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Chicana/o historical counterstories: Documenting the community memory of Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools

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Chicana/o Historical Counterstories:
Documenting the Community Memory of Junipero Serra and Clark Street Schools

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Education

by

Michaela Jeanette López Mares-Tamayo

2014
ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Chicana/o Historical Counterstories:
Documenting the Community Memory of Junipero Serra and Clark Street Schools

by

Michaela Jeanette López Mares-Tamayo
Doctor of Philosophy in Education
University of California, Los Angeles, 2014
Professor Daniel G. Solórzano, Chair

In the absence of a federal mandate, the educational segregation of Chicana/o students was the result of powerful local district policies (San Miguel, 1986). The experiences of segregated Mexican-descent students in the Pasadena Unified School District and Barstow Union School District are histories that have been informally shared amongst family members but formally unwritten. This study demonstrates how familial and local history, when woven together, can generate a more textured sense of the myriad ways that Chicana/o educational segregation manifested throughout the Southwest and provide an important context for the unequal schooling conditions that persist to this day. I introduce the concept of “historical counterstorytelling” as a powerful methodological tool that can be used to write this more nuanced educational history using a critical race lens. Throughout this dissertation, I outline the features and elements of historical counterstories, which are a generative union of education and history methods. I offer Junipero Serra School in Pasadena, California and Clark Street School in Barstow, California as collective case studies of “Mexican schools” and the sites for the
writing of the specific historical counterstories in this dissertation. This dissertation thus establishes the social and economic contexts for segregated “Mexican schools”; identifies the majoritarian stories that supported such segregation; and shares the diverse ways that children and families of Mexican descent mitigated and resisted deficit frameworks in two Southern California communities. Doing so documents the community memory (Delgado Bernal, 1998b) of Chicanas/os in Pasadena and Barstow, while also allowing for a discussion of the similarities and divergences between those communities. I ultimately offer this new critical race methodology of historical counterstorytelling as a tool that community members, students, and scholars of diverse backgrounds can take up and use as they reclaim their own subjugated knowledge and that of their communities.
The dissertation of Michaela Jeanette López Mares-Tamayo is approved.

David G. García
Douglas Kellner
Robert Chao Romero

Daniel G. Solórzano, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2014
Dedication

Todo por y para la Familia López-Mares.

I offer this document as a humble sign of gratitude for the past/present generation, and a blessing for those to come.
# Table of Contents

**Chapter 1: An Introduction** .................................................................................................................. 1
  Family Stories, Communities’ Histories ................................................................................................. 2
  Guiding Research Questions .................................................................................................................... 5
  Summary ................................................................................................................................................ 9

**Chapter 2: Literature Review** .............................................................................................................. 10
  Historical Foundations .......................................................................................................................... 10
    Chicana/o educational history ................................................................................................................ 11
    Chicana/o school segregation ................................................................................................................ 13
    Assessment of the field of Chicana/o educational history .................................................................. 17
  History of Pasadena and Barstow .......................................................................................................... 19
  Theoretical Foundations ....................................................................................................................... 21
    Cultural intuition ................................................................................................................................ 21
    Critical race theory in education ......................................................................................................... 23
    Latina/o critical theory ....................................................................................................................... 24
    Critical discourse analysis ................................................................................................................. 25
  Bringing It All Together ....................................................................................................................... 26

**Chapter 3: Methodology** ..................................................................................................................... 27
  The Sites of Pasadena and Barstow ....................................................................................................... 27
    About Pasadena .................................................................................................................................. 28
    About Barstow .................................................................................................................................. 30
    A case for two schools ....................................................................................................................... 32
  Conceptualizing Historical Counterstories .......................................................................................... 33
  Methods ................................................................................................................................................ 35
    Case study ........................................................................................................................................ 35
    Oral histories ...................................................................................................................................... 37
    Archival sources ............................................................................................................................... 38
    Engaging multiple methods and sources ............................................................................................. 40
  Analysis ................................................................................................................................................. 41
  On Constructing Historical Counterstories .......................................................................................... 43
  Methodological Reflections ................................................................................................................ 44

**Chapter 4: Growing Up and Going to School While Mexican** ......................................................... 47
  Where Heritage and Fantasy Collide ................................................................................................... 47
"Mexican Pasadena" .......................................................................................................................... 51
"Mexican Barstow" ......................................................................................................................... 59
Overlaps and Distinctions Between and Within Pasadena and Barstow ........................................ 70

Chapter 5: Constructing the “Hardest Class to Handle” .......................................................... 76
Irrational Rationales: The Majoritarian Story .............................................................................. 77
“The Hardest Class to Handle”: Framing Mexican Students and Families in Pasadena ........ 80
The Very Best in the Mojave: Framing Education in Barstow ....................................................... 85
Calling Out the Majoritarian Story ................................................................................................. 91

Chapter 6: Chicana/o Historical Counterstories in Pasadena and Barstow .......................... 94
“All the Sordid Details”: The “Why” of Historical Counterstories ............................................. 96
“But I Remember”: The Chicana/o Historical Counterstory in Pasadena ................................. 97
Beyond the Bungalows: The Chicana/o Historical Counterstory in Barstow ............................. 103
The Mares family telling case ........................................................................................................ 111
Summary ......................................................................................................................................... 116

Chapter 7: Conclusion .................................................................................................................. 120
Flipping the Proverbial Script: The “Why” and “How” of Historical Counterstories ................. 121
Different Shades of Brown .............................................................................................................. 123
Engaging and Nurturing Cultural Intuition .................................................................................. 127
A Conclusion ..................................................................................................................................... 130

REFERENCES ............................................................................................................................... 132
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Collaborative case studies of Chicana/o students at Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools. ................................................................. 40

Figure 2. Grades 1 and 2, Mexican, Barstow 1937. Miss Thompson........................................... 62

Figure 3. Grade 5. Barstow School, 1936-1937. Mr. Niedermeyer. ........................................... 63

Figure 4. The Barstow Ramblers, ca. 1947. .................................................................................67

Figure 5. Conceptual diagram of Mexicans’ and Whites’ lived experiences and interactions in early 20th century Pasadena, California ................................................. 72

Figure 6. Conceptual diagram of Mexicans’ and Whites’ lived experiences and interactions in early 20th century Barstow, California. ......................................................... 74

Figure 7. José, Maria, Jesús Eleuterio López, and their mother, Cruz Portillo ......................... 98

Figure 8. “Taking Care of the Teeth.” ......................................................................................... 100

Figure 9. Barstow 2-3rd Grades 1933. ....................................................................................... 106

Figure 10. Enriqueta “Betty” Mares and Melquiades “Pee Wee” Mares, Jr. in front yard on 608 E. Fredricks Street ......................................................................................... 108

Figure 11. Barstow School, 1st Grade 1941 .................................................................................. 110

Figure 12. Barstow 1-2nd Grade 1942. ....................................................................................... 110
Agradecimiento

“It’s better to light a candle than to curse the dark”. – K’naan, 2008.

It is July 3, 2014, and I am starting this most important section of my dissertation on the 100th birthday of my maternal grandmother, Irene Enríquez López. While I never personally met my grandma, she has always been with her two daughters, three grandsons, and me as our guardian angel. She left me a gift beyond measure in my own mother and was a principle root of the López-Mares family. To the López-Mares’ I owe all things I am and do. And I am reminded that even when people are not physically with me – whatever the distance or reason for that separation by time and/or space may be – those whom I love and who have shown me love are always with me. They are sources of motivation and resiliency; they are my light. And so, in the following pages, I thank each one of you who have helped, pushed, supported, and loved me in this process of bringing family and community history out of the dark and into its rightful place.

I absolutely must begin by acknowledging my immediate family; as Marc said, the few, the proud, the López-Mares. From day one, I have had the unfailing support of my parents, Lorraine Sue López-Mares and Melquiades Mares, Jr.; my maternal grandfather, Jesús Eleuterio López; my little brother, Marc Andrew Mares; my tía, Jeanette Joyce Prado; and my cousins/older brothers, Paul Jess López and Phillip Cruz Prado. They are where I begin, and they are also where this section ends... because how can I possibly thank them once here and that be even close to enough?!? This dissertation and this doctorate are, very simply, for and because of them.

Outside of the immediate, I also have extended family who have encouraged me to continue with my studies and with whom I also celebrate this familial accomplishment. Thank you, Uncle Mario, Uncle Hector, Uncle Robert, Aunt Marian, Uncle Ken, Uncle Eddie, Uncle Chava, Uncle Joe, Aunt Mary, and especially Uncle Al (Guadalupe Prado), Uncle George (Gregorio Tomás Enríquez), and Uncle Mack (Melquiades González) for the sweet moments we shared while you were here. I am very thankful to my Aunt Vickie (Virginia Gezmer), Uncle Rod
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I have received tremendous mentorship over the years from strong Chicana/Latina women who taught me how to grow into and own my identity as a leader, scholar, and mujer. At Cal, I learned much from older peers like Cristina Mora, Mónica Hernández, and Melanie Cervantes; at Cal State L.A. from Lucila Chávez and Margarita Padilla; in the NACC So Cal Foco from Jennie Quiñones-Skinner; at UCLA from Corina Benavides López, Vanessa Ochoa, and Claudia Bustamante (aka my running guru); and independently from Cinthya Saavedra. To Lupe Gallegos-Díaz, my life literally changed course the day I walked into the Agenda office. I could never quantify how very much I have learned from you about the importance of sharing institutional knowledge; of balancing work, family, and community life; about cultivating leadership in those who come after you. I respect and admire your tireless commitment to our Raza comunidad at Cal. Nora Sandoval, it is impossible to share the impact you made on me as my advisor for Casa Magdalena Mora. I remember our first conversation sharing Yogurt Park on Sproul, and from there it was nothing but pure growth under your guidance and example. Gracias de todo corazón. To my profas at Cal State L.A., thank you for doing more than encouraging me to pursue the doctorate, but inspiring me with your example and work. Profa. Dionne Espinoza, thank you for especially being so generous with your time and energy under the auspices of our MALCS chapter. I am really proud of the work we did, and hope you are, too, as it was very much a reflection of your investment and leadership. Profa. Ester Hernández, muchísimas gracias for your support of our “Cohort” and me especially. I always knew you expected me to do what you knew I was capable of, and held me accountable to those expectations in a loving and good way. I have never said it enough, but hopefully you will know through these words that I credit a huge part of my pursuit of the Ph.D. to your support and encouragement.

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As someone who grew up bleeding cardinal and gold (and maybe still secretly does??), I insisted from day one that attending graduate school at UCLA was “purely a business arrangement”. Assuming that was the case, I could not have asked to be surrounded by better colegas/friends/fam. Thank you Ines Sacchetti, Miguel (Alonso) Uroza, Dra. Elexia Reyes McGovern, Maria C. Olivares Pasillas, Miguel Pasillas, Dr. Miguel Gutierrez, Dra. Mel Bertrand, Dra. Nancy Acevedo-Gil, Alex Gil, Nancy Guarneros, Elvira Rodríguez, Osbaldo Valdez, and Cynthia Alvarez, for good laughs and good times. Johnny Ramirez, you are actually my “template” for what good peer mentorship should look like – no low key! Janet Rocha, your
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This personal educational history and acknowledgment is written in the spirit of Sandra Cisneros’ vignette that states that you are never just one age, but really all your years before that, too, with “each year inside the next one”. Besides my blood relatives, there are two more people who I want to thank for witnessing and partaking in so many of my years that are inside this final graduation moment. Chris Mendoza: the world may never know how much I value your friendship, or what it or your family have meant to me. It fills me with such pride to say, you’re next! Jennifer “Hennyfer” Hernández: you are my sister, my comadre, and an absolute role model to me. My two true’s through and through to the end (“can I get a righteous?!!”), thank for lifting me up when I needed it and for being down with me and our familia all these years!

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“And we keep holding on, and we keep being strong, and we keep going on, and on and on and on and on....”

VITA

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Chapter One
An Introduction

My research is rooted in the moments when I learned that both my maternal grandfather and my own father attended segregated Mexican elementary schools in their respective communities of Pasadena and Barstow, California. The messages I received from both men regarding my education echoed throughout my childhood: “Do well in school.” “Education is your key to a better life.” “Going to college is not an option: it is a given.” Their love for me was most clearly expressed by their support for my educational pursuits, and I grew up with great respect for the brilliance I saw possessed by both of them. Thus, the revelations that my grandpa and my dad were somehow identified as deficient in their own local schools, as evidenced by their segregation during their primary years, elicited the personal and scholarly passion that drives this work.

In her pivotal article, Dolores Delgado Bernal (1998b) described Chicana feminist epistemology as “a new epistemology in educational research [that] gives license to both Chicana and Chicano education scholars to uncover and reclaim their own subjugated knowledge” (p. 574). Numerous studies conducted since then have further validated the epistemic privilege Chicana/o researchers can tap into when producing scholarship (for example, Delgado Bernal, 2002; Malagón et al., 2009; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Yosso, 2005). Delgado Bernal (1998b) characterized this privilege as cultural intuition. More than theoretical sensitivity (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, as cited in Delgado Bernal, 1998b), it is a mixture of pre-existing and emerging knowledge that comes from (a) the combination of personal experience, collective experience, and community memory; (b) existing literature; (c) professional experience; and (d) the analytical research process itself (Delgado Bernal, 1998b). The powerful role that personal, family, and community history plays in knowledge production is oft-alluded to in Chicana feminist education research. Yet cultural intuition has not yet been purposefully employed in the writing of Chicana/o educational history. The research I propose explicitly draws from this
analytical perspective generally and the three aforementioned types of history specifically at its core. Such work is made more critical by the fact that the educational history of Chicanas/os is both marked by segregation (González, 1985, 1990; Ruiz, 2001) and under-researched as a whole (Donato & Lazerson, 2000; San Miguel, 1986, 1987b). I, therefore, choose to reclaim my own family’s history of segregated schooling and place it as the foundation of a research project that shows the illustrative intersections between personal educational history and community history. Furthermore, the history that emerges from those intersections provides a critical context for how Latina/o students experience education in local school districts today.

This dissertation introduces a new critical race methodological tool that we may call “historical counterstorytelling” that other community members, students, and scholars can take up in the writing of their own communities’ histories. In this chapter, I share how my own family’s educational history with segregated “Mexican schools” in Southern California catalyzed my pursuit of studying Chicana/o educational history. I contextualize the importance of work on local district history in order to gain a deeper understanding of the school experiences of Mexican-descent students over time. I conclude by sharing the three questions that guide this dissertation, and the rationales behind each inquiry.

**Family Stories, Communities’ History**

In many ways, this intellectual project began the day before I started fourth grade. I was privileged to live in the same home as my maternal grandfather, Jesús Eleuterio López, from the moment I was born, and I went through elementary school with his complete encouragement for my academic achievement. The first hints that education was a privilege I was experiencing

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1 This concept is based in part on work done with the Critical Race Educational History Collective at UCLA during the 2009-2010 academic year. I belonged to the Collective along with my colleagues LLuliana Alonso, José Aguilar Hernández, and Ryan Santos, under the mentorship of our Advisor, Dr. Daniel G. Solórzano.

2 This subheading is inspired by the 2009 exhibition at the Pasadena Museum of History entitled, “Family Stories: Sharing a Community’s Legacy”. While working as an intern for this exhibition, I first began to seriously think through how the experiences of my family in Pasadena were implicated by, and implicated in turn, the larger local history.
differently than he had, came in September 1990 on that last day of summer vacation. As I busied myself with the then-critical task of organizing my Sanrio pencil box, “Popo”\(^3\) took a pause from the newspaper article he was reading to watch his granddaughter at work. His exact words escape me now, but he remarked how I had caught up to him in my schooling. His observation was both matter-of-fact and said with a touch of pride directed at me. I smiled at him across the marble top table where we had shared many a morning task, but I distinctly recall feeling a little confused and sad. I grew up witnessing the continued creativity and intelligence of my grandfather. Nights were incomplete without hearing him weave a vibrant bedtime story, and the day’s routine began with watching him peruse the newspaper with a cup of tea. Before that moment I had had some knowledge that he had to stop going to school as a child so that he could work to help the family. It was not until that morning, though, that I began to view the situation as unfair. I had no idea.

The discovery a few years later that the school he did attend in Pasadena, Junipero Serra School, was for Mexican students only was nothing short of astounding. Segregation was not something that I believed happened to Mexican-Americans\(^4\). As a student who had always loved and excelled in social studies, I was very aware of African-American history and had even rattled off enough facts to win the Black History Bee in my district. Never once did I think that the history I was so impassioned to learn of my “fellow minority” classmates had roots that tangled with my own. So when I did find out through a conversation with my mother that Mexican-American students \textit{did} attend segregated schools – here! In Pasadena!! And \textit{our} family, too!!! – my mind started what can now be called a lifelong process to comprehend how personal educational experiences intersect with the larger educational history of my community.

Meanwhile, my father, Melquiades Mares, Jr., continued to be the person most

\(^{3}\) Jesús Eleuterio López was the name my grandfather was given at birth. “Popo” was the name I gave him as a child, and that my family still uses to recall him.

\(^{4}\) I purposely use this ethnic label because it is how I identified myself and my community at that stage of my life.
responsible for my love of history. He took my youngest brother and me to museums throughout our childhood and adolescence, and was often the only person in said settings who would stop and take the time to read every line of each and every place description and placard. From an early age, I relished the historical tidbits that he first shared as pieces of trivia and would later quiz me on. I myself delighted in learning new facts from school, outside reading, or television that I could in turn use to try and stump him. For as long as I can remember, we have shared and built our knowledge of history together through a variety of formal and informal processes. One specific method he used whenever we ventured northeast for the annual Mares family reunion. My dad, his siblings, and an array of their offspring convened each year on Christmas Day, and many of those gatherings took place in the familial hometown of Barstow, California. When heading to Barstow, “Papa” often exited Interstate 15 early, opting instead to drive the final 30 miles on historic Route 66. He pointed out various places along the way that were the setting of or somehow related to a larger family story. These tours always included a drive past the two different sites where he attended elementary school. While I do remember that he always characterized the first site as an “all-Mexican school,” it was not until my late teenage years that I came to understand that Clark Street School, just like Junipero Serra School, was segregated by design.

In his seminal articles on Chicano educational historiography, Guadalupe San Miguel (1986, 1987b) suggested areas that future research agendas should explore in order to further develop the field. Two of these suggestions included the importance of research on myriad local school districts, and the “influence that increased education has had on Chicano individuals and on the community” (San Miguel, 1987b, p. 477). My work attempts, in part, to answer this call. There has been valuable research produced on Mexican-American school segregation (e.g. González, 1990), yet there is a critical need for more. This is particularly important in light of San Miguel’s (1986) observation that in the absence of a federal mandate, the educational segregation of Chicana/o students was the result of powerful local district policies. Local school
board members often offered these policies as “reforms” intended to benefit both Chicana/o students and their non-Chicana/o counterparts.

Two California school districts that segregated youth of Mexican descent were the Pasadena Unified School District and the Barstow Union School District. The historical experiences of students who attended segregated Mexican schools in these communities have yet to be centralized in any literature. There is a dearth of scholarship on both Pasadena and Barstow generally, and People of Color⁵ there specifically. This omission flies in the face of both areas’ multicultural histories. Current city and school demographics also provide a compelling argument against such scholarly absence. One in three Pasadena residents is Latina/o (US Census, 2011b), while the number in Barstow is closer to one in two (US Census, 2011a). Both Pasadena and Barstow Unified are majority Latina/o school districts (Ed-Data, 2011a,b). It is ever more important, then, to investigate the histories of Mexican and Mexican-American people in Pasadena and Barstow in a dual effort to (a) honor the stories that are not publicly known and (b) have them contextualize the present-day experiences of such a significant portion of the population.

Guiding Research Questions

This dissertation presents a research agenda intent on demonstrating how familial and local history, when woven together, can generate a more textured sense of the multiple ways that Chicana/o educational segregation manifested throughout Southern California. Given this goal, the following three questions guide my research.

1. In what social and economic context did children of Mexican descent attend

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⁵ I use this term in the same way as Yosso (2006) to reference “African Americans, Native Americans, Chicanas/os, Latinas/os, and Asian Americans, also referred to as racial “minorities” or underrepresented groups” (p. 17). Furthermore, the grouping of these distinct peoples is done in a spirit of collectivity (Hurtado, 2003). The purposeful capitalization of this label is an affirmation of the central role that People and Communities of Color have played in the past and present of the United States.

⁶ Latina/o is a pan-ethnic label that refers to people of Latin American descent in the United States. In including such diverse national origin groups, this label can both homogenize experience as well as have strategic benefits related to community organizing and allocation of services and resources.
elementary school in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century in Pasadena (1914-1932) and Barstow (1939-1950), California?

Rationale: Ruben Donato (2007) established the social and economic context in which students of Mexican descent attended school in various Colorado communities from 1920-1960, thus making for a more complete historical discussion of their educational experiences. I ask this question at the start of my study to underscore the importance of acknowledging the multiple factors that make up Chicana/o students’ lives, many of which are outside of the physical campus. The social context refers to the various interpersonal relationships that characterized the day-to-day of Chicana/o youth. Students at Junipero Serra School and Clark Street School interacted with their peers and school site staff in ways that distinguish what it was like to attend a segregated Mexican school. At home, they received messages from their siblings and their parents that further organized their lives outside of school walls. Both Pasadena and Barstow had highly segregated residential neighborhoods in the first half of the twentieth century (James, 2008; US Census, 1930a,b). All of these social interactions, whether in a private or public setting, illustrate what it meant to grow up Mexican in Pasadena and Barstow. One cannot fully write a history of segregated schooling without first understanding this larger context in which Mexican-American youth lived their lives.

Another crucial element of this context relates to the economic status of students and their families. Adults of Mexican descent in Pasadena and Barstow were largely relegated to low-wage, heavy labor jobs (James, 2008; US Census, 1930a,b). Industries such as agriculture in Pasadena, mining in Barstow, and the railroad in both cities depended on underpaid Mexican labor in order to thrive. Similarly, middle and upper class residents of the two locales enjoyed a higher quality of life precisely because of the work of Mexican residents. Donato (2007) and Gilbert González (1990) argued that Chicana/o segregated schooling experiences colluded with dominant economic interests to foster the social reproduction of a Chicana/o working class. Christina Chávez (2007) added another layer of nuance by stating that Chicana/o school
performance is best understood when incorporating the spheres of family/community, school, and work, and the major roles they play in Mexican American life. This question therefore seeks to do just that. As the first inquiry of this research, it centers the lived experiences of children of Mexican descent in Pasadena and Barstow during the operation of segregated schools in those communities. Implicit in this is the belief that educational history both informs and is informed by the interactions and realities that exist within school walls and beyond.

2. How did local print media and school district literature in Pasadena and Barstow frame students of Mexican descent prior to and during the operation of segregated schools?

Rationale: I ask this question with the intent of uncovering the rationale used to justify Mexican school segregation. In other words, I want to know the majoritarian story that was told in Pasadena and Barstow about their young residents of Mexican descent. Majoritarian stories are discourses that “privileg[e] Whites, men, the middle and/or upper class, and heterosexuals by naming these social locations as natural or normative points of reference” (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 28). The danger of such stories is that they erase structural inequalities and institutionalized racism by instead placing the focus – and blame – squarely on perceived individual failures. They provide the rationale necessary for the irrational treatment of People of Color generally and, in the cases of Pasadena and Barstow, Students of Color specifically.

Local print media and school district literature constitute archival sources that capture the stories those with institutional power told prior to and during the operation of Junipero Serra School and Clark Street School. Peter Teo (2000) stated that “[d]iscourse, especially the sort that we encounter everyday, in an almost routine and hence unremarkable way, can change our perceptions and attitudes regarding people, places and events and therefore becomes a potentially powerful site for the dominance of minds” (p. 9). Thus, the framing of Mexican American students in local newspapers like the Pasadena Star News and the Barstow Printer Review is a crucial part of the local majoritarian story. Pasadena Unified and Barstow Union
School District school board minutes also reveal the official conversations that may have included “common sense” frames (Yosso, 2006) that resulted in inherently unequal educational institutions. I ultimately seek to understand the language used by those who had the power to decide and design the education Chicana/o students in Pasadena and Barstow would experience. While not a central focus of this research, it is an integral part of it.

3. How did children and families of Mexican descent in Pasadena and Barstow mitigate and resist local deficit frameworks that reinforced their educational segregation?

Rationale: My previous two questions provide the foundation for this inquiry, which is the place from which I am most interested in recording new knowledge about the history of Chicana/o students in Pasadena and Barstow. Deficit thinking frameworks have long blamed underperformance and school failure on the internal deficits and deficiencies of the student (Valencia, 1997a). Numerous pseudoscientific studies between 1915 and 1930 made racial comparisons of intellectual performance and found that Chicana/o students – like their Black and Native American counterparts – were genetically inferior to White students (Valencia, 1997b). A more recent and more popular body of research blames Chicana/o cultural values, especially as exhibited in Chicana/o families and parents, as the cause of low educational achievement (Yosso, 2006). It would be easy to portray Chicanas/os as victims of genetic and cultural deficit models found throughout social science research. Yet I am most interested in the way students and their families negotiated and resisted the educational segregation that was an established facet of Mexican American life in Pasadena and Barstow.

The commitment of Chicana/o parents to improving schooling conditions for their children throughout history is undeniable (Delgado Bernal, 1999; Donato, 1997; San Miguel, 1987a). Chicana/o students themselves have also displayed multiple types of resistance to confront experiences that undermine their intelligence and their humanity (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). There is currently no written history that substantively captures the
experiences of students who attended Junipero Serra School and Clark Street School. The most we have is a comparative study of the history of the larger Pasadena Unified School District with one in West Virginia (James, 2008), and historical newspaper articles submerged in library archives. Their absence in the institutional archive or written record is not to say that the stories of students who attended Junipero Serra and Clark Street do not exist. I first learned what I know about educational segregation in Pasadena and Barstow through conversations with my grandfather and my father about their own experiences in such schools. They also shared stories of growing up in their respective neighborhoods that taught me to view our family and our Mexican American community through a humane, social justice lens. It is in this spirit that I ask this research question. Its answers can be learned by listening to the stories of elders who attended segregated Mexican elementary schools. It can also be answered by centering the experiences of Mexican-descent women, men, and children in Pasadena and Barstow during the archival research process. Their stories are the bedrock of community history that this dissertation hopes to unearth.

**Summary**

This dissertation strives to capture the community memory of Mexican-descent people in Pasadena and Barstow, California during the time of Mexican educational segregation. It does so by valuing Mexican youth and families and piecing together their stories through the archives. In the following chapters, I also engage the four sources of my cultural intuition to complete this project. Chapters 3 through 7 will outline how my personal experience as a family member of segregated students informed the analytical research process in particular. First, though, I draw from my professional experience and training in Ethnic Studies and Chicana/Chicana Studies to share the multidisciplinary body of literature that informs this work.
Chapter Two
Literature Review

Sharing the community memory of Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools requires knowledge built from an interdisciplinary literature base. I organize the scholarship that gives my work context into two general subject groups: historical writings and theoretical foundations. Within each group, there are various sub-groups of literature that, taken together, inform my research in significant ways. Included in the first general subject group of historical writings are Chicana/o educational history; Chicana/o school segregation history; and local Pasadena and Barstow history. Included in the second general subject group of theoretical writings are cultural intuition; critical race theory; Latina/o critical theory; and critical discourse analysis.

Historical Foundations

This first general subject group of literature includes key writings that I use to create a historical context for my own research. I begin with what I consider to be the essential Chicana/o educational history texts that inform my work. To be sure, there are other valuable pieces of scholarship that can teach us about the historical development of unequal Chicana/o schooling conditions in the United States, and the concomitant Chicana/o fight for educational equality.¹ In a similar fashion, increasing work has been produced on the watershed 1946 desegregation case of Mén dez v. Westminster, most likely because “[m]any scholars consider [it] to be the most significant of the Mexican American desegregation lawsuits because its outcome had implications not only for California but for the Southwest and the nation” (Valencia, 2008, p. 22). For the purposes of this dissertation, I have limited my literature review to the selected texts that I feel most closely situate my study of local Chicana/o educational history during the inception and undertaking of segregated Mexican schools.

¹ A few particularly noteworthy examples to mention here include chapters by Dolores Delgado Bernal (1999) and Martha Menchaca (1999), as well as the litigation-based history chronicled by Richard R. Valencia (2008).
I thus begin this section with a discussion of essential works on Chicana/o educational history, with an eye towards those that specifically speak to schooling in local contexts. I proceed to turn my gaze to relevant literature on Chicana/o school segregation history, and then offer my own assessment of the Chicana/o educational history field. I conclude this section with a review of texts that provide historical context for the communities of Pasadena and Barstow where the Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools were respectively situated.

