chapin 1929). In 1911, voters approved a large bond for the Colorado Street Bridge. In the 1920s, residents supported a massive building program that

resulted in a grand city hall, library, and civic auditorium (Scheid 2010). Why did this relatively modest park bond fail? The fate of the Arroyo mattered most to Pasadena's prosperous west side, and so asking the swelling ranks of the city's middle class to foot the bill for an amenity most accessible to the mansions on Millionaire's Row was going to be an uphill argument. But voters were even less supportive of parks and playgrounds in their own districts, so an explanation based solely on class conflict appears inadequate. It could be, however, that sheer weight of aforementioned contradictions was too great for the voting public to sustain: industrial titans fighting off industry; millionaires with manicured gardens arguing for a place where their children could build forts and pretend they were on the frontier; and least talked about, advocacy for an accessible public commons at the same time White residents were using racial terrorism to restrict where people of color could live, work, and play. In 1909-1910, several African American homes were set on fire. The first Rose Parade after the bond election featured a float by the KKK. And shortly after the dedication of the newly christened Brookside Plunge in July of 1914, the City Council voted to make the pool a segregated space (Hudson 2020). This initiated what was perhaps the most important Arroyo advocacy of this period, the boycott of the pool by African American community led by the Negro Taxpayer's and Voters Association and later by the Pasadena chapter of the NAACP (Shorr 2002). With so much White fear, anxiety, and aggression surrounding interactions with people of color, the prospect of having a broadly unprogrammed and unregulated open space in which individuals, and especially children, of different races could encounter one another was perhaps too dangerous a prospect to endorse. This interpretation places these various contradictions at the center of this period in the Arroyo's history, which moves the story into the realm of irony and satire, with the failed bond as a disappointing but perhaps necessary exposure of cracks and fissures in the social relations of the developing city.

In November 1919, a proposal for the construction of an apartment building on the narrow strip of land between South Arroyo Drive and the rim of Lower Arroyo prompted discussion of putting a bond measure on the ballot to protect the canyon rim from development. But the contradictions that weighed down the 1913 bond measure remained unresolved, and so the West Side Improvement Association decided to fund the purchase themselves. They formed a park district, raised $30,000, bought the land along the canyon rim from Colorado Street to Columbia Street, and gave it to the city as part of the Lower Arroyo Park, preserving the views and the oak trees that many consider an essential element of the Arroyo experience ("Arroyo Seco Park Encroachment Discussed" 1919; "Will Condemn Arroyo Park Property" 1919). While laudable, this would only make the Arroyo feel more like the province of Pasadena's elite rather than the public commons extolled in the rhetoric of the community's leaders.

Timeline

Date	Relevant events	Physical changes to Pasadena's Arroyo parklands
1900		Board of Trade pays for grading and spreading of disintegrated granite on Arroyo Drive in order to turn it into a scenic route for tourists ("Arroyo Drive Improvements to Progress" 1900)
1901 - Jul	Meeting on building a bridge at foot of Madeline Drive to create a better route to L.A. ("Pasadena-Los Angeles Boulevard Project: Bridge Across the Arroyo" 1901).	

1901 – Dec	Public improvement bond measures passes and includes money to purchase the land that would become Central Park and Memorial Park (Chapin 1929).	
1902		Construction of Lowe Gas Works in Arroyo between South Pasadena and Los Angeles ("Gas Plant Finds Friends" 1902).
1903 – Mar		Pasadena Mayor Weight announces plan to construct a garbage incinerator in the Arroyo northwest of the city limits on 23 acres of land the city has purchased for $600. Whether this plan came to pass is unclear. The City later erected the main incinerator in the South Raymond district ("Big Refuse Incinerator Be Erected Outside City" 1903).
1903 - May	Mrs. Lulu Chapin of the Shakespeare Club organizes reconnaissance trips to discuss with Arroyo landowners the purchase of their land for a public park. The trips leave from the oak tree at the intersection of California Street and Orange Grove Avenue ("Arroyo Seco Park or Bust" 1903).	
1903 – May	Theodore Roosevelt visits Pasadena and exclaims that the Arroyo should be left as it as and could be the greatest park in the world (Reid 1904).	
1903		Bradford Street well dug west of Arroyo more than 1 mile south of Sheep Corral Springs. An electric pump

		sends about 8 miner inches into South Pasadena's main irrigation line during dry periods (Mendenhall 1908).
1904 - Jan	Ruth Brown Thompson dies	
1904 – Mar	Adolphus Busch arrives in Pasadena and buys the Craven property in the first of many land deals (Logan 2020).	
1904 - Aug	The Pasadena Board of Trade and other homeowners protest the proposed construction of an ore smelter on the east side of the Arroyo south of the Santa Fe Railroad bridge ("Arroyo as a Park" 1904; "Garvanzaites' hot protest: citizens speak out against gas works" 1904).	
1904 - Dec	Dr. Hiram Reid calls for a movement to make Lower Arroyo a park (Reid 1904).	
1904	Founding of the Pasadena Audubon Society	
1905 – Jan		Landscaping and construction for Busch Gardens between Orange Grove and the Lower Arroyo begins (Logan 2020).
1905	Busch purchases land between Grand Avenue and the Arroyo for his Lower Gardens (Logan 2020).	

1906 - May	Arroyo Seco Park Association officially forms on May 22 with Dr. J.H. McBride as president; Dr. E.L. Conger and T.D. Earley as vice presidents. E.J. Pyle from the Pasadena National Bank as treasurer and E.E. Grey, a newspaperman and attorney as secretary. The group works out of the office of attorney J.H. Merriman. Membership fees are $1.00 for children; $2 for associate members; $10 for active members; $50 for patron members ("Park Association Names First Officers" 1906).	*Pasadena Evening Star* writes that the stench from the hog farms near the border with South Pasadena is unbearable ("Hog Farms Menace Lower Valley of Arroyo Seco" 1906).
1906 – May	Adolphus Busch opens his gardens to the general public on Wednesday afternoons (Logan 2020).	
1906 - Dec		*Los Angeles Times* reports a brick factory is going into the Arroyo near the border of Los Angeles and South Pasadena ("Can Women Save Beautiful Arroyo?" 1906).
1907 - Jul		A rock crusher under the auspices of Campbell-Johnston family begins operation in the Lower Arroyo north California Street ("New Enterprise Starts Up in Arroyo" 1907).
1908 - Nov	Pasadena Board of Health and the Sanitary Committee for Pasadena begin to organize a cleanliness campaign to address feeding of hogs in the Arroyo ("Start Campaign for Clean City" 1908).	
1909 - May	Busch Gardens opens to the public seven days a week	

1909 - Jun	*Los Angeles Times* reports on the discussions to build an elevated 500-foot bridge across the Arroyo at Colorado Street ("Shorter Line to Pasadena: Proposed Long Bridge Over Arroyo Seco" 1909).	
1909 - Sept	Over 3,000 people attend dedication ceremony for Pasadena's first recreational playground at Carmelita ("People now would buy grounds" 1909)	Concrete bridge replaces Yocum's wooden bridge across the Arroyo to Linda Vista (Wayte 1992)
1909	Ernest Batchelder begins firing art tiles in the kiln behind his house on South Arroyo Drive (Winter 1999)	
1910		Construction of the York Street Bridge connecting South Pasadena and Los Angeles.
1910	Hostile neighbors commit a rash of arsons and attempted arsons against African American homes and churches.	
1911 - Apr	Voters approve bond funding the Colorado Street Bridge but oppose funding parkland at Carmelita and Monk Hill, increasing the push to make Arroyo a public park ("Planning Park Along Arroyo" 1911).	
1911 - Jun	Busch Gardens hosts 10,000 people for a barbeque of the American Medical Association ("Pasadena Prepared To Feast Ten Thousand At Once Today" 1911)	Developers of the "Arroyo Park Tract" along the east rim of the Central Arroyo build a bridge over Seco Street connecting Prospect Avenue and have begin to

		build roads and homes ("Arroyo Seco Enchanted Spot: Natural Beauty of Valley to Be Preserved" 1911).
1911 - Jul		Swimming hole where San Rafael Creek empties into Arroyo improved by local doctor for boys ("Swimming Hole to be Preserved" 1911).
1911 - Jul	E.J. Marshall purchases San Rafael Ranch lands on east bank to allow completion of South Arroyo Drive ("Arroyo Drive is Located at Last" 1911)	
1911	City purchases and merges together the Lake Vineyard Water Company, Pasadena Water Company and North Pasadena Water Company, gaining control over the lands they own in the Arroyo; the city also begins to purchase private land in the Arroyo ("More Land Gained for Arroyo Park" 1911; Scheid Lund 1999)	
1912	The only issue of *Arroyo Craftsman Magazine* advocates for the creation of a park and parkway in the Arroyo ("Parks for the People: California's Wisdom in Converting her Ancient Forests into Modern Playgrounds" 1912).	
1912	Pasadena creates its Municipal Water Department (Scheid Lund 1999).	
1912	Pasadena officials take County Supervisors up the Arroyo to discuss continuing the parkway route to the	

	Angeles Crest ("Auto Road for Arroyo Seco Favored" 1912)	
1913 – Mar	Voters defeat bond measures to purchase land for parks in the Arroyo, Carmelita, Monk Hill, and eastern Pasadena. The Arroyo measure wins a majority (2534 yes and 2051 no) but needed two-thirds to pass ("Defeat all Bonds" 1913).	
1913 - Jul		City moves playground equipment from Carmelita to sixty acres of the land acquired from the Pasadena Land and Water Company to create Arroyo Springs Park ("Pasadena: Wreck Victims to Lie at Rest" 1913; Wood 1917).
1913 - Oct	Adolphus Busch dies in Germany	
1913 - Dec		Colorado Street Bridge dedication at site of Carmelita playground.
1913		Overdraft condition begins in Raymond basin, despite plentiful rainfall (Blomquist 1992).
1914 - Jan	Ku Klux Klan enters a float in the Rose Parade	
1914 - Feb		Flooding damages city water system, damages rail lines, destroys Scoville bridge across the Arroyo, and washes away bankside homes in South Pasadena and Los Angeles ("Save Arroyo Plant" 1914; "Storms Claws

		Scratch Deep: Charming Pasadena Arroyos Now Rough Gulches" 1914).
1914 - Jul	City Commissioners discuss building an open air amphitheater into the hillside above the new Brookside Plunge swimming pool ("May Rise on Hill Side" 1914)	Donation from Mrs. E.W. Brooks allows the City to construct a swimming pool at Arroyo Springs Park. The City renames the park Brookside. It also decides people of color can only use the pool on Wednesday afternoons and evenings. African Americans in Pasadena quickly form the Negro Taxpayer's and Voters Association to protests and explore legal options (Shorr 2002).
1914 - Aug	Linda Vista and San Rafael Heights vote to join Pasadena (Wayte 1992)	
1914 - Aug		City and County approve construction of the privately-funded Parker-Mayberry bridge beneath the Colorado Street Bridge to replace the Scoville Bridge across the Arroyo ("Wish to Build Another Bridge" 1914).
1914 - Oct	Caltech Dean of Engineering George A. Damon makes speech suggesting a stadium for Arroyo (Women's Civic League of Pasadena 1915)	
1914	A City Beautiful Association focused on beautification creates a Pasadena Plan that includes making the Arroyo Seco as a public park space (Damon 1916).	
1914		Pasadena begins a spreading program in the Arroyo Seco and along the foothills that over a ten-year period

		would replenish the basin with 20,000-acre feet of water. The program was discontinued in 1924 due to drought (Blomquist 1992).
1915 - Jun	Charles Cheney, Secretary of the California Conference on City Planning, says to the women's civic groups that Pasadena's Mexican district has the worst housing in the state ("Take a Whack at Slums in the City" 1915).	
1915 - Oct	Boycott of the Brookside Plunge by African American residents causes the City of Pasadena refuse admission for people of color every day of week ("Color Line Drawn at Plunge" 1915).	
1915 – Dec		Construction begins on Sheldon Reservoir along the east rim of the Arroyo with plans to have it ready to distribute water in the spring ("Reservoir to be Built at Once" 1915)
1915	Pasadena claims most automobiles per capita in the country; this is also the peak year for attendance at Busch Gardens (Logan 2020).	City purchases 45 acres north of Devil's Gate rock formation and begin making park improvements (Wood 1917).
1916 - Jan	African American community wins a prize for their "Dove of Peace" entry into the Rose Parade (Kelley 1984).	City of Pasadena begins management of park land above Devil's Gate ("Wake up to find a park" 1916)
1916 - May		County moves rock crushing camp for unemployed moved to Arroyo behind Devil's Gate and begins

		creating material to use with the dam ("Work on Great Devil's Gate Dam Launched: Rock Crushing for Big Arroyo Seco Job to Start Immediately" 1916)
1916 - Nov		Miss H.A. Woods maintains a goat farm in the Arroyo Seco near the Colorado Street Bridge ("Goat Neighbor of the Elite: Big Herds Bleat in Bon-ton District at Pasadena" 1916).
1916	City Beautiful Association hosts *My City* planning exhibit at the downtown office of the Board of Trade. Creation of Arroyo Seco Park ranked 5th of 19 project ideas (Damon 1916).	City establishes a car camping area in the Central Arroyo north of Brookside Park near the present site of the Rose Bowl ("H.A. Martin" 1916).
1916	City of Pasadena gives Los Angeles County an easement for the construction of a dam in the Arroyo Seco (Brick 2017a)	
1917 – Feb	Los Angeles County Flood Control Bond to pay for construction of Devil's Gate Dam passes despite opposition from the Municipal League (Brick 2017a)	
1918 – Jan	Arroyo Park Committee, with Myron Hunt as chair and assistance by visiting landscape architect Emmanuel Mische, publishes a plan for turning the Arroyo into a natural park (Hunt et al. 1918; Mische 1922b, 1922a)	
1918 - Jul	Park area behind Devil's Gate used as an Open Air Camp for Children run by the Los Angeles Society for	

	the Prevention of Tuberculosis for 200 children over the course of the summer ("Open-Air Camp Gives Children Fresh Start: Tuberculosis Society Plans Extension of Its Work for the Handicapped" 1918)	
1918 - Nov	*California Eagle* article says that Grove Street Park became the exclusive park for black children; attendance of other parks was restricted (Kelley 1984)	
1919 - Apr	Pasadena organizes chapter of NAACP with John R. Wright was the first president (Kelley 1984).	
1919 – May	Pasadena officially annexes area north of Devil's Gate (City of Pasadena 2003)	Los Angeles County Flood Control District begins construction of Devil's Gate Dam (Los Angeles County Flood Control District 2014)
1919 – Jun	Busch Gardens closes and Lily Busch asks her agent to try to sell the estate and gardens. City commissioner A.L. Hamilton says that the city should make the Lower Gardens part of an Arroyo Park ("Busch Gardens Now for Sale" 1919; "Strive to Keep Garden Open" 1919).	
1919 - Aug		Construction begins on a small amphitheater in the Lower Arroyo below the intersection of Bradford Street and South Arroyo Drive ("Brush Fire Aids Workers" 1919).
1919 - Nov	City names the area behind Devil's Gate rock formation "Oak Grove Park" ("Park is Named in Budget Books" 1919).	West Side Improvement Association voted to raise $30,000 from homeowners to purchase east side of the Arroyo rim between Colorado and Columbia Streets

		("May Acquire Arroyo Seco Lands" 1919; "Will Condemn Arroyo Park Property" 1919)
1919 – Dec	15,000 hear the Los Angeles Symphony Orchestra play at Brookside ("Outdoor Concert Sunday Delights Large Throng at Brookside" 1919)	
1919		City staff build the Rockery into the hillside on the east side of the park, just below Rosemont Avenue. It consists of a waterfall on a terraced hillside with several reflecting pools (Grimes 2007).

Quotes

Hiram Reid on Theodore Roosevelt's reaction to seeing the Arroyo from Arroyo Terrace on May 8, 1903

> "Thence he was driven down Grand avenue: and when his keen eye caught sight of the Arroyo Seco bench and flood plain below, with its abundant foliage and its meandering dry washway, he gave vent to a burst of enthusiasm, and exclaimed: 'What a splendid natural park you have right here! O, Mr. Mayor, don't let them spoil that! Keep it just as it is!' (Reid 1904)

Los Angeles Times reporting on the possibility of the Arroyo becoming an industrial district

> "According to rumors in South Pasadena and Garvanza, the entire Arroyo Seco, including all the beautiful territory from the electric bridge, below the ostrich farm, and almost to Devil's Gate, is in danger of being converted into a manufacturing site. Several men are now said to be getting estimates on the arroyo holdings, with the view of establishing factories."
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> "There are many handsome homes on the arroyo bluffs, both in Pasadena and in Garvanza, and it is to be hoped that the proposition of making the big valley a public park will prove successful. With its great old oaks and sycamores, it would make an

ideal beauty spot, but if studded with smokestacks, tanks and factories, it would in time become an eyesore" ("Park Project In Danger: Arroyo Seco May Become A Manufacturing Site" 1906)

Councilman T.J. Ashby speaking about the Arroyo Seco Park Association at a Board of Trade Meeting at Hotel Maryland in 1906

"One of our dreams," said he, "has been to secure the Arroyo Seco and make of it an immense park and playground for the city. I think we are nearer to realizing that dream than ever before. To us has been left the task of making a reality of it. That is what we must do now. The matter has been taken up with energy and has met with popular approval. Articles of incorporation for an Association to handle the project have been filed and as soon as they are received the committees will be ready to go to work to secure for Pasadena what will be one of the fairest and most beautiful natural parks in the world" ("Social Gathering of Pasadena Board of Trade" 1906).

Los Angeles Times reporting on debate about managing flood control with keeping a wild stream in the Arroyo

"One of the chief engineering questions to be settled in the construction of the park is the handling of the storm water. Though at most times of the year there is only a small stream flowing through the arroyo, there are certain times during the winter when the water rushes down in floods, but there is little danger that the roads would be washed out even were a suitable drain not built. There is a strong objection, too, to the construction of any drain which will confine the water too much, as the stream which ordinarily flows through the creek bed is one of the attractions of the arroyo. For this reason, the planting of trees has been suggested as a solution of the difficulty" ("Park Project Taking Shape: Arroyo Seco May Be Planted To Various Trees" 1906).

Pasadena Evening Star reporting on the hog farms in the Arroyo

"Several hog ranches exist in the Arroyo Seco, partly in South Pasadena and partly in the strip of county territory adjoining Garvanza. One of them adjoins the city limits of Pasadena at the southeast corner, and is partly in that city. These ranches have been there for many years in some instances, and they are the dumping grounds for all kinds of swill and carrion. Slaughter-house products have been brought to feed the hogs in some instances, and the stench has been most abominable. On some of these ranches there were epidemics of cholera and large numbers of hogs, some unburied, were allowed to rot on the soil. Their carcasses were in evidence for months" ("Hog Farms Menace Lower Valley of Arroyo Seco" 1906).

Los Angeles Times reporting on air pollution from the Lowe Gas Works below the Garvanza bluffs

> "Every one is familiar with the stinking gas works near the county bridge. With heavy black smoke rising like a pall against the bosom of the cliff, with noxious fumes vomited from ugly-looking vents, the familiar nuisance is almost under the noses of the artist colony, whose beautiful homes crown the high ridges on either side." ("Can Women Save Beautiful Arroyo?" 1906)

Charles Frederick Holder on steelhead trout from *Life in the Open*

> "Some idea of the beauties of these resorts can be had by a four-mile ride from Pasadena, at the head of the San Gabriel Valley. The town lies on the bank of the Arroyo Seco, which abounded in trout for almost its entire length some years ago, but they have been forced to the upper ranges" (Holder 1906, 86-87)

Pasadena Star reporting on support for turning the Arroyo into a park for children

> "The most encouraging thing about this work is that the majority of the owners of the Arroyo lands are in hearty sympathy with the plan of creating a large park for the many thousands of children who will soon be living on both sides of the Arroyo and within a mile or so of it. These owners already take pleasure in anticipating the great amount of real happiness that will prevail there on Saturdays after the trees are grown up and a special car service is provided, as it doubtless will be." ("More Land Gained for Arroyo Park" 1911)

Pasadena Star reporting on the desire to create a wooded landscape in the Arroyo similar to New England or Wisconsin

> "Even the priceless of the Arroyo may easily be ruined by the selection of a landscape gardener so obtuse as not to see clearly that any conventional treatment of the Arroyo would spoil it. All exotic trees, shrubs and flowers should be religiously excluded from any scheme for the Arroyo's development. What is wanted is an old-fashioned New England or Wisconsin woods with a few trails cut through it for pedestrians and equestrians and perhaps a single carriage drive meandering lengthwise through the Arroyo and cross the river bed at rare intervals on some sort of rustic bridge. Anything like formal lawns and walks, above all, formal flower beds and clumps of more or less exotic shrubbery should be religiously debarred. We have artificiality enough--too much, indeed--in our city streets and home grounds. What Pasadena sadly needs--more so than any other American city of her population and anything like her pretentiousness--is an old-fashioned 'woods,' where the native of the New England and middle states can lose himself and imagine himself a boy again on a beechnutting, chestnutting or trout fishing tramp"

"The simple concession to artificiality which might be allowed would be an artificial lake, which could be made at comparatively small cost. And by all means let there be a retired spot, completely surrounded by an all but impenetrable tangle, but thoroughly policed, where the Pasadena small boy could be supplied with a boy's natural birthright--the old 'swimming hole.' The boy who grows up in Pasadena at present with no woods to tramp in and no 'swimmin' hole,' deep enough to submerge his body to say nothing of diving in, is genuinely to be pitied." ("Outdoor Schools and Parks are Favored" 1911)

Arroyo Craftsman Magazine editorial advocating for a carefully designed Arroyo park and parkway that looks unkept and wild

"It is not to be molested or desecrated by tawdry architecture, cement walks, marble statuary or anything set or artificial: the projected improvements are to consist merely of grubbing out some underbrush and of outlining, grading and granite-topping a driveway over which every sort of vehicle can travel and making paths through the woodland fragrance and loveliness. The city will also plant trees, shrubs and flowers indigenous to the hills, mountains, fields and deserts of southern California, segregating the varieties so that they can be studied logically and easily. Quaint log cabins will be placed here and there and banked with ferns, rustic seats will be scattered about and drinking fountains designed after old-time wells with oak moss-covered buckets are to be provided. Rough stone fireplaces where picnic parties may brew coffee or fry bacon and eggs in true camp fashion may be another innovation of this unusual public park" ("Parks for the People: California's Wisdom in Converting her Ancient Forests into Modern Playgrounds" 1912, 522).

"While the city parks with their smooth lawns, landscape gardens, perfect walks and drives are a delight to the people, the Arroyo Seco Park will surpass them all, because it will be wild and free, untrammeled by the conventional laws, just Nature with all her kindness, simplicity, quiet and restfulness. In one of thousands of secluded bowers of greenery a family can hide for a long happy day, alone and undisturbed. If they have no home garden, they can find one here, for all the park acres, the trees, the flowers, the hills, the stream, the sky, the sunlight will belong to them. Townspeople and visiting strangers can enjoy equal privileges and possession, while artists, botanists and biologists will all find the Arroyo Seco Park a rich field for study, research, inspiration and rest" ("Parks for the People: California's Wisdom in Converting her Ancient Forests into Modern Playgrounds" 1912, 524).

Arroyo Craftsman Magazine editorial discussing the positive impact an Arroyo park will have on children

There is a clear emphasis on the impact of these spaces on children: "The children can build stone houses and sand houses. They can study the methods and manners of the birds and other small interesting wood folk. They will have the opportunity to learn the secrets of the everyday lives of wild creatures, to become friends and comrades in a way that will curb the youthful instinct to tease and kill, and cultivate instead the desire to protect. They can romp and frolic in the wide spaces, for there will be few

restrictions in the form of signs. Little feet may be muddy or dusty, and laughing faces smudged; they can shout as much as they like, and there will be no one to protest, for there is ample space for noise, or for quiet. Indeed, the influences of such environment will be too far-reaching to catalogue" ("Parks for the People: California's Wisdom in Converting her Ancient Forests into Modern Playgrounds" 1912, 523).

Gussie Packard Dubois, letter to the editor of the *Pasadena Star* prior to 1913 bond election

"What will the next chapter be? Shall we take this gift and use it for broadening and deepening of life, or shall we turn it to commercial ends?"

***

"Stretching before our very doors, it is accessible alike to rich and poor, a trail of Peace, the Arroyo Seco, where God drew his finger over the land and left it a bit of His own in the midst of the throng. The birds love it, the children love it, it is ours for the keeping. Shall we let it slip through our fingers?" (Dubois 1913).

George A. Damon, Caltech Dean of Engineering, discusses an Arroyo stadium in speech to the Women's Civic League of Pasadena

"Then that old wooden Tournament grandstand must be knocked down. but to build a permanent. adequate. and beautiful structure in its place will cost hundreds of thousands of dollars. There are a number of sites in this vicinity suitable for a side-hill stadium. Before we use our hammers on the present stand it would seem wise to look about us and see if we cannot find a natural setting for our most beautiful annual Tournament of Roses entertainment" (Women's Civic League of Pasadena 1915, 2)

Los Angeles Times reporting on the benefits to groundwater of installing the Devil's Gate dam

"One of the [the] great benefits of the dam and reservoir when completed will be the forced seepage of millions of gallons of water through the porous gravel beds on the east side of the arroyo above the work. This will increase the water level throughout the entire San Gabriel Valley, permitting the introduction of more wells and increased irrigation from these if needed at any time." ("Work on Great Devil's Gate Dam Launched: Rock Crushing for Big Arroyo Seco Job to Start Immediately" 1916).

Los Angeles Times describing the picturesque quality of the area behind Devil's Gate

"Across the Arroyo thousands of live oaks add a pastoral touch to a view somewhat too austere in its suggestion. The naked polished rock and stone and gravel of the dry stream tell at present only the story of nature's delight in tearing up the beauty she

first created, while the steep, solid mountains speak of a region of stillness and solitude hidden behind their unwritten sign, 'verboten.'"

"The many shades of green shrubs and bushes and other vegetation, however, climbing everywhere over the slopes of the mesa, the soft effect of the rounded hills and the long line of clustered live oaks relieve the austerity of the landscape. Among the sagebrush and wild buckthorn flowers of all shapes and colors are still blooming. In grateful contrast to the sharp lights and shadows in the foreground a warm haze tones down the distance and mellows the beauty of the scene."

"Even with the stony bed of the Arroyo in the center of the picture the landscape is one to stir the heart of any lover of nature's matchless handiwork. What the effect will be when a sheet of water, sparkling in the sunlight, reflecting in its depths the blue sky above, stretches from the green eastern slopes to the oak groves in the west, only those who will live to see the completion of the Devil's Gate dam can adequately realize." ("Devil's Gate Dam" 1916).

Myron Hunt, noted architect and resident of Arroyo Terrace, discusses the goals for the Arroyo Park Plan of 1918

"The poor man's paradise is a place where climate and conditions make life possible and pleasant at a minimum of cost, and where the life-giving recreations of outdoor exercise are bountifully provided and easily obtained. This will no longer be possible in Pasadena if the heritage of beauty, so long held in trust for us by Nature, is allowed to remain or become the property of individuals" (Hunt et al. 1918)

"The great crowd which turned to our parks after seeing the Tournament of Roses on the first of January, brought emphatically to our attention the necessity of making the Arroyo Park and all its varied attractions at Brookside, a wonderful new feature of Pasadena's winter and summer life. But unless we bestir ourselves, our artists and our horsemen, our nature lovers, who can still walk, and our bungalow dwellers will have been crowded off the most beautiful section of the city's environs, and ‘no admission’ will greet all who try to forget their cares and troubles by close contact with Nature in the natural resting place good fortune set within the confines of this favored town" (Hunt et al. 1918)

Emmanuel Mische, landscape architect, suggesting a landscape design for the Central Arroyo

"Corrective operations will largely consist of the removal of some walls and fences, discontinuing cultivating agricultural crops, and to recover with suitable vegetation certain areas now sparsely planted, or even entirely devoid of plant growth. In the second section it is proposed to confine the Arroyo to a permanent channel by the use of boulder embankments varying in batter, height and in spacing. A course suggested by topography is to be followed which, while tolerably straight, will, nevertheless, show a

series of bends. By this means, along with planting of drooping shrubbery on the top margin of the rock work, it is intended that the hardness of the channel's sides and the objectionable glare of the dry bed during the long summer months shall be greatly relieved, and under no occasion will it be possible to see at one glance , and for a length of several miles, a wide, stony, white straight band harshly dividing an area of greens in the meadows" (Mische 1922b, 559)

"Low knolls of varied shapes are to border the waterway at points, and these will merge off into the flat meadows or unite with minor rises jutting out from promontories of the side banks. The grading is calculated to so distribute the water in the contingency of accident at the dam, after the flood control shall have proceeded that far, so that the water will be spread over a wide area of foliage covered land. By these means dangers of erosion and the destructive "washes " will be obviated" (Mische 1922b, 560)

"One of the surest and swiftest means of protecting the park would be to inculcate into the popular mind the idea that foreign vegetation is out of place, and representatives of the native flora the only proper material to use. There would be at points, and to a limited extent, opportunities to utilize other than those indigenous to the locality, but the exception would better be overlooked and the attention centered upon the general truth" (Mische 1922b, 560).

Mark Frank Biedebach describes gravel mining in the Central Arroyo next to their ranch from *My memory of the Arroyo Seco from my childhood*

“Great boulders and trees would come down the river. At no time, until approximately 1913, did the river overflow and wash out our land. But approximately 1913, the water overflowed and took out about three or four acres of top soil. The sand and gravel was sold to developers of the streets and homes in Pasadena. Wagon after wagon loaded the sand and gravel for delivery to Pasadena. Later two rock crushers located down there and the horse-drawn wagons were supplied with whatever material they wanted” (Biedebach 1983).

1920-1939

Summary

As February turned into March in 1938, a five-day storm deposited a torrent across Southern California (Masters 2017). Ten inches fell in the lowlands and over 30 inches in the mountains, a portion of which rushed down the Arroyo Seco's canyon and began to back up behind Devil's Gate Dam as the release of water from the dam's base failed to keep up with the rising current. The water topped the spillway and overwhelmed the flood control channel that work crews had carefully constructed four years earlier. In a flash, sheets of water swept through the Central Arroyo. A third of Brookside Golf Course washed away ("Thousands View Arroyo Torrent" 1938). On Wednesday evening, March 2nd, park superintendent William Nichols watched the water begin to fill the Rose Bowl football stadium like a bathtub. At 11 p.m., water covered the bottom four rows of stadium seats, and he went to call the City Manager to tell him that the city's most celebrated piece of infrastructure wouldn't survive the night. Then, for no apparent reason, the floodwaters made a hard right turn around the stadium, as if the River decided that erasing the stadium from the Arroyo floodplain wasn't worth the trouble ("Only Miracle Saved Rose Bowl in Flood" 1938). The water continued toward the Los Angeles River, damaging roads, bridges, and unfortunate buildings set too close to the edge of the River.

The period from 1920 to 1939 is when most of the major set pieces for Pasadena's Arroyo parklands appear on the stage. The most important of these was the Rose Bowl football stadium that hosted its first game in the fall of 1922. The Rose Bowl was not just a football stadium. It represented the practical and symbolic culmination of fifty years of boosterism by city the leaders. Almost since its founding as the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, Pasadena's leaders hitched their prosperity to attracting and transforming

wealthy tourists into affluent residents. The Rose Parade and the Tournament of Roses' annual football game was the highest manifestation of the myth that Pasadena was a paradise where roses could bloom in January and sunny outdoor recreation was a year-round possibility. Moving the game from Tournament Park and its rickety grandstand in Central Pasadena to a modern stadium transformed the Arroyo from a liminal space that at the time was a literal dumping ground for the city to the symbolic center of economic and cultural life. The Ku Klux Klan certainly understood this when they asked the city to hold their initiation ceremony in the Rose Bowl in 1924, a request that the City Manager thankfully turned down ("Klan Attempts Texas Tactics" 1924). The geometry of the stadium amplified this effect. From the air, the stadium created a veritable bullseye, its circular shape surrounding a rectangular stage upon which contests of male violence determined victors and vanquished. A more apt ritual to reinforce the social and economic norms of American society would be hard to conjure. NBC radio broadcasts of the game began in 1927 and extended the reach of the happy fantasy Pasadena worked to sell to the rest of the country.[159] But the growing prominence of this spectacle put the deep ironies underneath this story on display for the world and made them difficult for local residents to ignore. The Arroyo increasingly became the stage where the community grappled with these ironies as it stumbled through the roaring '20s and the Great Depression.

The flood of 1938 exposed the fact that the Rose Bowl only became possible with the construction of Devil's Gate Dam, the inaugural construction project of Los Angeles County's Flood Control District in 1920. Based on the experience with Devil's Gate Dam, the District would team with the Army Corps of Engineers to plumb virtually all of the river systems feeding into the L.A. basin

[159] Two months before the 1938 flood, Ronald Reagan was the radio announcer calling the 1938 game in which the California Golden Bears defeated the Alabama Crimson Tide 13 to 0.

(Orsi 2004). The dam effectively ended the Arroyo's ability to support a fully functional riparian forest or alluvial scrub habitat, which depended on perpetual, if irregular, flooding and sediment deposition. The construction of the dam and its allied flood control channel allowed for the construction of the stadium, the municipal golf course, permanent roads, bridges, parking lots, and buildings, everything necessary to the Central Arroyo as a fully function recreation space. The impact on the ecology becomes more pronounced by looking at graphs showing the dropping water table through this period facilitated by more powerful pumping technology (Stein et al. 2007). By the end of this period, Pasadena took legal action to protect its rights to the Raymond Basin aquifer, leading to the first adjudicated groundwater management agreement in the state (Brick 2012). The first irony that a discerning public must come to appreciate is that a recreation space focused upon health and wellness owes its existence to the death of a healthy riparian system and the desiccation of the native landscape to irrigate orchards and gardens of thirsty, exotic vegetation.

The second irony involves the Rose Bowl itself. For boosters, the stadium was an economic investment, a way to cash in on the interest and popularity of their annual football game. Before the Rose Bowl, the number who wanted to watch the game but couldn't get a grandstand ticket continued to grow. Financially, the boosters argued the stadium was sure to pay off. But from the start, the Rose Bowl needed the City to rescue it from financial ruin. The original plan was to sell seats for future Rose Bowl games to pay for the construction costs that many believed would reach a million dollars. By choosing to dig down into the floodplain, architect Myron Hunt was able to keep the cost under $350,000. Still, a review of the Tournament of Roses accounts showed that they only raised $180,000 through the sale of seats and a large portion of this consisted of pledges rather than cash in hand ("Urge Action on Arroyo Stadium" 1922). To complete the project, the City sold the stadium to the Tournament of Roses for $13,000 with an option to

repurchase it in the future. This allowed the Tournament of Roses to take out a loan to finish construction ("Vast Stadium Awaits Inaugural Throngs" 1922). Today, most leaders celebrate the Rose Bowl as an irreplaceable icon of Pasadena. But the failure of a modest bond measure in 1923 that would have paid for the land between the Rose Bowl and Brookside Park sent a message that the community was not on board with the stadium push ("Three Bond Issues Win In Pasadena" 1923). Outside the circle of Pasadena's boosters, making the Rose Bowl area a more accessible and attractive park space was not a priority.

The ironies underneath the city's broader economic strategy are also on display in the Arroyo during this period. First, is the fact that the City constructed the Rose Bowl campus, a lynchpin in its leisure-focused, tourism-based economic strategy, on top of piles of garbage. Rock crushers and gravel companies had excavated large pits around the Central Arroyo, and the Parks Superintendent decided to use the non-combustible rubbish to fill these holes that he then covered up and planted with trees and grass ("Final Report Upon Parks Filed" 1921; "Present City Dump is Soon to Become Attractive Place" 1921). Second, the Arroyo became a source of jobs for those in dire economic straits. In 1926, the City set up a work camp in the Arroyo for prisoners in its jail; ten years later the Civilian Conservation Corps established a camp above Devil's Gate Dam in what was then Oak Grove Park (McKee 2023; "Prisoners Escape from Work Camp" 1926). Throughout the Depression, the Arroyo jobs provided a wage for rebuilding walls, creating trails, installing picnic areas, and most importantly, constructing the flood control channel through the Central Arroyo. The conspicuous performance of these jobs in one of the richest communities in the country was an incongruity probably not lost on members of the work crews digging ditches next to the stadium. It was during this period that the Colorado Street Bridge, an icon for the city before the Rose Bowl, earned the name "Suicide Bridge," as desperate individuals used its span to hurl themselves into the

canyon across from the Vista del Arroyo Hotel on the Arroyo's eastern rim, then at the height of its popularity as a getaway for affluent snowbirds and Hollywood stars hoping to escape the press (Scheid Lund 1999). At the other end of the Lower Arroyo, the Busch family sold its upper gardens for subdivisions in 1937 and closed the lower gardens to the public for the final time in 1938 (Logan 2020; "Noted Busch Gardens to be Sold" 1937). Maintaining the grounds was too expensive, but use of the grounds for filming scenes in movies featuring distinctive class messages such as *The Adventures of Robin Hood* and *Age of Innocence* went on into the '40s (Logan 2020).

The ambivalence of the community leaders of the time on the subject of roads in, around, and across the Arroyo is also instructive. The 1918 plan that provided the template for decision-making in the Arroyo had flatly rejected a road in the Lower Arroyo and sought to minimize roads in the Central Arroyo to allow for a series of open meadows (Hunt et al. 1918). But as the popularity of automobiles took hold, many argued that proximity to parkways would increase property values. This was the thinking of the large landowners in Linda Vista and the San Rafael Hills, who in 1925 advocated for a multi-span bridge across the Arroyo connecting Washington Boulevard on the east with Lida Street on west ("New Arroyo Span Urged at Meeting" 1925). They saw this as the vital link in creating a foothill parkway connecting Glendale with Monrovia and beyond (see appendix 29). Freeways put door-to-door connections between work and home within reach and could be an attractive selling point for future subdivisions. This was also the position of the Pasadena Realty Board in 1925 as they pushed their proposal for a super-boulevard up the Lower Arroyo to reduce the commuting time to downtown Los Angeles ("Realtors Approve 4-track Boulevard in Arroyo Seco; Opposition is Development" 1925). Deed restrictions on some of the properties the city had purchased in the Lower Arroyo prohibited road building and seemingly ended

the discussion ("Bars Motor Traffic on Park Lands" 1925). But in 1929, the newly-formed Regional Planning Commission (RPC) picked up this idea and made the Lower Arroyo their preferred route for the Arroyo Seco Parkway. Led by Ernest Batchelder, the chair of Pasadena's planning commission, whose house overlooked the Lower Arroyo's canyon, neighbors organized the Arroyo Seco Park Protective Association to stop the RPC ("Arroyo Seco Highway to be Fought" 1929). This initiated a decade-long battle that included a city-wide referendum in 1937 endorsing the eventual route that takes the Parkway out of the Arroyo and up into Central Pasadena, preserving the canyon ("Speed Road Action Taken Pasadena Directors Act on Parkway Route as Election Sequel" 1937). This battle foreshadowed future fights over freeways.

A final set of cultural ironies confronted any Arroyo visitor during the 1920s and '30s. This was especially true at Brookside where the City maintained its policy of segregation at the plunge on one side of the park while welcoming integrated baseball teams to play on the other side. These recreation spaces constituted contested territory during this period when the KKK was successful in electing segregationist candidates to the City Council and the Pasadena Realty Board coordinated a campaign of racial covenants and redlining restrictions across the city ("All Ready for Recall: Pasadena's Political Pow-wow Centers in Hunt for Scalps of City" 1925; "Realtors Study Property Topics" 1926). The fact that White leaders couldn't prevent racial mixing in the Arroyo was partially a function of the inability to establish or enforce a color line in the East Arroyo neighborhood above the Rose Bowl (see appendix 28) where White leaders had originally pushed people of color to live (Crimi 1941). Two events at the end of summer of 1939 encapsulate the incongruities of the age. At the end of August in 1939, with African Americans Jackie Robinson and Nate Moreland leading the way, the Pasadena Sox beat Fresno at Brookside Park to capture the state championship for amateur baseball in front of a large multi-

racial crowd ("Title Taken by Pasadena Sox" 1939). The next month, the NAACP lawsuit to desegregate the Brookside Plunge went to trial. The City responded to the suit by firing their African American street sweepers, including Jackie's brother Mack, who had come in second to Jesse Owens in the 200 meters and won the silver medal at the 1936 Berlin Olympics (Shorr 2002).

Between 1920 and 1940, Pasadena's population grew from 45,000 to 82,000, and the Arroyo became the city's stage, where people performed recreation to support their own health and well-being but also to support the mythology of Pasadena exceptionalism and the economic vision of a city perpetually supported by affluent migrants charmed by places like the Arroyo and events like the Rose Parade and its annual football game. But Arroyo visitors of the era received regular reminders of the failure of this vision to provide for everyone, marked especially by desperate individuals ending their lives by jumping from the Colorado Street Bridge. Meanwhile Jackie Robinson, who would later become a national symbol for desegregation, was receiving applause by integrated crowds not only at Brookside Park's baseball diamond but also at the Rose Bowl, where he led the Muir High School and Pasadena Junior College football teams. Today, a bronze statue celebrating his football accomplishments sits in front of the Rose Bowl and the baseball field carries his name (Blackstock 2022). But while he could conquer Pasadena's new, symbolic seat of power, the Rose Bowl football stadium, he couldn't pay a quarter to go swimming at the municipal pool. In the decades to follow, the city would have to decide whether to address these rueful ironies or avoid them in favor of an alternative vision of a prosperous future, one anchored to freeways and allied with multinational corporations that gained increasing power in the postwar era. In the end, the city chose to do a little bit of both.

Timeline

Date	Relevant events	Physical changes to Pasadena's Arroyo parklands
1920 - Jan	Busch Gardens opens for three days over New Years and 150,000 visit ("Pasadena To File Claim" 1920)	
1920 - May	Tournament of Roses decides to build stadium in the Arroyo & Busch Gardens re-open with admission fee to benefit Pasadena Hospital ("Arroyo for Stadium Urged" 1920; Logan 2020)	
1920 – Jun		Los Angeles County Flood Control District finishes construction of Devil's Gate Dam. The original reservoir holds 4,601 acre-feet of water; the original spillway elevation is 1,054 feet (Los Angeles County Flood Control District 2014).
1920 - Jul		Pasadena completes the Brookside Open Air Theater on north facing hill below Arroyo Terrace and formally opens the facility with a production of the *The Merry Wives of Windsor* by the Pasadena Playhouse ("Players Present "Wives of Windsor"" 1920)
1920 - Aug	Pasadena's African American community hosts a two-day fundraiser in the Brookside Open Air Theater for the benefit of a retirement home in Watts. Five thousand people attend the picnic at Brookside during the day and over 1000 African Americans use the Brookside Plunge. The evening programs include a celebration of the	

	poetry of Paul Laurence Dunbar, the Afro-American Concert band of Los Angeles, and a Pageant of Nations ("Negro Pageant of Nations Next Week" 1920; "Thousands of Negroes at Outing" 1920).	
1920 - Oct		City votes to put up fifty platform tents in Brookside for tourists to rent monthly to complement the campground already in Brookside ("Tent City for Tourists to be Built" 1920).
1921 - Jan		City uses non-combustible rubbish to fill in holes that rock and gravel excavators had created in the Arroyo floodplain; the City burns combustible rubbish at the foot of Ventura Street above Devil's Gate ("Final Report Upon Parks Filed" 1921; "Present City Dump is Soon to Become Attractive Place" 1921)
1921 - Apr		Former dump area in Lower Arroyo turned into the Friendship Forum ("Final Report Upon Parks Filed" 1921)
1921 - Sept		City fills in large holes next to flood control channel at Brookside Park with rubbish and turn the area into a parking lot ("Reclaim Acreage at Brookside by Means of Rubbish Dumping" 1921)
1921		D.M. Linnard expands Vista del Arroyo Hotel to 200 rooms (R. Hudson 1985)

1922 - Feb	Review of the Tournament of Roses accounts shows they raised only $180,000 in pledges for the $300-350,000 needed for Rose Bowl stadium through sale of advance seats ("Urge Action on Arroyo Stadium" 1922)	
1922 - March		Straightening of channel begins across from Brookside Park with oaks and sycamores planted to stabilize banks ("Important Work in Arroyo Seco Started" 1922)
1922 - April	Pasadena, South Pasadena, and Los Angeles begin to coordinate park and parkway planning based on traffic and flood control rather than aesthetics (Whitnall 1922)	
1922 - Aug	South Pasadena approves $100,000 bond measure to purchase parkland in Arroyo Seco while Pasadena passes a $200,000 bond drafted by the Chamber of Commerce to pay for flood control and road improvements around the Rose Bowl ("Vast Stadium Awaits Inaugural Throngs" 1922; Historic Resources Group 2014)	
1922 - Aug	Chamber & Merchants Association sponsor field day at Brookside for 20,000 people ("Pasadena To Stage Field Day" 1922)	
1922 - Sept	City sells Rose Bowl Stadium to the Tournament of Roses for $13,000 with an option to repurchase the stadium. This allows the Tournament to use the stadium	

	as collateral for a loan to complete construction ("Trouble About Stadium Over" 1922)	
1922 - Oct	UC Berkeley defeats USC in the first football game at Rose Bowl	Crews complete initial Rose Bowl construction with a horseshoe shape open at the south end of the stadium.
1922		Brookside Park improvements include moving the public campground north of the Rose Bowl Stadium in order to construct a third baseball diamond; rebuilding five tennis courts, a playground with a large concession house, places for checkers, chess, croquet, cards, and quoits, and a dining room with a piano and victrola music ("Many Recent Additions to Park" 1922; Grimes 2007)
1922	City creates a Planning Commission that contracts with the firm of Bennett, Parsons, and Frost from Chicago to come up with a master plan for the city (Scheid 2010)	
1923 - Jan	Rose Bowl dedication	
1923 - Mar	City forms an assessment district along Lower Arroyo to raise $40,000 to buy out seven landowners ("No Protests are Filed on Arroyo Seco Land Plans" 1923)	
1923 - Apr	Voters do not approve $75,000 to buy land between stadium and Brookside but approve money for the Holly Street Bridge ("Three Bond Issues Win In Pasadena" 1923)	

1923 - May		Construction of an additional pool at the Brookside Plunge ("Shovel is to be Used in New Pool" 1923)
1923	City purchases the Biedebach 10-acre ranch at the location of Brookside Restaurant (Biedebach 1983)	
1923	Four of five voters pass a $3.5 million bond issue to implement the Bennett plan for the City of Pasadena, which includes building City Hall, the Central Library, and the Civic Auditorium (Scheid 2010)	San Rafael Bridge completed and open (Grimes 2007)
1923	African American leaders firmly reject a proposal to build a nursery, a kindergarten, and boarding school for homeless black children that would contain separate recreation facilities on the grounds of Lincoln School (Kelley 1984).	
1924 - Feb	The city gains 25 acres of Arroyo land around the Rose Bowl through condemnation, including thirteen acres belonging to the Dontanville auto camp on the west side of the Arroyo above Brookside Park. The rest comprises what is now Area H; remaining parcels to obtain include a small poultry ranch near the Rose Bowl and an assortment of lots near Dakota (Howard) Street ("Arroyo Property Price of $111,400 is Fixed by Jury" 1924)	

1924 - Mar	Head of Los Angeles County Flood Control District, James Regan, proposes a $40 million dam at Brookside, but the City Commissioners immediately rejects the plan that would have flooded the Rose Bowl (Brick)	Caltech students blow up old Linda Vista Bridge to be replaced by Holly Street Bridge (Wayte 1992)
1924 - Jun	KKK begins drive to recall City Commissioners after the City Manager refuses to allow them to hold initiation ceremony in the Rose Bowl ("Klan Attempts Texas Tactics" 1924)	
1924 – Jul	KKK holds a large meeting at 20 West Colorado to rally support for the recall campaign ("Klan Meeting Has Large Attendance" 1924).	
1924		Dontanville Auto Camping area on east side of Arroyo near the Rose Bowl removed ("Beautiful Lawns are to Transform former Dontanville Grounds." 1924)
1924	Drought causes Pasadena to stop water spreading program after having replenished 20,000-acre feet of water (Brick 2001)	
1924	City Manager Koiner announces plan to landscape Arroyo parklands with wildflowers and native plants (Brick 2019)	
early 1920s		City improves the largest picnic area in Brookside with walls made of Arroyo stone and built-in barbeques (Grimes 2007)

1925 - Apr		New Holly Street Bridge completed and opens (Grimes 2007)
1925 - May	Linda Vista Improvement Association proposes $300,000 bridge across the Arroyo connecting Lida and Washington ("New Arroyo Span Urged at Meeting" 1925)	
1925 - May	Bennett, Parsons, and Frost submit their plan for Pasadena to the City's Planning Commission	City of Pasadena purchases two-acres of Busch Gardens for a trail to accommodate equestrians; city agrees to build a fence on top of the retaining wall separating the Lower Gardens from the channel (Brick 2019)
1925 - June	Realty Board unveils plan for Arroyo-L.A. super-boulevard down the Lower Arroyo; West Pasadena residents object and note deed restrictions on the Lower Arroyo parkland ("Bars Motor Traffic on Park Lands" 1925; "Realtors Approve 4-track Boulevard in Arroyo Seco; Opposition is Development" 1925)	
1925 - Jun	American Legion drops bid to use Brookside Park for dances to raise money for wounded veterans after objections by local churches ("Flood of Protests Causes Legion to Drop Plans for Brookside 'Jitney' Dances" 1925)	
1925 – Jun	Slate of City Commissioner candidates backed by the KKK win a majority; City Manager Wellington Koiner	

	resigns, and the city reinstates police officers belonging to the KKK to the force ("Pasadena Civic Strife Spreads" 1925).	
1925 - Sep		City engineer W.C. Earle announces the completion of the flood control channel below Devil's Gate Dam past Linda Vista ("Channel to Guard Park from Flood" 1925)
1925	Altadena residents fight a proposal to build a highway bridge across the mouth of Arroyo Seco Canyon and convert Loma Alta into a highway ("Reviews Altadena's Fight Against East-West Road as Arroyo Bottleneck Solution Unfolds" 1941)	
1925		Construction crews finish the first nine holes of the Brookside Golf Course (Grimes 2007)
1926 - Apr	Pasadena Realty Board coordinates racial covenant and redlining campaign with several neighborhood associations ("Realtors Study Property Topics" 1926)	
1926 - Oct	Tournament of Roses Association takes over scheduling of Rose Bowl subject to approval by the City Manager in an effort to increase use of the stadium ("To Make Bowl Popular" 1926)	Pasadena gets $75,000 from county gas tax and spends $40,000 to extend Arroyo Drive north of Westminster past the Rose Bowl ("Pasadena Asks Auto Tax Share" 1926)
1926 - Dec	City of Los Angeles directs its engineers to draw up plans to define the Arroyo channel so work on Arroyo	

	Seco Parkway can get started ("Arroyo Drive Plan Speeded" 1926)	
1926		Chuck Williams constructs Arroyo Seco Stables under York Street Bridge
1926		Pasadena maintains a work camp in the Arroyo for prisoners in the municipal jail ("Prisoners Escape from Work Camp" 1926)
1927 - Sep	City buys 10 1/2 acres in the Lower Arroyo from the Campbell-Johnston family, a small poultry farm near the Rose Bowl they will use for stadium parking, and two lots near Dakota (Howard) Street ("Arroyo Land is Bought By City" 1927)	
1927 – Dec	City Directors appropriate $125,000 from the Municipal Power and Light to build the new municipal golf course in the Arroyo. Upset citizens sue to stop the appropriation of these funds ("Recall Threat In Crown City: Board Of City Directors Are Under Fire" 1927; "Asks Court To Prevent Using Fund" 1928)	
1927		City widens, extends, and improves Arroyo Drive, putting in storm drains, gutters, and curbs for the first time (Grimes 2007)
1928 - Aug		Improvements on roads feeding into the Central Arroyo initiated with county auto tax money

1928 - Sep	After Lily Busch's death, Busch Gardens closes. The family offers Lower Busch Gardens to the City as a park, but it refuses despite pleas neighbors and the Pasadena Realty Board. Residents organize a funding drive to purchase the Lower Gardens for the city ("Asking Busch Gardens be Retained" 1928; "Busch Gardens' Gates Closed" 1928)	
1928 – Nov		First 18 holes of Brookside Golf Course opens ("City Course Ranks High as Best" 1928)
1928	Founding of Pasadena Target Archers who practice in the Lower Arroyo on the east side of the channel near today's AIDS Memorial Grove (Grimes 2007)	City fills in the Rose Bowl Stadium's horseshow making it an enclosed stadium
		City completes final nine holes of first golf course with money from the Municipal Light and Power Department (Grimes 2007)
1928	Pasadena plays a leading role in forming the Metropolitan Water District (Blomquist 1992)	
1929 - Mar	Meeting at Ernest Batchelder's house to organize opposition to Regional Planning Commission's (RPC) plan for 100-foot parkway through Lower Arroyo. The neighbors form the Arroyo Seco Park Protective Association that advocates for the parkway go up Avenue 64 or leave the Arroyo at Monterey Road and end in central Pasadena ("Arroyo Seco Highway is	

	Opposed" 1929; "Arroyo Seco Highway to be Fought" 1929)	
1929 – Mar	Pasadena chapter of the NAACP forms a “relations committee” to deal with the situation regarding public parks, playgrounds and the Brookside pool (Kelley 1984)	
1929 - Apr	Pasadena Planning Commission opposes RPC route and directs city engineer Earle to propose alternate route while the Chamber of Commerce meets at Friendship Forum to survey RPC route and make recommendations to city ("Arroyo Seco Highway is Opposed" 1929; "Make Survey of Arroyo Project" 1929)	
1929 - Apr		City moves dump to the Arroyo at the base of Ventura Street in Altadena ("City Dump Move Approved by City" 1929)
1929 - May		City dedicates the Brookside golf course clubhouse designed by Myron Hunt ("New Clubhouse Formally Opened" 1929)
1929 – Sep	Michio Itō, with the Hollywood Symphony, the Pasadena choral society, and dancers from across Southern California perform at Rose Bowl for 5,000 people ("Big Pageant is Marked Success" 1929).	

