

The Politics of Protest

The Big Ideas

SECTION 1: The Student Movement and the Counterculture

Societies change over time. During the 1960s, many of the country's young people raised their voices in protest against numerous aspects of American society.

SECTION 2: The Feminist Movement

Social and economic crises lead to new roles for government. During the 1960s and 1970s, a large number of American women organized to push for greater rights and opportunities in society.

SECTION 3: New Approaches to Civil Rights

The quest for equality is eternal. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, minority groups developed new ways to improve their status in the United States.

SECTION 4: Saving the Earth

Societies change over time. During the 1960s and 1970s, environmental issues became a significant concern for many Americans.



The American Vision: Modern Times Video The Chapter 18 video, "Behind the Scenes with César," profiles the role that César Chávez played in the United Farm Workers organization.



United States PRESIDENTS

- 1960** Eisenhower 1953–1961
- 1961** Kennedy 1961–1963
- 1963** L. Johnson 1963–1969
- 1969** Nixon 1969–1974

1962

- Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* published

1963

- Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* published

1966

- National Organization for Women (NOW) organized

1969

- Woodstock music festival held in New York

1970

- First Earth Day observed

World

- 1962** China and Soviet Union have diplomatic disagreements
- 1964** China becomes world's fifth nuclear power
- 1966** Indira Gandhi becomes prime minister of India
- 1968** Soviet Union halts democratic uprising in Czechoslovakia



Labor leader César Chávez meeting with farmworkers

1972

- Use of pesticide DDT banned

1973

- Supreme Court issues *Roe v. Wade* ruling
- AIM and government clash at Wounded Knee, South Dakota



1979

- Nuclear accident at Three Mile Island

Ford
1974–1977

Carter
1977–1981

1975

1980

1972

- Britain imposes direct rule on Northern Ireland

1975

- End of the Portuguese empires in Africa

1979

- Ayatollah Khomeini leads Islamic overthrow of Iran

HISTORY
Online

Chapter Overview

Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 18** to preview chapter information.

Preparing to Read Chapter 18

Reading Skill

Evaluating

Effective readers evaluate information as they read. They draw conclusions and form opinions about events, ideas, and people in history. For example, at times readers may disagree with the decision made by a historical figure or approve of the actions of a group of people. It is important for you to form opinions about what you read. It is also important that you are able to support your opinions. This will help you understand the text better.

As you read, imagine what might make a person or group of people behave in a particular way. Ask yourself questions about their motives, as well as whether you need more information. Notice when you react strongly to something you read, whether it is positive or negative. Why do you feel that way?

Read the following passage about a girl joining her school's swim team in 1971 and write a sentence or two about your reaction to the reading.



EVALUATING

Consider your own background knowledge and experiences when evaluating—what do you already know about this topic?

In 1971, [Kathy] Striebel, a high school junior in St. Paul, Minnesota, wanted to compete for her school's swim team, but the school did not allow girls to join. Kathy's mother, Charlotte, . . . filed a grievance with the city's human rights department, and officials required the school to allow Kathy to swim.

Shortly after joining the team, Kathy beat out one of the boys and earned a spot at a meet. As she stood on the block waiting to swim, the opposing coach declared that she was ineligible to compete because the meet was outside St. Paul. . . . "They pulled that little girl right off the block," Charlotte Striebel recalled angrily. (page 817)

How did you react to this story? What do you believe is the author's opinion, and why do you think so? Do you think your evaluation of the passage influenced the way you feel about what the passage says?

Apply the Skill

While you read the text under "Fighting for Greater Opportunity" on pages 825–827 of your textbook, write down your opinions on the issues you learn about. Make sure you include reasons for your opinions.



Historical Interpretation You should recognize that there can be causal and other connections between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.

When two events are related and connected in time, we often think that one event caused the other. Of course there can be other relationships between events. Have you ever flipped a light switch and had all of the power in your house shut off? If you tripped a breaker and caused the power to shut off, your action caused the power outage. You would call the relationship between these two events causal. Perhaps, though, a power line worker stopped the flow of power in your neighborhood to repair a transformer just as you turned the switch. In this case, it was a coincidence that the events occurred at the same time. Such a relationship is considered a correlation, and the events are called correlational.

Read the following passages about protest movements.

College life empowered young people with a newfound sense of freedom and independence. It also allowed them to meet and bond with others who shared their feelings about society and fears about the future. It was on college campuses across the nation where the protest movements would rage the loudest. (page 808)

Women had also gained a better understanding of their inequalities in society from their experiences in the civil rights and antiwar movements. Often they were restricted to menial tasks and rarely had a say in any policy decisions. From the broader perspective, the women's movement was part of the 1960s quest for rights. (page 815)

Based on these passages, do you think the protests during the Vietnam War caused the women's movement? Did they only share a correlation because they occurred at the same time? Did these protests show a historical trend towards greater civic involvement by ordinary people?

Apply the Skill

As you read through the chapter, identify the protest movements that developed and the shape they took. Then try to determine whether the movements were correlational or causal. If causal, state which movements caused other movements to develop.



The Student Movement and the Counterculture

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous chapter, you learned about the Vietnam War. In this section, you will learn how the student movement and the counterculture developed and influenced American society.

Main Idea

- The youth protest movement of the 1960s included Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Free Speech Movement. (p. 807)
- During the 1960s some young people rebelled against the values of the older generation. (p. 809)

- Mainstream culture gradually accepted some of the ideas and styles of the youth movement. (p. 811)

Content Vocabulary

counterculture, commune

Academic Vocabulary

validate, rational, derive

People and Terms to Identify

Port Huron Statement, Tom Hayden, Haight-Ashbury district, Jimi Hendrix

Reading Objectives

- **Explain** the origins of the nation's youth movement.

- **Define** the goals of serious members of the counterculture.

Reading Strategy

Taking Notes As you read about the student movement and culture of the 1960s, use the major headings of the section to create an outline similar to the one below.

The Student Movement and the Counterculture

- I. The Growth of the Youth Movement
 - A.
 - B.
 - C.
- II.
 - A.
 - B.

Preview of Events

◆ 1961

1962

Students for a Democratic Society deliver Port Huron Statement

◆ 1964

1964

Free Speech Movement begins; the Beatles embark on their first U.S. tour

◆ 1967

August, 1969

400,000 young people gather at Woodstock music festival

◆ 1970

The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.3 Students analyze the role religion played in the founding of America, its lasting moral, social and political impacts, and issues regarding religious liberty.

11.3.4 Discuss the expanding religious pluralism in the United States and California that resulted from large-scale immigration in the twentieth century.

11.9.4 List the effects of foreign policy on domestic policies and vice versa (e.g., protests during the war in Vietnam, the “nuclear freeze” movement).

The Big Idea

Societies change over time. During the 1960s, many young people grew concerned about the nation's future and became active in social causes. More young people enrolled in colleges, and on college campuses several groups formed that aimed at bringing attention to what they saw as political and social injustices. The counterculture movement attempted to break away from traditional society. Some people embraced new spiritual movements and religions. While the counterculture movement did not last long, it did have a lasting impact on society. Mainstream society gradually accepted some aspects of the counterculture, such as its fashion, art, music, and dance.

The Growth of the Youth Movement

Main Idea The youth protest movement of the 1960s included Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and the Free Speech Movement.

Reading Connection Do you belong to or know of any groups that work to improve society? Read on to learn how the youth of the 1960s protested the social injustices of their time.

The 1960s was one of the most tumultuous and chaotic decades in United States history. The decade also gave birth to a conspicuous youth movement, which challenged the American political and social system and conventional middle-class values. Perhaps no other time in the nation's history witnessed such protest.

★ An American Story ★

On December 2, 1964, Mario Savio, a 20-year-old philosophy student at the University of California at Berkeley, stood before a supportive crowd at the school's administration building. The massive "sit in" demonstration was the climax of a month long battle between school officials and students over unpopular campus policies. Facing the crowd, Savio urged them to continue pressuring school officials. In his speech he called the university a cold and heartless "machine" that deserved to be shut down.

“There's a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you . . . can't even tacitly take part,” he declared. “And you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels . . . you've got to make it stop. And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you're free the machine will be prevented from working at all.”

—quoted in *Decade of Shocks*

The 1960s was a decade of protests and movements to change society. It was the 1950s, however, that gave rise to this time of change.

The Roots of the Movement The roots of the 1960s youth movement stretched back to the 1950s. In the decade after World War II, the nation's economy boomed, and much of the country enjoyed a time of

peace and prosperity. Prosperity did not extend to all, however, and some, especially the artists and writers of the “beat” movement, had openly criticized American society. They believed it valued conformity over independence and financial gain over spiritual and social advancement. Meanwhile, such events as the growing nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union made many more of the nation's youth uneasy about their future. Writer Todd Gitlin, who was a senior at the Bronx High School of Science in 1959, recalls the warning that the editors of his student yearbook delivered.

“In today's atomic age . . . the flames of war would write *finis* not only to our civilization, but to our very existence. Mankind may find itself unable to rise again should it be consumed in a nuclear pyre of its own making. In the years to come, members of this class will bear an ever-increasing responsibility for the preservation of the heritage given us.”

—from *The Sixties*

Concern about the future led many young people to become more active in social causes, from the civil rights movement to President Kennedy's Peace Corps. The emergence of the youth movement grew out of the huge numbers of people of the postwar “baby boom” generation. By 1970, 58.4 percent of the American population was 34 years old or younger. (By comparison, those 34 or younger in 2000 represented an estimated 48.9 percent.)



◀ Mario Savio

The early 1960s saw another phenomenon that fueled the youth movement—the rapid increase in enrollment at colleges throughout the nation. The economic boom of the 1950s led to a boom in higher education, since more families could afford to send their children to college. Between 1960 and 1966, enrollment in 4-year institutions rose from 3.1 million to almost 5 million students. College life empowered young people with a newfound sense of freedom and independence. It also allowed them to meet and bond with others who shared their feelings about society and fears about the future. It was on college campuses across the nation where the protest movements would rage the loudest.

Students for a Democratic Society Some youths were concerned most about the injustices they saw in the country’s political and social system. In their view, a few wealthy elites controlled politics, and wealth itself was unfairly divided. These young people formed what came to be known as the New Left. (The “new” left differed from the “old” left of the 1930s, which had advocated socialism and communism.) A prominent organization of this group was the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). It defined its views in a 1962 declaration known as the

Port Huron Statement. Written largely by **Tom Hayden**, editor of the University of Michigan’s student newspaper, the declaration called for an end to apathy and urged citizens to stop accepting a country run by big corporations and big government.

SDS groups focused on protesting the Vietnam War, but they also addressed such issues as poverty, campus regulations, nuclear power, and racism. In 1968, for example, SDS leaders assisted in an eight-day occupation of several buildings at Columbia University in New York City to protest the administration’s plan to build a new gym in an area that served as a neighborhood park near Harlem.

The Free Speech Movement Another group of protesters who captured the nation’s attention were members of the Free Speech Movement, led by Mario Savio and others at the University of California at Berkeley. The issue that sparked the movement was the university’s decision in the fall of 1964 to restrict students’ rights to distribute literature and to recruit volunteers for political causes on campus. The protesters, however, quickly targeted more general campus matters and drew in more and more supporters.

Like many college students, those at Berkeley were disgruntled with the practices at their university.

Officials divided huge classes into sections taught by graduate students, while many professors claimed they were too busy with research to meet with students. Faceless administrators made rules that were not always easy to obey and imposed punishments for violations. Isolated in this impersonal environment, many Berkeley students found a purpose in the Free Speech Movement.

The struggle between school administrators and students peaked on December 2, 1964, with the sit-in and Savio’s famous speech at the administration building. Early the next morning, California Governor Pat Brown sent in 600 police officers to break up the demonstration. Police arrested more than 700 protesters.



Picturing History

Youth Movement The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) worked to address many of the problems they saw in the 1960s. Made up primarily of college students, the group was suspicious of the motives of adults.

Where did the SDS begin its reform crusade?

The arrests set off a new and even larger protest movement. Within a few days, thousands of Berkeley students participated in a campus-wide strike, stopping classes for two days. Much of the faculty also voiced its support for the Free Speech Movement. In the face of this growing opposition, the administration gave in to the students' demands shortly before the Christmas recess.

The following week, the Supreme Court **validated** the students' First Amendment rights to freedom of speech and assembly on campus. In a unanimous vote, the Court upheld the section of the Civil Rights Act assuring these rights in places offering public accommodations, which, by definition, included college campuses. The Berkeley revolt was one of the earliest outbursts in a decade of campus turmoil. The tactics the protesters used there—abandoning classes and occupying buildings—would serve as a model for college demonstrators across the country.

Reading Check **Synthesizing** What were three reasons for the growth of the youth movement of the 1960s?

The Counterculture

Main Idea During the 1960s some young people rebelled against the values of the older generation.

Reading Connection Do you know of any groups that rebel against the older generation today? Read on to learn about the utopias of the 1960s.

While a number of young Americans in the 1960s sought to challenge the system, others wanted to leave it and build their own society. Throughout the decade, thousands of mostly white youths turned away from their middle- and upper-class existence and created a new lifestyle—one that promoted the virtues of flamboyant dress, rock music, drug use, and free and independent living. With their alternative ways of life, these young men and women formed what became known as the **counterculture** and were commonly called “hippies.”

