

Fragmented Diversity: School Desegregation, Student Activism, and Busing in Los Angeles,  
1963 - 1982

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
(History)  
in The University of Michigan  
2013

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Dedicated to *mi abuelita* Rosa Torres, Reverend William Miles, Carlos, Minerva, and Cynthia

## Acknowledgements

I am grateful to many individuals and institutions that have supported me during my pursuit of a PhD in history and the completion of this dissertation. I would like to thank my dissertation chair Terrence McDonald and my dissertation committee members Jeffrey Mirel, Matthew Lassiter, and Michele Mitchell for their constant kindness and support. I especially want to thank Terrence McDonald for his enduring guidance, encouragement, and patience that helped me navigate through different stages of the PhD program.

At the University of Michigan, I have been fortunate to meet several professors whose positive influence gave me the wherewithal to complete my degree. They include: Kathleen Canning, Gina Morantz-Sanchez, Geoff Eley, Penny Von Eschen, Kevin Gaines, Sueann Caulfield, Matthew Countryman, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg (and Alvia), Ginang Weller, Sarita See, Chun-shu Chang, and Sonya Rose. I express my gratitude to the entire award-winning History Department staff at the University of Michigan, specially Lorna Altstetter, Sheila Coley, Kathleen King, and Diana Denney, and the School of Literature, Sciences, and Arts Dean's Office staff, particularly Sue Marsh and Kayla Niemann. From California State University, Los Angeles, I owe special thanks to Cheryl Koos and Andrew Frank for encouraging me to pursue a graduate career in history at the University of Michigan. I also want to thank Stanley Burstein, Daniel Crecelius, Enrique Ochoa, Ping Yao, Terry Kandal, and Pamela Porter.

Generous fellowships, programs, and institutions made my graduate career, and research and writing possible. I thank the History Department and the Rackham Graduate School at the University of Michigan, and the Spencer Foundation for their financial support. I want to thank the California State University for conferring the Sally Casanova Pre-Doctoral Fellowship to me. The fellowship gave me the financial assistance that I needed to apply to graduate school. I am grateful to the Los Angeles Board Secretariat, Los Angeles Unified School District for granting me full access to the entire school desegregation archive and for permitting me to spend a year researching there. Specifically, I would like to thank Rachel Tucker, Jefferson Crain, Leila

Acevedo, Sandra Torigoe, Brenda Jones, Maricela Garcia, Paz, Perry, Elvia, and Armen. I owe many thanks to Robert G. Marshall and his staff at the California State University, Northridge, Oviatt Library, Special Collections; Jane Carpenter, Robert Montoya, Mauricio, Melissa and the rest of the staff at the University of California at Los Angeles, Charles E. Young Research Library Department of Special Collections; and Michele Welsing and the rest of the staff at The Southern California Library (also known as the Southern California Library for Social Studies and Research).

Without the love of my late grandmother Rosa Torres none of my academic pursuits would have been possible. I am eternally indebted to her and I miss her very much. I thank my godfather Alejandro for instilling in me an intellectual curiosity by “bribing” me with toy soldiers when I received good grades in kindergarten. My brother Carlos always cheered me on to finish my degree. I also thank my sister-in-law Lidyann, my niece Aracelli, nephew Tony, and Minerva for their zaniness that brought me needed moments of levity. I am grateful to my cousin Karla Ruano, Tio Paco, Tia Sonia, Katherine, Jose Eduardo, Boris, and Luis for their moral support.

I was very fortunate to make some enduring friendships with history colleagues, including Cynthia Marasigan, Jeff Kaja, Kishi Animashaun-Ducre, and Will Redfern. Although I have been a fan of Michigan Football since the early 1980s, college football Saturdays would not have been the same without Tyler Cornelius, Jonathan Eacott, Allison Abra, and Angela Dowdell. I was also fortunate to have befriended Alex Navarro, Tina DeLisle, Andrew Highsmith, and Tamar Carroll at different stages of my graduate career at Michigan.

I want to give special thanks to friends outside of academic circles whose ideas and perspectives about life enriched my own. My friend the late Reverend Bill Miles was a friend indeed. Kind and giving to a fault and with an “un-reverend” sense of humor, Bill and I sparred over life’s meaning, humanity and our place in it, religiosity, morality, politics, and human relations. Although we concurred on many issues, we would never admit it and found ways to argue in jest. I thank Rosita M. for supporting my decision to return to college after a prolonged break. Kavin Chung and Prithvirajsingh Varma are like brothers to me and their friendships helped me balance my academic life with my non-academic life. I offer thanks to Trina Stoneham, a good friend and UM graduate pursuing a career in medicine. I was fortunate to

make other friends during my graduate career, including Mike Kagawa, Baltazar Peña, Kenny M., J. LaRue, and J. Briegel.

I am indebted to Mr. George Moran, Ms. Betty Kitzes, Ms. Phyllis Siegel, Ms. Dotson, Mr. R. Zagami, L. Myron, and L. Mentz for their kindness and guidance during times when attending college was the least of my concerns. I express my gratitude to Barry J., Professor Daniel Ramirez, Daniel, and Rose for helping me gain a better understanding of my academic career and myself. I also want to express my gratitude to my friends from elementary and middle school for their support, particularly Juan Garcia and Mario Osorio. Thank you to my good friend Marla Conti who cheered on my pursuit of a graduate degree. I want to give thanks to Tama Phelps at CCRB for offering workout tips. I thank Missy, Charlie, and the staff at Sadako Japanese Restaurant for being good hosts. I spent many months at Starbucks-South U. during the editing stage of my dissertation. I want to thank the store's manager Lisa and her amazing staff that included Annette Brown, Stacey Barry, Justin H., James Macey, Joel W., Ryan, and Nick. I am also thankful to Cody, Chris, and Crista who worked at other Starbucks locations, and Lance at Pinball Pete's for their friendly and easy-going disposition.

Lastly, I want to thank Cynthia again for being part of my graduate school journey. Thank you for supporting me during difficult times, for enriching moments of happiness, and for encouraging me to complete a PhD.

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## List of Abbreviations

ABCEC	Association of Bilingual County Employees in Careers
ACCHSC	Avalon Community Center High School Club
ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
ACLU/SC	American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California
AFT	American Federation of Teachers
AFT/1021	American Federation of Teachers, Local 1021
AJC	American Jewish Congress
AJCLA	American Jewish Committee of Los Angeles
AHC	Los Angeles City Board of Education Ad Hoc Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity
AIRI	American Institute of Reading, Inc.
AJC	American Jewish Congress
APEX	Area Program for Enrichment Exchange
ATOLA/PRC	ATOLA Personnel Relations Committee
BB	B'nai B'rith
BBLC	Bus-Bloc
BEST	Better Education for Students Today
BUSTOP/ PAC	BUSTOP Political Action Committee
CAC	Community Advisory Council
CAA AE	California Association for Afro-American Education
CACSI	Citizens' Advisory Committee on Student Integration
CAII	Committee Against Integration and Inter-marriage
CASTRO	Chicanos Against Student Teacher Radical Objectives
CBIQE	The Coalition for Bi-Lingual Integrated Quality Education
CCIA	Concerned Clergy and Interdenominational Alliance
CCS	Citizens Committee on Schools
CES	Center for Enriched Studies
CFTBE	Community Task Force for Better Education
CHOICE	Californians Helping to Obtain Individual Choices in Education
CIC	Chicano Integration Coalition
CIS(s)	Currently Integrated School(s)
CMAA	Council of Mexican-American Affairs
CMAU	Congress of Mexican-American Unity
CMRC	Citizens Management Review Committee
CN	Crenshaw Neighbors
CORE	Congress on Racial Equality
CORE/BA	Congress on Racial Equality, Bay Area Chapter

CORE/LA	Congress on Racial Equality, Los Angeles Chapter
CORE/SMBA	Congress on Racial Equality, Santa Monica Bay Area Chapter
CRC	Citizen Resource Committee
CRCSC	Community Relations Conference of Southern California
CSBA	California School Boards Association
CSBE	California State Board of Education
ECCR/CSC	Education Committee of Community Relations Conference of Southern California
EE	Educators for Equality
ELAIC	East Los Angeles Improvement Council
EPU	Educational Planning Unit
ESEA	Elementary and Secondary Education Act
ESL	English as a Second Language
EW	Educational Workshop
FHC/SFV	Fair Housing Council, San Fernando Valley
HEW	Office of Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
HPL	Home Protective League
ICSC	Interreligious Council of Southern California
IHDCLU/300/	International Hod Carriers' and Construction Laborers' Union, Local 300, AFL-
CIO	AFL-CIO
IS	Intermediary School
JFCGLA	Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles
JYC	Jewish Youth Council
JYC/LA	Jewish Youth Conference of Los Angeles
KEYES	Knowledge of English Yields Success
LACBE or	Los Angeles (City) Board of Education
LABE	
LACBE/CAC	LACBE Community Affairs Committee
LACLJ	Los Angeles Center for Law and Justice
LACUSD (or	Los Angeles City (Unified) School District
LACSD)	
LAUSD	Los Angeles Unified School District
LES	Limited English Speaking
LSNR	League of Struggle for Negro Rights
LWV/LA	Los Angeles League of Women Voters, Los Angeles
MAM	Mexican American Movement
MAAHEC	Mexican American Ah Hoc Education Committee
MAEC	Mexican American Education Commission
MAOF	Mexican-American Opportunity Council
MASA	Mexican American Student Association
MDPA/SC	Medical, Dental, and Pharmaceutical Association of Southern California
MEAC/CSES	Minority Employment Advisory Committee of the California State
	Employment Service
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
NAACP/ LA	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Los Angeles
	Chapter

NAACP- Council NAACP-UCRC	National Association for the Advancement of Colored-United Civil Rights UCRC
NANS	National Association of Neighborhood Schools
NCJW/LA	National Council of Jewish Women, Los Angeles
NDN	National Defense for Negroes
NES	Non-English Speaking
NUL	National Urban League
NUL/WRC	National Urban League, Western National Committee
OIE	Organization for Improved Education
OUA	Office of Urban Affairs
OUTRAGE	Organization United to Rally Against Grievous Errors
PATL	Parents Against the Teacher Lottery
PACTTS	Parents Against Crosstown Transfer of Teachers and Students
PBE	Parents for Better Education
PESAC	Public Education and Social Action Committee
PHC/LA	Pan Hellenic Council of Los Angeles
PIE	Program for Interschool Enrichment
PIQE	Parent Institute for Quality Education
PLP	Progressive Labor Party
RIMS(s)	Racially Isolated Minority School(s)
SCC	Southwest Chamber of Commerce
SCC	Special Citizens Committee
SCLCW	Southern Christian Leadership Conference/West
SENSE	Sensible Education in a Neighborhood School Environment
SGEC	South Gate Education Committee
SLC	Specialized Learning Center
SNCC	Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
SSPC	Spanish Speaking People's Congress
SUSI	Superintendent's Staff Unit on Student Integration
SWP	Socialist Workers Party
TFEO	Task Force for Educational Options
TIP	The Integration Project
UCRC	United Civil Rights Council
UL	Urban League
UL/LA	Urban League, Los Angeles
UN	United Neighbors
UDC	United Democratic Club
UPAFB	United Parents Against Forced Busing
USCCR	United States Commission on Civil Rights
UAO	Urban Affairs Office
UMAS	United Mexican-American Students
UTLA	United Teachers of Los Angeles
VIC	The San Fernando Valley Interfaith Council
VTP	Voluntary Transportation Program

## Abstract

From 1963 when it was filed to 1982 when the United States Supreme Court ruled on it, the important but understudied, civil rights and equal educational opportunity case of *Crawford v. Los Angeles City Board of Education* encapsulated and propelled the legal and political framework of an era. This dissertation is the first full scale history of the case and the political, social, and legal discourse around it since 1991. In this dissertation I argue that what began as a school desegregation lawsuit under the framework of a straightforward black-white binary, transformed dramatically over nearly two decades due to demographic and economic shifts in the city, as well the decision-making processes within two powerful institutional contexts at the Los Angeles City Board of Education and the courts. These contexts, in turn, generated new political identities, ideologies, and actors through the process of various forms of decision-making during the struggle over school desegregation. Los Angeles' racial politics changed markedly by 1982 because racial and ethnic groups managed to carve out political spaces and concessions from these two institutions, but the political coalitions in the city were characterized by a condition of fragmented diversity, marked by racial coalitions that emanated out of political fissures among and within racial and ethnic communities.

However, these influential political and legal institutions created the context and the parameters under which these new actors could operate, delineating who would participate in the political and legal arenas over education policy generally, and *Crawford* specifically. For example, as the case progressed through the courts, these institutions would legitimize the

participation of individuals and groups – as members of official committees or intervenors – over others. On the ideological front, these institutions shaped the debate over the meaning of equal educational opportunity, compensatory education, bilingual/bicultural education, and *de jure/de facto* segregation. These institutions also dictated and in some cases co-opted many transformative events and circumstances, including the student demonstrations of 1968 and the rise of the anti-busing coalition.

## Introduction: Fragmented Diversity

In the summer of 1963, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed *Crawford v. Los Angeles City Board of Education* (LACBE), a class-action school desegregation lawsuit on behalf of Mary Ellen Crawford and Inita Watkins, two African American high school students. The ACLU called on LACBE to desegregate two neighboring, racially segregated high schools, David Starr Jordan High School located in Watts and overwhelmingly African American, and South Gate High School located in South Gate and overwhelmingly working-class white.<sup>1</sup> Mexican Americans in Los Angeles opted not to participate in the lawsuit, either as petitioners or co-counsels, because they believed that their educational goals differed from those of the African American community, though they shared some common educational concerns.

The origins of *Crawford* mirrored the broader and recognizable civil rights discourse in school desegregation cases in the North and South based on a black-white racial binary. Arising out of Los Angeles' demographic shifts, new political actors joined that lawsuit due to what I refer to as "fragmented diversity," a condition in which ideological and political fissures between and within racial and ethnic groups give rise to unpredictable cross-racial coalitions. For example, in a watershed moment of cross-racial collaboration in school desegregation lawsuits, the ACLU re-filed *Crawford* on behalf of African American children *and* children of "Mexican descent" in early July 1966. Previously, African Americans and Mexican Americans addressed their respective educational concerns by filing separate class-action school desegregation lawsuits. African Americans and Mexican Americans had demonstrated they each constituted distinct oppressed classes, which allowed them to file class-action lawsuits separately.

Unpredictable historical actors and cross-racial alliances developed out of the political and legal arenas debating school integration, but nonetheless, the board of education and the courts delineated the parameters of participation by allowing some actors and groups to join formally the integration debate while not allowing others. While the Los Angeles school desegregation case remained largely dormant in the California court system from 1963 to 1966

and again from 1966 to 1968, in March 1968 African American students from South-Central L.A. and Mexican American students from East L.A. staged simultaneous but separate demonstrations calling on LACBE and the Los Angeles City School District to improve their neighborhood schools by implementing curriculum that included their respective histories and cultures, by adding compensatory education programs, and by giving the two communities more input on educational matters.<sup>2</sup> Each group enjoyed some short-term gains but more broadly, the 1968 student demonstrations transformed the debate over school integration in *Crawford* to a debate about balancing school desegregation, compensatory education, and bilingual/bicultural education.

*Crawford* also exposed a lack of social and juridical consensus in California courts and federal courts on whether to confront racial segregation in schools, irrespective of whether segregation was *de jure* or *de facto*. California courts beginning in the early 1960s ordered desegregation regardless of the cause of segregation. In 1970, Superior Court Judge Alfred Gitelson found both *de facto* and *de jure* segregation in Los Angeles schools and ordered LACBE to desegregate, prompting a protracted fight over how to desegregate the increasingly diverse and increasingly racially segregated Los Angeles Unified School District as LACBE appealed the integration order claiming that school segregation was *de facto* and therefore the district had no responsibility to desegregate its schools.

Nonetheless, in 1976, the California Supreme Court affirmed the Superior Court order, calling on LACBE to desegregate schools regardless of cause. LACBE responded with a voluntary, part-time integration plan that the Superior Court subsequently rejected. Later, LACBE submitted a hybrid plan with a voluntary-first phase of integration, and a mandatory back-up integration phase if necessary.

All along this complicated process, the courts and LACBE legitimized the claims of some individuals and groups, allowing them to serve on education committees and partaking in *Crawford* as intervenors. By the late 1970s, LACBE's makeup changed, with anti-busing members gaining control of LACBE and increasingly convincing politically moderate board members to also oppose mandatory integration strategies. These board members in control of LACBE subsequently asked the court to end mandatory busing provisions. California's desegregation case eventually reached the United States Supreme Court, which found a California anti-busing amendment constitutional. The final plan was an all-voluntary integration

plan that included bilingual/bicultural education for Non-English Speaking and Limited-English Speaking students, and compensatory education for racially isolated minority schools. At its core, the uneasy and imperfect final integration plan represented a compromise that frustrated most integrationists and anti-busers but at the same time granted minority communities an opportunity to improve their educational opportunities.

From 1963 to 1982 when the United States Supreme Court decided the fate of *Crawford*, the Los Angeles school district had changed dramatically. In the mid 1960s when the district conducted some of the earliest racial and ethnic censuses of its student population, white students represented the numerical majority, while minority students (African American and Hispanic) were about 40% of the student population. However, in 1980, minority students represented two-thirds of the district's population, and white students numbered less than 30%. By 1980, many white Angelenos had fled the school district, some by moving outside of its attendance boundaries and others by matriculating their children in private schools, further contributing to their lower proportion in the district. Some middle-class African Americans and Mexican Americans also had moved to the suburbs, but they remained within the boundaries of the district and therefore their children largely attended the Los Angeles school district. Moreover, a new wave of immigrants from Mexico, Central and South America, and Asia transformed the demographics of the city, settled in densely populated minority communities, and in turned increased the representation of minority students in the district. These recent immigrant groups voiced their educational concerns, sometimes clashing with the demands of the more established minority residents, and at other times forming unpredictable racial alliances with anti-busing proponents.

In "Fragmented Diversity," I analyze the interconnected racial, political, legal, and cultural debates over school desegregation in Los Angeles. I use the idea of "fragmented diversity" to describe how the Los Angeles school desegregation case exposed the coexistence of racial segregation and diversity in Los Angeles, and made clear internal political divisions within minority communities over the issues of integration and equal educational opportunity. These political fissures in turn provided opportunities for unpredictable and unlikely cross-racial coalitions. LACBE, the integrationists, and the anti-busers formed the three main competing camps in the desegregation case. These three parallel and overlapping though uneven stories – political, legal, and grassroots – mostly took place in three spaces: the LACBE headquarters; the

courts; and the streets. Instances of cross-racial collaboration occurred at different stages of the lawsuit, and at the same time these three stories illustrate the deep political divisions between Los Angeles' racial and ethnic populations that informed their respective ideas about school integration, and equal educational opportunity.

### *The Protagonists*

The *Crawford v. Los Angeles City Board of Education* lawsuit lasted from 1963 to the late 1980s. The Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) was founded in 1853 as the Los Angeles City School District. The district's area that covers 711 square miles includes much of Los Angeles County from downtown Los Angeles south to San Pedro, west extending into Pacific Palisades and Topanga, and north and northwest into all of the San Fernando Valley. Ventura County borders the San Fernando Valley along the Valley's western edge and established its own school districts. Along the eastern edge, Burbank, Glendale, Alhambra, Monterey Park, Downey, Compton, and Long Beach border the district and are outside of the Los Angeles School District's attendance boundaries. Even though Beverly Hills and Culver City are located within the Los Angeles County boundaries, these cities also set up their own school districts. Additionally, the beach cities of Santa Monica, Manhattan Beach, Redondo Beach, and Palos Verdes Estates as well as Torrance established their separate school districts.

The district is governed by the Los Angeles Board of Education, which is composed of seven members who serve four-year terms, are elected in staggered elections every two years, and whose members formulate education policies. The school board members select a school superintendent who implements those policies. Until 1979, voters from the city of Los Angeles as well as from other areas served by the LAUSD outside the city's boundaries voted for board members in district-wide elections every two years. This format changed in 1979, when district voters began electing board members according to strict geographic sub-districts within the broader school district.

As one of the three main protagonists in the integration saga, the institution of LACBE, by some accounts, was politically liberal in the early to mid-1960s, but underwent a political transformation directly attributable to the integration debate. The *Los Angeles Times* described LACBE member Georgiana Hardy and Ralph Richardson as the "liberal bloc," for example. There was one progressive, Mary Tinglof,<sup>3</sup> who left the board in 1965, and two conservatives,

Jewel C. Chambers and Charles Smoot. Lastly, Arthur Gardner and Hugh C. Willett were political moderates, who sometimes voted with Tinglof, Hardy, and Richardson, but were conservative on school integration through busing.<sup>4</sup> Throughout most of LACBE's history, its members had been mostly white and male. Though all white in the early 1960s, the board's racial composition began to shift very gradually in the mid 1960s.

The legal institution of the California court system, from the local Superior Court in the County of Los Angeles up to the California Supreme Court, comprises another key protagonist. The California courts, sometimes at odds over each other's decisions, formally demarcated the boundaries of which individuals and groups had standing in *Crawford* and would directly participate in the hearings. In the process, the courts constructed and defined political identities, ideologies, and actors and granted some of them legal recognition to partake in the lawsuit.

Integrationists represent yet another major group, and they sought two-way mandatory busing throughout the district, and possibly into adjacent districts under a metropolitan plan. The integrationists include civil rights organizations, community leaders, and some LACBE members. Some integrationists worried that bilingual/bicultural and compensatory education efforts would interfere with integration, while others believed that bilingual/bicultural and compensatory education could be part of a comprehensive integration plan.

Anti-busers opposed two-way, mandatory busing for integration, and many other mandatory integration strategies, and instead proposed voluntary integration strategies, including voluntary busing. Anti-busers included anti-busing organizations, community leaders, and some LACBE members. Many anti-busers also supported bilingual bicultural education and compensatory programs, which many anti-busers saw as a way to challenge mandatory busing efforts. Although some individual LACBE members clearly either backed or opposed mandatory busing, LACBE's majority position on mandatory busing changed over time while *Crawford* made its way up and down the California court system.

Forced into the political arena of the integration debate, minority communities grappled with integration and compensatory education, including bilingual/bicultural education. The African American community and its leaders were at odds over integration, with leaders calling for mandatory busing, while many African American Angelenos demanding compensatory education and more community control and input in educational matters. In 1966, Mexican Americans joined African Americans in *Crawford*, but in 1968, Mexican American students

from the community of East L.A. demonstrated and called for compensatory education and bilingual/bicultural programs, but not integration. In response to the 1968 student demonstrations, however, some Mexican Americans contemplated busing their children out of neighborhood schools for a chance at better educational opportunities, irrespective of whether busing their children accomplished integration.

“Fragmented Diversity” represents a departure from civil rights and school desegregation history that has focused on the South and North and the prevalent but increasingly unreliable black/white binary as a trope for analysis of school desegregation cases. African Americans, Mexican Americans, “Spanish surname,” and other racial and ethnic minorities were keenly aware of their unequal social statuses but were not powerless. They confronted the urban crisis at its core by seeking to end educational inequality, sometimes through legal means and at times through grassroots mobilization. *Crawford v. LACBE* (from now on *Crawford*) provides an opportunity to study race relations, with the student demonstrations of 1968 representing a formidable intervention intrinsic of grassroots mobilization that transformed the school desegregation case. Although the East L.A. student demonstrations occurred in 1968, the issues they raised became part and parcel of the *Crawford* story until the very end. By weaving together these two seemingly disparate stories within the historical arc *Crawford* provides, I show the changing, fragmented nature of Los Angeles’ racial politics in an increasingly diverse and segregated city at the end of the twentieth century, and demonstrate that powerful political and legal institutions constructed political identities, ideologies, and actors through the process of various forms of decision-making.

### *Bridging California School Desegregation History and **Brown vs. Board of Education***

In “Fragmented Diversity,” I study school desegregation efforts that were vastly different from the North and South partly because *Crawford* was tried in the California state court system instead of the federal court system. Additionally, Los Angeles was multiracial and multiethnic, and its enormous school district encompassed areas in the city proper as well as the suburbs. Beginning in 1963 and up to 1979, California courts were not restricted to ordering integration based solely on *de jure* segregation. California courts required civil rights groups to demonstrate that racial segregation existed, and could order desegregation regardless of the cause of segregation.<sup>5</sup>

California school segregation case law reveals a history of rulings against school integration based on a “separate and equal” doctrine established for more than two decades before *Plessy vs. Ferguson*. By statute, the state of California mandated segregated schools as early as 1870, twenty years after statehood. In 1874, Mary Frances Ward, an eleven-year-old African American, sued her grammar school in San Francisco because it denied her admission because she was black. *Ward v. Flood* reached the California Supreme Court the same year. Twenty-two years before *Plessy*, the California Supreme Court espoused a “separate and equal” doctrine by ruling that a violation of Ward’s constitutional rights had not occurred because she was educated in a segregated Black school “on equal terms” and “at the common public expense” as white students.<sup>6</sup> The California Supreme Court pointed to the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the “Federal Constitution” as the basis of its ruling.

School segregation also affected Asian Americans. In *Tape v. Hurley*, Joseph Tape, the father of Mamie Tape, a Chinese American child born in the United States, filed a lawsuit against a teacher named Jennie M.A. Hurley, and the board of education and the school superintendent of the San Francisco Board of Education, seeking “admission in the public school of the district in which she resides.”<sup>7</sup> After dismissing the board of education from the lawsuit, the Superior Court of the County of San Francisco ruled in Tape’s favor. Hurley appealed the decision to the California Supreme Court. After dismissing the superintendent from the lawsuit, the California Supreme Court entered a judgment in Tape’s favor against teacher Hurley.<sup>8</sup> The Court declared that under the current law, a school could deny admission to Tape “only if she was vicious, or filthy, or that she had a contagious or infectious disease. None of these things had been alleged.”<sup>9</sup> The California Supreme Court concluded, “The legislature had not denied to the children of any race or nationality the right to enter the public schools. Hence, the child had a right to attend the public school.”<sup>10</sup> The California Legislature later enacted a statute ordering school board to separate Chinese and other Asian students from white students.

In 1924, Alice Piper, a Native American, sued the Big Pine School District, near Death Valley, in Ynio County, California, because it denied her admission to one of its schools. *Piper v. Big Pine School District* challenged the 1921 California statute that permitted school districts to create separate schools for Indian children and children of Chinese, Japanese, or Mongolian parents.<sup>11</sup> Although Piper lost her case, the court allowed her to attend the school because a separate school for Indian children did not exist, thus violating her rights under the Fourteenth

Amendment. Had a “separate but equal” Indian school existed in the district and near her, she would have been compelled to attend it. In its ruling, the court reaffirmed the practice of “separate but equal” in California.

In *Mendez v. Westminster School District* in 1946, the Mexican American parents of five students filed a lawsuit in federal court challenging racial segregation in Orange County, California school districts, where students of Mexican descent were compelled to attend “Mexican schools.” Senior District Court Judge Paul McCormick ruled in favor of Mendez and the other four co-plaintiffs in February 1946 on the grounds that segregating Mexican American students was unconstitutional and denied them equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment.<sup>12</sup> California had never enacted a statute permitting school districts to segregate Mexican American students. However, the practice of segregating students of Mexican students had been unofficially institutionalized for various reasons in different ways, including creating separate “Mexican schools,” or by designating “Mexican classrooms” within schools populated by students from different racial or ethnic backgrounds. On appeal, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals agreed with Judge McCormick, but the basis for upholding McCormick’s decision did not include the equal protection clause under the Fourteenth Amendment. Instead, the court’s ruling was based on the narrow grounds that an existing California statute allowing the segregation of Chinese, Japanese, and Mongolian children into separate schools did not extend to children of Mexican descent. This particular statute, in fact, had been challenged and upheld in *Piper v. Big Pine School District*. In 1947, the statutes authorizing segregation of Indian, Chinese, Mongolian, and Japanese students in California were repealed.

In 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled in *Brown vs. Board of Education* that segregated schools were inherently unequal and therefore unconstitutional.<sup>13</sup> After the landmark ruling, the NAACP and other mainstream civil rights organizations continued their school desegregation campaign to other regions of the country. Some well-known school desegregation cases occurred in Charlotte, Boston, Detroit, Chicago and Denver. Significantly, the cases in Houston, Texas and Denver, Colorado challenged the black-white paradigm built in *Brown* due to the areas’ existing Mexican American population. Yet, in most desegregation cases, civil rights organizations sought to integrate segregated African American and white schools. Even in Pasadena, California, just a short distance north from Los Angeles, the basis of the desegregation case rested on integrating Black and white schools.

The *Crawford* case was significant because it represented a debate over how to fulfill the mandate and spirit of *Brown* in a diverse and vast school district that educates students from different racial and ethnic backgrounds including African American, Hispanic, Asian, and Native American, among others, and spreads over 711 square miles. Additionally, during *Crawford* the district's demographics were constantly in flux due to out migration and increasing immigration to Los Angeles.

In 1963, petitioners in *Crawford* sought to integrate segregated schools in a racially, ethnically, and culturally *diverse* city, and the case demonstrated that segregation and diversity could exist simultaneously. In its inception in 1963, *Crawford* sought to desegregate two neighboring schools, one black and one white. Mexican Americans originally chose not to join the lawsuit. By 1966, students of "Mexican descent" had joined *Crawford*. In the mid to late 1970s, mandatory busing for integration represented the focal point of contention in *Crawford*, with white Angelenos from across the social spectrum and the Los Angeles metropolitan region overwhelmingly opposed to it, while minorities were at odds over the issue. Another important aspect of the integration debate dealt with meeting state and federal mandates to provide bilingual education to non-English speaking (NES) and limited-English speaking students (LES), which was a central demand in the East L.A. student demonstrations of 1968. To combat the harms of racial isolation in hyper-segregated minority schools, the LACBE promoted compensatory education programs instead of integration.

### ***De Facto/De Jure Question***

In 1963 *Jackson v. Pasadena*, the court ordered school desegregation regardless of the cause of segregation, in effect deeming the distinction between *de jure* and *de facto* segregation irrelevant. Segregation harmed minority children, and the evil was inherent in segregation itself. California court decisions in the early 1960s and 1970s were more progressive than federal courts, and the remedies California state courts allowed were more expansive than federal courts. Civil rights organization did not have to prove *de jure* segregation or intent behind segregation and only needed to show segregation existed. In other words, civil rights groups had to demonstrate "statistical segregation," i.e. segregation in terms of the proportions, or representation, of students from different racial and ethnic backgrounds.

I argue that not only do *de facto* and *de jure* co-exist, they are symbiotic. Instinctively, the California Supreme Court in its 1963 ruling possibly wanted to do away with the distinction because the two forms of segregation work together. Yet, the distinction is not artificial per se. Instead, one form of segregation reinforces the other. For example, I show in the story of *Crawford* that several city councils within the broader Los Angeles County passed resolutions opposing school integration, specifically attendance boundary changes to desegregate their racially segregated predominantly white neighborhood schools with minority schools. This is *de jure* segregation emanating out of *de facto* racial segregation that possibly developed out of housing patterns based on *de jure* housing covenants. Moreover, Proposition 14, an amendment to the California Constitution passed overwhelmingly by California voters in response to the Rumford Fair Housing Act of 1963 that sought to end racial discrimination in housing, exemplified *de jure* segregation. Voters wanted to legitimize private *de facto* acts that included acts stemming from prejudice, racism, and discrimination in sales and rentals in housing, through *de jure* segregation via Proposition 14. The California Supreme Court deemed Proposition 14 unconstitutional two years later in 1966.

Moreover, racial politics influence judicial decrees on whether there are findings of *de jure* or *de facto*, even if the two forms worked together. Distinction and findings are political and legal in nature and the question is therefore susceptible to interpretation that may not take into consideration how the two forms of segregation work together. Additionally, distinguishing between *de jure* and *de facto* is not a moral issue. If it were a moral question as Dr. King posed it in 1963, distinction would be irrelevant. The distinction between *de jure* and *de facto* was necessary in federal cases, and it gave jurists an opportunity to focus on *de jure* or *de facto* instead of how *de jure* and *de facto* interacted.

In the early 1980s, the United States Supreme Court raised the standard of proof of *de jure* by adding the concept of “intentionality” to permit a remedy of mandatory busing in *de jure* segregation cases when it found California’s anti-busing Proposition 1 constitutional. The idea of intentionality made the finding, or lack of finding, of *de jure* even more susceptible to federal interpretation, and the Court permitted *de jure* to exist as long as it was not an intentional *de jure* act. Because the concept of *de jure* segregation is even more susceptible to interpretation, it is a political question as much as it is a legal question. Although “statistical segregation” can show segregation exists, it is not enough under current federal standards to warrant a remedy.

### *The Black/White Divide and the Urban/Suburban Divide*

I draw upon the work of several historians who have analyzed the inner city, race relations, residential segregation, job discrimination, and suburbanization.<sup>14</sup> Although I focus on *Crawford* and the 1968 student protests, my analysis includes an undercurrent that challenges the notion of a rigid urban-suburban racial divide. While racial segregation existed, the actions by community activists in one area invariably affected communities throughout the Los Angeles County, not only their respective segregated spaces. For example, even though the majority of San Fernando Valley residents were white, African Americans who lived in the eastern part of the San Fernando Valley undermined the idea of a solid urban/suburban racial divide, and questioned how their schools had become highly segregated educational spaces even though the majority of Valley residents were white. In this light, I demonstrate how many white Angelenos actively segregated their children and themselves from minority children even when they lived in a diverse area.

My dissertation does not examine whiteness per se but about how the mandate of *Brown* played out in a diverse and vast school district. The concept of whiteness partly helps explain the racial dynamics within the integration debate.<sup>15</sup> The possessive investment in whiteness ensured “the unequal educational opportunities available to children of different races.”<sup>16</sup> In Los Angeles’ desegregation case, civil rights organizations demonstrated that LACBE maintained “separate and unequal schools” by providing unequal funding along racial lines. LACBE also had provided the mechanism of open enrollment that permitted white parents to transfer their children from desegregated schools to racially segregated, predominantly white schools. Both policies undermined LACBE’s constant colorblind rhetoric. The 1968 African American and Mexican American student demonstrators who experienced this inequality challenged LACBE’s investment in whiteness by calling for compensatory education programs that they believed would help *equalize* their educational opportunities in their respective schools.

### *Los Angeles Urban History*

It is important to contextualize *Crawford*, the 1968 student demonstrations, and the integration debate within a broader history of Los Angeles. While school desegregation cases in the North and South based on a biracial framework were complex enough, in Los Angeles the racial dynamics of the city’s diverse populations and their relations to residential spaces further

complicated the school desegregation case. In Los Angeles before World War Two, African Americans, Jews, Asians of Chinese and Japanese descent, immigrants of Eastern European descent such as Italians and Poles, and Chicanos and Mexican immigrants, shared communities, lived in overlapping neighborhoods, or lived in segregated neighborhoods very near or adjacent to each other,<sup>17</sup> which translated into cases of cross-racial political alliances. This changed after World War Two, as the postwar economic boom facilitated the growth of the suburbs.

After World War Two, whites from different ethnicities coalesced politically into one racial group along the color line, and moved out of the city and out into the suburbs in soaring and unprecedented numbers. Whites enjoyed the privilege associated with residing in new and homogeneous communities segregated far away from densely populated minority communities in or near the city center, aided by low-interest home mortgages, wartime savings, and G.I. Bill benefits. Early in the twentieth century, Los Angeles entered the first phase of suburbanization and residential segregation driven by developers and realtors. In the postwar era, Los Angeles entered a second major phase of suburbanization and increased rigid housing segregation, but this time it was not only facilitated by realtors and developers but also by federal government lending practices.

By World War Two, the diverse population fragmented into increasingly racially segregated spaces, a condition exacerbated in the postwar economic and housing boom of the 1950s. After World War Two, whites from different ethnicities coalesced politically into one racial group along the color line, and moved out of the city in soaring and unprecedented numbers. Whites enjoyed the privilege associated with residing in new and homogeneous communities segregated far away from densely populated minority communities in or near the city center, aided by low-interest home mortgages, wartime savings, and G.I. Bill benefits. Early in the twentieth century, Los Angeles entered the first phase of suburbanization and residential segregation driven by developers and realtors. In the postwar era, Los Angeles entered a second major phase of suburbanization and increased, and more rigid housing segregation, but this time it was not only facilitated by realtors and developers but also by federal government lending practices. The city's diverse but racially segregated population provided the background for and challenges to the debate over desegregating Los Angeles' public schools.

Several Los Angeles historians have charted Los Angeles' urban development, residential segregation, sprawl, and racial politics before and after World War Two. Expanding on such

work, in “Fragmented Diversity” I present a comprehensive analysis of the effects of these historical developments on Los Angeles’ school desegregation case.<sup>18</sup> Residential segregation had the effect of reinforcing racial and cultural pride in L.A.’s communities, particularly minority communities. In “Fragmented Diversity,” I demonstrate that racial and cultural pride, exemplified by the student demonstrations of 1968, transformed the integration debate to include bilingual/bicultural education and compensatory education, and that the student demonstrations and the integration case in turn exposed internal political divisions and generated debates within minority communities over the meaning of equal educational opportunity, racial and ethnic identity, and cultural pride. I build upon the work of historians who have studied segments of Los Angeles’ diverse populations, trace the divergent historical paths of different racial and ethnic groups, locate spaces of cross-racial collaboration, and document racial conflict.<sup>19</sup> A few historians have discussed school integration and included *Crawford* in their work about Los Angeles, but *Crawford* was not central in their studies.<sup>20</sup> In my work, I analyze *Crawford* from its humble beginnings, traced the case’s tumultuous history up and down the California court system, and concluded by scrutinizing the case’s complicated conclusion after United States Supreme Court intervention.

### *African American Angelenos*

Before World War Two, African Americans who had migrated to Los Angeles enjoyed relative autonomy in comparison to their Southern counterparts who dealt with Jim Crow laws. African Americans in Los Angeles freely associated with members of other racial and ethnic groups. African Americans also lived in close-knit burgeoning communities near or overlapping with other racial and ethnic communities and had access to housing opportunities that “were far less confined before the 1920s,” according to historian Scott Kurashige.<sup>21</sup> But by the late 1910s and 1920s, historian Josh Sides explained, “a web of racially restrictive housing covenants” was ensuring the “hardening racial segregation” of the city.<sup>22</sup>

During World War Two, many African Americans migrated west, and into the Los Angeles metropolitan region in particular, to fill the needs of wartime production.<sup>23</sup> African Americans endured increasingly scarce housing opportunities and higher population density in segregated neighborhoods. During postwar suburbanization, and with new access to physical mobility, stemming from construction of a new federal freeway system, and low-cost home

financing, whites moved to the suburbs away from the city center in every direction and pursued job opportunities that, by this time, were also moving to the suburbs. African Americans remained in densely populated and segregated neighborhoods in South-Central L.A., and to a lesser degree in Pacoima in the San Fernando Valley, and Pasadena in the San Gabriel Valley. W. As war production subsided and shifted into Cold War production, African Americans endured increased poverty, high unemployment, inadequate public schools, and rising crime. In addition to structural problems directly affecting African Americans, they faced intimidation, prejudice and harassment at the hands of the Los Angeles Police Department, an organization that figuratively and literally ensured the confinement of the African American population in pockets of the Los Angeles region and maintained the racial segregation of neighborhoods by intimidation or by force.

In *L.A. City Limits*, Josh Sides asked: “Why did the end of de jure racial inequality not produce de facto racial equality in urban America?”<sup>24</sup> This question is central to my work because the debates and confrontations over school desegregation at LACBE headquarters and in the courts, and the student unrest in minority schools, represented efforts to achieve racial equality through educational equality.<sup>25</sup> I show that *de jure* segregation did not end but instead underwent a transformation culminating in courts sanctioning it by judicial decree as long as *de jure* acts were not “intentional” *de jure* acts.

### *Mexican American Identity and Culture*

The origins of the Mexican American story in Southern California extend much earlier than the Mexican-American War in 1848, but for brevity this event will serve as a starting point for the Mexican American story in Los Angeles. Having lost the war to the United States, and surrendered what is now most of the Southwest and California under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Mexicans and their progeny would endure second-class citizenship in the newly acquired American territories. In Los Angeles, this was no exception. Relying on their history and culture, Mexicans and Mexican Americans pieced together an identity that developed into a community that changed across time as immigration increased as a result of the need of cheap labor by the barons of L.A.’s industrial elite as well as push factors, such as the 1917 Mexican Revolution.

Although Mexican Americans *were* Americans by birth, this proved immaterial before and after World War Two. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, Mexicans and their children “returned” to Mexico, either voluntarily or involuntarily, through a repatriation process that developed out of racism, the economic pressures of the Depression, and from invitations from the Mexican government. In 1942, in what is commonly referred to as a precursor to the Zoot Suit Riots of 1943, the Sleepy Lagoon Murder case reaffirmed the Mexican American’s second-class citizenship. After authorities discovered Mexican national Juan Diaz dead, the city rounded up over six hundred Mexican American youths based on their color and dress. Subsequently, twenty-two youths were tried. An all-white jury convicted three for first-degree murder, nine for second-degree murder, and five for assault. After an appeal process of almost two years, Judge Clement Nye dismissed all charges for a lack of evidence.

In 1943, the Zoot Suit Riots erupted highlighting anti-Mexican, and by extension anti-Mexican American sentiment in the city. White sailors from the Chavez Ravine Naval Base targeted and Mexican American youths dressed in the zoot suit, a popular dress inspired by musician Cab Calloway. White sailors and Mexican American youth fought each other in the streets, and white marines and soldiers stationed in San Pedro joined the former “in roaming the streets of downtown, where they encountered, beat, and stripped Mexican American youths while police looked on.”<sup>26</sup>

After World War Two, East L.A. became overwhelmingly Mexican American, as whites across ethnicities moved out in all directions, particularly north, west and south. The marginalization of the Mexican American community and culture continued after the war, as Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants became the focus of Americanization campaigns aimed at assimilating them. In addition, in 1953, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) initiated “Operation Wetback” in which the INS reportedly deported over one million Mexicans but made targets out of anyone matching the targeted skin color. In postwar Los Angeles, race and culture defined segregated spaces, and it is within this context that the ACLU filed *Crawford* in 1963.

In 1968, Mexican American high school students from East L.A. protested at several East L.A. schools clamoring for recognition of their culture and history, and in the process transformed the integration debate and *Crawford*, and challenged mainstream society. This cultural conflict has deep historical roots.<sup>27</sup> Several works have also analyzed the development

of Mexican American identity through other historical, cultural, and legal processes.<sup>28</sup> In Chapter Two of my dissertation, I tease out a tension in the Mexican American community in Los Angeles defined by the confluence of Mexican history and culture and American citizenship. In 1968, Mexican American students in East L.A. asserted their American citizenship by challenging second-class education in their racially isolated minority neighborhoods by reclaiming their Mexican history and culture. *Crawford* also provides an important case in which two distinct, legally recognized groups – African Americans and Mexican Americans – at first could not agree to file a class-action lawsuit together but jointly re-filed the class-action lawsuit at a later stage in the Los Angeles school desegregation case due to their common concerns and goals.

### *Cross-Racial Coalition Building*

Historians have grappled with cross-racial grassroots mobilization, and whether these collaborations were fleeting, failed to materialize, or created long-term political alliances and social change.<sup>29</sup> My work represents a departure from adversarial Black-white-Brown racial politics, on the one hand, and the notion of long-lasting cross-racial coalitions, on the other. I also dispute the notion that African Americans and Mexican Americans charted their historical paths independently from each other, and in the process missed opportunities to improve their lot when one group or both shunned cross-racial political alliances.

The school desegregation debate evoked disparate responses from the city's largest racial groups, and exposed conflicting ideas about what constituted equal educational opportunity within these groups and their communities. Although *Crawford* began as a quest to desegregate two extremely segregated schools, the desegregation case exposed adversarial claims of what comprised equal educational opportunity among African Americans, Chicanos, and whites. Moreover, as the case proceeded through the courts, it bared political factions within the African American, Chicano/Latino, white, and Jewish communities that changed across time. In the African American community, for example, these factions did not spring up unexpectedly but were part of an internal struggle between middle-class African American liberals who espoused collaboration with whites, and working-class conservative African Americans who largely shunned cross-racial coalitions and preferred local autonomy.<sup>30</sup>

In the late 1960s, many Mexican Americans in Los Angeles endorsed bilingual/bicultural and compensatory education programs. However, Mexican American students joined African American students in the school desegregation lawsuit in 1966. Additionally, the East L.A. student demonstrations of 1968 exposed deep political tensions within the East L.A. community among three groups: 1) vocal students and community activists who advocated for community input, and bilingual/bicultural and compensatory education; 2) students, parents and teachers opposed to the vociferous demonstrations but backing their goals; and 3) parents who began contemplating in earnest having their children bused to schools outside their neighborhood. Whites from throughout the city overwhelmingly voiced their contempt for the both the African American and Mexican American student demonstrations that took place in 1968, and erroneously fused the demonstrations with calls for school desegregation.

It was not until late in *Crawford* that Mexican American lawyers joined the ACLU and NAACP as co-counsel. In Los Angeles, integration evoked a diverse and fragmented response from the Mexican American community, with the community never formally declaring its opposition to integration in the courts. At the same time, by the late 1970s, a new wave of immigrants too voiced their concerns about integration and busing, and allied themselves for or against the busing issue in nuanced and unpredictable ways.

### *Shifts in American Political Culture*

The Los Angeles' school desegregation case lasted almost two decades, from the 1963 until 1982, with most of the legal wrangling occurring in the late 1970s. It is imperative to understand *Crawford* within broader historical, political, social, and cultural shifts.<sup>31</sup> It is within this shift, a response to the 1960s political turmoil and racial upheaval, that *Crawford* openly exposed the city's racial politics. The United States Supreme Court grappled with issues of school integration and mandatory busing in the seventies in *Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971), and extended its desegregation ruling beyond the South into northern school districts in *Keyes v. Denver School District #1* (1974), only to backtrack and begin setting limits on desegregation strategies by holding unconstitutional city-suburb busing plans in Detroit's desegregation case, *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974).<sup>32</sup> In the seventies, the national rightward political and cultural shift affected *Crawford*, detectable by tangible conservative political shifts by LACBE and state and federal court systems.

My dissertation ends in the early 1980s, an era defined by historians as the triumph on the national stage of white, Christian conservatism exemplified by the election of Ronald Reagan, and the continued economic downward spiral of cities, particularly in the Rustbelt. In Los Angeles, however, minority communities undermined this national political trend and narrative by challenging the urban crisis. Moreover, during *Crawford* Los Angeles underwent dramatic demographic changes and the city's multiracial and multiethnic population transformed the desegregation case. By the early 1980s, as immigration from Mexico, Central America, and Southeast Asia had increased, the desegregation case highlighted a paradox: the Los Angeles schools had become highly segregated within one of the most racially and ethnically diverse districts in the country. Educational and residential segregation existed alongside diversity. Although not in par politically with middle-class Valleyites, many who were white, and other suburban communities in Southern California, minority communities in Los Angeles had managed to carve out concessions by the end of the long integration fight. The city's diverse populations and neighborhoods, including South-Central L.A., East L.A. and the San Fernando Valley, each had influenced the final integration order in tangible and important ways.

### *Chapter Outline*

In chapter one, I argue that civil rights organizations filed a class-action lawsuit to desegregate two racially segregated schools to improve the educational opportunities for African American students, and to challenge LACBE's colorblind ideology that undergirded *separate and unequal* schools in the Los Angeles City School District along race. Civil rights organizations invited but failed to entice Mexican Americans to join African Americans in the lawsuit because Mexican Americans believed that their educational needs and concerns were dissimilar, largely due to their cultural differences and distinct historical experiences.

In chapter two, I propose that the separate African American and Mexican American student protests of 1968 and their aftermath illustrated an internal political struggle within the two communities over the meaning of their respective racial and ethnic identities and what their identities meant in relation to educational equality. More broadly, the student demonstrations irreversibly transformed the integration debate from a debate about implementing racial integration *or* compensatory education to one about *concurrently addressing* integration, compensatory education, and bilingual/bicultural education. The separate protests, did not seek

desegregation and the curriculum changes the students sought largely would not affect curriculum in segregated, white neighborhood schools. However, many white Angelenos chastised both African American and Mexican American students for challenging authority and seeking culture-based education. The student demonstrations also revealed deep political divisions among three groups in the East L.A. community regarding education and the demonstrations.<sup>33</sup> One group consisted of vocal students and “radical” grassroots organizers behind the demonstrations; another group included politically conservative students, parents, and teachers who preferred the status quo, opposed the student uprising, but backed several student demands; and a third group emerged comprised of Mexican American parents who, following in the footsteps of students of “Mexican descent” who joined the desegregation lawsuit in 1966,<sup>34</sup> began contemplating busing as a means of improving their children’s education, irrespective of whether busing accomplished school desegregation.

In 1968, the ACLU amended the case to mandate district-wide school desegregation, instead of seeking to desegregate Jordan and South Gate High Schools only or only a small number of schools. In chapter three, I argue that by calling for district-wide integration, civil rights attorneys sought to challenge racial segregation in the schools and in housing, and the structural mechanisms maintaining them, by trying to bring together students from the inner city with students from the suburbs therefore transgressing spaces defined and demarcated by race. In chapter four, I contend that groups partaking in *Crawford*, plus outside official and community groups, introduced their perspectives about integration seeking to influence LACBE and the courts, broadening the number of potential integration strategies, and in the process blurring the distinction between the city’s racial politics and an independent judiciary. In chapter five, I contend that the intrinsic complexity of the *Crawford* case combined with a changing LACBE membership, the inclusion of intervenors, and the increasing demands and needs of a highly diverse student population and Los Angeles community, undermined and delayed integration efforts in *Crawford* at a pivotal juncture when expedience was essential.

