



TERRY GODDARD
1947 -

**Historic Preservationist, Activist
For Transparent Government**



The following is an oral history interview with Historymaker Terry Goddard (**TG**) conducted by Thomas Shumard (**TS**) for Historical League, Inc. and video-graphed by Leonardo Buono on May 2, 2023, at Inspired Media Studios, Phoenix Arizona.

Original tapes are in the collection of the Arizona Historical Society Museum Library at Papago Park, Tempe, Arizona.

TS I'm Thomas Shumard. It's May 2nd, 2023. And I'm here to have a conversation with Samuel Pearson Goddard, III.

TS Known as Terry Goddard. Welcome.

TG Thank you for getting my whole name.

TS *[Laughs]* Where were you born and when?

TG Tucson, 1947.

TS How did you come by the name Terry?

TG Well I was the third Samuel in my family. My grandfather lived with us when I was growing up. He was Samuel P. Goddard, my dad was Samuel P. Goddard, Jr. and I was the third. Just too many Sams. If you shouted Sam, you might get three people answering. So, my dad being a Latin scholar decided, third in Latin is tertius and so we'll call him Terry.

TS So your dad selected the name Terry?

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TG Yes.

TS You had a lot of family then here with you if your grandfather was here living with you...

TG Actually, we were a small family. Both my parents were only children. But we had three generations under one roof, which was wonderful. My grandfather was an incredible person.

TS Good, and what did he do?

TG Granddad studied to be a chemist, but after graduation from college in 1900 the aspiring chemist joined family business in St. Louis and spent his career as a wholesale grocer running Goddard Grocery Company. He bought crops in the field, canned them and sold them to grocery stores. Through the rise of chain stores and the Depression, he kept Goddard Grocery going. Being a grocer was not what he had in mind as a young man, but duty called. His real passion was theater. He acted in several St. Louis community theater productions, the most important was 'The Twelfth Disciple, a tale of the Christ'. His group produced the play in St. Louis and won a contest which allowed them to take their production to New York—obviously off Broadway. But they achieved every actor's dream of playing New York City. My Granddad's character was High Priest Caiaphas with a magnificent beard and flowing white curls -- which hid the fact that he had been completely bald since his twenties.

TS Good. Tell me a little bit about what it was like to live in Tucson at that time.

TG *[Laughing]* I remember Tucson as wide-open desert. In 1946, Dad built a little brick house just east of Swan Road near what would become 22nd Street. I first remember Swan as a dirt road. Friends made fun of my folks for living so far out of town. From our living room window, you could see all the way to the Catalina mountains with no buildings in between. I exaggerate a little bit because there must have been some buildings down in the river bottom, but we couldn't see them from our house. It was wonderful for a small boy to be living on the desert. I could ride for miles on my bike or hike the arroyos around our house. Mom had a red Jeep which was handy for pulling out motorists who got stuck in the washes when Swan Road flooded. We hunted lizards with guns made of pipe and firecrackers. Hardly ever hit one. An adventure every day. Just about every critter that lives in the desert lived in our house or near it. So, we ran with rabbits and snakes, the occasional coyote and scorpions, black widows and -- all the different bugs. All kinds of lizards and noble roadrunners. Horses from the stables at the El Conquistador Hotel often escaped and ended up grazing in our front yard. I remember Dad hollering and waving his hat to keep the horses from eating the newly planted fruit trees. Dad had the dirt track to our house paved and named the new 'street' Calle Jabali. He mounted a copper cutout of a javelina on a sturdy post for the street sign. When the City annexed us we got an official sign, but I still have that javelina. Among ourselves, we soon shortened the street name to Pig Street.

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Tucson quickly grew around us. In first grade, I had to go a long way to school but by second grade, a new one, Ignacio Bonillas, had been built just down Swan. When I was ready for junior high, Alice Vail opened around the corner just in time. And, by the time I was ready for high school a new Rincon High, an easy bike ride away, was ready. All three schools were so new none had grass on their playgrounds when I went there.

TS How many were in your graduating class for high school?

TG Well, I went to two high schools. Rincon had, I believe, six or seven hundred in a class. Exeter graduated about 200.

TS Okay. When you went away to Exeter was that your first time...

TG *[Laughing]*

TS ...in that part of the country?

TG No, I had been on family trips to New England. The Goddards came from there and we still had relatives outside of Boston. But that was in the summer. I'd never been in New England in winter. I will never forget seeing falling snow for the first time. I was a swimmer and the first time I walked out of the gym (and every time thereafter) my hair froze. I was sure it would all break off. Terrifying for a teen. Now 60 years later, the falling out has finally happened. But I don't think New England temperature is responsible.

TS How old were you when you went to Exeter?

TG Maybe 15.

TS So you finished up your high school...

TG Finished high school in New England.

TS What activities did you follow when you were there?

TG Academically, I crashed. At Rincon, I was a year ahead of my class in Spanish and Math. I was pretty good at taking tests, so when Exeter tested me to determine what classes to put me in, I did well enough to be placed a year ahead in both subjects. That was a serious mistake. I struggled to keep up. The school had lights out at 10:30, so every night I would go into the closet with the door closed so the light wouldn't show and study until at least midnight. In math,

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with the help of a very kind upper classman tutor, I got a low C. I think a D- in Spanish, a hair above flunking. Since I didn't complain, nobody at the school asked how I was doing or on seeing my low grades suggested that I go back to my grade level. That placement mistake made my first two years not much fun. I did get to take AP exams in Spanish and Math my junior year and could then drop both courses. After that, I caught my stride and began to enjoy school.

Athletics were required at Exeter. Given a choice, I would have kept studying, but I had to pick a sport. I went out for crew the first fall, probably because it seemed like the furthest I could get from my academic miseries, and I knew my dad had rowed in college. I enjoyed rowing from the first ride in the barge, great exercise on a beautiful, small river. By my junior year, I made the second varsity boat. We had an undefeated season and won our category in the New England interscholastic regatta. That summer, I was part of the Exeter crew competing in the Royal Henley Regatta. We were eliminated early but our coach was determined that win or lose we should get the most out of being in England. We had a wonderful time, rooming at a pub on the Thames and visiting historic sites in addition to twice daily workout rows on a most beautiful river. By senior year, I no longer had to study in that closet. I made decent grades and was elected captain of the crew, rowed in the undefeated first boat which won the Interscholastic Regatta on Lake Quinsigamond, and was elected chairman of my house. To my surprise, college admissions people saw my going from almost failing to Dean's List as a good thing!