Hippie Culture Originally, hippie culture represented a rebellion against the dominant culture in the United States. This included a rejection of Western civilization, of **rationality**, order, and the traditional val-



Picturing History

The Counterculture Commonly known as “hippies,” members of the counterculture separated themselves from society in the 1960s by trying to create their own culture of love and tolerance. **What western city was a focal point of the hippie culture?**

ues of the middle class. At its core, the counterculture held up a utopian ideal: the ideal of a society that was freer, closer to nature, and full of love, empathy, tolerance, and cooperation. Much of this was in reaction to the 1950s American stereotype of the man in the gray flannel suit who led a constricted and colorless life.

When the movement grew larger, many of the newcomers did not always understand these original ideas of the counterculture. For them, what mattered were the outward signs that defined the movement—long hair, Native American headbands, cowboy boots, long dresses, shabby jeans, and the use of drugs such as marijuana and LSD. Drug use, especially, came to be associated with the hippie culture.

Many hippies desired to literally drop out of society by leaving home and living together with other youths in **communes**—group living arrangements in which members shared everything and worked together. A number of hippies established communes in small and rural communities, while others lived together in parks or crowded apartments in the nation's large cities. One of the most popular hippie destinations became San Francisco's **Haight-Ashbury district**. By the mid 1960s, thousands of hippies had flocked there.

New Religious Movements In their rejection of materialism, many members of the counterculture

embraced spirituality. This included a broad range of beliefs, from astrology and magic to Eastern religions and new forms of Christianity.

Many of the religious groups centered around authoritarian leaders. In these groups, the leader dominated others and controlled their lives, sometimes to the point of arranging marriages between members. Religion became the central experience in the believer's life. The authoritarian figure was a sort of parent figure, and believers formed an extended family that took the place of the family into which a member had been born. This could lead to painful conflicts. Some parents accused religious sects of using mind-control methods; some attempted to recapture and "deprogram" their children.

Two new religious groups that attracted considerable attention beginning in the 1960s were the Unification Church and the Hare Krishna movement. Both were offshoots of established religions, and both came from abroad. Members of the Unification Church were popularly known as "Moonies," after their Korean-born founder, the

Reverend Sun Myung Moon. He claimed to have had a vision in which Jesus told Moon that he was the next messiah and was charged with restoring the Kingdom of God on Earth. The Hare Krishnas traced their spiritual lineage to a Hindu sect that began in India in the 1400s and worshiped the god Krishna. In dress, diet, worship, and general style of living, Hare Krishnas tried to emulate these Hindu practitioners of another time and place.

The Counterculture Declines After a few years, the counterculture movement began to deteriorate. Some hippie communities in the cities soon turned into seedy and dangerous places where muggings and other criminal activity became all too frequent. The glamour and excitement of drug use soon waned, especially as more and more young people became addicted or died from overdoses. In addition, a number of the people involved in the movement had gotten older and moved on in life. Upon witnessing the decline of Haight-Ashbury, one writer dismissed the one-time booming urban

 NATIONAL
GEOGRAPHIC

MOMENT in HISTORY

WOODSTOCK NATION

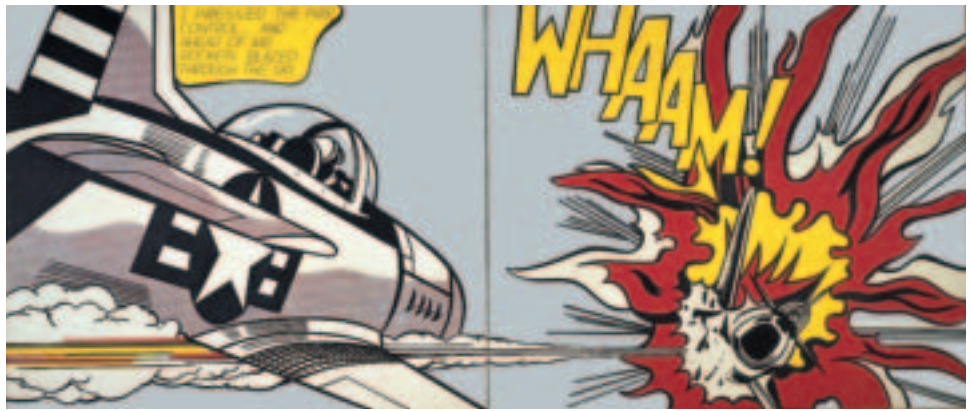
In August 1969, more than 400,000 young people descended on a 600-acre farm in upstate New York for what was billed as "three days of peace and music." Organizers of the Woodstock Music and Art Fair were overwhelmed by the turnout. Massive traffic jams, supply shortages, inadequate first aid and sanitation facilities, and torrential rainfall did not dampen the joyous spirit of the crowd. People shared their food and blankets, bathed in the rain, and listened to an amazing collection of some of the greatest musicians of the 1960s.



commune as “the desperate attempt of a handful of pathetically unequipped children to create a community out of a social vacuum.” In the end, most of the young men and women of the counterculture, unable to establish an ideal community and support themselves, returned to mainstream society.

✓ Reading Check

Summarizing What were the core ideals of members of the counterculture?



History Through Art

Pop Art Artists like Roy Lichtenstein mocked certain aspects of American life by using common examples of commercial art, such as comics and advertisements. [What statement is this piece of art making?](#)

Impact of the Counterculture

Main Idea Mainstream culture gradually accepted some of the ideas and styles of the youth movement.

Reading Connection Do young people today try to make a political statement by the way they dress or by the art forms they enjoy? Read on to learn how the 1960s youth culture affected the wider culture.

In the long run, the counterculture did change American life in some ways. Over time, mainstream America accepted many of these changes.

Fashion The counterculture generation, as one observer of the 1960s noted, dressed in costumes rather than in occupational or class uniforms. The colorful, beaded, braided, patched, and fringed garments that both men and women wore turned the fashion industry upside down. The international fashion world took its cues from young men and women on the street. As a result, men’s clothing became more colorful, and women’s clothing became more comfortable.

Protesters often expressed themselves with their clothing. The counterculture adopted military surplus attire not only because it was inexpensive, but also because it expressed rejection of materialist values and blurred the lines of social class. For the same reasons, clothing of another age was recycled, and worn-out clothing was repaired with patches. Ethnic clothing was popular for similar reasons. Beads and fringes imitated Native American costumes, while tie-dyed shirts borrowed techniques from India and Africa.

Perhaps the most potent symbol of the era was hair. A popular 1967 musical about the period was titled, fittingly, *Hair*. Long hair on a young man was the ultimate symbol of defiance. Slogans appeared, such as “Make America beautiful—give a hippie a haircut.” School officials debated the acceptable length of a student’s hair—could it curl over the collar or not? Once the initial shock wore off, however, longer hair on men and more individual clothing for both genders became generally accepted. What was once clothing of defiance was now mainstream.

Art During the 1960s, one art critic observed, the distinctions between traditional art and popular art, or pop art, dissolved. Pop art **derived** its subject matter from elements of popular culture, such as photographs, comic books, advertisements, and brand name products. Artist Andy Warhol, for example, used images of famous people, such as Marilyn Monroe and Elizabeth Taylor, and repeated them over and over. Warhol also reproduced items such as cans of soup, making the pictures as realistic as possible. Roy Lichtenstein used frames from comic strips as his inspirations. He employed the bold primary colors of red, yellow, and black, and put words like *blam* and *pow* into his paintings in comic book fashion.

Pop artists expected these symbols of popular culture to carry some of the same meaning as they did in their original form. The artists sometimes referred to themselves as only the “agents” of the art and said it was up to the observer to give meaning to the work and thus become part of it.

Music and Dance Counterculture musicians hoped that their music, rock ‘n’ roll, would be the means of toppling the establishment and reforming



▲ *Jimi Hendrix performing at Woodstock*

society. This did not happen because rock music was absorbed into the mainstream, where it brought material success worth billions of dollars to performers, promoters, and record companies.

One of the most famous rock groups, the Beatles, took the country by storm in 1964. “Beatlemania” swept the country, inspiring hundreds of other rock ‘n’ roll groups both in Great Britain and the United States.

Many of the new groups combined rock ‘n’ roll rhythms with lyrics that expressed the fears and hopes of the new generation and the widening rift between them and their parents. Bob Dylan provided

these lyrics, as did the Beatles and many other musicians, while spirited performers like Janis Joplin made the songs come alive.

The use of electrically amplified instruments also drastically changed the sound and feel of the new music. One master of this new sound was **Jimi Hendrix**, a guitarist from Seattle. Hendrix lived overseas and achieved stardom only after returning to the United States with the influx of musicians from Great Britain. His innovative guitar playing continues to influence musicians today.

At festivals such as Woodstock, in upstate New York in August 1969, and Altamont, California, later that year, hundreds of thousands of people got together to celebrate the new music. Though the fast-paced, energetic beat of rock ‘n’ roll was made for dancing, the style of dancing had changed dramatically. Each person danced without a partner, surrounded by others who also danced alone—a perfect metaphor for the counterculture, which stressed individuality within the group.

Headline-grabbing events such as Woodstock made it difficult for the nation to ignore the youth movement. By this time, however, other groups in society were also raising their voices in protest. For example, many women began renewing their generations-old efforts for equality, hoping to expand upon the successes gained during the early 1900s.

Reading Check **Evaluating** What lasting impact did the counterculture have on the nation?

HISTORY  **Study Central**
Online

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: validate, counterculture, rational, commune, derive.
- People and Terms** Identify: Port Huron Statement, Tom Hayden, Haight-Ashbury district, Jimi Hendrix.
- Summarize** two legacies of the counterculture movement.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Explaining** How did the U.S. Supreme Court validate the actions of the members of the Free Speech Movement?

Critical Thinking

- Contrasting** How were hippies different from members of the New Left?
- Analyzing** Why did the counterculture movement decline?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the causes of the youth movement.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Look closely at the photograph of a group of hippies and their bus on page 809. How does the bus itself represent values of the counterculture?

Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Imagine you are a journalist in the 1960s. Write an article in which you visit an art gallery and describe the popular art you see.

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Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned about the effects of the student and counterculture movements on society. In this section, you will discover how many women organized for greater rights during the 1960s and 1970s.

Main Idea

- The women’s movement became fragmented after women won the right to vote. (p. 814)
- Women began to seek changes in society through legislative action and organizations. (p. 815)
- The women’s movement experienced success and failures in the fight for equality. (p. 816)

Content Vocabulary

feminism, Title IX

Academic Vocabulary

gender, integral, bias

People and Terms to Identify

Equal Pay Act, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Betty Friedan, National Organization for Women, Phyllis Schlafly

Reading Objectives

- **Describe** the workplace concerns that fueled the growth of the women’s movement.

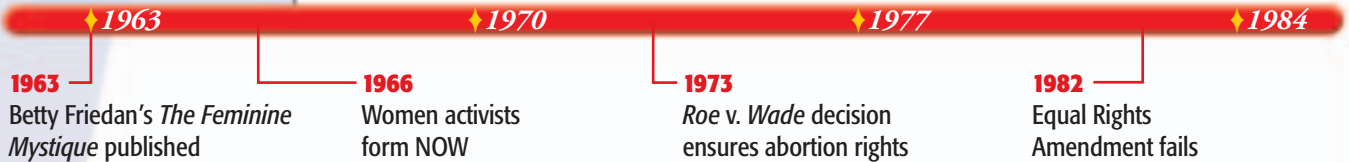
- **Identify** major achievements of the women’s movement.

Reading Strategy

Categorizing As you read about the women’s movement, use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to compare the ideas of the two organizations that formed when the women’s movement split.

Organization	Ideas

Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.10.7 Analyze the women’s rights movement from the era of Elizabeth Stanton and Susan Anthony and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the movement launched in the 1960s, including differing perspectives on the roles of women.

11.11.3 Describe the changing roles of women in society as reflected in the entry of more women into the labor force and the changing family structure.

11.11.7 Explain how the federal, state, and local governments have responded to demographic and social changes such as population shifts to the suburbs, racial concentrations in the cities, Frostbelt-to-Sunbelt migration, international migration, decline of family farms, increases in out-of-wedlock births, and drug abuse.

The Big Idea

Social and economic crises lead to new roles for government. By the 1960s, many women had become increasingly dissatisfied with society’s perception of women in the workplace. Some began to join organizations aimed at improving their role in society. Many of these organizations sought change through new legislation. The women’s movement forced the government to take action on issues such as education, but it was divided over the Equal Rights Amendment. While the amendment eventually failed, the women’s movement did bring about profound changes in American society.

A Weakened Women’s Movement

Main Idea The women’s movement became fragmented after women won the right to vote.

Reading Connection Where are women still fighting for political rights? Read on to discover how the American women’s movement divided after women won the right to vote.

★ An American Story ★

In 1960 the housewife-oriented magazine *Redbook* asked readers to send examples of “Why Young Mothers Feel Trapped.” Some 24,000 women responded. One of them was Herma Snider, a housewife and mother of three in Nevada. Snider wrote that as a high school and college student, she had dreamed of a career in journalism. After getting married and having three children, that dream died.

“Cemented to my house by three young children,” she wrote, “there were days in which I saw no adult human being except the milkman as he made his deliveries and spoke to no one from the time my husband left in the morning until he returned at night.” She added, “Each night as I tucked my sons into bed, I thanked God that they would grow up to be *men*, that they would be able to teach, write, heal, advise, travel, or do anything else they chose.”

Desperate for greater fulfillment in her life, Snider eventually took a job as a part-time hotel clerk. About this decision, she said:

“My cashier’s job is not the glamorous career I once dreamed of. And I know that it can be said that my solution is not a solution at all, merely an escape. But it seems to me that when the demands of children and household threaten to suffocate you, an escape *is* a solution.”

