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Chicanas y Chicanos en Phoenix También Resisten! A Critical Race Educational History of the Phoenix Union High School 1970 Boycott

A dissertation in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Education

by

Bryant Partida

2021

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2021

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Chicanas y Chicanos en Phoenix También Resisten! A Critical Race Educational History of the Phoenix Union High School 1970 Boycott

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor Daniel Solórzano, Co-Chair

Professor David G. García, Co-Chair

According to Valencia (2011), the persistent inequalities confronting Chicanas/os and leading to what he defines as school failure is a matter rooted deeply in history. Covering a range of 150 years of Mexican American education in the Southwest, San Miguel and Valencia (1998) examine how "the foundation of conflict, hostility, and discrimination, as symbolized by the Treaty [of Guadalupe Hidalgo], shaped the emergence, expansion, and changing character of public education for the Mexican American people." In response to unequal educational conditions, Delgado Bernal (1999) states that Chicana/o students and their communities, influenced by the Black civil rights movement and anti-Vietnam war protests, organized protests, walkouts, and boycotts as they struggled to call attention to and improve their quality of education across the Southwest. This dissertation thus centers the historical counterstory of a nearly month-long Chicana/o boycott at Phoenix Union High School in 1970. This dissertation utilizes a Critical Race Educational History methodology to construct a counterstory by analyzing the role of race in creating the conditions for the boycott to take place through a

Critical Race Theory in education theoretical lens. Focused on documenting and better understanding the educational experiences and community history of Phoenix Chicanas/os during this time, I explore the following questions:

- Why and how was the Phoenix Union High School Chicana/o Boycott of 1970 organized and who were the main stakeholders behind the organizational efforts?
- What was the socio-economic context of the community within the attendance boundaries of Phoenix Union High School in the period of the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott? How is the socio-economic context relevant to the educational conditions of Phoenix Union High School during the period of the boycott?
- What were the outcomes of the 1970 Phoenix Union High School Chicana/o boycott? How did the district and high school meet the demands and needs of the Chicana/o community?

A Critical Race Educational History is constructed as a response to these questions utilizing historical research methods. This includes drawing from primary archival sources collected from various archival holdings and collections at institutions including but not limited to Arizona State University, the Phoenix Union High School District, Library of Congress, and Arizona State Library, Archives, and Public Records. Moreover, collaborators contributed oral histories as a part of this dissertation study to explore and document the Phoenix Chicana/o educational experience while centering the experiences of Chicanas/os during the 1970 boycott of Phoenix Union in this counterstory. Building from these primary sources, this research documents the racialized school's educational and community's inequalities, the boycott's organization efforts, and eventual short- and long-term outcomes of the 1970 boycott.

The dissertation of Bryant Partida is approved.

Irene Vásquez

Tyrone Howard

David G. García, Committee Co-Chair

Daniel Solórzano, Committee Co-Chair

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of:

Dr. Juan Gomez Quiñones for inspiring me to understand the historical universe of the community that raised me.

Ronnie Lopez for granting me the opportunity to hear and document your contributions to the Phoenix Chicana/o Movement.

Y mi Abuelita Martha, que yo se por siempre llevare su bendición, te extraño.

Para mi Mama Alma, Papa Jorge, y Hermano Kevin.

Lo logramos! Gracias por todo su apoyo, amor, y esfuerzos.

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Nayarit, MX. East Los Angeles. South Phoenix. Pacoima. Chihuahua, MX.
C/S

VITA

Bryant Partida

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Master of Arts, Chicana and Chicano Studies — August 2013
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Related Publications

Publication Manuscripts in Press:

Partida, Bryant. "1960's and 1970's Educational Goals and Ideals." Adelaida R. Del Castillo & Norma Iglesias-Prieto, ed. *The Chicana and Chicano Movement: From Aztlán to Zapatista*. ABC-CLIO/Greenwood.

Book Publications:

Partida, Bryant, Rosales, M.A., Scolaro, B. (2019) *Here We Stand: Chicanos Por la Causa and Arizona's Chicano/a Resurgence 1968-1974.* P. Dimas (Ed.). Phoenix, AZ: Chicanos Por la Causa.

Awards

UCLA University Fellowship	2018-2021
UCLA Gordon & Olga Smith Fellowship	2018-2019, 2020-2021
UCLA Registration Fee Grant	2019-2020
UCLA GSE&IS Dean's Scholar	2018-2019
UCLA CSRC Carlos M. Haro Scholarship Fund	2017- 2018

UCLA Graduate Summer Research Mentorship Program	Summer 2016
CSU Chancellor's Doctoral Incentive Fellow (Accepted)	2014-2021
CSU Sally Casanova Pre-Doctoral Program Scholar	2012-2013
CSUN Ezekial & Adrian Rodriguez Graduate Scholarship	2012
CSUN Aztlán Graduation Scholarship	2012
Myers Family Scholarship	2006-2010
Chicanos Por La Causa & Tomas Espinoza Scholarship Program	2006-2010

Select Related Presentations

Peer Reviewed Panels Organized & Chaired

Book Session Panel: David G. García's *Strategies of Segregation: Race, Residence, and the Struggle for Educational Equality* (University of California Press, 2018) Western Historical Association. Las Vegas, NV, October 16-19.

Peer Reviewed Papers Presented

Partida, B. (2020, November 5-8). "Chicanas/os en Phoenix Tambien Resisten! Oral History Counterstories of the 1970 Phoenix Union High School Chicana/o Boycott." on Panel: Illuminating Educational Counterstories of Communities of Color: Oral Histories as a Bridge to Resistance. History of Education Society, Virtual Conference.

Partida, B. (2020, February 27-28). The Healing Brilliance of a Circle: Centering a Chicano's educational counterstory within Phoenix's Chicana/o History through Critical Race Theory and Archival Research." Project Student Activism Now Documented (STAND) Forum, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona.

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Partida, B. (2017, November 2-5). "History set A-Side: B-side Counterstories of Phoenix Union High School and the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott" on Panel: Panel-Revisiting Theory: Critical Race Approaches to Chicana/o Educational History in the Southwest, 1936-1982. History of Education Society. Little Rock, AR.

Invited Presentations

"Chicana/o Educational History Research Methods." In Transborder Research Methods Undergraduate Course TCL 304 with Dr. Edward D. Vargas. Arizona State University. Tempe, AZ. January 9, 2019.

"Continuity, Counterstories and the 1968 East L.A. Chicana/o Student Walkouts" on Panel-Afterlives: The Spirit of '68 and the Problem of the Archive. Critical Mediations 2018 Conference. University of Southern California. Los Angeles, CA. October 4-5, 2018.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Chapter Roadmap

In 2006, Chicana/o and Latina/o students across the United States walked out of their high schools in protest of the national anti-immigrant bill House Resolution (HR) 4437.[1] Sponsored by the House of Representative Wisconsin Republican James Sensenbrenner, the bill garnered the attention of immigrant communities who felt would be criminalize if it were to become law. As a senior at Cesar Chavez High School in the Phoenix Union High School District, I had just learned of the 1960s and 1970s Chicana/o movement, and I looked to the 1968 East Los Angeles Walkouts as inspiration to organize and walkout with fellow classmates who understood the impact it would have on our communities. Now as a doctoral candidate, little did I know that my research focusing on the intersections of race, education, and community histories would bring me full circle to the community that I grew up in. Through this study, I established a reconnection and began to focus on the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union High School. In the process of this research, I have been able to reconnect and establish a profound love for the city that raised me.

The introduction of this dissertation will first demonstrate how I came to this work through reflection of my educational trajectory as a Chicano. Next, this chapter contextualizes the history of Phoenix Union High School followed by a brief look into the racial demographics at the school and district level between 1968 and 1969. Subsequently, the chapter then outlines

[1] For this dissertation, I use Chicana and Chicano as the identifier for people of Mexican and Mexican American descent. In some cases, such as in Chapter 6, oral history collaborators utilize Latina/o as a similar identifier.

this study's focus, including guiding questions and rationale for focusing on the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union High School.[2]

The Healing Brilliance of a Circle

When I graduated from Arizona State University in 2010 and prepared to leave Phoenix to begin my master's program at California State University, Northridge (CSUN), my mentor, Dr. Alan Gomez, gifted me Raul Salina's book Indio Trails: A Xicano Odyssey through Indian Country. Within the cover of the book a note from my mentor read, "With paths as straight as the universe, always remember the healing brilliance of a circle—reach your potential." In that moment, I can honestly say I didn't really quite understand its significance, but throughout the years I have found myself revisiting this note from Dr. Gomez as a reflection point on where I stood and envisioned myself going.

Once again, when I completed my master's at CSUN, this idea of a circle reappeared. Only this time it was summer of 2013 in Chicago as I sat in Dr. Isaura Pulido's office at Northeastern Illinois University discussing my Sally Casanova Summer Research project. Somehow in discussing culturally relevant pedagogies, the concept of a circle came up as Dr. Pulido theorized. I felt that for the first time, I was engaging with a faculty mentor in theorizing—something I felt I only read about in my course materials and political readings as a former member of M.E.Ch.A. Yet, I didn't know how to engage or articulate what a circle could mean to me beyond a shape that manifested itself in material and communal aspects of life. The

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[2] While my study's parameters are between 1968 and 1970, future research will consist of composing larger historical narratives of race and racism at Phoenix Union High School and District between 1895 and 1982, including George Washington Carver High School and Phoenix Indian School.

shape of the earth, the rotations around the sun, the functions of an analog clock arms, the cycle of life, or simply sitting in a circle amongst friends, family, and community.

It wasn't until I began my doctoral program at UCLA that I came to fully understand this concept of the circle's healing brilliance deeply. Upon taking Dr. David G. García's *History Research Methods in Education* course, I knew that I wanted to purse my doctoral work merging my three areas of interdisciplinary expertise: Chicana/o studies, history, and education. I took the methodological research tools I developed from Dr. García's class and began to explore an interest of mine—record collecting. Having grown up in South Phoenix, I then became interested in learning more of the area's racialized and segregated history surrounding music and cultural hubs for Chicana/o and Black communities. This pastime of mine took me to community blogs, newspaper stories, audio recordings of local Chicana/o and Black soul groups and mentions of several venues frequented by the Chicana/o and Black Community including the Calderon Ballroom.

Throughout the existence of the Calderon Ballroom, the venue hosted acts ranging from James Brown and Etta James to Black Flag and Bad Brains as well as countless community event and meetings. I became fascinated by the first- and second-hand accounts I had read of the Calderon Ballroom, especially because it was a cultural and social focal point of Phoenix's Golden Gate Barrio. Here, one of the oldest Mexican barrios no longer existed as a result of Sky Harbor's eminent domain expansion that had displaced thousands of Mexican residents in the 1970s and 1980s.[3] I searched endlessly for any pictures I could find of the Calderon Ballroom and eventually at some point stepped back as the school year was on track to beginning and I had

[3] Pete R. Dimas, *Progress and a Mexican American Community's Struggle for Existence: Phoenix's Golden Gate Barrio* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).

to mentally prepare for my second year at UCLA. When I least I expected it, the very records that I enjoyed and saw as living historical text gave me a lens into the past. I decided to listen to one of my favorite Little Joe and The Latinaire's album *On Tour*. As I pulled the record of my shelf, I saw there on the cover the group standing in front of a simple marquee that read *Calderon.*

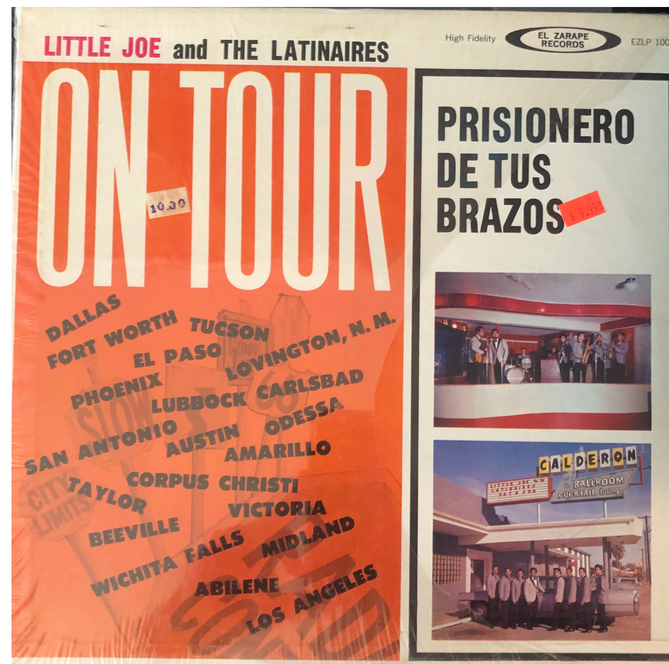

Figure 1. Little Joe and The Latinaires record entitled *On Tour.* Source: Personal Collection.

Considering the displacement of the Golden Gate Barrio community, I knew that there was an extreme unlikely hood that this building remained. Yet, my history detective fascination to experience this history firsthand drove my desire to search for it. One of the many lessons I learned from Dr. García was that experiencing history in person and visiting these historical sites are another way for us as historians to envision, capture, and better understand the contextual history of a place or space. So, I set out with minimal expectations to identify the exact location of the Calderon Ballroom but knew that I at least wanted to experience a brief moment of sharing the same space as this cultural and social South Phoenix and Inner-City landmark. After

researching through blogs, I traced the nearest location as 16th Street and Buckeye Road. Already familiar with the area, I wasn't surprised that it would have been in this empty plot of land that had been as empty as far back as I could remember. A bare lot with the only visible standing structure, Sacred Heart Church, remain in the distance. Standing there on hot summer day, I envisioned a vibrant and historic Mexican American community, a thriving enclave of music and culture at the Calderon Ballroom, and the emotions felt by a community wiped away in the interest of profit. I ruminated questions of history, preservation, and resistance of community displacement while wrestling with the feelings of anger as I witnessed how 50 years later, homes and histories had been displaced only to leave a vacant lot.

Figure 2. Golden Gate Barrio-16th Street and Buckeye Road in Phoenix, Arizona

Driven by my desire to better understand this history—I began to dive deeper to learn more about the history of Chicanas/os, Mexicans, and Mexican Americans in the Valley of the Sun.[4] In the process of seeking more answers to my questions, I came across one book that

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[4] The Valley of the Sun is another way to refer to Phoenix, Arizona.

would set me on the path I am now as a Chicano Critical Race Educational Historian. A domino effect of digging and digging for answers brought me to Darius V. Echeverria's book, *Aztlan Arizona: Mexican American Educational Empowerment, 1968-1978*. Echevarria looks at the educational social movements by Mexican Americans during the Chicana/o movement, both in Phoenix and Tucson. For the first time, I came to learn of Phoenix Union High School's 1970 Chicana/o Boycott. In that moment, I felt a mixture of excitement and anger. I felt excited learning of the historical richness of Chicana/o resistance and movement in the Valley, but I felt a deep sense of anger that as a graduate of the district named after Phoenix Union, they had failed to teach this history. Throughout my high school trajectory, I constantly felt a disconnect from the curriculum and teachers. As a high school student, I had pondered why I couldn't relate to a majority of my classes and course content. I didn't feel seen, nor did I feel like I saw myself in what I was learning. Despite, I had teachers that guided my desire to seek an education that reflected my questions and identity exploration. Mrs. Bronson supported my English assignment critiquing the Iraq War, Mr. Kingsley encouraged my journalistic stories criticizing the George W. Bush administration, and Mr. Anwar and Mr. Richards helped shape my skills as a novice speech and debate competitor by developing my problem posing skills regarding socio-economic issues and police corruption.

Although, the realization of my identity as a Chicano came as a result from my time as a junior at Cesar Chavez High School and then as a community college dual enrollment student at South Mountain High School through the Achieving a College Education Program. An introductory English 101 course grounded in Ethnic Studies with Dr. Robert Soza transformed my life. As a class we were introduced to an array of writings from different communities in resistance, including but not limited to Chicana/o theatre pieces by Chicano playwright Luis

Valdez, the Black Panther's 10-Point Program, and intercolonialism theories by Mario Barrera. At this time the political climate in Arizona and nationally was permeated by anti-immigrant and anti-Mexican rhetoric. As a result, not only was I sharpening my writing skills in Dr. Soza's class, but I was crafting a historical, socio-political, and economical analysis of this rhetoric that continued to racialize my community.

Yet, I still wrestled with understanding who I was and my place in this world because I was born in Los Angeles, California and my parents were from Mexico. "Ni de aqui, ni de aya," or not from here, nor from there is the general sentiment I felt and I did not feel like I was Hispanic or Latino. Although, I understood who I was when Dr. Soza played us a VHS of PBS' documentary *Taking Back the Schools* from the *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* series. The Chicana/o Blowouts in 1968 of East Los Angeles high schools portrayed students just like me who questioned the quality of education they were receiving while embracing their rich historical legacies identifying themselves as Chicanos. I was instantly drawn to this because I was born in East Los Angeles, and I felt that the struggles of the past generation of students resonated with mine. For the first time I felt seen, and I saw myself—I am Chicano. This claim to my political and cultural identity connected me to something beyond myself both in space and time while giving me a sense of purpose and understanding what my place was in this world. This spark is the one that lit the fire that still burns within me to do the work I do today in my community and academia.

This shift I felt 16 years ago as a high school student came as a result of a desire for connection to my education and identity informed by my lived experiences as a Chicano. At that time, I did not know of the rich history of cultural and political resistance existing in the very community I grew up in. Every experience that became part of my educational trajectory as a

Chicano was shaped by what I learned in my English 101 class my junior year of high school. Yet, it wasn't until I began my doctoral program at UCLA that I finally understood what the healing brilliance of a circle meant for me. It brought me back to Phoenix—the community that raised me—to not only do research on the high school responsible for creating the district I graduated from, but also step into my commitment as a Chicano Critical Race Educational Historian. As a historian, I am dedicated to my craft with an intention that centers collaboration to actively participate in creating spaces for multiple voices to be heard.[5] I step into this work as part of a lineage of many great Chicana/o/x historians in Arizona and beyond to document our rich historical legacies. Most importantly, I am an extension of the resistance efforts of the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott. As a result, my life's work is grounded at the intersections of Chicana/o/x Studies, education, and history research that uses approaches to educational history that are necessary and methodological interventions centering race, racism, and other intersecting forms of oppression. I hope that this work is part of a larger piece of the puzzle—to create paths for future high school students in Phoenix and beyond to receive a dignified education that reflects their lived experiences as Chicana/o/x while instilling a deeper pride and awareness of their community. Just as this Critical Race Educational History research has for me many years later as I came full circle.

Contextualizing Phoenix Union High School

Arizona, the 48th state to become part of the United States in February of 1912, has and continues to remain a hot bed for anti-immigrant, anti-Mexican and ad-hoc anti-Latino

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[5] Ryan E. Santos, Michaela J. López Mares-Tamayo, and Lluliana Alonso, *Conceptualizing a Critical Race Educational History Methodology* (Los Angeles, CA: Center for Critical Race Studies at UCLA, 2017).

sentiment. These sentiments became more evident with the proposals and wide acceptance of Arizona Senate Bill 1070 and House Bill 2281 in spring of 2010. While these contested bills drew much attention and opposition at a national level, they are a part of a larger a historical dominant narrative of racialized exclusion. [6] This historical dominant narrative is rooted in white supremacist ideologies of racial superiority would manifest and thrive politically, economically, and socially in a city like Phoenix. There, Mexicans, African Americans, Indigenous, and Chinese communities had historically been deemed inferior and denied access to equitable resources as their Anglo counterparts.[7]

Moreover, the city of Phoenix was no stranger to race-based exclusionary measures. Measures that took place form through de jure and de facto segregation and lack of just educational opportunities for students of color from low-income segregated areas of the city.[8] Phoenix Union High School, located in the heart of downtown Phoenix, is a prominent example of where such racialization would manifest. Established in September of 1895, Phoenix Union High School was designated for "Whites only with ninety students attending."[9] The school

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[6] In Spring of 2010, the Arizona State Legislature with the approval of then Governor Jan Brewer passed two of the most controversial laws targeting communities of color. Post the 2006 Sensenbrenner Bill, Arizona's Senate Bill (SB) 1070 served as the nation's leading example of how criminalization and persecution of immigrants, particularly Mexican, in Phoenix and Arizona at large. In addition to SB 1070, House Bill (HB) 2281 targeting the Mexican-American/Raza Studies program in the Tucson Unified School District, after two other legislative attempts [SB 1108 in 2008 & SB 1069 in 2009] was also adopted making it illegal to teach ethnic studies in high schools in the state of Arizona.

[7] Kristina M. Campbell, "Rising Arizona: The Legacy of the Jim Crow Southwest on Immigration Law and Policy After 100 Years of Statehood," *Berkeley La Raza Law Journal* 24, no. 1 (2015); Sue Wilson Abbey, "The Ku Klux Klan In Arizona, 1921–1925," *The Journal of Arizona History* 14, no. 1 (1973): 10–30.

[8] Shirley J. Roberts, "Minority-Group Poverty in Phoenix: A Socio-Economic Survey," *The Journal of Arizona History* 14, no. 4 (1973): 347–62.

[9] James E. Buchanan, *Phoenix: A Chronological and Documentary History, 1865–1976* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publications, 1978).

straddled one of the city's historic color lines known as Van Buren Street. This same street divided Northern Phoenix's affluent Anglo population from South Phoenix's Mexican, African American, Chinese, and poor Anglo residents. It was not until 1960 that South Phoenix and its residents would be officially annexed into the larger city of Phoenix.[10]

The placement of Phoenix Union High School between North and South Phoenix serves as an interesting place for the contestation of race and education. One example of this is the pivotal desegregation case *Phillips v. Phoenix Union High School District* in 1953, which preceded the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court Decision. The judge's decision on the *Phillips v. Phoenix Union* court case granted Black students from George W. Carver High School, the only segregated school in Arizona, enrollment to Phoenix Union High School.[11] According to Maricopa County Superior court documents of the *Phillips* case, Superior Court Judge Fred C. Struck Meyer ruled that the 1952 Arizona segregation law that mandated segregation for grade schools and voluntary segregation for high schools was unconstitutional.[12] Carver High School was closed as a result and Black students were integrated into Phoenix Union High School while Black teachers, administrators, and staff were integrated to different schools throughout the Phoenix Union High School District.[13]

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[10] Bradford Luckingham, *Phoenix: The History of a Southwestern Metropolis* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989); Bradford Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix: A Profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American communities, 1860–1992* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994).

[11] Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*.

[12] Jeanne M. Powers, "Forgotten History: Mexican American School Segregation in Arizona from 1900-1951," *Equity & Excellence in Education* 41, no. 4 (2008): 467–81; Matthew C. Whitaker, "Desegregating the Valley of the Sun: *Phillips V. Phoenix Union High Schools*," *Western Legal History: The Journal of the Ninth Circuit Historical Society* 16, no. 2 (2003): 135–157; Ellis O. Knox, "Racial Integration in the Public Schools of Arizona, Kansas and New Mexico," *The Journal of Negro Education* 23, no. 3 (1954): 290–95.

[13] Knox, "Racial Integration."

Soon after the *Phillips v. Phoenix Union High School District* case, the school experienced a demographic shift from predominantly White to a majority Mexican American and Black school from the 1950s to 1960s. What also ensued was the neglect of the school's facilities and educational quality students were receiving.[14] The school and district's negligence to provide a quality learning environment and education led to frustration amongst Chicana/o and Black students and parents who spoke up in 1968 and 1969. Feeling like there was no resolution by the fall of 1970, Chicana/o students, parents, supporters, and community leaders and organizations staged a nearly month-long boycott of Phoenix Union High School from October 9 to November 2, 1970. By 1979, Phoenix Union High School continued to hold the district's highest percentage of minority student enrollment with 94.2%.[15] Under *Castro v. Phoenix Union High School District #210*, Black and Chicana/o parents sued the district in 1982 under the claim of racial discrimination for unfairly proposing to close Phoenix Union High School.[16] Ultimately in August of 1982, Judge Valdemar A. Cordova ruled in favor of Chicana/o and Black parents and issued an injunctive relief, citing that closing Phoenix Union High School would be racially discriminatory and have a negative impact on the equal educational opportunity of the plaintiffs.[17] Yet in the months following the *Castro* decision, the Phoenix Union High School District "exercised its legal right to develop an alternate plan on the issue of school closures and

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[14] Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 60.

[15] *Analysis of Criteria for School Closure: A Report to the Board of Education*, Phoenix Union High School District, November 1, 1979. Cited in Richard R. Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts: The Mexican American Legal Struggle for Educational Equality* (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

[16] Richard R. Valencia, 'The School Closure Issue and the Chicano Community: A Follow-up Study of the 'Angeles' Case," *Urban Review* 16, no. 3 (1984): 145–63.

[17] Richard R. Valencia, *Understanding School Closures Discriminatory Impact on Chicano and Black Students* (ERIC Clearinghouse, 1984).

budgetary problems that would meet the constitutional and legal principles of the case."[18] As a result, these events led to the eventual closure of Phoenix Union High School in November of 1982.[19]

Making Sense of Race at Phoenix Union High School from 1968 to 1970

Considering the larger historical framing of Phoenix Union, educational inequalities at the school did not exist in a vacuum. The documented racial demographics of the Phoenix Union High School and District in relation to attendance boundaries between 1968 and 1969 indicated how heavily schools were segregated.[20] Phoenix Union High School studies and reports demonstrate that Chicana/o and Black students were centralized throughout Inner-City and South Phoenix schools while Caucasian students were highly concentrated in North Phoenix schools.[21]Out of the district's eleven schools, Phoenix Union High School contained the district's highest student population of Chicana/o and Black students between 1968 and 1969.[22] The Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 required secondary schools to submit a school report to the Office of Civil Rights outlining racial demographics of persons including students and administration. In 1968, Phoenix Union High School reported 1,774 "Spanish Surnamed American" and 960 "Negro" students.[23] In comparison, the school administration did not reflect the school's majority student of color population. From 166 school administrative staff including

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[18] Valencia, *Understanding School Closures.*

[19] Valencia, *Understanding School Closures.*

[20] Racial identifiers in this section are written as how they are depicted on the Phoenix Union High School reports and studies including: Spanish Surnamed American for Mexican American, Negro for Black, and Caucasian for White.

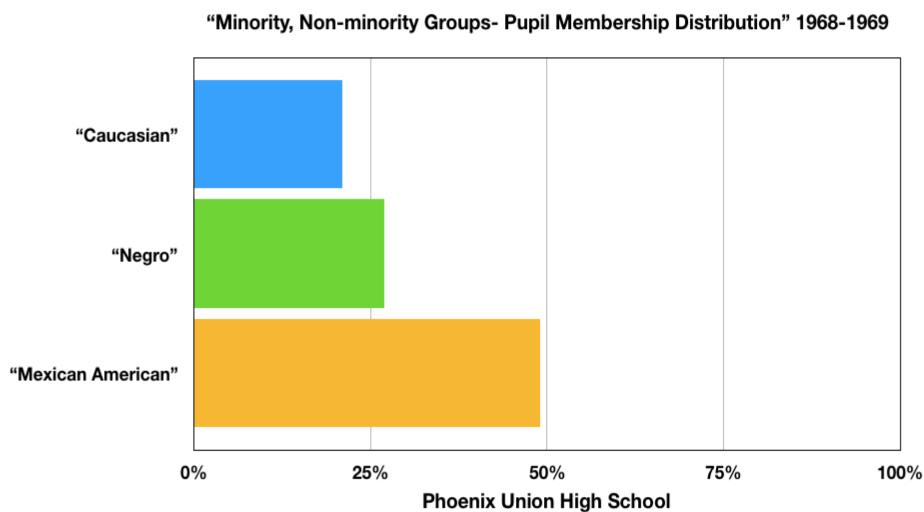
[21] *A Special Research Report: The Ethnic Background of Phoenix Union High School System Students* (Department of Research and Planning June 5, 1969).

[22] *A Special Research Report.*

[23] PUHS Office of Civil Rights Individual School Report (1968).

the principals, assistant principals, classroom teachers, and other instructional staff, only 21 were people of color and all were "Spanish Surnamed American" or "Negro."[24] These numbers, as reported to the Office of Civil Rights, demonstrate a clear racial imbalance between a majority White administration and majority Chicana/o and Black student body.

When comparing Phoenix Union's racial demographics with the district, the numbers demonstrated the presence of vast racial segregation between schools. A 1969 two-year study by Dr. Lloyd Colvin, the district's System Director of Research and Planning, thoroughly captured the racial demographics of schools in the entire district.[25] In the academic year of 1968 and 1969, Phoenix Union's Mexican American and Black student population comprised a combined 75 percent of Phoenix Union's total student population, but only made up 20 percent of the entire district (Figure 3).[26]



[24] PUHS Office of Civil Rights Individual School Report.

[25] PUHSD School Board Minutes, "Oral Report on the Minority Races in the PUHS System," Dr. Lloyd Colvin.

[26] *A Special Research Report.*

Figure 3. Phoenix Union High School, “Minority, Non-minority Groups—Pupil Membership Distribution,” 1968–69.

In comparison, the “Caucasian” enrollment made up 78 percent of the district but predominantly concentrated in schools north of Phoenix Union (Figure 4).[27]

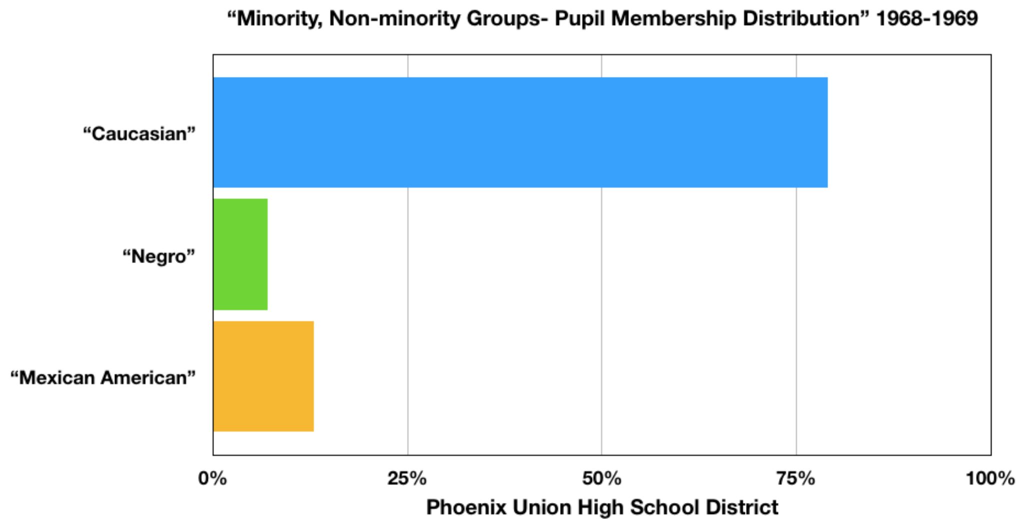


Figure 4. Phoenix Union High School District, “Minority, Non-minority Groups—Pupil Membership Distribution,” 1968–69.

The enrollment of “Caucasian” students was heavily clear in northern schools such as Camelback High School with 98 percent and Central High School with 97 percent (Figure 5).[28]

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27 *A Special Research Report.*

28 *A Special Research Report.*

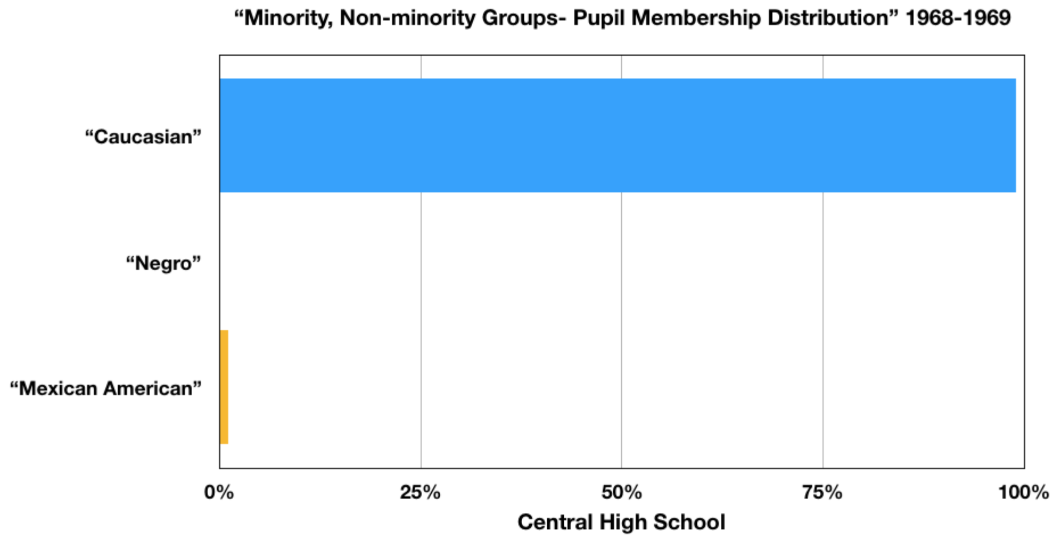

Figure 5. Central High School, “Minority, Non-minority Groups—Pupil Membership Distribution,” 1968–69.

Between 1967 to 1970, the “Caucasian” student enrollment at Phoenix Union High School dropped from 35 percent to 7 percent (Figure 6).[29] Subsequently, the 1970 Census figures for the tracts within Phoenix Union High school’s attendance boundaries demonstrate a massive White flight of Caucasian students from Phoenix Union. The census for 1970 showed that Caucasians comprised 67% of the district’s total attendance population, while 26% of students self-identified as having a Spanish surname and 7% were identified under the racial category Negro.[30]

[29] P. B. Mann, “PUHS Enrollment to Peak at 3,000, Report Predicts,” *The Arizona Republic* (December 23, 1969), 17.

[30] 1970 Census Tract Maps ASU CRC CPLC B2 F8; US Department of Commerce-Bureau of the Census 1970 Census Tracts Phoenix, Arizona Census of Population and Housing.

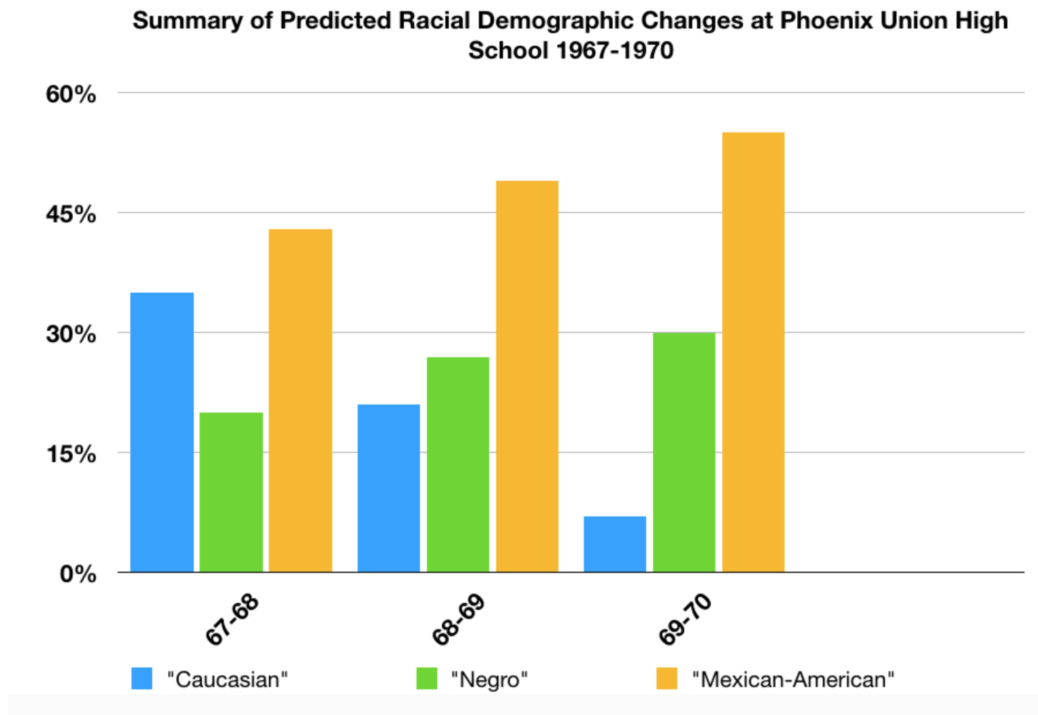

Figure 6. Summary of Predicted Racial Demographic Changes at Phoenix Union High School, 1967–1970.

Colvin's findings demonstrated a major irreversible White flight of enrollment and affluence within the past decade that would not change unless the image of the school bettered leaving Phoenix Union to a majority of Chicana/o and Black students whose families are about 45 percent with annual incomes below the federal poverty line.[31] When mapped out, the racial demographics of district schools present geographic segregation between schools in North, South, and Inner-City Phoenix. This racial segregation amongst schools in the district is emblematic of the city's historically racialized residential segregation between a predominantly

[31] Mann, "PUHS Enrollment," 17.

White North Phoenix and predominantly Chicana/o and Black Inner-City and South Phoenix (Figure 7).[32]

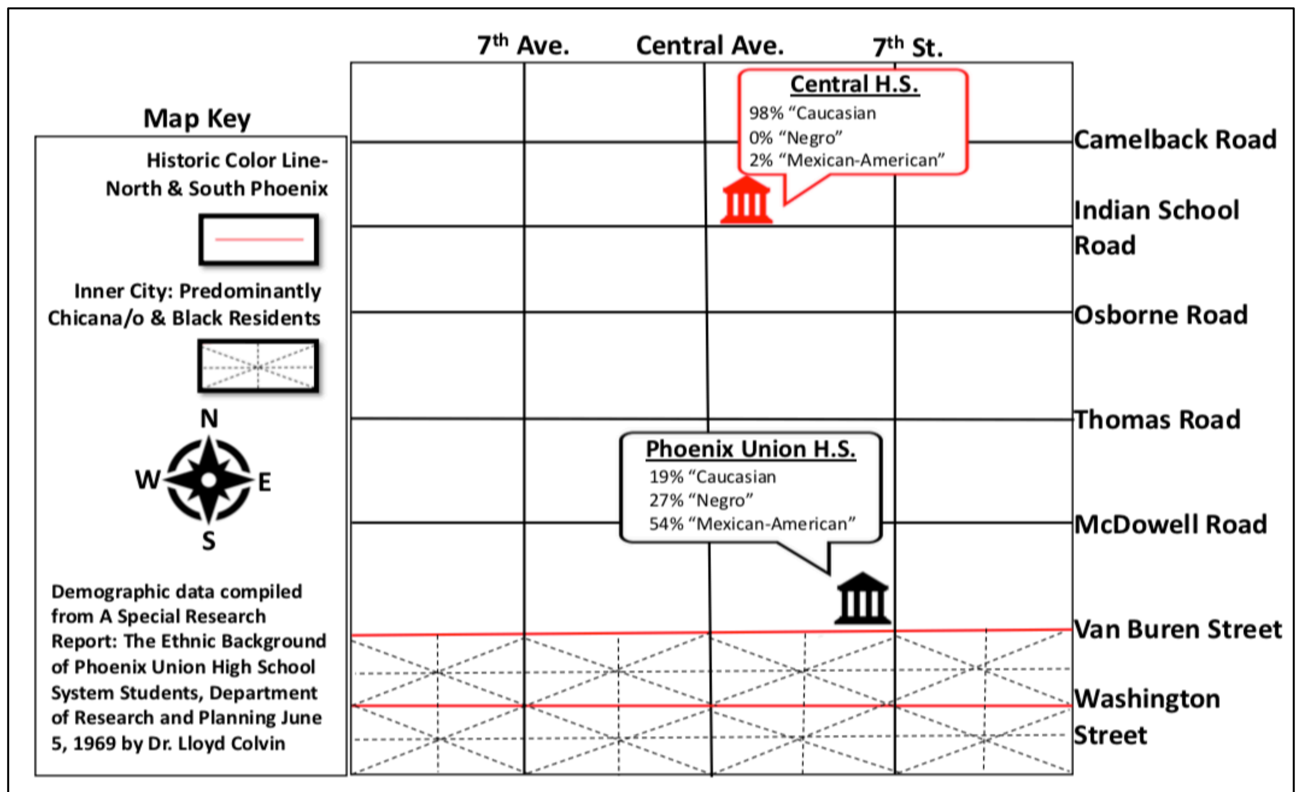

Figure 7. Phoenix Union High School Map

The stark difference in racial demographics between Phoenix Union High School and District's staff, administration, and student body further affirm distinct patterns of segregation. Conversely, the attitudes and ideologies of White administrators also revealed racialized attitudes when addressing matters of race and racism at Phoenix Union High School and District. Such racialized attitudes are demonstrated in Colvin's same study. The study demonstrates the racial disparities amongst school's imperative to achieving racial integration and educational equality. Although Colvin's attitudes regarding the study's questions the need to create awareness

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[32] Shirley J. Roberts, "Minority-Group Poverty in Phoenix: A Socio-Economic Survey," *The Journal of Arizona History* 14, no. 4 (1973): 347–62.

amongst Phoenix Union High School and District administrators of student populations by trivializing the federal government's flip-flop choices to document racial demographics.[33] Specifically, Colvin's study abstract contextualizes his report of the district's racial make-up in relation to current social protest in the United States. Colvin refers to this as "racial unrest in America" and offers the study as a district warning for "some lead time prior to a 'Watts' incident."[34] The Phoenix Union High School District Superintendent, Dr. Howard C. Seymour shared this same concern but felt that they did not have the lead time because "we have trouble in Phoenix."[35] Colvin's and Seymour's perceptions of race, the purpose of the report, and social unrest exemplify an administrative failure to recognize the existing inequalities in the district and utilize the study's finding to implement to address them.

Objectives

Scholarship documenting Chicana/o history highlighting acts of resistance for educational equality provide a lens into one of the many concerns that shaped the Chicana/o movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s.[36] The geographies of these histories have

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[33] *A Special Research Report.*

[34] Ibid; Watts is referred as in the Los Angeles Watts Rebellion that began on August 11, 1965 and lasted for six days in protest of Marquette Frye's arrest. See Kelly Lytle Hernández, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771–1965* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 193–194.

[35] "PUHS Board Okays "Packet Photo Plan," *The Arizona Republic*, June 6, 1969, 10.

[36] Mario Barrera, *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002); Ruben Donato, *The Other Struggle for Equal Schools: Mexican Americans during the Civil Rights Era* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1997); Gilbert G. Gonzalez, *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2013); Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican students por la raza: the chicano student movement in Southern California 1967-1977* (Santa Barbara, California: Ed. La Causa, 1978); Vicki L. Ruiz, *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts.*

thoroughly documented more recognized movements such as the 1968 East Los Angeles Blowouts, Crystal City in 1969, and Denver West High School Walkout in 1969.[37] Beyond these prominent Chicana/o educational historical events exist other examples of student and community resistance challenging educational inequalities, racism, and other intersecting forms of oppression that have been under documented. In the larger cannon of Chicana/o history, specifically education, documentation of Phoenix Chicana/o educational experiences is very limited including the 1970 Phoenix Union High School Chicana/o Boycott in Phoenix, Arizona.[38] Works such as *Chicanos in the Courts: The Mexican American Legal Struggle for Educational Equality*, by Richard R. Valencia, and the most recent publication *Aztlán Arizona: Mexican American Educational Empowerment, 1968-1978*, by Darius V. Echeverria, are some of a few texts written by non-White historians that highlight or privilege issues of Chicana/o educational inequity and social movements in Arizona.

The composition of this Critical Race Educational History is framed through Critical Race Theory lens and carried out through a Critical Race Educational History methodology. While historians of color in the legacies of their work discuss race as a component of their larger narratives, my dissertation's theoretical framing and methods intentionally and unapologetically center race and racism. For this dissertation, the research timeframe has been designated from 1968 to 1970. This timeframe has been chosen to gain a detailed understanding of race/racism

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[37] Dolores Delgado Bernal, "Grassroots Leadership Reconceptualized: Chicana Oral Histories and the 1968 East Los Angeles School Blowouts," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 19, no. 2 (1998): 113–142; Guadalupe San Miguel, *Chicana/o struggles for education: activism in the community* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2013)

[38] D. V. Echeverría, *Aztlán Arizona: Mexican American Educational Empowerment, 1968-1978* (Tucson: Univerity of Aarizona Press, 2014); Luckingham, 1994; Meeks (2007), Rosales (1997), Whitaker (2005)

and the educational experiences of Chicanas/os at Phoenix Union giving way to a boycott from October 9 to November 2, 1970. While Echeverria's work thoroughly covers the boycott from beginning to end, I seek to contribute to the narrative by tracing Chicana/o grievances further back and understanding the relational experience to Black Phoenix Union students. Furthermore, my use of archival sources coupled with collaborative oral histories with Joe Eddie Lopez, Rose Marie Lopez, Ronnie Lopez, Daniel Ortega, Barbara Valencia, and Elias Esquer is intent on filling gaps within existing works.

Guiding Research Questions

I am specifically interested the conditions of the high school that led the Chicana/o community to organize a boycott in response to what they felt were inequal educational conditions at Phoenix Union High School. Moreover, I am interested in the formation and raising of consciousness of boycott participants and supporters who identified as Chicana/o and aligned themselves with the larger Chicana/o movement. To understand this, I look to Gómez-Quiñones' conceptualization of group consciousness where in his analysis of identity as consciousness defines it as "an expression of historical identification and class and cultural allegiance."[39] Furthermore, Gómez-Quiñones explains that in a political framework group consciousness "attempts to comprehend the group interests and their relation to individual circumstances" and is group consciousness is heightened the designated identity, in this case Chicana/o, it takes on "psychological, political, and ideological ramifications."[40] As a result, I am concerned with creating a historical universe of this particular Chicana/o movement in Phoenix comprised of all

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[39] Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Chicano Politics: Reality and Promise 1940-1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 6.

[40] Gómez-Quiñones, *Chicano Politics*, 6.

the actors to gain a detailed understanding of the dominant narratives of race and education at the high school in order to piece together the Chicana/o historical counterstory as part of this Critical Race Educational History. Through archival research and oral history collaborations, the following research questions guide this study:

Central Research Question

- Why and how was the Phoenix Union High School Chicana/o Boycott of 1970 organized and who were the main stakeholders behind the organizational efforts?

This central research question is intent on establishing a historical universe of the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott researched, analyzed, and constructed through a CRT lens and CREH methods. By recounting the boycott through this approach, we can create a counterstory that centers the lived experiences of Chicanas/os and interrogates institutional and structural racism maintained by a predominantly White Phoenix Union High School administration and District School Board.

Sub-question 1

- What was the socio-economic context of the community within the attendance boundaries of Phoenix Union High School in the period of the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott? How is the socio-economic context relevant to the educational conditions of Phoenix Union High School during the period of the boycott?

Studying a variety of scholarly secondary on Phoenix, Arizona history provided critical insight into the racialized foundations and establishment of the city. As a result, secondary scholarship provides parallels with the racialized educational experiences of Chicanas/os, Mexican Americans, and Mexicans in Phoenix. Moreover, this context also offers insight into the historical relational experiences with other communities of color, particularly Black communities in the Valley and Phoenix Union. As a result, this sub-question provides an opportunity to contextualize the socio-economic context of Chicanas/os in Phoenix during this time period and

identify the relationship between race, socio-economic conditions of the communities within the school's boundaries, and the quality of education at Phoenix Union High School.

Sub-question 2

- What were the outcomes of the 1970 Phoenix Union High School Chicana/o Boycott? How did the district and high school meet the demands and needs of the Chicana/o community?

By identifying and understanding the outcomes of the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union we can better understand the short- and long-term impacts at Phoenix Union and in the Chicana/o community. Moreover, it provides the space for Chicana/o oral history collaborators to voice their perspective of the boycott's outcomes. Furthermore, analyzing the boycott's outcomes helps to further interrogate the persistence of race, racism, and educational inequalities at Phoenix Union and if any substantial change took place amongst White school administrators and board members.

Chapter Summary

This chapter established how I came to this research, followed by the contextualization of Phoenix Union's history coupled with a brief look into the school's 1968 and 1969 racial demographics. The chapter then culminated by outlining the study's rationale and guiding research for focusing on the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union High School. This study is informed by a CRT theoretical framework and CREH methodologies and is intent on creating a historical universe comprised of all the actors to gain a detailed understanding of the dominant narratives of race and education at Phoenix Union. The following chapter consists of a literature review.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter Roadmap

The city of Phoenix was no stranger to racial exclusionary measures that took form through de jure and de facto segregation and lack of just educational opportunities for students of color from low-income segregated areas of the city. Although Chicanas/os in Phoenix were not impacted by de jure and de facto segregation the same as their African American counter parts, racial exclusion was still present in both their socio-economic, political, and educational experiences. This first chapter will outline the focus of the literature review followed by guiding questions that helped in setting parameters in selecting literature. This chapter then continues to elaborate on the three areas of literature: Phoenix, Arizona History, Chicanas/os in Phoenix, and Chicana/o education. The discussion of the literature in this chapter is then followed by a brief discussion the strengths and weaknesses of the literature culminating then with a chapter summary.

Literature Review Focus

This literature review has been narrowed to three areas of focus to better contextualize the correlations between the literature and my dissertation research. First, I focus on a general overview and analysis of Arizona and Phoenix history literature to better understand how historians documented the foundation of the city, race, and racism, and how communities of color are portrayed within these narratives. Second, the chapter then reviews historical literature on Phoenix, Arizona to highlight the presence and contributions of Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Chicanas/os. Last, the chapter briefly covers literature focusing on historical accounts of Chicana/o educational social movements to better understand how the 1970 Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union High School fits into this arc.

Although overlap exists in the literature, certain areas of history remain contested or lack thorough documentation. For example, much of the history literature in this review focusing on Arizona and Phoenix has been interpreted and written primarily by white historians. As a result, in much of this literature Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Chicanas/os in Phoenix remain absent and if mentioned are depicted from a deficit lens thus failing to capture their rich experiences and contributions. Although, the research process unveiled the presence of existing and gowning body of literature addressing this gap by documenting the histories of Mexicans, Mexican Americas, and Chicanas/os in the Valley of the Sun. Additionally, there is an abundant amount of documented Chicana/o histories focusing on educational issues and social movements written from the perspective of Chicanas/os. While these accounts capture diverse regional Chicana/o experiences including California, Texas, and Colorado the documentation of Chicana/o educational histories in Arizona, specifically Phoenix, is very small in comparison.

Literature Review Guiding Questions

To frame the relevance of these secondary sources, the review is guided by the following question. The literature has been compiled and analyzed through a Critical Race Theory and Critical Race Educational History lens. Thus, the questions are intent to guide further analysis of existing historical narratives and identifying how primary sources including archives and oral history collaborations can further contextualize the 1970 Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union High School. The guiding questions for this literature review are as follows:

1. How and what narratives are constructed around Chicanas/os in Phoenix and Arizona?
2. How are the educational experiences of Chicana/os in Phoenix be connected to the city history of Phoenix?
3. What are some of the larger conversations in the literature pertaining to Chicana/o education relevant to the 1970 Phoenix Union High School boycott?

Situating my dissertation research within these three areas of literature guided by these questions will allow for a better understanding of Chicana/o students, parent, and organizer experiences during the 1970 boycott of Phoenix Union High School.