In chapter six, I recount why Judge Paul Egly rejected an initial part-time integration program, but allowed LACBE to begin implementing a subsequent full-time, hybrid plan with an initial voluntary phase and a mandatory backup phase. In this chapter I argue that LACBE’s integration plans would maintain many racially isolated minority schools segregated, placed the responsibility of integration on minority students, and required little participation from white

students. In chapter seven, I make the claim that educational problems in minority communities, such as overcrowding, combined with the anti-busers' takeover of LACBE and the enactment of an anti-busing California proposition in accordance with strict federal standards normalized segregation in Los Angeles schools. Educational problems, including overcrowding, undermined minority community support for integration because they forced them to focus their attention on more immediate concerns. The United States Supreme Court found the anti-busing proposition that all but outlawed mandatory busing constitutional by requiring petitioners not only to demonstrate *de jure* school segregation but also to prove that *de jure* school segregation resulted from intentional acts. In the conclusion, I detail the United Supreme Court's decision on California anti-busing Proposition 1 that largely marked the end of *Crawford*. I also bring the stories of *Crawford* and its main historical personalities to a close. At the end of the class-action lawsuit to integrate, integrationists and anti-busers believed that there were no winners in the protracted legal fight. Anti-busers believed that they had won a Pyrrhic victory. Fervent integrationists were disappointed and believed they had failed minority students. In spite of the disappointment within the adversarial legal camps in *Crawford* and the final integration plan's shortcomings approved by the Superior Court, the final, all-voluntary integration plan represented a precarious example of racial compromise in which the city's largest racial and ethnic groups all influenced the plan's framework in important and concrete ways.

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<sup>1</sup> The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the American Jewish Congress (AJC) supported the ACLU's efforts.

<sup>2</sup> The student demonstrations had clearly defined goals. African American students from South-Central L.A. demanded African American history courses, African American school administrators, and better relationships between school administrators at Jefferson High School and the community. Mexican American students demanded Spanish language courses and Mexican American and Mexican history. Their other numerous policy changes related to curriculum, IQ testing, cafeteria food, and the restoration or replacement of dilapidated school buildings.

<sup>3</sup> Mary Tinglof was a member of the NAACP and by July of 1963, had been a NAACP member for twenty years. She served on LACBE for eighteen years and left in 1965.

<sup>4</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 25 November 1964.

<sup>5</sup> After *Brown vs. Board of Education* declared separate but equal schools unconstitutional in 1954, civil rights organizations throughout the country filed class-action lawsuits against local school boards demanding they comply with *Brown*. Northern city residents and school boards believed that school segregation was a Southern problem and challenged desegregation mandates using different strategies, ranging from legal efforts to rioting. For analyses of school segregation outside the South, see Davison M. Douglas, *Jim Crow Moves North: The Battle over Northern School Desegregation, 1865-1954*, (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005); J. Anthony Lukas, *Common Ground: A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985); Diane Ravitch, *The Great School Wars, New York City, 1805-1973: A History of the Public Schools as Battlefield of Social Change* (New York: Basic Books, 1974); and Gary Orfield, *Must We Bus?: Segregation and National Policy* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1978). For a study of African American political mobilization and civil rights in postwar New York, see Martha Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York*

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*City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003). For an analysis of the defeat of Jim Crow school segregation, see Matthew D. Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics In the Sunbelt South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006). For an examination of civil rights in Atlanta and the concept of “pragmatic civil rights,” see Tomiko Brown-Nagin, *Courage to Dissent: Atlanta and the Long History of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). For an in-depth study of Detroit’s school desegregation case, see Joyce A. Baugh, *The Detroit School Busing Case: Milliken v. Bradley and the Controversy over Desegregation* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2011). For a recent analysis of school desegregation in Baltimore, see Howell S. Baum, *Brown in Baltimore: School Desegregation and the Limits of Liberalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010). For an examination of the Detroit public school system’s transformation from an exemplary system to a troubled urban district, and school desegregation and busing controversies, see Jeffrey Mirel, *The Rise and Fall of an Urban School System: Detroit, 1907-81* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992). For a broad overview of American urban education politics from the 1980s to 1940, and beyond, see David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974). For a study of the civil rights movement in the North, see Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (New York: Random House, 2008). In order to study the Los Angeles’ school desegregation debate in *Crawford* and the role African Americans and Mexican Americans played in the lawsuit, a point of reference proved invaluable, and Texas school desegregation cases provided this comparative approach. For works focusing on school desegregation and education lawsuits affecting Mexican Americans in Texas, see Guadalupe San Miguel, *Brown, Not White: School Integration and the Chicano Movement in Houston* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001); Robyn Duff Ladino, *Desegregating Texas Schools: Eisenhower, Shivers, and the Crisis at Mansfield High* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996). On the question of the constitutionality of unequal school funding, see Paul A. Sracic, *San Antonio v. Rodriguez and the Pursuit of Equal Education: The Debate over Discrimination and School Funding* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006); Ruben Donato, *The Other Struggle for Equal Schools: Mexican Americans during the Civil Rights Era* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997). In their efforts to attain equal education opportunity, African Americans filed a class-action lawsuit against the Houston School District and won. However, Mexican Americans challenged the desegregation order under which they were classified as “white.” The order compelled Mexican American students, but not white students, to integrate by attending predominantly African American schools. See *Ross v. Eckles*, 434 F. 2d 1140 (1970). In *Cisneros v. Corpus Christi Independent School District*, Judge Woodrow Seals ruled that Mexican Americans “were an identifiable ethnic minority group and for that reason had been segregated and discriminated against in the schools.” Therefore Mexican Americans and African Americans were “entitled to all the protection announced in United States Supreme Court decision holding unconstitutional segregation in the public schools. See *Cisneros v. Corpus Christi Independent School District*, 324 F. Supp. 599 (1970).

<sup>6</sup> *Ward v. Flood*, 48 Cal. 36 (1874). Ironically, by 1975, the San Francisco School District could not afford to keep Black and white children in separate schools, and Ward subsequently enrolled in a school previously only accessible to white students.

<sup>7</sup> *Tape v. Hurley* 66 Cal. 473 (1885).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Piper v. Big Pine*, 193 Cal. 664 (1924).

<sup>12</sup> *Mendez v. Westminster School District*, 64 F. Supp. 544 (C.D. Cal 1946). See also *Westminster School District v. Mendez*, 161 F. 2d 774 (1947)

<sup>13</sup> *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

<sup>14</sup> For works about the racial and urban/suburban divide, see Thomas J. Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996); Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003). While Sugrue grounded the origins of housing segregation in Detroit in the 1940s, Anthony Chen chronicled the genesis of the link of fair employment practices to broader civil rights struggles in the 1940s. See Anthony S. Chen, *The Fifth Freedom: Jobs, Politics, and Civil Rights in the United States, 1941-1972*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2009). For a groundbreaking analysis of race and law, see Ian Haney-Lopez, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University Press, 1996). Haney-Lopez wrote, “The operation of

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law does far more than merely legalize race; it defines as well the spectrum of domination and subordination that constitutes race relations.” I do not employ critical race theory in my work, but for an insightful work that examined race and the law through this lens, see Derrick A. Bell, *Race, Racism, and American Law* (Gaithersburg, MD: Aspen Law and Business, 2000). Haney-Lopez pointed out that Bell accepted racial classifications and explained how the law affected these different groups. Haney-Lopez, however, delved into how the law helped construct race and racial classifications. For a study of the link between race and color, see Thomas A. Guglielmo, *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). For studies examining race, public health, and citizenship, see Natalia Molina, *Fit to Be Citizens?: Public Health, and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) and Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco’s Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). For a classic and ground-breaking work on race and ethnicity, see Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (New York: Routledge, 1986). For a fascinating dissertation about the roots of “ethnic Mexican” suburbanization in Los Angeles, see Jerry Gonzalez, “‘A Place in the Sun’: Mexican Americans, Race, and the Suburbanization of Los Angeles, 1940-1980” (Ph.D., History, University of Southern California, 2009). For an analysis of African American suburbanization, see Andrew Wiese, *Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004). For a study of suburbia from late eighteenth century England to the end of the twentieth century, see Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (New York: Basic Books, 1987). For Fishman’s analysis of the rise of the Los Angeles suburbs, see 155-181.

<sup>15</sup> For one of the seminal works on “whiteness,” see George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit from Identity Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* In my dissertation I include tangible examples LACBE treating students from different racial and ethnic groups unequally. Some of the examples come from LACBE responses to separate grievances from different racial groups calling for continuing educational programs that developed out of the integration debate. Within the debate over integration, LACBE generally acquiesced to the demands of white parents, while generally rejected or ignored pleas from African American parents to improve their schools as part of the larger integration effort. This possessive investment extended into which surveys and independent studies LACBE considered or ignored in its preparation to integrate L.A.’s schools. Whether LACBE members were consciously aware that they engaged in this behavior is beyond the parameters of this work.

<sup>17</sup> Josh Sides, *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 6. For a *partial* working usage of the terms “race” and “ethnicity” and other race related terminology, see also Douglas Flamming, *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 5-13. By the end of the Crawford story, courts, judges, journalists, and court-appointed experts used some racial and ethnic terms interchangeably, while other terms became outdated and less useful.

<sup>18</sup> See Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Greg Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); William B. Fulton, *The Reluctant Metropolis: The Politics of Urban Growth in Los Angeles* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

<sup>19</sup> Scott Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); William David Estrada, *The Los Angeles Plaza: Sacred and Contested Space* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008); Mark Wild, *Street Meeting: Multiethnic Neighborhoods in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Becky M. Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920-1965*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Douglas Flamming, *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Josh Sides, *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). For an analysis of race and color, see Thomas A. Guglielmo, *White on Arrival: Italians, Race, Color, and Power in Chicago, 1890-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). For a history of the zoot suit and youth culture, see Luis Alvarez, *The Power of the Zoot: Youth Culture and Resistance during World War Two* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008). For a compilation of works about L.A.’s racial, political, cultural and industrial dynamics that examines everything from industry, labor, and the Hollywood industry, to youth culture, see Tom Sitton and William Francis Deverell, *Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001). For a study about how Los Angeles has appropriated and sometimes erased its Mexican origins, see William Francis Deverell,

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*Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of its Mexican Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004). Although I do not explicitly use place and space in my analysis, they are nonetheless important to my work. For the link between space and politics, see Edward W. Soja, *Postmetropolis: Critical Studies of Cities and Regions* (Oxford, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000) and *Seeking Spatial Justice* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

<sup>20</sup> Works about the complete school desegregation case in Los Angeles remain scant. The most complete to date is Donald Glen Cooper, “The Controversy Over Desegregation in the Los Angeles Unified School District, 1962-1981” (Ph.D., University of Southern California, 1991). Other academics have studied particular issues within *Crawford*. For a legal history of *Crawford*, including federal and state cases that affected *Crawford*, see Barbara Dean Jacobs, “The Los Angeles Unified School District’s Desegregation Case: A Legal History” (Ed.D., Pepperdine University, 1989). Dean Jacobs detailed court rulings in California school desegregation cases that affected numerous racial and ethnic minority groups, including Blacks, Mexican Americans, Asians (Chinese and Japanese) and Native Americans. For a meta-analysis of educational activities implemented to improve academic achievement and race relations as part of Los Angeles Unified School District’s desegregation program, see Michael Israel, “A Meta-Analysis of the Los Angeles Unified School District’s Efforts in Achieving Its Goals of Desegregation: Improved Academic Achievement and Race Relations” (Educational D., University of Southern California, 1981). Some of these activities included: 1) including the staff and local community in integration planning; 2) planning the goals of academic achievement; 3) giving the responsibility of coordinating integration planning to the principal; and 4) developing short-term and long-term plans to assure school curriculum is multi-ethnic, multicultural, and integrated. In a fascinating dissertation about *Crawford* that took into consideration the conflicting interests on integration within the Hispanic population, see Jeanne Thiel Landis, “The Crawford Desegregation Suit in Los Angeles 1977-81: The Multiethnic Community Versus ‘Bustop’ Civil Rights, Remedies, Public Schools; California)” (Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 1984). The dissertation had three major limitations, which are obvious only in hindsight because more than twenty years have passed since its publication: 1) it is limited in its temporal scope, primarily covering *Crawford* from 1977 to 1981; 2) it included multicultural communities but the competing interests are construed largely in white versus minority; and 3) the dissertation does not include the lasting effects that the 1968 East L.A. and South-Central L.A. student demonstrations had on *Crawford* and how civil rights organizations and judges incorporated many student demands into school integration proposals and rulings.

<sup>21</sup> Kurashige, *Shifting Grounds of Race*, 19.

<sup>22</sup> Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 17.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>25</sup> On the planning of Los Angeles pre- and postwar suburbs, see William B. Fulton, *The Reluctant Metropolis: The Politics of Urban Growth in Los Angeles* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Greg Hise, *Magnetic Los Angeles: Planning the Twentieth-Century Metropolis* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997). For a cultural analysis of the Los Angeles postwar landscape, see Eric Avila, *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

<sup>26</sup> Estrada, *The Los Angeles Plaza*, 233-234. On the development of the Chicano community, culture, space, and political activism and political divisions, see Rodolfo F. Acuña, *A Community under Siege: A Chronicle of Chicanos East of the Los Angeles River, 1945-1975* (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Research Center Publications, University of California at Los Angeles, 1984); Luis Alvarez, *The Power of the Zoot: Youth Culture and Resistance during World War Two*; Richard Griswold Del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History*; Edward J. Escobar, *Race, Police and the Making of a Political Identity: Mexican Americans and the Los Angeles Police Department, 1900-1945*; Douglas Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression*; Ricardo Romo, *East Los Angeles: History of a Barrio*; George J. Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945*; David Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity*.

<sup>27</sup> Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce). For a history of the agricultural industry in California and history of the racially diverse and oppressed groups that helped it flourish, see Carey McWilliams, *Factories in the Field: The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1969).

<sup>28</sup> George J. Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); David Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); David Gutiérrez,

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*Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Ian Haney-López, *Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003); Rubén Donato, *The Other Struggle for Equal Schools: Mexican Americans During the Civil Rights Era* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997); Robyn Duff Ladino, *Desegregating Texas Schools: Eisenhower, Shivers, and the Crisis at Mansfield High* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996); On the constitutionality of unequal school funding, see Paul A. Sracic, *San Antonio V. Rodriguez and the Pursuit of Equal Education: The Debate over Discrimination and School Funding* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006). For an overview of Mexican American court cases seeking educational equality on issues ranging from school segregation, school funding, and bilingual education to school closures and higher education financing, see Richard R. Valencia, *Chicano Students and the Courts: The Mexican American Legal Struggle for Educational Equality*, Critical America (New York: New York University Press, 2008). Valencia analyzed various topics including school segregation, bilingual education, and school financing. In my dissertation, I do not explore the development of Mexican American segregated schools. Valencia details this condition in his work in the first chapter. For an analysis of the development of Mexican American segregated schools in Los Angeles and the competing debate over school integration in the Mexican American community, see Carlos Manuel Haro, *Mexicano/Chicano Concerns and School Desegregation in Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Center Publications, University of California, 1977). For a history of Mexican Americans and education, including the development of segregated Mexican American schools and districts, see Thomas P. Carter, *Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect* (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970). There are numerous works about the formation of Mexican American cultural and political identity in Los Angeles. For a history of the relationship between the Mexican American community and the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) during the first half of the twentieth century, see Edward J. Escobar, *Race, Police, and the Making of a Political Identity: Mexican Americans and the Los Angeles Police Department, 1900-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). See also William David Estrada, *The Los Angeles Plaza*, 233-234. The seminal work about Mexican American cultural history and identity in East Los Angeles is Rodolfo F. Acuña, *A Community under Siege: A Chronicle of Chicanos East of the Los Angeles River, 1945-1975* (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Research Center Publications, University of California at Los Angeles, 1984). See also Ricardo Romo, *East Los Angeles: History of a Barrio* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983); Richard. Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); Douglas. Monroy, *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). For an analysis of Mexican Americans through a “political generation” perspective, see Mario T. García, *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology, & Identity, 1930-1960* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). For an overview of the Mexican American condition in five Southwestern states in the 1950s and 1960s on issues ranging from education, population growth, to income, see Joan W. Moore, *Mexican-Americans: Problems and Prospects* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1967). For analyses about two crucial even in Mexican American history, the Sleepy Lagoon Trial, and the Zoot Suit Riots, see Mauricio Mazón, *The Zoot-Suit Riots: The Psychology of Symbolic Annihilation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984). For more recent works on the Sleepy Lagoon Murder Trial and the racial, cultural and political precursors to the Zoot Suit Riots, see Eduardo Obregón Pagán, *Murder at the Sleepy Lagoon: Zoot Suits, Race, and Riot in Wartime L.A.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003). For an analysis of the multiracial, political, cultural, class, and gendered dimensions of the zoot suit in LA, New York City, and parts of Texas during World War Two, see Luis Alvarez, *The Power of the Zoot: Youth Culture and Resistance During World War II*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

<sup>29</sup> Neil. Foley, *Quest for Equality: The Failed Promise of Black-Brown Solidarity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010). Foley argues that African Americans and Mexican Americans missed opportunities to work together for economic and educational equality. See also Brian D. Behnken, *Fighting Their Own Battles: Mexican Americans, African Americans, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Texas* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011). For an alternate interpretation of African American and Mexican American race relations, see Raphael. Sonenshein, *Politics in Black and White: Race and Power in Los Angeles* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993) and Jeanne Theoharis, “W-A-L-K-O-U-T!” High School Students and the Development of Black Power in L.A.,” in *Neighborhood Rebels: Black Power at the Local Level* (New York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2010). For an analysis of the comparative experiences of African American, Japanese American, and Chicana/o activism in “The Third World Left” in Los Angeles from 1968 to 1978, see Laura. Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

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<sup>30</sup> Sonenshein, *Politics in Black and White*, 56-58, 94. In the late 1950s and early 1960s Los Angeles, class shaped the political tendencies of African Americans, Latinos, and Jews. Sonenshein referred to middle-class African Americans who resided and were politically allied with white liberals and Jews from the Westside (the city's 10<sup>th</sup> council district) as the Tom Bradley "reformers" willing to ally and work across racial lines. On the other hand, Sonenshein referred to working-class African Americans residing in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> districts and allied with Mervyn Dymally as the more conservative "regulars," who operated under a California version of traditional Democratic politics controlled by assemblyman Jesse Unruh, and who were less likely to seek and form cross-racial alliances. Middle- and upper class Jews overwhelmingly voted for the liberal minded Bradley in both his losing and winning mayoral races in 1969 and 1973, while working-class Jews were split in the first. In both mayoral races, Latino support for Bradley was likely to decline as the social status of a Latino neighborhood increased.

<sup>31</sup> Bruce J. Schulman, *The Seventies: The Great Shift in American Culture, Society, and Politics* (New York: Free Press, 2001). See also Bruce J. Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938-1980* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991). For a broad analysis of competing liberal and conservative ideologies in the last quarter of the twentieth century that lead to fissures within the political left, see Daniel T. Rogers, *Age of Fracture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011). For a study about the changing ideas about poverty, welfare, and economic rights in relation to the concept of the family from the 1960s to the 1990s, see Marisa Chappell. *The War on Welfare: Family, Poverty, and Politics in Modern America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010). The ACLU originally filed Crawford in 1963. Vestiges of the desegregation case technically kept the case open until 1989.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 57. In Boston in 1974, whites rioted and greeted African American children participating in a school integration plan with racist signs, demonstrating that racism and opposition to school segregation were not only southern problems but affected other regions of the country.

<sup>33</sup> For some examples of the philosophical and political divides within the local and national Chicano community, see Rodolfo F. Acuña, *A Community Under Siege* (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Research Center Publications, University of California at Los Angeles, 1984), 34-35, 116, 127-129, and 136.

<sup>34</sup> I am using the terminology the ACLU used when it amended the case. The ACLU probably used "Mexican descent" in order to avoid having to differentiate Mexican immigrants from Mexican Americans.

Chapter 1: Challenging Boundaries and Competing Discourses: The Origins of *Mary Crawford v. Los Angeles City Board of Education*, School Segregation, and the Civil Rights Movement in  
Los Angeles

In 1961 LaRee Caughey, from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), investigated a corporal punishment case in which a school administrator struck an African American thirteen-year-old girl from Edison Junior High School, a predominantly African American school, with a wooden paddle because she had worn a skirt that did not cover her knees. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, in retaliation, the girl “slapped a vice principal.”<sup>1</sup> The girl’s mother asked the ACLU to investigate, and Caughey, the recently appointed ACLU Education Chairwoman, explored whether school administrators enforced corporal punishment equitably in minority schools and white schools. About her first visit to a “ghetto school,” LaRee Caughey remarked, “We began to look around and we began to realize that we did have segregated schools” in Los Angeles.<sup>2</sup> This corporal punishment case led the ACLU to investigate the broader issue of school segregation in the Los Angeles City School District.

After two years of LACBE inaction on school segregation, in August 1963, civil rights lawyers filed *Mary Crawford v. Los Angeles City Board of Education* (from now on *Crawford*), a class-action lawsuit on behalf of Mary Crawford and Inita Watkins, two African American high school students from Watts, demanding an end to *de facto* segregation and claiming the school board had knowingly and systematically established and maintained segregated schools.<sup>3</sup> As part of their strategy, civil rights lawyers sought to desegregate two neighboring high schools, David Starr Jordan High School, overwhelmingly attended by African American students and located in Watts, and South Gate High School, overwhelmingly attended by white, working-class students. Civil rights lawyers opted to rely on a black-white racial binary model that dominated the civil rights movement in the South, East, and Midwest, as well as school desegregation cases throughout the country. Subsequently, members of the Mexican American community declined to join the lawsuit because they believed that their educational concerns differed substantially

from those of African Americans. Mexican Americans wanted to pursue educational policy changes on their own terms. Although *Crawford* began as an effort to desegregate two hyper-segregated high schools, one black and one white, I argue that *Crawford* exposed and challenged broader racial and class hierarchies present in an increasingly racially and ethnically diverse but segregated city.

In this chapter, I chronicled the origins of *Crawford*, a case that lasted from 1963 to the early 1980s. I explored the demographic changes in Los Angeles that transformed the city before, during, and after World War Two, with a particular emphasis of the changes in the student body of the district from the early 1960s to the late 1970s (see Chart 1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, and 1.5). I also analyzed the unequal education opportunities of minority students, and the development of the city’s racially segregated schools and neighborhoods. Long before *Crawford*, LACBE members listened to the concerns of many citizen and civil rights organizations, but failed to undertake immediate and unambiguous steps to end school segregation on a large scale, forcing established civil rights organizations to file the lawsuit in 1963 and grassroots civil rights organizations to protests in the streets of Los Angeles and at LACBE headquarters.

Year	W	B	H	A	A.I.	% of M. S.	% of C. S.
1966	56.1	21.4	18.6	3.8	0.1	43.9	56.1
1967	54.6	22.0	19.4	3.9	0.1	45.4	54.6
1968	53.7	22.6	20.0	3.6	0.2	46.4	53.6
1969	51.6	23.4	20.8	4.0	0.2	48.4	51.6
1970	49.9	24.1	21.8	4.1	0.2	50.2	49.8
1971	47.7	24.8	22.7	4.6	0.2	52.3	47.7
1972	46.0	25.2	23.9	4.7	0.2	54.0	46.0
1973	44.4	25.3	25.6	4.5	0.2	55.6	44.4
1974	41.9	24.7	27.8	5.1	0.4	58.0	42.0
1975	40.2	24.5	29.7	5.1	0.5	59.8	40.2
1976	37.0	24.1	32.1	5.9	0.9	63.0	37.0
1977	33.7	24.7	34.9	6.1	0.6	66.3	33.7
1978	29.7	24.6	38.5	6.5	0.6	70.2	29.8
1979	27.0	24.1	41.8	6.7	0.5	73.1	26.9

Chart 1.1. Student Enrollment by Race and Ethnicity, and Percentage of Combined Minority and Caucasian Students Per Year in the Los Angeles Unified School District, 1966-1979. In the early 1960s, LACBE did not conduct racial and ethnic student surveys claiming it operated under the idea of colorblindness. By the late 1960s, student surveys were public and played an important role demonstrating segregation in the district and documenting the changing student demographics. Source: Paul Egly, “Unfulfilled,” *University of La Verne Law Review* 31, no. 2 (2010): 267.

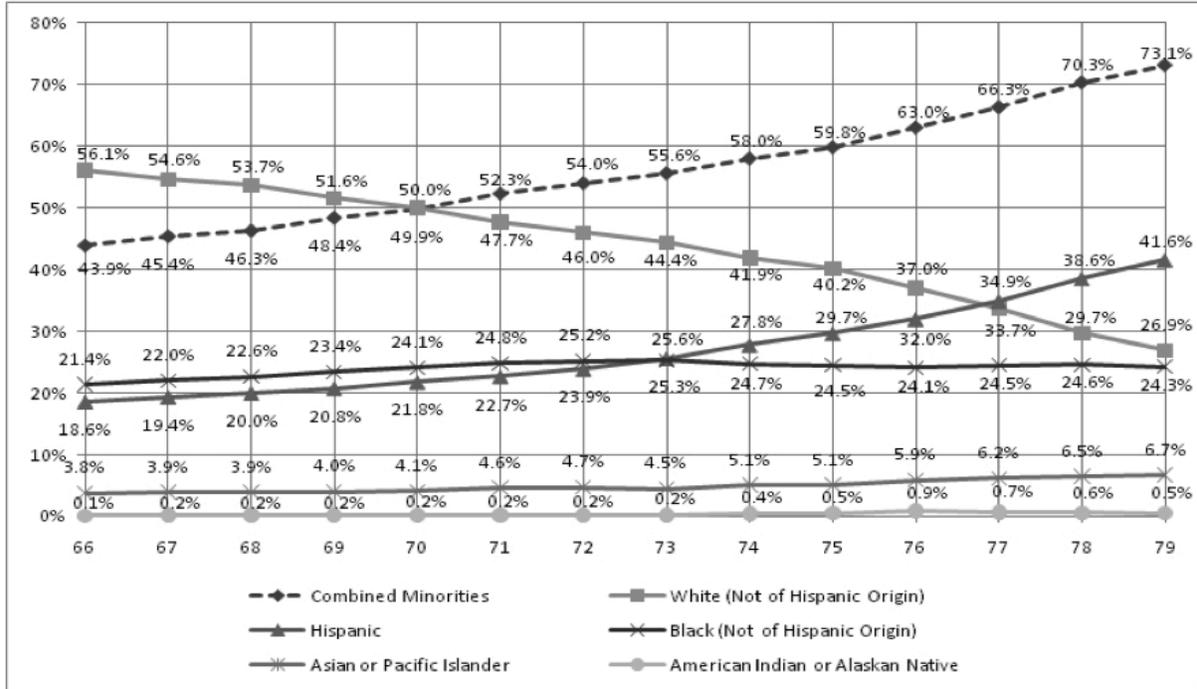


Chart 1.2. Student Enrollment by Race and Ethnicity, and Percentage of Combined Minority and Caucasian Students Per Year in the Los Angeles Unified School District, 1966-1979 (graph). Source: Paul Egly, "Unfulfilled," *University of La Verne Law Review* 31, no. 2 (2010): 268.

**Racial/Ethnic Census - Los Angeles County, 1970-1990**

Year	Total	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/Pac. Is.	Native American
1970	7,055,800	4,969,587	752,169	1,079,453	231,676	22,915
1971	7,092,000	4,867,138	769,474	1,179,506	251,647	24,235
1972	7,072,100	4,727,449	780,559	1,269,297	269,443	25,352
1973	7,084,800	4,611,210	795,069	1,363,713	288,237	26,570
1974	7,124,500	4,513,133	812,547	1,462,892	308,044	27,884
1975	7,191,300	4,431,868	833,153	1,567,898	329,074	29,308
1976	7,243,400	4,340,982	852,114	1,670,113	349,514	30,676
1977	7,258,200	4,224,064	866,654	1,763,490	368,107	31,884
1978	7,338,600	4,153,211	889,043	1,872,916	390,049	33,381
1979	7,389,600	4,060,973	907,948	1,975,390	410,538	34,752
1980	7,500,300	4,002,535	927,006	2,094,909	440,057	35,792
1981	7,607,100	3,948,405	923,821	2,214,042	485,871	34,962
1982	7,766,300	3,921,623	927,021	2,348,304	534,978	34,375
1983	7,922,100	3,892,590	929,736	2,481,968	584,041	33,766
1984	8,044,400	3,847,072	928,516	2,605,156	630,642	33,014
1985	8,190,900	3,813,232	930,105	2,736,097	679,104	32,363
1986	8,373,100	3,795,370	935,653	2,879,479	730,754	31,845
1987	8,527,400	3,764,152	937,979	3,013,836	780,221	31,212
1988	8,639,400	3,714,398	935,672	3,133,134	825,770	30,426
1989	8,768,700	3,672,498	935,300	3,258,372	872,825	29,706
1990	8,860,200	3,615,611	933,356	3,367,875	914,361	28,997

Chart 1.3. Racial/Ethnic Census – Los Angeles County, 1970-1990. Source: State of California, Department of Finance, Demographic Research Unit, *Revised Race/Ethnic Population Estimates: Components of Change for California Counties, July 1970 – July 1990*. According to the Social Explorer and U.S. Census, the population in Los Angeles County in 1960 was: 88.6% white, 10.5% Black, 0.3% Indian, 0.3% Japanese, 0.1% Chinese, 0.1% Filipino, and 0.1% "Other Races." They included Chicanos and Latinos under the white category. Source: Social Explorer Tables (SE), Census 1960 (US, County, and State), Social Explorer; U.S. Census Bureau.

Racial/Ethnic Census - Los Angeles County, 1970-1990 (percentage)

Year	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian/Pac. Is.	Native American
1970	70.4	10.7	15.3	3.3	0.3
1971	68.6	10.9	16.6	3.6	0.3
1972	66.9	11.0	17.9	3.8	0.4
1973	65.1	11.2	19.2	4.1	0.4
1974	63.4	11.4	20.5	4.3	0.4
1975	61.6	11.6	21.8	4.6	0.4
1976	59.9	11.8	23.1	4.8	0.4
1977	58.2	12.0	24.3	5.1	0.4
1978	56.6	12.1	25.5	5.3	0.5
1979	54.9	12.3	26.7	5.6	0.5
1980	53.4	12.3	27.9	5.9	0.5
1981	51.9	12.1	29.1	6.4	0.5
1982	50.5	11.9	30.2	6.9	0.5
1983	49.1	11.7	31.4	7.4	0.4
1984	47.8	11.6	32.4	7.8	0.4
1985	46.5	11.4	33.4	8.3	0.4
1986	45.3	11.2	34.4	8.7	0.4
1987	44.1	11.0	35.3	9.2	0.4
1988	43.0	10.8	36.3	9.6	0.3
1989	41.9	10.7	37.2	9.9	0.3
1990	40.8	10.6	38.0	10.3	0.3

Chart 1.4. Racial/Ethnic Census – Los Angeles County, 1970-1990 (by percentage). Source: State of California, Department of Finance, Demographic Research Unit, *Revised Race/Ethnic Population Estimates: Components of Change for California Counties, July 1970 – July 1990*.

Official civil rights groups and grassroots organizations engaged in parallel, though uneven, struggles against school segregation that challenged the city’s racial, ethnic, and class hierarchy and the authority of LACBE, a bureaucratic entity that represented and defended this hierarchy. In 1963, the all-white LACBE included two women and five men, voted into office by Los Angeles voters in districtwide elections (see Figure 1.1A and 1.1B).<sup>4</sup> Civil rights organizations believed that equal education could best be achieved through racial desegregation, whereas LACBE members, basing their ideas on a colorblind ideology, believed that it could improve education for all students regardless of race and without desegregation, focusing instead on compensatory education in minority schools.

I also contended that the school desegregation issue divided Los Angeles’ minority communities. The African American community debated whether desegregation or compensatory education would improve education in their community. Mexican American community leaders rejected an invitation to participate in *Crawford* because they believed that bilingual and bicultural education, and not desegregation, would meet the educational needs of

their community. Whites from across social classes overwhelmingly opposed school desegregation. The Mexican American community's rejection of *Crawford* had the effect of framing the early stages of the lawsuit along a black/white racial binary within a highly diverse but segregated city.

<u>FILES TRANSFERRED TO TUNNEL ( SERVICE BLDG.)</u>										
<u>SUBJECT</u>					<u>YEARS</u>			<u>BINDER NUMBER - LOCKEY</u>		
BOARD MEMBER - (Out of Office)					- Mary Tinglof			-1947-1965		190
"	"	"	"	"	-Chas. Reed Smoot			- 5-4-59 to 12-30-63		191
"	"	"	"	"	" " "			-1-16-64 " 6-30-66		192
"	"	"	"	"	" " "			-7-7-66 " 7-10-67		193
"	"	"	"	"	- Dr. Hugh C. Willett			-10-22-51 to 4-30-64		206
"	"	"	"	"	- " " " "			5-4-64 to 6-30-69		207
"	"	"	"	"	-Dr. Ralph E. Richardson			- 4-3-57 to 6-24-65		224
"	"	"	"	"	" " " "			-7-1-65 to 7-15-69		225
"	"	"	"	"	- Rev. James Jones			- 6-3-65 to 6-30-69		253
"	"	"	"	"	- Arthur F. Gardner			-5-4-59 to 12-5-66		254
"	"	"	"	"	" " "			1-5-67 " 6-10-74		255
"	"	"	"	"	- Dr. J. C. Chambers			- 5-4-59 to 12-30-63		261
"	"	"	"	"	" " " "			1-6-64 " 6-28-65		261
"	"	"	"	"	" " " "			7-1-65 " 12-19-66		262
"	"	"	"	"	" " " "			1-3-67 " 6-28-68		262
"	"	"	"	"	" " " "			(Americanism Desk) 3-23-61 to 10-8-63		262
"	"	"	"	"	" " " "			(Chambers' Projects) 5-2-60 to 3-1-62		262
"	"	"	"	"	" " " "			7-8-68 to 6-29-70		276
"	"	"	"	"	" " " "			7-1-70 to 6-30-75		277
"	"	"	"	"	- Dr. Georgiana Hardy			-10-22-51 to 12-10-62-		263
"	"	"	"	"	" " "			1-7-63 to 6-14-65		263
"	"	"	"	"	" " "			7-15-65 to 6-29-70		278

Figure 1.1.A. List of LACBE Members' Tenure. Every two years, Los Angeles voters elect board members to serve four-year terms. Source: Board Secretariat, Los Angeles Unified School District, Los Angeles, California.

For years, many problems marred Los Angeles' public schools, including segregation, high dropout rates among minority students, disproportionately low hiring rates of African

## FILES IN TUNNEL ( IN SERVICE BUILDING )

SUBJECT	YEAR	BINDER#	LOCKER#
<b>BOARD MEMBER</b>			
DR. DAVID ARMOR	7-1-85 TO 4-28-86	896	15
PHILLIP G. BARDOS #1	5-27-71 TO 7-27-76		
PHILLIP G. BARDOS #2	8-2-76 TO 6-25-79		
FATHER LEWIS P. BOHLER, JR.	1-29-79 TO 8-17-81		
KATHLEEN BROWN (RICE) #1	7-1-75 TO 6-10-77	897	34
KATHLEEN BROWN (RICE) #2	6-13-77 TO 9-2-80		
DR. ROBERT L. DOCTER	8-10-76 TO 6-30-77		
( TRAVEL EXPENSE CLAIMS )	4-11-70 TO 3-8-77		
( NO OTHER FILES EXIS FOR DR. DOCTER )			
DR. RICHARD E. FERRARO #1	6-12-69 TO 12-22-75	898	34
DR. RICHARD E. FERRARO #2	12-30-75 TO 1-27-77		
DR. RICHARD E. FERRARO #3	2-1-77 TO 6-28-79		
DR. RICHARD E. FERRARO #4	7-2-79 TO 6-27-83	899	34
( TRAVEL EXPENSE CLAIMS )	8-6-69 TO 3-12-82		
BOBBI FIELDLER	6-10-77 TO 1-19-81		
HOWARD MILLER #1	2-5-76 TO 5-24-77	900	34
HOWARD MILLER #2	6-3-77 TO 6-7-79		
DIANE E. WATSON	7-1-75 TO 11-27-78		
( TRAVEL EXPENSE CLAIMS	12-21-76 TO 3-8-77		
DR. JULIAN NAVA #III AND IV	12-5-69 TO 5-1-75	901	34
DR. JULIAN NAVA #V	6-2-75 TO 6-10-77		
( TRAVEL EXPENSE CLAIMS )	12-7-67 TO 4-6-71		
DR. JULIAN NAVA #VI	6-20-77 TO 6-25-79	902	34
(FILES #I AND #II MISSING)			
DR. DONALD D. NEWMAN (M.D.)			
TRAVEL EXPENSE CLAIMS	9-20-69 TO 12-14-75		
( NO OTHER FILES EXISTS FOR DR. NEWMAN )			
ANTHONY A. TRIAS	11-24-80 TO 6-27-83		
LARRY M. GONZALEZ	7-1-83 TO 6-29-87		
JOHN R. GREENWOOD #1	7-2-79 TO 6-20-83	903	34
JOHN R. GREENWOOD #2	7-5-83 TO 6-29-87		
THOMAS F. BARTMAN #1	2-11-80 TO 6-24-83		
THOMAS F. BARTMAN #2	7-5-83 TO 6-29-87	904	34
ALAN GERSHMAN #1	6-5-81 TO 6-20-85		
ALAN GERSHMAN #2	7-1-85 TO 6-26-89		
LETICIA QUEZADA	7-6-87 TO 6-30-95	985	6
WARREN FURUTANI	7-1987 TO 6-30-95		
GEORGE KIRIYAMA	7-1995 TO 9-1999		
ROBERTA WEINTRAUB	6-11-79 TO 6-1993	986	6
RITA D. WALTERS	7-1979 TO 6-1991	987	6
JACKIE GOLDBERG	7-1983 TO 12-1987	988	6
MARK SLAVKIN	7-1989 TO 6-1997		
VALERIE FIELDS	7-1-97 TO 6-30-01		
BD. MEMBERS - MS. FIELDS	7-7-97 TO 6-2-01	1012	6
BD. MEMBERS - MS. CASTRO	7-1-93 TO 7-6-98		
BD. MEMBERS - MS. CASTRO	7-6-98 TO 7-10-01		
BD. MEMBERS - MRS. BOUDREAUX	7-1-91 TO 6-30-99	1013	6
.JEFF HORTON			

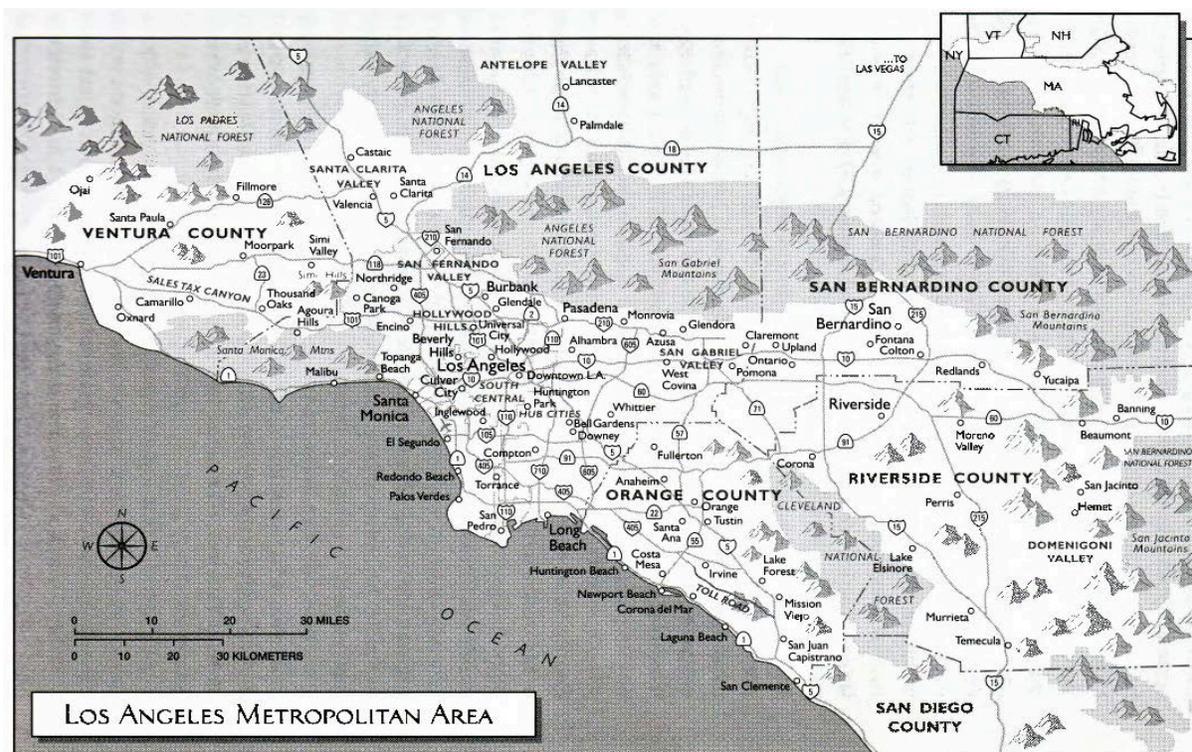
Figure 1.1.B. List of LACBE Members' Tenure. Source: Board Secretariat, Los Angeles Unified School District, Los Angeles, California.

American and Mexican American teachers, and a lack of guidance and counseling for minority students. Although the *Brown vs. Board of Education* United States Supreme Court decision outlawed separate but equal facilities, enforcement at the local level was uneven according to region. Thus, efforts to end racial segregation in public schools rested on the local civil rights and grassroots organizations willing to invest time (sometimes years, sometimes decades) and money and local government agencies. After the significant 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, for example, the ACLU and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) joined local grassroots organizations to fight for school desegregation throughout the country. Contrary to popular belief, the *Brown* decision signified not the conclusion in the struggle for school desegregation but a beginning to those efforts. In Los Angeles, three parallel though uneven stories with a continually shifting cast of characters comprised the history of the desegregation debate: 1) the legal struggle in the courts between LACBE and civil rights organizations pressing for desegregation, later formally joined by anti-integrationists and anti-busers; 2) the political struggle at LACBE headquarters, and 2) the grassroots story with civil rights and community groups demonstrating at LACBE headquarters and in the streets. School segregation and educational inequality and other important issues including housing and equal employment opportunities all coalesced in the volatile integration debate of Los Angeles from the 1960s to the early 1980s.

Although *Crawford* began as an effort to integrate two adjacent segregated neighborhood schools, the story becomes exceedingly more complex as the city developed into a more diverse and more racially segregated metropolis at the end of the twentieth century (see Map 1.1 and 1.2). The desegregation debate in Los Angeles began much earlier than the filing of *Crawford* in 1963, and was intimately tied to the development of patterns of residential segregation. Watts and East L.A. developed into two highly racially isolated minority neighborhoods based on intricate and multilayered processes rooted in racial discrimination by private enterprise, federal lending practices, and individual choices, and out-migration from the city proper by whites from various national backgrounds during and after World War Two. For example, South Gate developed into a white working-class community after it originated as a haven for non-minority migrants from different parts of the country.

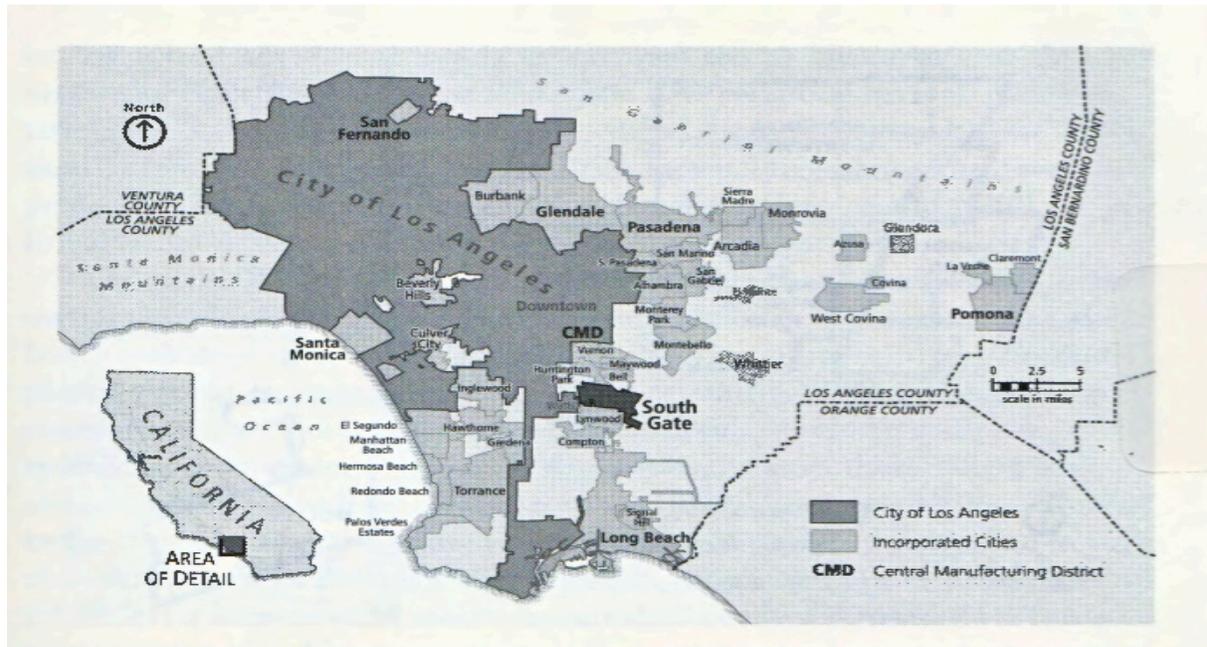
Early in the first half of the twentieth century, Los Angeles was home to some integrated neighborhoods and the student bodies at the corresponding neighborhood schools reflected the

neighborhoods' racial and ethnic diversity.<sup>5</sup> This reality stood in stark contrast with what Eric Avila called the “set of racialized fantasies that depicted the region as a southwestern outpost of white supremacy.”<sup>6</sup> He explained, “Local boosters ensured that their version of the city myth appealed to whites only and acknowledged the presence of nonwhite peoples only to the extent of their capacity to provide cheap but invisible labor.”<sup>7</sup> During the Great Depression, many white Southerners migrated west, hoping to start anew while bringing their racial attitudes from the South. Previously diverse neighborhoods gave way to increasingly racially segregated communities. During World War Two, job opportunities in war production in Southern California enticed Black Southerners to migrate and settle in already segregated African American neighborhoods in south and central Los Angeles.<sup>8</sup> However, the racial tension in Los Angeles did not result simply from southern Black and white migration. During the first half of the twentieth century, though the overall population of Los Angeles increasingly became diverse, many communities became highly segregated along race and class, which in turn developed into political fragmentation along race and class, between communities, and between city and suburb.



Map 1.1. Metropolitan Los Angeles. The map depicts the vast Los Angeles County and surrounding counties. Source: William B. Fulton, *The Reluctant Metropolis*, 13.

Before World War Two, Watts was a very diverse community, but transformed into a hyper-segregated African American neighborhood during and after the war. Eric Avila wrote that before World War Two, Watts “witnessed a diverse concentration of native Angelenos and newcomers to the region. As of 1920, most Watts settlers were of European descent—Germans, Scots, Greeks, Italians, and Jews—but the town also included several blacks and Japanese.”<sup>9</sup> In addition, Mexican railroad workers established a *colonia*, known as “Spanish Camp,” in Watts.<sup>10</sup> In the mid to late 1940s, the South-Central area of Los Angeles had already become a haven for African Americans who had moved West in search of better opportunities and away from the Jim Crow South, with many African American settling in Watts, a neighborhood adjacent to the white working-class industrial suburb of South Gate.



Map 1.2. City of Los Angeles and Incorporated Cities. Source: Becky Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven*, 15.