—quoted in *The Female Experience: An American Documentary*

Feminism, the belief that men and women should be equal politically, economically, and socially, had been a weak and often embattled force since the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment guaranteeing women’s voting rights in 1920. Soon after the amendment’s passage, the women’s movement split into two camps. One group, the League of Women Voters, tended to promote laws to protect women

and children, such as limiting the hours they could work. The National Woman’s Party (NWP), on the other hand, opposed protective legislation for women. The NWP believed it reinforced workplace discrimination. In 1923 the NWP persuaded members of Congress to introduce the first Equal Rights Amendment aimed at forbidding federal, state, and local laws from discriminating on the basis of **gender**. Since the women’s movement was divided, however, Congress could afford to ignore the amendment.

The onset of World War II provided women with greater opportunity, at least temporarily. With many men enlisted in the army, women became an **integral** part of the nation’s workforce. When the war ended, however, many women lost their jobs to the returning men.

Despite having to return to their domestic work, many women gradually reentered the labor market. By 1960 they made up almost 40 percent of the nation’s workforce. Yet many people continued to believe that women, even college-educated women, could better serve society by remaining in the home to influence the next generation of men.

Reading Check **Examining** How did World War II affect women?

▼ *A 1960s-era women’s magazine*



The Women's Movement Reawakens

Main Idea Women began to seek changes in society through legislative action and organizations.

Reading Connection Are there organizations today that continue to fight for equal rights? Read on to learn about a book that helped define the reawakened women's movement.

By the early 1960s, many women were increasingly resentful of a world where newspaper ads separated jobs by gender, clubs refused them memberships, banks denied them credit, and, worst of all, they often were paid less for the same work. Generally, women found themselves shut out of higher-paying and prestigious professions such as law, medicine, and finance. Although about 40 percent of American women were in the workforce in the 1960s, three-fourths of them worked in lower paying and routine clerical, sales, or factory jobs, or as cleaning women and hospital attendants. As more women entered the workforce, the protest against inequities grew louder.

Women had also gained a better understanding of their inequality in society from their experiences in the civil rights and antiwar movements. Often they were restricted to menial tasks and rarely had a say in any policy decisions. From the broader perspective, the women's movement was part of the 1960s quest for rights.

Fighting for Workplace Rights Two forces helped bring the women's movement to life again. One was the mass protest of ordinary women. The second was a government initiative: the President's Commission on the Status of Women, established by President Kennedy and headed by Eleanor Roosevelt. The commission's report highlighted the problems of women in the workplace and helped create networks of feminist activists, who lobbied Congress for women's legislation. In 1963, with the support of labor, they won passage of the **Equal Pay Act**, which in most cases outlawed paying men more than women for the same job.

Congress gave women another boost by including them in the 1964 Civil Rights Act, a measure originally designed to fight racial bias. Title VII of the act outlawed job discrimination by private employers not only on the basis of race, color, religion, and national origin, but also of gender. This measure became decisive legal basis for advances made by the women's movement.



Picturing History

Perfect Home, Perfect Wife This image of a proud wife in her spotless kitchen reflects some of the traditional ideas of the 1950s and 1960s. [What did the women's movement criticize about these ideas?](#)

The Civil Rights Act created a new federal agency charged with administering the new law. The **Equal Employment Opportunity Commission** (EEOC) was officially operating in July 1965. Government administrators projected that in its first year, the EEOC would receive approximately 2,000 charges of unlawful employment practices. Instead, the Commission actually received almost 9,000 separate charges in its first year of operation.

The Feminine Mystique Many date the women's movement from the publication of **Betty Friedan's** *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963. Friedan had traveled around the country interviewing the women who had graduated with her from Smith College in 1942. She found that while most of these women reported having everything they could want in life, they still felt unfulfilled. Friedan described these feelings in her book:

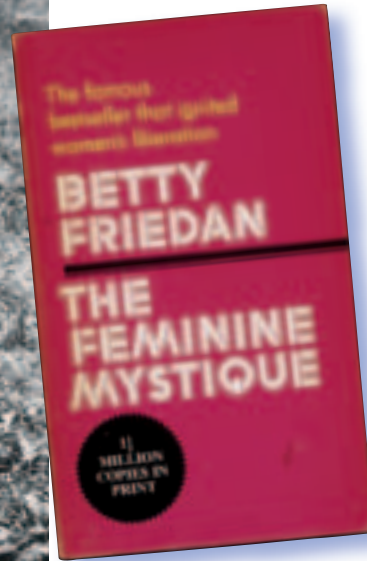
“The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. . . . Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries . . . chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies . . . she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question—‘Is this all?’”

—from *The Feminine Mystique*



Picturing History

The Feminine Mystique Betty Friedan's best-selling book (below) exposed a sense of dissatisfaction that many women experienced but were reluctant to speak about openly. **What political organization stemmed from women's growing sense of unfulfillment?**



Friedan's book became a best-seller. Many women soon began reaching out to one another, pouring out their anger and sadness in what came to be known as consciousness-raising sessions. While they talked informally about their unhappiness, they were building the base for a nationwide movement.

The Time Is NOW In June 1966, Friedan returned to a thought that she and others had been considering, the need for women to form a national organization. On the back of a napkin, she scribbled down her intentions "to take the actions needed to bring women into the mainstream of American society, now . . . in fully equal partnership with men." Friedan and others then set out to form the **National Organization for Women (NOW)**.

NOW soon leapt off the napkin and into the headlines. In October 1966, a group of about 300 women and men held the founding conference of NOW. "The time has come," its founders declared, "to confront with concrete action the conditions which now prevent women from enjoying the equality of opportunity and freedom of choice which is their right as individual Americans and as human beings."

The new organization began by demanding greater educational opportunities for women. The group also focused much of its energy on aiding women in the workplace. NOW leaders denounced

the exclusion of women from certain professions and from politics. They lashed out against the practice of paying women less than men for equal work, a practice they claimed the Equal Pay Act had not eliminated.

The efforts to pass the Equal Rights Amendment pushed the organization's membership over 200,000. By July 1972, the movement even had a magazine of its own, *Ms.*, which kept readers informed on women's issues. The editor of the new magazine was Gloria Steinem, an author and public figure who was one of the movement's leading figures.

Reading Check Identifying What two forces helped bring the women's movement to life again?

Successes and Failures

Main Idea The women's movement experienced success and failures in the fight for equality.

Reading Connection What one issue would you work to improve for women? Read on to find out about the improvements made in the 1960s and 1970s.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the women's movement fought to enforce Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, lobbied to repeal laws against abortion,

and worked for legislation against gender discrimination in employment, housing, and education. Along the way, the movement experienced success as well as failure.

Striving for Equality in Education One of the movement's notable achievements was in education. Kathy Stribel's story highlighted the discrimination female students often faced in the early 1970s. In 1971, Stribel, a high school junior in St. Paul, Minnesota, wanted to compete for her school's swim team, but the school did not allow girls to join. Kathy's mother, Charlotte, was a member of the local NOW chapter. Through it, she learned that St. Paul had recently passed an ordinance prohibiting gender discrimination in education. She filed a grievance with the city's human rights department, and officials required the school to allow Kathy to swim.

Shortly after joining the team, Kathy beat out one of the boys and earned a spot at a meet. As she stood on the block waiting to swim, the opposing coach declared that she was ineligible to compete because the meet was outside St. Paul and thus beyond the jurisdiction of its laws. "They pulled that little girl right off the block," Charlotte Stribel recalled angrily.

Recognizing the problem, leaders of the movement pushed lawmakers to enact federal legislation banning gender discrimination in education. In 1972

Congress responded by passing a law known collectively as the Educational Amendments. One section, **Title IX**, prohibited federally funded schools from discriminating against girls and young women in nearly all aspects of its operations, from admissions to athletics. Many schools implemented this new law slowly or not at all, but women now had federal law on their side.

Roe v. Wade One of the most important goals for many women activists was the repeal of laws against abortion. Until 1973, the right to regulate abortion was reserved to the states. This was in keeping with the original plan of the Constitution, which reserved all police power—the power to control people and property in the interest of safety, health, welfare, and morals—to the state. Early in the country's history, some abortion was permitted in the early stages of pregnancy, but after the middle of the 1800s, when states adopted statutory law, abortion was prohibited except to save the life of the mother. Women who chose to have an abortion faced criminal prosecution.

In the late 1960s, some states began adopting more liberal abortion laws. For example, several states allowed abortion if carrying a baby to term might endanger the woman's mental health or if she was a victim of rape or incest. The big change came with the 1973 Supreme Court decision in *Roe v. Wade*. The

Profiles IN HISTORY

Shirley Chisholm 1924–2005

Shirley Chisholm once remarked, "Of my two 'handicaps,' being female put more obstacles in my path than being black." Her attempts to overcome these obstacles propelled the Brooklyn, New York, native into the national spotlight and provided encouragement for other women and African Americans attempting to overcome discrimination.

Chisholm first gained national prominence when she defeated two other candidates for Congress from New York's 12th District in 1968. Upon her swearing in, she became the first African American woman to serve in the United States Congress.

In Congress Chisholm became an ardent defender of several causes. An opponent of the seniority system, she protested the

ways that party leaders assigned House members to committees and was instrumental in changing them. Chisholm was an early opponent of arms sales to South Africa's racist regime. She also worked on education issues and to increase day care programs, and she cosponsored a bill to guarantee an annual income to families.

In 1972 Chisholm ran for the Democratic nomination for president. She campaigned extensively and entered primaries in 12 states, winning 28 delegates and receiving 152 first ballot votes at the convention.

She returned to Congress after the convention and continued her crusade to help women and minorities for several more terms. She declined to run for re-election in 1982, citing the difficulties of campaigning for liberal issues in an increasingly conservative political atmosphere.






Picturing History

Opposing Viewpoints The Equal Rights Amendment had strong support, but it also had strong opposition, led by Phyllis Schlafly. [How many states ratified the ERA?](#)

Supreme Court ruled that state governments could not regulate abortion during the first three months of pregnancy, a time that was interpreted as being within a woman's constitutional right to privacy. During the second three months of pregnancy, states could regulate abortions on the basis of the health of the mother. States could ban abortion in the final three months except in cases of a medical emergency.

Those in favor of protecting abortion rights cheered *Roe v. Wade* as a victory, but the issue was far from settled. The decision gave rise to the right-to-life movement, whose members consider abortion morally wrong and advocate its total ban. After the *Roe v. Wade* ruling, the two sides began an impassioned battle that continues today.  (For more information on *Roe v. Wade*, see page 1006.)

The Equal Rights Amendment In 1972 Congress passed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). To become part of the Constitution, this amendment to protect women against discrimination had to be ratified by 38 states. Many states did so—35 by 1979—but there was significant opposition to the amendment as well. Some people feared the ERA would take away some traditional rights, such as the right to alimony in divorce cases or the right to have single-gender colleges. Another fear was that women would be subjected to the military draft. One outspoken opponent was **Phyllis Schlafly**, who organized the Stop-ERA campaign. She became active in politics after earning a master's degree from Harvard in 1945 and later a law degree. Schlafly testified before 30 state legislatures against the ERA, which finally failed in 1982.

The Impact of the Women’s Movement Despite the failure of the ERA, the women’s movement would ultimately bring about profound changes in society. Since the 1970s, many more women have pursued college degrees and careers outside of the home than did so in previous decades. Since the women’s movement began, two-career families are much more common than they were in the 1950s and 1960s, although a need for greater family income due to the increased cost of living may also be a factor. Mothers working outside the home are more accepted and more common than they were in the 1950s and 1960s. Employers began to offer employees options to help make work more compatible with family life, including flexible hours, on-site child care, and job-sharing.

Even though the women’s movement helped change social attitudes toward women, an income gap between men and women still exists. A major reason for the income gap is that most working women still hold lower-paying jobs such as bank tellers, administrative assistants, cashiers, school-teachers, and nurses. Also, many women choose to leave or reduce their hours at work to bear and care for their children. This choice to combine careers and more traditional roles is one that fewer men make. It is in professional jobs that women have made the most dramatic gains since the 1970s. By the end of the 1900s, women made up roughly one-fourth of the nation’s doctors and lawyers. By 2000 they comprised over 40 percent of the nation’s graduates receiving degrees in these fields.

Reading Check **Summarizing** What successes and failures did the women’s movement experience during the late 1960s and early 1970s?



Picturing History

Women in the Workplace Since the 1970s, the number of women working outside the home has increased. Here, a woman and man work side-by-side. **Why might an income gap exist between men and women?**

HISTORY Online Study Central

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: feminism, gender, integral, bias, Title IX.
- People and Terms** Identify: Equal Pay Act, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Betty Friedan, National Organization for Women, Phyllis Schlafly.
- Summarize** Shirley Chisholm’s political contributions.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Describing** How have women’s rights improved since the 1960s?

Critical Thinking

- Synthesizing** What two events weakened the women’s movement?
- Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the major achievements of the women’s movement.



Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Photographs** Study the photo on page 815 of a housewife in her kitchen. Think about depictions of housewives in modern television or magazine advertisements you have seen. How would you compare the photo on page 815 with today’s images?

Writing About History

- Persuasive Writing** Take on the role of a supporter or opponent of the ERA. Write a letter to the editor of your local newspaper to persuade people to support your position. **CA 11WA2.3a**



Charlotte Perkins Gilman was a prominent American social critic and feminist writer in the late 1800s and early 1900s. In her most famous work, *The Yellow Wallpaper* (1899), she presents the story of a woman diagnosed with hysteria, for which a doctor has prescribed total rest. Cut off from any intellectual activity, the woman is slowly driven mad by her “cure.”