1929	Reverend W. D. Carter of Friendship Church organizes a protest to integrate the pools in the two high schools (Hudson 2020)	
1920s		Rock lined trails installed below Arroyo Terrace (Grimes 2007)
1920s		Raymond Basin water levels falling by ten feet per year (Brick 2001)
1930 – Sep	Pasadena's African American community organizes a benefit gospel concert in the Rose Bowl to raise money so the Pasadena Municipal Band can maintain its summer concert series ("Negro Concert is Arranged for Band" 1930).	
1930	Groundwater extraction accelerates with the advent of turbine pumps (Stein et al. 2007)	
1930	City of Pasadena establishes "International Day" for people of color to use Brookside Plunge on Tuesdays from 2 to 5 p.m. (Shorr 2002).	
1930	Black Pasadenans, under the leadership of Mr. Carl Echols, organize Interracial Forums at the public library and that attracts hundreds of people (Kelley 1984).	

1931		First half of the second golf course completed with money donated by public employees who want to support Depression-era job programs (Grimes 2007)
1932		City clears Central Arroyo land for the second half of the second golf course (Grimes 2007)
1932		Myron Hunt designs and WPA workers build Brookside baseball field (Grimes 2007)
1932		City constructs La Casita del Arroyo as a clubhouse for the Pasadena Garden Club. Myron Hunt designed the building and used wood from the 1932 cycling track in the Rose Bowl. The city demolishes the Arroyo Seco caretaker shack to make way for La Casita. The Garden Club also raises funds to build a continuous trail from the Colorado Street Bridge to Columbia Street; the work includes installing most of the stone retaining walls, steps, tree wells, and drinking fountains seen today. (Grimes 2007)
1932	Busch Gardens manager Edmund Krug offers to lease gardens to Pasadena but City declines offer saying it can't afford the maintenance (Logan 2020)	
1933 - Mar	Chicago White Sox play first spring training games at Brookside Park ("White Sox To Train Here Next Year" 1932)	

1933 - Jul	10,000 people attend Busch Gardens grand re-opening on 2-year lease for Pasadena Civic Relief Association. Music concerts in the Gardens begin (Logan 2020)	Pasadena Board of Directors votes to cut east bank of Arroyo at Washington to cross the Arroyo, partially to support the concept of converting Washington into a segment of a future Foothill freeway to Glendale ("Arroyo's Bank to be Cut for Through Road" 1933)
1934		Depression-era work crews construct trapezoidal flood control channel from Devil's Gate Dam to Holly Street Bridge (Brick 2017a)
1934	Filming of *It Happened One Night* and *Age of Innocence* at Busch Gardens	The River deposits 800,000 cubic yards of sediment behind Devil's Gate Dam the same year the Brown Mountain Fire burns 3,550 acres in the upper watershed (Los Angeles County Flood Control District 2014).
1935 - Jun		City dedicates Bird Sanctuary on the eastern rim of the Arroyo in honor of Miss Emma Dickson, a former missionary who left $45,000 to the City and loved birds. The City spent this money on the Brookside Golf Clubhouse ("City Heads and Civic Leaders Attend Fountain Rites" 1935)
1935	Residents form the Pasadena Roving Archers (Grimes 2007).	The Pasadena Roving Archers construct their first clubhouse in the Lower Arroyo.
1935	Ongoing agitation about segregation at the Brookside Plunge causes the City Recreation Department to propose a separate recreation center for the African American community at the corner of Manzanita and	The River deposits an additional 200,000 cubic yards of sediment behind Devil's Gate Dam (Los Angeles County Flood Control District 2014).

	Mountain; this proposal splits the African American community. This idea eventually grows into the Jackie Robinson Center in the 1960s (Kelley 1984).	
1936 - Jul		The federal government establishes the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) Camp Angeles Crest in Oak Grove Park behind Devil's Gate Dam; Company 903 fights fires, conducts search and rescue operations, and creates a CCC curriculum on erosion control, road building, and other Forest Service skills ("Park Service Action Due on Area" 1935)
1937 - Jan	Upper Busch Gardens sold to Fowler-Modisette for subdivision ("Noted Busch Gardens to be Sold" 1937)	
1937 - Apr	Pasadena voters reject re-routing Arroyo Seco Parkway through Lower Arroyo ("Pasadena Voters Defeat Arroyo Seco Extension" 1937)	
1937 - May	Bill re-routing Arroyo Seco Parkway through the Lower Arroyo passes the Assembly on second vote after Democrats enlist Highway Patrol to pick lawmakers up and bring them to chamber. But the bill dies in the Senate. ("Arroyo Seco Road Routing Change Loses In Senate" 1937; Hanson 1937)	
1937 - Jun		Pasadena Board of Directors approves installation of fencing on Colorado Street Bridge to discourage suicide. Money for the fencing comes from State

		Highway Commission ("Suicide Span Fence Voted" 1937)
1937 - Sep	Sixteen young people of color work with Attorney Loren Miller file claims for $500 each against the city for denying use of the Brookside Plunge ("Sixteen File Plunge Claim" 1937)	
1937 – Oct		Brush fire breaks out in the hills south of Laguna Road above the Arroyo ("Residence Periled by Brush Fire" 1937)
1937	Drop in water level in Pasadena city wells reaches 100 feet since 1922, prompting Pasadena to initiate court action to adjudicate water rights to the Raymond Basin (Blomquist 1992).	
1938 - Mar	Jackie Robinson, only 19, plays in an exhibition game against the Chicago White Sox during their spring training. He goes 2-for-5 and stole a base (Kamka 2019).	Flood water washes Devil's Gate Dam spillway and washes away one third of Brookside Golf Course ("Thousands View Arroyo Torrent" 1938)
1938 - Apr	Last report of Busch Gardens being open to public (Logan 2020)	WPA work crews begin to reconstruct flood channel damaged by flooding (Grimes 2007)
1938 - Oct		Fannie Morrison Horticultural Center opens with newly constructed buildings at the location of the "Big Oak" ("Flower-Show -- 'Pasadena's Magnificent Waif' -- to 'Come Home' After 32-year Wanderings!" 1938)

1938 - Oct	Enlargement of Sheldon Reservoir unearths human remains. Archaeologist Edwin Walker works with the Southwest Museum to remove the remains from 53 burials and 2 cremations. Large crowds gather and some vandalize remains (Shoop 1956; Walker 1952)	*Pasadena Star-News* reports 1100 men are working to finish improvements on the flood control channel below Devil's Gate Dam before rainy season ("Engineers Fear Channel Work May be Washed Out" 1938; "Second Link of Channel Rushed" 1938)
1938		Over the year, floods deposit 1.7 million cubic yards of sediment into Devil's Gate Reservoir, most of which occurs during the storm event at the end of February and beginning of March (Los Angeles County Flood Control District 2014).
1938	Warner Brothers Studios films archery tournament scene from *Adventures of Robin Hood* archery scene at Busch Gardens (Logan 2020)	City reconfigures first golf course and first nine-holes of second golf course after flood damage (second half of second course presumably completed after this (Grimes 2007)
1939 - Jan	Assemblyman Knight from La Cañada introduces a resolution for a survey for road branching from the Arroyo Seco Parkway up through the Lower Arroyo to Devil's Gate; State senate approves the bill in May ("Road Survey Bill Approved" 1939)	
1939 - Mar	Jackie Robinson and Nate Moreland star in exhibition against White Sox at Brookside ("White Sox Play Pasadena Sox Sunday at Brookside" 1939)	

1939 - Jul		WPA builds an intake dam in the northern reach of the Central Arroyo to allow smooth flow from the dam outflow into the flood control channel ("Control Dam's Capacity Twice that of Big Flood" 1939)
1939 - Aug	Pasadena Sox win the California Amateur Baseball Championship at Brookside with Jackie Robinson and Nate Moreland ("Title Taken by Pasadena Sox" 1939).	
1939 - Sep	Trial begins on Pasadena's segregation policy at Brookside Plunge. Thomas Griffith, Jr., the President of the Los Angeles Branch of the NAACP, represents six plaintiffs denied admission to the pool based on their skin color (Shorr 2002)	
1939 - Nov	City takes bids on repairing flood damage on Arroyo Boulevard between the Holly Street Bridge and Seco Street, including putting in cement curbs, gutters, and sidewalks ("Bids on Resurfacing of Boulevard Called" 1939)	
1939 - Dec	MGM studios films BBQ scene from *Gone with the Wind* at Busch Gardens (Logan 2020)	WPA work crews complete new Central Arroyo flood control channel (Grimes 2007)
1939		Crews complete West Washington Bridge over Arroyo Seco (Wayte 1992)

Late 1930s		City converts Brookside Parking lot I from an open field to a modern parking area with landscaping in between rows of cars (Grimes 2007)
Late 1930s		Works Progress Administration takes over channelization of the Arroyo Seco as part of construction of Arroyo Seco Parkway. They complete the final section in late 1940 (Brick 2017a)
Late 1930s		Revelation that City prisoners who worked in the park had been living in a dilapidated building near Brookside Park and the Rose Bowl for 12 years leads to threats of a recall election and City Manager C.W. Koiner explaining that they had planned to house the prisoners in a house on Marengo Street, but the neighbors' protests forced them to find another solution (Gally 2013a).

Quotes

Pasadena Star-News reports on the consensus to build a stadium in the Arroyo

> "That the Stadium proposed for Pasadena's great football matches on New Year's and for other big outdoor events be situated in the Arroyo Seco, as the most logical site from all angles, was the unanimous consensus of opinion expressed at a discussion of the Stadium project last night."

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"Not only was the trend of comment at last night's gathering unanimously in favor of the Arroyo as the site, because of the numerous natural advantages it has over the only other site available--the present Tournament park--but it was generally conceded that the Stadium could be made well-night self-supporting."

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"There was no doubt in the minds of those present last night, judging from the informal expressions made by all that Pasadena needs and should have a public stadium; an amphitheater seating at least 60,000 persons, properly situated, adequately equipped and architecturally attractive in which may be held the great football classics of the Rose Tournament, which annually attracts thousands of visitors and spreads the fame of Pasadena and her delightful winters to the four corners of the earth, and for the holding of other great outdoor events."

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"The natural scenic beauty of the Arroyo and the contemplated plans of the city for the development of the whole Arroyo region as a permanent natural park for the municipality, strongly commended the Arroyo as the best possible site for the Stadium. Without exception those present last evening declared themselves in favor of the Arroyo as against Tournament Park" ("Arroyo for Stadium Urged" 1920).

Pasadena Star-News reports on the filling in of portions of the Arroyo with rubbish

"Steps are being taken by Jacob Albrecht, city park superintendent, to do away with smoke nuisance in the Arroyo Seco, and to this end he has ordered that in the future all combustible matter, such as brush, etc. is to be carted off to Devil's Gate. Dumping of non-combustible refuse in the present place will be continued only until the enormous hole left by the owners of the rock crushers after years of operation has been nearly filled up. When this is done, a substantial filling of good soil will be spread over the filled area to bring it up to level, then trees and shrubs will be planted with the idea of converting what is now well nigh a picture of barrenness and desolation into a beauty spot. The success of the park superintendent in changing unsightly dump heaps into pretty public places has been amply demonstrated in the past, and Mr. Albrecht feels sure that in the task ahead of him he has an opportunity of making improvements which will be of lasting good to the city and at the same time form a feature of permanent beauty." ("Present City Dump is Soon to Become Attractive Place" 1921).

Pasadena Star-News describes how the City used rubbish to fill in the Arroyo floodplain surrounding Brookside Park

"Three acres of valuable land in the Arroyo Seco has been reclaimed by Park Superintendent Jacob Albrecht. In one of the big floods a few years ago a part of Brookside Park was washed away. As soon as the channel of the stream had been straightened

Park Superintendent Albrecht started the work of reclaiming the land, filling in the deep holes with rubbish, with the result that the reclamation project is now complete."

"Mr. Albrecht is now planning to move the baseball grounds to the northeast section of the park and will then transfer about 2000 yards of earth to the reclaimed ground which will then be planted and is to be used as an auto parking grounds." ("Reclaim Acreage at Brookside by Means of Rubbish Dumping" 1921).

Gordon Whitnall, Chair of Los Angeles Planning Commission, on planning for Arroyo Seco Parkway

"The project at this time, however, differs materially from former proposals in that it approaches the subject from a utilitarian rather than an esthetic standpoint. Although primarily the venture is based upon flood control and traffic requirement, both of which permit of community-wide financing, it carries with it as well a large element of esthetics in the way of providing adequate parking, which combined with other elements, will preserve to public use and develop to its highest degree one of the greatest of the remaining beauty spots in the Los Angeles district." (Whitnall 1922).

Los Angeles Times reports on how the City of Pasadena helped the Tournament of Roses get the funds to complete the Rose Bowl

"The Tournament of Roses Association and the city of Pasadena solved jointly a knotty financial problem today when the city sold back the new stadium to the association for $13,000 and took an option to repurchase it at that figure in the future.

"This peculiar transaction was for the purpose, it was explained, of enabling the association to put a mortgage on the property for the sum needed to complete it without calling on the stadium guarantors for subscriptions.

"This means there will be no interruption in the work on the stadium and that it will be completed for the fall football games. J.J. Mitchell, association president, explained. "The receipts at the stadium will pay off the mortgages quickly and the city can then repossess itself of the property" ("Trouble About Stadium Over" 1922)

Stuart French, Chair of the Pasadena Planning Commission, describes elements of a good landscape plan for the Arroyo

"The location of the Stadium in the arroyo is most unfortunate for the landscape development and improvement, as it now stands in the center of the area like a huge ant hill. Even though its rocky slopes may be made to bloom it will forever intercept vistas and will prevent a natural 'flow of landscape.' Roadways must lead to it and away from it, a scheme antagonistic to an unhampered plan of landscaping. This pile of concrete must be made to set *into* the landscape, not *on* it"

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"When this experted plan is had, worked over and adopted it should stand as the unalterable plan and so dedicated. Every move in the future should follow and work into this accepted scheme. Otherwise the attainment of a perfect whole will be impossible and there will be in its stead a piece of unworthy patch work. Special watchfulness must be had that no encroachments, due to ill seasoned thought, public clamor, temporary need or waving officialdom, be allowed to plant themselves within the domain."

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"The lower Arroyo is still densely wooded in places, the original native growth never having been cut. It is comparatively narrow, deep and adapted to paths and bridle paths rather than automobile roads, and the general recommendation is that all planting in the Lower Arroyo be confined wholly to replacing, where necessary, the original trees and undergrowth, and that all exotic planting be avoided." (p. 11).

"In the Upper Arroyo between Brookside and the middle-level bridge crossing which is recommended in the detailed descriptions given below, the width of the Arroyo bottom allows for the extension of Brookside and for numerous roads and paths and bridle paths, for a number of canyon entrances to the Park, and for the development of a Municipal golf links. The use of open spaces for golf links will of necessity confine the replacement of the planting largely to the bluffs and canyons. Native plants and trees only, with the elimination of all exotics, except Eucalyptus, is recommended." (French 1924)

Pasadena Evening Post quotes the proposal by the Pasadena Realty Board to build a super-boulevard through the Arroyo

"We propose the construction of Boulevard Pasadena-Arroyo Seco. In submitting the project of a super boulevard in the Arroyo Seco, we believe every one, after careful thought, will recognize the great benefit to be derived from this project. It not only provides opportunity for growth, but it does so in such a manner that Pasadena does not lose its identity as a home city. It will attract active business men to our city"

"A boulevard of the type proposed would make it possible for the Los Angeles business man and manufacturer to live in Pasadena. This thoroughfare enters the heart of Los Angeles business district, and touches the east side manufacturing district, making it possible to reach factories and business house in the motorist's own car at a minimum of time, without the drag on the nerves of having to fight traffic every minute of the way. Think of driving home through a beautiful park system after a hard day's work. This boulevard will add to the convenience and pleasure of every family, for almost every family owns a car, many own several, all of us drive to Los Angeles numerous times during the year" ("Realtors Submit Project of Pasadena-Los Angeles Highway in Arroyo Seco" 1925).

Pasadena Evening Post, describes opposition to the Realty Board's proposed Arroyo Seco super-boulevard

> "Vigorous protest was entered against the plan for a high speed boulevard running between Altadena and Los Angeles by several speakers, who declared the project would destroy the utility of Brookside park, would congest traffic on West Colorado street and would bring 'hordes from Los Angeles to take advantage of our playgrounds.'"
>
> Another comment from Judge G.E. Waldo, "It is selfish not to want Brookside park jammed with a mob to the exclusion of our children, who now find there a solution to the playing on the street problem. Who wants his child in the pool with a horde from a great city? Is it asking too much of Los Angeles to build her own park and take care of her own people?'" ("Bars Motor Traffic on Park Lands" 1925).

Carl H.P. Thurston, letter to *Pasadena Star-News* about a proposed road through the Arroyo

> "Do we wish to increase the population as rapidly as possible in the hope of making it a large business center, even though it becomes in the process as noisy and dirty and congested as Los Angeles? Or do we wish to keep it as it is at present, a beautiful, comfortable, and spacious city of homes? Do the majority of us regard it as a place in which to make money or as a place in which to live? Do we regard the particular plot of land on which we happen to live as a commodity which we hope to sell at a profit, or as an agreeable place in which [to] spend the rest of our lives?" (Thurston 1925).

Pasadena Star News reports on a well-attended meeting organized by the Pasadena Realty Board to coordinate racial covenants and redlining campaign

> "Edward S. Graham, president of the board, presided at the meeting, stating that the realtors planned a co-operative and constructive program in connection with the solution of problems incident to the occupancy of property by others than representatives of the Caucasian race."
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> "John J. Lawrence, president of Linda Vista Improvement Association, outlined the restrictive measures in operation in the region he represented. Robert A. Swink presented a paper, written by Roscoe R. Hess, assistant city attorney, in which the legal aspects of the situation were discussed." ("Realtors Study Property Topics" 1926).

Pasadena Star-News quotes a resolution from the Planning Board opposed the planned highway through the Arroyo

"'Extensive areas of the Arroyo Seco have been developed at public expense as a playground and place of recreation for our people...Children from the public schools and many others find inspiration and enjoyment, with bridle paths and picnic grounds appropriate for a park of this character"

"In view of the rapid increase of population in Pasadena and vicinity, we believe that in years to come this park system will be looked upon as one of our finest assets and that its preservation for the enjoyment of our citizens is in accord with the highest ideals of Pasadena" ("Arroyo Seco Highway is Opposed" 1929).

Lon Chapin, editor of the *Pasadena Daily News*, comments on the Arroyo as a park in his book *Thirty Years in Pasadena*

"Seeing it now with its stadium, seating 72,000 people; 18-hole golf course, its Brookside Park, giving pleasure to thousands, it is most natural to think of all this as foreordained from the beginning, when in fact the opposite is true. For many years it seemed all but impossible that the dream of those who felt that the Arroyo Seco must be saved to the public could be made actuality and the project carried through"

"Only by long-continued and persistent effort was the public aroused to the point of doing this, long years afterward. The Outdoor Art Association which flourished for a time, did its part to impress citizens with the importance of the plan, and many far-seeing men and women worked early and late that Pasadena should have one of the most notable natural parks to be found anywhere--one that would eventually extend for miles through the city into the mountains themselves, and preserve forever this unrivaled gift of nature"

"Today the Arroyo Seco does and will forever belong to the people. With its bridle paths, its facilities for play and recreation, and its still preserved wilder portions, the Arroyo natural park will give happiness not only to this generation but to countless thousands in time to come when population pressed much more than it does now. And all this, as I am trying to emphasize, did not come as a gift of the gods or for the mere asking, but as a priceless heritage to the present and future from the past" (Lon Chapin 1929, Part II, 142).

Pasadena Post reports how Arroyo floodwaters miraculously turned away from the Rose Bowl

"At 11 p.m. Wednesday night, Mr. Nichols ordered his large staff of workmen to withdraw to safety and was on his way to a telephone to notify City Manager C.W. Koiner that the bowl was lost, when a strange turn in the raging torrent of water occurred."

"'No one could explain what happened, but the head of water which was pouring into the pedestrian tunnels suddenly shifted to the right,' Mr. Nichols said. 'This shift is the only thing that saved [the] Rose Bowl from being undermined'"

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"'When it appeared that [the] Rose Bowl was surely lost, the water inside the bowl had risen to cover the first four rows of seats. The new drain pipe which always has keep [sic] the football field drained broke off and the end stopped up,' Mr. Nichols said."

"One ticket office and a toilet building adjoining [the] Rose Bowl was picked up by the current and carried down stream as far as the already ruined Seco Bridge."

"It was necessary to blast the debris and remaining structure of this bridge to prevent the water from being deflected into Brookside Park."

Pasadena Star-News describes the location of the Fannie Morrison Horticultural Center in Brookside Park.

"To old-timers, this is almost a hallowed spot. Here among the sycamores, peppers, eucalyptus and lesser oaks still stands 'the Big Oak.' Years ago, when Seco Street was Rosella Drive and one caretaker attended the entire park, heads of families, hosts at picnics, hurried down in advance of other parties to reserve the choicest spot of all, under 'the Big Oak'" ("Flower-Show -- 'Pasadena's Magnificent Waif' -- to 'Come Home' After 32-year Wanderings!" 1938).

Pasadena Star-News describes the effort to rebuild the flood control channel after flooding

"The city now has two drag line excavators, a gasoline shovel, two bulldozers and more than 1100 WPA workers engaged in excavation work on the channel and between 2000 and 3000 cubic yards of material is being moved each day. The channel excavation is proceeding at the rate of 150 lineal feet a day.

"The army of WPA workmen are engaged in doing the finished grading of the channel north of Washington Street preparatory to the construction of the intake dam and pouring of concrete for the bottom and sides of the flood control drain." ("Second Link of Channel Rushed" 1938).

1940-1959

Summary

The middle of the 20th century was a period of transition in Pasadena in which the Arroyo Seco became increasingly invisible to the general public. The era began with the opening of the Arroyo Seco Parkway, which transformed people's everyday experience of the Arroyo's canyon. It ended with a proposal to build a golf course in the area behind Devil's Gate Dam going to the Planning Commission ("Commission to Study Golf Course Plans" 1959). The most significant physical change to Pasadena's Arroyo during this period was the encasing of the River in a concrete flood control channel in the Lower Arroyo south of the Colorado Street Bridge. With the threat of flooding reduced, the real estate syndicate that owned Lower Busch Gardens found a development company to purchase, subdivide, and build roughly 30 homes on the twelve-acre property, crowding houses into the canyon and significantly reducing opportunities for future restoration efforts ("Busch Gardens changes hands in Pasadena" 1949; "Subdivision of Gardens Proposed" 1949). The City rebuffed offers to sell the property to Pasadena and make the parcel part of the Arroyo's parklands. The City also ignored petitions from neighbors, who offered to spearhead a fundraising campaign to offset costs to the City, something an earlier generation of neighbors had attempted in 1928 ("Asking Busch Gardens be Retained" 1928; "City Park Plan Dropped" 1948).

Pasadena's postwar economic malaise created a fascination with freeways. Highway planners convinced Pasadena of the efficacy of building a second bridge parallel to the Colorado Street Bridge to ease traffic. This required the sacrifice of Carmelita Park, which lost all but its frontage along Colorado Boulevard to construction. Caltrans, after promising to spare the park, cut a trench down its center ("Park Being Destroyed for Freeway Approach" 1952). A freeway link connecting La Cañada to Woodbury Road in

Pasadena opened in 1955 and necessitated the removal of an entire hillside above the Arroyo at the northern end of Linda Vista Avenue ("Face-Lifting: Hill Moved at Devil Gate for Freeway" 1954). This was the beginning of an entirely new economic development strategy based on connecting the city with the rest of Southern California and making it more attractive to corporate capital, a strategy that would find full expression during the 1960s and 1970s (see appendix 27). A symbol of the transition between the earlier era that tried to attract the wealth of upper classes through its scenery, recreational opportunities, and clean air and this new freeway era was the summer smog that began to hang over the city and blocked views of the mountains.

But this was the era where some of the legal structures that Pasadena's White leaders had used to enforce segregation began to fall. James Crimi (1941) submitted his master's thesis in sociology, *The Social Status of the Negro in Pasadena, California*, at the start of the era during the height of oppressive housing and employment discrimination. But in 1942, the NAACP won its case against the City over the segregation at the Brookside Plunge. Though the City did not comply with the order to desegregate the pool until 1947, a symbol of segregation in the city had fallen (Shorr 2002). In the spring of 1947, Jackie Robinson, who grew up in Pasadena and helped Pasadena win the state baseball championship at Brookside Park (see chapter 5), would play his first game for the Brooklyn Dodgers to strike another symbolic blow against discrimination. Of greater practical significance, in August 1944, the California Supreme Court ruled that the Raines family could remain in their home in the East Arroyo neighborhood despite the presence of a racial covenant on their deed. Four years later, the Raines' attorney, Loren Miller, would join Thurgood Marshall in building the winning argument in *Shelley v. Kraemer*, the U.S. Supreme Court case that struck down racial covenants across the nation (Cole 2021). The forces of White supremacy would counterattack and use urban renewal and freeway development to preserve segregation

and increase the racial wealth gap in Pasadena, but this is the era where many formal barriers to full civic participation, several associated with the Arroyo, began to fall, setting the stage for a quarter century struggle to desegregate the schools (James 2005; Nicolaides 2024). One symbol of this breakup of the concrete social relations that sought to keep non-Whites in their place occurred in February of 1941 when a deluge buckled the flood control channel running through the golf course and past the Rose Bowl ("Five More Days of Rain Forecast as Crews Rush to Repair Channel Break" 1941). The flood control engineers would reassert their control over the River in the years ahead, but for the social engineers this was an omen that their efforts to maintain their grip on where people could live, work, and play was slipping. This era ends with sixth-grade teacher Helen Mary Williams starting the Audubon Junior Science Club at Cleveland Elementary and taking young students of color down into the Arroyo for field trips to learn about the natural world. This program would grow to become Outward Bound Adventures, a pioneer in engaging young people of color in outdoor recreation and environmental conservation (Outward Bound Adventures 2006).

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Timeline

Date	Relevant events	Physical changes to Pasadena's Arroyo parklands
1940 - Dec	Grand opening ceremony for the Arroyo Seco Parkway takes place (Bozzani 1941)	
1940	John P. Buwalda of Caltech finishes his report *The Geology of the Raymond Basin* about the Raymond Basin aquifer (Buwalda 1940)	

1941 - Feb		Water from Salvia Canyon damages thousands of feet of the channel ("Five More Days of Rain Forecast as Crews Rush to Repair Channel Break" 1941)
1941 - Aug	City proposes a Pitch n' Putt golf course for Carmelita Park ("City-Owned Pitch, Putt Golf Course Proposed for Carmelita Gardens" 1941)	
1941 – Dec	Japanese attack Pearl Harbor; United States enters World War II	
1942 - Jan		Pasadena loses Brookside Plunge case as California Supreme Court refuses to hear case; Plunge closes to public because veterans living in a Brookside encampment use the location to take showers (Shorr 2002)
1942 - Feb-March	Federal government forces Japanese Americans to leave Pasadena for internment camps (Corliss 1942)	
1942 - Mar	Jackie Robinson and Nate Moreland have informal tryout for Chicago White Sox at Brookside Park (Kamka 2019)	
1942	Construction begins on Brown Mountain Dam in upper Arroyo Seco canyon (Brick 2017a)	
1943	City, County, and State argue over who should pay for repairing the flood control channel as all note that the	A flood damages flood control channel below Devil's Gate Dam (Brick 2017a)

	new Arroyo Seco Parkway is at risk if there is a flood (Brick 2017a)	
1944 – Aug	California Supreme Court rules that the Raines family can remain in their home on Palisade Street in the East Arroyo neighborhood despite the presence of a racial covenant on their deed (Cole 2021)	
1944	Court finalizes Raymond Basin adjudication dividing up the rights to withdraw water from the aquifer (Blomquist 1992)	Los Angeles County annexes flood control channel north of Holly Street and completes repairs on flood control channel (Brick 2017a).
1945 - Aug	Pasadena turns down offer of twelves acres of Busch Gardens for $125,000 saying it has no use for another park in this area ("Busch Gardens remnants offered city for $125,000" 1945)	
1945 – Sept		Brush fire on Poppy Peak ridge jumps Avenue 64 and threatens Johnston Lake ("Volunteers help quell raging flames: Brush Fire Endangers San Rafael Hills Homes " 1945)
1945		Pasadena decides to close Brookside Plunge because they say an integrated pool will lose money (Shorr 2002)
1946		County repairs flood control channel from Seco Street to the Holly Street Bridge (Brick 2017a)

1947- Feb	City Directors authorized $10,000 to rehabilitate Brookside Plunge (Shorr 2002)	
1947 – Apr	Jackie Robinson plays his first game at Ebbets Field for the Brooklyn Dodgers.	
1947- Jun		Plunge re-opens to all patrons regardless of race (Shorr 2002)
1947 - Nov	First Turkey Tussle at Rose Bowl between Muir and PCC (Burdick 1947)	
1947	Residents found the Pasadena Casting Club ("Arroyo May Get Fly Casting Pool" 1947)	
1947		A. Teichert & Son, Inc. channelizes the Arroyo Seco between the Colorado Street Bridge and John van de Kamp (La Loma) Bridge (Grimes 2007)
1948 - May	The city officially re-zones Orange Grove Avenue (Scheid Lund 1999)	
1948 - May	Supreme Court rules racial covenants unconstitutional in Shelley v. Kraemer	
1948 - Jun		City dedicates the casting pond for Pasadena Casting Club in Hahamongna ("City's New Casting Pool Opened " 1955)

1948 - Oct	City Directors tell Planning Commission that the city will not purchase twelve-acres of Lower Busch Gardens for a park even if nearby residents donate funds ("City Park Plan Dropped" 1948)	
1948		A. Teichert & Son, Inc finishes channelizing the Arroyo Seco between John van de Kamp (La Loma) Bridge and San Pascual Street (Grimes 2007)
1949 - Jan	Advocates for the city taking on Busch Gardens submit a petition saying that the storm drain has ruined the park ("Seeks Busch Gardens for Park: Petition Asks City Steps" 1949)	
1949 - Jan	An African American real estate company submits the winning bid of $66,000 for Lower Busch Gardens, but the owners decline the offer ("Famous Busch Gardens Bring $66,000 at Sale" 1949)	
1949 - Aug	Lower Busch Gardens sells to Sentinel Construction for roughly $200,000 ("Subdivision of Gardens Proposed" 1949; "Busch Gardens changes hands in Pasadena" 1949)	
1949 - Nov	Sentinel Construction subdivides Lower Busch Gardens in 32 home sites and submits plat to the Planning Commission ("Subdivision of Gardens Proposed" 1949)	

1949 - Mar	City discovers four privately-owned lots in the middle of Brookside golf course and directs the city manager to negotiate the purchase of land or initiate condemnation proceedings ("Fore! City Stymied! Lots in Center of Golf Links to be Condemned" 1949)	
1949 - Nov	Audit of city finances show that Brookside Golf Course made a small profit while Brookside Plunge lost $6500 and Carmelita Pitch-'n-Putt Golf Course had lost over $20,000 since 1945 and has never paid for itself ("Brookside 'in Red' but Actually it made net profit" 1949)	
1950 - Mar	Chicago White Sox play final spring training games at Brookside Park	
1950	Flower shows at Horticulture Center and Dog Shows on the lawn at Brookside ("Flower Exhibition Draws Thousands" 1950)	
1951 - Mar		City installs a concrete pedestrian bridge over the Arroyo near South Pasadena. It is the first bridge in the Western U.S. to use the "prestressing" technique for concrete construction ("Revolutionary Bridge Under Construction" 1951)
1951 - May		Caltrans breaks ground broken for new Pioneer Freeway Bridge paralleling the Colorado Street Bridge ("Ground Broken for $6,000,000 Pasadena Bridge" 1951)

1952 – Mar	Contractors use silt from behind Devil's Gate Dam to create new park on top of Pershing Square Parking Garage in downtown Los Angeles ("Devil's Gate Silt Used in L.A." 1952)	
1953 - Oct		Dedication ceremony for Pioneer Freeway Bridge (Thomas 2018)
1953 - Oct		City bans archery and guns from Oak Grove Park but allows overnight camping for youth groups ("Archers Lose Pasadena Happy Hunting Areas" 1953)
1954 - Jun		Contractors remove hill separating Linda Vista Avenue from Highland Avenue to allow for completion of bridges and freeway connecting La Cañada and Northwest Pasadena ("Face-Lifting: Hill Moved at Devil Gate for Freeway" 1954)
1955 - Aug		Foothill Freeway link across the Arroyo opens for traffic ("Foothill Freeway Link to Open at Noon Today" 1955)
1955 - Nov		New casting pond opens in Lower Arroyo ("City's New Casting Pool Opened " 1955)
1955 - Dec	African American postman Al McDaniel wins Pasadena Golf Championship at Brookside ("McDaniel Pasadena Golf King" 1955)	

1956	Pasadena Casting Club host national casting tournament at casting pond in the Arroyo ("City's New Casting Pool Opened " 1955)	
1957 - Dec	Dodgers begin negotiating with Rose Bowl as a temporary home (Finch 1957)	
1957	Cross burnings on the lawn of Washington Elementary in Northwest Pasadena at 1570. N. Raymond and in front of African American-owned homes at 399 N. Garfield and 1879 N. Marengo (Kelley 1984)	
1959 – Jul		Fire burns 250 acres and forces evacuation of homes on Knollwood Drive; interagency fire crews based at Oak Grove prevent significant damage ("Flames Threaten Linda Vista: Evacuation of Residents Ordered" 1959)
1959 - Oct	Developers propose a new 18-hole pitch n' putt course behind Devil's Gate Dam on the upland areas with clubhouse, separate miniature golf course, driving range, and practice greens ("Golf Course Proposed for Devil's Gate Dam Site" 1959)	
1959 - Dec	Planning Commission delays decision on golf course to consider traffic issues ("Commission to Study Golf Course Plans" 1959)	
1959	Teacher Helen Mary Williams starts Audubon Junior Science Club at Cleveland Elementary with field trips to	

	the Arroyo; this later becomes Outward Bound Adventures (Outward Bound Adventures 2006)	

Quotes

Pasadena Star-News reporting on the ruptured flood control channel after storm 2/21/1941

> "Hundreds of feet of the Arroyo Seco flood control channel were undermined and damaged by the flood waters, according to Douglas McKenzie, assistant city engineer.
>
> "In many places the floor of the channel has been broken and bulged as much as three feet, he said. Long stretches will have to be broken out with power hammers and relayed to repair the damage, he added."
>
> "Should another heavy downpour send floods charging into the Arroyo from the sides great sections of the channel are almost certain to give way and the damage that will follow, with the channel sides and bottom undermined, might be extremely serious, Mr. McKenzie stated." ("Five More Days of Rain Forecast as Crews Rush to Repair Channel Break" 1941)

From petition asking the City to purchase Lower Busch Gardens to add to the Lower Arroyo park

> "'For years the section in the Arroyo lying below the Colorado Street bridge has been a favorite playground for hikers, horseback riders and picnickers. The construction of the storm drain has seriously impaired, if not totally ruined this area as a scenic asset, leaving Busch Gardens as a natural beauty spot.'
>
> "'We believe the Busch Gardens acreage, as a longstanding habitat for wildlife, will lend itself to development in part for the establishment of an aviary and for the growing and cultivation of botanical specimens. The area is now the nesting and feeding place for band-tail pigeons and other birdlife, and contains many rare plants and trees planted by the Busch estate.'"
>
> "Pasadena old-timers recall that shortly before his death in 1913 Mr. Busch made inquiries as to whether or not the City of Pasadena would maintain Busch Gardens if turned over as a 'gift.' He received no encouragement in this direction.

"Later the Busch Estate also approached the city to learn the city's interest in acquiring the Gardens as a city park. Again, no interest was shown and the property was sold to a Los Angeles syndicate, which failed to receive re-zoning permission and which is now calling upon the auctioneer to dispose of the holdings." ("Seeks Busch Gardens for Park: Petition Asks City Steps" 1949)

Los Angeles Times reporting on the proposal to allow the Los Angeles Dodgers to use the Rose Bowl

"The board's swift action climaxed two stormy sessions at the Pasadena City Hall in which an overflow, bipartisan audience engaged in a weary war of words.

"Before the Directors voted, a threat of litigation similar to that which has stymied the Chavez Ravine deal, was made by Lee G. Paul, 1064 Armada Drive.

"Paul, an attorney, asserted that baseball is being 'railroaded into Pasadena,' claiming that 'selfish interests' were responsible. These interests, he said, included merchants, tavern owners, hotel proprietors and sports writers."

"Problems involving lack of public transportation in the bowl area, parking on residential streets, smog and increased traffic were cited by Oliver B. Prickett, president of the Linda Vista Association."

"Pasadena was described as 'a dead end--everything stops here' by Ellsworth A. Sylvester, advertising executive, as he stumped for the Dodgers. Ellsworth described opponents of the Dodger plan as 'the Barons of San Rafael,' referring to an exclusive district near the Arroyo Seco. (Finch 1957)

1960-1979

Summary

The ‘60s and ‘70s was an era of political transformation within Pasadena. The desegregation of the school system in 1970 caused many conservative families to leave Pasadena and allowed, for a brief time, a more liberal, multiracial coalition to rise. The first sign of this was the defeat of a proposal to build high-rise apartment towers above the Arroyo on either side of West Colorado Boulevard. Opposition from West Pasadena combined with support from communities of color in Northwest Pasadena to defy the local establishment ("High-Rise Issue Beaten at Polls" 1961; "High-Rise: Yes or No?" 1961). The neighborhoods in the Northwest understood all too well how Pasadena’s leadership at the time was willing to brush aside neighborhood concerns to pursue economic development because they were just beginning a decade-long struggle against the newly-formed Pasadena Redevelopment Agency. The Agency spearheaded what became known as the Pepper Project that would displace almost 300 families ("History of N. Fair Oaks Ave, the "Black Main Street" of Pasadena" 2024). Small business owners also lost their foothold in Old Pasadena as the Agency began to redevelop the City’s historic core for the corporate headquarters of large firms such as Parsons Corporation. The construction of the 134, 210, and 710 freeways would not only make the area more attractive to corporate capital but make it a financial retail center for the San Gabriel Valley (Nicolaides 2024; Scheid Lund 1999).

This larger context is necessary to make sense of what was happening with the Arroyo Seco during this period. In the aftermath of the referendum on the apartment towers, the West Pasadena Residents Association formed and worked to elect Richard Jencks to the city Board of Directors in 1963. Jencks won support for the idea of managing the Arroyo Seco first and foremost as a natural area,

and in 1964 the City adopted the Jencks Resolution, which discouraged development of Arroyo lands, encouraged restoration of native plants and habitat, and stated that the City officially wanted to remove or cover the Arroyo's flood control channel ("Pasadena Program: Arroyo Becomes Natural Park Arroyo" 1964).

The final point of the resolution was to reaffirm support for a recreational lake behind Devil's Gate Dam. This would become a point of contention for the next 40 years between the City and County Department of Public Works, which was responsible for operating Devil's Gate Dam and ultimately decided that creating a recreational water body was too expensive and would compromise the dam's fundamental purpose for flood control ("Pasadena Demands Lake Development" 1969). As the lake was one of the primary reasons that the City agreed to lease the area to the County for a regional park, this caused consternation, only somewhat ameliorated by the fact that the dam itself became unsafe after the Sylmar earthquake and unable to hold water (Williams 1997).

Environmentally-minded residents also used the Jencks Resolution as the inspiration for four distinct battles involving the Arroyo during this period. The first was the push by South Pasadena to re-route the planned 710 freeway up the Arroyo Seco to avoid destruction of historic homes and the displacement of families. This resulted in the 1975 passage of the Arroyo Seco Parklands Preservation Law sponsored by State Assemblyman Richard Alatorre to protect the Arroyo parkland from freeway construction (Murphy 1984). Alatorre assisted conservationists again when they brought to his attention that the City had sold land near Cottonwood Canyon at the northwest end of the Brookside Golf Course to a developer for condominiums. The low price, lack of advertising of the sale, the advocacy of a city staff member for a zoning variance, and the fact that the project would directly contradict the Jencks Resolution mobilized activists who convinced Alatorre to sponsor a bill that would prohibit commercial and

institutional construction in the Arroyo Seco from Pasadena to Los Angeles, effectively ceding control over the Arroyo to the State. This pressured the City to demonstrate that it was a responsible steward of its parkland, even though at the time it was mowing open spaces in the Lower Arroyo and applying herbicide to “weeds.” This controversy is what prompted creation of the first Arroyo Seco Master Plan in 1971 and the Arroyo Lands Ordinance that codified much of what was in the Jencks Resolution.

Advocates were not always successful in using these precedents. The City approved the construction of Rosemont Pavillion north of Brookside Park as a float construction and storage facility for the Tournament of Roses. This is third battle where there were sharp disagreements over what was appropriate for the Arroyo. They were also unable to stop contractors from destroying habitat below Devil’s Gate Dam and moving the stream into a concrete channel prior to it entering the golf course. What is notable about these losing fights was advocates’ sharp criticism of the City, a tone and tenor that is missing in previous coverage of the Arroyo Seco ("Calleton Tells Board he is Sorry for Letter" 1971). The questioning of seemingly unresponsive state and local agencies gained more legitimacy when the pouring of concrete for the 210 freeway bridge across the Arroyo in October of 1972 caused the bridge columns to collapse, killing six workers (Sell and Main 1972; Sweeney 1972). The cause of the accident was negligence on the part of the contractor, who had a previous record of cutting corners (West 1973).

A moment that encapsulates this era of Arroyo advocacy occurred in 1972 when Charles McKenney, Jencks successor on the City’s Board of Directors, halted a proposal to have Los Angeles County complete the flood control channel between the Holly Street and Colorado Street Bridges (Mann 1972a). The high-water table in this area had prevented the County from channelizing this portion

of the canyon. Today, this is the most popular portion of the park. The staff had put the item on the consent calendar for routine approval, but McKenney halted proceedings and prevented additional concrete from going into the creek.

The frustration with the City also resulted in more direct action. A group called Friends of the Arroyo, headed by local resident David Jones and retired Cal State Los Angeles professor and longtime conservationist Roland Ross began organizing restoration work days, even experimenting with controlled burns within the Lower Arroyo to restore native plants (Bauer 1979; "Residents turn into weekend landscapers" 1979). Outward Bound Adventures incorporated as an educational non-profit in 1962 and took direct action by getting young people of color into the wilderness, even taking youth from Watts into the High Sierra in the middle of the Watts Riots in 1965. By the end of 1979, there was a real push for restoration of the Arroyo's natural areas as signified by the defeat of a proposal by William Pickering, former head of the Jet Propulsion Laboratory's unmanned space probe program, to build a Hall of Science across from Brookside Park next to the flood control channel (Knowles 1979; Mann 1978). The City Board of Directors was clear that they liked the idea for the museum, just not in the Arroyo. The community voices were just too strong.