**Chicana/o educational history.** While Chicanas and Chicanos have attended public schools in the United States for over 160 years, there is still a dearth of literature on Chicana/o educational history (San Miguel, 1986, 1987b). My work on Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools considers the call made by Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr. (1986, 1987b) for more research on local school districts throughout the United States in order to strengthen historical research on Chicana/o education. Thus, I begin this section with an overview of key texts that make up Chicana/o education historiography as a way to show where my work may fit in that field.

San Miguel’s (1986) first analysis of Chicano education historiography was published before even a single book existed specifically on the history of Chicana/o education. It is understandable, then, that he characterized the field of history of Chicano education as in an embryonic stage (San Miguel, 1986) or, a year later, “still in its infancy” (San Miguel, 1987b, p. 468). The small number of Chicano educational historians to date means that while their scholarship is valuable, our understanding of the history of Chicana/o education is still incomplete (Donato & Lazerson, 2000). The works of San Miguel (1987a, 2001), Rubén Donato (1997, 2007), and Gilbert González (1990) are key texts that inspire my own research on Pasadena and Barstow while also being the intellectual points from which I depart.

San Miguel (1987a, 2001) added a focus on specific districts within the state of Texas to the historiography of Chicana/o educational history. His first book, *Let all of them take heed: Mexican Americans and the campaign for educational equity in Texas, 1910-1981*, surveyed the continued fight by Mexican American community organizations for more equitable schools. San
Miguel (1987a) centered the Mexican American generation who “remained culturally Mexican but philosophically and politically American” (San Miguel, 1987a, p. xvii). That first book on Chicano educational history revolved around the albeit limited influence of the Mexican-American generation throughout Texas. The second manuscript by San Miguel (2001) narrated the departure from Mexican American organizing traditions to those of Chicanismo in the specific setting of Houston, Texas. In Brown, not white: School integration and the Chicano movement in Houston, San Miguel (2001) documented the struggle in the early 1970s against the Houston Independent School District (HISD) and its problematic desegregation plan. He described the increasing radicalization of the community as they moved away from the avenues of accommodation that characterized the Mexican American generation to more politicized tactics that included fighting for their redesignation as a “Brown” minority group. San Miguel elucidated the different ways that parents, community members, and youth formed organizations and engaged in various aspects of the movement for quality education in Houston.

Like San Miguel (2001), Donato (1997) also focused his work on a specific school district. A rural/suburban Northern California community was the setting for The other struggle for equal schools, a case study of the Chicana/o community’s struggle for equal education during the 1960s and 1970s. Donato (1997) detailed the ongoing conflict between Mexican American parents who believed that “curriculum, pedagogy, and negative attitudes...were pushing Mexican American students out of school” (Donato, 1997, p. 69), and school officials who believed that Chicano/o families and students simply lacked interest in education. Donato showed the development and motivations embodied by two different parent collectives, and also noted how Chicano parents’ organizing tactics changed in the late 1970s as they learned “that state support was crucial in [their] struggle for equal education...[and] that in order for local reform to be successful, they needed the support of teachers and white residents” (Donato, 1997, p. 118). He ended his chronicle with the evaluation that lacking representation on school boards
or other important decision-making bodies, Chicanas/os were unable to make significant changes in local schools.

Any historical discussion of Chicana/o students and school experiences is incomplete without establishing the social and economic context in which students attended school. The subsequent work of Donato (2007), *Mexicans and Hispanos in Colorado schools and communities, 1920-1960*, undertook the ambitious task of doing just that for the Mexican and Hispano² students who attended school in three demographically distinct communities in Colorado. Drawing from diverse data sources that included government reports, company and local periodicals, speeches, school board minutes, and interviews, Donato attempted to fill the literature gap wherein Chicana/o educational history in Colorado was still unknown. The inclusion of three unique schooling structures and experiences for Spanish-surnamed students in the state further elucidated the importance of local history and context and inability to talk about one singular Chicana/o educational experience.

**Chicana/o school segregation.** Of particular importance to my research about the students of Junipero Serra and Clark Street is the literature within Chicana/o educational history devoted to the segregation of students of Mexican descent in the first half of the 20th century. Both Donato (2007) and San Miguel (2001) included sections on segregated “Mexican schools” in their larger histories, while the work of González (1990) is especially informative for this project. The scholarship of the three aforementioned leading Chicano educational historians was preceded by a number of studies that employed diverse perspectives on the “merits” of segregating Mexican students in schools throughout the Southwest.

Victoria-María MacDonald (2004) revealed that segregation has been a foundational feature of Latina/o education throughout the history of the United States. In the Southwest, for example, schooling during the Spanish colonial era from 1513-1821 reflected the Spanish racial

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² Donato (2007) defines Hispanics as people whose heritage originates in northern New Mexico/southern Colorado. A distinct Latino subgroup because of their geographic and cultural isolation throughout history, “Hispanos never saw themselves as Mexicans, as immigrants, or as full-fledged Americans” (Donato, 2007, p. 2).
hierarchy. Settlers’ schools (first tier) educated the offspring of Spanish settlers, civil leaders, and military officers, while mission schools “were purposefully designed to replace Native American languages, religions, dress, and other cultural attributes with Spanish language, Roman Catholic faith, and European mores and customs” (Mac Donald, 2004, p. 9). In California specifically, Charles Wollenberg (1974) identified the propensity towards segregated schooling in 1855 state legislation that provided State School Fund appropriations to counties on the basis of a census of white school-aged children. This was followed by the California legislature prohibiting “colored children” from attending integrated schools in 1860, while providing for the establishment of separate schools for “Blacks, Indians, and Asians” (Wollenberg, 1974). While Students of Color would see their educational fates fluctuate as a result of the 14th Amendment and judicial and legal interventions throughout the end of the 19th century, students of Mexican descent were conspicuously absent from the official record on segregation. Without a federal or state decree, “[s]egregation of Mexican and Mexican-American students, then, was a product of community pressure, sanctioned by professional educators and supported by the studies of educational psychologists” (Wollenberg, 1974, p. 321).

It was within this context that a number of studies discussed the perceived benefits and drawbacks of educating children of Mexican descent in either separate classrooms or entirely separate school facilities. One of the earliest was published as a joint effort between the San Bernardino County Board of Education and the Board of Trustees of the Chaffey Union High School and the Chaffey Junior College. Merton E. Hill (1928) detailed the rationale for and design of the Americanization program in the Southern California city of Ontario. He defined Americanization as “the securing through instruction such reactions on the part of non-Americans that they will accept and practice those ideals, customs, methods of living, skills and knowledge that have come to be accepted as representative of the best in American life” (Hill, 1928, p. 5). Claiming that “Mexican children come from homes where ignorance and poverty prevail” (p. 75), Hill advocated for educational segregation as a means to Americanize students
and help them overcome the language “handicap” that he believed a primary deterrent to academic achievement. Emory S. Bogardus (1930) – who trained a generation of researchers and practitioners through the University of Southern California to study and work on the “Mexican problem” – expressed similar support for what he called the “merits” of segregation. In his view, segregated schools were a natural outgrowth of the segregated neighborhoods in which Mexican communities lived. He praised the teachers in Mexican schools as being in general sympathetic, patient, and encouraging. Often they are highly sacrificial and work overtime without the extra pay in behalf of their friends, the Mexican. Often they are maintaining neighborhood or settlement schools. But, even so, they will report that the Mexican children are greatly handicapped in comparison with the average American child (Bogardus, 1930, p. 79).

With this apparently inherent difference between Mexican and American children in mind, Bogardus viewed segregated education as a way to teach Mexican-descent youth in a setting where they would not feel intimidated or “inferior” before potentially integrating with White students after the 5th grade.

Annie Reynolds (1933) offered a somewhat more tempered view of segregation in her study of California, Texas, Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico schools carried out under the auspices of the U.S. Office of Education. Her survey of the five states showed the significant variety of segregated educational practices across and between districts and states. One of Reynolds’ most compelling findings was the inconsistency of teacher training and supervision in these settings – both of which she stated were paramount to working with Mexican children. She cited a 1925 educational survey report whose sentiments seemed to represent her general sense of “Mexican” schools and classrooms:

It is wise to segregate, if it is done on educational grounds, and results in district efforts to provide the non-English-speaking pupils with specifically trained teachers and the necessary special training resources....This advice is offered with some reluctance, as there is danger that it will be misunderstood by some. By others it may be seized upon as a means of justifying the practices now obtaining in some communities. In some instances segregation has been used for the purpose of giving the Mexican children a
shorter school year, inferior buildings and equipment, and poorly paid teachers (Reynolds, 1933, p. 9).

Overall, her particular study distanced itself from a belief in differences between Mexican and White children on the basis of inherent intelligence. Reynolds did, however, uphold a sense of an endemic cultural difference between the two. Mary M. Peters (1948), the incoming principal of a formerly segregated school in Southern California, echoed the same sentiment in her study of Ontario schools during and following the discontinuation of segregation. Peters identified the “problems” that came with educating Mexican-descent students as due to, among other aspects, the “peon background of the uneducated parents;... language handicaps;...problems of acculturation – the old, and the new; economic forces and the attitudes of the general population” (Peters, 1948, p. 35-36). Thus, we can trace through the writings of Hill (1928), Bogardus (1930), Reynolds (1933), and Peters (1948) the tendency that Wollenberg (1974) identified for educational discourse to move away from segregation and towards a more integrationist approach – while still pushing for the assimilation of Mexican-descent youth and their families into the “American way of life” as the ultimate goal. Similarly, we can see in these studies the evolution of deficit discourse on Chicana/o students from genetic deficit to cultural deficit frameworks.

It is at this point that I return to the work of Chicano educational historians who catalyzed even more refined perspectives on Chicana/o school segregation. González (1990) offered a definitive text that used the lens of political economy to study the segregated schooling conditions that Chicana/o students confronted throughout the Southwest from 1900-1950. A considerable contribution made by González was his description of Americanization curriculum, integral to segregated schooling, as gendered. Chicanas were subsequently tracked into lower level academic classes along with home economics courses meant to train them for their supposed roles in both their families and the larger workforce. González also documented the use of intelligence testing to rationalize the disproportional enrollment of Mexican students in
vocational courses. Schools throughout the Southwest thus engaged in multi-layered segregation that included “segregation of the curriculum [which] tended to reproduce the social relationship between Mexican and Anglo communities” (González, 1990, p. 93). An earlier journal article by González (1985) furthermore detailed the way Chicana/o educational segregation was conceived, maintained, and ultimately dismantled in Santa Ana, California. With this more specific study, González identified the mechanisms of segregation that manifested in everything from the way teachers were hired to the maneuverings of the Santa Ana Board of Education.

Similar to González (1990), Donato (2007) added to a broader understanding of Chicana/o schooling experiences as colluding with dominant economic interests to foster social reproduction. His documenting of the neglect that major sugar beet companies employing predominantly Mexican-descent workers showed toward the education of those workers’ children is similar to the work done by Monica Perales (2010) on the El Paso community adjacent to the ASARCO smelting plant. In both cases, children of Mexican descent attended segregated schools and received lower-quality education. Vicki Ruiz (2001) also offered a brief overview of the conditions of segregated schooling for Chicana/o students with foci on Americanization curriculum and the 1946 Mendez v. Westminster desegregation case. Other scholarship has furthermore shown that in spite of the widespread use of deficit discourses to justify the segregation of their children, the commitment of Chicana/o parents to improving schooling conditions for their children throughout history is undeniable (Delgado Bernal, 1999; Donato, 1997; San Miguel, 2001).

**Assessment of the field of Chicana/o educational history.** The leading Chicana/o educational historians to date – Guadalupe San Miguel, Gilbert González, and Ruben Donato – added important contextual layers to Chicana/o education history that guide my own work on Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools. González (1990) and Donato (2007) especially highlighted the connection between Chicana/o educational and labor segregation. They along
with San Miguel also distinguished the differing educational priorities and subsequent tactics used to achieve educational equality that characterized particular segments of the Chicana/o community. Some of those differences were along lines of citizenship status, as was the case with Mexican American and Mexican migrant worker families (Donato, 1997, 2007; González, 1990). Some of those differences were along lines of generational politics (San Miguel, 1987a, 2001). In identifying these distinctions, this literature allows me to add more nuances to my understanding of the historical development of Chicana/o communities in Pasadena and Barstow. The authors also showed the varied avenues that Chicanas/os traversed in their quest for educational equality. Those efforts included conducting community education campaigns (San Miguel, 2001), forming local Parent-Teacher Associations (San Miguel, 1987a), and pursuing legal redress (González, 1990; San Miguel 1987a, 2001). This scholarship thus provides a historical context for the rejection of local and broader deficit frameworks that wrongly painted Chicana/o families and communities as unsupportive of education.

San Miguel (1987a, 2001), González (1990), and Donato (1997, 2007) documented the multiple ways that students in districts throughout California, Colorado, and Texas experienced schools. Yet areas remain in which history still needs to be written, and changes in approach made. Only González (1990) and San Miguel (2001) included a gendered analysis in their writing. By crafting “community-wide” narratives, the other studies overshadowed the unique ways in which Chicana students have experienced school at the historic intersections of race, class, and gender (Delgado Bernal, 1999). The almost defeatist tone at the end of Donato (1997) and San Miguel (1987a) when noting the “political impotence” of the Chicana/o communities in California and Texas also limited the way the historical record measured change. Finally, Donato (1997) observed that while case studies of local communities offer a way of gaining insight into how Mexican Americans interacted with their schools, Chicana/o educational historiography has largely ignored that research agenda. Though San Miguel (2001) provided a particularly detailed history of Chicana/o education in Houston schools, his was the only text to
successfully capture such depth. Even given these limitations, González (1990), San Miguel (1987a, 2001), and Donato (1997, 2007) provided strong narrative examples and a methodological base from which future studies of local Chicana/o education can depart. They also broaden our understanding of Chicana/o educational history as a multi-faceted struggle that continues to this day. This observation is key given that I want to validate the experiences of Junipero Serra School and Clark Street School students both within and beyond the schools’ walls. I therefore also draw from literature that informs my understanding of the two larger communities where the schools were located: Pasadena and Barstow, California.

**History of Pasadena and Barstow.** As mentioned in Chapter 1, there is a paucity of texts documenting the histories of Chicanas/os in Pasadena and Barstow. This selected review of the literature will demonstrate that the work that is available generally subsumes Chicana/o school experiences within larger local narratives.

Pasadena is both the more widely known of the two cities, as well as the subject of considerably more writings. The more popular accounts of Pasadena history do mention segregated schooling, but they do so in a passing fashion that anesthetizes the underlying legacy of racism (see Lund, 1999). Two local texts, however, stand in contrast. Michael E. James’ (2008) *The conspiracy of the good* is both the most recent and most comprehensive look at the history of the Pasadena Unified School District. James (2008) approached this history with an explicit emphasis on the ways race and class influenced the design of public education, and the consequences such decisions ultimately held for Students of Color. He devoted time and analysis to the creation of each of the current secondary schools in Pasadena, as well as that of the segregated Mexican school, Junipero Serra. His book was a comparative look at Pasadena and Charlottesville, West Virginia. While this offered a larger context to the interplay between

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3 Fortunately, there are signs that the Chicana/o educational history corpus is growing in significant ways. Though they have not yet emerged in the formats of full-length books, the work of Donato and Hanson (2012), García and Yosso (2013), and García, Yosso, and Barajas (2012) show that we are headed in the right scholarly direction.
education and race, it also precluded him from going into great detail about the ways that Chicana/o students were framed by and mitigated the local majoritarian story. Still, James (2008) offered an invaluable resource for any study involving the history of Chicana/o students in Pasadena city schools as well as a model for the strengths and limitations of a comparative study. Of equal importance is the work done by Martínez (2009), which represented the first book to focus solely on the experiences of the Latina/o community in Pasadena. Her survey spanned all the way from the late 18th century to the first decade of the 21st century, with most of the emphasis placed on the mid-20th century. While Martínez did include valuable archival materials and information on the existence of segregated schools in the city, she did not provide much detail on the reasons or justifications behind their creation. Yet her rich use of visuals – gathered from sources as diverse as museum archives and master theses to individual families’ collections – reminds me of the importance of grounding my narrative and analysis of segregated schooling in the lives of the people who lived it.

The literature specifically on Barstow is of a different nature, as it has been produced under the auspices of the local Mojave River Valley Museum Association. Two texts in particular, Barstow depots and Harvey houses (Moon, 1980) and Once upon a desert (Keeling, 1976), reveal the way community history of Barstow has been conceptualized. The narrative of Keeling (1976) established the railroad as central to the development of Barstow, a notion reified in Moon (1980). Both portray the importance of the area more as a transient place along the Mojave River trails until the arrival of the Santa Fe Railroad in 1886 (Keeling, 1976; Moon, 1980). With the appearance of the Santa Fe as part of the larger national development of a transcontinental railroad, Barstow was established as a railway community. The railroad is also the only backdrop against which the history of People of Color took place. While Moon (1980) did include photographs of Mexican railroad workers in his text, he only explicitly mentioned the presence of Japanese immigrant workers in company housing in the late 1890s. Keeling (1976), on the other hand, is an edited collection that included three entries on individuals of
Mexican descent and their recollections of life in Barstow in the first quarter of the 20th century. While two of those entries did allude to Clark Street School, neither the nature nor name of the campus itself was recorded. The main basis for the inclusion of the stories of Mexican residents in Barstow still resided in their status as “proud” laborers on the Santa Fe. People of Mexican descent in Barstow do have a small place in the historical record. However, it is narrowly defined by their still-marginalized role as labor with no official recognition of how the children of those laborers experienced their education.

Theoretical Foundations

This second general subject group of literature includes the writings that make up the theoretical foundations to my research. bell hooks (2000) noted, “Everything we do in life is rooted in theory. Whether we consciously explore the reasons we have a particular perspective or take a particular action there is also an underlying system shaping thought and practice” (p. 19). This section of my literature review can be considered my conscious exploration of the intellectual frameworks that have shaped how I think about my research. I begin with a discussion of the concept of cultural intuition (Delgado Bernal, 1998b) that guides my work at the forefront. I proceed to share critical race theory and Latina/o critical theory as the lenses through which I researched and wrote the history of the students of Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools. I conclude this section by noting the contributions that critical discourse analysis made to my study, particularly in its ability to identify and interrupt the majoritarian story that all too often has constituted Chicana/o educational history.

Cultural intuition. My dissertation purposefully began with the concept of cultural intuition because it guides every aspect of my research agenda. Delgado Bernal (1998b) first outlined cultural intuition in her groundbreaking article, “Using a Chicana feminist epistemology in educational research.” She wrote that “[e]mploying a Chicana feminist epistemology in educational research...becomes a means to resist epistemological racism...and
to uncover untold histories” (Delgado Bernal, 1998b, p. 556). Delgado Bernal conceptualizes the basis for such liberatory knowledge construction and research as cultural intuition.

In its simplest summary, cultural intuition characterizes the unique viewpoints and perspectives that Chicana researchers can bring to their work (Delgado Bernal, 1998b). It is not something inherent to a Chicana scholar; rather, Delgado Bernal characterizes it as a strength that must be purposefully achieved, engaged, and nurtured. Cultural intuition is an extension of what Strauss and Corbin (1990, as cited in Delgado Bernal, 1998b) called “theoretical sensitivity” – a personal quality of the researcher based on the attribute of having the ability to give meaning to data” (p. 563). The four sources of theoretical sensitivity that Strauss and Corbin identified are (a) the personal experiences of the researcher; (b) the existing literature; (c) the professional experience of the researcher; and (d) the analytical research process itself. In this conception, the researcher is isolated in the sense that it is her/his individual characteristics and individual research process that bring her/him to a closer understanding of the data.

Delgado Bernal drew from the aforementioned four sources, pivoting away from theoretical sensitivity in the areas of (a) the personal experiences of the researcher and (d) the analytical research process itself. She argued that “personal experience goes beyond the individual and has lateral ties to family and reverse ties to the past [as p]ersonal experience is partially shaped by collective experience and community memory” (Delgado Bernal, 1998b, p. 564). Regarding the analytical research process itself, Delgado Bernal (1998b) extended it to include “Chicana participants in an interactive process of data analysis” (p. 566), consistent with the call that “researchers and participants deconstruct the epistemology of the participants and use it as the basis for the entire [research] project” (Pizarro, 1998, p. 74, as cited in Delgado Bernal, 1998b, p. 566). The concept of cultural intuition is thus summarized as follows:

A Chicana researcher’s cultural intuition is achieved and can be nurtured through our personal experiences (which are influenced by ancestral wisdom, community memory, and intuition), the
literature on and about Chicanas, our professional experiences, and the analytical process we engage in when we are in a central position of our research and our analysis. Thus, cultural intuition is a complex process that is experiential, intuitive, historical, personal, collective, and dynamic (Delgado Bernal, 1998b, p. 567-568).

In the case of my research on the students of Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools, my cultural intuition is precisely what enabled me to pursue this work in a unique and meaningful way. A rich combination of professional and personal experiences is a defining aspect of my own cultural intuition. Completing and now facilitating coursework at the undergraduate level in Chicana/o Studies endowed me with the multidisciplinary lens needed for research with communities of Mexican descent. My experience as an intern at the Pasadena Museum of History first showed me how to navigate institutional archives while engaging my cultural intuition. Having taught local secondary school students for over 13 years now, I know the absence of Chicana/o educational history in curriculum and common knowledge, and the propensity to think of segregation in a Black-White binary. I first learned what I know about Chicana/o educational segregation through conversations with my grandfather and father about their own experiences as students in such schools. It is those conversations and my identity as the descendant of students from Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools that are cornerstones of my cultural intuition that I consciously engaged throughout the research process.

**Critical race theory in education.** Chicana/o students have been racialized from the moment they began to attend schools in the United States (Menchaca, 1999), and as such, their educational opportunities as well as the quality of education offered them continues to be under attack (Delgado Bernal, 1999). Any attempt to research and write Chicana/o educational history in Pasadena and Barstow must therefore include a central understanding of the way that students’ race has impacted their educational experiences throughout time. Critical race theory in education is a theoretical framework capable of providing precisely that.

Critical race theory (CRT) emerged in the late-1970’s as an effort by legal scholars to highlight and ultimately contest race and racism in the U.S. legal system and larger society
(Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Solórzano (1998) identified five tenets that constitute a critical race theory in education. These tenets (a) acknowledge the centrality of race and racism and their intersection with other forms of subordination; (b) challenge the dominant ideology; (c) represent a commitment to social justice; (d) centralize experiential knowledge; and (e) reflect an interdisciplinary perspective (Solórzano, 1998). In particular, the interdisciplinary perspective “challenges ahistoricism and the unidisciplinary focus of most analyses and insists on analyzing race and racism in education by placing them in both an historical and contemporary context using interdisciplinary methods” (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, p. 473).

Critical race research on Students of Color is a scholarly alternative to previous studies that have relied on pseudoscience to explain the unequal educational outcomes overwhelmingly experienced by Black, Latina/o, and Native American youth. Regarding the case of the educational history of students of Mexican descent, Latina/o critical theory (LatCrit) is a particularly useful framework for understanding.

**Latina/o critical theory.** The multidimensional identities of Chicana/o students necessitate a theoretical framework that captures the multiple oppressions that intersect along those identity lines (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). A branch of the “CRT family tree”, LatCrit is an especially powerful lens for taking into account markers such as citizenship status, phenotype, sexuality, and language that CRT alone might miss. LatCrit in education furthermore emphasizes the connection of theory with practice (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). In the case of my historical study on the students of Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools, my research included the practice of co-constructing knowledge with elder Mexican American community members in Pasadena via their oral histories, and with my family members from Barstow in both oral history interviews and more informal conversational settings. Another layer of that praxis necessitates sharing what we learn with members of our extended families and, eventually, with our Chicana/o students and community members in Pasadena, Barstow, and beyond.
Critical discourse analysis. I used a final theoretical framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA) to identify and make sense of the majoritarian stories, or deficit discourse, that justified the segregation of students of Mexican descent in Pasadena and Barstow. Teun A. Van Dijk (1993) wrote that issues of inequality can be understood and critiqued by centering discourse as both a (re)producer and challenger of dominance (p. 249). He acknowledged that the approach he employed was very much focused on “top-down’ relations of dominance” while supporting the necessity of exploring more “bottom-up’ relations of resistance, compliance and acceptance” (p. 249). CDA is summarized as an overtly political act motivated by a desire not just for understanding the way power relations are reified by discourse, but also through a positioning “in solidarity with those who need it most”; the driving force, then, is “change through critical understanding” (p. 252). The outline of discourse structures that Van Dijk provided were a useful part of my developing theoretical framework for reading Pasadena Unified School District and Barstow Union School District policies and reforms specific to the creation of segregated Mexican schools. Allan Luke (1995) furthermore noted the supposition “that language use should be studied in a social context” (p. 12) as a key part of critical discourse analysis. He further claimed that critical discourse analysis could operate both critically and constructively. CDA operates critically as an interruption of the “natural flow of talk and text in institutional life” that dictates common sense language/approaches. CDA is constructive in that it holds possibilities for agency via individuals’ ability to see “how texts represent the social and natural world in particular interests and how texts position them and generate the very relations of institutional power at work” in myriad settings (Luke, 1995, p. 12-13). This approach that emphasizes critical analysis and the ability to read the various meanings that are held within words was a guiding analytical lens in understanding the local majoritarian discourse that supported the creation and operation of Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools.
**Bringing It All Together**

This chapter has outlined the historical and theoretical literature that undergirds my research on the students who attended segregated Mexican schools in Pasadena and Barstow, California. My use of an interdisciplinary literature base is akin to how a kaleidoscope works. Each piece of historical context, each theoretical lens, shift and interact with each other to make more visible the intricacies of educational segregation in local contexts. The combination of multiple theoretical frameworks united in their (a) rejection of the majoritarian story and (b) affirmation of centralizing the lived experiences of historically marginalized groups beautifully forms a significant portion of the cultural intuition which colors my research, and ultimately shapes how I design and carry it out.
Chapter Three
Methodology

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) stated that methodology “frames the questions being asked, determines the set of instruments and methods to be employed and shapes the analyses” (p. 143) of a research agenda. Majoritarian histories have been based on questions, instruments, methods, and resultant analyses that disempower Chicana/o students and communities. In researching and writing the history of the Mexican-American elementary school students who were segregated in Pasadena and Barstow, I employed a methodology rooted in the precedent set by scholars who have framed their inquiries so as to challenge majoritarian stories and thus document the experiences of People of Color in socially just ways (see Delgado Bernal, 1998a; Pérez, 1999; Ruiz, 1998; Takaki, 1993; Valencia, 2008; Zinn, 1980). This chapter outlines my own approach to this work. I begin with a description of my dual sites of Pasadena and Barstow, California. I then discuss the concept of historical counterstories, and how they can capture the experiences of students from Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools. I conclude with an outline of the various methods borrowed from the fields of education and history that led me to more substantive answers to my research questions.

The Sites of Pasadena and Barstow

It was not until I left Pasadena that I understood what a strong connotation the place had in the public imaginary. I certainly was not oblivious to the fact that the annual Rose Parade drew an estimated one million observers each year to the city streets where I had been born and raised; hence, I knew a lot of people “knew” where I lived. My freshman year at UC Berkeley, however, I realized that saying I was from Pasadena elicited a much stronger and unexpected reaction. Classmates, peers, and even my own friends gave a variety of nonverbal and verbal cues – ranging from a cocked head or slightly arched eyebrow to a drawn out “Ohhhh” – that seemed to question my authenticity as a Chicana. Ensuing discussion always confirmed this interrogation, as it was consistently revealed that my doubters held a raced and
classed vision of my hometown as White and bourgeoisie. This irritated me to no end. The certainty with which I heard comments like “There are no Mexicans in Pasadena!” was an affront to the existence of my family there since 1922. These interactions form one of the roots of my scholarship. Since my days as an undergraduate, I have been on a mission to validate the presence of Chicanas/os in Pasadena as integral and not an anomaly. While this admission may seem blunt to some, I state it as means of concurring with Patricia Hill Collins (1986) who wrote that scholars could “benefit by placing greater trust in the creative potential of their own personal and cultural biographies” (p. S14). Choosing to research Junipero Serra School, the segregated school that my grandfather attended in Pasadena, then, became a logical choice.