TS Now your father was a member of the crew, too, when he...

TG Yes.

TS ...was in that school.

TG Dad rowed at Harvard. He was inexperienced and rough but incredibly strong. In 1941, his crew was undefeated in the East. Tom Bolles, their coach, had previously coached at the University of Washington. That year Washington was the best Western crew. So, Tom tried to arrange a race between Washington and Harvard which would have been the first collegiate rowing championship. But pre-war recruitment disrupted everything. Dad enlisted in the Army after rowing his last race so instead of competing for a national championship he was peeling potatoes at Jefferson Barracks in St Louis. Later in Tucson, he helped organize the Santa Cruz Rowing Association, a unique group since the Santa Cruz had no water. No matter, I remember Tom Bolles the legendary crew coach visiting dry Tucson every winter.

TS When you finished high school and you went to Harvard, what did you study in Harvard?

TG American history. I wrote my honors thesis on the Central Arizona Project. Which meant I got to attend most of the congressional hearings leading up to the passage of the CAP in 1968. And I got to interview many of the people who crafted the legislation and pushed it through Congress.

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Carl Hayden, Stuart and Mo Udall, Louis Douglas, David Brinegar and my father.

TS During the – the school vacations, did you come back to Arizona?

TG Whenever I could, I flew back. Sometimes for just a few days. I was an expert at standing-by for flights.

TS What kind of summer jobs did you do?

TG High school summers, except for the trip to England, I worked in campaigns. Dad was elected Governor in my senior year in high school. The previous summer, I was very active in his campaign, morning to night. I traveled all over the state with him until I had to go back to school. Politics was an itch that I delighted to scratch. Dad kindly let me sit in on speech preparation and strategy sessions, access few teenagers could have. I spent the summer after high school doing research in a tiny office at the State Capitol and planned to take a year off before going to college to work in the Governor's Office, but the Viet Nam War made delay without a deferment unwise. I was able to turn what I learned in politics into several college papers.

TS Who were your heroes then?

TG Mo Udall, who was my dad's classmate in law school, without question. Semi pro basketball player and pilot in spite of having only one eye, brilliant lawyer, author of the primary Arizona evidence treatise, congressman and presidential candidate. I was lucky to have the chance to observe or work with some amazing Arizonans. Stewart Udall, scholar, author and pioneer environmentalist. My Dad's law partner, Frank Barry, a lawyer from Pete Kitchen's ranch in Nogales who became Solicitor of the Department of Interior. Earnest McFarland, John P. Frank, Sandra Day O'Connor and Bruce Babbitt. All heroes. Of course, John F. Kennedy, although not an Arizonan, makes my list. I admired his eloquence and passion for public service. I remember writing to my dad when Kennedy was assassinated and asking him if political leaders could ever again appear in public? I was afraid that if people could not see and touch and take the measure of their leaders it could be the end of our democracy. That fear would win.

TS What was his response to you?

TG That our system would endure. *[Laughing]* I mean, he believed in the democratic process and that Americans would do the right thing -- eventually. He had seen America at war and was confident that after that horror, we could survive anything. In his view, our system was tougher than it looked and flexible, not delicate. There would be setbacks and tragedies along the way but the ship would stay the course.

TS What was your mother active in when you were growing up?

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- TG** Mom was active in the Red Cross, the League of Women Voters, in volunteer social work in general. But her passion was children and books. And there wasn't a child that she knew about who didn't get a book on their birthday. Mom made her selections carefully and wrapped the books beautifully in spite of her arthritic fingers. It was a real downer for the child when they saw Mom coming with another book. *[Laughing]* But years later I would hear from many of the unwilling book recipients that the book she gave them was exactly the right book, the one that they read again and again. The one which spoke uniquely to them. Mom was an expert in children's literature. Every year, she guessed who would win the Caldecott and Newbery medals and usually she guessed right. So, our family still has a wonderful collection of children's books. As Arizona First Lady, she was horrified to find that the state institutions that housed kids, including foster care institutions and all the residential facilities for juvenile delinquents, had no books. A few old magazines were all the kids had to read. She was determined to get books into those sad places, and she did. For that effort she founded Libraries Limited, a non-profit dedicated to getting books to children, which is still going today.
- TS** Did she have the Judy Goddard Literary Awards?
- TG** The Judy Goddard Award for an exceptional children's author was started after Mom passed away.
- TS** Okay. Have you ever been involved in that?
- TG** Always. I'm the legal agent for Libraries Limited and my wife, Monica, is on the board. I have always been a soft touch for books and libraries.
- TS** Now, when you got out of Harvard, the anti-war movement was pretty active.
- TG** *[Laughing]* Yes, it was.
- TS** You enlisted in the Navy; what was your naval service like?
- TG** The late Sixties were a time of terrible bloodshed in Vietnam and student unrest and anti-military passion on campus. Especially Harvard. I had a high draft number, but I volunteered. Dad drilled into me that we have a duty to serve, he believed that the military was the great leveler and mixer of our Country, and that each generation had to earn its freedoms through service. I got out of Navy OCS in the summer of 1970 and was assigned to the USS Hermitage (LSD-34) an amphibious assault ship. At the time, the Herm was assigned to the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean. I met the ship in Barcelona. Then to Nice, Naples, and eventually Greece. As the boot ensign, I got the assignment no one else wanted, I became the Tour Officer. In each port, I had to interview the various tour operators, select a variety of tours that I thought the sailors

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would like, sign them up, collect the fees and go on every tour. It was tough duty. We spent much of the winter of 1971 anchored off of the Peloponnesus sending our embarked Marines on practice landings on the 'beach'. Or, more accurately on the artichoke fields. Every time a Marine stepped on an artichoke, the Greek farmer was loudly angry, and Uncle Sam paid a large bounty. The rest of my active-duty years were spent in and around the Hermitage's home port of Norfolk Virginia, lots of upkeep and a few short cruises to the Caribbean.

TS You continued on with your military service in the Naval Reserve for how many years?

TG About 20. The Navy sent me discharge papers after my active duty, but I was not ready to quit. It happened right after I was elected mayor, my first reserve cruise was on the Callaghan (DDG-994), a big destroyer out of San Diego. After the tension of the campaign, two weeks of refresher training seemed almost relaxing. Sea air, lots of action and good companions. The press couldn't reach me, and nobody complained. I was hooked and spent almost 20 years doing monthly training at the Reserve Center at 35th Avenue and McDowell and getting more great cruises and two duty assignments at the Pentagon.