In this work, Gilman speaks out against a common belief of the time—that women were generally unfit for scholarship. The story, obscure for almost 50 years, has become a staple of many college literary courses.

Read to Discover

How does the narrator feel about her “illness”? How does her opinion differ from that of her physician and her family?

Reader’s Dictionary

scoff: make fun of

phosphates: a carbonated drink, often used as medicine in the 1800s and early 1900s

congenial: agreeable; pleasant

flamboyant: elaborately colorful

from *The Yellow Wallpaper*

by Charlotte Perkins Gilman

In the following excerpt, the narrator of the story, writing in a secret journal, is describing her “illness” and how her husband John and others feel about it.

John is practical in the extreme. He has no patience with faith, an intense horror of superstition, and he scoffs openly at any talk of things not to be felt and seen and put down in figures.

John is a physician, and *perhaps*—(I would not say it to a living soul, of course, but this is dead paper and a great relief to my mind)—*perhaps* that is one reason I do not get well faster.

You see he does not believe I am sick!

And what can one do?

If a physician of high standing, and one’s own husband, assures friends and relatives that there is really nothing the matter with one but temporary nervous depression—a slight hysterical tendency—what is one to do?

My brother is also a physician, and also of high standing, and he says the same thing.

So I take phosphates or phosphites—whichever it is, and tonics, and journeys, and air, and exercise, and am absolutely forbidden to “work” until I am well again.

Personally, I disagree with their ideas.

Personally, I believe that congenial work, with excitement and change, would do me good.

But what is one to do?



▲ Narrator from the film version of *The Yellow Wallpaper*

I did write for a while in spite of them; but it *does* exhaust me a good deal—having to be so sly about it, or else meet with heavy opposition.

I sometimes fancy that my condition if I had less opposition and more society and stimulus—but John says the very worst thing I can do is to think about my condition, and I confess it always makes me feel bad. . . .

I get unreasonably angry with John sometimes. I’m sure I never used to be so sensitive. I think it is due to this nervous condition.

But John says if I feel so, I shall neglect proper self-control; so I take pains to control myself—before him, at least, and that makes me very tired.

I don’t like our room a bit.

I wanted one downstairs that opened on the piazza and had roses all over the window, and such pretty old-fashioned chintz hangings! but John would not hear of it.

He said there was only one window and no room for two beds, and no near room for him if he took another.

He is very careful and loving, and hardly lets me stir without special direction.

I have a schedule prescription for each hour in the day; he takes all care from me, and so I feel basely ungrateful not to value it more.

He said we came here solely on my account, that I was to have perfect rest and all the air I could get. "Your exercise depends on your strength, my dear," said he, "and your food somewhat on your appetite; but air you can absorb all the time." So we took the nursery at the top of the house.

It is a big, airy room, the whole floor nearly, with windows that look all ways, and air and sunshine galore. It was nursery first and then playroom and gymnasium, I should judge; for the windows are barred for little children, and there are rings and things in the walls.

The paint and paper look as if a boys' school had used it. It is stripped off—the paper—in great patches all around the head of my bed, about as far as I can reach, and in a great place on the other side of the room low down. I never saw a worse paper in my life.

One of those sprawling flamboyant patterns committing every artistic sin.

It is dull enough to confuse the eye in following, pronounced enough to constantly irritate and provoke study, and when you follow the lame uncertain curves for a little distance they suddenly commit suicide—plunge off at outrageous angles, destroy themselves in unheard of contradictions.



▲ *Refuge*, by Isidro Nonell

The color is repellent, almost revolting; a smouldering unclean yellow, strangely faded by the slow-turning sunlight.

It is a dull yet lurid orange in some places, a sickly sulphur tint in others.

No wonder the children hated it! I should hate it myself if I had to live in this room long.

There comes John, and I must put this away,—he hates to have me write a word.

We have been here two weeks, and I haven't felt like writing before, since that first day.

I am sitting by the window now, up in this atrocious nursery, and there is nothing to hinder my writing as much as I please, save lack of strength.

John is away all day, and even some nights when his cases are serious.

I am glad my case is not serious!

But these nervous troubles are dreadfully depressing.

John does not know how much I really suffer. He knows there is no *reason* to suffer, and that satisfies him.

Of course it is only nervousness. It does weigh on me so not to do my duty in any way!

I meant to be such a help to John, such a real rest



▲ *Woman in a psychiatric hospital*

and comfort, and here I am a comparative burden already! . . .

I suppose John never was nervous in his life. He laughs at me so about this wall-paper!

At first he meant to repaper the room, but afterwards he said that I was letting it get the better of me, and that nothing was worse for a nervous patient than to give way to such fancies.

He said that after the wall-paper was changed it would be the heavy bedstead, and then the barred windows, and then that gate at the head of the stairs, and so on.

"You know the place is doing you good," he said, "and really, dear, I don't care to renovate the house just for a three months' rental."

"Then do let us go downstairs," I said, "there are such pretty rooms there."

Then he took me in his arms and called me a blessed little goose, and said he would go down to the cellar, if I wished, and have it whitewashed into the bargain.

But he is right enough about the beds and windows and things.

It is an airy and comfortable room as any one need wish, and, of course, I would not be so silly as to make him uncomfortable just for a whim.

I'm really getting quite fond of the big room, all but that horrid paper. . . .

Well, the Fourth of July is over! The people are gone and I am tired out. John thought it might do me good to see a little company, so we just had mother and Nellie and the children down for a week.

Of course I didn't do a thing. Jennie sees to everything now.

But it tired me all the same.

John says if I don't pick up faster he shall send me to Weir Mitchell in the fall.

But I don't want to go there at all. I had a friend who was in his hands once, and she says he is just like John and my brother, only more so!

Besides, it is such an undertaking to go so far.

I don't feel as if it was worth while to turn my hand over for anything, and I'm getting dreadfully fretful and querulous.

I cry at nothing, and cry most of the time.

Of course I don't when John is here, or anybody else, but when I am alone.

And I am alone a good deal just now. . . .

I'm getting really fond of the room in spite of the wall-paper. Perhaps *because* of the wall-paper.

It dwells in my mind so!

Analyzing Literature

1. What is the main idea in this passage? How does it support the author's point? **CA 11RC2.4**
2. Does the narrator think this remedy will help her? Why or why not? What clues can you find about how the narrator feels about her illness?

Interdisciplinary Activity

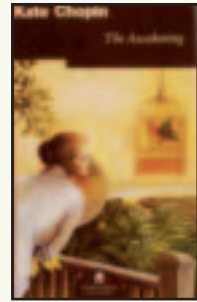
Science Using the Internet and other resources, research some ways that diseases and illnesses were treated in the 1800s and 1900s. Do we still use these treatments today? Create a chart showing the progression of treatment for some of the illnesses you researched.

Reading on Your Own

For other literature selections that relate to the growing awareness of women's issues, you might consider the following book suggestions.

The Awakening (Fiction)
by **Kate Chopin**

First published in 1899, this novel marks the beginning of feminist literature. Unhappy with her own marriage, Edna Pontellier discovers her desire for more fulfillment than her comfortable but unchallenging role as mother and wife can provide.



A Doll's House (Drama)
by **Henrik Ibsen**

Nora Hellmer slowly awakens to the realization that she has been ruled by either her father or her husband her whole life. When she tries to finance a vacation for her husband, she finds her independence.

Reading Lolita in Tehran (Autobiography)
by **Azar Nafisi**

After the revolution in Iran limits the freedom of women, a group of intellectual college students secretly meet with a former professor to discuss great literature of the twentieth century. Living in the oppressive world of the Ayatollah Khomeini's regime where women are considered insignificant, the literature discussions become essential for this group in maintaining their value as women and individuals.



Reviving Ophelia: Saving the Selves of Adolescent Girls (Nonfiction)
by **Mary Pipher, Ph.D.**

After treating adolescent girls for 20 years, Dr. Pipher explains how the media and culture contribute to the serious problems of depression, eating disorders, and other mental disorders that plague young women at this time of life.

New Approaches to Civil Rights

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned about the women's movement. In this section, you will discover how minority groups worked to improve their status.

Main Idea

- Minorities in America continued fighting for reform and increased civil rights. (p. 825)
- Hispanic Americans worked to improve their rights by organizing a farm workers' union and calling for bilingual education. (p. 828)

- The American Indian Movement (AIM) used protests and legal battles to win victories in the quest for civil rights and equal opportunities. (p. 829)

Content Vocabulary

affirmative action, busing, bilingualism

Academic Vocabulary

federal, contract, guarantee

People and Terms to Identify

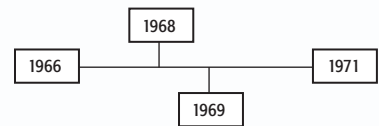
Allan Bakke, Jesse Jackson, Congressional Black Caucus, César Chávez, *La Raza Unida*, American Indian Movement

Reading Objectives

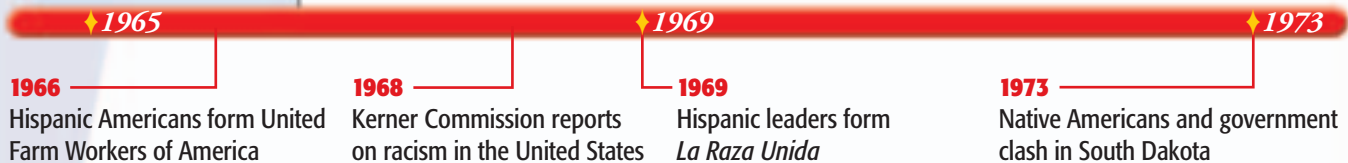
- **Describe** the goal of affirmative action policies.
- **Analyze** the rise of Hispanic and Native American protests.

Reading Strategy

Sequencing As you read about the civil rights movement's new approaches, complete a time line similar to the one below to record new groups and their actions.



Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.6.5 Trace the advances and retreats of organized labor, from the creation of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations to current issues of a post-industrial multinational economy, including the United Farm Workers in California.

11.9.7 Examine relations between the United States and Mexico in the twentieth century, including key economic, political, immigration, and environmental issues.

11.10.2 Examine and analyze the key events, policies, and court cases in the evolution of civil rights, including *Dred Scott v. Sanford*, *Plessy v. Ferguson*, *Brown v. Board of Education*, *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, and California Proposition 209.

11.10.4 Examine the roles of civil rights advocates (e.g., A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Thurgood Marshall, James Farmer, Rosa Parks), including the significance of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "Letter from Birmingham Jail" and "I Have a Dream" speech.

The quest for equality is eternal. During this time of protest, many minority groups began fighting for increased civil rights. Some of these groups, such as Hispanic Americans and Native Americans, began to organize on a large scale for the first time. African Americans also continued their fight for civil equality by focusing on jobs and educational improvements. New African American, Asian American, and Pacific Islander political leaders emerged. These leaders helped push for greater awareness and legislation to improve civil equality.

11.10.5 Discuss the diffusion of the civil rights movement of African Americans from the churches of the rural South and the urban North, including the resistance to racial desegregation in Little Rock and Birmingham, and how the advances influenced the agendas, strategies, and effectiveness of the quests

of American Indians, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans for civil rights and equal opportunities.

11.11.1 Discuss the reasons for the nation's changing immigration policy, with emphasis on how the Immigration Act of 1965 and successor acts have transformed American society.

Fighting for Greater Opportunity

Main Idea Minorities in America continued fighting for reform and increased civil rights.

Reading Connection Have you ever taken the bus to school? Read on to learn about busing and the efforts to achieve educational improvements for minorities.

During this time of heightened protest in the United States, Native Americans began raising their voices for reform and change.

★ An American Story ★

In 1968 Vernon and Clyde Bellecourt, along with other Native Americans in Minneapolis, were struggling to earn a living. The Bellecourts decided to take a stand against their conditions. Spurred by the 1960s protest movements and by reawakened pride in their culture, the brothers helped organize the American Indian Movement (AIM). AIM's goal was to combat discrimination and brutality by the local police. Vernon recalled how AIM worked:

“They got a small grant from the Urban League of Minneapolis to put two-way radios in their cars and to get tape recorders and cameras. They would listen to the police calls, and when they heard . . . that police were being dispatched to a certain community or bar, they'd show up with cameras and take pictures of the police using more than normal restraint on people. . . . AIM would show up and have attorneys ready. Often they would beat the police back to the station. They would have a bondsman there, and they'd start filing lawsuits against the police department.”

—quoted in *Native American Testimony*

Other groups also began protesting for reform and improved living conditions. During the 1960s and early 1970s, Hispanic Americans organized to improve their status in society. In the wake of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., African Americans continued their fight for greater civil rights, now focusing more on access to jobs.

Affirmative Action By the end of the 1960s, many African American leaders expressed a growing sense of frustration. Although most legal forms of racial discrimination had been dismantled, many African

Americans felt there had been little improvement in their daily lives. In the eyes of leading civil rights activists, the problems facing most African Americans lay in their lack of access to good jobs and adequate schooling. As a result, leaders of the civil rights movement began to focus their energies on these problems.

As part of their effort, civil rights leaders looked to an initiative known as affirmative action. Enforced through executive orders and **federal** policies, **affirmative action** called for companies and institutions doing business with the federal government to actively recruit African American employees with the hope that this would lead to improved social and economic status. Officials later expanded affirmative action to include other minority groups and women.

Supporters of the policy argued that because so few companies hired from these groups in the past, they had had little chance to develop necessary job skills. If businesses opened their doors wider to minorities, more of them could begin building better lives.