I soon realized that I was committing another kind of oversight that had so perturbed me. My father has been among those most invested in my pursuit of the doctorate. We speak daily about my classes, work on campus, and most current reading selections. In committing to learn the stories of students who had attended Junipero Serra School, I was often struck with a deep sadness over the fact that my grandpa is no longer living and thus no longer available to teach me more about his own experiences at the school. All the while, though, I had been discussing my own education with my dad without asking him more about his. He also attended the segregated Clark Street elementary school in Barstow, as did his older sisters. I, too, had initially overlooked a significant community presence. This personal prelude shares how I myself came to this research on Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools. I now highlight the more general description of Pasadena and Barstow as selected sites in order to show how this project, deepened by my own insight as the granddaughter and daughter of segregated students, has additional significance for developing Chicana/o local educational history.

**About Pasadena.** The 22.5 square miles at the base of the San Gabriel Mountains slightly northeast of Los Angeles have always been home to diverse people. The original

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1 This verb can also be put in the present tense, as just in 2011, an esteemed academic showcased the same lack of knowledge of Chicana/o presence in Pasadena.
inhabitants of the land were the Tongva tribe of Native Americans, who were displaced by Spanish conquerors in 1771 (Lund, 1999). Almost exactly one century later, an elite social circle from Indianapolis was so discomforted by the severe Indiana winter weather, they created an investment group set on moving to warmer Southern California environs (James, 2008; Lund, 1999). They eventually purchased a portion of what was then Rancho San Pasqual, and what would be incorporated in 1886 as Pasadena.

There is an almost schizophrenic nature to the identity of Pasadena’s past as it characterizes its present. On the one hand, much of the most well-known and official narratives on city history (City of Pasadena, 2012; Lund, 1999; Tournament of Roses, 2012) reproduce the centrality of the Indiana Colony to making Pasadena what it is today. On the other hand, these same mainstream narratives (City of Pasadena, 2012; Lund 1999) clearly state the persistent presence of a multiethnic population, thus making today’s increasingly diverse demographics nothing new. What often goes unnoted, though, is the fact that the grand majority of Pasadenaans of Color have historically occupied a position of social and economic marginality. People of Chinese and Mexican descent toiled on the railroad in the late 19th century, and African-Americans owned small businesses but most often served in large houses and hotels; all three groups were strictly regulated to segregated neighborhoods with a higher presence of substandard housing (Anderson, 1995). The very making of the city had dual motives, as upper-class prohibitionists sought incorporation as means to subsequently close a saloon that catered to the working-class, thereby eliminating the appeal for such workers to remain after hours near the same neighborhoods where they labored during the day (James, 2008).

The unequal experiences of racial and ethnic minorities in regards to housing in Pasadena are also reflected in their educational experiences. Perhaps the best example of this is seen in the existence of not one, but two “Mexican schools” in the early 20th century. In the southern section of Pasadena near the spot where the Pacific Electric and Santa Fe railways crossed, Junipero Serra School opened in 1914 (James, 2008). A year later near the citrus
groves in East Pasadena, John C. Fremont School (also known as “Chihuahuita”) opened for a student body exclusively of children of Mexican descent (Martínez, 2009). Both Junipero Serra and Fremont schools were K-8 grade only, “because it was conventional wisdom that Mexican children did not attend school after that” (James, 2008, p. 139). My research focuses on the students who attended Junipero Serra School. It operated from 1914 until 1932, when Martínez (2009) noted that declining enrollment was cited as the reason for its closure. Jesús Eleuterio López, my maternal grandfather, walked the halls of Junipero Serra sometime between the years of 1922 to 1924. While this work may not be directly informed by his personal experiences, its aim is to build knowledge grounded in what my family knows of his life and what I can learn from the oral histories of his contemporaries about their own lives as students at a segregated Mexican school².

**About Barstow.** The area approximately 115 miles northeast of Pasadena was undisturbed Mohave tribal land until a Spanish Franciscan priest by the name of Francisco Garcés traveled through it in March 1776 on his way from Arizona to northern California (Keeling, 1976). The Mohave trails, which ran close to the Mojave River, would be traversed throughout the 1800s, particularly during 1829 through the 1840s “with a complex interweaving of explorers, trail makers, packers, home-seekers, horse thieves, slave catchers, path makers, dispatch bearers, and Mormons” (Keeling, 1976, p. 59). During the Gold Rush, mining camps were set up along the river that would eventually become part of the “settling” of Barstow. With the arrival of the Santa Fe Railroad in 1886 as part of the larger national development of a transcontinental railroad, Barstow was established as a railway community.

The advent of the railroad provides an important backdrop for the multicultural history of the town. In the late 1890s, Japanese immigrants worked for the Santa Fe railroad throughout Southern California, including in Barstow where they actually lived in company

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² This extension of personal experience to include community memory (Delgado Bernal, 1998b) is further discussed in future pages related to methods.
housing (Moon, 1980). An entry in the local history compilation *Once Upon a Desert* by Richard R. Lemus (1976) established the presence of a Mexican community in Barstow since the early 1900s. Lemus noted that families took pride in providing as many as three generations of workers to the Santa Fe railroad, and included in his entry the histories of four men who arrived in Barstow between 1911 and 1921 and worked for the Santa Fe railroad for many years. Keeling (1976) stated that around 1927, “sixty percent of the population of Barstow was Mexican, about thirty percent Anglo-Saxon, plus several Chinese and a few black families” (p. 66). These labor-centered accounts allude at times to the related issue of education, but the overt admission that one elementary school was formed specifically to segregate Mexican children is missing.

My father, however, found an important piece to this formally unrecorded story. At the end of June 2011, “Papa” and I took a drive to Barstow to do research together at the Barstow Branch Library. He looked through a folder of Xerox copies of “Century Notes,” a retrospective of Barstow history published in the local newspaper *The Desert Dispatch*. My dad was the one who read through the March 10, 1986 article titled “Barstow’s Schools Changed With Times” that made the following mention of Clark Street School:

Another elementary school called the Clark Street School was moved from the Waterman School in 1936. It is believed the school, located on Seventh and Clark streets, opened in September 1940. It included kindergarten, first and second grades. The kindergarten class was taught by Ruth (Crealy) Thomson, and first and second by Alberta Osborne. Class sizes ranged from 28 to 30 children. The older children went to Waterman school.

...Another well-known teacher, Clara McKinney, came to Barstow in 1943, planning to stay for just one year. She substituted for Mrs. Thomson and other teachers during that year at Waterman and Clark Street schools.

Mrs. McKinney used Spanish songs translated into English to teach the children to read and speak English. The students were not allowed to speak Spanish on the school grounds.

While the authors of that article did not typify Clark Street as a “Mexican school,” my previous sources had repeatedly taught me that it was. My father and his older siblings, heretofore
collectively referred to as the Mares family, attended Clark Street in early 1940s. They hold knowledge critical to understanding what segregated schooling looked and felt like in Barstow.

**A case for two schools.** Both Junipero Serra School in Pasadena and Clark Street School in Barstow intentionally segregated elementary students of Mexican descent in the early 20\(^{th}\) century, thereby joining the growing list of campuses created in Southern California communities with significant Mexican populations (González, 1994). Research on both historical sites is needed in order to gain a more complete picture of how local school districts designed education for Chicana/o students. More importantly, though, my research underscores the importance of learning about and valuing the experiences of Chicana/o students in local schools and communities over time. Robert K. Yin (2006) wrote that the strength of a case study method lies in “its ability to examine, in-depth, a ‘case’ within its ‘real-life’ context” (p. 111). Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools are compelling sites for case studies that center the experiences of students of Mexican descent within their homes, neighborhoods, and segregated schools in two communities. One might be tempted to rationalize the choice of these sites solely based on their shared characteristics as cities connected by the historic highway Route 66, with a significant Mexican-descent population who experienced labor as well as educational segregation. Kathryn M. Borman, Christopher Clarke, Bridget Cotner, and Reginald Lee (2006) wrote that such rationalization is not always necessary when pursuing what Robert Stake (2000) called a “collective case study”:

...[I]ndividual cases in the collection may or may not be known in advance to manifest some common characteristic. They are chosen because it is believed that understanding them will lead to more comprehensive knowledge and, perhaps, better theorizing about a still larger collection of cases (Stake, 2000, p. 437, as cited in Borman et al., 2006, p. 125).

Indeed, I pursued this work on the students of Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools because I knew firsthand how widely unknown their histories have been. Furthermore, valuing and learning more about the experiences of students in these particular Pasadena and Barstow
schools allowed for further theorizing about the experiences of youth in other segregated Mexican schools that were spread in local districts throughout the Southwest. The cultural intuition (Delgado Bernal, 1998b) that I have nurtured as a descendant of Junipero Serra School and Clark Street School students, and as a developing scholar, gave me added insight into this research design, process, and analysis. This insight was critical to the knowledge production that is a result of learning and writing the histories of Junipero Serra School and Clark Street School students into what we might call historical counterstories.

**Conceptualizing Historical Counterstories**

John L. Rury (2006) distinguished historians as researchers who “use documents and other artifacts to develop explanations and generate coherent interpretations” (p. 323). The importance and necessity of interpretation of evidence is central to Rury’s concept of historical research in education. It is also central to the deployment of cultural intuition (see Delgado Bernal, 1998b) and critical race theory (CRT) when researching Chicana/o educational history. I have conducted a thorough cross-examination of primary and secondary sources with my unique source of cultural intuition in order to construct a more accurate narrative of the histories of students from Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools. The resultant narratives can also be conceptualized as “historical counterstories,” and its related methodology as “historical counterstorytelling.”

Historical counterstorytelling as methodology bridges tools available through CRT and educational history. Critical race theory offers counterstorytelling as a methodological tool that can disrupt traditional narratives that “omit and distort the realities of oppressed communities” (Yosso, 2006, p. 10). Counterstories are narratives written from a “bottom-up” rather than a “top-down” perspective; that is, they offer a “critical reflection on the lived experiences and histories of People of Color” (ibid) by placing those lived experiences and histories at the center of the analysis. Racism, its institutionalization, and its pernicious effects are not disputed. They are assumed and analyzed. Daniel G. Solórzano and Tara Yosso (2002) outlined three key
foundations on which counterstories are based: data gathered during the research process, existing literature on the topic; and the personal and professional experiences of the researcher her/himself. The process of writing counterstories aligns nicely with what Rury (2006) outlined as the process of writing educational history. He identified three components on which educational history is based: primary documents and sources; secondary sources; and the researcher's own interpretation. Rury furthermore stated that those who write history strive for a sufficient explanation based on the data rather than “one truth”. The interpretation of the researcher is therefore key, which is why cultural intuition is one more element – along with the principles of counterstorytelling and those offered by Rury – that constitutes historical counterstorytelling.

I actively chose to employ my cultural intuition when thinking, researching, and writing about the history of students who attended Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools. It shaped both how I read and analyzed primary and secondary documents, and, most importantly, what I identified as legitimate primary and secondary sources. I did the latter in the spirit of Robin D.G. Kelley (1996), who wrote his history of Black working class resistance by “dig[ging] a little deeper”, and to acknowledge the truth in Yosso’s (2006) statement that “[t]he legacy of racism and White privilege determine whose stories are recounted as historical and whose experiences are dismissed as merely anecdotal” (p. 9). This section of my chapter has introduced historical counterstorytelling as a concept that can illuminate the ways that past experiences of Junipero Serra and Clark Street school students inform the present of Chicana/o students in Pasadena and Barstow. In the following sections, I further describe how my choice of methods guided the data collection and analysis that led to the co-creation of historical counterstories by identifying often-submerged evidence that can construct local Chicana/o educational history.

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3 I pause here to note what “existing literature” means in a critical race context. Whereas majoritarian narratives are kept alive by scholarship that perpetually cites the same canon in a given field (see Delgado, 1982, 1992), counterstories draw from a transdisciplinary literature base. My particular approach to the literature has included a concerted effort to tap into the wealth of scholarship offered by my predecessors in Ethnic Studies and other critical intellectual disciplines.
Methods

Researching and writing the historical counterstories of segregated elementary students of Mexican descent in Pasadena and Barstow required instruments and methods distinct from traditional social science protocols that have continuously failed to capture the lives of People of Color (Malagon et. al, 2009). It demanded expanding the definition of historical importance to include voices and materials that may never be found in any pre-existing, institutional archive. I begin my discussion of methods with a reminder of my research questions:

1. In what social and economic context did children of Mexican descent attend elementary school in the early 20th century in Pasadena (1914-1932) and Barstow (1939-1950), California?
2. How did local print media and school district literature in Pasadena and Barstow frame students of Mexican descent prior to and during the operation of segregated schools?
3. How did children and families of Mexican descent in Pasadena and Barstow mitigate and resist local deficit frameworks that reinforced their educational segregation?

I now proceed to share the specific methods that led me to the most textured answers to these inquiries. I drew from the qualitative case study, oral history approach, and institutional archives as well as personal collections in order to collect and analyze the data that constitute the historical counterstories of the Chicana/o students of Pasadena and Barstow.

Case study. Elements of the case study method were particularly useful for theorizing about Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools. In his working definition, J. Clyde Mitchell (2000) wrote that a case study is a “detailed examination of an event (or series of related events) which the analyst believes exhibits (or exhibit) the operation of some identified theoretical principle” (p. 170). He further stated that among the different types of case studies is the heuristic case study, which is “deliberately chosen in order to develop theory” (Mitchell, 2000, p. 173). Mitchell (2000) cited an especially central claim by Eckstein (1975) that the heuristic case study is deliberately used to stimulate the imagination towards discerning important general problems and possible theoretical solutions...Such studies...tie directly into theory building and
therefore are less concerned with overall concrete configurations than with potentially generalizable relations between aspects of them; they also tie into theory building less passively and fortuitously...because the potentially generalizable relations do not just turn up but are deliberately sought out (Eckstein, 1975, p. 104, as cited in Mitchell, 2000, p. 173).

For the purposes of this dissertation, I offer Pasadena and Barstow generally and Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools specifically as case studies that allow us to build theory about how the intricacies of educational segregation operate in a local context. Each case study on its own has an opening and closing date for the Mexican school being studied. In Pasadena, Junipero Serra School operated from 1914 to 1932. In Barstow, Clark Street School started in 1939 and was in operation until 1950. While these time periods are helpful for delineating the scope of my research, that each city has its own beginning and end to Mexican schools does not necessarily mean that there has been an end to Chicana/o educational segregation in Pasadena and Barstow. In fact, treating Pasadena and Barstow as case studies allows for theorizing about how this historical past can still be seen in contemporary conditions.4

Mitchell (2000) took great care to note that no single case in and of itself is inherently more significant than any other; what creates significance is the actual analysis that the researcher carries out. That analysis is strengthened by the familiarity a researcher has with the material, and “current theoretical formulations” that inform the analysis (Mitchell, 2000). The compatibility between these elements of case study method and my own cultural intuition (see Delgado Bernal, 1998b) are considerable. Establishing the social and economic context in which children of Mexican descent attended Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools required that I engage my own intimate knowledge of the communities of Pasadena and Barstow to build new ways of thinking about how educational segregation developed in those cities. It gave me the opportunity to establish a relationship between educational, residential, and occupational segregation in a particular locale, and perhaps more importantly, to eventually write a historical

4 Beginning when a dear friend and colleague, Antero Garcia, remarked that I took notes “like a palimpsest”, I have continued to think of my hometown of Pasadena in particular as a place that reflects its past.
counterstory that articulated how children and families structured their own lives outside of deficit frameworks.

One further direction in which I explored the case study method is by including the Mares family as a “telling case.” Corina Benavides López (2010) drew from the work of Mitchell (1984) to define a “telling case” study as one that “focuses on a singular and contained representative body or set of actors that may help illuminate socially contextualized phenomena in order to build theoretical analysis” (p. 86). Her family’s telling case, while focusing on the experiences of a single family, allowed her to “draw themes that may help identify and illuminate the educational experiences of Mexican and Chicana/o undocumented immigrant families in the U.S.” (p. 86). I position my own work as honoring the example that Benavides López has shared by engaging the experiences of my own family to construct knowledge about educational segregation in Barstow. My role as both a researcher and a member of the Mares family gave me an epistemic privilege when learning, writing, and sharing the often-times complex ways that educational segregation was mitigated by students and their families. These fruitful theoretical opportunities also afforded me accountability for making sure that this work is not abstract but rooted in the lives of those who experienced Mexican schools firsthand.

**Oral histories.** Another way of ensuring such accountability was through the use of oral histories. In her work on community cultural wealth, Yosso (2005) outlined some of the “assets already abundant” (p. 82) in Communities of Color. Included in these assets, I believe, are the long-time residents of a particular neighborhood who can share powerful oral histories. Valerie Raleigh Yow (2005) wrote that “oral history testimony is the kind of information that makes other public documents understandable” (p. 11). It is an especially necessary part of research designed to learn the perceptions and interpretations of Chicana/o students that have traditionally been ignored or erased from the written record (Delgado Bernal, 1998a). Laurie Mercier and Madeline Buckendorf (2007) added that oral histories benefit community history projects by “produc[ing] a more accurate picture of the complexity and diversity of a
community’s heritage” (p. 2). This is evident in the work Perales (2010) did in El Paso, Texas.

When conducting oral history interviews with the former residents of the ASARCO smelting company town, Perales heard mostly fond recollections of the community there in which the people lived. This initially confused her, as it seemed counter-intuitive that the residents could “like” a place that institutional archives showed was created under and infused with exploitative labor and environmental conditions. Perales eventually concluded that the varied understandings were not contradictory but complimentary. I included oral histories as testaments of what life was like growing up while attending a segregated educational setting. Given how valuable these life histories are, it is imperative that a researcher be mindful of how and for what purposes oral history is recorded and furthermore fully trained and prepared to engage in the collection of oral history (Yow, 2005). Since my four interviewees are elders in my own family, it was evermore critical to learn and record oral histories with respect and integrity. As Mercier and Buckendorf (2007) wrote, “Creating a more honest rather than just a celebratory history takes considerable awareness, tact, and preparation on the part of any interviewer” (p. 28). Including oral history sought to contribute honesty to the historical counterstories of Mexican-descent students.

Archival sources. Primary documents and sources are other components that inform the writing of these historical counterstories. In this subsection, I identify the multiple archival sources of both an institutional and non-institutional nature, all of which documented elements of Chicana/o educational history in Pasadena and Barstow. I consider institutional archives to be what are most often thought of as the “official record.” For my case studies of Mexican segregated schools in Pasadena and Barstow, the institutional archive primarily included United States Census population schedules; local school board minutes and district literature; and local print media.

Census data gave a socioeconomic snapshot of the Pasadena and Barstow neighborhoods in which segregated education took place. The population schedules were particularly useful
because they included street-level information of where a person lived; her/his place of birth and native language; the size of her/his family; her/his occupation; and, in the case of the 1930 Census, whether s/he were racially designated as “Mexican.” Knowing this information was crucial to establishing the social and economic context in which students of Mexican descent attended elementary school in Pasadena and Barstow in the early 20th century.

Pasadena Unified School District (PUSD) and Barstow Union School District (BUSD) school board minutes and other district literature, along with local print media, told the majoritarian story subscribed to by those who opened Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools. These primary sources contained the rationalizing language used by those who had the power to decide and design the education Chicana/o students in Pasadena and Barstow would experience in the early 20th century. School board minutes from Fall 1911 mark the first recorded public discussions about opening a separate school in southwest Pasadena for Mexican students (James, 2008). Thus, I reviewed PUSD board minutes and other district literature from 1911, through the opening of Junipero Serra in 1914, until its closure in 1932. My reading of Pasadena local newspaper articles, such as the Pasadena Star and Pasadena Daily News, also adhered to the 1911-1932 time frame. In Barstow, Clark Street school opened in 1939 and operated until 1950. I reviewed BUSD school board minutes from the early 1950s because those are the earliest records that exist in the district. My reading of articles from the local Barstow Printer Review, however, spanned from 1910 through 1950 to compensate for the absence of district literature.

Much can be learned from the aforementioned records that have already been formally archived in recognizable institutions such as museums and libraries. There are other archives, though, possessed by local community members that are less formal in nature but just as informative. Included in these assets, I believe, are the photographs, letters, yearbooks, awards, and official documents which individuals and families have kept throughout generations, and which serve as valuable historical record. My use of history methods reflects these beliefs and was confirmed as I engaged the primary sources that make up the Mares family archive. The
initial stages of this research process were significantly rooted in the informal conversations between my father and me that revealed where he grew up in Barstow, as well as the fact that our family members had attended a segregated elementary school. The family and school photographs provided by my dad and his sisters are visual representations of what life was like in Barstow at the time that Clark Street school was in operation. They also produced opportunities to spark memory when utilized as part of the oral history interview process.

**Engaging multiple methods and sources.** I started this section with a restatement of my research questions to show how they guided my choice of methods. I conclude it with the table below (Figure 1) that lays out how the multiple primary and secondary sources that I used drew me closer to writing the historical counterstories of segregated students in Pasadena and Barstow in the first half of the 20th century.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research Question</th>
<th>Oral History</th>
<th>Institutional archives</th>
<th>Personal collections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RQ1. In what social and economic context did children of Mexican descent attend elementary school in the early 20th century in Pasadena and Barstow, California?</td>
<td>Interview questions regarding: home and family life; descriptions of neighborhood</td>
<td>U.S. Census population schedules for Pasadena and Barstow; HOLC Area Description of South Raymond neighborhood; railroad archives</td>
<td>Family and school photographs; yearbooks; personal documents related to work or home life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RQ2. How did local print media and school district literature in Pasadena and Barstow frame students of Mexican descent prior to and during the operation of segregated schools?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>School report cards or other correspondence that may have been sent from schools to home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RQ3. How did children and families of Mexican descent in Pasadena and Barstow mitigate and resist local deficit frameworks that reinforced their educational segregation?</td>
<td>Interview questions related to: personal and family attitudes towards education; particular lessons that were taught in school; how s/he saw self as a student.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Family photographs; personal documents, letters, awards</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Analysis

Analyzing this data inevitably came down to a critical qualitative content analysis of the discourse that emerged from the archival sources and oral history interviews. The text of PUSD and BUSD school board minutes and district literature, as well as local newspaper articles, were read with the specific intent of recording when and how Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools and (their) Mexican students were discussed. This process was consistent with what Hsiu-Fang Hsieh and Sarah E. Shannon (2005) described as directed content analysis, whereby text is read with initial variables in mind and coding schemes are predetermined based on knowledge offered by prior research and existing literature.

I coded using themes that emerged from González (1990) when describing the various arguments used by educators to justify the segregation of Mexican students. He wrote that “educators favoring segregation [felt that] its general purpose was to “Americanize” the child in a controlled linguistic and cultural environment, and its specific purpose was to train Mexicans for occupations considered open to, and appropriate, for them” (González, 1990, p. 22). Additional works on Chicana/o educational history corroborated both the importance of local school segregation as a beginning point for understanding Chicana/o educational history, as well as the aforementioned reasons used to rationalize this type of irrational educational reform (Donato, 1997). As such, I first based my coding on themes of “citizenship”, “language”, and “vocation”. I additionally used an open coding scheme (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) that allowed for themes to emerge as I continued to read and learn from the data. Articles from both the Pasadena and Barstow print media about the PUSD and BUSD generally and Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools specifically helped triangulate the data gathered from the district archives. The print articles were used to both validate how I defined the discourse that arose from the school boards around the particular reforms of segregated schools, as well as provide context for the time and place in which that discourse took place.
Because my cultural intuition was in constant use throughout the data collection, it undoubtedly impacted the way that I constructed this research design analyzed my data. My association with the topic as the granddaughter of a Junipero Serra School “alumnus” and daughter of a Clark Street School “alumnus” is a bias that also colored the research process. However, rather than view my positionality as a weakness, I am certain that it represents a strength I uniquely contribute to this research (Chávez, 2008). In many ways, my analysis builds on what Maria C. Malagón, Lindsay Pérez Huber, and Verónica N. Vélez (2009) conceptualize as a critical race-grounded methodology.

Malagón et al. (2009) wrote that such a methodology “affords us the ability to draw from our cultural intuition to explore the themes that derive from our data by engaging in a reflexive research process” (p. 266). This reflexivity entailed the development of my research skills as an “insider” to help me differentiate what I “‘know’ from what [I] ‘see’” (Chávez, 2008, p. 491). The analysis of oral history interviews, particularly those that come from the Mares telling case, was a true test of this skill. Both Yoon K. Pak (2002) and Perales (2010) wrote of the tension between analyzing oral history interviews and other primary source materials using one’s own theoretical lens, and respecting the experiences and memories of those who share their stories. Engaging with my family in an effort to co-construct the history of segregated schooling in Barstow represented the most challenging and most rewarding process within the wider research journey. Chávez (2008) wrote that those of us whose research includes our own families must learn effective strategies for dealing with our own shifting insider-outsider positionality. This was certainly true in my case. I benefited from continued practice in developing an open-ended oral history interview protocol and, most importantly, continued informal conversations with my family members to share the work we were engaging in together. Demystifying this research process for my family is what I believe ultimately helped us

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5 See Chávez (2008) for a valuable, more extended discussion on the nuances that come with constantly fluctuating degrees of “insider positionality”.

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construct a richer narrative that most importantly will value and document our history in the way it deserves.

**On Constructing Historical Counterstories**

A growing body of literature has effectively used counterstorytelling to more accurately reflect what Students of Color experience in K-12, university, and graduate settings (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, 2002; Yosso, 2006). David G. García (2006) further observed that “counterstories give an account of historical events through the perspectives of socially and racially marginalized communities” (p. 112). His study on the performance group Culture Clash detailed their use of critical race theater, or the use of composite counterstorytelling in their artistic production, to share the historical displacement of a Chicana/o community in Los Angeles, California. García (2006) foreshadowed the possibility of historical counterstories when he wrote that “[c]ritical race counterstorytelling in historical scholarship refers to a method of recounting history through the perspectives of socially and racially marginalized communities” (p. 118). I believe that historical counterstories document the lived experiences of Students of Color with the dual purpose of (a) rejecting the historical misrepresentation and erasure of those students in educational policy and practice, and (b) validating the historical presence, resilience, and contributions of those students in schools and communities over time.

The previously mentioned myriad sources of oral history interviews and institutionalized and non-institutional archives form the data gathered during the research process that are one element of a counterstory (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). The second element of a counterstory, existing literature on the topic, in my research is made up of the Chicana/o educational histories and other social histories that contest race-neutral metanarratives that have obscured the raced experiences of students of Mexican descent in segregated schools. My personal experiences as the granddaughter of a student of Junipero Serra School and the daughter of a student of Clark Street School are the bedrock of my cultural intuition, which guides my construction of these counterstories. By endeavoring to write the historical counterstories of Junipero Serra and
Clark Street schools, I emphasize the need to center the lived experiences of Chicana/o students over time.

**Methodological Reflections**

I first ventured into the archives of the Pasadena Museum of History in November 2007. It was a Sunday afternoon, and the haste with which I barreled down the hallways towards the Museum’s research library door existed in stark contrast to the utter silence of the area. A frenetic current was rushing through me and propelling me forward. Inside the library, two elderly patrons sat at opposite ends of a table, reading quietly. I opened the door and entered this otherwise foreign realm, all while attempting to harness my energy for the task at hand. The search for my grandpa had begun.

Officially, an independent study course at California State University, Los Angeles led me to the Museum to research Junipero Serra School⁶. My true motivation, however, had very little to do with coursework. As the granddaughter of one of Junipero Serra School’s students, I grew up knowing that my family members attended a school that was “all Mexican,” but did not really know what that meant until much later. In November 2007, though, I was finally taking the first steps to follow through on learning more about my own family history in a city I had always loved. The Museum seemed like the perfect place to start.

It initially seemed like I led myself to a dead end. When I first explained to an archives staff member why I was there, her response bordered on something between confusion and astonishment. She had never heard of any “Mexican schools” in Pasadena. The older man and woman put down their books and asked me to repeat my inquiry. When I said once more that I was looking for information about Junipero Serra School, they, too, questioned its existence. Momentarily dumbfounded, I regained my composure and insisted that such a site had been in

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⁶ While I met many teachers and mentors at Cal State L.A. during the course of my study there in the graduate program in Mexican American Studies, I am particularly indebted to Dr. Dionne Espinoza for first exposing me to archival research and Dr. Francisco Balderrama for his guidance during the independent study mentioned.
our city because my grandfather attended it for elementary school. The three Museum regulars sprung into action. It was like they were working together to solve a mystery as they chatted amongst themselves and flipped through an assortment of books, finding aides, and catalogues. My only involvement was to repeatedly spell out “Junipero Serra” when asked. An hour later, I left the Museum with five photocopies of pictures of the school in hand. I felt vindicated that I had “taught” these seemingly knowledgeable local historians something they did not even know, but even stronger was the feeling that if I wanted to learn more about the history of my family specifically and my Chicana/o community generally in Pasadena, I would have to take up this search myself.