Early in the twentieth century, the Los Angeles Eastside community, commonly known as East L.A., closely mirrored Watts’ diverse populations, but developed into a racially segregated area after World War Two. Although historically the neighborhood population had been extremely diverse, and had included Mexican Americans, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, Jews, Italians, and Eastern Europeans,<sup>11</sup> the community became predominantly Mexican

American after World War Two, proud of its cultural heritage and history after overcoming repatriation and deportation campaigns of the 1930s.<sup>12</sup>

During and after World War Two, many whites chose to move out of the city proper and into the suburbs, enticed by employment and housing opportunities available *elsewhere* and *exclusively* to whites.<sup>13</sup> However, employment and housing opportunities often did not occur independently.<sup>14</sup> In Los Angeles, during and after the war, suburbs developed around the aviation industry whose board members, working closely with developers, requested developing racially homogeneous white communities.<sup>15</sup> Consequently, whites enjoyed economic and housing opportunities and privileges unavailable to African Americans and Mexican Americans because of their race. As racial exclusion from housing and employment during the 1940s and 1950s outside the city center continued, this translated to sections of the city proper becoming more racially and ethnically homogeneous and segregated from white communities. In the postwar era, even though some African Americans successfully gained middle-class status and “fled” the inner city, they encountered entrenched racism and discrimination as much as poor African Americans.<sup>16</sup>

### *Origins of the Struggle to Desegregate Los Angeles Schools*

As early as the mid 1920s, everyday people and community and civil rights organizations raised the issues of school segregation and racial discrimination against minority students and teachers before LACBE.<sup>17</sup> Little-known organizations such as the Southwest Chamber of Commerce (SCC), the Home Protective League (HPL), and the League of Struggle for Negro Rights (LSNR) raised these issues as early as the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>18</sup> In 1934, the LSNR levied several charges of racial discrimination against the board and submitted a petition with 600 signatures from community members backing the hiring of African American teachers.<sup>19</sup> Emphasizing their statuses as citizens and taxpayers, the petitioners protested “the policy and practice of the Board of Education in the refusal to employ Negro school teachers in the secondary schools in Los Angeles.”<sup>20</sup> The group also blamed the school district for the lack of an African American presence in school faculties, and the poor counseling of black students by white counselors at all schools. Furthermore, the LSNR detailed how African American girls at Thomas Jefferson High School, then with an *integrated* enrollment, were segregated from their white counterparts during gym sessions.<sup>21</sup>

In 1934 and 1939, LACBE adopted a non-discriminatory policy in employment and a non-discriminatory policy for students respectively.<sup>22</sup> Two largely unknown organizations, the Special Citizens Committee (SCC) and the United Democratic Club (UDC), urged the board of education to appoint the first “Negro” counselor at Jefferson High School in 1937.<sup>23</sup> In 1939, the Personnel Division of the Los Angeles City School District submitted a study documenting the disproportionately low number of African American teachers in the district to the superintendent.<sup>24</sup> In the early 1940s, the community surrounding Thomas Jefferson High School established the Citizens Committee on Schools (CCS); its members clamored for fifteen African American teachers, two African American counselors, and an African American principal. They also asked for a halt to discrimination in hiring against African American applicants for teaching positions.<sup>25</sup> The National Defense for Negroes (NDN) demanded fair hiring practices of African American teachers also in the early 1940s.<sup>26</sup> However, in 1940, the Office of the Superintendent developed a manual for Americanization efforts in the district, often deemphasizing racial difference and strife but emphasizing democratic ideals, order, and obedience.<sup>27</sup>

Ethnic organizations joined protesting against discrimination in the school district. In 1941, Ramon Welch, from the Spanish Speaking People’s Congress (SSPC), claimed that Spanish-speaking students and teachers endured discrimination in the public schools.<sup>28</sup> In 1946, the Los Angeles Jewish Youth Conference (JYC/LA), under the sponsorship of the Jewish Youth Council (JYC), adopted a resolution urging LACBE to “eliminate segregation of young people on the basis of race or national origin” and “eliminate discriminatory references in school books.”<sup>29</sup> In 1950, the Los Angeles City School District embarked in a human relations campaign with a wide focus ranging from the home, the family, and the classroom to rest of the world.<sup>30</sup>

By mid-century, debates about the relationship between race and education led to questions about record keeping and statistics on race. LACBE defended its colorblind teacher hiring practices in response to requests from the NAACP to furnish proof that the board hired African American teachers. The board could not furnish proof, and claimed:

It is the policy of the Board ... to employ teachers on their abilities, regardless of race. Since we have no policy of race distinction, we keep no records on the racial backgrounds of our employees. We cannot tell ... how many teachers there are of any racial group, nor at what schools.<sup>31</sup>

Many white Angelenos disputed questions about minority hiring in the district. They asked the board to hire teachers based on their “merits” and “qualifications,” “regardless of color, race, or creed.” The colorblind, meritocratic argument veiled its effects: white privilege in hiring, and opposition to minority hiring.<sup>32</sup> Edward D. Warren, President of the Los Angeles, NAACP, employed colorblind language *in support* of minority hiring, against racial discrimination, and white privilege in hiring.<sup>33</sup>

### *Desegregation vs. Equal Educational Opportunity*

Leading civil rights organizations pleaded with LACBE to reach amicable solutions on several civil rights issues related to education before *Crawford*. In June 1962, the ACLU’s Education Chairwoman LaRee Caughey made a moving plea in favor of school desegregation to LACBE. “Today we are witnessing a nationwide crusade for equal rights. The focus is on equal rights for Negroes and, following the lead of the Supreme Court decision of 1954, particularly upon equal opportunity in education,” she declared.<sup>34</sup> She also argued that Los Angeles was a multiracial but segregated city in which “Negro,” “Mexican,” “Oriental,” and white children attended segregated schools, thus emphasizing both the diversity and the extent to which segregation permeated the city’s diverse population. She encapsulated what historians would decades later refer to as the “urban crisis.” Though restrictive covenants were illegal, she declared that unemployment, a lack of access to good housing, and “isolation from other groups” regrettably resulted in “slums” and “ghettos.”<sup>35</sup> Lastly, she criticized the Los Angeles in general and LACBE in particular for clinging to the notion of colorblindness. In its long history, the school district never implemented a *public* racial census because it deemed it unnecessary, as it alleged to follow a colorblind policy of student attendance assignment based on their location of residence and not according to their race. LaRee Caughey confronted the board and demanded a racial census to study whether minority children received equal education and document the degree of racial segregation in the Los Angeles City School District (LACSC).

Three months later, LACBE President Hardy acknowledged that civil rights efforts underway throughout the country extended into the arena of public education. In response to LaRee Caughey, she asserted: “The Los Angeles City Board of Education is fully committed to the objective of equal opportunity for each student.”<sup>36</sup> President Hardy and the rest of LACBE, for example, *agreed* that segregation existed in Los Angeles schools but they objected to the

accusation that the board had been complicit in the process, instead blaming school segregation on segregated housing patterns. If the board pursued any integration efforts, it would be completely at its discretion, and not the decision of civil rights groups, minority parents and students, or judges.

In the year before civil rights groups filed *Crawford*, they discussed with LACBE to end school segregation, to conduct student and teacher censuses, and to implement an equitable and unbiased teacher assignment policy. These efforts culminated on June 7, 1962, when LACBE voted unanimously 7 - 0 to establish a three-member committee composed of LACBE members, the Ad Hoc Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities (AHC).<sup>37</sup> Soon after, on July 1, 1962, Mary Tinglof, then LACBE President, appointed Georgiana Hardy, Chairperson, Dr. H.C. Willet and Arthur F. Gardner to the AHC, with an additional eight community members making up the Citizen Resource Committee (CRC).<sup>38</sup>

The creation of the AHC due to pressure from civil rights organizations elicited an immediate furor from anti-integrationists who unabashedly opposed integration either through busing white and black children or by the creation of new “arbitrary boundaries.”<sup>39</sup> Others employed the powerful language of the civil rights movement to *oppose* desegregation. Mrs. J.R. Bedsworth, of Whittier, who *did not* reside within the Los Angeles City School District boundaries, stated: “Transporting children out of their own locality in order to have a system of false integration seems to me to be as contrary to civil liberties as is banning a child from a school because of his race or creed.”<sup>40</sup>

Countervailing LACBE’s color-blind ideology in teacher placement, the Urban League (UL) presented to the AHC its own findings that demonstrated disproportionate assignments of “Negro” teachers to central and south areas of the city, and a disproportionate lack of their presence in Eastside, Westside, and San Fernando Valley schools.<sup>41</sup> LaRee and John Caughey, board members of the ACLU and fervent integrationists, also expressed their concerns to the AHC. As the chairperson of the AHC, Hardy disputed criticisms by proclaiming LACBE’s awareness of the lawsuits and the problems in minority schools. She also wanted to convey to Angelenos from all walks of life that the board was being proactive in its efforts to solve those problems.

Theodore Wright, from the NAACP, claimed that LACBE’s color blindness was a “terrible disease” and “façade,” and accused the board of racism, discrimination, tokenism, and

gerrymandering.<sup>42</sup> Gerrymandering involved LACBE systematically drawing school attendance boundary lines in order to keep races separate. Wright disputed the idea of a “natural boundary” line: “One street at a given point is not considered a natural or neighborhood boundary line, but because two other schools would be integrated at another point farther out on the same identical street, the street then becomes a natural boundary line ... of the boundary line manipulators.”<sup>43</sup> He alleged that “every one claims to be color blind, but in fact is extremely aware of color, as the boundary line system demonstrated.”<sup>44</sup> Yet, Wright proclaimed confidence in the board and offered assistance.<sup>45</sup>

Dr. Lawrence Wilson, one of the eight CRC members of the AHC, asked Wright to elaborate on what he called “hot spots.”<sup>46</sup> Wright identified Jordan High School, Jefferson High School, Manual Arts High School, and Marvin Avenue School, among others. Referring to Jordan High School specifically, Wright stated: “Jordan has been sitting there like a powder keg for ten years, and I think that something should be done about that.”<sup>47</sup> Wright also indicated that the conflict between African Americans and whites on the desegregation issue existed not in their respective racially segregated neighborhoods, but instead in “that area that might constitute what we call the border area between the white communities and negro communities.”<sup>48</sup> In order to avoid problems at Jordan, Wright promoted desegregating Jordan High School by expanding Jordan’s attendance boundary westward, which would result in an increase of white students at Jordan.

The Community Relations Conference of Southern California (CRCSC), another local civil rights organization, called on LACBE to end the cycle of school segregation. Zane Meckler, the CRCSC’s Education Committee Secretary, told the AHC that school segregation occurred cyclically and sometimes due to in-migration.<sup>49</sup> He also discussed ways to create and maintain new integrated schools.<sup>50</sup> Meckler exposed examples of white Angelenos attempting to segregate themselves from African Americans, Mexican Americans, and other minorities. For example, Meckler charged that the intention behind the proposed San Antonio Schools District, in south-east Los Angeles, “would create a sheltered white community in which the children of Huntington Park, Maywood, South Gate, and Bell, among others, would be beyond the pale, while the Negro children of the Florence and Firestone areas, right next door, would be omitted from such a district.”<sup>51</sup> He also contended that two years earlier a portion of Monterey Hills seceded from the Los Angeles City Schools, a case in which it was clear that “some parents

sought to avoid exposing their children to the heterogeneous, socio-economic cultures of East Los Angeles.”<sup>52</sup>

Examples of neighborhood secession as a means for self-segregation were not restricted to working-class whites in the south and eastern parts of Los Angeles. Meckler accused the community of La Cañada of seceding from Pasadena so its white students would not have to attend Pasadena’s integrated John Muir High School. In the San Fernando Valley, the new Sylmar High School had been constructed to handle school overcrowding at nearby San Fernando High School. However, Meckler contended that the original school attendance boundaries for the two schools were such that Sylmar and San Fernando High Schools would have segregated student populations. “In the drawing of the line which determined the southern boundaries,” he maintained, “we found out that the Sylmar High School... would be virtually all Caucasian, whereas the Pacoima section of the San Fernando Valley (which... is virtually a Negro ghetto) would entirely go to the San Fernando High School.”<sup>53</sup> Community groups and individuals such as Meckler called these boundaries into question, and subsequently the board redrew the boundaries to create an “inter-racial” student body in both high schools. Meckler echoed pleas from others to desegregate, asked for a student racial census, and asked LACBE to rethink its “color blind” ideas.

Religious leaders and organizations, like their Southern counterparts, also offered support for school desegregation. During the September 5, 1962 meeting of the AHC, Philip Glusker, a board member the Community Relations Committee of the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles (JFCGLA), acknowledged racial segregation in the city schools and his full support to fund integration:

In Los Angeles, I don’t suppose it would take the expenditure of any funds to recognize that we have here, as we have everywhere in the northern schools which are predominantly Negro schools, schools which are predominantly Mexican-American; in fact in the west part of the City, where my own children have gone to school up until recently, I would guess the school is about 95% Jewish.<sup>54</sup>

Glusker emphasized the isolated, and segregated existence of racial groups - Blacks, Mexican Americans, Jews, and whites - and asked the AHC and LACBE whether they would simply accept *de facto* segregation and not feel a responsibility to desegregate the schools.<sup>55</sup>

### *A Possible Consensus on Desegregation*

On September 14, 1962, the NAACP, LACSD Superintendent Jack Crowther, and LACBE representatives appeared to have reached a consensus: they agreed that LACBE and the superintendent's office did not deliberately segregate Los Angeles public schools.<sup>56</sup> As a result, the NAACP announced it cancelled all scheduled picketing set for Monday, September 17 at Jordan High School, Fremont High School, Jefferson High School, Huntington Park High School, South Gate High School, Marvin Avenue Elementary School and Baldwin Hills Elementary School. "For the present time," the NAACP stated, "no further action will be taken" on desegregation.<sup>57</sup> On September 15, 1962, Superintendent Crowther was "gratified" because the NAACP promised not to picket that Monday, the first day of school. He commented that the meeting was "another example of the community good that can be accomplished when men and women of high purpose and goodwill ... can gather around a meeting table and resolve these differences."<sup>58</sup> They all agreed on equal education and in educating students to reach their full potential.

However, community desegregation efforts continued despite the tentative accord between the NAACP and the district. Superintendent Crowther reported that in September 1962 the NAACP attempted to enroll fifteen African American students at Baldwin Hills Elementary School, fourteen African American students at Huntington Park High School, and five African American students at South Gate High School, all "white schools."<sup>59</sup> The principals and the district registrar summarily rejected the transfers because they had not secured "the necessary [transfer] permits from the parent schools."<sup>60</sup> Crowther understood the rejections created the "impression" that the Los Angeles city schools "engaged in a program of actively segregating children by races,"<sup>61</sup> yet he immediately countered this "impression": "We in Los Angeles are concerned with only one thing, providing the best possible education for each child in this district regardless of his race, or creed, or color."<sup>62</sup> However, the desegregation efforts continued at Baldwin Hills Elementary.

In *L.A. City Limits*, historian Josh Sides recounted an instance of temporary cross-racial desegregation efforts at Baldwin Hills Elementary, a moment of cross-racial collaboration for which Crowther failed to account as the parents of African American *and* Japanese children, organized by the NAACP, sent their children to enroll in Baldwin Hills Elementary.<sup>63</sup> "When they were refused," wrote Sides, "the NAACP began picketing the school."<sup>64</sup> The picketing

proved to be more than what the Baldwin Hills Elementary administration was willing to endure. Fifty minority students enrolled in Baldwin Hills Elementary within a week after the picketing began and the NAACP stopped picketing.<sup>65</sup> This episode, however, was a fleeting, cross-racial victory. For the next several months, LACBE and civil rights organizations awaited the AHC findings.

### *Early Progress and Setbacks in the Integration Debate*

In early May 5, 1963, the AHC submitted an *interim report* to LACBE suggesting: 1) establishing a formal policy of providing equal educational opportunities to all students, regardless of their background; 2) human relations and compensatory educational activities; 3) compensatory education for low achievers; and 4) eliminating ethnic discrimination in the establishment of school attendance boundaries.<sup>66</sup> Later in the month, LACBE adopted the interim AHC report by a vote of 5 – 2.<sup>67</sup> Georgiana Hardy, Arthur Gardner, Ralph Richardson, H.C. Willett and Mary Tinglof voted in favor, while Jewel C. Chambers and Charles Reed Smoot voted against it. However, the adoption of the report did not translate to the adoption of the recommendations within the report.

School desegregation efforts enticed civil rights activists from the South to travel west in the hopes of improving education and civil rights. One such individual was Marnesba Tackett. Tackett, the Chairwoman of the Education Committee of the NAACP-United Civil Rights Council (NAACP-UCRC), was born in Kansas City, Missouri in 1908.<sup>68</sup> She became involved in civil rights organizing early in her life, becoming a member of the YWCA, local civil rights organizations, and later the NAACP.<sup>69</sup> She often compared segregated schools in Los Angeles to the segregated schools of the South and her involvement in civil rights efforts, including sit-ins and other protest strategies there, gave credence to these powerful claims.<sup>70</sup> Her dedication to school desegregation in Los Angeles began after she listened to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. deliver a speech at the old Los Angeles Angels home, Wrigley Field, located in South-Central Los Angeles.<sup>71</sup> Soon after, crediting Dr. King as the inspiration, she and others founded the United Civil Rights Council (UCRC).<sup>72</sup>

The current AHC investigation into the district provided an opportunity for LACBE and civil rights activists to cooperate in developing ways to integrate the school system and improve education in minority schools. On June 24, 1963, before the ACLU filed *Crawford*, Tackett

called on LACBE to enact several policies conducive to integration including: 1) redrawing attendance boundaries; 2) transferring “Negro and other minority pupils” from overcrowded schools on “half-day” sessions to “under-enrolled schools populated predominantly by Caucasian children”; and 3) revising transfer and promotion procedures for teachers, counselors, and administrators “so that a more proportionate distribution of Negro and other minority personnel throughout the entire school system may be achieved, and so that qualified Negroes and other minority individuals may advance in professional status.”<sup>73</sup> Some of Tackett’s demands coincided with some of the issues the AHC was examining at the time, so there was a real possibility that LACBE would consider her demands seriously.

The first test on whether LACBE was amenable to Tackett and other integrationists happened on July 18, when LACBE members engaged in one of the most vocal debates over two-small scale desegregation plans, while simultaneously backing compensatory education that included reducing class size, providing remedial instruction, and teaching English to non-English-speaking (NES) students.<sup>74</sup> In one plan, the school district would transport “for one full [school] year ... 410 students between the schools of Fremont to Huntington Park, Jordan to South Gate, Manual Arts to Westchester, and in reverse, at the approximate cost of \$200,000.”<sup>75</sup> In the other plan, the district would bus “75 students to and from each of the same schools, also for a period of one [school] year, at the cost of \$40,000.”<sup>76</sup> The small-scale plans would offer little desegregative relief in a district with about half million students, but the vociferous opposition to the plans illustrated the difficult political terrain against implementing any desegregation plan.

Having attended an integrated school, board member Tinglof expressed her staunch support for the desegregation plans yet remarked: “I realize that it [desegregation] is not possible throughout the District.”<sup>77</sup> She pointed to the limited desegregation possibilities through current transfers, noting that only five African American students transferred to South Gate High School under this plan.<sup>78</sup> Board member Richardson expressed frustration at the AHC, LACBE and the Superintendent’s Office for not offering “a program which broadly and courageously attempts movement in the direction of affirmative integration.”<sup>79</sup> Instead of the two integration plans, Richardson suggested an open enrollment program to alleviate segregation.<sup>80</sup>

Board member Gardner opposed the limited integration plans, calling them tokenism, and instead backed compensatory education plans that in his view would accomplish more towards

equal educational opportunity than busing.<sup>81</sup> Chambers supported compensatory education, but adamantly opposed “involuntary” busing plans.<sup>82</sup> Chambers claimed desegregation efforts were “totally improper and illegal expenditure of tax money” and had “nothing to do with education.”<sup>83</sup> LACBE members Willett and Smoot also opposed the limited desegregated plans outright. Hardy, considered part of the liberal bloc by the *Los Angeles Times*, also *opposed* the desegregation plans. Hardy stated, “I, personally, philosophically, do not believe, as Mr. Chambers has said, although perhaps for different reasons, in forcing young people to be transported out of their normal area of attendance, because I think they miss so much of their normal social life.”<sup>84</sup> LACBE voted down both limited desegregation plans.<sup>85</sup> Richardson presented an alternate motion calling for the AHC and the Superintendent’s Office jointly to develop “a specific program by which affirmative steps for the integration of our schools might be undertaken.”<sup>86</sup> Richardson’s unambiguous motion further clarified which board members supported or opposed affirmative desegregation. The motion lost by a 4 to 3 vote, with only Tinglof, Richardson, and Hardy in support. The vote represented the LACBE majority’s undeniable rejection of affirmative school desegregation.

In response to the board’s votes against the limited integration plans, Tackett led demonstrations against the board.<sup>87</sup> Civil rights demonstrators marched through downtown to the board of education headquarters and protested during board meetings in large, sometimes overwhelming numbers, and launched hunger strikes.<sup>88</sup> LACBE’s continued inaction on desegregation troubled Tackett, who, on July 22, criticized board members by name for their inability to have even the most basic understanding of the school segregation problem.<sup>89</sup> She declared, “[A]s of last Thursday, Mr. Smoot and Dr. Willett didn’t know whether or not segregation actually existed in Los Angeles and Mr. Chambers didn’t know whether or not the opinion of the Supreme Court bound the city of Los Angeles to action.”<sup>90</sup> Tackett introduced the possibility of court action in Los Angeles, and compared L.A. school segregation to segregation Southern-style.<sup>91</sup> Tackett charged that a board’s recent 6-1 vote against transporting students for integration “without any substitute plan of action ... tells us very clearly that Los Angeles, like Alabama and Mississippi invites action by a power superior to itself to make it respond to its obligation to provide integrated educational opportunities for its children.”<sup>92</sup>

Roughly a week later, Tackett went before LACBE to offer examples of how LACBE contributed to school segregation. She highlighted the attendance boundaries of Jordan,

Jefferson and Dorsey High Schools and Foshay Junior High (all in or near South-Central L.A.), resulting in overwhelming African American student bodies, and the shifting of white students from Los Angeles High School to Hamilton and Fairfax High Schools located in the L.A.'s Westside. In the San Fernando Valley, she claimed the board transferred white students to “overcrowded” Monroe High School, while spaces were available at San Fernando High School “on the edge of ‘black’ Pacoima.”<sup>93</sup> Tackett offered examples of LACBE’s complicity in school segregation, and at the same time she called on the board to rectify them.<sup>94</sup>

### *The ACLU Files Crawford*

During the summer, while Tackett and the UCRC led demonstrations in LACBE headquarters and in the streets of Los Angeles, Elnora Crowder, an African American schoolteacher, civil rights activist, and member of Tackett’s NAACP-UCRC education committee, went around minority neighborhoods “like an Avon lady” searching for students to serve as plaintiffs against LACBE in a desegregation lawsuit.<sup>95</sup> She found willing participants in Mary Crawford and Inita Watkins, two African American high school students from Jordan High School in Watts. Crawford told Crowder, “I think my mother and daddy would file the suit against the board of education.”<sup>96</sup> Civil rights organizations had found petitioners for the lawsuit.

In light of LACBE’s inaction on desegregation, on August 1, 1963, the ACLU, with the backing of other organizations including the NAACP and the American Jewish Congress (AJC), filed *Crawford v. Los Angeles Board of Education*.<sup>97</sup> In the lawsuit, civil rights lawyers charged that LACBE had willfully drawn and maintained racially segregated school boundaries within the district, and specifically Watts and South Gate. The lawsuit was made of two component parts: 1) it required LACBE to “correct racial imbalance at Jordan High School” and 2) it sought to halt the expansion of Jordan High School to accommodate the increasing size of the African American student body. Expanding Jordan High School, the ACLU charged, would reinforce the racial isolation of African American students in the area.

LACBE members vehemently objected to this charge, citing natural boundaries, distance, and safety (due to existing railroad tracks that divided Watts and South Gate), and claiming that expanding Jordan would relieve overcrowding. These rationales, however, veiled board policy that increased racial isolation. As historian Josh Sides explained in *L.A. City Limits*, “Although the board usually assigned students based on residential proximity, it waived these rules in

racially mixed areas, allowing white students to attend white schools even when they lived farther away.”<sup>98</sup> This policy combined with Los Angeles’ segregated housing patterns “created racial segregation as complete as any in the pre-*Brown* South.”<sup>99</sup>

The ACLU contested the expansion by instead proposing that LACBE re-assign African American students from Jordan High School to South Gate High School. Simply expanding Jordan High that was overwhelmingly African American, the ACLU disputed, while nearby South Gate High School maintained a student body 97% white with spaces for additional students, was *de facto* segregation. Five African American students, who had applied for an open transfer, attended South Gate out of a total of 1,800 students. Changing the attendance boundary lines between Jordan and South Gate High Schools could have mitigated racial segregation in the two schools, but this suggestion drew a frenzied response from white working-class parents, the mayor and the city council of South Gate.<sup>100</sup>

LACBE and its legal representatives claimed to oppose *Crawford* because its remedy required uprooting “masses of children just because of the color of their skin.”<sup>101</sup> LACBE employed the powerful language of the civil rights movement to counter pleas to desegregate two neighboring schools. At the same time, LACBE’s plan to expand Jordan High School increased and reinforced segregation in a racially isolated minority school.

### *Continued Activism against School Segregation in Los Angeles*

Civil rights demonstrations calling for school desegregation also happened soon after the ACLU filed the lawsuit.<sup>102</sup> On August 8, 1963, a NAACP- and UCRC-led civil rights march against segregation in Los Angeles’ schools took place as planned.<sup>103</sup> Demonstrators assembled and held a short rally at the First African Methodist Episcopal Church and marched through downtown Los Angeles.<sup>104</sup> The marchers joined others at the LACBE headquarters to attend the day’s board meeting.<sup>105</sup> Although the march proceeded without incident, the *Los Angeles Times* reported that the marchers “were preceded ... by seven members of the Committee Against Integration and Inter-marriage [CAII], carrying signs which read, ‘Civil Right for Caucasians,’ and ‘Save Our Neighborhood Schools.’”<sup>106</sup> Outside the LACBE headquarters, the *Los Angeles Times* further explained, “Two Nazi pickets greeted the demonstrators at the ... entrance of the Board of Education Building with signs reading, ‘We Can Prove the NAACP and CORE Are Backed By Communist Jews,’ and ‘Martin Luther King Is a Commie.’”<sup>107</sup>

Inside the LACBE headquarters, an overflow crowd and electric atmosphere filled the auditorium.<sup>108</sup> “Boos, jeers and cries of ‘smear’ resounded in the Board of Education hearing room ... as the board defended itself against civil rights demonstrations demanding an immediate end to de facto segregation,” reported the *Los Angeles Times*.<sup>109</sup> NAACP-UCRC Chairman Dr. Christopher Taylor stated, “We’ve listened to a lot of evasive talk ... We’re tired of talk. We want some action on de facto segregation and non-discriminatory hiring, upgrading, and placement of Negro personnel.”<sup>110</sup> Tackett stated bluntly, “Some members are blind to believing us. Others are playing politics [with the desegregation issue].”<sup>111</sup> She praised Tinglof: “Those who claim there is no (school) segregation are wilfully [*sic*] blind. But we want to make it known that we have one member [Tinglof] who is thinking right and acting right.”<sup>112</sup> She singled out board members Chambers and Smoot as the main opponents of desegregation adding, “They oppose everything we ask for.”<sup>113</sup>

National civil rights activists made their way to Los Angeles. James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), and James Forman, executive secretary of Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), participated in the march and then spoke before the board to condemn *de facto* segregation in Los Angeles schools. Dr. Martin Luther King could not attend the march or the LACBE hearing and it remains unclear whether Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, attended the march or the meeting.<sup>114</sup> Farmer spoke briefly and urged the board “to act at once toward elimination of de facto segregation.”<sup>115</sup> Forman followed stating, “We have suffered long. We are determined, in our lifetime, to provide better things for our children.”<sup>116</sup>

Well aware of the significance of King’s and Wilkins’ potential visit, board member Gardner had prepared a statement attempting to justify his voting record on school desegregation, and chastising the NAACP-UCRC’s efforts to end school segregation and discriminatory teacher hiring and transfers. Gardner proclaimed that he had “followed with respect and admiration” the public careers of the two distinguished civil rights activists, “Mr. Wilkins in his years of advocacy and action to obtain equality for Negroes as a leader of NAACP, and Dr. King more recently for his program of non-violent action and Christian leadership in the elimination of Jim Crow philosophy.”<sup>117</sup>

Nevertheless, Gardner proceeded to offer conflicting ideas about civil rights activism. He professed support for the civil rights movement in general, but condemned local civil rights

grassroots activism. Gardner claimed, “But I am also troubled. These respected gentlemen [Dr. King and Wilkins], by their presence here, lend their support to the cause of equality for Negroes, a cause to which I anxiously and with conviction give my allegiance.”<sup>118</sup> “But they also ... lend moral support to the most extreme and difficult demands made on us by local Negro leadership, demands which by implication give no recognition to the many other requests which have already been granted by this Board,” he added.<sup>119</sup> Gardner again blamed residential patterns for school segregation and reiterated that LACBE had enacted policy towards ending *de facto* segregation, prejudice and racial discrimination and implemented compensatory learning programs in “Negro and Mexican-American areas of the District.”<sup>120</sup>

Gardner also addressed potential outcomes from boundary changes at Jordan High School. He argued that changing attendance boundaries between Jordan and South Gate High Schools would lead to overcrowding at Jordan, no change at all, or more segregation at South Gate High School.<sup>121</sup> He blamed the NAACP for seeking “to enjoin the needed improvements of facilities at Jordan until this imbalance is corrected” through *Crawford*.<sup>122</sup> He also placed some blame on African American students at Jordan and their parents for failing to take advantage of transfer opportunities to South Gate High School.<sup>123</sup> The relative quiet in the audience as Gardner spoke ended quickly, when Smoot began to speak.<sup>124</sup>

The *Los Angeles Times* described a sudden change in the atmosphere of the auditorium: Boos “multiplied during an anger-tinged speech” by Smoot.<sup>125</sup> Emphasizing colorblindness, Smoot charged that the NAACP-UCRC attacked efforts to achieve “equal education,” pursued “reverse discrimination” policies, and opposed “the merit system in employment, opposed to our policy of treating all persons equally, regardless of their race or the color of their skin.”<sup>126</sup> He added, “These champions of equality come here to lend their support to the demands of these organizations that the Negro race be given special status, special privileges, special advantages, over other races in this school system.”<sup>127</sup> Smoot cited “reverse discrimination” as the crux of why he opposed school desegregation and race-based teacher placement. He declared:

While some of this type of Negro favoritism may be beneficial, it is, of course, reverse discrimination, and ... it can be demonstrated that whenever favorable or benign discrimination is practiced by this Board ... for a particular person or race, there is unavoidable ... an equal opposite act of racial discrimination against the non-Negro....<sup>128</sup>

Smoot berated the rationale behind *Crawford* and found it “incredible and fantastic” that civil rights organizations would sue to halt the “expenditure of more than one million five hundred thousand dollars on Jordan High School for the purpose of providing new and outstanding facilities.”<sup>129</sup> He charged that civil rights groups wanted LACBE to “gerrymander the school district on a racial basis.”<sup>130</sup>

John Caughey, a civil rights activist, educator, ACLU board member, and husband of LaRee Caughey, called on LACBE to “start moving and start the [superintendent’s] staff to work toward ending schools segregation.”<sup>131</sup> Like Tackett, he reiterated that compensatory education was not synonymous with school integration. “Without integration,” Caughey argued, “compensatory education is at most an effort to make separate education equal under the 1893 doctrine of Plessy v. Ferguson.”<sup>132</sup> He added, “In the era of *Brown v. Board of Education*, compensatory this or that is not substitute for integration.”<sup>133</sup>

LACBE member Richardson welcomed the desegregation lawsuit and “some exploration of the issues of Jordan in terms of how the administration and the Board may or may not see them, and in terms of how certain feelings are held by people in the audience.”<sup>134</sup> While Richardson questioned whether investing and improving the campus of Jordan was a good idea, he acknowledged some merit in questioning the school’s attendance boundary because “with respect to the apparent oddity of boundary, Alameda being only a block or two to the east of Jordan High School, it is logical that people, such as Rabbi Lewis and those in the audience, would be concerned about it.”<sup>135</sup> Gardner conceded that boundary changes might be needed to ameliorate racial segregation between Jordan and South Gate High Schools.<sup>136</sup> Richardson submitted a motion calling for the superintendent to study school boundaries during the fall, which passed by a 4 to 2 vote. The wording of the motion *did not* suggest that boundary changes would be implemented to desegregate schools but rather that any boundary changes, to be determined by the superintendent and subject to LACBE oversight, would be made to further *equal educational opportunities*.<sup>137</sup>

#### *Rumblings of Political Participation from Watts*

Members of the Watts community, the focus of *Crawford*, seldom participated in the integration debate. However, on September 5, before the AHC formally presented its final report on equal educational opportunity, Mrs. Vesta Talley, a Watts resident, spoke before LACBE and

submitted a petition containing approximately 390 signatures in support of desegregation. The petition partly read:

We the undersigned, residents of Watts District encompassing the Jordan High School District, citizens and voters of Los Angeles, do hereby petition the Los Angeles School Board of Education to end all forms of segregation and defacto [*sic*] segregation in schools, specifically in the Jordan and South Gate High School Districts.<sup>138</sup>

Talley reinforced her pleas by emphasizing her statuses of citizen and voter. Her plea to desegregate schools was unambiguous. For the first time, a small segment of the Watts community sent an unwavering message to LACBE in support of school desegregation.

On September 5, 1963, in response to the *Crawford* lawsuit, Superior Court Judge Alfred Gitelson took an unprecedented step in the class-action desegregation case. He signed an alternative writ of *mandamus* ordering LACBE to take affirmative steps to “correct any alleged racial imbalance at Jordan or show cause in Superior Court ... why it has not done so.”<sup>139</sup> The ACLU’s A.L. Wirin explained the writ’s significance: “This is the first writ issued in a case involving de facto school segregation in any northern or western state.”<sup>140</sup> The *Los Angeles Times* surmised that the lawsuit to correct racial balance “represented a new tack taken by the [civil rights] organizations after they withdrew an attempt to block ... the expansion of predominantly Negro [Jordan High School] if the board failed to correct the asserted racial imbalance.”<sup>141</sup> The civil rights organizations’ next step would be to seek a “permanent and peremptory” writ of *mandamus* against the board, which would order the board to halt policies that created racial imbalance as well as compel the board to correct racial balance.<sup>142</sup>

At a hearing the following day, Judge Gitelson clarified the intent of the alternative writ from the previous day and explained that he had made “no finding of fact” in the case but simply issued the writ as “a legal vehicle to bring about a hearing in the matter.”<sup>143</sup> During the day’s hearing, Associate Superintendent Robert E. Kelly, substituting for Superintendent Crowther who was out ill, testified that “Jordan or any other school in a segregated area cannot be condemned on an educational basis.”<sup>144</sup> “Preponderance of one race (at one school) is not harmful to school children,” he said in response to questioning by the ACLU’s A.L. Wirin.<sup>145</sup> However, Kelly also stated under oath that racial segregation could be “harmful to the human spirit,” but that no evidence existed demonstrating that “an integrated school provided ‘advantage to school children.’”<sup>146</sup>

In the fight for school desegregation at the grassroots level, CORE members voted to lend moral support to Jordan High School students if they decided to boycott the school when the fall term began.<sup>147</sup> CORE stressed that the boycott would not be “CORE-initiated” but a show of support for Jordan students.<sup>148</sup> CORE also announced its plans for a “massive” student march on September 19 that would begin at Wrigley Field and conclude at LACBE headquarters, as well as plans to engage in sit-ins at LACBE headquarters.<sup>149</sup> At a board meeting that week, CORE’s Kenneth B. Fry presented ten demands to LACBE including “to end the evils of segregated schooling.”<sup>150</sup> LACBE President Hardy asked Fry to present the demands after the AHC submitted its final report.<sup>151</sup> In addition to CORE presence, Watts residents submitted another petition with 200 signatures asking the board to end school segregation.<sup>152</sup>

### *The Second and Last Ad Hoc Committee Report*

Earlier efforts by civil rights organizations and leading integrationists such as LaRee and John Caughey the previous year had culminated in the creation of the AHC in June 1962. However, more than a year later, the committee had not proposed tangible plans to end school segregation or issued a conclusive report evaluating how to achieve equal educational opportunities for all students. On August 29, the district staff under the guidance of Superintendent Crowther announced it would submit the long-awaited AHC report on September 12, which was “expected to generate controversy” according to the *Los Angeles Times*.<sup>153</sup> Subsequently, LACBE would have two weeks to study the proposals.<sup>154</sup> Afterwards, President Hardy promised that “the board will vote on the report, including proposed boundary changes.”<sup>155</sup> She added that recommendations to adjust high school attendance boundaries in the San Fernando Valley and West Los Angeles were forthcoming and that such recommendations would be effective in February 1964.<sup>156</sup>

On September 12, 1963, the AHC released its *final* report. The AHC found *de facto* segregation in the district but absolved LACBE from one of the most damning accusations: district gerrymandering.<sup>157</sup> The official finding released LACBE from being complicit in school segregation.<sup>158</sup> The ambivalence within and restrained tone of the report frustrated everyone.<sup>159</sup> It offered no concrete plans for integration and boundary changes, and did not propose busing, which frustrated African Americans and civil rights organizations.<sup>160</sup> It called for further study of “the boundary issue, for a race census of the schools, for record keeping of hires by race, and for

better publicity of the voluntary transfer program,” which frustrated opponents of desegregation and mandatory reassignment of students.<sup>161</sup>

The AHC report contained only four recommendations, which LACBE had no obligation to adopt. The AHC recommended adopting a statement that established a “formal policy of providing equal educational opportunity for all pupils regardless of racial or socio-economic background, recognizing that equal opportunity is best achieved in schools which provided pupils an opportunity for interaction with persons of differing cultures and ethnic backgrounds.”<sup>162</sup> The other recommendations included: creating a position concerned with “human relations” and “compensatory educational activities”<sup>163</sup>; expanding “intensified programs of compensatory education” in schools with “large numbers of low achievers because of differing socio-economic or cultural backgrounds”<sup>164</sup>; and implementing the rules of the State Board of Education regarding the “elimination of ethnic discrimination in establishment of school attendance areas.”<sup>165</sup> The AHC found some validity in reports of counselors having “a tendency” to “give up” on students from disadvantaged areas. The AHC recommended that teachers evaluate students by their performance in “individual tests, performance tests, teacher observations, marks and other criteria,” and not to rely solely on I.Q. testing.<sup>166</sup>

#### *Tackett and the NAACP Respond to AHC Report*

Later in September, community and civil rights groups’ representatives and twenty-six more “citizens” and “tax payers” spoke before LACBE. A spirited Tackett asked the board to eliminate *de facto* segregation,<sup>167</sup> this time by referencing the rationale behind *Jackson v. Pasadena* decision, in which the California Supreme Court ruled that school boards should seek to eliminate segregation “regardless of its cause.”<sup>168</sup> In addition, she asserted, “The California State Board of Education has ordered school boards to overcome segregation caused by segregated housing wherever feasible.”<sup>169</sup> Tackett then condemned LACBE for trying to relinquish the responsibility of desegregating schools to “business men, industry, the press, radio, TV, labor, anybody but the board of education” and for abdicating their “throne of leadership.”<sup>170</sup> She derided the notion of “choice” in education and claimed, “Education in these United States is not a matter of ‘choice.’ Children must attend school until age 16. They must go where they are assigned, unless given special permission to do otherwise.”<sup>171</sup> Tackett offered a scathing critique of the Board’s AHC. “To say that we are not satisfied with your recommendations for lifting de

facto segregation from the Los Angeles school system,” she contended, “puts mildly our shattered hopes, misplaced confidence and deep disappointment in the accomplishments of this committee.”<sup>172</sup>

The NAACP charged that the AHC sometimes demonstrated a complete lack of understanding of an issue, and ignored any input from independent professionals, civil rights organizations and minority communities, but instead relied mainly on the official information and findings by school district personnel.<sup>173</sup> Nira Hardon, representing the NAACP, L.A. Branch, criticized the limitations and deficiencies within the AHC report, in particular its failure to refer to *Jackson*, which called for every school board in the state “to achieve integration by positive action even where existing de facto segregation has not been the result of deliberate gerrymandering.”<sup>174</sup> She and the NAACP also criticized the AHC report for not clarifying whether *Brown v. Board of Education* applied to Los Angeles.<sup>175</sup> Hardon and the NAACP disapproved of the AHC’s lack of direction on policy matters within its recommendations, as it tended to refer numerous matters, such as boundary changes, for further study. One particular idea in the report frustrated the NAACP: that “the committee makes the point that pupil movements should be voluntary rather than administrative.”<sup>176</sup> This idea was critical because the AHC essentially recommended the board and the district to refrain from transferring students for desegregation purposes, and leaving attendance changes for desegregation at the discretion of parents in the district. Against this background, LACBE voted to *postpone* voting to adopt the *final* AHC report by a 5-1 vote until the next regular meeting in early October 1963.<sup>177</sup> Eason Monroe, ACLU representative and legal counsel, supported this delay “until all responsible appraisals of the report have been heard or received by the board.”<sup>178</sup>

### *CORE Demonstrations in Support of Desegregation*

CORE participated in several demonstrations in the fall of 1963 in an appeal to desegregate schools, and prepared by circulating flyers in L.A. schools, and at local colleges and universities, including Los Angeles State College (today’s California State University, Los Angeles) and University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA).<sup>179</sup> For example, CORE staged a “sit-in fast” on Friday September 13, 1963 at LACBE headquarters. In one of its flyers, CORE explained that the protesters “had given up food until the Board agrees to desegregate school in Los Angeles.”<sup>180</sup> The *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner* published “L.A. Strikers Hold Fast,”

documenting the experiences of a group of seven CORE members who suffered the serious physical effects of fasting. The group's leader, writer, novelist, playwright, and motion picture writer Martin M. Goldsmith, 49, stated: "Our eyes are getting very blurred ... our vision is going ... We're all pretty wear and dizzy ... we can't say how much longer we can last."<sup>181</sup>

The relentless waves of CORE protests continued. On a rainy September 19 day, CORE staged a demonstration march that began with a rally at Wrigley Field and ended at LACBE headquarters to protest "Alabama-style" segregation in Los Angeles.<sup>182</sup> In a flyer circulated before the protest, CORE charged that LACBE was herding large numbers of "Negroes and Mexican-Americans into underequipped and overcrowded 'ghetto' schools. Not only do these schools educationally cripple their students - - but by isolating America's minority groups, such schools foster bigotry and intolerance!"<sup>183</sup> In another flyer, CORE charged that LACBE was "disgracing this city in the nation's eyes by maintaining a de facto segregated school system as ugly and as unlawful as the Jim Crow system in Birmingham, Alabama!" (see Figure 1.2).<sup>184</sup>

After the rally at Wrigley Field, a group of about four hundred "shouting" and "singing" CORE members, high school and college students, and three ministers staged a five-mile march to LACBE headquarters where they joined five hunger strikers.<sup>185</sup> The *Los Angeles Times* reported a large presence of high school students, declaring the march as "basically a youth demonstration," with whites making up about 70% and African Americans about 30%.<sup>186</sup> If the demonstration lacked a high degree of racial diversity, it did not lack geographical diversity. Students from several schools from throughout the city made their way to the demonstration even though school officials "had warned students that staying away from school to march would be illegal."<sup>187</sup>

The demonstration did not end at the doorsteps of LACBE headquarters but continued when the demonstrators attended the day's board meeting. The *Los Angeles Times* described the pandemonium in the LACBE auditorium: "Eleven speakers, alternately cheered or booed by a noisy capacity crowd, addressed the Los Angeles Board of Education ... in the wake of public reaction to the board's special [AHC] report on de facto segregation."<sup>188</sup> An ovation erupted from CORE members when Martin Goldsmith entered the board auditorium with the assistance of Fry and others to speak before the board. He told LACBE to eliminate the "seeds of bigotry from school children's briefcases."<sup>189</sup>

This was being wanted but in negotiation lines at U.C.L.A. Thought you might like to see it. P. Republi...

**Yes, there is school segregation here!**

The fact is that our Board of Education, paid from our tax dollar, is disgracing this city in the nation's eyes by maintaining a de facto segregated school system as ugly and as unlawful as the Jim Crow system in Birmingham, Alabama!

For example: Jordan High and South Gate High are less than two miles apart -- yet the first is 99% Negro, the other 97% white!

Jordan High is only one of many minority-group "ghetto" schools, overcrowded, inadequately staffed and equipped, and, worst of all, segregated. Every year these schools educationally cripple thousands of Los Angeles children. And by isolating off America's minority groups, such schools foster bigotry and intolerance!

At the opening of this semester, Jordan High students plan to boycott their pitifully inadequate school. To show that Jordan students are not alone, thousands more from high schools and colleges throughout the city plan to make a gigantic non-violent

**PROTEST MARCH  
to the BOARD of EDUCATION  
SEPTEMBER 19, at 11:30 A.M.  
assembly at WRIGLEY FIELD**

**PLEASE SUPPORT THIS ACTION**

March with students who are being betrayed by their own Board of Education. Drawn-out negotiation with the Board has not been successful. The time has come for a peaceful demonstration, in the tradition of the Washington March, to show that we in Los Angeles want segregation stopped here and now!

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE)  
1115 W. VENICE BLVD., LOS ANGELES 15  
DU 9-4444 OR DU 7-0213

(additional leaflet may be obtained at above address) (Labor donated)

Figure 1.2. CORE Pamphlet, 1963. In 1963, CORE staged sit-ins calling on LACBE to desegregate the city's schools. CORE decried what it called a *de facto* segregated school system "as ugly and as unlawful as the Jim Crow system in Birmingham, Alabama!" Source: Student Unrest Part I, 3/7/68 - 4/3/1968, Box 682, Student Unrest Files, Board Secretariat, Los Angeles Unified School District, Los Angeles, California.

He later stated that the "fast would continue indefinitely."<sup>190</sup> Jerry Farber, 28, Los Angeles State College English lecturer and the head of CORE's education action committee told LACBE that "when you herd people off in a ghetto school - in a segregated school, you are putting them in serious trouble, and I would answer Mr. Chambers on the point that he raised. Is there any advantage to getting people with a similar problem in one school. [sic] I say no, not at

all.”<sup>191</sup> He referred to segregated schools in Los Angeles as a “disease” that educationally crippled thousands of students every year.<sup>192</sup> CORE’s education committee chairman Kenneth Fry acknowledged the demonstrators and told LACBE: “[W]e still have this many people here demonstrating and using what they have learned in their classrooms about democracy to show those whom they have elected what they want.”<sup>193</sup> Within this fiery atmosphere, neither CORE nor LACBE could claim impartiality and no one on either side of the debate was immune from criticism and condemnation.<sup>194</sup>

### *South Gate*

South Gaters, worried about the potential for redrawing attendance boundaries long before the AHC report, took preemptive actions to curtail such a policy. On September 10, 1963, the South Gate City Council adopted a resolution protesting any attempt to change South Gate High School’s attendance boundaries and “to transport and exchange the students of the South Gate High School with those of other high schools.”<sup>195</sup> That same month, South Gaters circulated two petitions objecting to school boundary changes as well.<sup>196</sup> Floyd Wakefield, a resident of South Gate and chairman of the South Gate Education Committee (SGEC), submitted the petitions to LACBE on September 23.<sup>197</sup> In one petition, with 12,302 signatures, South Gaters asked LACBE to “resist any proposed changes in the present attendance areas of our school district.”<sup>198</sup> In the other petition, signed by 4,941, South Gaters declared that they would refuse to permit their children to “attend schools outside of their present attendance areas because of the hazards present in this industrial section.”<sup>199</sup> In response to the AHC report, Don R. Sawyer, Mayor of South Gate, challenged the idea that providing “pupils an opportunity for interaction with persons of a differing cultures and ethnic backgrounds” would achieve equal educational opportunity, and ridiculed compensatory education as “spoon feeding” because it made it “unequal for the norm” and because “our Maker did not so design us to receive it [education] alike.”<sup>200</sup>

### *A Fragmented Mexican American Community Responds to Crawford*

The Mexican American community declined the ACLU’s invitation to join the desegregation lawsuit, but the community’s rejection masked multiple and competing perspectives that largely rejected school integration as a means to improve educational opportunities in Mexican American schools and ensure success in mainstream American society.

Some Mexican Americans viewed assimilation as *the* way to make progress in American society but argued that assimilation and integration were incompatible. Other Mexican Americans believed that the key to success was acculturation, or taking what they deemed were the “best aspects” of Mexican and Anglo cultures resulting in an individual who would find meaning in both. Yet others embraced bilingualism, which partly translated to assisting non-English speaking students in racially isolated predominantly Mexican American schools learn by providing Spanish speaking aides to students. There was a small numerical minority of Mexican Americans who supported school desegregation. However, to many in the Mexican American community, desegregation was both unnecessary and incompatible with assimilation, acculturation, or biculturalism.

For example, Joseph A. Vargas, chairman of the Minority Employment Advisory Committee of the California State Employment Service (MEAC/CSES) and Vice Mayor of South El Monte, argued, “The Mexican-American today does not face discrimination to the degree that the Negro does.”<sup>201</sup> “But the fact is the Mexican-American people do not have a common problem and cannot be helped—but only retarded—by linking their situation to the Negro situation,” he explained.<sup>202</sup> Whereas the NAACP and the ACLU deemed discrimination and racism as issues that could bridge divisions between African Americans and Mexican Americans in common causes, Vargas emphasized that the degree of racism and discrimination that each group faced forced them to work independently from each other.