In one example of affirmative action's impact, Atlanta witnessed a significant increase in minority job opportunities shortly after Maynard Jackson became its first African American mayor in 1973. When Jackson took office, less than one percent of all city **contracts** went to African Americans, even though they made up about half of Atlanta's population. Jackson used the expansion of the city's airport to redress this imbalance by opening the bidding process for airport contracts more widely to minority firms. Through his efforts, small companies and minority firms took on 25 percent of all airport construction work, earning them some \$125 million in contracts.

Vernon Bellecourt ▼



Challenges to Affirmative Action Affirmative action programs did not go unchallenged. Critics viewed them as a form of “reverse discrimination.” They claimed that qualified white workers were kept from jobs, promotions, and a place in schools because a certain number of such positions had been set aside for minorities or women.

One of the more notable challenges to affirmative action came in 1974, after officials at the University of California Medical School at Davis turned down the admission of a white applicant named **Allan Bakke** for a second time. When Bakke learned that slots had been set aside for minorities, he sued the school. Bakke argued that by admitting minority applicants, some of whom had scored lower than Bakke on their exams, the school had discriminated against him due to his race.

In 1978, in *University of California Regents v. Bakke*, the Supreme Court, in a 5 to 4 ruling, declared that the university had indeed violated Bakke’s rights. On the other hand, it ruled that schools could use racial criteria as part of their admissions process so long as they did not use “fixed quotas.” While *Bakke* was not a strong and definitive ruling, the Court had nevertheless supported affirmative action programs as constitutional. 📖 (See page 1006 for more information on *University of California Regents v. Bakke*.)

The debate over affirmative action continued through the 1980s, and by the mid-1990s, opponents had begun organizing politically to end affirma-

tive action programs. In 1995 the University of California’s Board of Regents voted to end the use of race in its admissions policy. The push to end the university’s affirmative action program was led by Ward Connerly, an African American board member and business owner. Connerly strongly believed that affirmative action treated people unequally.

Connerly went on to lead the campaign for Proposition 209, an amendment to California’s constitution that banned the state from giving preferential treatment on the basis of race, gender, ethnicity, or national origin. After Californians voted in favor of Proposition 209 in 1996, citizens in other states increased their efforts to ban affirmative action programs. The debate continues to the present.

Equal Access to Education By the early 1970s, African American leaders also had begun to push harder for educational improvements. In the 1954 case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, the Supreme Court had ordered an end to segregated public schools. In the 1960s, however, many schools remained segregated as local communities moved slowly to comply with the Court. Since children normally went to neighborhood public schools, segregation in schooling reflected the race segregation of neighborhoods. White schools were usually far superior to African American schools, as Ruth Baston of the NAACP noted in 1965 after visiting Boston schools:

“When we would go to white schools, we’d see these lovely classrooms with a small number of children in each class. The teachers were permanent. We’d see wonderful materials. When we’d go to our schools, we’d see overcrowded classrooms, children sitting out in the corridors. And so then we decided that where there were a large number of white students, that’s where the care went. That’s where the books went. That’s where the money went.”

—quoted in *Freedom Bound*

To ensure desegregated schools, local governments resorted to a policy known as **busing**, transporting children to schools outside their neighborhoods to achieve greater racial balance. The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of busing in the 1971 case, *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*. 📖 (See page 1007 for more information on *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*.)

Picturing History

Equal Opportunity Allan Bakke graduated from medical school after the Supreme Court overturned the University of California’s use of specific racial quotas. [How did the Bakke case affect affirmative action?](#)





Picturing History

New African American Leadership Andrew Young and Jesse Jackson both worked with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in the civil rights movement. Young went on to become the first African American ambassador to the United Nations, while Jackson has become a prominent member of the Democratic Party. [What group of African American members of Congress became influential in the 1970s?](#)

Many whites responded to busing by taking their children out of public schools. Nearly 20,000 white students left Boston's public system for parochial and private schools. By late 1976, African Americans, Hispanics, and other minorities made up the majority of Boston's public school students. This "white flight" also occurred in other cities.

New Political Leaders In their struggle for equal opportunity, African Americans found new political leaders in people such as **Jesse Jackson**. In 1971 Jackson founded People United to Save Humanity, or PUSH, a group aimed at registering voters, developing African American businesses, and broadening educational opportunities. In 1984 and 1988, Jackson sought the Democratic presidential nomination. Although both attempts were unsuccessful, Jackson did win over millions of voters.

African Americans and Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders also became more influential in Congress. In 1957, Dalip Singh from California was elected to Congress. Both Daniel K. Inouye and Spark Matsunaga were elected to Congress in 1962 to represent Hawaii. Two years later, in 1964, Patsy Takemoto Mink of Hawaii became the first Asian-American woman elected to Congress. In 1971,

African American members of Congress reorganized an existing organization into the **Congressional Black Caucus** in order to more clearly represent the concerns of African Americans.

Another leader who emerged was Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam. In 1994, he helped organize the Million Man March, a gathering of African American men in Washington, D.C. to promote self-reliance and community responsibility.

With increasing political influence, Asian and Pacific Americans also began to organize to achieve racial equality and social justice. The first notable action of the Asian American Movement occurred in 1968 at the Third World Strike at San Francisco State College. This month long strike became the longest student-led strike in United States history. Many minority groups and organizations gathered to protest for racial equality. In 1977, Asian Pacific Americans received recognition from the government when congress passed a resolution declaring the first 10 days of May as Asian/Pacific Heritage Week. President Jimmy Carter approved this resolution in 1978, designating this week as an annual celebration.

 **Reading Check** **Examining** What were the goals of affirmative action policies?

Profiles IN HISTORY

Dolores Huerta

1930–

Dolores Huerta began her career as an elementary school teacher, but she soon left, believing that she could do more good for Mexican Americans outside the classroom. “I couldn’t stand seeing kids come to class hungry and needing shoes,” she said. “I thought I could do more by organizing farmworkers than by trying to teach their hungry children.”

In the early 1950s, Huerta helped found the Stockton, California, chapter of the Community Service Organization (CSO). This grassroots group led voter registration drives, pushed for improved public services, and fought for legislation on behalf of low-income workers.

It was through her work with the CSO that Huerta met César Chávez. Together, they organized farmworkers into a union and fought for better wages and working conditions.



José Angel Gutiérrez

1944–

As a young social activist, José Angel Gutiérrez set out to organize Mexican Americans from Crystal City, Texas, into a political force. In 1970 his newly founded political party, *La Raza Unida*, participated in local elections. Over the next few years, Mexican Americans gained control of Crystal City’s school system and government.

As *La Raza Unida* gained a more national following, Gutiérrez became a prominent figure. He eventually stepped away from the political scene, serving first as a judge and then as a college professor. Gutiérrez found it difficult to stay away from politics, however, and in 1993, he ran unsuccessfully for a U.S. Senate seat. After that, he established his own legal center. Looking upon Gutiérrez’s career, one historian said, “He represents the new breed of Chicano professionals produced by the colleges and universities, but he is still a Chicano with the old dream of revolution.”



Hispanic Americans Organize

Main Idea Hispanic Americans worked to improve their rights by organizing a farm workers’ union and calling for bilingual education.

Reading Connection Have you studied a foreign language? What was the experience like? Read on to discover how Hispanic Americans fought for education in Spanish as well as English.

Hispanic Americans also worked for greater rights in this period. In 1960 about 3 million Hispanics lived in the United States. This number increased rapidly after the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965.

Hispanics came to the United States from countries such as Cuba and Mexico to flee repressive political regimes or to find jobs and better lives. The largest group was Mexican Americans, many of whom arrived during and after World War II to work on huge farms in the South and West.

Many Hispanics arrived illegally, sometimes crossing the U.S.-Mexican border with the help of “coyotes,” often unscrupulous guides who charged huge sums of money for their services. Because they lacked legal protection, they were often exploited

by employers, working under poor conditions for little pay.

César Chávez and the UFW One notable Hispanic American campaign was the effort to win rights for farmworkers. Most Mexican American farm laborers earned little pay, received few benefits, and had no job security. In the early 1960s, **César Chávez** and Dolores Huerta organized two groups that fought for farmworkers. In 1965 the groups cooperated in a strike against California growers to demand union recognition, increased wages, and better benefits.

When employers resisted, Chávez enlisted college students, churches, and civil rights groups to organize a national boycott of table grapes, one of California’s largest agricultural products. An estimated 17 million citizens stopped buying them, and industry profits tumbled.

Under the sponsorship of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization (AFL-CIO), in 1966 Chávez and Huerta merged their two organizations into one—the United Farm Workers (UFW). The union’s combined strength ensured that the boycott would continue. The boycott ended in 1970, when the grape growers finally agreed to a contract to raise wages and improve working conditions.

Growing Political Activism The League of United Latin American Citizens, or LULAC, founded in Corpus Christi, Texas, in 1929, had long worked for Mexican American rights in the court system, in hiring, and in education. In 1954 LULAC brought the landmark case of *Hernandez v. the State of Texas* to the Supreme Court, winning the right of Mexican Americans to serve on juries.

Hispanic Americans became more politically active during the 1960s and 1970s. In 1969 José Angel Gutiérrez organized a new political party in Texas called *La Raza Unida*, or “the United People.” The group mobilized Mexican American voters to push for job training programs and greater access to financial institutions.

One issue both Hispanic students and political leaders promoted was **bilingualism**, the practice of teaching immigrant students in their own language while they also learned English. Many Hispanics argued they would be at a competitive disadvantage with native English speakers unless they had schooling in their native language. Congress supported their arguments, passing the Bilingual Education Act in 1968. This directed school districts to set up classes for immigrants in their own language.

In recent years there has been some movement away from bilingualism in states with large Hispanic populations. Some educators argue that total immersion in English is the soundest road to educational success. Some American voters opposed bilingual education, believing it makes it more difficult for a child to adjust to American culture and that it was costly besides. The U.S. Supreme Court, however, upheld bilingualism in 1974.

Reading Check Explaining How did Hispanic Americans increase their economic opportunities in the 1960s?

Native Americans Raise Their Voices

Main Idea The American Indian Movement (AIM) used protests and legal battles to win victories in the quest for civil rights and equal opportunities.

Reading Connection Do you remember earlier efforts to assist Native Americans? Read on to learn about events in the 1960s that brought some political gains to Native Americans.

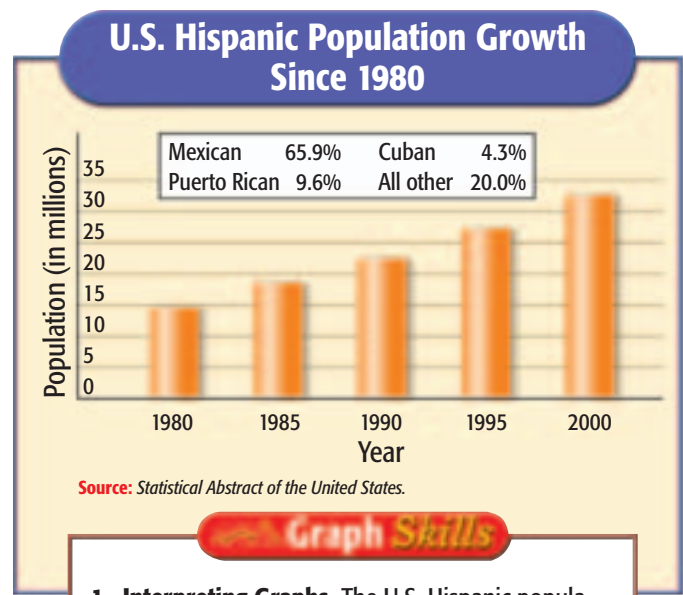
Native Americans in 1970 were one of the nation’s smallest minority groups, constituting less than one percent of the U.S. population. Few minority groups,

however, had more justifiable grievances than the descendants of America’s original inhabitants. Native Americans were at a disadvantage in income, education, and healthcare. The average annual family income of Native Americans was \$1,000 less than that of African Americans. The Native American unemployment rate was 10 times the national rate. Joblessness was particularly high on reservation lands, where nearly half of all Native Americans lived. Most urban Native Americans suffered from discrimination and from limited education and training. The bleakest statistic of all showed that life expectancy among Native Americans was almost seven years below the national average. To improve conditions, many Native Americans began organizing in the late 1960s and 1970s.

A Protest Movement Emerges In 1961 more than 400 members of 67 Native American groups gathered in Chicago to discuss ways to address their numerous problems. They issued a manifesto, known as the Declaration of Indian Purpose, calling for policies to create greater economic opportunities on reservations.

HISTORY Online

Student Web Activity Visit the *American Vision: Modern Times* Web site at tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 18** for an activity on protest movements.



- Graph Skills**
- Interpreting Graphs** The U.S. Hispanic population is made up of which main groups?
 - Drawing Conclusions** Why have Hispanic Americans experienced growing political influence in recent years?

Unlike other groups demanding more assimilation into mainstream society, many Native Americans wanted greater independence from it. They hoped to preserve their culture and heritage by not assimilating completely with American culture. Native Americans took a step toward this goal in 1968 when Congress passed the Indian Civil Rights Act. It **guaranteed** reservation residents the protections of the Bill of Rights, but it also recognized the legitimacy of local reservation law.

Some Native Americans thought the reforms the government had introduced were too modest. In their view, the many years of effort to gain more rights did not provide enough gains. As a response, they formed more militant groups. Typically, such groups employed a more combative style. One of these groups, the **American Indian Movement (AIM)**, was organized in 1968 to fight high unemployment, inadequate housing, and racial discrimination. The group also focused on treaty rights and worked to regain tribal lands. In 1969, as a symbolic protest,

AIM occupied the abandoned federal prison on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay for 19 months, claiming ownership “by right of discovery.”