Phoenix and Arizona History

Historical documentation of Arizona's transition from territory to state as well as Phoenix's establishment as a city centers white settlers along with their perspectives and narratives. Yet, in between these narratives exist significant racial and racialized histories that capture the proliferation of white perspectives while failing to acknowledge the presence and contributions of communities of color in Phoenix and Arizona. Thus, to compose historical counterstories, it is imperative to read and understand how white historians documented Phoenix and Arizona's past. This section explores a variety of scholarly accounts that have either written in or out the racialized historical narratives.

Historians who relegated the Valley's Indigenous ancestries non-existent contribute to the erasure of Indigenous peoples in the Salt River Valley including the Akimel O'odham and Pee Posh. Dominant historical narratives refer to the land were Phoenix was established as previously uninhabited referring to the Hohokam peoples responsible for the vast water canal system solely as ghosts who wander the Valley.[1] Powell states that the Hohokam people mysteriously seized to exist and called for the need of a "new race of men" or white settlers to resurrect the phoenix.[2] He further emphasized this need by stating that "then came the Anglos' turn to rule the valley. Indians, Spaniards, and Mexicans had taken theirs."[3] Such a framing of the early history of the

[1] Lawrence Clark Powell, *Arizona: A Bicentennial History* (New York: Norton, 1976).

[2] Powell, *Arizona.*

[3] Powell, *Arizona*, 84.

Valley fails to acknowledge how the Akimel O'Odham settled along the Gila River just southeast of Phoenix, the arrival of the Pee Posh in the mid to late eighteenth century, and their later move to the Salt River Valley.[4] Additionally, it exemplifies a racialized documented history of Phoenix centering white settlers and erasing the contributions and presence of Indigenous communities. Moreover, Comeaux contributes to this dominant historical narrative of the Salt River Valley as free-range land absent of Indigenous and Mexican inhabitants who held a connection to the land.[5] Comeaux minimized Hohokam cultural customs and traditions as representative of "Mexican high culture" drawing similarities to southern Mexico because of their proximity to the south and as a result labeling their traits not as "sophisticated."[6]

During the closing of Arizona statehood bill in 1906, Indiana Senator Albert J. Beveridge asked a myriad of rhetorical questions regarding racism in the state, particularly regarding Mexicans and Americans. To which he responded that "there has never been a disturbance of the racial kind in either Arizona."[7] Yet, the establishment of the City of Phoenix and the ensuing racialization of communities of color demonstrated otherwise. According to Bolin et al., Phoenix was founded by Anglos and historically had no indication of pre-existing Indian or Mexican settlements to displace.[8] The Valley where Phoenix resides and the Salt River that runs through the southern portion of the city is described in the historical narratives as one that was previously

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[4] Patricia Gober, *Metropolitan Phoenix: Place Making and Community Building in the Desert* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 113.

[5] Malcolm L. Comeaux, *Arizona: A Geography* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1981).

[6] Comeaux, *Arizona*, 71.

[7] Ralph Mahoney, "The Story of Arizona is a Story of People," *This is Arizona: Fiftieth Anniversary from Arizona Days and Ways Magazine*, February 11, 1962, 57-65.

[8] Bob Bolin et al., "The Geography of Despair: Environmental Racism and the Making of South Phoenix, Arizona, USA," *Human Ecology Review* 12, no. 2 (2005): 156–168; Thomas E. Sheridan, *Arizona: A History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995).

agriculturally abundant. Thus, a significant reason as to why settlers established themselves there in the 1860s. Amongst these settlers is Jack Swilling an Anglo officer from the South who deserted the Confederate Army credited as the founding "Father of Phoenix" and first to establish Phoenix's first modern canal system from the Hohokam remnants.[9] Anglo settlers like Jack Swilling were drawn to the Salt River Valley's immediate access to water that contributed to the farming and agricultural economy that allowed Phoenix to grow and attract nearly 200 settlers by 1870.[10]

Phoenix and Arizona's ties to the Confederacy were deeper than just Swilling deserting his post with the Confederate army. McWilliams states that the first Anglo settlers to arrive to Arizona more than likely were from former Confederacy states thus explaining that they wasted no time making Arizona a "white buffer state" between New Mexico and Sonora, Mexico. Moreover, during the United States Civil War between 1861 and 1865, the Territory of Arizona became a battle ground as the North and South fought for control of the Southwest. This began with Lieutenant John Robert Baylor of the Second Texas Mounted Rifles during his Confederate service proclaimed at "Territory of Arizona" for the Confederacy on August 1, 1861. In the declaration of Arizona's territory to the Confederacy, Baylor self-appointed the territorial office and himself governor claiming that the social and political condition of Arizona is a "little short of general anarchy, and the people being literally destitute of law, order, and protection." Confederate President Jefferson Davis confirmed the appointments and received approval under

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[9] Bradford Luckingham, *Phoenix: The History of a Southwestern Metropolis* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989)

[10] Odie B. Faulk, *Arizona: A Short History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970); Philip R. VanderMeer, *Desert Visions and the Making of Phoenix, 1860-2008* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010).

an 1861 Bill passed by the Confederate Congress that allowed for Baylor's organization of the Territory of Arizona under the Confederacy and required the territory's constitution to permanently maintain slavery. Ultimately, Baylor was removed from his post as governor by President Davis because of his plot to commit genocide of local "hostile" Indigenous communities and the Confederacy collapsed in the territory in Arizona by July of 1862 after Union forces began to take control.

In addition to the Arizona's Confederate ties, racial inequality could be argued was forged by white supremacy in the foundation of Arizona is also evident in the presence of the Ku Klux Klan in Phoenix. Initially the Klan's presence was seen in Phoenix with the showing of the film *Birth of a Nation.* Despite the city commission banning the film's screening after Black Phoenicians protested, public backed promoters brought the film to Phoenix with a thirty-piece orchestra for a twenty-week showcase at the Elk's Theater only to be withdrawn in May of 1916.[11] By the 1920s, the Ku Klux Klan was known to be active in both urban and rural Arizona. Abbey traces the Ku Klux Klan's activity in Arizona to Phoenix, its place of origin, in 1921 making themselves known to the public with an announcement in the *Arizona Republic's* newspaper columns on June 7.[12] According to Luckingham, by May of 1922 approximately 300 Phoenicians had become members of the Klan making up more than one third of the state's entire enrollment. Amongst those enrolled as members of the Ku Klux Klan in Phoenix included Mayor Willis H. Plunkett, Maricopa County Sheriff J. G. Montgomery, and *Arizona (Phoenix)*

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[11] Bradford Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix: A Profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American Communities, 1860-1992* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994), 140.

[12] Sue Wilson Abbey, "The Ku Klux Klan in Arizona, 1921-1925," *The Journal of Arizona History* 14, no. 1 (1973): 10–30.

Gazette city editor Tom Akers.[13] Ultimately by 1924, the momentum of the Ku Klux Klan dwindled after several years of political activity and violent calls to assist with law and order.[14]

White settlers in Phoenix utilized different strategies in the city's development to ensure that it remained an Anglo city. This included boosting the image of the city as one welcoming to white settlers to aided to the erasure of the presence and contributions of Indigenous, Mexican, Black, and Chinese communities.[15] As far back as 1870, boosterism was utilized in Phoenix to promote their communities a "desirable place to settle and do business."[16] According to Luckingham, Phoenix received more importance once the capital was relocated from Prescott, the entrance of the railroad system and the entryway for capital, agriculture, and investors. McKay as referenced in the "The Evolution of Early Phoenix" by Larsen and Alameddin state that boosterism was an economic phenomenon that called the attention of American elites who abandoned their cities of growing areas for better return investment.[17] The use of boosterism by economic elites with political power in the city were keen on ensuring that to the outside world, Phoenix would be attractive and suitable for people seeking to escape the realities of America. One way in which they did this was by promoting the city of Phoenix as an oasis free of any unwanted inhabitants. According to Luckingham as referenced by Bolin et al., ridding itself of

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[13] Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 140.

[14] Abbey, "The Ku Klux Klan in Arizona."

[15] Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*, 140; Abigail M. York and Christopher G. Boone, "Inventing Phoenix: Land Use, Politics, and Environmental Justice," in *The American Environment Revisited: Environmental Historical Geographies of the United States,* eds. Geoffrey L. Buckley and Yolanda Youngs (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), 161–180.

[16] Bradford Luckingham, "Urban Development in Arizona: The Rise of Phoenix," *The Journal of Arizona History* 22, no. 2 (1981): 197–234.

[17] Larissa Larsen and David Alameddin, "The Evolution of Early Phoenix: Valley Business Elite, Land Speculation, and the Emergence of Planning," *Journal of Planning History* 6, no. 2 (2007): 111.

the desert image was a goal to promote the city as attractive to outsiders.[18] Bolin et al. further exemplify that the city not only sought to rid itself of its desert image but also depict the landscape as racially exclusive space for Anglo settlers:

> Phoenix began as a self-identified "Anglo city," and municipal boosters aggressively promoted its image as '[…] a modern town of forty thousand people, and the best kind of people too. A very small percentage for Mexicans, Negroes, or foreigners.[19]

Phoenix boosters pushed towards establishing a racially exclusive city that replicated and reinforced racial marginalization where Anglos were deemed economically, politically, and socially superior to minority counterparts that composed the city of Phoenix.

Chicanas/os in Arizona and Phoenix

The establishment of Phoenix varied from other major cities in the Southwest because its thriving nature attracted Anglo-European settlers that easily imposed their cultural values on the local minority populations and excluded them from establishing themselves in society meaningfully. Oberle and Arreola claim that the Mexican ancestry of the city had been whitewashed despite their large population and critical role in constructing the city's first cultural landscape. Mexican population that arrived in Phoenix were laborers and similar immigration patterns have remained consistent. In the establishment and development of early Phoenix, Mexicans and Mexican Americans provided much of the labor in agricultural that was exploited during short labor gaps along the Salt River Valley stemming back to the late

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[18] Bob Bolin et al., "Double Exposure in the Sunbelt: The Sociospatial Distribution of Vulnerability in Phoenix, Arizona," in *Urbanization and Sustainability: Linking Urban Ecology, Environmental Justice and Global Environmental Change*, eds. Christopher G. Boone and Michail Fragkias (New York: Springer, 2013), 159–178; Bradford Luckingham, *Phoenix: The History of a Southwestern Metropolis* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989).

[19] Bolin et al., "Double Exposure in the Sunbelt."

nineteenth century while encountering racial discrimination.[20] Despite white settlers claiming ownership over the Hohokam Indigenous knowledge of irrigation, the labor and skillsets of Mexicans and Mexican Americans was key to one of the city's economic foundations—the establishment of the city's canals.[21]

In the early years of Phoenix's development as a city, Mexicans made up half of the population and did have some level of involvement in the city's economy.[22] Although with the entrance of the railroad in 1879, the status of Mexicans and Mexican Americans declined relegating them as a mere source for cheap labor in the city.[23] By the 1950s, a new wave of Mexicans and Mexican Americans made their way to Phoenix, specifically South Phoenix, re-shaping the ethnic and racial mix of the area.[24] The fundamental Anglo ideological and dominant roots in the historical narrative of Phoenix, it would become a tough town for Mexicans. Due to the re-composition of the Phoenix's city government structure, Mexicans lost the little political power they did have in Phoenix's early years despite being a significant majority of the city's largest population.[25]

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[20] Jaime R. Águila and F. Arturo Rosales, "Lost Land and México Lindo: Origins of Mexicans in Arizona's Salt River Valley, 1865-1910," in *Mexican Workers and the Making of Arizona*, eds. Luis F. B. Plasencia and Gloria H. Cuádraz (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018), 62; Matthew C. Whitaker, *Race Work: The Rise of Civil rights in the Urban West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 203.

[21] York and Boone, "Inventing Phoenix."

[22] Pete R. Dimas, *Progress and a Mexican American Community's Struggle for Existence* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 22.

[23] Dimas, *Progress*, 22.

[24] Bob Bolin et al., "Environmental Equity in a Sunbelt City: The Spatial Distribution of Toxic Hazards in Phoenix, Arizona," *Environmental Hazards* 2, no. 1 (2000): 11–24.

[25] Alex P. Oberle and Daniel D. Arreola, "Resurgent Mexican Phoenix," *Geographical Review* 98, no. 2 (2008): 171-196.

During the closing of Arizona statehood bill in 1906, Indiana Senator Albert J. Beveridge asked a myriad of rhetorical questions regarding racism in the state, particularly regarding Mexicans and Americans. To which he responded that "there has never been a disturbance of the racial kind in either Arizona." Yet, the establishment of the City of Phoenix and the ensuing racialization of communities of color, including Mexicans, demonstrates otherwise. VanderMeer highlights the early stages in Phoenix developing as a town site and contributes to the erasure of Mexican and Indigenous history by stating there was no Mexican heritage, and the Indigenous connection was ancient and non-existent in the Valley.[26] Although Servín contends that Mexican and Mexican-Americans impact on the development of Arizona at large began after the 1853 Gadsden Purchase.[27] As statehood was approaching in 1911, the city exhibited their desire to distance themselves from the city's Mexican origins whitewashing its history by renaming Montezuma and Cortez Street to First and Second Avenue.[28] Additionally, according to Arreola and Hartwell the Indigenous and Mexican footprint in the Salt River Valley was slowly eroded by Anglos and further solidified racial dominance when Jack Swilling married a Mexican woman named Trinidad Escalante. The dominant narratives prioritize Jack Swilling's credit to the founding of Phoenix rendering Trinidad Escalante as absent and non-existent.[29] As a result, Dean and Reynolds assert that Trinidad Escalante Swilling can be considered the "Mother of Phoenix" thus suggesting that a Mexican woman was one of Phoenix's founders.[30]

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[26] VanderMeer, *Desert Visions*, 16.

[27] Manuel P. Servin, "The Role of Mexican Americans in the Development of Early Arizona," in *The Mexican-Americans: An Awakened Minority* (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1974): 28–44.

[28] Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*; York and Boone, "Inventing Phoenix," 162.

[29] Oberle and Arreola, "Resurgent Mexican Phoenix."

[30] David R. Dean and Jean A. Reynolds, *Hispanic Historic Property Survey: A Final Report* (Mesa: Athenaeum Public History Group, 2006), 112.

Next to Indigenous communities, Mexicans made up a one of Arizona majority populations serving as strong labor force working on the rail roads, mining, and agriculture.[31] Stanley elaborates that the labor of Mexicans has been crucial to Phoenix's entire historical economy despite "a strong undercurrent of racism."[32] Amongst the Valley's communities of color, Mexicans were one of the groups that were a source for cheap agricultural and domestic labor and as a result contributed to the city's population growth between 1910 and 1920 due to a need of labor and effects of the Mexican Revolution.[33] Dimas further explains that the initial draw of Mexican labor was due to activity in Arizona's mines during 1890s.[34] It wasn't until 1902 under the Newlands Reclamation Act that federal funding allowed for the Salt River agricultural to fully develop and flourish. As a result, Mexicans became essential as this growth of the agricultural economy increased the need for labor to cover the land being cultivated and to minimize costs enough to pay the federal government back for its investment cheap labor was sought.[35]

Deemed sources of cheap in Arizona, Mexicans were structurally weaved out of holding any political power. Two decades after the Gadsden Purchase, Meeks states that an existing Mexican American elite class subjugated the Mexican labor force as inferior because of their European-American heritage and lighter skin complexion.[36] This was further reinforced by

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[31] Dimas, *Progress*; Luis F. B. Plasencia and Gloria H. Cuádraz, *Mexican Workers and the Making of Arizona* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2018).

[32] Benjamin W. Stanley, *Transparent Urban Development: Building Sustainability Amid Speculation in Phoenix* (Switzerland: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017), 99.

[33] Luckingham, "Urban Development in Arizona."

[34] Dimas, *Progress*, 25.

[35] Dimas, *Progress*, 25.

[36] Eric V. Meeks, *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007).

efforts to convert Arizona from a territory to a state. Anglo proponents of statehood faced an uphill battle against national political leaders who felt that because Arizona's large Mexican and Indigenous population were not suited for self-governance.[37] Yet, these same proponents in Arizona utilized the argument that the majority of its population was white, educated, and civilized and ultimately Indigenous or Mexicans would have a minimal role local government.[38] Similarly, according to Acuña, Arizona as a state institutionalized Mexicans as second-class citizens that in turn reinforced Anglo racism and cultural superiority.[39] Acuña further states this came as a result of an Anglo population increased in 1912 firmly establishing a "master-servant relationship" reinforced by news media, historians, and schools where Mexicans were tolerated but not accepted as equals.[40] Acuña and Meeks helps in setting the racialized historical tone of the establishment of Arizona as a territory and eventually a state. As Meeks states, racial inequality was not solely a means to achieve statehood—it was built into Arizona's identity from inception.[41]

When it came to residential segregation, boosterism contributed to the racialization of Mexicans in the Valley resulting from the division between North and South Phoenix. Mexicans were relegated to live in segregated wards in South Phoenix but also faced Jim Crow like segregation along with other racialized and segregated communities of color including African Americans.[42] Chicanas/os were relegated to live in South and Inner-City Phoenix while Anglos

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[37] Meeks, *Border Citizens.*

[38] Meeks, *Border Citizens.*

[39] Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation* (Canfield Press, 1972).

[40] Acuña, *Occupied America*.

[41] Meeks, *Border Citizens.*

[42] Sheridan, *Arizona*, 270–271.

resided in North Phoenix. Van Buren Street running east to west, Washington street running east to west, the Southern Pacific and Sante Fe Railroad Tracks, and the Salt River served as three separate demarcating color-lines of racial and socioeconomic.[43] In 1891, the Salt River that was revered for its agricultural richness was overrun by a flood that according to Dimas, "left much of the area south from Washington Street to the Salt River underwater."[44] As a result of the flood, Anglos deemed the flooded area as undesirable and because they had the economic mobility moved north.[45] Moreover, just south of Van Buren Street lies Washington Street running east to west that was also identified by US Latino war veterans as a "division line."[46] According to Ray Martinez, co-founder of Post 41, Chicanas/os could navigate Washington Street and enter some of the business but it was well known that north on Van Buren was off-limits.[47] Ray Martinez clearly denotes that an ideological boundary manifested in the form of a physical one known by the Latino war veterans that maintained and relegated them to certain parts of the cities and business establishments such as movie theatres.

Although Phoenix communities of color faced segregation and racialized sentiments, each group experienced and was confronted with racism and discrimination differently. Meeks states that Anglos, African Americans, and Mexicans had designated days at segregated city parks as well as segregation policies that were common in places such as movie theatres, swimming pools, and schools. Despite the segregation that impacted communities of color across

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[43] Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*; Andrew Ross, *Bird on Fire: Lessons from the Worlds Least Sustainable City* (New York: Oxford Press, 2011), 121.

[44] Dimas, *Progress*, 23.

[45] Dimas, *Progress*, 24.

[46] Charles H. Sanderson, *The Faces of Post 41: South Phoenix Latinos Fight for their Country Abroad, Battle for Their Civil Rights at Home* (Phoenix: Latino Media Perspectives, 2008).

[47] Sanderson, *The Faces of Post 41*, 16.

the board in Phoenix, the social acceptance and recognition of minorities varied. VanderMeer notes that because the racialized sentiment of Anglos was more accepting of groups that were non-Black and this allowed members of the Chicana/o community access to more opportunities including options of living outside of South Phoenix and economic success.[48] Though, because of Chicana/o racialized acceptance by adopting whiteness as a form of integration, there was a troubled relationship amongst them and the Black/African-American community. This resulted in very little support of Chicana/o to their Black-African American counterparts in actions and protests with Chicana/o leaders at times recommending that community members not participate and in other instances Chicanas/os vocalized their support of discrimination.

Although Mexicans and Mexican Americans were disenfranchised from local politics, they managed to challenge this by organizing within their own communities throughout the Valley. Mutual aid organizations, also known as mutualistas, in the Valley organized to provide aid to fellow compatriot and immigrant Mexicans and serve as a defense when their civil rights have been encroached on. Such societies in Phoenix can be traced as far back as 1888 with the presence of the Sociedad de Beneficia Mutua de la Raza Latina, the Alianza Hispano Americana in 1902, and La Liga Protectora Latina in 1915.[49] Phoenix was also home to other mutual aid organizations including Club Latino Americana and La Sociedad Mutualista Porfirio Diaz.[50] According to Marin, these mutual aid organizations:

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[48] VanderMeer, *Desert Visions*, 260.

[49] Olivia Arrieta and University of New Mexico-Southwest Hispanic Research Institute, *La Alianza Hispano Americana, 1894-1965: An Analysis of Organizational Development and Maintenance* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, Southwest Hispanic Research Institute, 1994); Francisco Arturo Rosales, *Testimonio: A Documentary History of the Mexican American Struggle for Civil Rights* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2000), 114.

[50] Christine Marin, *Mexican Americans on the Home Front: Community Organizations in Arizona during World War II* (Clearinghouse, 1987), 5.

> Provided an essential support system for the Mexicano against vestiges of racism and discrimination. Many proved to be the sources of cultural, social, and religious cohesion in Mexicano communities, and they remained strong and solid organizations in serving the needs of the Mexicanos.[51]

Moreover, the League of United Latin American Citizens or LULAC consisting of mostly middle-class Mexicans was first established in Texas in 1929 experienced an expansion of chapters across the southwest including Phoenix in 1940 by Placida Garcia-Smith and Maria A. Garcia. [52]

By 1968 the Chicana/o movement started to take shape in the Valley of the Sun. In particular, Chicanas/os in the barrios of South and Inner-City Phoenix began to develop an awareness and critique of the historical racial inequalities. To address the needs of their community and challenge these inequalities Chicana/o members of the Sacred Heart Parish founded Chicanos Por La Causa (CPLC) in late 1968 and early 1969 as "neighborhood membership-based advocacy organization."[53] CPLC was intent on confronting economic, educational, and housing inequalities through activism and protest.[54] According to Rosales, in the initial years CPLC's activities focused primarily on politics and educational issues.[55] Joe Eddie Lopez, one of the organizations many founders, acknowledges the organization's credibility solidified by Chicanas including but not limited Rose Marie Lopez and Teresa "Terri Cruz" and longtime established Chicanas in the city of Phoenix that helped build rapport with

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[51] Marin, *Mexican Americans on the Home Front*, 5.

[52] Christine Marin "LULAC and Veterans organize for Civil Rights in Tempe and Phoenix, 1940-1947," *Working Paper Series,* no. 29 (2001): 1–12.

[53] Meeks, *Border Citizens*; Alfredo Gutierrez, *To Sin Against Hope: Life and Politics on the Borderland* (London: Verso Books, 2013); Dimas, *Progress*.

[54] Dean and Reynolds, *Hispanic Historic Property Survey*, 112.

[55] Rosales, *Testimonio.*

older generations.[56] One of their early forms of activism came as a result of organizing the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union High School.[57]

Chicana/o Educational History

The literature review thus far has focused on the historical establishment of Phoenix and the exclusion of Chicanas/os in Phoenix. This exclusion discussed in the literature highlights the socio-economic and political racialization of Chicanas/os. In addition, there are several examples of how racial exclusionary measures manifested in the educational experiences of Chicanas/os in Phoenix, Arizona. This portion of the literature review offers a broad review of literature looking at Chicana/o educational history specifically highlighting regional documentation, litigation efforts, and educational social movements.

Educational Histories: A Brief Chicana/o Perspective

According to Valencia, the persistent inequalities confronting Chicanas/os and leading to what he defines as school failure is not something rather is a matter rooted deeply in history. Valencia captures these inequalities as educational oppression that is upheld by:

1. Personal attitudes or cultural values (e.g., deficit thinking; meritocracy); and
2. Institutional processes (e.g., segregation; curriculum differentiation); and
3. Effects or outcomes (e.g., low academic achievement; high dropout rates).

These inequalities have persisted as historical issues that structurally continue to marginalize Chicana/o students in public schools. Such inequalities present in Valley school, specifically Phoenix Union High School, resulted in the community to speak up and organize the 1969 Chicana/o walkout and the 1970 boycott.

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[56] Joe Eddie Lopez, "Early activism and creating Chicanos por La Causa," interview by Patricia Roeser, 2007-11-02, audio. Arizona Memory Project.

[57] Dean and Reynolds, *Hispanic Historic Property Survey*, 112.

Chicana/o educational historians have continued to theorize and document these historical conditions of schooling and Chicanas/os educational experiences across the United States, mostly concentrating out of the Southwest. Covering a range of 150 years of Mexican American education in the Southwest, San Miguel and Valencia examine how "the foundation of conflict, hostility, and discrimination, as symbolized by the Treaty [of Guadalupe Hidalgo], shaped the emergence, expansion, and changing character of public education for the Mexican American people."[58] Drawing from San Miguel's, San Miguel and Valencia further posit that Mexican American education could understood from two approaches—plight focusing on examining the relationships between schools and Mexica Americans and struggle focusing on exploring campaigns developed by Mexican Americans in search of an equal education.[59]

For Mexican American students, their experience in schools has one riddled with discrimination and exclusion.[60] These historical inequalities that made schooling for Mexican Americans negligible derive schools who placed blame on Mexican American communities labeling their cultural differences as a source of their educational deficiencies.[61] Moreover, according to San Miguel and Donato all forms of education served as a reproduction of a highly stratified society intent on ensuring Anglo political and cultural hegemony rendering Latinas/os

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[58] Guadalupe San Miguel Jr. and Richard R. Valencia, "From the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to Hopwood: The Educational Plight and Struggle of Mexican Americans in the Southwest," *Harvard Educational Review* 68, no. 3 (1998): 354.

[59] Guadalupe San Miguel Jr., "Status of the Historiography of Chicano Education: A Preliminary Analysis," *History of Education Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (1986): 523–536; San Miguel Jr. and Valencia, "From the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to Hopwood," 354.

[60] Meyer Weinberg, *A Chance to Learn: The History of Race and Education in the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 140.

[61] Thomas P. Carter, *Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect* (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970)

as socioeconomically subordinate.[62] Thus, Mexicans and Mexican Americans were relegated as only capable of manual labor by Anglos fearing education would make workers less docile thus destroying the social equilibrium maintaining these economic systems.[63] This much in part to what Gonzalez refers to as an expansionist system derived from Manifest Destiny that established historical patterns of political oppression and economic exploration of Mexicans across the southwest.[64]

Struggle in the Courts: The Battle against Segregation

Chicana/o educational historians have documented various accounts throughout the United States that focus on litigations surrounding segregation of Mexican and Mexican American students. According to Donato et al., the increase of Mexican populations and barrioization of Chicana/o communities led to the entrenchment of school segregation between the 1920s into the 1970s when Chicana/o and Latina/o students witnessed a national increase in segregation.[65] The review of the cases outlined below is done in alignment with this study's interdisciplinary approach to expose how school officials and judges, or white architects of Mexican American education, upheld white supremacy to segregate Mexican and Mexican

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[62] Guadalupe San Miguel Jr. and Ruben Donato, "Latino Education in Twentieth-Century America: A Brief History," in *Handbook of Latinos and Education: Theory, Research, and Practice,* eds. Murillo, Villenas, Trinidad Galván, Sánchez Muñoz, Martínez, and Machado-Casas (New York: Routledge, 2009), 27–62.

[63] Carter, *Mexican Americans in School*, 15–16; Thomas P. Carter and Roberto D. Segura, *Mexican Americans in School: A Decade of Change* (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1979).

[64] Gilbert G. Gonzalez, "Segregation of Mexican Children in a Southern California City: The Legacy of Expansionism and the American Southwest," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1985): 55–76.

[65] Richard R. Valencia, Martha Menchaca, Ruben Donato, "Segregation, Desegregation, and Integration of Chicano Students: Old and New Realities," in *Chicano School Failure and Success: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Richard R. Valencia (New York: Routledge, 2002), 70–113.

American students.[66] Moreover, the upholding of such systemic inequalities that allowed for the segregation of Mexican and Mexican American students could be defined as mundane racism that defined by García et al.'s is the "systematic subordination of Mexicans, which occurred as a commonplace, ordinary way of conducting business within and beyond schools."[67]

For this literature review, the focus will remain on significant cases in the Valley that were pivotal to the educational experiences of local Chicanas/os. *Romo v. Laird* (1925) is the first in this lineage of litigation of Phoenix and Arizona but is also noted as the first Mexican initiated desegregation case.[68] In 1925 the Tempe Elementary School district barred four Mexican children from attending the "all white" Tenth Street School and relegated to attend the "Mexican American" or "Spanish American" Eighth Street School.[69] The Tempe Elementary School District had an agreement with the Tempe Normal School, now Arizona State University, to operate the Tenth and Eighth Street Schools separately by race and argued that it did so as a means of pedagogical practice for developing teachers.[70] Because of the segregation measures placed by the district, Adolfo Romo sued the Tempe Elementary School District arguing that his

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[66] Maribel Santiago, "A Framework for an Interdisciplinary Understanding of Mexican American School Segregation," *Multicultural Education Review* 11, no. 2 (2019): 69–78; David G. García, *Strategies of Segregation: Race, Residence, and the Struggle for Educational Equality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018); William Henry Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2001).

[67] David G. García, Tara Yosso, Frank Barajas, "'A Few of the Brightest, Cleanest Mexican Children': School Segregation as a form of Mundane Racism in Oxnard, California, 1900-1940," *Harvard Education Review* 82, no.1 (2012): 2.

[68] Richard R. Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts: The Mexican American Legal Struggle for Educational Equality* (New York: NYU Press, 2008).

[69] Laura K. Muñoz, "Separate but Equal? A Case Study of *Romo v. Laird* and Mexican American Education," *OAH Magazine of History* 15, no. 2 (2001): 28–35.

[70] Vicki L. Ruiz, *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts.*

four children deserved to attend the Tenth Street School and should not be racial segregated.[71] Ultimately, it was ruled by presiding Judge Joseph S. Jenckes ruled in favor of the plaintiffs, Laird and the school district, to not desegregate the schools. Judge Jenckes decision was informed by the Arizona African American desegregation case decisions of *Dameron v. Bayless* (1912) and the "separate but equal" argument of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896).[72]

Soon after *Romo v. Laird* followed the Tolleson, Arizona desegregation case *Gonzales v. Sheely* (1951). As mentioned prior, Arizona segregation laws never directly focused on targeting Mexican Americans but the measures of exclusion in education effecting Chicanas/os manifested in diverse ways such as argued in *Gonzales v. Sheely*.[73] The plaintiffs in this case consisted of Porfirio Gonzales and Faustino Curiel, their four children and three hundred other children of Mexican ancestry.[74] According to Powers, the district's policy segregated Mexican American and Anglo students into separate schools while in one unit of the school district where students of both racial backgrounds attended the same school were segregated into different classrooms.[75] In a trial, lasting fifteen days, the Gonzales' argument that the school under state legislation were being denied the constitutional right of the Mexican-American children was upheld by the US District Court ruling it was discriminatory and illegal to separate the school children.[76]

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[71] Rosales, *Testimonio.*

[72] Muñoz, "Separate but Equal?"; Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts.*

[73] Jeanne M. Powers, "Forgotten History: Mexican American School Segregation in Arizona from 1900-1951," *Equity & Excellence in Education* 41, no. 4 (2008): 467–481.

[74] Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts*, 53.

[75] Jeanne M. Powers and Lirio Patton, "Between Mendez and Brown: *Gonzales v. Sheely* (1951) and the Legal Campaign Against Segregation," *Law & Social Inquiry* 33, no.1 (2008): 127–171.

[76] Ruben Flores, *Backroads Pragmatists: Mexico's Melting Pot and Civil Rights in the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014); Juan Carlos Gonzalez, "The Ordinary-ness of Institutional Racism: The Effect of History and Law in the Segregation and Integration of Latinas/os in Schools," *American Educational History Journal* 34, no. 2 (2007): 331–345; Matt S. Meier and Margo

Unlike the overt racialized segregation of students in the aforementioned cases, the following litigations are examples of how Chicana/o educational experiences were adversely affected through different means of exclusion. The *Guadalupe Organization, Inc. v. Tempe School District No. 3* (1972), the Tempe School district was a case regarding bilingual-bicultural education were the district was sued by elementary school students of Mexican-American or Yaqui Indian descent.[77] Moreover, Mexican-American and Yaqui Indian students who came from predominantly Spanish or Yaqui language speaking homes were being categorized as mentally retarded and placed into a mental retardation courses after being administered IQ exams solely in English.[78] Ultimately, the United States Courts for the Ninth Circuit ruled in favor of the school district denying the request to implement bilingual-bicultural education and that the district fulfilled its equal protection duties.[79]

The last litigation brings us back around to PUHS in 1982 where the school was facing closure along due to a criterion of six factors the district had determined. Post the 1953 desegregation of PUHS under *Phillips v. Phoenix Union High School District,* the school's demographic experienced a demographic shift from predominantly Anglo to Mexican-American and African American. It continued to be the school with the highest percentage of minority student enrollment with 94.2% as reported by the district in 1979 until it came under scrutiny by the district and faced closure.[80] Under *Castro v. Phoenix Union High School District* (2012),

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Gutiérrez, *Encyclopedia of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000).

[77] John W. Richmond, "The Litigation Engine: Influence and Control of K-12 Arts Education Policy," *Arts Education Policy Review* 95, no. 6 (1994): 31–37.

[78] Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts*, 143–144.

[79] Richmond, "The Litigation Engine."

[80] Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts*, 53.

African American and Chicana/o parents sued the district under the claim of racial discrimination for unfairly proposing to close PUHS.[81] Richard R. Valencia served as an expert witness in this litigation and stated that through his research testified that the closure of the school would not only displace minority students but place them at a heightened risk for school failure and consequential negative impacts on students and parents.[82] Judge Valdemar A. Cordova ruled in favor of the parents in August of 1982 citing that discriminatory and would have a negative impact on the equal educational opportunity of the plaintiffs but would later be overturned by the district who developed an alternate plan within their constitutional parameters that was accepted by the court in November of 1982.[83]

Chicana/o Student Movements

A wave of social movements ran across the United States as communities of color connected with a raising of consciousness, cultural awareness, and political resistance. According to Delgado Bernal, influenced by the Black civil rights movement and the anti-Vietnam war protests, Chicana/o students and their communities across the Southwest organized protests, walkouts, and boycotts as they struggled to call attention to and improve their quality of education.[84] This section will in brief outline scholarly documentation of known Chicana/o student movements that comprise a larger network of resistance throughout the United States

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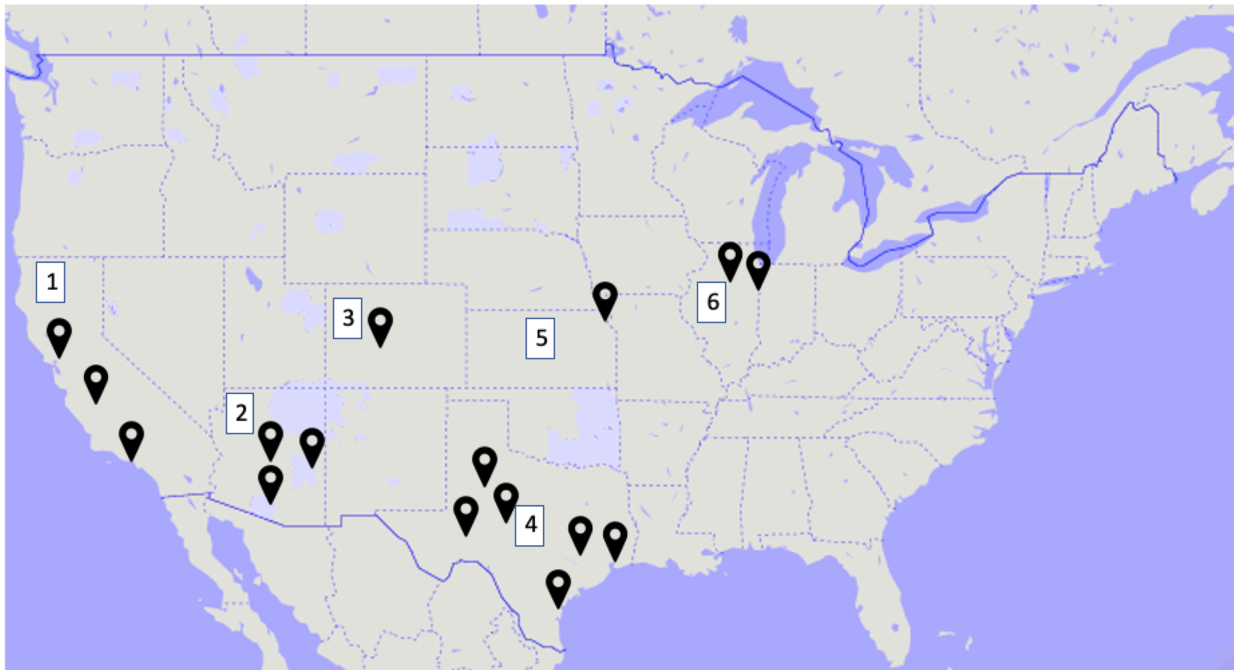
[81] Richard R. Valencia and Educational Resources Information Center. *School Closures and Policy Issues* (Stanford: Institute for Research on Educational Finance and Governance, School of Education, Stanford University, 1984).

[82] Valencia and Educational Resources Information Center, *School Closures and Policy Issues*.

[83] Richard R. Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts: The Mexican American Legal Struggle for Educational Equality* (New York: New York University Press, 2008).

[84] Dolores Delgado Bernal, "Chicana/o Education from the Civil Rights Era to the Present," in *Elusive Quest for Equality:150 Years of Chicano/Chicana Education,* ed. José F. Moreno (Cambridge: Harvard Educational Review, 2008), 83.

focusing on but not limited to the late 1960s and early 1970s. The network of resistance is mapped out below:



1. **California:** Roosevelt Jr. High San Jose (1967); East Los Angeles Blowouts (1968); Delano Joint Union High School (1970)
2. **Arizona:** Miami (1939) Pueblo High School (1969) and Tucson High School (1969), Phoenix Union High School (1970)
3. **Colorado:** Denver West High School (1969)
4. **Texas:** San Angelo (1910), Lanier High School (1968), Edgewood High School (1968); Ed Couch High School (1968), Crystal City High School (1969, Jefferson Davis Senior High School (1969), Marshall Junior High School (1969), Hogg Junior High School (1969), Jacinto High School (1969), Booker T. Washington Jr/Senior High School (1969), Reagan High School (1969)
5. **Kansas/Missouri:** West High School (1969), Topeka High School (1971)
6. **Illinois:** Harrison High School (1968), Froebal High School (1972-1973)

Figure 8. Network of Resistance

Most of the Chicana/o student movements documented are concentrated around the late 1960s and early ’70s—yet two separate earlier accounts have been documented. The first dates to 1910 to a school boycott in San Angelo, Texas. Arnoldo de Leon (1974, 2015) states that in response to a negligent school board, San Angelo Mexican American parents chose not to enroll their students in the public segregated schools and ending their boycott in 1915 without the

successful integration parents sought.[85] In addition, World War II veteran Raymond J. Flores recalls that in his hometown of Miami, Arizona he and other Mexican American students led a walkout in 1939 to protest his high school's decision to segregate student yearbook book group pictures.[86]

Between 1967 and 1970, the political climate ignited a fire of Chicana/o student movements in California, Colorado, Texas, and Arizona. The two most well-known and documented student movements were the 1968 East Los Angeles Blowouts and the 1969 Denver West High School in 1969. In early March of 1968 students across four East Los Angeles high schools and one central Los Angeles High School walked out of their classrooms demanding just and equitable education. Students walked out of Garfield, Lincoln, Roosevelt, Wilson, and Belmont High School starting on March 6 until March 8 of 1968 before taking their demands to the Los Angeles Unified School District Board of Education. These events would come to be known as the 1968 East Los Angeles "Walkouts" or "Blowouts." Chicana/o students who participated and organized at Lincoln High School gained support, guidance, advocacy from the renowned Chicano educator Sal Castro.[87] Although the 1968 East LA blowouts played a pivotal role in the educational social movement building aspect of Chicana/o history, there is also certain aspects of the narrative that have been marginalized. One of the gaps that is addressed by Delgado Bernal is the lack if inclusion documenting and demonstrating the active role of

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[85] Arnoldo de León, *Tejano West Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2015).

[86] Maggie Rivas-Rodríguez, *Beyond the Latino World War II Hero: The Social and Political Legacy of a Generation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010); My future research will explore Raymond J. Flores's educational activism and history as a teacher at George Washington Carver High School and the Phoenix Union High School District.

[87] Mario T. Garcia and Sal Castro, *Blowout! Sal Castro and the Chicano Struggle for Educational Justice*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

Chicanas during the East LA Blowouts when many the accounts written around the 1968 East LA Blowouts is primarily comprised by accounts told on behalf of men who solely focus on male leadership.[88] Soon after in Denver, inspired by the freedom schools established by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez and the Crusade for Justice, Chicana/o students staged a walkout in 1969 of Denver West High School protesting administration's failure to fire teacher Harry Schafer for his racist attitudes towards Chicana/o students.

Chicanas/os in Texas participated in several walkouts and protests in major metropolitan cities and towns across the state. In response to the pervasive racialized inequalities in San Antonio West Side's community and school's Chicana/o students organized walkouts with the support and leadership of the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) at Lanier and Edgewood High School in early 1968.[89] That same year in 1968, Chicana/o students walked out of their classrooms at Edcouch-Elsa High School in Edcouch urging other students to boycott classes and demanding a better education stemming from community meetings were the school's educational issues were discussed by the community.[90] Soon after in 1969 just south of San Antonio in Crystal City, Chicana/o students with the support of community leaders like Jose Angel Gutierrez helped organize students and parents under a militant strategy aimed at

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[88] Dolores Delgado Bernal, "Grassroots Leadership Reconceptualized: Chicana Oral Histories and the 1968 East Los Angeles School Blowouts," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 19, no. 2 (1998): 113–142.

[89] Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos* (Pearson Longman, 2003); James B. Barrera, "The 1960s Chicano Movement for Educational Reform and the Rise of Student Protest Activism in San Antonio's West Side," *US Latina & Latino Oral History Journal* 1 (2007): 82–97.

[90] James B. Barrera, "The 1968 Edcouch-Elsa High School Walkout: Chicano student Activism in a South Texas Community," *Aztlan: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 29, no. 2 (2004): 93–122.

challenging the racism in the city proliferated by the local white residents and business owners.[91] Similar to Delgado Bernal, Zavala examines the 1969 Crystal City walkouts and constructs a historical counternarrative to address the gaps in the events documentation of Chicana involvement by centering their experiences in Chicana/o history.[92]

In addition, Houston experienced a strong presence of Chicana/o student movements in 1969 that included Jefferson Davis Senior, Jacinto, Reagan High School and Marshall, Hogg, and Booker T. Washington Junior High. The walkouts were ignited at Jefferson Davis Senior High School after the school board forced cuts to the free lunch program leading to parent protests supported by the local organization ARMAS.[93] This ultimately led to ARMAS creating a list of demands and planned a walkout demonstration to garner publicity and support.[94] This support manifested solidarity form other schools who walked out including Marshall Junior High, Hogg Junior High, Reagan High School, San Jacinto High School, and Booker T. Washington Junior-Senior High.[95]

Historians have documented the Chicana/o student movements in East LA, Denver, and Texas extensively—yet there are movements that have been under documented or outside of the Southwest. Other Chicana/o student movements in California include a walkout of Roosevelt Jr. High School in San Jose in 1967 because of mistreatment including students being called names

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[91] Karen L. Riley and Jennifer A. Brown, "The Price of Dissent: Walkout at Crystal City High School" *American Educational History Journal* 33, no. 2 (2006): 63–70; Jose Angel Gutierrez, *The Making of a Chicano Militant: Lessons from Cristal* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999).

[92] Corina Raquel Zavala, "Crystal City Women's Reflections and Stories of the Chicano Movement in Crystal City, Texas" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2014).

[93] Guadalupe San Miguel Jr., *Brown, not White: School Integration and the Chicano Movement in Houston* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2001).

[94] San Miguel, *Brown, not White*; ARMAS stands for Advocating Rights for Mexican American Students.

[95] San Miguel, *Brown, not White.*

and paddling as a form of discipline.[96] Furthermore in the San Joaquin Valley, in May of 1970 students walked out of Delano Joint Union High School.[97] In Arizona, in addition to extensively documenting the Phoenix Union High School Boycott, Echeverria thoroughly documented the 1969 Chicana/o student movement and walkouts of Tucson and Pueblo High School in Tucson, Arizona. After attempts to arrange meetings with Tucson High School's principal to address inequalities and presenting demands to the school that were ultimately ignored—Chicana/o Tucson High students staged a walkout with the support of the Mexican American Liberation Committee in February of 1969.[98] Despite the walkout action causing Tucson High's principal to reconsider speaking with students about their grievances, Pueblo High School students did not hear of the update in time and continued to walkout of their school in solidarity.[99]

The Chicana/o student movements in high schools extended far beyond the Southwest into the Midwest. According to David Ortiz, in 1969, with the support of Brown Berets, Chicana/o students staged a walkout of West High School in Kansas City, Missouri's West Side demanding such changes that included the implementation of Mexican American focused curriculum and bilingual courses.[100] In addition, a walkout took place in nearby Topeka in 1971 when Chicana/o students walked out of Topeka High a year after Black students staged walkouts

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[96] Jeannette Alden Estruth, "Vision for the Suburban City in the Age of Decolonization: Chicana Activism in the Silicon Valley, 1965-75," in *Women's Activism and "Second Wave" Feminism Transnational Histories,* eds. Barbara Molony and Jennifer Nelson (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017).

[97] Acuña, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos.*

[98] Darius V. Echeverria, *Aztlán Arizona: Mexican American Educational Empowerment, 1968-1978* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014).

[99] Echeverria, *Aztlán Arizona.*

[100] Leonardo David Ortiz, "La Voz de la Gente: Chicano Activst Publications in the Kansas City Area, 1968-1989," *Kansas History* 22, no. 3 (1999): 229–244.

protesting the school administration's discriminatory practices.[101] Just a bit further north, Chicago experienced a series of Chicana/o high school walkouts between 1968 and 1972. Alanis (year) states that Harrison High School in South Lawndale's neighborhood was the cite of walkouts in 1968 primarily consisting of Black students but included a significant amount of Chicana/o students who were referenced as "Puerto Rican," "Spanish-Speaking," or "Latin American."[102] Chicana/o resistance continued over into Froebal High School, a branch of Harrison High located in Chicago's Pilsen neighborhood, with a series of boycotts, walkouts, and protests in 1972 and 1973 with demands that included hiring more bilingual and bicultural administrative personal in addition to adopting a bilingual and bicultural curriculum.[103]

Strengths and Weaknesses in the Existing Knowledge

As demonstrated in the literature discussed throughout this chapter, Chicanas/os have a deeply rooted but also neglected history in Phoenix, Arizona. Moreover, the racialized experiences of Chicanas/os as discussed in the literature help us to understand the significance of their presence in a city like Phoenix that has structured its sociopolitical culture around whiteness while excluding communities of color. The brief overview of the existing literature informed this dissertation research by uncovering the historical narrative around race as pertaining to Phoenix and the consequential impact on communities of color. While historical accounts of the Mexican, Mexican American, and Chicana/o Phoenix experience exist, there is still much room to explore and document their lived realities and contributions as noted by Plascencia and Cuádraz. In

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[101] Beryl Ann New, "A Fire in the Sky: Student Activism in Topeka, Kansas and Lawrence, Kansas high schools in 1960 and 1970" (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2007), 22.

[102] Jaime Alanis, "The Harrison High School walkouts of 1968: Struggle for Equal Schools and Chicanismo in Chicago" (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2010).

[103] Alanis, "The Harrison High School Walkouts of 1968."

addition, the literature review also provided insight into perspectives on Chicana/o educational history with a specific focus on of legal actions to combat segregation in the Valley and network of Chicana/o walkouts and protests across the United States. The literature demonstrates how community members including students and parents have taken it upon themselves to strategically organize and analyze the sociopolitical context of that time and develop strategies to address these matters. Consequently, these efforts to organize and mobilize around educational issues in the Chicana/o community did not come about without their own limitations as issues of internalized patriarchy, sexism, and exclusion based on male-dominated spaces and narratives. In addition, the historical accounts demonstrate how much remains to be documented of the diverse Chicana/o walkouts and protests beyond in places like Arizona and the Midwest.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a review of literature on Phoenix and Arizona history, Chicanas/os in Arizona and Phoenix, and Chicana/o educational history. While the literature provides substantive historical details there are still gaps present regarding the experiences of Phoenix Chicanas/os that future research can expand and give more insight to such topics including socio-economic conditions, labor, political involvement, and educational experiences. Identifying these gaps in the literature provides opportunities to understand how this dissertation in turn contributes to bridging these gaps, in particular to the educational experiences of Chicanas/os in the Valley. The following chapter will focus on explaining how this study intends on bridging these gaps and expand the fields of education, history, and Chicana/o studies. Furthermore, the following chapter will define and explain the application of Critical Race Theory (CRT) in education framework and a Critical Race Educational History (CREH) methodology to construct

a counterstory of the 1970 Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union High School centering the analysis of race and racism using archival materials and oral history collaborations.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK & METHODOLOGY

Chapter Roadmap

The process of understanding the 1970 Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union High School in 1970 is informed by historical accounts found in both archival documents and lived experience of Chicanas/os who participated to some degree. This dissertation centers the analysis of race and racism's role in creating the conditions for the boycott to take place. Therefore, this chapter first outlines Critical Race Theory (CRT) in education as the theoretical lens to understand the function of race and racism at Phoenix Union High School during this period. I then expand upon Critical Race Educational History (CREH) as a methodology to bridge CRT with historical writing. The chapter culminates by outlining the study's approach to archival research and oral history collaborations including a brief explanation of how I analyze archival sources and oral history collaborations.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory was born out of teachers of color in the legal academy who forged an intellectual movement in opposition to visions of race, racism, law dominant in a post-civil rights era.[1] Furthermore, CRT is a contingent of both activists and scholars who dedicate their work to understanding the relationship that exists among race, racism and power with the intention transforming it.[2] Thus Critical Race Theorists grounded themselves in "the particulars

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[1] William F. Tate IV, "Chapter 4: Critical Race Theory and Education: History, Theory, and Implications," *Review of Research in Education* 22, no. 1 (1997): 195–247; Mari J. Matsuda, *Words that Wound: Critical Race Theory, Assaultive Speech, and the First Amendment* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993).

[2] Robin D. Barnes, "Race Consciousness: The Thematic Content of Racial Distinctiveness in Critical Race Scholarship," *Harvard Law Review* 103, no. 8 (1990): 1864–71; Derrick A. Bell Jr., "*Brown v. Board of Education* and the Interest-Convergence Dilemma," *Harvard Law Review* 93, no. 3 (1980): 518–34; Derrick A. Bell Jr., "David C. Baum Memorial Lecture: Who's Afraid of Critical Race Theory?"

of social reality that is defined by [their] experiences and the collective historical experience of [their] communities of origin."[3] Bell has described CRT as both writing and lecturing that consists of frequently using the first-person standpoint, storytelling, narrative, allegory, interdisciplinary treatment of law, and the unapologetic use of creativity.[4] Although CRT's roots are within legal studies, educational scholars have theorized, conceptualized, and identified ways that CRT can help us analyze and challenge race, racism, and intersecting forms of oppression within education.[5] Solórzano expands on this stating that "Critical Race Theory in education challenges the dominant discourse on race and racism as they relate to education by examining how educational theory, policy, and practice are used to subordinate certain racial and ethnic groups."[6] Moreover, CRT in education consists of five tenets posited by Solórzano and Yosso including: 1) the centrality of race and racism and intersectionality with other forms of

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University of Illinois Law Review 4 (1995): 893–910; Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction* (New York: NYU Press, 2012); Matsuda, *Words that Wound*.