Marcos de Leon, head of Van Nuys High School’s (VNHS) foreign language department, similarly asserted that assimilation and ending *de facto* segregation were not immediate concerns of the Mexican American community.<sup>203</sup> Instead, de Leon argued, educators had to develop new curriculum to meet the needs of Mexican American students, and discard outdated curriculum based on old assimilation and “melting pot” models.<sup>204</sup> However, Mrs. Lillian Aceves, a representative of the burgeoning Mexican American Political Association (MAPA), offered resounding support of integration.<sup>205</sup> She told LACBE, “We would like to go on record as supporting racial integration emphatically. *De facto* segregation stereotypes racial differences and also stereotypes the abilities of the minorities.”<sup>206</sup> She declared, “The continuation of *de facto* segregation does not prepare our children for a realistic world.”<sup>207</sup>

A group of Mexican American educators, including the aforementioned Marcos de Leon, and community members organized the Mexican American Ad Hoc Education Committee

(MAAHEC) to intervene in the integration debate on behalf of Mexican Americans.<sup>208</sup> Though unaffiliated with LACBE or the district, this committee submitted recommendations to LACBE in response to the AHC September 12 report.<sup>209</sup> The committee vigorously asserted that “assimilation” was “not the answer to problems of Spanish-speaking students and urged the Board of Education to consider Mexican-American problems apart from those of Negroes.”<sup>210</sup> The committee also contended that LACBE mentioned Mexican American problems “only in an incidental or secondary manner.”<sup>211</sup> Defining acculturation as “the implementation of both cultures (Mexican and Anglo) to the greatest advantage possible in creating a personality who will find dignity in both,” the MAAHEC asked LACBE to make a commitment “towards acculturation of the Mexican child” instead of assimilation.<sup>212</sup>

Individual members from the MAAHEC offered several ways to resolve the educational problems facing the Mexican American student. A proponent of bicultural education, educator Ralph Poblano bluntly stated that “the school boards must be made to realize that the problems of Mexican-American students do not necessarily stem from de facto segregation or inadequate school boundaries but from the curriculum.”<sup>213</sup> School boards, instead, should consider the Mexican American student’s “cultural heritage” when developing a curriculum in which “English and Spanish complement each other as foreign languages throughout the elementary level.”<sup>214</sup> He also advocated respect for the Mexican American student’s vernacular, instead of “labeling it as a handicap.”<sup>215</sup>

The AHC’s committee report brought to the surface the political fragmentation between and among different racial and ethnic groups in Los Angeles on school desegregation. The report frustrated African Americans and civil rights groups because it did not call for concrete and immediate integration policies. Several Mexican American community leaders suggested that school integration was not the answer to improve education for Mexican American students. Yet, the burgeoning Mexican American civil rights group MAPA supported integration. To date, MAPA was the lone Chicano civil rights group supporting school desegregation.<sup>216</sup> South Gaters responded angrily to the AHC report, continued the community’s rejection of desegregation efforts, including school attendance boundary changes, because they believed desegregation was an affront to their community—their racially homogeneous and exclusive way of life.<sup>217</sup>

### *AHC Report and LACBE Proceedings*

On October 3, 1963, LACBE resumed its discussion to adopt the AHC report, the beginning of a series of skirmishes that would extend into several weeks. Before voting to adopt the full report and submitting it to the superintendent for review, LACBE members passed a motion to vote on *each* recommendation after the superintendent's review of each recommendation. As a result, each revised recommendation would be subject to another LACBE review, susceptible to amendments, parceling, splitting, or rejection. Upon passing, LACBE would again refer the revised recommendations to the superintendent for planning strategies *subject to LACBE oversight and review*. The policy to vote on each recommendation instead of the full report had the effect of bringing school desegregation efforts to a standstill. LACBE President Hardy took the extremely unusual step of withdrawing her September 30 motion to adopt the entire AHC report, "with the understanding that a motion to adopt the entire Report as amended could be considered at a later date."<sup>218</sup>

The scrimmaging began innocuously enough, with LACBE not having to vote on the first five recommendations of the AHC report because "they had been adopted." The first five recommendations mirrored the first recommendations in the AHC *interim* report, which LACBE had passed by a vote of 5 – 2 on May 20, 1963.<sup>219</sup> LACBE proceeded to discuss and vote on AHC Recommendation No. 6, "School Attendance and Boundaries." The recommendation called for an official report to LACBE of all school attendance areas at three-year intervals "or oftener as required by attendance considerations" that would "show all the factors involved in each boundary study."<sup>220</sup> The vague race-neutral language of the recommendation left open to interpretation what factors would be included in the study. Tinglof, the lone board member who supported school desegregation wholeheartedly, noticed the ambiguity, and wanted to amend "on ethnic distribution in" to the recommendation. Gardner opposed amending the motion because Recommendation No. 4 had already taken into account race as a factor in establishing or altering school attendance boundaries. Most of the board agreed and rejected Tinglof's amendment.

In a patent attempt to halt the vote on the AHC recommendations, board member Smoot questioned the validity of the report, accusing the AHC of lacking "facts or findings" or "data" to support their first four recommendations.<sup>221</sup> Smoot undermined his own criticisms of the AHC report when he vehemently opposed plans for a "pupil and racial census," a systematic value-free set of data that could demonstrate or disprove charges of discrimination. According to the AHC,

student racial censuses “will prove that many charges of discriminatory practices are untrue, [and] that they would enable the Board to see what progress has been made with regard to equal opportunities for its employees.”<sup>222</sup> Smoot also sought to neutralize the importance of a racial census by claiming that it would simply show residential patterns along race that were not of LACBE’s making. Smoot claimed:

Of course, the census will show that there are Negro teachers and Negro students scattered throughout the school system, but that a substantial number of Negro teachers teach in schools which serve neighborhoods composed of Negro residents, and that schools that serve Negro residents are made up of Negro student bodies.<sup>223</sup>

Smoot worried that “the NAACP, the ACLU, American Jewish Congress and other similar organizations will undoubtedly jump to the conclusion that we discriminate against Negro teachers, and that we are maintaining policies designed to encourage segregation.”<sup>224</sup> In a last-ditch effort to affect the vote on a racial census, Smoot used the language of the civil rights movement with the *objective* of halting school desegregation efforts: “I move that no pupil shall be denied admission to any school on account of his race, creed, color, or national origin, nor shall any pupil be compelled to attend any school on account of his race, creed, color or national origin....”<sup>225</sup> Richardson and other board members deemed Smoot’s motion irrelevant, and adopted the AHC School Areas and Boundaries recommendation by a vote of 5-2.

#### *A Numerical Minority of the San Fernando Valley Supports Ending School Segregation*

While the white, working-class community of South Gate overwhelmingly opposed school integration, white and middle- and upper-class San Fernando Valley residents had, to this point, remained largely quiet. In early October, a trickle of letters began to arrive at LACBE headquarters from Valley residents who *supported* school desegregation. Mrs. Celia Karen, of Van Nuys, aware of the recent hunger strikes at LACBE headquarters, sought LACBE’s “active cooperation in seeing what can be done to alleviate the problem and help in the desegregation of our schools.”<sup>226</sup> Another Van Nuys resident, Mrs. Mildred S. Simon, argued that education promoted the growth of the community and the nation, and asked: “And when we deprive such a large segment of our community as the negro youth from the best that is available, do we not weaken the whole structure?”<sup>227</sup> A Van Nuys mother of four, Mrs. Ethel D. Schwarz, asked LACBE to “reconsider” the AHC report and “vote now to end de facto segregation in our schools, of which Jordan and South Gate high schools are a flagrant example.”<sup>228</sup> Schwarz

believed that a vote in support of school desegregation was a vote “cast for the true democratic education of our children.”<sup>229</sup> Betty Field, of North Hollywood, feared that LACBE’s “slow pace in trying to rectify the de facto segregation in the local schools will bring grief and violence to Southern California,” and asked the board to “move with deliberate speed to try to correct the present inequalities.”<sup>230</sup> Revho Knox, of Reseda, protested “the ‘de facto’ segregation” present in the Los Angeles school district, and declared that LACBE “must not ignore the situation any longer, for both moral & practical reasons.”<sup>231</sup> He blamed LACBE for ignoring integration plans submitted by Tinglof and asked LACBE to take “definite action” to end school segregation.<sup>232</sup>

A Valley parent, Sheila Getoff sent a letter to Maxine Mitchell, the principal of Bassett Street School, in support of faculty integration. Her letter illustrated the limited opportunity of minority teacher placement at Bassett. Getoff elaborated on her insights into what she noted as a lack of cross-racial understanding stemming from a lack of racial diversity in the school’s teaching staff. “Due to reasons, such as segregated housing patterns, Caucasian children have relatively little contact (and that is often on a limited basis of having or observing Negroes as maids, etc.) with our Negro citizens,” she explained.<sup>233</sup> She believed that “proximity and relationship” with African American teachers was of “inestimable value.”<sup>234</sup> She concluded, “I am most hopeful that this is more than a ‘token’ move, and that there will be wholehearted effort to recruit qualified teachers on the widest possible racial basis.”<sup>235</sup> An integrated faculty, Getoff believed, was not for integration’s sake but represented “education for democracy” in practice.<sup>236</sup>

Some Valley organizations also supported school desegregation, and some of the most vocal were church groups. The Board of Trustees of the Emerson Unitarian Church of Canoga Park agreed with Tinglof’s pro-desegregation position and advised that “steps must be taken to correct [the] situation.”<sup>237</sup> The Emerson Unitarian Church was one of the first churches with a majority white congregation from the San Fernando Valley to demonstrate an unequivocal concern about school segregation.<sup>238</sup>

### *LACBE Politics*

LACBE political alliances on what to do with the AHC recommendations and *Crawford* did not fit neatly into a liberal/conservative binary but shifted among progressive, liberal, and conservative members. Tinglof represented the lone progressive, who *sometimes* received support for her motions from Hardy, Gardner, and Willett. Richardson *sometimes* sided with

Tinglof but more often voted with the liberals of the board. Smoot and Chambers, the most conservative members of LACBE, often voted in tandem and consistently opposed civil rights organizations' demands. Although outnumbered, the duo had the power to halt, delay and oppose recommendations and motions relating to the AHC report, civil rights, and *Crawford*.

The issue of a racial census of teachers and district employees created some unusual political alliances on the board. On October 7, 1963, Hardy put the teacher and employee census recommendation to a vote, a recommendation that would "make it routine to identify teachers and other personnel by race or national background after they are employed."<sup>239</sup> The board, by a 5-1-1 vote, chose instead to delay voting on the motion, and to include it in its discussion about teacher transfers and promotions recommendation. Three days later, LACBE revisited the teachers and employees census, while CORE staged a sit-it at the board headquarters. Hardy pointed out that Dr. Leroy R. Weeks, of the Los Angeles Urban League, fully supported an employee census because "such statistics are essential for the efficient use of our resources and for the planning ministering and evaluating of program at the present time and under present circumstances[.]"<sup>240</sup>

LACBE members debated over the teacher and employee census. Chambers questioned the legality of "including the employee's names on any record that included racial characteristics" and instead suggested gathering an employee's racial background without identifying the employee.<sup>241</sup> Willett would vote in support of the recommendation only as long as he had an opportunity to vote on the Superintendent's procedure to implement it.<sup>242</sup> Smoot offered a substitute motion that called for an employee to submit her/his racial background on a personnel card *voluntarily*.<sup>243</sup> Gardner argued that a voluntary procedure would not be successful.

Smoot's substitute motion lost 5 - 2, with Chambers and Smoot the lone supporters. Willet submitted an amendment to the motion, which called for the Superintendent's census procedure subject to board approval. The motion *to amend* passed by a close 4-3 vote.<sup>244</sup> But where did the third vote come from? Tinglof voted *with* Smoot and Chambers because she feared that identifying a minority employee on a personnel card would make the individual susceptible to discrimination and "great damage."<sup>245</sup> Chambers opposed the census because he was worried about "the charges of discrimination that can grow out of it and also the fact that it can very easily become a public record."<sup>246</sup> Richardson argued in support for the amended

motion because “there is a fine and logical historical precedent for not wishing to maintain ethnic records on the basis that such records could be used for discriminatory purposes.”<sup>247</sup> He asserted that as times changed, needs changed, and that he could see how keeping a record of the racial identification of employees could insure *against* discrimination.<sup>248</sup> LACBE members proceeded to vote on the full, amended motion. The amended motion passed 4-3, and ironically, worries about discrimination brought Tinglof, Smoot, and Chambers to vote together. Tinglof feared that individual racial identification would place racial minorities in a precarious condition, subject to discrimination in hiring and placement. On the other hand, Smoot and Chambers opposed the racial census for fear of “reverse discrimination.”

LACBE took on the AHC’s Recommendation 2, which called for a racial and national background census estimate of the student body “school by school, in the geographic district area of each elementary district, *without* identifying the schools, but listing them by level” (emphasis mine).<sup>249</sup> Hardy pressed for the motion because she believed it would be useful to “obtain information as to the percentages of pupils and teachers of different ethnic background in a given school.”<sup>250</sup> Tinglof opposed the motion, pressing instead for a racial and national background census from *each* school to assist in identifying segregated schools. Tinglof backed a school-by-school racial census because it would provide data on the degree of racial isolation each school. The liberals on the board sided with the most conservative member, Smoot, and voted down Tinglof’s substitute motion 4-2, with Chambers abstaining. LACBE then passed the original motion by a 4-3 vote, with Tinglof, Chambers and Smoot again voting in opposition.<sup>251</sup>

LACBE voted on one additional AHC recommendation that day, which would ensure that the recommendations 1 and 2 would become part of the public record “to show the distribution of certificated personnel in relation to the estimated ethnic background of students at each school, without identifying the schools.”<sup>252</sup> President Hardy wholeheartedly supported the idea because “the only purpose in doing this was to inform the public so they may realize that the schools are making an effort toward integration and are being quite successful, more successful than the public in general realizes.”<sup>253</sup> The motion passed 4-2.

While LaRee Caughey and the ACLU backed an employee racial census, they vehemently opposed identifying each individual employee by race, as Tinglof did. LaRee Caughey too warned that including a racial, color, or ancestral “tag” for every individual employee could negatively affect the individual’s promotion and assignment and make an

individual a potential victim of discrimination. “Much as we believe in the need for census information,” LaRee Caughey wrote, “we are diametrically opposed to the labelling [*sic*] of any individual by race.”<sup>254</sup> Caughey added: “To require a staff member to indicate his race is an invasion of privacy, which many will see as an act of prejudice.”<sup>255</sup> “If an agent for the school system makes the identification, there is room for error which could lead to a claim of damages,” she charged.<sup>256</sup>

Like Tinglof, the LaRee Caughey sensed that a student racial census from each school would demonstrate which schools were segregated and which ones were not, and provide valuable information for LACBE to develop policy to ameliorate racial segregation and improve education to students from minority backgrounds. Explaining the significance of a student racial census, LaRee Caughey argued that a census “in and of itself” would not produce integration” but would expose where segregation existed.<sup>257</sup> Repeated census taking, she continued, would “measure and chart the progress of integration.”<sup>258</sup> “Made in the interest of equalizing education and employment opportunities,” LaRee argued, “they do not violate the spirit of anti-discriminatory legislation.”<sup>259</sup> Student and employee racial censuses were not only valuable but legal and promoted honorable goals.

Although in full support of a student racial census, LaRee Caughey maintained that the city’s diverse population made it virtually impossible for agents of the school board to identify a student’s racial background correctly. Identifying a student’s race would be difficult because the racial categories at the time, including “Negro,” Mexican American, Caucasian, “Oriental,” and “other” had their limitations. “For this kind of recording,” Caughey argued, “the definitions of race would have to attempt greater precision than for the impersonal tally on the basis of appearance. Would the district follow the rule of the South that one drop of Negro blood makes one a Negro?”<sup>260</sup> She added, “Clearly, if the Board embarks on tagging individuals by race, it cannot do it only to Negroes. It will have to go on to Spanish-Americans, Caucasians other than Spanish, Jews, Chinese, Japanese, other Orientals, Polynesians, and Indians.”<sup>261</sup> LaRee Caughey wanted the board to develop a precise racial student census that was representative of the district’s (and by extension the city’s) racial and ethnic diversity.

LACBE deliberations, including motions, amendments, substitute motions, and votes, provided an insight into the complicated, multifaceted racial politics in the board. Passing motions for a student or an employee census, for example, was only part of a larger, arduous

process of policy making on racial issues. The motions that passed moved on to the Superintendent for research and planning subject to LACBE oversight and approval for approval. Broadly speaking, LACBE's deliberations on the AHC recommendations represented a response to *Crawford* and to charges of discrimination from civil rights organizations, grassroots organizations, community groups, and concerned individuals from diverse racial and political backgrounds from throughout the L.A. metropolitan region.

On October 10, CORE staged another "study-in" at LACBE headquarters as the board deliberated on more AHC recommendations. Over three hundred organizers and students first met at the corner of Sunset Boulevard and Olvera Street at the "old plaza" (today's Placita Olvera) and walked over to the board headquarters. There, they engaged in a peaceful two-hour "study in" to protest what the *Los Angeles Times*' Paul Weeks reported as "alleged de facto segregation in city schools."<sup>262</sup> The peaceful protests did not happen without incident, as Los Angeles Fire Department Captain Robert Landgrat confronted "Congress of Racial Equality leaders at the door as they marched up from the Old Plaza."<sup>263</sup> "There will be no sitting or standing on the corridor," he explained, because it "would constitute a fire hazard" and "they would be violating the law."<sup>264</sup> Jerry Farber of the CORE education action committee, asked Landgrat if he intended "physically to bar us?"<sup>265</sup> Landgrat told Farber that the decision to remove them rested with school board security officers. William Barron, chief security officer at the Board of Education, said that "his men would take no action pending a ruling from the board."<sup>266</sup> Undeterred by Landgrat, Farber told the student demonstrators, "I'm going in."<sup>267</sup> The students followed and filed in peacefully. "None appeared to break from the ranks," the *Times* reported.<sup>268</sup>

CORE's peaceful protest lasted two hours, about the length of the board meeting that day. CORE members did not "block exits or aisles," as Board President Hardy requested. They made their demands known to the board and the city of Los Angeles. There was some reaction from LACBE as a result of the demonstration but it was somewhat subdued. "I think we have to be flexible in this thing," Hardy expressed later.<sup>269</sup> "There's no reason to lower the boom just so we can flex some muscles," the *Times* quoted Hardy.<sup>270</sup> Los Angeles Police Sergeant Robert Hayes, who was on duty at the time of the CORE protest, commented later that he had "no order to intercede" from LACBE.<sup>271</sup> The following day, a school spokesman summarized LACBE's response to CORE: "We have no desire to see any incident created. The students have a right to

demonstrate. We ask only they co-operate in not creating a hazard.”<sup>272</sup> However, the public niceties between CORE and the board were temporary.

CORE’s demonstrations provoked a delayed but forceful response from LACBE four days later. It was not a response to the 300 plus-student “study in” but rather to one of CORE’s blistering flyers critical of LACBE. Chambers called on CORE “to retract the following untrue statements contained in a bulletin circulated by CORE at many Los Angeles City Schools, Thursday, October 10, 1963.”<sup>273</sup> Chambers also asked the superintendent to “see that a correction goes to the schools that have received the bulletin.”<sup>274</sup> The motion passed 5 - 1, with Mary Tinglof of the board member to cast a vote in opposition.

On October 24, 1963, LACBE debated curriculum to develop “appropriate teaching materials which will depict the Negro and Mexican-American, as well as Americans of all religious and ethnic backgrounds, in a more positive light,” with the assistance of community leaders.<sup>275</sup> The board passed the recommendation with a 5 -2 vote. The board also passed a recommendation by the same vote, which called for “personal counseling” in areas that indicated a need because of “a different language, culture, or social economic status.”<sup>276</sup>

LACBE also dealt with another recommendations that sought to deal with two separate but related issues: 1) the relationship between I.Q. testing and culture, and 2) counseling to foster African American and Mexican American student potential. The AHC recommended studying whether counselors paid too much weight to I.Q. test scores, which could impede a counselor’s ability to gauge a student’s future development and potential. In the other half of the recommendation, the AHC suggested improving counselor training “on the human relations aspect” so that counselors could understand how culture influenced a minority student’s academic goals and personal needs. Although the recommendation did not link the two issues, at its core, the recommendation sought to deal with how much counselor’s weighed I.Q. testing and a minority student’s academic potential. LACBE passed the motion by a 5 to 2 vote.

LACBE concluded the day’s meeting by responding to CORE’s “study in” that took place two weeks earlier, which was a separate response to CORE’s flyer. In a statement, Hardy expressed both the group’s right to demonstrate and the potential fire hazard that the “study in” posed. Smoot lambasted CORE’s sit-in and accused it of making false statements about the city’s schools. He added, “The inescapable conclusion is that CORE is consciously and deliberately attempting to deluge to public for the purpose of establishing compulsory – and I

repeat compulsory—pupil racial quotas within each of the Los Angeles City Schools.”<sup>277</sup> Smoot rephrased in a misleading way one of CORE’s policy goals in politically advantageous terms. What CORE termed school desegregation, Smoot termed compulsory pupil reassignment to fill “racial quotas.”<sup>278</sup>

On the night of the October 24 board meeting, CORE staged yet another sit-in that lasted until 6:00 a.m. the following morning. A group of sixty to seventy people with about half of them under eighteen years old congregated in the hallway of the LACBE headquarters.<sup>279</sup> The activists sang, engaged in discussions, and danced. At around 12:30 a.m., the number of participants *increased* to about one hundred. A building security guard, who had no power to halt the sit-in, told Jerry Farber that “unless he took some direct action to stop the promiscuous activities which were being carried on primarily by juveniles in the group,” he felt he was “morally obligated to make photographic records of these activities, [though] lacking the direct authority to do anything about stopping them.”<sup>280</sup> Farber confronted the security guard, “play[ed] down the incidents down,” and said, “A little hand holding isn’t going to hurt anything.”<sup>281</sup> Farber, according to the security guard, promised to do something about it. By 6:00 a.m., the activists left on their own accord. CORE demonstrated in LACBE headquarters peacefully, without any major problems, and continued to further its message in support of affirmative desegregation in Los Angeles public schools, which precipitated the ire of some LACBE members and residents throughout Los Angeles.<sup>282</sup>

Increasingly murmurs of opposition to school desegregation began to develop beyond the boundaries of the South Gate community and beyond working-class anger. White Angelenos from different parts of the city and across class backgrounds began to coalesce in opposition to school desegregation in *any* form, while minority communities remained divided over school desegregation efforts.

### *A Fragmented Movement*

Fragmentation on the school desegregation issue did not exist only among African Americans, Mexican Americans, and whites, but also within these groups.

The debate over how to improve the educational opportunities of African American children divided the African American community, with many African Americans clamoring for compensatory education programs while civil rights organizations, and church and community

leaders stressing desegregation. Many in the Mexican American community emphasized bilingual and bicultural education, while a numerical minority backed school desegregation. The desegregation debate exposed social and political divisions *within* racial and ethnic minority neighborhoods.

Civil rights organizations and African American church and community leaders fighting for desegregation on behalf of the African American community and other minority communities faced an unanticipated opponent in their efforts to desegregate Jordan High School and South Gate High School: the skepticism of the Watts community. In an unusual but politically savvy effort, South Gate residents formed the South Gate Education Committee (SGEC), an anti-integrationist neighborhood organization that conducted a survey of Watts residents' ideas about desegregation in late November 1963. According to the SGEC survey, 63% of Watts residents believed that "moving their children to schools outside the neighborhood would *not* help them educationally."<sup>283</sup> Most Watts residents, according to the unscientific but informative survey, preferred *improving* their neighborhood schools, as well as calling for "more library books, job training, and counseling."<sup>284</sup> The SGEC later presented their findings to LACBE. The SGEC used the Watts community's own responses to undermine desegregation efforts. Anti-integrationists, such as the SGEC, began to reemphasize the ideas of "equal education" and compensatory education to oppose desegregation.

The desegregation issue divided the Mexican American community, but the prevailing view within the community favored culturally based education instead of desegregation. Many leaders believed bilingual and bicultural education that included Mexican American and Mexican history courses would improve the Chicano student's education and self-identity. LACBE's recent vote on AHC recommendations on curriculum and compensatory education likely provided the community a boost of confidence. A small numerical Chicano minority believed racial inequality and unequal educational opportunity created a social and political bond between African Americans and Mexican Americans. Overall, however, the Mexican American community prioritized bilingual and bicultural education programs over school desegregation.

Scant information about the Hispanic San Fernando Valley residents' attitudes about desegregation exists, but a mother of two of "Spanish surname" from the Valley who resided within the attendance boundaries of San Fernando High School offered some insights. A diverse "majority minority" high school with students of Spanish surname, Black and white

backgrounds, San Fernando High School faced bouts of violence and poverty according to Mrs. Sheila Rivera. She linked these problems to the racial and ethnic makeup and socio-economic status of the community's residents. These circumstances prompted her to request a transfer for one of her sons, which the vice principal refused. Rivera wrote, "I put my house up for sale ... When the February semester approached we moved out and rented an apartment in another area where we have now been for a year."<sup>285</sup> She moved out of the San Fernando area (the city, not the Valley) so her son "could go one year to a school out of our area" away from the "terrible conditions there caused by the so called minority groups" at San Fernando High School.<sup>286</sup> "It seems to me when a decent 'white' boy can no longer stomach the actions of some of the Mexicans and Negroes (and I'm sure some whites too) in his school he has just as much right to transfer as the poor negro that everybody is crying about," she claimed.<sup>287</sup> "My son cares nothing about the color of a persons [*sic*] skin but he got sick of fights, knives, & the like," she concluded.<sup>288</sup> Ironically, Rivera clamored for a more open transfer policy, the very existing transfer policy that civil rights organizations worried exacerbated school segregation by transforming previously desegregated and nominally diverse schools into racially isolated minority schools. Rivera offered a glimpse of this process.

#### *CORE Responds to Smoot's Condemnation*

"Sarcasm and tempers flared Thursday at the Los Angeles Board of Education meeting" on October 31, the *Los Angeles Times* reported, "when board members sparred with integration leaders" during an unusually tense board meeting.<sup>289</sup> Thirty "youthful, singing demonstrators began an all-night vigil outside the hearing room," as well, illustrating CORE's increasing activism at LACBE.<sup>290</sup> CORE's Kenneth Fry responded to Smoot's very public condemnation of CORE's scathing criticism of LACBE. (Apparently, this condemnation and other criticisms against CORE had come from several board members through different media outlets.) CORE believed the time had come to answer these charges as publicly as LACBE members had, and to stem "scare tactics" that were becoming politically advantageous for some board members. Fry told the board: "In the last few days CORE has been subject to attack, criticism, and misunderstanding coming from Board members on television, on radio, in the press, and in open Board meetings. CORE has no wish to reply in kind, that is the counter-attack with more charges."<sup>291</sup>

In an obvious reference to one of Smoot's charges, Fry declared that, for example, "one week ago a board member insisted publicly that CORE wants racial quotas in every school in the system."<sup>292</sup> Fry asserted that Smoot's allegation was "actually the kind of charge that is sometimes used as a rallying point, around which to mobilize a fearful and misinformed opposition."<sup>293</sup> He then confronted Smoot: "I suspect that after examination of the actual CORE demands ... the board member may wish publicly to retract this charge."<sup>294</sup> Frustration and concern were palpable in Fry's comments, but it was only the beginning. Fry defended CORE's goals and answered numerous allegations of misconduct against the October 24 "study in." Fry reiterated why CORE pursued desegregation:

Children who never see one another cannot possibly understand one another. These children grow to be adults who do not understand one another. They go their separate ways—to separate neighborhoods—hiring only those they do understand—and each resenting what he imagines the other to be.... This is why we are demanding an end to segregated schools.<sup>295</sup>

Some LACBE members criticized CORE's "method" of expressing its concerns through demonstrations but Fry countered that the "method" was "simply through non-violent direct action: a refusal to be a part of an evil system."<sup>296</sup> To accusations that CORE used demonstrators as pawns susceptible to arrest, Fry scoffed but insisted that CORE members were not intimidated by the possibility. Fry stated, "Believe me, we don't want arrests ..."<sup>297</sup> "They won't do us any good. They won't do you any good. They won't do the school children any good. But we will not be intimidated by the threat of arrest into silent assent to an evil system," he declared.<sup>298</sup> In response to the accusations that CORE took children out of school to participate in sit-ins, Fry explained the meaning behind the "study-ins": "The students were here for a purpose. They brought their homework and quietly and in an orderly fashion studied together just outside your door to show to you that students of all races can and want to study together."<sup>299</sup> Fry employed conciliatory *and* defiant language. He asked for an understanding of the non-violent protests while calling the segregated school system a part of "existing social evils."<sup>300</sup>

Fry implored LACBE to end stall tactics. "As a substitute for action you continue to come forth with studies, reports, surveys, and plans for more surveys—all of which serve to delay the required action" and commitment, Fry contended.<sup>301</sup> After the meeting, the thirty youthful, singing CORE demonstrators began their all-night vigil outside the board hearing room.<sup>302</sup> CORE's all-night vigil on March 31<sup>st</sup> reportedly did not end peacefully. Violence

allegedly erupted leading to the arrests of three CORE members, Jerry Farber, Scott Van Leuven 23, a student at UCLA, and Michael Robison, 21, a student at California College of Dental Training. Two security guards were injured.<sup>303</sup> In a November 6, 1963 letter from Superintendent Crowther to CORE/LA Chairman Mr. Earl Walter, Crowther wrote that “a series of incidents leading to the violence and subsequent arrests for assaults on our staff were direct provocations in an attempt by CORE demonstrators to circumvent reasonable regulations.”<sup>304</sup> Crowther informed Walter that the arrests and an alleged past theft charge forced the school district to implement a new policy, by which a planned all-night sit-in on November 7 was permitted to take place “only in the lower hall of the Administration Building.”<sup>305</sup>

On November 7, LACBE continued to adopt, amend, and modify AHC recommendations. A more important story developed during this meeting. Board members began debating whether or not the AHC had completed its work and was still necessary. Gardner called for the adoption of the AHC report, except for the preface. Chambers presented a substitute motion, which called “that the Report ... be received as evidence of completion of the Committee’s assignment and that Committee be dismissed.”<sup>306</sup> Smoot amended Chambers’ motion but overall the message of the motion and the amendment was clear: dismiss the AHC. The full board voted on both motions and amendment and all fell by a 4-3 vote. The board rescheduled a vote on Gardner’s original motion for November 18, 1963.

On the same day, LACBE created the Urban Affairs Office (UAO) “to deal directly with racial issues, school dropouts and alleged discrimination against minority group employees or students,”<sup>307</sup> an office the AHC recommended. Crowther appointed Sam Hamerman, a coordinator of youth opportunities for the schools and former high school principal, to lead the UAO. LACBE granted the new office an operating budget of \$65,000 for the first year.

On November 18, CORE attended the board meeting.<sup>308</sup> Around 5:00 p.m., LACBE adjourned the meeting early because a disruption reportedly broke out in the auditorium, which LACBE attributed to CORE.<sup>309</sup> According to the *Los Angeles Times*, forty-two CORE members “suddenly burst into song” during the board meeting.<sup>310</sup> The *Daily Signal*, a local newspaper from southeast Los Angeles, derided CORE’s tactics and defended LACBE, reporting that the board had done everything possible “short of complete surrender to the most wild demands to rectify any real injustices which exist or may have existed.”<sup>311</sup>

By November 21, CORE's demonstrations and disruptions of earlier school board meetings had heightened the discord between CORE, and LACBE and Superintendent Crowther. After CORE disrupted the last meetings, Crowther contacted the district's legal counsel to ask if the district had any legal authority not only to bar CORE from board meetings but also arrest CORE members who disrupted those meetings. Counsel advised LACBE that such school board disruptions "not only constituted a criminal act ... but ... can be enjoined in a civil action instituted by the Board of Education."<sup>312</sup> LACBE could seek an injunction to bar CORE from meetings and if any CORE member violated the injunction, "they would be held in contempt of court and subject to fine or imprisonment or both."<sup>313</sup> In a November 21 memo, Crowther recommended LACBE to take drastic actions against CORE, including filing an injunction, and directing district security officers to arrest anyone who disrupted board meetings.<sup>314</sup>

Dr. Richardson, hardly a conservative board member, introduced a motion that made individuals who disrupted board meetings subject to arrest, a motion specifically targeting CORE.<sup>315</sup> The motion passed overwhelmingly by a 6 - 0 vote, with Mary Tinglof abstaining. Tinglof explained that "although she did not like disruptions at Regular Board Meetings, she was sympathetic to CORE's cause and that she thought they could be reasoned with rather than it being necessary to seek an injunction."<sup>316</sup> President Hardy also expressed sympathy to CORE's cause, "but she did not like to see them act illegally."<sup>317</sup>

In late November, LACBE issued rulings favoring the South Gate community's anti-integrationist stance. LACBE would not redraw school boundaries between Watts and South Gate and would not bus South Gate children out of the area. LACBE pointed to the district's "open enrollment" plan as a strategy to desegregate schools. Historian Nicolaides detailed the board's limited open enrollment plan: "While black and Latino children were free to attend schools in South Gate and Huntington Park, only thirty-four transfers were made available at the high school level, with similarly small numbers at the middle schools."<sup>318</sup> LACBE's limited transfer policy demonstrated its lack of commitment to desegregation, and provided a clear example of the disconnect between its pro-integration rhetoric and its limited integration efforts.

### *Renewed Demonstrations and a LACBE Busing Plan*

Individuals and civil rights and community groups renewed desegregation efforts. The UCRC asked LACBE to consider busing minority children from overcrowded elementary

schools operating on a half-day schedule to *vacant* slots in full-day white schools.<sup>319</sup> CORE resumed demonstrations against the board, which it halted in light of President John F. Kennedy's assassination.

On December 16, Arthur H. Silvers, CORE/LA Chairman, justified CORE's renewed demonstrations. He also framed school segregation in broader structural terms by associating LACBE to forces that built, generated, and maintained segregation in housing and schools. Silvers asked LACBE not "to draw school district boundaries to conform to racially restrictive housing boundaries in the city" because "it is not the obligation of this Board to protect the interests of realtors, builders and lenders whocollaborate [*sic*] to maintain segregation in housing."<sup>320</sup> CORE declared that "this Board has only one obligation, to protect the interests of all the children of this city - - including the Black and Mexican-American children."<sup>321</sup>

Silvers alleged that board members were unaware of the need for immediate changes<sup>322</sup> He declared, "Discrimination daily eats away at the basic fiber of ghetto children, destroying their initiative and self-respect."<sup>323</sup> "At the same time," he argued, "segregation twists and warps the minds of the children outside the ghetto, teaching them to hate and fear those who are different from themselves."<sup>324</sup> He railed against a board "redistricting plan," which would do "little or nothing" to desegregate the school district.<sup>325</sup> In sum, Silvers urged the board to develop and implement policies to desegregate schools, create equal educational opportunities, and warned that CORE membership was ready and willing to resume nonviolent demonstrations.

The UCRC's request to transport minority elementary students attending half-day sessions in overcrowded schools to less crowded white schools gained momentum in the board, resulting in a highly charged discussion over implementing such a plan. A debate over a \$678,000 plan to transport minority students attending crowded and half-day session to less crowded white schools spiraled into "accusations of prejudice against one Board ... member and criticism of school staff personnel."<sup>326</sup> The accusations were directed at board member Smoot because he accused the board of bowing to "political pressure" from outsiders including the NAACP.<sup>327</sup> He argued that the money could be used for other endeavors, including the "construction of an entire elementary school."<sup>328</sup> Board member Richardson disagreed, said Smoot should be "ashamed" for his remarks, and reprimanded Smoot: "You don't believe in putting Negro children into white schools. That's your problem."<sup>329</sup> Gardner, Willett, and Richardson, members of LACBE's budget and finance committee considering the plan, denied

bowing to political pressure.<sup>330</sup> Richardson, in fact, advocated for a spring semester trial run to reduce half-day sessions.<sup>331</sup>

LACBE voted 4-3 for a busing plan to transport minority children out of overcrowded schools to white schools but reduced funding from an estimated \$678,000 to \$80,000.<sup>332</sup> The board voted against a more ambitious program by the same vote.<sup>333</sup> Marnesba Tackett assailed the plan as “woefully inadequate” and called the trial plan “less than tokenism.”<sup>334</sup> To show the disparity between black and white schools, and why a more considerable desegregation plan was necessary, she detailed the gaping discrepancy between “Negro” schools and white schools on half-day or double sessions. “Nearly 50% of the Negro schools have half-day or double sessions, while only 16% of the white schools have them,” she explained.<sup>335</sup> And while the district had reduced double sessions by 50% districtwide over the past five years, she continued, “During this same period, double sessions have increased 21% in the Negro community.”<sup>336</sup> Tackett also ridiculed the recent LACBE boundary change program developed in early December because “many of these boundary changes were in either barren areas having no population or in industrial areas having no residential population.”<sup>337</sup>

She pointed to a contradiction in the board’s rationale for cordoning off a white residential area from Jordan High School. “A white residential area immediately adjacent to Jordan High ... was bypassed under the pretext that a traffic-signalized intersection at Alameda St. is too dangerous for high school students to cross,” she contended.<sup>338</sup> “Nevertheless, elementary pupils are safely crossing Alameda only a few blocks away,” she added.<sup>339</sup> Taken as a whole, Tackett sought to show LACBE treated African American and white students differently and unequally, condoned separate *and unequal* as the double-sessions statistics showed, and privileged the desires of whites, as the different attendance boundaries treated Alameda Street differently. The high school attendance boundary demarcated Alameda Street as the boundary line that precluded white high school students from attending Jordan High School, while another attendance boundary did not include Alameda Street as a boundary line, thus permitting white elementary school children to cross “dangerous” Alameda Street to attend a “neighborhood” school.

*LACBE Responds to the Mexican American Community and the Mexican-American Ad Hoc Education Committee Demands*

LACBE never formally responded to the demands of Mexican American organizations including the Mexican American Ad Hoc Education Committee (MAAHEC). Board members believed that it could improve the education of minority students through compensatory education programs. On December 23, the board acknowledged receiving several telegrams from individuals and organizations, which called for implementing the MAAHEC suggestions.

As with school desegregation, Tinglof supported motions and policy changes that could improve the education of Mexican American students. In one motion, Tinglof called for a “criteria of balanced faculties, in terms of age, experience, race, national background, sex and special skills.”<sup>340</sup> The board voted down the motion by 5-2, with Tinglof and Richardson the only supporters.

However, Tinglof did not relent and submitted another motion calling on the district to consider a teacher’s knowledge of the “predominant language.” Under this policy, for example, in a given school “having a predominantly Mexican-American population,” the district would take into consideration a teacher’s knowledge of the community, its leaders, its cultural heritage, and “an ability to raise levels of aspiration” for hiring and assignment.<sup>341</sup> She introduced another motion that called for Spanish as an elective for non-academic students, the development of Social Studies units “to include history and literature of the Southwest, Spain, Mexico, and Latin American countries,” and “English oral language programs of enrichment in kindergarten and elementary grades.”<sup>342</sup> The first motion passed by a 7 to 0 vote, while the latter passed by a 6 to 1 vote, with Chambers the lone dissenter. Tinglof wholeheartedly supported school desegregation but also voted on compensatory education programs to further the education of Mexican American students. In a sense, she had little choice but to fulfill the immediate needs of African American and Mexican American students in their respective neighborhood schools, which usually divided African American and Mexican American communities and political groups on the school desegregation issue. She introduced, supported, and sought the adoption of policy that benefitted *either or both* African American and Mexican American students.

Before the calendar year ended, LACBE finalized a vote on the motion to adopt the amended and altered AHC report and dismissing the AHC. Willett offered a more nuanced motion, but the core its ideas echoed Gardner’s original motion calling for the AHC’s

dismissal.<sup>343</sup> The motion passed overwhelmingly by a 6 to 1 vote, with Richardson the lone vote in dissent. A committee that had offered much promise, and had evoked frustration and anger from both sides of the desegregation debate, had come to an end. The committee had had no executive power, and no authority to implement any of its recommendations, which were subject to the whims of LACBE, and now rested on Superintendent Crowther's desk for planning and implementation.

In early February 1964, at the behest of President Hardy's December 30 request, LACBE proudly published staff report *Actions Taken by the Board of Education on the Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity*, in which the superintendent's office outlined the 27 AHC recommendations, which the board had procured.<sup>344</sup> The superintendent's office was not going to implement the amended AHC recommendations, but instead submit "statements," or plans to implement them. These plans too would be susceptible to LACBE politics long before implementation could take place. The wheels of change turned slowly, further frustrating civil rights organizations and leaders in minority communities.

#### *Momentum to Develop Racial Censuses*

In February 1964, political pressure to develop student and employee censuses grew. LACBE previously had declined to develop *public* student and teacher racial censuses because it believed they were unnecessary. When information was available, LACBE had claimed that "such figures [were] not to be made public nor [were] they to be given to any outside groups or individuals."<sup>345</sup> LACBE kept racial statistics of the student population secret and went to great lengths to keep the information inaccessible to the public. For example, when the California School Boards Association (CSBA) asked LACBE to join it to develop ways to solve "ethnic imbalances" in California schools by filling out a survey of the racial makeup of students and teachers in L.A. schools,<sup>346</sup> LACBE referred the issue to the superintendent.<sup>347</sup> A week later, Superintendent Crowther recommended to LACBE to "respectfully" decline participating in the CSBA's efforts.<sup>348</sup> In a March 6 letter, Hardy formally rejected CSBA's invitation and reiterated the superintendent's recommendations.<sup>349</sup>

While the racial and ethnic student and teacher data compiled by the superintendent's office remained veiled in secrecy, the Public Information Office of the Los Angeles City Schools released to all LACBE's policies on equal educational opportunity for all pupils and equal

employment opportunity.<sup>350</sup> The board's public statement contained a glaring omission: a policy on *de facto* segregation. In response to this omission, CORE requested that LACBE appoint a committee to meet with CORE's educational committee to discuss solutions to segregated schools.<sup>351</sup> CORE's response paled in comparison to LaRee Caughey's, who challenged the board's efforts of compensatory education because the strategy fit "the outworn doctrine of Plessy v. Ferguson (1896) rather than that of Brown v. Board of Education."<sup>352</sup> She asked the board to provide evidence that demonstrated how the board had dealt with and planned to deal with *de facto* segregation and fair hiring practices, as it was almost ten years since the momentous *Brown* decision. LACBE denied LaRee Caughey's request.<sup>353</sup>

In late 1963, LACBE made transfers available to minority students. The *Los Angeles Times* reported the lackadaisical response to student transfers requests from parents and guardians: "Parents are reluctant to transfer their elementary school children from 'home' schools to others outside the immediate neighborhood."<sup>354</sup> Out of a possible 4,410 new permits among 81 "open schools," parents requested only 28, a mere 0.63 percent.<sup>355</sup> Some in the civil rights community charged that LACBE did not publicize the program. However, the *Los Angeles Times* offered the likeliest reason why minority parents did not take advantage of transfer: parents had to provide their own transportation to their children.<sup>356</sup> Parents who transferred their children to a school outside of their neighborhood either had the time and financial capacity or endured financial hardship.

Individual African Americans seldom corresponded with LACBE about school desegregation but on February 12, 1964, Mrs. B.L. Singleton from South Central L.A. wrote a conciliatory letter that conveyed a deep distrust of two board members whom she did not name but were clearly Chambers and Smoot. She did not blame the board for creating school segregation. She appreciated the board's plan to transport African American children from overcrowded minority schools into white schools with empty slots.<sup>357</sup> Although she considered it only a temporary solution to school segregation, she called it "a definite step forward."<sup>358</sup> Of the two "troublesome board members," she wrote, "I think there are [*sic*] a member or two ... who denies that 'de facto segregation' exists. I fail to see how in all honesty they can say this with a straight face."<sup>359</sup> She joked, "It gives me great hope to know these members are in the minority. I guess that is a big joke because they can cause more trouble than the rest of the board put together."<sup>360</sup> "I guess it is apparent that I am a Negro, living in a predominant Negro

neighborhood, and consequently my children attend a predominant Negro school (half-day sessions mind you),” she communicated.<sup>361</sup> She added, “I am a strong believer that there is no such thing as separate but equal education. I believe that children must associate with each other regardless of race, not so much on a social level as on a [*sic*] educational level. This in its self [*sic*] is part of education.”<sup>362</sup> She placed most of the blame for unequal education and segregated schools on segregated housing patterns, and offered some silent prayer, but warned: “If it [segregation] is not corrected, not only does the child suffer, but the city, county, state, and the nation, will also suffer.”<sup>363</sup> Singleton expressed that schools could provide a potential space for cross-racial interaction, even as race and class kept Angelenos in segregated neighborhoods.

On May 14, 1964, LACBE and the Los Angeles City School District commemorated the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954. LACBE highlighted its equal educational opportunity policy but completely avoided the school segregation issue.<sup>364</sup> President Hardy went so far as to claim that “the Los Angeles School Districts have not imposed racial segregation on their students.”<sup>365</sup> Hardy reiterated the board’s commitment to finding “new ways to improve our educational programs and ensure that the educational needs of all our students are met”<sup>366</sup> Superintendent Crowther reaffirmed the board’s policy of equal educational opportunity.

### *Open Housing*

In 1963 W. Byron Rumford, the first African American member of the California State Legislature, introduced Assembly Bill (AB) 1240 to prohibit discrimination in housing on the basis of race, creed, color, sex and religion. The California Legislature, with pressure from Democratic Governor Edmund “Pat” Brown and civil rights demonstrators staging sit-ins and hunger strikes, adopted the bill the same year into California law as the Rumford Fair Housing Act.<sup>367</sup> In 1964 and in response to the Rumford Act, the California Real Estate Association (CREA) proceeded to sponsor an initiative and circulated petitions for a state constitutional amendment with the dual purposes of repealing the Rumford Act and *forever* barring government efforts to stop discrimination in the sale, lease or rental of property. The John Birch Society and the Republican Assembly were fervent supporters of these efforts. The initiative received over one million signatures, even though less than half that number was necessary to place it on the ballot, and it was formally placed on the 1964 California ballot as Proposition 14.

At the height of the civil rights movement, California voters placed anti-civil rights legislation on the ballot.

LACBE was not immune to the political skirmishing associated with the Rumford Act and Proposition 14. The *Los Angeles Times* described the atmosphere at a board meeting focused on Proposition 14: “A flurry of emotion erupted Monday ... between Arthur F. Gardner ... and member J.C Chambers over action of the State PTA urging a ‘no’ vote on Proposition 14.”<sup>368</sup> Chambers also engaged Dr. Richardson in a short but sharp exchange of words when Chambers protested that some PTAs were using school grounds to mount an anti-Prop 14 campaign.<sup>369</sup> Richardson countered by commending the state PTA for recommending a “No” vote on the proposition and proclaiming that the recommendation was “one of the most courageous steps taken by the PTA.”<sup>370</sup> “I feel this is an improper use of school facilities,” answered Chambers, and contended that the PTAs should acquire a Civic Center permit any time it had Proposition 14 on its agenda.<sup>371</sup> Before the scuffling could continue, LACBE President Gardner adjourned the meeting.

Californians passed Proposition 14 by an overwhelming 2 to 1 margin at the same time that they overwhelmingly voted for Lyndon B. Johnson, a supporter of civil rights.<sup>372</sup> The Rumford Act and Proposition 14 were diametrically opposed pieces of legislation in the debate over “open housing,” an issue intimately linked to school segregation. If property owners and renters were free to discriminate and to reject African Americans, Mexican Americans and other minorities who offered to buy or rent in a white neighborhood, then segregated public neighborhood schools would be a “natural” outcome. Consequently, the ACLU, the NAACP, and other and other civil rights organizations set *Crawford* aside, and began an arduous legal fight to eliminate Proposition 14 from California law. *Crawford* would have to wait.<sup>373</sup> Correspondence to LACBE regarding school desegregation all but ceased.<sup>374</sup> In early 1965, the cause of school desegregation lost one of the most fervent supporters, board member Mary Tinglof, who decided not to run for reelection. After a primary and a runoff election, Reverend James E. Jones, a member on the advisory board of the UCRC, prevailed, replaced Tinglof, and became the first African American to serve on LACBE.

As civil rights organizations challenged Proposition 14, there was a relative lull in the desegregation debate. In February 1966, Mr. David Ziskind, Chairman of the CRCSC introduced an argument against school segregation that synthesized the ideas of desegregation

and compensatory education. Undaunted by the lack of progress in school desegregation, Ziskind highlighted some of the organization's principles relating to public education, among them that: 1) education was a basic human right and an important instrument of individual and social change and 2) the goals of education applied equally to all human beings.<sup>375</sup> Ziskind proposed that LACBE help students reach their full potential, to recognize individual and cultural differences in the student population, and to create a sensitive environment that would bring together people of different races, religions, backgrounds and social classes. Ziskind argued that all students suffered under these conditions, not only minority students attending racially isolated minority schools. Quality, integrated education, "as opposed to desegregation," could counter the negative effects segregated schools inflicted on *all* students.

While Tackett and the NAACP-UCRC equated school desegregation with equal educational opportunity, and compensatory education programs in minority neighborhoods with "separate but equal" education, the CRCSC's Ziskind proposed that integration and compensatory education programs were not mutually exclusive strategies, and that combining them would achieve quality education for minority students in the district.<sup>376</sup> Ziskind stated, "We believe, therefore, that throughout every school district programs of integration *must be accompanied* by massive programs of 'differential education' or what has been known as compensatory education" (emphasis mine).<sup>377</sup> The CRCSC disagreed with Tackett and the UCRC-NAACP over how to improve education in Los Angeles, highlighting the political fragmentation among civil rights organizations that backed different desegregation strategies.

Middle-class white parents from the Crenshaw area of Los Angeles also backed desegregation, and their story remains one of the untold stories of Los Angeles' desegregation saga. Crenshaw parents of white and middle class backgrounds complained to LACBE about racial imbalance and increasing racial segregation of its schools, as white families continued to flow out of the area. They detailed recent stories of two increasingly segregated minority schools, Dorsey High School and Audubon Junior High School. Lee T. Coleman, a member of the Board of Directors of Crenshaw Neighbors, Inc., (CN), a community organization fighting to maintain racial balance in their neighborhood schools, referred to the condition as an ongoing "crisis."<sup>378</sup> He and CN worried about the dropping white enrollment at Dorsey High School, in which the white enrollment had dropped below ten percent.<sup>379</sup> (In 1964, whites made up about 30% of the student population at Dorsey.)

Coleman and the 750-member CN asked LACBE to stabilize the existing integrated schools in the Crenshaw area with “unquestionably strong educational programs” to secure white enrollment. Coleman recounted some of Dorsey’s recent history, which included a quick succession of new principals, “waves of disciplinary problems” that included incidents of violence, transfer requests, and acrimony between the community and school administration. Coleman faulted LACBE for not intervening more forcefully to deal with the problems at the school and to help stop white student flight. He implored LACBE to develop an integration policy that would slow or halt the out-migration of white students by the beginning of the 1966 academic year.<sup>380</sup>

Donald L. Loughery Jr., representing a group of Crenshaw High School parents, believed integration was central to the welfare and development of children. He asked LACBE to integrate its schools so that the student body in each “would reflect proportions which would be approximately equal to the racial proportions “ in Los Angeles. Laughery offered an insightful overview of the demographic transformation of Dorsey High School, from a majority white school to a racially segregated African American school. He recounted: “In the specific case of Dorsey High, the school was imbalanced in favor of Caucasian students until the late 1950’s, when a trend toward integration began. The school has moved much too far toward re-segregation in favor of Negro students by now.”<sup>381</sup> Laughery pressed for a limited number of recommendations to alleviate segregation and improve educational opportunities, including designating Dorsey a magnet school to improve the education at the school as well as attract white students. These efforts, Laughery hoped, would promote a “healthy intermixture and interaction among all races which neighborhood integration has failed to achieve.”<sup>382</sup>

Mrs. Katherine Cohen, representing a group of Audubon Junior High School parents, pleaded for LACBE intervention to stop Audubon from becoming yet another minority segregated school. She demanded LACBE adopt and implement an integration policy “without delay,” to implement a student-transfer integration policy, and a human relations program to promote integration and to bring together parents, student, and all school personnel.<sup>383</sup> In addition, she asked LACBE to consider the Crenshaw area and its surrounding communities to serve as testing grounds for a pilot integration program.<sup>384</sup>

Whereas Laughery and Cohen remained hopeful that LACBE would help to “stabilize” the racial makeup of their neighborhood schools, and provide incentives for white parents to

keep their children in Crenshaw area schools, Olive Walker, another Crenshaw-area parent, underscored how increasing racial segregation in area schools forced her to make some difficult educational choices for her children. Four years earlier, Walker had moved from an integrated area to Crenshaw, at a time when “both the schools and the neighborhood were integrated.”<sup>385</sup> “However,” she noted, “it [Crenshaw] has steadily become a minority area in terms of schools,” causing her “great concern.”<sup>386</sup> Walker implored LACBE to adopt an integration policy because she believed that integrated education prepared her children “for the kind of adult world they will face.”<sup>387</sup> She wanted them exposed to “the ideas, point of view, and the culture of other minorities and the majority group.”<sup>388</sup> Walker enrolled one of her two children in private school. If the schools continued on a path toward segregation, Walker expressed contemplating transferring her children to schools out of the area or sending both to private schools. Her case in point exemplified how some parents valued an integrated education. However, without an existing desegregation policy and plan, or plans to “stabilize” the racial demographics of a school before it became a racially isolated minority school, LACBE inaction forced parents like Walker to leave increasingly segregated, minority schools, thus aggravating the school segregation problem. Her case in point exemplified how a numerical minority of white parents who valued an integrated education became unwilling participants in school and residential segregation.

