

The Politics of Protest 1960–1980

Why It Matters

Protest characterized the 1960s. Young people often led the civil rights and antiwar movements. Some of them wanted to change the entire society and urged more communal, less materialistic values. Young people were not the only protesters, however. Using the civil rights movement as a model, women, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans also organized to gain greater recognition and equality.

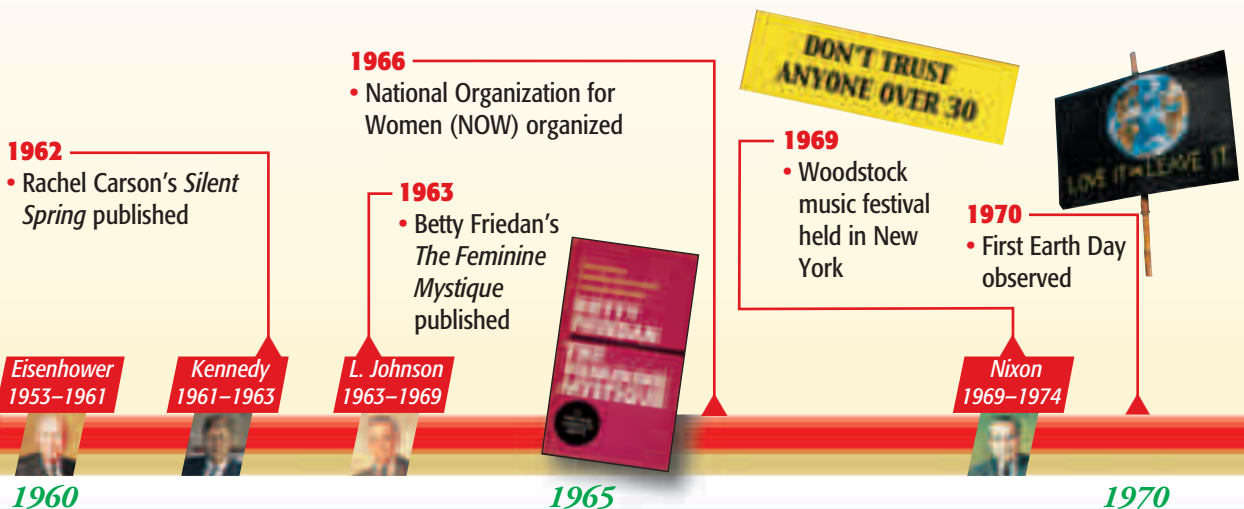
The Impact Today

Changes of the 1960s still affect our lives today.

- Women are visible in many more leadership roles in government and business.
- Hispanic political organizations represent a growing segment of the population.
- The cultural traditions of Native Americans receive greater recognition.



The American Vision Video The Chapter 31 video, "Behind the Scenes with César," profiles the role that César Chávez played in the United Farm Workers organization.



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* Web site at tav.glencoe.com and click on **Chapter Overviews—Chapter 31** to preview chapter information.

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The Student Movement and the Counterculture

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

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

Key Terms and Names

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

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.

Reading Objectives

- **Explain** the origins of the nation's youth movement.
- **Define** the goals of serious members of the counterculture.

Section Theme

Government and Democracy Although protest movements often challenged the opinions and values of many Americans, the courts protected the protesters' rights of self-expression under the Constitution.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



Mario Savio

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 Growth of the Youth Movement

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.

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.)

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.



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?](#)



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?**

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.

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

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 values 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 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 unable to support themselves, gradually returned to mainstream society.

 **Reading Check** **Summarizing** What were the core ideals of members of the counterculture?

Impact of the Counterculture

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

Fact

Fiction

Folklore

New 1960s Words During the 1960s, Americans coined a host of new words and phrases. The word *hippie*, used to describe members of the counterculture, probably originated from the 1930s term *hep*, for “those in the know.” Other people believe *hippie* may have evolved from the 1950s word *hipster*, which referred to members of the beatnik movement.