[3] Matsuda, *Words that Wound*, 3.

[4] Bell, "David C. Baum Memorial Lecture," 899.

[5] Jessica T. DeCuir and Adrienne D. Dixson, "'So when it comes out, they aren't that surprised that it is there': Using Critical Race Theory as a Tool of Analysis of Race and Racism in Education," *Educational Researcher* 33, no. 5 (2004): 26–31; Gloria Ladson-Billings, "Just What is Critical Race Theory And What's It Doing In A Nice Field Like Education?" *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 11, no. 1 (1998): 7–24; Daniel G. Solórzano, "Images and Words that Wound: Critical Race Theory, Racial Stereotyping, and Teacher Education," *Teacher Education Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (1997): 5–19; Daniel G. Solórzano and Dolores Delgado Bernal, "Examining Transformational Resistance through a Critical Race and Latcrit Theory Framework: Chicana and Chicano Students in an Urban Context," *Educational Administration Abstracts* 36, no. 4 (2001), 411–568; William F. Tate IV, "Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education," *Teachers College Record* 97, no. 1 (1995): 47–68; Tate, "Chapter 4: Critical Race Theory and Education"; Tara J. Yosso, *Critical Race Counterstories along the Chicana/Chicano Educational Pipeline* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013); Tara J. Yosso, Octavio Villapando, Dolores Delgado Bernal, and Daniel G. Solórzano, "Critical Race Theory in Chicana/o Education," *Beginning a New Millennium of Chicana and Chicano Scholarship: Selected Proceedings of the 2001 NACCS Conference* (2001), 89–104.

[6] Daniel G. Solórzano, "Critical Race Theory, Race and Gender Microaggressions, and the Experience of Chicana and Chicano Scholars," *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 11, no.1 (1998): 121–36.

subordination; 2) the challenge to dominant ideology; 3) the commitment to social justice; 4) the centrality of experiential knowledge; and 5) an interdisciplinary perspective.[7] This dissertation study aims at utilizing the tenets of CRT to better understand two main threads. These two main threads include: 1) how the Phoenix Chicana/o community during this period developed and raised their own political consciousness and 2) utilized this same ideological framework to shape their agency and inform their politics of confrontation leading to organize a series of protest actions including the near month-long boycott of Phoenix Union High School fall of 1970.[8]

The first tenet of CRT in education intentionally centers the analysis of race, racism, and intersecting forms of oppression in my study to analyze the racialized educational inequalities and experiences of students of color at Phoenix Union between 1968 and 1970. Corresponding with the second tenet of CRT in education, my positionality as a Chicano educational historian concerned with interrogating issues of race and racism informs how I analyze and compose this historical narrative. Thus, this Critical Race Educational History is written from this perspective aimed at challenging the dominant and deficit narratives of Chicanas/os at Phoenix Union as well as the 1970 boycott maintained by local newspapers, school and district administration, and adversaries of the boycott.

The application of CRT in education's third tenet in this study is two-fold. First, the narrative captured in this account of the 1970 Chicana/o boycott is fundamentally grounded in a historical commitment to social justice by Phoenix Chicanas/os during this time. Second, this work is an extension of my own commitments and responsibilities to communities of color

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[7] Daniel G. Solorzano and Tara J. Yosso, "Critical Race and Latcrit Theory and Method: Counter-Storytelling," *International Journal Of Qualitative Studies In Education* 14 (2001): 471–96.

[8] Juan Gómez-Quiñones and Irene Vásquez, *Making Aztlán: Ideology and Culture of the Chicana and Chicano Movement, 1966-1977* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), 157.

engaged in transformative organizing and change. My commitment to this work is to contribute to the preservation and documentation of the Chicana/o, Mexican American, Mexican experience in Phoenix, Arizona, and the United States at large. In addition, I am determined to serve as a critical resource that will aid contemporary educational practices ranging from pedagogical tools to challenge race, racism, and intersecting forms of oppression to informing the crafting of equitable policies and practices for students of color in public schools.

Additionally, this study emphasizes the fourth tenet of CRT in education by centering the experiences of Chicana/o students, parents, and community leaders involved in the 1970 boycott of Phoenix Union High School. The centrality of historically excluded voices is a critical tool in challenging dominant racialized ideologies and practices that maintain structural inequalities at Phoenix Union and ultimately in the city at large. Last, the fifth tenet of CRT in education calls for an interdisciplinary lens to our work. In the case of this study, my training in Chicana/o Studies, history, and education has equipped me to engage in a meticulous research process and rich analysis of the 1970 Phoenix Union Chicana/o boycott.

Critical Race Educational History

The intersections of Critical Race Theory in education and educational history began with conversations between Aguilar-Hernández, Alonso, Mares-Tamayo, Santos, and Solórzano who defined it as a "developing framework which argues that CRT scholars must move beyond merely placing their research in historical context and start writing history from a critical race perspective."[9] Utilizing historical research methods, each of these scholars would apply this

[9] J.M. Aguilar-Hernández, L. Alonso, M.J.L. Mares-Tamayo, R.E. Santos, & D.G. Solórzano, "Framing and Applying a Critical Race Educational History," Presentation at the Critical Race Studies in Education Association, 4th Annual Conference. Salt Lake City, UT, May 2010.

critical lens to their very own educational history research centering race and racism. In his work documenting the UCLA Chicana/o student activism from 1990 to 1993, Manuel Aguilar identifies a Critical Race History framework informed by CRT, Chicana Feminisms, and Jotería Theories to analyze his data centered on the intersections between race, class, gender, sexuality, and citizenship.[10] In her own line of conceptualizing the merger of education, history, and Chicanas/os, Mares-Tamayo describes "historical counter storytelling" as a CRT-informed methodological tool to thoroughly cross-examine "primary and secondary sources with [her] 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."[11] Similarly, Alonso's case study of Mexican schooling experiences in South Central Los Angeles between 1930 and 1949 utilizes as a Critical Race History in Education Lens to historicize "events, people and places to provide a critical racial historical context."[12] Last, Santo's expansion on the discourse of the *Crawford v. Los Angeles Board of Education* (1963–1982) draws upon a Critical Race History in Education analytical lens to center the perspectives and experiences of Chicanas/os on desegregation and the case's remedy.[13]

Santos emphasizes the construction of history through a race lens citing Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, and Crenshaw's conceptualization of CRT as a mechanism to "challenge

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[10] José Manuel Aguilar, *¡Sí se pudo!: A Critical Race History of the Movements for Chicana and Chicano Studies at UCLA, 1990-1993*. PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2013.

[11] Michaela Jeanette López Mares-Tamayo, *Chicana/o Historical Counterstories: Documenting the Community Memory of Junipero Serra and Clark Street Schools*. PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2014.

[12] LLuliana Alonso, *Reclaiming our Past: A Critical Race History of Chicana/o Education In South Central Los Angeles, 1930-1949*. PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2015.

[13] Ryan Edward Santos, *Never Silent: Examining Chicana/o Community Experiences and Perspectives of School Desegregation Efforts in Crawford v. Los Angeles Board of Education, 1963-1982*. PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2016.

ahistoricism and insist on a contextual/historical analysis of [education]" and "adopts a stance that presumes that racism has contributed to contemporary manifestations of group advantage and disadvantage along racial lines."[14] These foundational intellectual schools of thought conceptualizing CRT in education and history serve as frameworks for educational historians asking critical questions of primary sources intent on centering the lived experiences of those impacted by racism and other intersecting forms of oppression. Thus, giving way to a Critical Race Educational History (CREH) methodology individually and collectively conceptualized by Santos, Mares-Tamayo, and Alonso as three guiding principles and methodological commitments to "provide tools and principles [to] better facilitate an amalgamation of CRT in education framework into historical research, writing, and teaching."[15]

These principles include:

1) Intentionality: A hallmark of CREH is an intentional and explicit application of the tenets of CRT in education in every part of the research process—from the initial conceptualization of the project until the public dissemination of findings.

2) Embodying a Collaborative Process: This principle underscores the ways which the educational histories of Communities of Color represent collective knowledge, or community (Delgado Bernal, 1998). We therefore see the research and writing of those stories as a collaborative endeavor that must include partnerships with multiple knowledge-holders and producers throughout the data collection process.

3) Creating Space for Multiple Voices to Be Heard: There are multiple histories to be written even within a single, community, district, school, or home. CREH encourages Critical Race theorists to mine personal and communal memories for historical threads that can be woven into a vivid tapestry of counterstorytelling.[16]

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[14] Matsuda, *Words that Wound*.

[15] Ryan Edward Santos, Michaela Jeanette López Mares-Tamayo, and LLuliana Alonso, "Conceptualizing a Critical Race Educational History Methodology." *CCRSE Research Brief, no. 10.* Los Angeles, CA: Center for Critical Race Studies in Education at UCLA, 2017.

[16] Santos et al., "Conceptualizing a Critical Race Educational History Methodology."

As an extension of the work done on CREH, my dissertation research on the 1970 Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union High School grounds itself in the methodological commitments outlined by Santos, Mares-Tamayo, and Alonso. Furthermore, my dissertation constructs a historical counterstory between 1968 and 1972 centering the Chicana/o educational experience as a Critical Race Educational History grounded in the three guiding methodological tenets. The dissertation uses approaches to educational history that are necessary and methodological interventions centering race, racism, and other intersecting forms of oppression. Last, my dissertation utilizes CREH as a methodological intervention centering race, racism, and other intersecting forms of oppression. Thus, challenging traditional historical research methodologies by intentionally drawing out more of the history of relational experiences of race and racism between Chicana/o and Black students proliferated by the city's racialized history and a predominantly white school administration and district school board.

While several historical accounts ranging from brief to extensive documenting the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union may highlight race and racism, they do not center its salience in relation to educational inequalities and fail to capture the conditions leading up to the boycott and lack first-hand accounts of lived experiences of Chicanas/os involved to varying degrees. [17] Thus, as a Critical Race Educational History, my dissertation intends on addressing

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[17] D. V. Echeverría, *Aztlán Arizona: Mexican American Educational Empowerment, 1968-1978* (Tucson: Univerity of Aarizona Press, 2014); Pete R. Dimas, *Progress and a Mexican American Community's Struggle For Existence: Phoenix's Golden Gate Barrio* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999); T. E. Sheridan, *Arizona: A History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012); B. Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix: A profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American communities, 1860-1992* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994); Bradford Luckingham, *Phoenix: The History of a Southwestern Metropolis* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989); Thomas Macias, *Mestizo in America: Generations of Mexican Ethnicity in the Suburban Southwest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006); Eric V. Meeks and Patricia Nelson Limerick, *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2020); Francisco Arturo Rosales, *Chicano!: The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Houston, TX: Arte Publico

those gaps by intentionally centering the analysis of race and racism through a CRT in education lens and conducting oral histories with 6 collaborators to compose a historical counterstory.[18]

Counterstorytelling

This dissertation sets out to unpack historical accounts that lack a comprehensive and accurate depictions of Chicana/os at Phoenix Union High School during the 1970 boycott. The accounts gathered from archival sources uphold a dominant narrative positioned and maintained predominantly by white men in positions of power ranging from school administrative positions to local newspaper desk editors.[19] Moreover, the purpose of the study is to retell the boycott's history by constructing a counterstory narrative. As depicted below, this is done by triangulating secondary sources, archival findings, and oral history collaborations analyzed through a CRT in education lens and methodologically conceptualized utilizing CREH to draw out the salience of race and racism as it relates to the educational experiences of Chicana/os.

Press, 1997); Francisco Arturo Rosales, *Testimonio: A Documentary History of the Mexican American Struggle for Civil Rights* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2000); M. P. Servín, (*An Awakening Minority: The Mexican Americans* (Beverly Hills, CA: Glencoe Press, 1974); Matthew C. Whitaker, *Race Work: The Rise of Civil Rights in the Urban West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007); Vicki Ruíz and Virginia Sánchez Korrol, *Latinas in the United States: A Historical Encyclopedia* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

[18] Mares-Tamayo, *Chicana/o Historical Counterstories.*

[19] (Yosso & Solórzano, 2002; Merriweather Hunn, Guy, Manglitz, 2006).

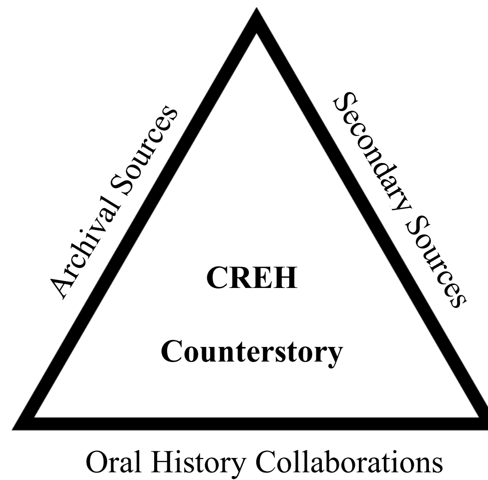

Figure 9. CREH Counterstory.

Delgado refers the creation of stories existing amongst two groups, in and out groups.[20] Stories that are created by in groups are deemed to be "natural" and reinforce a dissimilar identity to those who a part of the outgroup while the outgroup creates stories to disrupt this societal reality created and reinforced by the in groups.[21] Therefore, because society is socially constructed as Delgado argues, counterstories "open new windows into reality, showing us that there are possibilities for life other than the ones we live.[22] Therefore, the task for this study is to "decenter Whiteness to recount the perspectives of socially and racially marginalized communities."[23]Thus, in an effort to decenter the white dominant narrative the working counterstorytelling employed in this dissertation is defined by Yosso and Solórzano:

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[20] Richard Delgado, "Storytelling for Oppositionists and Others: A Plea for Narrative," *Michigan Law Review* 87, no. 8 (1989): 2411–41.

[21] Delgado, "Storytelling for Oppositionists and Others," 2413.

[22] Delgado, "Storytelling for Oppositionists and Others," 2414.

[23] D. G. Garcia, "Culture Clash Invades Miami: Oral Histories and Ethnography Center Stage," *Qualitative Inquiry* 14, no. 6 (2008): 870.

> We define the counterstory as a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told (i.e., those on the margins of society). The counterstory is also a tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging the majoritarian stories of racial privilege. Counterstories can shatter complacency, challenge the dominant discourse on race, and further the struggle for racial reform. Yet, counterstories need not be created only as a direct response to majoritarian stories.[24]

Moreover, Yosso and Solórzano further elaborate on counterstorytelling consisting of three general forms 1) personal stories or narratives, 2) other people's stories or narratives, and 3) composite stories or narratives. Because this dissertation is informed using archival research methods and interviews, the most fitting form would be composite stories or narratives.[25] Yosso and Solórzano define composite stories or narratives as accounts that "draw from various 'forms' of data recount the racialized, sexualized, and classed experiences of people of color.[26]

The analysis secondary sources, archival sources, and oral history collaborations utilized to compose this counterstory centering Phoenix Chicana/o experiences serves as a tool to "reinterpret, disrupt, or interrupt pervasive discourses that may paint communities and people, particularly communities and people of color, in grim, dismal ways."[27] While also at the same time offering opportunities to call into question societal norms (Brooks, 2009, p. 38) and challenge privileged discourse.[28] In addition, because my methodology of counterstorytelling

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[24] Daniel G. Solórzano and Tara J. Yosso, "Critical Race Methodology: Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research," *Qualitative Inquiry* 8, no. 1 (2002): 32.

[25] Daniel G. Solórzano and Tara J. Yosso, "A Critical Race Counterstory of Race, Racism, and Affirmative Action," *Equity & Excellence in Education* 35, no. 2 (2002): 155–68.

[26] Solórzano and Yosso, "A Critical Race Counterstory," 33.

[27] H. R. Milner IV and T. C. Howard, "Counter-narrative as Method: Race, Policy And Research For Teacher Education," *Race Ethnicity and Education* 16, no. 4 (2013): 542.

[28] W. Brooks, "An Author as a Counter-Storyteller: Applying Critical Race Theory to a Coretta Scott King Award Book," *Children's Literature in Education* 40, no. 1: (2009): 38; DeCuir and Dixson, "So when it comes out, they aren't that surprised that it is there."

aligns with CRT and CREH it is imperative to emphasize this research as living, breathing, and reflective of efforts to challenge white supremacy because its use as a tool of political strategy for historical and contemporary struggles regarding the construction of knowledge and power.[29]

Archival Research

The archival research process involves the identification of patterns and themes that will be analyzed and placed in conversation to construct a narrative.[30] The archival documents gathered as part of this research provide contextual information to help guide the creation of a historical universe that includes stakeholders in the boycott, school administration, as well as textual evidence of both the majoritarian narrative and counterstory surrounding Phoenix Union and the 1970 Boycott. The list that follows briefly highlights archival holdings visited during the research process of this dissertation.

Arizona State University

Chicano/a Research Collection

The Chicano/a Research Collection at Arizona State University has served as a repository of archival records documenting Chicana/o and Latina/o experiences in Arizona and the Southwest since 1970. My research began here due to my personal connection to Arizona State, familiarity with the collection, relevant housed materials, and working relationship with founding archivist Dr. Christine Marin and current Associate Archivist Nancy Godoy. The collections that were examined as part of this dissertation's study included:

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[29] D. A. Cook and A. D. Dixson, "Writing Critical Race Theory and Method: A Composite Counterstory on the Experiences of Black Teachers in New Orleans Post-Katrina," *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 26, no. 10 (2013): 1243; D. T. Baszile, "Rhetorical Revolution: Critical Race Counterstorytelling and the Abolition of White Democracy," *Qualitative Inquiry* 21, no. 3 (2015): 24.

[30] D. G., García and Tara J. Yosso, "Recovering Our Past: A Methodological Reflection," *History of Education Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (2020): 59–72.

- Rosie Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers, 1941–2000;
- Preliminary Inventory of the Chicanos Por La Causa Records, 1968–1993;
- Eugene Marin Acosta Papers, 1945–2002; and
- MASO/MEChA Records, 1968–1999.

These collections provided the most insightful documentation and preservation from a Chicana/o perspective. The array of documents ranged from local and grassroots newspapers, community organizing documents, and personal documentation. These sources gave me perspectives of the role of Chicana/o activist such as Rosie Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez coupled with the role of Chicanos Por La Causa in educational issues at Phoenix Union. Moreover, the collections offered insight to the documentation and analysis of both the dominant racialized narrative issues surrounding Phoenix Union as well as community perceptions of the Chicana/o Movement, and added depth of how far back issues of inequality at Phoenix Union were a concern for Chicanas/os.

Map Collection at Noble Library

Part of this dissertation's study is to gain a better understand of the socio-economic conditions of Phoenix including the communities Chicanas/os lived in. As a result of the archival research process, I have been able to access three maps that gave perspective to the geographical parameters of Phoenix that correspond with the racialized layout of the city. Moreover, one of the three is a map of Phoenix Union High District's school boundaries. This map helped identify the district's attendance boundaries including where Phoenix Union Chicanas/os lived during the 1970 Chicana/o boycott.

Phoenix Union High School District

The Phoenix Union High School District was also an important source of primary sources that documented the school's history inception since 1895. Over a series of visits, a large quantity of binders were examined in the time range of 1950 to 1975 that contained all the

district's board of education meeting minutes and relevant educational reports highlighting school racial demographics. The larger historical time frame allowed me to gain a wider perspective on how or if the Phoenix Union High School and District documented race and racism in relation to the educational experiences of their entire study, but specifically students of color. This was of great significance considering pivotal events during this time frame focusing on race and education including the integration of Black students in 1953, massive white flight of residents and resources, Chicana/o and Black educational concerns, and consequential Chicana/o resistance in 1969 and 1970. Ultimately, the lack of documentation in the school board minutes regarding the 1970 Chicana/o boycott only further confirmed the need for a counterstory specifically centering oral history collaborations to fill these historical gaps and challenge this existing dominant narrative on the record.

The Library of Congress-Manuscript Division

While the focus of this dissertation study specifically focuses on the racialized experiences of Chicanas/os at Phoenix Union, the 1970 Boycott in many ways intertwines with the educational experiences of Black students at the school. To understand the historical salience of racism and structural inequalities proliferated by white supremacy in the school and district it was imperative to gain a deeper, relational, and intersecting perspective of the Black student experience at Phoenix Union. As a result, my archival research took me to the *NAACP Education and Legal Defense Fund Papers, 1915-1968* to see if there was any mention of Phoenix Union High School or the district to analyze for discussions around race, racism, and education. Thus, the approach to looking through these archival materials resulted in a larger time frame as was done with the Phoenix Union High School District archive. Although the materials gathered through this archival source do not exclusively focus on Chicanas/os, they do provide a larger

frame of understanding race and racism at the high school through desegregation efforts, including where Chicanas/os fell into the scope of educational discriminatory practices.

University of California (UC) Interlibrary Loan

The library services provided to UCLA students have allowed me to access materials not readily available at UCLA. Access to a variety of primary sources was made possible through the UC Interlibrary Loan services. Using Interlibrary Loan, I accessed a variety of materials on microfilm, microfiche, and in print relating to the Phoenix Union High School and District held by other University of California libraries or libraries across the United States. These documents are primary sources that range from district reports, curriculum, and commemorative historical documentation of the district and its high schools.

The Arizona Republic Historical Newspaper Digital Archives

Local Phoenix newspapers including *The Arizona Republic* were an essential source to the documentation of the events between 1968 and the end of the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union. While the documentation ranging from front page stories to opinion pieces provided substantial information, the narratives often contributed to a dominant narrative that further racialized Phoenix Union. Moreover, in many ways *The Arizona Republic* attempted to diminish and minimize the efforts of the Boycott. As a result, this study interrogated the role of *The Arizona Republic* as an actor in the historical universe of the Boycott's storyline as means to further understand the salience of race and racism at the school and city of Phoenix. Due to the advances in archival preservation and accessibility, *The Arizona Republic* has become readily accessible to conduct research through digitized collections. As a result, this dissertation benefited from this digitization by adding to gathered clippings collected from physical collections.

Arizona State Library, Archives, and Public Records

Through the Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records or State Archives, a variety of documents were accessed to analyze and find plausible connections to the events of this study between 1968 and 1970. This included:

- *8-20 Voice of the City Newspaper 1970-1972*
- *The Phoenix Gazette 1967-1970*
- *A Bicentennial Commemorative History of the Phoenix Union High School System, 1895-1976*
- *Phoenix Union High School Field Counseling Report, 1968-1969*
- *Phoenix Union High School Vocational Technical Division Annual Report 1961-1962*
- *Phoenix Union High School System District Newsletter 1968-1977*
- *Coyote Journal Phoenix Union High School Periodical*

While a wide array of materials were analyzed, the most beneficial to the time frame of this study proved to be the *8-20 Voice of the City Newspaper*, *Phoenix Gazette*, and *A Bicentennial Commemorative History of the Phoenix Union High School System*. While *Voice of the City* and *Phoenix Gazette* full newspapers and clippings were gathered in other collections outside the State Archives, gaps existed in these collections including missing dates or titles. The holdings at the State Archives offered a vast collection of *Voice of the City* printed publications and *Phoenix Gazette* on microfilm that filled these gaps in the archival research process. In particular, the *8-20 Voice of the City* printed newspapers contained vivid images of the Boycott and Barrio High School and stories documenting the movement that in in turn served as a counter to the dominant narrative publicized by *The Arizona Republic* and *Phoenix Gazette.*

Phoenix Public Libraries-Burton Barr Library Arizona Room

Burton Barr Library—the Phoenix Public Library System's largest library located in downtown Phoenix—houses a rich Southwest research collection in their Arizona Room. The archival research greatly benefited from the primary resources gathered and analyzed held in the Arizona Room. This included a variety of local newspaper clippings from smaller local

newspapers and a cohesive collection of Phoenix Union High School yearbooks. Unlike many of the other collections researched, the newspaper clippings in this collection required sifting through a card catalog system that while tedious also revealed many new sources and keyword identifiers. Additionally, in the initial stages of the research process yearbooks were accessed digitally through e-yearbooks.com that unfortunately did not have digitized versions of Phoenix Union High School yearbooks from 1968 to 1970. Thus, the collections at the Burton Barr Library were extremely insightful in painting the day-to-day at Phoenix Union High School.

Oral History Collaborations

As outlined by CREH's methodological principles, this study is intentional in centering race and racism as part of the analysis and composing a historical counterstory that is built on collaboration and creating a space for multiple voices to be heard. Thus, this study does so by collaborating with six individuals who contributed their oral histories. These oral history collaborations with multiple knowledge holders who contributed by mining their own personal and communal memories are foundational to the composition of this historical counterstory. Moreover, the collaboration brings absent voices to the forefront including students, Chicanas, and teachers.

Collaborators

To compose a counterstory as part of this CREH, I collaborated with six individuals who met the following criteria: 1) Community members who self-identified as Chicana/o, Mexican, or Mexican-America. 2) Individuals who have a connection and familiarity with the Phoenix Chicana/o community 3) Individuals who were to some degree involved and/or contributed to the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union High School. Moreover, the six collaborators were identified and invited to collaborate through a snowball approach beginning with Daniel

Ortega who recommended participants both new and familiar to me from my own research or awareness through community organizing in Phoenix, Arizona. While it could be argued that my snowball sample is small and not fully representative of the boycott, it does the beginning steps to provide insight into the absence of voices in previous historical accounts, in particular that of Chicanas, students, and teachers. Moreover, the six collaborators in the roster below offer perspective on the 1968 and 1969 events in addition to the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott:

Table 1

Oral History Collaborators

Oral History Collaborators	
Name	Role
Barbara Valencia	Phoenix Union Student (Fall 1969-Spring 1970)
Daniel Ortega	Phoenix Union Student (Fall 1969-Spring 1970)
Elias Esquer	Phoenix Union Teacher (Fall 1969-Spring 1970)
Ronnie Lopez	Community Organizer
Rosie Marie Lopez	Community Organizer
Joe Eddie Lopez	Community Organizer

The secondary sources that initially introduced me to the subject matter of the 1970 Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union High School relied primarily on the composition of telling this history using primary source archival material. As noted in the previous section, this dissertation also relies heavily on the composition of a counterstory using primary-sourced archival materials but differentiates itself by placing a strong emphasis on integrating oral history collaborations to compliment and expand our understanding of the 1970 Boycott. Part of the

process in constructing this counterstory is to develop a universe of boycott participants, community members and organizations, supporters, school and district administration, and simple observers. This includes Barbara Valencia, Daniel Ortega, Elias Esquer, Ronnie Lopez, Rosie Marie Lopez, and Joe Eddie Lopez.

Protocol & Oral History Interview Structures

As previously mentioned, my initial contact Daniel Ortega suggested the names of people I could begin to reach out to as potential collaborators including Joe Eddie Lopez, Rosie Marie Lopez, Ronnie Lopez, Elias Esquer, and Gerry Pastor. Ultimately, Gerry Pastor suggested I reach out to Barbara Valencia. To varying degrees, all these individuals participated in the 1970 Chicana/o Phoenix Union High School Boycott, and as a result continued to be involved with Chicana/o community activism in different ways. I contacted each participant through a formal phone call introducing myself, my affiliation to UCLA as a doctoral student, and a brief research description. In most cases everyone began to recollect some of their earliest memories of the 1970 Boycott that provided a powerful insight into their lived experiences as Chicanas/os. Engaging in a conversation with participants around their earliest memories and listening was extremely important to me as part of a potential collaborative effort built on 1) trust, 2) rapport, and 3) communication. By the end of our initial phone conversation, I asked all participants if they would be willing and interested in collaborating through an oral history interview.

I am grateful that they all agreed to collaborate, and as a result we scheduled a date, time, and location that was most suitable and comfortable to each collaborator. Within one week during the Spring of 2018, I had conducted all oral history collaborations in participants' homes, work office, or public library setting. Prior to beginning the oral history collaborations, we engaged in conversations about the work and answered any questions that they may have had.

Additionally, I explained the details of UCLA's human subjects' requirements and the study's parameters that required their signed approval. Upon approval, we began a detailed oral history interview that covered the collaborator's life and educational histories culminating with their experience and recollection of the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union.[31] The protocol and interview questions utilized for the oral history collaborations can be found in Appendix A.

Analyzing Findings

The analysis of findings as part of composing a Critical Race Educational History are framed as a twofold process. First is the critical analysis of archival documents as "a form of information constructed by individuals with their own set of values and purposes."[32] By intentionally centering race and racism as a lens of analysis, I scanned archival documents framing both dominant narratives and counterstories for 1) values and purposes; 2) key identifiers such as names, dates, events; 3) and identification of covert presence of race, racism, and intersecting forms of oppression. In addition, I also placed these archival findings in a chronological timeline to understand the conditions leading to the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union beginning in 1968. I then interwove these approaches to analyzing archival documents in the composition of this Critical Race Educational History's counterstory of the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union. This method of analysis was helpful in managing the vast number of archival materials gathered and pieced together in composing this narrative.

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[31] Each collaborator shared rich life and educational histories that give context to other aspects of issues relating to the Chicana/o experience in Phoenix and race/racism within education. Unfortunately, because of the chronological and thematic scope of this study I was not able to include them as part of the oral history collaborations found in Chapter Six. With the approval and continued participation of oral history collaborators, I hope to include these narratives as a part of future work aimed at further understanding historical Phoenix Chicana/o educational experiences.

[32] García and Yosso, "Recovering Our Past."

The second aspect of this process focused on the analysis of the oral history collaborations. At every step, the analysis of the oral histories was fundamentally grounded in the responsibility to capture the voices of each collaborator accurately and respectfully. After the completion of the oral history collaborations, I stored interview audio and materials in a secure place only accessible to the researcher and readily available at the request of oral history collaborators. Additionally, I then transcribed the oral history interviews and analyzed them for an initial read of themes, concepts, and experiences that either corresponded with or challenged the research questions and archival findings. Then I re-read transcriptions to identify themes that interwove each of the collaborator's lived experiences, and eventually composed Chapter Six under topics including but not limited to understanding race and racism at Phoenix Union, raising Chicana/o consciousness, the Boycott School, and Boycott outcomes and reflections. The last part of this process circled back to the oral history collaborators for member checks on Chapter Six that consisted of all six oral history contributions. I gave all six collaborators the option to read the portion of the chapter with their oral history or the entire chapter and asked them to provide feedback, corrections, or additions they deemed necessary.

Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to outline CRT in education as a theoretical framework and CREH as a methodology. Moreover, the chapter additionally also focused on defining the methodological application of counterstorytelling that will serve as the approach in shaping the Critical Race Educational History of the 1970 Chicana/o educational boycott of Phoenix Union High School. This was followed by briefly highlighting and summarizing archival holdings visited as part of this research including collections central to this study. Corresponding to the archives, the chapter then briefly highlights the study's six oral history collaborators and the

collaboration's focus, methods, and protocol. The chapter then concludes by outlining how archives were organized, analyzed, and placed in conversation to compose the counterstory foundational to this Critical Race Educational History.

CHAPTER FOUR: PLANTING SEEDS OF RESISTANCE AT PHOENIX UNION HIGH SCHOOL, 1968-1969

Chapter Roadmap

Using a CRT lens to center race and racism to construct a counterstory as part of a CREH of Phoenix Union's 1970 Chicana/o boycott and walkout. Specifically, in this chapter, I use a CRT to analyze how a series of events and issues in 1968 and 1969 led to the 1970 Chicana/o boycott and walkouts of Phoenix Union High School discussed in Chapter Five. The chapter begins with understanding issues of race at Phoenix Union between 1968 and 1969. It is then followed by focusing on specific community concerns at the school including the tracking of students into vocational education and the establishment of the Freshman Bloc Program. The chapter then highlights the first act of Chicana/o resistance the Fall of 1969 when students staged a walkout of Phoenix Union. The chapter then concludes by drawing a thread between the events discussed in this chapter and how that led to the 1970 Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union.

Understanding Race at Phoenix Union Between 1968 and 1969

Issues of race and racism at Phoenix Union High School can be traced all the way back to the school's establishment in 1895 with major historical markers up until the school's closure in 1928. One of these events is the integration of Black students into Phoenix Union High School resulting from the 1953 *Phillips v. Phoenix Union High School District* court case. I argue this case was a catalyst for the manifestation of racial inequalities in the school and district leading up to students, parents, and community members protesting these conditions in 1968. Between 1968 and 1970, racial inequalities became more evident at what became a predominantly Chicana/o and Black Phoenix Union High School. One of the issues that arose was the tension between Chicana/o and Black students that resulted in physical altercations. While many

acknowledge that tension did exist between Chicana/o and Black students, many also believed that the stories of physical altercations were primarily rumor driven and that this tension was indicative of deeper problems of racial inequality sustained by a predominantly white school administration and district board. A dominant narrative of this tension that was pitting Chicana/o and Black students against one another was fueled by local newspapers, *The Arizona Republic* and the *Phoenix Gazette*, who reported on events at the high school using inflammatory racialized rhetoric. The newspapers were described as actively choosing to:

> look at the boycott almost exclusively as a result of the fights, barely (editorially) dealt with the other concerns of the parents, and students, and portrayed the events as consequential only in terms of community disruption, a violation of school rules, and a loss of class times. Though their own reporters covered the issues in depth, the editors of the R & G failed to understand the value the boycott had in the Mexican American community.[1]

Lowes analysis of how the newspapers failure to thoroughly report a representative depiction of the issues at Phoenix Union exemplifies the erasure of Chicana/o and Black experiences while upholding a racialized dominant narrative intent on vilifying and minimizing the community's concerns. A counterstory did exist and is part of this dissertation that centers the lived experiences of Chicanas/os during this time. The voices of agents demanding change included Chicana/o movement community activist and leader during this period like Joe Eddie Lopez who "refused to believe bred animosities between Blacks and Chicanos."[2] Moreover Joe Eddie further affirmed that he along with other community members were others concerned with Phoenix

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[1] Paul Lowes, "Chicano Activism and the Phoenix Newspapers, 1968-1977." History 591 Paper, May 3, 1993, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000.

[2] Joe Eddie Lopez, "JEL on Phoenix Union High School Walkouts," Arizona State Library, Arizona Memory Project interview.

Union administration's lack of effort to address the issues of educational inequality aiding to tension between students.

On September 13, 1968, Phoenix Union's principal Charles B. Harrison held a special assembly per the recommendation of the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), a Black social service organization.[3] The purpose of the assembly was to address the rising matters of physical altercations, theft, and vandalism stemming from the start of the school year.[4] Mexican American and Black student leaders including Daniel Ortega and Rod Ambrose participated in the voluntary special assembly for 800 fellow pupils that called for Phoenix Union to bring peace to their campus.[5] Newspapers continued to demonize the students on the campus including *The Arizona Republic* who described the campus as one of "lawlessness."[6] Pushing back on the newspapers rhetoric, student leaders continued to call for a change including Ambrose who demanded that the students responsible for the violence and unrest to "leave the school to those who want to learn and to improve education for Negros and Mexican-Americans."[7] Additionally, Ortega identified that a small group of 25 to 30 students out of the 80 percent Mexican American and Black enrollment at Phoenix Union were responsible for the campus unrest and violence.[8] As a result of the tension at Phoenix Union, the school's enrollment dropped at a daily rate between 5 to 10 students.[9] This included students who transferred to other schools at the request

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[3] Charlotte Buchen, "Plea for peace at Phoenix Union-Negro students tell campus agitators: Cool it, let us learn," *The Arizona Republic*, September 13, 1968.

[4] Buchen, "Plea for peace."

[5] Buchen, "Plea for peace."

[6] Buchen, "Plea for peace."

[7] Buchen, "Plea for peace."

[8] Buchen, "Plea for peace."

[9] Buchen, "Plea for peace."

of Mexican American and Black parents.[10] The call by Mexican American and Black student leadership at the beginning of the 1968 academic year is an example of how the majority of students from both communities working together establish collective unity in hopes of addressing educational quality. Yet, news coverage drawing Mexican Americans, Blacks, and Phoenix Union in a negative light further racialized them via a guise of delinquency. Despite the school and district administration calling for this assembly, they failed to show a presence in offering support or recommendations on how to resolve the student concerns.

These concerns came to a tipping point for Black students and parents when the proposed resolution from the school and district created what they felt was the imposition of a heightened "police state campus atmosphere" where students were beaten by city police for no apparent reason.[11] Josh Bursh, local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chapter's educational committee chairman, noted that Phoenix Union's response showed preferential treatment for white students who faced less severe punishment than Black students for the same doings.[12] The administrative response to these concerns at Phoenix Union would emerge in the days to follow the student assembly. Phoenix Union High School District Superintendent Dr. Howard Seymour sites that a special team of uniformed police officers patrolled the Phoenix Union campus after a request made on September 17 after an explanation to the representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, Human Relations Commission, and OIC and other invited groups including the NAACP and Urban League that did not attend.[13] Despite

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[10] Buchen, "Plea for peace."

[11] NA, "Bias alleged in pupil discipline," *The Arizona Republic*, September 23, 1968.

[12] NA, "Bias alleged in pupil discipline."

[13] Charlotte Buchen, "Special police units go on patrol in PUHS area," *The Arizona Republic*, September 24, 1968.

the dissatisfaction from the Black community, *The Arizona Republic* reported that their coverage of the NAACP's criticism of the school's use of police prompted calls from residents in the Phoenix Union area or parents of students attending the vocational school that they were in favor of the police surveillance and protection.

Although what begs questioning is the experience and opinion of Mexican American students and parents regarding the administrative use of a heightened police presence to mediate issues at Phoenix Union. *The Arizona Republic* initially painting these events as Black and white failed to report what the overall impact is for Mexican American students and parents. Between all documented reporting from the *Republic,* the only reference of Mexican Americans is of mothers who met with Phoenix Union principal Harrison asking administration to protect of their students from "Negro hoodlums" after complaining that they were too poor to move their students to one of the four open high schools.[14] Further reporting of these issues at Phoenix Union in December 1968 highlighting Mexican American students and parents more articles lead with inflaming headlines such as questioning whether Phoenix Union is a battleground and start with "Mexican American and Negro youth on the campus of Phoenix Union High School brushed shoulders and nearly caused a riot."[15] While this article further captures Phoenix Union as an Inner-City school facing issues of educational and economic inequality, the labeling of Mexican American and Black as culturally deficient and attending an "almost segregated" school fails to interpret the school's deeply embedded historical segregation per prior studies conducted

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[14] *The Arizona Republic*, "Off-Campus Protection."

[15] Charlotte Buchen, "Is Phoenix Union High a battleground? 'Inner City' school fears segregation imminent," *The Arizona Republic*, December 22, 1968.

by the district and places students and parents at fault for the conditions at Phoenix Union.[16] The article led with focusing on the tension between Mexican American and Black students and was void of Mexican American student, parent, and community leader voices that captured their experience and understanding of the issues at Phoenix Union.

Issues of Vocational Education, Curriculum, and Instruction at Phoenix Union

Phoenix Union High School District on paper engaged initiatives that sought to meet the needs of a predominantly Chicana/o and Black Phoenix Union High School. This included a proposal for a symposium on intercultural communication to bridge the gap between middle-class personnel and "urban disadvantaged student and residents of the inner city of Phoenix" started by Dr. Paul Plath, Administrative Assistant for Administrative Services and Federal Programs, and Donald Covey, Social Studies Consultant.[17] Although many of these efforts would not come into fruition compared to other Phoenix Union and district initiatives that gained more administrative investment, including controversial vocational training and "Freshman Bloc Program."[18]

Relevant Curriculum and Educators

Between 1968 and 1969, efforts and demands for Brown and Black teacher along with culturally relevant curriculums were being demanded by Inner-City residents. During this time

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[16] Buchen, "Is Phoenix Union High a battleground?"

[17] Symposium on Inter-cultural communication January 13, 1969, Phoenix Union High School District Board Minutes.

[18] While a bilingual education pilot program was established at Phoenix Union High School in 1970 and Phoenix Union High School and District presented claims for the implementation of Ethnic Studies-related curriculum, this section on educational issues pertaining to curriculum and instruction highlights two of the contentious events at Phoenix Union leading up to the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott. While my research regarding the implementation of bilingual education and ethnic studies as documented by the school and district requires further primary source research, the current findings will be briefly discussed in the forthcoming sections looking at the years between 1970 and 1972.

period, the Phoenix Union High School District and Phoenix Union High School exhibited efforts and initiatives to bring about the changes needed at the school to reflect the needs of the student population. Phoenix Union High School was in desperate need of hiring teachers that were reflective of their student body with "out of a total of 1,200 teachers in the district, they now have 37 Negro and 38 Mexican Americans."[19] One of these efforts was in mid-August of 1969, when district administrators in conjunction with City of Phoenix Human Relations leaders "agreed to hire more Negro teachers and improve relations with minority students."[20] This was in spite of an ongoing effort described by Superintendent Howard Seymour by the district to recruit teachers of color that resulted in the contracting of 12 Black teachers within a limited pool due to a many candidates not meeting the qualifications of having a master's degree.[21] This meeting was described as coming out as result of complaints presented by Chicana/o and Black students but the meetings held in the Phoenix Municipal Building were off the record and described by Henry Cabirac, the city's first Phoenix human relations director and civil rights advocate, as meetings that "provide a relaxed atmosphere where both sides can talk about it without it being on the public record."[22] While it displays that both parties have a shared interest in hearing these concerns out, the action of off record and closed meetings can be read as attempting to avoid direct dialogues or confrontations with unsatisfied Chicana/o and Black students or community members.

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[19] Paul Schatt, "PUHS Board Discusses Hiring of More Negroes," *The Arizona Republic*, August 16, 1968.

[20] Schatt, "PUHS Board Discusses Hiring of More Negroes."

[21] Schatt, "PUHS Board Discusses Hiring of More Negroes."

[22] Schatt, "PUHS Board Discusses Hiring of More Negroes."

In addition to the call for the hiring of Black teachers also came the urgent plea to also hire Mexican American teachers. José Burruel, an Assistant Dean of Students at Arizona State University and specialist of minorities at the university, echoed this urgent call for the hiring of Mexican American teachers, counselors, and administrators "in schools where students are predominantly from that minority group."[23] Speaking to the Maricopa County chapter of the Association of Mexican American Educators (AMAE) at Phoenix Union High School, Burruel specifically focused on how it was imperative to have Mexican Americans who possess the "linguistic and cultural qualifications" be in administrative and counseling positions to meet the needs of a predominantly Mexican American student population.[24] Moreover, Burruel commented that because many qualified Mexican Americans were looked over in the selection process, these responsibilities then would fall on the limited Mexican American teachers leading to this frequently causing "teachers to lose their classroom effectiveness with the students, and with the community."[25] Not only does Burruel's call address the need for educators to reflect the general student population but also those who are in decision making positions which is an oversight the in the closed off record meetings held by district administrators and the City of Phoenix Human Relations department.

According to Dr. Howard Seymour, faculty at Phoenix Union had commenced a curriculum project in 1967 aimed at having relevant educators and curriculum to that of students including the incorporation of "minority history" into American history courses. Although the impact and implementation of the school's attempt at culturally relevant ethnic studies

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[23] NA, "Hiring of Mexican-American educators urged," *The Arizona Republic*, August 28, 1968.

[24] NA, "Hiring of Mexican-American educators urged."

[25] NA, "Hiring of Mexican-American educators urged."

curriculum is questionable since students continued to complain into 1968. This includes that apart from the complaints of the insufficient Mexican American and Black teachers, students also continued to complain that the school neglected "minority history."[26] By September 1968, Seymour submitted a proposal to the school board aimed at "improving education for racial and ethnic minority students," developing plans for in-service training for teachers currently in the district who express interest in "working with culturally deprived and racial and ethnic minorities."[27]

To further the curriculum work taking place, Seymour also conveyed to the board that he would like to establish a citizens advisory committee "appointed to assist in brining greater equality of education to racial and ethnic minorities."[28] The proposal received informal support from the board and requested that Seymour take steps in hiring a human relations assistant, with the expectation of hiring a Black candidate. Additionally, during a press conference in April of 1969 with high school reporters, Dr. Howard Seymour expressed the need to have relevant curriculum stating, "relevancy should be a major consideration in planning the high school curriculum for today's concerned youths."[29] Seymour further explained that curriculum "should be interesting, pertinent, and challenging" while also acknowledging how fear that "we've done an awful lot of piecemeal education."[30] As an administrator, Seymour's acknowledgements regarding the school's curriculum is indicative of the school and board potentially moving

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[26] Schatt, "PUHS Board Discusses Hiring of More Negroes."

[27] NA, "PUHS Board Okays Better Racial Program," *The Arizona Republic*, September 13, 1968.

[28] NA, "PUHS Board Okays Better Racial Program."

[29] Jamie Pirtle, "Educator stresses identity with others," *The Arizona Republic*, April 19, 1969.

[30] Pirtle, "Educator stresses identity with others."

toward bettering the education of Chicana/o and Black students at Phoenix Union. Although history and presence of vocational education at Phoenix Union demonstrates otherwise.

Vocational Education

Vocational education and curriculum at Phoenix Union were topics of focus for the district in 1968, traced back to 1935. Under a joint effort from the Arizona State Department and Phoenix Union H.S., established a separate vocational high school in 1935 for students interested in learning a trade.[31] Although, ideas and plans to shift to a solely vocational institution became clear as the racial demographics of the school shifted post the *Phillips v. Phoenix Union High School District* lawsuit integrating Black students in 1953. Because of a joint study with experts from the University of Southern California, the district recommended combining the stand-alone vocational school with Phoenix Union and ultimately voted in favor to do so in December 1954.[32] By December 1964, they renamed the program as the Vocational Division of Phoenix Union, and Dr. Howard Seymour had stated that within 15 years the school would be entirely vocational.[33] Soon after it set in motion with a proposed plan in February 1965 outlining the conversion of Phoenix Union to a sole vocational school.[34]

By 1968 vocational courses were well underway at Phoenix Union coupled with the opening of a new vocational center with its administration at the high school set to open in May

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[31] NA, "Vocational Instruction Serves Many: New Phoenix Unit Planned," *The Arizona Republic*, September 11, 1935.

[32] Phoenix Union High School System, *A Bicentennial Commemorative History of the Phoenix Union School System, 1895-1976*, Phoenix: Phoenix Union High School System, 1976. Print, Arizona State Library Archives and Records.

[33] Phoenix Union High School System, *A Bicentennial Commemorative History of the Phoenix Union School System*); Future Plans Committee, 1969 MSS-130, Box 2, Folder 2, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

[34] Future Plans Committee

of that same year. During this same month, a district financial bond voted on requesting funding for several school projects including plans to develop vocational facilities at Phoenix Union failed approval.[35] Vocational courses at the center received promotion to all high school students and adults required to pay a small fee.[36] Offering vocational education in 1935 shifted from optional to necessity in the 1960s and became visible in administrative attitudes and reasoning as a need reflective of the student demographics and level of education at the predominantly Chicana/o and Black school. They made this visible in newspaper publications such as in *The Arizona Republic*. Photographs in *The Arizona Republic* provided a visual insight to that 75 percent of vocational educational enrolled students in a January 1968 article highlighting courses teaching women to become "proficient sew-and-sews." The images reflect a racialized and gendered depiction of Chicana and Black women whose enrollment in these sewing courses results in their tracking into seamstress jobs.

As previously noted, suggestions and proposals of making the high school solely all vocational began as early as 1965. In February 1968, a committee designated to study Phoenix Union proposed converting the school to a sole vocational school to the board of education.[37] The committee suggested holding any future construction projects until they decided it in which direction the school wanted to go.[38] Members from community organizations including the Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), Leadership and Education for the Advancement

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[35] Robert J. Sarti, "Phoenix Union to Open New Vocational Center," *The Arizona Republic*, May 13, 1968; NA, "$28 Million Fund for Schools Asked," *The Arizona Republic*, March 21, 1968; *The Arizona Republic*, "Phoenix Tax Payers Vote Tuesday On $19.8 Million School Bond Issue," May 26, 1968; *The Arizona Republic*, "Record Turnout of Voters Defeats PUHS Bond Issue," May 29, 1968.

[36] NA, "…To Help You Sew Up a Good Job," *The Arizona Republic*, January 26, 1968.

[37] Robert J. Sarti, "PUHS Role Under Study By Committee," *The Arizona Republic*, February 11, 1968.

[38] Sarti, "PUHS Role Under Study By Committee."

of *Phoenix (LEAP), and local grassroots newspaper "Voice of South Phoenix expressed dissatisfaction with the proposed plan.*[39] Reports showed 75 percent of Phoenix Union's student population enrolled or preparing to enroll in vocational courses.[40] The percentage of reported vocational enrollment reflects Phoenix Union's 75 percent Chicana/o and Black enrollment. Administrators and committee members used the large enrollment of Phoenix Union students in vocational education as a justification to propose for the institution to convert the high school into a vocational training institution. One example of that was the vocational study committee's chairman, Whitey Brayer, advocating for this shift expressing that because Phoenix Union is "already a vocational school… we might as well accept the inevitable" to raise the status of vocational education for students.[41] Considering the space available at Phoenix Union and the need to revamp Buildings No. 5 and 8, Brayer, with agreement from several committee members, also proposed exploring the possibility of renovating one while razing the other under the premise that the building with more space given to the vocational courses and minimizing the space and offerings for humanities courses. This reflects a non-administrative or school official's recommendation and influence to shift the school's curriculum without a student, parental, or community input in the school's direction.

By April 1968, the razed four-story vocational building at Phoenix Union opened for the public.[42] The opening included tours during the district's yearly vocational exhibition known as Exhiborama, where students and adults showcased work from over 20 vocational shops, in

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[39] Future Plans Committee.

[40] Future Plans Committee.

[41] Future Plans Committee.

[42] NA, "Exhiborama Opens PUHS Vocational-Tech Building," *The Arizona Republic*, April 6, 1968.

combination with the school's open house.[43] This came at the heels of the 2.5 million dollars vocational center opening at Phoenix Union in May 1968.[44] The administrative logic of shifting the predominantly Chicana/o and Black Phoenix Union to solely a vocational school became more pronounced with the opening of the new center and its financing through the sale of Phoenix College to Maricopa Junior College District. District officials saw the opening of the vocational center as an opportunity to improve the image of vocational education to make it "more palatable to young people, especially those from minority groups."[45] This is all while the district study committee continued to pursue the possibility of converting Phoenix Union into an all vocational school with plans to report back to assistant superintendent for instruction, John Waters, in May 1968 under the guise that this shift might encourage dropouts to continue their education.[46]

Phoenix Union Principal Harrison, ironically as a Black administrator, was in favor of the recommendations by the school's Future Plans Committee to move toward sole vocational education. Under the guise of "setting up meetings with Negro and Mexican-American adult leaders to get their opinions on some recommendations for solving Phoenix Union problems," Harrison's and the Future Plans Committee is nothing short of intentional racial and educational segregation across the district.[47] Harrison conveyed that he and the Future Plans Committee are "considering recommending that Phoenix Union be converted into an all-area vocational school" and to avoid their fear of a segregated Phoenix Union the school could draw "vocational students

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[43] NA, "Exhiborama Opens PUHS Vocational-Tech Building."

[44] Sarti, "Phoenix Union to Open New Vocational Center."

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Buchen, "Is Phoenix Union High a battleground?"

from 'sister schools' throughout the Valley [who] would come into Phoenix Union in greater numbers to bring a racial balance."[48] Harrison further explained that Chicana/o and Black students who were "academically oriented" and "college-bound" may be bused to other schools such as North or East High School to prevent Phoenix Union from moving into being a "truly segregated school."[49] While Harrison's concerns of Phoenix Union High School becoming what he considers a segregated school, the racial demographics across the district confirmed that Phoenix Union and District had been segregated and their proposed vocational and tracking plan only further reinforces this.