TS After you got out of the Navy, after active duty, you went to ASU law school.

TG I did. I'd been away from Arizona for ten years. It was time to come back.

TS ASU was a new law school at the time. You went there instead of to U of A where your father had gone.

TG Yes. It was a tough decision, I thought seriously about going back to Tucson. But Willard Pedrick had developed an extraordinary law school at ASU with top faculty from across the Country. Plus, by being in Phoenix I had the chance to work in state politics. As a 2nd year law student, I volunteered on Bruce Babbitt's campaign for Attorney General. After Bruce was elected, I interned in the A.G.'s office and ultimately went to work there as a new lawyer. That would not have happened if I lived in Tucson.

TS One of the reasons that you've been selected as a Historymaker is because of your preservation activities. You lived in the neighborhood that had a freeway that was going to go through it.

TG That is true. During law school, I moved to a little adobe house in a downtown Phoenix neighborhood in the path of the I-10 freeway. I had followed the freeway controversy from a distance, so the proposed route was no surprise, but the older neighborhood was exactly where I wanted to live. What followed started my love affair with downtown Phoenix and with historic preservation.

TS Tell me about that whole process. There were elections as I recall and...

TG There had been an ‘advisory’ election. Phoenix voters rejected the design for the I-10. They didn’t like that the road would cross Central Avenue 100 feet in the air and had helicoil exit ramps. That happened before I moved to what is now the Story Neighborhood. I majored in American history and traveled throughout Arizona, so I thought I knew a lot about our state’s heritage. But, I was about to learn how little I knew. My new neighborhood straddled the Moreland Corridor, the route chosen for I-10 through Phoenix. The federal highway agency had already purchased every house in the freeway’s path and knocked them down, creating a two-block wide swath through the middle of historic Phoenix. The Moreland Corridor looked like a prairie with streets. My new home was just north of the Corridor on Culver Street. I soon found that most of the important leaders of Phoenix and Arizona had lived in this area. Already destroyed were the family homes of Phoenix pioneers, like the Fannins, the Goldwaters, the Williams, to name a few. Margaret Hance, the then mayor, grew up in the neighborhood in a house that had been demolished. This lovely area of tall trees and craftsman homes had been Phoenix’ starting point, its heritage. The federal government was determined to delete it.

I’d only been in my new home for a few days when two neighbors came to call. First was Luisa Stark, a professor of anthropology at ASU, who had become the voice for the homeless in Phoenix. An amazing woman. Luisa knocked on my door bringing two cups of coffee and told me we needed to talk. I then and there got a crash course in the homeless situation in downtown Phoenix. The next neighbor to call was Gordon Weiner, a professor of history at ASU. Gordon was the self-made authority on the area. Not just its recorded history but its pre-history. Dr. Weiner brought a bottle of Scotch and an urgent need to talk. On the first day of our friendship, Gordon asked me to take a walk with him. We walked along the Moreland Corridor, the prairie I just mentioned. After a couple of blocks in silence, Gordon asked, “Have you noticed anything unusual?” I confessed I had not. It had rained a few days before and the ground was rain dappled. He pointed to the ground, and I saw that the rain had rinsed the dust off a potshard, right there on the surface. The more we walked, the more potshards I saw. The area was littered with cultural resources. I was to learn that most of Central Phoenix was built on top of Hohokam cities. That walk inspired my efforts to fight the freeway and to do all I could to save the historic neighborhoods downtown. As a result, my first case after leaving the AG’s office would be to sue the Federal Highway Administration alleging that the route they choose for the I-10 freeway violated sections 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act and 108 of the National Historic Preservation Act. A long stretch for a brand-new lawyer.

TS Now who were you working with when you brought that case?

TG I did most of the research and preliminary drafting for a talented group of lawyers, mostly from the firm of Brown & Bain, with Paul Bonn as the principal litigator. We represented two downtown neighborhood associations, Palmcroft and Encanto. Thanks to that formidable neighborhood leader, Gigi George, these neighborhoods were well organized and ready to engage as plaintiffs. For me and for many in Phoenix, this lawsuit was a revelation about

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Phoenix' heritage. Our theory of the case was that the law required a federal project to consider every 'feasible and prudent alternative' route and choose the one that did the least damage to heritage and recreational sites. We alleged that the decision to put the freeway on the Moreland Corridor violated that law. Our principle witness, Fred Plog, then chairman of the Department of Anthropology at ASU, testified that, "If my class got the assignment to design a freeway route through Phoenix that would destroy the most cultural resources, the only A would be the route chosen for the I-10 freeway". Unfortunately, the judge didn't see it that way. From the bench, Judge Craig asked "Prof Plog, these Hohokam pots you talk about, are these the same pots we used to put on the canal banks and use for target practice?" Prof Plog put his head in his hands and replied, "I'm afraid so, your Honor."

We didn't win the case, as the I-10 running through downtown Phoenix makes clear, but we made an impact. The first Phoenix historic building survey was done as part of our lawsuit. We put abundant testimony on the record about the rich prehistoric resources under Phoenix, including the Hohokam cities of La Ciudad and Las Colinas. To defeat our lawsuit, the FHWA contracted for the largest salvage archaeology program done up to that time. Thousands and thousands of pots and potshards were collected, catalogued and stored for future study. We changed attitudes. Even the folks at the federal highway administration became more careful of the cultural fabric. Eventually, they even gave me an award! The I-10 freeway adopted a more sinuous course through downtown Phoenix avoiding some of the most important historic buildings like Kenilworth School and the Second Ward Mormon Church. The freeway goes underground between 7th Street and 7th Avenue. There's a park over the underground section in an effort to reunite at least one of the neighborhoods ripped apart by the freeway. And some important buildings, the ones just mentioned and the second Jewish Synagogue in the Phoenix (now the Plotkin Cultural Center), would've been demolished under the original design. They are still here to admire and enjoy.

TS So was that your first example of a failure that was a success?

TG: *[Laughs]* Well maybe. I wasn't happy about losing my first case, but it left some big footprints. A great deal of respect for neighborhoods and for historic neighborhoods in particular grew out of the freeway case. Many who didn't know Phoenix had a past worth mentioning, became aware of our remarkable heritage. Some important buildings were saved and putting the I-10 underground in a belated effort to repair at least one neighborhood was a partial success. I'm glad we tried.