As many civil rights organizations fought Proposition 14 in the courts, others continued to press LACBE for school desegregation. In April 1966, Magdalene O’Rourke, of the UCRC’s Education Committee to which Tackett belonged, asked LACBE to direct Superintendent Crowther to implement a comprehensive “Master Plan to Abolish Defacto Segregation in the Public School System” using various desegregation techniques including but not limited to busing, pairing, and boundary changes.<sup>389</sup> In early May, 1966, Mrs. Mary Tinglof Smith, former LACBE board member and now the education chairwoman for the Community Relations Conference of Southern California (CRCSC) condemned both *de jure* and *de facto* segregation before LACBE.<sup>390</sup> She backed recent ACLU, UCRC, Sunland-Tujunga Human Relations Council, Neighbors Unlimited,<sup>391</sup> and Crenshaw Neighbors presentations condemning increasing *de facto* segregation throughout the district.<sup>392</sup> Additionally, she pointed out yet another pattern of increasing racial segregation in Los Angeles schools: “[A]s parents withdraw and transfer their children from local integrated schools, younger parents choose to live elsewhere rather than

have their children attend resegregated schools.”<sup>393</sup> “Thus,” she added, “school segregation often is promoting residential segregation. . . .”<sup>394</sup> According to Smith, this problem required LACBE to intervene by developing and promoting a district-wide integration plan.<sup>395</sup>

LACBE ignored Tinglof Smith’s and community pleas for school desegregation. On the very day of Tinglof Smith’s presentation, Reverend James E. Jones introduced a resolution for *voluntary* bus transportation “for elementary school students on double or short sessions to relieve overcrowded classrooms” starting on September 1966.<sup>396</sup> Although limited in scope, a few students would avoid overcrowding and experience a desegregated educational setting. The board *defeated* the motion 4 – 3. Jones, Hardy, and LACBE President Richardson voted for it, while Chambers, Gardner, Smoot, and Willett together defeated it. The vote defeating a limited *voluntary* desegregation strategy represented a crucial victory for anti-integrationists on the board and throughout Los Angeles.

In June, the United Civil Rights Council (UCRC) continued its criticism of LACBE, but this time it presented its grievances before the State Board of Education. Besides denouncing LACBE for failing to counter segregation, the UCRC challenged funding for LACBE’s compensatory education programs. It asked the State Board of Education to withhold “approval of \$13 million in federal aid designed to continue compensatory education for 70,000 low-income area children at 145 schools” because such funding would allow LACBE to avoid confronting school segregation.<sup>397</sup>

LACBE had an ally, Parents for Better Education (PBE), a group that favored neighborhood schools and opposed busing for racial balance and integration.<sup>398</sup> Its spokesperson, Laurel Martin, praised LACBE for its unwillingness to “capitulate to the demands of those agitators and pressure groups who link all educational failures with the geographical location of the school room.”<sup>399</sup> Martin added, “Segregation is irrelevant to education.”<sup>400</sup> Tackett and others disagreed.

### ***Crawford 1966***

In early July 1966, the ACLU took an unparalleled step when it amended *Crawford* on behalf of students from two separate racial minority backgrounds: African American and “Mexican descent.”<sup>401</sup> In the amendment on behalf of “13 Negro youngsters and five children of Mexican descent,” the ACLU accused LACBE of “pursuing policies which harden racial

segregation in schools under its jurisdiction,” and expanded the scope of the lawsuit beyond segregation in Jordan High School and South Gate High School.<sup>402</sup> The ACLU contended that segregation existed at Jordan High School as well as sixty-six predominantly African American elementary schools, thirty-four “nearly all of Mexican descent, and two where the great majority of the youngsters represent both.”<sup>403</sup> Additionally, the ACLU claimed that fourteen junior high schools and eight high schools were segregated, “but did not specify as to race.”<sup>404</sup> This amended filing was a watershed moment of cross-racial collaboration but went almost unnoticed, as it received very little media coverage.<sup>405</sup>

Whereas in the original filing of the lawsuit, the ACLU and other civil rights organizations sought to halt the expansion of Jordan High School because it would perpetuate racial segregation, the amendment cited the board’s existing open-transfer policy for “perpetuating” racial imbalance and the board’s construction policies for “worsening” it.<sup>406</sup> The ACLU elaborated on both claims. The board’s transfer policy permitted “Caucasian children living in largely Negro neighborhoods to attend other schools.”<sup>407</sup> As for the board’s construction policy, the ACLU claimed that LACBE chose “sites for new schools in neighborhoods where the predominance of the children are from one race, not on neighborhood boundaries or in mixed areas.”<sup>408</sup> Furthermore, the ACLU accused the board of rejecting several desegregation strategies including redrawing school attendance boundaries. The ACLU asked the court to issue orders that would bar LACBE from assigning students to attend segregated schools, end the transfer system, and require LACBE to choose construction sites that would help alleviate school segregation.<sup>409</sup> Civil rights lawyers now prepared for the daunting task of challenging LACBE, an entity with an almost endless access to funds for any lawsuit.

At the beginning of the 1966 school year, Tackett continued her fight for school desegregation and condemned the board for its continued lack of initiative to desegregate schools, for refusing federal money to fund a lunch program for underprivileged students, and for rejecting a state tax override for the latter.<sup>410</sup> In addition, she charged that LACBE refused *additional* funding available through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) for “creative, imaginative, innovative educational projects that would make Los Angeles one of the demonstration centers of this country in overcoming de facto segregation and its companion, low quality education.”<sup>411</sup> She accused LACBE of engaging in a double standard in its relationship with the federal government. She asserted that LACBE refused federal funding for

desegregation in order to keep the federal government out of the issue, yet the board willingly accepted federal funding for compensatory education programs because it favored this policy over desegregation.<sup>412</sup> Tackett tempered her criticism, however, by conceding that “some progress in teacher placement and promotion” had occurred, that the board had redrawn attendance boundaries in the city of Gardena that “favored integration” and adopted integrated textbooks.<sup>413</sup> “By the same token, you have selected many new school sites where integration is impossible,” she claimed.<sup>414</sup> She denounced LACBE compensatory education programs: “After three years of Compensatory Education L.A. style, ghetto children show no improvement on national tests.”<sup>415</sup> “The basic problems in our schools are the Board of Education and School Administration,” she asserted, warning that the UCRC was prepared to do something about both “problems.”<sup>416</sup>

In 1966, the California State Supreme Court struck down Proposition 14 as unconstitutional. On appeal, the United States Supreme Court ruled in May 1967 that Proposition 14 was unconstitutional, therefore restoring the Rumford Act of other anti-discrimination legislation. Civil rights activists won a major court battle. Proposition 14 and the legal fight to overturn it demonstrated that civil rights and “majority rule” in California were at odds. Civil rights organizations could refocus their energy on *Crawford*. In a related legal matter, Attorney-General of California Thomas C. Lynch ruled that “the \$35 million earmarked by the 1966 [California] Legislature is to be spent in poverty areas and should be used to promote school integration.”<sup>417</sup> The Los Angeles School District would receive about \$21 million.<sup>418</sup>

On January 16, 1967, the Los Angeles City School District (LACDS) revealed the previously undisclosed racial and ethnic survey, which the State Board of Education had compelled it to conduct. The statistics were compelling, but the district’s interpretation painted a rosy picture of the district’s racial demographics. “The report revealed that the distribution of Spanish surname and Negro students is about equally divided in the system’s Unified District,” reported the LACDS through the district’s own Public Information Office.<sup>419</sup> Although conceding that “the survey confirmed that the distribution of minority group students in schools usually reflect[ed] residential patterns of the community,” the district failed to report, though the statistics demonstrated, the highly segregated nature of the attendance boundaries, which corresponded with the segregated housing patterns.<sup>420</sup>

A close look at individual schools at *any* level and in *any* area, and the aggregate student populations by level in any area revealed the racially segregated nature of school boundaries and areas. At the elementary school level in the East area, 74.9% of students were of Spanish surname, with 18.2% “Other white,” and 3.2% “Negro.”<sup>421</sup> The Valley, regardless of the region -- North, East, or West -- was by far the most racially segregated region of the Los Angeles School District. In the Valley East region, 89.9% of elementary students were “Other white,” 8% were Spanish surname, and only 0.3% were “Negro.”<sup>422</sup> In the Valley-North, 76% were “Other white,” 16.2% were Spanish surname, and 6.2% were “Negro.”<sup>423</sup> In the Valley-West, the most racially segregated region in the school district, 94.8% of the students were “Other white,” 4% were Spanish surname, and 0.2% were “Negro.”<sup>424</sup> The West region of the Los Angeles School District was one of the most desegregated regions of the district, with a population of 45.7% “Negro,” 41.7% “Other White,” and 6% Spanish surname.<sup>425</sup> Birmingham, Canoga Park, Chatsworth, Cleveland, Granada Hills, Grant, Reseda, Taft and Van Nuys High Schools had a *combined* total of 19 “Negro” students.<sup>426</sup> The statistics for teachers, administrators, and other certificated personnel in the San Fernando Valley were even more staggering and revealed the highly segregated nature of the district’s employee hiring and assignment practices. “Other whites” occupied these positions of influence from 94.1% to 100%. Overall, the report showed that the student population as a whole was *diverse*, but that patterns of residential segregation reflected the city’s deep social and geographical fragmentation along race and class.

In the summer of 1967, the Caugheys and the ACLU, and Tackett and the NAACP-UCRC, and other civil rights organizations renewed desegregation efforts and opposed compensatory education. In early June, LaRee Caughey emphasized the necessity for school integration over compensatory education programs, referencing a recent report by the United States Civil Rights Commission. “Negro children,” LaRee Caughey quoted the commission’s report, “suffer serious harm when their education takes place in public schools which are racially segregated, whatever the source of such segregation may be.”<sup>427</sup> According to LaRee Caughey, the commission also found that “Negro children attending desegregated schools that do not have compensatory education programs perform better than Negro children in racially isolated schools with such programs.”<sup>428</sup> The commission also found that “compensatory education programs ... are unlikely to improve significantly the achievement of Negro students isolated by race and social class.”<sup>429</sup> LaRee Caughey again pleaded with LACBE to focus on desegregation instead of

compensatory education, this time pointing to the recent findings of a civil rights commission. On July 6, 1967, the ACLU's John Caughey reiterated the ACLU's efforts to desegregate public schools, pointed out LACBE inaction on the issue, and expressed concern over increased segregation.<sup>430</sup>

On behalf of the UCRC, Tackett asked LACBE again to "state your [desegregation] policy clearly and unequivocally" and end school segregation.<sup>431</sup> Mr. Curtis Moody, Executive Director of the CRCSC, reminded the board of his organization's pro-integration stance. Following the speakers' presentations, board member Reverend Jones presented a motion that would compel LACBE to *state* and *implement* a clear and unambiguous desegregation policy. He moved: "THAT this Board of Education set as its goal a policy of complete desegregation and work toward this goal at all level and divisions of the system, and further that the staff be directed to devise and execute such plans as rapidly as possible."<sup>432</sup> Board member Julian Nava seconded the motion. However, Gardner moved instead to refer Jones' motion to the district's Personnel and Schools Committee "for review and study, and hearings if necessary."<sup>433</sup> The alternate motion passed by a 6 - 1 vote, with Reverend Jones casting the lone vote in opposition.<sup>434</sup>

In October 1967, LACBE *informally* endorsed an "explicit policy" of racial integration and asked the Personnel and Schools Committee to prepare it.<sup>435</sup> In response, Santa Monica's the *Evening Outlook* published a story in opposition to desegregation and busing but in defense of neighborhood schools.<sup>436</sup> Nava, a member of the Personnel and Schools Committee, proposed a three-prong strategy towards integration.<sup>437</sup> However, Gardner, too a member of the committee, contested such plans as too costly. Reverend Jones, the chairman of the committee, stated that "the board should first adopt integration as policy and then explore various means of achieving it."<sup>438</sup> Marnesba Tackett, the *Los Angeles Times* reported, agreed with Jones' cautious approach.<sup>439</sup>

In late October 24, the Personnel and Schools Committee completed its investigation on how to approach a desegregation strategy.<sup>440</sup> On November 6, in connection with the committee's findings, Reverend Jones announced that he would present a motion on November 20 in which LACBE would reaffirm Directive 1 of the AHC, which called for ensuring equal educational opportunity for all students and recognizing that equal opportunity was "best achieved in schools which provide pupils an opportunity for interaction with persons of differing

cultures and ethnic background.”<sup>441</sup> The motion also included the board’s equal employment opportunity policy. The reaffirmation of AHC Directive 1 did not offer a new desegregation and implementation strategy, but the language of equal educational opportunity reaffirmed LACBE’s intentions to continue implementing compensatory education programs. On November 16, Garner successfully passed a motion delaying a vote on the Jones motion until December 18, rather than voting on it on November 20.

On December 18, 1967, LACBE planned to vote on reaffirming its school desegregation and equal educational opportunity policy, but postponed the vote for three days, as integrationists from civil rights and religious groups,<sup>442</sup> and anti-integrationists and anti-busers<sup>443</sup> sparred over Reverend Jones’ motion. Finally, on December 21, 1968, LACBE voted on Reverend Jones’ motion to reaffirm Directive 1 of the AHC. LACBE received much correspondence for and against the motion. Reverend Jones implored LACBE to take seriously the Ad Hoc Committee’s Directive 1, Policy of Providing Equal Educational Opportunities for All Pupils from its 1963 report. Among other recommendations, he called for the board’s unequivocal support for his motion to endorse Directive 1, which included setting up programs to avoid segregation and discrimination, improving student discipline, educational and vocational counseling, teacher placement, transfer and promotion, and better educational opportunity. The motion included reaffirming the policy that no employee would be subjected to discrimination in hiring, teaching assignments, employee benefits, and job transfers based on their race, religious creed, color or national origin.<sup>444</sup> Reverend Jones added that LACBE set as a goal integrating the district at “all levels and divisions” and instruct “the staff to develop every feasible technique and program to accomplish this goal.”<sup>445</sup> To call attention to the urgency of desegregation, Reverend Jones pointed to the findings in a 1967 student racial survey of the district, which revealed “that the schools in the Los Angeles School System, especially in the mid-city areas are more de facto segregated than they were when the pronouncement of 1963 came forth” and asked the board to reaffirm the AHC Directive No. 1.<sup>446</sup>

LACBE passed Jones’ motion by a 5-2 vote.<sup>447</sup> However, on the same day it approved Jones’ motion, LACBE added a rider, which instructed the superintendent to report to LACBE to obtain explicit permission before implementing any measure to fulfill the integration policy.<sup>448</sup> With this rider, LACBE effectively granted to itself the ultimate power to delineate every aspect

of any desegregation effort, whether it originated from LACBE or by a court order, as well as halt or stall implementation of current desegregation policy.<sup>449</sup>

The adoption of the Jones' motion was also significant for the outpouring of opposition that it evoked from the larger white community of Los Angeles. Additionally, the vote represented the first instance in which the first African American and a Mexican American member voted together in support of a desegregation and equal educational opportunity policy. However, the 1967 vote also illustrated LACBE's lack of resolve, as four years had passed since LACBE adopted an identical policy in response to the original *Crawford* lawsuit in 1963. For the past four years, LACBE had failed to implement any viable desegregation plans.

The South Gate City Council had previously passed a resolution opposing busing, and as a response to the most recent LACBE *de facto* segregation policy, other city councils passed similar resolutions. On January 16, 1967, the Vernon City Council passed an anti-busing and anti-desegregation resolution, declaring its opposition to "the unnecessary inter-school transportation of school children from one area to the other within the Los Angeles Unified School District."<sup>450</sup> While affirming its support for compensatory education programs, the council asked LACBE to rescind its new policy on *de facto* segregation.

Also in January, the *Daily Signal*, a South Gate newspaper, reported that Jones, a backer of desegregation and the architect of LACBE's policy reaffirming equal educational opportunities and recognizing *de facto* segregation, opposed busing. "I am not now, never have and never will be as a parent, private citizen, or member of the board of education, in favor of involuntary busing for purposes of integration," the paper quoted Jones.<sup>451</sup> Board member Nava told the paper he preferred integrating through programs such as Area Program for Enrichment Exchange (APEX), "where students move to different areas on a voluntary basis for specific classes."<sup>452</sup> Increasingly, the discourse over desegregation revolved around voluntary busing versus involuntary busing, even though LACBE's new policy on *de facto* segregation did not refer to busing.<sup>453</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 18 April 1977.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Marnesba Tackett, an outspoken civil rights activist, integrationist, and later education chairwoman for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored-United Civil Rights Council (NAACP-UCRC), credited the Caugheys with confronting LACBE over school segregation, unequal education, and overcrowding. See Marnesba Tackett, interview by Michael S. Balter, tape recording, 26 March 1984, University of California, at Los Angeles, Department of Special Collections, Los Angeles, California.

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<sup>3</sup> The American Civil Liberties Union (from now the ACLU) filed *Mary Crawford v. Los Angeles City Board of Education*, with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (from now on the NAACP), and the American Jewish Congress (from now the AJC) offering assistance to their efforts.

<sup>4</sup> Up until 1979, the city of Los Angeles elected LACBE members by holding at-large elections every two years for four-year terms, with four and three board seats up for election in each election cycle. In 1980, after the Los Angeles City Council changed election rules, board members were elected according to geographical districts.

<sup>5</sup> Josh Sides, *L.A. City Limits: African American Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Present* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 18-20. See also Mark Wild, *Street Meeting: Multiethnic Neighborhoods in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

<sup>6</sup> Eric Avila, *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles* (Berkeley: California University Press, 2000), 20.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-3.

<sup>9</sup> Avila, *Popular Culture*, 26. See also Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 19.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 26. In the 1930s, cross-racial cooperation continued among diverse groups based on their common working-class interests.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 25–26. In common parlance, East L.A., or the Eastside, includes Boyle Heights, a neighborhood just east of downtown Los Angeles, and the unincorporated area immediately East of Boyle Heights, East Los Angeles.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 27. The East L.A. community endured two racially charged events: the Zoot Suit Riots and the Sleepy Lagoon Murder trial. For an analysis of the Zoot Suit Riots and the Sleepy Lagoon Trial, see Mauricio Mazón, *The Zoot-Suit Riots: The Psychology of Symbolic Annihilation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984). For works about the Sleepy Lagoon Trial, see Eduardo Obregón Pagán, *Murder at the Sleepy Lagoon: Zoot-Suits, Race, and Riot in Wartime L.A.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press); Mark A. Weitz, *The Sleepy Lagoon Murder Case: Race, Discrimination and Mexican-American Rights*, Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 2010).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 33-49.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>16</sup> Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 101-108.

<sup>17</sup> James R. Edwards, Clerk of the Board Inter-Office Correspondence to Dr. James W. Lloyd, 29 October 1962, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport – Ends 1962-63, Box 960, Race Question Collection, Los Angeles Unified School District, Los Angeles, California (from now on RQC-LAUSD).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Nathan Sherwood, President, and James Garrott, Secretary, The League of Struggle for Negro Rights, Statement before LACBE and Petition, 30 August 1934, fol. League of Struggle for Negro Rights, re: Employment of Negro Teachers in Secondary Schools, Box 962, RQC-LAUSD. See also LACBE, Minutes, 144, 30 August 1934. Same location.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* LACBE referred all the issues to the superintendent. On September 11, 1934, LACBE agreed to create a committee, with members chosen by the superintendent, whose work entailed speaking with community leaders and creating a report for the board. In a related matter, in the fall of 1936, a Mrs. Whitaker was appointed counselor at Jefferson High School, with the alleged backing of Charlotta Bass, editor of the African American newspaper *California Eagle*, and others including Dr. H. Claude Hudson, and Mr. Frederick Roberts. Another individual, Senola Reeves Maxwell, complained to LACBE that Mrs. Whitaker had been appointed to counselor by a LACBE that had yielded to “political pressure.” Senola Reeves was African American. By September 1936, the Los Angeles City School District had appointed three African American teachers at Jefferson High School and three others at Lafayette Junior High School. In 1937, C.W. Stafford, a leader in the community surrounding Jefferson High School spoke before LACBE, requested the appointment of Senola Reeves Maxwell to counselor at Jefferson, and submitted over 900 signatures in her support. See LACBE, Minutes, 1 February 1937, fol. Petition Requesting Appointment of Senola Maxwell Reeves as Counselor in Jefferson High School, Box 962, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>22</sup> LACBE, Memo, “Los Angeles Board of Education Policy, Superintendent’s Bulletins, Curriculum and Instructional Materials Issued from 1934 through 1948, Relating to the Improvement of Human Relationships,” n.d., fol. Board Policies and Statements, Box 962, RQC-LAUSD.

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<sup>23</sup> James R. Edwards, Clerk of the Board Inter-Office Correspondence to Dr. James W. Lloyd, 29 October 1962, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport – Ends 1962-63, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>24</sup> L.B. Travers, Assistant Superintendent, Information Regarding Employment of Negroes with the Los Angeles City Board of Education, 17 July 1939, fol. Request More Colored Teachers in Jefferson High, Establish War Emergency and Defense Training Classes in Negro and Mexican Areas, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD. According to the report, in March 1936, 28 out of 4,829 (or 0.57 %) elementary school teachers were “Negro,” and in 1939, 45 out of 4,539 (or 0.10%) were “Negro.” Of 3,869 junior and high school teachers in the district, *zero* were African American in March 1936. As of July 1939, there were 18 African American junior and high school teachers out of a total of 4,561 (0.39%). Travers did not cite discrimination for the low employment numbers of African Americans in the district or the 40% elimination rate of African American who applied. Instead, he wrote, “A casual study of the Negro applicants filing seems to indicate that the great majority of them are unemployed. This would indicate that not the best Negro material files.”

<sup>25</sup> P. Price Cobbs M.D., Rev. E.E. Lightner, Mrs. Augusta Glover, PTA member, Mr. I Treadwell, and Rev. William A. Washington, letter to LACBE, 12 August 1940, fol. Request More Colored Teachers in Jefferson High, Establish War Emergency and Defense Training Classes in Negro and Mexican Areas, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD. See also LACBE, Minutes, 128, 12 August 1940 and Loren Miller, Attorney and Member of the Citizens Committee on Schools, Memo, n.d. Same location.

<sup>26</sup> James R. Edwards, Clerk of the Board Inter-Office Correspondence to Dr. James W. Lloyd, 29 October 1962, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport – Ends 1962-63, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>27</sup> Office of the Superintendent, Los Angeles City Schools, *Program of Americanism for Our Schools*, School Publication No. 355, fol. Board Policies and Statements, Box 962, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>28</sup> LACBE, Minutes, 4 March 1941, fol. Race Question – Genl. Ends 1962-63 Part I, Box 962, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>29</sup> Charles Zibbell, Executive Secretary of the Los Angeles, Jewish Youth Conference, letter to LACBE, 18 April 1946, fol. Race Question – Genl. Ends 1962-63 Part I, Box 962, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>30</sup> LACSD, *Developing Human Relations in the Elementary School: Human Relations in Home and Family, School and Classroom, Neighborhood and Community, and Nation and World*, 1950, fol. Board Policies and Statements, Box 962, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>31</sup> Bruce Findlay, LACBE Associate Superintendent, letter to Citizens for Better Schools, 6 July 1956, fol. Placement of Teachers of Minority Group, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>32</sup> LACBE, Correspondence for LACBE Meeting, 30 July 1956, fol. Placement of Teachers of Minority Groups LACBE, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD. These “colorblind” letters clearly opposed the hiring of African American teachers. They flooded the school board after Mr. Burke stated that the district would employ “qualified” African Americans not hired by the County of Los Angeles.

<sup>33</sup> Edward D. Warren, President NAACP, Los Angeles Branch, 8 September 1960, fol. Placement of Teachers of Minority Groups, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD. The Los Angeles Branch of the NAACP took the lead in grassroots integration efforts, working in concert with the ACLU and the AJC and other organizations in the courts. However, the little known San Valley Branch of the NAACP, located in Pacoima in the San Fernando Valley, sometimes contributed ideas to education related issues, such as suggesting African American history books to LACBE.

<sup>34</sup> Mrs. LaRee Caughey, Transcription of Portion of Regular Board Meeting, 7 June 1962, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport – Ends 1962-63, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD. See also Statement of the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, Congress of Racial Equality, and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on Integration in the Los Angeles City Schools, same folder.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Mrs. Georgiana Hardy, Chairman, Ad Hoc Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities, Statement, 5 September 1962, *Crawford Case Files Part One 7/11/1963-4/27/1970*, *Crawford Case Files*, Board Secretariat, Los Angeles Unified School District, Los Angeles, California (from now on CCF-BdS/LAUSD).

<sup>37</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Reg. Mtg. 569, 7 June 1962, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport – Ends 1962-63, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD. After LACBE created the AHC, the ACLU commended both the board and superintendent Jack Crowther. It praised the board for opening “the way for a straightforward study” of segregation and “sincere efforts to find all possible solutions for the problem” and the superintendent “for your friendly and candid reception of our concern and your thoughtfulness in arranging for us to meet your staff.” See ACLU, letter to Dr. Jack Crowther, Superintendent of Schools, 13 June 1962, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport – Ends 1962-63, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid. Georgiana Hardy's 5 September 1962 statement and the September 12, 1963 Ad Hoc Committee Report also detailed the creation of the AHC. The AHC's duties included: 1) calling "on outside experts from the State Department of Education or elsewhere"; 2) meeting with "community leaders in the human relations field" for input; 3) "evaluating present Board policies and practices as they relate to equal educational opportunities for all students"; and 4) presenting "their findings to the Board of Education." However, the AHC had "no official capacity other than to consider the request presented to the Board of Education and to present their findings to the Board of Education." The CRC had the important role of presenting the pleas and concerns from the community to LACBE. The CRC's members included: 1) Ms. Susan Adams Donovan, AFL and Church Federation; 2) Mrs. Doris Kingsley, California State Prison Board; 3) Mr. Karl R. Kunze, manager, Personnel General Department, Lockheed-California Company; 4) Mr. Arthur J. Rendon, architect, Kistner, Wright and Wright; 5) Mr. Robert B. Young, manager, Labor Relations, Southern California Gas Company; 6) Dr. Abbott Kaplan, professor, UCLA Extension University; 7) Dr. Lawrence B. Wilson, Founder of Men of Tomorrow and President, Superior Escrow Company; and 8) Mr. Stanley Gewirtz, Reiss-Davis Child Guidance Clinic of L.A.

<sup>39</sup> Milton also directed his frustration to the AHC: "They have even persuaded one shameless Committee to agree with them that more mixing should be accomplished." As he equated blacks with criminality, he portrayed white Angelenos as innocent victims of discrimination by a system manipulated by outsiders. See H.H. Milton, from Hollywood, California, letter to LACBE, 16 June 1962, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport – Ends 1962-63, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD. See also Richard Watt to LACBE, telegram, 14 September 1962. Same location.

<sup>40</sup> Mrs. J.R. Bedsworth, letter to LACBE, n.d., fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport – Ends 1962-63, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>41</sup> Urban League of Los Angeles, Report, *A Survey of the Distribution of Negro Teachers in the Los Angeles City Schools, 1960-1961*, n.d., Crawford Case Files Part One 7/11/1963-4/27/1970, CCF-BdS/LAUSD.

<sup>42</sup> LACBE, Transcript of Meeting Ad Hoc Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity Meeting with Citizen Resource Representatives, 5 September 1962, Crawford Case Files Part One 7/11/1963-4/27/1970, CCF-BdS/LAUSD.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. Wright went on to present five suggestions to integrate schools: 1) that race, creed, color, and national origin be openly recognized as factors to be considered in the realization of a "lawful and balanced educational system," that boundary lines should not be drawn, "causing an illegally segregated school attendance" and that reverse gerrymandering might be necessary to integrate all "Negro," all White, or all Mexican schools; 2) the idea that the Ad Hoc Committee drop the boundary line concept in favor of the Princeton Plan in specific communities where changing boundary lines alone could not desegregate two schools; 3) that the Ad Hoc Committee "recommend certain token integration projects, where other measures cannot desegregate schools"; 4) the idea that the Committee recommend that LACBE "twice a year call in citizens who are active in the field of democratic education, to review changes made in boundary lines during the interim, so that Los Angeles does not sink back into a de facto segregated educational system; and 5) immediate action in certain "hot spots" where "Negro citizens shall boycott schools and institute court action, unless there is an immediate solving of some segregation problems." During the September 5 meeting, LaRee Caughey proposed student exchange visits as a way to introduce students from one neighborhood to students outside their neighborhood schools. She also credited the Berkeley School District for integrating their one high school, and New York's transferring option, in which any student from a "sending school," regardless of race and nationality, could transfer to a "receiving school" to integrate.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. Meckler's suggestions to disrupt the cycle of school segregation included: 1) integrating new schools as a matter of policy because they provided "an opportunity to establish creative attendance patterns with more freedom in seeking to integrate before the lines become traditional"; 2) affirmatively establishing "the principle of integration as one basis for the chartering of schools attendance zones" to be "periodically reassessed"; 3) the Los Angeles City Board of Education "should do everything in its power to deter the creation of neighboring, suburban, lily-white or homogeneous school districts, which have been sought by secession in some communities from Los Angeles in order to thwart...an integrated school attendance program; 4) building and strengthening school pride in integrated schools while simultaneously accepting "the migrating newcomer or minority background into such schools ...while

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holding steadfastly to the present residents of Caucasian background and deter their flight or transfer west, north, or south.”

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> NAACP, Statement by the NAACP, 15 September 1962, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport – Ends 1962-63, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid. See also LACBE, Minutes, Regular Meeting, 108, 17 September 1962. Same location

<sup>58</sup> Jack Crowther, Statement, 15 September 1962, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport – Ends 1962-63, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD. See also LACBE, Minutes, Regular Meeting, 108, 17 September 1962. Same location.

<sup>59</sup> Superintendent Jack Crowther, Statement to LACBE, 13 September 1962, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport – Ends 1962-63, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 161.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 161-162. In *L.A. City Limits*, Sides also refers African American student efforts to enroll in Huntington Park High School.

<sup>66</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Regular Meeting 4:20 p.m. 480, 2 May 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport – Ends 1962-63, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>67</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Regular Meeting, 506, 20 May 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport – Ends 1962-63, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>68</sup> Marnesba Tackett, interview by Michael S. Balter, tape recording, 22 April 1982, University of California, at Los Angeles, Department of Special Collections, Los Angeles, California. Tackett’s parents were Amy Elizabeth Edwards and Ivory Atkins. Her grandparents, both slaves, were William Richard and Annie Williamson Edwards. Her grandfather’s father was Richard Marnesba Alphram but he took the name of his slave owner, Captain Edwards. Her grandmother was the daughter of her mother and a slave owner. Tackett’s grandparents married and moved to St. Louis. Tackett’s father passed away of pneumonia and her mother married Elias Floyd Tillmon, who Tackett described as “the only father that I really new.”

<sup>69</sup> Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 163. See also Marnesba Tackett, interview by Michael S. Balter, tape recording, 22 April 1982, University of California, at Los Angeles, Department of Special Collections, Los Angeles, California.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Marnesba Tackett, interview by Michael S. Balter, tape recording, 26 March 1984, University of California, at Los Angeles, Department of Special Collections, Los Angeles, California.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid. The UCRC was a separate organization closely affiliated with the NAACP. I refer to the UCRC as the NAACP-UCRC and the UCRC almost interchangeably. The UCRC was a conglomeration of seventy-six social, political and religious African American organizations in Los Angeles formed in the summer of 1963. Tackett headed the organization’s education committee. In addition to Dr. Christopher Taylor, Reverend H. H. Brookings of the First African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church was also a member. The organization targeted issues related to education such as “attendance lines,” transfer policies, teacher placement methods, and over-crowded schools, as well as housing, employment, fair hiring practices, and police treatment, all interconnected issues in minority communities.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid. See also LACBE, Minutes, Spl. Mtg., 24 June 1963, *Crawford Case Files Part Two 4/30/70-1/18/1979*, CCF-BdS/LAUSD. Hardy responded to Tackett by referring her pleas to the school superintendent.

<sup>74</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Spl. Meeting, 18 July 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport. 1963-64, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. A number of Angelenos commended the Board for voting down even the most limited desegregation plans; some opposed integration altogether, whether it involved one-way busing of students from minority neighborhoods to white neighborhoods, or two-way busing; others opposed the mixing of the races outright regardless of method; other opposed using tax money to bus students; while others opposed integration via attendance boundary. See LACBE, Reports of Correspondence, 25, 29 July and 1, 5, 8, 12, 15 August 1963, fol. Race Question Genl, 1963 – 1964 Part II, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> In 1963, most of the board members, except for Tinglof, opposed desegregation outright or were hesitant to implement any desegregation plans, which resulted in no comprehensive desegregation; See *Los Angeles Times*, 20 July 1963.

<sup>88</sup> For detailed accounts of civil rights demonstrations, including UCRC protests and hunger strikes, see Nicolaides, Becky M. Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven: Life and Politics in the Working-Class Suburbs of Los Angeles, 1920-1965* (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 287-293. Also in July 1963, LACBE approved a \$737,500 plan to improve school programs for “Negro or Mexican neighborhoods,” by adding 137 teachers to 79 elementary school staffs in the designated areas to reduce class size. Marnesba Tackett called the plan “a substitute for integration.”

<sup>89</sup> Marnesba T. Tackett, Statement Concerning the Failure of LACBE to Take Affirmative Action to Alleviate De Facto Segregation, 22 July 1963, fol. Race Question Genl, 1963 – 1964 Part II, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD. Tackett also sharply criticized Superintendent Crowther for failing to develop school desegregation plans. She asked: “Isn’t it true that you ... can initiate recommendations to this Board for action if these recommendations are in keeping with established policy and are in your judgment in for the good of the school district?” She also asked Crowther, “Aren’t you sure of the real policy? Or, it is that you don’t agree with the policy?” On a recent vote by LACBE in support of compensatory education, Tackett commented: “Your action was badly needed and long over due ... None-the-less, we remind you that compensatory education is not synonomous [*sic*] with integration. They are two separate issues. The latter is a constitutional issue.”

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Marnesba R. Tackett, NAACP-UCRC Education Chairman, Statement before LACBE, 27 June 1963, fol. Race Question – Genl. Ends 1962-63 Part I, Box 962, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. Before Reverend James E. Jones, the lone racial minority on the board elected to the board, its members had been elected in at-large elections. After Jones’ election, the board instituted an “election by office” rule, in which candidates ran for office at large but representing designated geographical areas.

<sup>95</sup> Marnesba Tackett, interview by Michael S. Balter, tape recording, 26 March 1984, University of California, at Los Angeles, Department of Special Collections, Los Angeles, California. See also Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven*, 291.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid.

<sup>97</sup> The NAACP’s Loren Miller, and the AJC’s Herbert A. Bernard assisted the ACLU’s A.L. Wirin.

<sup>98</sup> Sides, *L.A. City Limits*, 159.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> For a detailed account of the South Gate community’s opposition to desegregation efforts and civil rights activism see Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven*, 289-292.

<sup>101</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 6 May 1964.

<sup>102</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 7 August 1963. The planned demonstration of 1,000 marchers included Dr. Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, if they arrived in Los Angeles on time, and James Farmer, national

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director of Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and James Forman, national secretary of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC).

<sup>103</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 9 August 1963. Marnesba Tackett led the march. Other notable demonstrators included Actress Rita Moreno and actor Tony Franciosa. Three notable politicians joined the marchers at LACBE headquarters: Los Angeles City Councilmen Tom Bradley and Billy Mills, and Assemblyman Mervyn Dymally (D-Los Angeles).

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.* The *Times* suggested that a total of roughly 500 “Negro” and Caucasian activists congregated at the board headquarters after the march.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.* The hearing lasted three-and-a-half hours. The crowd so was large that some individuals were turned away while the fire department asked others to leave.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 7 August 1963.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>114</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 9 August 1963. There is a discrepancy here. According to a couple leading civil rights leaders in the L.A. area, Dr. King was scheduled to attend the march and the board meeting. However, in a telegram to Reverend A. A. Peters of Victory Baptist Church, Dr. King related that “conditions in the South made it impossible for him to leave,” and added “that he had not been informed of the march and had not authorized use of his name in connection with it or with a Thursday night benefit performance.”

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.* Earlier in the day, Farmer held a press conference and expressed that he was “appalled and disappointed” that LACBE “had not taken a firm stand and not met reasonable demands” including: redrawing school attendance boundary lines, teacher transfers, and busing students from overcrowded school to “under-utilized” schools. Farmer defended civil rights demonstrations in the North as well as the South on the premise that “there is no such thing as a little bit of discrimination being acceptable,” which was a reference to the notion that racial discrimination and prejudice in the North was less prevalent and less cruel than in the South.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Regular Meeting, 8 August 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport. 1963-64, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.* Gardner defended the board against accusations of foot-dragging and bad faith. However, Robert B. young, personnel director of the Southern California Gas Company and member of the CACSI neighborhood subcommittee said “committeemen were proceeding to slowly.” See *Los Angeles Times*, 9 August 1963.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.* Gardner hinted at why the NAACP-UCRC stopped communicating with the Ad Hoc Committee. According to Gardner, the Brown Act prohibited an organization to deal directly with “a regularly constituted committee of this board.”

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 9 August 1963.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Regular Meeting, 82, 8 August 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport. 1963-64, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD. See also *Los Angeles Times*, 9 August 1963.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.* See also *Los Angeles Times*, 9 August 1963.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 9 August 1963.

<sup>131</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Regular Meeting, 15 August 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport. 1963-64, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD.

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<sup>132</sup> John Caughey, Statement from the ACLU of Southern California to LACBE, 15 August 1963, fol. Race Question Genl, 1963 – 1964 Part III, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Regular Meeting, 15 August 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport. 1963-64, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Some LACBE members asked whether LACBE legally could develop school attendance boundary lines taking race into consideration. On August 16, 1963, Attorney General Stanley Mosk informed Thomas J. Braden, the President of the California Board of Education, that the “United States Constitution does not forbid local schools boards from considering the race of students in formulating school attendance plans.” Mosk declared that race could be considered a factor as a means to counteract the notion that the U.S. Constitution was color-blind and combat racial imbalance and *de facto* segregation regardless of its cause. See *Los Angeles Times*, 16 August 1963 and *L.A. Daily Journal*, 16 August 1963.

<sup>138</sup> LACBE, Minutes, 143, 5 September 1963, fol. Race Question Genl, 1963 – 1964 Part III, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>139</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 6 September 1963. The writ of *mandamus*, in this case, signified an order by Judge Egly obligating LACBE to correct racial imbalance or explain why it had not corrected racial imbalance at Jordan High School.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid. In September 1963, the *Times* reported that the Southwest LA section of the school district included “all-Negro” Jordan, Jefferson, and Freemont High Schools and “nearly all-white” South Gate and Huntington High Schools. The district contemplated beginning racial balancing efforts on February 1964 in Pacoima in the San Fernando Valley, which had a “sizeable Negro population.” It planned permitting African American students from Pacoima to attend San Fernando High School, which had a sizeable Chicano student body population, and 10% African American students, or Sylmar High School.

<sup>143</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 7 September 1963.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid. Kelly too pointed out that Jordan High School recently produced three outstanding graduates, including one named a Rhodes scholar.

<sup>147</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 6 September 1963.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid. CORE announced that the student march would resemble the march on August 18 on City Hall. In addition, CORE planned and carried out a “fast” training session on the evening of September 6, in which “the integrated group” of 11 men and 7 women lied “on bare wood floors for 48 hours and be allowed only water.” The volunteer group vowed to prepare “mentally and physically for any tests to come.” See *Los Angeles Times*, 6, 7 September 1963. For additional NAACP and NAACP-UCRC rallies, meetings, and membership campaign drives, see *Los Angeles Times*, 7 September 1963

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid.

<sup>153</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 30 August 1963.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

<sup>155</sup> Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid. The district informally rejected a request by the NAACP-UCRC’s Tackett asking permission to collaborate with the district staff to develop attendance boundary changes. Tackett expressed her group would prefer to work with the staff to “reach areas of agreement rather than come as a ‘complaint committee’ later to oppose the report.”

<sup>157</sup> AHC, *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity*, 12 September 1963, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD, 8.

<sup>158</sup> Nicolaidis, *My Blue Heaven*, 293.

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<sup>159</sup> Nicolaidis wrote that Tackett called the findings “absolutely nil,” and that CORE education chair Kenneth Fry referred to the report as a “complete fiasco” full of “suggestions to survey obvious facts.”

<sup>160</sup> The AHC unmistakably rejected several potential integration programs, transferring and transporting students to achieve integration, a Citizen’s Committee to review staff recommendations for attendance boundary changes, immediately redrawing certain school boundaries, and transferring “Negro students and other minority pupils” from overcrowded schools to “under-enrolled” Caucasian schools.

<sup>161</sup> Nicolaidis, *My Blue Heaven*, 293

<sup>162</sup> AHC, *Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity*, 12 September 1963, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD, 2.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, 3. This office, which was named the Office of Urban Affairs (OUA), was established on June 27, 1963, long before the Ad Hoc Report published and disseminated its report. The OUA, which was part of the Superintendent’s office and under the immediate supervision of the Deputy Superintendent, was responsible for: 1) “fostering research in the causes of problems in achieving equal educational opportunities”; 2) “encouraging and advising the expansion and development of classroom programs in the field of human relations, with particular emphasis on materials and projects that will give a true picture of the role of all ethnic groups in American life and emphasize traditional democratic ideals and attitudes”; and 3) “strengthening of established human relations and personnel procedures for dealing with questions and complaints of school personnel, parents, and the general public.”

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>167</sup> Marnesba T. Tackett, NAACP-UCRC Education Committee Chairman, Statement before LACBE, 26 September 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport. 1963-64, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD. See also *Los Angeles Times*, 27 September 1963.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.* See also *Jackson v. Pasadena City School District* 59 Cal. 2d 876 (1963).

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.* Tackett again offered integration strategies including: the Princeton Plan, boundary changes along the perimeter of the African American population concentration, busing Negro and Mexican children from overcrowded school on half-day sessions to under enrolled “white” schools, “demonstration schools in the Central and South Districts,” specialty schools, open enrollment, and exchange student programs.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>173</sup> Lorenz Graham, an African American, father, and grandfather spoke about his experiences in and the effects of a segregated education on his life, and how similar patterns had developed in the life experiences of his children. “Even with unlimited time,” he revealed, “I could not hope to make members of the Board fully know all that segregation did to me and what it does to others.” Graham revealed that he grew up “hating all white people.” He believed that “every policeman was the enemy of every Negro man and particularly of every Negro child.” He believed that “all white men were united in their efforts to take every unfair advantage of every Negro” and that “every white youth was constantly seeking opportunities to push, strike, or hurt every Negro child, and that every white mother was teaching her children that Negroes were something less than human beings.” Graham continued to explain the effects of segregation. “I hated white people, all of them, and I wanted to fight them at every opportunity and to flee from them if I could not resist them.” Graham explained some of the psychological effects of integration that affected his experiences in college: “I could not trust my [white] fellow students. I had no confidence in my [white] teachers. I was suspicious and resentful.... I was in college here in Los Angeles before I learned that fear was the cause and basis for my hatred.” What prompted Graham to reevaluate his views about whites and led him to speak before the Board? “Only after some years of fortuitous circumstances, including residence *outside* the limits of the United States, did I lose my hatred and my fears” (emphasis mine). “By knowing many people outside my own small racial group I came to understand that within every race or ethnic group or nation are people who are good and other who are bad, that people every where and any where might be noble or mean, that I too had been guilty of holding race prejudices, and that my stereotype images of ‘the white man’ were as false as those that some white people had for Negroes.” “I submit to you, members of the Board of Education, that the principal evil of segregation, de facto or otherwise, is that it obstructs the visions of its victims, that it promotes conclusions which are not valid, that it builds up and compounds feelings of hatred and fear.” He

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concluded that opponents of school desegregation were “expressing themselves primarily in terms of fear,” with a basis on the belief that “Negroes are unclean, immoral, inferior, vicious, and on the whole second class human beings.” These objectors, Graham summarized, were themselves the victims of segregation. According to Graham, an end to school segregation would benefit Blacks and whites. See Lorenz Graham, Statement before LACBE, 26 September 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport. 1963-64, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>174</sup> Nira Hardon, NAACP, Los Angeles, Statement before LACBE, 26 September 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport. 1963-64, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid. Hardon called attention to other matters including: pupil transfer permits, discipline and dropouts, curriculum, counseling, and communications among teachers, administrators, and minority communities.

<sup>177</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Regular Meeting 181, 30 September 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>178</sup> Eason Monroe, American Civil Liberties Union, to LACBE, telegram, 26 September 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport -1963-64 - Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>179</sup> Robert E. Kelly, Associate Superintendent, LACSD, Division of Secondary Education, Memo, “Reply to Inquiries Made Regarding the Situation at Jordan High School on Thursday, September 19, 1963,” 23 September 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>180</sup> CORE, “Support the Freedom Fasters! Student Protest March” Leaflet, n.d., fol. Requests for Ad Hoc Committee Reports – Recommend, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD. On September 16, the first day of the school year, CORE intensified its efforts. Students and CORE members again distributed flyers. CORE picketed Jordan High School on the same day. Robert Kelly, Associate Superintendent, stated that a small picket began at Jordan around 7:00 a.m. but that the maximum number of marchers at any time was eleven. Although small in number, CORE picketers had an opportunity to take full advantage of media coverage. Reporters converged on the picketers soon after. The picketing ended after students were dismissed from school.

<sup>181</sup> *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, 16 September 1963. See also *Los Angeles Times*, 16 September 1963. The *Times* reported that an anonymous bomb threat to CORE on Saturday night brought out the Los Angeles Police Department.

<sup>182</sup> CORE, “Support the Jordan High Boycott! Student Protest March” Leaflet, n.d., fol. Requests for Ad Hoc Committee Reports – Recommend, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD. See *Los Angeles Times*, 20 September 1963.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid. See *Los Angeles Times*, 20 September 1963. See also CORE, Maps of School Segregation, Submitted to LACBE, 19 September 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport. 1963-64, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>184</sup> CORE, “Yes, there is school segregation here” Leaflet, n.d., fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>185</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 20 September 1963. CORE mounted yet another demonstration on September 28. Police Chief William H. Parker asked for an opinion whether CORE leaders could be charged with “conspiracy to contribute to the delinquency of minors by calling for the crosstown march during school hours.” Chief Deputy District Attorney Manley Bowler refused to charge CORE leaders with a crime for organizing the September 28 march, citing the United States Supreme Court, which had ruled that “ant-segregation demonstrations are constitutionally protected conduct.” See *Los Angeles Times*, 8 October 1963.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid. The schools included: Jordan from Watts; Los Angeles, Belmont, and Marshall High Schools from or near the downtown LA area; Fairfax, University and Hamilton from Los Angeles’ Westside; Hollywood and Beverly Hills; and Birmingham High School, located in Van Nuys in the San Fernando Valley.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> LACBE, Transcription of Portion of Regular Board Meeting, Locked Gates at Jordan High School, 19 September 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

<sup>194</sup> During the rest of the fall of 1963, CORE and the UCRC carried out similar demonstrations in the form of marches, sit-ins, sleep-ins, and study-ins. See Nicolaidis, *My Blue Heaven*, 303.

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<sup>195</sup> City of South Gate, Resolution of the City Council of the City of South Gate, 10 September 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport. 1963-64, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD, Los Angeles. See also Don R. Sawyer, Mayor of South Gate, Statement before LACBE, 30 September, 1963, fol. Requests for Ad Hoc Reports – Recommend, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD. See also fol. Ad Hoc Comm. On Equal Ed. Opport. – 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD. Several South Gaters also began sending letters and telegrams in opposition to boundary changes between Jordan High School and South Gate High School. See LACBE, Report of Correspondence, 12 September 1963, fol. Race Question Genl, 1963 – 1964 Part III, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD. It is likely that more than one South Gate resident supported integration and boundary changes between Jordan and South Gate High Schools. Dorothy Platt was a representative of this miniscule political minority. See Dorothy Platt to LACBE, telegram, 26 September 1963, and LACBE, Report of Correspondence, 30 September 1963, fol. Race Question Genl, 1963 – 1964 Part III, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>196</sup> Don R. Sawyer, Mayor of South Gate, Statement before LACBE, 30 September 1963, fol. Requests for Ad Hoc Reports – Recommend, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD. See also LACBE, Minutes, Regular Meeting, 16 September 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport. 1963-64, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>197</sup> Floyd Wakefield, Statement to LACBE, 23 September 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport. 1963-64, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

<sup>200</sup> Don R. Sawyer, Mayor of South Gate, Statement before LACBE, 30 September 1963, fol. Requests for Ad Hoc Committee Reports – Recommend, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>201</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 9 August 1963. Ruben Salazar, a versatile award winning *Los Angeles Times* reporter, wrote this article. He began to work for the *Times* late in the 1950s, covering cultural, political and international stories. In 1968, he became a pivotal media figure in the coverage of the East LA protests due to his intimate relationship with some of the protagonists. According to official reports, a police officer shot a tear-gas canister into a tavern, where a group of people had sought shelter during an anti-Vietnam War demonstration in East LA that turned into a riot. The canister struck his head killing him instantly. His death became an East LA rallying cry for improved civil rights and better education for Mexican Americans.