Four years after this initial foray into researching the local segregated schools that my loved ones attended, I had a more extended conversation with my father about Clark Street School in Barstow. We looked at his elementary school class pictures as well as various Mares family photographs that documented how and where he and his siblings were raised. Prior to talking to my dad, I had visited with his two older sisters, Cris and Betty, and interviewed them separately to learn more about what they remembered about growing up in Barstow and attending Clark Street School. My aunts were noticeably nervous while I recorded their responses. After I turned off the voice recorder, however, they engaged in an animated, loving repartee about specific facets of their childhood. They brought out a small notebook where my great grandfather had recorded the full name, date (including day of the week), time, and place of birth of himself, my great grandmother, and each of their children. This family archive deepened my appreciation for the way that individuals take ownership of collecting and recording their own history. I shared this observation during my dialogue with my father as we continued on together in this tradition.

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7 I owe a similar gratitude to Dr. David G. García for his Fall 2011 class on historical research methods because it gave me the opportunity and the encouragement to focus for a moment on learning more about the experiences of my family and Chicana/o students in Barstow.
This dissertation is situated in how the educational experiences of my family strengthen my ability as a researcher to capture what both majoritarian narratives and metanarratives of Chicana/o education history alike miss. In centering the students who attended Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools, I honor the local experiences of children of Mexican descent who may no longer be physically with us, and learn, value, and share the knowledge held by those in our community who still survive.
Chapter 4  
Growing Up and Going to School While Mexican

We lived on Fredricks Street which went east and west, and there was 6th street, and right across the street on the corner lived [another child,] David Nevin. And David once in a while would yell across the street calling us “dirty Mexicans” ‘cause we lived in “Mexican town.” And as you go back and reflect, there was a little dividing line, and David lived on the right side of the line

- Melquiades Mares, Jr., personal communication, 2011.

Both Pasadena and Barstow were segregated Southern California communities in the first half of the 20th century. With increasing Mexican-descent populations, each city maintained geographies of separation that placed Anglos in specific neighborhoods and Mexicans in others. This chapter shares the social and economic context of Mexican-American students in early Pasadena and Barstow in order to give a clearer picture of what it meant to grow up and go to school while Mexican. It begins with a brief look at the wider setting of Southern California to ground local Chicana/o communities in a larger regional and state history. I then share the particular facets of daily life lived by Mexican-heritage families in Pasadena and Barstow in the first half of the twentieth century. I conclude with a demonstration of how these lived realities reflected a social and economic distance from Anglo city residents that would ultimately be misconstrued as rationale for the creation and operation of the segregated Mexican schools, Junipero Serra School in Pasadena and Clark Street School in Barstow.

Where Heritage and Fantasy Collide

The metahistories of Chicana/o communities often include moments of considerable

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1 I use “grow up and go to school while Mexican” to echo the sentiment of “driving while Black” or “driving while Brown”. Surely, there are clear distinctions to the particular kinds of assumed criminality and danger that are part of racial profiling in the current police state. Yet I suggest that a similar sense of racial profiling occurred in covert and overt ways related to the distinct and disparate treatment experienced by youth of Mexican descent in Pasadena and Barstow on the whole.
focus on California (Acuña, 1972; Gonzalez & Fernandez, 2003; Ruiz, 1998). From 1900 to 1950, Southern California in particular was the site of key historical moments that had national reverberations in labor, politics, and education. One must first recognize these regional processes at play in order to appropriately situate the social and economic locations of Chicanas/os in Pasadena and Barstow in larger context.

The beginning of the 20th century was a period when the Mexican-heritage population in the United States grew exponentially. Fueled in part by the Mexican Revolution of 1910, nearly one tenth of Mexican citizens left their birthplaces and migrated to the United States between 1900 and 1930 (Balderrama & Rodríguez, 2006; Ruiz, 1998; Sánchez, 1993). They joined Mexican-heritage people who had either previously migrated to the U.S., or were previously living on what was then-Mexican territory until the conquest that was the U.S.-Mexican War of 1846 to 1848. Already existing Mexican neighborhoods grew in size and new communities formed in various locales throughout the Southwest. A precedent was set then that continues to this day whereby Chicana/o communities are a mixture of both “old” and “new” members, both of whom contributed to the historical legacy of California.

Many on the outside of those communities, however, had a myopic view of this phenomenon. Carey McWilliams (1948) identified a dominant narrative that romanticized the “Spanish” past of California, while maintaining present Anglo superiority. This “fantasy heritage” that McWilliams described was an ideology that celebrated caricatures of Spanish (read, Mexican) state history, while ignoring the material realities of actual Mexican people in

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2 Perhaps precisely because of this focus, scholars have also critiqued the tendency for Chicana/o history to be heavy on analyses of California and Texas, to the exclusion of other Southwestern communities. See Donato (2007) and Gómez (2007) for particularly strong studies that add to this case and give us a fuller view of Chicanas/os in Colorado and New Mexico, respectively.

3 González (1990) argued convincingly that “[r]ather than being shaped by local or regional pressures...the education of Mexican children has always been an integral part of national educational theory and practice” (p. 12). It is with this push for context in mind that I begin this section with a larger overview before going into the specifics of the local.
those locales. William Deverell (2004) built on the scholarship of McWilliams and further argued that the “fantasy heritage” notion also served to distinguish Anglo residents of Southern California communities as the architects of the future, as opposed to their supposedly primitive Mexican counterparts. So it was that in cities and towns throughout the Southwest generally and Southern California specifically, an “Anglo cultural stance...[froze] Mexicans in time and space, and [described them as] childlike, simple, quick to anger, close to nature, primitive, hard-working, lazy, superstitious, possibly criminal” (Deverell, 2004, p. 42). That deficit view supported subsequent forms of structural racism experienced by Mexican-descent people, but did not account for the resistance they displayed in the face of that racism.

Nativism was a prevalent ground for unequal treatment, as evidenced by the massive deportations of the 1930s. The economic disaster of the Great Depression made Mexicans an easy scapegoat. About one million Mexican citizens and their American-born children were deported or repatriated from the United States to Mexico during the 1930s (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006). The deportations and repatriations negatively impacted a generation of neighborhoods throughout California in particular. For example, Los Angeles lost nearly a third of its Mexican-heritage residents during this time (Sanchez, 1993). The survival of Chicana/o communities in Los Angeles and other cities testifies to their resilience.

Segregation meanwhile pervaded communities of Mexican descent throughout the Southwest in the early 1900s. Martha Menchaca (2001) argued that the repeated legislation of unfair racial laws constructed an existence for People of Color that was separate and unequal from their European descent counterparts. Communities of Mexican descent lived, worked, and attended school in segregated conditions. Restrictive covenants precluded them from living

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4 McWilliams (1948) said it best: “Harmless in many ways, these attempts to prettify the legend contrast most harshly with the actual behavior of the community toward persons of Mexican descent” (p. 47).

5 For example, the 1849 state constitution of California only endowed full citizenship to Whites; suffrage to Anglo and White Mexican males; and made “Indians, mestizos, and people of Black descent...ineligible to vote and...gradually stripped [them] of most political rights” (Menchaca, 2001, p. 220).
in predominantly White neighborhoods, and demarcated acceptable areas of residence that many times were without proper municipal services (García & Yosso, 2013). Mexicans were routinely paid less than their White counterparts for labor that fueled industries key to the development of the nation, and improved quality of life for those with more racial and economic privilege (Sánchez, 1993; Vargas, 2011). These practices and ways of life were potentially more insidious because of their *de facto* and mundane nature (García, Yosso, & Barajas, 2012). Laura Gómez (2007) convincingly maintained that people of Mexican descent in the Southwest occupied an “off-white” space where they were legally considered White, but socially deemed as racial inferiors.

In the midst of structural racism and forcible upheaval, there were also moments of Chicanas/os claiming space and resisting the second-class treatment they received. Their educational history in particular demonstrates the use of the courts to challenge unequal schooling practices and conditions (Valencia, 2008). In 1931, Roberto Alvarez legally disputed the school board decision to segregate Mexican American students in a rural San Diego County town. *Alvarez v. the Board of Trustees of the Lemon Grove School District (1931)* was the first successful school desegregation court decision in the U.S. (Alvarez Jr., 1986). The next decade brought an even more well-known case and milestone in Chicana/o schooling. Refusing to accept the segregation of their children into a school farther from their actual home simply on the basis of race, Felicitas and Gonzalo Méndez became the lead plaintiffs in a case against their Orange County school district. The *Mendez et al. v. Westminster School District of Orange County (1946)* decision challenged the *de jure* segregation of Mexican children by stating that it did not matter if separate educational facilities were apparently equal as such segregation created unequal social conditions for children (González, 1990).

The preceding overview situates the communities of Pasadena and Barstow in the regional landscape of Southern California during the first half of the 20th century. Let us now
turn to the particular social and economic contexts in which Mexican and Mexican American families lived and worked while their children attended schools that were segregated by design.

“Mexican Pasadena”

Located ten miles north of Los Angeles, the city of Pasadena has a racial history congruous with the state context. People of Color resided in what would become the city’s boundaries since its inception, yet it was the very exclusion of those people that in part fueled the incorporation of Pasadena in 1886 (James, 2008). The irony of this situation might be lost on those who do not know that the actual land that became Pasadena once belonged to a Mexican woman. Eulalia Perez de Guillen de Mariné received the 14,000 acres of Rancho San Pasqual following the secularization of San Gabriel Mission lands in 1834, and held it before ownership was transferred to Manuel Garfias, who then sold the land to Benjamin D. Wilson (Martínez, 2009). It is not entirely surprising that this piece of Pasadena history is widely unknown. Roberta H. Martínez (2009) stated that at the turn of and through the 20th century, Pasadena was undergoing major changes:

The migration of land barons, the social elite, and the Depression of 1893 led to a new social structure. What was written on paper or shared in conversation became fact to those who were to move to Pasadena and call it home. By 1910, speaking Spanish, especially as one’s dominant language, was not seen as beneficial or as a virtue (p. 33).

The history of Mexican people in Pasadena prior to the immigration of Anglos from the Midwest and East faded into the background once the latter group started to establish itself as central to the image of the city. In neighboring Los Angeles, Deverell (2004) argued that it was through “appropriating, absorbing, and occasionally obliterating the region’s connections to Mexican places and Mexican people” (p. 7) that the city came of age. We could see a similar process at work in Pasadena in the early 1900s, where Mexicans and other non-White groups lived in a

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6 I use the term “Mexican Pasadena” in a nod to the numerous archival sources that clearly identified the Mexican-heritage population by this adjective first and foremost.

7 Similarly, the erasure of Tongva community history that pre-dated Mexican settlement in Pasadena is another blind spot in dominant conceptions of the city.
context of tremendous social and economic difference from their White counterparts.

Black, Chinese, and Mexican workers in particular formed neighborhoods in specific pockets of Pasadena (Anderson, 1995), and their labor became central to making the municipality the coveted destination it is today. Pasadenans of Color experienced social and economic marginality (Anderson, 1995; James, 2008; Lofstedt, 1922) that would also manifest in the educational experiences of their children. One noteworthy exception to this repeated rule was Maria de Guadalupe Evangelina López, who graduated from Pasadena High School in 1897. She later attended the Normal School (an area teaching college), became a professor at the University of Southern California in 1902, and went on to work at the University of California, Los Angeles as a translator (Martinez, 2009). More common experiences of Mexican-descent people in Pasadena had much more to do with work and much less to do with school.

Some of the sharpest divisions could be seen in terms of where people lived. The location of agriculture on the eastside and railroads on the westside meant that there were actually two majority Mexican neighborhoods in Pasadena in the early 20th century. The first, Titleyville, was situated at the bottom of the foothills near the sprawling Hastings Ranch (Anderson, 1995), where agricultural workers picked grapes and harvested oranges (Martinez, 2009). The name Titleyville specifically referred to what was called “the Mexican colony at Lamanda Park” (“School for Mexicans – Board of Education”, 1911). Jeremiah M. Rhodes, the Superintendent of Pasadena schools in the early 1900s, turned his attention to Lamanda Park School in 1911. Dismayed that only about one-fifth of Mexican students in Titleyville were attending Lamanda Park School and concerned with state compulsory education laws, Rhodes and his colleagues on the board of education subsequently decided to open a one room Mexican school “in the mission at Titleyville...[with an] expected...enrollment of at least thirty students” in October 1911 (“School for Mexicans – Miss Maude V. Stephens”, 1911). This marked the first educational segregation of Mexican students in the Pasadena Unified School District. While there is not much detail in district archives about the design of the school in Titleyville, we do
know a bit more about the homes from which those students came. Local journalist Helen Augusta “Gussie” Packard Dubois (1912) wrote that “[t]he houses [were] neat and comfortable, [with] little yards and in most of them flowers...growing” (p. 14). One Mexican woman with whom Dubois spoke was described as being of “more than ordinary intelligence”. Titleyville was a place with a lot of children, and sanitary housing conditions – this latter point, as we will see in later chapters, is one that was an uncommon perspective on Mexican homes in early 20th century Pasadena.

The eastside Mexican neighborhood of Titleyville would later be known as Chihuahuita, “Little Chihuahua”, although the majority of its residents were from Zacatecas and other Mexican states (Anderson, 1995; Lofstedt, 1922). In fact, most Mexican women and men who were from Chihuahua settled in the southwest corner of Pasadena. The South Raymond neighborhood that they called home was bounded by the Santa Fe and Pacific Electric railroad tracks (Anderson, 1995). Nine hundred and eighty-four Mexican-descent people, or 57% of Mexican Pasadena, lived in this area (Lofstedt, 1922). It was near the famed “millionaire’s row” that ambled along Orange Grove Boulevard to the west, but with a decidedly less-residential surrounding that included gas tanks, electric power plants, laundries, and several factories. Men like Ponsiano Gonzales, Steven Moran, Florentino Pina, and Artalano Lucero lived and lodged with large families on South Broadway Street in the neighborhood and labored at odd jobs (US Census, 1910). Women like Isabella Lopez and her daughter Juana Saucedo went outside of their homes on Pico Street to work house-to-house as washerwomen (US Census, 1910). Some families whose male members worked on either the Santa Fe or Pacific Electric lived in section houses there along South Raymond. The working poor who were employed by the railroad and lived in its housing were particularly stratified in Pasadena. Multiple immigrant groups lived in the Pacific Electric Company’s camps on Broadway and California boulevards, but were further segregated even within that zone into separate tents for the Japanese, Mexican, and Greek laborers (“Missionary Work Among the Peons”, 1903). While
there were a handful of Black and working-class German immigrant families who also lived in the quarter, their Mexican neighbors overwhelmingly made up the South Raymond district.

The quality and availability of housing in this area was of serious concern in the 1920s when the gas company overtook the land where seventeen Mexican families lived. As it was, more Mexican women and men owned homes in Chihuahuita because of the lower prices, whereas the price of land in the industrial South Raymond district effectively prohibited home ownership amongst Mexicans (Lofstedt, 1922). The Pasadena Chamber of Commerce and Civic Association board of directors worried about where the dislocated families would go, given that “many of the houses that [would have been] available [for rent were] such filthy shacks that they should not [have been] tolerated” (1922 board of directors meeting, as cited in Gally, 2013). The eventual solution for this situation was the formation of a Mexican Homes Association. This for-profit group endeavored to build low-cost housing that would allow displaced Mexicans to stay living in the South Raymond district (Gally, 2013; James, 2008). This move (or lack thereof) would serve the dual purpose of (a) meeting the preference of Mexican-descent families to stay in the area where schools and social service agencies were readily available, and also (b) appeasing “the residents of Pasadena [who] would not welcome any encroachment on their resident section on the part of Mexicans” (Special Housing Committee, 1922, as cited in Gally, 2013). The resultant Broadway Court provided twenty-four homes to Mexican families that were brand new and equipped with natural gas, electricity, a kitchen, and bathroom (James, 2008). It also provided continued peace of mind to any White Pasadenans that the densest Mexican population would remain in the southwest corner of the city and not freely be allowed to spread.

This concentration was not unnoticed by upper-class White women who were inspired by Progressive ideals of social reform (Ruiz, 1998). At least three other child welfare agencies had already been established in other parts of Pasadena in the early 1900s (Slingerland, 1918). Two of them, the Children’s Training Society near the center of the city and the Pasadena Day
Nursery, were for children deemed less fortunate and who would benefit from more supportive care. The third, the National Industrial and Orphan’s School, relocated to Pasadena from Oakland in 1913 and was “an institution to care for Negro orphan children and to train Negro girls for successful domestic service” (Slingerland, 1918, p. 76). As the only local institution that specified the race of its occupants, it was also the one whose services functioned to reify a gendered and racialized division of labor in more than the “care for” but actual “training of” little Black girls. Not far from the National Industrial and Orphan’s School, the Settlement House opened in 1911 and moved around a variety of locations before moving in 1915 to its most permanent location on 864 S. Raymond Avenue (Anderson, 1995; James, 2008; Pasadena Settlement Association Newsletter, 1937). Slingerland (1918) did not include the Settlement House in his survey of child welfare agencies in California, yet the Settlement House carried out many of the same functions as other such institutions throughout the state and nation. It offered classes and activities for both Mexican adults and children alike, most of which were focused on Americanization efforts but some of which “promoted positive ethnic cultural expression, particularly in the arts” (Anderson, 1995, p. 9). Independent from though related to the Settlement House, Clara Odell was a White philanthropist who spearheaded other service-minded organizations and centers for Mexicans during the years when Junipero Serra School was in development.

Odell and her family migrated from Illinois themselves after the birth of her children (US Census, 1920). The Odells were well-off economically, as she did not have the need to pursue formal employment and her husband was an attorney. Because they lived on Meridith Street in southwest Pasadena, her children, Donald and Margaret, attended Garfield Grammar School. This particular school – located on the corner of Pasadena Avenue and California Boulevard –

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8 James (2008) wrote that the Settlement House moved from earlier locations on South Marengo Street and California Boulevard due to complaints from White residents who “resented...the location of the settlement house in their midst” (p. 155).

9 A more detailed discussion of Americanization efforts in Pasadena follows in chapters 5 and 6.
served both students who lived around “millionaire’s row” and those from the South Raymond district (Anderson, 1995). Odell thus first came into contact with Mexican children through her own daughter’s and son’s school, and dedicated much of her adult life from that point on to increasing social services for the Mexican population in Pasadena. She especially focused her efforts on the Garfield PTA, establishing a day nursery on South Raymond Avenue, and opening a maternity clinic to serve Mexican women who were otherwise routinely denied services by physicians in Pasadena (Anderson, 1995). The work of Odell in better accommodating the needs of the segregated Mexican quarter has a valid place in the history of early Pasadena.

Meanwhile, the labor done by Mexicans in Pasadena went largely unheralded in the public sphere, even though it was crucial for the literal construction of those places. Mexican workers were amongst those who “dug ditches, poured concrete, and added finishing touches, so others who could enjoy the fruit of their labors” (Martínez, 2009, p. 56). Martínez further observed that the photographic record from the building of such city landmarks as the Civic Center and national icons as the Rose Bowl is heavy on “architects, administrators, and supervisors” to the point of neglecting “the faces of those who daily toiled on civic projects” (p. 56), like Jesus “Jess” Meza and his friend, Esso (Martínez, 2009). While the Pacific Electric Magazine allowed space for the reporting of workers’ news in its various divisions, the 1928 report from the Pasadena division focused solely on Anglo employees. Of course, women like Lupe Spinosa or Marie Gomez who did “day work” in private families’ homes are even harder to find in the historical record of Pasadena, even though they contributed to the quality of life for those in the city (US Census, 1920). One setting where Mexican women worked that was supposed to provide them with a higher sense of dignity and appreciation was the Bonita Cooperative Laundry, developed by Revered Francisco Olazabal of the Mexican Methodist Church. Olazabal was quoted as saying that the laundry was “organized solely to give

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10 I would further add that where there are pictures that show workers’ faces, it is even less common to have those people identified by actual name.
employment to Mexican families who are deserving of help, and to teach them a way to earn money instead of having to rely on charitable institutions when in dire need” (1915, as cited in Anderson, 1995, p. 11).

Segregation in Pasadena spread outside of the residential and occupational spheres, and included the social as well. Asian, Black, and Mexican residents of Pasadena were only allowed to use the public swimming pool on Wednesdays (Martínez, 2009); in 1930, this separate swim day was renamed “International Day”\(^{11}\) (James, 2008). A Pasadena civic and political group called the Negro Taxpayers’ and Voters Association (NTVA) came together to challenge this edict in 1914 on the basis that it violated the Fourteenth Amendment. The response from city attorney John Munger was that the 14th Amendment guaranteed only political, not social, rights (James, 2008). This statement perfectly captured the status of Mexicans in Pasadena who experienced second-class citizenship and imposed social segregation at all turns. Another sphere in which they lived separate lives was that of church.

While Catholicism was the most popular religion amongst Pasadena Mexicans, there was a plurality of churches that Mexicans attended and whose congregations targeted them for a variety of purposes. Catholic Mexicans in the South Raymond district attended the Our Lady of Guadalupe Mission Church that they helped to build with their own donated labor (Anderson, 1995; Martínez, 2009). Parishioners there formed groups like the Union Mutualista de San José, and the religious auxiliaries La Apostolada and Las Guadalupanas (Anderson, 1995; Martínez, 2009). The efforts of the Union Mutualista de San José improved both the physical plant of the church and, as a mutual aid society, concerned themselves with the quality of life of its members (Anderson, 1995). Whether in the mutual aid society or the religious auxiliaries, Mexican parishioners had opportunities to determine their own organizational structure and activity as opposed to the ones imposed by other Pasadena philanthropists and aid societies.

\(^{11}\) One of the stories I most clearly remember my grandfather, Jess E. López, telling me was about the restrictions on the pool. He always concluded his story by sharing that he and his friends would hop the fence to swim at night, regardless of the day of the week. There was always a note of pride in his voice when he told me that (and a noticeable twinkle in his eye that may or may not have been one of mischief).
One of the first instances of evangelization efforts came in 1903 when White Congregationalists committed themselves to “driving the devil out of the Pacific Electric Company’s camps of cholos, Japs, and wild men of Borneo” (“Missionary Work Among the Peons”, 1903). Church members fluent in Japanese, Spanish, and Greek presided over one service for each corresponding camp. While 125 Mexican camp residents reportedly attended the services, “they listened intently, but took no part” (“Missionary Work Among the Peons”, 1903). This suggests that Mexicans maintained their own religious beliefs in spite of this directed outreach. Still, Protestant churches were particularly invested in addressing what they perceived as the dire needs of the Mexican community in Pasadena. In 1927, as Junipero Serra School continued to run, a conglomerate of churches, the Pasadena Settlement, the Women’s Hospital, Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA), the Parent-Teacher Association (PTA), and other social organizations formed the Pasadena Board for Community Work among Mexicans (“Churches Here Aid Mexican Board”, 1927). The Methodist church was at the center of many of these efforts. This aligned well with its establishment of the Mexican Methodist Church in 1915, a building that in many ways functioned as a settlement house itself with the provision of a gymnasium where Mexican youth could play while their mothers or older sisters took home-economics classes (Anderson, 1995).

Mexican-descent women, men, and children in Pasadena experienced a highly racialized social context where their race, class, gender, English language skill, and immigration status continuously marked them as “Others” from the White ruling class in the city. They lived in a city that was simultaneously dedicated to its emergence as a “city on the hill” (James, 2008) as well as assuaging those racial elements that did not immediately coincide with that vision. In spite of the constricted social and economic context in which Mexican Pasadenaans lived, they were more than “peons” or an underclass capable of eliciting the sympathy of the more fortunate. A few of them subscribed to Los Angeles Spanish-language newspapers such as El Heraldo de Mexico and La Prensa, but exponentially more of them read the L.A. Express and
the *Pasadena Evening Post* – most often for “news relating to Mexican people in this country and in Mexico” (Lofstedt, 1922, p. 26). While they kept updated on international affairs, Mexican-descent residents also continued the process of making homes in Pasadena. Insurance was held by 392 of the residents in the South Raymond neighborhood. They owned musical instruments like the guitar and mandolin, and fifty families also had a phonograph (Lofstedt, 1922). Sadly, we do not know nearly enough about miscellaneous aspects such as these which could give us a more complete picture of *who* Mexican women, men, and children were in Pasadena in the lead-up and operation of Junipero Serra School.

**“Mexican Barstow”**

Much of the social and economic context of “Mexican Barstow” in the early 20th century, as we will see in future pages, was interrelated with the railroad. I acknowledge the importance of that industry while also striving to detail Mexican families’ lives as exceeding the role of “labor” there. They lived in a rural desert community and had racially constructed, consistent contact with their Anglo counterparts.

Since the early 1900s, there was a Mexican community in Barstow (Lemus, 1976). At that time, the town itself was located alongside the Santa Fe headquarters in the area of the Mojave River bottom (Salisbury, 1976). Senon Ramos recounted that the 1912 local census counted 99 people of Mexican descent out of an overall population of 250 in Barstow (Lemus, 1976); they originally lived in a part informally known as “Mexican town” that was near the diesel shop (Duran, Jr., 1976). The original Barstow settlement experienced a series of five fires spread across both residences and railroad facilities that eventually culminated in the 1920s with the relocation of homes and businesses further north towards the “heights”, or what would later be Main Street (Salisbury, 1976). One of the fires, in 1905, was particularly devastating to

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12 I use the term “Mexican Barstow” in a nod to the numerous archival sources that clearly identified the Mexican-heritage population by this adjective first and foremost.

13 This point especially resonates with Mark Reisler’s argument that “Anglos generally perceived Mexicans as ‘always the laborer, never the citizen’” (Deverell, 2004, p. 158).
“Mexican town”. Fueled by high October winds, the fire spread out from one family’s residence to consume eight others. By the time it was extinguished, fifty Mexican families – more than half of the Barstow Mexican population – were left homeless (“Fire licks up Mexican homes”, 1905). The ultimate moving of the Mexican neighborhood out of the river bottom in the late 1920s and early 1930s was a community affair, with “all the people gather[ing] to move one or two homes a day to their new sites” (Duran, Jr., 1976, p. 148).

Camilo Duran was born in Jalisco, Mexico, and came to Barstow in 1904. He along with “many other persons crossed into the United States at the same time. Contractors for railroads and other industries seeking workers met the people who had just crossed” (Duran Jr., 1976, p. 147). Indeed, railroad and agribusiness representatives in particular actively recruited what was viewed as cheap, highly productive Mexican labor from either the interior of Mexico or, more commonly, from U.S. border entry points (Ruiz, 1998). Later, a significant number of Mexican-heritage families would come to Barstow from their hometown of Belen, New Mexico. A combination of a pre-Depression drought in Belen, its proximity to Route 66, and the lure of railroad jobs catalyzed this migration in the late 1920s (Cardenas, 2000).

Given its prevalence in the occupation of Barstow Mexican men in particular, the railroad figured significantly in the lives of individuals and families. In communities throughout the Southwest, Mexican railroad workers lived in company housing, shopped in the company store, and engaged in recreational past-times with the railroad as a prominent backdrop. The same was true in Barstow during the first half of the 20th century. A number of Mexican people lived in section houses. This included the families of Rafaela and Simon Aguayo; Dolores and Anceto Lara; Benita and José Lara; and Amelia and José Martinez (Kolby, 2011). They were also joined there by Japanese laborers like Musartaro Sakamota and his family (US Census, 1930a). The Holmes Supply Company maintained a company store that sold everything from flour and potatoes to spoons, coffee pots, and clothing items. Workers charged items for every part and person in their household that the Atchison, Topeka, & Santa Fe Railway were then authorized
to pay out of the worker’s wages. As a sign of how integrated the company store was with Mexican life in Barstow, one can view the receipts from 1919 in the Western American Railroad Museum that were bilingual Spanish-English.

The location of the growing desert town along historic Route 66 meant that many others traveled through Barstow as a hub along a major transportation system. This in turn fueled the growth of local businesses centered on tourism, some of which promulgated a “fantasy heritage” aura. The Beacon Tavern was one such place. Offering “the finest accommodations in Barstow”, this two-story Spanish colonial revival building was a destination point for travelers through the early and mid 20th century (Duncan, 2005). Bellhops like Frank Duran, Jr., who worked there in the 1930s, enacted this romanticized image with their uniforms. They dressed in gold-trimmed black jackets and pants, white dress shirts, and silk red sashes characteristic of Spanish caballeros that are now proudly displayed in the Route 66 Museum. Young Mexican men outfitted in Spanish garb were the physical embodiments of the fantasy heritage in Barstow.