Timeline

Date	Relevant events	Physical changes to Pasadena's Arroyo parklands
1960 - Jan	Planning Commission approves the golf course behind Devil's Gate Dam ("Devil's Gate Dam Golf Links Details Studied" 1960)	
1960 - Aug	Planning Commission rejects heliport proposal for Devil's Gate dam area after five neighborhood	

	associations come out in opposition ("Copter Port Voted Down in Pasadena" 1960; "Heliport Site Protests Readied by Residents:" 1960)	
1960	Pasadena forms a redevelopment agency and sets up Pepper Project (Scheid Lund 1999)	
1960	La Cañada pulls students from Pasadena Unified School District and White parents in Pasadena agitate to send their kids to McKinley instead of Washington Junior School ("Linda Vista Residents Protest Student Shift" 1960)	
1961 - Mar	The conservative majority on the school board votes 3 to 2 to allow Linda Vista students to avoid attending Washington in March 1961 ("Board Approves Shift of Pasadena Students" 1961)	
1961 - Oct	African American leaders urge resistance to Pepper Project plan from the very beginning (Pincetl 1992)	
1961 - Nov	Residents organize to stop an apartment complex at Orange Grove and Colorado. Voters reject high-rise apartments on Orange Grove by 56 to 44 percent. ("High-Rise Issue Beaten at Polls" 1961)	
1962 - Apr	Rose Bowl Riders host 200 equestrians for 15th annual horse show ("Horse Show Slated by Rose Bowl Riders" 1962)	

1962	Founding of Outward Bound Adventures (Outward Bound Adventures 2024)	
1962	West Pasadena Residents Association (WPRA) formally incorporates as an organization (King n.d.)	
1963 - Sep	NAACP, CORE, churches and civic and human relations groups organize civil rights march of 200 people from Central Park to City Hall (Kelley 1984)	
1963	Richard Jencks of WPRA wins seat on City Board of Directors (King n.d.)	
1964 - Jun	More than 1000 people attend public hearing to argue about 710 and 210 north freeway routes. FACTS group forms to fight indifference of freeway planners and focuses on freeway thru La Cañada Valley (Snyder 1964)	
1964 - Nov	Adoption of Jencks Resolution certifying that the city lands in the Arroyo Seco should be kept in a natural state ("Pasadena Program: Arroyo Becomes Natural Park Arroyo" 1964)	
1964 - Sept	3000 people attend public hearing on 710 and 210 routing and denounce freeway (Hebert 1964)	

1964	Pasadena asks the County to install a flood control channel between Holly Street and Colorado Street (Brick 2017a),	
1965 - Feb	Initial design elevates the 210 freeway through Northwest Pasadena and entrenches the freeway through La Cañada-Flintridge (Snyder 1965)	
1965 - Apr	County identifies Oak Grove as a regional park and will get $190,000 of state funds ("Oak Grove Park Development Ok'd" 1965)	
1965 - Aug	Outward Bound Adventures in the midst of the Watts Riots gathers students from Watts for a backpacking trip to the High Sierra	
1965 - Aug	Theodore Payne Foundation proposes having headquarters below Devil's Gate Dam ("Wild Flower Group Seeks Arroyo Base" 1965)	
1965 - Aug	Richard Jencks advocates for adoption of progressive wildlife ordinances	
1965 - Nov	Pasadena approves route for northern spur of 210 Freeway to La Cañada-Flintridge	
1965 - Nov	Advocates for racial segregation in Pasadena bring controversial Sheriff Jim Clark from Selma to Wilson	

	Middle School, galvanizing liberal protests (James 2005)	
1965 - Nov	City-county meeting to talk about turning Oak Grove Park behind Devil's Gate Dam into a county recreational resource and hold water behind the dam ("Oak Grove Park Plan Launched" 1965)	
1965 - Dec	City Manager Gunter proposes new clubhouse for Brookside, new ballfields in lot K, and moving Carmelita golf course to Arroyo (Birkinshaw 1965)	
1966 - Apr	Planning Commission wants a 35-acre lake behind Devil's Gate Dam, but the Board of Directors approves the 5- to 6-acre lake recommended by City Manager pending a feasibility study ("35-Acre Lake in Pasadena Urged" 1966; "Directors OK Small Lake at City Park" 1966)	
1966 - Sept	Board of Directors approves plan for passive recreation in Oak Grove with study of a lake ("Pasadena Directors OK Oak Grove Park Stud" 1966)	
1966	Demolition begins on Pepper Project	
1967 - Apr	Two state assemblymember introduce bill specifying westerly route for 710 freeway up the Arroyo (Seelye and Snyder 1967)	

1967 - Oct	Brookside Golf Course sued for giving preferences in tee-times to long-time patrons; African American patron complains about discrimination in Brookside golf clubs (Hathaway 1967)	
1967		William Randolph designs new Brookside Clubhouse to replace original clubhouse designed by Myron Hunt and Harold Chambers (Historic Resources Group 2023)
1968 - Mar	County supervisors approve Oak Grove as county park and begin to work out 25-year lease with city (Mayer 1968)	
1968 - Sept	City approves 25-year lease agreement with county; county applies for $230,000 from state to develop the park area (Birkinshaw 1968)	
1969 - Jan		Rampaging rivers of mud force evacuation of thirty homes in Linda Vista ("Linda Vista Area Hit by 'Mud Rivers'" 1969)
1969 - Sept	County says a lake isn't feasible behind dam after flooding fills the area behind the dam with sediment, raising construction costs (Leiren 1969)	
1969 - Sept	County proposes paving section under Colorado Street Bridge ("Flood-Warped Arroyo Seco Under Repair" 1969)	

1969 - Oct	City Board members complain that they only agreed to make Oak Grove a county park because the County promised a lake ("Pasadena Demands Lake Development" 1969)	
1969	Groundbreaking on Pepper Project	
1969	The California Highway Commission tells the Division of Highways to study the westerly route for 710 freeway through the Arroyo Seco ("A Long Road: A timeline of the 710 Freeway Project" 1999)	
1970 - Jan	Judge Manuel L. Real orders Pasadena Unified District to implement a desegregation plan by the start of the 1970 school year (James 2005)	
1970 - Apr	City approves Phase 1 of Oak Grove improvements and call for joint master plan with County & Forest Service ("Joint Master Plan for Upper Arroyo Urged" 1970)	
1970 - Sept	City contracts with Gruen Associates for Oak Grove plan using $50,000 from water fund ("Directors OK Devils Gate Development Plan Contract" 1970)	
1971 Apr	Directors approve a 2nd float construction building for Tournament of Roses; the controversy spurs a Board commitment to develop the first master plan for the Arroyo (Leiren 1971c)	

1971 - Apr		Ted Calleton, chair of Arroyo Master Plan committee, and City Board Director Charles McKenney decry damage from freeway construction to sixty acres of the Arroyo below Devil's Gate Dam ("Action to Halt Arroyo Bridge Held Fruitless" 1971; Leiren 1971b, 1971d, 1971a; "McKenney Finds Arroyo Construction Discrepancy" 1971)
1971 - Jul		Caltrans begins cutting into west hillside for freeway bridge below Devil's Gate Dam (Mann 1971a)
1971 Aug	First Arroyo Seco Master Plan submitted ("Report Gives Favored Uses for Arroyo Seco" 1971)	
1971 - Dec	First Arroyo Seco Master Plan approved by Planning Commission with Disneyland-type activities frowned on in favor of hiking, cycling, and horseback riding. One of the recommendations is considering covering over the entire length of the flood control channel ("Arroyo Seco Plan Approved" 1971)	Report calls for creation of a Parks Commission to guide development in Arroyo; it says the Parks Department & Rec Commission, which is a joint PUSD/City group, is neglecting the Arroyo which "has declined to a point where trees are dying, grounds are untended and equipment and facilities are deteriorating." (Mann 1971b)
1971	City open's King's Manor on the site of the Pepper Project	
1972 - Jan	Gruen Associations submits master plan for Oak Grove Park, prioritizing water conservation, passive recreation, and a 9-acre, plastic-lined lake (Mann 1972b)	

1972- Feb	City Directors instruct City staff to move forward with recommendations from Arroyo Seco Master Plan and the Gruen Master Plan for Hahamongna, including the City organizing structured recreation programs for Arroyo lands (Tucker 1972)	
1972 - Oct		210 freeway bridge crossing Arroyo Seco below Devil's Gate Dam collapses killing six workers (Sell and Main 1972; Sweeney 1972)
1972 - Nov	Board Director Charles McKenney blocks approval of channelizing area between the Holly Street Bridge and Colorado Street Bridge (Mann 1972a)	
1972 - Dec	Sierra Club rescinds endorsement of westerly route for 710 Freeway because of impacts on Arroyo (Jones 1972)	
1972	The State Highway Commission rejects the westerly route through the Arroyo for the 710 freeway and reaffirms the Meridian route ("A Long Road: A timeline of the 710 Freeway Project" 1999)	Devil's Gate Dam considered unsafe after the Sylmar earthquake; country drains the reservoir (Williams 1997)
1973 - Feb	Left Bank of the Arroyo Association seeks injunction to stop installation of heliport (Hardy 1973)	Stormwater pouring over Devil's Gate knocks over remaining span of fallen freeway bridge below dam ("Bridge Builders Sue for $Million" 1973)

1973 - Jun	South Pasadena gets injunction stopping 710 freeway construction ("A Long Road: A timeline of the 710 Freeway Project" 1999)	
1973 - Dec	Thirteen-year-old stabbed and killed while riding horse in Hahamongna ("Boy Riding Horse In Arroyo Seco Stabbed, Killed" 1973)	
1974 – Mar	City Council votes to leave area between Holly Street and Colorado Street Bridges without a concrete flood control channel (Maddaus 2003)	
1974 - Aug	State assembly passes Arroyo Seco Parklands Preservation Law put forward by Assemblyman Richard Alatorre prohibiting freeway construction in the Arroyo. A competing bill mandating the westerly route through the Arroyo for the 710 freeway gets stuck in committee ("Parkland Bill Hurts South Pas Freeway Bid" 1974)	First lanes of 210 freeway across Arroyo at Devils Gate open ("Fateful Span Opens Today" 1974)
1974 - Oct		Bulldozers begin grading the Art Center site in the San Rafael Hills ("Art Center Carving Pasadena Hills Campus" 1974)
1974		Vista del Arroyo building closes with guard stationed to prevent vandalism (Hudson 1985)
1975 - Apr		Idea for disc golf course in Hahamongna area goes to county for approval; Wham-O Corporation installs the course over the summer (Mann 1976)

1975	Police report fifty incidents of drug use and violent crime, including murder, in the area around the Parker-Mayberry Bridge ("Better Security Approved for Arroyo's 'Slime Slide'" 1976)	
1975	Governor signs Arroyo Seco Parklands Preservation Law preventing freeway construction in the Arroyo (Murphy 1984)	
1976 - Feb		City authorizes changes to the flood control channel to discourage use of slime slide in the Lower Arroyo and use of the area by young people ("Better Security Approved for Arroyo's 'Slime Slide'" 1976)
1976 - Mar	All lanes of the 210 freeway thru Pasadena open (Hemmerick 1976)	
1976 - Mar	Survey of Oak Grove Park reports youth drinking, pot smoking, loose dogs and motorcycles abusing the park around the disc golf course (Mann 1976)	
1976		City ends the practice of driving along the east side of the channel south of the casting pond to reach the Target Archers range (Brick 2019)
1977 - Sept		Pasadena Community Art Center refurbishes buildings of the Fannie Morrison Horticultural Center for theaters and art galleries (Howard 1977)

1977		Prospect Boulevard Bridge over Seco Street closes ("Replacing the Historic" 1989)
1977		Art Center opens in the San Rafael Hills above Linda Vista
1977	City incorporates Jenk's resolution into their General Plan and declares the Lower Arroyo to be a cultural landmark (Brick 2019)	
1978 - Jul	State Assembly passes Alatorre's Arroyo bill giving state oversight of Arroyo (Lloyd 1978a)	
1978 - Oct	Arroyo users raise questions about the City's below market land sale near Cottonwood Canyon to a condominium developer (Lloyd 1978c)	
1978 - Oct	City planners propose Arroyo Seco Lands Ordinance as a strategy to defeat the Alatorre Bill giving the State control over the Arroyo ("Pasadena Directors Back Local Planning for Arroyo" 1978)	
1978 - Nov	Proposition 13 passes, limiting funds available for redevelopment	
1978 - Dec	Board of Directors adopt proposal from the Cultural Heritage commission to give the Lower Arroyo landmark status; the City seeks an agreement with Cal	

	State Los Angeles on choosing native plants for restoration activities (Lloyd 1978b)	
1978 - Dec	Proposal for Hall of Science at Brookside debated at public meeting (Mann 1978b)	
1978		Bernardo Corzo and Alex and Linda Bellehumer build San Pascual Stables
1979 - Jan	Supporters drop Hall of Science proposal due to public opposition to building in the Arroyo (Knowles 1979)	
1979 - Aug		Professor Roland Ross and Friends of Arroyo hold volunteer restoration work days in the Lower Arroyo (Bauer 1979; "Residents turn into weekend landscapers" 1979)
1979 - Sept	Planning Commission approves new hillside ordinance using ecological language (Lloyd 1979b)	
1979 - Oct	First meeting of the Arroyo Seco Planning Study Committee to draft Arroyo Seco lands ordinance (Lloyd 1979a)	
1979	Congress allocates $9.8 million for renovation and remodeling to turn old Vista del Arroyo hotel into a federal courthouse (Hudson 1985)	

Quotes

Los Angeles Times reprints the Jencks Resolution for Pasadena's Arroyo Seco park lands

The Jencks Resolution resolves that the City will "preserve and maintain the Arroyo Seco area lands owned by it as a natural park insofar as such lands have not already been devoted to existing active recreational facilities." The resolution outlines a seven-point program:

1) no dumping or earth moving that disturbs the natural contours or natural vegetation of the Arroyo's banks

2) Wherever possible plant native plants and shrubs, specifically sycamores, alders, laurels and cottonwoods in the bottomlands

3) "Study ways of eliminating or modifying flood control channels after additional check dams in the upper arroyo have removed or reduced their necessity. In the meantime, planting will be started to reduce the 'unsightliness' of the flood control facilities."

4) "Encourage public use of the lower arroyo to increase user traffic and discourage criminal or delinquent activities, making it safe, particularly for children. Also, consider establishment of riding stables such as exist in Eaton Canyon and Oak Grove Park"

5) One intention is to seed an area of the lower Arroyo with CA wildflowers and establish a spring wildflower festival

6) "Encourage a program of gradual rebuilding of trails and walks leading into the lower arroyo, with nature study identification markers"

7) "Reaffirm its support of a recreational lake area behind Devil's Gate Dam." ("Pasadena Program: Arroyo Becomes Natural Park Arroyo." 1964)

Pasadena Star-News reports on the report by the Arroyo Seco Master Plan Steering Committee

"The lengthy report on what is described as 'Pasadena's greatest natural resource,' includes recommendations that the park be restored and upgraded.

"It also calls for the planning of functional recreational programs for the area and the encouragement of citizen support and participation."

"'Continued lack of maintenance, care, programming and continued general disinterest can only lead to further decline, increased vandalism and an increased social and economic cost to the city,' states the report." ("Arroyo Seco Report Faces City Directors." 1972)

Los Angeles Times reports on the origins of Assemblyman Richard Alatorre's bill that would give the State control over management of the Arroyo

"The controversy was triggered when three equestrians encountered surveyors on a horse trail in the Arroyo Seco who told them they were surveying for a condominium development on land that had been sold by the city.

"One of the equestrians was Charles Moore, a Pasadena resident and coordinator of the Pasadena chapter of Equestrian Trails Inc., a nonprofit riding group with nearly 9,000-members from throughout the Southland.

"Moore said he and his companions were 'stunned' when they learned that the city had sold land in the Arroyo Seco. The 3 1/2-acre parcel at 2000 Linda Vista Ave. was sold for $29,100 without competitive bidding to John Kazanjian of La Canada.

"When Moore did not receive satisfactory explanations from city officials, he and representatives of other organizations went for help to Assemblyman Richard Alatorre (D-Highland Park).

"Alatorre introduced an Arroyo Seco preservation bill (AB 2779) which sailed through the Assembly on a 79-0 vote." (Mann 1978a)

Los Angeles Times reports on committee hearing where Assemblyman Richard Alatorre clashes with Pasadena Director Yokaitis over management of the Arroyo

"Director Donald F. Yokaitis, speaking for the majority of the Pasadena directors, clashed with Alatorre, who noted that it was not until his bill was introduced that Pasadena officials took notice of their residents' concerns.

"Retorted Yokaitis: 'My phone number is always in the book.' When his remark was greeted with disapproving murmurs from the packed committee room, Yokaitis said he had not meant to be facetious.

"But Alatorre pointed out that his bill had been introduced in June and that Pasadena officials have had plenty of time to respond. The bill passed the Assembly 79-0.

"Alatorre said his bill was 'prompted by Pasadena's attempts over the years to emasculate the Arroyo Seco.' More recently, he said it was only through the media that it had come to the attention of the public that Pasadena had sold surplus land in the Arroyo Seco." (Mann 1978c)

Pasadena Star-News reports on study of the historical ecology and restoration plans for the Lower Arroyo

"The committee will report to the Pasadena Cultural Heritage Commission in October on a long-range program to restore the original flora of the south Arroyo and to eliminate flora foreign to the area. Professors and Cal State Los Angeles graduate students will help in the project, which will include the study of historical pictures of the arroyo to determine indigenous flora. John C. Crowley called the proposal a "further buffering" so that any proposed building would get a review by that commission." (Bauer 1978)

Pasadena Star-News reports on the controversy over the land sale that sparked the creation of the Arroyo Seco Lands ordinance

"Sale of the hillside property on January 18, 1978 is surrounded in controversy because many believe its $29,100 sales price was well below market value, because the land sold without public bidding to a buyer who apparently was the only person who knew of its availability; because of [Pasadena's director of general services] Crain's association with the land since its sale; and because the land sale was seen as a violation of a city commitment to preserve the Arroyo as permanent parkland." (Lloyd 1978c)

Pasadena Star-News reports on the proposal to build a Hall of Science next to the Arroyo's flood control channel across from Brookside Park

"Opponents to the Brookside site reminded the city board that such a use would violate the longstanding policy of the board that the Arroyo Seco should be kept in its natural state as much as possible. Anna Breshahan, speaking for the East Arroyo Residents Association, said the board has a 'moral commitment' to keep faith with the Jencks Resolution of 1964, included in the 1977 General Plan, that the Arroyo should remain rustic." (Lloyd 1978d)

Pasadena Star-News reports on the work of the Joint Committee on the Lower Arroyo, which has members from the Cultural Heritage and Parks and Rec commissions.

"The restoration campaign started with the concerns of a 27-year-old Pasadena resident, David Jones. Jones had tramped the Arroyo all his life, but became concerned in 1975 about city fire control techniques in the Arroyo after taking a course in ecology.

"'I realized the potential of the area and the way it was being treated was going to make it impossible for trees and plants to come back,' said Jones.

"The problem, according to supporters of the Lower Arroyo restoration is that the city plows flat areas of the Arroyo and sprays herbicide on slopes that can't be reached with a plow in order to reduce the danger of fire. They say that because of this policy, only foreign grasses and mustard plants come back year after year, and trees and shrubs don't have a chance."

"'There are almost no natural grasses left. A doomsday is written,' said Roland C. Ross, a retired Cal State L.A. professor who has become involved in the study of the Arroyo." (Bauer 1979)

Pasadena Star-News reports on the first meeting of the Arroyo Seco Planning Study Committee

"'We've had studies and plans and resolutions and they have all been circumvented,' said an angry Charles Moore, recalling years of citizen efforts to preserve the Arroyo."

"Citizens want no more promises, he said, but action."

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"Moore's sentiments were echoed by Dr. John Mohler who said the problem with a deteriorating Arroyo Seco has been a city management whose concern has been raising money and not developing or protecting the park as a natural resource."

"'They're only trying to balance the budget,' Mohler said, 'and have not been concerned with (proper) management of the park'" (Lloyd 1979a)

1980-1999

Summary

The last two decades of the 20th century was a time of financial difficulty for the City and the Arroyo. The passage of Proposition 13 in 1978 completely changed the way that cities managed their budgets and made the City much more dependent on commercial development to meet their responsibilities. Near bankruptcy of the City in 1985, averted only by creative financing worked out by the City Council and staff, compounded this challenge (Scheid Lund 1999). This was also a time of rising property values in Pasadena, which resulted in certain neighborhoods along the Arroyo advocating for additional protections for their quality of life. Linda Vista, for example, won passage of a guideline protecting the rural atmosphere of the neighborhood while over 120 homes in the Prospect Park area won designation as an historic district (Phllips 1986; Wayte 1992). As the City felt financial pressure to earn money from the Rose Bowl and book more sporting events and concerts, conflicts with neighbors increased. The mobilization to protect historic homes was strongest in South Pasadena as part of its ongoing battle to stop completion of the 710 freeway. This impacted the Arroyo Seco because until the late 1980s, the City of South Pasadena's preferred route was "the westerly route" that would have sent the freeway up through the Lower Arroyo (Lee 1999).

The freeway displacements during the 1960s and 1970s increased income inequality and widened the racial wealth gap. This became more apparent during the 1980s and 1990s as families who lost their homes were not able to capture the increase in home values during this period. This influenced political alliances in the city as several African American organizations in Northwest Pasadena joined with business interests, which had supported freeway construction, to oppose a 1989 growth control referendum that

historic preservation and environmental groups put on the ballot. These Northwest Pasadena organizations had aligned with these interest groups on political representation, City hiring practices, and school desegregation. But they saw growth control as potentially blocking much needed economic development in Northwest Pasadena.

Growth control passed, and political alliances fractured (Pincetl 1992). A classic opposition between environmental and economic interests began to take hold, and this began to find its way into debates over the Arroyo Seco. For example, former councilmember Isaac Richard promoted building a luxury golf course behind Devil's Gate Dam at the same time that an extensive public planning process had resulted in recommendations to keep the area as natural as possible ("Park's future debated: Options are golf or restoration" 1995). By the end of the century, the contours of this debate would replay themselves over construction of soccer fields behind the dam, a controversy that would last 15 years and involve several late-night sessions by the City Council (Newton 1992a). For the City, the financial crunch meant turning to private entities to take over management of recreational facilities. The City contracted with American Golf to manage the golf course; they provided the land for the new Rose Bowl Aquatics Center; and they leased the old Fannie Morrison Horticultural Center buildings to Kidspace Children's Museum. Most importantly, they created the Rose Bowl Operating Company to help the Rose Bowl pay for its own upkeep through event fees. This proved challenging. In 1995, the Council voted to channel bond monies intended for the Lower Arroyo and Brookside Park to the Rose Bowl (Lee 2000b). For many, the designation of the Lower Arroyo and the area behind Devil's Gate Dam as natural areas translated into neglect and a lack of investment despite Pasadena's rhetoric of being an environmentally-aware city.

At the same time, many community members expressed increasing support for the environmental, aesthetic, and even spiritual values represented within the Arroyo landscape. Art exhibitions of large-scale photographs and restoration plans by Helen and Newt Harrison injected the potential for ecological restoration of the River into the public imagination, which the City followed up on by commissioning the Cal Poly Pomona Landscape Architecture program to create a restoration plan, which the City approved in December 1989 (Torres 1989). Meanwhile, the group Friends of the Arroyo Seco continued to organize volunteer work days and passed the torch to the Arroyo Seco Foundation, which began in 1989 in advance of the 20th anniversary celebration of Earth Day. Roughly 35,000 people attended the Arroyo Seco Earth Festival in 1990, making it one of the largest Earth Day events on the West Coast (Gottlieb 2007). Important markers in this quest for restoration occurred with the change of the name for the area behind the dam from Devil's Gate to Hahamongna and the dedication of Hahamongna Watershed Park in October 1993 (Bannon 1993). The completion of the low-flow stream restoration for the Lower Arroyo in 1997 was another important milestone (Karlak 1997). Though it fell short of Cal Poly's recommendation to restore the living stream, it did set the precedent for getting the stream's water out of the channel and re-wilding the Lower Arroyo. The complex and often contradictory movements during this period is best symbolized by the Superfund listing of areas in Hahamongna due to groundwater contamination in 1992 at the same time new momentum for habitat restoration in the park was gaining ground (Newton 1992c).

Timeline

Date	Relevant events	Physical changes to Pasadena's Arroyo parklands
1980 - Feb		San Pascual Stables expands capacity from 30 to 120 horses (Kinchen 1980)
1980	U.S. Army Corps' *Los Angeles County Drainage Area System Recreation Study* says the Lower Arroyo is one area where the flood control channel is not necessary (Aultfather et al. 1988, 36-37)	City closes four wells southeast of JPL after technicians discovered traces of toxins trichloroethylene (TCE), perchloroethylene (PCE), and carbon tetrachloride (CTC) (Newton 1992c)
1980	Linda Vista Annandale Association wins approval of ordinance requiring preservation of rural atmosphere in Linda Vista (Wayte 1992)	
1981 – Aug	City manager Don McIntyre opposes Parks and Recreation Commission reviewing policies before they go to the City Board of Directors because he wants freedom to generate revenue from the Rose Bowl and other facilities (Lloyd 1981a)	
1981 – Sep	First draft of Arroyo Seco Lands Ordinance goes before the board (Lloyd 1981b)	
1981 - Oct	Some criticize draft Arroyo Seco Lands Ordinance as an infringement on private property rights (Knowles 1981)	
1981	Council switches to district only elections (Scheid Lund 1999)	

1982 - April	Arroyo Seco Ordinance wins fist approval from council (Lloyd 1982)	
1982 - Nov		Fire destroys historic building next to Vista del Arroyo (Barker 1982)
1982	Takata & Associates prepares Lower Arroyo Seco Master Plan for the city (Avery 1985; Brick 2019)	
1983 - Apr	Residents win designation of 125 homes along Prospect, Rosemont, and Armada as the Prospect Historic District (Phllips 1986)	
1983	A concrete panel in the flood control channel near the Rose Bowl pops out of place (Brick 2017a)	Brookside Plunge closes after falling into disrepair (Dunn 1987)
1984 - Jan	Proposal for a double-deck roadway up through the Arroyo gains support in South Pasadena and Richard Mountjoy (R-Monrovia) introduces bill to amend 1975 Arroyo Parklands Preservation Law from 1975 (Murphy 1984)	
1984 - Mar	Takata & Associates completes feasibility study of the potential for low-flow stream; the final report does not discuss removal of flood control channel (Takata Associates 1984)	

1984 - Sept	Pasadena protests grading north of San Pascual Stables (Garza 1984; Gutierrez 1984)	
1984 - Nov	Mounted volunteer patrols begin to ride the trails up and down the Arroyo (Nicholson 1984)	
1984		City employees begin constructing Johnson Field in area behind Devil's Gate Dam for softball games ("Ballfield stirs up debate" 1987)
1984		Fire closes Fannie Morrison buildings after federal budget cuts contribute to closing of the Pasadena Community Arts Center (Grimes 2007)
1985 - Jan	City considers contracting out management of golf course because of $100,000 deficit, poor condition of greens, and the installation of an inefficient irrigation system that causes a spike in utility costs (Willman 1985)	
1985 - Mar	Artists Helen Mayer and Newton Harrison's work *Arroyo Seco Release* goes on exhibitions at Caltech's Baxter Gallery (Harrison, Harrison, and Belloli 1985; Kaplan 1985)	
1985 - Mar	*Los Angeles Times* reports there is a consensus within Pasadena to take out the flood control channel out but $10 million cost seems prohibitive (Avery 1985)	

1985	City of Pasadena avoids bankruptcy through creative financing orchestrated by Councilmember John Crowley (Scheid Lund 1999)	
1985 - Sept	City pledges over $200,000 for new Rose Bowl Aquatics Center (RBAC) and says it will apply for a $500,000 state grant for the $1.7 million project ("Pasadena Promises $220,000 for Pool" 1985)	
1986 - Feb	Warren Burger dedicates 9th circuit courthouse (Braidhill 1986)	
1987 - Jun	Roland Ross, retired Cal State Professor and co-founder of Friends of the Arroyo Seco, passes away ("Funeral Announcements - Ross, Roland Case" 1987; Gardetta 1997)	
1987 - Jul	Controversy erupts about the use of city money on Johnson Field for softball games by city teams ("Ballfield stirs up debate" 1987)	
1987 - Nov	The Harrisons' *Devil's Gate Transformation* exhibit goes up in Old Pasadena gallery (Harrison and Harrison 1987)	
1988 - Spring	City pays $25,000 for the Cal Poly Pomona Studio Class to evaluate restoration options for the Lower Arroyo (City of Pasadena 2015)	

1988 - June	Cal Poly students present 3 alternatives to Lower Arroyo Stakeholders who agree “Arroyo Grande” is the preferred alternative (Aultfather et al. 1988)	
1988 - Jun		Crews demolish the Brookside Plunge and hold groundbreaking for Rose Bowl Aquatics Center (Dodds 1988)
1988 - Oct	Cal Poly Pomona Plan formally recommends removal of channel in the Lower Arroyo (Dunn 1988)	
1989 - Mar	Pasadena voters approve a growth control initiative to cap development by 57 percent and adds a growth control element to General Plan (Pincetl 1992)	
1989 - May		City dedicates new Prospect Bridge before a crowd of 150 people (Mandel 1989)
1989 - Aug	Pro-growth coalition sues over PRIDE initiative but court dismisses suit (Pincetl 1992)	
1989 - Dec	City Directors approve the $4.4 million Cal Poly master plan for Lower Arroyo, which releases $450,000 for cleanup and restoration (Torres 1989)	
1989 - Dec	Local environmentalists revive the Arroyo Seco Foundation as a modern organization in advance of Earth Day 1990 (Borchers and Miller 2019)	

Late 1980s	South Pasadena abandons westerly route after National Trust for Historic Preservation says it can't support the route through El Sereno (Lee 1999)	
1990 - Mar	City commits funding to help rehabilitate Devil's Gate Dam so it can store water and assist with groundwater recharge (Hudson 1990)	
1990 - Apr	Assistant City Manager says 35,000 participate in Earth Day Festival in the Arroyo, making it the largest Earth Day event on the West Coast for that year (Brick 2025; Gottlieb 2007)	
1990 - Jun		Rose Bowl Aquatics Center opens (Torres 1990)
1990 - Nov		Fire burns 25 acres near Art Center ("Brush Fire Chars 25 Acres in San Rafael Hills" 1990)
1990 - Dec	Residents complain about RBAC's fee structure and country club atmosphere as the Center struggles to balance being accessible for every day swimmers and being a training center for potential Olympic athletes (Torres 1990)	
1990		NASA begins building treatment plants to clean contaminated groundwater near Jet Propulsion Laboratory (Paniccia 2004)

1991 - Apr	Pasadena seeks ideas for Devil's Gate area as part of Multi-Use Joint Powers Planning Authority activity facilitated by Pasadena Water and Power engineer Tom Underbrink (Willman 1991)	
1991 - May	Protests erupt after golf course officials call animal control to kill coyotes living with pups on the course (Hudson 1991)	San Rafael Bridge re-opens after being closed since September for earthquake safety repairs ("San Rafael Bridge Reopens After $1.2 Million in Repairs" 1991)
1991 – Jul	Pasadena City Council enters into agreement with Browning Ferris Industries for low-flow stream restoration on Lower Arroyo (Brick 2019)	
1991	City forms the Devil's Gate Multi-Use Project (DGMUP) Joint Powers Planning Authority, consisting of Pasadena, La Cañada Flintridge, and the Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy (Brick 2019)	Volunteers plant the AIDS Memorial Grove in the Lower Arroyo (Hudson 1993)
1992 - Aug	City approves change of name from Oak Grove Park changed to Hahamongna ("The Making of Hahamongna" 1992)	
1992 - Oct	City creates the Rose Bowl Operating Company after the stadium loses money in 5 of the previous 6 years (Newton 1992b)	
1992 – Oct	Environmental Protection Agency puts the location of Pasadena Water and Power's water treatment plant that	

	is treating groundwater contamination southeast of JPL on their Superfund list (Newton 1992c).	
1992 - Dec	Debate begins on compatibility of soccer fields and habitat restoration in Hahamongna Watershed Park. City Council gives conceptual approval to keeping Hahamongna natural (Newton 1992a)	
1992	DGMUP JPPA prepares Preliminary Park Plan for Hahamongna Watershed Park. After the Pasadena City Council approves the plan; the JPPA ends (Brick 2019)	
1992	Engineering firm Brown & Caldwell prepares Preliminary Economic Assessment for the Devil's Gate Multi-Use Project (Brick 2019)	
1993	The County relinquishes authority for Hahamongna area and turns responsibility over to Pasadena (Brick 2019)	
1993 - Oct	City dedicates Hahamongna Watershed Park on 10/16/1993 (Bannon 1993)	
1993	Browning Ferris begins the Lower Arroyo Stream Restoration Project which establishes low flow streams on each side of the flood channel for 0.8 miles in Pasadena's Lower Arroyo (Brick 2019)	

1994	City establishes Hahamongna Operating Company to plan and develop Hahamongna Watershed Park (Brick 2019)	
1995 – Aug	People forecast a difficult competitive environment for Rose Bowl stadium (Hubler 1995)	
1995 - Nov	A coalition of Northwest Pasadena community groups call for ending Hahamongna Operating Company at the same time some push to build a luxury golf course in the park ("Park's future debated: Options are golf or restoration" 1995)	
1995	City Council votes to reallocate Arroyo bond funds to pay for stadium and golf course improvements; transfer of these funds only comes to light in 2000 (Lee 2000b)	
1996 - Jun	Councilmember Crowfoot makes motion to terminate the Hahamongna Operating Company (Burry 1996b)	
1996 - Aug		Installation of BFI low-flow stream project begins (Soussan 1996)
1996 - Aug	City Council disbands Hahamongna Operating Company, citing lack of accountability ("Hahamongna Operating Co. dissolved by divided council" 1996; Burry 1996a)	

1996	City receives additional $1 million for Hahamongna Watershed Park from the County Parks Bond (Brick 2019)	
1997 - Feb	City Council tentatively approves Lower Arroyo Seco Master Plan in concept, which directs staff to continue to explore opportunities for removal of the flood control channel (Brick 2019)	
1997 - Mar	Council gives preliminary approval to a bike path through the Lower Arroyo, and this sparks a protest march and a petition with 400 names against the move (Burry 1997b, 1997a; Ellingwood 1997)	
1997 - Apr		City dedicates BFI low-flow stream project as part of Earth Day celebration (Karlak 1997)
1997 - Aug		County of Los Angeles completes the rehabilitation of Devil's Gate Dam, a $10 million project that expands the spillway, and grouts and buttresses the dam to current standards; debate over having a recreational water feature in Hahamongna starts again (Brick 2019)
1997 - Aug	City votes to enter into negotiations for Kidspace Museum to take over the buildings of the Fannie Morrison Horticultural Center (Burry 1997c)	
1997	City begins the Environmental Impact Report for the Arroyo Seco Master Plan, which includes three separate	

	plans for the Lower and Central Arroyo, Hahamongna Watershed Park, a use plan for the Rose Bowl, and design guidelines (Brick 2019).	
1998 - May	City commits to rebuild the La Loma Bridge (Lloyd 1998)	
1999 - Apr	City shares preliminary planning for Hahamongna (Breuer 1999)	
1999 - Aug	Controversy and debate erupts about having Kidspace in the Arroyo (Williams 1999b, 1999a)	
1999 - Dec	Rose Bowl loses $700,000 for the year and has a $1.1 million debt to pay off, while seeking to make $32 million in desired improvement (Ulrich 1999)	

Quotes

Pasadena Star-News cites City Manager Don McIntyre says that the City needs to make the Rose Bowl a revenue producer

> "The controversy centers on a recent decision by city directors to give oversight responsibility for the Arroyo Seco to the Parks and Recreation Commission, [City Manager] McIntyre's desire for a free hand in making the Rose Bowl a large revenue producer and citizen desires to have a say in Arroyo Seco and Rose Bowl operations."

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"'It should be noted,' he [McIntyre] said, 'the Arroyo operation is being established as an enterprise agency and entrepreneurial techniques must be utilized if it's to become successful.'" (Lloyd 1981a)

Pasadena Star-News reports on public comment over the Arroyo Seco Lands Ordinance

"The ordinance was accompanied by pleas from many residents to adopt a strong ordinance that will guarantee, after years of disillusionment, to preserve the natural beauty of the Arroyo and limit uses.

"Bursts of applause accompanied the remarks of speaker after speaker who pleaded for the city board to finally enact into law a measure that will commit the city to respect the natural treasure that comprises 80 percent of the city's park area."

"Years of broken promises were traced by speakers, including Charles Moore, who cited repeated violations of the so-called Jencks Resolution enacted in 1964 to set the area aside as a parkland preserve."

"'No one ever paid any attention to it,'" Moore said.

"The ordinance is the product of the Arroyo Seco Planning Study Committee that met for an entire year developing first a set of management objectives and policies, and then an ordinance to implement those policies."

"The committee was formed as evidence of good faith on the part of the city to take steps to preserve the Arroyo after a bill was introduced in the state legislature in 1978 effectively taking control of the Arroyo and prohibiting most construction and uses other than traditional recreation."

"Even in its completed form, controversy remains, since the thrust of the city staff has been to protect the Rose Bowl and Upper Arroyo from restrictions that would crimp the staff's ability to generate Rose Bowl revenues." (Lloyd 1981b)

Los Angeles Times quotes City Manager Don McIntyre about how the Rose Bowl has consistently lost money for the City

"'The Bowl was in the red when I came to Pasadena,' McIntyre said, 'It was a real loser, and the one thing that people kept bringing to my attention was the opportunity to make money from it.'"

"'There were those who suggested that the Bowl should either be marketed or we should get rid of it.' (Mann 1982)

Los Angeles Times reports on the impact of Outward Bound Adventures

"Many speak of the 'extended family' that the program created for them, along with the inspiration to achieve both in and out of school'"

"'I was 12 when I went on those first trips out of Mrs. Williams' science class back in 1959 and 1960,'" recalled Cassie Moses, now a first-grade teacher. 'Outward Bound exposed me to places I'd only seen on TV and I began to read everything I could about nature. It's why I became a teacher'"

"Statistics show that the money is well spent. All but 2% of the students involved on a yearlong basis have graduated from high school and 85% have gone to college or trade school'" (McNary 1984).

Los Angeles Times reports that Pasadena officials are encouraging involvement of non-profit groups in caring for the Arroyo

"Meanwhile, the city is encouraging groups that use the park to do their part in maintaining the area. A 6-year-old umbrella organization, the Friends of the Arroyo Committee, is about to incorporate as a nonprofit organization and hopes to coordinate citizen participation."

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"'Groups used to be active only when there was a crisis' involving the park, Bogaard said, 'but we need the continuity of a permanent organization.'"

"'In the past, said Riley Caudhill, the city arboriculturist who is overseeing restoration, each group of park users was interested only in preserving its use of the park. But he said that in recent years, the groups have reached a consensus on keeping the area natural."

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"The consensus is that the channel is not necessary and should be torn out, but project costs--estimated as high as $10 million -- appear to make the move impossible, Mayor Bogaard and other city leaders said."

"John Crowley, a city director who was chairman of the city's Cultural Heritage Commission when the area was designated an official city landmark in 1977, said interest in preserving the natural setting of the park has come about only in the past decade.'" (Avery 1985)

Los Angeles Times reports on exhibit of Helen and Newton Harrison's "Devil's Gate Transformation: A Refuge for Pasadena."

"Panoramic aerial photographs, topographical maps and a 15-foot scale model illustrate their proposal for a raised habitat area and commons overlooking a new lake."

"While one might quibble with the exhibition's grandiose claim of creating an environmental 'sculpture,' there's no denying the Harrisons' efficacy at eco-political activism. By working in the best agitprop tradition, the Harrisons successfully remove artificial distinctions between the art world and the 'real' world. In an era when aesthetics have become seemingly synonymous with commerce and fashion, it's encouraging to note that at least some artists take their political responsibilities seriously." (Gardner 1987)

Los Angeles Times reports on the pollution of water wells due to contamination from early rocket tests in Hahamongna

"By most accounts, the chemicals were probably dumped there between 1945 and 1958, when JPL was developing the Corporal and Sergeant missile systems for the U.S. Army and Explorer 1, the first U.S. satellite."

"In those days, the practice was to dispose of chemical wastes in cesspools that were designed to allow liquid wastes to seep into the surrounding soil. 'We've identified a number of cesspools by talking with old employees and retired employees and by looking at aerial photographs' said Charles Buril, JPL's manager for environmental affairs."

"The city closed four wells after its technicians discovered in 1980 that city wells southeast of JPL were contaminated with traces of the toxins trichloroethylene (TCE), perchloroethylene (PCE), and carbon tetrachloride (CTC)."

"The four wells were reopened two years ago, when JPL agreed to pay for the $1.2-million treatment plant and to contract with Calgon Carbon Corp. to run it."

"But a large quantity of underground water remains untreated. The Superfund project would be designed to clean all the water and return it to the ground." (Newton 1992c)

Los Angeles Times reports on the creation of Hahamongna Watershed Park and start of the debate over whether to put new soccer fields in the Park

"The Pasadena City Council gave the go-ahead on Tuesday to turn a 250-acre stretch of the Arroyo Seco into the Hahamongna Watershed Park."

"In doing so, the council largely endorsed the ideas of the project's six-member planning authority, which favors restoration of the area's natural habitat rather than building playing fields."

"But the most emotional issue confronted by the council appeared to pit environmentalists against a children's sports program. The question was whether to include playing fields that would accommodate the growing ranks of the Pasadena Altadena Youth Soccer Organization, which runs a league program for 2500 youngsters."

The soccer league says there aren't enough fields for them and they're always vying with other users and groups for space in Pasadena's parks.

"Though the council did not close the door on the idea of building playing fields on the site, it agreed with the Joint Planning Powers Authority that every effort should be made to find other locations for playing fields."

"The planning authority had been divided on the issue, until it agreed to compromise making the Arroyo Seco a last resort as a site for a search for new sites elsewhere. At Tuesday's council meeting, Gabrielino leader Vera Rocha, a member of the planning authority, suggested the depth of emotion attached to the issue."

"'I never voted for soccer fields,' she told the council. 'If you want war, then you'll have war.'"

"The council directed Acting Recreation Director Robert Baderian to meet with officials from the Pasadena Unified School District to identify within the next two months potential new sites on school property." (Newton 1992a)

2000-2024

Summary

Within the broad sweep of 150 years of Arroyo advocacy, the past quarter century seems to be a prologue to a coming reckoning, both social and environmental. Rising income inequality, the most glaring manifestation of which has been the affordability of housing, has created a ″Tale of Two Cities″ narrative that is increasingly difficult to sustain (Dreier 2010). At the same time climate change is pulling the City toward a reckoning with how it manages water. Just as the Arroyo runs through the center of Pasadena′s past, it has a central role to play in addressing these present challenges. This most recent period of Arroyo advocacy has witnessed a widening gap between the community′s aspirations for stream and habitat restoration and government action. Old patterns having to do with wealth, access, and accountability continue to shape Arroyo discussions, limiting widespread engagement and demonstrating a need for new approaches to avoid poor and pressured decision-making.

This period began in the midst of a five-year planning process that resulted in Pasadena′s Arroyo Seco Master Plan, which actually consisted of separate plans for Hahamongna Watershed Park, the Central Arroyo, the Lower Aroyo, and a set of design guidelines for the area. Advocates came together to form the Coalition to Protect the Arroyo Seco and collectively pushed back hard against the City′s initial proposals (The Coalition for the Protection of the Arroyo Seco 2002). The Coalition wanted to emphasize the importance of keeping the Lower Arroyo and Hahamongna Watershed Park as simple and undeveloped as possible. The City staff moved the final plan in this direction but did not actively promote removal of the flood control channel as some had hoped, citing

uncertainty over the financial and technical feasibility of removal (Maddaus 2003; Scott 2003b). The purchase of thirty additional acres in Hahamongna Watershed Park from the Metropolitan Water District initiated another round of planning in 2006 for the Hahamongna Annex property. A rare point of agreement across the planning process was the hope to establish an environmental education center on this property (Kleeman 2006a).

While finalizing the Arroyo Seco Master Plan was a relief for everyone, it contained $80 million of unfunded infrastructure, repairs, and improvements that the City has not prioritized (Maddaus 2005b). Non-profit groups and coalitions have tried to advance pieces of the plan over the years by raising money through local and state programs. The Arroyo Seco Foundation under Tim Brick′s leadership was especially effective at raising funds for habitat restoration and enhancement. The Arroyo Seco Foundation partnered with the City of Pasadena on several of these projects. More recently, a diverse coalition of organizations spearheaded by Outward Bound Adventures has been working to win approval for a Climate Resilience Environmental Education Center (CREEC) in Hahamongna. Once a site agreement is in place with the City, this coalition will begin a fundraising campaign, following the model of the Rose Bowl Aquatics Center and Kidspace Museum in developing facilities for public use with the City providing support rather than oversight. A third example of private leadership on public priorities for the Arroyo has been the work of the One Arroyo Foundation (see chapter 5). The Foundations grew from a desire to create a private group that can raise funds for the Arroyo and could potentially assume oversight and management of the park areas in a manner similar to the Central Park Conservancy′s role in New

York City (One Arroyo Foundation 2025). The Foundation′s first project has been some trail improvements along the un-channelized portions of the Arroyo south of Devil′s Gate Dam and under the Colorado Street Bridge (Liu 2024a).

The aspirations of Arroyo′s strongest advocates have remained focused on removal of the flood control channel, especially in the Lower Arroyo. Several studies have made this recommendation: the Arroyo Seco Watershed Restoration Feasibility Study (North East Trees and Arroyo Seco Foundation 2001), a preliminary study by the Army Corps of Engineers (United States Army Corps of Engineers 2011), a scoping report by the Urban Land Institute (Urban Land Institute 2012), and the Upper Los Angeles River and Tributaries Revitalization Plan (Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy 2020) have all validated this as a goal. Local, state, and federal elected officials have all voiced support, most recognizing that taking concrete out of the Arroyo can provide a template for doing the same on the Los Angeles River. Small nods during this period toward restoration have include the Central Arroyo Seco Stream Restoration Program and the Lower Arroyo Habitat Restoration Project, both spearheaded by Tim Brick and the Arroyo Seco Foundation (Brick 2019; Coleman 2020a). Much of the work on the former was unfortunately destroyed by flooding in 2010; the latter has been a success in establishing more native plants along the Lower Arroyo trail, though some non-native trees were left standing due to protests from community members (Coleman 2020b). Brick also helped the City secure a $3.5 million state grant for stream restoration but the City decided to use this funding for the Arroyo Seco Water Reuse project, which would restore native plants and clean stormwater but does not directly address the flood control channel (Scauzillo 2019).

The essential ingredient to restore the stream, both physically and politically, is groundwater. Pasadena gets 40 percent of its water from the Raymond Basin aquifer (Bowles 2013). With the cost of Colorado River water going up, the more Pasadena can take from the Raymond Basin, the better. But the aquifer has been in long-term decline and water bills are already set to rise 50 percent over the next five years (Liu 2024b). Stream restoration combined with strategically-placed, green infrastructure and an aggressive campaign to ″Unpave Pasadena″ (see chapter 7) are the best ways to begin replenishing these groundwater reserves. But here too, local government has seemingly not confronted the problem. The Pasadena Water and Power Department′s Arroyo Seco Canyon Project favors adding spreading basins to Hahamongna Watershed Park instead of restoring stream habitat. The reasons is that the Department needs to measure percolation in order to get credits from the Raymond Basin Management Board. The City would use these credits not to replenish the declining aquifer but to take more than its annual allotment, which means percolation measurement methodology is standing in the way of habitat restoration (Bowles 2013; Seckler 2003). Stormwater management and groundwater recharge were both part of ″The Big Dig″ controversy between 2014 and 2021 that removed 1.7 million tons of sediment behind Devil′s Gate Dam and was the source of a contentious lawsuit (Brick 2017b). NASA also continues to work on cleaning the pollution in the groundwater under Hahamongna Watershed Park from Department of Defense projects after World War II. Groundwater is out of public sight but will become top-of-mind as water bills continue to rise.

In addition to the financial and technical obstacles to removing the flood control channel, political obstacles exist as well. The investment of millions of dollars to improve a park adjacent to some of Pasadena′s wealthiest neighborhoods would seem only to

exacerbate the economic inequalities that Pasadena continues to grapple with. Examples of these dynamics playing out include a fifteen-year battle over whether to put soccer fields in Hahamongna Watershed Park, a bitter conflict over restricted access to the west side of the Lower Arroyo due to safety concerns surrounding the archery range, and conflict over what is now Desiderio Park astride the Colorado Street Bridge (Coleman 2015b; Scheid 2007; Schubert 2000a, 2000b; Zack 2007). In each of these cases, users have cast advocates for wildlife habitat as ″elites″ seeking to deny poorer groups access to public parklands and reserving these areas for their private use. In each case, the specifics do not support this characterization, but due to widespread economic inequality, this narrative has gained purchase and is difficult to fight against. Investments in the Arroyo need to come with a strong message about how these improvements benefit the entire city. For example, more water in the aquifer will keep increases in water rates to a minimum. There is also a need to increase the ecological literacy across the watershed. For example, a better understanding of the ecological impact of non-native trees, the water consumption of green lawns, and what truly constitutes wildlife habitat could help get everyone on the same page. This is where the proposed environmental education center at Hahamongna Watershed Park could play an important role as a regional anchor for ecological education and advocacy.