<sup>202</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 9 August 1963.

<sup>203</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 16 September 1963.

<sup>204</sup> Marcos de Leon went so far as to suggest an existing “melting pot” or “melting process” crisis in the Mexican American community, which stemmed from “random and conditioned” cultural conflicts that developed into frustration and insecurity.

<sup>205</sup> Lillian Aceves, MAPA Representative, Statement before LACBE, 19 August 1963, fol. Race Question Genl, 1963 – 1964 Part III, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> The Mexican-American Ad Hoc Committee, Report, *Recommendations to LACBE in Response to the AHC*, 23 September 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport. 1963-64, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD. The Mexican American Ad Hoc Education Committee members included: Marcos de Leon, head of Van Nuys High School foreign language department; Ralph Poblano, “an educator”; Hilario S. Pena, supervisor of the Los Angeles City Schools foreign language department; Antonio Sanchez of the County Human Relations Commission; Arnold Martinez, field representative for Supervisor Ernest E. Debs; William C. Lopez, union representative; and Mrs. Geraldine Ledesma, housewife.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

<sup>210</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 16 September 1963.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

<sup>216</sup> An independent research group, the Citizens for Educational Improvement (CEI), conducted a comparative study of LA high school courses in minority and majority high schools. Grace Montañez Davis, a representative of CEI, submitted to LACBE on September 23 a study of the courses offered at several high schools from different areas of

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the district. The crux of their research focused on the following whether “de facto” Mexican American segregated schools gave the children they served “equal educational opportunities, equal chances for betterment, and equal preparation for life and the ‘pursuit of happiness’ that school serving non-minority groups do?” The CEI’s report, which was also submitted to the Subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor in August, offered an undeniable finding: “On the basis of our limited investigation we are forced to admit that the answer is ‘no’, and that the schools serving the predominantly Mexican-American community tend to channel Mexican-American students back into the lower economic status into which they were born.” The data backing their findings showed that the number and type of courses in minority neighborhoods differed from those offered in non-minority neighborhoods. CEI argued that the “figures indicate that schools serving the minority groups have a disproportionate number of so-called ‘vocational courses.’” “They show that they also have a disproportionate smaller number of academic and college-preparatory courses.” According to the CEI, the Los Angeles City School District could not “justify channeling Mexican-American (and Negro) students into vocational courses on the grounds that the schools have to prepare them for what is available to them.” The CEI declared: “It is the duty of the schools to provide to all students equal opportunities for success in life, and they are failing to meet this duty if they are not giving working-class children the same opportunities to achieve the same goals that other children are given.” The CEI also responded to administrators who claimed there was no demand for academic courses in minority schools. “Part of the function of the schools...is to create the demand” and as such the EIC recommended schools to offer remedial reading courses so that minority children could reach “normal achievement levels.” The CEI also proposed better counselor training, motivating and encouraging of minority student for academic success, and training *for* teachers and administrators “to better acquaint [them]...with children of lower socio-economic groups...” The CEI backed teacher training because it claimed that teachers, “recruited exclusively from its middle class,” lacked a basic understanding of poor and working-class minority students. This training was also necessary, according to the CEI, because teachers had “stereotyped notions of minority children, their characteristics, and the abilities.” The CEI recommended that schools prepare minority students to reach their highest academic potential and offered some anecdotal information. “In many instances the student in the Mexican-American community who has achieved academic success has done so in spite of the counsellor’s [*sic*] advice and because of the encouragement of either parents, and interested person, or group. We have personal knowledge of many such persons.” See Citizens for Educational Improvement, *Report to the Subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor*, 12 August 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport. 1963-64, Box 961, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>217</sup> South Gaters had benefitted from race-restrictive covenants and discriminatory real estate policies that excluded African Americans and members of other groups from the South Gate community. Nicolaides explains that while South Gate residents agreed that segregation existed in their community, it had not been of their making but had occurred “naturally.” To the South Gate residents, school integration represented a punitive measure against the innocent people of their community. For additional rationales against school integration by South Gate residents see Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven*, 297-303.

<sup>218</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Reg. Meeting 185, 3 October 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>219</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Regular Meeting, 506, 20 May 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. Un Equal Ed. Opport – Ends 1962-63, Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>220</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Reg. Meeting 185, 3 October 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> Ibid.

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

<sup>225</sup> Ibid. I suggest here that the idea of “reverse discrimination” is deeply rooted in the language of the civil rights movement and legislation. Therefore, any race-based efforts promoting civil rights become subject to challenge by individuals and groups who could use the powerful civil rights language.

<sup>226</sup> Mrs. Celia Karen, letter to LACBE, 26 September 1963, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964, Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>227</sup> Mrs. Mildred S. Simon, letter to LACBE, September 1963, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964, Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.

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- <sup>228</sup> Mrs. Ethel D. Schwarz, 27 September 1963, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>229</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>230</sup> Betty Field, letter to LACBE, 26 September 1963, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>231</sup> Revho Knox, letter to LACBE, n.d., fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>232</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>233</sup> Sheila Getoff, letter to Maxine Mitchell, Principal of Bassett Street School, 22 September 1963, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>234</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>235</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>236</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>237</sup> The Board of Trustees of the Emerson Unitarian Church of Canoga Park to LACBE, telegram, 3 October 1963, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>238</sup> The First Methodist Church of North Hollywood sent a letter to LACBE supporting confidence and support for the board and the city “to deal constructively with current educational problems relative to the racial situation.” The statement was much less emphatic than the statement from the Unitarian Church. See The First Methodist Church of North Hollywood, letter to LACBE, 10 January 1964, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>239</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Reg. Meeting 188, 7 October 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>240</sup> Dr. Leroy R. Weeks, Los Angeles Urban League to LACBE, telegram, 9 October 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport –1963-64 – Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD. In a letter dated 15 October, the Los Angeles Urban League clarified its stance on a racial census. The Urban League reluctantly supported a racial census, fearing it could be “subject to misuse,” but opposed wholeheartedly “the designation of race on an employee’s form.”
- <sup>241</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Reg. Meeting 192, 10 October 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD. During this meeting, LACBE also squabbled about leasing the Hollywood High School to three individuals who wanted a public forum to discuss racial issues. One of the applicants for the lease was Herbert Aptheker, a leading Marxist historian and Communist Party member. LACBE did not resolve the issue in the October 10 meeting, but in the following meeting on October 14, the board voted in *favor* of leasing the auditorium by a 4 to 2 vote, partly due to the legal advice of the Los Angeles County Counsel. See LACBE, Minutes, 194 and 196, 10 and 14 October 1963, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>242</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>243</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>244</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>245</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>246</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>247</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>248</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>249</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>250</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>251</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>252</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>253</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>254</sup> LaRee Caughey, Chairman of the Education Workshop to LACBE, letter to LACBE, 23 October 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport –1963-64 – Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>255</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>256</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>257</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>258</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>259</sup> Ibid.

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<sup>260</sup> Ibid.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

<sup>262</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 11 October 1963. See also CORE, flyer, n.d., fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD. In a flyer circulated before the demonstration, CORE invited students to join: "Students: There will be—ANOTHER MASS STUDY-IN at the Board of Education. Thursday OCTOBER 10 assembly 3:45 pm at the old plaza (Sunset Blvd. and Olvera St.) Come After School-----Bring Your Books." CORE made an effort to bring together African American and Mexican American students and to place them into the school desegregation debate. "The Los Angeles Board of Education says 'Segregate' – but students of all races are answering them with a big 'NO!' by studying together at the Board itself," CORE claimed. CORE continued to level scathing accusations at LACBE: "For too long the Board has been herding vast numbers of Negroes and Mexican Americans into inadequate, overcrowded, segregated schools. In reference to Jordan and South Gate High Schools CORE charged that LACBE had replicated the existing residential segregation into their attendance boundaries: "Alameda Blvd. separates a white residential area on one side from the Negro 'ghetto' on the other. This residential segregation is bad enough. But – worse yet – the Board of Education has actually built this same wall into its school district map."

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.

<sup>264</sup> Ibid.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid.

<sup>268</sup> Ibid.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid.

<sup>273</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Regular Meeting 200, 14 October 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Regular Meeting 218, 24 October 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>276</sup> Ibid.

<sup>277</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Reg. Mtg., 223, 24 October 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid.

<sup>279</sup> B.D. McCauley, Property Protection Section Official, Memo, "Report of CORE Sit-In Demonstration, October 24, 1963," 25 October 1963, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid.

<sup>282</sup> Mr. and Mrs. A.J. Chaplo, letter to LACBE, 28 October 1963, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>283</sup> Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven*, 301.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid.

<sup>285</sup> Mrs. Sheila Rivera, letter to LACBE, 6 January 1964, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid.

<sup>289</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 1 November 1963.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid.

<sup>291</sup> Kenneth B. Fry, Chairman, Education Committee, CORE/LA, Statement before LACBE, 31 October 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid.

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- <sup>294</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>295</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>296</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>297</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>298</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>299</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>300</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>301</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>302</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 1 November 1963.
- <sup>303</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 3 November 1963. On November 1<sup>st</sup>, the three pleaded innocent to charges of assault and battery and disturbing the peace. When a municipal judge asked the three if they promised to “cease and desist from violating rules governing” LACBE property, the two students agreed and were released. Farber was unrelenting, refused, and was “remanded to jail under \$550 bail.” The three were protesting a LACBE rule that no one would be allowed to enter the school board building after 7:30 p.m.
- <sup>304</sup> Jack Crowther, LACBE Superintendent, letter to Mr. Earl Walter, Chairman, CORE/LA, 6 November 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>305</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>306</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Reg. Mtg., 242, 7 November 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>307</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 8 November 1963.
- <sup>308</sup> CORE/LA, 18 November 1963, Pamphlet, “Why We Are Demonstrating,” n.d., fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>309</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Reg. Mtg., 254, 18 November 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD. See also *Los Angeles Times*, 19 November 1963.
- <sup>310</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 19 November 1963.
- <sup>311</sup> *Daily Signal*, 20 November 1963.
- <sup>312</sup> Jack P. Crowther, Superintendent, Inter-Office Correspondence Memo, “Disruption of Board of Education Meetings,” 11 November 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD. See also *Los Angeles Times*, 22 November 1963.
- <sup>313</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>314</sup> Ibid. Superintendent Crowther’s original recommendation called for CORE “or any other group” to be subject to arrest or fine. In the draft to LACBE, “or any other group” was crossed out. This suggests that CORE was the sole target of Crowther’s recommendation.
- <sup>315</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Reg. Mtg., 256, 21 November 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>316</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>317</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>318</sup> Nicolaides, *My Blue Heaven*, 304.
- <sup>319</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>320</sup> Arthur H. Silvers, Chairman, CORE/LA, Statement to the LACBE, 16 December 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>321</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>322</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>323</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>324</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>325</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>326</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 20 December 1963.
- <sup>327</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>328</sup> Ibid. Dr. Max Benton, speaking on behalf of the California Taxpayers Association, opposed spending funding transportation for minority students, while Larry Sibelman, spokesman for the American Federation of Teachers, Local 1021, supported Richardson’s trial-run approach.
- <sup>329</sup> Ibid.

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- <sup>330</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>331</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>332</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 25 December 1963.
- <sup>333</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>334</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>335</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>336</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>337</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>338</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>339</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>340</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Special Meeting, 304, 23 December 1963, fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>341</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>342</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>343</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>344</sup> LACBE, *Actions Taken by the Board of Education on the Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity: During the Period May 20, 1963 – Dec. 23, 1963*, n.d., fol. Ad Hoc Comm. on Equal Ed. Opport. - 1963-64-Cont., Box 960, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>345</sup> G.M. Hoyt, LACBE Associate Superintendent, Memo, “Requests for Certain Information by Outside Agencies,” 22 November 1949, fol. Race Question – Genl. Ends 1962-63 Part I, Box 962, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>346</sup> Kenneth F. Saysette, President, California School Boards Association, letter to Superintendent 10 February 1964, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>347</sup> LACBE, Minutes, 20 February 1964, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>348</sup> LACBE, Minutes, 389, 27 February 1964, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD. Crowther also stated that LACBE had submitted a *confidential* racial survey to the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) and that Item 12 of the AHC called for developing a racial census policy. For these other reasons, he recommended very limited LACBE participation in the CSBA survey. In October 1964, the FEPC declared that “housing patterns” determined minority teacher placement. The FEPC claimed that minority teachers were unwilling to “seek or accept” jobs in school far away from where they lived. See *Los Angeles Times*, 13 October 1964. The FEPC recommended the elimination of “gross [racial] imbalances which exist in the staffing of various schools.” See Public Information Office, Statement by Jack P. Crowther, 2 November 1964, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1964 – 1965 Part V, Box 964, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>349</sup> Georgiana Hardy, letter to Kenneth F. Saysette, 6 March 1964, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD. Ironically, Hardy’s name appeared on the committee that developed the questionnaire. Dr. John A. Caughey, ACLU member and fervent integrationist, also served on the same committee. By May 1964, the superintendent’s office had developed tentative plans for a student and teacher census. For a student racial census, teachers would conduct a “visual survey” of students. For a teacher and employment census, employees would be asked to fill out an “Ethnic Background Form.” See Jack P. Crowther, Memo, “Student and Employee Census,” 14 May 1964, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>350</sup> Public Information Office, Memo, “School Distribute Policy on Equal Educational Opportunities,” 10 March 1964, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD. See also Jack P. Crowther, Memo, “Board Policy on Equal Educational Opportunities,” 3 March 1964. Same location.
- <sup>351</sup> Kenneth B. Fry, CORE Education Committee Chairman, letter to LACBE President Mrs. Georgiana Hardy, 11 March 1964, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, 963, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>352</sup> LaRee Caughey, Statement before LACBE, 16 April 1964, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>353</sup> LACBE, Minutes, 16 April 1964, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.
- <sup>354</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 6 January 1964.
- <sup>355</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>356</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>357</sup> Mrs. B.L. Singleton, letter to LACBE, 12 February 1964, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD.

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<sup>358</sup> Ibid.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid.

<sup>361</sup> Ibid.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid.

<sup>363</sup> Ibid.

<sup>364</sup> LACBE, Minutes, 509, 14 May 1964, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1963 – 1964 Part IV, Box 963, RQC-LAUSD. See also Public Information Office, Memo, 8 May 1964. Same location.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid.

<sup>367</sup> The Rumford Act outlawed discrimination in housing and covered publicly financed private housing (including FHA and VA loans) and “non-publicly assisted housing comprised of five or more units.” The Rumford Act granted enforcement powers to the burgeoning FEPC to “receive, investigate, and adjudicate complaints of discrimination.” See Daniel Martinez HoSang, *Racial Propositions: Ballot Initiatives and the Making of Postwar California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 62. Although anti-discrimination law in California existed before the Rumford Act, an enforcement mechanism did not exist.

<sup>368</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 13 October 1964.

<sup>369</sup> *Los Angeles Herald-Examiner*, 13 October 1964.

<sup>370</sup> Ibid.

<sup>371</sup> Ibid.

<sup>372</sup> In the presidential election of 1974, in the city of Los Angeles, 64.5% voted for Johnson and 43.5% voted “No on Proposition 14.” In Los Angeles County, 57.5% voted for Johnson and only 32.6% voted “No on Proposition 14.” See Raphael Sonenshein, *Politics in Black and White: Race and Power in Los Angeles* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 70. Although debates over fair housing were intimately linked to the school desegregation debate, it is not the focus of this work. For a history of the development of segregated housing in Los Angeles and California and the roles the Home Owner’s Loan Corporation (HOLC), the Federal Housing Authority (FHA), CREA, and developers played, and L.A.’s battles over fair housing that led to Proposition 14, see Daniel Martinez HoSang, *Racial Propositions*, 53 – 90.

<sup>373</sup> While local civil rights organizations were forced fight Proposition 14, the federal government, as part of its Great Society crusade, passed the Economic Act of 1964, which including funding for compensatory education programs. Smoot opposed outside this federal “intervention,” while the other board members were willing receive therefore implement programs funded by the act. LACBE, Minutes, 335, 14 January 1965, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1964 – 1965 Part V, Box 964, RQC-LAUSD. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 also accorded federal funds, grants, loans, contracts, property, etc. to school boards who did not discriminate. Crowther and LACBE believed they were in compliance and therefore submitted an Assurance of Compliance form to be eligible for federally funded education programs. See Jack P. Crowther, Memo, “Compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964,” 20 January 1965. Same location.

<sup>374</sup> In the midst of the battle over Proposition 14, Moses Atkins Smythe, a preacher at the Baptists of Mt. Sinai Holy Congregation in Los Angeles, complained about the racial imbalance in the segregated areas “west of Robertson Blvd., the Westwood section of L.A., and north of Wilshire in the Hollywood area.” The two areas were predominantly white and Jewish neighborhoods. Smythe noticed that pockets of segregation existed outside the city-proper /valley boundary. He wanted schools in segregated neighborhoods in the Westside and Hollywood areas to become integrated. See Moses Atkins Smythe, letter to LACBE, 25 May 1965, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1964 – 1965 Part V, Box 964, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>375</sup> David Ziskind, Chairman, CRCSC, Statement before LACBE, 10 February 1966, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1966 – 1967 Part VI, Box 964, RQC-LAUSD. See CRCSC, Pamphlet, 1966. Same location.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid.

<sup>378</sup> Lee T. Coleman, Crenshaw Neighbors, Inc, Statement before LACBE, 28 March 1966, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1966 – 1967 Part VI, Box 964, RQC-LAUSD. Crenshaw Neighbors, Inc. was a racially diverse, private, non-profit corporation established and chartered in 1964, with a membership that grew from 750 in 1966 to one thousand in 1970. Its headquarters were located at 3685 Crenshaw Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA 90016. See also *Los Angeles Times*, 29 March 1966. LACBE referred the matter of increasing segregated schools in the Crenshaw area to the

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educational development committee. During the same LACBE meeting, the board heard complaints from community leaders from the Sunland, Tujunga, Pacoima area concerning racial isolation and overcrowding involving two schools, Mt. Gleason and Charles Maclay Junior High Schools. Community leaders, led by Paul Tsuneishi of the Sunland-Tujunga Human Relations Council, alleged that white parents willingly enrolled their children in overcrowded Mt. Gleason, a “white” junior high school, instead of enrolling them in integrated Maclay Junior High. LACBE facilitated this case of racial segregation by providing funding for bungalows at Mt. Gleason as well as busing for student, which allowed an additional 400 students to attend there. There were 400 empty seats at Maclay Junior High. John A. Buchanan, a community activist from Pacoima, a predominantly African American neighborhood in the northeast section of the San Fernando Valley, estimated that Maclay’s student population in early 1966 was 40% African American, 35% Anglo, and 24% Mexican American. See John A. Buchanan, Statement before LACBE, 28 February 1966. Same location.

<sup>379</sup> Ibid.

<sup>380</sup> Ibid. In many ways, CN was battling the effects of “tipping,” which researchers define as the point at which white out-migration increases dramatically as minorities move into a previously segregated or moderately racially integrated community.

<sup>381</sup> Donald L. Laughery, Jr. Statement before LACBE, 28 March 1966, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1966 – 1967 Part VI, Box 964, RQC-LAUDS.

<sup>382</sup> Ibid. The other recommendations included: 1) strong public relations effort to publicize specialized courses to attract students; 2) subsidized transportation for voluntary transfer students who live far away; 3) improve counseling programs; and 4) and alleviate overcrowding.

<sup>383</sup> Mrs. Katherine Cohen, Statement before LACBE, 28 March 1966, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1966 – 1967 Part VI, Box 964, RQC-LAUDS. The number of parents numbered roughly forty-three.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid.

<sup>385</sup> Olive Walker, Statement before LACBE, 28 March 1966, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1966 – 1967 Part VI, Box 964, RQC-LAUDS.

<sup>386</sup> Ibid.

<sup>387</sup> Ibid.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid.

<sup>389</sup> Magdalene O’Rourke, Statement to LACBE, 18 April 1966, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1966 – 1967 Part VI, Box 964, RQC-LAUDS.

<sup>390</sup> Mrs. Mary Tinglof Smith, Statement before LACBE, 5 May 1966, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1966 – 1967 Part VI, Box 964, RQC-LAUDS.

<sup>391</sup> Neighbors Unlimited was a diverse community group based in the west side of Los Angeles that backed desegregation as well other methods to improve education in Los Angeles district schools.

<sup>392</sup> Mrs. Mary Tinglof Smith, Statement before LACBE, 5 May 1966, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1966 – 1967 Part VI, Box 964, RQC-LAUDS.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid.

<sup>394</sup> Ibid.

<sup>395</sup> Ibid.

<sup>396</sup> LACBE, Minutes, 433, 5 May 1966, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1966 – 1967 Part VII, Box 964, RQC-LAUDS.

<sup>397</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 9 June 1966.

<sup>398</sup> Ibid.

<sup>399</sup> Ibid.

<sup>400</sup> Ibid.

<sup>401</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 7 July 1966. See also *Crawford v. Los Angeles City Board of Education*, Superior Court of the State of California for the County of Los Angeles, Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law, Case No. 822 854, 12 May 1970.

<sup>402</sup> Ibid.

<sup>403</sup> Ibid.

<sup>404</sup> Ibid.

<sup>405</sup> The courts officially recognized African Americans as a minority race, and only recently had recognized Mexican-descent individuals as a separate class, but not according to race.

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<sup>406</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 7 July 1966. For an insight of the district’s “first-come-first-served” open-transfer permits policy with “no reason needed for the transfer” see *Los Angeles Times* 3 July 1966. The story exposed the high demand and transfers majority white school and the nonexistent demand to transfer to Valley schools with “large enrollments of minority races—San Fernando High School and Maclay and Pacoima junior high schools.”

<sup>407</sup> Ibid.

<sup>408</sup> Ibid.

<sup>409</sup> Ibid.

<sup>410</sup> Marnesba T. Tackett, Statement before LACBE, 19 September 1966, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1966 – 1967 Part VII, Box 964, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>411</sup> Ibid.

<sup>412</sup> Ibid. In August, spurred by UCRC complaints, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare began to investigate claims of racial segregation in schools, selection of new school sites, discrimination in hiring, inferior school facilities, and unequal educational opportunities for “Negro” Mexican –American students in the Los Angeles City School District, which amounted to non-compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Crowther flatly denied all accusations. See Theron A. Johnson, Special Assistant, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, letter to Superintendent Jack P. Crowther and the Los Angeles City School District, 24 August 1965 and LACBE, letter to Mr. David Seeley, Assistance Commissioner for Equal Educational Opportunities, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 14 September 1966, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1966 – 1967 Part VII, Box 964, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>413</sup> Ibid.

<sup>414</sup> Ibid.

<sup>415</sup> Ibid.

<sup>416</sup> Ibid.

<sup>417</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 27 July 1966.

<sup>418</sup> Ibid.

<sup>419</sup> Public Information Office of the LACSD, *Results Announced of Mandated Racial, Ethnic Survey in Schools*, 16 January 1967, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1966 – 1967 Part VII, Box 964, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>420</sup> Ibid.

<sup>421</sup> Ibid.

<sup>422</sup> Ibid.

<sup>423</sup> Ibid.

<sup>424</sup> Ibid.

<sup>425</sup> Ibid.

<sup>426</sup> Ibid.

<sup>427</sup> LaRee Caughey, Statement before LACBE, 8 June 1967, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1966 – 1967 Part VII, Box 964, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>428</sup> Ibid.

<sup>429</sup> Ibid.

<sup>430</sup> John Caughey, Statement before LACBE, 6 July 1967, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1967 – 1968 Part VIII, Box 965, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>431</sup> Marnesba T. Tackett, Statement before LACBE, 6 July 1967, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1967 – 1968 Part VIII, Box 965, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>432</sup> LACBE, Minutes, 18, 6 July 1967, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1967 – 1968 Part VIII, Box 965, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>433</sup> Ibid.

<sup>434</sup> Ibid. In mid-September 1967, the South-Central LA community began partaking in small-scale protests. In one example, Manual Arts High School had a white principal who oversaw a school with a majority African American student body. The community began clamoring for an African American principal. See Roger Segure, Executive Secretary, AFT Local 1021, Statement before LACBE, 18 September 1967, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1967 – 1968 Part VIII, Box 965, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>435</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 10 October 1967. At roughly the same time period, the California School Boards Association began contemplating amending and editing Sections 2010 and 2011 of the California Administrative Code, Title V. The amendments would require, among other things, “persons or agencies responsible for the establishment of

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school attendance centers or the establishment of pupils thereto shall exert all effort to avoid and eliminate segregation of children on account of race or color.” See California School Board Association, Bulletin, 19, October 1967, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1967 – 1968 Part VIII, Box 965, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>436</sup> *Evening Outlook*, 16 October 1967.

<sup>437</sup> The strategy included: 1) for the board adopt the goal of a “fully integrated schools system”; 2) that the school administrative staff develop a master plan to implement the policy; and 3) the staff undertake interim measures toward integration. This was the first documented mention of LACBE contemplating a “master plan” for desegregation.

<sup>438</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 10 October 1967.

<sup>439</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>440</sup> *Los Angeles Times*, 24 October 1967. The *Times* reported that about 20 groups and people on both sides of the argument testified to the committee. A prospect of a firm policy to end segregation in any form that included busing elicited numerous letters from Angelenos in opposition to potential plans. See LACBE, Reports of Correspondence, 230 and 240, 26 and 30 October 1967 respectively, 247, 2 November 1967, 255, 6 November 1967, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1967 – 1968 Part VIII, Box 965, RQC-LAUSD. LACBE received a small number of letters in support; a few came from different chapters of the B’nai B’rith Women. See LACBE, Report of Correspondence, 341, 18 December 1967. Same location. However, overall LACBE received an overwhelming number of letters in opposition to an integration policy and implementation.

<sup>441</sup> LACBE, Minutes, 257, 6 November 1967, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1967 – 1968 Part VIII, Box 965, RQC-LAUSD. Jones’ detailed motion called for “encouraging actions and programs designed to maintain...a position of leadership in the avoidance of segregation or discrimination,” reaffirming the present policy that “no employee be denied a position in any school or office nor denied the full employee benefits...on account of race, religion, creed, color or national origin,” and “insuring that all such policies are continuously and clearly communicated to all school personnel and to the public.”

<sup>442</sup> John Caughey and the ACLU, Statement before LACBE, 18 December 1967, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1967 – 1968 Part VIII, Box 965, RQC-LAUSD, Los Angeles. See also Reverend Casper Glenn, South Central Area Welfare Planning Council, Statement before LACBE, 18 December 1967, and Mrs. Louise Jongewaard, Greater Los Angeles Chapter of Presbyterian Interracial Council, Statement before LACBE, same date and location. The diversity of community and religious groups that took part in this meeting was broad. This is a dimension rarely emphasized in previous analyses of Los Angeles’ desegregation and busing debates. The additional groups in support of a firm integration policy included: the Negro Women’s Awareness/Action Organization, Women for Legislative Action, the Council of Churches of Southern California, Jewish Federation – Council of Greater Los Angeles, B’nai B’rith Women District Four, Greater LA and San Fernando Valley AZA of the B’nai B’rith Youth Organization, and the Greater Westchester Human Relations Council. See LACBE Minutes, 344, 18 December 1967. Same location. Reverend Glenn made additional recommendations: 1) quality education for all children; 2) equal opportunity for educational achievement at every grade level in math, reading, writing, and language skills; 3) equal opportunity for employment at all levels within the school system; 4) opportunity provided for diverse points of view from the several communities involved; and 5) that Los Angeles city School affirm that contact of diverse cultures be equal in character.

<sup>443</sup> William Daugherty, PEB representative, Statement before LACBE, 18 December 1967, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1967 – 1968 Part VIII, Box 965, RQC-LAUSD, Los Angeles. Other organizations opposing a firm LACBE integration policy present at this board meeting also included: Westchester-Playa del Rey Association of Citizens and Taxpayers, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers Against Busing, Inc., and the Civic Association of East Los Angeles.

<sup>444</sup> LACBE, Minutes, Reg. Mtg. 347, 21 December 1967, *Crawford Case Files Part One 7/11/1963-4/27/1970*. CCF-BdS/LAUSD.

<sup>445</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>446</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>447</sup> LACBE, Reg. Meeting, 347, 21 December 1967, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1967 – 1968 Part IX, Box 965, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>448</sup> LaRee Caughey and Eason Monroe, ACLU of Southern California, Statement before LACBE, 18 December 1967, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1967 – 1968 Part VIII, Box 965, RQC-LAUSD.

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<sup>449</sup> After voting in favor of Jones' motion, LACBE continued to receive a deluge of letters and increasingly telegrams as well from individuals and groups either praising or condemning the new desegregation policy. An overwhelming majority of the correspondence opposed a busing strategy. See LACBE, Reports of Correspondence, 469 and 477, 21 and 26 February 1968, fol. Race Question Genl. 1967 – 68 Part X, Box 966, RQC-LAUSD. See also LACBE, Report of Correspondence, 479, 29 February 1968. Same location.

<sup>450</sup> City Council of the City of Vernon, Resolution No. 2936, 16 January 1968, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1967 – 1968 Part IX, Box 965, RQC-LAUSD. The other city councils that passed similar resolutions against Jones' motion included: the City Council of Bell on January 15; the Maywood City Council on January 23; and the Gardena City Council on January 25. Same location. The South Gate City Council reaffirmed its anti-desegregation stance by passing its own resolution in response to Jones' motion. See South Gate City Council, Resolution 2907, 13 February 1968, fol. Race Question Genl. 1967 – 68 Part X, Box 966, RQC-LAUSD.

<sup>451</sup> *Daily Signal*, 26 January 1968.

<sup>452</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>453</sup> Documentation shows that there was one lone voice asking to verify if a busing plan even existed. William R. McMullens, from Reseda, asked LACBE, "Has the Board...approved a plan to bus L.A. City School children (without parent consent) from San Fernando Valley schools to schools in other areas and vice-versa?" See William McMullen, letter to LACBE, 4 February 1968, fol. Race Question Genl Cont, 1967 – 1968 Part IX, Box 965, RQC-LAUSD.

## Chapter 2: Diverse Waves of Protest: Black and Brown Student Activism Transforms the Integration Debate

In a special meeting on March 4, 2008, the Los Angeles Board of Education (from now on LACBE) granted formal recognition to Sal Castro, a former Lincoln High School social studies teacher and Chicano education advocate, and students instrumental in the student demonstrations of 1968 for their “OUTSTANDING LEADERSHIP AND COMMITMENT TO EDUCATIONAL JUSTICE.”<sup>1</sup> Forty years after the student demonstrations, Castro and several East L.A. student leaders, as well as the hundreds of students who participated in demonstrations commonly known as the Blowouts, received formal recognition for their courage in protesting educational inequality in Los Angeles by demanding improvements to minority neighborhood schools. In 2009, LACBE voted to name a new middle school after Sal Castro, a school that opened on June 5, 2010. In 2011, Castro and historian Mario T. Garcia published *Blowout!: Sal Castro and the Chicano Struggle for Educational Justice*, a *testimonio* about the life and times of Sal Castro.<sup>2</sup>

While the school board officially recognized Castro and many Chicano students influential in the walkouts, and East L.A. and South-Central L.A. schools whose students participated in the demonstrations, the school board did not officially recognize any individual African American students whose participation in student demonstrations was also instrumental in 1968.<sup>3</sup> One such student was Floyd Benton, an African American Thomas Jefferson High School pupil who spoke before LACBE after some of the early student demonstrations had occurred. On March 7, 1968, before a large crowd in the LACBE auditorium, Benton told school board members, “We are mad and we don’t want to hear people tell us to wait. You people better start jiving and get serious ... because nobody is playing around here today. We don’t want a little no more—we want a lot now.”<sup>4</sup> Benton made his declaration before a raucous crowd that packed the LACBE auditorium beyond capacity, with African American students,

parents, and community organizers, a supportive white teacher from a South-Central L.A. high school, and Chicano students and activists from East L.A. in attendance.

Jeering ensued after Benton spoke, prompting LACBE President Georgiana Hardy, following an unsuccessful attempt to restore order, to adjourn the meeting. As the distressed board members fled through a back door to avoid a vocal barrage from the crowd, Reverend James E. Jones, the first ever African American elected to LACBE, told the crowd, “You asked for a black administrator. No later than Monday you will have a black administrator at Jefferson.”<sup>5</sup> His comments were in response to one of the demands Benton presented to LACBE asking for an African American principal.<sup>6</sup> As LACBE members walked out of the auditorium, a Brown Beret went to the microphone and warned the board: “If you walk out today, we will walk out tomorrow.”<sup>7</sup> African American and Mexican American students and their communities voiced their disapproval of the unequal educational opportunities in their respective neighborhoods.

In the spirit of recognizing Benton, other African American students, and Chicano students who demanded educational reform in 1968, this chapter highlights the separate but overlapping student demonstrations in South-Central L.A. and East L.A. in 1968 and the demands and contributions each group made toward educational justice. The response from the communities to student and community activism varied. During the following months, with the exception of some community leaders, the South-Central L.A. community remained largely silent in response to the student unrest at Jefferson High School and other South-Central L.A. schools. However, East L.A. student demonstrators faced opposition from inside and outside their community, a backlash that highlighted the political tensions present within the Chicano community.

Many African American students from South-Central L.A. and Chicanos from the barrios believed improving the educational opportunities in their respective racially isolated communities represented a worthwhile investment towards enhancing the conditions in the urban environment. There is scant but important documentation showing that African American and Chicano student organizers planned to carry out demonstrations simultaneously, and even invited students from the Los Angeles Westside (from now on the Westside) to join them, which indicated efforts to create broader cross-racial and cross-regional alliances.

A study about L.A.'s racial and education politics during the second half of the twentieth century would be incomplete without an analysis of the Watts Rebellion. This chapter examines the nearly non-existent response to the 1965 Watts Rebellion from LACBE. After the social unrest, LACBE did very little to improve education in the inner city. LACBE missed an opportunity to enact immediate policy to help improve education in the inner city, generally, and South-Central L.A., specifically.

More broadly, in this chapter, I argued that the student protests in South-Central L.A. and East L.A. transformed the integration debate from a debate about implementing racial integration *or* compensatory education to one about *concurrently addressing* integration, compensatory education, and bilingual/bicultural education.<sup>8</sup> The demonstrations also represented an alternative vision to integration, a legal struggle that brought about a cross-racial coalition of African American and Mexican Americans. The racial politics of the education debates also underwent a transformation in which a black-white framework was compellingly replaced by a multiracial, largely black-brown-white framework, as the demonstrators obliged LACBE to change school curriculum that took into consideration the racial and ethnic backgrounds and histories of the district's diverse student body. In this chapter, I include the 1965 Watts Rebellion as a precursor to the 1968 South-Central L.A. and East L.A. student protests, and show that LACBE did nothing to improve education in the inner-city in spite of the social unrest and the McCone Commission report's analysis that clearly identified neighborhoods in South-Central L.A. and East L.A. as suffering from low educational achievement.

In 1963, civil rights groups supporting racially integrating the city's schools in the *Mary Crawford vs. Los Angeles City Board of Education* extended an invitation to the East L.A. community to join the desegregation case, which Chicano community leaders refused. Rather than seeking integration, Chicano leaders preferred compensatory education programs in the form of educational and physical improvements to their neighborhood schools and bilingual/bicultural education. In 1968, East L.A. students made numerous demands stressing compensatory and bilingual/bicultural education, demands that closely mirrored the community's rationales for declining to participate in *Crawford* in 1963.

In March 1968, thousands of African American and Chicano student demonstrators from South-Central L.A. and East L.A. high schools participated in some of the city's most vocal student walkouts. I argue that student demonstrations in East LA and South-Central L.A.

illustrated city's racially fragmented nature, even instances where the communities shared common concerns. While *Crawford* made its way through California's court system, on the ground African American and Chicano students and their supporters demonstrated for better education at several high schools and at the board of education headquarters on their terms. I placed the student demonstrations within the broader context of the school desegregation story. My work is also a direct response to teacher and education activist Sal Castro who called for more work about the South-Central L.A. student demonstrators.<sup>9</sup>

The 1968 East L.A. student protests have become synonymous with Chicano cultural pride. Mario T. Garcia and Sal Castro's *Blowout!* and a recent film have secured for the Blowouts an important standing in the city's racial and civil rights history. However, the African American South-Central L.A. student demonstrations have remained largely unnoticed with only scant work analyzing the events at South-Central L.A. schools. The Chicano community's rationales to reject the civil rights lawyers' invitation to join *Crawford* in 1963, based on cultural differences as opposed to similar experiences and struggles, largely formed the basis of separate African American and Chicano student protests five years later.<sup>10</sup> While East L.A. students insisted on Mexican American and Mexican history, and bilingual and bicultural education, Jefferson High students demanded a "Negro" principal and "Negro" history. The number of demands also accounted for one obvious difference. African American students presented only four main demands, while the East L.A. student demands numbered over twenty at first. The small number and specificity of the African American student demands made their approval or rejection more expedient. In the long run, the large number of demands from East L.A. students produced a back-and-forth between the students, on the one hand, and the board and the superintendent, on the other. East L.A. students also had to contend with a divided student body and backlash, from inside and outside their community. The separate student demonstrations in South-Central L.A. and East L.A. demonstrated that diversity and residential segregation coexisted in Los Angeles and led to wholly separate calls for educational change from minority students.

In this chapter, I detailed the backlash to the student unrest from within and outside of South-Central L.A. and East L.A. communities. In an effort to disassociate themselves and their communities from the student protests, some African Americans and Chicanos too condemned the walkouts, stressing that the black and brown demonstrators were not representative of their

respective communities. Student protesters, particularly from East L.A., met with much resistance from their fellow students, teachers, school administrations, and many outside the community.<sup>11</sup> Chicano and other “Spanish surname” teachers from East L.A. schools had reached middle-class respectability and, like their counterparts in Jordan High School, had a choice: to support or denounce the student demonstrations. While, some African Americans felt uneasiness towards the South-Central L.A. protests, many remained largely quiet.

Outside the affected minority communities, many white Angelenos who opposed integration failed to recognize that student demonstrators’ calls for compensatory and bilingual/bicultural education represented an alternative to integration. Focused solely on the students’ race and ethnicity, many white residents voiced their concerns, frustrations, and fears, and mocked LACBE for listening to and being lenient on the demonstrators. Often, white Angelenos threatened to wield their political clout and oust board members who did not acquiesce to their demands. Ironically, white Angelenos often criticized the very board of education that protected white neighborhood schools by persistently avoiding serious consideration of school integration and busing.

#### *The Watts Rebellion and LACBE’s Response*

On August 11, 1965, a police incident involving a white police officer, a traffic stop, and the arrest of members from a single African American family sparked immediate outrage and one of the city’s major cases of civil unrest, the Watts Rebellion of 1965. Long held beliefs of discrimination and harassment at the hands of police officers within the African American community transformed a single traffic violation into a full-scale weeklong episode of violence, destruction, and death. The civil unrest resulted in thirty-four deaths; over one thousand injured; almost four thousand arrests; and one thousand buildings either damaged or destroyed. So widespread was the rioting, looting, and property damage, that the California National Guard had to intervene and assist an overwhelmed police department. I argue that in spite of the widespread devastation in the city, LACBE did nothing supplemental to improve education in South-Central L.A. in response to the rebellion because it viewed the unrest largely as a sign of broader societal problems, and because LACBE members were convinced that the existing compensatory education efforts were enough to counter educational inequality in inner-city schools.

The Watts Rebellion forced LACBE to take emergency measures to ensure the safety of students and teachers, and to assist the National Guard. LACBE shut down sixty-eight elementary schools, twelve junior high schools, and seven high schools, among them Jordan and Jefferson High Schools, both located in South-Central L.A.<sup>12</sup> LACBE permitted the National Guard to use the district *school buses* to transport soldiers to the distressed areas and allowed eighteen schools in the riot-torn areas to station soldiers.<sup>13</sup> Colonel Raymond J. Kopecky, of the 146<sup>th</sup> Air Transport Wing of the California Air National Guard stationed in Van Nuys, thanked LACBE for permitting the use of its school buses.<sup>14</sup> Although Los Angeles City School District Superintendent Jack Crowther authorized reopening eighty-four schools in the curfew areas on August 19, he ordered twelve to stay closed because the California National Guard remained stationed there.<sup>15</sup>

However, LACBE ultimately opted to do *nothing* new in response to the Watts Rebellion, and instead relied on existing plans to implement compensatory education programs.<sup>16</sup> Superintendent Crowther reaffirmed the district's commitment to compensatory education programs, which he claimed had been established long before the Watts Rebellion.<sup>17</sup> As suggestions to improve education in minority areas poured into the district, Crowther asked for calm and reminded the board and district personnel to "keep in mind the entire picture of the many programs and stepped up resources that have already been put into operation in our educationally disadvantaged area."<sup>18</sup> In other words, he deemed additional, immediate programs and resources in response to the Watts Rebellion unnecessary. Crowther noted that the district was preparing to use forthcoming funds from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and the Economic Opportunity Act, and proceeded to submit compensatory education programs for consideration to LACBE.<sup>19</sup>

### *The McCone Commission*

At the state level, the Governor's Commission on the Los Angeles Riots, also known as the McCone Commission named after politician and former C.I.A. director John McCone, studied the underpinnings of the rebellion.<sup>20</sup> LACBE member Reverend James E. Jones served on the commission. In its report, the McCone Commission highlighted the centrality of education in American society as "the keystone of democracy." The committee explained that education provided "communication between the diverse elements of our complex society and

aids in the elimination of barriers of race and religion” and held “the greatest promise for breaking the cycle of failure which is at the core of the problems of the disadvantaged area. Hope centers on education.”<sup>21</sup>

The commission compared educational attainment in disadvantaged minority areas with affluent areas in Los Angeles, and found a shocking gap in educational attainment. Watts and Avalon, which consisted of overwhelmingly African American populations, and Boyle Heights and East Los Angeles, predominantly Mexican American areas, ranked “least favorably in the county with respect to the following criteria: family income, male unemployment, education, family status, housing, the ratio of youth and aged to productive adults, and the status of youth in terms of neglect and delinquency.”<sup>22</sup> By comparison, these disadvantaged areas’ statistics contrasted substantially with Pacific Palisades, Westwood, and Brentwood, predominantly white, affluent areas, which had the most favorable rankings “relative to the remainder of the county” in the same criteria.<sup>23</sup> Achievement test scores for students in disadvantaged areas were lower in all subjects and at all grade levels under study. Roughly 80% of the national fifth grade population achieved higher reading vocabulary scores than fifth grade students in the minority-disadvantaged areas under study.<sup>24</sup> Fifth-grade students in the studied advantaged areas ranked in the nation’s top nineteenth percentile in reading vocabulary, while citywide, students ranked in the top forty-eighth percentile. The McCone Commission found that eighth and eleventh grade students in minority disadvantaged areas fared worse, with the latter’s scores ranging from the bottom twenty-seven to thirty-four percentile in reading vocabulary.<sup>25</sup> The McCone Commission also revealed that about two-thirds of students who entered three high schools in “predominantly Negro areas” in South-Central L.A. dropped out before graduating from high school.<sup>26</sup> These dropout rates constituted the highest dropout percentage in the forty-five senior high schools.<sup>27</sup> The commission concluded that the low reading and writing levels of students in disadvantaged areas “is far too low for them either to advance in school or to function effectively in society.”<sup>28</sup>

Despite these distressing statistics, the McCone Commission’s overarching conclusions, however, placed blame solely on the *students* for their low educational achievement, blamed their educational shortcomings for *de facto* segregation, and virtually absolved the school system from any responsibility for low educational achievement in minority schools. The commission reported that “the very low level of scholastic achievement we observe in the predominately

Negro schools contributes to de facto segregation in the schools. In turn school segregation apparently contributes importantly to all de facto segregation.”<sup>29</sup> Therefore, the McCone Commission concluded, “We reason, therefore, that raising the scholastic achievement might reverse the entire trend of de facto segregation.”<sup>30</sup> The McCone Commission did not propose school desegregation to combat *de facto* segregation, but rather proposed compensatory education to ameliorate segregation. The McCone Commission members believed that compensatory programs such as an “Emergency Schools Literacy Program” and a permanent pre-school program beginning at age three would improve educational achievement in “emergency schools.”<sup>31</sup> In spite of the commission’s findings and recommendations, LACBE did not implement any new immediate, compensatory education programs in addition to federal compensatory programs in the planning stages.

#### *Student Demonstrations, Outspoken Community Activists and Fleeing Board Members*

There is only scant evidence suggesting that African American student activists from South-Central L.A. and Chicano student demonstrators, community activists, and their supporters, including United Mexican-American Students (UMAS) and the Brown Berets, coordinated the student walkouts. I argued that the walkouts at Jefferson High School and predominantly Chicano high schools were completely separate endeavors, as their wholly distinctive demands illustrated. The multiple waves of demonstrations represented the desperation of minority students for improved education. Although the African American and Chicano students did not explain their sentiments about public education within their respective neighborhoods together, they clearly asserted some similar frustrations, hopes, and goals while pointing out underlying forms of prejudice, discrimination, and racism that affected the educational opportunities and aspirations of both groups.

In 1968, African American and Chicano students took on the task of demanding educational improvements in their respective racially isolated neighborhoods. The demonstrations did not begin smoothly. On March 1, 1968, approximately 500 student protesters walked out of Woodrow Wilson High School, which had a predominantly Chicano student population, located in El Sereno about seven miles northeast of downtown Los Angeles. According to teacher Sal Castro, students walked out because of the cancellation of a school play.<sup>32</sup> In “Some Complaints Are Valid, Principal Skinner Reports,” the *El Sereno Star* reported

that the students “attempted to stage a massive walk-out,” but were “prevented by locked gates and helmeted policemen who were standing by,” as well as by “a human chain of senior high students” who blocked the front door.<sup>33</sup> The *El Sereno Star* recounted that some mothers controlled the small unruly group and “successfully ordered their children back to classes.”<sup>34</sup> Although it appears the students walked out of their classrooms but not out of the school grounds, the short-lived demonstration did not happen without incident. Students threw “garbage over the fence and several teachers were hit by flying debris,” and there was a small scrimmage between students and police, but it quickly ended.<sup>35</sup>

Student protests quickly spread over the next two weeks to several schools. On March 5, high school students from South-Central L.A. and East L.A. staged simultaneous protests at their racially segregated schools.<sup>36</sup> At Thomas Jefferson High School, about “700 of the school’s 1,900 predominantly Negro students boycotted the cafeteria ... and assembled on the athletic field.”<sup>37</sup> On the same day, students from James Garfield High School, located in East L.A.<sup>38</sup> also staged a massive walkout involving roughly “2700 of the 3750 predominantly Mexican-American students,” an astounding estimated 72% of the student body.<sup>39</sup> Sheriff deputies and police officers confronted the students, arresting a sixteen-year-old student and two other eighteen-year-old youths for failure to disperse.<sup>40</sup> The wave of student demonstrations continued the following day.

On March 6, African American students from Jefferson High School, and Mexican American students from Garfield High School, plus two more high schools with predominantly Chicano student populations staged more protests. About 400 Jefferson High School students “congregated in the athletic field ... and conducted an all-day boycott of classes,” reported the *Los Angeles Times*.<sup>41</sup> The Jefferson students based their concerns on issues that specifically affected African American students and made demands that took into consideration their culture and history. Throughout the day, a “large group” of students, parents and school administrators met in the school library to discuss the students’ grievances,<sup>42</sup> which began with “cafeteria conditions” on March 5 but by March 6 had extended to the “dress code, restrictions on Negro youths wearing their hair in ‘natural cuts,’ the ‘insensitivity’ of teachers, performance of counselors, hiring of more Negro administrators in the area and guarantees against reprisals against participants in the boycotts.”<sup>43</sup>

On the same day, emphasizing their cultural and neighborhood pride, Chicano students staged major walkouts at three predominantly Chicano high schools: Garfield High School, Theodore Roosevelt High School, and Abraham Lincoln High School.<sup>44</sup> Unlike previous protests, students and the police clashed at Roosevelt. About 250 Garfield High students boycotted classes and marched from campus to Atlantic Park, carrying signs emblematic of their desired policy changes and identity. Signs such as “no more fences around the school” “smaller classes,” “strike now,” and “Chicano power” translated into Chicano demands for educational equity.<sup>45</sup> Although members of UMAS, a college-student activist group consisting of students from college campuses around the city, “urged the high school youngsters to return to classes,” students marched back to Garfield “where other students were urged to join them, and about 100 returned to the park for more discussions.”<sup>46</sup> Garfield Principal Reginald Murphy called “an impromptu assembly,” where he read a list of student demands. Some student leaders “urged an end to the boycott” during the assembly.<sup>47</sup>

At Roosevelt High School, an estimated two to four hundred students out of a student body of 3200 gathered in front of the school after noon recess, according to the *Los Angeles Times*.<sup>48</sup> Vice Principal Ted Siegel alleged that students left classes “at the urging of outsiders, including members of the Brown Berets, a militant Mexican-American group.”<sup>49</sup> The crowd walked to Evergreen Park, returned to the school “to urge other students to leave classes,” and the subsequent crowd assembled on the sidewalks.<sup>50</sup> The students purportedly “began hurling objects at passing motorists.”<sup>51</sup> The police arrived and declared “an unlawful assembly,” attempting to clear the sidewalks and break up the crowd.<sup>52</sup> Violence reportedly ensued, and a police officer was hospitalized.<sup>53</sup> The police took numerous youths into custody and placed one fifteen-year-old under arrest in connection with the injured officer.<sup>54</sup> The Roosevelt administration dismissed classes, and the student demonstrators soon left.<sup>55</sup>

Students at Lincoln High School also staged a walkout on March 6. Roughly five hundred students “left classes ... and paraded 10 blocks to the school district’s area offices.”<sup>56</sup> There, two East L.A. secondary and elementary school superintendents, Stuart Stengel and Herbert Cadwell, met with the demonstrators and discussed student demands “over a public address system.”<sup>57</sup> Stengel “promised to set up a meeting of community groups, administrators and the Board of Education” for March 26, where students, teachers, parents, and community

organizers would have the opportunity to voice their grievances.<sup>58</sup> The demonstrations increasingly gained the attention of school administrators, and continued the following day.