Hippies themselves introduced a few terms to the country. They often uttered the phrase *far out* to indicate anything that was very good or very bad. Individuals who rejected the free-living counterculture lifestyle were considered *straight* or *square*.

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

 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.



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 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.



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?**

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?

SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

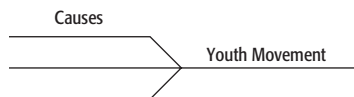
- Define:** **counterculture**, **commune**.
- Identify:** Port Huron Statement, Tom Hayden, Haight-Ashbury district, Jimi Hendrix.
- Summarize** two legacies of the counterculture movement.

Reviewing Themes

- Government and Democracy** 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 922. 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 a commune and describe the hippie culture you see.

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

During the 1960s and 1970s, a large number of American women organized to push for greater rights and opportunities in society.

Key Terms and Names

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

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

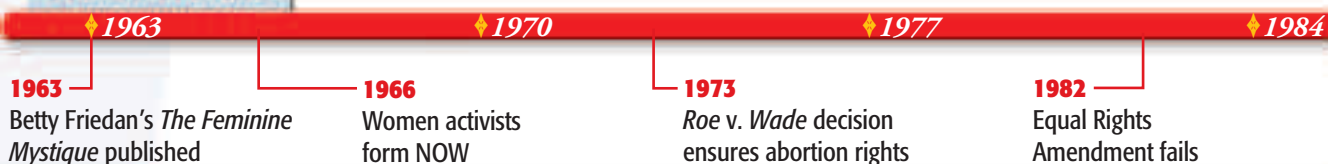
Reading Objectives

- **Describe** the workplace concerns that fueled the growth of the women's movement.
- **Identify** major achievements of the women's movement.

Section Theme**Civic Rights and Responsibilities**

Women organized to claim their rights and responsibilities as citizens and employees.

Preview of Events

★ *An American Story* ★

A 1960s-era women's magazine

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*

A Weakened Women's Movement

Herma Snider was not alone. Although many women were content to be homemakers, by the early 1960s scores of them had grown dissatisfied with their roles. At the same time, those who worked outside the home were recognizing their unequal status

as reflected in lower pay and fewer opportunities. These developments led to the rise of a new feminist movement in the 1960s.

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 one-third 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?

The Women's Movement Reawakens

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 47 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.

GOVERNMENT

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

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?](#)





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 responded to frustrated housewives 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 most levels of politics. They lashed out against the practice of paying women less than men for equal work, a practice 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

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,

Picturing History

The Feminine Mystique Betty Friedan's best-selling book (right) 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?**

national origin, but also of gender. This measure became decisive legal basis for advances made by the women's movement.

Given prevailing attitudes about what kind of work was proper for women, change took time. Even the federal agency charged with administering the new law, the **Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)**, still held to the idea that jobs should be distinguished by gender. In August 1965, for example, the commission ruled that gender-segregated help-wanted ads were legal.

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*

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

Striving for Equality in Education One of the movement's notable achievements was in education. Kathy Striebel's story highlighted the discrimination female students often faced in the early 1970s. In 1971, 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, 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 Striebel 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 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

Profiles IN HISTORY

Shirley Chisholm 1924–

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 (right). **How many states ratified the ERA?**



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 1082.)

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. One outspoken opponent was **Phyllis Schlafly**, who organized the Stop-ERA campaign. The Equal Rights Amendment 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 may also be a factor. 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, a significant 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, schoolteachers, and nurses. 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.

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

SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** feminism, Title IX.
- Identify:** Equal Pay Act, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Betty Friedan, National Organization for Women, Phyllis Schlafly.
- Summarize** Shirley Chisholm's political contributions.

Reviewing Themes

- Civic Rights and Responsibilities** How have women's rights improved since the 1960s?

Critical Thinking

- Synthesizing** What two events weakened the women's movement after 1920?
- 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 photograph on page 927 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 photograph on page 927 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.