The continued effort of administration and the study committee to convert Phoenix Union into an all-vocational institution through financial planning such as in the bond issues and sale of Phoenix College, shifts in curriculum, and razing of a building to accommodate training courses at a primarily Chicana/o and Black school function as a part of a systemic racialized mechanism to track students and sustain deficit notions of educational attainment. Matters of vocational education at Phoenix Union in 1968 and 1969 did not go unseen by the Chicana/o community as they were points of discussion and organizing as the formation of Chicanos Por La Causa rooted itself in fighting for educational equity. Described as trying to mix water with oil, a full conversion of Phoenix Union to a vocational school never thoroughly successfully happened. Although the attempts and proliferation of a vocational program, curriculum focused on job versus academic preparation, and a correlation between Phoenix Union Chicana/o and Black student enrollment showed how the administration sought to address this matter. Chicanas/os along with other Inner-City residents would shift their curricular focus from vocational education

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[48] Buchen, "Is Phoenix Union High a battleground?"

[49] Buchen, "Is Phoenix Union High a battleground?"

to a newly proposed Freshman Bloc Program at Phoenix Union High School. Leading to a controversy that the *Arizona Republic* described as a controversy that had “all the ingredients of a Greek drama.”[50] The Phoenix Union High School District Board of Education voted on March 11, 1968, to establish a program for incoming freshmen at the “troubled Phoenix Union High School” that will “have the resources of a special program designed for the culturally and racially disadvantaged.”[51]

Freshman Block Program

The Freshman Block Program or Freshman Program set to begin the fall of 1969 and be a full four-year program by 1972 designed as “block” teaching comprising “80 students for each of four teachers” with one of these four serving as a counselor.[52] Associate Principal Robert A. Dye acknowledged that “many students come to us from grade school with limited knowledge” including “over 75 percent [of students] that have been to a museum….over 50 percent have never been to a city library.”[53] The logic behind this program denotes framing from a lens of deficiencies. Dr. Howard Seymour conveyed that implementing such a program would be appropriate because “the present curriculum at Phoenix Union High School was not suitable for the youngsters in that area.”[54] The district board approved to spend $226,000 on the program despite receiving objections from the “teacher arm of the school’s professional council, which

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[50] NA, “PUHS Dilemma,” *The Arizona Republic*, May 11, 1970.

[51] Charlotte Buchen, “New PUHS program will help disadvantaged freshman through year,” *The Arizona Republic*, March 12, 1969.

[52] Buchen, “New PUHS program will help disadvantaged freshman through year.”

[53] NA, “Phoenix Union freshman to initiate new program,” *The Arizona Republic*, April 5, 1969.

[54] PUHS School Board Minutes, “Estimated Budget for First Year of Operation of the Freshman Block Program,” March 11, 1969, Phoenix Union High School District Archives, Phoenix, Arizona.

opposed to the method by which personnel will be selected to implement the program."[55] Inner-City residents did not take the board's decision to implement this program lightly. Residents voiced their concerns despite Assistant Superintendent Dr. John C. Waters claiming the "planning of this program had been done at the 'grassroots' level." [56]

Dr. Howard Seymour asserted that the Freshman Program or Block Program would be open to discussion and input from community organizations and leaders and would not be intent on "defeat[ing] the post-secondary education aspirations of students."[57] Although Seymour's welcoming of input seems to contradict his opinion of this in early 1969. Dr. Seymour contributed a question and answer column in the *Phoenix Gazette* in which directly inferred that parents do not hold the expertise to give input on educational matters and is described as a columnist "separating school facts from fiction."[58] In response to the question of "shouldn't the parents have a say as to what materials are used in high school teaching" Seymour responded "I believe professional educators should select the teaching materials just as the doctor prescribes medicine for his patient and the surgeon decides when an operation is necessary."[59] Seymour's attitude surrounding who is capable of having input in educational matters affirmed the role of the white architect in creating barriers for Chicanas/os and Black community members.

By late-March, Inner-City Chicana/o and Black residents, which composed most Phoenix Union who felt the program was vocation heavy sought methods to communicate their concerns regarding the implementation of the Freshman Program. LEAP commission's chairman,

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[55] NA, "Phoenix Union freshman to initiate new program."

[56] PUHS School Board Minutes, "Estimated Budget."

[57] PUHS School Board Minutes, "Estimated Budget."

[58] "For an Operation…Try a Surgeon," Phoenix Gazette Ad in *The Arizona Republic*, January 19, 1968.

[59] "For an Operation…Try a Surgeon."

Reverend William O. Smith, held a meeting on April 2, 1969 for a 100 Inner-City residents opposing a lack of inclusion in the decision-making process regarding the Freshman Program at the Adams Hotel, a neutral site, to assure that "the meeting is not in the control of LEAP, the schools, or any other individual, group, or agency."[60] Smith received assurance from the district and school officials that "the program plan for the Inner-City students is open for restructuring and that the board wants to know the desires of the community."[61] From this initial meeting residents appointed a five-member steering committee that included Chairman Josh Bursh, Reverend Miguel M. Barrogon, Eugene Hutloff, Arlena Seneca and Betty Saylor to prepare an agenda a forthcoming forum.[62] In the days to follow Superintendent Howard Seymour recommended Arlena Seneca, a former George Washington Carver and South Mountain High School teacher, to the board from 15 applicants to serve as consultant for human relations for the district to work with "minority groups to improve community relations."[63]

On April 15, 1969, Inner-City residents gathered to take part in a public forum at the Phoenix Union High School auditorium with the appointed five-person committee. Reverend Smith stated that the purpose of the forum was to bring together interested groups of Inner-City residents "demonstrating [that] they want to be a part of the decision-making process that will affect their children."[64] Dissatisfaction with the board's program approval aimed at reducing drop-out rates drew out circa 250 residents with nearly 30 speakers who criticized the program

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[60] Charlotte Buchen, "LEAP Chairman calls meet to discuss PUHS curriculum," *The Arizona Republic*, March 27, 1969; NA, "Public Forum on Inner City school plans," *The Arizona State Republic*, April 4, 1969.

[61] Buchen, "LEAP Chairman calls meet to discuss PUHS curriculum."

[62] NA, "Public Forum on Inner City school plans."

[63] NA, "Human Relations post proposed for teacher," *The Arizona Republic*, April 10, 1969.

[64] NA, "PUHS holds study parley," *The Arizona Republic*, April 15, 1969.

for "failing to consider minority needs, failing to provide college preparation, and failing to deal with such issues as the lack of teacher sensitivity to student's needs."[65] This disapproval led to a vote in favor of accepting a proposal calling for "the establishment of several interacting community committees to develop a new program at PUHS" and a May 1 timeline for community suggestions.[66] Committees comprised two separate ones, curriculum and task force. The curriculum committee of mainly Chicana/o and Black Inner-City residents Josh Bursh, Joe Eddie Lopez, and Pat Koch, six Phoenix Union students with two added later on, five Phoenix Union parents—with three more added later—and two district appointed school persons while in contrast, the task force was only five Inner-City residents.[67] Joe Eddie Lopez served as the liaison between the curriculum committee and Chicanos Por La Causa offering report backs on the group's progress.[68]

Chicanas/os sought to convey their analysis and information to their community that would in most cases not be able to take part because of a language barrier. As a result, bilingual Chicanas/os constructed a timeline of events leading to the proposal of the Freshman Program outlining its roots in not only designing vocational tracks at Phoenix Union but turning Phoenix Union into a sole vocational school as conveyed by the administration and feared by Inner-City residents. According to a Spanish language handout outlining these details, Chicanas/os traced the inception of the Freshman Program to a vocational plan proposed to the board by the Future

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[65] Daniel Ben-Horn, "Inner City residents balk PUHS program," *The Arizona Republic*, April 16, 1969.

[66] Ben-Horn, "Inner City residents balk PUHS program."

[67] NA, "PUHS 'block' plan still balked," *The Arizona Republic*, April 30, 1969.

[68] Board of Director Meeting Minutes, July 29, 1969, MSS-130, Box 2, Folder 2, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

Plans Committee in 1968.[69] They furthered detailed how the language of the program's objectives set forth by the Future Plans Committee relied heavily on the use of keywords such as "work" and "occupation" and did not once mention "education."[70] Chicanas/os and conveyed that the danger of such a program gives way when one "considers the history of the program."[71] This conveyed by Louis Medvine, a VISTA volunteer, who "asserted the program had been kept a secret from the community and was an extension of an earlier plan [unanimously recommended by the Future Plans Committee January 8] to make PUHS into a purely vocational school [while non-vocational students are channeled to other schools]."[72]

Though a strong opposition of the Freshman Program from the Inner-City residents was present, a majority of the board members including Dr. Robert Shapiro, Carolyn Warner, and Reverend William Bostrom signaled they would vote in favor of implementing the program.[73] Bostrom clarified that he was a "vehement opponent" of the Inner-City's demand to have a voice in the matters.[74] Board member John Fels, supported by board president Trevor G. Browne, urged that a delay in the program's implementation would allow the community to take part in decision making, and without them, the program would fail.[75] Bostrom begged to differ:

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[69] Future Plans Committee, 1969 MSS-130, Box 2, Folder 2, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

[70] Future Plans Committee.

[71] Future Plans Committee.

[72] Daniel Ben-Horn, "Inner City group seeks to foil 'block' program," *The Arizona Republic*, May 7, 1969.

[73] Daniel Ben-Horn, "Fall start for block program is indicated by PUHS board-Action is hinted despite opposition at public forum," *The Arizona Republic*, April 18, 1969.

[74] Ben-Horn, "Fall start for block program."

[75] Ben-Horn, "Fall start for block program."

> What we've been having is disorderly confrontation, not participatory democracy… all of this is a compromising of the board's authority under the law. I want a responsible advisory committee that will talk sense.[76]

Most of the board favoring the implementation of the Freshman Program presents a failure to hear and meet the needs of students and residents who pertain to Phoenix Union High School. It further reflects the role of white architects in maintaining racialized structures of exclusion in the Phoenix Union High School District.

Faced with persistent opposition to the Freshman Program, the Phoenix Union High School Board of Education moved forward with a vote in favor of implementing the program. On May 1, 1969 roughly 450 Inner-City residents at Central High's gymnasium met with the board to present a list of resolutions regarding their concerns of the program.[77] The resolutions included:

1. That the Block Program as originally conceived be opposed;
2. That the total steering committee is supportive of a special emphasis program for dealing with minority problems for students;
3. That the steering committee ask the school board's public recognition of the curriculum committee's function and activity as a working link with the school system for the purpose of reviewing and developing special emphasis programs;
4. That the steering committee strongly recommends and supports implementation of the bilingual program at Phoenix Union High School; and
5. That the school board agree that it will not approve and implement any additional curricular program for Phoenix Union High School without the recommendation of the steering committee.[78]

Inner-City residents expressed that all resolutions except for number 4 had been rejected and because of this action taken by the board "the steering committee was reaffirmed that the school

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[76] Ben-Horn, "Fall start for block program."

[77] Daniel Ben-Horn, "Freshman program voted for PUHS despite opposition," *The Arizona Republic*, May 2, 1969.

[78] Statement titled "To the Phoenix Union High School Board in the care of Trevor Browne," MSS-130, Box 8, Folder 4, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

board and the Phoenix Union administration were ignorant of the special education problems of minorities and of special emphasis programs for dealing with them."[79] Despite this opposition, the board voted unanimously, 4-0, in favor of implementing and starting the program Fall of 1969.[80] The Inner-City residents present continued to voice their concerns that dissatisfaction over the lack of being included in the structuring of the program.[81] Inner-City residents felt that the program did not intend to reduce dropout rates but vocationally oriented and carried over from the previous plan to make Phoenix Union an all vocational school.[82]

The position of board members reflected a lack of consideration for what Inner-City residents experienced first-hand at Phoenix Union High School, coined as "insensitive to the needs of black and brown students."[83] Reverend William D. Bostrom, one of the board members strongly in favor of the program, continued to press his position on the board, maintaining control over the direction of the Freshman Program. Despite Inner-City residents clarifying that their intent was "not trying to take over in any way whatsoever" responding to Bostrom's critique, that involvement meant different things to each party distinguishing "between advice and takeover."[84] Ultimately, the proposal voted on by the board was to implement a voluntary program.[85]

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[79] "To the Phoenix Union High School Board in the care of Trevor Browne."

[80] Ben-Horn, "Freshman program voted for PUHS despite opposition."

[81] Ben-Horn, "Freshman program voted for PUHS despite opposition."

[82] Ben-Horn, "Freshman program voted for PUHS despite opposition."

[83] Ben-Horn, "Freshman program voted for PUHS despite opposition."

[84] Ben-Horn, "Freshman program voted for PUHS despite opposition."

[85] Ben-Horn, "Freshman program voted for PUHS despite opposition."

Inner-City residents did not standby and allow the decision of the board in the face of their opposition to diminish their momentum. Residents opposing the program met on May 6, 1969 to continue organizing by "empowering a committee to investigate ways of forestalling the program" that included a court injunction, a boycott of Phoenix Union, or a school board recall.[86] In addition to investigating ways to prevent the program from beginning, Inner-City residents and the steering committee enlisted the Curriculum Committee with designing a curriculum that they felt would "truly meet the educational need of minorities at Phoenix Union."[87] As a result, the Curriculum Committee designated two goals that they "noted were completely overlooked by your Future Plans Committee," and they included:

1. Involve as many parents and students in an advisory capacity as possible. This was done by having area meetings in the barrios and ghettos.
2. Utilize the services of expert consultants in the field of minority education.[88]

With this momentum, Inner-City residents met once again on May 26 for a presentation of the curriculum committee's report and the "various methods of counteracting the program."[89] Although prior meetings attended by hundreds of outspoken Inner-City residents, the *Arizona Republic* described the meeting that followed as "a quiet meeting attended by about 40 persons."

Regardless of the number of residents in attendance, those present continued to discuss how to prevent the establishment of the Freshman Program. Their discussion led to the establishment of a timeline stretching into the summer that included:

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[86] Ben-Horn, "Inner City group seeks to foil 'block' program."

[87] "To the Phoenix Union High School Board in the care of Trevor Browne."

[88] "To the Phoenix Union High School Board in the care of Trevor Browne."

[89] NA, "Inner Citians to meet again to oppose program at PUHS," *The Arizona Republic*, May 26, 1969.

> A workshop, with outside education consultants, from June 6-10 with the purpose of formulating specific suggestions to be presented to the PUHS board regarding the freshman program.
>
> A public meeting June 13 to mobilize Inner-city opposition to the program as now constituted.
>
> Presentation to the PUHS board June 19 of the suggestions arising from the workshop.[90]

The steering committee presented a non-negotiable attitude with the PUHS board. For example, Josh Bursh, a member of the steering committee, stated that "if the board refuses to act upon these suggestions, a court suit will be brought to prevent the implementation of the program."[91] Bursh expressed that if the court were to "refuse to stop the program a boycott of the program will be organized."[92] The steering committee and residents in attendance also heard curriculum recommendations gathered from Inner-City residents in two previous meetings. The recommendations from residents included "sensitivity training for white teachers; more black and brown teachers, counselors and courses; methods of testing different from those now used which, [as] Bursh stated, "are heavily geared toward white, middle-class experience."[93]

Amid the Inner-City movement of the residents, PUHS, the current assistant principal and soon to be principal, Robert Dye, appointed a Black PUHS English teacher favoring the freshman program, Eddie L. Connor, as its head.[94] Inner-City residents proceeded to move forward in creating alternatives opposing the Freshman Program at Phoenix Union High School.

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[90] Daniel Ben Horn, "Residents opposed to PUHS frosh program map out timetable," *The Arizona Republic*, May 28, 1969.

[91] Ben Horn, "Residents opposed to PUHS frosh program map out timetable."

[92] Ben Horn, "Residents opposed to PUHS frosh program map out timetable."

[93] Ben Horn, "Residents opposed to PUHS frosh program map out timetable."

[94] NA, "PUHS picks project head," *The Arizona Republic*, June 11, 1969.

Per their timeline, residents met on June 17 before the June 19 board meeting and revealed an alternative program, which they collectively voted on to present before the board. This alternative to the Freshman Program, created by the curriculum committee and California educational consultants Oswaldo Austurias and Ernesto Gutierrez still structured in the same block format and described by Josh Bursh as having a "very strong academic emphasis" contrasting the approved program that many of the committee members feel strongly emphasizes vocational education.[95] At the core of the program are two student centered objectives that sought to empower Chicana/o and Black students to proactively engage and evaluate their educational needs through an ethnic studies lens. These objects include:

1. To encourage students to

   Discover, understand and respect himself

   Recognize and develop relationships to his own and other communities

   Realize his potential and set goals based on his interest and his awareness of possibilities through a comprehensive liberal arts program accenting Black and Chicano history and culture

2. To enable each student to

   Evaluate his educational background

   Recognize his educational deficiencies defined in terms of his goals

   Commit himself to elimination of those deficiencies through a high individualized academic skills program.[96]

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[95] Daniel Ben-Horn, "Inner City unit offers freshman plan," *The Arizona Republic*, June 18, 1968.

[96] Curriculum submitted by Curriculum Committee to Board "Freshman Program: PUHS," June 18, 1969, MSS-130, Box 2, Folder 2, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

The proposed alternative Freshman Program consisted of a "three-hour communication program" allowing students to develop skills in "10 subject areas including art, music, speech, languages, social sciences, journalism, and science."[97] The design of the alternative program proposal intended on creating employment pathways to hire extra teacher aides, teachers, and reading specialists.[98] The proposed alternative program strongly demonstrated an effort by all Inner-City residents to establish a curriculum intent on continuing to build self-awareness, cultural pride, and solidarity amongst Chicana/o and Black students.

The Curriculum Committee submitted the finalized Freshman Program alternative program to the board on June 18, 1969 in preparation for the following day's board meeting.[99] Despite the steering committee's eagerness and optimism in working with the administration to potentially implement their plan proposal, when the June 19 PUHS board meeting finally arrived, a peculiar series of events arose connected back to the May 6 meeting. During the May 6 meeting, discussions took place amongst the residents in attendance regarding the role of Operation LEAP in action against the Freshman Program. The newly appointed LEAP chairman announced that the organization had agreed to extend their services and up to $1,000 for consultation expenses but residents continued to question "how far down the line LEAP would go in actions directed against the board."[100] Residents that called to question the role and intention of LEAP included former LEAP chairman and outspoken Inner-City resident, Reverend William O. Smith. Reverend Smith suggested "making some specific resolutions to challenge the

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[97] Ben-Horn, "Inner City unit offers freshman plan."

[98] Ben-Horn, "Inner City unit offers freshman plan."

[99] "Freshman Program: PUHS."

[100] Ben-Horn, "Inner City group seeks to foil 'block' program."

intentions of LEAP."[101] Residents had been warned that "the involvement of organizations with government connections could lead to the steering committee identifying itself less with the interest of the community."[102]

As a result, the steering committee heavily considered this and voted that "LEAP should assume a supporting and not a direct role in any future actions." [103] When it came time to present the alternative program to the PUHS board on June 19, the presentation by dissatisfied Inner-City residents did not take place.[104] According to the Fred Warren, LEAP liaison between the organization and the "dissidents," as described by the *Arizona Republic,* the Inner-City residents were not on the agenda because of a "communications breakdown."[105] The Curriculum Committee did not allow the failure to be placed on the June 19 board agenda deter them from continuing to organize against the Freshman Program. Communication continued between the committee and the district. One example is a July 2 correspondence between Joe Eddie Lopez and Calvin Goode, a former Black Phoenix Union High School District employee and newly appointed LEAP commission chairman, outlining the committee's decision to appoint Dora Rendon as their coordinator.[106] Once again demonstrating collaborative efforts between Chicanas/os and Blacks. Even with such opposition to the program and a lack of fully including

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[101] Ben-Horn, "Inner City group seeks to foil 'block' program."

[102] Ben-Horn, "Inner City group seeks to foil 'block' program."

[103] Ben-Horn, "Inner City group seeks to foil 'block' program."

[104] Daniel Ben-Horn, "PUHS budget set at $21,511,818," *The Arizona Republic*, June 20, 1969.

[105] Ben-Horn, "PUHS budget set at $21,511,818."

[106] Correspondence between Joe Eddie Lopez and Calvin Goode, July 2, 1969, MSS-130, Box 2, Folder 2, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

community input toward Phoenix Unions direction, the district and school proceeded full steam ahead to begin the Freshman Program fall of 1969. Program director, Eddie Connor, claimed by October 1969, the "community support of it high."[107] By October 17, the district suspended Connor from the Phoenix Union faculty for "unprofessional conduct" would resign by December from his post succeeded by Grant Johnson, acting chairman of the Freshman Program.[108] The *Arizona Republic* reported that the vocational aspects of the program became limited to "counseling, field trips, and classroom discussions" while still considered voluntary to enroll. Although reports showed that opposition had diminished and favoritism has gone up, Chicanas/os were the only group that continued to express dissatisfaction with the program and the conditions of the school overall.[109] The dissatisfaction felt by Chicanas/os at Phoenix Union High School would continue to intensify as they took their organizing to the streets as the impetus of a series of educational protests as part of the larger Phoenix Chicana/o movement in the fall of 1969.

Impetus for Resistance: The Birth of a Chicana/o Movement at Phoenix Union

Although mainstream newspapers *The Arizona Republic* as well as the *Phoenix Gazette* served as a source to identify the chronology of events, reporting by the *Republic's* Peter B. Mann in 1968 and 1969 demonstrated benevolence and space for Chicana/o voices. Mann produced a series titled "Race to Reason" that could be argued is a play on words on matters or race and solving Phoenix Union's problems. Mann's approach to reporting the ensuing events of this section authentically captured the organizing efforts of Chicanas/os much so that the soon to

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[107] Peter B. Mann, "Freshman program support high," *The Arizona Republic*, October 16, 1969.
[108] NA, "Suspended teacher resigns with pay," *The Arizona Republic*, December 20, 1969.
[109] Mann, "Freshman program support high."

be formed Chicanos Por La Causa (CPLC) found the coverage favorable of their efforts. The articles in Mann's series were reported on by member Luz Baeza to CPLC and reproduced in the "Chicanos Por La Causa 69" outlining the organizations efforts in educational equality.[110]

This first march at Phoenix Union High School was one of the several events in 1968 and 1969 that ignited the Chicana/o movement in Phoenix. Just like similar movements across the country. Efforts to establish coalitions and strategies of resistance became pivotal in ensuring organizational longevity. Phoenix Chicanas/os invested in bringing change to Phoenix Union and their community saw a need to have a collective and organized effort of their own. As a result, on September 16, 1969 a "Chicano Coalition" was established during a meeting at the historic American Legion Post No. 41 that included students, parents, Inner-City community and members of the Brown Berets organization of Mexican American youth.[111] Grounded in a democratic process, the Chicano Coalition comprised of a 17-member committee chosen to nominate candidates as part of elections to establish a board that would take the lead in drafting the group's first statement of purpose.[112] While understood that the educational issues at Phoenix Union pertained to both Chicanas/os and Blacks, those involved in the establishment of the Chicana/o coalition clarified that it was in no means to create competition with the Black community in resolving community problems.

Amidst measures taken by the Phoenix Union administration, district, and board of education since 1968, the Chicana/o community still did not feel that their needs were being met

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[110] Chicanos Por La Causa Minutes of Meeting, November 1, 1969, MSS-130, Box 2, Folder 2, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

[111] NA, "Mexican-Americans plan to form coalition," *The Arizona Republic*, September 17, 1969.

[112] NA, "Mexican-Americans plan to form coalition."

adequately let alone being heard. A series of events in the fall of 1969 would give way to a 1960s and 1970s Chicana/o movement in Phoenix. Despite deficit notions belittling Chicanas/os as an ignorant community that did not value education, their story of resistance resonated dignity, concern, and involvement.[113] The involvement of Phoenix Chicana/o community leaders in matters of educational equity including Joe Eddie Lopez, Rosie Marie Lopez, Ronnie Lopez, Juan Alvarez, Terri Cruz, Luz Baeza, Alfredo Gutierrez are responsible for the birth of the long-standing organization Chicanos Por La Causa (CPLC) in 1969.[114] CPLC made it clear that they were a barrio organization committed to their community and specifically to the movement at Phoenix Union High School. Parallel to growing Mexican American dissatisfaction of Phoenix Union, for the first time Phoenix was experiencing the late 1960s Chicana/o movement wave demanding justice and dignity. While this portion of the CREH narrative centers the Chicana/o experience and account of the 1968 and 1969 events leading to 1970 boycott of Phoenix Union, recognition of shared struggles and remedying tensions with the Black community is still present throughout. Community leader Joe Eddie Lopez never failed to acknowledge that the colonization of Chicanas/os, genocide of Indigenous, and slavery of Blacks are all part of what he identifies as America's cancer—racism.[115]

Phoenix's Mexican American inner city, where Sacred Heart Parish located amongst what *Arizona Republic* journalist Peter B. Mann described as modest homes where 3,500 Sacred Heart Parish catholic families from barrios like Golden Gate and Cuatro Milpas lived and their

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[113]Chicanos Por La Causa Minutes of Meeting.

[114] Peter Mann, "Chicanos want their 'cause' known," *The Arizona Republic*, October 12, 1969.

[115]Chicanos Por La Causa Minutes of Meeting.

children attended the nearby Phoenix Union High School.[116] With the support of the white Reverend Frank Yoldi, Sacred Heart along with the neighboring Santa Rita Center became the heart of the Chicana/o movement in Phoenix.[117] With a transformation in the consciousness of the Chicana/o community, local leaders in Phoenix mobilized in the fall of 1969 to send a clear message to those in power. Chicana/o community leaders have felt that they only met with words and no action when communicating concerns about the ongoing problems of Phoenix Union High School educating Inner-City children that have become more clear with the dramatic demographic shift in recent years.[118] Despite Phoenix Union High School District Superintendent Howard C. Seymour making a call to action and acknowledging the hardships of the Black and Mexican American community, Chicanas/os would take his words with a grain of salt and will believe the words of school officials and administration when they see tangible and credible change.[119]

The months of September and October saw Chicana/o resistance in Phoenix take shape through a walkout, protest marches, non-negotiable demands, and confrontations with Phoenix Union High School administration.[120] While Mexican-American's made a large portion of Phoenix's population, not all were a part of or agreed with the movement and asserted that outside agitators from the United Farm Workers (UFW) grape boycott from California came to

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[116] Peter Mann, "Chicano Protest Part of Improved Stats Plan," *The Arizona Republic*, October 12, 1969.

[117] Mann, "Chicanos want their 'cause' known."

[118] Peter B. Mann, "Chicanos tell educators: action speaks louder than words," *The Arizona Republic*, October 14, 1969.

[119] Mann, "Chicanos tell educators"

[120] Mann, "Chicano Protest Part of Improved Stats Plan."

Arizona to rabble-rouse.[121] Amongst those in disagreement was Eugene Acosta Marin, a longtime educator and education advocate who held state and national educational positions. Acosta wrote a series of five opinion pieces in *The Arizona Republic* throughout December 1969 criticizing the Chicana/o movement and strategies while promoting assimilation, advocating for Phoenix Union conversion to a vocational school, and labeling it as a "ghetto school."[122] Although in 1970, we would see Acosta shift his critique and budding support of the Chicana/o community efforts to address the problems at Phoenix Union. Acosta voiced his concern of neglect "experienced by many minority-group children and in this case particularly those of Mexican American descent" by shifting his critique to budding support of the Chicana/o community efforts to address the problems at Phoenix Union and the Association of Mexican American Educators (add a note on brief history).[123] Those who aligned with the activism lived near Phoenix Union and called the impoverished barrios of the Inner-City and South Phoenix home.[124] These same community members would become those involved in shifting the history of Chicanas/os in Phoenix.

Concerns regarding safety grew in the Chicana/o community after a confrontation on September 12 described by *The Arizona Republic* as a "budding gang fight confrontation on the PUHS grounds between about 200 Negro and Mexican American students."[125] This

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[121] Mann, "Chicano Protest Part of Improved Stats Plan"; While the United Farm Workers had a strong presence in California, many organizing efforts for the union also took place throughout Arizona including Phoenix.

[122] Original Part I-V, A Challenge for Phoenix Opinion Pieces submitted to The Arizona Republic, 1969, MSS-336, Box 28, Folder 6, Eugene Acosta Marin Papers 1945-2002, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection.

[123] NA, "Marin Blasts 'Republic' Distortions," *8-20 Voice of the City*, October 15, 1970.

[124] NA, "Marin Blasts 'Republic' Distortions."

[125] Jack Crowe, "Mexican-Americans march on City Hall," *The Arizona Republic*, September 16, 1969.

confrontation was part of ongoing physical violence and theft between both groups of students and at times non-students as reported by Phoenix Union Principal Robert A. Dye.[126] Principal Dye considered that no real animosity existed between both groups and that the victims of violence are not because of race but a criminalized pocket he claims as “small hoodlum elements” guided by “rivalry between loosely structured neighborhood gangs.”[127] While Dye’s interpretation of the events note race is not a key factor, his perceptions of students is clear and falls in line with deficit notions implicating students to be at fault of the very conditions in which they exist rather than asking of what is the school or district not doing to address these matters or what role the institutions play. The first-hand experience of Phoenix Union Chicana/o and Black students challenges the misconception and rumor that the tension is a black versus brown matter exist in a vacuum. The student’s first-hand experiences and reports by Phoenix Police Chief Lawrence Wetzel and Lieutenant Doug Nelson noted that Chicana/o and Black students mingled amongst each other and showed support in voicing grievances despite a widespread impression that both groups were at odds with one another.[128] Although Chicana/o and Black students referred back to this tension being symptomatic of institutional inequities perpetuated by those in positions of power, specifically teachers. Teachers with deficit and racist perceptions of students held attitudes of Phoenix Union students as dirty and a low desire to teach Chicana/o and Black students.[129]

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[126] Peter Mann, “PUHS tensions lessening; Chicanos’ hopes lifting,” *The Arizona Republic*, October 13, 1969.

[127] Mann, “PUHS tensions lessening.”

[128] Chicanos Por La Causa Pamphlet, 1969, MSS-130 Box 20, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

[129] NA, “Chicano Action…What Really Happened at Phoenix Union,” *8-20 Voice of the City*, September 18, 1969.

As a result of concern regarding the conflict between Chicana/o and Black students at Phoenix Union, held meetings at the Santa Rita Neighborhood Center in South Phoenix and Sacred Heart Parish in Phoenix's Golden Gate Barrio that same weekend. Sacred Heart's associate pastor, Reverend Frank Yoldi, one if not the only white ally of the Chicana/o movement efforts in Phoenix, commented that one meeting held was a three-hour session were Chicana/o and Black parents and community leaders met in efforts to ease tension between students while also reaching a collective agreement to do everything possible to prevent tension from creating trouble at the school.[130] The weekend culminated with a meeting held on September 14 at the Santa Rita Neighborhood Center in which 250 Mexican American parents decided on the first of two acts of resistance, a march from Phoenix Union's campus to Phoenix City Hall on Mexican Independence Day.

In the morning hours of September 15, the *Arizona Republic* reported 300 while the community grassroots newspaper *8-20 Voice of the City* reported 600 to 700 Phoenix Union students and parents congregated at the school's administrative building.[131] It had been a walkout and protest months in the planning going as far back as May of 1969.[132] The *8-20 Voice of the City*, originally *The Voice of South Phoenix*, was published and edited by David V. Leuser the intent on providing "another side to local news," particularly referring to mainstream newspapers

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[130] Crowe, "Mexican-Americans march on City Hall"; NA, "Mexican-Americans plan to form coalition."

[131] Crowe, "Mexican-Americans march on City Hall"; NA, "Chicano Action…What Really Happened at Phoenix Union."

[132] Alfredo Gutierrez (Phoenix Union High School) (Phoenix, Arizona), M-673, Box 300, Folder 3, MALDEF Legal Programs/Litigation Files, 1968-1982 San Antonio Numerical Case Files, Stanford University Libraries Department of Special Collections.

The Arizona Republic and the *Phoenix Gazette*.[133] Joe Eddie Lopez presented to Principal Dye a list of nine "non-negotiable" demands in the name of "Chicano students and the Chicano community":

1. Half of the school counseling staff be Mexican Americans;
2. Infringement of student rights by other students be promptly dealt with;
3. More campus security guards "with equal representation from the Chicano community";
4. Immediate implementation of all committees outlined by a citizens curriculum committee in connection with the controversial freshman bloc program;
5. Study halls with tutors made available for individual instruction;
6. Provide adequate facilities which are conducive to learning;
7. Recruitment of more Mexican American teachers;
8. Mexican Americans should direct and teach a "Chicano" component of Minorities Studies Program; and
9. No recrimination against any student or teacher who participates in developing "Chicano" leadership and social awareness.[134]

Firm in their position, the Chicana/o community demanded a response to their demands within a week. Dye would later respond to a majority of the demands in an agreeable light, but a major critique of the administration by the Chicana/o community was its inability to act and enact change on the campus. Thus, resulting in the march and presentation of "non-negotiable" demands.

Voicing their grievances to the school administration was only part of the march's strategy. Chicanas/os wanted to make the city of Phoenix aware that they too would be responsible in bringing about change at Phoenix Union. Soon after presenting their demands to the school, the students walked out and protestors marched 10 blocks destined to take their demands to Phoenix City Hall and Mayor Milton H. Graham. Between 600 to 700 Phoenix

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[133] Theodore Jurgen Spahn, Janet M. Spahn, and Robert H. Muller, *From Radical Left to Extreme Right*, second edition (Metuchen, NJ: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1972).

[134] Spahn et al., *From Radical Left to Extreme Right*.

Union students and parents departed from Phoenix Union's administrative building and marched 10 blocks towards Phoenix City Hall where city officials met them.[135] At the steps of the Phoenix Municipal building in the city's heart, protestors demanded that Mayor Graham appoint a committee to oversee the thorough implementation of the nine "non-negotiable" demands presented earlier to school administration.[136] More talk than tangible actions was the response from city officials, which did not differ from what Chicanas/os felt was at fault for the conditions at Phoenix Union. Acting City Manager Charles A. Esser promised protestors that their demands and request for an oversight committee would be forwarded to Mayor Graham but noted that the "city has no authority over the school system….this is a board of education problem" while still assuring they wanted to help any way they could. Mayor Graham's comments about the city's roles seemed to be inconsistent with prior city initiatives to cater to matters like that of the grievances set forth by Chicanas/os. This includes the City of Phoenix's Human Relations Commission established in June 1963 with the purpose "to improve and articulate the needs and concerns of minority subcultures within the community" and "since the inception of the commission, the Phoenix Union High School System has had continual communication with the commission regarding areas of mutual concern."[137]

Despite what could be seen as a slow to act city response, local Mexican American and Black politicians showed their support of Chicana/o marchers. Mexican American State House Representative Tony Abril and Black State House Representative Leon Thompson saw a need to

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[135] Crowe, "Mexican-Americans march on City Hall."

[136] Crowe, "Mexican-Americans march on City Hall."

[137] Symposium on Inter-cultural communication, January 13, 1969, Phoenix Union High School District Board Minutes, Phoenix Union High School District Archives.

hold all students accountable for their actions despite of race while also acknowledging that after many failed attempts of bringing educational issues to city hall with no response, they would take it upon themselves to demand an investigation into the education offered to minority students at Phoenix Union.[138] The day culminated with Chicana/o and Black students meeting with the intent, alongside their parents, of working together to unite both groups "for a move, together, to improve and make more relevant minority education."[139] Students at Phoenix Union held a general understanding that trouble was from a small portion of the Chicana/o and Black enrollment.[140] Although, Larry Wilson, a Black student at Phoenix Union, reported that when the protest and march began at the school the morning of September 15, Black students wanted to join Chicana/o students in their demands but the school administration refused to let them join.[141] While mainstream news coverage by *The Arizona Republic* and *Phoenix Gazette,* grassroots coverage from *8-20 Voice of the City* provided a counterstory to what they described as "warped and twisted reports by press and broadcast media."[142] Contrary to popular belief of tension at the school presented by the mainstream coverage, the *Voice* described it to be quite the opposite as a lot "cooler at P[hoenix] U[nion] than the other media would lead the community to believe" and that there was a "basic feeling between Black and Brown in Phoenix [is] closer to unity than violence."[143]

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[138] Symposium on Inter-cultural communication.

[139] NA, "Chicano Action…What Really Happened at Phoenix Union."

[140] NA, "'Chicano,' black students speak out," *The Arizona Republic*, September 16, 1969.

[141] NA, "'Chicano,' black students speak out."

[142] NA, "Chicano Action…What Really Happened at Phoenix Union."

[143] NA, "Chicano Action…What Really Happened at Phoenix Union."

Principal Dye responded to the day's previous march by eliminating all free periods at the school and "beefed up" security by enlisting counselors and teachers to prevent those who were not students to enter the campus.[144] In a reactionary tone to one of the nine demands, Dye expressed "if it's security they want, it's security they'll get."[145] With a feeling of urgency to prevent future actions and on campus disturbances, City of Phoenix and Phoenix Union administration held a closed door meeting the following day on September 16 intent on preventing "student disturbances" on the campus.[146] Comprising 10 officials including Assistant Superintendent John C. Waters, Principal Robert Dye, and City Manager Charles A. Esser a meeting congregated in Dye's conference room to "compare notes on the Chicano demands" and prioritize how to meet the list of nine demands by the following Monday.[147] While Esser once again noted he would forward the request to Mayor Graham, the city had no authority over school matters but would help however they could. Despite the concern to address these matters, Waters expressed that "ultimately what we do will be governed by the district board" despite noting that the district board potentially not having time to consider their demands while acknowledging that they "should make some effort to respond with all due haste, we ought to get on determining what can be done." [148]

Concerned with the safety of their students along with the demands, On September 19, Chicana/o students, parents, and community leaders drew out a meeting with Phoenix Union

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[144] NA, "Chicano Action…What Really Happened at Phoenix Union."

[145] John Vesey, "School Moves to Avert Crisis," *Phoenix Gazette*, September 17, 1969.

[146] Vesey, "School Moves to Avert Crisis."

[147] Mann, Peter B. "PUHS free periods canceled for students," *The Arizona Republic*, September 17, 1969; Vesey, "School Moves to Avert Crisis."

[148] Mann, "PUHS free periods canceled for students"; Vesey, "School Moves to Avert Crisis."

administrator's Superintendent Seymour and Assistant Superintendent Waters at the Santa Rita Center.[149] With the help of Reverend Yoldi chairing the session, the Chicana/o community in attendance and administrators discussed each demand one by one in which Seymour commenting that he could not give a final answer and knew this was an unsatisfactory response.[150] Despite Seymour showing efforts by the district to create tutoring programs, reports on the recruitment of Chicana/o teachers, school building repairs, and efforts to hire new counselors under minimized requirements who can relate to the student body; the Chicana/o community's resentment, distrust, and doubt of Seymour and the "system" was present throughout two and half hour meeting.[151] Although the board provided no solutions for any of the nine demands, the Chicana/o community achieved what they felt was the beginning of a potential investment by the school and district to commit to bettering conditions at Phoenix Union. While the Chicana/o community agreed to lift their demand deadline, administrators agreed to a follow up meeting the Wednesday to follow where administration would provide an interim report on their efforts to remedy the problems at Phoenix Union and a collective agreement to bi-weekly to further discuss conditions at the school so long as students expressed interest to do so.[152]

After forming a committee of parents on September 22 to spearhead the drive to get an administrative response to their demands, Chicana/o parents and leaders would have their follow up meeting with district administration a week later on September 24 at the Santa Rita Center.[153]

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[149] Mann, Peter B. "Chicanos, Anglo administrators meet begin dialog on 10 demands at PUHS," *The Arizona Republic*, September 20, 1969.

[150] Mann, "Chicanos, Anglo administrators."

[151] Mann, "Chicanos, Anglo administrators."

[152] Mann, "Chicanos, Anglo administrators."

[153] Mann, "PUHS tension lessening."

It was at this meeting that they received a report on the efforts of the district and school to address their nine demands. Dr. Seymour offered those in attendance a detailed progress report regarding the nine demands presented to school and city officials. This report included how Mexican Americans made up 53 percent of the student body but only 6 percent of Phoenix Union faculty.[154] The revelation of the disproportionate ratio between Mexican American students and school faculty further confirmed Chicana/o parent, leader, and student dissatisfaction with the school's conditions. This included Manuel Dominguez, a qualified candidate to teach at Phoenix Union, who felt that the school's excuse to find educated Mexican American candidates was a "bunch of bull."[155] His sentiment was affirmed much in part due to the school failing to offer him a job after applying knowing 10 other qualified candidates who could begin the following year.[156] Furthermore, the meeting moderator Reverend Yoldi, informed those in attendance of the Association of Mexican American Educators' (AMAE) public statement critiquing the district's negligence of hiring minority teachers to reflect school populations and the loss of qualified candidates to high demand in other areas including California.[157] The collective resistance of the community's dissatisfaction rang across the center through the stomping of their feet and hand-clapping protests.[158]

In the midst of protest, Seymour along with Principal Dye, Assistant Superintendent Waters, and district personnel manager Donald Golden informed the group in attendance of how they had addressed some of the demands they had set forth. Administrators reported on the

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[154] Peter B. Mann, "Chicanos protest 'imbalance at PUHS," *The Arizona Republic*, September 25, 1969.

[155] Mann, "Chicanos protest 'imbalance at PUHS."

[156] Mann, "Chicanos protest 'imbalance at PUHS."

[157] Mann, "Chicanos protest 'imbalance at PUHS."

[158] Mann, "Chicanos protest 'imbalance at PUHS."

improvement of security measures by hiring two Mexican American and one Black security guards, adding two Mexican American and one Anglo Phoenix Police Department plain clothes officers, and a supervising matron.[159] These security measures came at a time when the Phoenix Police Department ramped up their patrolling of Phoenix Union's campus.[160] Additionally, Seymour noted that the school was taking measures to improve the academic opportunities of Chicana/o students. This included tutoring programs, initiating a campaign to recruit more Chicana/o teachers, and the establishment of committees of community residents to advise, evaluate, and aid in Phoenix Union's selection of staff for the freshman program and student aid.

Moreover, when considering the concern of relevant curriculum, Seymour explained that minority studies are currently available at Phoenix union as independent study seminars for eleventh and twelfth graders interested in taking the courses while elective Mexican American and Black history courses would be implemented district wide the following Fall of 1970.[161] The administrative report back addressed some of the communities demands but overall failed to address all nine due them taking time leaving Chicanas/os in attendance with a feeling of distrust due inadequate actions on behalf of the school and district and what was perceived as historical failure to respond to protest.[162] It was clear from this meeting that dissatisfaction was present and as a result two factions who were united on the demands grew out of this meeting. One faction was of primarily parents concerned with student safety and another of predominantly young men

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[159] Mann, "Chicanos protest 'imbalance at PUHS."

[160] NA, "Police start picking up truant, loiterers in vicinity of PUHS," *The Arizona Republic*, September 25, 1969.

[161] NA, "Police start picking up truant, loiterers."

[162] NA, "Police start picking up truant, loiterers."

who were members of "militant" Chicana/o organizations concerned with teacher recruitment, curriculum, and learning environment.[163]

On September 26, the streets of downtown Phoenix were filled with students spectating a wave of approaching Chicana/o protestors including parents, leaders, Brown Berets and many students who were met with potential repercussions for their absence later to be dismissed, burst out in claps of resistance and shouts of "Viva La Raza."[164] Approximately 600 protesters began their journey Friday morning from the Santa Rita Center with their eyes set at Phoenix Union's campus, City Hall, and the Arizona State Capitol demanding that the district board meet with them that night.[165] Speaking through a bullhorn at the steps of Phoenix Union's administrative building, Joe Eddie Lopez expressed "Chicanos have done enough talking with administrators and we haven't got anywhere."[166] It was clear that Chicanas/os have had enough with the lack of effort that the administrations were placing on addressing all of their nine minds.

The march's intent was to demand that the district board of education meet with them that night but were turned down by board president, Trevor G. Browne, who refused to meet "at the beck and call of every group of people who think they have a grievance."[167] Once again upon arriving to City Hall, protestors were met by Mayor Graham who once again commended them for their action but emphasized that they are not within the realm of the city's responsibilities.[168] While the city would not get involved with matters at Phoenix Union, Deputy Superintendent

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[163] NA, "Police start picking up truant, loiterers."

[164] Mann, "Chicanos march on City Hall."

[165] Mann, "Chicanos march on City Hall."

[166] Mann, "Chicanos march on City Hall."

[167] Mann, "Chicanos march on City Hall."

[168] Mann, "Chicanos march on City Hall."

Gus Harrell confirmed with a committee of parents, students, and leaders that the State Department of Public Instruction was willing to serve as a mediator between Chicanas/os and the board and extending the opportunity for representatives to speak the following Monday at the state board meetings.[169] With the refusal of the board to meet with Chicanas/os that night, protestors decided that "if the board would not come to them they'll go to the board when it holds its regular session at Central High."[170] The white architects in administrative positions of power at Phoenix Union High School and District failed to move with a sense of urgency to remedy issues at Phoenix Union and this continued to confirm to the Chicana/o community a lack of investment in bettering educational conditions or providing adequate avenues for Chicana/o grievances to be heard.

Like their Black leader and community counterparts, Chicanas/os crossed Phoenix's historic color line of Van Buren Street to attend the district's board of education meeting held at Central High School, one of the district's furthest north schools with the highest concentration of white students.[171] Building on the energy of the previous week's march, 70 Chicana/o parents and leaders attended the board's regular scheduled meeting on October 2 to voice their grievances and were allotted time to do so.[172] Before an all-white school board that included acting chairman Reverend William D. Bostrom in place of absentee President Trevor Browne, Joe Eddie Lopez along with several other community members were all given an opportunity to speak. They made a sincere and passionate plea on behalf of the Chicana/o and Black

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[169] Mann, "Chicanos march on City Hall."

[170] Mann, "Chicanos march on City Hall."

[171] Colvin District Race Report.

[172] Mann, "PUHS tension lessening, Chicanos' hope lifting."

community, or as he referred as the Inner-City community, to take their concerns of Phoenix Union seriously and that the Chicana/o community is committed to educational reform within the framework of the law.[173]

Following the footsteps of Black community leader Reverend Smith, who also shared grievances with the board, the Chicana/o community was committed in doing everything within their power to make the board and administration responsive.[174] Lopez approached with the same plea noting that the board and the school administration's failure to address their concerns led to declined enrollment resulting from student transfers and a credibility gap between parents, the administration, and the board.[175] Lopez explained to the board that his concern with student transfers the frustration of parents is causing students to "take refuge at other schools" that are not geared to meet the needs of minority students resulting in parents and students from other schools to join in the previous marches.[176] He further explained that this credibility gap between administration and parents grew out from distinct strange actions the board took including refusing to meet with parents while scheduling special sessions with architects regarding the building of a new school, rising narcotic and vandalism crimes in North Phoenix high schools but Phoenix Union was the first to have fence built around it, and in the face of potentially condemnable buildings at Phoenix Union priority was continuously given to new high schools in Northwest Phoenix.[177]

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[173] NA, "Joe Lopez Speaks From the Heart to Phoenix Union Board," *8-20 Voice of the City*, October 9, 1969.

[174] NA, "Joe Lopez Speaks From the Heart to Phoenix Union Board."

[175] NA, "Joe Lopez Speaks From the Heart to Phoenix Union Board"; Peter B. Mann, "Two Major issues in Chicano protest," *The Arizona Republic*, October 15, 1969.

[176] NA, "Joe Lopez Speaks From the Heart to Phoenix Union Board."

[177] NA, "Joe Lopez Speaks From the Heart to Phoenix Union Board."

The Chicana/o community's frustration with the board was due to its lack of initiative in meeting their nine demands because they required board approval and more time. On these grounds, Lopez intentionally focused on asking the board to take action on two demands including the hiring of a Chicano to complement the Black recruiter they were seeking to employ and the establishment of four advisory committees that had been suggested since the previous May.[178] The demand for the these four advisory committees is in part due to their disapproval of the freshman "bloc" program due to the belief that it would track their students into vocations rather than academic opportunities.[179] The board had the opportunity to hear from more than a dozen of other community leaders and members wishing to communicate their concerns pleading the board to focus on providing Chicana/o children more of an effective education.[180] Luz Baeza, a Chicana/o community leader, affirmed Lopez's call to do what is within their means and that included parents who although did not wish to see their daughters and sons marching in the streets, they joined because of their love for them.[181]

Board members including Dr. Robert Shapiro, Carolyn Warner, John V. Fels were described by *The Arizona Republic* journalist Peter B. Mann as sympathetic and commending of Chicanas/os efforts to bring their problems to the board but once again defaulted that they needed time. Additionally, the board noted that they would be willing to create only three advisory committees because they believed a grievance committee was needed thus leaving the community with no avenue for input or to communicate their needs.[182] The energized crowd

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[178] Peter B. Mann, "Chicanos Walkout on PUHS board," *The Arizona Republic*, October 3, 1969.

[179] Mann, "Two Major Issues in Chicano protest."

[180] Mann, "Two Major Issues in Chicano protest."

[181] Mann, "Two Major Issues in Chicano protest."

[182] Mann, "Two Major Issues in Chicano protest."

drew inspiration from speakers such as community leader Ronnie Lopez who quoted Emiliano Zapata, were once again met with disappointment at the request the board meet two demands that garnered the same empty response. Unsatisfied, Joe Eddie Lopez responded to the board, "your answers up to now have been unsatisfactory, so we are leaving."[183] In the spirit of resistance, Joe Eddie Lopez signaled with his arm "Vamonos" and what ensued was 70 Chicana/o attendees walking out of the board meeting at the Central High School library.[184] The disappointment of the Chicana/o community once again represented a long-standing battle demanding with the school board and administration. Furthermore, their failure to meet the needs of communities of color reflects how white board members and administrators systemically continue to uphold inequities at Phoenix Union with their lack of initiative to take action.

While it was reported that school board members commended the efforts of the Chicana/o community bring about change at PUHS and the district, it was not a sentiment held by all members. In the midst of protests, board member Reverend William D. Bostrom was campaigning against Donald F. Jackson, manager for Phoenix Newspapers, Inc. and a Phoenix Union Grad, in effort to be re-elected a second five-year term to the Phoenix Union High School District Board of Education.[185] Bostrom's critique of Jackson sent a clear message that he was not in favor of Chicana/o efforts to bring change to Phoenix Union. Using inflammatory rhetoric, or what *The Arizona Republic* described also described as protest's language barrier, *Bostrom* labeled Chicanas/os as "disrupters and demanders" and that he firmly opposed the "appeasement

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[183] Mann, "Two Major Issues in Chicano protest."

[184] Mann, "Two Major Issues in Chicano protest."