Yet it would be too easy to say that Barstow Mexicans were only viewed as part of the 19th century past, and non-existent in the 20th century present. They organized and participated in social events that received coverage in the local press and records of community history. These activities most notably took place in the context of school, church, and athletics. Many of the functions were recreational in nature and brought together both Mexican and Anglo residents of Barstow as well.

Before the actual opening of Clark Street School, Mexican students attended Barstow’s grammar school along with their Anglo, Asian, and Black counterparts14, and continued through to junior high and high school with those same peers. In the 1920s, however, separate classes for students who “had either just come from Mexico or been raised in families that spoke only Spanish” (Kolby, 2011, p. 67) were established in the grammar school under the premise that

14 Later, in the 1940s with the recruitment of Native American workers to the area to join the Santa Fe force, there would also be a number of Native children to attend BUSD schools as well.
those students needed additional help learning English. Chapters 5 and 6 will give a more
detailed analysis of the extent to which these students’ assumed language abilities were viewed
from a deficit frame. It is worth noting now, though, that some Mexican students were
recognized as contributing to a positive image of Barstow schools on the whole. When the
aforementioned separate classes put on a performance “before Thanksgiving [1925] showing
some of their skills[, m]any members of the community besides their families attended to
support the children and the school” (Kolby, 2011, p. 67). Outside of their primary years
segregation within the Barstow grammar school (Figure 2), Mexican girls and boys like Cristina
and Raúl Mares attended integrated classrooms from third grade on and made friends with
children of other backgrounds and races (Figure 3). Extracurricular outlets also brought Anglo
and Mexican students in particular in contact with each other as seeming equals. One example

was the Harmonica Band composed of Mexican and Anglo elementary students, and led by
Louis De Avila, that even traveled to Victorville to perform at school functions (“Louis De Avila
Taken to Hospital”, 1931; “Grammar School Program”, 1932). Youth like Abie Lara were
celebrated for their athletic prowess and the entertainment it brought to Barstow residents on the whole ("Boxing Match at Grammar School", 1932). The parents of these children also moved in and out of spaces that were predominantly/all Mexican and multiracial, most notably in the spheres of church and recreation.

Figure 3. "Grade 5. Barstow School, 1936-1937. Mr. Niedermeyer." Raúl Mares, older brother of Cristina, is seated in the front row, fourth from left. (Photo courtesy of the Mares Family Collection.)

For much of the first half of the twentieth century, the Catholic church in Barstow was a central hub of activity and engagement for Mexican women, men, and children. On the same day that St. Joseph’s Catholic Church opened its doors on March 19, 1914, the first baptism\[15\] that took pace was of Eusebio Zamora, son of Francisca and Pedro Zamora (Kolby, 2011). Mexican parish members were especially active in the Catholic church following the arrival of Father Charles Kerfs in 1921. Then-head of the Los Angeles-San Diego diocese to which Barstow belonged, Bishop Cantwell, appointed the priest, who had spent three years in Mexico, to Barstow out of a desire to serve the Mexican residents (Kolby, 2011). This appointment certainly happened in a larger context where Cantwell was particularly concerned with the inroads that

\[15\] Even before St. Joseph’s was built, Catholic mass was celebrated in Barstow by visiting priests. During 1905-1909, it is worth noting that of the 15 children baptized during that time in the town, eleven were Latina/o — most probably Mexican (Kolby, 2011).
Protestant proselytization was making into historically Catholic Mexican communities (Sánchez, 1993). Whether or not they were aware of that, Catholic Mexicans in Barstow were particularly involved in St. Joseph’s during Father Kerfs’ tenure. A feast for Our Lady of Guadalupe, the patron saint of México, was celebrated each December 12th with a novena, other religious ceremonies, a supper of enchiladas and tamales, and a dance (Kolby, 2011). Mexican men did church landscaping and provided whatever general support needed for the priest’s projects (Kolby, 2011). A 9:30 a.m. mass was offered in Spanish and advertised in the Barstow Printer, the local newspaper. Additionally, from 1934 through 1937, there were church fiestas in July and October that were massive undertakings of food, skits, dancing, and performances by musicians imported from Los Angeles.

These activities and others like them continued past the time of Father Kerfs and into the service of Father Peter Ortiz. Father Ortiz was from Spain himself and parlayed his bilingualism into immediate involvement with the parish. He helped organize a party after mass in neighboring Hinkley, California and parishioners Donato Ramirez, José Lopez, and Julian Flores used their own trucks to transport children, family members, and friends to the festivities (Kolby, 2011). A disjuncture came for Mexican Catholics, though, with the appointment of Father Michael Flahive to St. Joseph’s. The reconfiguration of regional church boundaries in the 1930s placed Barstow as part of the San Diego diocese and thus under the rule of Bishop Buddy, who was not as interested in serving the Mexican population as his predecessor Cantwell had been (Kolby, 2011). Spanish language skill was thus not a priority for Bishop Buddy when assigning priests, and so monolingual English Father Flahive ended up in Barstow. The Mexican community felt a definite distance between themselves and Flahive. This was exacerbated simultaneously by the fact that there was no longer Spanish mass, a move

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10 Cantwell also led the Church’s Americanization efforts during this time. While there is no evidence in Barstow of Americanization activities taking place under the purview of St. Joseph’s, Cantwell did “organiz[e] an Immigrant Welfare Department within the Associated Catholic Charities to coordinate activities among the foreign-born population of Los Angeles” (Sánchez, 1993, p. 157).
consistent in parishes throughout Southern California that discouraged priests from speaking in Spanish or from reaching out to Mexican-descent parishioners who were being actively recruited by Spanish-speaking Protestant groups. The lack of a leader who could speak with Catholic Barstow Mexicans ironically coincided during a time when the church was actively seeking help from the people of the parish to fundraise for the construction of a new church building. In her centennial history of St. Joseph’s, Phyllis Kolby (2011) astutely summarized the position of monolingual-Spanish Catholics in Barstow:

At this time when the majority of the congregation was Mexican, many of whom were not bi-lingual, they became a hidden part of the parish. Those whose names appear in the newspaper as being involved are usually younger and American born. Yet the work was done by many people who never will be credited for building a new church, for furnishing it and taking care of it over many years (p. 199).

Mexican people in Barstow thus had a long history with the Catholic Church that ebbed and flowed with regards to the way in which the institution responded to their needs. From 1914 through 1941, there were at least 72 Mexican families amongst the parishioners of St. Joseph’s Church (Kolby, 2011). Many of these families included children who would later be sent to Clark Street School.

Though significant, church was not the only outlet for Mexican-descent people to be civically active in Barstow. There were also a number of recreational activities in general, particularly around athletics, which channeled the energy and involvement of Mexican women and men. These activities were highly gendered, where men participated in the athletic side and

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17 Sánchez (1993) further points out that another attractive feature to Protestantism, in addition to its embrace of Spanish language services, might have been its incorporation of lay people in religious leadership roles, something sorely missing from the Catholic Church. In 1937, the Alianza Hispano formed to voice the needs of the Spanish-speaking people of the larger Barstow community. Kolby (2011) noted that many Alianza members were Catholics, but some were not; the latter group worked to evangelize Catholics dissatisfied with their church.
women took the lead in the actual organization of many events. Some of the most notable activities included the celebration of Mexican patriotic events; musical performances; and the local all-Mexican softball team, the Ramblers.

The Mexican population consistently celebrated the holidays of Mexican Independence Day in September, and Cinco de Mayo in May. These celebrations were open to everyone in Barstow and advertised in the local newspaper. For example, the organizing body of the 1928 Mexican Independence Day festivities (usually called the “Patriotic Committee”) submitted the following message: “The Mexican colony of Barstow invited [sic] with courtesy to all the American people to a big dance in the Rose Inn Night of September 16th, 1928, on account of the anniversary of the independence of Mexico. Everybody Welcome. Patriotic Committee. No Charges.” (Barstow Printer advertisement, 1928). Traditional Mexican dishes were prepared and served by Mexican female parishioners, while a band of young local Mexican men played (Kolby, 2011). We know that GS Plasencia was the director of the group, Ignacio Robles was its president, and young men such as José Carvajal, Guadalupe Delgado, Francisco Duran, and Antonio Espinoza, amongst others, were band members and played at a number of other events in town (Kolby, 2011). We do not, however, know the names of all the women who helped organize and cook for these large-scale activities, though their work was integral to even making such a space possible for the community at large.

This gendered dynamic continued in another key element of the social context of Mexicans in Barstow, which was their local softball team. Francisco E. Balderrama and Richard A. Santillan (2011) wrote, “More than merely games for boy and girls, baseball contests and teams involved nearly the entire community and often had important social, political, and cultural dimensions. Along with family and religion, baseball was an institutional thread uniting the community” (p. 9). Many of the first Mexican baseball teams were organized under the

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18 Delgado Bernal (1998a) reminded us that those logistical skills and activities represent women’s leadership in ways that are often unrecognized and underappreciated.
auspices of industry in towns and cities throughout the United States. Railroad companies and steel mills were particularly popular sources of baseball squads, and company teams were found everywhere from California and Arizona to Indiana and Kansas (Balderrama & Santillan, 2011). There were also a number of teams that united Mexican players across industries in their community (Balderrama & Santillan, 2011). In Barstow, the first record of the town’s Mexican baseball team appeared in 1925, and included young area men with the last names of Hernandez, Mares, Varela, Marione, Lopez, Barjarquez, Sanchez, and Romerswere (Kolby, 2011). By 1931 a team known as the Invincibles would play against other Mexican baseball teams in the region, with many of those games taking place on the Santa Fe diamond (“San Bernardino Mexican team”, 1931). The announcing and outcome of their games were advertised in the Barstow Printer, and the rest of Barstow was also informed of fundraising efforts for the team such as holiday dances (“Mexicans to hold Halloween dance”, 1931). In the 1940s, the new iteration of the Mexican baseball team was the Ramblers (Figure 4). The men who played on those teams and the women who made their financial support possible would later be the

Figure 4. The Barstow Ramblers, ca. 1947 (Photo courtesy of the Mares Family Collection.)
parents of children who attended segregated educational spaces in Barstow. Yet even while their children experienced educational segregation, the Mexican baseball team in town represented a source of entertainment and interest for the town folk of Barstow on the whole. Those who participated on the team, furthermore, established a niche where they claimed belonging and importance in their desert community.

Lest it seem like Mexican Barstow was on an equitable plane with Anglos, I must remind the reader that discrimination and segregation were still very real facets of town. One particularly telling example of this fact involved a racial brawl that took place in a downtown bar one Tuesday evening in September 1943. As the Barstow Printer-Review reported it, “The trouble started...when a group of colored soldiers were refused service. They started a fight and tore down signs ‘White Trade Only’ [sic]. Other groups joined in and started going about town tearing down similar signs” (“One Injured in Local Race Riot”, 1943). The news article focused mostly on the fact that a military policeman from the area Marine base had been stabbed, and that after Barstow and Marine military police “subdued the riot [, the military police] patrolled the streets the balance of the night to prevent another outbreak occurring [sic]” (“One Injured in Local Race Riot”, 1943). A critical race analysis of this report insists that we identify the very literal way in which victims were blamed in this historical moment. Positioning the Black servicemen as the source of “the trouble” by “start[ing] a fight” completely detracts from the more serious issue of the fact that there were “White Trade Only” signs not just in that bar, but apparently in other Barstow commercial establishments as well. It is unknown as to whether or not the Black servicemen were residents of Barstow themselves; the fact that their names were unreported in the local newspaper suggests that they probably were not. We might thus speculate that it be especially inflammatory for Men of Color who had enlisted in the U.S. military and were most probably stationed at the Marine base near Barstow be denied service at a town bar. We might further wonder as to whether “outsiders” had to be the ones to tear down
the equivalent of “Whites Only” signs in Barstow because People of Color in Barstow had already been desensitized to them as a daily part of life. ¹⁹

Revisiting the bar fight as an illustrative moment of Barstow’s racial history also serves as an entry point into a discussion of the liminal space occupied in Barstow by People of Color associated with the U.S. military. This relationship/position most clearly played out in the residential sphere. Segregation was formally structured in the Daggett Annex, the U.S. Marine Corps Supply Center located just outside of Barstow. Guadalupe “Pita” Jaramillo, who lived there with her family while her husband worked on the base in 1944, recalled her surprise to find such a situation after moving further West.

I did not realize there was segregation [in Barstow]. Each barrack was assigned by nationality. The Blacks in one, Hispanics in another, and Anglo-Americans. We had Mexican people living in our barracks. Their language was quite different than the people from New Mexico. I thought I had left discrimination back in Texas (Walker, 2001, p. 11).

John and Paula Yslas were furthermore denied the ability to purchase a home in the new Folgesong housing division on the west side of Barstow in the late 1940s. Although the Yslas’ had approved loans, the bank denied the sale of their home as well as sales to three other Mexican families (Walker, 2001). Bank of American staff said, “We can’t sell houses there to Mexicans” because the Folgesong Division was to be “all white” (Walker, 2001). Members of two of the denied families drew on their status as military veterans to fight against this blatant discrimination. John Yslas took his case to the Veteran’s Administration, got a court order, and eventually purchased the home on Nancy Street in the Folgesong Division where he raised his family for over 50 years (Walker, 2001). Ramon Arredondo, who intended to purchase his house along with his parents by using his G.I. bill, immediately went to the Bank of America branch after hearing that the sale was denied. Part of the cusses that he vocalized to the

¹⁹ More specifically, I believe this would be an example of what Garcia, Yosso, and Barajas (2012) called “mundane racism”.

69
manager and loan officer included telling the assistant manager that Ramon “did not sit in a filthy fox hole fighting for a son-of-a-bitch like him that was going to tell him where he could buy a home” (Walker, 2001, p. 165). Before leaving the branch, Ramon vowed to call the Veterans Administration and get the local Congressman involved. The Arredondo family finalized the purchase of their home about a month after their son’s public act of resistance.

Mexicans in early 20th century Barstow thus lived in a social and economic context where their race qualified their experiences in town. They experienced residential segregation, as evidenced by the area recognition of a “Mexican section of town” (“Mexican Walks Ten Miles”, 1925). They were firmly placed in the status of laborer, most often with the Santa Fe railroad, and attended church services and played on a recreational sports team that were all Mexican. Furthermore, their gender was a mitigating factor in the roles they assumed within those spaces. Yet the women, men, and children of Mexican-descent in Barstow actively engaged in a variety of community activities and functions prior to and during the opening of Clark Street School that reflected a very different degree of social integration than experienced by their peers in Pasadena prior to and during the opening of Junipero Serra School. Let us look to some of those key distinctions now.

**Overlaps and Distinctions Between and Within Pasadena and Barstow**

In cities and towns throughout the Southwest in the early 20th century, people of Mexican descent lived and worked in segregated conditions. What is often overlooked, however, is how they lived. The Mexican-descent communities in Pasadena and Barstow experienced different degrees of contact with the White majority mutually constituted their unique social and economic contexts. Moreover, the contact that Mexicans in Pasadena and Barstow had with the White majority of those locales took place in settings that were central to the development of
those places themselves. I therefore argue that it is misleading to think of “two Passadenas”\(^{20}\) or “two Barstows” based on race, but rather as singular communities inclusive of complex experiences that centralized race.

In Pasadena, the intersection of race and class was a key determinant to social and economic conditions of Mexican women, men, and children during the development of educational segregation. Residential and occupational segregation reflected clear demarcations between a wealthy, White elite and the Mexican working poor. Mexicans and Whites in Pasadena did come into consistent contact with each other, however. The settings for that contact were often work-related, as Mexican women provided multiple domestic services to private households and Mexican men performed manual labor in larger industries (US Census 1910, 1920). Mexican labor was absolutely central to building the Pasadena that was so desirable to the White residents of the city: a place with iconic landmarks (built by Mexicans) and a high quality of life (facilitated by the service of Mexicans). As the two largest racial groups in the city, Whites and Mexicans also came into regular contact with each other via the social services that upper and middle class White women in particular were so focused on providing to Mexican families. Whether in the Settlement House, at Garfield school, or through religious service, there were multiple events throughout the first three decades of the 1900s that brought White and Mexican Passadenans into consistent contact.

There were, of course, many more instances in which the Mexican-descent community lived in a separate manner, overwhelmingly as the result of institutional structures. Children like Maria, Jesús, and José López lived in very different housing conditions than the Odell children. White residents were adamant about keeping Mexicans in particular parts of the city that did not intrude into their own neighborhoods. While they praised their peers who did charity work through the Settlement House, upper-class homeowners successfully pressured the

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\(^{20}\) Even scholarship that I have found most useful in my work on community racial history often characterized very distinct lived experiences in a specific city by alluding to the existence of a “White” and “Of Color” city (e.g. James, 2008).
zoning committee of the City Planning Commission to deny the relocation of the Settlement House to a new location that “would make West California Street the hub of a large foreign population and would depreciate property values” (“Zoners Deny Permit”, 1938). Unlike in Barstow, there were not a series of recreational or social events that took place in early Pasadena where People of Color and Whites would mingle. If anything, that was discouraged as evidenced by the segregation of the public swimming pool. Pasadena thus was a city that exemplified the argument made by Ruben Donato and Jarrod S. Hanson (2012) that the racial status of “Mexican” was one absent of many social rights. In Figure 5, I visually display my argument that Mexican people and White people did have overlapping interactions in Pasadena.

![Figure 5. Conceptual diagram of Mexicans’ and Whites’ lived experiences and interactions in early 20th century Pasadena, California.](image)

The places where these interactions took place and the related experiences should be central features to any understanding of Pasadena. Yet, that interaction was indeed limited prior to and during the operation of Junipero Serra School. As represented by the larger areas of the circles that are labeled “Mexican” and “White”, there were many more ways in which the
class differences between the two groups significantly informed their racial identities and ultimate distance from one another.

In Barstow, there were not such apparent class cleavages between White and Mexican residents. In fact, the relative proximity of the two groups with regards to class most likely facilitated the increased interactions that they had. Whether fundraising for a new Catholic church building or celebrating Mexican holidays, the Mexican community of Barstow frequently held dinners and other social gatherings that brought Whites and Mexicans into contact. The advertisement in the paper in English no less, alludes to the acceptance that Anglo counterparts had for these activities. Given the relative ease with which others might criticize the celebration of Mexican holidays as at the very least unpatriotic, it is impressive that in Barstow, such events were not only “permitted” but also became sites for multiracial engagement. I must comment, however, that there was something more than just class proximity that facilitated the overlap of “Mexican Barstow” with the town’s White residents. In some ways, Mexicans were not subject to the virulence of local racism that was experienced by other Communities of Color in early 20th century Barstow. Black, Chinese, and Japanese residents of Barstow were numerically fewer than Mexicans; potentially because of this, they were also subject to greater racial violence, be it literal or figurative. For example, besides the direct racism experienced by the servicemen who were refused service in the local bar, Black women, men, and children lived in a community that openly advertised and anticipated the arrival of a minstrel show as entertainment (“Minstrel Show Here Tuesday”, 1920). In a comparative perspective, the Mexican community did hold a higher place in the racial hierarchy relative to other residents of Color (Almaguer, 1994).

There were, however, very real ways in which Mexican women, men, and children in Barstow were socially separated from Whites. The schooling of Mexican girls and boys is a revealing example of this. The separation of Mexican students during their primary years was done even within the Barstow grammar school grounds. By the fourth grade, they were integrated back into the classrooms with White students and remained so throughout their
secondary education. Hence, students shifted between limited and unlimited contact with their White peers. The experiences of the Mares children further reveals how even within families, members can be in different social spaces at the same time. In 1937, while Cristina Mares was in the “Grades 1 and 2 Mexican” (Figure 2), her older brother, Raúl, was in the integrated fifth grade class (Figure 3). These differential degrees of contact with Whites at a given time speak to the somewhat more fluid social context that existed in Barstow compared to Pasadena. Figure 6 is a visual representation of the relative degree of overlap that Mexican and White community members experienced in Barstow. This diagram identifies that there were certainly areas where Mexican-descent people and Whites had entirely different lived experiences. Some of these included residential segregation, feelings of isolation when not served in one’s primary language by her/his religious institution, and the separation of Mexican children in what would be kindergarten through third grades.
Chicano history and culture reflects heterogeneity in community styles (Gonzalez, 1994). My argument for one racialized Pasadena and one racialized Barstow is motivated by the need, as Menchaca (1995) argued, to combat the erasure of racial history and recognize it not as anecdotal but central to the development of those very communities. While Mexicans in each community did not live an entirely separate existence from the White majority, they only overlapped so much before living parts of their lives that were distinctly different from each other. Unfortunately, it was precisely because of the perceived cultural differences between Mexican and White students in particular that necessitated the development of segregated schooling in Pasadena and Barstow. The majoritarian narratives that emerged were distinctive in each community and resulted in the conceptualizations and constructions of Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools. In the next chapter, I will show how the aforementioned differences of Mexican girls and boys were both documented and exacerbated by local mainstream literature.

\[\text{Gonzalez (1994) warned that studies should not only emphasize race but rather class in order to come to a more complete understanding of Chicano history. He also identified numerous studies of various ethnic and working-class communities that link economy, culture, and social relations (Gonzalez, 1994). I believe that this dissertation can enter into conversation with them even while emphasizing the centrality of race as an intersectional construct.}\]
Irene Enriquez came to Pasadena in 1929. She was born in 1914 in a town outside of Guadalajara, and in Mexico had attended school to the sixth grade. After arriving in her new city, she worked at Royal Laundry and Dry Cleaning, along with her older brother, Gregorio, and younger brother, Castulo (Pasadena City Directory, 1936). Irene was a beautiful woman who had light skin, big brown eyes, and light brown curly hair. She met an equally attractive young man named Jesús Eleuterio López, and by 1939 they had married and welcomed their first-born daughter, Jeanette, into the world. They lived at 60 W. Bellevue, less than a mile from where Jesús had attended Junipero Serra School.

Irene never met Ezra Gosney, but they both migrated to and eventually settled in Pasadena in the early 20th century. He was from Kentucky, and in 1914 was the vice-president of an elite private school called Polytechnic (Pasadena California City Directory, 1914; US Census, 1930b). While Irene and Jesús lived in the South Raymond district, he lived on a large, tree-lined street in North Pasadena. He did, however, maintain an office not far from South Raymond, in a location central to the city. Ezra Gosney, you see, was also the president of the Human Betterment Foundation, which forwarded a campaign for eugenic sterilization throughout the state as a “practical, humane, and necessary step to prevent race deterioration” (Human Betterment Foundation, 1938). Irene never knew that such a person – someone who had never met her but would be fundamentally opposed to her motherhood – lived in the same city as her family. He would never know that in spite of the promulgation of his racist message, a Mexican immigrant woman like Irene would eventually have two Chicana/o grandchildren attend and graduate from Polytechnic School.

I start this chapter with the contrasting stories of Irene Enriquez and Ezra Gosney to demonstrate the disconnect between People of Color’s lives and the ideology of White

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1 It is worth noting that one of those grandchildren – me – would not know until much later that the hall where I attended my middle and high school dances bore his name.
supremacy. Women and men of Color have resided and raised families in communities while racist frameworks viewed them as either genetically or culturally inferior to their White counterparts. Local print media and school district literature were key sources of the dominant discourse that accompanied those deficit frameworks. This chapter thus outlines the key features of the majoritarian story that supported the educational segregation of Mexican-descent youth in Pasadena and Barstow. It begins with an overview of majoritarian storytelling as a historically developed practice. I then share the local expressions of that discourse that evolved in Pasadena and Barstow to talk about their Mexican residents in general and school-age children in particular.

Irrational Rationales: The Majoritarian Story

The majoritarian story has been identified by critical race scholars as the historical narrative, and related contemporary discourse, that privileges Whiteness and masks this bias in the language of “colorblindness”, “neutrality”, “objectivity”, and “meritocracy”, therefore legitimizing the permanent position of those in power (Delgado, 1989; García, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Tate, 1997; Yosso, 2006). It is a fiction that has always had social and material consequences. Furthermore, it has evolved over the course of this nation’s history to legitimate the subordination of Communities of Color relative to Whites and even at times to each other.

Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (1993) described the majoritarian mindset as “the bundle of presuppositions, received wisdoms and shared cultural understandings persons in the dominant group bring to discussions of race”; these views, furthermore, are embedded with “contingency, cruelty, and [a] self-serving nature” (p. 462). It is a mindset that can be traced through the various expressions of White supremacy2 and privilege that run alongside the

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2 Tomás Almaguer (1994) cited the work of George Fredrickson in defining White supremacy as “the attitudes, ideologies, and politics associated with blatant forms of white or European dominance over ‘non-white’ populations...making invidious distinctions of a socially crucial kind that are based primarily, if not exclusively, on physical characteristics and ancestry. In its fully developed form, white supremacy
development of the United States. Kimberlé Crenshaw (1988) showed how this ideology has historically constructed People of Color as oppositional to Whites, with the former embodying distasteful characteristics (e.g. laziness, lack of intelligence, immorality, criminality) and the latter being somehow inherently industrious, intelligence, moral, and law-abiding. These racial binaries subsequently justified the enslavement of African-descent peoples, the forcible removal of Native Americans from tribal lands, and severe restrictions on Chinese and Japanese immigrants (Almaguer, 1994; Takaki, 1993). Yet, as Ian Haney López (2003) pointed out, these expressions of racism have become so embedded and normalized in U.S. institutions and dominant systems of thought, they are consistently overlooked as the “common sense” of racial difference.

Deficit thinking underpins the majoritarian story. Deficit thinking frameworks blame underperformance and school failure on the internal deficits and deficiencies of the student (Valencia, 1997a). They can be generally grouped into two categories: genetic deficit frameworks and cultural deficit frameworks. Numerous studies between 1915 and 1930 made racial comparisons of intellectual performance and found that Chicana/o students – like their Black and Native American counterparts – were genetically inferior to White students (Valencia, 1997b). A more recent and more popular body of research blames Chicana/o cultural values, especially as exhibited in Chicana/o families and parents, as the cause of low educational achievement (Yosso, 2006). Both the genetic and cultural deficit models found throughout social science research reify majoritarian stories by “privileg[ing] Whites, men, the middle and/or upper class, and heterosexuals by naming these social locations as natural or normative points of reference” (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 28). This dangerous discursive move erases structural inequalities and institutionalized racism by instead placing the focus – and blame – squarely on perceived individual failures.

means ‘color bars’, ‘racial segregation’, and the restriction of meaningful citizenship rights to a privileged group characterized by its light pigmentation” (p.19).
It is important to note that Mexican families and students in early 20th century California were situated in a majoritarian anthology of sorts; that is, multiple majoritarian stories constructed what it meant to be “Mexican” at varying points in state history. Almaguer (1994) emphasized this point when stating “California’s racial patterns...contained multiple racial histories that were unique in their own terms while also sharing elements with the racial formation process elsewhere in the United States” (p. 17). As residents of conquest, Mexicans in the United States had been positioned in both Spanish and Anglo racial hierarchies. They had a tenuous claim to whiteness based on Spanish (i.e. European) ancestry, a romance language heritage, their Christianity, and Anglo-recognizable political and economic institutions; these aspects in fact positioned them closer to Anglos than other racial groups in California at the end of the 19th century (Almaguer, 1994). However, this relative proximity should in no way be mistaken for full conferral of rights upon Mexicans. They were still markedly different from Whites by virtue of the indigenous part of their heritage; Spanish as a primary language; Catholic rather than Protestant practices; and the phenotypic distinction of a large portion of the population. Cultural deficit frameworks operated in abundance to simultaneously position Mexicans as subordinate to Whites, though not without the potential for cultural salvation through comprehensive and rigorous Americanization programs (González, 1990; Ruiz, 1998). Americanization essentially entailed “break[ing] up [Mexican] groups or settlements, ...assimilat[ing] and amalgamat[ing] these people as part of [the] American race, and...implant[ing] in their children, so far as [could] be done, the Anglo-Saxon conception of righteousness, law and order, and popular government” (Cubberley, 1909, as cited in Sánchez, 1998).

Vicki Ruiz (1998) further evoked this idea when writing on how Mexican immigrant women at the turn of the 20th century entered a U.S. society “already marked by multiple conquests, migrations, and overlapping patriarchies” (p. 4).