After the simultaneous demonstrations at four high schools on March 6, students at yet another Los Angeles high school staged a walkout on March 7. Students protested at Belmont High School, “a racially mixed school,” according to the *Los Angeles Times*’ Richard West and David Larsen.<sup>59</sup> Four Mexican Americans carrying picket signs urged students to walk out of classes, and demonstrators stoned two police cars upon their arrival.<sup>60</sup> Police Chief Tom Reddin later claimed, “Non-student agitators were ‘particularly evident’ during the outbreak [at Belmont].”<sup>61</sup> When police officers with “riot sticks ordered all youths back into their classrooms,” the skirmish was over.<sup>62</sup> “Nine non-students but only one student were arrested at Belmont,” recounted *The Los Angeles Times*.<sup>63</sup> “One was charged with inciting others to riot and nine with refusal to disperse,” *The Los Angeles Times* added.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, the newspaper reported that “roughly two hundred students” at Garfield High School “cut morning classes” and gathered at Atlantic Park.<sup>65</sup> This walkout at Garfield was relatively peaceful and proceeded without incident.<sup>66</sup> The pattern of wholly separate student demonstrations along race and culture also played out during a LACBE meeting on March 7.

It was a LACBE meeting like no other. On March 7, 1968, six days after the first signs of student unrest, and following the protests at Belmont and Garfield high schools earlier that day, LACBE held a meeting to appraise the student demonstrations. Board member Dr. Julian Nava, who was the lone Mexican American on the board, played an important role in this meeting.<sup>67</sup> During the meeting, Dr. Nava introduced a list of student demands, a Brown Beret pamphlet, and an anti-walkout flyer by a Mexican American student organization. The documents demonstrated splits among the Chicano students regarding the walkouts, and divisions within the Chicano community.

Authored by the Blowout Committee, the list of student demands with the glaring headline, “*NO MORNING WALKOUT!!!*” included demands numerous and sometimes broad in nature (see Figure 2.1).<sup>68</sup> The top two demands called for establishing a mandatory reading program and improving the student-teacher and student-counselor ratios to 20:1 and 150:1, respectively.<sup>69</sup> Curricular demands included teaching minority contributions to U.S. history and culture; offering “more languages and different advanced classes” like Latin and political sciences; vocational classes with “New and up-to-date equipment and techniques.” Protesters

also demanded, "Students with non-academic majors should be allowed and not discouraged, but encouraged to take academic courses." Students also advocated for bilingual teachers who could "communicate with more ease."

To improve the well being of students, the student demonstrators asked for group counseling and the "Revival of child-welfare (knowledge of personal problems of children)," where "workers should be able to work in the evening and be able to speak fluently the language spoken at student's home." Demands also included the abolishment of "all forms of corporal punishment," where students were "not to be swatted at anytime [*sic*] for any reason"; and that

## NO MORNING WALKOUT

Proposals to be presented first.

1. Special skills-  
Bring forth reading program, help in reading comprehension.  
Make it mandatory.
2. Raise student to teacher ratio 1 to 20  
student to counselor ratio 1 to 150
3. Revival of child-welfare (knowledge of personal problems of children)  
These workers should be able to work in the evening and be able to speak fluently the language spoken at student's home.
4. Repair facilities in restrooms. (A building 3rd floor and M building 2nd floor.) Restrooms should remain open during school hours.
5. Elimination of grade requirement for student officers. (Within school constitution.)
6. Homogeneous grouping - classifying of students be eliminated.
7. Teach contributions of minorities to U.S. history and culture .
8. Conduct survey within student body on more languages and different advanced classes: Latin etc. Political science - other basic classes.
9. ROTC funds placed at school disposal for other use.
10. Students with non-academic majors should be allowed and not discouraged, but encouraged to take academic courses.
11. Vocational classes: New and up-to-date equipment and techniques.
12. Food inspection-and improvement-conducted by students and teachers.
13. If food is not improved - open campus should be discussed. New cafeteria.
14. P.A. system throughout school.
15. Revise I Q tests to include knowledge of all community cultures. Allow a 10% lee-way for students from communities with different knowledge source material.
16. Bi-lingual teachers (teachers could communicate with more ease).
17. Abide by the same building standards for all races and communities.
18. Group counseling - more classes of group counseling.
19. All forms of corporal punishment should be abolished. (No more SWATS)  
Students are not to be swatted at anytime for any reason.
20. Keep the faith - more to come.

Figure 2.1. Blowout Committee, Student Proposals, 1968. In 1968, students from several East L.A. schools staged protests calling for changes in curriculum and improvements to their racially isolated neighborhood schools. Source: Student Unrest Part I, 3/7/68 - 4/3/1968, Box 682, Student Unrest Files, Board Secretariat, Los Angeles Unified School District, Los Angeles, California.

“Restrooms should remain open during schools hours.” Furthermore, students called for the elimination of grade requirements for student officers, plus revisions to I.Q tests “to include knowledge of all community cultures” and to allow “a 10% lee-way [*sic*] for students from communities with different knowledge source material.” Finally, they wanted restroom repairs, food inspection, a P.A. system, and the enforcement of “the same building standards for all races and communities.”

Chicano student activists wanted the dialogue with LACBE to continue.<sup>70</sup> They asked to meet with board members at Hazard Park the following day or at a nearby school district office.<sup>71</sup> LACBE agreed that board members “not instructed by the Board and not to exceed three” could meet unofficially at Hazard Park with the “student representatives of several high schools” and listen to their grievances.<sup>72</sup>

After six days since the early rumblings of student unrest, law enforcement officials had become increasingly concerned about the demonstrations. During the March 7 meeting, LACBE listened to Los Angeles Police Department Police Chief Tom Reddin’s assessment of the student walkouts, and then declared its support for the use of courts and police force to halt any future demonstrations.<sup>73</sup> Warning that, “We might be headed for some type of major confrontation between disruptive elements and the City of Los Angeles,”<sup>74</sup> Chief Reddin called attention to school disturbances involving “persons who do not have a child in attendance at that particular school.” He voiced concern about students “becoming pawns of professional agitators,”<sup>75</sup> likely referring to the Brown Berets and possibly the Blowout Committee. (The Blowout Committee was the central planning unit of the Chicano student demonstrators that combined the ideas of the student leaders from several district high schools participating in the Blowouts.) According to Reddin, students lacked awareness of their circumstances and, as “pawns,” did not understand why they rebelled against LACBE, the school district, and the police.<sup>76</sup> Reddin recommended developing policy to deal with student demonstrators and organizations that might plan future demonstrations.<sup>77</sup> In response, LACBE members unanimously passed a resolution “directing School Superintendent Jack P. Crowther to seek such injunctions against outsiders who refuse to leave school property when ordered” and encouraging “the Superintendent to make use of the law to seek injunctive relief whenever he feels it necessary.”<sup>78</sup> In other words, LACBE supported the use of the law, enforced by courts and the police force, to stop any future

demonstrations. The regular meeting concluded, with a special meeting scheduled to begin soon after.

Immediately after Reddin's appearance, the LACBE auditorium began to fill with student activists and their supporters, whom local newspapers identified as Jefferson High School students<sup>79</sup> and a "predominantly Negro crowd" of roughly two hundred young people.<sup>80</sup> Individuals from the crowd wanted to voice their qualms to the board, but President Hardy refused due to a scheduled meeting with the Unified District Teacher Negotiating Council regarding teacher salary proposals.<sup>81</sup> Suggesting "they could have their say at a special meeting" on Monday,<sup>82</sup> Hardy "asked the crowd to leave so that teachers arriving for the salary discussion would have room in the 189-seat auditorium."<sup>83</sup>

However, "none of the young people rose to leave,"<sup>84</sup> according to *Los Angeles Times*, even after Hardy called the subsequent special meeting to order. During the Pledge of Allegiance, "about three-quarters of the youths remained seated and refused to recite the Pledge."<sup>85</sup> The board called roll, and the chairman of the Unified District Negotiating Council called the meeting to order.<sup>86</sup> What followed was a break with protocol that many board members agreed on and would later regret. LACBE minutes document that Mrs. Barfield, a member of the negotiating council "called attention to the large number of students and adults ... in the audience" and stated that members of the negotiating council were "willing to relinquish their time ... to hear presentations from those persons who wished to be heard."<sup>87</sup> President Hardy opposed this idea and referred to Board Rule 21 requiring twenty-four hours advanced notice to speak before LACBE. Dr. Nava then proposed a motion waving the rule, and after Reverend Jones seconded the motion, the board voted six to one in favor.<sup>88</sup>

The first two speakers called on LACBE to improve educational opportunities at Jefferson High School, whose student body was overwhelmingly African American. The board permitted a "Jefferson High white teacher and a Negro student speak for a total of five minutes."<sup>89</sup> African American Jefferson High School student leader Floyd Benton then faced LACBE members and told them "they had better do something for Jefferson students."<sup>90</sup> Max Kleinmintz, an English and speech teacher, called on the board "to appoint as administrator 'a black man who will be able to relate to the students.'"<sup>91</sup> He emphasized, "I feel he should be appointed immediately and be there tomorrow morning when school opens."<sup>92</sup> In sum, Benton

and Kleinmintz called on LACBE to improve education at Jefferson by, among other things, placing an African American administrator.

President Hardy wanted to return to the special meeting's business on faculty salaries, but board member Dr. Ralph Richardson and other board members granted an individual the *Los Angeles Times* described as "a bearded member of the Brown Berets"<sup>93</sup> to speak on "the condition that if there is further disturbance the meeting will be adjourned."<sup>94</sup> Although the details about what happened next are very sketchy, it culminated in LACBE members abruptly adjourning the meeting and walking out of the boardroom. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that when a "Brown Beret and a companion advanced to the microphone, [Hardy] adjourned the meeting."<sup>95</sup> The newspaper summarized the meeting's dramatic end this way: "Two hundred young persons broke up a meeting of the City Board of Education and sent most board members fleeing out a rear door Thursday as a climax to a day of boycotts, arson and the stoning of police cars at schools attended by minority groups."<sup>96</sup> According to LACBE minutes, an unidentified young man "addressed the members of the Board concerning a situation at John Marshall High" but because "there was further disturbance in the audience, the President requested the roll to be called to adjourn the meeting," and LACBE approved by a 6-1 vote.<sup>97</sup> As the other board members filed out of the boardroom, Reverend James E. Jones, the lone African American board member, promised to appoint an African American administrator at Jefferson high School.<sup>98</sup> As the board members continued to walk out, the Brown Beret did not waste the opportunity to speak further. He warned LACBE: "If you walk out today, we will walk out tomorrow."<sup>99</sup> With these words, the meeting ended, and the crowd "left the board room in an orderly manner."<sup>100</sup>

On March 8, Lincoln High School students, yelling "Walkout! Walkout" and "Blowout! Blowout," walked out of their classes, with college students and the Brown Berets aiding in their efforts.<sup>101</sup> In *Blowout!* Mario T. Garcia and Sal Castro explained they day's event:

The media ... were there ... The police were also there, but in a nonthreatening way. They knew, or maybe I told them, that we were going to march to Hazard Park, and they agreed to escort us there. It became a big parade. They controlled the traffic to allow the kids to cross the streets. They even let me sit on top of an unmarked police car and be driven to the park.<sup>102</sup>

According to Garcia and Castro, other high schools and junior high schools joined the March 8 walkout, totaling fifteen schools and including city and county schools "all the way from Montebello on the west side of the county to Venice on the west side."<sup>103</sup> At least one San

Fernando Valley school, North Hollywood High, participated. “White kids walked out in sympathy from schools such as University High and North Hollywood High,” Garcia and Castro wrote.<sup>104</sup> “I even heard that some elementary students in East L.A. did their version of the walkout. These may have been the youngest brothers and sisters of the older kids,” they explained.<sup>105</sup> They estimated that about 20,000 students protested in one form or another in the student walkouts.<sup>106</sup>

After the walkout at Lincoln and other East L.A. schools, an estimated 500 to 700 student protesters gathered at Hazard Park. LACBE followed through with its promise to meet unofficially with student representatives there, with board members Richardson and Nava in attendance.<sup>107</sup> Speaking before the crowd, Richardson stated, “To the extent that you have dramatized the problems, you have me.”<sup>108</sup> Moctesuma Esparza, a walkout leader, told Richardson that the students would only negotiate with the whole school board.<sup>109</sup> Nava, for his part, promised no disciplinary action against walkout participants as long as violence did not occur.<sup>110</sup> City Councilman Ed Roybal also attended the rally. Some tense moments developed when the police began to close in on the crowd, with student leveling some verbal jabs at the police. Garcia and Castro wrote that Roybal asked the police to leave, declaring, “We don’t need the police here. We can take care of business ourselves.”<sup>111</sup>

### *Teacher and Community Support for Jefferson High School Student Protesters*

Following the raucous board meeting of March 7, Jefferson High School students held meetings. They conducted one meeting at the school gym and another in the school library with none other than LACBE President Georgiana Hardy. When demonstrations took place in Jefferson High School on Friday, March 8, 1968, the administration dismissed school early. School administrators later decided to close the school on March 11 and 12 as a matter of public and student safety.<sup>112</sup>

On Saturday March 9, before school administrators decided to close Jefferson High School on March 11 and 12. Jefferson High School Faculty President John Herrod and teachers Max Kleinmintz and Ralph A. Wright made efforts to have students return to classes without police presence. It was their opinion that “the progress made toward getting the students to return to class will be negated should policemen be sent to the campus.”<sup>113</sup> Many other Jefferson High School teachers supported the student protesters. In a pivotal and rare act, the Jefferson

faculty voted in support of one of the boycotting students' central demands. By a vote of 46-33, the Jefferson High School teachers voted to support hiring a Black principal who was qualified and whom "the Board of Education and the Area Supervisor will support" to replace Dr. Frank B. Snyder, who was on "illness leave" indefinitely.<sup>114</sup> The Jefferson High School teachers also sought improvement in students' education and in school facilities, having submitted numerous recommendations to the board. They asked for additional teacher aides from the community, three more counselors (college and vocational counseling), ten more teachers, a psychologist, a human relations expert for faculty, an academic dean, and more clerical help for offices and teachers.<sup>115</sup>

To improve student-teacher relations, the Jefferson High School faculty insisted that teachers gain an understanding of the "Black culture" through "weekly afternoon dialogues"; a program called "Project Live-in, where teachers should go home with children and vice versa"; retreats; and teacher workshops to "ensure community understanding."<sup>116</sup> They suggested that teachers willing to work extra hours should be paid on what they referred to as "on a professional level."<sup>117</sup> The faculty also recommended reductions in class size to twenty-five students, and that students have the freedom "to leave campus at noon."<sup>118</sup> To improve teacher-administration communication, the faculty offered the creation of a review board "made up of faculty and students to hear student and/or parent grievances"; faculty meetings to have "Negro history" workshops; and time allocated "for teachers to talk and solve problems."<sup>119</sup>

Over the weekend, African American pastors — some of the most revered members in the African American community — also lent vocal support to the Jefferson High School students. They called on LACBE to fulfill Reverend Jones' promise of placing "a Negro principal" at Jefferson High by the following Monday, and linked the plight of the African American and Chicano student protests. Reverend Lloyd Galloway, Pastor at the Lincoln Memorial Congregational Church, sent a telegram to the board to "take action today March 11<sup>th</sup> supportive of the commitment Rev. James Jones, your minority member, made to the Negro and Mexican American communities," to "appoint a Negro principal at Jefferson High School."<sup>120</sup> Suggesting that the appointment of an African American principal would prevent future demonstrations, Galloway asserted, "You can save the militant action of the community from erupting if you will acknowledge the actions of Mr[.] Jones to be in the best interest of the Los Angeles Board of Education[,] Jefferson High School's administration and the community's

needs.”<sup>121</sup> Some pastors sent impassioned telegrams to the board in support of keeping the police away from schools.

In light of the school closures, LACBE enforced a “planned program of readmission” at Jefferson High in order to regain a sense of control over the students, restore a degree of order, and prevent future demonstrations. Students who desired to return to Jefferson High after the school reopened had to maneuver through a bureaucratic process in which the board required parents to sign a letter indicating they understood “that the school must operate under the control of the school staff in order to provide the kind of educational experiences you want.”<sup>122</sup> To LACBE, the signatures symbolized a promise that “we will have the cooperation [of parents and students] necessary to operate a successful educational program.”<sup>123</sup> The board further stipulated that identification cards “will be issued to all students who are readmitted with the signed letter, and only students with such signed identification cards will be permitted on the school grounds.”<sup>124</sup> Theoretically, students whose parents chose not to sign the forms could be rejected from taking classes at Jefferson.

The student unrest compelled LACBE immediately to schedule a special meeting for “the purpose of receiving presentations regarding student unrest”<sup>125</sup> and a regular meeting for Monday, March 11.<sup>126</sup> The jam-packed meetings included “a tumultuous, three-hour session attended by nearly 200 students and parents in the board’s chambers.”<sup>127</sup> Another three hundred people listened to the board meeting on loudspeakers outside the building.<sup>128</sup> At the special meeting, Superintendent Crowther told LACBE members about a pending “administrative intern program to give minority persons experience in school administration, such program to be financed with funds from the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.”<sup>129</sup> Crowther recommended allotting fifteen positions to the Division of Secondary Education for training.<sup>130</sup> In many ways, the student demonstrations elicited the enactment of this policy, which gave individuals from minority backgrounds an opportunity to become part of a school’s administration. This policy would be effective as soon as the State Department of Education approved it. Representatives from the Blowout Committees of all five schools directly affected by the Chicano student demonstrations attended the board meeting.<sup>131</sup>

The student demonstrators prompted other students to speak out about educational problems in their schools. At this meeting, for example, members of the Roosevelt High School Student Council Sponsored Solutions Committee (RHSCC) revealed twelve academic and six

discipline problems specific to Roosevelt High School students. To address reading comprehension problems specifically, the Roosevelt student council committee recommended a mandatory reading program.<sup>132</sup> The RHSCC alleged that the students' reading problems "related to their particular cultural and/or bi-lingual backgrounds" was the greatest problem.<sup>133</sup> The committee suggested numerous solutions, translating some of the broad solutions offered by the Blowout Committee into narrow recommendations.<sup>134</sup> The Roosevelt student council committee's efforts exemplified one of the notable effects of the student demonstrations.

All five schools directly affected directly by the Mexican American student demonstrations had representatives from the Blowout Committees of each school before the Board. Belmont High School had one representative.<sup>135</sup> Students from Alexander High School, from Los Angeles' Westside, and John Marshall High School, from the "north side." Three Hamilton High School students who were not listed as speakers for the special meeting submitted a letter of grievances. Spencer Eth, representing the Community Advisory Committee to the Principal, Milt Friedman, a member of the Hamilton High School Student Awareness Club, and Rich Rosen, United Student Movement representative, explained, "Madame President and Board Members, Hamilton High School has a rapidly growing interest in the academic demands of our fellow high school students at Lincoln, Garfield, Jefferson, Belmont, and Wilson."<sup>136</sup> The Hamilton students, keenly aware of educational inequality between Hamilton High School and East L.A. schools, wrote, "The student body of Hamilton recognizes its good fortune in having a superb faculty and excellent facilities, but we refuse to allow this fact to interfere with our moral responsibility to assist our brothers."<sup>137</sup> They concluded, "Hamilton must be officially represented, not yet as speakers, but as fellow students interested in maintaining inter-school awareness. A victory for one is a victory for all."<sup>138</sup> The Hamilton students believed that the East L.A. student demonstrators and their supporters also represented their interests in some way. They indicated that they had concerns that the "superb" faculty and "excellent" facilities could be in jeopardy in the future and that the substandard education and poor educational facilities could become their problems within their Westside neighborhood schools too. For those reasons, a few Hamilton students wholeheartedly supported the East L.A. protests.

Considering the presentations by students, teachers, community organizations and others, board member Dr. Nava believed that "the dialogue begun by ... the speakers today should be

continued.”<sup>139</sup> Nava proposed holding a special meeting at Lincoln High School “to hear further statements from students and people in the [East L.A.] community.”<sup>140</sup> Although Reverend Jones seconded the motion, board member J.C. Chambers challenged it by arguing that “the Board should not hold meetings in schools because this would cause a disruption of classes” and that it was “contrary to Board rules to listen to students without the permission of their parents.”<sup>141</sup> Reverend Jones countered and said he did not object to “holding a meeting of the Board elsewhere if all the proposals from all the different groups are taken into consideration.”<sup>142</sup> Board President Hardy agreed with the motion to meet with students, parents and community groups. After much political maneuvering by Chambers, the board passed the motion by an overwhelming margin of six to one.<sup>143</sup>

At the regular meeting that took place on March 11 *after* the special meeting, it became evidently clear that Chicano students did not all agree on direct action as a strategy to effect educational policy, even though many agreed with the demands themselves. Public vocal demonstrations divided the community. Garfield High School Student Strike Committee representative John Ortiz decried police intervention during student demonstrations. Eliciting a standing ovation from students in attendance, Ortiz argued, “We will not have a special session of the board until the police are removed from the campuses.”<sup>144</sup> Lincoln High School student Robert Rodriguez seconded the demand.<sup>145</sup> Taking a different perspective on the demonstrations, Lincoln High School Student Body President Leonard Gomez claimed that he and other student body presidents supported the student demands but opposed the walkouts.

By the end of the day’s board meeting, LACBE had agreed in principle to two student demands. First, the board agreed to hold a special meeting at Lincoln High to further examine the challenges East L.A. students faced in the classroom. Second, it agreed to consider granting “amnesty” to students from the Eastside schools who walked out on March 11, as many East L.A. students missed school in preparation to attend the board meeting. The board proved its willingness to listen to East L.A. students, as well as parents, community organizers, and students from other area schools seeking to contribute to the debate over educational inequality.

However, in the immediate aftermath of the walkouts, Superintendent Crowther sought to reassert district control over students, developed new ways to stop the reoccurrence of demonstrations, and endorsed a strong alliance between school administrators and law enforcement. In a March 11, 1968 memo to “selected school administrators” Crowther outlined

procedures that created a web of culpability in cases of “disturbances or demonstrations on or adjacent to school sites caused by an individual or a group whether students or otherwise.”<sup>146</sup> The procedures mandated that law enforcement would “be in charge of all law enforcement aspects of the situation utilizing all appropriate means available,” and that “[s]chool employees, school or school related organizations, or community organizations shall not participate in or interfere with the operations of the law enforcement agency unless requested by the law enforcement agency and approved by the school administrator in charge.”<sup>147</sup> The procedures also granted school administrators a great deal of discretion during emergencies.

While the superintendent’s memo to administrators outlined a new student unrest policy, Crowther’s public announcement on March 11, 1968 called for an end to walkouts, warning that “further unauthorized absences will not be excused and that students who continue to leave their classes will be subject to appropriate disciplinary action before they can return to school.”<sup>148</sup> The superintendent also threatened the students who dared to protest and/or be absent. He asserted, “Starting from today, any student who leaves his classes goes with the knowledge and understanding that he or she must be ready to accept the consequences of appropriate disciplinary action.”<sup>149</sup> Crowther also asked students to “persuade fellow students to remain in classes.”<sup>150</sup> In short, the superintendent wanted to secure his, the school administrators’ and the board’s authority, now backed by law enforcement if necessary.

The superintendent targeted specific schools, thus scrutinizing all students attending these schools no matter their degree or lack of participation in the demonstrations. His memo specified the affected schools: “Garfield, Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Wilson in East Los Angeles; Belmont in downtown Los Angeles; and Jefferson and Carver Junior High School in South Central Los Angeles.”<sup>151</sup> By not implementing this policy across the district, Crowther singled out these minority schools as testing grounds for new policing measures. On one hand, at the very least he endeavored to bring order to these schools. On the other hand, Crowther’s singling out of these schools had the effect of punishing all the students who attended them. These students were now under the scrutiny of law enforcement, school security, and school administrators.<sup>152</sup> However, he sought to convince the student protesters that demonstrations were no longer necessary, and added, “Your viewpoint has now been heard—and has been made known dramatically during the last four days of las [*sic*] week.”<sup>153</sup>

Increasing criticism against LACBE from outside the affected neighborhoods for listening to the student demonstrators continued after the March 11 meetings. Some individuals disapproved of LACBE's handling of the student unrest.<sup>154</sup> Others blamed students and their parents for the unrest.<sup>155</sup> Many white Angelenos erroneously linked the student demonstrations and the integration/busing debate as a part of a single minority movement, even though these issues were so far separate issues.<sup>156</sup>

### *LACBE Appoints an African American Principal at Jefferson High School*

The distinctive nature of the South-Central L.A. and East L.A. student demands compelled LACBE to try to resolve them separately. On March 13, after Jefferson High School had been "closed for three days by a teacher walkout and student unrest," according to the *Los Angeles Times*, the school "reopened peacefully Wednesday with three new administrators, all Negroes."<sup>157</sup> A Jefferson High School official reported that students appeared "jubilant" returning to classes.<sup>158</sup> Reverend Jones' promise to appoint an African American principal became a reality for Jefferson High School students. The new principal Louis J. Johnson promised to institute necessary reforms but "not on a shotgun basis," cautiously warning against any "rash decisions that we might later regret."<sup>159</sup> Though his appointment was directly attributable to the student unrest at Jefferson High School, Johnson opted to employ colorblind language to explain his appointment. He argued, "I was taken from a list of qualified candidates in the regular way. I feel that I can do the job, and I want to be here."<sup>160</sup> Councilman Thomas Bradley disagreed and believed that Johnson's appointment was "in response to pressure."<sup>161</sup> However, Bradley lamented, "Unfortunately (such pressure) was necessary to get the Board of Education to move."<sup>162</sup> He added, "We have reached a point (in history) where all kinds of methods are used to achieve results."<sup>163</sup>

Also on March 13, student activists from Jefferson defended themselves against attacks of unruliness and responded to LACBE fulfilling Reverend Jones' promise to appoint an African American principal at Jefferson. Jordan High School student demonstration leaders disputed accusations of behaving "unruly and violent" before LACBE.<sup>164</sup> Floyd Benton, the courageous sixteen-year-old student who had spoken before LACBE on March 7, defended student activists against these charges, charged, "The news media, instead of dealing with the causes, jumped on our backs."<sup>165</sup> "We were very orderly," Benton further explained.<sup>166</sup> Benton promised to help the

new administration, asserting, “We’re behind not only the new principal, but anyone else willing to move ahead.”<sup>167</sup> Another student organizer, Lawrence Bible, president of a student group called The Knights,<sup>168</sup> claimed, “Some of the students here worked hard to make sure no trouble started.”<sup>169</sup> By March 13, Jordan High School administrators reported “near normal” absenteeism.<sup>170</sup>

### *A Supportive Minority Parent*

The correspondence to LACBE about the walkouts suggests that Angelenos across classes, and regions overwhelmingly opposed the walkouts. However, some correspondence came from a small numerical minority that supported them. Virginia Almaraz, who described herself as “the mother of seven children” from Gardena, California offered her personal experiences having been a student at Jordan High School in Watts. In supporting the student demonstrations, she admitted, “I am the mother of seven children, so I’m no kid. But, if I went to school today I would do the same thing as they are doing.”<sup>171</sup> “When I went there [Jordan High School],” Almaraz recollected, “the teachers did not care if you knew the school work or not. All they care about was if you were a good kid. If you gave them no trouble you got an ‘A’, if you did, you got below a ‘C’.”<sup>172</sup> Her unpleasant experiences at Jordan High School led her to enroll her children in parochial school. “Because being Mexican-Americans, this way they have a better chance to get to college. I know that if they went to a Los Angeles City School they would never have this chance,” she explained.<sup>173</sup> She asserted that attending a Los Angeles public school would severely limit a Mexican American student’s chances of attending college. She reasoned that limited resources, indifferent teachers, explained why the students had protested for better educational opportunities.

Almaraz empathized with the parents of the protesting students. She offered insights into why parents had allowed their children to participate in the walkouts:

Because they [the parents] remember when they went to school. If they had gotten a better education, they would have better paying jobs today. They would have better homes. This is why they let them walk out. They want something better for their own children. They want them to have more than they ever had or will have. Without an education you just can’t get ahead.<sup>174</sup>

She believed that many of the parents of the student demonstrators had been subjected to the same substandard education and indifferent attitudes from public school teachers. Continuing

her generational analysis, Almaraz noted, “Our parents who moved here did not know what we were going through at school. But we can see what our children feel. In my case, what the students of East LA feel.”<sup>175</sup> While her generation accepted and endured difficulties at school, her children’s generation did not remain quiet. She concluded by asking: “How can you get a job, if you can’t read?” and “How can a person ever get to college if the schools don’t teach the children what they have to know?”<sup>176</sup> Almaraz’s questions highlighted that Chicanos and other minorities sought middle-class respectability, attainable through quality education and a college degree leading to good-paying jobs. Though living outside the central and east regions of Los Angeles, Almaraz sympathized with the demonstrators not only because she had a common heritage but also because she had experienced similar challenges in public school. Her letter represented scant correspondence supportive of the East L.A. student protests.<sup>177</sup>

#### *East L.A. Teachers Debate Student Unrest*

Many faculty associations from throughout the city began to deluge LACBE with letters condemning the student unrest and LACBE’s response to the unrest. While a majority of teachers at Jefferson High School had supported the students’ demands, including appointing an African American principal, teachers from Garfield High School argued over the East L.A. demonstrations. Opposition to student activism came from the self-proclaimed “loyal members of the James A. Garfield Faculty.” They charged, “The walkouts and demonstrations in a number of Eastside schools last week have caused almost irreparable damage to our school.”<sup>178</sup> More specifically, they assessed that “the damage to faculty and student morale was great.”<sup>179</sup> The faculty criticized student demonstrators, condemned their methods, and publicly disparaged the student protesters as low achievers.<sup>180</sup> With their feelings clearly hurt, the faculty explained, “What has hurt even more, though, has been the refusal of the Board of Education to openly back the various administrations and faculties during the crisis.”<sup>181</sup> The faculty therefore believed the board did not support teachers during the demonstrations.<sup>182</sup>

Worried that the demonstrations would have a negative educational effect on students who did not participate, the faculty inquired, “Have the students who didn’t walk out been taught a lesson in negative education by the Board? Will these students begin to be conditioned to the idea that you can get what you want even if you break the law?”<sup>183</sup> Additionally, the Garfield faculty worried about the teachers’ ability to reassert their authority in the classroom.

Threatened by the possibilities of diminishing teacher authority, the Garfield faculty asked, “Has the very necessary relationship between teacher and student been changed? That is, will the students be able now to subordinate themselves to the discipline and competence of the teacher?”<sup>184</sup> The faculty interpreted the public student unrest as challenging teachers’ authority inside the classroom.

The Garfield faculty chastised teachers who supported the students, and declared, “Probably the greatest emotional blow that this whole affair has caused touches upon the question of teacher loyalty.”<sup>185</sup> Having “seen a few of our colleagues repeatedly violate this responsibility by openly advocating walkout to a virtually captive audience of students in the sanctuary of their classrooms,” the self-proclaimed “loyal members of the James A. Garfield Faculty” believed these particular teachers had “lied, exaggerated, and distorted information so that they could get the students out in the streets,” thus showing “no concern for the safety and welfare of the students.”<sup>186</sup>

In particular, the Garfield faculty criticized Sal Castro who played a central role in helping the students organize the walkouts in East L.A. schools. The Garfield faculty labeled Castro “the virtual general of the walkout and the author of many of the most radical of the demands made by the demonstrators.”<sup>187</sup> Castro, according to the faculty, “dismissed the loss of class time by the students and the serious possibility of violence” as “unimportant.”<sup>188</sup> Frustrated by a lack of punishment against Castro, the faculty noted that although high ranking officials of the Office of Urban Affairs, an arm of the Board, were “duty bound” to report this teacher, “the Board didn’t do anything about it.”<sup>189</sup> “But as far as we do know,” the faculty elaborated, “this person is still free to use and influence young people either in or out of school.”<sup>190</sup>

In closing, the “confused and upset” Garfield faculty expressed that it had been a victim of “abuse from radical elements in the community without the opportunity to defend ourselves and without the support of our own Board of Education.”<sup>191</sup> The faculty further condemned the teachers siding with the student demonstrators and LACBE.<sup>192</sup> These teachers may have enjoyed unquestioned authority over their students previously, but the protesters and teachers like Sal Castro had clearly threatened their way of life.

Mexican American teachers also had complex and passionate views about the student unrest and LACBE’s response. Although identity politics played a major role in the student protests and their aftermath, being a Mexican American teacher in the East L.A. area schools did

not translate to unqualified support for the protests. The Garfield Mexican American faculty members responded more directly to the student protests but offered some very contradictory perspectives. In its statement, the Garfield Mexican American faculty did not condone “the initial walk-out ... at Garfield High School,” yet did not “condemn the intent behind it.”<sup>193</sup> The Mexican American teachers praised the Garfield student body for handling itself “admirably” and the faculty members for being “open-minded and sensitive to the problems that existed during the ‘boycott.’”<sup>194</sup>

While their statements about the student walkouts were contradictory, the Mexican American teachers at Garfield offered a cultural criticism of the East L.A. community for its collective lack of emphasis on education. They argued, “In general, the Mexican-American family does not emphasize education to the degree necessary for success in the entire society. This apathy, in turn, leads to many problems inherent in the high school years of the student.”<sup>195</sup> This student, the Garfield faculty summarized, would become an “EDUCATIONAL CRIPPLE.”<sup>196</sup> While supporting every effort “to make certain that children of the future receive the necessary preparation prior to entering the kindergarten,” the Mexican American faculty members wanted Mexican Americans to develop a love of learning during early childhood so it that would translate to success in school later on in life.<sup>197</sup>

The Mexican American faculty at Garfield therefore believed that educational shortcomings in minority schools originated from a lack of family support. To off-set this condition, they recommended improving Mexican American children’s early education, including: head start programs, pre-school to impart “[m]otivation, preparation, skills, love of learning, hunger for schooling.”<sup>198</sup> They also introduced the idea of “nursery schools within the elementary school plant that will afford a conditioning process that some homes may not be able to give.”<sup>199</sup> They called these ideas “preventative medicine” to combat educational apathy. Yet, the faculty stressed that “the fundamental skill necessary to all pupils is reading.”<sup>200</sup>

The Mexican American Garfield faculty members addressed the demands of the Student Strike Committee of Garfield High School, the group of students responsible for the planning of the walkouts there. The faculty often employed different wording or simply amended the students’ demands, possibly to differentiate their ideas slightly from those of the student protesters. However, to some degree, they agreed with many of the students’ demands.<sup>201</sup> For example, in response to the students’ demands for smaller class size, more time devoted to

individual students, and a “team teaching approach,” the faculty supported an increase in the “assignment of more teaching assistants.”<sup>202</sup> While the student protesters demanded that the “counselor/student” ratio be reduced “so as to enable the counselor to appropriately counsel his students” and that “[a]ll counselors should speak Spanish,” the Mexican American faculty members agreed with the reduction in student-to-counselor ratio, but scoffed at the idea that all counselors should speak Spanish.<sup>203</sup> Rather, they proposed that counselors “should be encouraged to learn Spanish but not to make demands on them.”<sup>204</sup>

The Mexican American students accused teachers of not understanding the Chicano students’ culture and the community’s challenges. The Mexican American teachers from Garfield responded, “We only add that we should be more sensitive and understanding to these problems.”<sup>205</sup> Implying that I.Q. tests were biased, ethnocentric, and ultimately obstructed the school system’s ability to accurately gauge the intelligence of students from minority communities, the students called for abolishing I.Q. tests and developing “valid student testing techniques.” The Mexican American teachers at Garfield High School vehemently disagreed stating, “We do not agree that present I.Q. tests should be abolished.”<sup>206</sup> On other important issues, including accessibility to restrooms, disallowing assigning students to janitorial services, and codifying school punishments, the Mexican American teachers at Garfield High School were largely sympathetic.<sup>207</sup>

The Mexican American Garfield teachers’ nuanced revisions to the students’ demands revealed their status of middle-class professional and ideas about middle-class respectability different from the ideas from students’ Mexican American working-class background. Though the members of both groups noted their Mexican American background, class proved a powerful signifier that influenced their worldviews. These teachers sympathized with some of the student protesters’ demands, but they silenced or deemphasized their connections to their Mexican American community and culture, while seeking to reaffirm teacher control in schools.

#### *Community Activists Carry on the East L.A. Student Activists’ Struggle for Improved Education*

The East L.A. student demonstrations garnered the attention of LACBE members and the city, and in their aftermath, and, sensing an opportunity to effect many policy changes, adult East L.A. community activists continued calls for improved education in predominantly Mexican American schools. In a March 18 LACBE meeting, and upon the request of board President

Hardy, Lincoln High School teacher Sal Castro addressed the board and presented a list of demands authored by the Educational Issues Committee (EIC), also known as the Educational Issues Coordinating Committee (EICC), that closely mirrored the East L.A. student demands based on Mexican American culture. The EIC, a significant coalition of twenty-five Mexican American organizations headed by chairman Reverend Vahac Mardirosian, was closely aligned with Sal Castro and the Blowout Committee.<sup>208</sup> According to Sal Castro, the EIC was the outcome of a transition in which adults took over the efforts of the student demonstrators.<sup>209</sup> Reverend Mardirosian declared, “But now it is up to the adults to take over. We are not going to allow this situation to continue. We are not going to let young people below the age of eighteen to do the work that belongs to us.”<sup>210</sup> Having reformulated the student demands, the EIC outlined twenty-six policy demands to improve Mexican American schools.<sup>211</sup>

The EIC categorized the demands according to the most pressing needs, namely academic issues, administrative issues, school facilities, and student rights.<sup>212</sup> The EIC topped its list of demands with: “No student or teacher will be reprimanded or suspended for participating in any efforts which are executed for the purpose of improving or furthering the educational quality of our schools.”<sup>213</sup> The EIC wanted to ensure that students and teachers could freely engage in future demonstrations for educational improvements. In its second key demand, the EIC proposed mandatory bicultural and bilingual education in schools where Mexican Americans students constituted the numerical *majority* of the population. The participation of non-Mexican American students in bicultural and bilingual education would be voluntary. The proposal also asked “all staff” to be “proficient” in Spanish and to “increase their understanding of the history, traditions, and contributions of the Mexican culture.”<sup>214</sup> The EIC asked school administrators to learn Spanish.<sup>215</sup>

In a strong gesture to halt racism and to secure respect for Mexican American students and their community, the EIC demanded that administrators and teachers who showed any form of prejudice toward Mexican or Mexican American students, “including failure to recognize, understand, and appreciate Mexican culture and heritage, will be removed from East Los Angeles schools.”<sup>216</sup> The EIC also recommended that only area superintendents could suspend students, thereby taking away authority from counselors and school principals.<sup>217</sup> In addition, the EIC asked that teachers not use students to perform janitorial duties as punishment for unruly behavior.

Regarding academic issues, the EIC wanted to publicize a teacher's "failure ratio" to make public school teachers more accountable for their students' success or failure, and to avoid stigmatizing failing students. The proposal outlined teacher repercussions, including: "Any teacher having a particularly high percentage of the total school dropouts in his classes shall be rated by the Citizens Review Board composed of members of the Educational Issues Committee."<sup>218</sup> This proposal placed responsibility of student success or failure upon the teachers.

On student rights, the EIC advocated for open, unhindered student body elections; student surveys that would rank teachers and administrators; doing away with a student dress code; improving cafeteria food; providing students with access to restrooms and school buildings during school hours; and administering corporal punishment "according to State Law."<sup>219</sup>

In consideration of the students' larger concerns, the EIC reframed student demands into more concrete and nuanced recommendations into discernible categories that would elicit a direct response from LACBE and the superintendent.<sup>220</sup> Following the statements by student and community activists, Dr. Nava proposed a special meeting at Lincoln High School for Tuesday, March 26.<sup>221</sup> Mr. Gardner seconded the motion, and the board agreed to hold the meeting.<sup>222</sup>

On March 26, 1968, LABCE held a marathon four-hour special meeting at Lincoln High School, with Superintendent Crowther and his staff responding to a majority of EIC proposals that essentially represented the East L.A. student demands.<sup>223</sup> The 1100-seat gym was filled to capacity and another thirty seats were added for the members of the media. Facing the large crowd, six of the seven board members and Superintendent Crowther sat on the stage, with a dozen staff members sitting behind them.<sup>224</sup> Lincoln High School teacher Sal Castro and EIC chairman Mardirosian attended the meeting. Other EIC members in attendance included Oscar Acosta, an attorney; Juan Gomez, a graduate student from UCLA; and David Sanchez, professor of mathematics at UCLA. Speaking before LACBE, Sal Castro asked that students, teachers, and the East L.A. community have the opportunity to request clarification for each of the Superintendent's counter proposals.<sup>225</sup> President Hardy indicated that Superintendent Crowther had responses to each of the thirty-six demands,<sup>226</sup> and requested superintendent office staff members to read them aloud before the capacity crowd.<sup>227</sup>

On the EIC's demand to appoint administrators of Mexican American descent at majority Mexican American schools, Superintendent Crowther's office responded that board policy

permitted the district to assign teachers to schools of the teacher's choice.<sup>228</sup> The superintendent's office blamed Mexican American teachers for not choosing to work at predominantly Mexican American schools. The superintendent office's then connected their comments about Spanish-surname teachers with the EIC's concern for a lack of Mexican American administrators, stating, "Likewise, there is an inadequate number of Spanish-surname teachers who hold administrative credentials and are eligible to move into administrative positions."<sup>229</sup> The superintendent's office argued that existing policies and programs to promote increasing minority numbers in administrative positions already existed, and that their success or failure depended on teacher participation.<sup>230</sup>

The superintendent's office addressed the issue of bilingualism, an issue increasingly significant to the Mexican American community. Student demonstrators and the EIC had demanded that "Mexican-American or Spanish speaking persons should be encouraged to become administrators, counselors, and Child Welfare and Attendance workers."<sup>231</sup> The superintendent's office acknowledged this necessity, calling it "highly desirable," but pointed to existing Spanish language programs, in which "some 2,000 teachers, administrators, child welfare and attendance workers, and classified employees" attended.<sup>232</sup> The district also offered: workshops in conversational Spanish for high school counselors, opportunities that had existed for the past three years and extra pay incentives for "bi-lingual ability for classified personnel."<sup>233</sup>

In addition to bilingual personnel, East L.A. students demanded mandatory bilingual and bicultural education "for Mexican-Americans in the Los Angeles School system where there is a majority of Mexican-American students."<sup>234</sup> The fairly sympathetic superintendent's staff reported that it was "highly desirable" to offer some bilingual/bicultural education.<sup>235</sup> The staff claimed that a recent change in state law the previous year made bilingual education possible if it was "educationally advantageous for the pupils."<sup>236</sup>

The LACBE meeting included important exchanges about free speech. A student and EIC demand, that "[n]o teacher should be dismissed or transferred because of his political views and/or philosophical disagreements with administrators," appeared to be an effort to shield supportive teachers, including Sal Castro, from retribution by the district, the superintendent, and LACBE. The superintendent responded with contradictory language, initially acknowledging, "It is agreed that no teacher should be dismissed, transferred, or have his status affected in any way because of his political views and/or philosophical disagreements with administrators".<sup>237</sup>

“However,” the superintendent’s staff added that it was “contrary to Board policy for a teacher to air and espouse his personal views in the classroom or with pupil groups on campus.”<sup>238</sup> The superintendent’s office concluded, “No teacher has the right to encourage students to violate school rules and regulations.”<sup>239</sup> Therefore, the superintendent’s office did not rule out punishing any teachers supportive of the student demonstrations. Finally on the issue of cultural sensitivity, the superintendent’s office agreed with the students and argued that the superintendent’s office had already developed and instituted programs to increase teacher cultural sensitivity.

Sensing that he and others might become targets of punishment or dismissal by the district, and were susceptible to criminal charges, Sal Castro reiterated before LACBE that no student or teacher should be “reprimanded or suspended for participating” in the walkouts, and added that “charges should be dropped against any individual who was arrested by the police if the charges were in connection with the Blow-outs.”<sup>240</sup> Superintendent Crowther offered an unapologetic response, which attempted to pit students and teachers against each other. “Teachers and students, in their efforts to secure improvement of school programs,” he said, “must recognize that other students and members of school staffs also have rights.”<sup>241</sup> He explained, “Therefore, they should be fully aware of the need to express their opinions in a manner that will avoid disruptive situations and interference with the educational program of the schools.”<sup>242</sup> Pointing out existing “established channels of communication,” he concluded, “Walkouts and other idsruptive [sic] acts have served their purpose. No further useful purpose would be served by further similar disruptive acts.”<sup>243</sup> In response to Castro’s call on the district to drop any criminal charges against demonstrators, Crowther indicated that police actions were “outside his authority.”<sup>244</sup>

LACBE passed additional motions that essentially removed or limited LACBE and the school district from punishing student demonstrators and supportive teachers.<sup>245</sup> LACBE passed a motion to refer the matter of the walkouts to the County Counsel.<sup>246</sup> Dr. Nava proposed another motion declaring that LACBE did not have “any intention of assigning disciplinary action against students or teachers who were engaged in the walkout through March 11, 1968.”<sup>247</sup> LACBE carried it unanimously. The board seemingly granted summary amnesty to students and teachers who took part in the demonstrations. However, criminal matters were not the purview of LACBE.

In response to Castro's request "to drop charges against individuals arrested by the police if the charges were in connection with any of the walkouts," Nava advised communicating the successful immunity motion to the District Attorney, Chief of Police, and County Sheriff to "possibly influence these agencies to drop charges against persons arrested."<sup>248</sup> After some discussion, board member Mr. Gardner instead proposed, "That the Superintendent . . . be directed to request from the District Attorney, the City Attorney, the Chief of Police, and the Sheriff information as to the charges currently filed against employees or school students which may have arisen out of actions connected with the walkouts."<sup>249</sup> This alternate motion passed unanimously. Although LACBE was not considering disciplinary charges against student demonstrators and teachers, this did not indicate that the city of Los Angeles was not going to charge participants in the walkouts with criminal charges. Community activists had convinced LACBE not to punish students and teachers. Ultimately, the decision to charge any demonstrators criminally rested with the district attorney. On May 31, 1968, the city of Los Angeles arrested and charged Castro with disturbing the peace.<sup>250</sup> Subsequently, LACBE removed Sal Castro from his teaching position at Lincoln High School.<sup>251</sup>

The superintendent's office agreed, sometimes partly and sometimes fully, with many of the student demands *outlined by the EIC*, and sometimes its recommendations were inconclusive. However, the student demonstrators clearly triumphed on a few issues. The superintendent agreed with students who complained about paper and trash pick-up as a form of punishment.<sup>252</sup> The students had a partial victory on grading policies, as the superintendent's office explained that they were reviewed "from time to time." Not coincidentally, a grade review was ongoing at the time of the meeting. The superintendent also agreed with the student's idea that teachers "of the non-English speaking should have adequate knowledge of Spanish."<sup>253</sup> In principle, the superintendent approved the student demand by promising compensatory reading programs to help students in both regular and remedial classes. In response to students clamoring for full access to restroom facilities throughout the day, the superintendent argued that administrators had closed restrooms due to student misconduct, such as smoking, or plumbing problems. Nonetheless, he declared that students should have unrestricted access to restrooms, although with some adult supervision to ensure good behavior.

Overall, the students made some nominal gains as well as important tangible gains. Although the superintendent's recommendations did not translate to new policy, they had the

potential of becoming policy contingent on LACBE approval. The board and superintendent took the demonstrations seriously enough to have a meeting and a complete report that responded to each demand. The shortcomings of the superintendent's recommendations from the perspective of East L.A. activists were numerous because the superintendent's office claimed that solutions were in progress or that any additional efforts were unnecessary. Also, on some issues, the superintendent's office placed the responsibility of implementing solutions solely on the local school and community, virtually absolving itself of any failures by the schools and community.<sup>254</sup>

### *Political Divisions in East L.A. Emerge*

Events during the March 26 meeting demonstrated political divisions within the East L.A. community – a fragmented community - with some students and parents expressing their displeasure with the walkouts. These political divisions were based on a diversity of opinion about who better represented the East L.A. community, and essentially compelled LACBE to make a choice: either to acquiesce to the demands of the student demonstrators or to reject the activists' calls for new policy changes. Castro, EIC members, and other community activists attempted to control the discourse over who represented the East L.A. community, and expressed their discontent by walking out of the meeting after Superintendent Crowther's office responded to several student and EIC demands. When Georgiana Hardy offered others to speak before LACBE, according to the *El Sereno Star*, "Sanchez, Mardirosian, and others of the militants objected while Juan Gomez took the microphone and complained that some of the proposed speakers 'no longer represent the community.'"<sup>255</sup> Juan Montez, who described himself as "the minister of public relations for the Brown Berets," demanded that a Citizen's Review Board negotiate the "issues," and called speakers unassociated with the student demonstrators "sell-outs."<sup>256</sup>

The community activists continually relied on walkouts to emphasize their discontent. After an upset father complained that his daughter, a Garfield High School student, had been enrolled in French Four without ever taking a course in French, EIC member Oscar Acosta, the *El Sereno Star* reported, took him away from the microphone, and "there was a mass walkout of about six or seven hundred, including five Brown Berets who had sat in the front row and reacted

loudly at times.<sup>257</sup> After the majority of the attendees left, only about 200 people remained and LACBE readied “to hear the moderates complain about walkout tactics.”<sup>258</sup>

The divisions within the East L.A. community became more apparent after activists walked out. Naomi Quiñones, a high school student from Wilson High asserted, “I’m thankful the majority at Wilson are not with the blowout group.”<sup>259</sup> She added: “They don’t want ot [*sic*] hear the other side. I feel the Mexican-American culture should be a dignified culture.”<sup>260</sup> A parent who identified himself as “a 1937 dropout,” and whose children all attended parochial schools, “scolded the students for their behavior and told them they ‘don’t make sense.’”<sup>261</sup> The crowd booed him and called him a “sell-out.”<sup>262</sup> The opponents of the walkouts claimed they, and not the community activists, represented the East L.A. community.