In the background of these debates are the economic interests that drive political priorities and decision-making. For Pasadena′s Arroyo, these interests center around the Rose Bowl. During the last quarter century, renovations have stockpiled debt for the Rose Bowl Operating Company (RBOC) and the City, necessitating use of the City′s general fund to service the debt and help the stadium and golf course maintain its viability (Williams 2022). This financial peril is what drove the pursuit of a National Football

League team for the stadium, which voters ultimately rejected after a divisive debate. Here too, the elitism charge aimed at the adjacent neighborhoods came into play (Scott 2005a). But studies showed the economic benefits of having a professional team use the stadium were inconclusive (Biederman and Morin 2005). Absent this multi-million-dollar lease, the RBOC has attempted to get creative such as hosting musical festivals on the golf course grounds. The Company has been diligent in its efforts, but tunnel vision on its balance sheet can lead to projects harmful to the Arroyo, such as the current proposal for a miniature, family-golf facility next to the flood control channel that will make future restoration efforts more difficult (see chapter 5). It can also lead to missing other ways to reduce costs, such as using the golf course and parking lots to capture stormwater the stadium can use for irrigation or composting food waste on-site that can reduce maintenance costs for the golf course. The RBOC shut down a promising pilot project that had already established the viability of this model (Lenches-Hinkel 2025; Thompson 2024).

The Los Angeles County Department of Public Works is currently finishing a long-delayed Army Corps of Engineers technical feasibility study about restoration opportunities for the entire Arroyo. Rather than simply looking at the price tag of these improvements, it is important to think about them as opportunities to provide green jobs and develop Pasadena′s green economy sector. Part of the oncoming reckoning will require a re-evaluation of how we measure wealth and prosperity. It will require more full-cost accounting and long-term thinking. And it will require clear efforts to demonstrate the benefit of the Arroyo to all of Pasadena, its recreational potential, and the ecosystem services it provides. It will also require a return to older cultural and spiritual beliefs that place health of the land and one another above the economy in our list of priorities. One of the coalition partners in the CREEC project is the Tongva Taraxat Paxaavxa Conservancy, a group affiliated with the Gabrieleno San Gabriel Band of Mission Indians in San

Gabriel. Learning with this tribal group, and others, about how to integrate these older beliefs into management of the Arroyo landscape through the CREEC project is a concrete step the City can take to navigate the social and environmental reckoning that many feel the community is confronting.

Timeline

Date	Relevant events	Physical changes to Pasadena's Arroyo parklands
2000 – Jan	Rose Bowl general manager Darryl Dunn reports that the stadium has a shortfall of $700,000 and is currently making annual payments of $1.3 million on $32 million of debt (Ulrich 1999).	
2000 - Feb	City Council tentatively approves Hahamongna Watershed Park Master Plan (Brick 2019)	
2000 - Apr	Kidspace Museum withdraws its initial museum plan after community opposition to its large footprint and the threat of lawsuits (Williams 2000a)	
2000 – Jul	Kidspace presents a new design for their museum that preserves the existing buildings of the Fannie Morrison Horticultural Center (Williams 2000b)	
2000 - Aug	Council votes to double major Rose Bowl events from twelve to twenty-five to help pay off debt (Winton 2000)	

2000 - Aug	City council gets report that says the 10 percent of golf course fee that is set aside for Arroyo park management has generated $2.3 million. But the golf course and Rose Bowl has used this money for renovations even though the golf course contract specified it was for the entire park. (Lee 2000a, 2000b, 2000c)	
2000 - Nov	Arroyo Seco Foundation (ASF) sues the city over lease to Kidspace Museum saying it violates the city charter ("Group sues over Kidspace lease" 2000)	
2000 - Dec	Arroyo Seco Foundation (ASF) and Northeast Trees (NET) hold first public meeting on the Arroyo Seco Watershed Restoration Feasibility Study (Arid 2000)	
2001 - Mar	City council votes to allow the stadium and golf course to vie for 10 percent of green fees set aside for park even though they already receive most of the golf course money and the Arroyo line item in the budget is only $5500 (Lee 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2001a, 2001d)	
2001 - Apr	Judge rules against Arroyo Seco Foundation and approves the City's lease with Kidspace Museum (Breuer 2001)	
2001 - Aug	Biologists identify rainbow trout in mountain watershed (Mozingo 2001)	Fire consumes three of eight abandoned historic bungalows where a number of houseless people stay along the Colorado Street Bridge next to the 9th Circuit Courthouse (Faught 2001)

2001 - Nov	City Council approves condominium proposal from Grand Vista Partners for hillside bungalows next to the Colorado Street Bridge reaching down to Desiderio Army Reserve Center in the Arroyo (Lee 2001e; Lee 2001b)	Construction begins on Kidspace Museum in the Fannie Morrison Horticultural Center (Lee 2001c)
2001	The Council of Arroyo Seco Agencies (CASA) begins meeting as the technical advisory group for the Arroyo Seco Watershed Restoration Feasibility Study, sponsored by North East Trees and the Arroyo Seco Foundation (Stewards of the Arroyo 2024c)	
2002 - Feb	City Council votes to allow RBOC to pursue an NFL team in the Rose Bowl to make up for loss of Galaxy Soccer and potential loss of UCLA to a newer stadium (Lee 2002)	
2002 - May	Draft of Pasadena Master Plan becomes public (di Massa 2002)	
2002 - May	Arroyo Seco Foundation and Northeast Trees release Arroyo Seco Watershed Restoration Feasibility Study	
2002 - Sept	Coalition to Protect the Arroyo Seco (CPAS) sends its comments on Master Plan Environmental Impact Report to the City (The Coalition for the Protection of the Arroyo Seco 2002)	

2003 - Jan	Based on community feedback, the City eliminates several elements in the draft Arroyo Seco Master Plan, including several roads and parking lots and the bike path in the Lower Arroyo. Remaining disagreements center on man-made lakes and soccer fields in Hahamongna Watershed Park (Scott 2003b)	
2003 - Mar	RBOC pitches $450 million redesign of Rose Bowl to NFL at Florida meeting (Farmer 2003)	
2003 - Apr	Arroyo Seco Foundation and CPAS upset the Arroyo Master Plan EIR doesn't consider potential NFL impacts (Scott 2003a)	
2003 - Apr	City Council approves Arroyo Seco Master Plan EIR (Scott 2003a)	
2003 - Jun	Arroyo Seco Foundation upset that Master Plan doesn't have technical recommendations for removing channel, though it endorses stream restoration wherever possible (Maddaus 2003b)	
2003 – Jun	The ArroyoFest: Freeway Walk and Bike Ride on June 15, 2003 closes the Arroyo Seco Parkway for a walk, bike ride, and community festival and draws attention to how the Arroyo can serve as a proving ground for a more livable Los Angeles. The organizing effort also builds relationships between individuals and grassroots	

	group working in the Arroyo from Lincoln Heights to Altadena	
2003 - Oct	City Council approves the Lower Arroyo and Hahamongna Master Plans in late-night session after elimination of two man-made lakes and moving of soccer fields from the east side of the park to the west side where the lakes would have gone (Madduas 2003a)	
2003 - Oct	Spirit of the Sage files lawsuit on Master Plan saying the City violated CEQA with the plan because it will damage wildlife habitat (Seckler 2003)	
2003 - Oct	Advocates argue that restoring native floodplain habitat in Hahamongna would be better at replenishing the Raymond Basin aquifer than compacted drainage basins, but the City wants to earn water credits for replenishing the aquifer so they can take out more water in the future. Having drainage basins instead of native habitat allows them to measure water going back to the aquifer (Seckler 2003)	
2004 - May	The City Council unanimously passes an ordinance restricting residential development on the city's hillsides in Linda Vista, San Rafael and Hastings Ranch ("Council Restricts Building on Hillsides" 2004)	

2004 - Jul	Pasadena Water and Power pushes NASA on cleanup at community meetings about contaminated wells (Paniccia 2004)	
2004 - Aug	RBOC pitches new stadium renovation to NFL and to Pasadena community (di Massa 2004)	
2004	Arroyo Seco Foundation organizes the first meeting of the Council of Arroyo Seco Organizations (CASO) to promote communication and cooperation between community-based organizations working to improve and enhance the Arroyo Seco region. The Foundation partners with the Council to host the first Arroyo Verde Awards for Arroyo advocates and allies (Rivera 2016; Stewards of the Arroyo 2024d)	
2005 - Feb		Large storms flood homes in Linda Vista and San Rafael with mud and water (Maddaus 2005a).
2005 - Apr		City uses $1 million in state funds to remove junk piles of concrete (McIntyre 2007; Thermos 2005)
2005 - May	City Council voted five to three to certify an environmental impact report for a proposed $500-million renovation of the Rose Bowl, an essential step in courting a National Football League team (Farmer 2005)	

2005 - Jun	WPRA proposes a blue-ribbon panel to plan the future of Rose Bowl led by west side neighborhood associations, environmentalists and preservation groups (Scott 2005a)	City of Pasadena re-acquires thirty acres in the northwest corner of Hahamongna from the Metropolitan Water District including the County Fire Camps and the former Forest Service ranger station. The City agrees to a covenant restricting use of the acreage to open space (Parker 2005)
2005 - Aug	*Star News* reports on the start of the Army Corps study with quotes from Gloria Molina and Adam Schiff in favor of stream restoration and the paper says the cost for concrete removal might be $500 million (Scott 2005b)	
2005 - Aug	*Star News* writes editorial favoring removal of concrete (Pasadena Star-News 2005)	
2005 - Sept	Council approves Central Arroyo Master Plan and the city dedicates the John C. Crowley trail from Linda Vista down into the Arroyo (Maddaus 2005b; Wilson 2005)	
2006 - Mar	Northeast Trees finishes its Arroyo Seco Watershed Restoration Plan (North East Trees 2006)	
2006 - May	City sponsors a charette to generate ideas for the thirty acres of land added to Hahamongna Watershed Park. Ideas include a native plant nursery, trail access points, and an environmental education center (Kleeman 2006b; Kleeman 2006a)	

2006 - Sep	City receives ten proposals for projects below the Colorado Street Bridge on the Desiderio Army Reserve Center that the Department of Defense is returning to the City of Pasadena (J. Williams 2007b)	A Texas man attempts to burn down condominiums under construction adjacent and below the 9th Circuit Courthouse; officials arrest him in 2009 based on DNA evidence (Day 2009)
2006 - Nov	Pasadena voters reject the City leasing the Rose Bowl to a National Football League team (Ruiz 2006)	
2006 - Dec	Arroyo Seco Foundation wins $2 million for Central Arroyo Stream Restoration Program and city matches (Stewards of the Arroyo 2025)	
2007 - Feb	Council considers top proposals for 5.1 acre Desiderio site below the Colorado Street Bridge and decides to approve a hybrid of a proposal from the Arroyo Seco Foundation and the California Art Club for an Art and Environmental Center and one from Habitat for Humanity for affordable housing (Williams 2007a)	
2008-Summer		Arroyo Seco Foundation completes work on the Central Arroyo Stream Restoration Program, restoring native fish and improving habitat above and below the Rose Bowl (Brick 2019)
2008 - Dec	Pasadena Heritage wins placement of the Arroyo Seco on the National Register of Historic Places (Williams 2008)	

2009 - Feb		City authorizes $6.5 million purchase of twenty-one acres for Annandale Canyon Park. The money comes from a $2.5 million grant from the Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy, $1.36 million from a tax that neighbors voted to pay toward the purchase price, $2.1-million balance will come from residential impact fees, and $500,000 from the county's Proposition A funds (Williams 2009a)
2009 - April	Outward Bound Adventures receives $500,000 of federal recovery money for conservation job training (Williams and Hong 2009)	
2009 – Aug		Station Fire burns 95 percent of upper Arroyo Seco watershed (Pradhan and Floyd 2021)
2009 - Oct		City of Pasadena dedicates twenty-one-acre Annandale Canyon Park (Williams 2009b)
2010 - Jan		Flooding after Station Fire washes out the Central Arroyo Stream Restoration work and adds more than one million cubic yards of sediment to the basin behind Devil's Gate Dam (Holmes 2009; Piasecki 2011)
2010 - Jul	Forty people argue to the City Council for removal of remaining soccer fields in Hahamongna Watershed Park Master Plan (Abendschein 2010)	

2010 - Aug	Vista del Arroyo condos above Desiderio Park sell at auction for $6 million (Beresford 2010)	
2010 - Oct	Rose Bowl proposes $152 million renovation to take advantage of low-interest rates and construction costs (Li 2010)	
2010 – Dec	Professor Peter Dreier from Occidental College compiles data showing the Pasadena has some of the worst income inequality in the state (Dreier 2010)	
2010	Hahamongna Watershed Park Annex added to the park's master plan (Brick 2019)	
2010	Arroyo Seco Foundation wins $3.3 million for improvements to Arroyo Seco Canyon above Hahamongna Watershed Park and allows Pasadena Water and Power to manage the program (Brick 2019)	
2011 - Apr		Celebration for the re-opening of the casting pond in Lower Arroyo after repair and refurbishing by the City and the Pasadena Casting Club (Gonzalez 2011)
2011	Concerns raised by users of the Lower Arroyo about the safety of the archery range (Coleman 2013)	
2012 - Jan	Rose Bowl pays for visit by the Urban Land Institute (ULI) staff to assess the Central Arroyo area (Urban Land Institute 2012)	

2012 - Jul	ULI submits its final report to the public (City of Pasadena Planning Department 2012)	
2012 - Nov	Council votes to increase Rose Bowl major events to twenty-five and allows discussions on using the stadium as a temporary home as way to pay off Rose Bowl's debt (Piasecki 2012a, 2012b)	
2013 - Mar	City decides to move soccer fields in the Hahamongna Master Plan to Muir High School and leave the park's wild habitat intact (Figueroa 2013)	
2013 - Fall	Debate about Roving Archers getting exclusive use of the West Side property; formation of a Lower Arroyo Ad Hoc Subcommittee to try to resolve the issue fails to produce an acceptable compromise (Coleman 2013)	
2013 - Dec	Revised plan for regulation of the archery range land goes to the Rec and Parks Commission (Gold 2013)	
2014 - Fall	Arroyos & Foothills Conservancy campaigns to acquire Cottonwood Canyon takes shape (Cardine 2014)	
2014 – Sep	Department of Public Works describes their Oak Grove Area Improvements Project to the Hahamongna Watershed Advisory Committee that will make improvements to the southwest portion of Hahamongna	

	Watershed Park (City of Pasadena Department of Public Works 2014)	
2014 – Oct	President Obama creates new San Gabriel Mountains National Monument under the Antiquities Act but inexplicably leaves out the Arroyo Seco (Scauzillo 2014)	
2014 - Nov	County approves removing 2.4 million cubic yards of sediment from Arroyo behind Devil's Gate Dam, what opponents come to refer to as "The Big Dig" (Karlamangla 2014)	
2014 - Nov	Council approves plan for affordable housing and parkland on the Desiderio Park site ("Desiderio Plan Moving Forward" 2014)	
2014 - Dec	Arroyo Seco Foundation and Pasadena Audubon Society sue the County to reduce the negative impacts of sediment removal program (Brick 2017b, 2019)	
2014		Arroyo Seco Foundation begins Hahamongna Native Plant Nursery with assistance from Pasadena Water and Power (Brick 2025)
2015 - Feb	City approves a new one-year agreement with Pasadena Roving Archers after an eight-hour meeting that ended at 2:30 a.m., the longest in 10 years (Coleman 2015b)	

2015 - Mar	Stewards of Public Land sues the City saying it violated the California Environmental Quality Act in allowing the archery range to continue its operations (Coleman 2015a)	
2015 - Jul	RBOC votes 11-0 not to respond to NFL's RFP and pursue AEG music and art festival instead (Farmer 2015)	
2015 - Jul	Spirit of the Sage sues to block the Arroyo Seco Canyon Project over the City's mitigated negative declaration of the environmental impact report (Uhrich 2015)	
2015	Pasadena amends the Lower Arroyo Seco Master Plan that restricts public access to the archery range on the west side of the flood control channel over safety concerns. The Stewards of Public Land sues for continued access but the lawsuit fails (Brick 2019)	
2016 Nov	Army Corps of Engineers present to roughly a hundred people various options to restore the Arroyo's stream and remove or alter the flood control channel (Wilson 2016)	
2016	The idea for One Arroyo Foundation comes together after a delegation from Pasadena travels to New York	

	City to meet with the Central Park Conservancy (One Arroyo Foundation 2025)	
2017 - Mar	Judge orders Los Angeles County to revise their environmental impact report to account for air quality impacts and the cumulative impacts of the project (Brick 2019)	
2017 - Jun		La Loma Bridge rededicated to honor John Van de Kamp after $16 million reconstruction ("La Loma Bridge proposals renames it for late official " 2017)
2017 - Jul	The Arroyo Advisory Group presents entertainment and development ideas for the Arroyo at a public meeting but most want restoration of the River (Scauzillo 2017)	
2017 - Sep	Mayor Tornek leads Arroyo walks to build support for the Arroyo Advisory Group (Scauzilo 2017)	
2017 - Nov	The County Board of Supervisors approve the County's revised EIR but reduce total sediment removal to 1.7 million cubic yards (Brick 2019)	
2017 – Nov	The Arroyo Advisory Group organizes One Arroyo Day at Brookside Park to engage the public about the future of the canyon (Chapman 2017)	
2017	Superior Court judge orders Pasadena to do a full environmental impact review of the Arroyo Seco	

	Canyon Project; the delay in completing the project results in losing the $3.3 million grant (Brick 2019)	
2017	Arroyo Seco Foundation receives a grant from the National Fish and Wildlife Foundation to study trout in the Arroyo Seco and begins its Trout Scout program (Brick 2025)	
2018	Arroyo Advisory Group issues its final report that the City Council gives its approval. To implement one of the recommendations of the report, One Arroyo Foundation incorporates as a non-profit organization (One Arroyo Foundation 2025)	Contractors for the County begin a three-week removal of riparian habitat, which they transport to Scholl Canyon landfill (Brick 2019)
2019 - Jun	Lower Arroyo to receive $3.5 million for stream restoration but Pasadena choses to use the money for a water quality improvement project of San Rafael Creek to bring the city into compliance with the Regional Water Quality Control Board instead of advancing removal of flood control channel (Scauzillo 2019)	
2019 – Sep		Groundbreaking for the Berkshire Creek restoration project in Hahamongna Watershed Park; the project is a partnership between the Arroyo Seco Foundation and the City of Pasadena Department of Public Works (Cardine 2019; Stewards of the Arroyo 2024b)
2019 – Oct	Biologist for the City of Pasadena hikes up the Arroyo to look for trout on a low-water day and reports there	

	are no trout in the River, simplifying the environmental assessment for the City's Arroyo Seco Canyon Project (Rivera 2019)	
2020 - April	Upper LA River and Tributaries Revitalization Plan includes channel removal in the Lower Arroyo as a priority project (Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy 2020)	
2020 – Sep		The City completes the Berkshire Creek restoration project (Stewards of the Arroyo 2024b)
2020 – Nov	City Council approves the Lower Arroyo Habitat Restoration Program but changes the original plan to exempt large non-native eucalyptus and Canary Island pines from the removal list based on feedback from members of the community ("Arroyo Seco Habitat Restoration Passes After Tree Discussion as Part of Consent Calendar" 2020)	
2020 – Dec		State biologists transfer 469 Rainbow trout from the West Fork of the San Gabriel River to the Arroyo as a precautionary measure after the Bobcat Fire in summer of 2020 (Pareti 2020)
2021 - Jun	The status of rainbow trout in the upper Arroyo Seco sparks discussion of whether the Arroyo Seco Canyon Project has gone undergone adequate environmental review (Sahagún 2021).	

2021 – July	The Pasadena City Council approves the Environmental Impact Report for the Arroyo Seco Canyon Project (City of Pasadena Department of Water and Power 2023)	
2021 – Aug		Los Angeles County Public Works finishes clearing sediment from behind Devil's Gate Dam (Wilson 2021)
2021 – Sep		Los Angeles County Public Works finishes construction work in Hahamongna Watershed Park (Wilson 2021)
2021	City makes $11.5 million in debt service payments for past Rose Bowl renovations; the stadium uses a pandemic-era federal grant for closed venues to pay another $10 in fiscal year 2022 (Williams 2022)	City completes Lower Arroyo Habitat Restoration Program (Coleman 2020b)
2021	Coalition led by Outward Bound Adventures assembles to move forward the creation of the Climate Resilience Environmental Education Center (CREEC) in Hahamongna Watershed Park.	
2022 - Jun	*Pasadena Now* reports that the Rose Bowl projects it will lose $2.8 million in 2023 but will not need money from the general fund to pay their bills as they will use reserves (Coleman 2022)	

2023 - Jan	Mitigated Negative Declaration on the RBOC's proposal for family golf course goes out for public comment (PlaceWorks 2023)	
2023 – Mar	Arroyo Seco Foundation and the California Art Club organizes a Hahamongna Walkabout and Paint Out to mark the thirty-year anniversary of the creation of Hahamongna Watershed Park	
2023 – May	Tim Brick leaves Arroyo Seco Foundation to start Stewards of the Arroyo program as part of Stewards of Public Land.	
2023 – May	Senators Feinstein and Padilla introduced S.1466 - Rim of the Valley Corridor Preservation Act, which would strengthen the National Park Service's ability to assist with Arroyo Seco conservation efforts, including purchasing important parcels of land (Cosgrove 2024)	
2023 – Jul	City Council tables RBOC's plan to expand the driving range and install a lighted, miniature, "family" golf course to allow more time for public input and more study of the financial estimates provided by RBOC (Orona 2023)	
2023 – Oct	Active San Gabriel Valley and Metropolitan Transit Authority host the second ArroyoFest, drawing close to 50,000 people on the Arroyo Seco Parkway as part of their "open Streets series of events.	

2024 – Mar	L.A. County Board of Supervisor unanimously votes to put $2.5 million toward completing the long-delayed Arroyo Seco Ecosystem Restoration Feasibility Study and Multi-use Project Implementation Plan that will assess opportunities to restore the Arroyo Seco and native fish and wildlife habitat (Scauzillo 2024)	
2024 – May	President Biden expands the San Gabriel National Monument to include the Arroyo Seco watershed (Rivera 2024)	
2024 – Jun	Stillwater Science completes first technical analysis about the feasibility of removing Brown Mountain Dam in the Upper Arroyo Seco watershed (Brick 2025)	
2024 – Jun	Pasadena City Council approves the Mitigated Negative Declaration for the Arroyo Seco Water Re-use Project (Kim 2024)	
2024 – Jul	*Los Angeles Times* reports that biologists estimate there are 4000 rainbow trout in the Arroyo Seco watershed, a large population that is trapped in the mountains and vulnerable to drought and mudslides (Seidman 2024)	One Arroyo Foundation breaks ground on its Trail Critical Linkages Project in Central and Lower Arroyo (Solorzano 2024)
2024 – Nov	Save San Pascual Park files lawsuit to force the City of Pasadena to do a full Environmental Impact Report for the Arroyo Seco Water Reuse Project (Stewards of the Arroyo 2024a)	

2024 – Dec		One Arroyo Foundation completes work on Phase 1 of its Trail Critical Linkages Project in Central and Lower Arroyo (Liu 2024a)
2025 – Jan	City of Pasadena withdraws its approval of the Mitigated Negative Declaration for the Arroyo Seco Water Re-use Project. The City agrees to do a full Environmental Impact Review for the project.	

Quotes

Pasadena Star-News reports on the debate about soccer fields in Hahamongna

"A three-hour debate during Monday's public hearing boiled down to a philosophical tug-of-war over the park's direction--whether it should be left largely untouched as a nature-oriented preserve, or if it should be developed with soccer fields, picnic sites and camping areas."

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"Athletic fields at city parks are used so much that the grass is rutted, trampled and full of bare patches, and the fields are in such demand that taking them out of commission for a period to recover isn't an option, Little said." (Schubert 2000a)

Pasadena Star-News explains the demand for more soccer fields on city land

"Five months ago, AYSO paid to have 11,000 square feet of sod laid on Victory Park's upper field and a chain-link fence erected to protect the grass while it took hold, Hill said. The city picked up one-third of the $10,000 tab, but the turf barely made it through the season."

"That's an expense AYSO can't afford every season -- another reason soccer enthusiasts are so adamant that Hahamongna must include more fields. Not all of them have to be full size, he noted because AYSO has so many teams of little kids, who play on smaller fields." (Schubert 2000c)

Pasadena Star-News explains the controversy over golf course fees set aside for the Arroyo

"The city has discovered that about $2 million in 1992 bond money intended for the Arroyo Seco was instead spent on other purposes, including renovations at the Rose Bowl."

"The news, announced last week as residents were already scrutinizing the city's handling of arroyo funds, has angered park advocates and Mayor Bill Bogaard."

"The mayor said the revelation has 'embarrassed' the city and he called for an audit to explain the discrepancy.

"Given that the only annual revenue earmarked for the arroyo is developer fees -- which have averaged about $5,500 a year - arroyo advocates wonder why the city sent most of the 1992 money to the Rose Bowl." (Lee 2000c)

Councilmember Bill Crowfoot argues that for the City the Rose Bowl is too important to fail

'The Rose Bowl plays too much of a role in the city's self-image and image around the world for us to ignore it.

'"To ignore the Rose Bowl, to allow it to become a hulk would be irresponsible for Pasadena. That's the bottom line.'" (Lacques 2001)

Pasadena Star-News reports on the negative reaction of Pasadena residents to the initial draft of the Arroyo Seco Master Plan

"Nature lovers, equestrians and anxious neighbors lambasted the city's plan for the Arroyo Seco at a Recreation and Parks Commission meeting this week."

"Most of the 50-lus people who attended the meeting Tuesday night at Victory Park were highly critical of the Arroyo Seco Master Plan."

"The multimillion-dollar plan calls for new sports fields, bike trails and several new parking areas in the city's largest open space."

"'I was just appalled by what I saw,' said Altadena resident Dierdre West, who blasted the portion of the plan covering Hahamongna Watershed Park in the upper arroyo. 'It's like Disneyland's Tom Sawyer Island with parking lots.'" (Lee 2002)

Pasadena Star-News reports on the support of Pasadena's elected officials for removing the Arroyo's flood control channel

"As far as the political climate goes, the days are long gone when the mayor would publicly oppose a preservation campaign because he doesn't like mosquitoes.

"'If the studies support the feasibility of the removal of the channel,' said Mayor Bill Bogaard, 'I'd be enthusiast about removing the channel at least from the Lower Arroyo.'

"McKenney, who spared six-tenths of a mile 30 years ago but insists he's not an environmentalist, said it doesn't take an environmentalist to advocate stream restoration"

"'I don't think there's anyone in Pasadena who doesn't share that goal,' he said. 'I'm just struck by how people have become more aware and more appreciative of the Arroyo since the days when the city would put the prospect of channelizing on the consent calendar. That to me, shows tremendous progress.'" (Madduas 2003b)

Los Angeles Times reports on the debate over the Rose Bowl hosting an NFL team and how much it will benefit the city

"I am absolutely, passionately diametrically opposed to it," said Sue Mossman, executive director of Pasadena Heritage, an organization devoted to preserving the city's historical structures. "If we did this to our city, it would be a tragedy."

"Supporters argue that Pasadena would get a good deal from the NFL. The league would make $500 million worth of improvements to the aging stadium, which now loses money."

"But opponents said there is much more than money at stake: They see the character of Pasadena at risk with the NFL."

"I believe the NFL is a bad fit for Pasadena. It would not enhance our community strengths, which include a reputation for college football ... science and technology, arts and culture, architectural heritage, quality neighborhoods and a strong local economy."

"Bogaard said that a recent study by UCLA's Anderson School of Management of the economic impact of the NFL's moving into the Rose Bowl was not encouraging. Although the NFL would renovate the stadium at an estimated cost of $500 million and maintain it, "the indirect community benefits are modest to the point of trivial."

"The study indicated that the annual economic benefit would be $3 million in a city economy of $6 billion annually, and only about 100 jobs would be created in a city that employs more than 100,000 people."

"The report also dimmed the hopes of local hoteliers and restaurateurs that their establishments would be jammed. "NFL fans don't stay overnight except for the Super Bowl," the mayor said." (Biederman and Morin 2005)

Pasadena Star-News reports on proposal by West Pasadena residents to establish a committee to discuss the future of the Rose Bowl

"There is also a question as to whether the three council members who most supported the NFL bid are willing to give the West Pasadena neighbors and preservationists any control over the process."

"'I think there are plenty of folks around town that think the neighborhoods around the Rose Bowl hijacked the discussion here and didn't give the city a reasonable opportunity to pursue something that could have been a huge windfall.' Councilman Paul Little said."

"Little called Plan B 'a fiction' that pretends there are solutions that haven't already been explored."

"'Plan B is going to be public financing or the status quo."

"Currently, the Rose Bowl loses about $2 million a year because of debt incurred on renovations made in the 1990s. To make up the difference, the city depends on revenues from the Brookside Golf Course." (Scott 2005a)

Pasadena Star-News editorial advocates for removal of the flood control channel

"Two decades ago, that call by a few to get rid of the concrete was considered sheer crackpotism."

"Now, as Staff Writer Gary Scott's front-page story detailed on Monday, even the Corps of Engineers itself has signed on 'to mount a serious technical study' of removing at least some of the concrete, and eventually improving the parkland and pathways along the riverbed." (Pasadena Star-News 2005)

Los Angeles Times reports on the skeptical reaction of Rose Bowl neighbors to proposed renovations

"When a Rose Bowl official explained to a room of residents from Pasadena's scenic Arroyo Seco neighborhood Saturday that proposed renovation of the stadium was not tied to luring a professional football team to the area, he was met with a lone, sarcastic 'Ha!'"

"Officials say updating the Rose Bowl is their primary concern and that inviting a football team to help pay for it is only one of several options, albeit the only one that's been seriously considered." (Pierson 2005)

Occidental Professor Peter Dreier, summarizes data showing that Pasadena competes for most inequalities in the state

"The reality is that the poor and working-class families are being pushed out of the city by rising housing costs. This is a major reason for the decline in enrollment in Pasadena Unified School District (PUSD) schools...PUSD's declining enrollment and budget woes are due in large part to the displacement of the poor, not the flight of the middle class.

"According to the city's state-required Housing Element report, Pasadena has met less than 30% of its need for low-income housing. In contrast, the city has met 253% of its need for market-rate and luxury housing."

"The goal of a city housing agenda must recognize the importance of maintaining a diverse, vibrant city where people of all incomes can live, work, and play." (Dreier 2010)

Columnist Sue Horton writes in the *Los Angeles Times* about the wildlife that continue to live in Hahamongna despite the disruption

"As nature goes, the Hahamongna basin is not pristine.

"The wide, sandy arroyo, bounded by oak woodlands, sits just north of Devil's Gate Dam on the border of Pasadena, Altadena and La Canada Flintridge. A gravel operation there, closed decades ago, has left scars on the landscape, and a Frisbee golf course threads in and out of the oaks. Noise from the 210 Freeway on the south end and the Jet Propulsion Laboratory at the north is ever-present. And if all that weren't enough, the Environmental Protection Agency has declared this part of the Arroyo Seco a Superfund site because of groundwater contamination by JPL, which once dumped solvents and rocket fuel in the area.

"But what I love about the place is that nature has stubbornly refused to give up. The arroyo provides crucial habitat for stressed flora and fauna struggling to survive along the border between urban land and open space, and every time I go there I see something remarkable.

"A dense forest of willows has grown up along the seasonal stream bed, and it has drawn an amazing array of wildlife. Once, while walking among the trees, I came upon a fox slowly making its way down the path in front of me. I have seen a bobcat in the stream bed and regularly see deer, coyotes and rattlesnakes. A couple of years ago, workers at JPL were surprised to see a mountain lion sunning itself on a rock near the bridge from their parking lot. And then there are the birds. This winter, when early rains created a lake in the basin above the dam, I counted six species of ducks, including, for my money, the most beautiful of them all, the hooded merganser. California chaparral species -- quail, thrashers, towhees, wrentits and the like -- are endemic, and during fall and spring migration a huge variety of expected and unexpected birds put in appearances. The best bird I ever spotted there was a hooded warbler, a small songbird whose usual range doesn't extend west of Texas. It had somehow gotten off course during migration and

ended up singing its spring song in a willow tree near the stream bed. I rarely walk in the area without seeing at least two dozen bird species, and often many more." (Horton 2011)

Advocate Hugh Bowles argues that a stream habitat would be more effective than drainage basins in capturing groundwater

"The city's harvest from Hahamongna is water -- 40 percent of its annual needs at a quarter of the price of the remained purchased from the Metropolitan Water District (MWD). The porous alluvial soil structures in the basin are like a sponge. So why does the Hahamongna Park Plan call for so many projects that smother or compact those structures? The key lies in the city's approach to water conservation itself. Those familiar with the area know there is a relay of ponds at the north end of the basin--officially termed spreading basins. Under a 40-year-old agreement, the city pumps water from the underlying Raymond Basin aquifer based on how much water it can get into those ponds each year. The city does this by diverting the stream. The theory is that removing water from the stream and putting it in ponds replenishes the aquifer. Aside from storm events, the city diverts all stream flow up to 20 cubic feet per second (cfs). The new Arroyo Seco Canyon Project, armed with a $3.2 million grant, aims to increase the city's diversion capacity to 30 cfs. This will allow the city to maximize its pumping capacity under the agreement. The project includes converting the JPL parking lot into more spreading basins. The more water in ponds, the more the city can pump from the aquifer. With the water supply corralled, the remainder of the basin is up for grabs. As one staff member said, 'There is a lot of land in Hahamongna.' There is no need to nurture the sponge; it can be paved, compacted, filled, and the city can still maximize its water extraction. This all sounds great...until you read a study by Philip Williams and Associates (PWA), a firm of hydrology consultants commissioned in 2000 to provide input to the park plan. PWA cited an earlier study by Converse Consultants West, which found the spreading basins were by 'orders of magnitude' less porous than the nearby soils in the basin--they collect silt and heavy maintenance equipment creates compaction. PWA estimated the natural stream could absorb all the water the city currently diverts before it hits the dam; this is water underground, not in ponds. In addition, evidence suggests the best recharge of the aquifer occurs when the stream flows and water is held behind the dam for short periods. None of this is featured in the city's plans."

"The pumping agreement gives the city an incentive to kill the stream in Hahamongna--the deader the better; there is no credit for letting the stream flow. But science, attitudes and the evidence suggests the Raymond Basin Management Board and the city should move out of the 1970s. We are not sure how much of the water contained in the ponds simply evaporates, or if it is wise to build more ponds on top of an area that has absorbed the residue of hundreds of cars per day for the last several decades. The natural systems in the basin appear well equipped to aid the city's water allocation." (Bowles 2013)

Pasadena Weekly reports on the controversy over trail access across the Pasadena Roving Archers' range.

"According to Spiers, the issue of safety came up in 2011, when residents living in the Lower Arroyo began complaining about the range. That led to a city proposal in May to place a large fence around the range and remove several of its targets. PRA members rejected that idea and other proposed restrictions and conditions and showed up en masse at a Recreation and Parks Commission meeting in an effort to convince commissioners to side with them."

"A Lower Arroyo Ad Hoc Subcommittee was formed, made up of three archers, three hikers and three members of the Recreation and Parks Commission. The subcommittee was chaired by preservationists Ann Schied and activist Clair Bogaard, wife of Pasadena Mayor Bill Bogaard."

"The committee eventually disbanded without coming to any formal resolution on the controversy."

"A short time later, Spiers said he was approached by a city staffer who advised him that the city was considering moving the archery range to a property in East Pasadena, which was formerly operating as a shooting range by the Police Department."

"I went and had a look, and from our perspective, it could be a very nice target range," Spiers said. "It is not a replacement for a field archery range. It requires a tremendous amount of work. It would have to be torn down and rebuilt. It was an environmental disaster area...lead in the ground. The cleanup would be very expensive." (Coleman 2013)

Opinion article in the *Los Angeles Times* against the County's removal of sediment to behind Devil's Gate Dam

"The mountains will continue to seek the sea. And the sole purpose of L.A. County's dams should not be to stop the flow. New and creative solutions are desperately needed for managing the sediment that accumulates behind dams and the water that is diverted and often wasted over spillways and in concrete channels."

"That is why many of those commenting on the environmental impact report now circulating for Devil's Gate are asking for a fuller evaluation of other solutions before embracing a costly and environmentally reckless plan. We've called for the appointment

of a blue-ribbon committee to work with county engineers on fully evaluating the options. If we don't come up with a long-range, comprehensive plan for managing both sediment and the valuable rainwater that collects behind dams, we'll find ourselves in this boat all over again in the not-too-distant future." (Balvin 2014)

Pasadena Star-News reports on a meeting about the future of the Arroyo where most want restoration of a natural stream

"The ideas came pouring in: a fine dining restaurant designed in the arts and crafts style; a coffee bar serving cyclists and joggers on the Rose Bowl loop, an amphitheater for staging live theater or showing movies; converting float-decorating warehouses during summer months into indoor soccer pitches."

"These were just some of the amenities the mayor's Arroyo Advisory Group proposed for the central Arroyo Seco Park, unveiled for the first time Tuesday night in front of more than 100 people at the Pasadena Convention Center."

"And for the most part, the ideas did not find a warm reception."

"During the open mic portion, a majority said they wanted less commercial activity in the Arroyo, not more. Many said more events would only bring more traffic to the surrounding neighborhoods."

"But most spoke of restoring the Arroyo Seco, a natural stream that begins in the mountains." (Scauzillo 2017)

City councilmember Felicia Williams writes about the challenges posed by the Rose Bowl's debt obligations

"With a $30 million deficit projected over the next 5 years, the Rose Bowl needs a more stable financial structure to continue for the next 100 years. The new structure will likely involve an investment from the City's General Fund, which should be accompanied by increased transparency and accountability of taxpayer dollars, and a requirement that the stadium serve all of the people in Pasadena equitably. This is just the start of a much-needed community conversation."

"In the current fiscal year, the City's General Fund paid $12 million to cover the Rose Bowl's debt, and the Federal government provided a $10 million grant for shuttered venues to pay operating expenses. As a result of this taxpayer infusion, the Rose Bowl managed to lose only $198,000 this year instead of the projected $7.4 million loss."

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"On the revenue side, examining things like Arroyo parking fees, removing the $1.50 cap on the ticket Admission Tax, and upgrading Brookside Golf Club are preferable to the proposed boutique hotels, mini golf, amphitheater, and other development in the Arroyo that are highly risky. A deep dive into the operations side and cost saving measures, like aligning staff salary structures with other entities that receive a Calpers pension (and is a pension still appropriate for a private non-profit?) is also critical."

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"As a City-owned asset, we need to ensure that the Rose Bowl serves everyone in the City, not just the people who can afford a ticket or luxury box." (Williams 2022).

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Appendix 32: Documented support for removal of Pasadena′s Arroyo Seco flood control channel

Date	Description
1949 – Jan	Residents along the Lower Arroyo advocate for the City of Pasadena to purchase Lower Busch Gardens and deliver a petition that states “"The construction of the storm drain has seriously impaired, if not totally ruined this area as a scenic asset” ("Seeks Busch Gardens for Park: Petition Asks City Steps" 1949).
1964 – Nov	The City Board of Directors adopts the Jencks Resolution that includes "Study ways of eliminating or modifying flood control channels after additional check dams in the upper arroyo have removed or reduced their necessity. In the meantime, planting will be started to reduce the 'unsightliness' of the flood control facilities" ("Pasadena Program: Arroyo Becomes Natural Park Arroyo" 1964).
1971 – Dec	The City Parks Commission approves the Arroyo Seco Master Plan Steering Committee report that lists as one of its recommendations covering the entire length of the flood control channel ("Arroyo Seco Plan Approved" 1971).
1977	The City incorporates the Jencks Resolution into its General Plan (Lloyd 1978).
1980	U.S. Army Corps' 1980 study entitled *Los Angeles County Drainage Area System Recreation Study* says the Lower Arroyo between the Colorado Street Bridge and the La Loma (van de Kamp) Bridge is one area where the flood control channel is not necessary (Aultfather et al. 1988).
1985 - Jan	Artists Helen and Newton Harrison open their exhibition of “Arroyo Seco Release” at Baxter Art Gallery on the Caltech Campus. The exhibit includes photos, poetry, and landscape designs, The work describes a plan to remove water from the flood control channel and cover the concrete (Harrison, Harrison, and Belloli 1985).
1985 – Mar	*Los Angeles Times* reports that "The consensus is that the channel is not necessary and should be torn out, but project costs--estimated as high as $10 million--appear to make the move impossible, Mayor Bogaard and other the city leaders said" (Avery 1985).

1988 – Oct	Cal Poly Pomona Landscape Architecture formally recommends removal of the channel in the Lower Arroyo between the Colorado and La Loma Bridges, estimating the cost at $4.4 million (Dunn 1988).
1997 – Feb	The City Council approves in concept Lower Arroyo Seco Master Plan that directs staff to continue to explore opportunities for flood control channel removal (City of Pasadena 2015).
2002 – May	Arroyo Seco Foundation and Northeast Trees release their Arroyo Seco Watershed Feasibility Study advocating for removal of the flood control channel (North East Trees and Arroyo Seco Foundation 2001).
2003 – Jun	*Pasadena Star-News* reports that stream restoration and removal of the flood control channel is a goal of the City (Maddaus 2003).
2003 - Sept	The City Council approves the Lower Arroyo Seco Master Plan, which states "In its review of the 1996 Draft Master Plan for the Lower Arroyo Seco, the Recreation and Parks Commission, with the unanimous endorsement of various other commissions in the City of Pasadena, recommended that the elimination of the concrete channel between the Colorado Street Bridge and the La Loma Road Bridge remain the highest of priorities" (City of Pasadena 2015, 3-3).
2005 – Aug	*Pasadena Star-News* reports on the start of an Army Corps of Engineers Restoration Feasibility Study and says the study has the support of County Supervisor Gloria Molina and Representative Adam Schiff. The article reports the cost of restoration for the entire Arroyo Seco at $500 million (Scott 2005).
2005 – Aug	*Pasadena Star-News* endorses removal of the concrete flood control channel (Pasadena Star-News 2005)
2006 – Mar	Northeast Trees submits its Arroyo Seco Watershed Management and Restoration Plan to California Water Resources Control Board identifying removal of the Lower Arroyo's flood control channel as a priority project (North East Trees 2006).
2012 – Jun	Urban Land Institute study of the Central Arroyo and Rose Bowl includes stream naturalization west of the stadium as one of its recommendations (Urban Land Institute 2012).

2020 – Apr	Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy releases its Upper Los Angeles River and Tributaries Revitalization Plan that identifies removing the flood control channel as a priority project (Santa Monica Mountains Conservancy 2020).

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Appendix 33: A narrative history of Arroyo recreation

pre-1880

Prior to 1880, the Arroyo hosted recreation activities belonging to three different cultures. For Gabrieleno/Tongva families, McCawley (1996) describes a game of trying to throw a cane pole through a ring rolling along the ground, a dice game, and a guessing game with an umpire called a peon or *churchorke*. Native people also organized sweats, or dry saunas, that were both hygienic and recreational. During the Rancho era, horsemanship was important for men, and several of the games the Tournament of Roses organized after their parade had their origins in these contests (Scheid 1988). The main form of domestic recreation revolved around fiestas, which were elaborate displays of wealth and social status. Manuel Garfias' palatial hacienda overlooking the Arroyo in South Pasadena doubtlessly hosted some of these parties during the handful of years he owned the rancho (Saavedra 2018). Recreation during the early years of the American settlement of Pasadena consisted of wagon rides, picnicking, and baseball on the schoolgrounds at Fair Oaks and Colorado (Giddings 1949). Race infused some of these activities. Whit Elliot, the son of Thomas Elliot, the leader of the colonists that founded the City, sometimes drove the wagon carrying young people from house to house in blackface. Minstrelsy was also a popular form of entertainment among these early settlers (Giddings 1949; Wood 1917).

1880 - 1899

The founding of the Valley Hunt Club in 1888 as a group devoted to outdoor exercise was central to the development of recreation in Pasadena (Scheid 1988). Charles Frederick Holder provides vivid descriptions of the Club's hunts in and around the Arroyo, with horse parties following packs of hounds chasing foxes, bobcats, coyotes, and rabbits up and down the Arroyo,

over and across the Monterey Hills, and through the farms and orchards of Pasadena (Holder 1906). But outdoor luncheons were also an important part of the outings. The club also organized a Hunt Ball as an important social event.



Figure 233. *Illustration of a Valley Hunt Club Hunting Party ("Nearing the Finish" 1889)*

The evolution of recreation intersected with the sometimes-violent debate over whether and how Pasadena would regulate alcohol. The opening of a saloon on Colorado Street in 1884 made temperance a central issue in local politics and ultimately resulted in the formal incorporation of the city in 1886 as a way for residents to contain the evils of drink (Reid and McClatchie 1895; Wood 1917). This coincided with the explosive growth of Pasadena during the real estate boom that lasted from 1885 to 1888, when the bottom fell out of the market and the population, which had ballooned from roughly 2,000 to more than 12,000, dropped back to just under 5,000 (Wood 1917). Ann Scheid (1988) in her history of the Valley Hunt Club notes

that most of the members were recent arrivals to Pasadena during the real estate boom of 1886 and came from the East Coast. Most of the original settlers came from the Midwest and were strong temperance advocates. The Easterners, however, had more liberal attitudes and held social events at different hotels that served wine and other spirits (Scheid 1988). This was offensive to many of the more religious settlers, but for the club members and the wealthy industrialists that had bought land during the boom and were remaking the town, alcohol was an integral part of their recreational pursuits. This was also true for the burgeoning working class that lived in tent camps on the outskirts of the city and that real estate investors depended upon to build the boomtown. Many of these laborers were people of color, immigrants, or Catholic, sometimes all three, and were easy to cast as the "other," a threat to the pious, Protestant, City on a Hill that the temperance crusaders wanted to create (James 2001). The compromise between the investor class and the religious zealots was to allow alcohol in private homes and hotels of a certain stature but otherwise prohibit public production, sale, and consumption. Historian Michael James (2001) argues that this bargain to keep the peace and allow development to proceed set a pattern of trying to control and regulate where and how working class and communities of color in Pasadena can live, work, and play that guided city policies across the 20th century, all under a self-righteous, paternalistic, and ultimately hypocritical banner of moral superiority that many feel persists to this day.

This was the social and economic context in which the Valley Hunt Club organized the first Tournament of Roses and Rose Parade for January 1, 1890. Pasadena was still reeling from the collapse of the real estate market and the investors were looking for a new way to promote the city. In the past, the town had organized two citrus fairs that attracted large crowds, and at the end of 1889, newspapers argued it was time for a third. Instead, at a December club meeting,

Holder and Dr. Francis Rowland proposed a holiday tournament. Their proposal combined the floral festivals from France and Italy with the Spanish and Mexican games that took place during the Mission and Rancho eras, familiar to Arturo Bandini, the son of a prominent Mexican family and an honorary club member. Holder said it would be a Tournament of Roses and framed it as a celebration of the ripening of the orange, which at the time was Pasadena's main crop (Scheid 1988).

The first Tournament of Roses spurred discussion of park development within the town, which had incorporated less than four years earlier. The first Tournament of Roses included various races and games and took place at Sportsmen Park, a vacant lot at the corner of Colorado and Los Robles. Just days after the first tournament, a Los Angeles Times article reported, "Some enterprising citizens at once came forward with the suggestion that the Valley Hunt Club, the Foot-ball Club and several other clubs combine in a purchase or rental of a piece of land large enough for a half-mile running track, a clubhouse and all the other various accouterments of a first-class driving and athletic organization" ("Pasadena's Park.: A Project That Will Likely Be Carried Through" 1890). The town created a parks commission and two real estate developers came forward with offers, likely understanding that having a park close to their holdings would boost their value. James de Barth Shorb, son-in-law of Henry Huntington, proposed the area south of California and east of Lake Avenue while A.J. Painter suggested a tract in Northwest Pasadena, near the present-day Muir High School. While the town commissioners debated terms, the second tournament in 1891 took place at Oak Grove Park picnic grounds on the west side of Arroyo.[160] Starting in 1892, the Club and later Tournament Association leased land just east of

[160] This area served as a popular picnic location as early as 1882 ("Oak Grove Park" 1882) and it served for the first meeting of the Science Association in 1892 that began a pattern of using the area for nature study ("Science Association: The First Field Meeting at Devil's Gate Canon" 1892). Los Angeles County did not complete Devil's

Wilson Avenue that today belongs to Caltech, eventually purchasing the area south of California and creating Tournament Park. The Tournament activities also inspired the Crown City Cycling Club to lease land near the intersection of Lincoln and Forest for a one-third mile cycling track and build grandstands that could hold 3,000 people. Over 4,000 attended the opening of the track on New Year's Day 1896. Unfortunately, not enough people made the dusty trek from downtown to watch the races, and the track faced foreclosure in December 1897, the land later subdivided for houses. Discussion of creating a municipal park system continued and the prospect of a bond issue came up in 1896 as a way to rectify what many saw as a deficiency ("City Council Asked to Establish Three Parks" 1896). But not everyone was in favor. The affluent landowners in West Pasadena had extensive gardens, built their own pools and tennis courts, and organized their own activities, such as the Columbia Hill Tennis Club (Scheid Lund 1999). Others, including noted ornithologist Joseph Grinnell, argued that the mountains and other open land was still close at hand and parks were unnecessary (Grinell 1897). Debates also began about how to best distribute parks across the city and how to balance parklands for tourists versus residents ("City Council Asked to Establish Three Parks" 1896). It wouldn't be until after the turn of the century that Pasadena would create its first official park and recreation would become more than simply a private affair.