American LITERATURE



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 whom 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 makes a statement against a common belief of the time—that women were generally unfit for scholarship. The story remained obscure for almost 50 years but was rediscovered in the 1970s. It 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

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?



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.

Analyzing Literature

1. What is the main idea in this passage? How does it support the author's point?
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.

New Approaches to Civil Rights

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

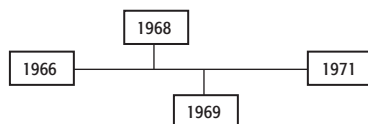
Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, minority groups developed new ways to improve their status in the United States.

Key Terms and Names

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

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.



Reading Objectives

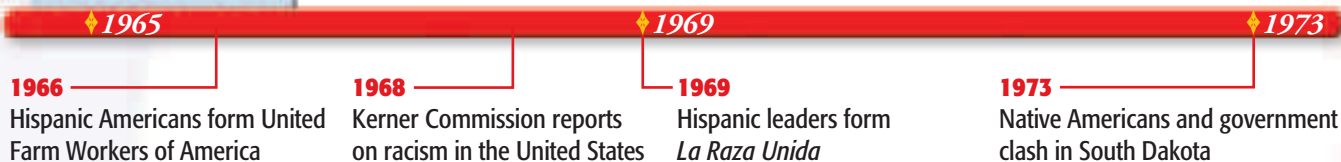
- **Describe** the goal of affirmative action policies.
- **Analyze** the rise of Hispanic and Native American protests.

Section Theme

Civic Rights and Responsibilities

African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans organized to fight discrimination and to gain access to better education and jobs.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



Vernon Bellecourt

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*

Fighting for Greater Opportunity

At a time of heightened protest in the United States, Native Americans began raising their voices for reform and change. Other groups did as well. 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




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?](#)

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.


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 attacks on 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 1082 for more information on *University of California Regents v. Bakke*.)

Fact Fiction Folklore

The Day the Pitcher Refused to Play In a time when noisy demonstrations were the rule, one American's quiet observance of his religious laws captured the nation's attention. Sandy Koufax, star pitcher for the Los Angeles Dodgers baseball team, chose not to pitch the opening game of the 1965 World Series because the event fell on Yom Kippur, the holiest day of the Jewish calendar. On this day, Jews are expected to abstain from work, and Koufax felt that included playing baseball.






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?](#)

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 1083 for more information on *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*.)

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



Student Web Activity Visit the *American Vision* Web site at tav.glencoe.com and click on **Student Web Activities—Chapter 31** for an activity on protest movements.

nomination. Although both attempts were unsuccessful, Jackson did win over millions of voters.

African Americans also became significantly more influential in Congress. In 1971 African American members of Congress reorganized an existing organization into the **Congressional Black Caucus** in order to more clearly represent the legislative concerns of African Americans. The caucus formulated its own stance on important issues, especially health care, economic development, and crime.

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

Hispanic Americans Organize

Hispanic Americans also worked for greater rights in this period. In 1960 about 3 million Hispanics lived in the United States. By the late 1960s, that number had increased to 9 million.

Hispanics came to the United States from different places and for different reasons. Many Puerto Ricans migrated to eastern cities, particularly New York, to find jobs. Cubans often came to flee their country's Communist regime. The largest Hispanic group was Mexican Americans, many of whom arrived during and after World War II to work on huge farms in the South and West.

Hispanics often faced prejudice and limited access to adequate education, housing, and employment. Encouraged by the civil rights movement, they began to organize a protest movement.

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 grapes, and several food store chains stopped selling them. 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

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." In conjunction with similar organizations in Colorado and California, the group mobilized Mexican American voters behind a political agenda that called for job-training programs and greater access to financial institutions. In the 1970s, the party demonstrated significant strength at the polls.

During this period, a growing number of Hispanic youths actively promoted their culture. In March 1968, about 1,000 Mexican American students and their teachers at an East Los Angeles high school walked out of their classrooms to protest racism.