Disagreements between East L.A. community activists and residents represented only one dimension of the political fragmentation in the community, with teachers at East L.A. schools representing another dimensions of this condition. In March 28, 1968, LACBE’s regular meeting revealed this rift among teachers. Teacher Carmen Terraza, from the Committee of Teachers from Theodore Roosevelt High School, a diverse teacher faculty of Spanish surname, English surname, and Japanese background, took a more drastic approach in her response to the walkouts. She presented a petition for forty-nine transfers because “the Board had created a disruptive atmosphere greatly hindering efforts to teach classes.”<sup>263</sup> In addition, twenty-two other teachers *ineligible* for transfers under board regulations signed a petition asking for transfers, also citing “the lack of support on the part of our Board” and “a disruptive atmosphere” in schools.<sup>264</sup>

At least 101 other teachers from Roosevelt High School signed a letter voicing their frustration over the board’s openness to the protesters’ demands, accusing LACBE of “not considering the welfare of the teachers or the vast majority of students.”<sup>265</sup> The Roosevelt teachers clarified that “no teacher whose name appears on this petition wishes to leave Roosevelt” and that “this petition is intended to reflect our loyalty to our school and our deep concern for our students.”<sup>266</sup> The letter focused on issues such as teacher morale, good citizenship on the part of students, and the effects of a “small radical faction” planning and participating in the student walkouts.<sup>267</sup> The Roosevelt teachers also accused the Brown Berets of not being “good Americans” because they did not stand to salute the flag at a March 8 meeting at Lincoln High School.<sup>268</sup>

William Lambert, representing the 18,000 teachers of the Los Angeles Teachers Alliance and Affiliated Teachers Organization of Los Angeles (LATA-ATOLA),<sup>269</sup> expressed teachers' concerns about threats and intimidation for criticizing the walkouts, the lack of order within the teaching environment, continuing "class disruptions as a result of rumors of walkouts," and the board's "praise for students who have taken the law into their own hands."<sup>270</sup> Although he criticized the walkouts as "self-defeating,"<sup>271</sup> Lambert proceeded to claim that many of the student demands were the same as those requested by teachers through their Negotiating Council.<sup>272</sup> Lambert criticized the teachers who requested transfers because he believed that teachers and students should work together in addressing educational concerns. Trying to reach a balance between the needs of students and teachers, Lambert asked, "What good will it do any child if irresponsible actions cause our best qualified teachers to transfer out of the affected schools?"<sup>273</sup> "Without qualified teachers to put them into effect," Lambert warned, "any reforms gained are meaningless."<sup>274</sup> He concluded with a conciliatory tone inviting the walkout leaders to "join with the teachers in seeking the answers to the problems."<sup>275</sup>

The fragmented views about the student walkouts at predominantly Mexican American schools naturally extended into the student bodies at these schools, and exposed that the walkout student activists did not have a monopoly on student activism. On one side, the student activists who walked out of classes in early March and, on the other, students who believed the walkouts undermined education at Mexican American schools and undercut cultural pride, too clashed over who represented the Mexican American community. An anti-Blowout student organization, C.A.S.T.R.O., which stood for Chicanos Against Student Teacher Radical Objectives, presented its own opinions about the walkouts. C.A.S.T.R.O. distributed a pamphlet with a scathing anti-Blowout message. The group outlined the organization's ideas:

Chicanos Against Student Teacher Radical Objectives is a newly formed organization of concerned Mexican American students and young adults whose main objectives [*sic*] to combat the forces bent on mob rule, detrimental actions against our educational system, use of students to gain their personal ends, and general militancy which manifests itself into the outright breakdown of established order. Our motto is ... HELL NO WE WON'T GO!<sup>276</sup>

In contrast to the student protesters and the Brown Berets who questioned authority, C.A.S.T.R.O. emphasized law and order. C.A.S.T.R.O. students believed they genuinely

represented the Mexican American community and argued that the walkouts undermined education in their neighborhood schools.

Another group of students submitted its own petitions to the board at the March 28 meeting. Theodore Roosevelt High School students collected an astounding 2171 signatures, roughly 68% of the student body, from a diverse student population opposing the student walkouts that included students of “Spanish surname,” and Chinese, Vietnamese and Japanese backgrounds. The petition claimed that the true Mexican American majority had to voice its disagreement of the walkouts, its support for the school faculty, and its concerns over teachers seeking to transfer out of the affected schools.<sup>277</sup> The students conveyed their disapproval the walkouts because they caused teacher transfer requests:

A large number of our school faculty has put in for transfers as a result of the mounting disturbances by a small militant faction. We believe that this is causing more harm than [*sic*] good to the education quality of our schools. Any further demonstrations by any militant group will cause devastating affects [*sic*] on our education. Therefore, we stand firmly in opposition to any further walkouts or boycotts.<sup>278</sup>

The petition further alleged that the student demonstrators had “destroyed pupil morale and has succeeded in disrupting the atmosphere where teaching can take place.”<sup>279</sup> “Are we going to allow this to happen? Are we going to stand and wait for this movement to take its course and accept the distruction [*sic*] it will cause?” the petitioners asked.<sup>280</sup> Claiming that the student demonstrators did not represent the numerical majority of the community, the petition read, “We believe that the true majority should be listened to by the Board of Education, the Administration, the community, and the News media.”<sup>281</sup> “As a [numerical] majority we must voice our views and show our support for our faculty and our school. We owe to our faculty the respect as professional educators and the support they deserve during this crucial time,” the petition read.<sup>282</sup> Clearly at odds with the student activists’ tactics, 2171 Roosevelt students from diverse backgrounds challenged the walkout activists’ claims of representing the true educational needs of the East L.A. community.

### *The Process of Implementing New Educational Policy*

Although LACBE and the superintendent had previously offered responses to the East L.A. student demands and conveyed some openness to and in some cases agreement with them in principle, these responses had not become official education policy. The South-Central L.A.

students had a new African American principal and courses in African American history were forthcoming. Changes at Jefferson High School represented tangible changes in response to the African American student demands. Weary of LACBE inaction, East L.A. community activists held mass rallies to pressure LACBE to enact new educational policy based on the East L.A. student demands.

In *The Los Angeles Plaza: Sacred and Contested Space*, William David Estrada recounted the history of Los Angeles, with a focus on the multiracial and multicultural roots of the Los Angeles Plaza (also known as La Placita and the Placita Olvera), and the location's importance as a site of cultural and political importance. In early April, La Placita again served as a place of political significance as the vocal grassroots organization of the Educational Issues Coordinating Committee led by Reverend Vahac Mardirosian gathered there to rally political pressure against LACBE to enact new educational policy to meet the East L.A. student demands. In a flyer in Spanish circulated by the EIC, the committee declared: "They continue to fool us ... INSULTS! LIES! EMPTY PROMISES! BUT NO DEEDS" (my translation).<sup>283</sup>

On April 1, LACBE began developing new educational policies by accepting, in part or in full, some student demands and rejecting others, in a gradual process that included deferring much responsibility to the superintendent's office and external committees to study how to implement the new policy.<sup>284</sup> The board's April 1 meeting in many ways illustrated why the East L.A. community activists had resorted to some heavy-handed strategies to compel LACBE to implement new education policy to meet their demands instead of pursuing formal channels. The board collectively began to dissect the East L.A. student demands, sometimes scrutinizing each sentence, which ensured that the board would not come to any decisive education policy promptly. In circumstances when the board passed definite motions, the motions invariably expressed decisions undermining the student demands.

Many culturally based student demands centered not only on improving education for Mexican American students but also on issues that challenged unequal treatment of Mexican American students within the district. The board addressed the student demand relating to Mexican American school administrators in two parts. First, board member Richardson introduced a motion calling for all Mexican American administrators in schools with a majority of "Mexican-American descent students."<sup>285</sup> The board defeated the motion by a four to zero vote, with Chambers abstaining. Secondly, the board indirectly responded to the issue of

training programs that would provide a “cadre of Mexican-American administrators.”<sup>286</sup> The board members relied on a plan presented in an earlier board meeting by Superintendent Crowther to create an administrative training program for minorities. The board passed the following motion: “THAT the Superintendent be requested to report expeditiously and from time to time on the success of his announced program to train and recruit administrators of minority extraction.”<sup>287</sup> Relying exclusively on the superintendent to develop and establish an administrative program for minorities, the board’s motion lacked enforcement. LACBE did not give Crowther a timetable, and it assumed that the program would be a success without creating a mechanism to ensure its successful implementation.

The board agreed almost unconditionally on the students’ demand for bilingual personnel, but again deferred responsibility to the superintendent’s office to report on developing these programs. Nava and other board members passed a motion that stated, “THAT the Board agrees with this request in principle and asks the Superintendent to make a report to the Board regarding the development of programs to this end.”<sup>288</sup> Resembling the motion to grant Superintendent Crowther the power to develop and implement minority administration programs, this motion cleared the board of responsibility as well. The superintendent’s office was again solely responsible for developing a program for bilingual personnel. Again, the board did not create a mechanism to ensure the program’s timely and successful implementation.

The board passed a litany of motions that relegated analyses of several other student demands to outside committees. On the issue of student assemblies, the board referred analysis to the Personnel and Schools Committee. On other demands associated with bilingual instruction, the board referred them to the Educational Development Committee. On the issues of a new building and building “rehabilitation,” the board referred the items to the Building Committee. Splitting their responses on issues involving cafeteria food, the board referred to Superintendent Crowther the proposal of serving foods that catered to the tastes of students of Mexican descent, and referred to the Auxiliary Services Committee the concern of improving the quality and service of cafeteria food for students and teachers. Finally, on the volatile issue of corporal punishment, the board referred the issue to the Personnel and Schools Committee.<sup>289</sup>

On April 4, 1968, at the urging of board member Dr. Julian Nava, LACBE continued developing new policy related to the Blowouts.<sup>290</sup> Free press was one of the major issues up for discussion. School administrators wanted LACBE to limit, if not outlaw, fliers and other forms

of print material from circulating on school premises. Los Angeles Police Department Chief Reddin had hinted that print materials circulated in several high schools foreshadowed student unrest. Others blamed print materials for fomenting student discontent. LACBE member Richardson suggested calling on Superintendent Crowther to offer ways of implementing a policy that “increase[d] flexibility and freedom in the distribution and availability of printed materials on high school campuses.”<sup>291</sup> The motion passed with four ayes, and one abstention from Chambers.

Though the motion gave the impression that LACBE supported free press in the schools, a closer analysis reveals the snails-pace of the bureaucratic process leading to the implementation of any policy, frustrating student and community activists alike. LACBE did not vote to grant unrestrained freedom of the press to student and activists on campuses. Instead, it stated it “desires to increase” freedom in distribution and availability of materials. Accordingly, the motion called on the superintendent to develop procedures and policy about free press that would *then* be referred to LACBE for a vote. At that point, the policy would be at the mercy of board, whose members could further debate and even reject the superintendent’s recommendation. The issue of closing restrooms as a form of punish against students offered a different example where LACBE could simply not vote on an issue. Board members Nava and Gardner offered several motions responsive to the students who clamored for access to restrooms, which no other board member seconded.<sup>292</sup> Dr. Nava warned the board that if he received any evidence showing that administrators used restroom closures as a way to punish students, he would bring up the issue for discussion and present evidence.<sup>293</sup>

LACBE demonstrated indifference to East L.A. student activists’ request to waive grade requirements in student body elections. Nava offered to democratize the process by not restricting “candidacy for school offices according to grades,” however the rest of the board received the motion with apathy. Board member Gardner went so far as to say that because each school’s constitution included qualifications for student offices “adopted by the student bodies,” he could see “no reason for publicly stating there is no Board policy on this issue.”<sup>294</sup> He thereby deferred responsibility of student election guidelines to each school. The meeting’s proceedings demonstrated the difficulties students and community activists faced in their struggles to change education policy. The bureaucratic process was painstakingly slow.

The students' efforts nonetheless made tangible progress. On April 12, 1968, Max J. Barney, Clerk of the Board of Education, publicized a list of LACBE resolutions to nine student demands.<sup>295</sup> LACBE members passed these motions with a necessary majority vote generally in agreement with some aspects of the student demands ranging from the makeup of the school administration to accessibility of free press on school campuses. Afterwards, the board sent the agreed-upon motions to any of five school district committees to develop plans for implementation.<sup>296</sup> After each committee developed a plan for implementation, LACBE would receive it, discuss it, and then either make changes to it or accept it. Then, if necessary, the board would vote for or against implementing policy based on any revisions to any recommendations. It was an arduous process, one vehemently criticized by activists and little understood by individuals who criticized the activists and asked them to make appeals through "legal" or "formal" channels. The legal and formal channels were gradual, and highly impermeable to change. If change occurred, it occurred at a snail's pace, further activists.

The student activists won some important victories during the April 15 LACBE meeting, however the board's motions again often highlighted Superintendent Crowther's responses to the student demands rather than crediting the students for raising the issues in the first place. Many of the superintendent office's responses *often* supported the student demands in varying degrees, and LACBE passed several motions enshrining the superintendent's proposals as new education policy. With this slight-of-hand, LACBE effectively nullified any recognition of the student activists' influence and contributions, and instead credited Superintendent Crowther and his staff.

LACBE agreed in principle with student activists who called for a reduction in class size.<sup>297</sup> However, the board disagreed on the specific demand to reduce the student-teacher ratio to 20:1 based not only for a lack of funding but also on the difficulty of obtaining the necessary additional teachers and building construction.<sup>298</sup> On the issue of cleanup policy, LACBE agreed with the "position statement reported by the Superintendent," in which his office declared, "Custodians are school board employees assigned to the 'housekeeping' functions. We agree that students should not be kept out of class and punished by being asked to pick up paper or trash."<sup>299</sup> The board passed a motion in support of the statement by a four to one vote, with Chambers abstaining.<sup>300</sup>

On community relations, LACBE agreed with both student activists and the superintendent when it voted unanimously in favor of the school district's continuing efforts to provide workshops at the local and district-wide level to improve community relations.<sup>301</sup> LACBE again did not credit the student activists for raising the issue or for requesting workshops in which "certificated staff" learned about the "background, customs, cultures, and community around [minority] high school[s]."<sup>302</sup> Nevertheless, students gained a worthwhile victory as LACBE and the superintendent agreed with and continued efforts to fulfill this goal.

When the board members addressed the issue of student counseling, all but Jewel Chambers voted in support of the Superintendent Office propositions, which were *wholeheartedly* and *unequivocally* in agreement with the student activists. The students' demand regarding counselors included three components: 1) reducing the ratio of pupils to counselors; 2) providing clerical assistance to counselors; and 3) increasing efforts to recruit and train counselors.<sup>303</sup> On this demand, the Superintendent responded, "It is agreed that all of the points in this section are extremely valid. They are generally the same objectives which [the superintendent's] staff has attempted to have implemented for the last several years."<sup>304</sup> The superintendent admitted, however, "Lack of funds has not made it possible to reduce the ratio of pupils to counselors, although federal funds have improved counseling programs at Garfield, Lincoln, and Roosevelt high schools during the last two years."<sup>305</sup> Student activists won at least a partial victory.

The board also considered student activists' request to review access to course electives as well as courses in general. Students had argued that sometimes students were turned away from enrolling in courses.<sup>306</sup> LACBE agreed with the superintendent's response, which placed blame on limited "teacher and available physical facilities,"<sup>307</sup> and promised to discuss the issue with school principals. After LACBE discussed some of the demands and the corresponding responses from the Superintendent's Office, President Hardy promised future discussions with a similar focus.

These discussions continued in earnest in late April addressing additional student demands, including a fair grading policy, a less restrictive grooming policy, and grouping.<sup>308</sup> The board enacted particular policies based on the superintendent's findings and did not schedule additional discussions on the issues. On the volatile issue of free speech, however, the board deferred further consideration to a later date because free speech proved an increasingly difficult

issue to resolve. Parents from East L.A. and teachers continued to flood the board with letters opposing free speech and free press on school grounds.<sup>309</sup>

LACBE also addressed curriculum development and I.Q. testing. The board passed a motion based on the superintendent's response to a student demand calling for the inclusion of Chicano history and culture in the curriculum?).<sup>310</sup> Superintendent Crowther reported that "the staff of Los Angeles City School [District] has long recognized the responsibility to make all students familiar and appreciative of the contributions of the various ethnic groups represented within the district."<sup>311</sup> By a six to one vote with one abstention by Chambers, LACBE passed a motion that virtually mirrored the student demand but was broadened to include the contributions of "various ethnic groups." Crowther blamed textbook publishers and a lack of funding for not having more racially and ethnically inclusive textbooks. LACBE decided to direct the Superintendent's Office to hire "someone ... to write material to be made available across the district."<sup>312</sup> On I.Q. testing, LACBE voted in favor of the superintendent's refusal of the student requests to revise I.Q. tests and to allow a "10 per cent leeway for students from communities with different knowledge material."<sup>313</sup>

During the May 13 board meeting, LACBE dealt with the students' demand calling for counselors to permit and encourage students with "non-academic majors" to "take academic courses."<sup>314</sup> The Superintendent's Office had argued that counselors were advised to encourage students to take challenging courses, but "it must be stressed that extreme caution must be exercised in not counselling [*sic*] students into subject areas which are beyond their learning capacities."<sup>315</sup> Nava disagreed with the notion that counselors should take "extreme caution" in counseling minority students to take academic courses, and countered by asserting that students discover their own learning potential.<sup>316</sup> Hardy concurred with Nava and added that counseling must not be done on a racial basis. She offered a fascinating anecdote, recalling a case in which counselors were "too protective" and tried "to save minority students from disappointments."<sup>317</sup> Hardy explained that when she first ran for the school board in 1954, a counselor advised a Japanese student *against* preparing for law school. "[The counselor] said nobody would hire a Japanese attorney so the youth should study horticulture and work on his father's truck farm," Hardy recounted.<sup>318</sup> Board member Gardner did not think the counselor was being protective, and claimed the counselor should have been reprimanded for discouraging a student from entering a particular field based on her or his race. LACBE ultimately enacted a motion

instructing counselors “to encourage students to take courses which challenged their learning potential.”<sup>319</sup> On an issue related to biculturalism, by a six to zero vote with Chambers abstaining, LACBE voted that teachers “of the non-English, Spanish-speaking student should have adequate knowledge of Spanish.”<sup>320</sup> On the issue of library facilities, LACBE committed to reviewing plans for a new Woodrow High School library, as well as “review of space, book, and staffing standards for all School District Libraries.”<sup>321</sup> Therefore the board not only agreed with the students who asked for an expansion of library facilities in East L.A. high schools, it also broadened this request to the entire district.

In late May 1968, LACBE continued to attempt to respond to additional student demands. On the issue of prejudice against minority students, however, the board postponed an amended motion until all board members had an opportunity to review it.<sup>322</sup> Regarding student body elections, the board endorsed the superintendent’s recommendation asking each school to develop its own eligibility rules. LACBE and the Superintendent’s Office effectively rid themselves of any responsibility in developing standard, district-wide election rules for student offices.<sup>323</sup> In the midst of LACBE’s review of the student demands and discussions about new educational policy, a LACBE-commissioned committee studied the East L.A. community’s views about the education in the community generally, and the student demonstrations and integration specifically. Although LACBE did not grant the East Los Angeles Communications Task Force (ELACTF) enforcement powers, the timing of the study, in middle of discussion about new education based on the East L.A. student demands, at least suggested that LACBE would consider the committee’s recommendations seriously.

#### *Integrationists Intervene during Student Demonstration LACBE Hearings*

During the May 13 LACBE meeting, integrationists, possibly seeing their political influence diminished by LACBE’s focus on the student walkouts, spoke before the board and pressed it to halt its open transfer policy and attendance boundaries resulting in segregated schools. These issues were obviously unrelated to the student demonstrations in East L.A. and South-Central L.A. but were central concerns of integrationists. These speakers, according to the *El Sereno Star*, posed specific questions to LACBE over “permits and boundary problems” between Louis Pasteur Junior High School, at 5931 W. 18<sup>th</sup> Street in the Westside, and John Burroughs Junior High School, at 600 McCadden Place in the Wilshire District. Integrationists

charged that attendance permits under LACBE's open enrollment policy allowed white parents to flee minority schools and enroll their children in segregated or increasingly segregated white schools, while minority schools became increasingly segregated minority schools. One speaker, Howard Barsky, contended that, "permits to transfer 'are a scape [*sic*] hatch' used by white parents and their children to avoid integration."<sup>324</sup> A woman in the audience "shouted that the permit group was integrated."<sup>325</sup> Other audience members joined in the shouting.<sup>326</sup> Another speaker, Seymour Robinson, also claimed that the permit system at Burroughs was used "to avoid the goal of integration."<sup>327</sup> However, Melville Nahim, a parent, rejected those criticisms claiming that he had camped out three days at Burroughs and noticed that the group waiting was "divided about equally among Caucasians, Oriental, and Negroes."<sup>328</sup> He added that he did not believe in "discrimination in reverse" and asked LACBE to stand up to "pressure groups."<sup>329</sup> Although four student demands were the focus during this board meeting, discussion about school integration refocused some attention on school segregation, LACBE's open enrollment policy, and busing in Los Angeles.

When addressing issues on integration, LACBE never contemplated that integration efforts could be combined with student demands calling for bilingual, culture-based, compensatory education programs. Instead, LACBE viewed the integration efforts and student demonstrations as separate, at times pitting respective advocates against each other, especially when funding was at stake. Unequal education lay at the root of both integration efforts and student demonstrations. Nonetheless, LACBE opted to deal with these volatile issues separately, without realizing that improving education in minority neighborhoods would help mitigate integration battles, and student demands and protests.

LACBE agreed to delay an integration policy vote until the following Monday in "consideration of four integration measures."<sup>330</sup> Instead, the board deliberated on tentative and precarious integration plans developed by the Ad Hoc Committee on Student Integration (AHC) and the Superintendent's Office in March and April. Two of the busing plans were voluntary and were limited to elementary school pupils.<sup>331</sup> In one plan, the school district would transport students from overcrowded elementary schools in grades four, five, and six to "under-utilized" schools where most of the students were white.<sup>332</sup> In the other plan, the school district would bus white students from a "cluster of elementary schools to one minority area school."<sup>333</sup> At least one of LACBE's integration plans was extremely limited in scope. The AHC estimated that only

“about 900 elementary school students and 1150 junior high school students could be bused from minority areas to ‘other white’ schools with available space.”<sup>334</sup> Considering the hundreds of thousands of students in the Los Angeles school district, the estimates undoubtedly suggested that this plan was unlikely to end or mitigate school segregation. The voluntary nature of these four integration plans restricted their potential success even further, and there was no guarantee that white parents would volunteer to participate in the programs.

Some board members had argued to delay voting on the four busing plans until they knew the costs of busing and high school enrichment programs. A LACBE staff executive reported that “no costs figures can be accurate until next fall” when the number of vacancies were identified.<sup>335</sup> President Hardy favored a vote on the busing plans while Chambers “wanted a decision about financial priorities before he voted.”<sup>336</sup> Hardy stressed, “Parents must have the prerogative [*sic*] of determining whether their children will participate in any program which has integration as a primary thrust and which takes the child away from the home school.”<sup>337</sup>

#### *The East Los Angeles Communications Task Force*

LACBE specifically commissioned the ELACTF to “present opinions, attitudes and major concerns which prevail in the East Los Angeles community concerning the schools.”<sup>338</sup> Among many of its findings, the task force found that the community supported many of the student demands and made recommendations to that effect, but it expanded its investigation further. The committee researched the East L.A.’s community’s views on integration and busing and discovered that although the community as a whole did not support school integration, the student unrest led some parents to consider busing their children in order to pursue better educational opportunities. Parents from East L.A. began contemplating expanding the educational experiences of their children by potentially at least partially disconnecting the cultural ties and transgressing the geographical boundaries in which they lived. In effect, the attitudes of many African Americans and some of “Spanish surname” in L.A. began to converge on the issue of school integration by associating it with “better” education.

In June, the ELACTF submitted its findings to LACBE. The task force called on LACBE to improve education in the neighborhood and to mitigate community concerns about education. The task force studied many of the student demands and concurred with some of the changes “proposed by the nucleus of walkout leaders and students.”<sup>339</sup> The ELACTF also found

that the East L.A. community backed the East L.A. student activists. Such findings lent further credibility to student activists. The task force reported:

Citizens feel removed from school policy matters ... therefore, direct appeal to the Board of Education is increasing ... . The value of the democratic process is being debated. Gains from traditional social action are being compared to the gains of more militant, less responsible techniques. For many, militancy seems to offer the new hope for social change.<sup>340</sup>

To improve community involvement in educational policy making, the task force recommended establishing advisory councils at all elementary schools, training principals to work with the operation of advisory councils, developing advisory council handbooks, and reporting to school district divisions on the progress of the councils.<sup>341</sup>

On the issue of student participation in education politics, the task force found, “Some students are expressing ... that they do not have enough voice in the decisions that affect the student body.” The task force reported that some parents, “uncertain of school details, others deficient in language skills, and still others insecure in the techniques of parliamentary procedure,” deferred their opinions to their children.<sup>342</sup> The ELACTF therefore recommended that principals find “areas of administration” in which students and parents could become involved in administrative decisions; that the college students involved in community leadership become involved in tutoring and counseling school children; and that students become part of school-advisory committees.<sup>343</sup> The task force further credited college students for “filling the leadership vacuum in East Los Angeles” due to “the absence of a strong middle-class school leadership.”<sup>344</sup> It identified the thriving United Mexican-American Students (UMAS) and Mexican-American Student Association (MASA), which the task force called “powerful,” yet divided politically “as to whether they should become totally militant and anti-establishment, or if they will continue to be service oriented and see traditional solutions.”<sup>345</sup>

In studying the merit of the Blowouts, the task force found that even before the walkouts, “responsible school and community people” had made demands comparable to those of the student demonstrators.<sup>346</sup> The task force, in finding that the community agreed with some of the student demonstrators’ demands, recommended the adoption of these demands. The task force acknowledged that the demonstrations were “in part a demand for a policy-making voice.”<sup>347</sup> In an effort to understand the Blowouts, the task force classified student activists into two groups: 1) a militant group that saw “the walkouts as an opportunity for disorder” and 2) a frivolous

group, of mostly students, that had “no dedication to except the excitement of the moment.”<sup>348</sup> It classified the community response into three categories: 1) community leaders who saw the walkouts as a “political opportunity,” but whose involvement in them “with no malice intended,” gave credibility to the walkouts; 2) “community people” who disassociated themselves from the walkouts but believed in school changes and in many of the student demands; and 3) an uncommitted group recruited by all student and community groups.<sup>349</sup>

Whereas student activists demanded bilingual education, Mexican and Chicano history courses, and Spanish language in the classroom, the task force studied a broader issue, “Curriculum Geared to the Mexican-American Student.” The task force was surprised to find many programs set up for the Mexican American student, yet recommended that LACBE try out “ungraded curricula, home-school liaison techniques, original diagnostic devices, language and reading innovations.”<sup>350</sup> On the issue of bilingualism, the task force alleged that “militant citizens” desired it “for its own sake,” while “nonmilitants look upon it as a bridge to the dominant culture.”<sup>351</sup> The task force recommended nominal improvements: more research, and for the school district to remain informed about U.S. Senate Bill 428, a bill that would provide federal funding to school districts to establish education programs for students with limited English speaking skills, “so that money offered can be properly utilized.”<sup>352</sup> Later in 1968, the bill, first introduced by Texas Democratic Senator Ralph Yarborough, became part of the Bilingual Education Act, also known as the Elementary and Secondary Education (ESEA), which was part of the Great Society Programs aimed at improving education in minority neighborhoods. This act demonstrated that East L.A. student activism was part of a broader social reform movement than extended beyond local educational politics.

Responding to student demands for Mexican history, the ELACTF force recommended planning the development and implementation of “Mexican culture” courses, as well as more care in the selection of textbooks.<sup>353</sup> On the issue of counselors encouraging students to enroll in vocational instead of college prep courses, the task force asked that counselors encourage East L.A. students “with college potential” to take college prep courses. Simultaneously, the task force suggested “updating industrial arts equipment,” continuing and expanding “skill centers and occupational centers,” and using “more instructional material” that “stresses the dignity and opportunities available for technical and occupational craftsman.”<sup>354</sup> Having studied the

perspectives of the East L.A. community, the ELACTF made recommendations consistent, to varying degrees, with several of the student demands.

The task force also made broad recommendations to the board endorsing open yet controlled communication between the community and LACBE. The ELACTF suggested that the board keep the East L.A. community informed about its responses to student demands; publish a “master plan of future action” in response to the student demands; and assure the community that it will be heard by the board of education as long as they are submitted through “regular” channels. In the last recommendation, the task force possibly hoped to preempt any calls for additional walkouts.<sup>355</sup>

Significantly, the ELACTF examined the community’s perspective on integration, even though the East L.A. student activists and the community as a whole did not seek integration. In its analysis, the task force differentiated between social integration and economic integration,<sup>356</sup> where the former involved school integration that affected students, and the latter referred to integration in employment in the public schools system and affecting administrators, teachers, aides, and staff. The task force reported that the East L.A. community readily accepted “integration policies that would strengthen the opportunities for employment and advancement or that would improve understanding of the Mexican-American culture by the members of the majority Anglo-American culture.”<sup>357</sup> The ELACTF explained, “On the other hand ... the community is engaged in a struggle for self identification and would reject integration policies that would tend to fragment their culture.”<sup>358</sup> The committee differentiated the East L.A. community from other neighborhoods, reporting, “Unlike many ghettos, East Los Angeles has a protective attitude about the area and geographical integration is not a major concern.”<sup>359</sup> ELACTF’s findings suggested that Mexican Americans from East L.A. wanted to preserve their cultural identity and community, and at the same time wanted to attain middle-class status by achieving economic success ensured through fair employment practices that ameliorated discrimination.

Researching the community’s views on school integration and the controversial issue of busing, the ELACTF made additional fascinating findings. The task force discovered that although the East L.A. community as a whole did not support school integration, the student unrest led some parents to support busing their children to schools away from their neighborhood, in spite of their cultural and community pride. The task force reported, “The

endorsement of bussing probably is an endorsement of what they believe is a superior education rather than integration.”<sup>360</sup> Conversely, the task force asserted, “The recent walkouts and surrounding controversy have left many members of the community with the belief that schools in this area are inferior.”<sup>361</sup> In effect, the attitudes of some East L.A. parents began to shift and converge with the attitudes of integrationists, as some began to associate busing with “better” educational opportunities.<sup>362</sup>

The East L.A. student demonstrations prompted some East L.A. parents to contemplate busing for the first time. By contemplating “bussing” for their children, some East L.A. parents were willing to challenge school segregation by allowing their children to leave their racially isolated neighborhood minority schools to attend racially isolated predominantly white schools. Busing would expose their children to areas beyond the confines of the East L.A. community and to other cultures, a drastic change for a people deemed “insular and protective of its culture” by the task force.

#### *LACBE Explores More Student Demands*

In late June and July, LACBE reconvened to discuss additional student demands after the ELACTF endorsed implementing several student demands. The board held a pivotal meeting on June 24 when it finalized policy on the issue of prejudice. LACBE developed a tentative motion expressly stating that the school district would not condone any acts of prejudice against students, parents, or employees, primarily seeking to improve “inter-personal and inter-cultural relationships among students, teachers, other staff, and the community.”<sup>363</sup> LACBE amended the motion by emphasizing that LACBE rules provided “communication channels to air grievances relating to prejudice.”<sup>364</sup> The complete, amended motion passed by a four to zero vote, with two abstentions.<sup>365</sup>

LACBE agreed with the superintendent and student demonstrators on the adequate access to restroom facilities. The Superintendent Office called for adequate restroom facilities throughout the day, and acknowledged that a “restroom shall not be closed as a purely punitive measure due to the conduct of individuals.”<sup>366</sup> Although LACBE agreed with the superintendent’s recommendations, this clearly represented a victory for student demonstrators.

On the contentious issue of I.Q. testing, the East L.A. student activists had charged that I.Q. tests were unfair to East L.A. students and culturally biased. They had asked for testing

reform, including the creation of unbiased tests as well as reevaluation of the scoring scale for ethnic and racial minorities. At the meeting, LACBE members received reports and presentations from several school district divisions and more reports followed.<sup>367</sup> The Guidance and Counseling Section of the Los Angeles City School Districts (LACSD) Division of Elementary Education described different tests administered to elementary school children. It reported that test results were “useful” in identifying “the general academic level and the trends within a district”<sup>368</sup> and helped teachers to determine “the present range of abilities, to select instructional materials of appropriate difficulty, to group pupils, and to identify rapid leaving and slow learning pupils, to diagnose specific weaknesses and learning difficulties, and to compare achievement level with ability level.”<sup>369</sup> LACBE also received another report elaborating on the challenges in predicting “school achievement for pupils who are members of certain racial or ethnic minorities,” and in developing suitable tests for racial and ethnic minorities from the Measurement and Evaluation Section of the Auxiliary Services Divisions of LACSD.<sup>370</sup> This division’s report included a caveat: “The word ‘certain’ is used advisedly, for the problem in Los Angeles is largely restricted to those pupils who are Negroes or Mexican-Americans.”<sup>371</sup> The authors of the report added, “While these two are by no means the only racial or ethnic minority groups, the problem of prediction seems not to have aroused the same degree of contention with respect to other groups as it has with these.”<sup>372</sup> The representatives from the several LACSD offices offered as many questions and reservations as they did answers on how to evaluate minority student testing, prompting the board to delay further discussion.

By July 8, LACBE had responded to almost all student demands. On the issue of teacher discipline, LACBE offered an ambiguous motion. While LACBE *agreed* with the student demonstrators and the Superintendent that no teacher should be dismissed or transferred because of political views or disagreements with school administrators, it amended the motion by declaring that a teacher who expressed and “espouse[d] his political views and/or his philosophical views when these would compromise the discharge of his professional obligation in the classroom or on campus” undermined board policy.<sup>373</sup> In effect, the vagueness of the policy, while protecting a teacher’s political views and expression, ensured that any teacher who expressed political views that undermined or broke board policy could be subject to disciplinary action. On the student demand requiring an increase in Mexican American teachers and administrators in the district, LACBE agreed with the superintendent’s assessment

acknowledging the need to recruit minority teachers but recognized an ongoing program to increase the number of minority teachers.<sup>374</sup> Generally speaking, both LACBE and the superintendent agreed with the student activists' demand. However, the new policy benefitted others and ensured that recruitment extended not only to Mexican Americans but also to other racial and ethnic groups.

On July 15, LACBE finalized its responses to *every* East L.A. student demand. For example, both LACBE and the superintendent's office agreed with student demands calling for teachers to undergo training to understand the "Greater East Los Angeles" community, the Spanish language, and "the history, traditions, and contributions of the minority cultures," for which they would be compensated.<sup>375</sup> LACBE adopted a motion to this effect by a four to zero vote, with Chambers abstaining. LACBE amended the motion urging the University of California, state colleges, and "private institutions" to offer courses that prepared teachers to teach "all our students," presumably meaning the school district's racially and ethnically diverse student population.

LACBE addressed the need for vocational training as the last of thirty-six issues. Student activists had called for a "revitalization" of the "Industrial Arts," "up-to-date equipment," and the most recent training techniques.<sup>376</sup> While the superintendent's office disagreed with the notion that deficiencies existed in industrial/vocational education training, it "recognized that up-to-date" facilities were necessary and that a program to modernize facilities in certain school had already begun. LACBE adopted the superintendent's response by another 4-0 vote. This secured another partial victory for the student activists. Students from all around the district would benefit from the efforts of grassroots student activism in East L.A.<sup>377</sup>

By July 18, LACBE voted to commission the creation of a consolidated report of board responses to all thirty-six issues based on the student demands to the Office of Public Information. On July 25, 1968, after board members Nava and Chambers expressed disagreements over some of the majority votes, LACBE voted five to zero, with Chambers abstaining, to commission the report and to authorize the Clerk of the Board to distribute it.<sup>378</sup> The report included a tabulation of the board's responses to the student demands. According to this report, LACBE concurred with eighteen out of thirty-six of the Superintendent Office's responses to student issues;<sup>379</sup> agreed with *only two* of the thirty-six student issues, and disagreed with *zero* student demands.<sup>380</sup> LACBE amended eight Superintendent Office's responses,

deferred another, and referred another to a committee.<sup>381</sup> LACBE asked the Superintendent's Office for additional reports for twelve out of the thirty-six issues.

Essentially, LACBE underreported the number of issues with which it agreed with student activists, and instead credited the superintendent with new education policy for East L.A. schools that would affect not only Mexican American students but other groups throughout the school district. This reporting slight-of-hand effectively silenced any potential immediate recognition of the student activists and their supporters for their efforts to improve education in East L.A. and throughout the district. A comparison of the tabulation, the superintendent office's responses to the student demands, and the student demands themselves reveals that the board of education and the Superintendent Office agreed with the student demonstrators more often than the board reported, and more often than LACBE and the Superintendent's Office acknowledged at the time. The superintendent's office agreed, to varying degrees, with most of the student demands, with LACBE at times amending the superintendent's responses.

The East L.A. student demands were numerous, and after some LACBE modifications, some became policy. Overall, the demonstrators made moderate but important gains, after putting themselves in precarious situations, both within and outside school grounds. The student unrest from South-Central L.A. and East L.A. garnered both criticism and support from within and outside their respective communities. By the end of the walkouts, many white Angelenos in the L.A. metropolitan area erroneously began to link the student walkouts to the issues of school desegregation and busing and expressed their frustration about the success of the student. This pointed to a broader historical shift in which efforts to secure civil rights for minorities began to meet resistance at the local level from many white Angelenos and increasingly traditional, law and order, conservative Chicanos.

### *Reprisal against Demonstrators*

By late April, stirrings of administrative reprisals against teacher Sal Castro and student activists began. David A. Sanchez of the EIC addressed the board "concerning alleged dismissals of students involved in recent walkouts" for "passing out leaflets concerning our march on the board."<sup>382</sup> Without naming Sal Castro specifically, Sanchez claimed "a specific teacher associated with the walkouts has been subjected to administrative harassment and the threat of dismissal."<sup>383</sup> Sanchez relayed that parent groups were dealing with school

administrators to find reasonable solutions regarding student dismissals. He also asked LACBE to respect the student marches and their goals, and informed LACBE that student had “passed out [leaflets] today informing the students of their rights regarding corporal punishment.”<sup>384</sup> Sanchez concluded by asking the board “to proceed with reason and respect in the efforts to give our Mexican-American youth their just share of the educational goals of this society.”<sup>385</sup>

The board’s openness to engage in a dialogue with student and community activists stood in stark contrast with the Los Angeles Police Department’s arrest of several demonstrators from the South-Central L.A. and East L.A. protests. LACBE discovered that the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) arrested several students, community activists and other individuals. By April 16, Superintendent Crowther had compiled a list of forty-three participants in the March 5-8 student demonstrations who the LAPD subsequently arrested. The list covered arrests at six schools, including six arrests from Garfield High School, two at Roosevelt High School, seven at Venice High School, ten at Belmont High School, two at Wilson High School, and sixteen at Carver Junior High School.<sup>386</sup>

In early June 1968, the Los Angeles District Attorney’s office began to arrest thirteen individuals who had planned and taken part in the East L.A. Blowouts, and who were secretly indicted by a grand jury on charges of conspiracy to disturb the peace at East L.A. and downtown high schools. By June 1, the police had arrested nine of the activists. The indicted community activists, later known as the “LA 13,” included Carlos Muñoz, president of the California State University, Los Angeles chapter of United Mexican-American Student (UMAS), Cuban immigrant and editor of *La Raza* Eliezer Risco, and eleven members of the Brown Berets.<sup>387</sup> The grand jury found enough evidence to indict all thirteen individuals on felony charges of *conspiracy* to disturb the peace. The demonstrations themselves did not constitute a felony, but *planning* the demonstrations did, according to the district attorney and the grand jury. Their bail was set at \$10,000, even though all had no criminal history.<sup>388</sup>

Political pressure from community activists and prominent politicians, and the LA 13’s lack of criminal history, helped to secure the release of many of the LA 13. By June 3, Superior Court Judge George M. Dell reduced bail for nine arrested activists from \$10,000 to \$250.<sup>389</sup> Judge Dell even considered releasing everyone without bail.<sup>390</sup> The rest of the plight of the L.A. 13 is well documented. After most secured their release on reduced bail, all were ultimately vindicated for their involvement in the student demonstrations. The conspiracy case against the

LA 13 was dismissed on July 24, 1970. Garcia and Castro explained that the California Second Appellate Court ruled “that the indictments based on the conspiracy charges were illegal because they violated our First Amendment rights of free speech and the right of redress of grievances.”<sup>391</sup> Sal Castro endured an odyssey that included arrest, removal from Lincoln High School, conspiracy charges, State Board of Education efforts to invalidate his teaching credential, and reinstatement in 1973.<sup>392</sup> His removal and reinstatement drew numerous letters either in support or in opposition that rivaled the number of letters for or against the student demonstrations. Forty years after the Blowouts, LACBE and the rest of the city of Los Angeles celebrated Sal Castro and the 1968 East L.A. student demonstrators; however, they did not highlight the significant contributions Jefferson High School students and other students from South-Central L.A. made. This work is an effort with this aim.

### *Tangible Gains for Minority Communities*

Over time, Los Angeles’ minority communities saw tangible gains in response to the student unrest, notably the introduction of ethnic studies in public schools throughout the district inclusive of both African American and Mexican American experiences and contributions. In a February 20, 1969 bulletin, the Public Information Office reported, “Numerous new classes and a variety of specially developed materials are being offered in Los Angeles City secondary schools this year as part of an ambitious attempt to further understanding and appreciation of Negro culture and history.”<sup>393</sup> The school district offered courses in African American history and literature at many minority schools in South-Central L.A., schools on the Westside, as well as at several high schools in the San Fernando Valley. However, the Mexican American community’s demands for bilingual as well as innovative and concerned teachers and administrators continued,<sup>394</sup> even as the Los Angeles School District began implementing “In-Service Training Programs” for teachers to develop “background materials and techniques for use in teaching classes in ethnic studies” and “aimed at enlarging understanding of minority group problems and contributions in United States history” began.<sup>395</sup> In one example, the district offered an eight-week Mexican American history and culture course co-taught by Fred Sanchez and George Montez, teachers at Roosevelt and Lincoln High Schools, respectively.

In April 1969, LACBE commissioned the Mexican-American Education Commission (MAEC) for the purpose of improving the educational opportunities and experiences of Mexican

American students. The commission consisted of forty members, including renowned Chicano Studies scholar Rudy Acuña, EIC chairman and East L.A. community activist Reverend Mardirosian, as well as parents, teachers, professors, students, and professionals.<sup>396</sup> Notably, the commission did not include teacher Sal Castro, who on May 9, 1969, received a notice of “unsatisfactory service” while working at Lincoln High School.<sup>397</sup>

MAEC garnered the support of an up-and-coming politician, Los Angeles Councilman and future Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley. Bradley acknowledged that, “a major concern of the people of Los Angeles is equal education for Mexican Americans,” and expressed his “full support” for the commission.<sup>398</sup> He described the members of the commission as “citizen representatives with bonafide [*sic*] credentials of community representation and resources to help define and structure the long needed programs for equitable educational changes.”<sup>399</sup> Although Bradley did not clearly state whether he endorsed the student unrest, he evidently supported the commission’s formation and its goals.

Unequal education formed the basis of both the student demonstrations and integration efforts in *Crawford*. The separate but overlapping South-Central L.A. and East L.A. student demonstrations had indelible effects on the integration debate, busing, and educational policy in the Los Angeles School District. Stemming from unequal educational opportunities in racially isolated minority neighborhoods and a disregard of the contributions African Americans and Mexican Americans made to the American experience, students from South-Central L.A. and East L.A. took to the streets and to LACBE headquarters to change education policy to improve their racially isolated neighborhood schools. Their goals contrasted with school integration, thus their efforts potentially could compete with the integrationists’ goals. However, the student demonstrations transformed the integration debate from a discussion about integration and compensatory education, to a discussion over integration, compensatory education, and bilingual/bicultural education. An unintended consequence developed out of the student unrest: an increased potential for cross-racial cooperation between African Americans and Mexican Americans in support of busing. The prospect existed because some parents from East L.A. began to see consider busing as a way to improve their children’s educational opportunities, a vision that mainstream civil rights organizations and many African Americans had held for years. These circumstances made of East L.A. students optimal candidates for mandatory and *voluntary* busing.

Although the East L.A. and South-Central L.A. students pursued some common goals, the resolutions would have the effect of reinforcing group cohesion. While African American and East L.A. student demonstrators asked for the inclusion of culture in the curriculum, the resolution would reinforce community pride and unity. African American and Mexican American student groups also wanted history courses to include the contributions African Americans and Mexican Americans made in American history. By October 1971, the State Board of Education, by enacting State Code 9305, and LACBE agreed on common language to fulfill an aspect intimately connected to this demand: “to give an accurate and correct portrayal of the role and contributions of minorities’ in state-adopted textbooks.”<sup>400</sup> The inclusion of African Americans and Mexican American in American history textbooks further legitimized the demands of students from South-Central L.A. and East L.A. and reinforced community pride.

The Blowouts transformed education policy and the integration debate in Los Angeles, and simultaneously sparked interest in busing in the East L.A. community. However, Sal Castro disagreed with the ACLU over integration, a disagreement that represented the debate in *Crawford* that would continue for more than a decade. Firmly against busing, Sal Castro explained, “My feelings on busing ironically also caused me to oppose it ... I saw myself as a liberal like the ACLU; in fact, I considered myself a socialist, but on this issue I disagreed with my liberal white friends.”<sup>401</sup> Castro believed busing minority students out of their neighborhood schools caused “brain drain” and simultaneously undermined the bused Mexican American students’ potential. He explained, “What I found was that more capable Chicano students would be bused to predominantly white schools, but that they would face even more alienation and segregation there.”<sup>402</sup> Castro wanted Chicano children to continue attending minority neighborhood schools because “at least they could see successful role models among themselves. Chicanos ... would be student body officers, including president. Chicanos would win scholarships to college. Chicanos would be in the AP ... classes.”<sup>403</sup> He concluded, “I didn’t kid myself. The blowouts had only begun the process of reforming the Mexican schools, but overall Chicano students would still feel more comfortable there, and more importantly they would achieve more success than in the white schools.”<sup>404</sup> Castro contended most “Mexican American parents agreed with me. They didn’t want their kids all the way out by Santa Monica or way over in the San Fernando Valley.”<sup>405</sup>

Preeminent Chicano Studies professor Rudy Acuña, in an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*' Frank Del Olmo, stated that after the 1968 East L.A. demonstrations “there was no turn[ing] back.”<sup>406</sup> Acuña explained that the Chicano community never went back to the “old hat in the hand routine.”<sup>407</sup> He described the demonstrations as “epochal, a distinct clear break [from] the past.”<sup>408</sup> “[I] don’t think we got that much, but the students today [are] more socialized,” he declared.<sup>409</sup> Yet *Crawford* remained unresolved. *Crawford* could result in integration. Or, *Crawford* could take into consideration the interests of Los Angeles’s increasingly diverse but racially segregated population, and result in an uneasy compromise.

The student demonstrations of 1968 transformed the debate in *Crawford* from a debate about integration and compensatory education, to about addressing school segregation, compensatory education, and bilingual/bicultural education. *Crawford* began in 1963 with African Americans and civil rights groups sparring with white Angelenos over desegregating the city’s schools. By the end of the 1960s, the student demonstrations highlighted the increasingly complex political terrain of the desegregation debate, as African Americans and Mexican Americans were divided over how to pursue equal educational opportunities. African Americans and Mexican Americans participated in *Crawford*, and at the same time, members from both communities also backed increased improvements to their racially isolated schools through compensatory education, and in Mexican American neighborhoods, adding bilingual education programs. However, the student activists of East L.A. also prompted some East L.A. parents to consider busing their children to schools far away from their racially isolated neighborhood. Although some Mexican American parents claimed that integration was not the goal, nonetheless, their new perspective made them and their children suitable candidates for voluntary busing for integration.

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<sup>1</sup> LACBE, Special Meeting Minutes, 4 March 2008. I personally received the board minutes commemorating the student protests in the mail from LACBE archivist Rachel Tucker. In the school board meeting, leading district officials participated in a dramatization of the March 11, 1968 protests. According to historian Mario T. Garcia and Sal Castro, in the late 1950s and early 1960s Castro recognized the problems affecting Mexican students including: low expectations by teachers, a stress on vocational instead of academic curriculum, high drop-out rates (50%), low reading scores, insensitive teachers and counselors, overcrowded classes, and lack of ethnic and cultural reinforcement. See Mario T. Garcia and Sal Castro, *Blowout!: Sal Castro and the Chicano Struggle for Educational Justice*, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 3. For detailed biographical information about Castro before the East L.A. Blowouts, see 3-4 and 27-109.

<sup>2</sup> A *testimonio* is a word in Spanish that translates to “an oral history conducted by a subject and an interlocutor.” See Garcia and Castro, *Blowout!*, 19.