Gate Dam until 1920. Los Angeles County maintained the area as Oak Grove Park for most of the 20th century before the City took control and renamed the area Hahamongna Watershed Park in 1993.



Figure 234. *Columbia Hills Tennis Club Rose Parade Float from the 1890s ("Pasadena. Tournament of Roses. 90's. Columbia Hill Tennis Club entry" 1890s, Courtesy of the Pasadena Public Library, Pasadena, California)*

1900-1919

Between 1900 and 1910, Pasadena's population increased more than threefold, from more than 9000 people to just over 30,000, creating a demand for more parks and recreational opportunities. Residents passed a $150,000 bond measure in 1902 to create Central Park, south of Colorado between Raymond and Fair Oaks Avenues, and Library Park (now Memorial Park), at Raymond and Walnut Avenues, then the location of the public library ("Expert Artist Hansen's Report on City Parks" 1902; "Laying Our Our Parks" 1902). Given the rapid growth of the city, these small parcels did not quell calls for more open space. Advocacy to turn the Arroyo into a

public park began among women's groups in 1903 (see appendix 31). Starting in 1904, there was also a concerted push to turn the estate and erstwhile botanical garden, known as Carmelita, north of Colorado, between Orange Grove and Vernon Avenues into a public park (see appendix 27). And in 1905, residents of northern Pasadena began arguing for a park south of the La Pintoresca Hotel that would equal Central Park in size ("Park Project Is To Wait" 1905). This advocacy would continue to build over a decade resulting in an ultimately unsuccessful 1913 bond issue that offered residents the opportunity to purchase the remaining private parcels in the Arroyo, a parcel in East Pasadena, Carmelita, and Monk Hill for public parks and playgrounds. Park advocates emphasized the importance of parks to develop healthy, moral children. They argued that parks would become the lungs of the growing city (Wood 1917). But only the Arroyo measure received a bare majority, and it fell short of the necessary two-thirds support to pass.



Figure 235. *House for Jeanne and Ezra Carr at Carmelita in 1890 (Jarvis ca 1890, photPF 24470, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.)*

Prior to this vote, the need for recreational facilities became apparent when three thousand people turned out for the opening of the City's first playground on the eastern portion

of Carmelita ("People now would buy grounds" 1909). Local banks held title to this land while a real estate syndicate of local investors and the Board of Trade worked to raise funds through subscriptions to build a convention hall, casino, and pleasure park ("Convention Hall Site Now Assured" 1906). This group began selling subscriptions in July of 1906 but were not able to collect enough money from pledges and eventually pressed the city to put a bond proposal on the ballot ("Confidence for Pleasure Park" 1908; "Pasadena: Bond Election Again Urged" 1910).[161] Bonds for the public high school and the Colorado Street Bridge took precedence, pushing the park bonds to 1913. The five-acre playground site proved to be one of the most popular locations in town. Hundreds of young people used the ballfields; the park hosted tennis tournaments for players across Los Angeles; and the city provided supervision, which was especially valuable for working mothers ("Show of Need of Land" 1913; "Tennis Starts At Carmelita" 1910). Five thousand people came out for a children's Halloween Parade in 1910, and park commissioners began making plans to add an outdoor swimming pool and an ice-skating rink in 1912 ("Pasadena: Five Thousand See "Spooks"" 1910; "Pasadena: Plunge And A Skating Rink" 1912). This made the rejection of the $81,000 bond to purchase Carmelita for the city a shock to many. After the vote, the Public Athletic League leased the tennis courts and ballfields at Carmelita but charged a fee for their use ("Pasadena: Accepted by Thousands" 1913). Appendix 27 provides a fuller accounting of Carmelita's history.

It was this 1913 vote that prompted the creation of Brookside Park. In July of 1913, the City decided to move much of the playground equipment down the hill into the Arroyo to

[161] The Convention Hall committee made a strong push for the City to use eminent domain to take the strip of properties on the south side of Kensington Place that bordered the Carmelita property for the convention hall and casino project. The discussion of the need for this strip of properties in the local papers coincides with the attempted arson of First A.M.E Church on the corner of Kensington and Vernon. There is no direct evidence linking the two, except for a veiled threat by a passerby to a parishioner working on the property shortly after the attempted arson ("Negroes Describe Many Attempts at Injury" 1910).

roughly sixty acres of land that the City took over when they bought the Pasadena Land and Water Company in 1912 ("Pasadena: Wreck Victims to Lie at Rest" 1913). Centralizing recreation activities in the Arroyo would have been an attractive policy as it allowed the city to respond to more progressive elements in the community, such as the City Beautiful Association, who saw park spending as a measure of public health and a benefit to children while at the same time keeping the wildness of children and the working classes out of residential areas ("More to Play, Less to Work: Pasadena Commissioners to Give Recreation" 1915). This policy would have also maximized the buildable real estate for developers.



Figure 236. *Site of Brookside Park in 1913 prior to construction ("Pasadena Arroyo 1913, where Brookside now is" 1913. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, A7-47)*

The community's lack of public support for parks and playgrounds in the early 20th century echoes the dour view the more religious corners of the community had toward recreation generally. This appears around the edges of local reporting. In 1911, Northwest residents torpedoed plans for baseball park at Lincoln and Washington because they believed Sunday games would be too disruptive ("Baseball Park is Caught Off Base" 1911). Residents near Carmelita lodged the same complaint four years later ("Baseball Disorderly?: Yes, and Also Humiliating on Sunday, Say Residents in Earshot." 1915). Dancing was an especially sensitive topic. In 1920, a judge ruled that a Pasadena's ordinance banning dance halls and academies in residential areas was unconstitutional ("Court Knocks Down Pasadena's Anti-Dance Ordinance" 1920). In 1925, a coalition of churches prevented the American Legion from holding dances at Brookside Park as a fundraiser for a new building ("Flood of Protests Causes Legion to Drop Plans for Brookside 'Jitney' Dances" 1925; "Legionnaires In War Again" 1925). And in 1926, at the behest of the Pasadena chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, Pasadena passed an ordinance banning percentage dancing in dance halls, where dances cost men ten cents with five cents goes to the woman "instructor" and five cents going to the dance hall. The *Star-News* reported that the Board of Directors passed the emergency ordinance specifically to prevent Mexican and Filipino men dancing with "American girls" ("Percentage Dance is Banned" 1926).



Figure 237. *Garden and walking path next to the Brookside Plunge in 1915 (Martin 1915a, California State Library)*

The most popular attraction in the new Arroyo park was the Brookside Plunge. Prior to the Plunge, children wanting to go for a swim, especially boys, would go to a swimming hole where San Rafael Creek emptied into the Arroyo's main channel, a place that locals called Rocky Basin (Kruckeberg 1942; "Swimming Hole to be Preserved" 1911). Several of the public schools had swimming pools as well. But having a modern, open-air swimming pool where one could pay ten cents and get a towel and bathing suit was such a valuable addition that the City changed the name of the park to "Brookside" after Mrs. E.W. Brooks donated $6,000 for construction. The Plunge opened on July 4, 1914 ("Pasadena's Municipal Swimming Pool Dedicated" 1914; Shorr 2002) and became the most popular public pool in Southern California and possibly the

state (Hudson 2020). By August, the city had added forty-six new dressing rooms to keep up with demand, added a new slide, and planned a heating system to warm the pool' s water, which was pulled from Sheep Corral Springs that Native people had once used for bathing and ritual sweats and that the City had once pumped up the hill to Orange Grove Reservoir ("Plunge Water has Microbes" 1914; "Attendance is Largest of Season" 1914).

The decision to restrict non-White patrons in their use of the Plunge hit the papers on July 13th. The chair of City Commissioners R.L. Metcalf proposed allowing non-Whites to use the pool on Wednesday afternoons from 2 to 6 p.m. He said he was making the proposal after consulting with prominent African American residents, though he did not specify who these people were. Without a hint of irony, he framed the proposal as matter of protecting African American rights, saying "I think that white people should respect the rights of our colored citizens and allow them the use of the plunge for at least a few hours each week." The decision was not unanimous. Commissioner A.L. Hamilton was a dissenting voice. The same article reported Hamilton stating, "it was not done in the schools and he did not believe it was necessary to take such drastic measures with reference to the use of the swimming pool."[162] ("Draws Color Line at Plunge" 1914). But Hamilton was not a crusader. Two weeks later, the *Pasadena Daily News* quoted Hamilton offering the same paternalistic attitude as Metcalf.

> It seems to me that the matter of so adjusting the question that conditions shall be pleasant for all concerned is of vital importance. If it would be unpleasant for some to bathe with colored people, they would possibly express themselves in such a manner as to make it unpleasant for the negroes. That was the object in setting aside an afternoon that they would not be subjected to anything of that sort. We would not object to white people bathing in the plunge Wednesday afternoons unless the colored folks objected. I would not consider the issue that has arisen as being a race question. It only calls for an adjustment of social

[162] Hamilton would know about the segregation in the schools as he was superintendent of Pasadena's schools from 1907 to 1911 and served as Chair of the City Commissioners from 1915 to 1921. During his time as Chair, Pasadena purchased 1000 acres for parklands, most of which was in the Arroyo (Gally 2017).

relations ("Colored Citizens' Rights Are Not Infringed Upon Says City Attorney" 1914).

City attorneys would later pick up this line of reasoning in court, arguing that swimming was a social rather than a civil or political right (Shorr 2002).

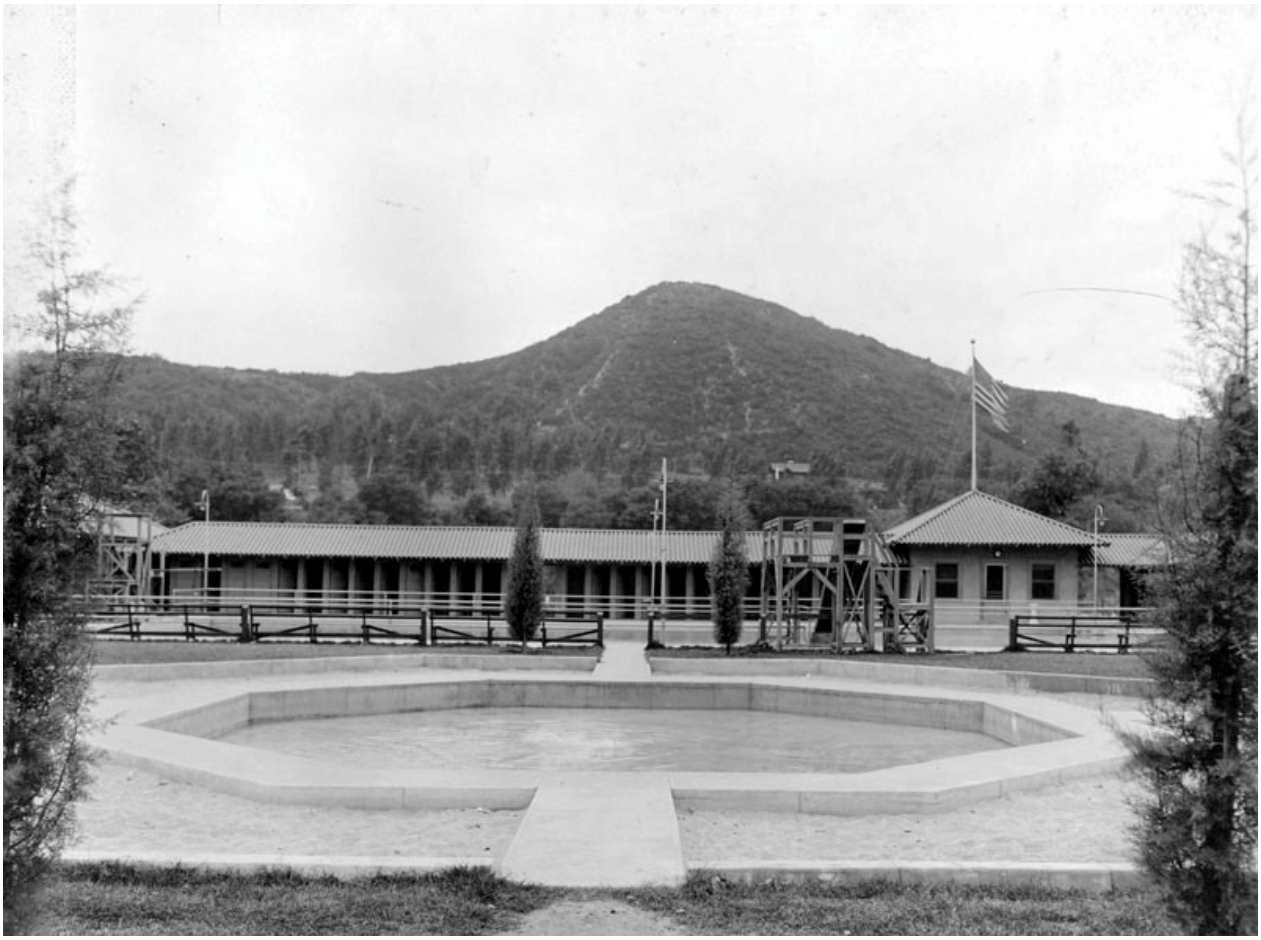

Figure 238. *Wading pool at Brookside Plunge in 1915. (Martin 1915b, California State Library)*

Left unsaid in the public debate were hysterical fears over the health effects of people from different races sharing the pool. The policy included a provision that the City would change the water in the pool several times a week, and later the City made it widely known they would specifically change the water after people of color had used the pool (Baker 1990). The *Los Angeles Times* reported that "Aristocratic Pasadena is shocked at the revelations contained in the report of City Chemist Frank Marks." Marks performed before-after tests on the water in the

pool that showed that three days after opening, the pure spring water had 45,000 bacteria per cubic centimeter ("Plunge Water has Microbes" 1914). The facility also provided bathing suits, and even though the staff washed the suits after each use, this fueled fears about the dangers of physical contact between the races (Hudson 2020). The same concern about contact between the sexes that flared in controversies about dancing applied to the pool. The City Commissioners also decided to close the pool to men on Thursday afternoons so white women had the option to avoid men altogether, though they were free to use the pool the rest of the week.[163] ("Draws Color Line at Plunge" 1914).

The response of the African American community to the policy was immediate. In a matter of days, they organized the Negro Taxpayers' and Voters' Association (NTVA) and asked for a meeting with the Commissioners to discuss the policy ("Negro Taxpayers Form Association" 1914). The correspondence between the group, the City Attorney, and Commissioner Metcalf all went into the local papers. The NTVA wrote the policy was "an affront to our self-respect and a direct infringement of our civil rights." They said that with a hearing "We hope in this way to avoid from the nature of the order and at the same time to cement rather than sever the heretofore friendly and amicable relations that have existed among the citizens of Pasadena, both white and black." The group had reason to be optimistic. In 1912, the City of Riverside had implemented a similar rule and amid protest had reversed a policy, though Whites used intimidation to keep African Americans from using the facility (Hudson 2020). But Pasadena's City Attorney John Munger argued that the state had endorsed the separate but equal doctrine in school system and that Pasadena was within its rights to apply it to the pool. The NTVA pointed to more recent portions of the California Civil Code that prohibited

[163] This, of course, did not apply to women of color, most of whom worked during the afternoons and so could only use the pool during special events (Shorr 2002).

discrimination (Shorr 2002). During the period of this correspondence, African Americans boycotted the Plunge on their allotted day, and so when they raised the issue again in 1915, the Commissioners banned them from the Plunge altogether, saying it was wrong to shut out Whites who wanted to use the facility on Wednesday afternoons (Shorr 2002). The City did allow people of color to reserve the use of the Plunge for special events, often related to church gatherings and picnics.[164] The increased antagonism toward African Americans was not limited to the Plunge. The NTVA also protested an apparent conspiracy among the drivers of the five-cent city buses to not stop for African American riders. The *Pasadena Daily News* quoted the president of the NTVA as saying that if they failed to stop segregation at the pool and with the buses "the next thing we know someone will start a movement to segregate the races at the schools" ("See Trouble in Negro Stand" 1914). Sure enough, the following year white parents from southwest Pasadena successfully lobbied the school board to create a new school, Arroyo Seco Elementary, so they wouldn't have to send their children to Garfield Elementary and share classrooms with African American, Mexican American, and Japanese American children (see appendix 27). Movie theaters also became a point of contention. Protests erupted around the 1915 Pasadena showing of D.W. Griffiths film *Birth of a Nation* that celebrated the Ku Klux Klan. In 1917, two African American women sued Pasadena's Crown Theater for charging them twenty-five cents for a film while charging whites ten cents (Hudson 2020). This rising tide of local racism led African American residents of Pasadena to create their own chapter of the NAACP, the 16th local chapter in the country.

[164] In 1916, after the city granted access for a Sunday School picnic of all the African American churches, the organizing committee decided to change their plans go to Lincoln Park because of the Plunge policy ("Negro Residents Alter Picnic Plan" 1916). A two-day fundraising event in 1920 for a retirement home in Watts did take place at Brookside and one thousand African Americans used the Plunge ("Thousands of Negroes at Outing" 1920).

1920-1939

As Pasadena moved into the 1920s, a key development was the completion of Devil's Gate Dam, which provided flood protection and opened up new recreational possibilities for the Arroyo. These possibilities included a scenic reservoir for Oak Grove Park, the Rose Bowl stadium, and a golf course in the Central Arroyo. Work began on the dam in 1916, and this prompted City crews to improve the park and picnic grounds in Oak Grove ("Wake up to find a park" 1916). Construction began on the Rose Bowl in 1922 (see chapter 5), but the city began using Central Arroyo for large events even before its completion. In December 1919, for example, 15,000 people came to Brookside to hear the Los Angeles Symphony Orchestra ("Outdoor Concert Sunday Delights Large Throng at Brookside" 1919). The next month hundreds attended a picnic with the Governor of California and World War I general John J. Pershing ("Hundreds Attend Basket Lunch at Brookside Park" 1920). Over the next two decades, Brookside became the spot for large picnics and gatherings for different ethnic, religious, and fraternal organizations. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that the Chamber of Commerce expected 20,000 people to attend their field day in 1922 ("Pasadena To Stage Field Day" 1922). The first Fourth of July fireworks show above the Rose Bowl took place in 1925 ("Fireworks at Bowl to Conclude Celebration Tomorrow" 1925). Despite all this activity, voters again failed to pass park bonds for the Arroyo and Carmelita ("Three Bond Issues Win In Pasadena" 1923). The City, however, made a number of improvements to the Brookside baseball diamond, tennis courts, and parking lots in 1921 and 1922 ("Many Recent Additions to Park" 1922). In a 1916 survey of 85 U.S. cities with populations between 30,000 and 50,000, Pasadena ranked third in expenditures on recreation (Hudson 2020). These investments made Pasadena the choice to host the 1927 Southern California district conference of the Playground and Recreation Association of

America, which took place at Brookside and the Pasadena Playhouse ("Workers Told To Play More" 1927).



Figure 239. *Fourth of July picnic for Japanese American vegetable dealers at Brookside Park. Note Japan's flag hanging between trees to the left. Less than four years after this event, the government sent these families to internment camps ("Vegetable dealers' picnic" 1938, CSU Dominguez Hills Department of Archives and Special Collections)*

The city was able to pair its spending with private donations, subscriptions, and philanthropy to fill in the park that exists today. For example, the Chamber of Commerce paid for the first nine holes of the first golf course that opened in 1925 ("City's Golf Course is Opened" 1925). The full course opened in November 1928 after the city directors authorized the use of $125,000 from the Municipal Power and Light department, a move which prompted a lawsuit and a recall threat ("Asks Court To Prevent Using Fund" 1928; "Recall Threat In Crown City" 1927). The original Brookside Clubhouse opened in May of 1929, and during the Great Depression, in 1932, city employees donated one day's salary each month to pay unemployed men to build the second course ("Golf Course First Half Complete" 1932).



Figure 240. *Opening of final nine holes of Brookside Golf Course. ("Breakfast Celebrating Opening of Golf Course, November 1, 1928" 1928, Courtesy of the Pasadena Public Library, Pasadena, California)*

The same public-private partnership worked with the baseball field. From 1917 to 1920, the Chicago Cubs used Brookside Park for their spring training because the majority owner William Wrigley lived in his mansion on South Orange Grove and enjoyed walking down the hill to watch his team. In 1932, the Junior Chamber of Commerce built a new stadium with the help of architect Myron Hunt, who lived up the hill on Arroyo Terrace (Grimes 2007). The Los Angeles Angels minor league franchise that Wrigley also owned used it as training camp its inaugural year, but from 1933 to 1942 and again from 1946 to spring 1950, the Chicago White Sox used the ballpark for their spring training ("White Sox To Train Here Next Year" 1932). Perhaps the most exciting game in its history took place in August 1939 when the Pasadena Sox,

led by Jackie Robinson and Nate Moreland, beat Fresno to win the California Amateur Baseball Championship ("Title Taken by Pasadena Sox" 1939).

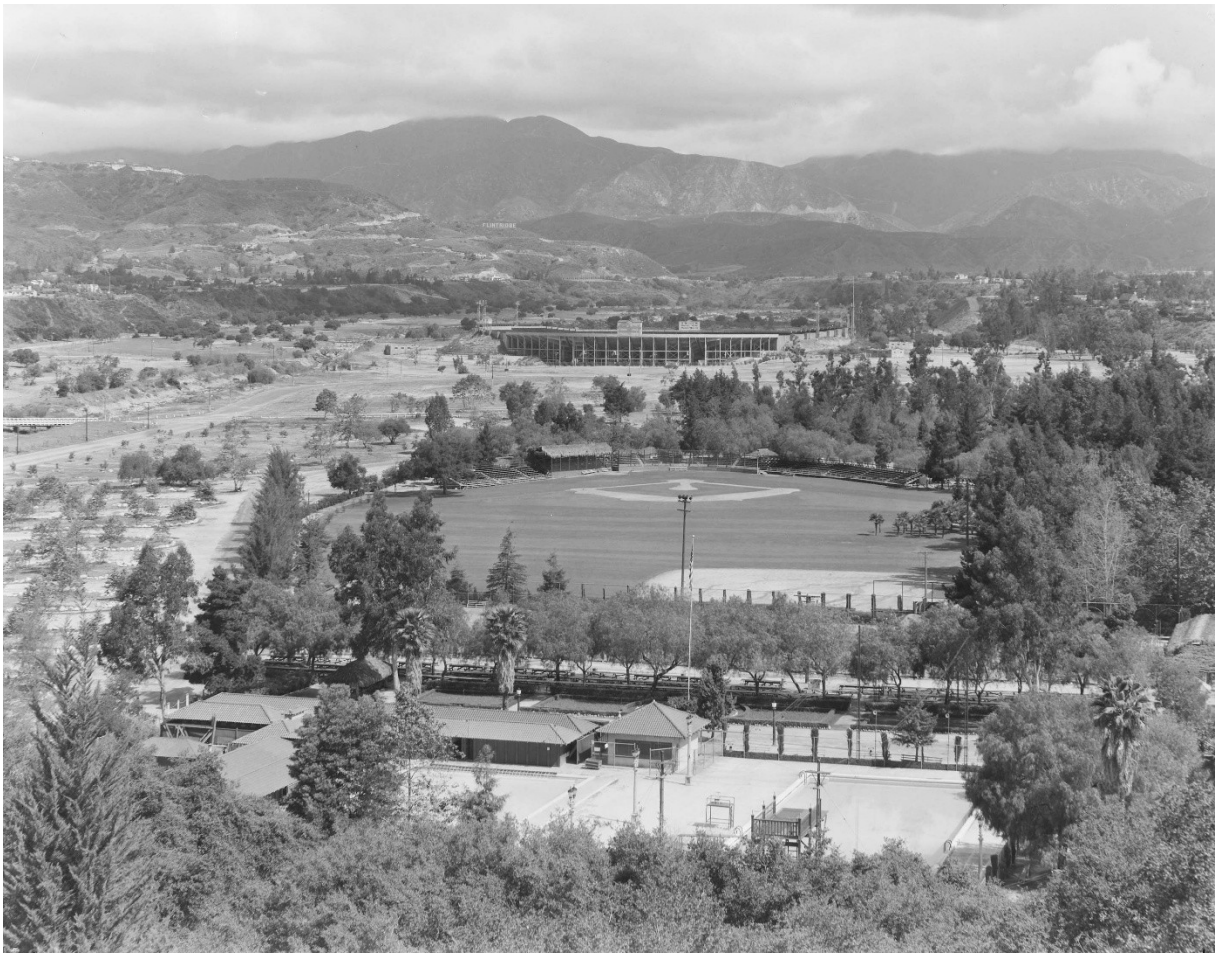

Figure 241. *Looking north at Brookside Park and the Rose Bowl in 1930. Note unchanneled Arroyo running past the Rose Bowl to the left. This provides a picture of what the creek might look like without the flood control channel (Parker 1930, photCL 402, Harold A. Parker Studio Collection of Negatives, Huntington Library, San Marino, California)*

The public-private pattern repeats itself as you move down the Arroyo. In June 1938, Fannie Morrison from the San Rafael neighborhood donated the funds to build a horticultural center in Brookside, which provided a home for the Pasadena Flower Show Association and their spring and fall shows ("Flower-Show -- 'Pasadena's Magnificent Waif' -- to 'Come Home' After 32-year Wanderings!" 1938). The fall show in 1938 opened the center and attracted 13,000 people ("Fall Flower Show Seen by 13,000" 1938). In 1935, Pasadena residents founded the

Pasadena Roving Archers and before the decade was out, they had a constructed a clubhouse near the site of the current archery range west of the Arroyo (Pasadena Roving Archers 2024). And an earlier archery group, the Target Archers, used the clearing in the Lower Arroyo at the foot of California Street. Further south, Busch Gardens provided a semi-public gathering space that hosted concerts, parties, and film shoots (see appendix 27). Though never part of the public park system, Busch Gardens was a major recreation spot attached to the Arroyo. Finally, Chuck Williams built the Arroyo Seco Stables, under the York Avenue bridge, in 1926 and provided an anchor for the equestrian community within the Arroyo ("Arroyo Seco Stables House a Storied History" 2023).

City leaders, however, worked to keep different races from playing together. For a time during 1918, the city excluded African American from all of the City's parks and playgrounds except Grove Street Park, which would have been off Vernon Avenue in the vicinity of the Ambassador College campus (Kelley 1984). This restriction did not last but indicates a clear intention to control the movements of the African American population. In 1923, a committee of the Federated Improvement Association, a coalition of neighborhood and homeowner associations, reported that their memberships wanted more neighborhood parks ("Recommends More Parks for City" 1923). But who would these neighborhood parks attract? Perhaps related to this push for more parks was a proposal this same year from Pasadena's Council of Social Agencies to create a recreation center at the corner of Lincoln and Orange Grove specifically for the African American community. Viewed as a way to normalize the "separate but equal" idea, the African American community strongly opposed the move (Kelley 1984). This same strategy had worked to a degree with the Mexican American community. In 1915, less than a year after the opening of the Brookside Plunge, Mrs. Brooks donated $700 to create a playground with a

small pool (15' x 28') at the Raymond Settlement School, which would reduce Mexican American demand for the facilities at Brookside ("Playground Given to School" 1915; "Mexican Children Get Swimming Pool" 1916). In March of 1929 the NAACP formed a “relations committee” to challenge segregation at parks, playgrounds, and the Plunge (Kelley 1984). Their motivation was not just a legal matter. With the Plunge unavailable, many African American youth would try to go swimming in the reservoir behind Devil’s Gate Dam. Boys drowning in the reservoir was not uncommon (Hudson 2020; "Two Pasadena Boys Drowned" 1923).



Figure 242. *Photo from 1925 of boys swimming behind Devil's Gate Dam. (“Group of boys at Arroyo Seco creek, Los Angeles County, circa 1925” ca1925, Los Angeles Times Photographic Archive, UCLA Library Special Collections, licensed under CC by 4.0).*

This renewed push to challenge segregation at the Plunge, in particular, found encouragement in the work of the NAACP in other cities in California. In 1927, the Los Angeles NAACP office organized a successful "swim-in" to protest Manhattan Beach's closing of its coastline to African Americans. And in 1929, three women sued the Los Angeles Playground and Recreation Committee for limiting African American access to their pools. In what became known as the Los Angeles Bath House Battle, Burton Ceruti, the NAACP lawyer who represented the Pasadena women in the Crown Theater case, took up their cause. A two-year ordeal that required twenty-five court appearances ended in 1931 with the desegregation of public pools across the City of Los Angeles (Hudson 2020). This activity is perhaps what prompted the Reverend W. D. Carter of Friendship Baptist Church in Pasadena to organize a protest in 1929 to integrate the pools at the two high schools, which had similarly submitted to the forces of bigotry since initially being open to all (Hudson 2020). After this, in 1930, the city reverted to its original policy of allowing one afternoon a week for people of color. Tuesday afternoon became "International Day," an absurd title for an absurd policy that given the desegregation of Los Angeles pools was becoming more difficult to defend. The campaign to desegregate the Plunge began in earnest in 1934 when the NAACP and three African American college students petitioned for the City to integrate the Plunge (Shorr 2002). The response of the City's Board of Directors in May of that year was to discuss again building a separate plunge and recreation center at the corner of Mountain and Manzanita (Kelley 1984). This proposal came with the offer of greater input in the design and programming of the facilities. Based on interviews, Kelley (1984) discovered this proposal split the African American community, with those in favor arguing that it at least would provide the community with an institution they could control. Those against the proposal saw it as a ploy to weaken the push for desegregation. This

City did not move forward with this idea, but Kelley says that three decades later this proposal became the basis for the Jackie Robinson Community Center. In 1937, Loren Miller, a lawyer and publisher of the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, the main Black-owned newspaper in Los Angeles, recruited sixteen young people to attempt to enter the plunge and upon denial claim $500 in damages against the city ("Sixteen File Plunge Claim" 1937). This was unsuccessful, but two years later, the W. Alfred Wilkens, Episcopal Vicar of St. Barnabas Church, found six young men to challenge the ban. This was not easy: stepping out in Pasadena at this time literally risked health and home for oneself and one's family. But six young men stepped up, and upon being turned away twice from the pool, they filed suit against the City with the help of the NAACP (Hudson 2020; Shorr 2002).

At this point Dr. Edna Griffin, one of the few African American doctors in Pasadena took over as president of the local chapter. She enlisted the help of Thomas L. Griffith Jr., a member of the National Legal Committee (NLC) of the NAACP (forerunner of the Legal Defense Fund) to represent the men and devise a strategy for the case. The NAACP would challenge pool segregation across the country, but Pasadena was one of the earliest and the most high-profile cases because it was taking on a well-known and well-endowed community. If they could defeat a city with such deep pockets, it would warn other communities away from segregation. Charles Hamilton Houston and Thurgood Marshall at the NAACP's national office saw the pool cases as one of the building blocks leading up to *Brown v. Board of Education* and kept in close touch with Griffith Jr. and Dr. Griffin through the duration of the case (Hudson 2020).

The trial for *Stone v. Board of Directors of Pasadena* began on September 13, 1939. The City Attorney, Harold Huls, quoted Booker T. Washington in arguing that swimming was a "social right" and not a political and civil right and so the 14th amendment did not apply. He also

argued that the City was not excluding African Americans; they were simply regulating their use. Since in 1930, African Americans only comprised 3.9 percent of the City's population, the City allowance of three hours of use meant that they had access to 14 percent of the hours the pool was open, which was more than fair. He then argued that the pool was self-supporting, and the City had evidence that integration would reduce patronage to the point that the pool would lose money (Hudson 2020). Finally, he equated swimming with the physical intimacy accorded to families and cited California's ban against interracial marriage. Griffith Jr. dismissed these arguments and asked the judge to narrow his judgement to a clear reading of the law. But the court ruled for the City on January 3, 1940 (Hudson 2020; Shorr 2002).

Griffin and Griffith Jr. pressed forward to appeal the case, a strategy that divided Pasadena's African American community. The ministers of First A.M.E., Friendship Baptist, and Metropolitan Baptist opposed continuing with the case (Hudson 2020). And casualties from the campaign began to mount. The City fired its African American street cleaning crews in retaliation, including Jackie Robinson's brother Mack, who had won a silver medal in the 1936 Berlin Olympics (Kaliss 2018). The Chair of City's Board of Directors, A.I. Stewart, and the head of the recreation department, lawyer Herbert Hahn, organized leading businessmen and bankers and created the Pasadena Improvement Association that paid canvassers to get homeowners to put racial covenants on their properties (Hudson 2020). By 1941, 60 percent of properties in Pasadena were off-limits to non-white residents (Crimi 1941). Businesses also threatened to fire African American employees who supported the lawsuit, which in the midst of the Depression meant almost certain ruin for African Americans whose job prospects were already slim (Hudson 2020). These details are relevant to highlight the collective effort and fortitude that it took to carry the case forward and the jubilation that followed when the appeals

court overturned the lower court's decision on December 8, 1941. The City of Pasadena appealed to the CA Supreme Court, but their appeal was denied on January 13, 1942, requiring the City to open the pool to everyone (Shorr 2002).

1940-1959

With the hindsight of history, race relations in Pasadena reached their lowest point in the early 1940s. The campaign of the Pasadena Improvement Association had effectively classified more than half of all homes in the city as for whites only. The lower court had just ruled for the City in the Plunge case, and White backlash spurred by the case combined with divisions within the African American community on whether to pursue an appeal put people on edge (Crimi 1941). Two years later in 1942, Pasadena's entire Japanese American population would report for internment. This was the climate when James Crimi, a graduate student in sociology at U.S.C. did interviews for his thesis *The Social Status of the Negro in Pasadena, California* (Crimi 1941). Seven years later, however, another graduate student, Earl Cartland from Whittier College, would ask many of the same questions for his master's thesis in education *A Study of the Negroes Living in Pasadena* (Cartland 1948). While the story is similar, Cartland's work suggests the 1940s was a decade of progress with recreation being one of the places where racial integration was taking hold.

The biggest breakthrough was at the Brookside Plunge. But while the NAACP had won the battle by the end of 1942, it wasn't clear they had won the war. City Manager C. Wellington Koiner wanted to ignore the decision. But Harold Huls, the City Attorney, said this would open up the City to lawsuits and payment of damages. Koiner's answer was to close the pool. The primary reason the City gave was that veterans living in a Brookside encampment were using it

to shower (Shorr 2002).[165] At the end of the war, in May 1945, Koiner asked Huls if it would be legal to ask patrons to produce a certificate from the Pasadena Health Department before using the pool. Huls took this request to the City's health officer, who said that swimming in the Plunge posed no medical risk to the public (Shorr 2002). The City then argued that it was no longer financially feasible to keep the pool open. The NAACP under Griffin filed an injunction, and after two years of foot dragging, the Board of Directors authorized $10,000 for renovations and re-opened the Plunge without restrictions on June 7, 1947 (Shorr 2002).



Figure 243. *Re-opening of the Brookside Plunge on June 7, 1947 ("Tavern" 1947, Courtesy of the Pasadena Public Library, Pasadena, California)*

For the first several days, only people of color used the pool, which reportedly pleased many in the White community, who felt it confirmed that an integrated pool was unsustainable. But

[165] Dr. Edna Griffin said the city claimed it ran out of chlorine (Hudson 2020).

within a few days, the number of White children using the pool steadily increased. Even so, Whites continued to tell themselves that only African Americans used the Plunge (Cartland 1948). Two years later, the *Pasadena Star-News* reported that the pool had started to fall into disrepair due to a lack of upkeep by the City, beginning a lack of investment in the park that many attribute to its increased use by people of color (Hudson 2020).



Figure 244. *An integrated company picnic at Brookside on July 23, 1948. The company's, Golden State Mutual Life Insurance Company, sought to provide dignified employment for African Americans. This event is evidence that Brookside was becoming an integrated venue ("Company Picnic, Brookside Park, Pasadena" 1948a, Los Angeles Times Photographic Archive, UCLA Library Special Collections, licensed under CC by 4.0)*

Beyond the Plunge, Cartland reported integrated recreation activities in school district and recreation department programs by 1947. In 1940, Crimi (1941) said that African American

women could join the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) but could not use the pool unless a large group made a special reservation. By 1947, the YWCA had African Americans on staff and on their advisory councils and promoted an integrated family swim night (Cartland 1948). In 1940, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) did not allow African Americans to join, saying that integration would cause a drop in membership. They did sponsor segregated boys' clubs that would come together at times to swim and play basketball (Crimi 1941). By 1947, the YMCA had hired an African American Associate Director of Community Affairs, and African American boys were able to use all the facilities. African American men, however, could not use the steam room, join the businessman's club, or stay in a room overnight (Cartland 1948). While both Crimi and Cartland said the Boy Scouts and Campfire Girls had done little to integrate their ranks, Cartland praised the Girl Scouts for having integrated their troops and organized mixers for parents. At the other end of the age spectrum, Cartland reported that the Interracial Commission of the Council of Social Agencies organized gatherings for people over 65, and out of this, there were subgroups that met together to play checkers and chess, knit, and discuss poetry (Cartland 1948).

Cartland was less positive about commercial recreation in Pasadena. African Americans could not use local bowling alleys, the roller- or ice-skating rinks, the miniature golf course or ping pong tables across from Pasadena City College, or attend dances at the civic auditorium. He bluntly says there are no recreation activities for African American adults aside from house parties or dances that they organize themselves, and finding venues to host these affairs was difficult. Most African Americans, he says, went to Los Angeles for entertainment (Cartland 1948).[166]

[166] In terms of venues, Cartland reported that The Masonic Lodge was near a liquor store and opened to the street causing harassment from troublemakers. Sometimes people gathered at Lincoln Elementary, but neighbors called

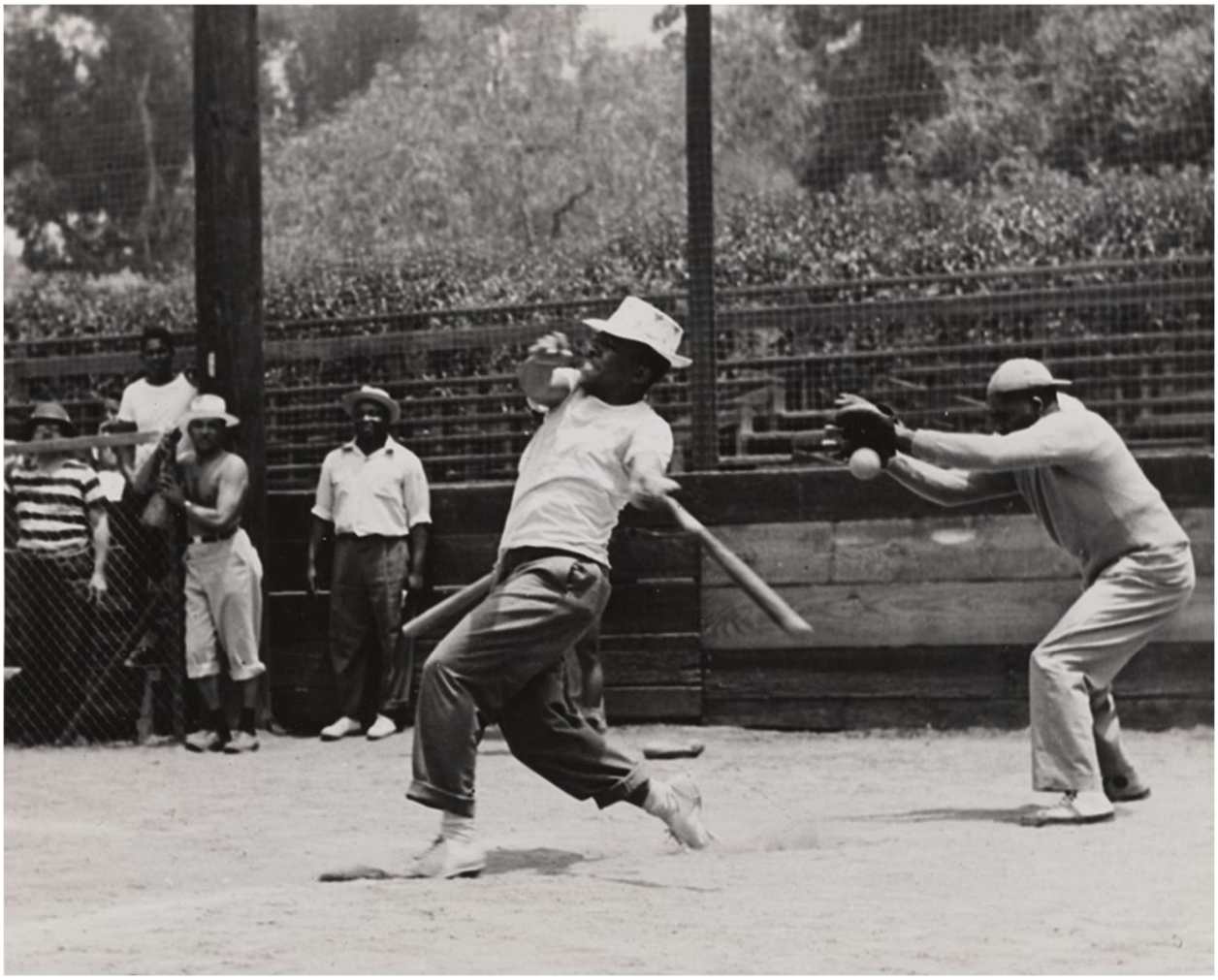

Figure 245. *African American baseball at Brookside during a company picnic. The baseball diamond at Brookside was an integrated venue from the earliest days of Brookside Park ("Company picnic held at Brookside Park in Pasadena" 1948b, Los Angeles Times Photographic Archive, UCLA Library Special Collections, licensed under CC by 4.0)*

Another development in the mid-century story of Arroyo recreation was the increased use of what today the community calls Hahamongna Watershed Park. Until 1993, the name for this area was either Oak Grove Park, due to the mature oaks covering its western flanks, or simply Devil's Gate, after the rock outcropping that Los Angeles County bridged with its first flood

police at the slightest noise. Members of the Grant family managed the Casa Blanca, a café and dance hall at 39 West Dayton Street, from after World War II until 1957. The Onyx Club in the basement at the Hotel Carver, the first African American-owned hotel opened in 1947 and became an important night spot for African American (Biery 2021). Prior to its purchase by an African American family, the Carters, the building was the Hotel Mikado and served the Japanese American community (Pease 2007).

control structure in 1920. During the 1940s and ‘50s, several independent groups and organizations reached agreements with the city to use the area on a semi-permanent basis. This included Tom Sawyer Camps (1944), the Pasadena Casting Club (1947), and Rose Bowl Riders equestrian group (1952). The Casting Club dedicated its casting pond in Hahamongna in June of 1948 ("Pasadena Casting Club Members Enjoying Sport at New Facilities" 1958). State freeway construction demolished the pond, but the City used compensation money from the state to build a new pond in the Lower Arroyo. The club dedicated the pond in November of 1955 and used it to host a national tournament the following spring ("City's New Casting Pool Opened" 1955). Camping in Oak Grove Park became more popular in the 1950s, especially among scouting groups, which likely was the reason for the City banning archery and shooting in the park ("Archers Lose Pasadena Happy Hunting Areas" 1953; "Foothill Area Plans Largest Scout Parley" 1955).

In 1959, William Bell, the architect of the Brookside golf courses, proposed a lighted, 18-hole pitch-n’-putt golf course in Oak Grove Park with a clubhouse, miniature golf course, driving range, and practice greens, saying it would be similar to the Arroyo golf course in South Pasadena ("Golf Course Proposed for Devil's Gate Dam Site" 1959). Bell had already built a pitch-n-putt course for the city in 1941 on the grounds of Carmelita ("City-Owned Pitch, Putt Golf Course Proposed for Carmelita Gardens" 1941). The construction of the Foothill Freeway trimmed nine holes from that course in 1952, and then in 1959, the Pasadena Art Museum acted on the option that the City had provided to use the site for a new museum and cultural center, forcing the course to find a new home ("Museum Wants Golf Course Site: Pasadena Directors Asked to OK Plans for Culture Center" 1959; "Pitch, Putt Golf Course Being Sliced" 1952). The

Planning Commission approved the plan for the new course in Oak Grove Park in January 1960, but the course never got off the ground ("Devil's Gate Dam Golf Links Details Studied" 1960).

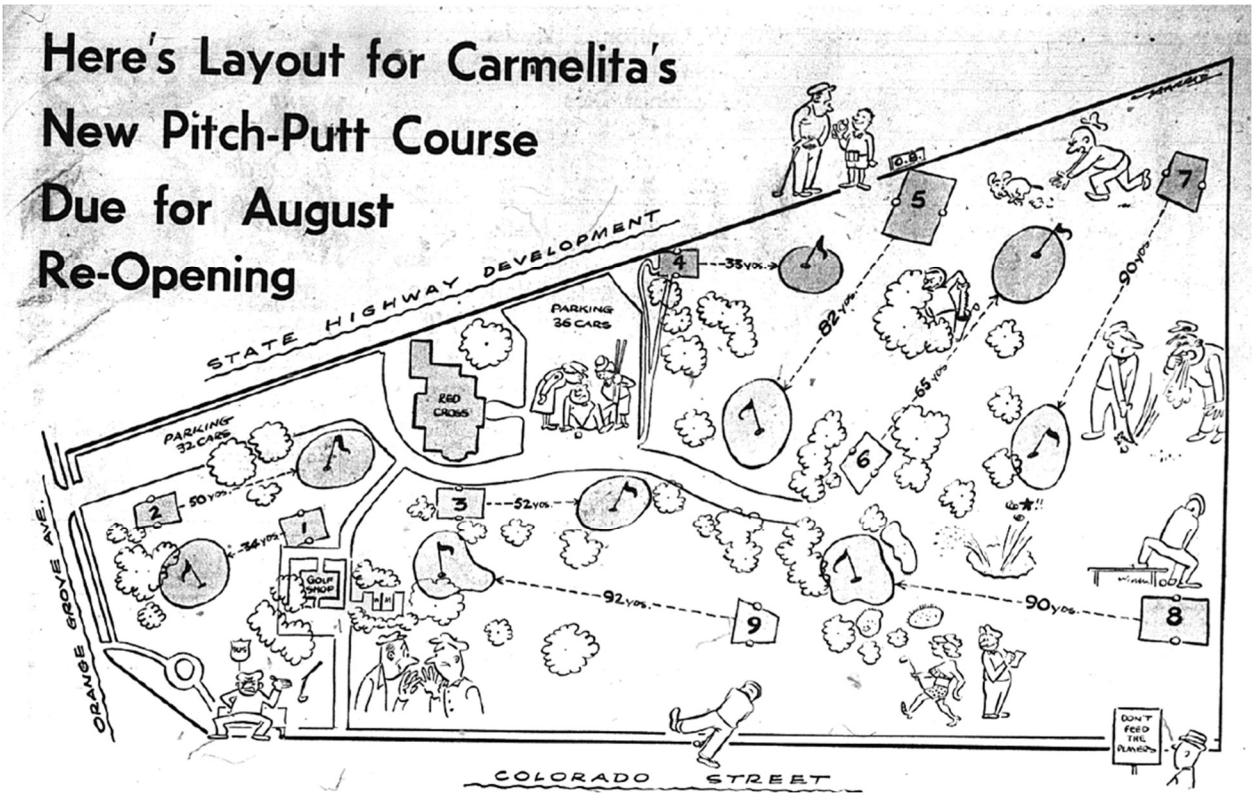

Figure 246. *Map of Carmelita's Pitch-n-Putt Golf Course after freeway construction ("Here's the Layout for Carmelita's New Pitch-Putt Course Due for August Re-Opening." 1952)*

1960-1979

One of the reasons that a golf course never materialized in the Hahamongna area might have been the push to establish a lake behind the dam. For over a decade this interest seemed to be driving City policy north of Devil's Gate. Some hoped for a body of water large enough to accommodate boats and fishing. Others simply appreciated the visual backdrop that a standing body of water would provide. The interest in a lake started shortly after completion of Devil's Gate Dam in 1920 ("Flood Control Lake Fine For The Boys" 1921). But city and county officials began to explore the possibility of managing the water level behind the dam to allow for

water sports in 1960 ("Recreational Use of Dam Under Study" 1960).



Figure 247. *Boys fishing in Devil's Gate Reservoir 1959. The Los Angeles Times reproduced this image from the La Canada Valley Sun (Cormaci 2019)*

By 1966, the Planning Commission advocated for a thirty-five-acre lake while the Board of Directors for the city approved a more modest five- to six-acre water body pending a feasibility study ("35-Acre Lake in Pasadena Urged" 1966). The County hoped to develop Oak Grove Park as a regional park, and the City saw this an opportunity to attract state grant money to develop the park and the lake. Shortly after approving a twenty-five-year lease for the County to manage the park, however, the County said the flooding during the winter of 1969 had washed so much

sediment into the basin that a lake was no longer financially feasible (Leiren 1969). City directors were angry, saying they only gave the County the lease to manage the park because of their promise to create a lake behind the dam ("Pasadena Demands Lake Development" 1969). The County did make some improvements to the park, but the City called for a joint master plan for the area ("Joint Master Plan for Upper Arroyo Urged" 1970). Gruen Associates presented a plan to the city in 1972 that included a plastic-lined nine-acre lake (Mann 1972). The City secured almost $600,000 in federal and state funds to build the lake, but after the 1972 Sylmar earthquake, the County considered the dam unsafe and drained the reservoir. Repairs to the dam in the late 1990s revived discussion of a lake behind the dam, but environmentalists frowned upon a proposed plastic-lined water feature in the Hahamongna area master plan (Scott 2003; Janette Williams 1997).