[185] Peter B. Mann, "Bostrom charges Jackson is supported by 'radicals,'" *The Arizona Republic*, October 1, 1969.

of the radical and disruptive elements in the community who are trying to take over the schools."[186] Bostrom also argued that Chicanas/os did not seek to communicate rather wanted to dictate and because they did not support him they clearly supported his opponent.[187] Jackson, supported by the district's Classroom Teachers Association, who felt that Bostrom was not willing to listen never claimed that he was supported by Chicanas/os or that he supported, on the contrary made it clear that he does not support appeasement, referring to the pressure being placed on the board to meet the nine non-negotiable demands.[188]

In addition to his public critiques of Chicanas/os, Bostrom's campaign literature utilized language aimed at the efforts to bring change to Phoenix Union. The literature stated that Bostrom supported the maintenance of discipline in the schools and condemns permissiveness, the "anything goes" philosophy, appeasement of disruptive militants, and special privilege for certain groups.[189] Despite Bostrom's evident opposition of the Chicana/o movement at Phoenix Union, he continued to claim he had always supported "equity for minorities" claiming that as a son of immigrants he, too, also encountered disadvantages growing up.[190] Jackson would go on to defeat Bostrom on October 7 bringing his 10 year board membership to an end.[191] The following day, the defeated Bostrom submitted a letter resigning from the board effective as of

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[186] Mann, "Bostrom charges Jackson is supported by 'radicals'"; NA, "Protestors' language in effect a barrier," *The Arizona Republic*, October 15, 1969.

[187] Mann, "Bostrom charges Jackson is supported by 'radicals'"; NA, "Protestors' language in effect a barrier."

[188] Mann, "Bostrom charges Jackson is supported by 'radicals'"; NA, "Protestors' language in effect a barrier"; Peter B. Mann, "Bostrom-Jackson race features PUHS voting," *The Arizona Republic*, October 5, 1969.

[189] Mann, "Bostrom-Jackson race features PUHS voting."

[190] Mann, "Bostrom-Jackson race features PUHS voting."

[191] Peter B. Mann, "Jackson scores upset for PUHS seat," *The Arizona Republic*, October 8, 1969.

November 1.[192] As result of Bostrom's early resignation, Jackson was invited by board president Dr. Trevor Browne to sit with the board until he officially assumed his board member seat in January.[193] Bostrom's position on Phoenix Union and race became clearer in his resignation letter quoting saying that he quit because he had been "repudiated by the community" and "socked" by Mexican American and Negro voters despite no voting number evidence citing their support of Jackson.[194] Bostrom further expressed that voters "have given the superintendent and the Board of Education a mandate to continue policies of appeasement, pervasiveness, and special privileges for minorities."[195]

In the public sphere, it was perceived that Chicanas/os had gone silent after having walked out of the board of education meeting.[196] Chicanas/os suggested otherwise. What the public, reporters, administrators, and the school board couldn't see was that their commitment to the nine demands was still more present than ever. Chicana/o leaders insisted that their duty to change at Phoenix Union was stronger than over and was evident in how parents continued meeting and discussing how to move forward with their eyes set on future action.[197] Although Luz Baeza reported that although concern was present, interest was getting lower as expressed

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[192] Peter B. Mann, "Bostrom resignation of PUHS post reported," *The Arizona Republic*, October 9, 1969; PUHSD Board Minutes, October 16, 1969.

[193] PUHSD Board Minutes, October 9, 1969, Phoenix Union High School District Archives.

[194] Mann, "Bostrom resignation of PUHS post reported."

[195] Peter B. Mann, "Bostrom resigns, claims 'spite vote' got him," *The Arizona Republic*, October 10, 1969.

[196] Peter B. Mann, "Chicanos quiet, but working on aims," *The Arizona Republic*, October 18, 1969.

[197] Mann, "Chicanos quiet, but working on aims."

by parents.[198] Chicanas/os on several accounts had made it clear that they would continue to mobilize until the board fulfill their demands. This included a request by Joe Eddie Lopez to establish a committee of Chicanos Por La Causa Representatives to remove Seymour from his position as superintendent. [199]

Following walking out the Board of Education meeting and in the midst of Bostrom losing his Board seat, concerned parents, students, and community leaders established the "Parent and Student Committee" on October 8, 1969.[200] Parents witnessing a decline in interest sought to move with urgency proposing three plans of action to keep their organizing momentum. These plans included having "pray-ins" in front of Phoenix Union administrator homes, a boycott at Phoenix Union and throughout other district schools, or drastic non-violent action to push for meetings addressing the nine demands.[201] For the second time, originally proposed March 9, 1969 as a method of solidarity with the UFW national grape boycotts, parents considered a boycott as a strategy to bring change to Phoenix Union.[202] The community's efforts also continued by holding a meeting on October 13, 1969 with Dr. Seymour, Shofstall, Mayor Graham as a means to gauge the administrative progress before moving forward with any action as well as an individual meeting with Mayor Graham ten days later were he expressed a positive

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[198]Board of Director Meeting Minutes, November 1, 1969, MSS-130, Box 2, Folder 2, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

[199] "Board of Director Meeting Minutes."

[200] Phoenix Union Progress Report Submitted to Chicanos Por La Causa Board of Directors, 1969, MSS-130, Box 8, Folder 4, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

[201]" Phoenix Union Progress Report Submitted to Chicanos Por La Causa Board of Directors."

[202] Chicanos Por La Causa Meeting Mins, March 9, 1969, MSS-130, Box 2, Folder 2, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

position and committed to meeting with school board members to discussing the complying of the nine demands.[203]

Meetings between administration and the Parent and Student Committee continued well into the end of October 1969. This included a meeting with Dr. Seymour on October 29, 1969 in which some dialogue took place were Chicana/o parents were appointed to existing committees and an district approved training program for Chicana/o and Black counselors.[204] Although this meeting with Dr. Seymour showed some level of progress for the nine demands, other administrators would pose a challenge in their efforts, particularly Shofstall and Rocky Manes. Chicanas/os requested to meet with state superintendent Shofstall but felt that "he could not do anything for this this group and therefore did not see any need for a meeting."[205] Shofstall's racialized and conservative position on the Chicana/o educational movement at Phoenix Union became evident when deciding to meet with the movement's white ally, Father Frank Yoldi after denying Chicanas/os a meeting.[206] In his meeting with Father Yoldi, Shofstall expressed that he felt Yoldi was "being taken by a group which was very subversive and communistic in its actions and thinking."[207] Manes, appointed by the State Education Department to appoint Chicanos to serve in an advisory committee for Shofstall, painted Chicanas/os as violent. Mains charged that in a previous meeting Chicanas/os, or as he described as Brown Berets, threatened to use guns to force a meeting with Shofstall in which he replied, "let them come we have guns too."[208] In a

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[203] Phoenix Union Progress Report Submitted to Chicanos Por La Causa Board of Directors
[204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid.
[208] Ibid.

progress report of Phoenix Union, Luz Baeza also reported that Manes expressed that he thought Chicanos Por La Causa were communist and because Manes was in a position of power to appoint Chicanas/os to Shofstall's committee and held these beliefs of Chicanas/os, no one from CPLC would have a chance.[209]

Superintendent Howard C. Seymour on a few occasions conveyed several of the initiatives taking place in the district that he felt spoke to the demands of the Chicana/o community. These developments included hiring a specialist to recruit minority teachers, accelerated plans from district human relations consultant, Arlena Seneca, to intensify community involvement in school affairs, a student-to-student mentoring program, hiring of security guards at Phoenix Union. Despite these proposed or established changes, Chicanas/os have communicated that it is not enough considering how long these issues have existed at Phoenix Union and that there should be more urgency from administration and the board to enact change.

Moreover, Seymour fails to acknowledge the difficulties the district is encountering in recruiting teachers and getting the tutoring program rolled out.[210] Joe Eddie Lopez said that the community's protest marches at Phoenix Union "brought about a few changes—but not enough, but they did start something."[211] Community members remained firm in their belief that the

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[209] Board of Director Meeting Minutes, November 1, 1969, MSS-130, Box 2, Folder 2, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

[210] Peter B. Mann, "PUHS seeks more minority teachers," *The Arizona Republic*, December 12, 1969; Peter B. Mann, "Minority group teachers prove difficult to recruit," *The Arizona Republic*, December 13, 1969; Peter B. Mann, "PUHS tutoring program has uncertain start," *The Arizona Republic*, December 7, 1969.

[211] Peter B. Mann, "Rap session probes education, human relations," *The Arizona Republic*, December 18, 1969.

problems at Phoenix Union were to be blamed on the school board.[212] Seymour says changes have taken place and conveys that he understands Chicanas/os are fed up and want to see changes, yet he still charges that they do not know the administrative complexities, it still does not remedy the years of neglect and until action they are simply just words.[213] The investment and dedication from those involved in what came to be the birth of the Chicana/o movement in Phoenix revealed a deep passion for justice and equity, especially in their schools. So, in the process of these series of events in 1968 and 1969 what have we learned that Chicanas/os want? Joe Eddie Lopez told *The Arizona Republic* "what we really want, what we're trying to get across to the school board is not so much community control of the schools…it's schools that are responsive to the needs of the community, the needs of the children."[214] Standing firm in taking action if the district failed to address the remaining issues of concern, Joe Eddie Lopez would give is a glimpse of what would come in the near future. If not solved to the satisfaction of the Chicana/o community, Lopez vowed "we'll take the direct-action route. We'll continue to have walkouts and… a boycott if necessary." A year to date we would see the Phoenix Chicana/o community make Lopez's call to boycott action become reality.

Conclusion

The early stages of my archival research along with my secondary source findings showed me that there is an extensive and complex legacy of race and racism within the district that manifested in several ways and events. The findings demonstrated to me a structural

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[212] John H. Vesey, "For Mexican American Community-Make It Yesterday—Not Mañana," *Phoenix Gazette*, October 18, 1969.

[213] Mann, "Rap session probes education, human relations."

[214] Mann, "Rap session probes education, human relations."

relationship between race and racism, education, and the formation of a city that since its inception run by Anglos utilized Mexicans and Mexican Americans "as an underclass to help them realize their goals."[215] In regards to Chicana/o education, the implementation of structural racialization and disenfranchisement did not translate from laws, as experienced by Phoenix's Black community, rather established through exclusionary ideologies and discriminatory practices in and out of schools. This dynamic of structural power was manifested and maintained by what Garcia defines, drawing from Watkins and Andersen, as white architects responsible for the "design, construction, and development educational inequality" in Phoenix through "architecture attributable to a small group of power brokers."[216] Drawing this analysis and relationships gave way for my focus on 1970 Chicana/o Boycott at Phoenix Union High School. This moment in my process of piecing this Critical Race Educational History together served as one of many indicators exemplifying how important this educational history of Chicanas/os in Phoenix really is.

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[215] B. Luckingham, *Phoenix: A History of a Southwest Metropolis* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989).

[216] David G. García, *Strategies of Segregation: Race, Residence, and the Struggle for Educational Equality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018); Luckingham, *Phoenix.*

CHAPTER FIVE: BOYCOTT! CHICANAS AND CHICANOS DEMAND CHANGES AT PHOENIX UNION, 1970

Chapter Roadmap

The events of 1968 through early 1970 were catalysts to the Chicana/o boycott that unfolded in the fall of 1970. The Chicana/o and Black community challenged existing educational inequalities at Phoenix Union while attempting to work towards racial solidarity that was undermined by the district and school's minimal measures to address the needs of students, parents, and their respective communities. The lack of efforts on behalf of the school administration and district board to implement changes reflective of community demands sustained educational inequalities at Phoenix Union. This chapter focuses on the months leading up to and the Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union from October 8 to November 3, 1970.

An Educational System for the Phoenix Inner City: Confirming Chicana/o Phoenix Union Concerns

Despite organized efforts from the Chicana/o community to demand that the administration move swiftly and urgently in creating changes at Phoenix Union, many issues continued well into 1970. Although some of these issues did not directly correlate to the Chicana/o educational movement at Phoenix Union, they still impacted the school's overall climate and educational equality. These concerns included school and district budget issues, the establishment of a new district high school named after board president Trevor G. Browne, and a contract dispute with the Classroom Teachers Association.[1]

[1] Peter B. Mann, "PUHS seeks more land for new school," *The Arizona Republic*, January 9, 1970; Peter B. Mann, "Phoenix Union District taxes to increase at least 42 cents," *The Arizona Republic*, April 15, 1970; Mann, Peter B. "PUHS Oks teacher contract; concedes action may be illegal" *The Arizona Republic*, May 22, 1970.

On the surface, the district declared directions in which it was moving to address Phoenix Union issues, but what was happening at the school was the contrary. The dissatisfaction of administrative efforts to better the quality of education and dissent as a response to push for changes continued to roam the Phoenix Union halls amongst underserved Chicana/o and Black students. On February 6, 1970, students at Phoenix Union set trashcans on fire, and about 200 students refused to return to class in protesting the firing of seven Mexican American, Black, and white campus monitors over a variety of reasons, including unauthorized coffee breaks or failure to report for work without notice. Considering that the Phoenix Union's administrative response in the wake of the 1969 protests, the hiring of Chicana/o and Black security guards was proposed to remedy the campus climate and demands of the Chicanas/os was undone by this firing.[2] A few days later, on February 9, Principal Robert Dye and Associate Principal Frederick Warren called the Phoenix Police Department to aid in clearing the campus of 70 of 386 students who had just protested the firing of the campus monitors and argued these events had no racial basis.[3] These students, described by Dye as stubborn, were not allowed to return to class until they provide a parental explanation for their absences.[4]

A second sweep by Phoenix P.D. of the high school and nearby Verde Park during lunch hour resulted in the arrest of 15 students.[5] In response to these series of events, the school administration moved to establish a parental task force that met with Dye and Police Chief

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[2] NA, "PUHS trash can blazes laid to protest of firing," *The Arizona Republic*, February 7, 1970.

[3] NA, "Disturbances at Phoenix Union brings arrest of 15 juveniles," *The Arizona Republic*, February 10, 1970.

[4] NA, "Disturbances at Phoenix Union brings arrest of 15 juveniles."

[5] NA, "Disturbances at Phoenix Union brings arrest of 15 juveniles."

Lawrence Wetzel to serve as intermediaries between teachers and police.[6] Rather than considering the root of the problems to these events, administration one again placed the labor of resolving matters at Phoenix Union on parents and students who are directly impacted by educational inequities by asking that they serve as a buffer between administration and police when similar situations occur at the campus.

Additionally, the high student dropout rate and disproportionate placement in vocational education at Phoenix Union continued to bring concern to the district, school, parents, and community. In February of 1970, 80 Phoenix Union freshman students partook in a pilot program titled Project Growing Opportunities.[7] This program was designed to encourage them to complete high school through a vocational approach by exposing them to employment possibilities post-graduation.[8] The establishment of Project Growing Opportunities only further demonstrated a lack of administrative efforts to provide a predominantly Chicana/o and Black student population with academically driven curriculum and learning outcomes.

The Citizens Advisory Committee—created by the district to assist in the future direction of the school—included Sam Ramirez, a Chicano Phoenix Union teacher, who opposed the school's shift to solely vocational.[9] Co-chairman of the Citizens Advisory Committee, Gary Peter Klahr, expressed that the committee felt Chicana/o and Black students should not be forced or steered into vocational education and the school should shed their vocational image.[10]

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[6] NA, "Phoenix Union parental 'task force' to act as buffer in campus disputes," *The Arizona Republic*, February 17, 1970.

[7] NA, "PUHS program will fight dropout problem," *The Arizona Republic*, January 30, 1970.

[8] NA, "PUHS program will fight dropout problem."

[9] NA, "50 persons constitute 'mass' meet," *The Arizona Republic*, June 11, 1970.

[10] NA, "Shed vocational image, PUHS committee says," *The Arizona Republic*, February 24, 1070.

Although Klahr saw a need for more minority students to be geared into professions and affluent whites into vocational education, he still held a color-blind perspective of vocational education, stating that "vocational education should be thought of as a back of the bus program."[11] The Citizens Advisory Committee eventually provided four proposals on the direction of Phoenix Union on June 24, 1970.[12] In response to the proposals, more than 250 Inner-City residents voted heavily in favor of a proposal to maintain Phoenix Union at its current location, keeping it as an academic and vocational neighborhood school, and planning for structural improvements.[13]

The strides of the Chicana/o community gave way to some opportunities for input within Phoenix Union High School and the District early into 1970. This included the district board of education voting for Chicanos Por La Causa to provide two funded awareness sessions for district principals, administrators, and board members on Mexican American history, tradition, and attitudes.[14] The board did not show consensus when it came to voting on this matter. Board President Trevor Browne felt that Chicanos Por La Causa was "too political." Yet, Howard Seymour and most of the board members agreed that they should work with organizations they didn't necessarily see eye to eye with.[15]

While Chicanas/os and the district seemed to be cooperating and communication by April of 1970, administrators continued to remain cautious. At a press conference that took place April

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[11] NA, "Shed vocational image, PUHS committee says."

[12] NA, "Advisory panel to reveal proposals on PUHS future," *The Arizona Republic*, June 10, 1970; Peter B. Mann, "Improved 'status quo' voted for PUHS, 92-81," *The Arizona Republic*, June 25, 1970.

[13] NA, "Advisory panel to reveal proposals on PUHS future"; Mann, "Improved 'status quo' voted for PUHS, 92-81"; NA, "PUHS move opposed by citizen unit," *The Arizona Republic*, July 2, 1970.

[14] NA, "Board votes Chicanos in on meetings," *The Arizona Republic*, January 16, 1970; Daniel Ben-Horn, "PUHS, Chicanos get together: Seymour tells steps taken by school board," *The Arizona Republic*, April 29, 1970.

[15] NA, "Board votes Chicanos in on meetings"; Ben-Horn, "PUHS, Chicanos get together."

28 of 1970, Seymour, Chicanos Por La Causa president Ronnie Lopez, executive director of Valle del Sol Institute Manuel Dominguez, and Arizona State University extension lecturer Abel Amaya announced the initiatives party would take to bridge communication between all groups.[16] Ronnie Lopez shared with the press that he felt that the positionality of Chicanas/os made them the experts on the needs of their community and what was required to address these needs adequately.[17] Additionally, Seymour and Don Covey, district director of general education, outlined steps the administration was taking or would be taking including hiring more qualified Mexican American teachers, teacher aides, and Ray J. Flores as a school community worker.[18] Although when it came to the demand for Mexican American studies, Covey stated he understood the demand but because a request existed from Black and white students, he argued the best method was an "integrated" one to cover all ethnic groups that could be made available district wide.[19] From the outside, the press conference presented an effort from these parties to work together, but disagreement of administrative efforts to meet Chicana/o demands still existed. Chicanas/os remained adamant about their demand that Mexican American studies should be incorporated as part of the district's curriculum which administration justified to by providing a general minorities course based on demand and not need. [20] Moreover, Chicana/o

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[16] Ben-Horn, "PUHS, Chicanos get together"

[17] Ben-Horn, "PUHS, Chicanos get together."

[18] Ben-Horn, "PUHS, Chicanos get together."; A WW II veteran working towards becoming a teacher, Raymond J. Flores became the only and first Mexican American teacher to be hired at the all Black segregated George Washington Carver High School because the district refused to hire him because of his racial and ethnic background. My future work seeks to explore and document Raymond J. Flores' lived experiences during this time.

[19] Ben-Horn, "PUHS, Chicanos get together."

[20] Ben-Horn, "PUHS, Chicanos get together."

representatives were under the impression they were to provide eight more awareness sessions to administration yet Seymour confirmed that no decisions on the matter had been made.[21]

The Chicana/o community's concerns of Phoenix Union formulated non-negotiable demands rooted in student's and parents' lived experiences and realities. These lived experiences were captured in a May 1970 study conducted for Phoenix Union's Citizens Advisory Committee. The study was carried out by principal investigator Harry M. Stanley and a team specializing on topics including but not limited to race, relevant education, and Mexican American affairs. Fundamentally grounded in the tenant that it must be credible for the minorities participating, the study spanned over eight weeks covering 14 Phoenix Inner-City tracts surveying residents within Phoenix Union's attendance boundaries.[22] Ultimately, the report's findings further affirmed the grievances and demands of Phoenix Union Chicana/o students, parents, and community leaders.[23] The study found that a majority of surveyed residents identified significant problems at the school including but not limited to a poor quality of education, violence, vandalism within the school and vicinity, antagonism toward hopelessly racist white school and prejudice news media.[24]

While Phoenix Union school and district administration insisted that the issues at Phoenix Union had no correlation to race or racism, the studies conducted by the Citizens Advisory Committee and Stanley confirmed the opposite. The study's findings affirmed how the structural inequalities school and district continued failing hearing and meeting the needs of the Chicana/o

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[21] Ben-Horn, "PUHS, Chicanos get together."

[22] Stanley, Harry M. "A study of the Phoenix Union High School for the Citizens' Advisory Committee." General Learning Corp., Tempe Arizona, May 27, 1970.

[23] Peter B. Mann, "Tailor courses to students, PUHS told," *The Arizona Republic*, June 10, 1970.

[24] Mann, "Tailor courses to students, PUHS told."

and Black community. As a result, during a meeting on July 10, 1970, between the board and Citizens Advisory Committee, Chicana/o and Black Inner-City residents demanded that the district integrate their ten schools.[25] Among those concerned was Ronnie Lopez, committee member of Chicanos Por La Causa, who expressed to the board that Phoenix's school segregation is a "very serious problem."[26] This was also a concern for the Citizens Advisory Committee conveyed by co-chairman Gary Peter Klahr stating that they "strongly favored integrating all district schools" but opposed busing Inner-City students as a method.[27] While much attention was placed on Phoenix Union, those in attendance also made it clear that it was not a problem confined to Phoenix Union but rather one predominantly evident at white schools in North Phoenix.[28]

Establishing a large presence at this meeting to demand changes, board members saw an opportunity for Chicanas/os to have a voice in the decision making process of matters that concerned both communities. Board members Dr. Robert C. Shapiro and Donald F. Jackson urged concerned Chicana/o and Black community members to field a candidate of their own fill the seat of soon to be retiring board president Trevor G. Browne.[29] The recommendations to the Chicana/o and Black community to take the mantle of filling the upcoming vacancy on the board were taken seriously. Both communities began campaigns to elect a candidate from the Inner-City community in the summer of 1970. By July of 1970, the first three candidates had committed to running for the soon-to-be-vacant board seat. This included white real estate

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[25] NA, "PUHS need to integrate cited in report," *The Arizona Republic*, July 10, 1970.

[26] NA, "PUHS need to integrate cited in report."

[27] NA, "PUHS need to integrate cited in report."

[28] NA, "PUHS need to integrate cited in report."

[29] NA, "PUHS need to integrate cited in report."

appraiser John T. Hansen, Chicanos Por La Causa leader Joe Eddie Lopez, and Black Phoenix Elementary School District teacher Betty Greathouse.[30] Joe Eddie Lopez and Betty Greathouse's campaign represented what could be argued as some the first bids for Chicana/o and Black representation on the Phoenix Union High School District Board of Education. Hansen's campaign platform ran on the message that he was intent on providing the "best possible education for all students" and garnered financial support from individuals pertaining to institutions that held power and were predominantly white, including three former board members, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Arizona Farm Bureau Women, and the Charter Government Committee.[31] Moreover, Hansen believed that the Classroom Teachers Association "gained complete domination over the school board" and called for the district to be run as a business model.[32]

Joe Eddie Lopez and Betty Greathouse garnered a strong backing from Chicana/o and Black organizations that catered to the Inner-City and South Phoenix that previously had no representation on the board. Advocating for both Lopez and Greathouse, the *8-20 Voice of the City* conveyed this need for representation, stating:

> Nobody has represented the people living south of Roosevelt. The Chicanos, Whites, and Blacks whose kids go to South, Carl Hayden, and Phoenix Union have had no voice in school policies or politics.[33]

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[30] NA, "John T. Hansen first to enter race for PUS board seat," *The Arizona Republic*, July 16, 1970; NA, "Mrs. Greathouse to seek post," *The Arizona Republic*, July 25, 1970; NA, "Chicano leader will enter race for board of PUHS," *The Arizona Republic* July 31, 1970.

[31] NA, "John T. Hansen first to enter race for PUS board seat"; Arizona Farm Bureau Women is now known as Arizona Farm Bureau Women's Leadership.

[32] Charles Horky, "Teacher, minority group ties among school election issues," *The Arizona Republic*, October 4, 1970.

[33] NA, "Vote October 6th-It's Time the People South of Roosevelt Had a Representative on Phoenix Union Board," *8-20 Voice of the City JERML*, September 24, 1970.

Joe Eddie Lopez and Betty Greathouse were both deemed qualified by the community which saw them as valuable assets to bring about changes at Phoenix Union High School and District.[34]

Candidates for Phoenix Union Board

Mrs. Betty Greathouse, a teacher at Whittier School, announced her candidacy for the Phoenix Union High School District Board of Education last month. She states, "Education is my business. The development of the fullest potential of every student is my goal. It is my belief that the concern of parents, educators and the general citizenry can be utilized to attain this objective." She lives at 4424 W. Flower with her husband, George, and their three sons.

Joe Eddie Lopez, a local Chicano leader, will announce his plans to seek election to the Phoenix Union Board tonight (Thursday) at a 7:30 dinner and discussion at Friendly House, 802 South First Ave. The 30-year-old steam fitter has been actively seeking reform within the school system for some time. He lives with his wife, Rose Marie, and their two children at 3801 West Lewis.

Figure 10. Pictured are Betty Greathouse (left) and Joe Eddie during their campaigns for the Phoenix Union Board seat. Source: 8-20 *Voice of the City Newspaper, August 20, 1970,* Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

Unlike Hansen, Lopez and Greathouse received support from grassroots and community-based organizations. Joe Eddie Lopez while serving as chairman for Chicanos Por La Causa decided to run for the seat at the call of Chicana/o parents. Additionally, he also sought to gain support from other racial and ethnic groups, particularly Mexican American and Black, to

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[34] NA, "Vote October 6th"; NA "Betty Greathouse for PUHS Board" *8-20 Voice of the City,* September 24, 1970, MSS-130, Box 3, Folder 6, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona. ; NA, "Joe Eddie Lopez for PUHS Board," *8-20 Voice of the City,* September 24, 1970, MSS-130, Box 3, Folder 6, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

represent minorities in the fight for an equal education.[35] Due to his previous experience in advocating for students of color at Phoenix Union, Lopez acquired financial support in a grassroots manner by holding a fund-raising dinner with supporters including Inner-City residents, Judge Howard Petersen, and Superior Court Candidate James Gibson. [36] Whereas Greathouse's position as an elementary school teacher garnered the endorsement of the district's Classroom Teachers Association.[37] Similar to Lopez, Greathouse cited that she was also concerned with cutting the dropout rate and increasing teacher awareness of the communities in which they teach in.[38]

By early September of 1970, the candidates for the board seat increased to five adding Charles I. Cooper and Eleanor Davey.[39] Cooper was a white real instate investor and parking lot owner with interest in tax dollars that openly opposed school board election's with mostly teacher candidates.[40] Whereas Davey herself was a white science teacher at Xavier High School, a private catholic school in North Phoenix, who ran on a platform of working for programs that catered to minority students and financial aid for equal opportunities.[41] The pool of candidates for Browne's seat presented an uphill battle for Joe Eddie Lopez and Betty Greathouse because a majority of the candidates were white with institutional and unmatched financial backing.

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[35] NA, "Chicano leader will enter race for board of PUHS."

[36] NA "Citizens hold fund raising dinner for school board candidate Lopez" *The Arizona Republic* October 1, 1970.

[37] Horky, "Teacher, minority group ties among school election issues."

[38] Horky, "Teacher, minority group ties among school election issues."

[39] NA, "Owner of parking lot seeks PUHS position," *The Arizona Republic* September 2, 1970; NA, "Arizona Mother of 1969 files PUHS board," *The Arizona Republic*, September 5, 1970.

[40] NA, "Owner of parking lot seeks PUHS position."

[41] Horky, "Teacher, minority group ties among school election issues"; NA, "Arizona Mother of 1969 files PUHS board."

Lopez's agenda starkly contrasted that of the white candidates whose interest lay primarily in finances and business. One way this was visible was in the campaign ads printed in the *8-20 Voice of the City* newspaper that reemphasized his commitment to education in the district over the previous two years and citing that "he cares more for people than for buildings."[42] Despite being the only two candidates of color, Lopez and Greathouse held firm that their contributions and participation on the board of education would help better serve students and communities of color including Phoenix Union.

The need for a board member from the Chicana/o or Black community became more apparent during a meeting on September 22, 1970 between the five board candidates and members of the Phoenix Union High School Parent Teacher Student Organization (PTSO).[43] Members of the Phoenix Union High School PTSO shared with the panel, specifically directed most of their questions to the white candidates, that one of their primary concerns was the district's inability to communicate with them but.[44] Ultimately, only 8 percent of 150,000 voters turned out to elect the new board member resulting in a victory for Hansen would come to replace Brown in December.[45] Greathouse trailed Hansen in second with Lopez landing third place holding the lead with votes from numerous Inner City elementary school districts within Phoenix Union's boundaries.[46] Despite this loss, Lopez's strong support in the Inner City was

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[42] Joe Eddie Lopez PUHSD Board Campaign Ad for September 17, 1970. *8-20 Voice of the City*, October 1, 1970, MSS-130, Box 3, Folder 6, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

[43] NA, "PUHS group minority member say board is unable to communicate," *The Arizona Republic*, September 22, 1970.

[44] NA, "PUHS group minority member say board is unable to communicate."

[45] Charles Horky, "Hansen wins 5-way race for PUHS district board," *The Arizona Republic*, October 7, 1970.

[46] Horky, "Hansen wins 5-way race for PUHS district board."

indicative of a grassroots movement that would continue to feel unheard and once again take their grievances to the streets this time by organizing a boycott of Phoenix Union that lasted nearly a month in the fall of 1970.

The 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union High School

The events beginning in 1968 led to the establishment of a Chicana/o movement at Phoenix Union in fall of 1970. Having reached a tipping point, Chicanas/os in the Valley of the Sun no longer allowed their histories, struggles, and rich cultural legacies be a footnote in Arizona history or a back-page story in *The Arizona Republic*. Joe Eddie Lopez described the emergence of the Phoenix Chicana/o movement in the 1960s and 1970s as "the first chapter in a peoples' struggle for dignity."[47] Furthermore describing this movement as one that "tells the story of a people [touted as ignorant] becoming intensely concerned and involved with the conditions in the school's which their children attend."[48] In the wake of failing to elect a Chicano or Black candidate to the Phoenix Union High School District Board of Education, tension once again caught the community's attention the first week of October 1970. The week began with fights between a small group of individuals from the Chicana/o and Black student populations that eventually came to a head with the Phoenix Union administration.[49] As a result, the efforts of Chicana/o and Black students, parents, and community leaders to unify the groups became slightly undone. Yet both communities continued to express their concerns for the well-being of their students citing that a small population from both sides were responsible for these fights.

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[47] Chicanos Por La Causa Pamphlet, 1969, MSS-130 Box 20, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

[48] "Chicanos Por La Causa Pamphlet, 1969."

[49] "The Phoenix Union High School Boycott," by Belen Servín, January 4, 1970, MSS-130 Box 20, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

The reoccurring tension left Chicana/o and Black community members once again feeling that the Phoenix Union administration lacked initiative in providing solutions.

It was not a mystery amongst the community that fights between Chicana/o and Black students existed including Joe Eddie Lopez who acknowledged that there were a lot of fights. Yet Joe Eddie Lopez refused to believe that "there was any bred animosities between Blacks and Chicanos."[50] Instead Lopez indicated that the tension stemmed from the education board's inability to provide direction and Phoenix Union administration who failed to pay proper attention.[51] The resurgence of tension between Chicana/o and Black students was described as a situation that had been "brewing for a number of years" as a result of the board's and school's negligence.[52] Subsequently, frustrated with administrative inaction, Chicanas/os took matters into their own hands by boycotting Phoenix Union High School from October 9 to November 2, 1970.[53]

Concerned by the fights at Phoenix Union, Chicana/o parents called for a meeting on October 8, 1970 at the Wesley Community Center with community leaders Joe Eddie Lopez, Ronnie Lopez, Sam Ramirez, Manuel Barragan, and Reverend Frank Yoldi.[54] Distress over the recent fights filled the room resulting from parent's dissatisfaction over inaction from the school administration and board. Many of these parents who had disputed issues at Phoenix Union the previous two years complained that the school administration and police were "afraid" to take

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[50] Joe Eddie Lopez on Phoenix Union High School Walkouts Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records-Arizona State Archives Legislative Oral History Project.

[51] Joe Eddie Lopez on Phoenix Union High School Walkouts Arizona State Library.

[52] NA "What you can do" *The South Mountain Star*, October 14, 1970.

[53] NA, "What you can do."

[54] Jack Crowe, "Chicanos at Phoenix Union seek confrontation on racial tensions," *The Arizona Republic*, October 9, 1970.

action against "trouble-making Negroes"[55] Chicana/o parents openly shared their concerns about the fights but at the same time demonized Black Phoenix Union students. Known for reporting in detail many of the issues and events at Phoenix Union during this period, *The Arizona Republic* and *Phoenix Gazette* contributed to a dominant narrative that created more tension between the Chicana/o and Black community. An example is *The Arizona Republic* claiming that the Chicana/o parent's racial sentiments of the Black community were "muted" during the 1968 and 1969 actions.[56] The press further claimed that these sentiments were met with energetic applause as they came to light during this meeting in the form of shouted complaints and violent demands as a means to end the fights.[57]

While some Chicana/o parents demonized Black Phoenix Union students and *The Arizona Republic* fueled tension between both communities, Chicana/o leaders adamantly believed that these issues had deeper roots. Leaders firmly believed that the problem of educational inequalities at Phoenix Union were a result of a negligent school and district administration. Valle del Sol coalition's economic field representative, Manuel Barragan, affirmed this stating that they must abstain from violence and that "the Negro is not the problem."[58] Joe Eddie Lopez further confirmed this, stating that "when we talk about safety, it's for all students. When we talk about school reform, it's for all students. The [B]lacks are lagging just as far behind academically."[59] Clashing opinions at this meeting amongst the Chicana/o

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[55] Crowe, "Chicanos at Phoenix Union seek confrontation on racial tensions."

[56] Crowe, "Chicanos at Phoenix Union seek confrontation on racial tensions."

[57] Crowe, "Chicanos at Phoenix Union seek confrontation on racial tensions."

[58] Crowe, "Chicanos at Phoenix Union seek confrontation on racial tensions."

[59] Connie Cobb, "PUHS boycott continues as Chicanos reject plea," *The Arizona Republic*, October 21, 1970.

community can be attributed to generational differences in attitudes of race regarding the Black community. These differences contrasted between an older Mexican American generation who held racialized views of the Black community and a younger politicized Chicana/o generation concerned with identifying the root of racist inequalities impacting Chicana/o and Black communities. Ultimately, the meeting resulted in the formation of a 10-person ad hoc Chicana/o school board.[60] Moreover determining that the ad hoc board's first step would be to confront several individuals the following morning at Phoenix Union's auditorium including Superintendent Howard Seymour, the entire school board, Phoenix Mayor John Driggs, Chief of Police Lawrence Wetzel, and State Superintendent Weldon P. Shoftstall.[61]

On the morning of October 9, the Chicana/o ad hoc committee led by Joe Eddie Lopez and representatives from several Inner-City organizations confronted school administration and city officials to air their grievances and set forth a series of demands.[62] Once again *The Arizona Republic* and *Phoenix Gazette* mislead their readers by claiming vastly different numbers of students present at Phoenix Union's auditorium with one claiming 400 and the other 1,000.[63] Chicana/o and Black students were pictured mingling prior to the confrontation addressing administrative officials about their complaints while other students marched from the Barrio Youth Project.[64] Marching students arrived to the campus and shook the high school's front gates until, Phoenix Union teacher and Valle Del Sol Coalition President, Sam Ramirez calmed

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[60] Crowe, "Chicanos at Phoenix Union seek confrontation on racial tensions."

[61] Crowe, "Chicanos at Phoenix Union seek confrontation on racial tensions."

[62] NA, "Latins Demand Seymour Quit, Board Recalled," *Phoenix Gazette*, October 9, 1970; NA, "School Confrontation," *The Arizona Republic*, October 10, 1970.

[63] NA, "Latins Demand Seymour Quit, Board Recalled"; NA, "School Confrontation."

[64] NA, "Latins Demand Seymour Quit, Board Recalled"; NA, "School Confrontation."

them.[65] Face to face with school administrators, Lopez presented the following three demands that the community sought immediate responses to:

1. Prompt "steps to protect the safety of our children"
2. The resignation of PUHS Principal Robert A. Dye and his replacement with a Chicano educator.
3. The adoption of curriculum reforms adopted earlier this year by a community-parent committee.[66]

In addition to voicing concerns over tension between Chicana/o and Black students, parents also expressed concerns of a heightened police presence at the school. David Guzman, a Phoenix Union junior, felt a rise of police presence at the school only suggested there was violence at the school making the situation worse than it actually was.[67] Although David also demonized Black students by suggesting that the school's white administration held a fear of a small group Black "hoodlum" students.[68]

Moreover, the older generation of Mexican American parents continued to charge that the reason they were protesting was because of harassment from Black students directed at Chicana/o students. Once again, Manuel Barragan, continued to deny that it was a matter of Chicana/o versus Black and instead the focus was an administrative failure to address inequalities at the school.[69] The school was accused of being negligent by Lopez who said if no protection was provided by administration, then Chicanas/os would establish their own barrio school.[70] To which Seymour responded that he or the district could do nothing to stop

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[65] NA, "Latins Demand Seymour Quit, Board Recalled"; NA, "School Confrontation."

[66] Albert J. Sitter, "Chicanos call boycott of PUHS," *The Phoenix Gazette*, October 10, 1970.

[67] Sitter, "Chicanos call boycott of PUHS."

[68] Sitter, "Chicanos call boycott of PUHS."

[69] NA, "Latins Demand Seymour Quit, Board Recalled."

[70] NA, "Latins Demand Seymour Quit, Board Recalled."

Chicanas/os from setting one up and would continue to provide support to students who chose to continue attending Phoenix Union.[71] Met once again with an unresponsive administration, Lopez asked protestors to stand to their feet, march out peacefully, and begin their boycott of Phoenix Union immediately.[72] As the boycott began, the ad hoc Chicana/o committee met with administration that same afternoon.[73] Although this resulted in no resolved demands and an outright refusal to Principal Dye's call for resignation.[74]

From the beginning the boycott garnered vast support from many in the Chicana/o community but it is important to note that it did not have the approval of all Mexican Americans. The Mexican American community was split on the boycott of Phoenix Union High School including people on campus on a day-to-day basis. This included Martha Castaneda, one of the Mexican Americans hired as a Phoenix Union monitor. Martha herself didn't entirely agree with the boycott, but having witnessed a lack of changes at Phoenix Union year after year motivated her to join boycotters in their actions.[75] As a first hand witness, Castaneda would see the small percentage of Black students identified by other Chicana/o and Black students as the ones harassing their peers.[76] Yet she still felt that those involved in the boycott movement did not identify the problem as that of Chicana/o versus Black students, rather as a systemic problem of a school that should be run by Chicana/o and Black not white administrators.[77] Although Martha

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[71] NA, "Latins Demand Seymour Quit, Board Recalled."

[72] NA, "Latins Demand Seymour Quit, Board Recalled."

[73] Sitter, "Chicanos call boycott of PUHS."

[74] Sitter, "Chicanos call boycott of PUHS."

[75] Connie Koenenn, "'I just don't see any other way' monitor at PUHS says of boycott," *The Arizona Republic*, October 16, 1970.

[76] Koenenn, "'I just don't see any other way' monitor at PUHS says of boycott."

[77] Koenenn, "'I just don't see any other way' monitor at PUHS says of boycott."

Castaneda was not a student, her positionality as a Mexican American witnessing the injustices at Phoenix Union informed her analysis of the racial dynamics and educational inequalities present at the school.

Those that supported the Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union included the Association of Mexican American Educators (AMAE). During a meeting held on October 10, AMAE unanimously voted to "endorse in principle the parents' decision to allow their sons and daughters to boycott the school unless immediate steps are taken to insure the safety of their children by the school administration."[78] Furthermore, AMAE supported the boycott by voting to provide 100 teachers for the proposed boycott school or barrio school.[79] Like the boycotters, AMAE President Pete Bugarin conveyed his concern of the education Mexican American students were receiving at Phoenix Union. Bugarin indicated that the organization "seriously questioned the integrity" of the school administration because the grievances set forth by the boycott committee remained "unresolved for a year after being presented to district officials."[80] Bugarin, also aware of concerns over fights, confidently affirmed his position denouncing that real animosity existed between both groups and did not "accept that the conditions at PUHS, as expressed by parents, stemmed from racial differences."[81] Further explaining that an "ineffective school administration, rather than racial conflict, was responsible for the frustrating conditions in the school."[82] Bugarin's analysis aligned with AMAE critiques of the district's failures to

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[78] NA, "Mexican-American teachers vote support of PUHS boycott," *The Arizona Republic*, October 11, 1970.

[79] NA, "Mexican-American teachers vote support of PUHS boycott."

[80] NA, "Mexican-American teachers vote support of PUHS boycott."

[81] NA, "Mexican-American teachers vote support of PUHS boycott."

[82] NA, "Mexican-American teachers vote support of PUHS boycott"; AMAE, "Statement of AMAE on Phoenix Union High School," *8-20 Voice of the City*, October 15, 1970.

address the conditions at Phoenix Union. He empathized with students stating that they would expect this from any frustrated group of students and such "requested changes would benefit the total student body and not just the Chicano student."[83]

AMAE publicly supported the Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union by outlining five points describing how they would assist in alleviating "the seriousness of the problem."[84] These points included:

1) To serve as consultants to State and Local Boards of Education, Administrators, Faculties and Professional Organizations in relation to educational needs of children and youth of Mexican descent.
2) To consider the educational needs and problems which are brought to the attention of the Chapter and recommended positive programs as educational needs arise.
3) To interpret the function and the role of the school to the community and of the community to the school and to emphasize the importance of education in our society.
4) To promote a better understanding among the citizenry of Arizona concerning the educational needs of the people of Mexican descent.
5) To promote a three-way interaction and interplay of home, school, and community as a means to secure the fulfillment of the educational potentials of the children of Mexican descent.[85]

During this time the *Arizona Republic* came under much scrutiny for distorted reporting of the AMAE statement supporting the boycott. The community newspaper *8-20 Voice of the City* called to question the *Republic's* intention in their front-page bolded headlines reading "Is the [Arizona] Republic trying to create a racial incident?"[86]

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[83] NA, "Mexican-American teachers vote support of PUHS boycott"; AMAE, "Statement of AMAE on Phoenix Union High School."

[84] NA, "Mexican-American teachers vote support of PUHS boycott"; AMAE, "Statement of AMAE on Phoenix Union High School."

[85] NA, "Mexican-American teachers vote support of PUHS boycott"; AMAE, "Statement of AMAE on Phoenix Union High School."

[86] NA. "Is the Republic Trying to Create a Racial Incident?" *8-20 Voice of the City*, October 15, 1970.

While AMAE's statement clearly identified how they supported the Phoenix Union boycott; the *Arizona Republic* printed false statements slanting the role of AMAE in the boycott. *The Arizona Republic* reported that Bugarin indicated that "AMAE members voted to support the Chicano parent's request for the resignation of PUHS principal Robert A. Dye and Dr. Howard C. Seymour, PUHS District Superintendent."[87] The *Republic* article further charged that "AMAE has backed down completely" and demonized Black students stating "that Black hoodlums are at the cause of all the trouble."[88] The false statements made by the *Republic* contradicted AMAE's statement confirming their boycott and position that all students, including "Anglo and Chicano" are just as "guilty as Blacks" for stealing student lunch money as reported by students at Phoenix Union.[89] Bugarin contested the *Republic's* reporting adamantly. Specifically, because he handed AMAE's statement to the City Desk editor in person with nothing on the printed page mentioning AMAE voting on such actions.[90] Bugarin's frustration of the *Republic's* false statements did not go unheard as he brought the false quotes to the attention of the City Desk editor who angrily dismissed his concerns.[91]

The *Republic's* false quotes also grabbed the attention of Eugene Marin. As noted in the previous chapter, Marin did not hold favorable opinions of the boycott and the Phoenix Chicana/o movement but still supported organizations like AMAE. In response to the newspapers false quotes, Marin submitted a written statement to the *Arizona Republic* that was

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[87] NA, "Is the Republic Trying to Create a Racial Incident?"
[88] NA, "Is the Republic Trying to Create a Racial Incident?"
[89] NA, "Is the Republic Trying to Create a Racial Incident?"
[90] NA, "Is the Republic Trying to Create a Racial Incident?"
[91] NA, "Is the Republic Trying to Create a Racial Incident?"

selectively not published "because they could not find the room to print it."[92] Local grassroots press made sure it was printed finding its way to the *8-20 Voice of the City* who published it in full. Marin stated that "the City Desk editor for the *Arizona Republic* newspaper willfully and wrongfully distorted and reported a statement made by AMAE regarding the boycott problem now facing the PUHS system."[93] Marin understood that *The Arizona Republic's* false statements weighed heavily on the public's perception of the boycott, AMAE, and the state of Mexican American education and communities in Phoenix. As a result, Marin felt that the decision to falsely quote AMAE "can do nothing but worsen the situation."[94] Furthermore, could be "interpreted as an attempt to create emotional public reaction, discredit AMAE, and capitalize journalistically should his news story result in more serious school disruptions and demonstrations."[95] While much of the boycott's documentation derives from *The Arizona Republic*, the denounced false reports by the City Desk editor exemplifies the newspaper's intent to maintain a racialized dominant narrative. A narrative intent on perpetuating the rationale and logic of a predominantly white Phoenix Union High School administration and District board that had on several occasions failed to address the school's racial inequalities.

The negative depictions of the boycott in the local press were further stirred up by Principal Robert A. Dye and Superintendent Howard Seymour during a press conference on October 12. The administrators were intent on giving the media the facts on the situation at Phoenix Union because according to Seymour he would not "take it from the community who

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[92] NA, "Marin Blasts "Republic Distortions," *8-20 Voice of the City*, October 15, 1970.

[93] NA, "Marin Blasts "Republic Distortions."

[94] NA, "Marin Blasts "Republic Distortions."

[95] NA, "Marin Blasts "Republic Distortions."

says we have done nothing."[96] Referencing the *Republic's* false quotes, Seymour charged that AMAE's support of the boycott was a "dis-service to education" and did not reflect what the district had been doing to better the conditions at the school.[97] Incensed, Seymour held up a supposed book of a history series on Black and Brown studies renouncing the claim that the administration had done nothing.[98] Joe Eddie Lopez contested these claims stating that "whatever the school authorities are doing to improve conditions, they are not doing the right things….they haven't done anything new."[99] Seymour's comments further confirmed the school and district administration's failure to listen and incorporate the Chicana/o demands for an equal learning environment, quality education, and culturally relevant curriculum for all students. Moreover, Seymour display of a supposed Ethnic Studies book as an example of the district's and school's improvements fails to fully capture the complexity of changes demanded and needed of a predominantly white school administration and board.

Despite the boycott's strong backing from parents, students, community leaders, and community organizations such as AMAE; the *Phoenix Gazette* and *The Arizona Republic* continued to find any opportunity to dismiss the boycott's efforts through stories, public opinions, and political cartoons. An example of this is in political cartoons printed by the *Phoenix Gazette* that distorted and minimized the Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union High School. On October 13, the *Gazette* published a divisive cartoon titled "How To Get Some Place:

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[96] NA, "Superintendent Seymore Holds Angry Press Conference," *8-20 Voice of the City*, October 15, 1970.

[97] NA, "Superintendent Seymore Holds Angry Press Conference."

[98] NA, "Superintendent Seymore Holds Angry Press Conference."

[99] Albert J. Sitter, "Half Absent as Chicanos boycott PUHS," *The Arizona Republic*, October 13, 1970.

Ride in the Same Direction" depicting Chicana/o and Black parents divided on how to approach the "control of campus disturbances."[100]

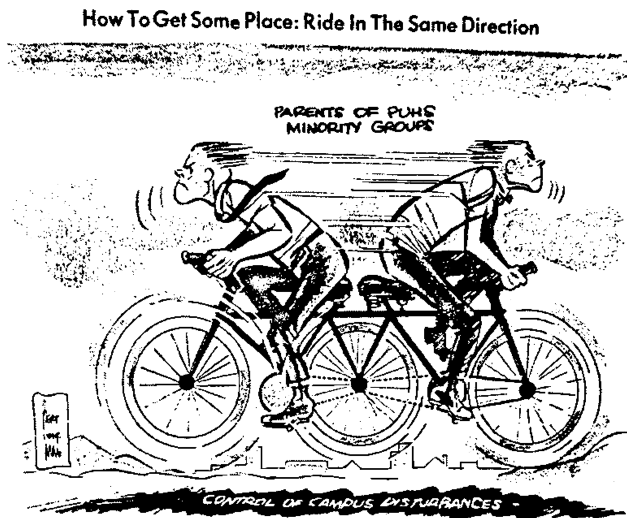

Figure 11. Political Cartoon titled "How to Get Some Place: Ride in the Same Direction," depicting Chicana/o and Black parents at odds. Source: *The Phoenix Gazette,* October 13, 1970, Microfilm, Arizona State Library, Archives, and Records. Phoenix

Bert Whitman's political cartoon antagonized and contributed to existing tensions between Phoenix Union Chicana/o and Black parents by placing them at odds with each other. Similarly, Whitman's political cartoon printed in the *Gazette* on October 19 titled "Fuel" depicted a similar tension provoking message. This political cartoon depicted a Phoenix Union parent holding a large bottle with an atomizer sprayer labeled "parental discord" filled with gasoline and sprayed at a large fire labeled as "PUHS unsolved racial problem."[101]

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[100] Bert Whitman, "How to Get Some Place: Ride in the Same Direction," *The Phoenix Gazette,* October 13, 1970, Microfilm, Arizona State Library, Archives, and Records, Phoenix Arizona.
[101] Ibid.

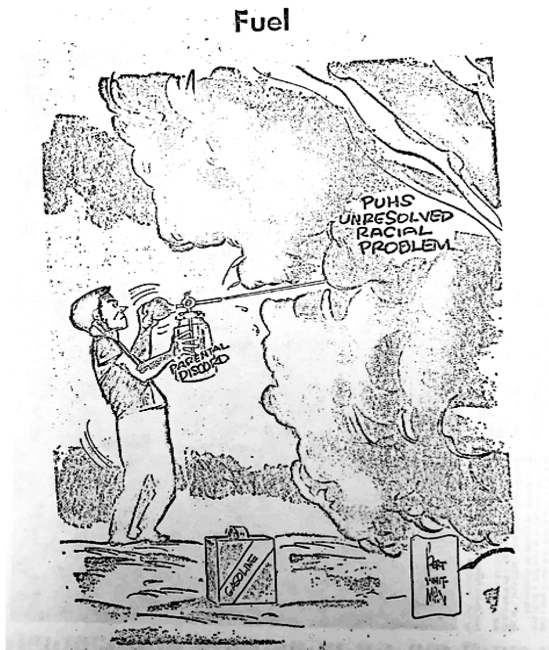

Figure 12. Cartoon Titled "Fuel-PUHS Unresolved Racial Problem," depicting Chicana/o and Black parents at fault for the issues at Phoenix Union High School. Source: The Phoenix Gazette, October 9, 1970, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

Whitman once again trivializes Chicana/o and Black parent's grievances and organizing efforts to demand a resolution to the existing educational inequalities at Phoenix Union.[102] Whitman's cartoon inferred that Chicana/o and Black parents did more harm than good because their irrational responses or "discord" only fueled the raging fire of racial problems at Phoenix Union. Whitman's cartoon contributed to a public racialized narrative by placing the blame on Phoenix Union Chicana/o and Black parents and absolving a white school and district

[102] Bert Whitman, "Fuel-PUHS Unresolved Racial Problem," *The Phoenix Gazette,* October 9, 1970, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

administration from their responsibility. Joe Eddie Lopez identified local newspaper's racialized provocations stating that "the racial aspects of this boycott have been magnified…the trouble is not unique to just one race."[103]

The *Phoenix Gazette* also used race as a divisive mechanism to split the Mexican American community on the boycott. The *Gazette* re-iterated that "Mexican-American and White school officials have said [the boycott] doesn't have the sanction of all Mexican-American parents" implying that it was a "result of 'shake down' incidents of Mexican-American girls by Black students last week."[104] This example of the *Gazette's* reporting genders the tension, further demonizes Black students, and dismisses the message conveyed by Chicana/o leaders that Black students are not the only ones responsible for fights. The *Gazette* also fails to capture that the problems at Phoenix Union are result from a predominantly white administration's refusal to take into account the Chicana/o and Black communities' recommendations.