One issue both Hispanic students and political leaders promoted was **bilingualism**, the practice of teaching immigrant students in their own language



- 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?

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.”



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 as they were learning English.

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

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. 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.

Unlike other groups demanding more assimilation into mainstream society, many Native Americans wanted greater independence from it. They 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.

Native Americans who viewed the government’s reform efforts as too modest formed more militant groups, such as the **American Indian Movement** (AIM). Typically, such groups employed a more combative style. In 1969 AIM made a symbolic protest by

occupying 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 later that winter at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, where federal troops had killed hundreds of 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 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



Native American high school student

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?

SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** affirmative action, busing, bilingualism.
- 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 Themes

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

Critical Thinking

- Synthesizing** Why have African Americans become significantly more influential in the U.S. Congress since the early 1970s?
- 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 935 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.

Critical Thinking SKILLBUILDER

Analyzing Primary Sources

Why Learn This Skill?

To determine what happened in the past, historians do some detective work. They comb through bits of evidence from the past to reconstruct events. These bits of written and illustrated historical evidence are called *primary sources*.

Learning the Skill

Primary sources are records of events made by the people who witnessed them. They include letters, diaries, photographs, news articles, and legal documents.

Primary sources yield several important kinds of information. Often they give detailed accounts of events. However, the account reflects only one perspective. For this reason, you must examine as many perspectives as possible before drawing any conclusions. To analyze primary sources, follow these steps.

- Identify the author of the source.
- Identify when and where the document was written.
- Read the document for its content and try to answer the five “W” questions: Who is it about? What is it about? When did it happen? Where did it happen? Why did it happen?
- Determine what kind of information may be missing from the primary source.

Practicing the Skill

The primary source that follows is a small part of a United States legal document. Read the source, and then answer the questions.

**Title IX, Education Amendments of 1972,
Section 1684. Blindness or visual impairment;
prohibition against discrimination**

No person in the United States shall, on the grounds of blindness or severely impaired vision, be denied admission in any course of study by a recipient of Federal financial assistance for any education program or activity; but nothing herein shall be construed to require any

such institution to provide any special services to such person because of his blindness or visual impairment.

- 1 When was this document written?
- 2 Who is affected by this legal document?
- 3 What is the purpose of this legal requirement?
- 4 Why do you think this document was written?

Skills Assessment

Complete the Practicing Skills questions on page 947 and the Chapter 31 Skill Reinforcement Activity to assess your mastery of this skill.



Applying the Skill

Analyzing Primary Sources Find a primary source from your past—a photo, a report card, an old newspaper clipping, or your first baseball card. Bring this source to class and explain what it shows about that time in your life.



Glencoe's **Skillbuilder Interactive Workbook CD-ROM, Level 2**, provides instruction and practice in key social studies skills.

SECTION 4 Saving the Earth

Guide to Reading

Main Idea

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

Key Terms and Names

Rachel Carson, smog, Environmental Protection Agency, fossil fuel, Three Mile Island, Ralph Nader

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.



Reading Objectives

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

Section Theme

Groups and Institutions Increased awareness of environmental issues inspired a grassroots campaign to protect nature.

Preview of Events



★ An American Story ★



Spraying pesticides

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*

The Beginnings of Environmentalism

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.



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. The feeding stations in the backyards were deserted. The few birds seen anywhere were moribund; they trembled violently and could not fly. It was a spring without voices. 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*

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 Blossoms

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 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.

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. On 2,000 college campuses, in 10,000 secondary schools, and

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?**

The effort to ban DDT was only one aspect of a larger environmental movement that took shape in the 1960s and 1970s. During this period, a growing number of Americans began to examine more closely how their highly industrialized society was affecting the environment. Many were alarmed at what they discovered. It seemed to some that the nation had little regard for the environment. An increasing use of pesticides had damaged a wide range of wildlife. A rise in pollution had fouled both the air and the water. Potentially deadly nuclear energy was being used more and more. These developments prompted many citizens to address environmental problems more actively.