A more famous and violent protest occurred almost two years later at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, where federal troops had killed around 150 Sioux in 1890. In February 1973, AIM members seized and occupied the town of Wounded Knee for 70 days. They demanded radical changes in the administration of reservations and that the government honor its long-forgotten treaty obligations to Native Americans. A brief clash between the occupiers and the FBI killed two Native Americans and wounded several on both sides. Shortly thereafter, the siege came to an end.

Native Americans Make Notable Gains The Native American movement fell short of achieving all its goals, but it did win some notable victories. In 1975 Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act, which increased funds for

Picturing History

Wounded Knee Armed Native Americans stand guard during the occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota. Many of the Native American activists rejected an offer from the federal government allowing them to leave before the government took action. [What did the activists hope to gain by occupying the town?](#)



Native American education and expanded local control in administering federal programs. More Native Americans also moved into policy-making positions at the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the agency pushed for more Native American self determination.

Through the federal court system, Native Americans also won a number of the land and water rights they sought. The Pueblo of Taos, New Mexico, regained property rights to Blue Lake, a place sacred to their religion. In 1980, a federal court settled a claim of the Passamaquoddy and the Penobscot groups. The government paid the groups \$81.5 million to relinquish their claim on land in the state of Maine. The two groups purchased 300,000 acres with the money and invested much of the remainder. Other court decisions gave Native American groups authority to impose taxes on businesses on their reservations and to perform other sovereign functions.

Since Native Americans first began to organize, many reservations have dramatically improved their economic conditions by actively developing businesses, such as electric plants, resorts, cattle ranches, and oil and gas wells. More recently, gambling casinos have become a successful enterprise. Because of rulings on sovereignty, Native Americans in some areas are allowed to operate gaming establishments under their own laws even though state laws prevent others from doing so. In these ways, Native Americans have tried to regain control of their economic future, just as other American minorities did in the 1960s and 1970s.


 **Reading Check** **Analyzing** What conditions led Native Americans to organize in the 1960s?



 **Picturing History**

Native American Rights Many Native Americans, like this high school student, worked to gain more freedom and improve their lives. The increase in Native American organizations has led to improved quality of life and economic conditions. [How have reservations been able to improve their economic conditions?](#)

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

HISTORY Online  **Study Central**

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: federal, affirmative action, contract, busing, bilingualism, guarantee.
- People and Terms** Identify: Allan Bakke, Jesse Jackson, Congressional Black Caucus, César Chávez, *La Raza Unida*, American Indian Movement.
- Analyze** how the *Bakke* case, along with other cases, affected affirmative action.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Explaining** How did the Supreme Court support civil rights during the 1970s? Cite two court cases and their decisions.

Critical Thinking

- Historical Analysis** **Synthesizing** Why have African Americans become significantly more influential in the U.S. Congress since the early 1970s? **CA HIT**
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to identify civil rights leaders and their causes during the 1960s and 1970s.

Civil Rights Leaders	Causes

Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Graphs** Study the graph on page 829 of U.S. Hispanic population growth since 1980. The largest percentage of Hispanics is represented by Mexican Americans. What was the approximate percentage growth for Hispanic Americans from 1980 to 2000?

Writing About History

- Expository Writing** Write a magazine article about the conditions that gave rise to the Native American protest movement of the 1960s and 1970s. In your article, discuss the movement's goals and activities. **CA 11WA2.1a**

Guide to Reading

Connection

In the previous section, you learned how minority groups gained greater civil equality. In this section, you will discover how Americans grew concerned about environmental issues.

Main Idea

- Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* warned the public of the dangers of pollution and pesticides. (p. 833)
- In the early 1970s, Congress passed legislation to protect the nation's air, water, and endangered species. (p.834)
- Concerns about the quality and safety of many products, including automobiles, led to new legislation protecting consumers. (p. 836)

Content Vocabulary

smog, fossil fuel

Academic Vocabulary

publication, nonetheless, consequence

People and Terms to Identify

Rachel Carson, Environmental Protection Agency, Three Mile Island, Ralph Nader

Reading Objectives

- **Explain** the origins of the environmental movement.
- **Identify** the significant measures taken to combat environmental problems.

Reading Strategy

Organizing As you read about the nation's environmental problems in the 1960s and 1970s, complete a graphic organizer by including actions taken to combat these problems.



Preview of Events



The following are the main History–Social Science Standards covered in this section.

11.8.6 Discuss the diverse environmental regions of North America, their relationship to local economies, and the origins and prospects of environmental problems in those regions.

11.11.5 Trace the impact of, need for, and controversies associated with environmental conservation, expansion of the national park system, and the development of environmental protection laws, with particular attention to the interaction between environmental protection advocates and property right advocates.

11.11.7 Explain how the federal, state, and local governments have responded to demographic and social changes such as population shifts to the suburbs, racial concentrations in the cities, Frostbelt-to-Sunbelt migration, international migration, decline of family farms, increases in out-of-wedlock births, and drug abuse.

The Big Idea

Societies change over time. During the 1960s and 1970s, Americans became aware of environmental problems. As the dangers of pesticides such as DDT became known, individuals and groups began efforts to halt their use. The environmental movement gained public support, and the government began to take action by establishing the Environmental Protection Agency. Congress passed several acts aimed at protecting the nation's air, water, and endangered species. Many citizens were also concerned with nuclear energy and its effects on the environment and people's health. People also began to question the safety of consumer goods. The consumer movement led to new legislation to protect consumers from defective and unsafe products, including automobiles.

The Beginnings of Environmentalism

Main Idea Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* warned the public of the dangers of pollution and pesticides.

Reading Connection Do you recycle or take other steps to protect the environment? Read on to learn of the controversies associated with environmental conservation and the development of environmental protection laws.

During the 1960s and 1970s, a growing number of Americans began to focus on environmental issues. They argued that pesticides had damaged wildlife and that pollution had fouled the nation's air and water.

★ An American Story ★

In 1966 Carol Yannacone of Patchogue, a small community on Long Island, New York, learned that officials were using a powerful pesticide, DDT, as part of a mosquito control operation in a local lake. Alarmed that the pesticide would poison lakes and streams, Yannacone and her husband, Victor, an attorney, contacted several local scientists, who confirmed their suspicions. The Yannacones then successfully sued to halt the use of the pesticide.

The Yannacones had discovered a new strategy for addressing environmental concerns. The legal system, Victor Yannacone insisted, was the one place where facts and evidence, not politics and emotions, would decide the outcome:

“A court . . . is the only forum in which a full inquiry into questions of environmental significance can be carried on. . . . Only on the witness stand, protected by the rules of evidence though subject to cross-examination, can a scientist be free of the harassment of legislators seeking re-election of higher political office; free from the glare of the controversy-seeking media; free from unsubstantiated attacks of self-styled experts representing vested economic interests and yet who are not subject to cross examination.”

—quoted in *Since Silent Spring*

Shortly after the Yannacones' court victory, the scientists involved in the case established the Environmental Defense Fund and used its contributions for a series of legal actions across the country to

halt DDT spraying. Their efforts led to a nationwide ban on the use of the pesticide in 1972.

The effort to ban DDT was only one aspect of a larger environmental movement that took shape in the 1960s and 1970s. The person who sounded the loudest alarm bell was not a political leader or prominent academic, but a soft-spoken marine biologist, **Rachel Carson**. Carson's 1962 book *Silent Spring* assailed the increasing use of pesticides, particularly DDT. She contended that while pesticides curbed insect populations, they also killed birds, fish, and other creatures that might ingest them. Carson warned Americans of a “silent spring,” in which there would be few birds left to usher spring in with their songs. In her book, she imagined such a scene from a fictitious town:

“There was a strange stillness. The birds, for example—where had they gone? Many people spoke of them, puzzled and disturbed. . . . On the mornings that had once throbbed with the dawn chorus of robins, catbirds, doves, jays, wrens, and scores of other bird voices there was now no sound; only silence lay over the fields and woods and marsh.”

—from *Silent Spring*

Picturing History

The Power of One Rachel Carson, a marine biologist, sounded a warning note for the environment. Her concern over how humans affect the environment helped start a new reform movement. [What pesticide in particular worried Carson?](#)



Alfred Eisenstaedt/TimePix/Getty Images



heavier and darker by smoke and chemical fumes, was smothering major cities. In 1969 a major oil spill off Santa Barbara, California, ruined miles of beach and killed scores of birds and aquatic animals. A dike project in the Florida Everglades indirectly killed millions of birds and animals. Meanwhile, pollution and garbage had caused

nearly all the fish to disappear from Lake Erie. By 1970 a growing number of citizens were convinced that the time had come to do something about protecting the environment.

Picturing History

Environmental Awareness Numerous oil spills and events such as Earth Day have brought environmental concerns to the attention of Americans. [What issues does the Sierra Club address?](#)

Silent Spring became one of the most controversial and powerful books of the 1960s. It sold nearly half a million copies within six months of its **publication** and was widely discussed. The chemical industry was outraged and began an intense campaign to discredit Carson and her arguments. **Nonetheless**, many Americans took Carson's warnings to heart and began to focus on environmental issues.

Reading Check Identifying What natural resources did environmental groups want to protect?

The Environmental Movement

Main Idea In the early 1970s, Congress passed legislation to protect the nation's air, water, and endangered species.

Reading Connection Who do you think should be responsible for protecting the public against environmental disasters? Read on to discover ways that the federal government became involved in the environmental movement.

During the 1960s, Americans began to feel that environmental problems plagued every region of the nation. In the Northwest, timber companies were cutting down acres of forestland. **Smog**, or fog made

A Grassroots Effort Begins Many observers point to April 1970 as the unofficial beginning of the environmental movement. That month, the nation held its first Earth Day celebration, a day devoted to addressing the country's environmental concerns. The national response was overwhelming. In thousands of colleges and secondary schools and in hundreds of communities, millions of Americans participated in activities to show their environmental awareness, from picking up litter to demonstrating against air pollution.

Senator Gaylord Nelson of Wisconsin, who had put forth the idea of an Earth Day celebration, commented on the event: "The people cared and Earth Day became the first opportunity they ever had to join in a nationwide demonstration to send a message to the politicians—a message to tell them to wake up and do something."

After Earth Day, the grassroots effort intensified. Citizens formed local environmental groups, while nonprofit organizations such as the Sierra Club, the Audubon Society, and the Wilderness Society gained prominence. These organizations worked to protect the environment and promote the conservation of natural resources. In 1970 activists started the Natural Resources Defense Council to coordinate a nationwide network of scientists, lawyers, and activists working on environmental problems.

The Government Steps In With the environmental movement gaining public support, the federal government took action. In 1970 President Nixon signed the National Environmental Policy Act, which created the **Environmental Protection Agency** (EPA). The EPA took on the job of setting and enforcing pollution standards, promoting research, and

coordinating antipollution activities with state and local governments. The agency also monitored the impact of other federal agencies on the environment.

The Clean Air Act also became law in 1970. This act established emissions standards for factories and automobiles. It also ordered that all industries comply with such standards within five years.

In following years, Congress passed two more pieces of significant environmental legislation. The Clean Water Act (1972) restricted the discharge of pollutants into the nation's lakes and rivers, and the Endangered Species Act (1973) established measures for saving threatened animal species. Over time these laws reduced smog and cut pollution levels.

In 1984 the World Court settled a boundary dispute between the United States and Canada over commercial fishing in the Georges Bank. The bank was divided between the countries by a border known as the Hague Line. This reduced the number of U.S. fishing boats and briefly replenished the number of fish in the bank.

Love Canal Despite the flurry of federal environmental legislation, Americans continued to mobilize on the community level throughout the 1970s. One of the most powerful displays of community activism occurred in a housing development near Niagara Falls, New York, known as Love Canal.

In the 1970s, residents of Love Canal noticed a rising number of health problems in their community, including nerve damage, blood diseases, cancer, miscarriages, and birth defects. They soon learned that their community sat atop a decades-old toxic waste dump. Over time its hazardous contents had leaked into the ground.

Led by a local woman, Lois Gibbs, the residents joined together and demanded that the government take steps to address these health threats. Hindered at first by local and state officials, the residents refused to back down, and by 1978 they had made their struggle known to the entire nation. That year, in the face of mounting public pressure and evidence of the dangers posed by the dump, the state permanently relocated more than 200 families.

In 1980, after hearing protests from the families who still lived near the landfill, President Carter declared Love Canal a federal disaster area and moved over 600 remaining families to new locations. In 1983 Love Canal residents sued the company that had created the dump site and settled the case for \$20 million. The site was cleaned up by sealing the waste within an underground bunker and burning homes located above the dumping ground.

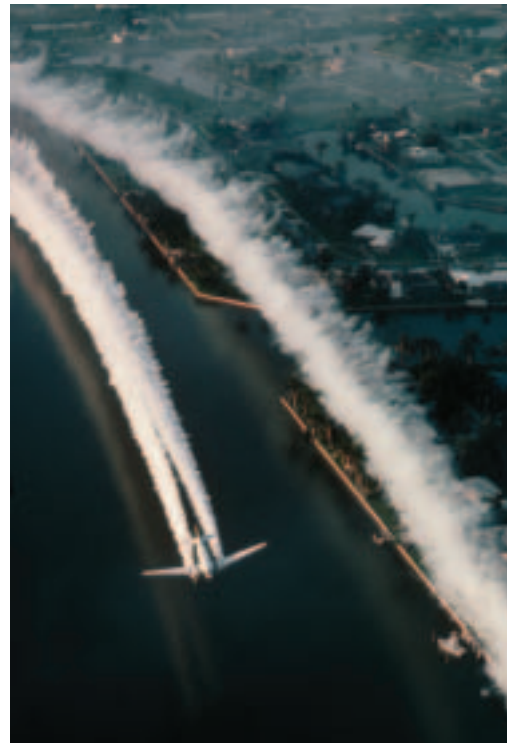
Concerns Over Nuclear Energy During the 1970s, an increasing number of citizens expressed concern over the growth of nuclear power. Supporters of nuclear energy hailed it as a cleaner and less expensive alternative to **fossil fuels**, such as coal, oil, and natural gas, which are in limited supply. Opponents warned of the risks, particularly the devastating **consequences** of an accidental radiation release into the air.