Similarly, opinion pieces published in the *Arizona Republic* also distorted the public perceptions of the boycott. Opinion pieces of Phoenix Union described the issues at the school as an "ugly situation…which ha[d] been simmering for several years amid periodic outbursts" and could only to be resolved by "law and order."[105] Opinion pieces also described boycotters as "vigilante groups of parents patrolling a high school campus" within their rights to demand protection but that their actions would not "ensure racial harmony."[106] In addition to denouncing

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[103] Cobb, "PUHS boycott continues as Chicanos reject plea."

[104] John H. Vessey, "Phoenix Union Boycott Starts: Half Stay Out," *Phoenix Gazette*, October 12, 1970.

[105] NA, "The PUHS Controversy," *The Arizona Republic*, October 12, 1970; Ian Haney Lopez in *Dog Whistle Politics* describes "law and order" as the surrogate expression for concern about the civil rights movement by the mid-1960s.

[106] NA, "The PUHS Controversy."

the boycott and depicting participants as trouble makers, tension between Chicana/o and Black students continued to be exacerbated by a binary of respectability. Dominant racialized narratives in opinion pieces positioned Phoenix Union Chicana/o and Black students as either good or bad. Both groups of students at Phoenix Union were described as having "hoodlum" elements.[107] Specifically, a majority of Black students were labeled as decent, law abiding, and respectable in contrast to "a tiny element of young [B]lack toughs who terrorize[d] the campus and mak[ing] it difficult if not impossible for the majority of students to acquire an education under proper conditions."[108] The racialized depictions of the Chicana/o and Black students are magnified in public opinion's printed in the *Republic* who favorably portrayed a white school and district administration as rational and fair because they "have done their very best under sever conditions."[109]

Despite these narratives in *The Arizona Republic*, AMAE and officials from the Phoenix Union High School District eventually reached an agreement during a closed door meeting free of press to find solutions "to personal campus violence."[110] Although both parties reached an agreement, AMAE remained committed in their support of the Phoenix Union High School boycott.[111] Bugarin along with Superintendent Seymour and Principal Dye confirmed that *The Arizona Republic* falsely quoted Bugarin and AMAE and called for the resignation of the City

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[107] NA, "The PUHS Controversy."

[108] NA, "The PUHS Controversy."

[109] NA, "The PUHS Controversy."

[110] Charles Horky, "Chicanos, district officials to collaborate on problems," *The Arizona Republic*, October 12, 1970.

[111] Horky, "Chicanos, district officials to collaborate on problems."

Desk editor who continued to deny the misquotes.[112] The collaboration between Bugarin and District administrators coincided with Trevor G. Browne's order "an investigation of the troubles between Chicano and Negro students" promising that "swift disciplinary action to culprits caught engaging in campus violence."[113]

The Black community of Phoenix Union continued to voice their concerns of these issues at Phoenix Union. On October 11, "a large spectrum of the Black community" including school district community liaison Calvin Goode and approximately 50 "parents, educators, religious leaders, and community leaders" held a meeting to discuss the concerns of Phoenix Union.[114] The meeting resulted in a collective authorized statement acknowledging the problems at the school and how they saw their involvement in resolving these problems.[115] Members of the Black community shared that they felt it was "unfair to place the entire blame for these problems, created by a small percentage of the PUHS students, on a large group of the student body and the administration."[116] Similar to Chicanas/os, the Black community saw these issues at the high school as symptoms.[117] In this statement the Black community also affirmed that they:

- "We love our children an believe in their ability to succeed."

-"We care what our children do. We do not condone violent acts."

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[112] Horky, "Chicanos, district officials to collaborate on problems."

[113] Horky, "Chicanos, district officials to collaborate on problems."

[114] NA, "Black Phoenicians assess PUHS situation," *The Arizona Republic*, October 12, 1970.

[115] NA, "Black Phoenicians assess PUHS situation."

[116] NA, "Black Phoenicians assess PUHS situation."

[117] NA, "Black Phoenicians assess PUHS situation."

-"We stand behind educational programs which will prepare our children to lead useful lives."

-"We recognize inadequacies of present educational programs. However, we support the administration in its efforts to remove the disturbing elements from the path of the majority of our students who seek a better education."

- "We urge re-evaluation and possible redirection for those students who by their own behavior indicate that they are unsuccessful in the present educational system. They, too, need a better education."

- "We will continue to visit and become more actively involved in the support of quality education for our children."

- "We urge all students to continue to attend classes and work for meaningful education."[118]

The assessment on behalf of the Black community members at this meeting and their statement demonstrates that just as their Chicana/o counterparts acknowledge that the problems at the school are attributed to deeper issues and matters of violence being perpetuated can be attributed to a small group of students and as a result the larger groups should not be blamed as a result.

Just as Chicana/o leaders continuously state that the problem at the high school is not a Black and Brown racial tension, the focus of the Black community in their statement regarding issues at Phoenix Union High School can also be read as their attempt to not place fault on Chicana/o students for violence that they too publicly denounced. This confirms a common understanding from the Chicana/o and Black community that educational inequality at the high

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[118] NA, "Black Phoenicians assess PUHS situation."

school is a much deeper matter. Although, the statement from Black Phoenicians does demonstrate a difference in how to approach these problems by supporting administration to "remove disturbing elements" and urging students to attend all their classes. These are different strategies to what the Chicana/o boycott called for including the restructuring of white administration at the school and district level and encouraging students to participate in the boycott but nonetheless necessary in creating the change both communities desired at Phoenix Union.

By the beginning of the following school week the boycott began to demonstrate an impact. By October 12, the fourth day of the boycott, Principal Dye reported that there was "sharp 40 percent jump in absenteeism" or half of the school's 2,500 student population that he attributed as a result of the Chicana/o Boycott.[119] While the boycott's intent was to demand a predominantly white administration to implement changes called for by Chicanas/os, Dye still managed to find ways in which to undermine the boycott. Dye by charged that "some [Chicanas/os] were using the boycott as an excuse for taking a holiday from school."[120] On the contrary, though a 1,000 Mexican-American students boycotted the high school as reported by a boycott leader, "no student who wanted to enter the school grounds was prohibited from doing so" but "boycotting students were encouraging others to stay away."[121] Boycott leaders and students emphasized that their efforts were to have a stake in the policy decisions at the school because they don't "just want to have an advisory committee that doesn't have any power."[122]

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[119] Sitter, "Half absent as Chicanos boycott PUHS."

[120] Sitter, "Half absent as Chicanos boycott PUHS."

[121] Sitter, "Half absent as Chicanos boycott PUHS."

[122] Sitter, "Half absent as Chicanos boycott PUHS."

Principal Dye emphasized that administration was enforcing suspensions of students responsible for attacks citing that "19 students have been suspended in the last five weeks."[123] Seymour further added that there is a "definitive relationship between economic stability and this shakedown, extortion, bullying kind of thing" in which Dye agreed and affirmed this by correlating that "in the recent years there has been a rising trend in rebellion against authority and defiance of rules and mores."[124]

The critique and approach presented by Dye and Seymour further exemplified their approach to understanding the demands of the Chicana/o community from a lens of deficiency while also continuing to use the trope of "law and order" that determine that actions taken to demand a better education as a result of "trend in rebellion against authority." This included a continued administration continued prioritization of security by increasing the budget from $80,000 to $150,000 along with the hiring of unarmed security officers.[125] Despite a call for the City of Phoenix to aid in this matter, they continued to revert back to the answer that they had no power in the case but City Manager John Wentz offered the district with "whatever policing might be needed."[126] Seymour further dismissed the efforts and demands of boycotters by relegating the analysis between district high school's funding and curriculum in North, South, and Inner City Phoenix as unfounded by stating that "there is a need for curriculum but I wish

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[123] Sitter, "Half absent as Chicanos boycott PUHS."

[124] Sitter, "Half absent as Chicanos boycott PUHS."

[125] NA, "Many boycott classes at tense Phoenix Union," *The Scottsdale Daily Progress*, October 13, 1970.

[126] Sitter, "Half absent as Chicanos boycott PUHS"; Grant E. Smith, "City Council hears neighborhood beefs," *The Arizona Republic*, October 13, 1970.

the Inner City would not begin to talk about a better program at Camelback (High School) than at Phoenix. They are identically the same."[127]

Strategically, the boycott was creating waves for the school and district as they were feeling the financial impact early on. With a daily budget of $14,400, absences were costing Phoenix Union approximately $6,000 every day that students were boycotting.[128] By October 13, boycotter's saw the financial impact of the boycott as a steppingstone to victory in the scope of the larger goal to bring about change at Phoenix Union. By the third official day, the district had lost more than "$18,384 in state aid" according to the Phoenix Gazette.[129] With students out of school boycotting, Chicana/o leaders and parents wanted to find a solution to the administrative argument that some were simply looking for an opportunity to ditch school. By this time plans were in movement to establish informal classes offsite for students during the boycott to keep them active in the movement but also on track with their studies. With 100 teachers committed to assisting in teaching picketing students; Manuel Dominguez, a boycott leader and director of the Valle del Sol Coalition, confirmed that by this time they were in search of donated facilities for classes because the Mexican American movement had no "big money."[130] This search resulted in the establishment and opening of "protest school" a few blocks southeast of Phoenix Union in the basement of Immaculate Heart Church on October 15.[131]

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[127] Sitter, "Half absent as Chicanos boycott PUHS"; Smith, "City Council hears neighborhood beefs."

[128] NA, "Boycott goes on at school," *The Scottsdale Daily Progress*, October 14, 1970; Connie Koennen, "Boycott Spreads, is costly for PUHS," *The Arizona Republic*, October 14, 1970.

[129] John H. Vessey, "Parents Meet Called: PU Boycott Costing Aid; Pickets Calm," *The Phoenix Gazette*, October 13, 1970.

[130] Vessey, "Parents Meet Called."

[131] NA, "Phoenix Union boycott continues: Protest school opens amid confusion," *The Arizona Republic*, October 16, 1970.

While Chicanas/os strategized to establish an informal school for boycotters, Phoenix Union High School District board members and administrators were contemplating potentially closing Phoenix Union. Faced with such loss in state aid, the district projections demonstrated "no resurgence in student enrollment anywhere in the school's future" with speculation that this potential closure was indicated by the district failing to build the school's addition resulting from the 1968 bond measure.[132] Moreover, with the development of the extravagant civic center being constructed in the proximity of Phoenix Union, a minority community member stated that these "businessmen don't want Mexican-American or [B]lack student tracking through the multimillion dollar civic center, scaring off potential tourist trade."[133] Once again the measures considered by administrators and the board neglected considering the demands and needs as set forth by Chicana/o boycotters. Rather than finding ways in which to divest, all their actions such as prioritizing security and considering shutting down Phoenix Union indicated a strong leaning of disinvestment of the predominantly Chicana/o and Black high school.

As previously mentioned, the historical accounts of Chicana/o educational social movements in Phoenix are minimal in comparison to those in places such as but not limited to Los Angeles and Denver. Although this does not signify that the activity taking place in Phoenix was not interconnected as part of this more extensive network of Chicana/o educational social movements. The Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union drew the attention from Denver's Crusade for Justice leader Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales.

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[132] John H. Vessey, "PUHS May Be Closed, Students Transferred," *Phoenix Gazette*, October 14, 1970.

[133] Vessey, "PUHS May Be Closed, Students Transferred"; NA, "The Real Problem at Phoenix Union," *8-20 Voice of the City*, October 15, 1970.

Figure 13. Corky Gonzales pictured during an interview while visiting the Valley and speaking with several groups and communities including students at Arizona State University and the Phoenix Union High School Boycott. Source: "Corky Gonzales, Leader of Denver's Crusade for Justice, Addresses Arizona Chicanos, *8-20 Voice of the City*, October 22, 1970, Arizona State Library, Archives, and Records.

As a guest of Arizona State University Mexican American Student Organization, Gonzales spoke at Neeb Hall along with Joe Eddie Lopez and Gustavo Gutierrez, local United Farmworker Organizer, on campus October 16 as part of their first Chicano cultural week.[134] Identifying several problems facing the Chicana/o community, Gonzales called for students to fight against what he identified as a "class-racist struggle."[135] According to the Denver leader, this included supporting the Phoenix Union boycott parents by giving them a big hand describing it as what he thought to be the "most beautiful act taking place in the Southwest" and commended students for "making history" because students were "taking a stand."[136] Beyond advocating for the boycott and encouraging Arizona State University students to become

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[134] NA, "Chicano Week Starts," *State Press*, October 12, 1970; NA, "Crusade leader speaks on Chicano Mobilization," *State Press*, October 14, 1970; NA, "Gonzales told Chicanos to stand against racism," *State Press*, October 16, 1970.

[135] NA, "Gonzales told Chicanos to stand against racism."

[136] A Message to Aztlan book; Koennen, "Chicanos call PUHS boycott 'successful."

involved with these efforts, he also delivered an "exciting and exhilarating" speech to the boycotters at the "liberation school" located at Immaculate Heart Church.[137]

The "liberation school" or "Barrio High" that was established for boycotters was a central component in the organizing and momentum of the boycott itself.[138] It became a lively site of learning and resistance with protesting students eager to learn, parents serving lunch, toddlers running in and out of the school's basement, and hub of solidarity with supporters such as the *Teatro Popular* from UCLA who shared songs, poetry, and skits parodying the Chicana/o experience in white classrooms.[139] Pastor of Immaculate Heart church, Reverend Carlos Alonso, affirmed that the church opened its door to boycotters because "it is their place" and considers it his duty and "in fact his obligation to cooperate with their requests" only asking that they sign a liability statement. Although not all parishioners were in favor of the Father Alonso's decision. This included Anthony McGrath who belongs to the parish who told Alfredo Gutierrez that they "were not going to turn our facilities over to you, so get that out of your head."[140]

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[137] NA, "Corky Gonzales, Leader of Denver's Crusade for Justice, Addresses Arizona Chicanos," *8-20 Voice of the City*, October 22, 1970, Arizona State Library, Archives, and Records, Phoenix Arizona.

[138] NA, "Chicano's Barrio High School Helping Students," *8-20 Voice of the City*, October 29, 1970.

[139] Koennen, "Chicanos call PUHS boycott 'successful."

[140] John H. Vessey, "Church Opened To Students: School Board Hears End-Boycott Pleas," *The Phoenix Gazette*, October 16, 1970.

Figure 14. Boycotting Chicana/o students during their Chicano Architecture course at the boycott school established at Immaculate Heart Church. Source:*8-20 Voice of the City*, October 29, 1970 Arizona Department of Library, Archives, and Public Records.

As previously mentioned, by October 15 facilities had been acquired and the school opened its doors for orientation that same day for student who marched over from Phoenix Union.[141] Although no Arizona certified teachers had committed to assist with the "liberation school," several graduate students, seniors, and pledged 100 teachers would aid in facilitating courses for boycotters.[142] The "liberation school" was designed to serve and center the educational and boycott needs for students, parents, and organizers. Joe Eddie Lopez confirmed this to students by announcing to them that "this will be your school and all rules will be approved by you."[143] The establishment of the role students were to assume at the direction of the "liberatory school" was significant in several ways. One being that students were given a voice in their educational experience. Second, it decentered how power was understood in

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[141] John H. Vessey, "More Return to Classes Over Boycott," *The Phoenix Gazette*, October 15, 1970.

[142] Vessey, "More Return to Classes Over Boycott."

[143] NA, "Improvised school begins: Solution to Chicano boycott unresolved," *The Arizona Republic*, October 16, 1970.

imaging, creating, and establishing the kind of learning environment students desired in conjunction with teachers, boycott leaders, and parents.

Additionally, the collective structure of the "liberatory school" placed Chicana/o leaders in administrative positions to contrast and challenge the power established by a predominantly white Phoenix Union High School District board and high school administration. One example was the selection of Alfredo Gutierrez, CPLC member and Director of the Barrio Youth Project, to serve as the school's principal.[144] Reports in *The Arizona Republic* attempted to belittle "Barrio High" by labeling its opening during a time of "confusion" and "suffering its own dropout rate" by the end of the orientation.[145] The school, with no money, held daily courses including but not limited to teatro, film making, English, art, and architecture for roughly 500 students with the teachers that donated daily hours and parents, particularly mothers, who contributed their time and labor helping with food preparation.[146] With the potential of a long-term boycott, Joe Eddie Lopez announced to students they were in the process of preparing an application for accreditation.[147] Although most of the classes that commenced when the school began operations were optional, Alfredo Gutierrez reported that basic courses would start by October 21 due to a need of potentially establishing night classes to accommodate the schedules of volunteering teachers.[148]

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[144] NA, "Improvised school begins."

[145] NA, "Phoenix Union boycott continues."

[146] *Teatro* is Spanish for Theatre; NA, "Chicano's Barrio High School Helping Students"; Teatro is Spanish for Theatre.

[147] NA, "Phoenix Union boycott continues."

[148] John H. Vessey, "Fund Losses Hit School From Two Sides in Boycott," *The Phoenix Gazette*, October 20, 1970.

Although *The Arizona Republic* at times reported news with the presence of boycotter and supporter voices, they still at painted "Barrio High" as chaotic and disorderly while also striking a juxtaposition with the perspective of boycotters and supporters.[149] Considering the role of the press, reporting in such a manner to the general public further maintained a dominant narrative of racial tension, misinformation to the Phoenix community, and substantiated the negligence of the school board and administration. Furthermore, these type of depictions by the press also aid in minimizing the impact of the boycott itself, particularly the importance of "Barrio High" in the boycott efforts. As previously discussed, Boycotting students, parents, leaders, and supporters recognized the role of the press as agitators but were not deterred to continue demanding changes be made at Phoenix Union. Thus, the establishment of "Barrio High" was another tangible example of their commitment to this change. One supporter who saw "Barrio High" as a concrete example of change was Carlos McCormick, a volunteer teaching a Mexican American political history course, who claimed that he saw the "boycott school as a potential catalyst in getting changes in the public-school curriculum."[150] The role and significance of "Barrio High" is not a solitary one. Instead, it must be placed in conversation with the more extensive network of Chicana/o educational social movements such as Los Angeles' Chicano Youth Leadership Conference and Denver's Chicano Youth Liberation Conference.[151] Such informal educational spaces of resistance allowed youth and communities to organize and address educational equality, racism, and other intersecting forms of oppression.

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[149] Connie Koennen, "Chaotic but 'imporant': Chicano boycott school points way," *The Arizona Republic*, October 21, 1970.

[150] Koennen "Chaotic but 'imporant.'"

[151] Ernesto B. Vigil, *The Crusade for Justice: Chicano Militancy and the Government's War on Dissent* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999); Mario T. Garcia, *Chicano Generation: Testimonios of the Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015).

While boycotters continued to develop political educations and attend classes at "Barrio High," debates still continued between Chicana/o leaders, board members, and administrators regarding the boycott and unresolved demands set forth by the community. In agreement, board members said they "had always been willing to hear Mexican American spokesman" after Lopez had expressed the desire for the Chicana/o community to sit and dialogue with them. Although as a board they claimed they were willing to listen, individual opinions of board members said otherwise. Board member Carolyn Warner said, "she was willing to listen" but didn't know that all of "Joe Lopez's points can be substantiated with fact, but they should certainly be heard."[152] While board members John Fels stated that "there are times when you must approach the administration first because they have the facts….you don't start negotiations with a strike."[153] While in principal, the board presented a joint open door approach, their individual comments suggested otherwise. White board members' comments indicated that Chicanas/os were incapable of giving a viable reason for their actions because their knowledge of the situation at Phoenix Union was questionable thus dismissing their very own lived experiences and the resulting boycott.

Moreover, prior to an October 15 board meeting to discuss the ending of the boycott, the board affirmed early in the day once again that they refused the request to meet with Chicanas/os individually citing that "such a meeting must be open to [B]lacks and [W]hites."[154] Despite this, members of the Chicana/o and Black community attended the board meeting that was boycotted

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[152] Connie Koennen, "'Interim PUHS' to open: board to discuss boycott," *The Arizona Republic*, October 15, 1970.

[153] Koennen, "'Interim PUHS' to open."

[154] NA "PUHS problems aired at session" *The Scottsdale Daily Progress*, October 16, 1970.

by Chicana/o leaders in response to the board's refusal to meet with them. Chicana/o boycotters made themselves present in other forms including a letter sent from Joe Eddie Lopez indicating that "Mexican American parents and students want to sit down with the school board and discuss the situation without school administration around."[155] Additionally, an unidentified spokesman for the Mexican American groups present at the meeting briefly asserted once again the continued argument that Phoenix Union was "a deteriorating school with an incompetent administration."[156]

Members of the school community also communicated concerns with curriculum and counseling. Curriculum being one of the highlighted demands of the boycott was addressed by Catherine Ayers who mentioned that "curriculum at PUHS would not provide any of the graduates with eligibility at any of Arizona's three universities."[157] George Johnson, member of the predominantly Mexican American and Black Progress for Phoenix organization, claimed that the curriculums "requirements are very low."[158] While Josh Cordova, a counselor in Phoenix Union's bilingual program, asked the board to commit in hiring two Mexican American and two Black counselors because out of 19 of the school's counselors only three are Mexican American and one is Black.

This particular meeting with the board was filled with a mixture of attendees and opinions surrounding the boycott and Phoenix Union. Reverend Joseph S. Juarez, who believed white residents did not want their students mingling with students of color, sharing testimony of

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[155] Vessey, "Church opened to students."

[156] NA, "PUHS problems aired at session."

[157] NA, "Improvised school begins."

[158] NA, "Improvised school begins."

how his daughter was "robbed by a [B]lack girl" but acknowledged that "a [W]hite or Mexican girl could have just as easily have robbed her."[159] While his daughter had returned to school, Juarez didn't "believe the boycott is the right approach at this moment" because Mexican Americans are not "a race that riots" but would potentially come down to that for not "listening to them (the militant ones) properly."[160]

Black communities and leaders including Essie Jones and Herb Boyer were also in attendance and voiced their concerns. Just as expressed by community leaders from the Chicana/o and Black community, the press played an active role in further inciting racial tension amongst both groups. This was evident on how different press narrated the concerns voiced by the Black community. *The Scottsdale Daily Progress,* a local media from the predominantly white affluent city bordering east Phoenix, was culpable of doing such. *The Scottsdale Daily Progress* charged that "Black and [B]rown leaders disagreed" as to what led to the problems at Phoenix Union.[161] They further incited this tension by citing that Jones and Boyer "charged Chicanos, the news media, and the school board had unfairly blamed the [B]lack community for campus attacks on Mexican American students." Yet, quoted accounts of Jones and Boyer in *The Arizona Republic* offered a different perspective of their opinions regard Phoenix Union. Not once did either place the infer that the Chicana/o community is at fault for putting blame on Black students. This was very much a contested misconception that Chicana/o boycott leaders actively worked at discrediting. Essie Jones, who expressed support of the board and in hopes of

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[159] NA, "Improvised school begins."

[160] NA, "Improvised school begins."

[161] NA, "PUHS problems aired at session."

averting a school closure, challenged the board to reconsider their role as educational leadership and that "the only reason we have this problem is because of segregation."[162]

While boycotters and community members at board meetings continued to look forward in bringing changes to the school, a group of 13 Black Phoenix Union students including 11 football players and twin sisters took initiative on their own without administration to try to contribute to these changes. This group of students acknowledged the role that a small group of Black students that student Manual Jones felt "were making fools out of all Black people" and were responsible for violence directed towards Mexican American students.[163] Furthermore citing that as a result "Black students are responsible for forcing Mexican American students to boycott classes."[164] In order to try to "get the school back to the matter of educating students" this group had been talking with every freshman and sophomore totaling nearly 1,000 students.[165] There seemed to be an agreement by members of the group that it was necessary for Black students to come together to be solution oriented and address the issues at Phoenix Union and not to attack Chicanas/os.[166] Although, these Black students differed from Chicanas/os as they openly supported Principal Dye. One of the Black students, Curtis Aiken, conveyed that he supports Dye 100 percent and felt that "he's one of the best principals Phoenix Union ever had."[167]

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[162] NA, "Improvised school begins."

[163] John H. Vessey, "Black Students Trying to East PUHS Tensions," *The Phoenix Gazette*, October 19, 1970.

[164] Vessey, "Black Students Trying to East PUHS Tensions."

[165] Vessey, "Black Students Trying to East PUHS Tensions."

[166] Vessey, "Black Students Trying to East PUHS Tensions."

[167] Vessey, "Black Students Trying to East PUHS Tensions."

Upon the completion of the boycott's first week, Chicanas/os were celebrating the success they had witnessed in a weeks' time. As previously mentioned in this chapter, the boycott's absenteeism strategy was impacting the school and district financially. Within the boycott's first week, absenteeism was reported to have run "between 40 and 50 percent" and even half of that Joe Eddie Lopez commented would have been considered a success.[168] The boycott's strategy of using absenteeism was described by *Phoenix Gazette* reporter John H. Vesey as a "double-edged financial sword that is slicing deeper each day into the school district's treasury."[169] While naysayers and opposition of the boycott dismissed its potential impact, the numbers said otherwise. Within the first six months of the school year, absences resulted in a per day and per student loss of $4.81of state funding for Arizona schools. Considering the total number of absences over eight days at Phoenix Union, the district had lost $12,174.08 in state aid and if the boycott were to continue over a period of time would cost the district an estimated $200,000.[170]

The continued student absences distressed board members and school administration sending them scrambling to maintain their funding. As a result, they made a plea urging students to return to classes by offering faculty and administrative support for absent students but cautioned consequences for those that did not return.[171] The board warned those who continued boycotting that under district policy "students who are absent for 10 consecutive days, who have not contacted the school and who cannot be contacted will be dropped from school."[172] This did

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[168] Koennen, "Chicanos call PUHS boycott 'successful."

[169] Vessey, "Fund Losses Hit School From Two Sides in Boycott."

[170] Vessey, "Fund Losses Hit School From Two Sides in Boycott."

[171] Cobb, "PUHS boycott continues as Chicanos reject plea."

[172] Cobb, "PUHS boycott continues as Chicanos reject plea."

not faze students from continuing to participate in the boycott and attend "Barrio High" at Immaculate Heart. In many ways I argue witnessing the impact of their action inspired students to remain committed to the boycott to make their voices heard and continue develop their political and cultural consciousness.

Despite the board's firm position on not sitting down one on one with parents as mentioned during the October 15 meeting, protestors managed to push the envelope enough. This created some leeway for a meeting between members of the board including Dr. Trevor G. Browne, Donald Jackson, and Carolyn Warner, boycott parent's committee including Joe Eddie Lopez to take place on October 18.[173] At the request of boycott leaders, the press was not allowed to be present.[174] This request to refuse press access to these meetings I argue are attributed to the role the press has played in many instances further inciting the narrative of racial tension rather than strictly report the events taking place. While Chicana/o boycotters felt that nothing was being resolved by the board and school via regular scheduled district board meetings, having intentional meetings with the board was a steppingstone in having their demands met. At this meeting, boycotting parent leaders presented an updated set of demands that outlined the following:

1) The firing of Phoenix Union High School Principal Robert A. Dye
2) The firing of District Superintendent Howard C. Seymour
3) All negotiations be directly between the board and representatives of the parents' committee, without administration being present
4) Students won't be punished for participating in the boycott "including dropping from athletic teams, school office or any other activity."
5) The high school will implement programs and use community residents to help tutor students "who may have fallen behind while assisting their community by boycotting."

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[173] Cobb, "PUHS boycott continues as Chicanos reject plea."

[174] Vessey, "Black Students Trying to East PUHS Tensions."

6) The committee wants some power to hire, fire, and evaluate and implement curriculum and establish security
7) Security is necessary under a competent administration
8) A new position at the district level be open for a Mexican American to serve as a, among other things, a "direct link" between administration and the Chicano community[175]

The board outright continued to refuse firing Principal Dye and Superintendent Seymour, citing that they were willing to continue negotiations on the other six demands but the parent's committee "contended that those were rejected also."[176] Furthermore, the board contended that had already taken steps in "beef[ing] up" security and made strides by hiring one Chicana/o and Black school community worker for the school.[177]

Board members minimized this meeting with the Chicana/o community by commenting to press outlet *The Phoenix Gazette* that this meeting was not official including president Dr. Trevor G. Brown remarking that it was not "an official school board meeting."[178] Despite this, Joe Eddie Lopez saw this as "an effort to start some sort of dialogue" and that "any such meeting is always profitable.[179] While the board and boycotters walked away from their meeting on the same page, contradictory measures by the board following the meeting only served to affirm further their lack of recognizing Chicana/o student and parent demands thus minimizing their voice in the matter. Furthermore, the board was adamant in pointing out that without the entire board, they are unable to make decisions regarding the boycott.

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[175] John H. Vessey, "Parents Dissatisfied With Demands Response: Justice Department Assistance Asked to Solve Boycott Issues," *The Phoenix Gazette*, October 21, 1970.

[176] Vessey, "Parents Dissatisfied With Demands Response."

[177] Vessey, "Parents Dissatisfied With Demands Response."

[178] Vessey, "Parents Dissatisfied With Demands Response."

[179] Vessey, "Parents Dissatisfied With Demands Response."

Chicana/o parents felt the board's actions reflected dismissive attitudes that as the ones conducting the boycott they had yet to be recognized as bargaining agents.[180] The board's disregard only gave more reason for the boycott to continue and build on its momentum full force. By October 20, Chicana/o students and parents casted a unanimous vote to continue the boycott "despite a letter from the district board urging students to return" in response to a list of demands presented at the October 18 meeting failed to be accepted by the board.[181] Joe Eddie Lopez indicated that the letter signed by board president Dr. Trevor G. Browne stated that it was "distressing to the board of education when students, for any reason, lose the opportunity for an education" left students and parents "completely unhappy and dissatisfied."[182] Moreover, parents were infuriated with a district representative sent by the board to KIFN, a Phoenix Spanish radio station, were on live air accused Chicana/o parents of being negligent and reporting that "negotiations were going well" and students were expected to return to school soon.[183] Joe Eddie Lopez, parents, and students did not expect changes to be made overnight but the board continued to "play games" with the demands set forth.[184] Parents and students continued to feel that the board was not enough and their attempts to work with them were simply ploys setting out crumbs to appease them in hopes of fizzling out their discontent. Decisions made by the board further illuminates how they continued to position themselves as white architects that refused to concede opportunities of Chicana/o community input to help determine the future of the school and their students' educational experiences.

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[180] Cobb, "PUHS boycott continues as Chicanos reject plea."

[181] Cobb, "PUHS boycott continues as Chicanos reject plea."

[182] Cobb, "PUHS boycott continues as Chicanos reject plea."

[183] Cobb, "PUHS boycott continues as Chicanos reject plea."

[184] Cobb, "PUHS boycott continues as Chicanos reject plea."

On the surface, these actions by the board could be read as attempts to stay in control. Instead, the board's strategies to circumvent their responsibility demonstrated that deep down, they were distraught and in need of help. As previously mentioned, the boycott at Phoenix Union High School was a part of a more extensive network of Chicana/o educational social movements across the United States. Through this network, different Chicana/o organizers disseminated organizing strategies, political and cultural education, and established various methods of providing support and solidarity. Phoenix Union administration and school board in some regards made the connection that the boycott was potentially informed by these other social movements. Tom Thompson, the Phoenix Union High School District public relations representative, and Dr. Howard C. Seymour felt "that the Chicano boycott in Houston earlier in the fall played a part in touching off what occurred in Phoenix."[185]

Such inference I argue potentially led the district to accept the mediation support from Manuel Velasco, the recently appointed Mexican American chief of the Civil Rights Division Southwestern region in Houston, who was credited with aiding in the ending of a similar boycott in Houston.[186] After learning about the boycott in the press, Velasco reached out to Dr. Trevor G. Browne, who had never heard of this federal agency prior, offering for them to consider his potential support.[187] Anxious to end the boycott, Dr. Trevor G. Browne and Dr. John C. Waters in a telegram to Velasco "requested the participation and assistance of the Civil Rights Division

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[185] The Phoenix Union High School Boycott, by Belen Servin January 4, 1971, ASU RMJEL Collection or Chicano Collection.

[186] Vessey, "Parents Dissatisfied With Demands Response"; Albert Sitter, "U.S. aide to enter PUHS dispute," *The Arizona Republic*, October 22, 1970; NA, "On The Boycott at PUHS," *The Phoenix Gazette*, October 26, 1970.

[187] Sitter, "U.S. aide to enter PUHS dispute."

of the Department of Justice to resolve the boycott problem."[188] The need to reach out to the Civil Rights Division for support in this matter could be seen as a step in resolving this matter, but I argue that the continued negligence and minimizing of the district leading to this point only affirms a lack of administrative investment to listen Chicana/o input and personnel training to work with Chicana/o students, parents and communities. Joe Eddie Lopez confirmed this stating that while "it might be interesting to have [Manuel Velasco] over here" the board and administration remained negligent to the community accusing them of "refusing to acknowledge that the boycott or the committee exists."[189]

Failing to acknowledge the community and their demands, the board also failed to understand that none of these demands were "non-negotiable…including the one asking for the resignation of PUHS Principal Robert Dye" according to Joe Eddie Lopez.[190] Although this arrangement would be short lived. Within four days of the original agreement, Velasco's plans to serve as a mediator for the Phoenix Union High School district had changed. After discussing the matter with assistant attorney general for the Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division, Jerris Leonard, Velasco thought "the community relations people could handle it better" and would be able to travel to Phoenix due to other pending matters.[191] Velasco further cited, according to Dr. John C. Waters, that the public announcement made by the district of his participation under the Department of Justice's guidelines "weakens the chances of a mediator's

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[188] Vessey, "Parents Dissatisfied With Demands Response."

[189] Sitter, "U.S. aide to enter PUHS dispute."

[190] Sitter, "U.S. aide to enter PUHS dispute."

[191] John H. Vessey, "U.S. Mediator Out; Suit Eyed Against Dropping Students," *The Phoenix Gazette*, October 26, 1970.

effectiveness."[192] As a result, Velasco specified that "the San Francisco office of the Justice Department handles such matters in the Phoenix area" and was unsure of who and when someone would be assigned to this case.[193] Eventually Angel Alderie of the San Diego office and Vivian Strange of the Los Angeles Office were sent to Phoenix but their input and influence was irrelevant as the boycott had ended by the time they had arrived.[194]

As the district's options continued to decrease, support for the boycott of Phoenix Union High School continued to multiply by the eleventh day. This time acts of solidarity would come from fellow students in other district schools. The call for change at Phoenix Union High School resonated with other students who were experiencing similar inequalities. October 23 actions drew the support of students from Carl Hayden, East and South Mountain High School in what Alfredo Gutierrez referred to as a "non-violent form of guerrilla warfare."[195] Proudly chanting in the streets, approximately 1,000 students and parents converged onto the front of the school grounds where they were encouraged by boycott leaders to have their voice heard inside the school halls.[196] The district school solidarity was projected to continue growing as the boycott progressed into the following week. Alfredo Gutierrez affirmed this stating that "students from North, East and Central high schools [were] also scheduled to join the boycott next week."[197] Joe

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[192] NA, "Boycott sympathizers returning to classes," *The Arizona Republic*, October 27, 1970.

[193] Vessey, "U.S. Mediator Out."

[194] The Phoenix Union High School Boycott by Belen Servin, January 4, 1971, ASU RMJEL Collection or Chicano Collection; NA, "PUHS Boycott Threat Abated But Still Stands," *The Phoenix Gazette*, November 3, 1970.

[195] John H. Vessey, "Aim to 'Bleed' District Financially: Other School Youths in Boycott," *The Phoenix Gazette*, October 23, 1970; Carl Twentier, "Outside students back boycott," *The Arizona Republic*, October 24, 1970.

[196] Vessey, "Aim to 'Bleed' District Financially."

[197] Vessey, "Aim to 'Bleed' District Financially."

Eddie Lopez saw this as an opportunity and initial stages to expand the boycott across the district and a necessity because of the board's continued failure to meet the boycott demands.[198] Outreach for support to other Phoenix Union High School District schools manifested in various methods. District officials reported that leaflets inviting Carl Hayden and East high school were passed out while word of mouth was the recruitment tool of choice at South Mountain.[199] By the beginning of the following week, attendance returned to normal for Carl Hayden and South Mountain as administrators reported their roll numbers.

During this time, reporters from *The Arizona Republic* and *The Phoenix Gazette* again began to press the ineffectiveness and question the longevity and momentum of the boycott. I argue this was in a means also to incite tension further, feed into the dominant narrative of opposition by the general Phoenix public and minimize the efforts and impact of the boycott in its twelfth day. Interestingly enough this came in a period that solidarity from other schools was present, the pulling back of Manuel Velasco, and continued goal of "bleed[ing] the district" financially.[200] By this time the boycott had cost an accumulated "lost revenue to the district of $58,919 in average daily attendance funds and $108,431 in lost spending authority based on day-by-day enrollment at the school."[201] This financial impact was substantial and an effective strategy to place pressure on the board and administration. Although, the press in efforts to minimize this impact focused reporting on the decreasing of students boycotting by using headlines with key words as "decline" and comparing the initial boycott absentee number of

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[198] Twentier, "Outside students back boycott."

[199] Twentier, "Outside students back boycott."

[200] Vessey, "Aim to 'Bleed' District Financially."

[201] Connie Koennen, "PUHS readmissions hint decline of boycott," *The Arizona Republic*, October 27, 1970.

1,595 on October 9 to 700 on October 26.[202] Once again, Chicana/o students, parents, and leaders refused to be discouraged by reporting that continued to include their voices but minimize their struggle and appease an irresponsive white board that constantly placed blame on parents, students, and teachers.

With the boycott in full effect in the face of unrelenting antagonism, the board without a mediator resorted to one of their few options and that was implementing their policy of dropping students after 10 consecutive days of absences. Boycott students, parents, and leaders strategically included in their previous eight demands to the board for students who partook in the protests not be penalized for their participation. The board in their response to this demand did not acknowledge they would not punish boycotting students instead emphasized the 10-day district policy. Once again in a ploy refusing to see boycotters as negotiators, the district used this loophole to hold leverage over the boycott. In a letter addressed to boycott parents, the board said they would do their best to offer support to returning boycott students but warned that "students who are absent for 10 consecutive days, who have not contacted the school and who cannot be contacted, will be automatically dropped from school."[203] As warned by the district, on the boycott's 10th consecutive day the school began to drop protesting Chicana/o students from their rolls after sending out letters to their homes.[204] While Principal Robert A. Dye confirmed that students could re-enroll, the school's method of having to evaluate each request to consider the likelihood of students to succeed I argue only presented another barrier placed by white

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[202] Koennen, "PUHS readmissions hint decline of boycott."

[203] Cobb, "PUHS boycott continues as Chicanos reject plea."

[204] Connie Koennen, "PUHS trimming rolls, boycotters dropped," *The Arizona Republic*, October 23, 1970.

administrators to penalize Chicana/o students who chose to voice their concerns about the issues at Phoenix Union.[205]

By the twelfth day of the boycott on October 26, a total of 124 student, who Principal Dye claimed are all boycotters, had been dropped from Phoenix Union's attendance rolls.[206] In response to the dropping of students, Joe Eddie Lopez affirmed that in response to the board, boycotters would file an injunction to prevent them from further dropping additional boycotting students.[207] Administrators wanted students to return in theory, they felt that dropping students was a burden by creating extra work to re-enroll students. Phoenix Union Assistant Principal Fred Warren felt that it is not their "intention to keep kids out of school who want to be here and learn."[208] From a deficit frame, Warren infers that boycott students did not want to be at Phoenix Union to learn thus contributing to this dominant narrative of blaming boycotting Chicana/o students for the problems at Phoenix Union and their unequal education.

The press continued to question the effectiveness of the boycott citing that a drop in absent students correlated directly to the boycott dwindling out with under 700 reported absences.[209] Joe Eddie Lopez resisted this conclusion by confidently affirming that "the student boycott is not dying."[210] In response to the press probes of the boycott's longevity, Lopez upheld that they never prevented students from returning to Phoenix Union for any reason and

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[205] Koennen, "PUHS trimming rolls, boycotters dropped."

[206] Vessey, "U.S. Mediator Out."

[207] Vessey, "U.S. Mediator Out."

[208] Koenenn, "PUHS readmissions hint decline of boycott."

[209] John H. Vessey, "PUHS Boycott Still Effective, Leader Insists," *The Phoenix Gazette*, October 28, 1970.

[210] Vessey, "PUHS Boycott Still Effective, Leader Insists."

encouraged those who feared flunking to "go back to class."[211] Although, Lopez did associate the fewer absences of the boycott to "intimidation of sort" by the district that came in the form of late night phone calls threatening to drop students.[212] Initially, Principal Robert A. Dye confirmed that students that decided to return would "be permitted to go directly to their classes" regardless of the usual procedure requiring students to bring an explanatory note from a parent to the registrar's office in order to receive a slip to return to classes.[213] Although these methods by the district and school further reinforced a neglect of the Chicana/o boycott demands and created barriers via the use of district policy to drop students as a penalty for their participation in the boycott efforts.

In response to a rise to 261 total students dropped by October 28, legal injunction was still considered an option for boycotters whose lawyers continued to look into the matter.[214] Two days later Chicana/o boycotters moved forward with legal action requesting an injunction on the continued dropping of absent students. Acting presiding Superior Court Judge Howard V. Peterson signed a restraining order on October 29 creating a temporary stop to the suspension of absent boycotting Chicana/o students.[215] The filing of the restraining order was linked to a class action lawsuit *Godinez et al v. Phoenix Union High School District et al*.[216] With the support of Slade and Jerry Levine of the Maricopa County Legal Aid Society and private attorney Carlos R.

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[211] Vessey, "PUHS Boycott Still Effective, Leader Insists."

[212] Vessey, "PUHS Boycott Still Effective, Leader Insists."

[213] NA, "PUHS cutting red tape for its returning students," *The Arizona Republic*, October 20, 1970.

[214] NA, "PUHS cutting red tape for its returning students."

[215] Sitter, Albert J. "Judge acts in boycott: Chicano bar halted" *The Arizona Republic*, October 30, 1970.

[216] NA, "Filing Suit Opens Communication, Sets Up Due Process, Reinstates Boycotters," *Inequality in Education*, no. 8 (August 1971): 40-31.

Estrada of the Estrada and Estrada Law Firm, the civil rights suit process began identifying principal Robert A. Dye, assistant principal Fred Warren, board chair Dr. Trevor G. Browne, district superintendent Dr. Howard C. Seymour as defendants accused of illegal expulsion as threat to break the boycott and permanently marking students' records.[217]

The class action complaint further contended that "Chicanos undertook a boycott of classes as an exercise of their First Amendment rights of expression, association and their right to petition government for grievances."[218] The complaint cited that as a result students were not afforded a hearing as required by law and began to receive suspensions from the school's attendance office at a rate of 20 to 30 per day.[219] The suit further maintained "that school authorities failed to comply with their own purported rules governing student suspension" and that that these rules were never made known to students prior to their invocation.[220] Last, the complaint continued in stating that the school district and defendants breached "their lawful duty to provide for the adequate education, curriculum, and physical security and welfare of [Chicana/o students]" and "failed to provide appropriate and proper personnel for the instruction, supervision and leadership of Chicanos."[221]

In a twist of events, despite the persistent refusal by the board to even discuss the demand of Principal Robert A. Dye's resignation, it is attributed to a district-initiated investigation of the school. Specified in a letter from board chair Dr. Trevor G. Browne to Joe Eddie Lopez that the

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[217] Sitter, "Judge acts in boycott"; NA, "Filing Suit Opens Communication, Sets Up Due Process, Reinstates Boycotters."

[218] Sitter, "Judge acts in boycott."

[219] Sitter, "Judge acts in boycott."

[220] Sitter, "Judge acts in boycott."

[221] Sitter, "Judge acts in boycott."

board claims were written before the lawsuit was brought to their attention ordered for "a full-scale investigation of administrative procedures currently being used at Phoenix Union."[222] On October 30, Dr. Howard C. Seymour in a press conference discussed the letter conceded that "if the administration had erred, we want to find it out and correct the situation if possible."[223] Moreover, the board still adamantly opposed compromising on the eight boycott demands and emphasized that the probe's purpose was to "sharpen administrative and disciplinary procedures" and "improve relations among school administrators, parents, and pupils."[224] Instead Seymour described the letter as "a reaffirmation with some concessions" that included more community input of minority hires and the addition of a Chicana/o community liaison on staff.[225] Dr. Trevor G. Browne also surprisingly demonstrated an acknowledgement of potentially faults by the board. Browne stated that since meeting twice with the boycott committee, "were in ignorance of many of the issues" and "we now are aware of them and will take prompt steps to correct them."[226]

The letter from the district further elaborated the board's willingness to "meet and confer with a representative delegation of ethnic minorities concerning matters relating to the education of ethnic minority people."[227] In addition, the board guaranteed that boycotting students that were "dropped due to a breakdown in communications between the parents and the school"

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[222] John H. Vessey, "Boycott Brings Probe of PUHS," *The Phoenix Gazette*, October 30, 1970.

[223] Vessey, "Boycott Brings Probe of PUHS."

[224] Vessey, "Boycott Brings Probe of PUHS."

[225] Connie Koennen, "PUHS pledges administrative probe," *The Arizona Republic*, October 31, 1970.

[226] Koennen, "PUHS pledges administrative probe."

[227] Vessey, "Boycott Brings Probe of PUHS."

would be granted "complete amnesty" and re-enrolled.[228] The contrast in the concessions the board was making via this letter in spirit and letter is too strikingly similar to the complaints filed through the lawsuit. Thus, it could be inferred that the letter was potentially indeed written after the board became aware of the lawsuit that same day. Moreover, I contend that it is once again a maneuver by the board and administration to try and remain ahead and upend the boycott's success. Additionally, refusing to accept the demands and position the boycott as an illogical and unnecessary response to remedying educational problems at Phoenix Union.

These conclusions derive from board and administrative opinions given the same day that this letter was presented before a press conference. Dr. Howard C. Seymour disparaged the boycott by saying it "accomplished nothing because it has denied youngsters the opportunity to learn."[229] Seymour complained that more could have been accomplished by sitting with the board to share their grievances of what boycotters thought "what was being offered in the way of education was inadequate, a boycott [wasn't] the way to show it."[230] Besides vigorously refusing to accept the demands, the board once again demonstrated an outright dismissal of Chicana/o community input by outlining in their letter improvements they sought to implement at the school since 1968 along with the Black community. These included improved security that encompassed working with the Phoenix Police Department, new curriculum including bilingual and "minority studies courses" along with an "100 percent increase in library books on [B]lack and Mexican culture," and nine additional steps to "improve the school's educational climate."[231]

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[228] Vessey, "Boycott Brings Probe of PUHS"; Koennen, "PUHS pledges administrative probe."

[229] Vessey, "Boycott Brings Probe of PUHS."

[230] Vessey, "Boycott Brings Probe of PUHS."

[231] Koennen, "PUHS pledges administrative probe."

After 15 school days of consecutively boycotting Phoenix Union, the Phoenician Chicana/o struggle was no longer a story on the local newspaper's back pages instead it captured front page headlines on a daily basis. In large bold letters, *The Arizona Republic's* November 2 headline read "Chicanos end PUHS boycott." The pause or "temporary moratorium" to the three-week boycott came after a meeting with the student parent committee over the weekend following the board's announcement to conduct an investigation of Phoenix Union.[232] The decision to declare it a "temporary moratorium" was contingent on the board remaining accountable to a timeline set forth by boycotters.[233] Ultimately, publicly called by Joe Eddie Lopez, parents and students collectively approved to officially end the boycott feeling that the proposed district investigation was "adequate enough to merit the return to school."[234] Chicana/o parents felt that as a result of the investigation they may also be given an opportunity to share policy making responsibilities in addition to the potential acquisition of state Department of Education funding for teacher and sensitivity trainings.[235] Enthused by the news, Chicana/o students saw the boycott as a victory while parents along with Joe Eddie Lopez saw it as a stepping stone for future work.

A stipulation of the boycott being called off was contingent on the board's amnesty of boycotting students. A result to board and administration agreeing to this, the lawsuit filed by boycotters against the district was dismissed by Judge Morris Rozar.[236] According to Larry Slade

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[232] NA "Board agrees to amnesty for students" *The Arizona Republic*, November 2, 1970.

[233] NA, "PUHS Boycott Threat Abated But Still Stands."

[234] NA, "Board agrees to amnesty for students"; NA, "PUHS Boycott Threat Abated But Still Stands."

[235] NA, "PUHS Boycott Threat Abated But Still Stands."

[236] Albert J. Sitter, "Boycotters' terms Ok'd by PUHS, suit dismissed," *The Arizona Republic*, November 6, 1970.

of the Maricopa County Legal Aid Society, "the whole thing was settled in 24 hours" with the plaintiffs and defendants signing a stipulation for dismissal that consisted of two parts. [237] The first being an agreement between both parties stipulated on the district clearing "all marks or indications" of suspension on boycotting students' records.[238] The second was the establishment of a hearing procedure. The procedure would consist notifying parents and students five days prior to a proposed suspension along with information of their right to a hearing with a school administrator serving as a hearing officer. Such hearing would be recorded as memorandum copies provided to students outlining the school's position, student's position, and hearing officer's decision and reason with information on how to appeal.[239]

Conclusion

The boycott was the tipping point to a series of attempts by the Chicana/o and Black communities to make Phoenix Union High School administration and district board aware of their grievances traced back to 1968 and even further back at that. A boycott is one of many resistance strategies in a movement to denounce racism and in the fight for justice and equality. For Chicanas/os in Phoenix this was the method of choice to challenge a consistently negligent school administration and district board. At that, according the Arlena Seneca, the district human relations consultant, the problems leading to the boycott could have been averted if the district would have established its school-community advisory council.[240] The boycott resulted in

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[237] NA, "Filing Suit Opens Communication, Sets Up Due Process, Reinstates Boycotters," *Inequality in Education*, no. 8 (August 1971): 40-31.

[238] NA, "Filing Suit Opens Communication, Sets Up Due Process, Reinstates Boycotters."

[239] NA, "Filing Suit Opens Communication, Sets Up Due Process, Reinstates Boycotters."