A wider realization that the nation’s natural environment was threatened had begun to grow in the early 1960s. 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

in hundreds of communities, millions of Americans participated in activities to show their environmental awareness, from picking up litter to demonstrating against air pollution. “For the first time in history,” wrote Gladwyn Hall, environmental correspondent for the *New York Times*, “virtually an entire nation, including Congress, paused in its workday activities to contemplate the deterioration of its physical surroundings and life-patterns.”

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 long-standing 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.

GOVERNMENT

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 anti-pollution activities with state and local governments. The agency also monitored other federal agencies with respect to their impact on the environment.

The **Clean Air Act** also became law in 1970 over President Nixon’s veto. 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 produced a dramatic improvement in some areas. Smog in industrial cities was reduced, as was pollution in many lakes, streams, and rivers.

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.

During the 1970s, residents of Love Canal began to notice increasingly high incidences of health problems in their community, including nerve damage, blood diseases, cancer, miscarriages, and birth defects. The residents 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.

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?](#)



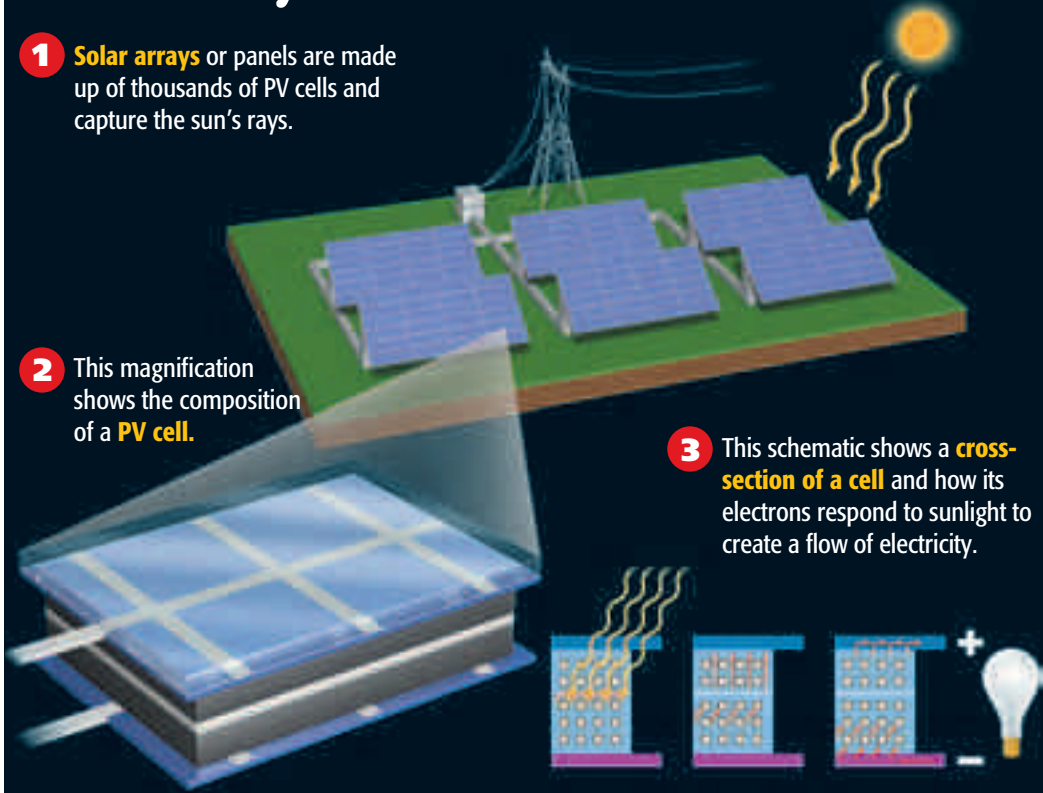
Solar Energy

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.