While it is beyond the scope of this current project, I do recommend that the reader examine Gilbert G. Gonzalez and Raul A. Fernandez’ (2003) chapter, “The ideology and practice of empire”, for a compelling argument on the relationship between Americanization programs and imperial designs. One might make an intriguing link between how the project of modernity can also be seen in the teleological progress of a Mexican immigrant away from “provinciality” and towards more American (i.e. modern) ideals.
Delgado and Stefancic (2001) wrote that a hallmark of critical race scholarship is that it “reexamines America’s historical record, replacing comforting majoritarian interpretations of events with ones that square more accurately with minorities’ experiences. It also offers evidence, sometimes suppressed, in that very record to support those new interpretations” (p. 20). I now turn to the historical record of Chicana/o education as reflected in the institutional archives of Pasadena and Barstow. Specifically, I use this chapter as a necessary pause to identify the dominant narrative that operated in local print media and district literature and its construction of Mexicans in its respective communities. The proceeding pages center Whiteness for a moment with the intent of dismantling its power in future chapters. For now, though, let us turn to early 20th century Pasadena and the majoritarian story of Mexicans in that city.

“The Hardest Class to Handle”: Framing Mexican Students and Families in Pasadena

In 1905, Superintendent James D. Graham noted the great crowding that was taking place at Garfield school (PUSD Annual Report, 1905). This continued into a time when teachers and administrators in the PUSD were placing a greater emphasis on meeting the individual needs of students, particularly those who were somehow outside of the mold of the “typical” student5 (PUSD Annual Report, 1911). With Arthur L. Hamilton as Superintendent, the PUSD spearheaded “special study rooms” charged with “providing the proper kinds of work, and enabling each individual to get the kind suited to his needs” (PUSD Annual Report, 1911). One of the first of these rooms was located at Garfield school6, where the Superintendent had previously worked as its first principal (James, 2008). When first addressing the possibility of opening a separate campus for Mexican-descent children, Hamilton characterized “[t]he

6 James (2008) recognized that there was no conclusive evidence to prove that the special study rooms at Garfield were exclusively Mexican. At the very least, the existence of these study rooms represents a willingness to experiment with educational design that was later expressed in the educational segregation of Mexican children.
Mexicans [as] the hardest class to handle” (“School for Mexicans”, 1911). He, like many of his contemporaries, believed that Mexicans presented a host of challenges to their teachers and their peers alike. These challenges were based on an apparent lack of hygiene and the supposed cultural backwardness of Mexican homes – and mothers very specifically. District officials believed that addressing them necessitated the design of a specific physical structure and curriculum for Mexican girls and boys in the South Raymond district.

Chief amongst the difficulties teachers faced with Mexican and Mexican-American students was the issue of cleanliness. Time and again, school staff felt compelled to physically wash students who came to school in what they perceived as various stages of disarray (Dubois, 1912; “Mexicans are Problems”, 1913; “School Children Starving”, 1914; “School for Mexicans”, 1911). The physical plant itself of Junipero Serra School thus included shower and bathing facilities. Another structural feature of the campus was an industrial kitchen. Students were taught to make meals such as soup (“School Children Starving”, 1914) as early as nine years old. A 1928 photograph titled “Cooking Class at Junipero Serra School” showed specifically female fourth grade students dressed in outfits reminiscent of domestic servants and tending to pots on the stoves. One young lady not yet tall enough to reach her pot stood on a small stool in order to complete her task. This accommodation was not out of the ordinary, as the size of the little girl was secondary to the primary goal of learning her vocation. Indeed, a district report identified the Junipero Serra cooking class as part of the instruction necessary “for foreign born children who will not continue their education through the high school. The foods classes there prepare the school lunch, which furnishes a practical problem in large quantity cookery” (“Report of the Committee of Pasadena Council Parents and Teachers Subject School Costs March 1932”, as cited in Martínez, 2009, p. 58). Students at Junipero Serra School were thus simultaneously trained for their future stations in life as they already filled a service worker capacity.

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7 A line in the 1920 Annual Report of the PUSD noted that “[s]pecial cookery lessons at Garfield school [had] been given to a group of thirteen Mexican girls” (p. 32). This one sentence reveals that there were
District officials viewed such curricular designs and opportunities for future training as opportunities where Mexican-descent students “would be more likely to excell [sic]...than at books” (Dubois, 1912). They had acted on this sentiment even before the opening of Junipero Serra school. The year before Junipero Serra opened, a special industrial curriculum was used on the little girls of Garfield school who reportedly did not speak a certain level of English. It had particular tracks of work according to grade: in the second grade, lessons in “elementary housewifery, with lessons in cleaning, simple cookery and laundry”; in the third grade, “lessons in cooking and sewing”; in fourth and fifth grade, a laundry class where “they learned to clean, sponge, press, and repair woolen garments, as well as to launder cotton, linen, and wool” (PUSD, 1914, p.38-39). The girls in these classes were encourage[d] to talk and write about the work they [did] in order that they may not only know the process, but...be able to express their own ideas about it and to understand clearly what [was] wanted when their teachers or others give them directions for work...[T]he degree of skill they developed...led [officials] to believe that [the girls could] with opportunity for practice along this line, derive considerable economic benefit from it – and certainly the art [would] be useful in their homes⁸ (PUSD, 1920, p. 38-39).

We might surmise that the “others” besides teachers to give the girls “directions for work” would ostensibly be their future employers. This purposeful execution of curriculum, grade-by-grade for Mexican girls in particular, was a prelude for what would be more fully taught once the new campus opened. Junipero Serra School was indeed a place where “[t]he rudiments of trade and arts [were] taught...to prepare this foreign speaking element of the city population to meet the needs of daily life” (Lofstedt, 1922, p. 38).

In particular, Junipero Serra School trained its students on the standards of American daily life. Mexicans and even Mexican Americans in Pasadena were seen as perpetually foreign students who evaded attendance at the Mexican school, yet were still trained in a way that was consistent with their peers at Junipero Serra even though they attended an integrated school.

⁸ This is a particularly illustrative example of what González (1990) uncovered as the duplicitous way in which vocational education and Americanization identified deficits in the Mexican family, and yet affirmed gendered divisions of labor within the family as central aspects of their curriculum.
and in need of directed instruction on how to “grow up as true citizens of the United States” (“Playground Given to School”, 1915). This guidance on “becoming a real little American” needed to counteract a “very real difference in ideas, manners, and habits between [Mexican] and the American children” (“Children Find Place”, 1915). Activities such as dressing up like Pilgrims and Indians strived to help Junipero Serra students assimilate to mainstream holidays and other dominant customs (“Students dressed as Pilgrims”, 1920). Visitors to the school could observe the success of these undertakings via public assemblies where students dressed in red, white, and blue, and patriotic displays like waving little flags while singing in English inside the classroom (“Children Find Place”, 1915; “Playground Given to School”, 1915). Americanization offered Mexican-descent students, regardless of where they were born, an adjustment to their proper role in American society and the possibility of improving the social problems that their parents were blamed with helping create in Pasadena (Lofstedt, 1922).

The growing Mexican-descent population in the early 20th century Southwestern states created what politicians, social theorists and the general population alike deemed “the Mexican problem”. Immigrant men and women were associated with delinquency, poor housing, low wages, illiteracy, and high rates of disease – all of which constituted what were portrayed as the social costs of Mexican immigration. In Pasadena, Mexican parents were held particularly responsible for home environments that delayed the integration of their children into American society. Civic leaders toured the three Mexican neighborhoods in the city and found substandard and unhygienic living conditions (Dubois, 1912). Moreover, “neighborhoods” were closer to “slums”; residences more aptly described as “shacks”; and “squalid, unhealthy conditions” prevailed (“School Children Starving”, 1914). Leading area White philanthropists observed that it was “from many such homes that the children [went to] school dirty, unkempt, and half fed” (“School Children Starving”, 1914). Although they were seen at fault for home lives

9 Carey McWilliams (1948) produced critical scholarship that identified how White community members constructed this notion of “the Mexican problem” as rooted in what they called “the social consequences of Mexican immigration” (p. 188).
adverse with school, Mexican parents were not without the possibility of salvation. Their provincial and traditional cultural values could be ameliorated through various social interventions. Multiple institutions in Pasadena aimed to address these cultural deficiencies, most often through educational means (Lofstedt, 1922).

The Pasadena Settlement House opened in 1911 with the purpose of providing myriad services for the social betterment of Mexican immigrants and their families (Anderson, 1995; Martinez, 2009). Its purposeful location within blocks of Junipero Serra School made it geographically central to the Mexican residents in the Southern section of Pasadena. The Settlement House offered resources that ranged from interpreting and employment assistance to playground facilities and hot showers (Anderson, 1995). The women who ran it were from the same social (that is, upper-class White) milieu as their counterparts in the Garfield Parent-Teacher Association, who further advocated for adult education courses. Mexican mothers were specifically targeted for special classes in domestic science and housekeeping. Organizers of these efforts believed that:

> [t]he good...derived from this source of education in the Mexican section cannot be overestimated and [enabled] the parents, through education, to see the faults in their housing system and the manner in which they live[d], while [instilling] in them the desire for better things. (“Mexican Parents Will Be Given Instruction in New Local School”, 1914, p. 1)

The learning of new skills and values was key to remaking Mexican immigrants into less provincial, more American citizens in Pasadena. The acquisition of this knowledge was critical to offsetting and remedying the social ills that Mexican residents were viewed as bringing to the city. Thus, it became imperative to build and support the setting that allowed this kind of instruction to take place.

Educational segregation of Mexican students was ultimately constructed as a beneficial reform that occurred in early 20th century Pasadena. Sources state that Mexican parents actually asked for segregation (Lofstedt, 1922; “School for Mexicans”, 1911). The creation and
operation of Junipero Serra School in particular was made to aid White and Mexican students alike. It benefitted White students of Garfield School, who no longer had to be held back while their classmates were taught lessons of hygiene and the English language (“Mexicans are Problems”, 1913). The opening of an actual school plant benefitted Mexican students who were originally placed in a separate, “special room” after school officials found “that they work better by themselves” (“Mexicans are Problems”, 1913). This finding was substantiated by reports that Mexican students — who previously struggled with “an indefinable but very real difference in ideas, manners and habits between [them] and the American children” — were much happier once in classes with “their own people” (“Children Find Place”, 1915). Overall, Junipero Serra School was reflective of community-wide efforts and collaboration to address “the Mexican Problem” in Pasadena (James, 2008; Lofstedt, 1922).

The Very Best in the Mojave: Framing Education in Barstow

As a much smaller town than Pasadena, Barstow was also farther from any large metropolis. The closest big city, San Bernardino, was 70 miles south through the desert and over the Cajon Pass. It might not be surprising, then, that the local newspaper, the Barstow Printer, largely focused on happenings within the area. A main source of local activity involved what is now known as the Barstow Union School District¹⁰. News about the beginning and end of the school year, student performances, and bond issues regularly made front-page news. The P.T.A. also was the subject of numerous reports, and firmly positioned as a positive channel for parental engagement with the schools; it was considered “the greatest child welfare organization in the world; founded on love, free from commercialism, umbras...the only remuneration being the joy [participants] experience from serving so great a cause” (“Business Successfully Conducted”, 1924). Beyond those who were actual members of the P.T.A., there was widespread

¹⁰ The Barstow Union School District (BUSD) was formed sometime between 1885 and 1887, and originally named the Waterman Elementary School District. The name of the district changed to the Barstow School District in 1925, and in 1940 converted into its current iteration of Barstow Union School District to reflect the incorporation of other smaller local districts (Melbo, 1961). I refer throughout this work to the BUSD as the name most inclusive of the time when Clark Street School was opened and operated.
support for the education of Barstow’s children. This local support was something that apparently took time to develop. In 1915 and without the help of compulsory attendance laws, the elementary principal regularly threatened parents with prosecution if they did not send their children to school (Percy, n.d.). By 1924, a $6,000 school bond for improvements to the elementary school passed “with not a single vote being cast against these school improvements as the Barstow people desire[d] their children to have the best” (“Barstow Voters”, 1924).

One could argue that the teachers and administrators of Barstow were also preoccupied with providing the highest quality education to their students. On several instances, Barstow was the site of regional meetings that convened educators from across the Mojave desert and San Bernardino County to discuss topics as varied as techniques for teaching reading and those for teaching health habits (“Desert Teachers”, 1931; “Successful Meeting”, 1924). Teachers engaged in professional development even during the summer months (“Teachers in Summertime”, 1939) and even went so far as to do professional development by observing best practices at the state demonstration school in Redlands, California, nearly eighty miles away (“Barstow Elementary News”, 1939). School staff did their best to provide quality education to the students in Barstow schools, while also confronting the current problems in public education. They discussed the findings of the report by the California Commission for the Study of Educational Problems (1931), which “investigated the educational, geographical, financial, and organizational problems of public education in this state” (p.11). Barstow teachers agreed with the overall presentation of needs and challenges in the schools, while also noting their constrained ability to fully address them:

It is evident to everyone that the schools are not able at this time to meet the obligation of mental, moral and physical training which is being thrown on them by the present failure of the home and church to attract and hold young people, and it is also evident that the problem has not been met satisfactorily by the armchair theories of educational leaders who have introduced plan after plan to be tried and discarded by our schools (“Local Opinions”, 1931).
This response positioned the school staff as dedicated but limited in their potential impact. Teachers and administrators furthermore identified limits in their students, too. In the same response, they stressed the problem of “making laws on the basis of chronological age which keep people in school up to the age of 16, when some of them reach the limit of their native ability at the chronological age of 10 or 12” (“Local Opinions”, 1931). As such, education was an important local endeavor, though students were viewed as having an inherent, fixed academic potential.

Though not within the schools themselves, the editorial staff of the local newspaper also had strong opinions about the importance of education in the community. The editor of The Barstow Printer saw Barstow as developing into a central desert metropolis, with its public schools at the forefront. "There is no reason," Wilson, [the Printer’s editor], wrote, ‘why Barstow should not become the educational center of the Desert Empire and thereby attract the highest type of citizenship’” (Percy, n.d., p. 13). It may be for this same reason that the paper criticized what it saw as affronts to this progress in the lackadaisical attitude some students brought to school. Lamenting that “[t]own and city children have their education handed to them, without too much effort on their part”, one writer invoked the need for an “old spirit of resolute determination to acquire knowledge...among the young people, and in the schools of Barstow”, as there were “a large number [of students] who fail[ed] to realize their advantages, and who ma[de] little effort to get the full benefit there-from” (“Struggle for Education”, 1938).

It is unclear what exactly sparked this editorial. A growing number of students in the schools, however, might add some background to these comments. It also helps us contextualize the complex position of Mexican students in Barstow schools.

At the start of the 1924-1925 school year, the Barstow grammar school opened with its highest enrollment numbers ever, a pattern that would repeat itself in subsequent years with a climbing student population. These record numbers were even so given that there were “still a number of Mexican children who [had] not enrolled” (“Increased Attendance”, 1924). Those
students would help make up those in the “special foreign room”, although in 1924 it was not clear what grades were represented in that class. About a month later, a bit more description was provided about the people and goings-on that occupied the space:

The foreign room in which are 45 enrolled is coming along splendidly. Owing to the enthusiasm for her work Miss Longfellow is achieving splendid results. A stationary wash stand is to be placed in one of the anterooms of this bungalow in order to facilitate the instruction of cleanliness (“Grammar School Notes”, 1924).

The washbowl would be installed by December (“Teachers Institute”, 1924). By the 1930-1931 school year, the grammar school would no longer have a “special foreign room”, but Mrs. Benham would be the teacher for “[t]he First and Second grade, Mexican” (“Desert Teachers”, 1931). The identification of the early primary grades as years of demarcation for Mexican from White students would be a pattern to continue through the development of Clark Street School. The actual configuration of grades would be experimented with before reaching the Kindergarten through Second Grade set-up of Clark Street. During the 1931-1932 school year, two new teachers would take charge of the instruction of Mexican students at Barstow grammar school. Miss Collins taught the “Mexican first grade”, and Miss Galumbus “[had] charge of the second, third, and fourth Mexican grades” (“Grammar School Opens”, 1931).

As evidenced by the lack of explanation around how and why the Mexican classes were constituted, the educational experiences of Mexican students were inconsistently captured in the local print media. Of the 16 students who graduated from the grammar school in 1924, not a single carried a Spanish surname (“Grammar School Graduation – Next Wednesday”, 1924). It seems as if the only Mexican presence at the ceremony came via the class performance of a song

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11 In the same article, the number of students in each grade is specified (e.g. “The first grade, Miss Ruth Crilly teacher, has 33 pupils; Mrs. Fredericks teaching the second grade has 42; in the 3rd 33 are enrolled; 4th grade 30” and so on. This numerical roll call is concluded with the vague statement, “In the special foreign room there are 27” (“Increased Attendance”, 1924).

12 In fact, this class would put its “town project” on display during an institute of visiting high desert teachers to the Barstow grammar school (“Desert Teachers”, 1931).
titled “Juanita”13 (“Graduation Exercises – Last Night”, 1924). Later classes would indeed include Mexican students as graduates at the elementary and high school level, though they were still very much just a portion of what were recorded as predominantly Anglo classes14 (“31 receive diplomas”, 1931; “Large Class Will Graduate”, 1938; “Thrall Presents Diplomas”, 1938). Salvador Lopez was one exception, as he was one of only two members in his high school class, Anglo or otherwise, whose scholastic record automatically qualified him for membership in the prestigious California Scholarship Federation (“High School Students”, 1931). His experience was, however, not the rule.

The idea of exceptionalism also undercut the local narrative of immigration. Barstow was to be a place for not just those with “mere physical ability to work, but mental and moral attainments making them desirable as parts of our body politic and our social organism” (“Immigration Problem”, 1924). One has to wonder whether the Mexican families who had made Barstow home were seen as moving towards this goal of “high class immigrants” or, more likely, as far from that standard. The answer might help explain why the reverse migration of some Mexican-descent women and men in the early 1930s was treated not as a loss to their community, but only as an extraordinary piece of news in terms of the sheer number who were leaving the U.S. (“Great Migration”, 1931). Felix Velasquez was one such person who left Barstow during this time. He and his wife had lived there since 1913, but decided to sell their livestock and land in June 1931 and move to Mexico (“Going Back”, 1931). The matter-of-fact tone of the article – along with the insinuative title, “Going Back to Mexico” – sheds light on the temporary rather than central place that Mexicans seemed to hold in Barstow.

13 Similarly, the 1924 high school graduating class did not have any student with a Spanish surname, but did include the performance of a song “La Paloma and La Golondrina” by a Miss Esther Ireland.

14 A particularly troubling aspect of this phenomenon is the close to double-digit number of Mexican students who participated in eighth grade graduation exercises, compared to the handful at best that graduated from the high school during this time. This is a telling portent of what critical race scholars call leaks in the Chicana/o educational pipeline.
It is unclear what place other People of Color occupied in the local community, beyond the fact that they were marginalized in dominant discourse. A reflection on the early days of Barstow included a recollection of a Chinese laundry where “Old Washie lived” (“Barstow Quarter-Century Ago”, 1938). Beyond that derogatory moniker, there was no other mention of Asian residents in the town though they certainly lived there and some of their children were in the foreign classes that were the earlier incarnations of segregated schooling. African-Americans were largely absent from local print media as well, with only an occasional news piece identifying “a Negro” as some tangential character in the report. I would be remiss if I did not mention, however, the press that was given to the county chapter of the Ku Klux Klan when they held talks in Barstow during the Fall of 1924 (“Ku Klux Klan Meeting”, 1924; “Ku Klux Klan Talk”, 1924). It is especially worth noting that these lectures were well-attended; that the Barstow chapter of the KKK counted 50 members; and, equally as chilling, the grammar school auditorium was the site for these spectacles. This is an important element in the educational history in Barstow, beyond just a seemingly benign emphasis on “good schooling” for all.

For some, “good” meant “apart”. A 1919 night school class organized at Barstow Union High School intended “to educate and make good American citizens of [the] foreign born population” (“Barstow Organize Night School”, 1919). The course involved “thirty or forty Mexicans...busily engaged in gaining an insight into civics...and other subjects, including topics bearing on sanitation and better conditions of living, and all with the purpose of making them better fitted to be good American citizens” (“Barstow Organize Night School”, 1919). This was front-page news. Just a little over two decades later, tucked on the eighth page of that day’s edition, the Barstow Printer-Review ran an innocuously titled story “Three Classrooms to Be Constructed” (1939). In general language, the story reported that these new classrooms would be for students in the primary grades and were previously school buildings that had been relocated to the district property near the Southern California Water company. The buildings were to be “completely modernized, including stucco outside and plaster inside” (“Three
Classrooms”, 1939). Not only would they provide a relief for the already-crowded new elementary school on Second Street, but the three buildings would “serve primarily children living in the eastern part of Barstow” (“Three Classrooms”, 1939). Subsequent articles would relay that the revamped bungalows at Seventh and Clark Street had been converted into two classroom buildings, a shower room, and supply building (“School Buildings Nearing Completion”, 1939), and that Ruth Thomson would teach the first and second grades and Jeanette Woffard the second and third grades there (“Back to School”, 1939). In a very unsurprising and common-sense way, Clark Street School was opened.

**Calling Out the Majoritarian Story**

In one of the counterstories that makes up “the Rodrigo chronicles”, our protagonist, Rodrigo Crenshaw, mused the following:

> There is the majoritarian story or tale. White folks tell stories, too. But they don’t seem like stories at all, just the truth. So when one of them tells a story...few consider that a story or ask whether it is authentic, typical, or true...White tales like these seem unimpeachable – when one of us tells a counterstory, the counterstory comes under attack, not the original story itself (Delgado, 1994, p. 553).

In the communities of Pasadena and Barstow, majoritarian stories operated to construct Mexican families and their school-age children as subordinate residents in the community. They assumed that Americanization was an objective, necessary goal for Mexican women, men, and children. This belief totally neglected the fact that the ideals of Americanization upheld a very particular “version of American culture which Anglo American migrants to California brought with them from points east” (Sánchez, 1993, p. 88). Identifying Americanization as a specific versus universal cultural norm disrupts its currency as a dominant ideology.

In Barstow, the local print media forwarded a typical narrative of support for education overall, though racial codes subtly emerge after more careful examination. The majoritarian story in Pasadena was much more blatant in its deployment of cultural deficit frames to describe Mexicans generally, and Mexican mothers in particular. In her scholarship on the intersections
of race and public health in Los Angeles, Natalia Molina (2006) identified the position of Mexican women as “socially peripheral [but] ‘symbolically central’, because unless they could be won over, Mexicans as a group would continue to threaten” (p. 10) the positive view officials wanted to portray of the city. Mexican mothers were particularly targeted by social welfare agencies in communities throughout the United States because it was believed that they held central roles in transmitting their newly American ideals to the rest of their families (Gonzalez, 1990; Ruiz, 1998; Sánchez, 1993). Doing so was a perceived necessity in light of the widespread belief that “Mexicans...had ‘little or no knowledge of sanitation and tend[ed] to bad housing, over-crowding, and conceal[ed] contagious diseases’” (Pomeroy, 1916, as cited in Molina, 2006, p. 99). These cultural deficit frames deployed hygiene as an excuse for the segregation of children and purported rehabilitation of mothers who were well intentioned but educationally detrimental to their offspring.

Furthermore, in the case of Pasadena we need to interrogate who created the dominant discourse of Mexicans in the city. People lived in Pasadena who held instrumental roles in framing Mexican populations not just in that city, but in the region and sometimes even the state. These included Dr. James Harvey McBride, the one-time chairman of the California Commission of Immigration who was “active in framing the immigration laws of the state”; member of the PUSD board of education; and force behind the creation of Mexican model homes (“Pasadena Humanist Succumbs”, 1928). Anna Christine Lofstedt, the author of the influential 1922 master’s thesis on the Mexican population in Pasadena, went on to become the principal of Junipero Serra School. She completed graduate work as a student of Emory Bogardus, the University of Southern California professor who sent out a legion of students to “lead the efforts to provide intellectual justification for Americanization for...decades in Los Angeles.”

15 The image of substandard and diseased Mexican homes would continue in Pasadena when the Home Owner’s Loan Corporation released its 1939 descriptions of the neighborhoods near South Raymond where the majority of Mexicans lived in Pasadena. It was noted that the “higher grade areas to the west [were] protected from subversive races by deed restrictions”, but the presence of “Negroes, Mexicans and Japanese” was linked to the status of the area as “thoroughly blighted and [appropriate for] a slum clearance project” (HOLC, 1939).
Angeles” (Sánchez, 1993, p. 97). The Mexican community in Pasadena generally and the students of Junipero Serra school specifically were viewed through deficit frames that were mutually constitutive between local and larger social theories of Mexican people. McBride and Lofstedt were in positions of power to inform the design of education for Mexicans in Pasadena schools and social welfare agencies. They themselves were also informed by their observations of those Mexican community members, who in turn could have been either (a) the basis for the discourse that they had the influence to spread, or (b) the people to most immediately receive the consequences of those deficit understandings. In writing on the educational segregation of Black students, Kimberlé Crenshaw wrote the following:

It is ... significant that not all separation resulted in inferior institutions. School segregation – although often presented as the epitome of symbolic and material subordination – did not always result in inferior education. It is not separation per se that made segregation subordinating, but the fact that it was enforced and supported by state power, and accompanied by the explicit belief in African-American inferiority (Crenshaw, 1988, p. 1377-1378).

The communities of Pasadena and Barstow demonstrated both an explicit and at times more implicit belief in some level of Mexican inferiority. This is evident in the majoritariam stories of each place. The point of my work, however, is not to focus on the deficit frames that existed in these communities (and many others like them) to justify the educational segregation of Mexican students. Rather, this dissertation is driven by a desire to document the historical counterstory of Mexican-descent communities in Pasadena and Barstow and their maneuvers to mitigate and resist such deficit frameworks. It is to this central motivation that we now turn.
Chapter 6
Chicana/o Historical Counterstories in Pasadena and Barstow

Decades after Jesús Eleuterio López and his siblings attended Junipero Serra School, his youngest daughter, Lorraine, was an academically gifted student at Pasadena High School (PHS). Lorraine had weathered the loss of both her middle sister, Caroline, and her mother, Irene, by the time she started high school. She quietly steeled herself in her academic achievement. Much earlier, Irene had made this expectation clear with the purchase of a full encyclopedia set as a tangible expression of her investment in her daughter's education. As a junior in Advanced Placement History, Lorraine took the opportunity to do an extra report at the end of the school year in the hopes of raising her grade from where it hovered between a B and an A. The year was 1970. Newspaper articles about student walkouts in the Los Angeles Unified School District a few years prior had intrigued Lorraine, and so she decided to do her report on the Chicano Movement.

As part of her research, Lorraine asked her father about when he attended school in Pasadena. “It was so sad hearing about him and his experiences in school,” she remembered. “And I asked him why he never told me and he just shrugged his shoulders. It was because he didn’t want me to carry any burden with me” (personal conversation, March 18, 2009).

Lorraine checked out a stack of books from the library and wrote up her report that included a section on the educational neglect of Chicana/o students. While she had always been shy, she stood up in front of her class to present on a topic that she had researched using sources from the newspaper, the library, and her own family history. When she started telling her classmates about how the teachers mistreated the students and did not allow them to speak Spanish, her own teacher halted the report. “Lorraine, what you’re saying isn’t true,” the teacher said, visibly flustered, and then told her to sit down. Silenced in the classroom that day, Lorraine ended the year with a B in AP History. Years later, though, she stated with unwavering conviction, “And I
knew [what I was reporting] was true because I had talked to Daddy or otherwise I would have believed her”.

In the previous chapter, we saw a quote from fictional character Rodrigo Crenshaw about the automatic acceptance of majoritarian stories and the constant challenges to counternarratives. The silencing of students who speak truths other than the commonly accepted ones – as seen in the example of Lorraine López – is not an isolated practice. Even so, I also hear in Lorraine’s story an echo of the closing lines of audre lorde’s poem, “A Litany for Survival”:

and when we speak we are afraid
our words will not be heard
nor welcomed
but when we are silent
we are still afraid

So it is better to speak
remembering
we were never meant to survive

It is in the same spirit that this chapter offers the historical counterstories of Mexican-descent students and families who lived in Pasadena and Barstow during the advent of segregated Mexican schools. I begin by reaffirming the need for historical counterstories as a way of documenting the lived experiences of Chicana/o communities over time. I then share the ways that Mexican students and families mitigated and resisted deficit frameworks that supported their educational segregation in Pasadena and Barstow during the first half of the twentieth century. Part of that process includes a continued analysis of the racialized discourse that surrounded the Mexican communities in Pasadena and Barstow. Re-reading archival texts through a critical race lens and using the tools of critical discourse analysis allowed me to identify both the fallacies inherent in local deficit frames while simultaneously foregrounding the various degrees of agency expressed by Mexican women, men, and children in and around Junipero Serra and Clark Street Schools.
“All the Sordid Details”: The “Why” of Historical Counterstories

The role of counterstorytelling in critical race scholarship continues to grow. As outlined in chapter 3, we have seen the utility of autobiographical and biographical counterstories in existing scholarship (e.g. Baszile, 2008; Espino, 2012; Fernandez, 2002; Lucero, 2011; Montoya, 1994) and most consistently been moved by composite counterstories that compellingly speak to overarching experiences and themes (e.g. Ruiz, 2010; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001, 2002; Yosso, 2006). Adding historical counterstories to this emerging tradition can only deepen the richness of this methodological approach.