TS Now, before you became Mayor, the whole structure of how the city council was elected was changed.

TG: The citizens changed it. Yes.

TS You were involved in that process. Then you became Mayor. What did you do about historic

preservation in Phoenix after you became Mayor?

TG Well, let's start with fixing City government. Three times before, folks had tried to change Phoenix from an all at-large council to one where the Council members represented districts. Phoenix was the largest city in the Country with an all at-large council. Many of my friends and I thought that the system was just wrong. The consequences of the all at-large council were clear. The system allowed a small group of business leaders (Charter Government) to pick a slate every two years and get that slate elected like clockwork. Turned out that 90% of the councilmen Charter selected and elected lived within a one-mile circle centered at 24th Street and Camelback. From 1947, the year the Charter Government Committee elected its first slate of candidates, until 1983, the year I was elected Mayor, Charter elected every mayor but one (Margaret Hance running for a third term) and all but two city councilmen, Ed Korrick and Gary Peter Klahr. So, in effect, one neighborhood controlled what had become the 10th largest city in the Country for 36 years. You could say Charter Government was a political machine. A relatively benign machine, but a machine none the less. Under Charter domination, led by the triumvirate of Frank Snell, Gene Pulliam and Walter Bimson, Phoenix prospered through the 1950s and '60s. As a response to the previous, highly corrupt, system where the elected councilmen ran city departments, Charter Government gave primary power to the professional management. Under the Charter, an elected official was prohibited from dealing directly with any city employee except the City Manager. As Mayor, I technically could not tell the driver of a city car to turn right or left. The strong city manager government made Phoenix a squeaky clean and well run if boring city. It was like a powerful race car kept in the garage all the time.

By the 1980s, a city government that had been unimaginative and resistant to change became stifling. Legitimate public concerns never made it to the Council. Large sections of this rapidly growing city were not represented at all. A group of us started Citizens for District Representation to try to change the system. We drafted and circulated an initiative petition with a very simple reform. It's one sentence said that henceforth the Phoenix Council would be elected from eight equal districts. We ran into fierce, unified resistance. All council members but one and the Mayor, the Arizona Republic and most of the business community opposed the change. Duke Tully, then the Republic publisher, wrote a front-page editorial proclaiming that the district system should be defeated since it would mean Ward government (with implications of Tammany Hall corruption) and would "Balkanize" Phoenix. Only Councilman Calvin Goode supported changing to districts. The Council even chose an election date on a non-traditional day to reduce turnout. December 1 was election day, which as I recall was a Wednesday. The outrage from that manipulation may have put us over the top! Our side was way outspent until the last week of the campaign when we managed to scrape together \$40,000 to put a simple ad on TV. It showed one of the famous paintings of the Constitutional Convention in 1789 with the simple message that if our Founding Fathers liked representative government, why can't it work in Phoenix? On December 1, by a narrow margin, the voters passed our initiative. Phoenix would now be governed by a district system. As my Dad put it, "This was not an election, it was a miracle."

The next year, I ran for mayor. No one else was foolish enough to try. My opponent was Pete Dunn, a popular former state legislator who the year before had narrowly lost to the incumbent, Dennis DeConcini, in the election for US Senator. Pete was the unquestioned favorite, who immediately made the most of how I'd opposed the freeway that was now being built to widespread applause. But Pete did not sit on his lead, to his credit he agreed to participate in over 100 joint appearances, still a record I'm sure. We had formal debates in each of the eight new districts with large crowds swept up in a new spirit of public involvement brought on by enthusiasm for the new districts. A city that had been closely controlled for decades was breaking out of its shell.

Now to your question. I believe historic preservation is important for any city, but especially for a young and rapidly growing city like Phoenix. Newcomers to Phoenix had no idea the place had any past worth mentioning. They seemed to assume that history started the day they arrived. The new City Council, which took office in January 1984, resolved that, after selecting the site for the first city homeless shelter, they would establish three new commissions. The Arts Commission, the Historic Preservation Commission and Phoenix Economic Growth Council came about almost simultaneously. These three were inexorably interconnected, arts and culture, and economic success. We realized that connection in tangible form in the 1988 bond issue when, for the first time, Phoenix put cultural investments on the ballot along with streets and storm sewers. Phoenix had always been good at approving bonds for basic infrastructure. But, Charter Government had opposed funding community assets like museums and theaters with bonds. On the 1988 ballot, Propositions Five and Eight would fund a new central library, an expansion of the art museum, a new science museum, a history museum and restoration of the Orpheum Theatre. "Make Phoenix Great, vote yes Five and Eight" was the slogan. Most of the Council were sure these propositions would lose. They did not oppose them but did their best to separate them from the other bond items. But Phoenix voters embraced 5 and 8! And, the next year, in spite of a raging recession, they voted for an additional \$15 million bond issue to purchase the Tovrea Castle and establish a \$10 million revolving fund to help owners of historic homes with the costs of maintenance and insurance. The small preservation grants funded by the 1989 bond issue saved hundreds of historic residences from demolition by neglect. For that effort, Phoenix won an honor award from the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Our city was recognized for having the largest number of designated historic structures in the Nation.

TS Talk a little bit about Phoenix Futures Forum. Was that – was that your idea?

TG My idea yes, but with support from an extraordinary city planner named Rod Englen who had worked for a top consulting firm on over fifty downtown rejuvenation efforts. At one of our public forums, Rod (who had recently retired) stood at the podium and sharply criticized the Council for shortsightedness, saying that unless Phoenix stopped drifting from one project to another and began to plan for the long-term we would go down in flames. Rod told us, "Phoenix is relatively young and still has a chance to get it right." I offered him a job in the Mayor's

Office. Some on the Council didn't see why we should bring our greatest critic in-house. Fortunately for Phoenix, Rod accepted.