[240] John H. Vessey, "School Advisory Committee Seen As Boycott Deterrent," *The Arizona Republic*, November 16, 1970.

steppingstones including the prompt commencement of the investigation of school procedures whether the school procedures caused the boycott that began on November 3 by assistant district superintendent Dr. John C. Waters, district administrative assistant Dr. Paul J. Plath, and assistant district superintendent James S. McAllister in charge of administrative service.[241] By November 18, in a meeting held with Dr. Howard C. Seymour to discuss activities on campus; Joe Eddie Lopez, Alfredo Gutierrez, and Manuel Dominguez "expressed satisfaction with the state of affairs at Phoenix Union."[242]

Thus, I contend that the Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union High School was a timely, necessary, and relevant strategy. It was crucial in calling to question established powers held by a white school board whose actions maintained racialized structures and practices at Phoenix Union creating the conditions for Chicana/o and Black tension and educational inequality to exist. The boycott can be credited for three tangible and impactful outcomes. The first was the financial pressure created on the school and district due to absences that totaled $73,561 in state aid and $135,377 in spending authority.[243] The second was the pressure on the district and school to investigate their role in the provocation of the boycott. Last, the boycott was a catalyst for political and cultural education, organizing, and resistance for Chicanas/os in Phoenix resonant of other Chicana/o movements across the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. At that time, the outcomes resulting from the boycott were necessary steppingstones in creating some structural changes at Phoenix Union High School.

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[241] Vessey, John H. "Not Witch Hunt, Declares Seymour: Investigation Begins On School Procedure" *The Phoenix Gazette*, November 3, 1970.

[242] PUHSD School Board Minutes, "Oral Report on the Boycott and Related Matters at PUHS," November 1, 1970, Phoenix Union High School District Archives, Phoenix, Arizona

[243] NA, "PUHS Boycott Threat Abated But Still Stands."

Nonetheless, the aim of this chapter was to gain a better understanding of the 1970 Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union through a mixed approach combining thematic analysis from a CRT lens to construct a CREH in a chronological format utilizing primary sources. While this chapter intended at further contextualizing the nuances and gaps in existing historical accounts of the Phoenix Union boycott, it still embodies several limitations that the following chapters aim at capturing. The first being that although Chapter Five's historical narrative is interwoven with a CRT analysis to construct a CREH, it is done so with mostly mainstream newspapers. This is not to say that primary archives that derive directly from the Chicana/o community are not integrated into the historical account. They indeed are but primary sources for and by communities providing counterstories are outweighed due to accessibility, preservation, and prominence at that time of local newspapers. In addition, while there were voices of the Chicana/o community present in mainstream press publications, they were mostly not favorable of the boycott and lacked the perspective of Chicanas, parents, and students. As a result, Chapter Six is dedicated to filling in a significant gap in current historical accounts of the boycott and the limitations of this chapter by introducing the collaborative oral histories with boycott participants that aid in the construction of counterstories surrounding the boycott. This is done so in order to compose this Critical Race Educational History entirely. The second is that this chapter does not fully capture the extent of the boycott's long-term impact and if it ultimately resulted in structural changes decentering power amongst white architects on the board and administration. Thus, Chapter Seven is dedicated to piecing together what ensued post the boycott between the tail end of 1970 through 1972 to thoroughly contextualize some of these questions surrounding the boycott's impact and whether or not the boycott's demands were fully taken into consideration.

CHAPTER SIX: CHICANA/O COUNTERSTORIES OF PHOENIX UNION HIGH SCHOOL

> At the Phoenix Union high school incidents—the original walkout, the organizing, and then the ultimate walkout and the Chicano movement that was built out of it. It was a convergence of everything. Everything in a way that nobody would have predicted and it's almost like it was a wakeup call that that created a resistance movement that ultimately, I think developed a lot of leadership, created a lot of change. And history will be our judge.
>
> —Daniel Ortega[1]

Chapter Roadmap

This chapter centers six oral history collaborations with individuals who have first-hand experience with the events at Phoenix Union High School between 1968 and 1970 leading to the Chicana/o boycott. First the chapter begins in 1968 through 1969 to contextualize what led to the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union. The first section specifically outlines the role of race and racism, analyzing the school's curriculum and instruction, and the raising of consciousness and politicization of Chicana/o students. This is then followed by accounts from collaborators sharing their memories of the 1970 boycott including its organizing, the role of Chicanas, establishment of Barrio High School, Black alliances, newspaper coverage, administrative responses, and the boycott's outcomes and lessons. The chapter then concludes by briefly interweaving an analysis of these oral history collaborations in relation to the historical narrative from Chapter 4 and 5 to piece together the Critical Race Educational History.

Reflections of 1968 & 1969: Tracing the 1970 Boycott's Origins

Understanding what took place in 1968 and 1969 grants a lens into why the 1970 Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union High School took place. As noted in Chapter 4, a myriad of issues began to further ferment inequalities at the school. Three of my collaborators offered

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[1] Daniel Ortega oral history collaboration.

critical insight into the conditions of the school that illustrated the inequalities impacting the educational experiences of Chicana/o and Black students during this period. Recently having completed his Master of Arts degree at Arizona State, Elias Esquer became a teacher in Phoenix Union's controversial Freshman Block Program between Fall of 1969 and Spring 1970. During this time both Barbara Valencia and Daniel Ortega were both seniors at Phoenix Union. Both Barbara and Daniel credit this time as where their involvement in the Chicana/o movement began as well as the initial stages of what would later become the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union High School.

Understanding and Interrogating Race and Racism at Phoenix Union

The change in the racial demographics of Phoenix Union High School after the integration of Carver High School Black students in 1953 triggered educational disinvestment and vast white flight of people and resources. Once recognized as one of the best high schools in the nation, Phoenix Union had become a "totally different environment" by the time Elias Esquer began his one-year teaching stint between fall 1969 and spring 1970.[2] Elias noticed various drastic changes at the school claiming they stemmed from the desegregation of Carver. He recalled that:

> [Phoenix Union] didn't have 5,000 students anymore…they had more like a couple thousand…it wasn't a huge school with [the] diversity of students that there was when my wife graduated in '59…it was one of the best high schools in the country…but it deteriorated so fast.[3]

Elias' correlated the school's enrollment to the changes in the school's racial composition and quality of education to his knowledge prior to his time there as a teacher.[4] The slow decline in

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[2] Elias Esquer oral history collaboration.

[3] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[4] Esquer oral history collaboration.

the school's quality began during its early 1950s integration and only accelerated after his wife, Cecilia D. Esquer, graduated in 1959.[5] Even more so, Elias correlated the deterioration of the high school with that of the surrounding Phoenix community as far back as 1955 due to white flight because "all the whites moved north."[6] Resulting on administrative pressure to which he cited as an eventual cause of the walkouts at Phoenix Union High School.

These factors reshaped the racial and socio-economic demographics of the school further cementing a correlation between race, declining quality of education, and a predominantly Chicana/o and Black Phoenix Union High School. The campus environment became deeply racialized and in contrast to the district, due to white flight, reflected deeper issues of racial inequalities throughout the district. These inequalities didn't exist in a vacuum but rather Elias described them as:

> Leftover grievances from having been segregated to begin with and again finding themselves in a segregated environment but it was defacto because all the whites had left so there was no diversity. That was the worst thing, there was no diversity.[7]

Elias historicizes the racialized educational inequalities confronted by Chicana/o and Black students by framing racialization as a normalized practice and understanding. Moreover, his framing of diversity equates the absence of white students to the decline of educational quality and resources at Phoenix Union. By 1969 and 1970, Phoenix Union had become a "heavily minority" school resulting from this white flight identified by Elias. Coupled with a normalized history of educational inequalities and racialization of Chicana/o and Black students, Elias indicated created for a racialized environment where "you're always seeing, you're always

[5] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[6] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[7] Esquer oral history collaboration.

talking, [and] you're always thinking about it." This had become a racialized reality that confined Phoenix Union as a racially segregated high school within the segregated Phoenix Union High School District.[8]

Barbara Valencia and Daniel Ortega both recall the conditions described by Elias during their time as Phoenix Union High School students between Fall 1968 and Spring 1970. As students, Barbara and Daniel witnessed the presence of race and racism on and off Phoenix Union's campus to varying degrees. Much like Elias, Barbara recalls the demographic shifts in the high school and district because of white flight and history of racial patterns in the district.[9] Moreover, Barbara explained that Phoenix Union's predominantly Chicana/o and Black student population was also in part a result of race, residential patterns, and geographical locations of newer schools in the district. Barbara identified these as factors when talking about the opening of East High School in 1965[10]:

> One of the things that we experience during that time was [the] construction of a new school called East. And I think actually maybe [19]66 or [19]67, there was a lot of white flight out of Phoenix Union to go to the new high school, East High School. And it was way east. It was farther from the barrio, so that, you know, we couldn't really manage that because it was farther.[11]

Barbara's recollection of these racial demographic shifts further demonstrate how Phoenix Union became a predominantly Chicana/o and Black school through other event markers in addition to the integration of Black students in 1953 via *Philips v. Phoenix Union High School District*. In

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[8] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[9] Barbara Valencia oral history collaboration.

[10] Phoenix Union High School District (Maricopa County, Ariz.), *A bicentennial commemorative history of the Phoenix Union High School System, [1895-1976]* (Phoenix: Phoenix Union High School System, 1976).

[11] Valencia oral history collaboration.

this specific case the opening of East High School led to white flight because of the varying accessibility that Anglo and Chicana/o students had to the school. This included teachers, who were predominantly white, wanting to leave to go teach at the newly established East High School.[12] Furthermore, she traced these patterns back to elementary school linking them with residential patterns. Barbara recalled that her Anglo friends that she had met while in elementary lived in the area close in proximity to East leaving more Black and Brown students behind at Phoenix Union.[13]

While Barbara recognized the stark racial contrast in the district when comparing Phoenix Union to East High, she also described her environment at Phoenix Union as one where integration was normalized amongst students at the school. Everyday interactions between Brown and Black students were something common throughout the school as Barbara recalled.[14]

> I was in band and actually our band instructor was Black…and our band was very integrated, and we would perform together. I was in cheerleading and my cheerleading staff was very integrated even with some of the White students…Student government was very integrated. We had Black students that were in leadership positions as well as the Latino students."[15]

Barbara observed interactions and participation in various school extracurricular activities from both Chicana/o and Black students. This was also the case for the school's athletic teams that had active involvement of Chicana/o and Black students. Moreover, Barbara recalls that Chicana/o and Black families present at many of the games she attended.[16] These experiences provide

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[12] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[13] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[14] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[15] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[16] Valencia oral history collaboration.

insight into the interactions and race relations amongst Chicana/o and Black students on the campus.

While Barbara's experiences with race and racism at Phoenix Union depicts an integrated school environment, Daniel recalls his experience with race and racism becoming more pronounced when arriving at Phoenix Union and one reflecting more of what he identified as a "hidden racism" that was "kind of covered."[17] Before enrolling at Phoenix Union, Daniel's peer interactions at school were limited to mostly Mexican Americans and White students from his different elementary schools. It wasn't until he got to Phoenix Union that he would share educational spaces with other racial and ethnic groups stating that:

> When I got to Phoenix Union, the race issue even got to be bigger because the Mexican American community was once again predominant, but there [was] a huge African-American community. There was a big Asian community and some Native American community. So it was Latino, Anglo, Black, Asian, and others.

Although Daniel found himself in a more racially diverse school than what his previous ones, he identified this shift as the moment that internalized racism "began to take a hold" of him "trying to understand the different folks and different cultures."[18]

By the time Daniel was a junior and senior, he recalled the use of racial epithets to describe Mexican-American, Black, Asian, and White students.[19] This moment for Daniel was one that magnified racial prejudice between different racial groups:

> We didn't like Blacks, Blacks didn't like [Mexican-Americans] kind of an attitude. We had friends of all kinds. I don't remember disliking anyone in the African [American] community. I just remember that were was a lot of racism

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[17] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[18] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[19] Ortega oral history collaboration.

> around them, around me about African-Americans or Blacks or Negros as we called them back then within my community.[20]

Daniel felt that everyone coped with these racial differences and prejudice by having friends from diverse racial groups. Daniel describes a normalized racialized sentiment between Chicana/o and Black people despite having friends from both racial groups and not holding any personal sentiments towards the Black community himself.

Daniel described it as having their own "racist leanings" towards the Black community.[21] Although this similar sentiment was not the case between Mexican American and White people:

> I think that probably, I never saw racism as Mexican Americans disliking Anglos. I only saw racism in Mexican Americans disliking Blacks. So, to me that was racism.[22]

Contrasting the two, Daniel, who didn't see himself as the victim of racism, describes a stark difference in how Mexican Americans also understood race and demonstrated racial prejudice more towards the Black community.[23] Moreover, Daniel's observation that he never saw racial prejudice directed at white people could denote a proximity to whiteness in Phoenix that afforded Mexicans and Mexican Americans more social mobility in Phoenix.[24] Through this Daniel identifies how racism towards the Black community existed through a normalized prejudice.

Much like Barbara, Daniel also saw how residential segregation factored into matters of race and racism at Phoenix Union High School and the district. While Daniel described that the

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[20] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[21] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[22] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[23] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[24] Philip R. VanderMeer, *Desert visions and the making of Phoenix, 1860-2008* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 260; Matthew C. Whitaker, *Race Work: The Rise of Civil rights in the Urban West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).

"racism was very normal," he felt it was more of a dislike rather than hate but they treated each other differently because they lived in different neighborhoods.[25] Daniel was aware of the city's residential segregation with affluent whites residing north Van Buren Street, one of the city's historic color line.[26] In contrast, poor Mexican American, Black, and white residents lived south of the city's historic color line racially segregated from each other.[27] Daniel recalls because of this residential segregation, he would not go into neighborhoods that were not Mexican American while Black and White residents would not crossover to opposing neighborhoods.[28] The residential segregation also constructed an aspiration to whiteness were many of these poor residents, including some of Daniel's friends, wanted to move north of Van Buren Street because it meant success and that leaving their neighborhood would help better their socio-economic conditions and racial acceptance.

While there was no real animosity between Chicana/o and Black students, as Daniel shared, racialized prejudice was present at Phoenix Union amongst students. The reality as noted in mainstream newspapers and in discussions amongst Chicana/o students, parents, and organizers leading up to and during the boycott is that tension between both groups did lead to physical altercations. Local press racialized these events utilizing one-sided narratives further inciting tension between Chicana/o and Black students. Elias recalls that these altercations between Chicana/o and Black upper-level students taking place on campus and having

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[25] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[26] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[27] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[28] Ortega oral history collaboration.

detrimental impacts on Phoenix Union's learning environment.[29] Elias explained these altercations as:

> There was a lot of fights between Chicanos and Blacks….so it didn't make for a very good environment for the students…because those are the ones that got caught in between.[30]

Once again identifying it as a matter that arose out of a heavily populated minority school due to white flight, Elias credits these confrontations between Chicana/o and Black students as a result of this shift. Moreover, identifying that not only did this make for an environment that was not conducive to learning but also a challenge in his ability to meet the needs of students and fulfill his teaching responsibilities.[31]

Identifying Phoenix Union's Inequalities

With the demographic changes at Phoenix Union High School as a result of white flight identified by Elias and Barbara, the school consequentially experienced a disinvestment in the educational quality that Chicana/o and Black students were being offered. This was most present in the school's environment conditions, instruction, and curriculum. Elias, Barbara, and Daniel all witnessed these inequalities at the high school in varying degrees and from diverse perspectives that expand further on how these issues intersect with race and racism at Phoenix Union.

As noted in Chapter Four, one of the points of contention for the Chicana/o and Black Phoenix Union community was a disapproval of the school administration and district board of education adopting the implementation of a Freshman Block Program. Many Chicana/o and

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[29] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[30] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[31] Esquer oral history collaboration.

Black students and parents felt that it was part of a larger plan to eventually transform the school to a sole vocational campus. Due to Barbara's and Daniel's status as seniors in Fall 1969 and Spring 1970, Elias was the only one that had pertinent knowledge of the Freshman Block Program because he had served as a teacher in it. Elias began his teaching stint at Phoenix Union in Fall of 1969 after hearing that the school was hiring teachers for the recently established Freshman Block Program.[32] With a background in Spanish and Social Studies, Elias was hired for the Fall 1969 and Spring 1970 academic year and only taught there for one year describing it as a "rough year."[33] Elias described the block program as having a:

> A group of dedicated educators, counselors [in] history, English, whatever…and our classes were populated mostly by Blacks and Chicanos/[as].[34]

Proud to be working with freshman, this group of teachers was described as a diverse group with several women teaching and a core group of Mexican and Mexican American teachers including Maria Vega, Elvira Alarcon, Victor Barraza, Manuel Lira, and Sam Ramirez.[35]

For Elias, the program was an interesting concept in theory but in practice several factors impeded the ability to have a conducive teaching and learning environment.[36] Although he enjoyed working with the other Block program instructors but he questioned the effectiveness of it for freshman Chicana/o and Black students.[37] Elias mainly attributed this lack of effectiveness as a result of the program's failure to recognize the educational experiences Chicana/o and Black

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[32] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[33] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[34] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[35] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[36] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[37] Esquer oral history collaboration.

students who had come from marginalized schools and districts such as Wilson, Murphy, and Roosevelt. Elias' analysis further exemplifies how issues race and education at Phoenix Union are an extension of previous marginal experiences Mexican American and Black students encountered in their elementary educations. As a result, he identifies that the school and district's inability to fully meet or understand the needs of Chicana/o and Black students at Phoenix Union.

The Freshman Bloc program at Phoenix Union was designed to keep freshman students together by assigning the program specific classrooms.[38] While having assigned classrooms seemed ideal for classroom and program organization, Elias recalls that the designated classrooms as a hindrance to learning. Phoenix, being known for its extremely hot summers that stretched into the early months of the fall, created for an environment at Phoenix Union that "itself was not very conducive to teaching," recalled Elias because "it was hot."[39] Elias taught in a classroom that he described as not very good for several reasons explaining that:

> In the summer, I was on the street next to 7th Street. I had a classroom on that part of the campus. If I turned on the [swamp] cooler, it was a cooler not refrigeration, it made so much noise. I couldn't hear. If I turned it off, the traffic from 7th [Street] was so loud I couldn't hear anyways…so that teaching environment was very hostile.[40]

The lack of the school's investment led to a neglect of the campus including its buildings. Elias' recollection of his classroom provides an insightful perspective of this disinvestment which with financial support to better the learning environment could have directly benefited the Chicana/o

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[38] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[39] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[40] Esquer oral history collaboration.

and Black student population.[41] In contrast, the investment in Phoenix Union's vocational education during this time demonstrates a neglect in prioritizing academic options for freshman students. Thus, further exemplifying how Chicana/o and Black students were being placed on vocational tracking long before the establishment and implementation of the Freshman Block Program. As a result, serving as another source of evidence for Chicana/o and Black communities concerned with the direction of Phoenix Union into solely vocational, something the school administration and district board adamantly denied.

In 1968, a new four-story vocational education building had been opened on Phoenix Union's campus. Although as previously described by Elias, his classroom for the Freshman Block Program showed little to no investment from the school or district. In the span of a year to when Elias began teaching, improvements to the campus as demanded by the Chicana/o and Black community had been widely ignored. Incensed with the visible inequalities, Elias acknowledged that what he saw was:

> An injustice being done to the [students] because [the] physical environment was you know, old. The buildings weren't conducive to educate, to teaching. I had a lot of trouble when it was hot.[42]

Elias witnessed the inequalities that Chicana/o and Black students, parents, and community members protested the school administration and district board about. As a Mexican American teacher, Elias provides an essential and necessary insight into the manifestation of racialized inequalities impeding on his ability to teach Chicana/o and Black students at Phoenix Union.

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[41] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[42] Esquer oral history collaboration.

Phoenix Union Curriculum, Instruction, and Administration

One of the 1970 boycott demands of the Chicana/o students, parents, and community organizers to Phoenix Union was that they hire more Chicana/o teachers, counselors, and administrators. A lack of Chicana/o teachers at the school was an issue brought up by students, parents, and the community as early as 1968.[43] The demand for more Chicana/o teachers also came at the time Black students, parents, and community organizers were demanding for more Black teachers, counselors and administrators to be hired. From his standpoint as a teacher, Elias recognized that because he grew up on farms in the Tucson and eventually settling at Victory Acres farm in Tempe at the age of 10—his experience differed from his Chicana/o and Black students from Inner-City and South Phoenix.[44] Yet, his background as a Mexican-American knowing Spanish and growing up in poverty afforded him the ability to connect with Chicana/o Students at Phoenix Union.[45] This included the existing Chicana/o teachers in the Valley who came from mining towns who based on their lived experience could relate to Chicana/o students culturally despite their urban and rural upbringings.[46] When it came to how teachers addressed the racial conflict, the response was different described Elias.[47] "Some were good," he recalled but then also remembered his experience with a particular White teacher that he felt loved the students but because of his under preparedness in working with Chicana/o and Black students "took advantage of him."[48] In attempting to mentor this White teacher, Elias reminded him that

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[43] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[44] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[45] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[46] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[47] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[48] Esquer oral history collaboration.

the students "knew what life was all about" and that he had to be firmer with them.[49] Due to the White teachers inadequate training to work with Chicana/o and Black students, he eventually quit and never came back to Phoenix Union.[50] Elias' story is another example of how the school administration and district not only failed to hire more Chicana/o and Black teachers as they were demanded to and eventually attempted to do but also of their inability to prepare and train White teachers to work at a predominantly Chicana/o and Black Inner-City school.

On a campus mostly employing white teachers, Elias identified Maria Vega and Elvira Alarcon, two Mexican and Mexican American teachers also taught in the Freshman Block Program core. Both Barbara and Daniel identified Maria Vega and Elvira Alarcon as influential to their academic and personal development because they could relate to them.[51] Barbara recalled that most of her teachers were just okay because of their lack of experience in the classroom.[52] Despite this, she also recalled having "some very good teachers" that "really tried hard to relate to [Chicanas/os] and to understand [Chicanas/os]."[53] Those teachers that Barbara remembered gravitating to were Elvira Alarcon and Maria Vega. To Barbara, Elvira and Maria were the examples of teachers that met the needs of their students and reflected their lived experiences as Mexicans and Mexican Americans. Both Spanish teachers, Elvira and Maria created a learning environment that challenged Barbara to learn and feel that they genuinely cared for.[54]

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[49] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[50] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[51] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[52] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[53] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[54] Valencia oral history collaboration.

Daniel also recalled a stark racial and gendered contrast between Phoenix Union's student body and the administration and teachers recalling that:

> My counselors were White. The administrators were white, the teachers were predominantly White, and more male than female whites. The coaches, male whites.[55]

Daniel's recollection of white and male-dominated white school administration and staff exemplifies a dire need to hire more teachers, administrators, and staff of color to meet the needs and reflect the student body at Phoenix Union. This was an issue that he had identified going as far back to his freshman year in 1966 recalling that the only Mexican American and of Mexican descent teachers taught Spanish including Elvira Alarcon and Maria Vega.[56] The presence of Elvira Alarcon and Maria Vega became seminal to both Barbara and Daniel serving as their only Mexican American role models on a campus completely white-washed of culturally relevant and prepared teachers. Daniel saw Maria and Elvira as his only models of success while for Barbara they both played an active role in helping to develop her awareness and encouragement to speak up.[57]

As previously noted, in 1968 and 1969, the Chicana/o and Black Phoenix Union community vocalized their concerns of the Freshman Block Program and if it would lead to the school converting to solely vocational. The allocation of funds and priority by the school and district only further indicated their investment on creating a pathway to vocational education and divestment from ethnic studies related courses. The school's curriculum had little to no courses

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[55] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[56] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[57] Ortega oral history collaboration; Valencia oral history collaboration.

that focused on ethnicity Elias.[58] "Basically we were teaching just regular courses," Elias recalled, citing this as a reason as why many students who wanted to learn more gravitated to take Spanish courses with Maria Vega and Elvira Alarcon.[59] From the standpoint of a student, Barbara felt the disconnect with the curriculum and how that consequently looked to Maria to fill that gap. Barbara described the quality of the curriculum at Phoenix Union as "watered down."[60] Her observation of the curriculum's quality further exemplifies the school and district lack of prioritizing the development of curriculum that reflects the needs of their student body while placing their time and energy to the Freshman Block Program that resonated as vocational education for many.

Daniel was one of those students who read between the lines and clearly saw Phoenix Union's shifts towards vocational track. Daniel stepped onto Phoenix Union's campus with a deep sense of self pride and confidence because he was there on a 2-year, $25-scholarship for Mexican American eighth-graders that he had received from the Vesta Club aiding in the purchase his books.[61] He felt that this placed him on track to go on to college once he graduated from Phoenix Union. The school's administration thought otherwise. Daniel recollected:

> The first thing they [did was] put me in a vocational ed[ucation] program….my freshman year. Remember Phoenix Union was the biggest vocational high school

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[58] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[59] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[60] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[61] Ortega oral history collaboration; According to Bradford Luckingham's *Minorities in Phoenix*, the Vesta Club was founded by Eugene Marin in 1954. The club was composed of Mexican American professional and business leaders in Phoenix and worked under the motto "Progress through Education." Luckingham shares that it was more active than LULAC and was known for its extensive scholarship program for Mexican American youth throughout the decade that was funded through dances and social events. The Vesta Club was created by Mexican American professionals in response to Anglos in Phoenix that Mexican American professionals existed, contributed to society, and deserved recognition (pp. 51–52).

> in the Valley. Why? Because that's where we were. That's where the [Mexican Americans] and Blacks were.[62]

Daniel's aspirations of going onto college post Phoenix Union were not considered valid by the school's administration. He recognized that the school itself was already designed to track Chicana/o and Black student into vocational education programs because of the school's racial composition designating it as the district and city's vocational school. To Daniel, the school and district "didn't see much hope for [them] except to learn a trade" and this had become a normalized reality due to Chicana/o academic and economic achievements.[63]

Daniel refused to accept being tracked into vocational education programs. The only way he saw to get out of the vocational education classes was by demanding a change to his white counselor.[64] "Why am I in vocational ed[ucation]? I want to go to college someday and I want to be in, I was very specific, I wanted to be in a pre-college curriculum," Daniel insisted.[65] To which his counselor responded "Just stay, don't worry about it. You know you'll be transitioned into it. [66] This elicited feelings of deficiency for Daniel that were long embedded in the experiences for Chicanas/os who had attended public schools. He questioned whether he was capable of being college bound because of how the school was systemically tracking Chicana/o and Black students. In his case, Daniel recalled:

> Maybe I did so well on those manual pegboards…these pegboards with circles and squares and how you could find the right peg to put in the right peg hole was an indication of your intelligence and ability to use your hands. I guess I didn't do too good or maybe academically I came from a school or maybe the standardized

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[62] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[63] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[64] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[65] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[66] Ortega oral history collaboration.

tests back there, but I didn't know about these things, you know it said I should be in a vocational school."[67]

Daniel's experience signifies how the school tracked him into a vocational program without considering his academic achievements and capabilities. This only seemed to cast doubt in his ability to succeed and be college bound and was further exacerbated by being placed in vocational education. Although Daniel refused to allow the school administration and his counselor to place him in vocational education courses insisting that he get "pulled out."[68] His persistence created enough pressure that he was eventually pulled out.[69] He immediately excelled academically and became very active in extracurricular activities including sports, serving as class president from his freshman to junior year, and participating in school clubs. This same drive for self-advocacy and developing awareness of inadequacies would continue to be fostered and translate into a rising cultural and political consciousness that would give way to a larger collective community Chicana/o resistance.

Raising Consciousness: The Chicana/o Movement at Phoenix Union

Between fall of 1968 and Spring of 1970, Phoenix Union had reached a tipping point as a result of several factors. This included racial demographic shifts in the school and district, growing concern over vocational education, security and policing as an administrative response to growing tension between Chicana/o and Black students. As a result, the Inner-City Chicana/o and Black residents navigated coalitions and tension in an effort to voice their grievances of the educational inequalities at Phoenix Union. For Elias, he witnessed this from the outside looking in while teaching at Phoenix Union from 1969 to 1970. On the contrary, for Barbara and Daniel,

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[67] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[68] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[69] Ortega oral history collaboration.

these events were a moment of rebirth that gave way to the raising of their political consciousness leading to their introduction and eventual involvement of the Chicana/o movement at Phoenix Union and the city at large. The 1960's and 1970's were a time rich with resistance across the United States and world focused on addressing inequalities relating to race, class, gender, sexual orientation, colonialism, and imperialism. The convergence of these movements is connected by two threads which include the raising of a critical consciousness and commitment to act on these ideological shifts through resistance and protest.

The Vietnam War and United Farm Workers Movement

The Phoenix Union Boycott did not exist in a vacuum. Rather it took shape during much global turmoil and time was rich with resistance witnessed on a local to global scale. Communities across the world had tapped into a consciousness that questioned power and oppression. In the United States, we saw many of these intersectional movements take shape, work in solidarity, and in many ways influence one another.[70] This included the African American Civil Rights Movement and Black Power Movement, the Chicana/o Movement, the Asian-American Yellow Power Movement, Red Power Indigenous Movement, Women of Color Feminist Movements, Gay and Lesbian Movements, and global resistance movements. Such context of this time informed a heightened consciousness and confrontation politics adopted by Mexican youth that translated to a variety of resistance efforts including but not limited to sit-ins, strikes, and boycotts.[71] At Phoenix Union, during this time period Elias, Barbara, and Daniel identified the Vietnam protests and the United Farm Worker boycotts as significant events in

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[70] Laura Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

[71] Juan Gómez-Quiñones and Irene Vásquez, *Making Aztlán: Ideology and Culture of the Chicana and Chicano Movement, 1966-1977* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), 124.

1968 and 1969 that contributed to the raising of their individual and collective Chicana/o consciousness in Phoenix.

The growing anti-war movement across the country that drew many people, including Elias, to protest the Vietnam War. Elias recalled the atmosphere of political activism being "pretty powerful" because of the Vietnam War.[72] Many communities of color saw their young men being drafted and sent off to the war and this also brought an awareness to youth at that time. For Barbara, the Vietnam War another "big thing that was going on" as she described that opened her eyes.[73] Moreover, she witnessed how service members from communities of color were deemed disposable recalling that "minorities were [on] the front lines and they were the ones losing their lives in this war."[74] In many ways for Elias and Barbara the heightened political climate combined with the country's disregard for the lives of soldiers of color served as a part of developing their awareness of issues that were impacting their communities interconnecting them with many others holding the same sentiments.

The intensity of the Vietnam War during this time and the soldier casualty counts also troubled Daniel. It hit close to home for Mexican Americans including Daniel sharing that:

> You know we had the highest per capita participation in the Vietnam War, the most deaths, the most congressional medals of honor. I mean why is it that we're the cannon fodder, right?[75]

It was evident to Daniel that despite the commitment to the country and the recognition from the government did not absolve the nation from utilizing brown bodies as a means of violently

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[72] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[73] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[74] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[75] Ortega oral history collaboration; "Mexican American dies in greater numbers during Vietnam conflict," by Richard T. Castro, 1988 Auraria Library Hispanic American Collections in Colorado.

defending their imperialism and not a battle to defend democracy.[76] Moreover Daniel saw a racialized correlation of students being drafted in the district. He recollected that White students at predominantly white schools that were being arrested for drug use was rarely discussed but when it came to Chicana/o and Black students attending schools with high dropout rates were not being recognized for their academic achievements but were being sent to Vietnam in higher numbers in comparison to predominant White schools in North Phoenix.[77] Daniel's analysis of these conditions exemplifies the impact of the Vietnam War a local level that further highlights matters of race and racism within Phoenix Union High School and District.

Elias, Barbara, and Daniel also acknowledged the presence of the United Farm Workers Movement in Phoenix and Arizona during this period of time. They affirmed the union's contribution to Phoenix's atmosphere of political activism and consciousness leading up the Chicana/o movement in the city and the high school.[78] In addition to awareness and participation in the Vietnam War protests, Elias, who grew up on a farm in La Victoria, recalled that soon after they began supporting the United Farm Workers Delano Grape Strike led by Filipino and Mexican farmworkers in 1969 and 1970.[79] Daniel, who also spend weekends as a youth working in various types fields picking crops alongside with his father, also witnessed the United Farm Worker movement manifesting during this time recalling Cesar Chavez coming to Phoenix as part of the United Farm Workers efforts to organize farm workers.[80] These two particular events

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[76] Ortega oral history collaboration; George Mariscal, *Aztlán and Viet Nam Chicano and Chicana experiences of the war* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 29.

[77] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[78] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[79] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[80] Ortega oral history collaboration.

during this time period that drew the attention of Elias, Barbara, and Daniel provide an insight into the early stages of developing an awareness on how resist and challenge existing inequalities. Particularly for Barbara and Daniel, these events would aid in shaping their emerging Chicana/o consciousness that led to their political involvement in the Chicana/o movement at Phoenix Union.

An Emerging Chicana/o Consciousness

In addition to the Vietnam War protests and UFW organizing efforts, Chicana/o student resistance was taking place all across the country with students walking out of their high schools protesting and demanding an equitable education. Between 1968 and 1970, Chicana/o students, parents, and community activist were organizing and staging walkouts, or as some called them blowouts, of high schools. This included walkouts across California, Texas, Colorado, Kansas, Illinois, and Arizona. Daniel recalls hearing about these events during this time stating that:

> Now started coming the talk about the walkouts, called them blowouts right, in [Los Angeles], in San Antonio, in El Paso, and in Denver in particular, right.[81]

Tracing the emergence of Chicana/o walkouts or blowouts across the United States in Daniel's recollection traces a network of Chicana/o student resistance that ignited a spark to organize while providing a framework on how to do it. Moreover, this didn't exist in isolation citing that at the same time he was learning more about the African-American Civil Rights Movement. Daniel recognized and saw how the African-American Civil Rights Movement were fighting similar things that the Chicana/o community would come to demand including better schools and desegregation.[82]

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[81] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[82] Ortega oral history collaboration.

Not only would the Chicana/o movement be witnessed from a far, but soon enough Barbara and Daniel would meet Chicana/o community members who were pivotal to the birth of the Chicana/o movement in Phoenix and would later come to collectively organize the 1969 Walkout and the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union High School. When it came to understanding their positionality in the world as a Chicana in relation to race and racism, Barbara attributes her awareness starting to develop closer to the end of high school. She recalls that for her race and racism:

> Until that point [closer to the end of high school], I [didn't] believe that it was a big issue other than in our family personally. Our Dad discouraged us from hanging around Black people and didn't want us to have Black friends, but we did anyway. They just didn't know about it. So, to us that was our neighborhood. We were very young. And so, the awareness didn't start until probably close to the end of high school.[83]

Barbara's experience presents a difference in perceptions of race between her and citing her father who held racist prejudice towards the Black community. While on the contrary, because Barbara lived and went to school with Black youth, it was a part of life to co-exist and live with members of the Black community citing that she didn't understand the relevance of race until she was older. Barbara's recollection also demonstrates how ant-blackness was not viewed through a critical lens or questioned because it had become normalized in her household. Outside of her household, Barbara identified that her understanding of race and racism began to critically shift closer to the end of her high school with the help of older mentors including Phoenix Union teacher Sam Ramirez and Chicano activist Joe Eddie Lopez and Alfredo Gutierrez.[84] These mentors she describes pointed out to her understanding race and racism while helping to open

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[83] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[84] Valencia oral history collaboration.

her eyes to "what was going on and when we [were] looking at the educational system and start[ed] looking at the data and numbers.[85]

Barbara's exposure to the correlation between race, racism, and educational inequalities helped her to understand the predominantly White administration's lack of meeting the needs of Chicana/o and Black students. She describes that her mentorship was the starting point where she "started to see different things."[86] When it came to administration, because she had tapped into her agency, speaking up against the inequalities at Phoenix Union was critical to bringing about change. As a result, Barbara did not like the administration's response sharing that:

> Sometimes I didn't like the way the principal dealt with us. With administration, in terms of when students who [were] trying to speak up sometimes I felt like they were kind of patronizing.[87]

Barbara's experience exemplifies an example of Chicana/o student agency met by an uncooperative predominantly White administration that minimized the needs and demands of the Chicana/o and Black community.

On the contrary, Daniel traced the awareness of his positionality and experience as a Chicano to the beginning of his time at Phoenix Union High School. As previously mentioned, once he was transferred out of the vocational classes he excelled and became very active in extracurricular activities and student government. Daniel described himself as a "mainstream gonna make it Mexican" and noted that people treated him that way.[88] As a result of his academic accolades and achievements, Daniel pictured himself moving beyond the glass ceiling

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[85] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[86] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[87] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[88] Ortega oral history collaboration.

confident in his academic capabilities and didn't see himself as a "victim of racism."[89] Although he would come to learn that he was the exception to the rule. In this case, Daniel stood in contrast to a high Chicana/o dropout rate that permeated Phoenix Union that in many ways structurally prevented students from academically excelling. This was much in part to issues of concern that Chicana/o and Black students, parents, and community organizers including poor quality education, tracking students into vocations, and a lack of culturally relevant and academically challenging curriculum and instruction. To which the dissatisfied Chicana/o and Black community charged the school administration and district board for being negligent and failing to remedy these problems.

Although by his sophomore year in 1968, Daniel said his life completely changed after meeting a group of students from the Arizona State University's (ASU) Mexican American Students Organization, also known as M.A.S.O.[90] Calling administrators to admit more Chicanas/os at ASU, M.A.S.O. students set out to high school campuses across the Valley, including Phoenix Union, in hopes of recruiting more aspiring college bound Mexican Americans to apply.[91] Daniel was identified by his counselor as a Mexican American college bound student and per the request of M.A.S.O. students at Phoenix Union recruiting, he was sent to meet with them.[92] Daniel recalled that in meeting with M.A.S.O.[93] M.A.S.O. and Ascenscion "Sonny" Najera, another Phoenix Chicano community activist and Daniel's mentor had asked

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[89] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[90] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[91] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[92] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[93] Ortega oral history collaboration.

him what he wanted to be when he grew up.[94] As previously noted in this chapter, Daniel looked up to his Spanish teachers Maria Vega and Elvira Alarcon as role models of what he wanted to be. Which he responded to the M.A.S.O. students "well, I'd like to be a Spanish teacher."[95] The M.A.S.O. students dug deeper with Daniel and questioned why becoming a Spanish teacher was his choice.[96] For Daniel, this was any easy response since he was bilingual and aspired to go to college to build on his existing skills because he wanted to teach students Spanish.[97] Without hesitation, the M.A.S.O. students posed an open-ended question that would leave Daniel with an open door to further interrogate this on his own by asking "did you ever think of why it is that you want to do that beyond what you told me?"[98] They saw this as an opportunity to engage Daniel in developing an awareness and analysis of his own positionality and the educational conditions he was experiencing as a Chicano.

Daniel's encounter with the M.A.S.O. students was not a one-time incident, rather he describes seeing them come back more and more after meeting them in March.[99] Moreover, through his introduction to M.A.S.O., Daniel saw that they had a dual-purpose recruiting at Phoenix Union that eventually paved the way for Daniel to be introduced to other activist and organizing spaces including Chicana/o Phoenix activist Joe Eddie and Rosie Lopez.[100] Daniel recalls this connection sharing that:

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[94] Ortega oral history collaboration.
[95] Ortega oral history collaboration.
[96] Ortega oral history collaboration.
[97] Ortega oral history collaboration.
[98] Ortega oral history collaboration.
[99] Ortega oral history collaboration.
[100] Ortega oral history collaboration.

> We had our first meeting of June of 1968. Joe Eddie and Rosie's house on 38th and Lewis…that was a meeting place for everybody. And then they started talking to us about, you know, you got to apply, you got to encourage your fellow students to apply, but you also start to have to look at the environment that you're in.[101]

This particular experience shared by Daniel, I argue is what planted the seed that would be watered by further organizing budding into the 1969 Phoenix Union Walkout and eventual 1970 Chicana/o Boycott. It also demonstrates a catalyst in which the atmosphere of political activism of the anti-war movement, UFW movement, and Chicana/o student walkout and blowouts became centered and focused on the experiences of Chicanas/os at Phoenix Union so that students can begin to develop an awareness and analysis of their lived realities.

It was a moment that Daniel was challenged to consider questions that challenged the reality of his educational experience. Joe Eddie, Rosie, and the M.A.S.O. students began to guide students in developing an awareness by asking:

> Do you ever notice that you don't have any Mexican American administrators? Did you ever notice that other than the Spanish teacher[s], you don't have any Mexican American teachers? Do you ever notice that you don't have any Mexican American counselors? So they started feeding us little [information] in addition to the recruitment thing.[102]

For the first time, Daniel along with other high school students were being challenged by their mentors to analyze the conditions of their school and quality of their education. Just like Barbara described with her mentorship experience-Joe Eddie, Rosie, the M.A.S.O. students, and Sonny Najera were helping guide Daniel to interrogate the structural inequalities that existed at Phoenix Union and as a result he began to lay a foundation of Chicano consciousness to build his activism from.

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[101] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[102] Ortega oral history collaboration.

Daniel’s relationship with the Vesta Club that awarded him a scholarship for high school would be revisited as a result of him stepping into Chicana/o activism. He recalled attending a meeting with other high school students, members of M.A.S.O., LULAC, and the Vesta Club where a generational debate existed about what constituted effective college bound strategies for Mexican American youth. Daniel recalls being used as an example of a student who “should go to college [would] not be able to go to college because I [wouldn’t] have the money to go.”[103] The new generation of Chicano activist posited this as the dilemma for the strategies that LULAC and Vesta employed because it was simply not enough, failed to question the status quo, and demand structural change to bring about educational equality for Chicanas and Chicanos. Daniel recalled M.A.S.O. students and Chicana/o activist challenged these organizations to join in “march[ing] up to the president’s office and demand the financial aid that is there should belong to us to” instead of just holding fundraisers through dances and food sales. This specific meeting is indicative of the generational shift in how Mexican Americans in Phoenix sought equality for their community that was a common happenstance for other social movements. Chicanas and Chicanos in Phoenix who were responsible for the rise of a Chicana/o movement would no longer settle for assimilating, acculturating, and waiting for the system to bring moderate changes to their socio-economic, political, and educational conditions. It was a confrontation of generations between reformist mainstream approaches and something much more radical.[104] For Daniel, this is where he would come to learn his politics as a Chicano.[105]

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[103] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[104] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[105] Ortega oral history collaboration.

Chicana/o Political Activism & The 1969 Phoenix Union Walkout

The raising of consciousness and relationships that Barbara and Daniel established with community activist would give way to their own political activism at Phoenix Union. Although not directly involved with Chicana/o activism, Elias found other ways to support students and colleagues who were more actively organizing. Nonetheless the tide of Chicana/o awareness surrounding issues of educational inequality would rise and give way to a walkout in September of 1969 that set forward future activism and eventually the 1970 Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union.

Influenced and inspired by her mentors, Barbara remained politically active in her community on and off campus before and after the 1969 walkout. For students like Barbara seeking better educational opportunities for herself as a Chicana, mentorship was central to remaining involved and bringing about that change. Barbara recalls that:

> They kind of took us under their wing…we were already connected to people like Alfredo [Gutierrez] and Joe Eddie [Lopez].[106]

Once again, as in Barbara's case, this example of mentorship and guidance in raising her consciousness to identify issues of educational inequality speaks to the gap of role models at the school beyond the Spanish teachers. Moreover, this mentorship helped Barbara reshape her experience at Phoenix Union as a good one with the awareness of the school's educational inequalities "because of the awareness that was brought to [them]."[107] This translated into Barbara's activism during this time, which she described:

> Doing things [at the] high school [and] at the community center, the Santa Rita Hall, and Alfredo got us involved in teatro and he got us involved in the breakfast

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[106] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[107] Valencia oral history collaboration.

> program. You know, they're serving the kids breakfast at the Santa Rita. So, all of these mentors were guiding us.[108]

The mentorship that Barbara received was central in raising her awareness of issues at Phoenix Union but also how that translated into the local Mexican American community. Moreover, Barbara saw her political activism manifest beyond student resistance but also as cultural resistance with her participation in the Barrio Youth Organization's theatre group that was a strategy for other student movements influenced by the United Farmworker's Teatro Campesino.[109] Her experience confirms that manifestation of her awareness into diverse outlets that continued to challenge the status quo and provide space for further activism to develop.

Daniel further shared that his activism took many shapes including participating in a community activist newspaper called *El Malcriado* that featured publications challenging why the school did not have more minority, or Mexican American and Black, administrators and teachers.[110] Daniel's awareness of his identity as a Chicano and analysis of the inequalities at Phoenix Union also merge with his heavy involvement in extracurricular school activities and identity at school. From his freshman to junior year, Daniel served as class president and by the time he was up to run for student body president around the time of the 1969 walkout, his agenda centered his political activism.[111] He recalls that through his activism he was speaking:

> Very vocally about vocational schools and how they were being used as dumping grounds for Mexican Americans because the institutions did [not] want to take

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[108] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[109] El Teatro Campesino was founded by Luis Valdez during the UFW's Delano Grape Strike in 1965. It served as political satire creative tool for organizing farm workers but also strategically convey the movement's messages and network with other social movements, including Chicana/o students who were walking out. They provided a framework of how theatre can be used as a political tool of resistance.

[110] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[111] Ortega oral history collaboration.

> responsibility for making sure that we progressed academically. It [was] just easier for them to put us into vocational schools.[112]

Fully invested in his activism, Daniel reflected that he wasn't aware of what implications his politicization would have with the general perception of fellow peers at school.[113] He approached his audience in the school's auditorium and gave a politically charged speech for his student body president bid. In a sense of urgency, he actively called for his peers "to send a message to the administration that those of us who come to school should not be herded into vocational schools like a bunch of dummies."[114]

While a movement opposing Daniel's political views labeling him as ungrateful and overly critical of the school had been manifesting, his opponent Rachel Peters used his language in her speech against him by affirming to students that they were not dummies for going to vocational school.[115] In a ploy to garner the vocational student vote, Rachel managed to solidify Daniel's loss in his run for student body president. Uncommon for the Phoenix Union vocational students to vote, Daniel recall's being told of how vocational students lined up eager to cast their ballots egged on by vocational teachers or "queen bees" who put "their stick into the bee hive."[116]

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[112] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[113] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[114] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[115] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[116] Ortega oral history collaboration.

This moment was pivotal for Daniel as it affirmed that he no longer needed to straddle the line between catering to administration and his agency in asking for the things he felt they deserved as students.[117] He recalls that it wasn't like "I was being disrespectful to them":

> They just weren't providing the kind of quality education that we should have despite who we were in terms of our racial or economic backgrounds. I saw it as a natural to demand [for] the things that other students in North Phoenix had.[118]

Daniel's experience further confirms his transition into standing in his agency as a Chicano and demanding an equitable education. He did this despite the opposition from both a student body and administration that did not agree. Furthermore, his experience confirms issues that were identified by parents and community activists as educational inequalities impacting Chicana/o and Black students.

Daniel would take a stand on educational inequalities again but this in a speech later on that year during his graduation. Typically, the Valedictorian, who was always White or Asian-American, would qualify automatically to give a speech and based on the requirements Mexican Americans wouldn't be speakers as a result.[119] Although, according to Daniel, students that were considered in the top ten had an opportunity to apply for the Salutatorian speech by going through an audition and interview.[120] Having learned from his student body president speech, Daniel decided to strategically apply to give the graduation Salutatorian speech with the help of Elias Esquer. While Daniel was never a student of Elias, they became acquainted when Daniel approached Elias for help to write his graduation speeches.[121] Daniel described writing a speech

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[117] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[118] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[119] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[120] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[121] Esquer oral history collaboration.

that "was apple and of how proud I was to be an American."[122] This was the speech he shared with Elias that got him selected but to his surprise would come to learn after the fact that Daniel gave an entirely different speech.[123]

Daniel collaborated and strategized with M.A.S.O. students to get his speech selected by "giving them the speech they wanted and then do what [he] needed to do."[124] Together they formulated a speech which Daniel described "as an act of defiance and resistance at its best."[125] To their surprise Daniel was selected and ultimately gave his own speech addressing the conditions of the school including the dilapidated old buildings, a lack of academic support, and how Mexican Americans were on the front lines of the Vietnam War.[126] Daniel was met with much push back and tension as a result. His peers blamed him for ruining their graduation and pushing his agenda, but to him it was something that needed be said and specifically in those type of venues.[127] Seated next to the podium where speeches were being delivered sat Superintendent Howard C. Seymour demanded Assistant Superintendent John Waters to pull the plug on the microphone, but the Phoenix Union Assistant Principal Frank Warren, the only Black administrator, refused to do so.[128]

Elias described returning to campus the following Monday after graduation to an outcry over Daniel's graduation speech.[129] In response to Daniel's speech, Superintendent Howard C.

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[122] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[123] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[124] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[125] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[126] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[127] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[128] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[129] Esquer oral history collaboration.

Seymour sought to remedy the tension with the graduating students, their families, and the rest of the student body by sending out apology letters accusing him of being a liar accompanied with his original speech.[130] He would come to learn of the letter through Cecilia Esquer, Elias's wife.[131]

On September 15, 1969, the first Chicana/o walkout and march took place at Phoenix Union High School and City Hall. While not involved himself, Elias recalls the atmosphere filled angst.[132] Students looking for answers on what to do began to turn to Elias for guidance. The way that Elias supported his students was by encouraging them to "do what [they] have to do."[133] Moreover, because the walkouts was taking place mostly amongst juniors and seniors, he felt that the freshman students he taught were not fully aware of the issues at Phoenix Union and looked to him on guidance to decide.[134]

Although students were on ground zero navigating the halls of Phoenix Union on a day-to-day basis, Elias couldn't recall the participation of the Black community but credits the organizing taking place outside the campus led by Chicana/o students and community activists.[135] These activists included Sam Ramirez, Alfredo Gutierrez, Joe Eddie Lopez, Sonny Najera, and the Arizona State University M.A.S.O. students involved with the Phoenix Linen and Towel Supply Company.[136] In addition, Elias recollected that perhaps in some newspaper

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[130] Esquer oral history collaboration; Ortega oral history collaboration.

[131] Ortega oral history collaboration.

[132] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[133] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[134] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[135] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[136] Esquer oral history collaboration.

publications or amongst conversation with fellow Chicanas/os that the Brown Berets were present at the walkout to help guide and protect students who had walked out.[137]

Similarly, Barbara in addition to helping her develop her awareness, she credits her mentors Sam Ramirez, Joe Eddie Lopez, and Alfredo Gutierrez in helping them organize this first walkout at Phoenix Union High School. She specifically recalled:

> They're developing that awareness in us and planning on a certain date and listening for the signal to walk out, talking to other students, answering questions, [and how] this is going to happen this day. This what we're going to do and some of them had made signs and stuff like that. So, it was just a matter of getting ready to do it.

Barbara's recollection of the 1969 walkout further affirms the critical role that mentorship had for students like her. Furthermore, demonstrating a collective a strategic approach in organizing to challenge the educational inequalities at Phoenix Union High school impacting Chicana/o and Black students.

Out of those involved outside the school's campus, Elias pointed out Sam Ramirez playing a significant role because of his positionality as Chicano and teacher at Phoenix Union. In many ways, Sam Ramirez could be considered to Phoenix Union Chicana/o student resistance to what Sal Castro was considered to Lincoln High School and the East Los Angeles Blowouts. As the case for Sam Ramirez, he too would encounter administrative push back in response to his support of students and participating in walkout efforts. Elias recalls that Sam Ramirez had "to watch his back because they would have fired him" and as a result he was fired.[138] Administration caught wind of Ramirez's involvement with students when they saw him

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[137] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[138] Esquer oral history collaboration.

speaking with them causing them to question what he was doing.[139] Although Elias was not involved as he described, he still was supportive in the ways that he saw fit just as how he encouraged students to do what they have to do. In the case of Sam Ramirez, Elias wrote a letter and submitted it to Principal Robert Dye in support of Ramirez's reinstatement asserting that all he was doing was ensuring that students didn't stick around to avoid getting in trouble. [140] Furthermore, stating that it was in efforts to help students move away from the school buildings and that commanding students "if they gonna walkout to just leave the grounds."[141]

The 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix

The Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union High School lasted nearly a month beginning on October 9 and ending on November 2. At the center of this movement along with students and parents were Chicana/o community activists Ronnie Lopez, Joe Eddie Lopez, and Rosie Lopez. The activist work of these leaders in the years leading up to the boycott coincided with their involvement in the establishment of Chicanos Por La Causa (CPLC) in 1968.[142] For CPLC, the "failure of the educational system to meet the needs of the Chicano/[a] community" was a primary concern.[143] CPLC's commitment to education merged with the frustrations of Phoenix Chicana/o parents, students, and other local organizations in the organizing and unfolding of the boycott.