Figure 248. *Devil's Gate Reservoir in 1927 (Parker 1927, photCL 402, Harold A. Parker Studio Collection of Negatives, Huntington Library, San Marino, California).*

Overall, a theme in Arroyo recreation during the 1960s and ‘70s was more nature-based recreation. In 1962, the City’s Recreation Department organized an overnight campout in Oak Grove Park for both fifth and sixth grade boys and girls ("Youngsters to Eat and Sleep Out of Doors" 1962). And by the 1970s, you had individuals, such as well-known, local naturalist Christopher Nyerges, leading wild food hikes in Oak Grove and retired biology professor Roland Ross organizing restoration work-days in the Lower Arroyo as a service-based recreation activity (Avery 1975; "Residents turn into weekend landscapers" 1979). The most important player in this space, however, was Outward Bound Adventures (OBA). The organization grew from an Audubon Society Junior Science Club that Helen Mary Williams, a teacher at Cleveland Elementary School, organized in 1959 when she began taking her students for field trips in the

Arroyo. After connecting with Bud Ross, an avid mountaineer, Helen Criss, a counselor at Muir High School, and her husband, Leroy Criss, a football coach at Los Angeles High School, they formed Outward Bound Adventures to bring inner city youth to the wilderness and teach life and leadership skills (Outward Bound Adventures 2024). The group began organizing backpacking trips for students from Northwest Pasadena and Watts, taking them to the High Sierra, Baja California, and other wilderness spots ("Outward Bound Needs Your Help" 1969; Russo 1983). They also made extensive use of the Arroyo and trails in the San Gabriels. OBA consistently won federal grants to grow the program throughout the 1970s (Klunder 1980).



Figure 249. *Outward Bound Adventures Trip to Sequoia National Park (Outward Bound Adventures 2024)*

But the idea that the Arroyo was a natural area that did not require management or supervision created safety issues in the park. In December of 1973, a teenager emerged from the bushes along the trail at Oak Grove Park and attacked a thirteen-year-old boy and his sister riding their horse. The teenager stabbed the boy who died from his wounds ("Boy Riding Horse In Arroyo Seco Stabbed, Killed" 1973). In 1975, police reported roughly fifty incidents of

assault, drug use, rape, and murder underneath the Colorado Street Bridge at what most people called the Slime Slide, an algae-covered, angled slab of concrete at the start of the Lower Arroyo's flood control channel that young people enjoyed sliding down into a pool of water ("Better Security Approved for Arroyo's 'Slime Slide'" 1976). And a 1976 survey of Oak Grove Park reported drinking, drug use, and motorcycles disrupting the area's nature-based recreational pursuits (Mann 1976). By the early 1980s, vandalism and arson damaged the buildings of the Horticultural Center and La Casita del Arroyo, and the City closed the Brookside Plunge entirely due to its disrepair (Dunn 1987b; Grimes 2007; "Pasadena: La Casita Restoration Plans" 1986). This all occurred while advocates began a long fight to preserve and restore the natural character of the Arroyo and win policy protections that aligned with the rising environmental consciousness within the city.

1980 - 1999

The passage of Proposition 13 in 1978 and spending cuts by the federal government strained local government budgets in the 1980s and '90s.[167] For the Arroyo, this meant increased reliance on private groups to organize and manage recreational opportunities in the Arroyo. In August of 1981, City Manager Don McIntyre stated that he opposed the Parks and Recreation Commission getting involved in setting policy because "'the Arroyo operation is being established as an enterprise agency and entrepreneurial techniques must be utilized if it's to become successful'" (Lloyd 1981). For example, in 1983 the police department organized a volunteer equestrian patrol of the Arroyo to address some of the safety concerns in the area,

[167] Federal cuts took a toll on Outward Bound Adventures, which struggled for a decade and lost its offices to foreclosure before slowly building back its program through determined and creative fundraising.

benefiting from the construction of San Pascual Stables just over the city boundary in South Pasadena in 1978 (Nicholson 1984).

The most successful of these efforts was contracting out management of the Brookside golf courses, which in 1985 were running a $100,000 annual deficit. The installation of an inefficient irrigation system had spiked utility costs and left the greens in poor condition Residents in Northwest feared maintenance workers would lose their jobs, but the City board promised to find them other positions within the government (Hastings 1985; Willman 1985). Until recently, several African American residents served as starters and marshals on the course, which gave them a certain measure of authority over what historically has been a European American game and recreation space.[168] As a municipal course, Brookside itself did not have a color line. African American postman Al McDaniel won the Pasadena Golf Championship at Brookside in 1955 ("McDaniel Pasadena Golf King" 1955). In late 1967 and early 1968, protests erupted about perceived preferential treatment the staff gave to White members and the lack of integration in the golfing clubs attached to the course (Hathaway 1967, 1968). More recently, golfing has become popular within the Korean American community and Asian Americans make up a large percentage of Brookside's patrons.[169] Relying on a private company to manage the golf course helped to turn around its finances, its newfound profits helping to offset losses at the Rose Bowl (Scott 2005).

[168] Personal communication, Lee King, 1/10/23, and Larry Wilson, 1/23/23.
[169] Personal communication, Lee King, 1/10/23, and Larry Wilson, 1/23/23.



Figure 250. *Crowd gathers at the 18th hole of the 1968 L.A. Open at Brookside Golf Course. African Americans picketed this event because the private golf clubs based at Brookside did not accept African American members. ("Golf course L. A. Open Crowd at 18th hole, Jan. 68" 1968, Courtesy of the Pasadena Public Library, Pasadena, California)*

Another example of a private-public partnership is the Rose Bowl Aquatics Center (RBAC). In September 1985, the City donated the land, locker rooms, and parking area and provided $200,000 toward the RBAC and the Center matched with $200,000 in state grant funds. Eventually, the Amateur Athletic Foundation overseeing the project received nearly $1 million in City construction money and a $4-million city loan (Dunn 1987b; Torres 1990). The RBAC broke ground in June of 1988 and opened two years later. The challenge with the RBAC was that it aspired to be both a community recreation pool and an Olympic-class training facility. Many argued that these two were incompatible and that admission fees and the “country club” atmosphere discouraged communities of color from using the pool, calling to mind the exclusion of the Brookside Plunge (Torres 1991). One of the ways the Center has combatted this perception has been to offer free swim classes to all third graders in the public school system. Still, the

shadow of Pasadena's history with the Plunge has lingered, along with questions about cost and accessibility. In 2022, the Center hosted a presentation by the president of the Pasadena NAACP, Allan Edson about desegregating the Plunge. In the fall of 2024, the Center renamed one of their pools after Dr. Edna Griffin and installed an information board discussing past discrimination by the City as part of their outreach efforts.



Figure 251. *Former Aquatics Center director Jimmy Francis at dedication of the Dr. Edna Griffin swimming pool in 2024.*

Lessons from these partnerships supported the creation of the Rose Bowl Operating Company (RBOC) in 1992 that can focus solely on managing the stadium as a world class entertainment venue (Newton 1992b). Chapter 5 details the successes and challenges of the RBOC, which has the difficult task of keeping the Rose Bowl competitive as a regional

entertainment and recreation venue. But one example where this partnership approach did not work, and that the City ended prematurely, was around the management of Hahamongna Watershed Park. In 1984, the county decided it wanted to end its oversight of the park, and so the City created the Devil's Gate Multi-Use Advisory Committee to facilitate a planning process for the area (Dunn 1987a; Hudson 1990). Tom Underbrink, an engineer with the Department of Water and Power became project manager and created an inclusive process that allowed many of the competing interests to have a voice. A controversy over the construction of a softball diamond in the floodplain by employees of Pasadena's Department of Water and Power illustrated the lack of oversight from both the City and the County ("Ballfield stirs up debate" 1987). In 1991, this planning process culminated in the creation of the Devil's Gate Multi-Use Joint Powers Planning Authority that was a union of agencies from Pasadena, La Cañada, County of Los Angeles, and the Santa Monica Mountains Authority. The Planning Authority prioritized restoring wildlife habitat and supporting passive recreation in the area (Hudson 1990; Willman 1991). In 1992, the Authority proposed, and the City approved, changing the name of the area to Hahamongna to honor the Gabrieleno/Tongva village long associated with the area (see chapter 4).[170] This same year debate began about whether to build additional athletic fields in Hahamongna for youth sports, especially soccer, a debate that would flare up in front of City Council for the next twenty years (Hudson 1992; Newton 1992a). Former councilmember Isaac Richard also revived the idea for a golf course behind the dam that he claimed would earn $80 million for the City and park and raise property values in Northwest Pasadena ("Park's future debated: Options are golf or restoration" 1995). To implement the ideas and aspirations of the Planning Authority, the city authorized the creation of the Hahamongna Operating Company

[170] The city dedicated Hahamongna Watershed Park in October 1993 (Bannon 1993).

(HOC), an independent group that would prioritize environmental values for Hahamongna in the same way the RBOC focused on the stadium's finances. However, controversy over staffing decisions and conflict on the HOC board ensued, and the City decided to terminate the HOC in 1996 citing its lack of public accountability (Burry 1996a, 1996b).[171] Public works took over the group's budget, and the city created the Hahamongna Watershed Park Advisory Committee to provide a forum to discuss management of the park, but without decision-making authority, implementation of the best ideas for the park stalled, setting the stage for a new round of planning, not only for Hahamongna but for all of Pasadena's Arroyo.

2000 - 2024

Over the past quarter century, the trend of the City seeking ways to reduce costs and boost revenue related to recreation in the Arroyo has continued. The revenue side is complex, as the City contracts with multiple non-profit organizations to manage and maintain facilities, parking lots, and natural areas in exchange for their use of city land. These organizations range in size from the Rose Bowl Operating Company to the Pasadena Roving Archers. Some groups pay nothing for their space because of the public benefit they provide and use the fees they charge to run their programs. Other groups, such as sports leagues, do pay the City a rental fee, which factors into what they charge participants. There are also individuals and informal groups that use the Arroyo for passive recreation, such as the thousands of walkers, runners, and cyclists who each day use the loop around the Rose Bowl and golf courses. Many of these users come from

[171] The Hahamongna Operating Company hired Charles Thomas, an alum and leader with Outward Bound Adventures, as Interim Executive Director. When the HOC advertised for a permanent director, Tim Brick, the vice-chair of the Planning Authority, applied with the understanding that Thomas was not going to seek the position. When the HOC board hired Brick, who is White, rather than Thomas, a person of color, the HOC lost support within the communities of Northwest Pasadena, which undermined its support with the City Council. Despite this controversy, Brick and Thomas have remained allies over the past thirty years in the protection of Hahamongna with both providing interviews for this research.

outside Pasadena and have discovered the Arroyo's value as a regional activity center. Generating revenue from this final group is behind proposals to charge for parking in the City's Arroyo lots, at least for non-residents.[172]

The City's reliance on private entities to provide recreational opportunities has come with challenges. The menagerie of groups makes it hard for would-be users to understand who has oversight over what areas, where they can go, and what they can do. The need of each entity to generate revenue to pay their operating expenses or City fees means catering to people with disposable income, even if they come from outside the city, enlivening the same tension from a hundred years ago about whether recreation in the Arroyo should prioritize local residents or wealthy tourists. Outreach from these private groups to Pasadena's working-class communities has been uneven. The cumulative result is that many Pasadena residents consider the Arroyo as only for people who can afford a membership fee or who live in the affluent neighborhoods of West Pasadena.

This backdrop of scarcity, both in terms of dollars and space, has generated conflict that obscures the appreciation that all user groups feel for the Arroyo. These conflicts have generated grueling debates in front of City Council where often no one leaves satisfied and the ecological health of the nonhuman world gets lost. Examples include the following:

Bike path in the Lower Arroyo – In 1997, the City Council approved a preliminary plan for a 1.7-mile crushed gravel bike path on the west side of the flood control channel through the Lower Arroyo. This resulted in 400 signatures on a petition, 50 people turning up at City Hall, and over a 100 people marching with signs through the Lower Arroyo in protest. Funds for the

[172] The neighboring city of San Marino charges non-residents to enter Lacy Park on weekends. Many in Pasadena do not appreciate the exclusive message that such a policy would send; others see charging non-residents for parking as a tool to generate more funding for the Arroyo and for the neighborhood impacts of large Rose Bowl events.

path came from the Metropolitan Transit Authority. The City never built the path, and cyclists blamed neighbors, who they said treated the park as if it was their private preserve (Burry 1997a; Ellingwood 1997).



Figure 252. *Lower Arroyo trail where the City proposed installing a crushed gravel bike path.*

Kidspace Museum – Also in 1997, Kidspace Children's Museum entered into negotiations with the city to take over the buildings of the Fannie E. Morrison Horticultural Center in Brookside Park. From 1976 to 1981 the buildings had functioned as galleries and theater space for the Pasadena Community Arts Center. But the vacant buildings suffered a fire in 1984 (see appendix 26). Kidspace Museum had a home in MicKinley Middle School's old gymnasium, and so the prospect of moving into the Center's assorted showrooms in a park setting seemed promising (Burry 1997b). But their initial design for the museum overwhelmed the site and drew criticism from the Arroyo Seco Foundation and Pasadena Heritage (Williams

1999). There was also concern about giving public facilities over to a group with a $5 admission fee, which has since risen to $15.

Opponents reminded the council of the conflict in 1978 over a proposal by JPL's director William Pickering for a Hall of Science that would sit over the flood control across from Brookside's baseball stadium. A traffic consultant estimated 850 autos per day would normally visit the $12 million museum with 2,900 cars on peak days, requiring 1100 to 1200 parking spaces. Backers projected attendance at possibly two million people a year and said the Hall of Science would support itself with a $3 admission fee and gift shop revenue (Lloyd 1978). The Chamber of Commerce, JPL, and other civic groups all supported the project. But the *Pasadena Star-News* relayed at the time that "Anna Breshahan, speaking for the East Arroyo Residents Association, said the board has a 'moral commitment' to keep faith with the Jencks Resolution of 1964, included in the 1977 General Plan, that the Arroyo should remain rustic" (Lloyd 1978).

Kidspace did not anticipate such large numbers, but the controversy of the Hall of Science resulted in amending the city charter so that, absent a public referendum, all public parkland would be for parks and recreation purposes. The Arroyo Seco Foundation sued the city in what came down to a battle over whether Kidspace counted as recreation. The judge believed it did, but the four-years of debate and rancor resulted in the museum scaling back its design plans (Breuer 2001; Coston 2000). The museum is popular, and newspapers report that it has reduced rates for EBT users, but information about this program is no longer on their website, raising real concerns about their sincerity of their outreach to working families ("Kidspace Children's Museum Brings Back 'Free First Friday's' This Week" 2021).



Figure 253. *Aerial view of Kidspace Museum on the site of the Fannie Morrison Horticultural Center (Kidspace Museum 2025)*

Soccer fields in Hahamongna - Master Plans for Hahamongna, the Central Arroyo, and the Lower Arroyo in the early 2000s provided a forum to balance the interests of various stakeholders. But this proved challenging. The most contentious debate during this process pitted environmental and wildlife advocates against the youth soccer leagues over a proposal to put new athletic fields in Hahamongna Watershed Park. Proposals of how many fields to add to the one already in the park ranged from zero to 12 (Schubert 2000b, 2000d, 2000a). The city council initially approved four smaller fields and one large field in the area where the disc golf course currently exists (Schubert 2000c). By 2010, the "Save Hahamongna" forces had managed to reduce the number of soccer fields to two (Williams 2010). This then became a single field, and in 2013, the council realized that the field would work better at Muir High School where it would benefit a larger population and be more accessible to working class students and families

(Figueroa 2013). The deep irony is that the debate over soccer fields in Hahamongna surfaced in 1992, and the City Council instructed the Acting Recreation Director to search for field space on public school campuses and only use Hahamongna as a location of last resort for soccer field. If the city staff had advanced the possibility of using Muir High School at the time, the community could have avoided two decades of rancorous debate (Newton 1992a). The fact that most of the advocates for keeping Hahamongna were White and more affluent than the Latino soccer parents showing up at meetings turned the issue into an environmental justice battle, with strong pressure to give green space to the masses versus preserve habitat for seemingly just a select few. The fact that environmental advocates were arguing for the birds rather than bird watchers had a hard time breaking through. But these advocates essentially outlasted the American Youth Soccer Organization (AYSO) parents in their advocacy and succeeded in preserving Hahamongna's identity as a wild space. A collection of lighted, grassy fields would have transformed the park into something else entirely.



Figure 254. *Wildlife habitat that the City at one time planned to turn into a lighted soccer field.*

Limiting Access to the archery range in the Lower Arroyo – Field archery is when archers move from one target to the next in a natural setting, and the range in the Lower Arroyo is oldest one in the world and a national historic landmark (Pasadena Roving Archers 2024). The Pasadena Roving Archers (PRA) who set up the range have had a presence on the west side of the Lower Arroyo since 1935, before the construction of the flood control channel.[173] Today the club has about 400 members the vast majority of which come from outside Pasadena (Coleman 2013). Both members and non-member archers love the natural setting and the fact that the

[173] The club replaced its first clubhouse from the late 1930s with a new one in 1945, which lasted until 2002 when an arsonist burned it down. The club secured funding to rebuild the clubhouse from a donor but the city refused to waive the permitting fees and connection costs for utilities and so the project died (McQuarrie 2005). The club now brings materials in and out with trucks when it holds events and tournaments.

course is free-to-use provided they have the City-issued safety certification badge showing they have gone through PRA's training.

For decades, the archers had a collegial relationship with other users. But in roughly 2011 complaints by one resident that the range presented a safety hazard prompted the city to do a risk assessment (Coleman 2015b). They decided that the only way to reduce the City's liability was to prescribe that the only people who can stray from the hiking trail while in the 8-13 acres that constitute the range are archers with the safety badges. Some equated this restriction with restricting access to the golf course in the Central Arroyo (Wilson 2014). But others felt it was giving away public parkland to the exclusive use of a private group, most of whose members don't live in Pasadena. Some of the archers accused the neighbors of elitism and wanting to turn the Arroyo into their own private reserve (Coleman 2015b). Local neighborhood associations favored the archery range because they felt the archers presence in the Lower Arroyo discouraged crime and illegal camping along the trail (Coleman 2015b). Council meetings debating these issues went late into the night. Ultimately, the opponents formed a non-profit, Stewards of Public Land, to sue the city for violating the California Environmental Quality Act in its oversight of the range (Coleman 2015a). In 2016, a judge ruled against the plaintiffs, so the ban on using the area for anything other than archery remains in place. The hard feelings over the episode remain as well, despite people on both sides professing a deep appreciation for the natural character of the Lower Arroyo.



Figure 255. *An example of the archery range area that requires safety badges to use.*

The compromises forged in the Arroyo Seco Master Plans are now almost 20 years old and slipping from public memory and relevancy. Often citizens must remind newly hired City staff and councilmembers what the plans specify (see chapter 5). The past twenty-five years are instructive, however, because they highlight the disconnect between the spirit of possibility and abundance with which people approached the master planning process and the day-to-day limitations that have governed the Arroyo's management. Debates about specific uses in the Arroyo, such as the recent proposal for a new miniature golf course next to the Rose Bowl, take place around the needs and desires of contending groups rather than citywide commitments related to health, equity, and environmental sustainability. The City's 2007 *Green Space, Recreation and Parks Element,* leans into the concept of "balance," but doesn't provide clarity to

councilmembers or commissioners about how to make decisions on these issues (City of Pasadena 2007).

Changing from a scarcity mindset to a narrative of abundance is difficult with a tangible asset like the Arroyo as it implicates policies and priorities for Pasadena that reach well-beyond the canyon (see chapter 5). It requires stakeholders to broaden their goals and recognize the additional resources that collaboration can bring to the table. In the last quarter century, there have been some notable examples where this has occurred. In 2011, the Pasadena Casting Club collaborated with the City to rehabilitate the casting pond (Gonzalez 2011). A partnership between the City and the Pasadena Garden Club resulted in the renovation of La Casita del Arroyo ("Pasadena: La Casita Restoration Plans" 1986). The recent addition of the mountainous portion of the Arroyo to the San Gabriel Mountains National Monument and the inclusion of the urban Arroyo to proposals expanding the Santa Monica Mountains Natural Recreation Area offer the prospect of additional federal dollars to enhance recreational infrastructure and programming that can move discussions back toward collaboration and a sense of possibility.[174]

[174] Federal legislation adding the Rim of the Valley Trail Corridor to the Santa Monica Mountains National Recreation would authorize the National Park Service to work on lands with habitat value that connect to the Santa Monica Mountains. The urban Arroyo, from Hahamongna Watershed Park to the confluence with the Los Angeles River, is part of the proposed corridor (Cosgrove 2024).



Figure 256. *The Pasadena Casting Club and the City partnered to repave the casting pond in 2011.*

As the conflicts above signify, however, there are instances where contending parties have been too far apart. This was the story with repurposing of the Desiderio property under the Colorado Street Bridge. Here, the city council tried to push Habitat for Humanity, the Arroyo Seco Foundation, and the California Art Club to come up with a design that would share the space, but the group's approaches to the property were too divergent (Williams 2007a; Williams 2007b). In the end, the Habitat for Humanity proposal for a bungalow court and public playground won out (see appendix 27). Many of these conflicts contain deep ironies. For example, some framed the conflict over soccer fields in Hahamongna as an environmental justice issue of rich, White environmentalists denying poorer families of color access to parkland. But

while hiking and nature study is free, soccer leagues cost money, and the creation and maintenance of athletic fields and fertilizers and pesticides promised to harm the environment and pollute the water, making it hard to argue that it would be an environmental win for communities of color.



Figure 257. *The Desiderio Army Reserve Center property in 2011 from the Colorado Street Bridge. Habitat for Humanity built a bungalow court of affordable homes and park with native plantings on the site in 2019 (Murphey 2011)*

This situation is one of the reasons that Outward Bound Adventures (OBA) is central to the story of Arroyo recreation moving into the future. Outward Bound Adventures is the oldest non-profit in the country dedicated to outdoor education for young people of color. It takes between 800 to 1000 young people on trips every year, from the Arroyo to the High Sierra. It also provides job training and career pathways into conservation (Outward Bound Adventures 2024). Unlike most of the other recreation organizations that focus on a specific outdoor sport or skills, OBA focuses specifically on youth development, using recreation and work as vehicles for supporting these larger goals.[175] OBA has been the driving force behind the proposal for a Climate Resilience Environmental Education Center (CREEC) in Hahamongna Watershed Park that can serve as a logistical center for its trips and work crews while also providing office and

[175] The other organization that comes close to this approach is First Tee of Greater Pasadena, which uses golf to teach life skills. They hold four eight-week sessions a year and use fundraising to keep costs low for area youth.

programming space for a broad coalition of local environmental, arts, and cultural organizations. In terms of making Arroyo recreation more accessible and more responsible to the nonhuman world, the CREEC proposal holds tremendous promise. The same questions about the impacts on the park, the cost to the City, the potential to generate revenue, and the wisdom of allowing private organizations to manage pieces of the park will rise in discussions about CREEC. But having an environmental education center in this location is in the Hahamongna Watershed Park Master Plan, and so in terms of process, the city and community have already adjudicated the allocation of land for this purpose. The collaboration happening around the CREEC also sets it apart and has potential to cultivate an abundance mindset for the canyon as a whole and keep the health and well-being of the more-than-human world in the foreground of the Arroyo's future.



Figure 258. *An environmental education workshop for teachers in Hahamongna Watershed Park in 2003. Such gatherings would be common with the CREEC project.*

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Appendix 34: Tom Seifert & Dianne Philibosian

September 23, 2022, Personal residence at 436 S. Arroyo Drive

The original concept for the story map interviews with neighborhood leaders was to create a drawing or collage that facilitates an explanation of my interpretation of the four previous interviews and to then to have the participants change that drawing or collage so it would more faithfully communicate their story and their views of and relationship to the Arroyo. The hope was also that this conversation would spark joint discoveries of sticking points that would open up new dramaturgical questions worth exploring creatively.

The story map interview with Tom Seifert and Dianne Philibosian was the first attempt to use this process and was revealing. While the interview served the overall goal of correcting my interpretation and deepening my understanding of previous conversations, the story map I presented did not easily allow for the choice and manipulation of the images. The interview consisted of an explanation of and commenting on the map rather than the making of creative choices in the moment. This led me to shift the format for subsequent interviews so that participants could choose the images that were particularly resonant for them. Still, the comments of Seifert and Philibosian in this interview led me to prioritize certain points in my analysis, and I feel gave my interpretation greater validity. The recounting below emphasizes the most important points.

Prior to the interview, I sent Seifert and Philibosian the story map image below and a six-page, single-spaced summary of my interpretation of our four previous conversations keyed to the images on the map. The summary had three sections: world of the Arroyo, story of the Arroyo, and their personal story. The image itself was an attempt to synthesize these three sections. The hope was that distilling this interpretation into images would generate questions

that would allow a deeper, collaborative exploration. The image contains sticky notes with initial questions the image generated for me. Both Seifert and Philibosian read the description ahead of the story map interview, and so the conversation began with a brief explanation of how the map and questions related to the explanation.

For example, a striking detail from Seifert and Philibosian's story was that they initially met while living on opposite sides of the Arroyo: Philibosian west of the Arroyo in the San Rafael neighborhood and Seifert on the east side in the Lower Arroyo neighborhood. Rather than the Lower Arroyo dividing their worlds, the canyon brought them together, and they held their wedding at La Casita del Arroyo. This made putting the Lower Arroyo with a bridge the only choice for the center of the story map. In explaining the various conflicts over the use of the Lower Arroyo, Seifert had often returned to the notion of balance between care for and enjoyment of the Arroyo. This is the reason for hanging a pendulum pendant from the bridge. The right side of the map represents more of Seifert's story and the left side Philibosian, with their two paths in blue traveling down to the center of the Arroyo on the map where they meet. I explained that Seifert's path represented both the competition that he experienced in the business world and the pleasure in bringing together employees and clients around specific projects, shown by the blue circles. Philibosian has had a long career teaching and organizing community projects focused on children, family, and community health and well-being. Her personal story conveyed a sense of continual growth and expansion, which is why I used widening concentric circles to show progression.

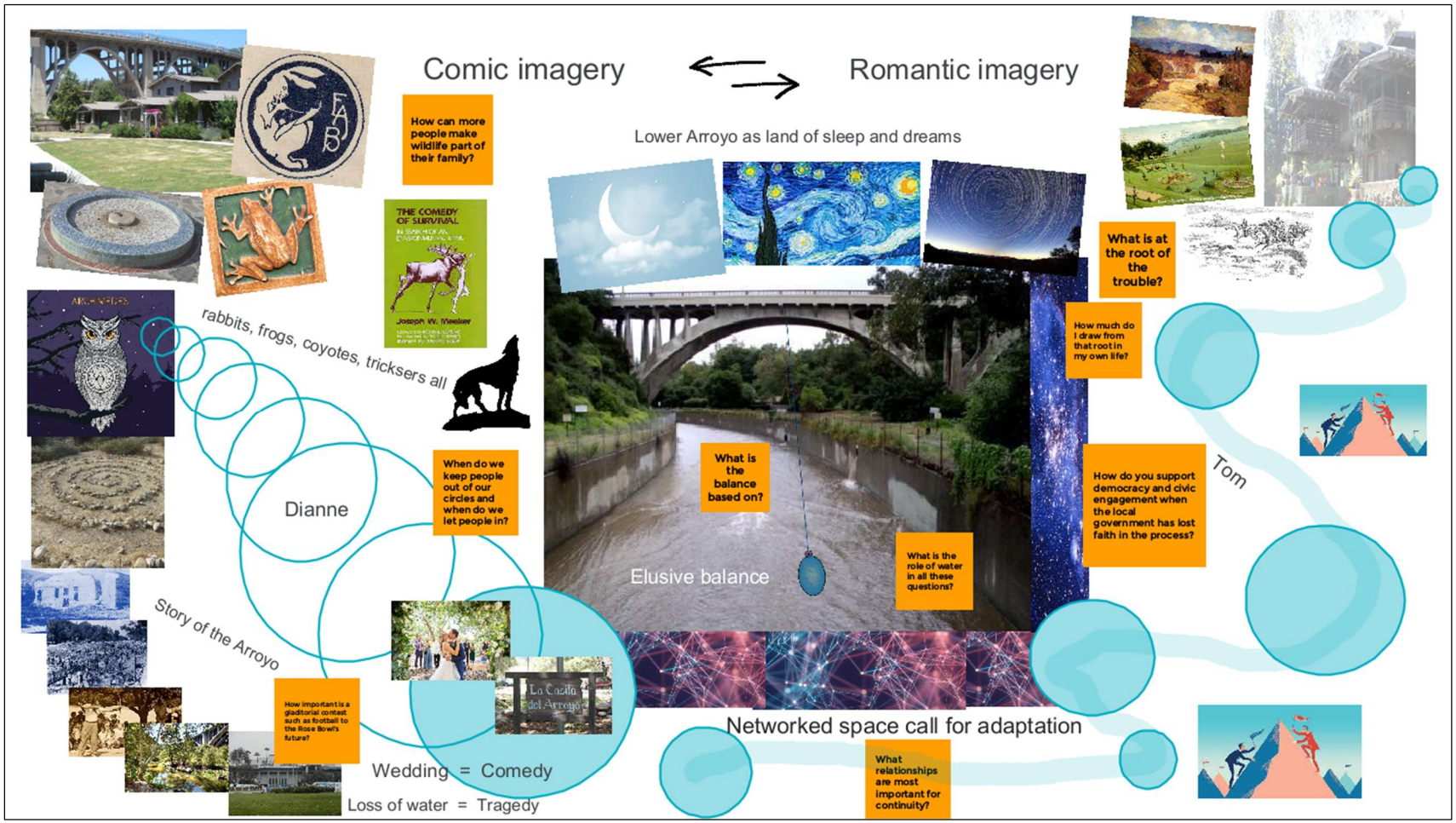

Figure 259. *Story map for Tom Seifert and Dianne Philibosian. The left side shows more of Philibosian's story; the right side shows more from Seifert's story. They come together in the Arroyo. The orange notes are the questions that this image generated for me.*



I then explained how the topography of the Lower Arroyo made it a "networked space." The long, narrow canyon makes it a space that people move through rather than a place where they gather. In addition, Seifert and Philibosian shared that many of the people who use the Lower Arroyo, especially on weekends, come from outside Pasadena. So, the network of relationships that the Lower Arroyo taps into stretches broadly across the Los Angeles region. Network spaces are more fluid and dynamic and unpredictable than the enclosed space you experience in the Central Arroyo where the topography resembles a bowl, and there is a literal bowl-shaped football stadium at its center. I commented that there were several references to dreams, spirits, and sleep that came up in our conversations, such as the neighborhood Halloween parade or how the ghost-like fog can linger in the canyon after the sun has cleared the sky of clouds This association with dreams reinforces the quality of unpredictable interconnection that comes with being in a "networked space." This is the reason for the night images above the bridge in the story map.



Figure 260. *Arroyo Seco Bridge by Franz Bischoff – 1915. ("Plein Air Painters of the Arroyo Seco and Highland Park" 2013).*



1https://www.clipartmax.com/middle/m2i8H7d3A0Z5N4H7_howling-coyote-wall-quotes%C3%A2%E2%80%9E%C2%A2-wall-art-decal-howling-coyote-silhouette/

A central question I had for Seifert and Philibosian was about whether, in reference to the Arroyo, they felt more connected to the literary traditions of romance or comedy. I identified characteristics related to both in our conversations. Within the arts and crafts tradition and Busch Gardens in the Lower Arroyo there are links to a Medieval era and aesthetic, which for European Americans has strong associations with romances. The Arroyo's landscape painters from the early 20th century also depicted romantic scenes from the canyon. And the description of the contentious debates they've been involved with over the use

of the Lower Arroyo, framed as battles with clear winners and losers, also align with romance tradition.

Yet, there were several touchstones for a more comedic perspective. Coyotes and racoons repeatedly came up in our conversations and serve as trickster figures within mythology. Seifert and Philibosian's wedding at La Casita seemed central to the overall story, and weddings typically mark a fundamentally comic world. They also recounted some very funny stories, such as their anecdote about the Pasadena Martini Society (see appendix 27). As I called out these elements, Seifert shared the following:

> Pasadena has been able to laugh at itself pretty consistently. There are those that take it awfully seriously, and then there's a group of us that enjoy a good laugh.

Seifert's desire to find balance in use of the Lower Arroyo also pulls the interpretation toward the comic tradition as balance is a fundamentally comedic value.

Despite this, both Seifert and Philibosian frame their experience of the Arroyo as more of a romance than comedy. For example, Philibosian said one thing that was missing from the story map was an image connected to Indigenous peoples.

> So, that seemed to be left out. And that's part of my whole romantic fantasy, that we're sitting on the banks of where they gathered to do good things…It's part of the imagery that I have in my mind about going back in time to a more wild place and that there were people who used the land in a very different way.

Following Hogan (2003) and his breakdown of character motivations in different literary traditions, I ask Seifert what had been the greatest motivation for him: romantic love, material well-being, spiritual release, or ethical duty. He said romantic love, "hands down."

Seifert shared that this conversation was interesting, but he wondered where it was all going. I responded that my goal was to use this type of analysis to generate "breakthrough questions" that can bring a new understanding to the issues surrounding the Arroyo. We then began to discuss the questions posted in orange on the map, starting with a question about the Rose Bowl -- "How do you reframe the Rose Bowl away from status and hierarchy and win-lose football games toward something that is more celebratory?" Both had recently attended "The Party of the Century" (see chapter 5) at the Rose Bowl and wrote an article for the West Pasadena Residents Association newsletter lightly satirizing the sense that the Rose Bowl is at the center of the universe. Philibosian said that if the Rose Bowl can't make it financially and the city takes it down, her romantic idea would be to return the area to a natural state. Seifert thought that would never happen. One image on the map is of Archimedes, the owl, representing a nesting pair of Great Horned Owls under the Van de Kamp (La Loma) Bridge that they brought up in our first interview. Philibosian asked what Archimedes would say about the Rose Bowl and then suggested that you could have a coyote run onto the field and steal the football. I suggested that could be a performance for the halftime show.



https://untappd.com/b/blake-s-hard-cider-co-archimedes/1770540

I said that Archimedes would likely ask the community what relationships relative to the neighborhood or the Arroyo are most important to hang onto. Seifert and Philibosian said the neighborhood relationships were most important. This means the neighborhood association, the

annual Halloween Parade for kids, the involvement with the local schools, and the annual neighborhood picnic. Philibosian commented:

> It is because those are the people who really craft the neighborhood in which we live. For example, an oak tree got devastated by carpenter ants and fell apart in the last day or two. And so, we were there looking at this poor tree and one of our neighbors came by and asked what happened. And I said that we were going to have to advocate for the city to replace it not with a stick oak tree but a good-sized oak. And he said, "Count me in if I can be of help." It's that coming together in communal advocacy.

I raised another question from the story map: what is either at the root of the trouble, or conversely, the source of balance in the Arroyo? Philibosian and Seifert said in the past that the various user groups accepted that the Lower Arroyo was a shared space. But several things threw off the balance. There has been an increase in the number of major events at the Rose Bowl. There has been an increase in number of people using the archery course, especially those coming from outside the area. Some of those people had put out rat poison and left behind litter. They also said one of their neighbors threw off the balance insisting that the archery range posed too great a risk, which led the city to ban walkers from the range. Philibosian said the key to balance was an ethic of preserving nature:

> It is a natural area and it needs to be valued as that. And when that can become a shared value among the users, then that's very different, a very different use and place. But right now, a lot of the users don't necessarily have that value. They don't see it as a natural preserve area. They see it as available for exploitation.

They were flummoxed when their own proposals to schedule times when other people could use the area around the archery range went nowhere, and the San Rafael homeowners on the western bluffs, who had arrows in their yards, refused to get involved. They offered the counter-example

of Kidspace Children's Museum for how to maintain balance. They had fought the museum twenty years ago when it sought to take over the buildings of the old horticultural center because their designs would have demolished large portions of the hillside. But the museum's leadership changed, and since then, the museum staff and board has done a better job of reaching out to the community and working with the neighbors.

I asked them if when they thought about the future of the Arroyo, the options and choices were narrowing or if the future felt full of possibilities. Seifert said he's typically pessimistic but was hopeful the One Arroyo Foundation's project to repair the trail would make a difference.

> If that concept can be mobilized in people's minds and people can really start using the trails and go from one end to the other, I think that could be a really positive thing. I'm hopeful.

Philibosian still would like to see removal of the flood control channel:

> I think the work of the Army Corps of the Engineers around the L.A. River offers a real opportunity for the removal of the flood control channel especially since we know now that it won't contain the 100-year flood. So, what's the purpose?



Finally, I offered the following list of potential dramaturgical questions based on the story map image and asked them which they considered most important:

- How do you reframe the Rose Bowl away from status and hierarchy and win-lose football games toward something that is more celebratory?
- How do you support democratic engagement when local government seems to have lost faith in the process?
- What is at the root of the trouble in the Arroyo? And the flip side is what is source of the balance?
- What relationships are most important to maintain continuity with the Arroyo's past?

- How do you recognize the natural spirit of the Arroyo, and what is the relationship of that natural spirit to ecology and ecological relationships?
- How do you get people to consider the coyotes (and other wildlife) as a part of their family?
- What is the role of water in addressing all of these different questions?

Both saw the last three questions about the natural spirit of the Arroyo, coyotes, and water as addressing the same issue of developing a sense of reciprocity and respect for the more-than-human world. Philibosian said the final question about water is the most all-encompassing. They mentioned how the oak trees are suffering from drought, which makes them more vulnerable to pests and diseases. At the end, Philibosian returned to the whimsical image from earlier in the conversation:

> I like the idea of the coyote running off with the football. When my niece and nephew were young, I had them acting out the Frog Prince, and at one point in the story, they were fighting over the golden ball, and it drops, and we were using a tennis ball. At that point in the story, our dog ran in a grabbed the ball. It changed everything.



Figure 261. *An example of Batchelder Decorative Tile (O'Brien 2025)*

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Appendix 35: Tim Brick – January 8, 2023

Hahamongna Native Plant Nursery

World of the Arroyo

The conversation began by reflecting back to Brick the world of the Arroyo that had emerged in our interviews as a watershed filled with venues or stages where small dramas related to protecting and restoring the River have played themselves out. Brick has an encyclopedic, on-the-ground knowledge of these locations, which evoke from him both positive and negative stories and examples, each of which provides a lesson that is a piece of the puzzle that is the Arroyo Seco. These fragments could involve flooding, water rights, vanished springs, or forgotten structures. Together, these comprise clues to a mystery: how to revive the reciprocity that Indigenous peoples practiced for thousands of years with the natural landscape.



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Part of this mystery is the connection between what happened in the Arroyo and what happened to the communities of color in Northwest Pasadena. Brick has lived in this part of town for decades and worked on racial and economic justice issues impacting these communities. He stopped my explanation when I presented a photo of land the state cleared for the 210/710 interchange.

> I think we discussed this in the time before the freeway, and it was like an apartheid wall running through the city. You drive on the street here and you felt like you were on Mars. It was just shocking how barren it was and how strong the

division was between the two. And I think most people had a sense of apartheid coming from that.



Figure 262. *Looking west in 1972 at the 210/134 freeway interchange under construction (Pasadena Complete Streets Coalition 2025)*

I shared that at a larger level, the mystery widens to how the natural character of the Arroyo can possibly thrive in a world governed by the capitalist marketplace. How can the Arroyo remain an open space under the pressure the marketplace places on land to produce revenue, provide housing, or deliver services? Questions around the future of the Rose Bowl football stadium is a manifestation of this dilemma.

With this backdrop, the world of the Arroyo is one where the canyon's community of plants and animals is on the run and under threat from a violent, militarized set of occupiers, where the River has been persecuted as a menace to civilization. Ultimately, human occupiers of

the natural landscape extracted slave labor, water, and sunshine for orchards and fields. The world of the Arroyo recalls a war-time spy thriller, something involving the French resistance to Nazi invasion. Brick was bemused:

> I like the idea of resistance. I'm not sure about this French guy on the bicycle, but okay.



iStock by Getty Images - ID 547538666

I offered within this fantasy the headquarters of the occupying force would not be City Hall but the office tower for Parsons Engineering that sits next to the freeway interchange, the firm standing in for the engineering mindset that 20th century humans depend upon and results in destruction of the natural world. I suggested that this is less a romantic war story of good versus evil and more a picaresque story that puts human failings on display, is full of uncertainty, and almost anticipates disruption. Brick responded:

> That's the thing about Nature, and I think one of the big lessons of the Arroyo is that you can't control Nature. If you really want to restore the natural character of the Arroyo, you have to put up with some uncertainty. It's the difference between a flood control channel and a restored floodplain.

I also said that the relationship between the city and its Arroyo seems undefined. The city exists on a long, sloping plain that the Arroyo carves into, giving the settlement a sense of topographical depth. I said that the Arroyo has the potential to be the spiritual spinal cord of the community, but it is not accorded that amount of respect or concern. So, there's a somewhat shallow relationship between the city and this vital source of life and meaning.

Asking if there were any images he would like to add, Brick said perhaps an image of Charles Frederick Holder, the co-founder of the Valley Hunt Club and Pasadena's resident naturalist at the turn of the last century, or Charles Lummis, the writer, publisher, and crusader for Los Angeles and the Southwest.

Story of the Arroyo



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Turning to the story of the Arroyo, I offered two possibilities coming from our conversations. The first would be a quest narrative, a spiritual journey to understand the meaning of home. Here, all of modern humanity acts as a single character learning how to live with the River and make the Arroyo into a home. In the future, I suggested two incidents that might prompt such a journey of self-discovery. The first would be water scarcity as a result of climate change, which I represented with the image of a well, and the second would be a financial reckoning for the Rose Bowl, which has been so central to Pasadena's identity over the past century (see chapter 5). If either or both of these situations come to a head, Pasadena might reconsider its relationship to the River.

Brick said during our conversations that he felt society is on the verge of a new world coming into existence. I said that this puts the story of the Arroyo into the comic realm because it mobilizes new energy that renews community life. Brick had talked about what could serve as the antagonist in such a story, blocking the new world from starting: what he termed "toxic individualism," an "engineering mindset," and selfishness and greed. Within Northrup Frye's characterization of comedies, I suggested the closest match was what he called the "shipwreck comedy," perhaps best represented by *Twelfth Night* or *The Tempest*, because those stories start with a storm and a shipwreck, which could be a stand-in for civilization in the midst of climate change. Brick picked up on this and said that the new world that he sees is one in which Nature strikes back.



Reaching Shore by Escalante Fontaneda

> Nature is striking back and saying that the systems you've tried to put in place--pushing up against the stream zone, moving houses into the floodplain, putting the channel down the middle of the Arroyo, taking too much water out, trying to deny that there are fish here--Nature is striking back. The world that I see is that people through that process are going to gradually become aware that they need to respect Nature more. That's the world that I see coming is that people are going to have to respect Nature more because you can't beat it. You can't beat it. So, when we say that we love nature, that doesn't mean that we love an idealized Nature that is just a bunch of pretty trees. It says that we love the natural processes and want to encourage the natural processes to come back.

He then referenced writer and theologian Thomas Berry.

> He believes that Nature is forcing us to respect it more in the future and that's going to overtake some of these forces of capitalism and engineering, ignorance and stuff like that because Nature is going to educate people. And we're going to

have to learn that we really need to celebrate Nature and its gifts and be cautious about it. The two go together.

I then asked him if he was hopeful

Yeah. I'm hopeful for the planet. I'm not sure how many people are going to be able to live on this planet in a hundred years. I think a lot of things are going to fall apart. It's so hard to tell what's going to happen in 50 years, a hundred years. But you look what's happened in the last 20 years, and I was on the Met Board and a lot of the scientists were saying that "the Colorado River is going to dry up and there's not going to be any water after 2020." And I was on the Met Board and chairman for that period of time. And most of the people in the water industry were saying "Those guys are crazy, and it's irresponsible, and we're going to make this work." And what they were saying is what's happening now and what you see in the news every day now. So, we don't know what it's going to be like in twenty years. The fires. Look at how much worse the fires are. Like for instance, when the Station Fire occurred in 2009. It was 163,000 acres. It's still the largest fire we've had in L.A. County history, but the fires they've had in Northern California are ten times bigger than the Station Fire. So, the Station Fire is way down on the list in terms of fires in California, but it was so impactful in our area. And all that's new and has happened in last five or ten years. So, it's just stunning the impacts that we've seen that are pretty attributable to climate change and the human interventions that have created climate change.

My response was to say that it seems he's dead certain that things are going to fall apart.

And he said it's going to force that sense of discovery, what I identified as a spiritual

journey.

We're going to have to learn from it. Yeah, I think we are going to learn from it, but people are only going to learn from it if they realize that humans are just part of creation, just part of the world.

That's the key lesson.

And not the dominant force, the only one that matters, that everything should be done to serve humans. They're going to have to have respect for other creatures and for the natural processes. And if they don't, that's the key question. That's the kind of learning that they really need to do and it's going to create radical changes in our economic structures and even our physical structures.

I then asked him what he thought about how I framed the story because he talked about it in terms of realizing humans are not and should not strive to dominate the rest of creation, and I framed it as a spiritual journey to discover the meaning of home.

> You see, you're more anthropomorphic than I am. You are viewing this in terms of human impacts. I think I have more of "the plants are important, the wildlife is important, the stream is important, and, yeah, people fit in there too, but they're just part of the picture."
>
> ***I would think about it as that is the meaning of home.***
>
> Yeah, if you define it that way, but what about home for the steelhead trout. How about that? That will change your calculation as to what home means. If it's just home for people…I see this all the time, like a lot of the groups in the L.A. River system even, they consider themselves river restoration people, but what they are really looking for is recreational improvements for people. That's not my main goal. My main goal is restoration of the river system itself. But I know most people are very anthropomorphic if you will. They look at it how it will affect people. And so, you get to questions in river restoration of whether we want a stream or whether we want a soccer field. You know we had that battle in the last ten years, and we won it by being loud and obnoxious. But we won it. I don't think people are trained to think in terms of systems and ideology, broadly defined. (see appendix 33 for more on the battle over soccer fields).

I shared how the stream runs through the center of the story of the Arroyo and is enduring because it crosses time scales. It serves as a bridge between the human and nonhuman perspectives within the story and provides a measure of progress in terms of ecological health. It is both the source of the mystery and the objective in solving it. It fulfills the role of a deity, and the steelhead trout is



2Photo: Will Boucher, California Sea Grant

its oracle. Brick stated he liked all the images I showed him but the well, the stream and the steelhead were most important to him.

Personal story

In going through his personal story, I said it seemed a story of determination and moral consciousness. I also mentioned how it seemed there is an essential parallel between his motivation to overcome polio as a boy and his motivation to improve the health of the watershed and the planet, his determination to escape the body casts that he was forced to wear and his determination to free the Arroyo from the flood control channel. Brick said he thought that was a good comparison.



Minerva Jacket by Joseph Hirsch

I then shared how Brick had talked about his activism as a process of distilling things down to choices for people. But I said that he had a record of working creatively on projects that require nuance and different ways of looking at issues. Distilling things down to either/or choices is more difficult to do when you're head of an organization like the Metropolitan Water District.

> I was on the board for 28 years, and so it's not like it was a small part of my life. You're absolutely right. And a lot of the environmentalists, this is probably not so true as it used to be, they used to not consider me an environmentalist because I was on the Met board. And I said to them, "What I'm trying to do is transform this agency, which is a whole different thing than just planting a tree." It's a whole different challenge, and you have to kind of deal with reality in a whole different way. Abstractly, it's possible to look at yourself as a great environmental champion, but if you really want to look at it objectively, I think people need to try to transform the systems that created a lot of these problems. And so, trying to transform MWD, that was a bold program and challenge.

Brick was pragmatic and said you have to do whatever works.

> Yeah, you have to be realistic and objectively evaluate the situation rather than what you would want things to be.