In identifying “counter-storytelling in at least three general forms” (p. 32), Solórzano and Yosso (2002) also left room for future iterations of counterstories. Telling stories that specifically historicize Communities of Color is also doable and the need for those specific narratives has been articulated. In other words, I recognize that I am by no means the first to call for critical race scholars to investigate and potentially take up the writing of history. Michael A. Olivas (1989) used the stories told him by his paternal grandfather as an entry point for his assessment of the applicability of Derrick Bell’s critical race storytelling. Olivas argued that the parables of Bell are powerful not just for their presentation of “literature-as-law”, but also for their potential to speak to concrete historical events:

Fiction has always held a powerful place in the human experience, and the Chronicles [by Derrick Bell] will inform racial jurisprudence and civil rights scholarship in the United States in ways not yet evident. Critical minority renderings of United States racial history, immigration practices, and labor economy can have equally compelling results, however, recounting what actually happened in all the sordid details. If Derrick Bell’s work forces us to engage these unsavory practices, he will have performed an even greater service than that already attributed to him in this forum and elsewhere. He will have caused us to examine our grandfathers’ stories and lives (Olivas, 1989, p. 440).

I draw from this conclusion in order to situate myself as someone who has listened to and learned from family stories; examined them in the context of primary and secondary sources...
from myriad institutional archives; and now has the ability as a doctoral student to use my skill as a critical race researcher to produce scholarship that is rooted in community memory. This is the process that has led me to construct historical counterstories, or those narratives that contest the majoritarian narrative while naming the people in and specifics of the communities where educational segregation took place.

“But I Remember”: The Chicana/o Historical Counterstory in Pasadena

Local print media in Pasadena and Pasadena Unified School District (PUSD) literature echoed the common rationales of the need for English language instruction and vocational training used to justify segregated schooling for Mexican-descent students. By coupling the analytical tools of critical race theory and historical method, however, I am able to construct a narrative that more richly documents the experiences of Mexican and Mexican-American students and families with Junipero Serra School. The resultant historical counterstory reveals the ways in which (a) vocational education colluded with economic interests and racial ideologies; (b) families took pride in their homes and children; and (c) students and families resisted deficit frameworks. It further historicizes the legacy of unequal structures and resistance lived by Chicana/o students in the PUSD.

Junipero Serra, as common in Mexican schools throughout the Southwest, featured curriculum geared more for Americanization and vocational training rather than academic advancement (González, 1990; James, 2008). González and Raul A. Fernandez (2003) stated that “the Mexican school seldom if ever posited social change as a goal... the Americanization of the immigrant community was expected to preserve the social relations of subordination and domination, relations that derived from the economic order” (p. 91). Richard R. Valencia (1997) added that deeply rooted beliefs in the racial and concomitant intellectual inferiority of Mexican-descent students resulted in “‘Mexican’ schools with run-down physical plants, insufficient supplies, dated textbooks and dead-end curricula” (p. 5). The design of an institution like Junipero Serra School, then, emphasized training students who had already been
identified as culturally deficient to fill the labor needs of the surrounding city. While proponents of Mexican schools might argue that young people were handed a school experience that was better suited to their needs and manual talents, the prevailing emphasis on vocational education “contributed toward the greater isolation, segregation, and socioeconomic distinctiveness of the Mexican from the Anglo communities” (González, 1990, p. 98). The tracking of Mexican-descent students in Pasadena to Junipero Serra had less to do with the intellectual growth of the young person and more to do with supporting the quality of life for White residents in Pasadena. Children who had recently immigrated to the United States with their parents were especially vulnerable to entering a purposefully truncated educational pipeline. José, María, and Jesús Eleuterio López came to Pasadena from Chihuahua, Chihuahua, México in 1922 (Figure 7). The three siblings went directly to school at Junipero Serra, and did not continue on to secondary schooling, nor were they ever encouraged to by teachers or other school staff. Yet there is at

Figure 7. José, María, Jesús Eleuterio López, and their mother, Cruz Portillo. Photo affixed to “Alien Head-Tax Receipt” from the El Paso Electric Railway Co., November 11, 1922. (Photo courtesy of López-Mares Family Collection.)
least one example of a student from similar circumstances for whom this was not the case.

Manuel Pineda also came from Chihuahua, México as a child in 1919 and attended Junipero Serra school. He recalled receiving positive reinforcement from his teachers for his professional goals:

When I was in the fifth grade, I decided to be a newspaperman...Fortunately, I had two teachers who were very interested in me as a person and they encouraged me. One was Miss Kate Abeel, and one was Miss Anne Schababerow; she taught sixth grade and Miss Abeel taught fifth grade. Both were young teachers from the East. They encouraged me and gave me a little advice about taking the proper courses; they stressed English and history and spelling, of course, grammar, and that sort of thing. So my career started then (Pineda, 1984, p. 11).

The support of teachers was a critical memory in the recollection of a man who went on to become a successful local journalist. We might never know what distinguished the experience of Pineda from his Mexican peers, but one thing we do know for certain is that he was one of a very few who left Junipero Serra on a path to professional success. He did note that he was in the first graduating class of Junipero Serra, which was constituted of six other students (Pineda, 1984). We can only wonder what happened to all the rest of the students who attended elementary school with him, as seven seems like a suspiciously small “graduating class”.

The educational manipulation of Mexican and Mexican-American youth might make it easy to enter archival research and see only examples of how local print media and school officials upheld that tracking process. Yet, I must pause briefly to share how Ruiz (1998) approached her Chicana history research project:

Using institutional records raises a series of important methodological questions. How can... related documents illuminate the experiences and attitudes of women of color? How do we sift through the bias, the self-congratulation, and the hyperbole to gain insight into women’s lives? What can these materials tell us of women’s agencies within and against larger social structures? ...Obviously, no set of institutional records can provide substantive answers, but by exploring these documents through the framework of these larger questions, we place Mexican women at the center of our study, not as victims of poverty and superstition... but as women who made choices for
themselves and for their families. (p. 35-36)

I applied this methodological reflection when reading archival documents with a critical race lens. By doing so, I was able to pull apart the majoritarian story recounted in local print media and institutional literature and forefront the Mexican-descent students and families who inserted their experiences into the record. One example of these disruptions to the deficit framework at play in Pasadena is the finding that families took pride in their homes and children.

Rather than being simply provincial people who were “dirty” and “unhygienic”, Mexican parents placed value on their living spaces and young ones. A 1914 photograph of Mexican-descent students sitting on the steps in front of Garfield Elementary showed “[t]he spectrum of wear of their clothes [ran] from crisp white to clean and worn, and shoes [ranging] from new to lacking a sole to nonexistent” (Martínez, 2009, p. 48). Various other photographs of Mexican-descent children and families show neatly dressed individuals without a spot of dirt to be found (Martínez, 2009). Some of these pictures have even been institutionally archived, as was the one of Junipero Serra School students that appeared in the 1917-1918 PUSD Annual Report (Figure 8).

![Figure 8. "Taking Care of the Teeth." Annual Report of the Pasadena City Schools, 1917-1918, p. 31.](image-url)
The image tells multiple parts of the story of Junipero Serra students. The first is, again, the deficit framework that Mexican boys and girls needed to be taught hygienic practices that were otherwise absent in the home. When they first started school that year, each girl and boy were given a toothbrush and toothpaste or powder and subsequent instruction on the proper use of such implements. C.H. Peterson, the principal of Junipero Serra during the 1917-1918 term, wrote that “The process of cleansing the teeth was closely supervised by the teachers of their respective classes, and the teeth were thoroughly inspected from time to time by the health department, - excellent results were attained” (PUSD Annual Report, 1918, p. 48). The second piece of the story is visual evidence of the neatly attired and coifed state in which Mexican students came to school at that time. This runs contrary to the contention that students came to school “filthy” and “unkempt” often enough to necessitate a shower on the facilities. Even scholarship that simultaneously critiques and reinforces the Pasadena newspaper’s view of Mexicans notes the loving care parents demonstrated for their children. Lofstedt (1922) observed that “when the conditions of the houses, the inadequate means for keeping clean, and the lack of knowledge are known, it is a marvel that the children and grown-ups appear as clean and well cared for, as they do” (p. 19). In recognizing the lack of infrastructure available to homes in the Southern section of Pasadena, Lofstedt actually emphasized the effort made by parents to take care of their offspring.

The historical counterstory of Junipero Serra School centers the importance of learning about the girls and boys who attended elementary school there, as well as their families. In that way, I see in the archives how families and students both resisted deficit frameworks. The very existence of a Mexican Parent Teacher Association and the fact that mothers attended monolingual English meetings before that (“Help for Spanish”, 1912) attested to the way parents were involved in their child’s education. They continued that involvement from the opening of Junipero Serra School, as on its first day of operation “the yard and building was crowded with the Mexicans who came to see what the white people were going to do with their children, and
the school, its equipment and teachers, were thoroughly examined” (“Mexican Parents Given Instruction”, 1914). This engagement undermines the majoritarian view of Mexican parents as unknowledgeable and unsupportive of their daughters’ and sons’ education. Students themselves also resisted deficit frameworks by identifying the detrimental treatment that took place in Junipero Serra School with regards to Spanish language use.

Trinidad De Caro was one such student at Junipero Serra. In her oral history interview with the Pasadena Heritage Foundation, De Caro reflected on the insistence at school that students speak in English only:

And so they didn’t want us to speak Spanish. I talked to my third grade teacher later and she [didn’t] remember that. She said, “No, we never told you not to speak Spanish out in the playground.” But I remember that. And she said, “We could always hear the children speaking Spanish, but we never told them not to.” Oh, but we were threatened... I just remember those scary times when I’ve had to go to the bathroom and I couldn’t ask how to go to the bathroom in English. And when I did go, because the doors were locked, I couldn’t get out I couldn’t reach. And those were the traumatic things that happened to me. That I remember. (De Caro, 1985, p. 12)

There are two important aspects of De Caro’s testimony. The first is a lasting resilience and resistance to the English-only practices in Junipero Serra School. Her reflection on her interaction with the third grade teacher demonstrates an awareness of the structure of domination that school staff upheld by punishing students for speaking Spanish. Secondly, her repeated attempts to “set the record straight” by emphasizing what she remembered and the traumatic nature of those punitive experiences is a nuanced example of student resistance to historically unequal schooling practices (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001).

The historical counterstory of Chicana/o students in Pasadena ultimately documents both a legacy of unequal structures and multiple forms of resistance in the PUSD. Some of those challenges to deficit frameworks even happened outside of school walls. Lofstedt (1922) recounted one event where the superintendent of the Settlement House, Miss Boniface, organized a performance by Mexican-descent youth for the Shakespeare Club of Pasadena at a
Tony area hotel. The young men and women wore folkloric dress, played musical instruments, and sang for the entertainment of the audience. Lofstedt wrote:

At the close of the performance, one of the guests, having made a mental comparison between the Mexicans she had seen working in the street and these who displayed their artistic sensibilities so exquisitely, came to the conclusion that the entertainers had been imported for the occasions. Addressing a fascinating "señorita", she asked, "Where do you come from?" With the dignity of one accustomed to all classes of society, the girl replied, "Lower South Raymond Avenue" (1922, p. 35).

While the institutional record does not share the young lady's name, we can safely assume from her residence in the Southern section of Pasadena and her involvement in the Settlement House, that she was a student at Junipero Serra School. We can also see that she challenged the racist nativist framing that automatically positioned her, as a young woman of Color, as non-native to the U.S. (Pérez Huber et al., 2008). By proudly identifying herself as a resident of the Mexican community in Pasadena and responding with confidence to her interrogator, this student spoke truth to power. In doing so, she challenged a deficit framework that remains in place today. She also remains an exemplar of the myriad ways and spaces in which Students of Color have claimed their agency over time.

**Beyond the Bungalows: The Chicana/o Historical Counterstory in Barstow**

One of the first Mexican students to attend Barstow schools was a boy by the name of Pedro Duran. His parents, Guadalupe and Camilo Duran, arrived to Barstow in 1904 after Camilo was recruited at the El Paso border to work for the Santa Fe Railroad as a laborer in a section gang. When it came time for Pedro to start school in 1908, Camilo was forced to get permission from school officials before his son could be admitted. He sought the help of his section foreman and road foreman on the Santa Fe. Thanks in part to their influence, Pedro Duran enrolled in the Barstow grammar school that year (Duran Jr., 1976). While there is no

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1 This choice of wording is particularly important to me, as it is reminiscent of the way that venerated Chicano educator Salvador “Sal” Castro remembered the East L.A. Blowouts. He described Chicana and Chicano students walking out of their classrooms and demonstrating in the streets in March 1968 “with their heads held high; with dignity. It was beautiful to be a Chicano that day” (Galan, Ruiz, Trevino, & Campbell, 1996).
further documentation that explains why the Duran family needed permission to send Pedro to school, this absence is unsurprising given the lack of institutional record on Mexican students’ education in the Barstow Union School District (BUSD). The BUSD vault – the official archive of the Barstow schools – only contains school board minutes beginning with the 1951-1952 school year. However, this does not erase the fact that Mexican students were segregated by design prior to and during the operation of Clark Street School. The historical counterstory of the students who attended Clark Street School is thus pieced together from myriad archival sources and told in part through the telling case of the Mares family, who were students in Barstow elementary classrooms from 1931 through 1949.

The segregation of Mexican students in Barstow occurred as early as September 1924, when there were 27 students in the “special foreign room” of the Barstow grammar school (“Grammar School Increased Attendance”, 1924). During those years, a woman from Oklahoma by the name of Ruth (Crilly) Thomson taught first grade to primarily Anglo students. She also worked with Mexican adults like Donaciano Varela, who attended evening classes to learn to read and write in English (Lemus, 1976). Those types of classes had been a part of Barstow’s education of its Mexican community members since 1919 (“Barstow Organize Night School”, 1919). In 1920, 40 students attended the Barstow night school; of that number, between 25 to 30 were born outside of the United States and thought to “no doubt appreciate America’s educational advantages” (“Town Topics – 40 pupils”, 1920). We have to ask, what specifically might Mexicans in Barstow stand to gain from the education system that made school that much more advantageous to them? A possible answer might lie in the role of Americanization in this equation.

Along with English language skills, it was also expected that students, regardless of their age, learn the ideals of American life as conceived by the Anglo population of Barstow. There was a limit, however, to how far such learning should go. A simple but telling example is found in the “Town Topics” section of the Barstow Printer on October 16, 1919 that described an
exchange between L.J. Henderson and a Barstow Mexican boy. Henderson, the local tailor, found the young man looking at the cloth samples displayed in the tailoring establishment. The ensuing encounter was described as “the greatest surprise” the tailor had ever experienced during his tenure in Barstow:

The boy, finding a piece of cloth he liked, asked Mr. Henderson how much a suit made of that cloth would cost. “I'm afraid that is a little too high priced goods for you, as it is one of my best, and a suit from that cloth will cost you $65,” said the tailor. “That is all right [sic],” said the boy and, handing L.J. the cash, told him to take his measurements. Who said that Mexicans in our midst were not becoming Americanized (“Town Topics”, 1919).

There are various meanings we can pull from this interchange at first look. To begin with, the assumption that the boy could not afford a suit of a particular quality was most likely tied to his racial position as a Mexican youth in the town. The “surprise” on the part of Henderson may thus be attributed to a perceived audacity in responding not just with the financial capability to pay but also with a command to start measuring the future owner of the suit. In the young man, we might instead see a confidence that is not necessarily a simple outgrowth of Americanization but rather a refusal to accept the less-fortunate racial and economic position automatically afforded him. This analysis is further bolstered by the fact that L.J. Henderson was not just a tailor; he was also the chairman of the committee in charge of the evening Americanization classes in Barstow (“Barstow Organize Night School”, 1919). Thus, his apparent shock at the way the unnamed Mexican youth spoke to him reveals that the desired result of Americanization, as George J. Sánchez (1993) wrote, “turned out to be little more than second-class citizenship” (p. 105).

The evolution of Clark Street School also fits a pattern of limited expectations for Mexican students in Barstow educational spaces. Certain boys and girls were seen as incapable of competing with their Anglo peers upon entrance into the elementary school, and thus in need of separate primary grade classes as specific sites for remediation. For 15 years, predominantly
Mexican students technically went to the same Barstow grammar school as their Anglo counterparts, but attended class outside of the physical school building. What started as a “special foreign room” progressed into combined grade levels located in bungalows on the Barstow grammar school site. Micaela and Melquiades Mares lived in Barstow and sent their sons to school during this time. Their eldest son, Mario, was in the same combined second and third grade class as his younger brother, Raúl in 1933. Their classmates were overwhelmingly Mexican children, with two Japanese children rounding out the “foreign” students in the grades. In their class picture, Mario sits in the front row and is one of the two boys who frame a misleading class placard (Figure 9).

Figure 9. "Barstow 2-3rd Grades 1933." This class was from the "foreign bungalow." Raúl Mares is in the second row, first boy on the left. His older brother, Mario, is seated in the first row, second from the left. (Photo courtesy of the Cris Ceccia Collection.)

The labeling of the students as “Barstow, 2-3rd Grades 1933” might only warrant a second look because of the infrequency of seeing grades mixed like that. Yet combining the scant reports
from the *Barstow Printer* about the education of “foreign” students at the Barstow grammar school with this artifact from the Mares family collection allows us to put faces and names to those students who were initially segregated into specific bungalows on school grounds. The parents of these children were also segregated in terms of where they lived and worked in Barstow, as well as in the mechanisms with which they engaged with the school. More specifically, a number of them belonged to the Mexican Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) in Barstow. The Mexican PTA may have been under the auspices of “the” PTA (or, more accurately, the “Anglo PTA”) but was a separate, racialized space associated with Barstow schools. Still, parents such as James Lara, Mr. Varella, Mrs. Chevis, and Lola Muñoz were so involved in the association’s activities as to be elected officers for the 1931-1932 school year (“Mexican PTA Elects Officers”, 1931). They were joined in the PTA meetings by an average of 200 of their Mexican community members in 1930-1931. The significance of this number cannot be emphasized enough. Recent critical scholarship has exposed a dominant narrative that continues to position Mexican and Latina/o parents as unknowledgeable and ambivalent towards their children’s education (e.g. Vélez, 2012). The families of the Barstow Mexican PTA are a lasting example of just one of the ways that parents have historically involved themselves in their students’ education. This particular organization raised funds used for the improvement of school conditions (“Mexican PTA Elects Officers”, 1931). It makes for an all-the-more damning condemnation of the BUSD’s move to segregate Mexican students into temporary structures did not even constitute a physical plant.

When Clark Street School did open at the beginning of the 1939-1940 school year, it was not identified by that name but rather as a set of remodeled bungalows that included two classrooms, a shower room, and supply area (“School Buildings Nearing Completion”, 1939). The report in the local paper that this new site was intended to serve the children of the east part

\[ \text{2 It is particularly important to remember that there are other ways that Mexican and Latina/o parents support their students outside of formal organizations. For more on the various forms of parental engagement that are not always recognized but still valid, please see, for example, Ceballo (2004), Delgado-Gaitan (1994), Villenas and Deyhle (1999), and Yosso (2005).} \]
of town is consistent with the practice in other Southwestern communities of concealing racial segregation in the discourse of “neighborhood schools” (González, 1990). East Barstow was inclusive of Williams, Fredricks, and Buena Vista Streets to the north of Route 66 and Clark Street to the south. Located on these streets were the homes of the Islas, Damian, Magaña, Varela, Arellano, Franco, Ruiz, Mares, Lara, and Gastelum families, among others (US Census, 1930a). The neighborhood served by Clark Street School was almost exclusively Mexican, where dirt streets and a lack of indoor plumbing did not diminish the place of pride that residents held for their neatly tended yards and homes (Figure 10).

There would later be, however, public acknowledgment that the new school site had a particular instructional purpose different than the main elementary campus. A speech honoring the work of the late Ruth Thomson in Barstow schools noted her tenure at Clark Street School:
[There] the Spanish-American children were taught some English so that when they entered the first grade they would have some idea of what was being said. Mrs. Thomson also involved the parents in the school activities. The school was very much like the present-day Head Start program (“Ruth Thomson Day”, 1988).

As benign as this message seemed, it still had a questionable foundation to say the least. To begin with, the attendance of Superintendent Eli Steed’s son at Clark Street was heralded as proof that the program was of benefit versus discriminatory (“Ruth Thomson Day” 1988). Yet the question is begged: if the school was designed to aid those with a need for more intense instruction in English, how would the Superintendent’s son qualify for such an educational intervention? More telling examples of the inaccuracy of this language-assistance claim emerge from the families of Clark Street students themselves. Conrado and Leopoldo Aguayo attended Clark Street School in the early 1940s, along with Ruth (“Ruthie”), Virginia (“Vickie”), and Melquiades (“Pee Wee”) Mares, Jr. These boys and girls were amongst the youngest in their respective families, with older brothers who were in their late teens by the time their little brothers and sisters attended Clark Street. Those older brothers also bore the distinction of being members of the armed services during World War II. Mario and Robert Mares joined the Navy in the early 1940s, and Jesse Aguayo served in north Africa as a member of the Army. Jesse’s letters home were printed along with other “sons of Barstow” who were in the service in the Barstow Printer-Review’s regular 1943 column, “Letters from the Boys in the Service”. One could argue that Mario, Robert, and Jesse were at the apex of American citizenry as young men who were driven to enlist during a time of war. How is it, then, that their own younger siblings would need a language and citizenship intervention in the form of Clark Street School? While a skeptic might point out that being in the military does not automatically equate with coming from a family that has integrated so-called American ideals, the Mares siblings themselves all recall being fluent in English by the time they started school. Even so, Ruthie, Pee Wee, and
Vickie Mares were amongst the first to attend Clark Street School (Figures 11, 12).

Figure 11. "Barstow School, 1st Grade 1941." While not noted on the placard, these children attended Clark Street School in 1941. Melquiades "Pee Wee" Mares, Jr. is seated in the front row, fourth from left. (Photo courtesy of the Mares Family Collection.)

Figure 12. "Barstow 1-2nd Grade 1942." While not noted on the placard, these children attended Clark Street School in 1942. Melquiades "Pee Wee" Mares, Jr. is seated in the front row, holding the placard in his lap. (Photo courtesy of Mares Family Collection.)

We can look to the Mares family as a telling case that reveals some of the ways Mexican families lived their lives in a context of educational segregation. How might have the deficit
frameworks that existed in the larger community generally and schooling bodies specifically impacted their daily lived experiences or sense of themselves as Mexican community members? What messages about growing up and living in Barstow during that time did they perceive as most important?

**The Mares family telling case**. The answers to many of these questions, for the Mares children, came back to the role of their parents, Melquiades and Micaela. Melquiades had been born in Mexico City and came to the United States in 1919 at the age of 19; Micaela was born in a ranch near Salamanca, Guanajuato, Mexico and arrived in the U.S. in 1917 at the age of 12 (US Census, 1930a). At the time of the 1930 federal census, Melquiades worked as a hostler helper for the Santa Fe railroad. Micaela had already given birth to four of their ten children, all of them boys. The eldest, Mario, was born in 1924; he was followed by Raúl in 1925, Roberto in 1927, and Hector in 1928. While she was not recorded by the census taker who visited the Mares home at the end of April 1930, Maria Cristina Mares (later known as Cris (Mares) Ceccia) had also joined the family as the first daughter of Micaela and Melquiades on April 6, 1930. The brood would later grow to include sisters Enriqueta ("Betty") (b. September 9, 1933), Ruth (b. 1934), Virginia ("Vickie") (b. 1937) and youngest brother Melquiades, Jr. ("Pee Wee") (b. December 7, 1935). The last Mares sister, Carmen, would sadly die just days after her birth, and brother Raúl would be taken from the family when he succumbed to appendicitis at the age of twelve.

Without the economic resources to afford a hospital visit, Micaela delivered all of her children with the help of a midwife at the home on Fredricks Street where the eight surviving siblings would grow up. Betty, Cris, Mel, and Vickie all characterized their childhood home as small, with their father adding rooms to the original structure to accommodate the growing family. Micaela and Melquiades had their own bedroom, and the children would sleep in a crib

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3 For the purposes of flow, the following narrative is built from the oral history interviews of Cristina (Mares) Ceccia, Enriqueta (Mares) González, Melquiades Mares, Jr., and Virginia (Mares) Genzmer.
“until [they] were 6 or 7 years old” and then “crossways” in double beds since the house was too small for anyone to have their own room. Cris noted that the Fredricks Street was a “mostly Mexican-American” neighborhood, which Pee Wee called the “barrio”:

The main street through town was Route 66, so...so south of Route 66, the first street was William Street, and that’s where the barrio started. Because in Main [Street], you had some businesses. Then behind that you had Williams, which was primarily Latino, then you had Fredricks Street, and then Buena Vista, and I think that was the last street before you ran into a little hill there. And...on one side was 6th street, and on the other side was 7th. Now there were other Latino families in other parts, but we had quite a concentration in that area.

Indeed, the 1930 census revealed that there were differences both in the neighborhoods where people lived as well as the occupation in which they worked that correlated with race. East Fredricks Street was populated entirely by families of Mexican descent who were primarily railroad laborers (US Census, 1930a). Those who did not work on the railroad, such as Jesús Ruiz and Calixto Varela, were laborers at “odd jobs” and “building” respectively. White families who lived on main thoroughfares such as Main Street also had heads of household who worked in the railroad, but in much different occupations. They held positions such as engineer, bill clerk, ticket clerk, switchman, and foreman (US Census, 1930a). Their children were also more likely to have attended secondary school as teenagers, which was much less commonly noted amongst the residents of Fredricks Street in 1930. Betty, Cris, and Mel would later take part in a Mares family trend that ran counter to the one noted in the 1930 census, as all 8 surviving siblings – in a fact that still brings pride to the family to this day – graduated from high school.

Before reaching those secondary educational achievements, though, the Mares children attended two different primary schools. They attended Clark Street School up until the second grade before attending the larger Waterman School for the remainder of elementary. Clark Street School was located on 7th Street and Clark Street, across Route 66 and within a three to four block walking distance from 608 E. Fredricks Street. In their initial descriptions of Clark Street, all three Mares siblings characterized it as segregated, with the specific accounts
including being “an all Mexican school” and “the segregated room on 7th street”. Pee Wee remembered Clark Street as having “not a single Anglo, primarily Latino…and some Native [students]”.

When the Mares children attended Clark Street, they did not notice any overt curricular moves intended to make them more “American”. The teachers at Clark Street were two Anglo women, Ruth Thomson and Alberta Osborn. Mrs. Thomson taught Cris in the bungalows before the formation of Clark Street School, and Betty, Mel, and Vickie at Clark Street. Each of them remembered her fondly as a good, caring teacher. The students learned general reading, writing and arithmetic lessons taught in English, and while speaking Spanish was not treated punitively, it simply was not considered by the students to be the language one spoke at school. When Betty attended Clark Street, the bungalow structure housed all of the classes in one large room without differentiation between grades. During his attendance a few years later, Pee Wee recalled that the classes were broken into grade levels. The Mares siblings enjoyed not only their teachers but also being around their friends at Clark Street. Cris had “gobs of friends”; Betty socialized with Lily Flores, Helen Martinez, and Nelly Islas; Pee Wee had playmates in Conrad Aguayo, Danny Mata, and one of the Renteria sons; and Vickie’s girlfriends included Mona Renteria, Ruth Islas, and Maggie Aguayo. They liked school and never had any problems there, in large part due to the influence of their father.

Melquiades, Sr. was a disciplinarian who expected proper behavior of his offspring both at home and at school. The morning routine of getting ready for school was an orderly one that involved getting dressed, washing one’s face, eating breakfast, and brushing one’s teeth. Even with ten people in a house with only one bathroom, there was never any fighting or otherwise disruption to the routine for fear of how Melquiades would react. The same expectation for proper behavior carried directly to Clark Street school and beyond. Not liking school – or by extension misbehaving or not doing well there – was not an option because education was very important to Melquiades. The high value that he placed on education was instilled in his
children from their earliest ages. A 1961 survey report of the Barstow Unified School District stated that while there was no genetic defect in the Mexican-American students who attended local schools, they might have suffered from a cultural disadvantage that did not promote educational achievement (Melbo, 1961). Melquiades, Sr. in particular seemed to oppose the validity of this claim. He embraced his Mexican culture as evidenced in his involvement in organizing local Mexican Independence Day celebrations and his insistence that his children – and even their peers! – speak “proper Spanish”. This affirmation of Mexican culture in no way impaired his children’s educational experiences, as they were unapologetically expected to do well in school.