The debate moved to the nation's forefront in 1979. In the early hours of March 28, one of the reactors at the **Three Mile Island** nuclear facility outside Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, overheated after its cooling system failed. While plant officials scrambled to fix the problem, low levels of radiation escaped from the reactor.

Officials evacuated many nearby residents, while others fled on their own. Citizens and community groups expressed outrage in protest rallies. Officials closed down the reactor and sealed the leak. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, the federal agency that regulates the nuclear power industry, eventually declared the plant safe.

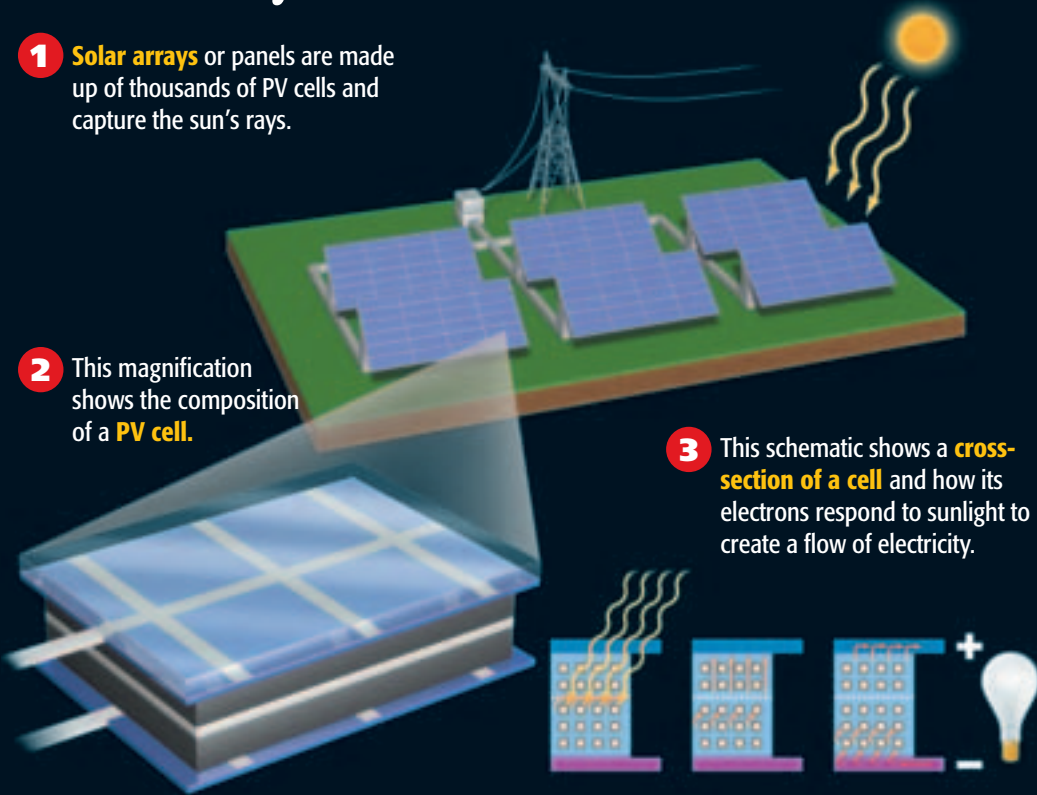
The accident at Three Mile Island had a powerful impact and left much of the public in great doubt about the safety of nuclear energy. Such doubts have continued. Since Three Mile Island, 60 nuclear power plants have been shut down or abandoned, and no new facilities have been built since 1973.

Spraying pesticides ▼



Solar Energy

Concerns in the 1970s about the environment and safe energy led to a strong interest in solar energy. Sunlight is composed of photons, particles of solar energy. The use of photovoltaic (PV) cells allows solar energy to be used for a wide range of energy needs, from powering generators to running agricultural water pumps or simple calculators. *Why was solar power seen as an environmentally friendly power source?*



1 **Solar arrays** or panels are made up of thousands of PV cells and capture the sun's rays.

2 This magnification shows the composition of a **PV cell**.

3 This schematic shows a **cross-section of a cell** and how its electrons respond to sunlight to create a flow of electricity.

The Debate Over Environmentalism The environmentalist movement that emerged in the 1970s led to a new political debate in American society. As environmentalists began proposing regulations they believed would help the environment, opponents began arguing that the regulations had hidden costs.

One controversial issue involved DDT. The World Health Organization has estimated that DDT saved 25 million lives worldwide by killing disease-spreading pests such as mosquitoes and lice. Despite DDT's value in reducing disease, however, most nations followed the U.S. example and banned the pesticide. Soon afterward, cases of malaria and typhus began to rise again worldwide.

The debate over DDT demonstrated the difficulty in balancing the costs and benefits of environmental regulations. Supporters of nuclear power have pointed out that coal-fired power plants also put people at risk. Miners regularly develop black lung disease and die in mining accidents while mining coal for power plants. Coal-fired plants also pollute the air. Yet requiring power plants, cars, and factories to reduce their air pollution may drive up the cost of goods. This can lead to fewer jobs and more poverty, and make more products unaffordable to people of modest means. Environmental regulations can also

clash with people's property rights. As a result, the environmentalist movement became increasingly controversial in the 1980s and 1990s, as interest groups, business leaders, and politicians took sides in the debate over the costs and benefits of environmentalist policies. The debate has continued to shape politics to the present day.

✓ Reading Check **Summarizing** What is the environmental movement's main goal?

The Consumer Movement

Main Idea Concerns about the quality and safety of many products, including automobiles, led to new legislation protecting consumers.

Reading Connection What are some of the safety features that are now standard in vehicles? Read on to find out about the beginnings of a consumer safety movement.

During the 1960s and 1970s, a number of citizens also questioned the quality and safety of the many new "technologically advanced" products flooding the market. In an atmosphere of protest and overall distrust of authority, more and more buyers

demanded product safety, accurate information, and a voice in government formulation of consumer policy.

Perhaps the most notable figure of this new consumer protection movement was **Ralph Nader**, a young lawyer from Connecticut. In the early 1960s, Nader noted what he considered an alarmingly high number of automobile fatalities. He presented his findings in a 1965 book, *Unsafe at Any Speed*. Nader charged car manufacturers with putting style, cost, and speed ahead of safety. He also challenged one of the auto industry’s long-held claims that drivers were to blame for most auto accidents:

“The American automobile is produced exclusively to the standards which the manufacturer decides to establish. It comes into the marketplace unchecked. When a car becomes involved in an accident, the entire investigatory, enforcement and claims apparatus that makes up the post-accident response looks almost invariably to driver failure as the cause. . . . Accommodated by superficial standards of accident investigation, the car manufacturers exude presumptions of engineering excellence and reliability, and this reputation is accepted by many unknowing motorists.”

—from *Unsafe at Any Speed*

Nader’s efforts received an accidental boost from an unlikely source: the auto industry. Shortly after his book came out, a car company hired private detectives to follow Nader in an attempt to uncover information that might discredit him. The detectives

found nothing, and when this corporate spying incident came to light, the publicity pushed *Unsafe at Any Speed* up the bestseller list. As a result, the public became much more aware of auto safety issues. Nader sued the car company for invasion of privacy and used the settlement money to fund several consumer organizations.

Nader’s efforts helped spur Congress to pass the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act in 1966. The act set mandatory safety standards and established a procedure for notifying car owners about defects. For the first time, the automobile industry was subject to federal safety regulations. Carmakers had to incorporate safety standards into their car designs so that auto crashes would be less devastating. Requirements that called for the installation of seat belts, door locks, safer fuel tanks, and other improvements have since saved hundreds of thousands of lives and prevented millions of injuries.

Nader’s success led to calls for a closer examination of numerous other consumer goods during the 1960s and 1970s. Organizations lobbied Congress and state legislatures to pass laws regulating such products as dangerous toys, flammable fabrics, and potentially unsafe meat and poultry.

Reading Check **Describing** What was the impact of the consumer protection movement?

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Vocabulary** Define: publication, nonetheless, smog, fossil fuel, consequence.
- People and Terms** Identify: Rachel Carson, Environmental Protection Agency, Three Mile Island, Ralph Nader.
- List** three measures taken to combat environmental problems in the 1960s and 1970s.

Reviewing Big Ideas

- Identifying** What groups lobbied for government legislation to protect the environment in the 1960s and 1970s?

Environmental Legislation	Purpose

Critical Thinking

- Historical Analysis** **Evaluating** Which environmental issue do you think is the most pressing problem the environment faces today? Explain your response. **CA HIS**
- Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the environmental laws passed in the 1970s and explain their purposes.


Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Posters** Examine the “Love It or Leave It” poster on page 834. This phrase was first used by Vietnam War supporters, directed toward critics of the war and referring to the United States instead of the earth. How has the phrase been adapted here?

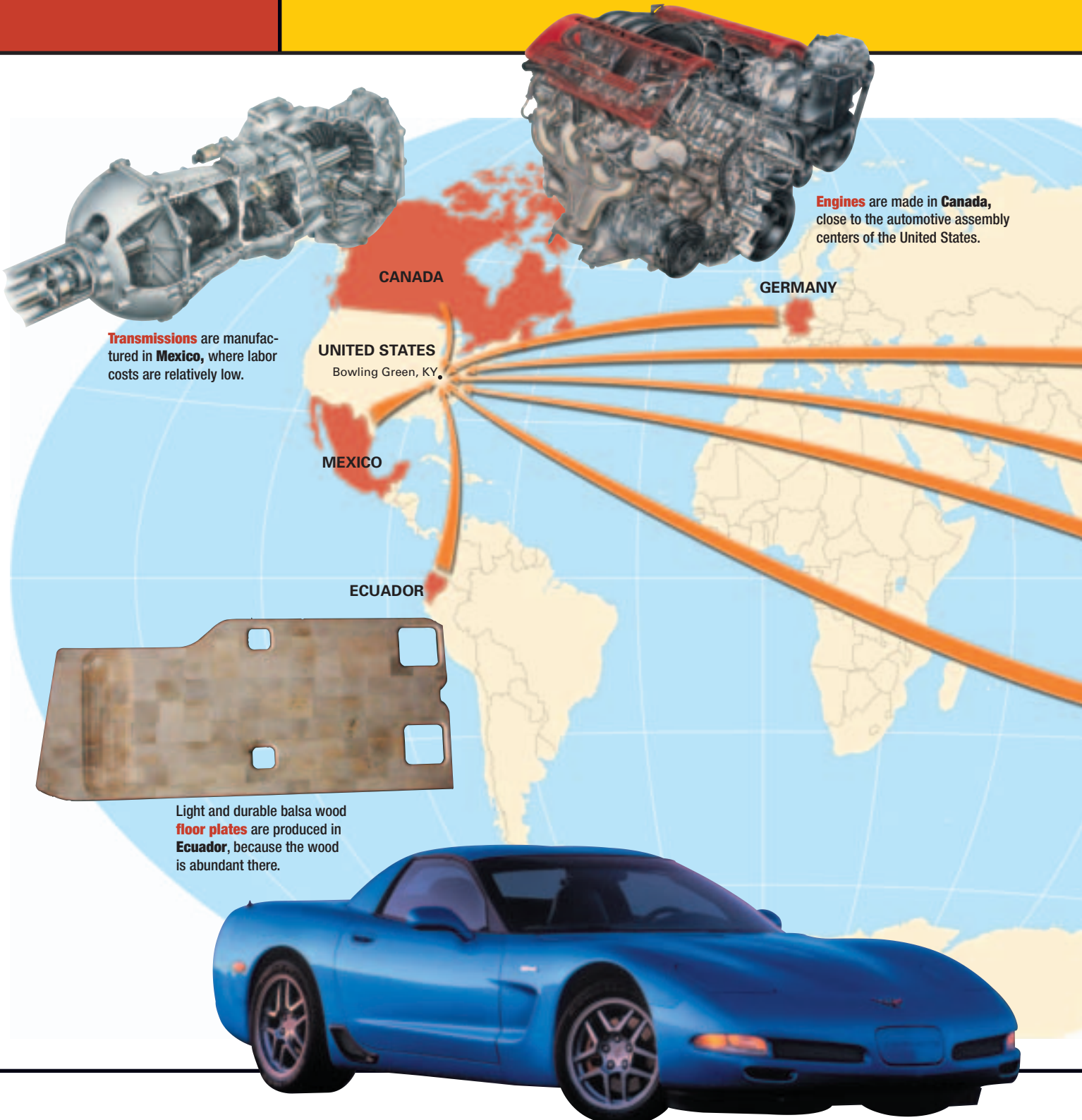
Writing About History

- Descriptive Writing** Take on the role of an investigative reporter and describe the environmental disaster at either Love Canal or Three Mile Island. Explain how community activism brought the issue to the nation’s attention.