He drew on his philosophy degree to say that he sided with Aristotle over Plato in his belief in objective reality and lamented its demise in an era where facts and science have diminished in importance. I stated that the self-discovery and spiritual journey story we had been discussing fits best with an episodic structure, one that often lacks a decisive moment where the narrative reaches a climax. I asked him if he saw his story building to decisive action or if it was an episodic ramble. Brick said it was step by step, often two forward and one back.



https://www.pinterest.com/pin/69735494208044165/

I then shifted to his desire to defend against bullies, and I offered the romantic image of knight on horseback and an image of David vs. Goliath as two ways to approach this. Brick related more to David, identifying Goliath as the system saying he wasn't very romantic. For Frye (1957), David qualifies as a "satiric hero," someone who throws rocks and conducts surgical strikes that prod a giant into a blind, stampeding fury and then polished off at leisure" (228). Historian Hayden White (2014) says that satire "prepares consciousness for its repudiation of all sophisticated conceptualizations of the world and anticipates a return to a mythic apprehension of the world and its processes" (10). This

would move Brick's approach back toward a more Indigenous understanding of the relationship with the land, which aligns with the importance Brick places on the Indigenous worldview.

We then discussed the part of the mystery of how to get one's message to break through. Presented with an image of a communication network and another referencing social media, Brick said he liked the network image better. In terms of getting a message out and creating change in Pasadena, I asked Brick, as I did many people, about the meaning of the phrase "the Pasadena Way."

> I think the origin of the term was that it was genteel, was a good way to describe it: polite and not confrontational. But I actually have in my mind a more negative meaning in mind. Pasadena, as you know, is notoriously difficult to work with, and when people say the "Pasadena Way" they don't mean it in a positive way at all. They mean the permitting process, zoning, and all these other things are impossible to deal with.

I asked if he thought the phrase was ironic.

> Yes, it's very ironic for me. I know what people mean, but to me there's such a context of *noblesse oblige* about it. That was really the origin of it, that it was an elite kind of thing, a *noblesse oblige*.



https://resume.io/uk/blog/communication-skills-at-work-examples-to-include-on-your-cv

Finally, Brick revealed that he not only had to overcome polio as a child, but he had to learn to walk again after a knee operation when he was nineteen. Again, determination comes out strongly in his personal story.

> Yeah, the first operation was the hard one. A month later after the operation, I literally couldn't bend my leg. They had to take me back into the hospital six weeks after the operation and put me under and they physically forced it to 110 degrees. And, of course, it swelled up after that, and that's when the Jamaican doctor talked to me about how to walk again. I was still in seminary at the time, and the infirmary was on the third floor. And there was a big guy who would carry me up to the third floor a couple of times a day.

My response to him was "step by step."

Tim Brick's Story Map



Figure 263. *Tim Brick's Story Map*

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Appendix 36: Brian Biery – January 11, 2023

Amara Café, 55 S. Raymond Ave

Unlike most of the other story map interviews, my conversation with Brian Biery was abbreviated, due to the fact, in part, that we digressed into discussing other pressing community issues. For this reason, we did not have time to fully review the images I selected to reflect my understanding for Biery's story of the Arroyo or his personal story as a leader and advocate. I did use a stack of images to explain the world of the Arroyo that emerged from my analysis of our interviews.

The conversation began with my perception that the nature of this world for me felt unresolved. I noted how locations had come up in our conversation that both promote social integration, such as block parties and the Rose Bowl Aquatics Center (RBAC), and those that draw boundaries and exclude people, such as gated communities or private social clubs or schools. Across our conversations, the places where racial and class boundaries endure and where they are breaking down and why, seemed unclear. For example, Biery described a fundraiser for the Boys and Girls Club of Pasadena that some affluent residents attended, which involved crossing into Northwest Pasadena. This seemed a visit more about demonstrating one's status as wealthy donors rather than building authentic partnerships. We also discussed events where racial and class boundaries seem to blur, such as at the Rose Parade and the Fourth of July fireworks show at the Rose Bowl. I brought up the story he told about how his uncle reached out to families of color to get them to join First Congregational Church's Boy Scout Troop 10. I suggested that other disrupters of these boundaries could be event planners, teachers, or even parts of the more-than-human world that have little concern for such distinctions, such as coyotes or the River itself.



Figure 264. *The entrance to the Valley Hunt Club. The organization that organized the first Rose Parade still exists as an invitation-only private club on S. Orange Grove Boulevard. (Miki & Sonja Photography 2025)*

I noted that Biery had expressed both gratitude to live in a city with so many resources and frustration with the City government and affluent residents who seek to set themselves apart. I listed off some of the contradictions in Pasadena from my research that seem confounding:

- A wealthy community where many of its residents suffer from economic insecurity;
- A well-educated community with a tenuous commitment to public education;
- A community that values heritage but is often unwilling to confront its past;
- A government that talks about transparency but insulates itself from its citizenry.

I shared that the Rose Parade, in some ways, presents an obstacle to the community honestly being able to face its challenges because each New Year's Day, the community must present a city and community without blemish; a slice of Americana for the entire country to see.

Biery said that he did not see any ambiguity in Pasadena's history. Speaking about race relations and inequality.

> It's very clear what's happened. It's very clear what's continuing to happen. It's clear that there has been improvement in racial justice. It's also clear there are places that we can continue to improve.

Biery returned to the metaphor of a "tale of two cities" that he discussed previously and reiterated the idea that because of its ethnic, economic, social, and political diversity, Pasadena presents a microcosm of both Los Angeles County and the country. Biery said that if Pasadena can continue to improve in its treatment of minority groups, its example could be beneficial to other communities.



Figure 265. *The 710 ditch or stub shortly after completion in the mid-1970s. Today the ditch serves as a symbol of the "tale of two cities" narrative that plagues Pasadena. ("Aerial View of 710 freeway stub" n.d. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History, C12-133)*

He observed that Pasadena has a significant number, perhaps more than other cities, of people who care about the community.

> They are policy wonks or design freaks, or they are people who are worried about governance, and they want to take the time to tweak it, and they are committed to doing that.

He shared that he had just attended a meeting of the Clergy Community Coalition.

> The CCC is a roundtable of churches and some community organizations and the city, the Altadena Sheriff, the Pasadena Police Department, and PUSD. And so, it's 40 to 60 people, representing all these initiatives, and they have reports from all those governing bodies on what's happening recently, what's coming up and how the churches can be supportive. It's a valuable interchange because it creates an interchange that wouldn't normally happen.

Biery said that the CCC is a positive and productive part of the community that he respects and appreciates. Another example is the Garfield Heights Neighborhood Association, which he names as "the Cadillac of neighborhood organizing in the city."

> All you have to do is read their year-end summary that…it's just fabulous. And I know that some neighborhood associations have a bad reputation, and the bad reputation is that it's isolationists or that it's only for some people, or they don't include renters. This association could be accused of all of those, but I don't think it's factual because they try to reach out to everyone: they're inclusive, they're cross-culture, they're intercultural, but there are some naysayers. And I bring it up because I helped form it over 20 years ago, and that's what we should be aspiring to is a culture or neighborhood where we all care about each other.

The Association won the 2023 Neighborhood of the Year award by Neighborhoods USA. Biery noted that the Pasadena Tournament of Roses Association, which organizes the Rose Parade, as a third example of a community institution that has made a significant effort to become more inclusive.

> And there's more diversity than there ever has been on the Tournament, and it's good and it's visible and it's growing. And yet, there's still this exclusionary aspect to it. There's 935 members, and you have to be nominated by somebody who is in it. I feel like in that moment and on that day, there is a democratization of the city. There is an obvious ability for everyone [to come]. And everyone does

> come. You see people and you saw it in Old Pasadena too, people waiting for the parade from all backgrounds. That's true. But the essence of it still has problems with a certain amount of elitism, a certain amount of isolation…And in some ways you have to keep it this way, the specialness of being a member. The other thing is because it's such a big endeavor, they have to find corporate sponsors, and so Honda, Trader Joe's, or whatever, they have numerous ones. So, there's a commodification of the parade. And they would say that "We can't put it on any other way because it costs, whatever, $100 million dollars." And that's all true, but that moves it a little bit away from the community side of it. The interesting part is that they have also diversified the participants. And I have to tell you the best band this year was from Norfolk, Virginia and was one of the HBCUs. They were astounding. They had a Japanese band, which was fantastic too.

Biery noted that whatever cultural institutions we're talking about in the city, the question is how do we continue to be aware of our blind spots and find ways to be more representative of our community and then the larger globe.



Frederick M. Brown/Getty Image

Biery, who like Tim Brick was a member of the community advisory group for the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers, said that he thinks one way to promote placekeeping in Pasadena to is incorporate it into existing projects and initiatives. He then said that the discussions about the repurposing of the 710 freeway "ditch" or "stub" present an enormous opportunity for initiating

placekeeping activities. He said the proposed Climate Resilience Environmental Education Center (CREEC) at Hahamongna Watershed Park could also provide a home for placekeeping and mentioned that some initial designs included an amphitheater that could provide a venue for performances.

As Biery prepared to go another meeting, I said that the story of the Arroyo I gleaned from our interviews was one of racial capitalism, in which capitalist enterprise depends upon division and exploitation. I shared that one of the questions I was considering asking for Arroyo Seco Placekeepers is how the Arroyo can help undermine the "tale of two cities" within the community and be an equalizer, a place that brings people together.

Biery said that increasing access to the Arroyo requires planning and intention. He said that most of the students who he works with at Muir High School and who live in Northwest Pasadena are not very familiar with the Arroyo Seco. He suggested a project that shared the message: "The Arroyo is for everyone."

> The problem is that there are various entities that have their own constituencies that then divide it up to a certain degree, and those aren't necessarily visibly open. And even the RBAC is technically open to everybody but may not be visibly because some people feel there might be a membership or there's a cost or those sorts of things. So, the golf course or the Rose Bowl itself. So, taking each one of those entities and conducting an analysis of how open, transparent, inviting, inclusive it is and what would make it even more so.

I then said that in terms of his personal story, much of it revolved around the theme of family and how the outdoors, and by extension the Arroyo, had made a memorable contribution to the life of his family. The final question coming from this analysis was whether these small changes at the level of the individual, family, or neighborhood could drive change, or if larger global forces would overwhelm what is happening at the community level. Biery's response echoed the other neighborhood leaders that a reckoning is on the horizon.

> We're at a watershed moment for the economy. It's not going to go easy. But because of the externalities of the limits of nature, not just climate change, it's agriculture and mineral extraction for all sorts of devices, we're butting up against some external limits. And water is another one. There will be a conversation globally about what should be our economic structure. And I don't know if it will in the next five years or ten years about what is our economic structure. And the economic structure is what drives resource utilization and extraction.
>
> ***
>
> We have to talk about how the economy is going to meet the needs of people. Capitalism is going to have a tough time in that discussion because, as I said at the outset, it leaves people behind, and it does it unfairly, inequitably.

I said one of my questions is whether the Arroyo can help us get to where we need to be with the economy. Biery thought it could.

> A possibility is that if we care for the Arroyo in profound and connected ways and we make it accessible…if we care for it thoughtfully, yes, I think it can be a catalyst for social change.

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Appendix 37: John Dean – December 20, 2022

Brookside Restaurant, 1133 Rosemont Ave

My interviews with John Dean were collaborative conversations. Dean would often respond to my questions with questions of his own. This would often take the conversation in a novel direction. Our story map interview followed this pattern. As a result, there was not enough time to present the images I had assembled to represent his personal story or to have Dean choose particular images for a story map. Nevertheless, the interview underlined and clarified certain points Dean had made before and allowed me to understand what to pay attention to in the overall analysis.

World of the Arroyo

The conversation began with my description of the world of Arroyo that emerged from our conversation as hierarchical in which White society worked hard to separate itself from non-White populations. What evolved over the course of the last century in Pasadena were two contending networks. The first, the network of the White power structure, consisted of elected officials, bankers, realtors, lawyers, developers, business people, and law enforcement backed by a large White majority. This network systematically and strategically mobilized to control and confine communities of color for economic advantage and material gain. A second network arose to resist these efforts, with tight clusters of relationships within the different ethnic groups that would at times band together. For example, many African American families took care of property and



https://smart-communities.org/

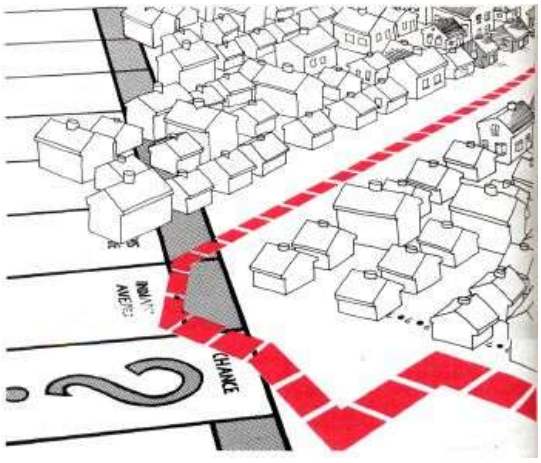
belongings of their Japanese American neighbors during their imprisonment as part of World War II. Some White families were part of this network as well, helping families of color, for example, purchase property in redlined neighborhoods. Religious institutions were particularly important for this network of resistance.

I told Dean that what made an impression were instances where the racial boundaries in the neighborhoods around the Arroyo shifted and eroded, where individuals or families breached those invisible dividing lines. I noted how the description of riding his bicycle with friends around these neighborhoods, making sure to get home before dark, seemed particularly vivid. I noted how the La Pintoresca Library, which is now in the center of Northwest Pasadena, was clearly once a White community, indicating how the lines that shifted. Dean concurred:

> La Pintoresca is not a shabby library. The layout, the structure, it's over 5000 square feet. One of the more prominent architects in Pasadena at the time was commissioned to design it. So, that wouldn't have happened if it was a minority area. So, that tells you that the area was mainly White. If you look at North Raymond you can tell that it was a prominent street because it's wide, and there are homes there that are as nice as many nicer neighborhoods. But minority populations eventually moved in, and Whites fled because they didn't want to be associated with minority neighborhoods.

Dean said that having the images related to redlining was good.

> But you could also imagine someone White holding up a sheet of paper across the divide saying 'You can't come here.' That would cut to the core of how that works.



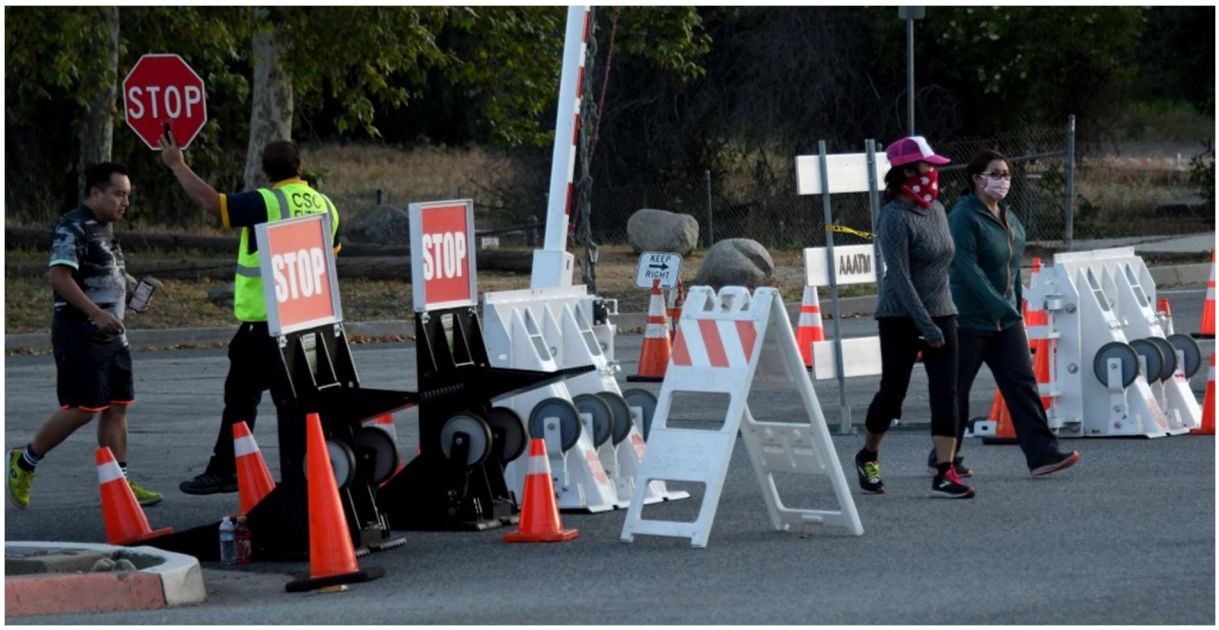
https://www.lib.niu.edu/1979/ii790704.html

I mentioned how the sawhorses that block the streets in these neighborhoods during Rose Bowl events present an almost subliminal reminder of

the racial boundaries that controlled and restricted movement throughout the city during at least the first half of the 20th century.

And still the legacy of these divisions persists. Dean discussed the discrepancy in the staffing of those barricades, with the Linda Vista attendants belonging to the Pasadena Police Explorers while East Arroyo attendants are daily hires for specific events. This is despite the fact that the East Arroyo has many more streets that require barricades. When I raised the idea of the East Arroyo Residents Association getting together for a picnic with the Linda Vista Annandale Association to discuss shared issues living along the Central Arroyo, Dean didn't think it would work.

> I'm not aware of someone saying "Let's get a community thing together and we'll meet at Brookside Park and be neighbors." They have their interests that don't extend this way. This side has its interests that doesn't necessarily extend that way.



Keith Birmingham, Pasadena Star-News/ SCNG

Dean also told me that he once asked a real estate agent to show him the prices for homes in Linda Vista comparable to his own. Comparable homes in Linda Vista were $200,000 to $250,000 higher in price.

The Arroyo parklands have been a proving ground for racial policies and norms in the community. The segregation at the Brookside Plunge is the primary example, but the use of the stadium, the golf course, the ballfields, and trails were also at issue. Dean noted how Brookside Park was created primarily for White residents, but the City let it fall into disrepair in the latter half of the 20th century as more people of color came to use the facilities. Any evaluation of budget allocations and the management of the Arroyo today should account for this history and potential discrimination. Dean said the issue of resources going into the Arroyo that could go someplace else is ever present.

> You have a 100-year-old stadium that constantly needs upgrades, and it's being paid for by the people who are being discriminated against. Their tax dollars are going to that when they can't get street lights repaired.

The chronotope, or time signature of the landscape, within this world is one of suspense. African Americans passing through the Arroyo's neighborhoods have always known that a chance encounter with police could turn deadly. While Arroyo locations such as Brookside were, theoretically, open to everyone, being a minority in these spaces required being on guard. I also noted that the world of the Arroyo also extended into the courtroom where cases such as the Brookside Plunge and the Raines housing case received a hearing (see appendices 28 & 33). There is suspense around these decisions, which can determine the direction of policy for decades.

The conversations with Dean and their analysis sparked a poem about the World of the Arroyo, a draft of which I read to Dean:

The world of the Arroyo is one
where White supremacy prescribed
where you could live, work, and play,
movements controlled, policed,
people of color pushed to the margins.
And the ugly creature of
racism lurks and jumps
out to neuter Black men jumping hurdles,
and horrific surprises threaten everything
in an instant, where those with color work
twice as hard for half as much.
The world of the Arroyo is one of control,
of both nature and people, where people jump
from the Colorado Street Bridge, but the City won't station
a human voice to slow them down,
a voice that speaks of past damage and avoidance
of harm, and of a future that dies from drought
and drawdown of its aquifer.
The world of the Arroyo is a world apart,
beyond human ideas, visions, intentions,
where eventually a waterfall
will top the dam.

Story of the Arroyo

We then discussed the shape of the story of the Arroyo, what type of story this might be, and what it could mean for the future. My conversations with Dean had first suggested the genre of tragicomedy because Dean had underlined the insidiousness of the racism in Pasadena but also that things had gotten better. I asked him how he balanced these two things in telling the story of Pasadena. He responded that rather than saying "things have gotten better," he'd say they've gotten different.

> You're still seeing interpretations of the law even though it's clearly an anathema to what we think is right in society. And you continue to have people in positions of power who are working for some narrow advantage. So, when we use terms such as things have "gotten better," it can provide false cover to circumstances that speak to just the opposite.

Dean said in telling the story of the Arroyo, I should start at the end point and work backwards.

> I think the story can become more meaningful if you say this is where we are right now, and this is what we've had to slog through in order to get where we are today because for the most part, we tend to ignore negative history. We like to pretend that it didn't happen. If we have minorities that have been impacted, we do things today that say "Oh, we're good people helping these unfortunate folks," and it makes us look like the good guy, and the victims, it's their own fault.



Figure 266. *1956 file photo of Jackie Robinson (Kavner 2022)*

Dean reiterated how saying that Jackie Robinson "broke the color barrier" allows the baseball owners who instituted and maintained that barrier to fade into the background. Dean said it was the owner and general manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers who decided to break the rules. By making Robinson the singular hero of the story, the storyteller implicitly blames those who suffer from discrimination for not measuring up. And with this blame structure in place, the White power structure begins working to make that narrative into a reality. This can happen with both individuals and institutions. He cited Muir High School, which at one point was one of the top high schools in the state. Once the district constructed two other high schools that siphoned off White students, the school board starved Muir for resources, creating the narrative that, by comparison, it was a failing school.

> So, everyone bought into this because they were convinced that all the public schools, if they had minorities in them, were no good. And that's the same cover that's been used to fund policies to separate groups. You then make sure to turn

> that school into what you said it was by not putting any money into it, not fixing things. It falls into disrepair. You put the worst teachers there. You create a false narrative and then you go about fulfilling that narrative with your actions.

The irony is that sixty years after this school board legislated this narrative into existence, it tars the entire district and has become almost impossible for subsequent school boards to shake. Dean says the erasure of "the slog" of history allows perpetrators to escape accountability, reduces breakthroughs to a matter of "individual achievement," and makes a community vulnerable to backsliding because it does not recognize or respond to warning signs when things are getting off track.

Dean said it is important to recognize how society continues to find ways to discriminate. His first example was the shift from redlining to discriminatory lending practices.

> You had that period of time where they were redlining. That was blatant and obvious, and they ruled that out. But then what would happen is the White couple could get a loan for 7 percent, and the Black couple would get it for 10 percent because they were seen as a greater risk. Well, the loan folks maybe thought "last in, first out."

Dean then discussed how charter schools have opened a back door to re-segregate public schools.

> With charter schools, it's a new form of public school segregation because you now have these charter schools that pop-up here and there, and they, one, take over a public-school building, and two, then they have to receive funding because they're in a public school building, but it gets to operate independently and pick-and-choose who they let in there.

He then showed me a photo from 1969 of the first Rose Parade Court with women of color in which the Chinese American and an African American members of the court sits below the White women on the court.



Figure 267. *Photo of the 1969 Rose Queen and her court. This was the first year that a woman of color was chosen for the court. The photographer put them at the feet of white women (Rose Queen and her Court 1969. Courtesy Tournament of Roses Association)*

> When I show this to people, they don't want to see that. They see it, but they don't want to see it. Why are these women at the foot…It means they aren't really a part of the court. It looks as though they are there to serve the White women. A lot of historical photos included the help, but you'd position them so it's clear they're the help.

I asked Dean if he believed the saying that the long arc of history bends towards justice. He said he did but that it can easily bend back the other way. I asked what allowed for Pasadena to make progress on race relations.

> Pointing out inequities, continuing to push forward for change. People who were resistant to that and trying to impede eventually falling by the wayside, as it always has to happen. But it's…we like to think that we'll get to the end point and the end point is that now we have a perfect world. It's not going to happen. Why do we have people walking around saying the Holocaust never happened?

I said that while I appreciate the importance of the type of "origin" story that he was suggesting, the goal of the placekeepers project is to ask questions about the future of the Arroyo. Dean then framed the question he would ask about the future – "Is tomorrow yesterday?"

> Who would have thought that someone like Trump would emerge post-Obama. And who would have imagined that he would be such a disruptor and give cover to all these people that are full of hate...We've deluded ourselves because we take comfort in saying Jackie Robinson broke the color barrier, but we ignore who was it that was holding that barrier up and enforcing it and why did they allow the barrier to come down. Really, in the end, the question is "Is tomorrow yesterday?"

Different genres of stories answer this question in different ways: a comedy emphasizes forward movement and typically ushers in a new world; a tragedy emphasizes the grips of past events on present circumstances; a satire ruefully demonstrates how the more things change, the more they stay the same. One way to activate this question for the community would be to have a way to consistently reflect on both the progress that community has made and still has to make relative to race relations. I offered the idea of a City holiday that could commemorate progress on racial reconciliation. Dean said the challenge would be to find something that everyone could relate to. I suggested the re-opening of the fully-integrated Brookside Plunge in 1947.

> In the end, I think you have to continue to have these discussions and bring these things to light and allow people to acknowledge the stuff that goes on and help people learn how to recognize when somebody is doing something that is inappropriate.

Dean said that when you talk about the story of the Arroyo, most people will only think about the park and not account for race relations in the surrounding neighborhoods. Figuring out a way to weave these stories together is a challenge. An important parallel that I shared is the urge to exploit and control both the more-than-human world such as the River and the lives and livelihoods of Pasadena's non-White residents. Dean was pessimistic about restoring the stream and ridding the canyon of non-native species.

> I know you've talked with Tim Brick, and his focus has been to return the Arroyo to its natural state, in every sense of the word, and getting rid of all the non-native stuff, which is certainly a noble idea to have. The reality is that it's not going to happen. Ideally, if you could get the flood control channel out and allow the water to flow naturally, that would be great, but the reality is it's not going to happen.

Just looking at the River, the story of the Arroyo would be one of decline:

> It used to be free-flowing but now it flows through a channel and a lot of stuff has happened in between. The Arroyo used to be life-giving, but now when it joins the L.A. River, it's probably more toxic. It's not life-giving. That's where it is today.

But then Dean offers a framing that he thinks might appeal to people and mentions the old amphitheater on the hillside above the Rose Bowl Aquatics Center that many now want to restore (see appendix 26).

> One of the things that keeps rearing up in my head is that when we talk about the Arroyo Seco, in many respects, it's everybody's park. It's the city's park. It's the city's everything: natural area, recreation area, Rose Bowl. It's part of the city's identity on multiple levels, and people come from all over the local area, not just Pasadena, to use that. So, could you market the Arroyo as a gathering place to promote the well-being of people in nature? For instance, you have folks who are interested in restoring the Arroyo, and their focus isn't on race relations. And there's nothing wrong with that. Don't get me wrong. But since the Arroyo basically has been a life source for the area because the early people where they gathered nuts and water to survive, it nourished them. And it still nourishes the city because it provides a portion of the city's water from the outflow of the San Gabriel Mountains. And so, could you use the Arroyo Seco as a means to bring people together to talk about the people as one and everybody can bring their stories? The outline of the amphitheater is there. The seats are there. They're just buried.



Figure 268. *Brookside Open-Air Amphitheater Stage (Martin 1924, California State Library)*

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Rose Queen and her Court, 1969, color photograph, 1960-1969, Tournament of Roses Association. https://tournamentofroses.com/tor-photo-gallery/1960-1969-gallery/#lg=1&slide=1.

Appendix 38 - Barbara Richardson King - January 10, 2023

Hythe Realty, 21 Miller Alley

World of the Arroyo

The first image I presented related to Richardson King's world of the Arroyo was of a house inside a translucent globe. This conveyed Richardson King's sense that Del Monte Street, where she grew up in the East Arroyo neighborhood, provided a peaceful, protected container for her childhood (see appendix 28). Staying within this bubble not only kept her physically safe but shielded her from the more extreme forms of prejudice and inequality that existed in Pasadena at the time. Richardson King responded to this image.

> I like the bubble idea. People say "I was poor and I didn't know it." I don't think I was poor, but I didn't know it." I don't think I was poor, but I don't think I really understood what was happening out there. My husband always says that my dad kept me pretty sheltered.



https://www.amazon.ae/Flever-Dollhouse-Miniature-Creative-Furniture/dp/B01NGZU7AU

Going east from Richardson King's home in the 1950's and '60s was a world colored by racism, redlining, and redevelopment. Around the corner was a liquor store, where alcoholics chirped at Richardson King and other children walking to school. Further into Pasadena were the exclusive neighborhoods where class boundaries divided people. Going west, however, took her to the eastern rim of the Arroyo, a perch from which anything seemed possible. I presented a photo of the area below Devil's Gate Dam, the wild section of the creek closest to the house Richardson King grew up in.

> This resonates [picture of streambed below Devil's Gate] because it was my favorite thing to do, to walk the dogs down there and get my brother to take me. We went down there to the echo tunnel. That was my favorite thing to do, and then we'd go up by JPL. My husband takes our dog up there now, and she enjoys it.



What's most important about this emotional geography is how it has changed. The two primary drivers of this change were the construction of the 210 Freeway just east of Lincoln Avenue and the more recent closure of Cleveland Elementary School. When Richardson King was growing up, life happened in the street and neighborhood children were in and out of each other's homes. Today, residents disappear into their houses, behind high fences and gates. People's dogs are one of the few things that draw neighbors into relationship with one another and was one of the images she wanted on her story map. Our discussion of the freeway, prompted dialogue about more commercialization, such as the Jack-in-the-Box fast food restaurant down the street from her house, and crime leaking into the neighborhood. Richardson

King related this more explicitly to capitalism and greed than she had in earlier conversations. Later, in the interview she responded to an image of capitalism as an octopus.

> I definitely like this. I definitely like this with this X-ed out because that's how we got the freeway and how we got the Jack-in-the-Box.

As a realtor, Richardson King said she has seen homes in the neighborhood become more of a financial stepping-stone for individuals than an anchor for community-building.

The sound of speeding traffic that the freeway broadcasts over the neighborhood creates a cloud of unsettled energy that finds its counter in the peace and serenity of the Arroyo. Richardson King shared what image she would add to represent her world of the Arroyo.

> I would draw a sun because it was a ray of sunshine. And it was good therapy. You could go down there, and if you were having a bad day, or if you felt someone was not treating you well, you had the Rose Bowl to go down there to and walk around this beautiful terrain where there was no judgment, no anger, no discrimination, no mom and dad, whatever your issue or concern was, it was an escape. It has been a constant in my life because it's like a heaven, and there's no stress, no pressure, no judgment.

I shared that, in some ways, the Arroyo seemed like another parent in Richardson King's life, a constant presence that has provided comfort after the passing of her mother and father.

> I can't even imagine what the neighborhood would be like if we didn't have the Arroyo. It would just be concrete and noise.

I described other chronotopes present in the neighborhood and the Arroyo--the suburban chronotope of a garden for the neighborhood but how the golf course and Rose Bowl runs on schedule while at the Brookside playgrounds, the timelessness of young children holds sway. Large displacement events at the Rose Bowl, such as concerts or football games, override all of these rhythms in the landscape, with both positive and negative effects.

Story of the Arroyo

I suggested that the main question in Richardson King's story of the Arroyo is whether it is possible to recover the strong sense of community that once existed in the neighborhood. Answering this question has become a quest for Richardson King, a mystery with clues in the past that can inform the present and suggest a path to the future. I offered the image of a detective, a question mark, and spyglass, each of which Richardson King chose to include on her story map.

> The question mark is big because my father always said "There's no stupid question. What's stupid is when you don't ask."

One of the questions surrounding this narrative is whether others want to join the quest to restore the sense of safety and belonging that existed back in the 1950s and '60s. I said the fate of the Cleveland Elementary School campus seems central to this effort, and Richardson King remembered a recent conversation with a woman who had advocated to keep the school open.

> The lady that I spoke to was steering the "Stop the Closure of Cleveland." I knew her through social clubs and didn't realize that she went to Cleveland. So, there are other people who grew up in the area that are strongly rooted in maintaining the neighborhood as the safe, warm community that we knew.

We discussed ways to use the land to create the intergenerational relationships that once characterized the neighborhood. Along these lines, Richardson King chose a photo of the school garden that exists on one part of playground for her story map.[176]

[176] The campus currently hosts a charter elementary school and a day care center. The charter school does not fill the same niche as Cleveland Elementary since it is not a neighborhood school and parents drop kids at the school from across the Pasadena Unified area.



A second specific question is how to accomplish redevelopment along Lincoln Avenue without setting off a wave of gentrification that will displace current residents. The role of affordable housing and the struggle to provide a place for houseless individuals is also an open question. In response to my question about whether there were houseless people in the neighborhood when she was growing up, Richardson King said no.

> No. I'm going to categorically say no because there was more extended family. I don't know where this thing about if you're living with your mother or your grandmother or your aunt, it's the horrible, horriblest thing in the world. And in the Japanese culture, the elders don't go to old folks' home. The eldest son takes care of *mamason* and *papason*. The other thing is that in the African American community, if you had a child that was special, he was cared for my grandmom, by Big Mamma. A lot of times, you had an older son who was divorced or wasn't doing what he should be doing, he would move back in with mom and there wasn't any shame with it. And I see in other cultures that might be a huge element of a culture that is breaking this world apart. If you lean on your relatives as an adult, that is a horrible thing. That isn't a horrible thing. My girls, I thought my mom was helping them out. One moved in at one time or another, when they were in-between relationships or whatever, and my mom said, "Let them move in. Don't worry about it." But I didn't realize how much they were helping her out. So, in terms of creating a caring culture, let's start with our family first.

This is a good example about how looking into the past provides a clue that Richardson King is applying to the future.

Personal story

This peering into the past starts with the experience of Richardson King's family, which has deep roots in Pasadena (see appendix 28 for a fuller history of the Grant family). One image she chose for her story map is of the groundbreaking ceremony for a branch of the savings-and-loan that her Great-Uncle Earl founded on Crenshaw Boulevard in South-Central Los Angeles. Her father built his own janitorial and building maintenance company and also got involved in real estate, purchasing condemned homes from Caltrans and moving them to empty lots in Northwest Pasadena. Richardson King shared how her father was entrepreneurial and always looking for ways to outsmart the purveyors of discrimination and earn more money for the family. She chose the image of an old car for her map because her father had two cars, a raggedy car he would drive to work sites and a nice car he would use on weekends. Allowing his White clients to see him driving a nice car, she said, was out of the question.



https://www.flickr.com/photos/luca_prioli/6166903859

Richardson King had shared how her mother, who was Japanese American, was her hero. Her mother not only stood up to her family in choosing to marry an African American man, but took care of Richardson King's two older step-brothers while her father was serving in World War II. The task of taking care of the children allowed her to avoid internment during the war. Her "pass card" that she had to carry with her at all times serves for Richardson King as a symbol of her mother's courage and determination and was an image she wanted near the center of her story-map. An important turning point in her own life was Richardson King's decision to leave her first marriage, earn her degree, and join the workforce. She talked about how her story was emblematic of shifting gender roles that occurred during feminism's first-wave.



123RF - ID 43156313

Friendship Baptist Church has been central to her life and the life of her family. Her great-grandfather was one of the first African Americans to live in Pasadena and sold the land to the church in what is today Old Pasadena. One of the images she chose for her map is of an apartment building in the abandoned 710 Freeway corridor that the church was able to purchase from Caltrans. Richardson King said the ups-and-downs with this project has been an exercise in faith. For her map, she also chose a photo of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. speaking at Friendship in 1960.

The spirit of civil rights struggle infuses her advocacy. A final image she chose for the map is that of marchers carrying a banner.

> This one really resonates because being in my ‘70s, I don’t see the younger generation that invested.



iStock- Getty Images - ID 1969933422

She very much wants to feel a sense of continuity with the future and create a sense of renewal within her neighborhood. Richardson King shared that once this first housing project gets off the ground, she would like to keep going and find creative ways to use property that can enhance community while avoiding gentrification and further displacement.

This conversation again took Richardson King back into the past and the friendship her father developed with a Pasadena financial executive, Bill Morse, who worked in one of the buildings that he cleaned and took care of. The friendship took off as her father cleaned Morse’s offices and included conversations about politics and business. Morse provided advice on how to win bids on Caltrans properties and eventually sponsored her father’s membership in the Pasadena’s Rotary Club. This story from the past reflects the future world that Richardson King hopes to create, one where individuals of different races, classes, and backgrounds can develop authentic friendships and help one another succeed.

Barbara Richardson King's Story Map

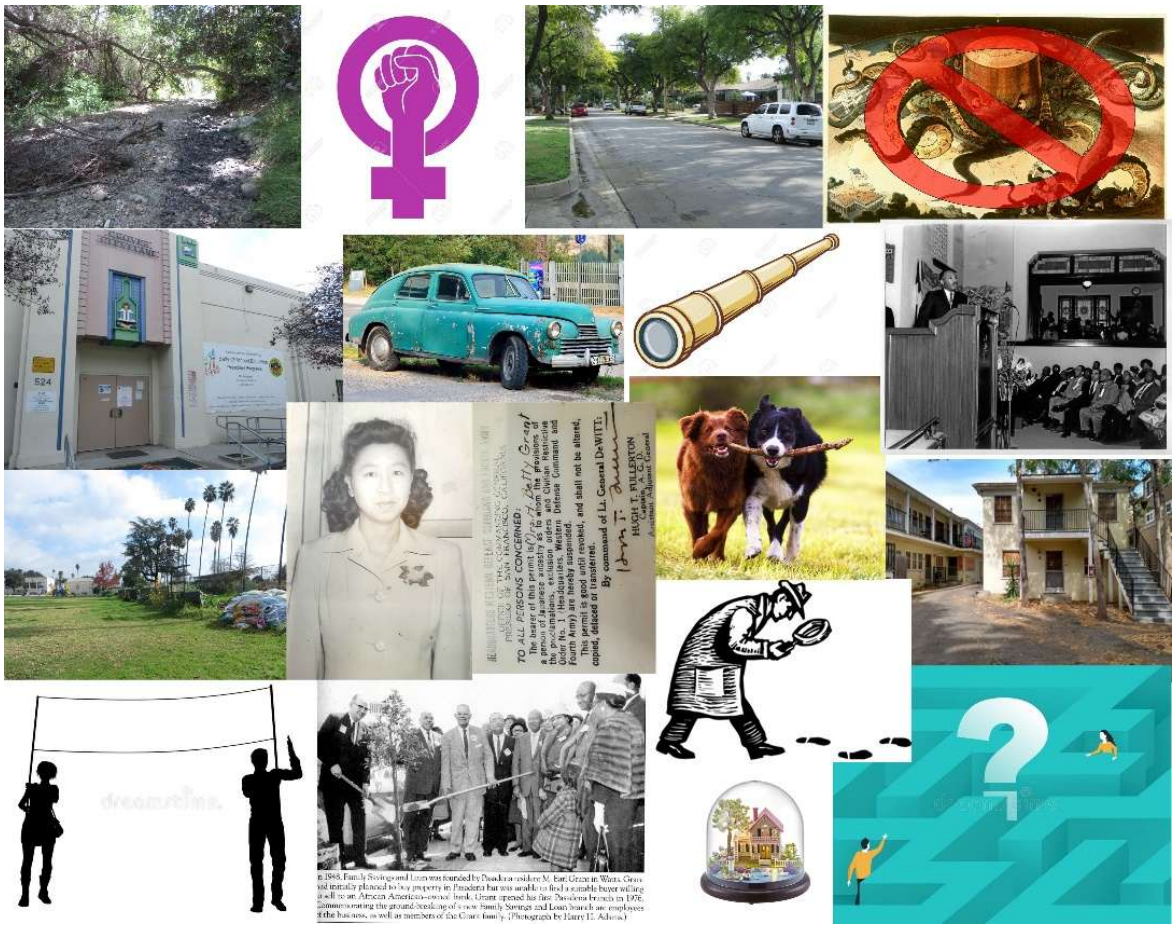


Figure 269. *Story Map for Barbara Richardson King.*

Appendix 39: Tim Martinez - January 5, 2023

Brookside Restaurant Patio

World of the Arroyo

At the start of the conversation, I shared with Martinez that one word he often used in describing his Linda Vista neighborhood was “nestled.” For example, the houses “nestled” into the hills under a blanket of trees, a canopy that was largely absent before 1900 (see appendix 29). Martinez also made several allusions to sleep, dreams, and a sense of magic in reference to Linda Vista’s past. This prompted me to show him an image I created of sleeping child superimposed onto an historic photo of Linda Vista’s landscape.

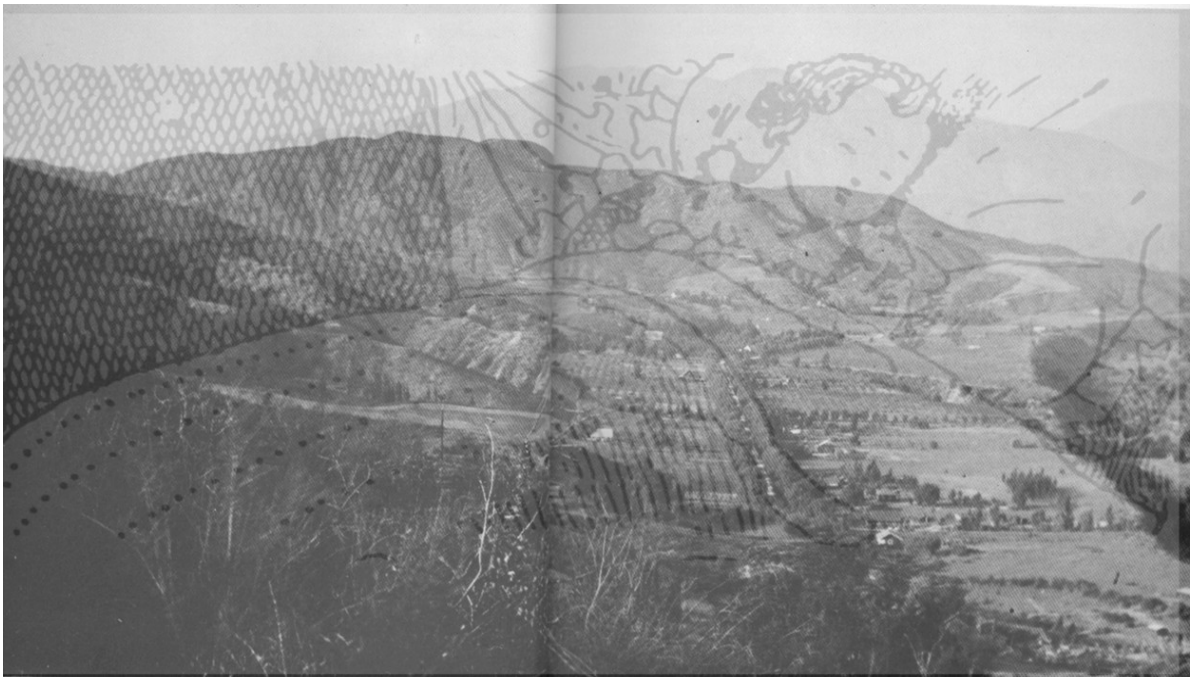


Figure 270. *Adaptation of photo of Linda Vista in 1913 ("Linda Vista 1913" 1913)*

This spurred my question of what happens at night in Linda Vista, and Martinez sharing this vivid detail:

> I remember in high school; my friends and I would walk around at night, and we learned to walk in the street because at night the spider webs take over the

> sidewalk. If you walk on the sidewalk, you get a spider web on your face. Probably the most activity you get is when the coyotes kill something because you hear all these yips.



In this conception of the neighborhood, Linda Vista Park, which is tucked behind the shuddered elementary school and that many residents refer to as The Bowl, seemed as if it would be the warmest spot under the blankets, a place of safety or defense, the community' womb. Within this metaphor, the treeline between the urban canopy and the wild chaparral higher on the hillsides would mark the edge of the blanket. This made me wonder if the people above this line with houses on the ridges stand apart from the rest of the neighborhood. Martinez said that these structures feel alien; the roads are narrow and hard to walk on and so they are more isolated. Martinez was unsure if people in the hills really know their neighbors.

> They built on top of what I consider a sacred space. These houses wouldn't have been able to be built today because of the ridgeline ordinances. So, I do see them as alien, and I imagine the people who live up there are cut off from what I consider to be the heritage of our area, the history, the sense of place.



Martinez sense that the hills during this childhood were magical, and this led me to present images from the world of fantasy films and stories. He compared Linda Vista to Tolkien's Shire in *Lord of the Rings* and the forces of industrial development as similar to the armies of Mordor.

I asked about any special places in his World of the Arroyo, and Martinez emphasized the hillsides, native plants, and the potential to daylight buried streams. He would like the city to buy the ridgeline properties and restore the hillsides. He also clarified that he would prefer the native trees rather than Chinese elm along the streets, which he sees as invasive.



Maurice Sendak, Where the Wild Things Are

I asked about how people who discuss the importance of wild land consider the threats from fire and coyotes that can kill people's pets. Martinez said those risks are part of living in the hills, and you just have to do everything you can to mitigate the threat. Martinez said that residents typically pushback online against those who are disparage the coyotes.

This led me to ask about the importance of social relationships to the sense of place in the neighborhood. Martinez responded that the community seemed closer and more cohesive when he was growing up.

> It's so important. It's huge. If everyone is isolated from one another, there's no community and how can you have a real sense of place. It's really important. And we used to have that. When I was a kid in the '90s, I remember knowing all my neighbors. They would knit me things or invite you for cookies. It was much closer in that way.

Martinez also said having the school open made a big difference in the sense of community (see appendix 29)

> Especially when the school was active in that way, there was a group of families in the neighborhood that had their kids at Linda Vista School. I had lots of friends in the neighborhood and we would do sleepovers or would go swimming in their pool. These were all people in my neighborhood. It was much more close-knit. We've lost a lot of that. I think the school closing played a significant role. We've lost a lot of it. The school closing was a big one.

We then talked the Friends of Cottonwood Canyon, a group that he coordinates for the Arroyos and Foothills Conservancy, as a way to bring people together and build a sense of community. Martinez said that the group thus far has only had volunteer workdays and these are not neighborhood specific. When I raised the potential for neighborhood picnics or potlucks, Martinez said that the main activity the Linda Vista Annandale Association does is the pancake breakfast at the fire station once or twice year. I suggested the idea of a guacamole party with avocadoes from the trees scattered across the El Mirador subdivision (which used to be an avocado orchard), Martinez was enthusiastic.

> Oh wow. I love that. If the neighborhood association was more active and energetic we could get behind something like this. What a great local way to bring people together.

Another idea that Altadena has organized was an informal sharing of the harvest from backyard gardens and fruit trees. Martinez said that something like that could happen at the library.



https://arroyosfoothills.org/land/pasadena/cottonwood-canyon/friends-of-cottonwood-canyon/

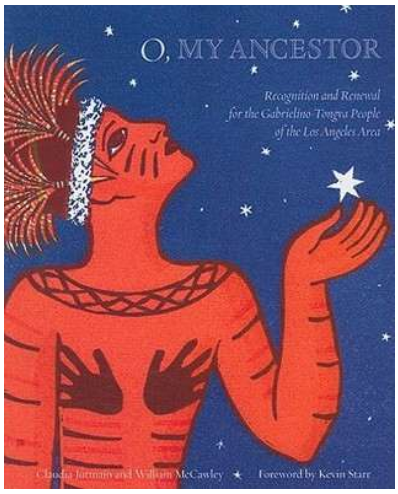
I said that across our interviews, his descriptions of the Arroyo and Linda Vista had an elegiac tone and a strong sense of nostalgia.

> There is that sense inside of me, and it isn't just for Linda Vista. It is for the whole world, this nostalgia for things I've never experienced. I would like to, at least on a material level, go back to a simpler and earlier times when the land and the earth was more unspoiled and more intact, vibrant and alive. I don't think we're supposed to be living the way that we're living. At least I don't want to live this way. And so that's always nagging at me. It motivates my activities… You're reflecting back to me this idea of being "nestled," this safety blanket, and Linda Vista has been that for me. I did get to grow up in a place that still had magic and did provide that safety and even that solace when I needed it and even still. Yeah, definitely. There is that. Because this place provides me with that there is this sense of wanting to keep it a certain way or rewind the clock.

I asked about the most important images from the stack that I presented for his World of the Arroyo.

> I love the historic ones because I'm always imagining what this place used to look like.

Story of the Arroyo



https://www.amazon.com/My-Ancestor-Recognition-Renewal-Gabrielino-Tongva/dp/1597141151

My presentation of the Story of the Arroyo for Martinez started with an image of the Garden of Eden since he had specifically named early Linda Vista as a paradise. I then showed Martinez an image of the Sunset Strip in Hollywood as he talked at one point about his fear that commercialization would ruin Linda Vista and transform the neighborhood into something you might see in the Hollywood Hills. I said that people today fail to see and understand the Arroyo as a canyon and stream, as a place with a specific ecology, and a rich history. For Martinez, people in the past people had a stronger connection to the land. Today, people don't appreciate nature as a source of beauty, stability, and continuity or that they are a part of nature and belong to the place as the Gabrieleno/Tongva once did.

I summarized that for Martinez this process has now accelerated to the point where the dynamics driving decision-making today around issues such as the Rose Bowl and affordable housing reach far beyond the powers of local neighborhoods and that those dynamics have corrupted government and the media and eroded our ability to listen and understand one another and work out solutions to problems. Short of global economic and ecological catastrophe, nothing can stop these dynamics, and the best we can hope for is that once everything falls apart, there will be some small things left that maybe people can remember what it was once like.



https://www.constructelements.com/post/sb9-lot-split-detail-guide

I asked if this was a fair representation of his Story of the Arroyo and Linda Vista and Martinez said yes. I mentioned that he had talked about what he felt were heavy-handed COVID restrictions that impacted the ability of small business owners to make a living. I asked if the government applied the same level of regulations to protect wildlife habitat, whether he would feel the same way. Martinez then returned to an important theme of our previous conversations: being unsure about his current political beliefs and leanings post-COVID. He said that liberals think Monsanto is evil but have now made Big Pharma a hero for developing a vaccine. Reflecting on his own past involvement in his advocacy trying to get the City of Pasadena to ban polystyrene cups, he said he had an authoritarian attitude.