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, a number of citizens expressed concern over the growth of nuclear power. As nuclear power plants began to dot the nation's landscape, the debate over their use intensified. 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 nuclear energy posed, particularly the devastating consequences of an accidental radiation release into the air.

The debate moved to the nation's forefront in shocking fashion 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. Two days

later, as 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. President Carter even visited the site to allay the public's concerns.

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.

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

The Consumer 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. During the early 1960s, Nader began taking note of 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 designers and 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. . . . Should vehicle failure be obvious in some accidents, responsibility is seen in terms of inadequate maintenance by the motorist. 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. In the midst of so many protest movements during this period, the consumer protection effort may have appeared small. It made a substantial impact, however, on the daily lives of millions of Americans.

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

SECTION 4 ASSESSMENT

Checking for Understanding

- Define:** smog, fossil fuel.
- 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 Themes

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

Critical Thinking

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

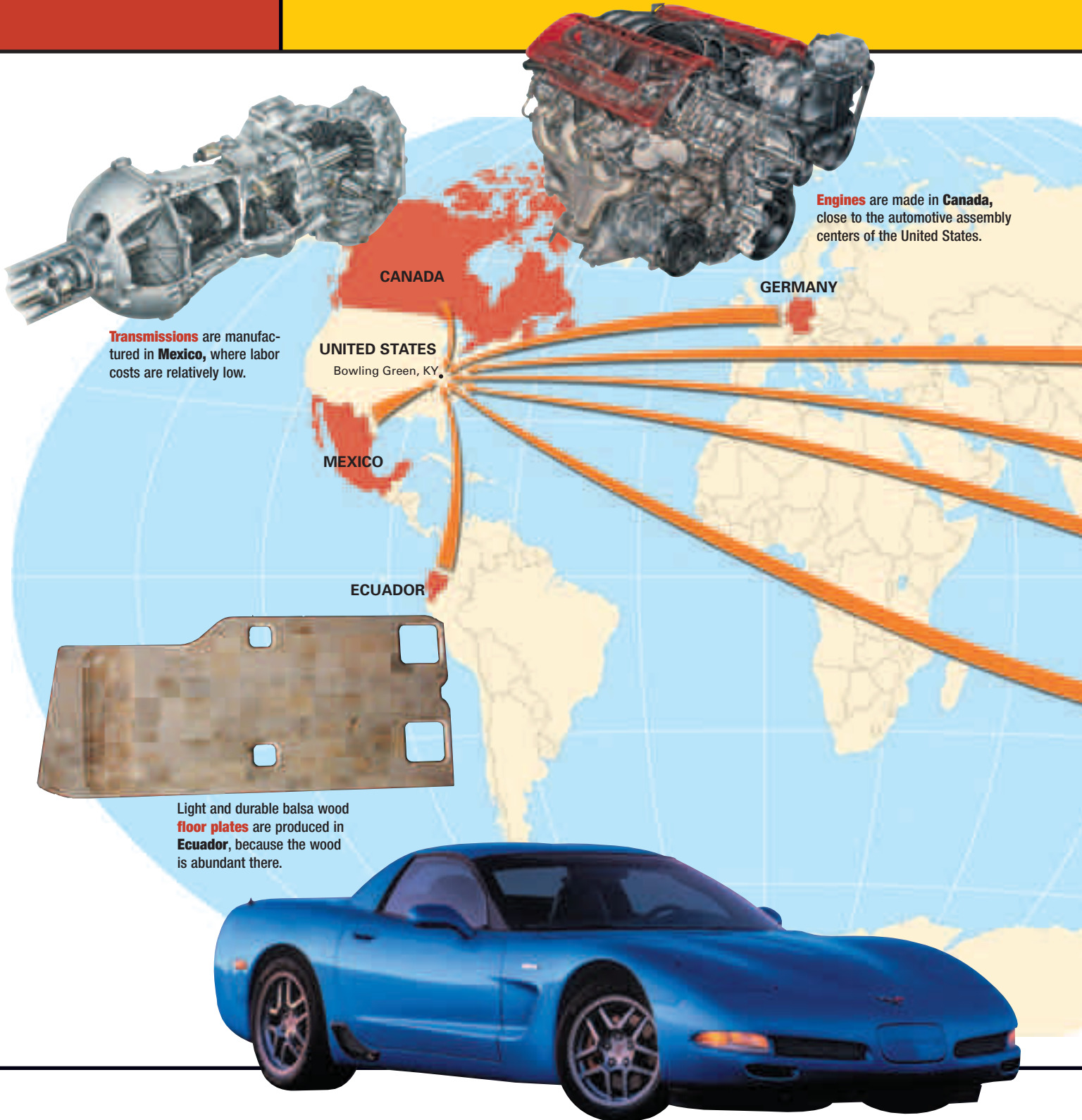
Environmental Legislation	Purpose

Analyzing Visuals

- Analyzing Posters** Examine the “Love It or Leave It” poster on page 941. 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.



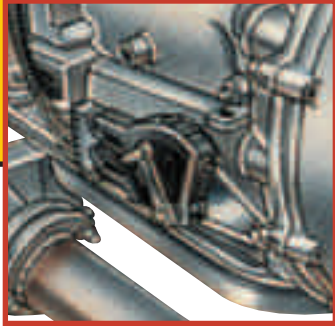
Transmissions are manufactured in **Mexico**, where labor costs are relatively low.

Engines are made in **Canada**, close to the automotive assembly centers of the United States.

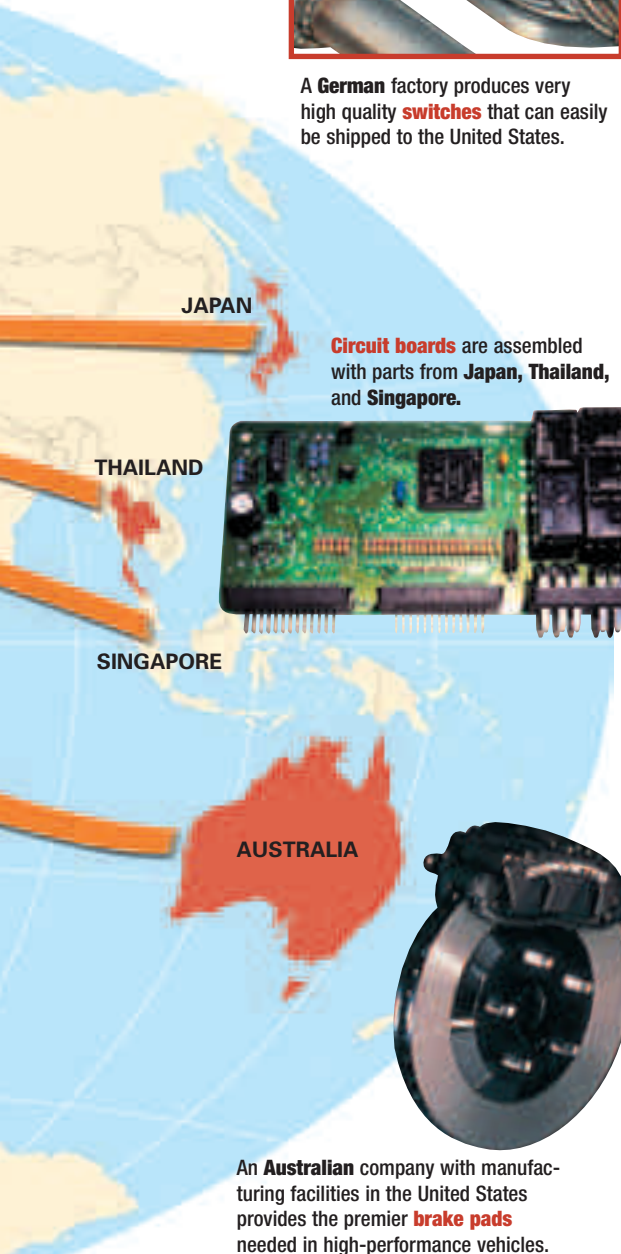
Light and durable balsa wood **floor plates** are produced in **Ecuador**, because the wood is abundant there.