What we faced were important questions. What did Phoenix want to be when it grew up? Assuming we had a clear goal, what had to happen now to achieve it? What would Phoenix be like by the year 2020 if we continued the current track? Rod, the tireless advocate for long-range planning, and I, the disciple of expanding public participation, started to design a citywide planning process. We were aided by a study authored by a group led by the urban affairs journalist Neal Peirce that had just been published. In the wake of the Don Bolles murder, the Arizona Republic hired Neal and his team to study what had gone wrong in Arizona. Not to solve the murder but to look at the disfunctions that let it happen. The Peirce Report came to some unflattering conclusions. One was that Arizona residents lived in isolation not community. I'll never forget one photo that showed a lush backyard on one side of a patio wall with a glamorous lady in a lounge chair sunbathing. On the other was dirt and poverty. Instead of a community, we had walls and isolation. No one could identify a Phoenix style. Whatever was popular last week became the standard for lots and lots of new houses.

A positive way to deal with the problems identified in the Pearce Report was communitywide visioning. To bring as much of the community together as possible and devise what our city should be in 20 to 30 years. It had never been tried, so Rod and I and Phoenix planning staff worked for over two years to come up with a process ultimately called the Phoenix Futures Forum.

Chris Gates, a member of the Peirce Group Phoenix Project team became our de facto executive director. Chris helped us avoid the arguments about the shape of the table. A citizen study group can spend a lot of time and citizen energy trying to decide what topics to consider and what are the baseline facts. Chris encouraged us to do a baseline survey of where Phoenix was at the moment, because you can't plan on what you're going to do unless you know where you are. So we needed current statistics on traffic volumes, sales tax revenues per area, crime statistics, building starts and the other measures of city life. The information was scattered in many different places. We were surprised to find out that motor vehicles hadn't been talking to streets. That City administrators didn't actually know where the highest accident corners were or where the highest speed zones were. Under Rod's direction the baseline report came together.

So the first thing everybody who came to the Forum sessions got was a carefully outlined list of discussion topics and the baseline report. The participants did not waste arguing about facts or what topics to discuss. They could focus on the key questions. But it still took almost two years for discussions. We recruited a dynamic chair for the Forum up front, a remarkable public citizen named Herb Eli. We recruited top speakers on urban policy to provide guidance to whoever answered the call. Neal Peirce was the first invited Forum speakers. Neal was the authority on urban revitalization. He seemed very proud that his work had spawned the Forum. We hoped that such speakers and the challenge of helping shape their community would attract

the best minds in our community to say what they wanted their city to become. Not tomorrow. Not in a year or two ahead which is a normal government horizon. But to take at least a 20-year view.

Over 10,000 Phoenix citizens ultimately answered the call to participate in the Forum. They listened to the speakers and the next session sat in breakout sessions, around flip charts and put their ideas on post-it notes. Then the convenor would group those notes into categories and consolidate similar points so eventually they fit into a consensus. From a forest of post-it notes, and hours of discussion, the breakout groups came to conclusions that everybody could sign off on. And recommendations that came out had the momentum of that consensus behind them. The process gave the recommendations not only credibility but momentum.

And there was a second part to making the Forum successful. The then City Manager, Marvin Andrews, in my estimation the best city manager in America at the time, took the citizen recommendations seriously. As the Forum was going forward, as the citizens were meeting and making decisions, Marvin made sure that his top city staff were in there observing meetings firsthand. They didn't try to drive the recommendations. But they listened, they heard what citizens were saying. Under the Charter, I could not have ordered him to do what he did. It was his initiative. And when the recommendations came out, Marvin made sure that they were incorporated into the next budget and into department procedures. He took the play book outlined by the Forum and ran with it. Almost overnight, the Forum recommendations went from highly theoretical to very practical, from post-it notes to new City projects. Phoenix started recycling its trash and changing how storm sewers were sized and routed and much more.

After hundreds of hours of discussion and countless post-it notes, the Forum participants came up with A Declaration of Commitment for shaping the future of Phoenix. It took longer than we thought, and we made some mistakes. But the result was an inspiring example of what motivated and empowered citizens can accomplish. I think they did an amazing job. Looking back 35 years later, most of their goals have been accomplished. And Phoenix won All America City honors in 1989 in large part because of their work.

A long-range vision that didn't turn out as well as the Futures Forum was called Valtrans. Area cities took years working out a transit plan for central Arizona. The mayors of Scottsdale, Tempe, Mesa and Glendale and I traveled all over the country and Canada looking at successful transit systems. Unfortunately, we were working under a statute that required the new system be countywide and built all at once. It would have been better to start from a center point (possibly Sky Harbor Airport) and grow out slowly rather than try to sell people on hundreds of miles of track all at once. But that was the way the legislature ordered it done. I learned an abiding lesson -- if you're going to fight for a public cause, avoid one where the terms are written by a legislator who wants you to fail. Valtrans was unsuccessful at the ballot largely because it was so big in a county that was not familiar with good public transit. No other city has done it that way, for good reason. So, the Phoenix area missed a great opportunity. If Valtrans had been

approved in 1988, our metro area would have enjoyed first class rail transit years earlier than it was ultimately built. A better system at lower cost with less traffic disruption.

Another missed opportunity was Rio Salado. Dean Elmore at Arizona State University Department of Architecture and his students came up with an outlandishly visionary plan to revegetate the Salt Riverbed. To turn a string of waste dumps into a public recreation area. The idea of Rio Salado kicked around for years before we had the chance to vote on the plan. Unfortunately, like Valtrans, it needed countywide approval and like Valtrans, it lost. But the seed was planted, and Rio is going forward in sections, with Tempe Town Lake and lots of individual recreation centers coming to reality. I think it's going to be a jewel of a park someday. We have reports of beavers coming up the Salt River from the Colorado. If the beavers are coming, the good times for Rio Salado must be around the corner.

TS After you finished your term as Mayor of Phoenix, what did you do for the next few years?

TG I made the unwise decision to run for Governor. In 1990, Fife Symington and I ran a virtual dead heat in the General Election and did it all over again in the first Arizona gubernatorial run-off. In the previous election, Evan Mecham was elected in a three-way contest with less than a majority vote. The Legislature, not wanting that to ever see that happen again, passed a law saying that to win a candidate had to have 50% of the vote plus one. No one thought an election would be that close. But in 1990 a third-party candidate got almost 2%. With Fife and I basically tied, no one had 50%. There were no rules on how to conduct a run-off election and when they were finally drafted they had to be cleared by the Justice Department which took months. The run-off election couldn't be held until March of 1991. That not only meant campaigning during the Holiday Season but during the US invasion of Iraq in January. Voters were distracted, to say the least. It seemed like every member of President Bush's Cabinet came to Arizona for Fife and he won.