> I feel politically homeless. I do believe in cooperation. I believe it should be voluntary. That's what community is, people cooperating and co-existing. But I question my whole authoritarian approach that I didn't even know I had. I see the dangers in it. I would have been dangerous to people if you had given me absolute power. So, it really makes me question that now. Are there better ways to work out those environmental issues? Maybe I'm looking for compromise more than I did before. I value free speech more now because I feel it's under attack. I value

> trying to understand other people's point of view and cooperate more rather than impose. I've always prided myself on trying to find common ground even with my extremist views and accept people as they are, *[sarcastically]* unless you're destroying the environment in which case you need to go to a re-education camp. But I think we have to be very careful and very thoughtful because I still do believe that…I believe much more in individual rights now. I see the importance of that now. Before I was much more of a collectivist. I see that there has to be some limit to our rights. And this is the libertarian view I think that it's when you encroach on someone else's rights, and even then, there is a limit. I think we have to be very thoughtful about how we protect people's rights without encroaching on the individual.

This led into a side discussion about free speech and the possibility of the government working with tech companies to control and censor speech.



iStock - Getty Images - ID 1070944168

We then shifted gears, and I said that starting the story with an image of paradise suggests that things can only get worse. I asked about things to restore that could provide a sense of renewal. When I presented a photo of the shuddered elementary school and what restoring the school would do for the community, Martinez said the following:

> It would be amazing. It would help revive that sense of community if we could turn that whole building into a community center or preserve the parkland or lease out the campus for some type of use. It would be great.

I also offered an image of Jurgensen's Grocery Store, which for decades was the one store allowed to operate in the neighborhood but which closed in 1987. Martinez then said

having the store and school back could help re-create the small town feel for the neighborhood that everyone loved.

> Everyone I've talked to would value this particular store there…This place used to go way back because it was a gas station, and then it was a grocery, and so I'm trying to think how far back this particular location goes. I don't know when they determined that Linda Vista wasn't going to be commercialized in the '30s or the '50s, this was the one place that was permitted. What it would do is help create that small town feel. If we had this place, if we had the school, the library, the fire station, it would give us the feeling of being a small town when, on a day like today and you couldn't cross the Arroyo when it was flooded, we had our own little community and amenities. It would be a community node, and maybe that's part of the reason that we don't have the community and know our neighbors as we once did because our node has disintegrated.



Figure 271. *Jurgensen's Grocery at 1172 Linda Vista Avenue. Harold Jurgensen bought the old Teft market from the Newmark family in 1941. He expanded the store in 1957. It closed in 1987 and the property redeveloped into housing (Jurgensen's Grocery Store n.d.)*

I then asked what would give him more optimism about the future. Martinez wasn't sure because he sees the government as increasingly corrupt; cancel culture is also driving his cynicism.

People just can't say what they think anymore, and more importantly, people can't have a respectful debate of issues because if it goes against that established dogma or ideology or orthodoxy, you just get totally shut down, and people try to hurt you, and you lose your job. And I find it to be very toxic and frightening. Now that's our region, maybe if I go to different regions of the country, I would encounter people who are saying maybe racist things or going against my perception of history. That's what I mean when I say I'm politically homeless. I could go to other places where they don't think the Civil War was about slavery or don't believe racism exists when we know there are systemic things like redlining. So, I'll talk about systemic things if I encounter the other extreme.

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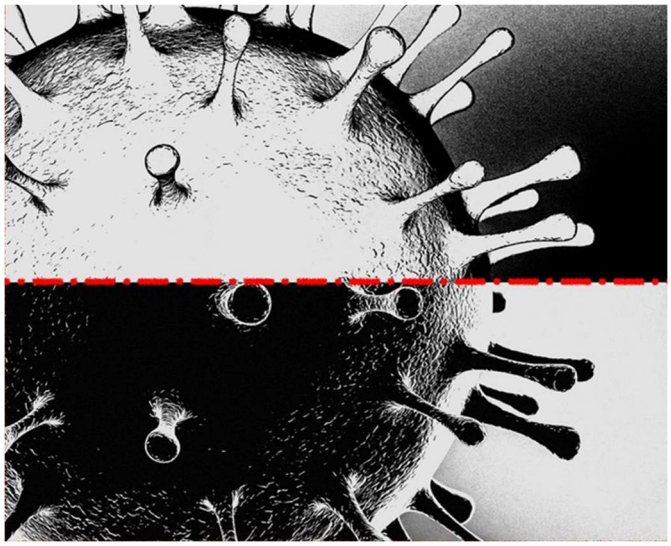
What would have to change so I'm not pessimistic? We'd have to go back to respecting each other's humanity and respecting each other as people. I can respect you as a person even if I passionately disagree with you on certain issues.



mim.girl / Shutterstock / The Atlantic

After talking more about how the policies during COVID shifted his thinking about individual versus collective rights. I asked whether Pasadena's ridgeline ordinance to prevent development in the hills qualified as an infringement on individual rights. Martinez said that's a difficult question and clarified that it was the trend toward the centralization of power and authority that frightened him the most.

I then raised the possibility of the Linda Vista Annandale Association (LVAA) collaborating with the East Arroyo Residents Association since they represent neighbors on either side of the golf course. Martinez said he said he thought that had potential, noting that LVAA most often works with the West Pasadena Residents Association and Madison Heights

because together they are the more affluent neighborhood associations. He thinks coordination and mutual support for the neighborhood associations would be a good thing.

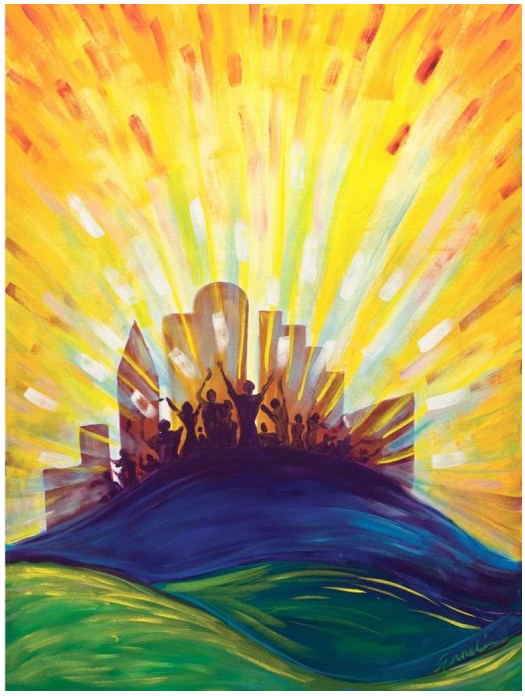
Personal story



Finally, I went through a set of images that I felt related to his personal story, which to me felt as though it became a coming-of-age or quest narrative after the divorce of his parents and death of his father when he was in high school. I said that it seemed the natural landscape, especially the hills behind his house, provided him with an anchor during a very unsettled time and that connection brought him into contact with several of the environmental groups that have allowed him to build a strong professional identity. Part of this quest narrative involved his aspiration to run for City Council and make Pasadena an example for the rest of the world. In a quest narrative, there is typically a friend or ally that supports the main hero, and so I asked if there has been or was someone who was supporting him on that quest. Martinez named Tim Brick and Christopher Nyerges as mentors and said that his mother had provided significant support.

I then shared how I heard a shift in his story upon becoming a father as he was thinking more about what skills or tools to pass onto his young son. He used the words “self-reliant” and “savvy” in terms of the qualities he felt would help in the future. For Martinez, this meant knowing how to grow your own food and avoiding industrial agriculture and even grocery stores. He felt that understanding how to provide for oneself if infrastructure collapses would help one’s

family and community be more resilient. This all fits with a vision of a more local, decentralized model of society that Martinez feels inherently provides more security and stability.



https://www.pinterest.com/pin/city-on-a-hill--351562314656787319/

> So, creating a more self-sufficient, a more local, decentralized model of feeding yourself, having community, and having a more secure place to live, and I think the more skills you know about how to build things for yourself and plumbing and electrical. We look at these things as blue-collar but the more you know, the more self-reliant you are, the more resilient and better off you are. There are a lot of different areas where we are very vulnerable. What happens if the grid goes out? What happens if agriculture collapses? What happens if there's a water crisis? At the end of the day, it's very vulnerable and precarious. The more we can actually be resilient and diversify energy, diversify food, diversify community, diversify power, and be more self-reliant, I think that's the direction that we need to go. More local, more decentralized, closer to the land. Is that going to happen? I'm trying to go in that direction. I'm trying to connect with people that are interested in that sort of thing.

I asked whether he could achieve that in Linda Vista or if he feels he'd have to move to someplace away from the city to raise his son.

> I don't really have a choice about that right now. Right now, I'm very grateful that I get to raise my son in Linda Vista. I'm trying to make the best of the fact that I have to be here. We live on a third of an acre and I'm trying to make it a bit of a homestead and am connecting with people who are raising their own sheep and rabbits and chickens and fruit trees and food forests. But long term, my mom and I are interested in getting a place further north, perhaps in the Sierras, and get a foothold out of the city. My mom is a student of WWII history and when they bombed London, they sent the kids to the country. History shows when things get bad, you don't want to be in the cities.

I asked about what tools are important for the Friends of Cottonwood Canyon and he said knowing the plants and knowing the seasonal cycles is the most important thing. That it all starts there.

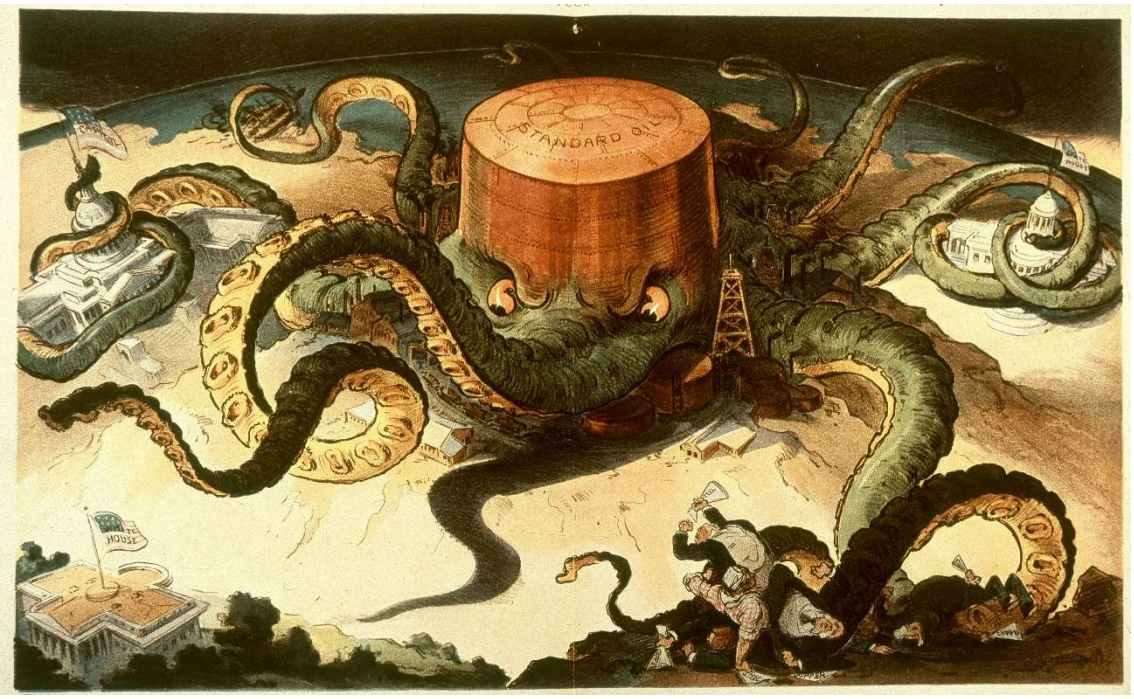
To support his quest narrative, I offered the image of a compass and suggested that caring for his son had provided a new anchor for him and that it could be something to help him find wholeness and a sense of renewal.



https://all-free-download.com/free-vector/download/compass_background_closeup_handdrawn_sketch_6833608.html

> It is something that I want. And my vision of wholeness is I want to be at one with nature and that's a whole other discussion of what is nature. To me, nature is the ultimate reality. To me, nature is the highest manifestation of truth and reality. I don't think humans are supposed to be separate from nature, and that's how I want to live, and that's what wholeness means for me.

As the conversation wound down, I asked Martinez to pick the ten images that resonated most with him and arrange them on the large white sheet of paper. He picked images and began to arrange them in a linear order, starting with an image associated with Gabrieleno/Tongva people and progressing through settlement of the area and what he sees as takeover by industrial civilization.



https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Standard_oil_octopus_loc_color.jpg

And then there's I guess this menace of what comes with civilization and industry and greed and concentrations of power and you can't escape. It has its tentacles in everything. It's eating up the hillsides and destroying all of this because it's all been taken over by industrial civilization. And as much as we want to say "we're making progress" and "it's getting better," there's no escaping it. If it wasn't for civilization at the end of the day, we wouldn't have all this destruction and the warfare, and here it's being played out here in Linda Vista.

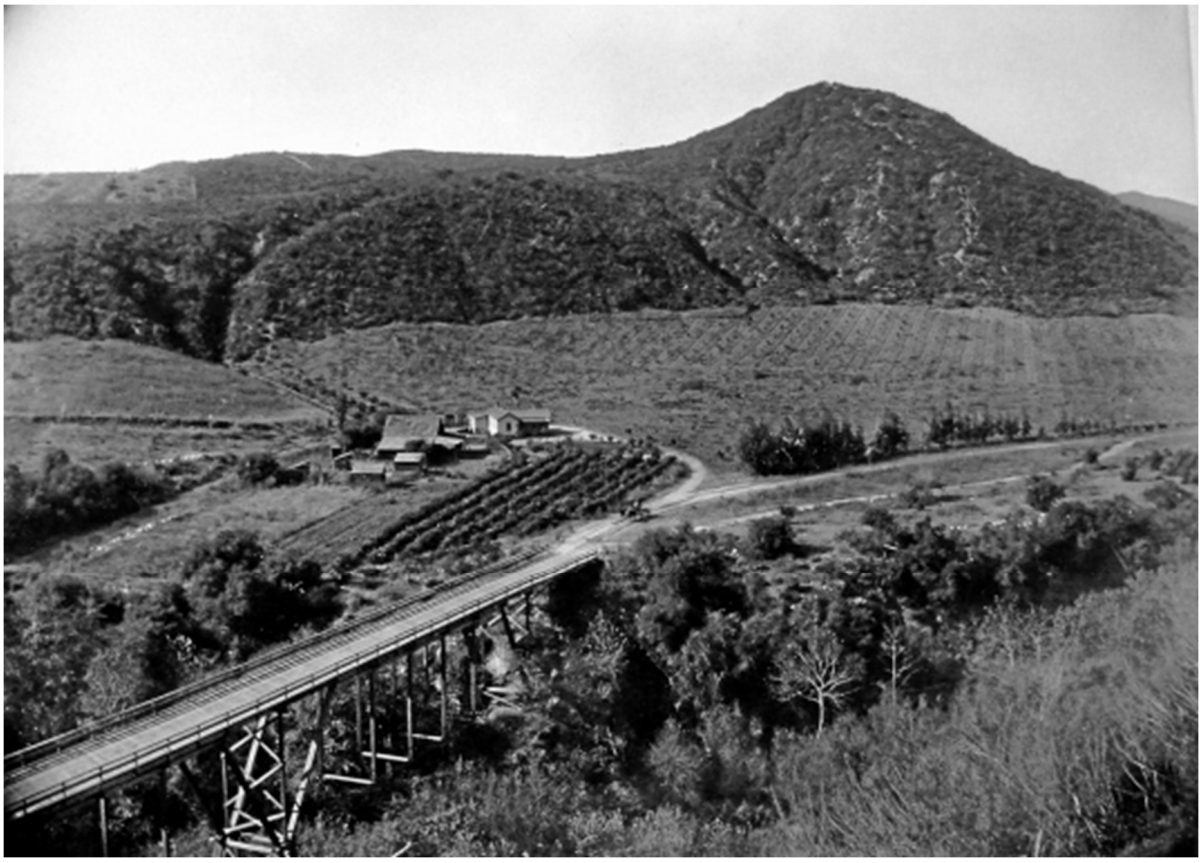
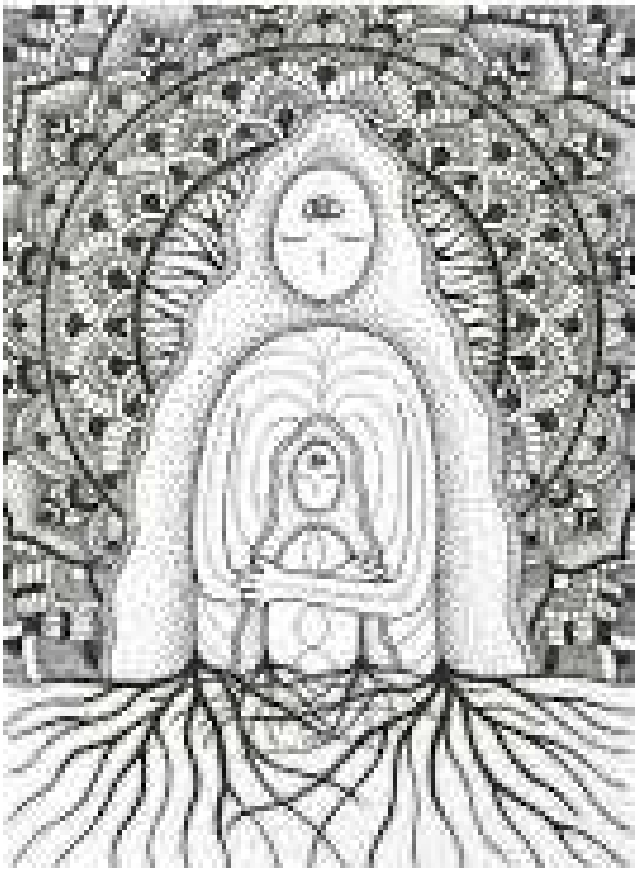


Figure 272. *First bridge to the Linda Vista neighborhood 1887 (McMurtrey 1887. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History)*

And this is the start of it [pointing to the rural image of the Linda Vista bridge from the early 20th century]. No matter how bucolic I might think it is, this is where it starts and then there is the progression, the deterioration and the progression and the plastic in the River and the hills being carved up. All the plastic is going to go into the oceans and whales. And then you had COVID and everything associated with that and to me was a centralization and control and setting up the infrastructure for more of that top-down control and suppression of our rights for future crises, just like the War on Terror did before. Maybe some of these are manufactured crises. I don't know because everything is so corrupt and insidious and COVID is part of that.

But I am trying to find my compass and find my way. It's a challenge, always trying to find my direction. And at the end of the day, try to find your inner peace in the middle of the chaos and turmoil, trying to appreciate the beauty of the moment and keep that core of yourself stable and steady even when you're dealing with the stresses and uncertainties of what's going on around you."

He paused over the final image of what to me was a parent and child, and it was clear that it was the one that resonated with him most deeply. I asked if that represented him and his son.



Inner Child Art Print by chaodise

I think it could be me or my son or it could be your outer self and your inner self. It's almost like there's an aura or force field around you. I view this image of trying to have an inner, I guess, peace, but an inner strength and resilience. You have this shield around you from all the chaos and craziness swirling around you that you're trying to maintain this inner stability and inner protection and that's what this image imparts. Look [pointing at the image], there's roots. This is something that you're trying to achieve at least on the inside.

References

Jurgensen's Grocery Store, color photograph, Linda Vista, Places, Pasadena, Pinterest, edited by Jeff McNeal, Facebook. Accessed March 7, 2025. https://www.pinterest.com/pin/463167142921894294/.

Linda Vista 1913, 1913, black and white photograph, LV-111, Charles Seims Collection. Courtesy of the Archives, Pasadena Museum of History

McMurtrey, C. *Linda Vista Bridge*, 1887, black and white photograph. In *Images of America: Early Pasadena*, edited by Cedar Phillips and Pasadena Museum of History, 25. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing.

Tim Martinez Story Map



Figure 273. *Story Map for Tim Martinez*

Appendix 40: Narrative threads & dramaturgical questions

<table>
<tr><th>Research topics</th><th>Narrative threads</th></tr>
<tr><td>Geological and ecological stories</td><td>The place where things come together
o Change of direction
o Grand Hotel
o Savanna dance

Ecological wasteland

Carnival forest

Fisher king

Homecoming</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dramaturgical questions

What does it mean to perform the story of “the place where things come together”?

How can sacrificing one’s attachment to status facilitate environmental restoration?

What lessons can we learn from the urban forest amid the climate crisis?

How possible will it be to integrate exotic species into native plant communities?

How possible will it be to restore steelhead trout to the Arroyo and the oak savanna dynamics within the city?</td></tr>
<tr><td>Native American experience</td><td>Quest for health and home</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Dramaturgical questions

What is the meaning of health and home?

How do you challenge the mindset of scarcity and gluttony common to capitalist systems?

What is the resolution to claims of Gabrieleno/Tongva heritage?

How can you step out of settler time and still be an effective advocate within a settler society?

How do you define shared cultural traditions that rely on personal intuition to validate and constantly evolves into new forms?</td></tr>
</table>

How do you put water back in the ground amid drought and increasing population?	
Arts and culture sector	Cinderella The party Fish out of water
Dramaturgical questions What makes a really good party for Pasadena and how can we make sure everyone feels welcome? What leads people to accept an invitation to a party where they know they will feel like a "fish out of water"? How can we help people see their blind spots so we can be more equitable in our work? How can we alternate gracefully between host and guest when it comes gatherings?	
Neighborhood stories	Heroic romance
Dramaturgical questions What will help neighborhoods learn from the past, from one another, from the landscape, and about themselves? How can we dismantle hierarchies and de-emphasize status within these neighborhoods? What approaches, ideas, or interventions will support healing, wellness, and renewal? What will promote positive social interactions and build trust between different groups? How can we create and sustain broad-based prosperity within these communities?	
Arroyo advocacy	Sibling story of the Rose Bowl and the River
Dramaturgical questions How can the city build its economy around a healthy River? How can the health of the River become the line that the community is not willing to cross in its pursuit of prosperity?	

Recreation access	The pursuit of health
Dramaturgical questions What constitutes health and wellness? Exactly how is racism and inequity unhealthy? How does the health of the more-than-human world affect human's sense of well-being? How can recreation advance equity within the community? How can we switch from talking about a healthy economy to creating an economy for health?	
Neighborhood leaders	Quest for wholeness
Dramaturgical questions When does defending the wholeness of a neighborhood tip in exclusion and isolation? How does wholeness avoid becoming static? How can a sense of personal and civic wholeness adapt, evolve, and renew itself over time? How can we build bridges between those concerned primarily with reducing racial and class divisions and those seeking reconciliation with the more-than-human world? What opportunities exist to create a more sustainable, local economy, one that prioritizes health, wellness, ecology and community relationships over the capital accumulation and real estate? How can we raise awareness of the fundamental importance of water to Pasadena's survival and mobilize action to conserve and protect it? What would it mean to truly center Gabrieleno/Tongva interests in management of the Arroyo? How can the Arroyo enhance the lives of working-class, immigrant families? What are youth interests and perspectives on the future of the Arroyo?	

Appendix 41: Quest for Wholeness narrative framework

Narrative Framework for the Central & Lower Arroyo Placekeeping

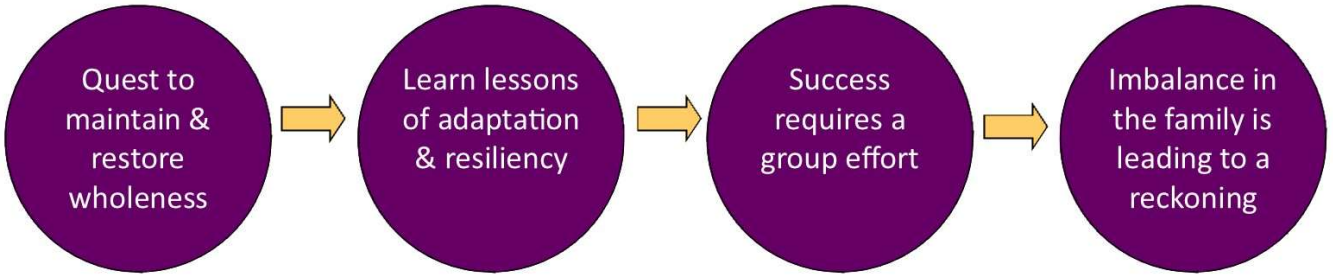
What would convince Pasadenans that their health and the health of their family depend on a healthy Arroyo?

How can the Arroyo become an engine of equity for Pasadena in the 21st century?

How can the Arroyo inspire trust?

What would it take for the city and the community to invest more in the river than they do the Rose Bowl?

Quest for Wholeness—Progression and Key Questions



- Arroyo was a place of abundance
- Gabrieleño/Tongva legends/myths warn about greed & gluttony.
- Dispossession of Native peoples
- Ecological health of Arroyo begins to decline
- Displacement of communities of color

Advocates to fight to maintain and restore sense of wholeness:

- Of families
- Of communities
- Of ecology

But how to do restore wholeness is a mystery

- Results in quest for clues & lessons
- Primarily searching in the past, looking at past battles

Clues and lessons come from the adaptation and resiliency and fight for equity of ..

- Gabrieleño/Tongva
- Communities of color
- Ecological communities—coyotes

Forces of Division:

- toxic individualism
- economic self-interest
- fear
- racial prejudice
- consumerism
- development
- commercialization
- All these forces linked to capitalism

Inner, ironic struggle!

- quest for wholeness itself can generate hard boundaries
- that separates neighborhoods or
- put people on opposite sides of an issue

Most, but not all, trust their family

We need a larger sense of family

Examples

- Gabrieleño/Tongva believed plants and animals were part of their extended family
- Del Monte Street in the 1950s
- Outward Bound Adventures
- Measure of trust—would you leave your kids with your neighbors?
- Lack of transparency and trust in the city or the Rose Bowl Operating Company
- Do we trust engineering to protect us from flooding
- Do we trust coyotes to leave us alone?
- Do coyotes trust us?

The River is the responsible older sister

Rose Bowl is the "do-no-wrong" brother

Need the parents to recognize the value of the older sister and force the profligate brother to get their act together

There is a strong sense of a coming reckoning that will force the issue:

- drought and/or flooding
- economic collapse
- misguided development, or
- gentrification

Uncertainty what's after the reckoning

- A more sustainable world?
- A slide into tyranny?

Median tone— tragicomedy, faith combined with realism and a sense of irony

The Arroyo is a source of sustenance, spiritual renewal and reflection

Appendix 42: Creative Dialogue Session Discussions note sheet

What question are you discussing? _____

Why did people choose this question to discuss?

What similarities or differences do you hear in people's reasons for being in this group?

What are your initial thoughts on how to answer the question?

Does this question make you think about…

- Specific locations in the Arroyo or its neighborhoods;
- Specific Arroyo events, projects, or neighborhood activities;
- Particular audiences, organizations, or community partners to pull into this discussion

When you think about the question, where does your imagination get stuck? What obstacles keep you from imagining success?

Is this the right question? Or is there a deeper question the devising team (and the community) should consider?

In relation to our question, what kind of stories can you envision for the Arroyo's future?

What would it look like for people to perform or participate in those stories?

Additional notes:

Appendix 43: Project Devising Worksheet

Project Name:_____ Devisers:_____

What are the **goals or outcomes** for the project? *Examples: Spark dialogue, boost civic participation, help people heal, connect them with place, help silenced groups tell their story, determine policy priorities, or build capacity and confidence*

_____

_____

_____

What is the **topic or issue** the project try to address? *Examples: This could be something concrete, such as housing, or it could be something broad, such as self-esteem, or something thematic, such as grief.*

_____

_____

Who are **participants and/or audiences** for this project? *Examples: people from a particular neighborhood or a age group, people with a common heritage, or who participate in regular activity or job. It could also be the general public*

_____

_____

What **locations or type of locations** would be best for staging this project? *Examples: Lower Arroyo trail, Rose Bowl, Golf Course, Aquatics Center, City Hall, 710 ditch area, etc. Think about parks, schools, alleys, businesses, trails, etc.*

_____

_____

_____

What **form or combination of forms** is the best fit? *Examples: see list on handout*

_____

_____

_____

_____

What organizations or agencies would be **potential partners** for this project? Are there existing events, projects, or neighborhood activities the project connects to?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Placekeeping Questions

How does the project influence or affect how people move through **space and interact with the landscape**?

_____

_____

_____

What **question** is this project trying to answer?

_____

_____

_____

Which of the **project questions** below does this project address? How so?

- What would convince Pasadenans that their health and the health of their family depend on a healthy Arroyo?
- How can the Arroyo become an engine of equity for Pasadena in the 21st century?
- How can the Arroyo inspire trust?
- What would it take for the City and the community to invest more in the river than they do the Rose Bowl?
- How can we break up the concrete that separates land and water and soften hard boundaries in how connected and responsive we are to one another?

_____

_____

_____

What **story or type of story** does this project idea supports? Can you give that story a name?

_____

_____

_____

What are ways for people **physically perform or participate** in bringing that story to life through what their bodies do or how they interact with others?

_____

_____

_____

What typically needs to happen for that story to tun out well? Does the **type of story provide any lessons** we can draw on in bringing this project to life?

_____

_____

_____

How does the project relate to the **narrative framework** of a Quest for wholeness?

_____

_____

_____

When you think about this project, **where does your imagination get stuck**? What obstacles keep you from imagining success?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix 44: Final Meeting Feedback Worksheets

Name: _____

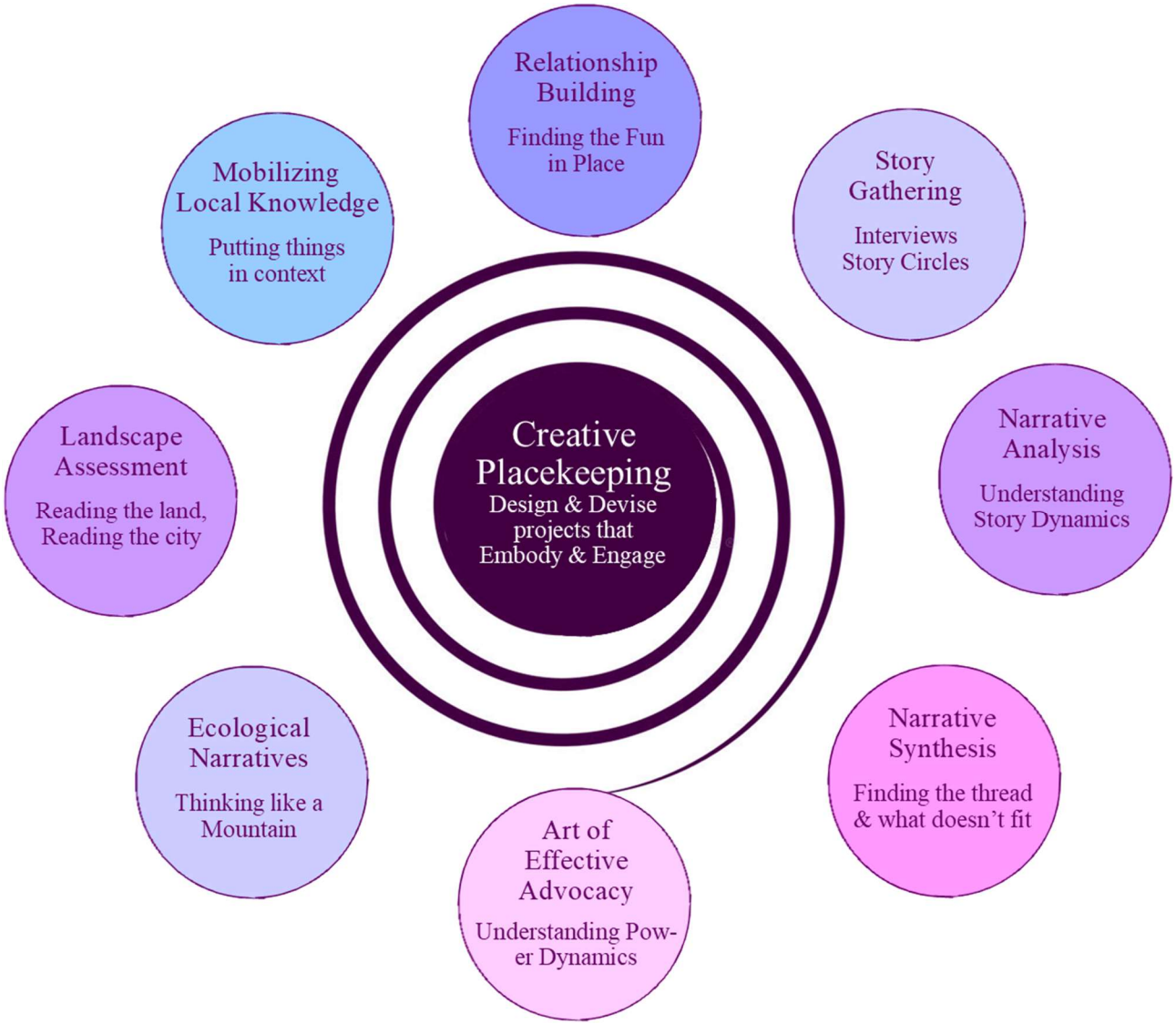
I think I (or my organization) would work best as a…..

○ Advisory Group/Ensemble Member ○ Project Partner ○ Artistic or Cultural Collaborator ○ Supporter

Use this sheet to record your impressions, ideas, and questions on the presentation where Arroyo Seco Placekeepers should go from here.

Kudos – What elements of the presentation leave a positive impression?	**Cautions** – What elements of the presentation give you pause?	**Questions** - What questions do you have or feel need answers?

Appendix 45: Arroyo Seco Placekeepers Production Components



Appendix 46: Fliers announcing public events

ARROYO SECO PLACEKEEPERS

presents

The Place Where Things Come Together

Historical ecologies of the Arroyo Seco,
experienced through science and storytelling



Sunday, October 9th, 4:00 to 6:00 pm
Brookside Park to the Gamble House

Listen, walk, wonder, speak, and share with the landscape. Come for a natural history hike that immerses you in stories of the Arroyo's past, present, and potential future, featuring new research on historical ecology of the Arroyo Seco and Pasadena's urban forest.

Learn how the stories that once flowed through the Arroyo Seco's canyon have changed, share stories of your own encounters with Arroyo, and learn what you can do to support local wildlife.

Arroyo Seco Placekeepers is a community organizing project exploring ways to support community-based conservation and neighborhood advocacy through storytelling and performance. Hosted by representatives from the Arroyo Seco Foundation, Arroyos & Foothills Conservancy, Pasadena Audubon Society, The Gamble House, Open Gate Theatre, and University of California, Davis

Meet in Brookside Park, north of the bandstand and behind the ball fields. We recommend parking near the Gamble House as that is where the event will end. A volunteer will meet attendees in front of the Gamble House at 3:45 pm to walk down to the start of the event. For those parking in Lot I next to Brookside Park, a volunteer will assist in getting back to your vehicle. Lemonade and picnic blankets provided at the top of the hill

Email Marcus Renner at mvrenner@gmail.com to RSVP and receive the event program ahead of time. Please let us know if you'd like Spanish interpretation. This will also allow us to get in touch with you in case weather forces a postponement.

ARROYO SECO PLACEKEEPERS

presents

Creative Placekeeping Workshop

Arts and culture & community development
for Pasadena and the Arroyo



Friday, October 28th, 1:00 to 3:00 pm
Lineage Performing Arts Center
920 E. Mountain St. Pasadena, CA 91104

Practice turning Pasadena stories into creative community action. This free workshop will introduce Pasadena's history of cultural organizing and allow you to collaborate with writers, dancers, and designers, performers and painters, community organizers and environmental advocates to design an arts and culture project for the Arroyo Seco.

Learn how creative placekeepers use arts and culture to help communities find their way towards justice and sustainability.

Arroyo Seco Placekeepers is a community organizing project exploring ways to support community-based conservation and neighborhood activism through storytelling and performance. Hosted by Lineage Performing Arts Center, this workshop is sponsored by University of California-Davis, Arroyo Arts Collective, and Light Bringer Project. Lineage Performing Arts Center is next to CVS on the corner of Lake and Mountain. Parking is available in the CVS lot.

Space is limited, so please RSVP to reserve a spot. For questions and to RSVP, email Marcus Renner at mvrenner@gmail.com. We can provide Spanish interpretation. Please let us know by Tuesday, October 25th if this would make the event more enjoyable so we can schedule an interpreter.

Appendix 47: Story circle facilitation script

Story Circle Instructions

Once the presentation is done, we'll bring up the lights. Each facilitator will bring their chair to one part of the stage. People will bring their chairs to the facilitators for circles of 6-7 people. You'll have 2-3 students from Sequoyah School in your group who will serve as timekeepers and recorders for the circle. Your job at this stage is to pass around the clipboard to get names, read the script and remind people that the most important thing is to listen.

Once everyone has shared, gather observations about similarities or contrasts between the stories for 5 to 10 minutes until around 2:00 p.m. when the group will start devising a creative placekeeping project (see other instructions)

Creative Placekeeping Workshop Story Circle Script (start close to 1:25 pm)

Thanks for joining the circle. There's a clipboard going around. We want to know who is here and help us stay in touch with you in the future. My name is _____ and I'm with _____. I'll be facilitating our time together.

Here's how it works. I'll give you the prompt and three minutes to reflect. You can use this time to think of a story to share or you can just gather some associations in your mind and choose a story in the moment based on the stories of others. It's okay if your story doesn't relate directly to the prompt. The prompt is just to give you a place to start. Really whatever you choose to share will contribute to the group's experience.

You will have three minutes to tell your story. Giving everyone an equal amount of time is fundamental to story circles. Our timekeeper will hold up a yellow slip of paper at two minutes and a red one at three minutes to let you know to wrap things up.

Each person shares their name and their story. Everyone listens. There's no talking or questions until everyone has gone. If you want you can pass, and we'll come back to you. You don't have to believe or agree with the story. Try to listen to understand rather than to respond. You can also leave the circle if you need to at any time.

Once everyone has gone, we'll talk about similarities and differences between the stories. We'll look for a common thread and clear contrasts and think about their meaning for the community. This discussion will form the basis for the creative placekeeping project we'll devise during the remainder of the workshop. We often compare what stories are about, their content. But also listen for similarities and differences based on plot, characters, tone/emotion, or setting.

During the stories and discussion, we do ask you to keep in mind ASP's values of respect, reciprocity, openness, creativity, and belonging.

We'd like to record the stories today. To achieve its goals, ASP depends on stories and we'd like yours to be part of the project. Your stories belong to you. In the future, ASP would seek permission to share any part of your story. But if you don't want your story recorded, just say so and we'll stop the recording. We will not record the discussion.

A couple of tips. Stories relate events that typically lead to a change inside a character or in the larger world. They have a beginning, middle, and end. They have characters, real or imaginary, who want things. They happen someplace or have a setting. They have a mood or tone. When you think about a story, start with these basics. Opinions and facts can be part of a story but are usually less important. Remember, to do well in a story circle, the only thing you need to do is listen.

The prompt for the story circle today is "That's the kind of thing that happens in Pasadena...."

Facilitator Instructions - Moving from Stories to Project

Once everyone has shared their story, they will have roughly 45-50 minutes to come up with an idea for a creative placekeeping project ***and*** figure out how to share it with the rest of the group. Remind that the group that this is an exercise and meant to be fun, so they just have to make some choices and move on.

1. Build the foundation (2:00 pm) - Below are the five questions the group will need to answer in devising a project. Try to get through these questions in **15-20 minutes** and fill in the answers on the worksheet on the back of these instructions.

> ***What is the topic or issue that's important to address?*** Based on the discussion about the stories in your circle, have the group pick a topic or issue. This could be something that the stories share or be based on a particular story that stood out or be something that comes out of the discussion of some characteristic of Pasadena. Have them think about what topic will have the most impact on the city. ***Examples:*** This could be something ***concrete***, such as housing, or it could be something ***broad***, such as self-esteem, or something ***thematic***, such as grief.
>
> ***What are the goals or outcome for the project?*** Ask them what is needed with the topic or issue they pick. Examples: Common goals for creative placekeeping projects are sparking dialogue, boosting civic participation, helping people heal, connecting them with place, helping silenced groups tell their story, determining policy priorities, or building capacity and confidence.

Who are participants and/or audience? This could be people living in a particular housing complex or block or neighborhood. It could be people of a particular age group, with a particular heritage, or who participate in regular activity or have a particular job. It could also be the general public.

Where will the project take place? Is there a particular place in the Central or Lower Arroyo and its adjacent neighborhood that fits with your goals? If not, where else is the best place for your project to take place.

What type of project is the best fit? Given the goals, audience, and location, what type of project holds the most promise? ***Examples:*** events and performances; urban design and landscaping projects; ongoing education programs; long-term partnerships; creative spaces and storefronts; and long-term residencies.

2. Add color (2:20 pm) - Take **10 to 15 minutes** to add in details related to any of the following: core values, roles within the project, schedule/timeline, potential partners, process of working with people, advertisement, press release, funding. Have the group divide up or work in pairs. Remind people they can ask for help from people in the other groups by holding up a colored sign: green (writer), red (visual artist), orange (maker/designer), or blue (performing artist).

3. Presentation (2:30 pm) – Gather everyone back together and take or **10 to 15 minutes** to decide how to share their project idea with the rest of the group in an engaging way. Each story circle will have ***three minutes*** to share their idea. Possibilities: a story or story boards, skit, interpretive dance, poem/rap, freeze frame tableaus, sculpture, diorama, etc. Try to find a role for everyone in the presentation.

Make sure to ask people in your group during parts 2 and 3 if they want help from a writer, visual artist, maker/designer, or performer for whatever they're working on. As a facilitation team, we can check with one another during this hour.

~ Gather for Presentations at 2:45 or thereabouts ~

Project Name:_____ Facilitator:_____

What is the topic or issue that's important to address?

_____
_____

What are the goals or outcome for the project?

_____
_____

Who are participants and/or audience?

_____

Where will the project take place?

_____
_____

What type of project is the best fit?

_____
_____
_____

Details (fill in with any additional info before or during the presentation)

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix 48: Main takeaways from the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers pilot Project

About the Arroyo Seco

Quest for Wholeness is a shared narrative for the network of advocates who care about Pasadena's Central and Lower Arroyo Seco and its adjacent neighborhoods

The re-purposing of the 710 Freeway fits within the Quest for Wholeness narrative and, while not in the Arroyo Seco watershed, is relevant to the watershed's future

Control and exploitation as practices that impacted both the natural environment and communities of color in Pasadena; these themes hold potential to draw together and unite a diverse coalition of stakeholders

The character of the boundaries that we draw across the landscape is important to pay attention to. The suburban neighborhood design lends itself to narratives of defense and other-ing that are common to the heroic romance tradition in literature

The question of "What does wholeness mean?" could be an effective touchstone to talk about race relations, reparations, and ecological restoration.

What does wholeness mean in both space and time is important to consider for all the Arroyo's neighborhoods in light of boundary maintenance common to suburban areas. The conversation is especially salient for the East Arroyo area as it seeks to forestall

gentrification, revitalize Lincoln Avenue, and adapt to the new 710 neighborhood that will emerge nearby over the next decade.

Concrete is an effective metaphor for the state of the environment, social relations, and power dynamics within Pasadena's Arroyo Seco

The Arroyo Seco can contribute to current regional conversations related to housing, transportation, water, and river restoration.

Findings on the Arroyo largely parallel Barraclough's research on the San Fernando Valley, but the creation of White identity in the Arroyo has been based more in the English aristocracy than the Hollywood western.

About the creative placekeeping process

Clearly communicating to both artists and non-artists about cultural organizing, creative placekeeping, and community cultural development is challenging. One useful formulation for this work is that "cultural organizers use creative placekeeping to advance community cultural development." Clearly communicating how arts and culture will function within the process is important to set expectations.

Geography is inherently dramaturgical because it analyzes complex layers of information that allows researchers to see patterns and ask meaningful questions worthy of interdisciplinary investigation.

Narratives provide a vehicle to collectively perform community, which is the ultimate goal of this work. Analyzing community narratives provides a language and logic to understand this performance of community life and strategize creative interventions that can move a community toward the enactment of greater sustainability and justice.

Using a dramaturgical process was successful at generating relevant, multi-dimensional creative placekeeping projects grounded in local history and community experience. But this approach comes with specific challenges that creative placekeepers need to be aware of.

The balance between research, planning, and launching forward into making and doing is difficult to master. It is important to use making and presenting as a way for a community advisory group to process the research, stay engaged, find a role within the process, and gather additional feedback from the community.

Holding both the issue/topic and the artistic medium open at the outset of the placekeeping project creates an extra degree of difficulty. This allows for greater flexibility and responsiveness in the devising process but creates uncertainty for participants that is hard to manage

Dramaturgy as a method requires a certain depth of research. The six topics I chose to research for the pilot phase were too many. It should be possible to get enough background to make a dramaturgical assessment of community life with fewer research topics.

Creative placekeepers need to make strategic decisions about the breadth and depth of the community research they take on and find creative solutions, such focusing on a specific location or forming an interdisciplinary research team, to get the job done.

One of the main challenges during the development phase of my model will be socializing the research and analysis process to make it more collaborative and communal. Models from participatory and rapid rural appraisal in international development could be useful in figuring out how to productively simplify collection, curation, and analysis protocols.

It is important for community dramaturgs to look more deeply at both the sore spots they come across in their community research and points of pride, joy, and distinction they can lift up. Both can provide insight on what sort of placekeeping project will resonate with a community.

More models and tools for facilitating devising, especially between self-identified artists and non-artists, would help practitioners organize a process that is productive, joyful, and a true amalgam of cross-sector expertise.

There are often places in the landscape that embody or reflect specific truths about a community. Finding those spaces should be a priority for creative placekeepers and something that geography can assist with.

Public events are stepping stones and training grounds for the devising of larger and more impactful projects. Framing the artmaking in the development stage as a work-in-progress is helpful in facilitating dialogue and understanding what direction to take their research.

One way to illustrate how the arts already penetrate everyday life and make artistry and devising feel more attainable for participants is to highlight local folk artists and vernacular forms of creativity.

Building a program evaluation means linking a chain of indicators together at different scales. A dramaturgical approach will lean into logic of a particular narrative to guide this process and can parallel the ways that a theater ensemble evaluates a production.

At least eight to twelve hours is necessary for a devising team to fully own the project ideas they come up with and bring back to an advisory group

More time and resources would allow artists associated with the project to collaborate; developing a network of creative placekeepers would makes this collaboration more efficient and easier to manage

Vibrancy manifested to the greatest degree in the public events, meetings with artists, and in the dramaturgical questions I used for the overall project.

The Arroyo Seco's story also shows how creative placekeeping must advance alternative economic models to contribute to a just and sustainable future

Finding ways to encourage non-artists and the general public to engage with the built and natural environment through metaphor and embodied experience is worthy of more exploration.

The tension between reform and revolution, typically present in creative placekeeping projects, found accommodation through the notion of providing "disruptive invitations" to the general public.

About sustaining a network of creative placekeepers

There has been a lot of research and discussion about cultivating creative placemaking in particular sectors but not in particular places; how to identify the specific opportunities and challenges when working within a particular geography needs more attention.

Artist residencies and provision of training and development in placekeeping fall short of creating a network that supports creative placekeeping practice across a watershed the size of the Arroyo

Arroyo Seco Placekeepers needs to be a platform for creative cross-sector engagement with a landscape rather than simply an extension of the arts into the civic realm. Its gatherings need to be social, involve making something, and treat building relationships as both a means and end.

There are parallels between the thinking about Naturally-Occurring Cultural Districts (NOCDs) and creating local placekeeping networks but these are different tasks

There is a short list of actions needed to build the social infrastructure to support a network of creative placekeepers across a particular geography such as the Arroyo. This list includes: mapping of cultural assets and creative spaces; developing relationships with key government staff; providing seed money to local artists for small projects; build partnerships with colleges; and exploring specific anti-displacement tools and strategies that arts organizations can incorporate into their community development projects to avoid displacement

Spending more time with the leadership of participating organizations at the outset to discuss their organizational challenges would help to demonstrate the value of cultural organizing and creative placekeeping. For example, a dramaturgical analysis can illuminate the deep context for the performance of their organizational mission.

Fundraising for the Arroyo Seco Placekeepers production cycle falls into three distinct categories: 1) money for cultural planning and research, most often available through relationships with colleges and universities 2) arts grants to bring artists into the process who are adept at using the results of the research to work with community stakeholders 3) project grants for implementation of the project ideas; this funding can come from other sectors and agencies.