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[139] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[140] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[141] Esquer oral history collaboration.

[142] Francisco Arturo Rosales, *Testimonio: A Documentary History of the Mexican American Struggle for Civil Rights* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2000).

[143] Chicanos Por La Causa Pamphlet, MSS-130 Box 20, Rose Marie and Joe Eddie Lopez Papers 1941-2000, Arizona State University Library Chicano Research Collection, Tempe, Arizona.

The 1970 boycott of Phoenix Union High School grew out of a snowballed frustration felt by Chicana/o students, parents, and community leaders after they felt unheard by the administration in 1968 and 1969. The same issues and concerns they voiced then continued to be present at Phoenix Union. Chicanos Por La Causa would be instrumental to the boycott's organizing with the support of local organizations such as the Barrio Youth Project and Valle del Sol Coalition.[144] On the contrary, more conservative organizations like the League of United Latin American Citizens, also known as LULAC, did not support the boycott while some of their members supported their efforts.[145] The protesting also drew the support of farmworkers who would come join students on daily picket lines.[146] As members of CPLC, Joe Eddie, Rosie, and Ronnie Lopez played an active role working with Chicana/o parents and students to organize around these concerns. The birth of CPLC in 1968 aligned with a local, national, and global rise of consciousness that gave way to resistance efforts including the anti-war movement, Students for a Democratic Society, Black Panthers, Brown Berets, M.E.Ch.A, and La Raza Unida Party.[147]

Borrowing, learning, and being in dialogue with leaders from other Chicana/o educational movements throughout the Southwest, Chicanos Por La Causa had a blueprint in which to build their own educational movement.[148] The Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union would become part of a larger network of school protests that included California, Texas,

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[144] J.E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[145] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[146] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration; Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[147] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration; M.E.Ch.A., born out of organizations such as the Mexican American Student Organization and the United Mexican American Students in the late 1960s stands for el Moviemento Estudiamtial Chicana/o de Aztlan.

[148] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

Colorado, Illinois, Kansas, and Tucson, Arizona. In Phoenix, supporting the efforts at Phoenix Union and organizing a boycott corresponded to CPLC's focus on education as a priority issue. This was a result from CPLC's shift from focusing on farmworker issues in rural areas to focusing on inequalities present in the urban parts of Phoenix.[149] According to Joe Eddie:

> There was never any doubt in anybody's mind that had anything to do with Chicanos Por La Causa in the early of earliest days that if there was going to be a top [issue] we were going to address, it was education.[150]

Joe Eddie expanded that while collectively they could not fully articulate how they would be addressing these issues or what the solutions would be required at that time, they did know they were determined to address them and find answers in the process.[151]

The Final Straw-Organizing a Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union

By October 9, 1970 the boycott had been called and was well underway after Chicanas/os felt that the administration was doing nothing to meet their demands. As the boycott progressed, the cause required people to assume responsibility for a variety of essential tasks. Joe Eddie Lopez was involved as the education committee chair for the boycott and as chair of Chicanos Por La Causa.[152] Moreover, as executive director of Chicanos Por La Causa, Ronnie identified his specific role away from the protesting and negotiating as he was the one managing funding to ensure meals were being covered and that the support apparatus remained intact to keep the momentum of the boycott going.[153]

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[149] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration; Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[150] J. E, Lopez Oral History Collaboration

[151] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[152] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[153] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

Chicana/o educational inequalities were not a phenomenon to Phoenix Union, rather one being addressed at a national level in various states through a school boycott strategy to create educational changes. [154] Joe Eddie recalled that they "knew that some districts in California and Texas were having boycotts" but did not anticipate having one of their own perhaps out of fear of being too radical.[155] As a result, explained Joe Eddie and Rosie, these movements across the Southwest stimulated more organizing in 1968 and 1969 to address Phoenix Union's educational inequalities with the City of Phoenix, Superintendent Howard C. Seymour, and Principal Robert Dye.[156] Joe Eddie acknowledged that the school and district administration responded in many ways, yet opposing negative responses to the concerns of the Chicana/o community continued to exist.[157]As recalled by Joe Eddie, an example of this was a district official who had written a vocational plan, similar to what Phoenix Tech was doing, for Phoenix Union students to prepare them world of work or vocations.[158] Moreover, Rosie traces this thread of vocational education and race further back to when she was a student at Phoenix Union. She recalled:

> As a result of the desegregation order, Phoenix Tech was across the street from Phoenix Union High School and the segregated Black Carver High School in 1956 they merged with us. Merging Phoenix Union along with the Blacks, came in 1956 with us.[159]

Rosie's recollection of 1956 pinpoints a specific instance in the timeline where the integration of Phoenix Union post *Philips v. Phoenix Union* coincided with further plans to centralize

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[154] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[155] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[156] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration; Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[157] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[158] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration; Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[159] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

vocational education in the school's curriculum prior to major White flight at the school. Up until this point, Phoenix Union was a regular school preparing students for a higher education.[160] Yet despite the organizational efforts to address the persistent racialized educational inequalities at the school; poor curriculum, low teacher expectations, vocational tracking, illiteracy, unreliable counselors, and deficit perceptions of Chicana/o students were being left unaddressed by the school and district administration.[161] When no changes were taking place, Joe Eddie recalls this being the moment that a boycott was no longer off the table.[162] "We started taking the idea of taking the issue in a different direction-getting more vocal and showing our concern more by having a boycott," Joe Eddie recalled.[163]

When it came to organizing a boycott, getting the parents to buy into the strategy was not difficult.[164] Joe Eddie recognized that parents were not able to articulate the specific issues at Phoenix Union but just because they were not educators did not mean they did not know that the school was failing their students.[165] Facing harsh socio-economic conditions in their communities including little to no job opportunities or access to healthcare, issues of dropout rates or lack of Chicana/o teachers were not foreign to the struggle Chicana/o parents faced.[166] Moreover, the same educational inequalities facing their students were more than likely ones

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[160] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[161] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration; Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[162] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[163] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[164] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[165] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[166] R. Lopez oral history collaboration.

they faced themselves when they were in school.[167] These intertwined inequalities pushed Chicana/o parents to partake in creating change for their children.[168] Ronnie recalled:

> [Parents] wanted better for their kids. And if it meant getting up, marching, and walking with their kids saying let's take our kids out of school, they were going to do it.[169]

Yet, the only barrier to getting parents involved as described by Ronnie was going head-to-head with authority figures because of their traditional values of respecting working professionals such as teachers.[170]

With the investment of students' parents as one piece of the organizing puzzle, many other moving parts were taking shape to get the boycott underway. The organizing took place across a variety of hubs including South Mountain and Carl Hayden High School, Santa Rita Hall, Calderon Ballroom, Wesley Community Center, Immaculate Heart Church, meetings at people's homes and canvassing door to door.[171] In specific, Joe Eddie recalls a tremendous amount of house meetings that became the primary way of meeting with their community.[172] Time consuming but very effective, organizers used house meetings as space to discuss politics, getting attendees comfortable with asking questions, and encouraging them to recruit and bring their neighbors or people they knew.[173]

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[167] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[168] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[169] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[170] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[171] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.; Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[172] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[173] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

Another piece of the organizing puzzle was preparing the community demands they presented to Phoenix Union's administration and the district's board. A committee was established with the task of formulating the demands for the boycott. The diverse committee consisted of several participants including but not limited to members of the Chicanos Por La Causa board, members of the Black community, and VISTA.[174] The spectrum of demands included establishing an office at Phoenix Union; hiring and promoting more Chicana/o teachers, administrators, and counselors; employ more security; provide a relevant curriculum focused on higher education; and a continuation of cultural awareness training for administration and staff.[175]

Chicanas Are Organizers, Too

While Chicanos like Joe Eddie and Ronnie played a key role in the boycott, Chicanas were also central to the organizing and longevity of the boycott. Rosie emphasizes that the women were true organizers and did more than just participate in male-dominated space that were difficult at times to navigate and garner respect.[176] Additionally, Ronnie recollects that the women including Rosie, Terri Cruz, Hilda Valles, Señora Diaz, Señora Gonzales, Señora Huerta, and Señora Fritz played a part in everything.[177] Likensing them to a version of *Las Adelitas,* Ronnie firmly stated that the "movimiento" would not have existed without the women.[178]

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[174] VISTA is short for the Volunteers in Service to America which is an AmeriCorps federally funded program.

[175] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration; Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration; Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[176] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[177] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[178] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

Moreover, “women were organizers,” Rosie recalled and further specified that “all of us were organizers.”[179]

As one of the Chicanas involved in the organizing efforts, one of the roles Rosie took on was helping to inform and recruit local high school students, specifically Carl Hayden, to join the boycott efforts.[180] The boycott also garnered the attention and support of other district schools including Carl Hayden and South Mountain High School. Both schools held significantly mixed high Chicana/o, Black, and White student populations and schools like South Mountain encountered issues of educational inequalities, racism, police brutality, and tension between Black and White students.[181] With the help of Phoenix Union boycotting students who were Brown Berets, Rosie and the group of students drove over to Carl Hayden’s campus with their sights set on increasing their protest’s presence.[182] The Phoenix Union students made their way through Carl Hayden’s campus dispersing flyers left and right while knocking on doors to pass the word of the boycott along.[183] Although, their organizing would not go unseen by the Phoenix Police Department. Rosie recalls that during one of these recruitment efforts, her and the students were being followed by the Phoenix Police Department.”[184] On their way back to headquarters at Chicanos Por La Causa, police pulled Rosie over after students in the car attempted to pass flyers to fellow students walking on the street at a red light.[185]

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[179] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[180] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[181] Future research will explore issues of race and racism at Phoenix Union impacting the Black student body and consequential resistance and activism.

[182] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[183] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[184] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[185] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

Surrounded by five police cars that appeared out of nowhere, their car was pulled over charging that they violated the law by loitering and stopping traffic.[186] Rosie challenged the claim citing that no traffic was obstructed because they were at a red light to which the officer smugly responded that he wasn't done with her yet as he threw Rosie's identification on her lap.[187] Remembering she had a crowbar in the back seat, she quickly told the students to hide it under the seat before the police officer opened the back door to avoid the police using it as a reason to claim the group had weapons.[188] The police officer then violently proceeded to pull one of the students out of the car by his collar as if he was an animal.[189] When the police officer returned from looking over Rosie's record, he asked if she was Joe Eddie Lopez's wife, which she confirmed she was.[190] As a result, his demeanor changed and politely asked her not to pass out flyers in that manner again instructing her and the students to make their way back safely to CPLC headquarters.[191] The officers were then instructed to bring the student back to the car who was described by Rosie as looking humiliated by the experience. Ultimately, Rosie attributed the change in the police officer's attitude to her relationship with Joe Eddie and stereotypically claiming that "she was different than the other ones," which Rosie felt was stupid, horrible, and racist thing to say.[192] Moreover, she also attributed the change in demeanor to their relationship

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[186] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[187] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[188] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[189] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[190] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[191] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[192] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

with the department's community relations officer Ron Gomez made it clear they would raise hell if she were to be arrested.[193]

"Barrio High" The Chicana/o Boycott School

Opponents of the Phoenix Union boycott found different arguments to minimize its efforts. Chicana/o boycotters and organizers consistently faced the argument that by asking students to miss class and join the boycott they were doing them a disservice. To combat this, Chicana/o organizers established an informal high school, also known as the boycott school or Barrio High, half a mile south east from the campus at Immaculate Heart Church. Additionally, organizers and specifically Chicana/o parents who supported the boycott wanted their students active in doing something and not roaming around or getting into trouble.[194] Joe Eddie Lopez felt that leaving students unattended and with no alternative educational space to Phoenix Union would have caused more problems in the community.[195] Thus the establishment of Barrio High was an "outgrowth of parents expressing concerns, support, but concerns."[196] Rosie credits the establishment of Barrio High at Immaculate Heart to the support they received from the church's activist pastor Father Jose Hurtado.[197] "He's the one who gave us space there at Immaculate Heart Church," recalls Rosie because next to the church "they had a school at one time and they

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[193] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[194] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[195] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration; Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[196] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[197] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

had classrooms."[198] The facilities also included an auditorium were students gathered to see speakers including Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales amongst other speakers.[199]

Barrio High was made possible by a collective effort of knowledge, resources, and skills contributed by different members of the community. The components for a school to function including administration, curriculum, and instruction were pieced together as the boycott progressed. Chicana/o organizers stepped up to fill administrator roles with a school board consisting of several members including Joe Eddie Lopez and Sam Ramirez as well as Alfredo Gutierrez as Barrio High's principal.[200] When it came to instruction at the school, classrooms were mostly led by volunteers who believed in the cause with the exception of a few paid certified teachers.[201] Ronnie Lopez recalls that it was important to have certified teachers as a challenge to criticism that the boycott was preventing students from receiving an education.[202] Within this group of teachers existed volunteer retired teachers who came into the boycott school to participate and support.[203] Additionally, puzzled by how they managed to get away from their main teaching responsibilities—Rosie recollects that the group of teachers included active teachers such as her brother-in-law, a Spanish teacher, who volunteered to teach Spanish and Phoenix Union Social Studies teacher Sam Ramirez.[204] Moreover, curriculum at Barrio High was shaped based on the expertise of the volunteer teachers, this included Chicana/o organizers who

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[198] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[199] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[200] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[201] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[202] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[203] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration; Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[204] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

saw the boycott as a space for political education. Joe Eddie and Ronnie recall that every day of the boycott would begin with students gathering outside of the campus to march and protest outside the school.[205] Making the most out of their energy and strength, students saw their protesting as part of their education calling it "picketing 101."[206] After the bells would ring, protestors would march over from Phoenix Union to Immaculate Heart Church for class at Barrio High.[207]

The sustainability of Barrio High was much in part to the resources and assistance it received from its supporters. From the bare essentials, supporters donated school materials including paper and pencils.[208] Even boycott sympathetic teachers, as described by Joe Eddie, were helpful in getting Barrio High necessary materials.[209] To which Rosie jokingly responded, they were "probably stealing them from Phoenix Union or other schools."[210] Additionally, Chicana/o parents and organizers including Rosie played an essential role in providing students with meals and working closely with local businesses and supporters that donated food.[211] Rosie recalls when it came to providing meals to students they had "people that donated bread and sandwich meat and all that stuff."[212] Furthermore, this included very supportive white businesses where they picked up prepared food such as sandwiches.[213]

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[205] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration; Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[206] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration; Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[207] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration; Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[208] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[209] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[210] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[211] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration; Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[212] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[213] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

Black Alliances during the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott

Ronnie like many others recognized that the school's predominantly Chicana/o and Black student population dealt with intergroup conflict.[214] He, too, contested that this tension was not racially motivated but rather grew out of a segregated environment plagued by a high dropout rate, lack of teachers of color, and vocational tracking.[215] Yet, it is important to recognize that the tension existed at the school between Chicana/o and Black students. As recollected by Joe Eddie, at the core of this was the concerns of Chicana/o parents regarding primarily Black students who had been getting into fights with Chicana/o students over lunch money.[216] Despite having a predominantly White and Black security team at the school, nothing was being done by school or district administration to address this concern.[217]

Chicana/o leaders Joe Eddie, Ronnie, and Alfredo Gutierrez were firm on their position this tension resulted from a white school administration failure.[218] Thus going to the source of the problem as opposed to confront each other about it circumvented any attempt by administration to put the communities against each other.[219] In order to avoid this, Chicanas/os tapped into their existing relationships with Black leaders they had previously worked with to address these issues in a more serious way.[220] This included Alfredo Gutierrez attending meetings with young activist Black leaders, working with other members of the Black

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[214] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[215] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[216] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[217] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration; Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[218] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[219] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[220] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

community including Josh Bursh to help develop plans in addressing Phoenix Union, and meetings at Carl Hayden and Central High School between the Chicana/o, Black community addressing the board and superintendents.[221] While tension was present at the school, Chicana/o leaders recognized that this problem was one rooted in systemic racism that impacted the Black community as well. Thus, in order to remedy this, attempts needed to be made to work together to address the inequalities for all students at Phoenix Union.

Publicity, Recognition, and Vilification-Local Press Coverage of the Boycott

While the boycott was led and primarily supported by Chicanas/os, the boycott did face opposition from their very own community. Joe Eddie remembered that their own community, including educators, did not see these efforts as a positive one.[222] Coverage by the local press did not often publish favorable accounts of the boycott and depicted Chicanas/os efforts negatively further contributing to a racialized dominant narrative. Such depictions aided in swaying public views on the matter that were published in opinion editorials. In addition, these unfavorable accounts also influenced the perceptions of the Mexican American community, in particular older generations, who did not agree with the political identity of Chicanas/os during this time. Joe Eddie and Rosie described that an example of this generational difference and unfavorable local press coverage included a series of opinion pieces written by conservative Mexican American educator Dr. Eugene Marin in December of 1969 in *The Arizona Republic*. Reflecting on Marin's pieces, Joe Eddie and Rosie expected the local press to not treat them very well but felt that Marin's *Republic* pieces painted them as communists resulting as a detriment to their

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[221] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[222] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

movement because of their shared identity.[223] Although they did not fully agree on strategies to address educational issues at Phoenix Union, Marin's clash with *the Republic* in support of AMAE during the boycott would bring him around to support the efforts of Chicana/o students, parents, and organizers to a degree.[224] Despite this, *The Arizona Republic* and *Phoenix Gazette* continued to run a high volume of publications documenting the boycott that often minimized its efforts or didn't fully capture the magnitude of educational inequalities.

Rosie felt that *The Arizona Republic* and *Phoenix Gazette* newspapers were not supportive of them.[225] She further expanded that she felt the local press accepted that they were protesting but didn't recognize the reason why they were protesting simply painting them as radicals because they loved a good story.[226] Furthermore, Joe Eddie saw the coverage of the boycott as two-fold elaborating that:

> What you want is publicity and you know a lot of it is going to be negative. But even negative publicity on an issue like that is sometimes beneficial. So, they did cover [the boycott] pretty extensively…So from our standpoint it was probably more positive than negative because publicity gets people to recognize what we were trying to do.

To Joe Eddie just even having the coverage in the local press to begin with was beneficial because it at least made the public aware of the issues at Phoenix Union. To which Rosie agreed that having the publicity to begin with was better than not knowing anything and people not being exposed to the fact that there were educational problems.[227]

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[223] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[224] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[225] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[226] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[227] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

Administrative Responses to the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott

The Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union evoked responses from administrators at the school and district level as well as the board of education. Ronnie explains that administrators like state superintendent of public instruction Weldon P. Shofstall and Phoenix Union High principal Robert Dye didn't expect the boycott to last long.[228] Principal Dye was described by Rosie as horrible and as someone who wasn't listening to their grievances.[229] On the contrary, Joe Eddie shared that he saw Dye performing his job as he had been to trained to do and that on a one on one was he was a good guy who he felt didn't have any ill intent towards people of color.[230] Yet, Rosie felt that Dye didn't have the mentality to believe that Chicanas/os could excel to which Joe Eddie agreed with Rosie that very few White administrators did.[231] Moreover, the boycott placed a spotlight on Phoenix Union High School. "They didn't want the publicity to begin with," elaborates Rosie explaining that the predominantly white school and district administration shuddered with the negative publicity.[232] Rosie expanded that the White administrators labeled them as radicals anytime Chicana/o or Black communities would mobilize against them.[233]

When it came to the all-White Phoenix Union High School Board of Education, the responses to the boycott and the Chicana/o community were mixed according to Rosie and Joe Eddie. Aside from two board members, Carolyn Warner and Donald Jackson, Joe Eddie recalls

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[228] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[229] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[230] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[231] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[232] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[233] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

that they did not treat the boycott and Chicanas/os very well ultimately condemning it.[234] Carolyn Warner was described by Rosie as the most empathetic who listened to their concerns and served as an ally.[235] Aside from Carolyn Warner and Donald Jackson, Joe Eddie explained that the other board members were "really just completely racist."[236]

1970 Chicana/o Phoenix Union Boycott Outcomes & Reflections

The boycott of Phoenix Union High School lasted nearly a month ending the cds November 1970. Ultimately, the pressure Chicanas/os placed on the school and district administration, financially to be specific, pushed both parties to come to some type of agreement. "They—," recalled Ronnie because of the persistent absences of students boycotting.[237] Ronnie expanded on this sharing that as a result school and district administration needed to bring this to a resolve and reach a mutual agreement.[238] As a part of this agreement, a team of Chicana/o organizers negotiated with Weldon P. Shofstall to end the boycott with a few understandings that included the district contracting Chicanos Por La Causa to provide cultural awareness trainings for their administration at Santa Rita Hall and administrative efforts to hire more Chicana/o teachers.[239] According to Ronnie, the district kept their end of the bargain to provide the trainings and recruit more teachers.[240]

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[234] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[235] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[236] J. Eddie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[237] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[238] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[239] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[240] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

Similarly, Joe Eddie Lopez recalls these "sensitivity" trainings taking place soon after the boycott at Santa Rita Hall to address the White administrative attitudes.[241] In a hot room with no air conditioning, Chicana/o organizers sat with school and district administrators including Howard C. Seymour who received training from a California Chicano professor.[242] Moreover, the trainings were successful and consisted of four sessions that included activities such as skits on teacher and counselor treatment of Chicana/o students.[243] Yet despite this achievement, Joe Eddie felt that the impact of the "sensitivity" trainings didn't last long and that it there was a need for more.[244]

Another tangible outcome of the boycott was the establishment of a counselor pipeline into Phoenix Union High School. Prior to the boycott, Joe Eddie and Rosie recalled students were viewed with low academic expectations and were tracked into vocational courses with some Chicanas enrolled in up to three or four waitressing courses.[245] Moreover there were few Mexican Americans in the positions of counselors and those that were there were just as bad according to Joe Eddie because they were employing the same counseling techniques absent of any cultural awareness.[246] Thus, the need for more Chicana/o counselors to guide students into academic based courses was very much a need. "We knew we needed better," emphasized Joe Eddie leading Chicana/o organizers to pursue sending students for training to be academic counselors to a program offered by the University of New Mexico. According to Joe Eddie, they

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[241] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[242] Joe Eddie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[243] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[244] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[245] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration; Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[246] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

took 18 students, including Ralph Peralta and Sonny Peña, either on track to be counselors or who were as a result placed on an accelerated program to become counselors.[247] Within one year, these students became counselors and received their master's degree as they made their way back to Phoenix Union High School. As a result, from this pipeline, Joe Eddie saw that the counseling of Chicana/o students "got a little better."[248]

In addition to the improvement in the counseling at Phoenix Union High School, Rosie recollected that the school established an office for Joe Eddie.[249] The office was established for Joe Eddie to monitor the progress of the school after the boycott to ensure students were safe and taken care of.[250] It was not an official paid position given to Joe Eddie that lasted approximately four months at the same time he served as a non-paid chairman of Chicanos Por La Causa organizing with Ronnie Lopez.[251] According to Joe Eddie, students saw him as a counselor lining up to talk to him ultimately receiving help to have their classes changed.

When it came to race relations in the organizing process around educational issues at Phoenix Union, Joe Eddie wished more could have been done with other racial groups. He expanded sharing that he "wished that [they] would have had better communications with Blacks, Native Americans, and Asian Americans and shown more unity."[252] Comparably, Rosie felt the same expressing that race relations were tested and not strongly coalesced at that time, specifically with the Black community, but as a result there have been improvements in how

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[247] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[248] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[249] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[250] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[251] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration; J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[252] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

both communities have worked together.[253] She cited one specific example March of 1990 when the Chicana/o and Black community worked collectively on a lawsuit to redistrict Phoenix Union High School District's allowing residents to vote for their own district.[254] As a result, Rosie recalls that Joe Eddie Lopez strategized with the NAACP and Black Arizona State Senator Sandra Kennedy to run for separate seats on the Phoenix Union High School District Board of Education in fall of 1990 to ensure there was Chicana/o and Black representation without competing for one seat.[255] Rosie did not know how possible coalition building like this would have been in 1969 and 1970.[256] Although she acknowledges that if they would have formed coalitions with the Black community from their existing relationships and Native Americans that it would have probably resulted in more possible changes.[257] Like Joe Eddie, Rosie also felt that because they were so new to organizing at this degree, their lack of knowing how to go about the process also very much played part in the lack racial coalition building.[258]

Although Rosie, Joe Eddie, and Ronnie all described a few tangible outcomes from the boycott there was also thoughts that ultimately those results were very few immediate ones amongst no long-term impacts resulting from the action. Chicanos Por La Causa made it clear that education would be a priority during this time, yet Joe Eddie still believed that despite changes made to the educational system in attempts to better the school's condition they

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[253] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[254] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[255] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[256] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[257] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[258] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

remained "just bad, quite frankly."[259] Furthermore, Joe Eddie and Rosie describe that the outcomes of the boycott overall were not very successful.[260] Rosie believed that the boycott was a good start to begin addressing issues impacting Chicanas/os in Phoenix head on.[261] Similarly, Joe Eddie felt that despite a lack of experience in organizing a boycott the magnitude of what they managed to form at Phoenix Union was a success within itself.[262]

Moreover, Joe Eddie implores us to think about this from a long-term lens by positing that without the boycott many other aspects of the Chicana/o Movement would not have manifested.[263] He credits the long-term results from the boycott manifesting in more students having access to higher education, pursuing various professional careers across different fields and academics writing about issues in Chicana/o communities.[264] Additionally, the reflections of all the oral history collaborators contextualize the impact of the boycott in how it created paths for Chicanas/os to become involved in different facets of creating change. The Phoenix Chicana/o movement inspired by the 1970 Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union only further motivated them to continue to challenge social inequalities. Daniel recollected that these efforts developed Chicana/o leadership that led people to pursue positions in various decision-making seats.[265]

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[259] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[260] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration; Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[261] Rosie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[262] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[263] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[264] J. E. Lopez oral history collaboration.

[265] Ortega oral history collaboration.

In specific, Ronnie recognized that Chicanas/os lived in parts of the school districts where they comprised the majority with no Mexican American representation.[266] Thus became a call to action for Chicanas/os to start running for these political positions.[267] This included running Joe Eddie Lopez for Maricopa County Board of Supervisors and Alfredo Gutierrez for Arizona State Senator resulting in both being elected to office in 1972.[268]

For Barbara, these events were also a catalyst in how she and the Chicana/o community found agency in their voice to demand changes at Phoenix Union High School.[269] Barbara believed that Chicanos Por La Causa through the boycott was instrumental in helping to achieve this within the community.[270] Furthermore, it was through demonstrations, protests, and voicing their concerns that Barbara felt they were able to challenge a White mainstream society to claim that they too were a part of this country, state, community, school and district.[271] Similarly, Ronnie saw the boycott as a chapter in the story that is the change of their community.[272] Further describing the boycott and Chicanos Por La Causa as one of many spokes comprising a larger wheel of historical community organizing efforts by organizations like the GI Forum and the Vesta Club who voiced their concerns against inequalities.[273] The convergence of everything leading up to and after the boycott as described by Daniel was a resistance movement that

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[266] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[267] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[268] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[269] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[270] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[271] Valencia oral history collaboration.

[272] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

[273] Ronnie Lopez oral history collaboration.

created a long lasting impact in Phoenix and ultimately shifted the experiences and recognition of Chicanas/os, Mexican Americans, and Mexicans in the Valley of the Sun.[274]

Conclusion

These oral history accounts shared by Elias Esquer, Daniel Ortega, Barbara Valencia, Ronnie Lopez, Rosie Lopez, and Joe Eddie found in this chapter begin to address the absence of Chicana/o voices in the majority of primary sources utilized in chapters 4 and 5. While the oral history collaborators do not necessarily address every aspect of the events in 1968, 1969, and 1970—they do begin to center the lived experiences and realities of Chicanas/os in documenting the events of the 1970 Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union High School. Moreover, the oral histories adhere to the three pillars of Critical Race Education history by intentionally centering the analysis of race and racism, constructing a counterstory that is collaborative in practice, and lastly are pieced together to create a narrative space where multiple voices are heard. Additionally, by centering and prioritizing the voices of Chicanas/os during this period of time we can further understand the function of race and racism in relation to the educational inequalities at Phoenix Union. Thus, adding to a fermenting frustration that turned into community resistance giving way to a Chicana/o educational social movement. Moreover, the collaborative oral histories document and aid in preserving the contributions of Phoenix Chicanas/os within the larger historical narrative of Chicanas/os in the United States. The next and final chapter will conclude this dissertation study by offering a brief epilogue of what ensued at Phoenix Union between 1970 and 1972. This context will in turn establish a foundation for future Critical Race Educational History Research of Phoenix Union. This will then be followed

[274] Ortega oral history collaboration.

by discussing the findings to the research questions for this Critical Race Educational History, limitations of the study, and the roadmap outlining future work expanding on the educational history of Phoenix Union High School and District between 1895 and 1982.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Chapter Roadmap

The study's final chapter concludes by first offering reflections from the perspective of a Chicano and Critical Race Educational Historian. The chapter then transitions into summarizing the findings that answer this dissertation's research questions followed by its implications and limitations. The chapter then explores and discusses the directions in which this study will continue to build and expand into new branches of Critical Race Educational Histories focusing on Phoenix and Arizona. The chapter then concludes by offering some closing remarks and reflections.

Reflections from a Chicano and Critical Race Educational Historian

Engaging in this research offered me the opportunity fortify my foundations in Chicana/o Studies, education, and history. Deeply immersing myself in this Phoenix and Arizona educational and community history paved a path for me to wrestle with questions from an interdisciplinary approach that further helped me to understand my work as a historian. Yet, coming to understand the merger of these areas of studies and how it framed my historical analysis and narrative writing is very much in part to a legacy of Chicana/o historians including those specifically focusing on education. Barrera, as he explains, provided me a key textual example of how historical approach to identify patterns and changes over time by combing primary sources with systemic theoretical framework.[1] Within this frame of thinking, considering my positionality was consistently a point of reflection. It taught me to consistently be engaged in conversation with the narrative as I am an extension of this history that resembled

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[1] Mario Barrera, *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002).

looking at a mirror rather than being on the outside of a looking glass simply observing. Steiner inspired this introspective dialogue by reminding me that while these memories were to be institutionalized by being documented they had a prior and independent existence.[2] Moreover, that I like Steiner, am one of many historians who will follow a path of a universe that is constantly changing, being rediscovered, revised, and reinterpreted.[3]

The canon of Chicana/o educational historians modeled how examples of historical critical analysis and narrative centering the educational experiences of Chicanas/os. Such models helped me to understand how the Chicana/o educational experience is deeply intertwined with their respective community history. Chicana/o educational history scholars including Blanton, Donato, Garcia (2018), Gonzalez (2013), San Miguel (1987, 2001), Valencia (2008), and more recently Barragán-Goetz (2020) were significant models of how to compose my own educational and community history of Chicanas and Chicanos in Phoenix, Arizona.[4] Each of these scholars also significantly consistently challenged me to center the question of why the Phoenix and Arizona Chicana/o educational experience is important. Phoenix is important because, as this

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[2] Stan Steiner, *La Raza: The Mexican American* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

[3] Steiner, *La Raza*

[4] Carlos Kevin Blanton, *The Strange Career of Bilingual Education in Texas, 1836-1981* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2007); Ruben Donato, *The Other Struggle for Equal Schools: Mexican Americans during the Civil Rights Era* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1997); Ruben Donato, *Mexicans and Hispanos in Colorado Schools and Communities, 1920-1960* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007); David G. García, *Strategies of Segregation: Race, Residence, and the Struggle for Educational Equality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018); Gilbert G. Gonzalez, *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2013); Guadalupe San Miguel Jr., *"Let all of them take heed": Mexican Americans and the Campaign for Educational Equality in Texas, 1910-1981* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); Guadalupe San Miguel Jr., *Brown, not White: School Integration and the Chicano Movement in Houston* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2001); Richard R. Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts: The Mexican American Legal Struggle For Educational Equality* (New York: NYU Press, 2008); Philis M. Barragán Goetz, *Reading, Writing, and Revolution: Escuelitas and the Emergence of a Mexican American identity in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2020).

study shows, the city holds a rich historical legacy of Chicana/o, Mexican American, and Mexican contributions that further aids in the understanding of a greater Chicana/o experience around education. Moreover, this vast yet under documented history of Chicana/o education in Phoenix that this study aims to contributing to lends itself to national discussions of race and education, community histories, resistance movements, and how we look at history from a relational lens.[5]

Answering the Research Questions

The objective of this historical narrative can be summed up by the three pillars of CREH's methodology corresponding with a CRT in education framework. The first being that the study intentionally centered the analysis of race and racism throughout the research and writing process to further document the lived educational experiences of Chicanas/os in Phoenix and Arizona. Second, it was imperative to challenge the white dominant narratives by collaborating with Chicanas/os as central contributors of this historical record. Lastly, in turn these collaborations assisted in the creation of a space for multiple voices to be heard in the construction of a counterstory tapestry.[6] Moreover, these oral history collaborations combined with archival findings used to compose the historical narrative between 1968 and 1970 aid in answering the research question and sub-questions guiding this study. As part of this dissertation's conclusion and discussion, each question with a brief answer are listed below.

Central Research Question

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[5] Natalia Molina, "Examining Chicana/o History through a Relational Lens," *Pacific Historical Review* 82, no. 4 (2013): 520–541.

[6] Ryan Edward Santos, Michaela Jeanette López Mares-Tamayo, and LLuliana Alonso, "Conceptualizing a Critical Race Educational History Methodology." *CCRSE Research Brief, no. 10.* Los Angeles, CA: Center for Critical Race Studies in Education at UCLA, 2017.

1. Why and how was the Phoenix Union High School Chicana/o Boycott of 1970 organized and who were the main stakeholders behind the organizational efforts?

Tracing the genealogy of the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott through archival materials including local and grassroot newspapers, school board minutes, and Chicana/o community organizing documents---we learned that the Boycott manifested as a result of grievances conveyed in 1968 and once again during the 1969 Chicana/o walkout of Phoenix Union High School. Moreover, while the focus of this dissertation centers Chicanas/os, it is necessary to acknowledge how intertwined the experiences and grievances of the Black community are to this narrative. The tension that existed amongst Chicanas/os and Blacks on and off campus was a difficult topic to wrestle with and understand. Moreover, this study demonstrated they hold a shared and complicated experience navigating and confronting pronounced racialized inequalities as students at Phoenix Union High School within a predominantly white district. One that I argue begins before 1968 and extends beyond 1982 rooted in white supremacy that my future work will seek to explore.

The events of 1968 and 1969 taught us that the grievances of the 1970 Boycott were rooted in the racial make-up of the school and district, curriculum shifts from academic to vocational, security, coalitions and tensions between Chicana/o and Black students, and the Inner-City community voicing their grievances of the school's educational inequalities. The school and district administration including the school board failed to implement the changes the Chicana/o and Black community felt were sufficient to remedy these issues. Band-aid solutions to these problems only allowed for these inequalities to fester leaving Chicana/o students, parents, community members and organizers no option but to implement a boycott strategy. I draw on Ronnie Lopez's metaphor of a wheel of organizing that had many spokes as sustaining

its movement. This movement was sustained by various individuals and organizations that as a result aided the boycott's period from October 9 to November 2. All these stakeholders to some degree contributed to the boycott's duration or participated in the organizational efforts to address the educational inequalities confronting Chicanas/os at Phoenix Union. They are outlined in the diagram below:

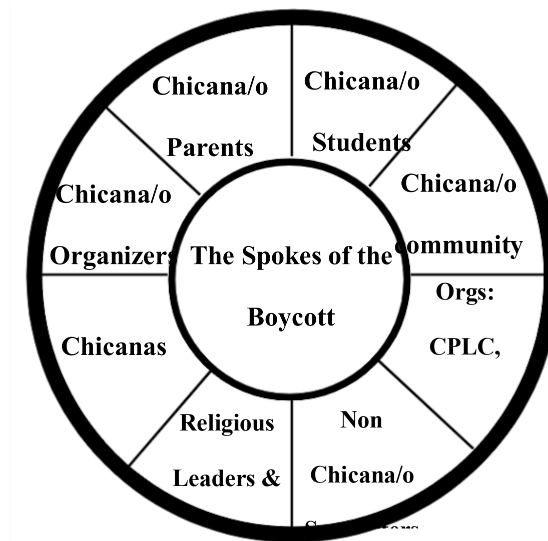

Figure 15. The Spokes of the Boycott.

With the support of Chicana/o leaders who were part of Chicanos Por La Causa—parents and students were provided: 1) an opportunity to build a platform to voice their grievances; 2) provided with physical spaces to movement build, organize, and develop their political and cultural awareness; 3) provided with tangible pathways to address educational inequalities through a participatory movement that engaged their agency to create change through resistance, and; 4) the engagement with developing the language to articulate the inequalities they experienced through the development of their political consciousness.

Sub-question 1 & 2

1. What was the socio-economic context of the community within the attendance boundaries of Phoenix Union High School in the period of the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott?

> How is the socio-economic context relevant to the educational conditions of Phoenix Union High School during the period of the boycott?

Phoenix Union High School's predominantly Chicana/o and Black student population resided in Phoenix's Inner-City and South Side. The literature review briefly contextualized how communities of color were racialized as the state and city were established and developed over time. Historians describe how Phoenix was established with the preconceived notion that it was a city for and by white settlers and how this supremacist attitude paved way for Chicana/o, Black, Chinese, and Indigenous communities to be disenfranchised and marginalized socially, economically, politically, and residentially.[7] Communities of color, including Chicanas/os served as a central labor force aiding to the city's economy and infrastructure yet were relegated to racialized social practices such as residential and institutional segregation.[8] One example of the residential and institutional segregation historically impacting Mexican and Mexican Americans was through their labor contributions aiding in the city's development. In specific, Mexican's and Mexican American's irrigation knowledge and skillsets contributed to the growing agricultural work along the Salt River.[9]

Yet when the river flooded in 1891, Mexicans who did not have the economic mobility were left to live in substandard housing and living conditions just south of the Salt River while affluent white settlers moved to higher ground in the Northern part of Phoenix.[10] Such historical

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[7] Bradford Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix: A profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American communities, 1860-1992* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994).

[8] Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix*.

[9] Luis F. B. Plascencia and Gloria Cuádraz, *Mexican Workers and the Making of Arizona* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2019).

[10] Pete R. Dimas, *Progress and a Mexican American Community's Struggle for Existence* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).

events began to delineate a racial divide as color lines including the Salt river, Van Buren Street, and Washing Street in the city began to take shape thus contributing to the socio-economic and political disenfranchisement of Mexicans, Mexican-Americans, and Chicanas/os over time. This marginalization translated in the institutionalization of Mexicans as second-class citizens and confronting institutional inequalities like those voiced during the 1969 Chicana/o walkout and 1970 boycott of Phoenix Union.[11]

Moreover, the integration of Black students from Carver High School to Phoenix Union High School in 1953 triggered massive white flight from the school in the following years leading up to the rise of educational concerns in 1968. Not only was there a departure of white students from Phoenix Union but the school also experienced a decline in the quality of education resulting from the flight of resources and investment reflected in the quality of education and school environment. These circumstances created conditions at the school where administrators and faculty continuously failed to meet the needs of its predominantly Chicana/o and Black student body. Stemming back as far as 1968, Chicana/o and Black parents and students began to voice their concerns of the school's inability to provide a culturally relevant and academic focused education, more faculty and administrators reflecting the study body, and remedies to the deep seeded racialized inequalities that fostered tension between Chicana/o and Black students. These same deep seeded racialized inequalities found in the campus environment are reflective of the institutionalized and engineered socio-economic conditions in Inner-City and South Phoenix that pitted Chicana/o and Black communities against each other for marginal

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[11] Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America: The Chicano's Struggle Toward Liberation* (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1972); Darius V. Echeverria, *Aztlán Arizona: Mexican American Educational Empowerment, 1968-1978* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014).

resources and representation. Ultimately, the intersection of the historical and contemporary low socio-economic conditions encountered by Chicanas/os in their segregated communities and Phoenix Union are one in the same. Thus, contributing to the unequal educational conditions addressed in the 1970 Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union which presented short-term and long-term outcomes as well as limitations.

2. What were the outcomes of the 1970 Phoenix Union High School Chicana/o boycott? How did the district and high school meet the demands and needs of the Chicana/o community?

Lasting nearly a month long, the boycott of Phoenix Union High School from October 9 to November 2 in 1970, Chicana/o protestors and organizers reached an agreement with the school and district administration on a temporary moratorium. While Chapter Five recounts in detail the events of the 1970 boycott, the oral history collaborations captured in Chapter Six serve as the central component to this Critical Race Educational History's counterstory. The lived experiences and recollections of the Chicana/o movement at Phoenix Union between 1968 and 1970 by Joe Eddie, Rosie, Ronnie, Elias, Daniel, and Barbara thoroughly contextualize the boycott's outcomes and if the district and school met the needs and demands of the community.

The oral history accounts indicate that the outcomes of the boycott were two-fold consisting of a short-term and long-term impacts. First, while the 1970 boycott created financial pressure on the school and district, the short-term impact only materialized as a negotiated agreement to bring the boycott to an end on the condition that the district would contract Chicanos Por La Causa to provide cultural awareness trainings for Phoenix Union High School and District administrators and recruit more Chicana/o teachers. A series of four "sensitivity trainings" were conducted at Santa Rita Hall to address white administrative attitudes but did not last long. The work to undo these white racialized administrative attitudes required more trainings that ultimately did not go beyond the four and as a result could not undo the racialized

experiences of Phoenix Union students as described by Elias. In addition, Joe Eddie and Rosie stated the boycott led to a Chicana/o counselor pipeline sending local Phoenix university students to train at the University of New Mexico and then returning to Phoenix Union that slightly bettered counseling for Chicana/o students.

When it came to race relations, the oral history collaborators agreed that tension between Chicana/o and Black students existed at Phoenix Union, but no real animosity existed amongst the groups. Joe Eddie and Rosie agreed they wished more could have been done with other racial groups during the 1970 boycott including establishing better communication and forging racial stronger coalitions. A shortcoming that Rosie expressed as not strongly coalesced but did see improvements in subsequent years. This shortcoming for them was much in part to being new to organizing and the process of establishing racial coalitions.

These outcomes were short lived as explained by Joe Eddie, Rosie, Ronnie, Daniel, and Barbara. The inequalities at Phoenix Union High School persisted resulting in Chicana/o and Black students continuing to receive a substandard education. Yet, the oral history collaborators saw the 1970 Chicana/o boycott as a catalyst to the Phoenix Chicana/o movement. The ability to organize and carry out a near month long boycott, while not easy, was a successful starting point to address educational issues impacting Chicanas/os in the Valley. For activists like Daniel and Barbara, the Chicana/o educational social movement at Phoenix Union forged a space to develop their agency, consciousness, and community involvement. Moreover, the long-term impacts of the boycott of Phoenix Union created pathways for access to higher education, pursuit of professional careers, and academics dedicated to addressing issues within the Phoenix Chicana/o community. It also established the longevity of a movement that manifested in different forms of activism for Joe Eddie, Rosie, Ronnie, Daniel, and Barbara taking shape as different

professionals and political positions in the city and state. Such a convergence, explains Daniel, created a resistance movement in the Valley that shifted and recognized the contributions, struggle, and activism of Chicanas/os, Mexican Americans, and Mexicans.

Implications of the 1970 Chicana/o Phoenix Union High School Boycott

As Daniel Ortega noted, the 1970 Chicana/o Boycott of Phoenix Union High School was a convergence of concerns and dissatisfaction at the school dating back to 1968. Moreover, organizers Joe Eddie, Rosie Marie, and Ronnie concluded that their boycott efforts to challenge the educational inequalities did not yield the long-term results at the school that they had hoped for. Ultimately, all the oral history collaborators who participated in these events agree that the boycott was one of several catalysts that shaped the Phoenix Chicana/o movement. The process of organizing in social movements embodies both the success and failures which I felt was captured by the study's oral history collaborators' experiences aiding to the construction of a historical counterstory.

In their efforts to expand on the historical record of Mexicans and Mexican Americans to Phoenix—Plasencia and Cuádraz reference Servín's acknowledgement 48 years of persistent lack of historical documentation of Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Chicanas/os in Arizona.[12] This is much in part they argue is due to many prominent dissertation and theses works remaining unpublished resulting to limited research on labor.[13] Although Plasencia and Cuádraz (2018) focus specifically on labor, I argue that the area of Phoenix Chicana/o educational histories no different. When considering Chicana/o educational histories focusing on Phoenix and Arizona as briefly covered in this study's literature review— aside from a few

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[12] Plascencia and Cuádraz, *Mexican Workers and the Making of Arizona*.

[13] Plascencia and Cuádraz, *Mexican Workers and the Making of Arizona*.

published scholars including but not limited to Echeverria, Powers, Muñoz, and Valencia—the diverse, complex, and extensive experiences of Chicanas/os in Phoenix and Arizona at large remains severely under documented and published in journals and books.[14]

Limitations

While this dissertation is expansive on its own, several limitations did unfold as the study's research and writing progressed. These limitations came because of a limited time frame, the study's scope, and accessibility to archival materials or oral history collaborators. The first is that while this dissertation is focused on the Chicana/o experience, the events are very much intertwined with the educational experiences of Black Phoenix Union High School students. It was imperative for this study to establish the relational experiences of both groups but requires more unpacking and further understanding of the historical race relations in and out of the school and across time. This is especially true after spending years throughout the process of researching, writing, and wrestling with questions throughout this process intent on better understanding Chicana/o and Black tensions and relations as one of the many issues at Phoenix Union concerning both communities. In addition, I feel this could be expanded on by identifying more archival sources that speak to the Black educational experience during this time and identifying and building with potential Black oral history collaborators who were students, parents, or community members between 1968 and 1970.

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[14] Darius V. Echeverria, *Aztlán Arizona: Mexican American Educational Empowerment, 1968-1978* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2014); Jeanne M. Powers, "Forgotten History: Mexican American School Segregation in Arizona from 1900-1951," *Equity & Excellence in Education* 41, no. 4 (2008): 467–481; Laura K. Muñoz, "Separate but Equal? A Case Study of *Romo v. Laird* and Mexican American Education," *OAH Magazine of History* 15, no. 2 (2001): 28–35; Richard R. Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts: The Mexican American Legal Struggle for Educational Equality* (New York: NYU Press, 2008); Richard R. Valencia, *Understanding School Closures Discriminatory Impact on Chicano and Black Students. Policy Research Monograph No. 1.* (ERIC Clearinghouse, 1984).

The second limitation is that while Daniel and Barbara were students at Phoenix Union, they had graduated the semester prior to the fall of 1970 when the Chicana/o boycott of Phoenix Union took place. Thus, to expand on the Phoenix Union Chicana/o student perspectives during the boycott the study requires identifying and building with additional oral history collaborators who were actively enrolled Phoenix Union High School students.

Lastly, as noted by Rosie Lopez, Chicanas were central to the organizing and movement building of not only the 1970 boycott but also the larger Phoenix Chicana/o movement. While Rosie and Barbara shared their experiences in their oral history collaborations, this study's limitations also included a need for more Chicana oral history collaborators. This resulted from several factors including: 1) identifying a feasible amount of collaborators I could interview and would align with this dissertation's completion time frame; 2) my capacity as a researcher and collaborator to include more people in addition to all the primary sources and 6 oral history collaborators; and 3) the individual and collective recollection from my 6 collaborators to recall and identify potential people, specifically Chicanas, that I could invite to collaborate and document their experiences and contributions to the 1970 boycott. Although ongoing conversations with the oral history contributors for this study continues to aid identifying future collaborators that include Chicanas that will in turn serve in challenging this limitation. One example of this is during our last oral history member check bearing witness to Rosie and her daughter brainstorming together to identify the names of two Chicanas who were students during the time of the 1970 boycott after sharing that it has been a question that a few collaborators and I had discussed because they only remembered their nicknames.

Areas of Future Research

The process of conducting the research for this study and the writing that ensued offered several branches in which this work can continue to be expanded on. From its inception as identified by Buchanan, Phoenix Union High School was identified as a school for white students only. From a relational lens, I am interested in understanding how this laid a foundation for the racialization and educational inequalities experienced by students of color including Chicana/o, Black, Indigenous, and Asian American throughout the district between 1895 and 1982. This includes thoroughly researching and further unpacking the flight of resources resulting in disinvestment from schools such as Phoenix Union corresponding with the flight of white students and communities. Second, future work will focus on documenting the educational contributions and experiences of Raymond J. Flores, who was denied a job by the Phoenix Union High School District for being Mexican but ultimately was hired by the segregated Black Carver High School. Third, is that the research also seeks to contribute to Richard R. Valencia's (1984, 2008) work by branching into documenting the efforts of the Chicana/o and Black communities fighting against the school closure of Phoenix Union High School in 1982, the ensuing 1985 Office of Civil Rights consent decree against the district, and how the district has been shaped by this racially. Lastly, the research process presented findings relating to the historical legacy of segregated Mexican grammar schools in the Valley. Some documentation exists around a few of these schools in areas such as Gilbert and Scottsdale, but my research shows that several other schools across the Valley have yet to be written about and comprised into a larger historical narrative of segregated Mexican grammar schools. Lastly, building on this study's limitation of Chicana oral history collaborators—my future work intends

on further identifying, collaborating, and aiding in the documentation of the Phoenix Chicana experience central to the larger Valley Chicana/o movement, specifically focusing on education.

Coming Full Circle

This study in many ways has come full circle and along the path has presented many obstacles, inspired questions, and created new paths of learning and understanding. I moved back to Los Angeles, specifically Pacoima/San Fernando Valley, nearly eleven years ago having known little to none of this history despite being deeply involved in local Phoenix activism as a MEChista at Arizona State. This is not to say that there were not moments in which I learned of or was exposed to this history—especially after being introduced to Chicanos Por La Causa and meeting Dr. Christine Marin who served as our M.E.Ch.A. advisor at Arizona State. Yet, it wasn't until I reached UCLA and saw my educational experience as a Chicano intertwined with history and the historical research process that I established a deeper connection with Phoenix, the city that raised me. I had to leave to understand and appreciate this part of my own story. Ultimately, I reflect that I nor many of the generations of Chicana/o students who were products of the Phoenix Union High School District are to blame for lacking awareness of this history. It is one of many local and national examples of how public education lacking Chicana/o Studies and Ethnic Studies that embody our lived experiences and reality continue to fail us while eroding our histories over time. This is especially the case in a city like Phoenix that was not designed to honor the rich legacies and contributions of Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Chicanas/os. This study and my future work are intent on disrupting this pattern. To me this is not only a study, but also my contribution to "hacer caminos caminando" that I hope will inspire other Phoenix students of color eager to find connection with their education by fighting for their right to Ethnic Studies, learn their community's history and aid in its preservation. It is my gift to

a city that has made me prouder to be raised in South Phoenix and to the Chicanas/os who struggled at Phoenix Union forging a path for me to be able to write this dissertation and see myself as a part of a historical legacy of struggle and resilience.

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