I ran for Governor again in 1994, coming in second in the primary to Eddie Basha. That was a good thing. During the campaign, I came to admire Eddie and after the election volunteered full time for his campaign. Had things gone a little differently, Eddie Basha would have been a fantastic governor. After that, I took a turn at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development as the Arizona coordinator and briefly as the head of HUD Multi-family Housing in Washington.

TS Okay. What kinds of things did you do as director of the HUD?

TG I joined HUD because of an extraordinary former mayor named Henry Cisneros. Under Henry's leadership, HUD embarked on major urban quality improvement programs including Community Builders. Here in Arizona and across the country, we recruited amazing talent as community builders who stepped forward to be catalysts for change in their communities, not just the housing side, but on employment side and the recreation facility side and the

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transportation side. I mean all the elements needed for communities to thrive. Things the Community Builders made it easier for the cities and towns to obtain.

TS So then, let's go into your time as attorney general.

TS You worked at the attorney general's office when you first came out of law school.

TG ...I was the lowest attorney in the office.

TS Who was the attorney general you were working for then?

TG Bruce Babbitt.

TS Bruce Babbitt. Okay. Later on you decided to run for attorney general yourself; what are you proud of that you accomplished as attorney general?

TG Oh you just made a 30-year jump. Returning to the AG Office was a wonderful opportunity to come full circle. My first job out of law school was in the special prosecutions unit. The Arizona AG had never had criminal prosecution authority until Bruce Babbitt, faced with the most serious land fraud problems in the country, was able to get the authority for his office to go after multi-county fraud, white-collar crimes. We were the first lawyers to implement that new criminal authority. But, there was no space for us. We were assigned to the basement of the old Capitol. We cleaned out the storage area and moved in some desks. My job was to keep the documents for the fraud case against the officers of Lincoln Thrift. I took over an old safe from Territorial days as my office where I piled thousands of newly seized records. I found a rattlesnake in the back of that safe. That helped assure us we were on the right track -- getting the snakes out of Arizona.

TS Yes.

TG But in spite of the snakes and the poor accommodation, we completed the long investigation into the Lincoln Thrift fraud leading to a successful six-month long trial. I was blessed to start my legal career with a group of great public lawyers. The team that won convictions in the Lincoln Thrift prosecution included another lawyer just out of law school, a fellow named Mike Cudahy. Mike went on to be the top criminal prosecutor in Arizona. Nobody was better at the job. As head of the Criminal Division, he personally tried at least one case in each of Arizona's counties. There's an award named for Mike recognizing the year's top prosecutor. And so, when I came back in 2002, it was old home week. Not exactly returning to the basement but to a great team of public lawyers. The Office had moved to down Washington Street but had similar challenges as 1976 and were still representing the people in an honorable and highly professional way. In the terms of the Old West, Assistant AGs wore the white hats. I even commissioned Bob Boze

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Bell to do a set of lithographs commemorating those dedicated Attorneys General in the White Hats.

TS How many attorneys worked in the attorney general's office?

TG About 500.

TS So that – one of the biggest law firms in the...

TG The biggest.

TS ...state?

TG The biggest.

TS Yep. Okay. Now, let's talk a little bit about the initiative process in Arizona and see if we can tie together this 30-year gap now. The initiative process is something that you've been fairly interested in from the very beginning, and now your latest project is outlawing dark money. Talk to me about how that process works in Arizona. The kind of challenges that you have because of the difficulties with that whole process. How do you get a group together to decide that this is an initiative that we want to pass, and the legislature won't have anything to do with it.

TG Well you just circled the problem. For starters you need a group who sees a problem they can't get the Legislature or a city council to do anything about. In Arizona, citizens can literally take the law into their own hands. They can – if you get enough signatures of eligible voters on a petition – put a law on a ballot so voters can decide whether to approve it or not, yes or no. And that's a privilege not available in all states. It's in our constitution—citizen power is deep in the soul of Arizona. The great story is that President Taft would not approve Arizona for statehood because our constitution contained the recall of judges. So the legislature dutifully took judicial recall out and resubmitted. Taft allowed Arizona to become a state. Of course, the following November the Arizona voters put recall back in. This showed (a) how important citizen power was to our founders, and (b) how ornery Arizonans were and still are.

A dispute continues to this day about initiatives. Folks who care about being able to take charge if they think all else has failed versus folks who hate having mere citizens legislate. Usually, the second group is made up of members of the legislature. So, over the years the Legislature has made the initiative process more and more difficult. It's difficult enough to get the constitutionally required number of signatures. You need 5% of the vote for Governor in the prior election to get a referendum on the ballot. You need 10% for an initiative. And 15% for a constitutional amendment or a recall. That may have been a manageable number in statehood

From Terry Goddard 2023 Video Interview

times but today with seven or eight million voters, it's a very, very big challenge. But the Legislature keeps adding additional requirements such as the precise petition size, language and margins, registration of paid petition circulators and disqualification for all signatures gathered by a paid circulator who does not show up for a hearing (although no proof is required that the circulator knew that they were required to be there).

TS The outlaw the dark money proposition was started in 2018 or...?

TG *[Laughs]* Earlier. 2016 was our first try. As you point out, much of my career has been tied up with initiatives. My first political effort was to refer a gas tax passed by the legislature to a vote. Our group of public transit advocates thought the tax was wrong for not including some money for public transit plus it was uncapped since it collected a percentage of the price of gas per gallon instead of a fixed number. We warned voters that gas prices might go over a dollar a gallon sometime in the future and the tax collections would soar accordingly. For the first time in I think 50 years we got enough signatures to refer a new law to the ballot. Governor Babbitt and Burton Barr offered a compromise to avoid the referendum vote that still provides the backbone funding for public transit in Arizona. My second initiative was the effort to make the Phoenix city council elected by districts not at large.

Now fast forward to 2016. Unable to get the Legislature to pass legislation requiring which would require disclosure about who was paying for political advertisements, we started passing an anti-Dark Money petition in 2016. But we started too late to be successful. In 2018, I believe we had enough signatures, but the Arizona Supreme Court disagreed and tossed out enough signatures to put us just below the required number to qualify for the ballot. In 2020 we were on track to get it done when COVID hit in March. We had to withdraw because Arizona law requires that the circulator personally witness every signature on a petition. Not allowing voters to sign a petition online. Since COVID put our volunteers at risk we had to stop. Finally in 2022, we got enough signatures, overcame several legal challenges and the Voters Right To Know initiative took its place on the ballot. A rousing 72% of Arizona voters said "yes." In the long, long petitioning effort, not a single person, told me they would rather not know who was paying for political ads, that they preferred to stay 'in the dark.' I think we proved that Arizonans regardless of political orientation hate Dark Money in politics.