CA 11WA2.1a

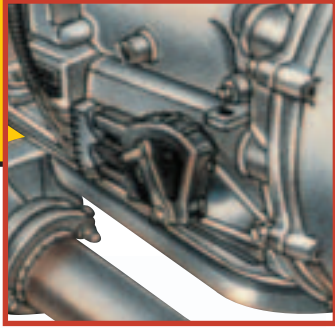
HISTORY
Online  **Study Central**

For help with the concepts in this section of *American Vision: Modern Times* go to tav.mt.glencoe.com and click on **Study Central**.

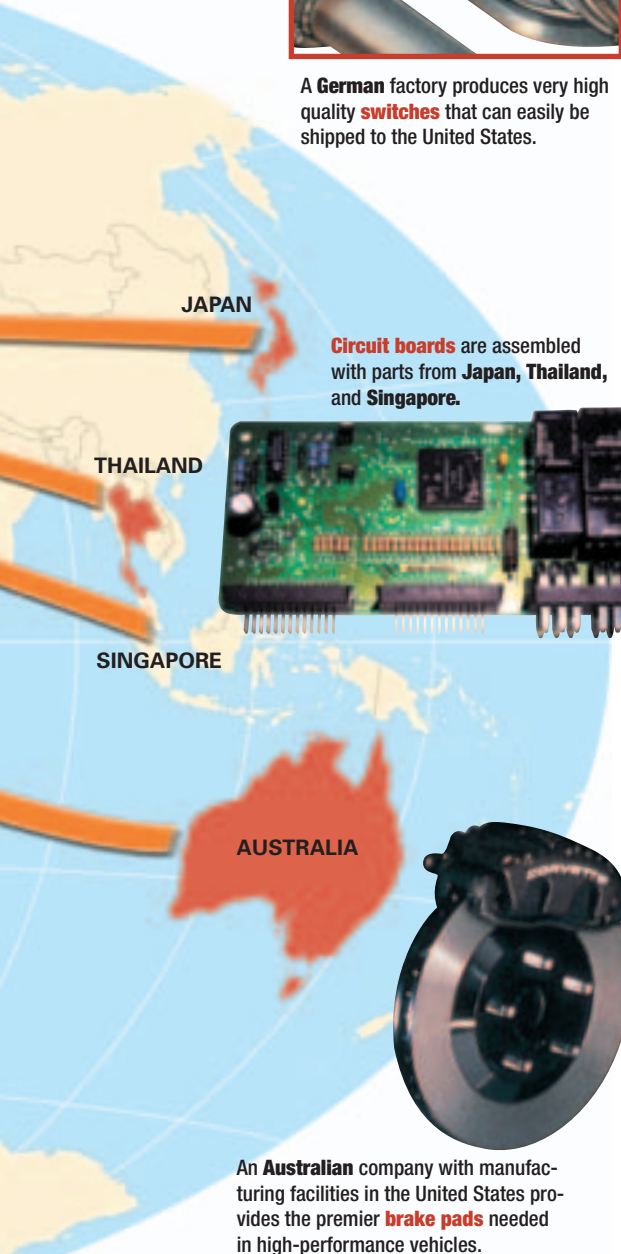


The production of a GM Chevrolet Corvette in Bowling Green, Kentucky, requires the assembly of components from around the world: an engine from Canada, a transmission from Mexico, balsa wood floor plates from Ecuador, switches from Germany, circuit boards from several Asian nations, and brakes from Australia.

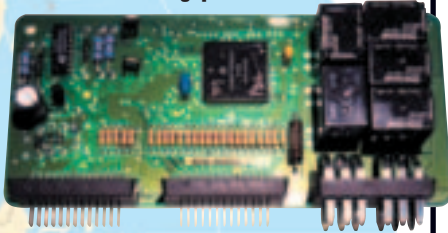
Global Cars



A **German** factory produces very high quality **switches** that can easily be shipped to the United States.



Circuit boards are assembled with parts from **Japan, Thailand, and Singapore**.



An **Australian** company with manufacturing facilities in the United States provides the premier **brake pads** needed in high-performance vehicles.

The globalization of the world economy since the end of World War II has revolutionized the way in which industries and corporations operate. Tremendous advances in technology, communications, and the transport of goods have enabled corporations to turn more and more often to manufacturing facilities and resources around the world. The car industry is a good example of this trend.

For decades American automakers have operated assembly plants in foreign countries, including Brazil, Poland, India, and China. Car companies have also established plants abroad that manufacture particular components, which are then assembled in an American factory. As shown on the world map on the left, foreign manufacturers build major components of the Chevrolet Corvette and ship them to Bowling Green, Kentucky. There, workers assemble the parts—along with some 1,900 others manufactured by about 400 suppliers—into the finished car. The process of finding part suppliers outside of the company, known as “outsourcing,” is one way multinational corporations try to gain a competitive advantage over their rivals. Companies contract with foreign suppliers that meet a combination of criteria, including cost, quality, and ease of delivery.

Computers and the Internet have made worldwide communication dramatically easier, faster, and cheaper.



A worker assembles a Corvette at a plant in Bowling Green, Kentucky.

Technological advances have also made manufacturing more efficient. For example, automakers can keep track of parts and suppliers so that the essential components can be delivered to factories from anywhere in the world “just in time” to assemble the finished product.

Multinational corporations now account for about two-thirds of the world’s trade in products. Global corporations have become enormous, and the largest ones are wealthier than entire countries. The income of General Motors, for instance, rivals gross national products of the mid-sized economies of nations such as South Africa, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia.

The auto industry has come a long way since Henry Ford perfected assembly line production techniques that made cars affordable for the mass market. Today’s automakers have adopted global assembly lines, applying Ford’s innovations—standardized job tasks and division of labor—across international boundaries.

Cars are shipped all over the world. Here, Japanese cars are unloaded from a large container ship in Baltimore, Maryland.



(t)Illustration by David Kirble. (b)Jim Heston/PhotoEdit/PictureQuest

LEARNING FROM GEOGRAPHY

1. What three criteria are considered in decisions about suppliers?
2. Why might geography no longer be as big a factor as it once was in the location of a production plant?

Primary Sources

Eyewitness to History

In the 1960s, feminism became a major issue on the national agenda. Many women had become disenchanted with their lives and turned their anger into a political movement. By the 1970s, the movement began to stall as conservative activists working against feminists rose to power.

SOURCE 1:

*Betty Friedan helped start the women's movement of the 1960s by publishing *The Feminine Mystique* in 1963. She argued that society had pressured women to ignore their intellect and to sacrifice themselves entirely to the needs of the family. In her 1976 memoir, Friedan recalled the reaction to her book.*

The emotions that book stirred up in women were not simple. In addition to the dozens, then hundreds, by now thousands of letters of relief, I received many angry letters from women. In fact, I would hear of cocktail parties being broken up by women arguing over my book. . . .

A woman called in to a television program in Detroit where I was publicizing the book. "Tell her to go back and take care of her own children and stop putting ideas into my daughter's head," the woman sputtered angrily. "Being a mother is all women were meant to be; I would never leave any child of mine with a babysitter." Thinking to suggest she might feel different a little later, I said, "How old is your youngest child?" "Twenty-three," said the lifelong mother. . . .

I got very few angry letters from men. From the very beginning, there was much less hostility from men than one might have expected. Many women told me their husbands had bought *The Feminine*

Mystique for them to read. It was much more of a threat to women—the challenge, the possibility, the risk and test of moving in society as a person on one's own—than to their husbands. From the beginning, many men seemed to sense that women's liberation would liberate them. It was women who felt the fear—and the relief.



▲ Founders of NOW, Chairman of the Board Dr. Kathryn F. Clarenbach and President Betty Friedan

SOURCE 2:

The National Organization for Women (NOW), co-founded by Friedan in 1966, formed chiefly to fight gender discrimination in the workplace. Its statement of purpose asked for women's full involvement in American society and an equal partnership with men.

We, men and women who hereby constitute ourselves as the National Organization for Women, believe that the time has

come for a new movement toward true equality for all women in America, and toward a fully equal partnership of the sexes, as part of the world-wide revolution of human rights now taking place within and beyond our national borders.

The purpose of NOW is to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society now, exercising all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men. . . .

NOW is dedicated to the proposition that women first and foremost are human beings, who, like all other people in our society, must have the chance to develop their fullest human potential. We believe that women can achieve such equality only by accepting to the full the challenges and responsibilities they share with all other people in our society, as part of the decision-making mainstream of American political, economic and social life. . . .

WE BELIEVE THAT women will do most to create a new image of women by *acting* now, and by speaking out in behalf of their own equality, freedom, and human dignity—not in pleas for special privilege, nor in **enmity**¹ toward men, who are also victims of the current half-equality between the sexes—but in an active, self-respecting partnership with men. By so doing, women will develop confidence in their own ability to determine actively, in partnership with men, the conditions of their life, their choices, their future and their society.

SOURCE 3:

Phyllis Schlafly a conservative attorney from Illinois, led the antifeminist movement. In her 1977 book, The Power of the Positive Woman, Schlafly stressed that women's liberation posed a threat to women.

The Positive Woman starts with the assumption that the world is her oyster. She rejoices in the creative capability within her body and the power potential of her mind and spirit. She understands that men and women are different, and that those very differences provide the key to her success as a person and fulfillment as a woman.

The women's liberationist, on the other hand, is imprisoned by her own negative view of herself and of her place in the world around her. . . .

This is the self-articulated dog-in-the-manger, chip-on-the-shoulder, fundamental **dogma**² of the



▲ *Phyllis Schlafly*

women's liberation movement. Someone—it is not clear who, perhaps God, perhaps the "Establishment," perhaps a conspiracy of male chauvinist pigs—dealt women a foul blow by making them female. It becomes necessary, therefore, for women to agitate and demonstrate and hurl demands on society in order to wrest from an oppressive male-dominated social structure the status that has been wrongfully denied to women through the centuries.

By its very nature, therefore, the women's liberation movement precipitates a series of conflict situations—in the legislatures, in the courts, in the schools, in industry—with man targeted as the enemy. Confrontation

replaces cooperation as the watchword of all relationships. Women and men become adversaries instead of partners. . . .

. . . A Positive Woman cannot defeat a man in a wrestling or boxing match, but she can motivate him, inspire him, encourage him, teach him, restrain him, reward him, and have power over him that he can never achieve over her with all his muscle. How or whether a Positive Woman uses her power is determined solely by the way she alone defines her goals and develops her skills.

DBQ Document-Based Questions

Historical Analysis

CA HI2; HI3

Source 1: How does Friedan describe the response of women and men to her book?

Source 2: What is the main goal of NOW?

Source 3: Why does Schlafly believe that women's liberation is a threat to women?

Comparing and Contrasting Sources

How do Friedan, Schlafly, and NOW differ in their descriptions on how women and men viewed each other?

¹**enmity:** anger

²**dogma:** something presented as authoritative without proof

CHAPTER 18

ASSESSMENT and ACTIVITIES

Reviewing Content Vocabulary

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence.

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. counterculture | 5. affirmative | 8. smog |
| 2. commune | action | 9. fossil fuel |
| 3. feminism | 6. busing | |
| 4. Title IX | 7. bilingualism | |

Reviewing Academic Vocabulary

On a sheet of paper, use each of these terms in a sentence that reflects the term's meaning in the chapter.

- | | | |
|--------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 10. validate | 14. integral | 18. guarantee |
| 11. rational | 15. bias | 19. publication |
| 12. derive | 16. federal | 20. nonetheless |
| 13. gender | 17. contract | 21. consequence |

Reviewing the Main Ideas

Section 1

22. What was the Free Speech Movement?

Section 2

23. How did Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 promote women's equality?

Chapter Summary

Speaking Out for Equality

Youth Movement

Protests Status Quo

- Grows out of earlier "beat" movement
- Becomes increasingly influential as "baby boom" generation matures
- Protests injustices facing African Americans, the poor, and the disadvantaged
- Free Speech Movement establishes tactics of boycotting college classes and occupying buildings
- Hippie counterculture rebels against system, visualizes utopian ideals

Women's Movement

Regains Momentum

- Fights for equal economic rights in workplace and society
- Demands equal opportunities in education
- *Roe v. Wade* expands access to abortion

Minority Groups

Continue the Fight

- Expand on earlier success and speed up access to previous gains
- Affirmative Action advocates equality in work environment for minority and disadvantaged groups
- Native Americans gain more power on reservations and fight discrimination, unemployment, police brutality, and poverty
- Hispanic Americans lobby for better working conditions and job training

Environmental and Consumer Groups

New Concerns Emerge

- First Earth Day sparks widespread awareness of environmental issues
- Federal government establishes pollution standards and begins monitoring environmental problems
- State and federal legislatures pass laws regulating the safety standards for a wide variety of consumer products

Standards 11.3, 11.3.4, 11.6.5, 11.8.6, 11.9.4, 11.9.7, 11.10.2, 11.10.4, 11.10.5, 11.10.7, 11.11.1, 11.11.3, 11.11.5, 11.11.7

Section 3

24. How did Native Americans expand their political rights and economic opportunities in the 1960s and 1970s?

Section 4

25. How did the environmental movement begin?

Critical Thinking

26. **Reading Skill** **Evaluating** Reread "A Protest Movement Emerges" on pages 829–830. How did you react to this passage? Did your opinion of Native American protests change?
27. **Civics** Examine the 1978 Supreme Court's decision on preferential college admissions in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*. Do you agree or disagree with the Court's decision? Explain your position.
28. **Analyzing** In what ways did the counterculture movement change American society?
29. **Drawing Conclusions** Why do you think so many protest movements emerged in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s?