The message of education was constantly as well as implicitly communicated, as none of the Mares children spent very much time with their father while they were growing up. Melquiades, Sr. was always at work at the Santa Fe, and it was Micaela who spent more time with their offspring. Cris, Betty, and Vickie spent time with their mother attending services at the Mexican Congregational Church just behind the family home, and Betty – who would grow up to widely be considered the best cook of the family – spent a considerable amount of time cooking with Micaela. Pee Wee spent the most time with his mother when they did household chores together like washing the dishes or taking care of the family goats and chickens. The Mares children’s favorite thing to do after walking home from Clark Street, though, was to play games with the neighborhood children in the dirt street in front of the house.

Not every local peer who they came into contact with was part of a calm childhood in Barstow. As noted at the start of chapter 4, one of the neighboring children, David Nevin, who lived on an opposite corner from the Mares family on Fredricks Street, would occasionally yell racial slurs at them. Besides this recurrence, the Mares family shopped in local stores freely and never felt as though they were discriminated on the basis of being Mexican. The struggles they experienced in Barstow were more related to economics, and even so Cris and Betty enjoyed growing up in a large family rather than remembering any challenges associated with it. While
the loss of two siblings would preclude growing up in Barstow from being considered idyllic, it was generally a positive experience for the Mares siblings.

Taken together, the experiences of the Mares family members provide one of the many lenses needed to see the history of segregated schooling in Barstow in both its complete and complex nature. Betty, Pee Wee, and Vickie had positive memories of Clark Street School, yet without any probing initially described it as segregated. Some possible reasons why they did not personally felt the sting of what was a structurally exclusionary practice may have to do with their generational location in both a historical and familial sense.

George J. Sánchez (1993) wrote that following the Great Depression, proportional decrease in new Mexican immigration, and forced repatriation campaigns, people of Mexican descent who “came of age” during the 1930s and 1940s had a decidedly American orientation. The Mexican-American generation, then, still maintained a cultural tie to México, but was most focused on fulfilling economic, social, and political aspirations within U.S. institutions. Cris, Betty, Pee Wee, and Vickie were all born in Barstow between 1930-1935 and would certainly fit within the Mexican-American generation. In a comment made after I stopped recording our interview, one sibling said, “I know our [read:U.S.] government hasn’t always done some very nice things, but then again, what did the Mexican government ever do to help us?” The decisions made by three of the four surviving Mares brothers (Mario, Robert, and Pee Wee) to join the U.S. military also reflect an orientation towards integrating into the established structures of this country. It is therefore possible that the historical context in which they lived the rest of their lives would influence what and the way they remembered schooling events some more than 70 years past. It is also possible that Betty, Pee Wee, and Vickie – notwithstanding the fact that they attended a segregated school in the first place – simply did not experience linguistic or racial discrimination at Clark Street based on their familial location. All three siblings noted that by the time they each started Clark Street, their three older brothers had already been attending school and, most importantly, already spoke English. This certainly
would have facilitated English-only learning for Cris in the bungalow on the Barstow grammar school, and for Betty, Pee Wee, and Vickie at Clark Street School. It would also have given them an advantage that some of their other classmates and even their own siblings would not have had.

Segregation was also present in Barstow outside of school as evidenced in the Mares family’s attendance at the Mexican Congregational Church. Only Pee Wee, however, recalled any racialized incident growing up, and he attributed it to the ignorance of a neighborhood child4. Thus the Mares family viewed racism as something acted out by individuals, not institutions. We ultimately see in their case an example of how education – even that which was delivered in a segregated setting – was always of central importance in a family that never viewed itself as culturally or linguistically deficient.

Summary

In 1916, the Los Angeles Times ran a story titled “Mexicans ask for education”, accompanied by the lead, “Crowd Pasadena night school eager to learn.” It essentially reported that the demand was so great at the adult school started in the South Raymond neighborhood, that PUSD officials would be expanding the courses to go year-round (“Mexicans Ask for Education”, 1916). This was neither the first nor the last time that Mexican adults in Pasadena expressed a significant interest in the activities of PUSD schools. When the decision was made to remove their children from Garfield elementary and send them to the newest Mexican school in the city, the principal of their new campus noted “there were many exclamations in Spanish of ‘regretas’ [sic], ‘Que lastima’ – ‘What a shame’” (PUSD Annual Report, 1915). Notwithstanding other reports that Mexican parents had asked for segregation, the report of the Junipero Serra principal captured that initial moment of resistance from parents to the separate schooling of their children. Furthermore, the existence of Mexican PTAs in both Pasadena and Barstow

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4 He also seemed mollified when later repeating the David Nevin incidents by including the follow-up, “and then the Gutierrez boys would ‘take care of’ [David]!” The smile and chuckle that accompanied these statements suggested that justice had been served on Fredricks Street.
exemplify some of the ways in which Mexican-descent women and men were not passive but active participants in the education of their daughters and sons, even in segregated settings.

The activity of Mexican women during this time particularly challenged deficit frameworks of their families and themselves. In her widely used manual outlining an Americanization curriculum, Pearl Ellis (1929) characterized “[t]he Mexican home [as] often a shack, occupied by a large family...The home owners took pride in keeping their dwelling repaired and beautified in a crude but humble way” (p. 56). She further mused that “[w]here the American woman finds manifold interests in clubs, etc., the [Mexican woman], often not having modern conveniences to economize her time, is at home doing the menial tasks to provide for her family” (p. 57). This framing does not accurately capture the experiences of Micaela Mares in Barstow in the 1930s through 1950s. She took her children to church activities and led the selection committee for queen of the annual Cinco De Mayo celebration. It does not capture the mothers in Pasadena who attended classes and activities at the Settlement House (“Cottage Near Gas Tank, 1930), and certainly not the increasing leadership roles that they took on there once a Mexican-American director took over in 1937, as reflected in that year's Pasadena Settlement Association Newsletter.

The Chicana/o historical counterstories of Pasadena and Barstow thus center the various ways that Mexican-descent women, men, and children mitigated and resisted the deficit frameworks that supported their educational segregation. Outside of the school, they were involved in the improvement of their community at large. Mexican residents from the eastern neighborhood that was home to Clark Street School students banded together with other Barstow residents to push for incorporation of the city of Barstow in 1947 (“Let’s Make It Unanimous”, 1947). After incorporation, those same Mexican residents and parents of Clark Street students worked with city council members for the municipal improvements of street paving, sidewalks, and sewer services to which they were entitled (“Beautification East End”, 1948). These were not people who indiscriminately accepted a lesser standard of living. We
must believe, then, that they valued their homes and their children in ways that were anything but deficit.

Historical counterstories in Pasadena and Barstow further help us to distinguish the way that segregated schools developed in phases, and in different ways according to community. In Pasadena, Junipero Serra School opened in 1914 but was a number of old bungalows from the high school until the actual two-story plant was completed in 1922 (“New School Plan”, 1919; “Building of Two More Schools”, 1922). Similarly, Mexican students went to separate classes in bungalows on the Barstow grammar school grounds until 1939, at which point the bungalows were moved to the Clark Street School location on Seventh and Clark streets. The historical counterstory recognizes that the housing of Mexican students in separate bungalows was particularly egregious considering that a new elementary school had just been built in Barstow in 1937 with “12 classrooms and several offices, a beautiful library and an auditorium that seats 600 with a stage and dressing rooms [and] indoor toilet facilities for the smaller kids” (Kolby, 2011, p. 177). However, the historical counterstories of Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools also force us to complicate our notions of the immutable relationship between the conditions of school structures and educational opportunity. In Pasadena, one could easily look at the quality of the Junipero Serra physical campus and overlook the fact that the vocational education so embedded in its attractive walls was designed to shuttle the vast majority of its students straight into the workforce. The admittedly substandard bungalows that made up Clark Street School, on the other hand, did not include vocational training as part of the primary grade curriculum, and, as seen in the Mares family telling case, did not preclude students from re-entering integrated classrooms and completing their education through high school.

Mexican schools in Pasadena and Barstow developed during the early 20th century in distinct ways, though they have not been included in the prevailing conceptions of those communities. The Chicana/o historical counterstories of the two cities better represent the presence of Mexican-descent women, men, and children during the era of educational
segregation in each place. They allow us to see the distinctive nature of how Mexican children experienced education in Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools, and the ways in which their parents mitigated the deficit frameworks that supported segregation. Ruiz (1998) reminded us that “people of color have not had unlimited choice. Race and gender prejudice and discrimination within their accompanying social, political, and economic segmentation have constrained aspirations, expectations, and decision-making” (1998, p. 50). Chicana/o historical counterstories recognize those constraints as part of building fuller narratives that speak to the resiliency rather than destruction of community memory.
Chapter 7
Conclusion

On May 3rd, 2014, Melquiades Mares, Jr. had two important items on his agenda. Number one was the first birthday party for his grandson, Michael Tadeo Mares. With the family gathered to celebrate this occasion, Melquiades had the perfect opportunity to execute his second task. He began distributing a handful of neatly compiled manila envelopes, each labeled with a particular family member’s name. In each carefully sealed envelope, a great gift awaited the sisters, sons, daughter, nieces, and nephews who were the recipients. Melquiades had made copies of three historical family pictures for his kinfolks and drafted a letter that detailed the particulars of each photograph. One of the photos was of the Barstow Ramblers, the Mexican baseball team from Barstow (previously seen in chapter 4, figure 4). Melquiades had taken care to identify every young man he could remember, thus making sure that their names would not be forgotten and essentially enlisting his family members into that pursuit. He was purposeful about handing each family member her/his specific envelope with the accompanying command to “be sure and read the letter.” I read mine later that night, and smiled biggest at the end where he signed it with the many names he has been known by: “Pee Wee,” “Tio Melquiades,” “Seaweed,” “Mike Junior,” “Mr. Mares,” “Mel,” “The Batboy,” but first and foremost for me, “Papa.”

The literal passing down of family history is powerful. It was particularly fitting that my father fulfilled this pursuit on the same weekend that I write these pages to conclude a dissertation so firmly rooted in the co-construction of knowledge of local Mexican communities. Many scholars who have produced influential studies of the historical experiences of Chicanas/os were first motivated by or have a personal/familial connection to the sites of their research (e.g. Almaguer, 1994; Balderrama & Rodriguez, 2006; Menchaca, 1995; Ruiz, 1998; Sánchez, 1993). In this study, I have chosen to keep that connection squarely at the forefront of this work because of the strength it has afforded me at all stages of the research process. That
strength has not been a given by any means. In fact, I agree wholeheartedly with Christina Chavez’ (2008) insightful reminder that scholars not fall into a dichotomous understanding of “insider” versus “outsider” research that automatically presumes one is better or more rigorous, valid, or accurate than the other. Indeed, her “conceptualization of insiderness calls for new techniques in training novice insiders who must manage the methodological nuances of their work” (Chavez, 2008, p. 480). Before reflecting on my own process of navigating those nuances, I use this chapter as an opportunity to further argue for the utility of historical counterstorytelling as a new critical race methodological tool. I then share how the distinctions between the experiences of Mexican-descent people in Pasadena and Barstow during the time of educational segregation in those areas pushes us to acknowledge the uniqueness of communities’ histories. Finally, I conclude this dissertation where it essentially began: engaging with and nurturing my cultural intuition so that others who wish to do similar work might gather further insight into what such a process entailed.

**Flipping the Proverbial Script: The ‘Why’ and ‘How’ of Historical Counterstories**

The importance of history in critical race scholarship cannot be underscored enough. In fact, Delgado and Stefancic (2001) identified revisionist history as the second signature theme of critical race theory (CRT). They wrote that “[r]evisionist history reexamines America’s historical record, replacing comforting majoritarian interpretations of events with ones that square more accurately with minorities’ experiences” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 20). My hope is that this dissertation adds to that tradition by sharing a narrative that more completely speaks to the historic educational experiences of two distinct Chicana/o communities in Southern California school districts. More specifically, by sharing the specific realities lived in the Mexican communities in Pasadena and Barstow, I engaged in what I believe is historical counterstorytelling – and encourage others to do the same.

This dissertation outlines the “why” and “how” of historical counterstories as an emerging critical race methodology. Through identifying the centrality of history to a critical
race theory in education, I argued *why* critical race researchers should turn their attention to the writing of Student of Color educational histories. By demonstrating the ways in which archives can be analyzed to either uphold or go beyond the majoritarian story, I showed *how* historical counterstories are written. The previous chapters focused on the historical counterstories of Chicana/o students in the Pasadena Unified School District (PUSD) and Barstow Union School District (BUSD) during the time of segregated Mexican schools. However, I believe that the approach and methodological tools presented can be applied to the writing of historical counterstories for Communities of Color in multiple locales. Engaging in this type of scholarship continues the call that critical race research chronicle and honor the experiences of People of Color on both the individual and institutional level (Tate, 1997).

Historical counterstories furthermore provide the space for voices not heard in the majoritarian story to *name* on two levels. First, historical counterstories record the specifics of community conditions and experiences. Rather than folding the data from Mexican schools in the PUSD and BUSD into a composite counterstory, the historical counterstories of Junipero Serra School and Clark Street School students reveal the educational segregation that took place in Pasadena and Barstow, California in the early 20th century. They unapologetically identify the deficit frameworks that operated within those communities with regards to Mexican-descent students, and reclaim what Delgado Bernal (1998b) called the “subjugated knowledge” that exists outside of dominant discourse but within community memory. Secondly, historical counterstories can name the real people whose past lived experiences contextualize current practices and issues in local communities. An overwhelming majority of institutional archival sources referred to people of Mexican-descent with (a) labels based on race or appearance, or (b) stereotypical first names. While White residents were identified by first and last name, Mexican-descent Pasadenaans in particular were homogenized in local print media as “Mexicans”, “the Mexican”, “Spanish-speaking people”, or with various descriptors of their dark hair, eyes, and/or skin. When Mexican and Mexican-American students were named, it was
most often as “little Juan” or “little Maria”. The repetition of these monikers – and that fact that they were qualified with diminutives – undermines the possibility that those were students’ actual names and suggests instead that the writers manifested their racism by calling all children by stock names. A historical counterstory instead seeks to identify by name the students and their families who lived and survived segregation. Trinidad De Caro, Manuel Pineda, and the Mares family were such people. It is impingent on me and others who take up historical counterstorytelling to search for multiple oral histories and family stories that humanize the Mexican and Mexican-American students who were valid members of their local communities.

I offer historical counterstorytelling as an act of resistance to confront local experiences that undermined the intelligence and humanity of Chicana/o students over time (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). This methodology serves as an opportunity for critical race researchers to challenge the dominant narrative; complicate the stories that have been told about Students of Color; and contextualize the continued limitation of their educational opportunities as not something that just happened overnight. Critical race research thus has the potential to remove history as a backdrop and instead employ it as a central unit of scholarship that can better inform our work towards social justice. I would like to believe that readers of this dissertation see in it a model for steps that they can use to write their own historical counterstories. I outline these steps a bit more in the concluding section on engaging and nurturing cultural intuition. Before going there, though, some words about the uniqueness in communities’ histories are certainly in order.

**Different Shades of Brown**¹

In the summer before my senior year of high school, I had the privilege to attend the Chicano/Latino Youth Leadership Project, Inc. (CLYLP) annual statewide student conference. I

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¹ A purposeful allusion to Lighter Shade of Brown, a musical group that helped me and my only other Chicano counterpart embrace and navigate our own racial identities in a predominantly White secondary school. CWM, this one’s for you!
convened with Chicana/o-Latina/o youth from across the state for a weeklong leadership institute that simultaneously taught us as much about ourselves as it did about cultural, political, and historic issues in the Chicana/o-Latina/o community at large. For the first time, I was in a learning environment that included students from inner cities, suburbs, and agricultural towns that ranged from San Ysidro to north of Sacramento. We were the children of farmworkers, domestic workers, teachers, store managers, refugees, newly arrived immigrants, fourth generation Americans, and everything imaginable in between. This week spent engaging with peers who were so similar to me and yet had such distinct histories and experiences was my initial exposure to the significant differences that exist not only between but also within racial and ethnic groups.

Central in this dissertation is an acknowledgement of the fact that being Mexican in Pasadena during the evolution of Junipero Serra School was an existence distinct from being Mexican in Barstow during the evolution of Clark Street School. There are certainly commonalities in the deficit frames that supported the educational segregation of Mexican youth in each district. In both Pasadena and Barstow, instruction in English language became the linchpin to justifying segregated elementary years. However, the deficit discourse in Pasadena developed with additional layers of hygiene and foreign status on top of language. The prominence of that discourse in the city also resulted in the very constricted interactions of Mexican women, men, and children with White Pasadenans. The class cleavages between Mexican workers and the Anglo elite specifically maintained a social distance and difference in Pasadena that was not as explicit in the less socioeconomically diverse town of Barstow.

The distinction between being Mexican in Pasadena and being Mexican in Barstow has been partially captured in other scholarship that clarifies the uniqueness of urban and rural communities. Gonzalez (1994) wrote, “[T]he substantial differentiation in lifestyle between urban and rural Chicanos is capable of comparison and deserves attention... Educational opportunity in the urban setting is much more egalitarian than in the rural migrant settlements”
Interestingly enough, in the case of Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools, one could argue that the Clark Street was actually more egalitarian because of its very specific design of only kindergarten through second grade. The quicker move of Mexican students to the main integrated elementary school was very different than the case of Junipero Serra. The construction of a fully-operating plant at Junipero Serra signaled a deep commitment by the Pasadena Unified School District to effectively train Mexican students for their later stations in life as the working class of the city. The use of bungalows as the structures used at Clark Street and the absence of a vocational curriculum\(^2\) there could be interpreted as reflecting a temporary though not permanent view of Mexican segregation.

At the same time, I must caution the reader from thinking that Barstow represented some kind of desert utopia for Mexican people in the first half of the twentieth century. Literature has actually shown how People of Color in rural settings have many times experienced anything but utopia. Scholars have convincingly argued that the dominant notions of rurality espouse cultural homogeneity at the expense of the multicultural people who also occupy that space (Panelli et al. 2009; Askins 2009; Ramzan et al. 2009). The rural has thus been constructed as a safe, benign place (Neal 2002; Winans 2005) – a notion inseparable from the concept of Whiteness that has been embedded in this image that contrasts with the dangerous, non-White city (Panelli et al. 2009; Askins 2009). The analytical tools of CRT can challenge the dominant narrative that upholds Whiteness in rural settings. By centering the lived experiences of Students of Color in rural schools, CRT can furthermore deepen its ability to speak to the myriad ways racism manifests in different communities in the United States. Neal (2002) wrote that “racism is context-specific, i.e. there are different social processes through which racism operates in rural, as compared to urban, environments” (443). Applying a critical race lens to the development of Clark Street school in Barstow thus allows me to share the particular ways

\(^2\) This was at least true in the primary grades. Further research would have to look at how tracking may have operated in the secondary and high schools in both Barstow and Pasadena.
that the Mexican community in that town both endured and resisted deficit frameworks. The historical counterstory of the Mexican students and parents of Clark Street school reminds critical race scholars of the kind of research that needs to be done in not only urban schools, but also in rural settings.

The collaborative cases of Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools are about much more than what happened within school walls. The non-existence of curricular documents or substantive district archives for certain periods of the schools’ tenures combined with the absence of “alumni” (in the case of Junipero Serra school) or limited memories of alumni (in the case of the Mares family members) meant that I had to look larger than just the classroom. This strategy actually resulted in a deeper gaze into the context of the communities themselves during the time of segregated schooling. It also helped to build on what we already know about the overarching deficit-based intentions of segregated Mexican schools by instead highlighting the fact that students came from families and communities that were (a) far from culturally deficient and (b) strong believers in education, even in light of the unequal design forced upon them. As Vickie (Mares) Genzmer during her oral history interview, “The teachers [at Clark Street school] were wonderful. We were so blessed to go to school and learn…or else! Our dad wanted us to learn. He wanted us to have the education he didn’t” (personal communication, August 13, 2013). Manuel Pineda (1984) similarly recalled positive interactions with his teachers at Junipero Serra school, although Trinidad de Caro (1985) had memories that were more traumatic. What united all of these cases across regional setting was the students’ persistence through segregated schooling and emphasis on the importance of school for the subsequent generations in their own families. The existence of Mexican Parent Teacher Associations in both the PUSD and BUSD suggests that there was a generational commitment to schooling. The community memory of Pasadena and Barstow Mexicans thus includes a valuing of education that was often rooted in the family.
As someone whose own family stretches across Pasadena and Barstow, my positionality is particularly well-suited to sorting out the differences and commonalities between the lived experiences of Mexican-descent students and their families in each community and school district. I further strive to value the features of the historical counterstories of Junipero Serra school and Clark Street school equally. Each historical counterstory places schools as institutions of critical importance to Mexican and Mexican American communities, while also positioning them in the larger social and economic contexts that inform the design of schooling in specific historical moments. In no way do I argue that students from one community had it any “better” than another, or that one was a more “authentic” Mexican experience than the other. Rather, I hope that the varied histories of the development of segregated schooling in local communities, combined with the richer pictures of those Mexican-descent children and families who lived in those communities, adds to our evolving understanding of the multiple shades that paint Chicana/o educational history.

**Engaging and Nurturing Cultural Intuition**

Telling more nuanced stories of Chicana/o educational history necessitated that I commit to co-constructing historical counterstories with those who lived them. In the absence of surviving Junipero Serra students to interview for this dissertation, I entered into retrospective conversation with my own grandfather and approached the archival research process as a kind of search for him. Where had he lived when he attended Junipero Serra? What was that neighborhood like, and how did it “fit” with the Pasadena of Rose Parades and upper-class sensibility that is more widely known? Who might have he gone to school with, and where were their stories in the archives? Asking these kinds of questions led me to further humanize the students and their families whose stories I was trying to piece together. For better and for worse, every local newspaper article or institutional document about Mexicans in Pasadena was talking about a member of my family. Personalizing this connection meant that I treasured every bit of information I came across and respected its place within the story. It also
meant that I worked that much harder to line it up with relevant literature that either supported or complicated its interpretation. In other words, because of the personal nature of this work, I had to constantly ensure that I had sound evidence for my claims. This became especially essential in choosing to use the telling case of my own family.

Raquel Rubio-Goldsmith (2005) stated the context for her decision to use oral history in her work:

My research had begun in libraries and archives – repositories of traditional history. The available sources were to be found in census reports, church records, directories, and other such statistical information. These, however, as important as they are cannot provide one of the essential dimensions of history, the full narrative of the human experience that defies quantification and classification. In certain social groups this gap can be filled with diaries, memories, letters, or even reports from others. In the case of Mexicanas in the United States, one of the many devastating consequences of defeat and conquest has been that the traditional institutions that preserve and transfer culture (the documentation of the past) have ignored these personal written sources. The letters, writings, and documents of Mexicanas have rarely, if ever, been included in archives, special collections, or libraries (p. 162).

When I first started this project, I had already seen a few of the family photographs included in chapters 4 and 6. Once I started conducting oral history interviews with my father and his sisters, however, they started sharing with me the photographs, letters, and documents of their lives growing up in Barstow. The images ranged from the personal to institutional level. They furthermore simultaneously complimented and complicated archival data found in institutional archives. As complimentary images, the Mares family photographs added texture to the Mexican-descent community in town. School photographs in the Mares family collection especially bolstered my research work. These continue to be particularly valuable given that the leading national archives of American public school photography are “full of holes” when it comes to Students of Color (Margolis, 1999). Thus, pictures of the Mares children and their classmates are priceless documents of the evolution of segregated schooling in Barstow. Where the official record is silent at worst, misleading at best, the Mares siblings have spoken
themselves and their peers back into history. They have labeled the backs of photographs with the names of the Mexican-descent boys and girls who attended school with them. They shared memories about walking to school with their friends, and living in the same neighborhood together. I look at these photographs and see the faces of the actual children who grew up and went to school while Mexican in Barstow, California.

Personal experience continues to be the root of my cultural intuition. In choosing to include the Mares telling case in this dissertation, I immediately engaged my lateral ties to my family to construct knowledge around the existence of Clark Street school. My father and his sisters became the conduits for community memory. The dominant view of Barstow focuses on the town in the context of the railroad industry. Conversations and oral history interviews with my dad and aunts show that unlike industries, families humanize and speak to the experiences of people in a community; in other words, the people who made that community themselves.

My own blended role as the Mares family scholar/researcher (Chávez, 2008) has also meant that working with the oral history interviews and family photographs is a continuous process of engaging and nurturing my cultural intuition. Visual artifacts initially inspired me to want to know the larger story of what my family and their counterparts experienced as Mexican-descent residents in their respective Southern California communities. This desire has led me to dig deeper into institutional archives to find any traces of the stories that the pictures, in part, capture. As I further engaged in this research, I asked more questions about what the local context of Chicana/o segregation looked like in the early 20th century. I systematically drew from existing literature and my professional experience as a student of Chicana/o and Ethnic Studies and critical race theorist to piece together historical themes of segregation and resistance in a reflexive way so as to constantly “verify or falsify [my] assumed interpretations” (Chávez, 2008, p. 491) rather than take them for granted. I further nurtured my cultural intuition as I analyzed the data from institutional archival sources such as Census data and local...
print media. These sources allow me to triangulate the data found in the Mares family archive, while also revealing the majoritarian discourse that my research works to disrupt.

My cultural intuition anchored in my personal experience as the descendant of segregated Mexican-descent children led me to undertake this project. I cultivated that and the other three sources of this unique viewpoint by always keeping the faces of the Junipero Serra and Clark Street school students in mind and doing the necessary intellectual and archival work that provides the space for their stories to be told.

A Conclusion

On June 18, 1931, the Chairman of the Instruction Committee presented the PUSD board of education with a report from the Superintendent “recommending that the seventh and eighth grades be discontinued at the Junipero Serra and Fremont Schools and that these students receive their instruction in the junior high schools within their respective districts” (PUSD, 1931, p. 2173). A little more than a year later, on August 1, 1932, another entry in the school board minutes conveyed the Superintendent’s recommendation that the school be completely shut for the 1932-1933 school year and the students sent to Garfield for instruction. Without fanfare and even less detail, the Junipero Serra campus closed. A large earthquake in 1932 could have been a contributing factor to the closing of the school (Pineda, 1984). Martínez (2009) noted that the district would later cite dropping enrollment numbers as the cause of the closure; she further wondered if the era of forcible deportation could have impacted these enrollment drops. When we consider the fact that 143 Mexican residents of Pasadena were removed from the city they had made home as part of the repatriation campaigns in 1931, this seems like a potential extenuating cause (“Large Mexican Group Sent Over Line”, 1931). In a generally subdued fashion, the two story complex between Raymond and Fair Oaks streets closed.

To the north in the high desert, Clark Street school met a similarly quiet end. Clark Street, however, was integrated before it shut down. In 1947, a front-page article in the *Barstow Printer Review* instructed the populace to send their children to the school nearest their homes.
It read that the first and second grades would be at Clark Street, and “[t]hose coming in on busses [would] be placed where enrollments [were] small” (“Send Child to Nearest School”, 1947). This effectively meant that first and second grade aged children from the Marine base would attend Clark Street, as would “[t]hose from Hodge and Lenwood in Mt. View and those in kindergarten and first from other areas.” Without school board minutes to potentially provide further rationale and no further explanation for this move in the local paper, Clark Street ceased its function as a Mexican school before its actual closure in 1950.

These quiet closings of both Junipero Serra and Clark Street schools add to the feeling that their histories are something akin to a secret in each district. However, despite the way that their stories are scattered through the institutional archive and personal memories, “Mexican schools” in Pasadena and Barstow are critical features of the community memory for People of Color generally and Chicanas/os specifically in those locations. The ultimate goal of this dissertation was to tell the secrets of the PUSD and BUSD and assert that those districts practiced educational segregation of their Mexican-descent students in the early twentieth century. This dissertation further echoes the contention by Donato and Hanson (2012) that the educational segregation of Mexican students into “Mexican schools” should retroactively be considered *de jure* segregation, federal mandate or not. In constructing the historical counterstories of Mexican students and their families in Pasadena and Barstow, I offer those same methodological tools for anyone invested in learning and valuing the history of her/his respective community to take up.
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