TS Now there are some challenges in the court now.

TG Yes, we knew there would be. The Dark Money forces are relentless and very well financed.

TS Who defends it?

TG It's defended by the Arizona Clean Elections Commission. They have the authority and the obligation to defend the statute in court. In addition, the group that that helped write the statute,

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the Campaign Legal Center in Washington, is also defending on behalf of the Voters Right to Know committee. CLC is a bipartisan group of great lawyers who used to work for the Federal Elections Commission. The Arizona Secretary of State and Attorney General are also helping with the defense.

TS What else would you like to talk about now?

TG *[Laughs]* The desert in Spring?

TS The desert in the spring – I heard you talking a little earlier about Payson and some places that you like to go.

TG Well, there's hardly a road in Arizona I haven't at least tried to follow. Sometimes very slowly. But it is always a joy to be out in this incredible state. My parents loved exploring the desert, throughout Northern Mexico and Southern Arizona on family trips – my dad's slogan was if it says 'no trespassing,' it means a good place to have a picnic. Dirt roads make the most spectacular and rewarding journeys.

TS *[Laughs]* What do you want your legacy to be?

TG An Arizona that lives up to its potential. That in a small way I helped conserve some of our state's amazing resources, human and natural. I hope it can be said I helped Phoenix grow right, and mature into a livable place. I often get frustrated that, with so much going for it, our state fritters away opportunities with missteps and myopic development. The test of time is relentless, and Arizona still fails too often.

That's one reason I'm involved with water issues. Trying to make Arizonans more aware of how perilous our water future has become before it's too late. Water is the one resource that can put the brakes on Arizona's prosperity. We live in a desert after all. We need to embrace that fact and plan accordingly. All great civilizations have been in deserts. Nothing unique about that. But the lack of careful management of our most critical resource could be our undoing. The fact that Phoenix is a great city today is a tribute to great water management in the last century. Salt River Project was the first big reclamation project in the United States followed 50 years later by the CAP, one of the engineering marvels of all time. Both were federal and state collaborations and extraordinary accomplishments. Water projects of that magnitude take decades to plan and develop. After two monumental triumphs in astute water management, Arizona apparently decided to quit. Our state has not taken the next step in securing our water future. To win the battle for the CAP funding, the business and political forces in Arizona came together in the 1950s and '60s for a sustained effort. Today these same groups act like there is no problem. They ignore the possibility that we face a much dryer future. A total effort, like the one which won the CAP and built the SRP, is needed. I hope I can help muster the collaboration

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needed for the next steps in securing Arizona's water future.

TS So let's talk a little more about the water situation. Your father was involved in the original agreement on the Colorado River when he was Governor.

TG Dad was very involved in the planning and advocacy for the Central Arizona Project. He was Governor when the congressional work was coming together. He gave hours of congressional testimony on behalf of Arizona and was a big part of the Arizona support system that helped to get the CAP passed, but he was out of office when it finally did. Because of his involvement, I slipped into a front row seat for much of the strategizing and arguing that kept CAP alive in spite of massive California (and Colorado) opposition. I sat in on the hearings and watched the dynamic combination of John Rhodes and Mo Udall work seamlessly, Republican and Democrat together, for Arizona under the watchful eye of Senator Carl Hayden and Interior Secretary Udall.

Dad was one of the early members of the board of the Central Arizona Project. For a while he and I served on the board at the same time. CAP provides the largest source of water for Central Arizona, providing for the health and safety of 6 million people and 90% of our state's economy including a booming semiconductor industry. CAP serves more tribes than any water service entity in the country. But now we're looking at the possibility of cuts that could significantly reduce both Tribal and city deliveries from the Colorado River. Arizona must fight for its share of that water. Nothing is certain. I believe we have legal, economic and moral arguments to successfully defend our share of the Colorado River. That doesn't mean that we're going to get everything we used to have. But it does mean that the shortage in the basin shouldn't come from CAP customers alone. The rest of the Basin and the rest of Arizona have to share any shortage.

TS Is that reallocation gonna be happening in Washington? Or...

TG Actually the tradition of the Colorado River is for the seven Basin states to work out their own solution. All the work that has been done so far to divide the Colorado has been done jointly by the states that border the River and take water from the River. Plus Mexico. So, my hope is that the seven states will get together and produce an agreement which will recognize that the river is now approximately half what they thought it was back in 1922 when the Colorado Compact was signed. The picture is stark. The shortage is serious. I think we can deal with the shortage, but it won't be easy. We've got to reach agreement with agricultural water users here in Arizona on how water will be allocated during the worst shortages. Agriculture uses 75% of the state's water so they must be part of any solution. That may mean that in the years of the worst shortage fewer acres will be farmed so that the industry and the economy of Arizona can survive. The clock is ticking.

TS Where is that agricultural area that will have to cut back?

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TG: It's on the River. It's in Yuma, Mohave, and La Paz counties. They use about a million acre feet of water a year, a little more...

TS It's where some of our fresh fruits and vegetables come from?

TG Winter vegetables, yes. But it's also where Saudi Arabia and China get most of their alfalfa. There's got to be a reckoning as to how Arizona uses its water.

TS So, that's changing the crops that they're planting to something different? Or...or...

TG I can't see that far in the future, but I think we need a recognition that Central Arizona has a dynamic and growing and very productive economy. It doesn't make sense to say that one group of users gets 75% of the water while 80% of the economy goes without. We must hammer out an agreement to prevent that result. It's been done in California.

TS How do you convince people that they're gonna have to do that? Or is it gonna be by fiat?

TG It could be by fiat. The power is on the side of the population and the economy. But the farmers are a big part of the Arizona heritage, and they produce significant value which should be respected. We have a great example of how to reach a solution to a tough water problem. Gov. Bruce Babbitt and the business community in 1980 came together to draft and pass the ground water code. That was a great example of leadership and cooperation to assure Arizona had water. Today the stakes are even higher but the formula for putting all the interests in a room to get an agreement on Colorado River water could be the same as in 1980.

TS You mean the legislature's gonna have to do that?

TG Yes they do – or the citizens could do it themselves. One new ground water program was just approved by voters in Cochise County to approve establishing a new AMA there. I think the Verde Valley is ripe for a similar citizen's initiative, if the legislature doesn't act soon.

TS Are you gonna be involved in that one?

TG I think I am. *[Laughs]*

TS You're already involved in that one. *[Laughs]* Okay. Okay. Anything else that you want to add to this conversation?

TG *[Laughs]* You've touched on a lot of history. I'm working on restoring a historic church

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building in downtown Phoenix which I hope will become a community gathering spot. I was there this morning trying to, you know, to see how our restoration efforts are going. The building was burned in 1984 and lost the roof of the center nave in the fire, but the walls remained standing thanks to heroic firefighting leaving a beautiful ruin. It has the eclectic blend of architectural styles you find throughout the Southwest. We've lost too much of our architectural heritage. I hope the Monroe Street Abbey will inspire the owners of other historic buildings to think about restoring them instead of adding more parking lots.

TS Now, is your office a Preservation Project, too?

TG In a modest way, yes. My office is a 1912 building. I enjoy working there and contributing a bit to the historic street scape. One thing I look back on and think job well done, is the emergence of respect for Phoenix's history and our historic neighborhoods in particular. Of course, the neighborhoods have shown their spunk in the process. But I believe I helped. Back in 1989 against all odds, Phoenix voters passed a bond issue to put money into preserving historic buildings in a time of recession. The pundits said no way were the voters going to pick up that expense. But the voters of Phoenix came through. The National Trust for Historic Preservation gave Phoenix an Honor Award for that funding and having more buildings recognized as historic. More than Boston, more than San Francisco. Hooray!

TS What are some of the examples of the ones that have been preserved? Is the Encanto area...

TG Encanto, Palmcroft, Willo, Story, Roosevelt, the list of historic neighborhoods goes on. Coronado. Since 50 years is the threshold age, there are more neighborhoods becoming eligible and being included. The first day that a realtor advertised that they specialized in historic properties, preservation in Phoenix came of age. Well, that happened about 30 years ago and – and now there are many very qualified specialists in historic neighborhoods. Being historic has value.

Questions by Historical League member, Diana Smith

DS Tom wouldn't necessarily know this, but when you started the initiative to figure out what Phoenix was gonna do in 2020, I think you drove the decision to also do that in Scottsdale.

TG I hope so, yes.

DS How many other cities did you set the initiative for?

TG Well, a lot of activists from other cities came to the sessions. They were very welcome. Scottsdale and others adopted parts of the Forum formula to fit their situations. I'm proud of the Phoenix Futures Forum and it worked well for Phoenix, but it would be hard to duplicate

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completely. Both the timing of and the payment for the Forum worked out well. It came at a time of extraordinary citizen activation in Phoenix. People wanted to do something big after changing the system for electing the council. The City was willing to put a fair amount of money into guest speakers, and the research needed to lay a careful groundwork. The other hard to duplicate part is how much the Peirce Report jump-started the discussions. The Republic in effect paid for the starting ground for the Forum to build on. Our citizen committees took the Peirce assessment as a challenge. “Okay, we messed up, how can we rise out of the ashes? How do we make our city a success?”

Over ten thousand people put their stamp on the Phoenix Futures Forum. Other cities have attempted visioning statements with varying degrees of public participation, but I don’t think anything like the scale of the Futures Forum has been done. Other cities have picked up parts of the Forum effort. But Phoenix did soup to nuts.

DS Well, the Peirce Report also made a big difference because it was like every other city started looking at themselves saying, we don’t want Peirce in here...

TG *[Laughs]*

DS ...downgrading us, so we’d better get our act together, too.

TG Neal Peirce went on to create a business doing city reports. His team must’ve done 40 or 50 of them before he passed away. It was a labor of love for Neal.

DS I think that’s an important point that Terry did inspire a lot of stuff, a lot of conversations in the various cities around the Valley.

TG Mm-hm.

DS And made it a better – a better Valley....

TG I think so. I hope so.

DS Yeah.

TG The Forum was a tribute to the quality work citizens can do. And the City’s contribution, besides bringing in great speakers, was to focus their efforts, to make the task not seem so large that folks would feel they could never get to the top of the mountain. Making things manageable was Chris Gates’ great contribution. He brought his experience from the Civic League and encouraged us to take on reasonable and – and obtainable goals. But what mattered most was the energy of the people who showed up.

DS A lot of those sitting there.

TG The usual result of the best intended citizen activities is a great report that gathers dust for decades in some basement. But because of Marvin Andrews things started happening in Phoenix and continued after I left as Mayor. The Forum recommendations transfused into the soul of the City.

TS What other areas do you think that could work in now? We have a political climate now that...

TG It's more negative.

TS It's negative and it turns people off.

TG With the Forum we had a great moment, and we took advantage of it. I mean, there was a feeling in the late '80s that citizens in Phoenix, with effort and smarts, could get almost anything done. Voters are much more skeptical today. But a process like the Forum that transparently harnesses citizen talent and energy to confront problems could go a long way to reestablish trust and restore credibility.

TS Yes.

TG We capitalized on that feeling of optimism, of citizen directed potential, in two successful bond issues, the big one in 1988. And then a tag-along bond issue in '89. Even in the face of a serious economic downturn, citizens put their money behind their vision of transforming Phoenix. I have to say much of the optimism, of the activists' sense of their power, came out of the neighborhood associations. It started in the historic neighborhoods, and it spread. Citizens would say to themselves I'm part of a neighborhood group and the City Council ought to listen to me. And the legislature ought to listen to us. And I'm going to make sure that they do. Citizen power was real. Seems like this is a time for a new neighborhood revival. Worth a try.

TS Gigi George was always good at getting people to listen to her.

TG Gigi George was a singularly effective neighborhood leader. She is a gifted orator. She was most inspiring concerning her Encanto neighborhood. Encanto became an entity, a political entity as well as a planning entity because of Gigi. She got people off the bench to fight the freeway threat. Bruce Babbitt (who was Gigi's neighbor), Ron Warneke, and other bright, young lawyers, took up the freeway fight long before I lived in the area. They killed the original I-10 Freeway design, the one that was going to be 100 feet in the air. I was a beneficiary of their effort and energy.

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TS Thank you for your time today.

End of transcript