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.



JAPAN

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

THAILAND

SINGAPORE

AUSTRALIA

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.



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?

CHAPTER 31

ASSESSMENT and ACTIVITIES

Reviewing Key Terms

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

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

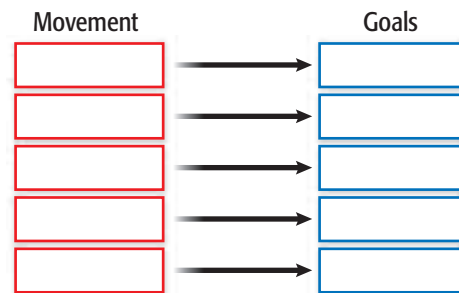
Reviewing Key Facts

10. **Identify:** Tom Hayden, Haight-Ashbury district, Jimi Hendrix, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Betty Friedan, National Organization for Women, Allan Bakke, Jesse Jackson, Congressional Black Caucus, *La Raza Unida*, American Indian Movement, Rachel Carson, Environmental Protection Agency, Ralph Nader.
11. How did Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 promote women's equality?
12. How did Betty Friedan stimulate the feminist movement?
13. Why were some conservatives opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment?

14. How did Native Americans expand their political rights and economic opportunities in the 1960s and 1970s?
15. How did the environmental movement begin?

Critical Thinking

16. **Analyzing Themes: Civic Rights and Responsibilities**
Choose a minority group discussed in this chapter, and explain how this group worked to gain civil rights and to improve its status in American society during the 1960s and 1970s.
17. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer to list the protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s and their goals.



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



Self-Check Quiz

Visit the *American Vision* Web site at tav.glencoe.com and click on **Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 31** to assess your knowledge of chapter content.

18. **Evaluating** In what ways did the counterculture movement change American society?
19. **Drawing Conclusions** Why do you think so many protest movements emerged in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s?

Practicing Skills

20. **Analyzing Primary Sources** Reread “An American Story” at the beginning of Section 2 on page 926. Then answer the questions below.
 - a. Whose opinion is expressed in this letter?
 - b. When was this letter written? In what publication did it appear?
 - c. What role in society is the writer discussing? What is her opinion of this role?

Chapter Activities

21. **American History Primary Source Document Library CD-ROM** Under *Struggle for Civil Rights*, read “Delano Grape Workers, A Proclamation” by the Delano Grape Workers. Using information from the grape workers’ proclamation, work with a few of your classmates to create a two-minute television advertisement to persuade all Americans to join the grape boycott. In your advertisement, you should use facts you learned about the grape boycott and also appeal to people’s emotions.
22. **Creating a Database, Thematic Model, and Quiz** Use the Internet and other resources to research student protests in the 1960s and 1970s. Create a database of these protests that clearly depicts where, when, and why the protests took place. Then create a thematic model of this information by labeling the locations of the protests on a map of the United States. Finally, create a quiz for your classmates by writing five questions about the geographic distribution of the protests and the patterns this might suggest.

Writing Activity

23. **Persuasive Writing** Use library and Internet resources to learn about the predictions scientists are making on how future population growth and distribution will affect the physical environment. Pay special attention to the evidence that these scientists use and the types of predictions that each makes. Is there agreement or disagreement in the scientific community about population growth and its environmental effects? Present the findings of your research in a written report.



Geography and History

24. The map above shows the states that ratified the Equal Rights Amendment between 1972 and 1982. Study the map and answer the questions below.
 - a. **Interpreting Maps** How many states had ratified the Equal Rights Amendment by 1977?
 - b. **Applying Geography Skills** What conclusion can you draw about the distribution of states that did not approve the ERA?



Standardized Test Practice

Directions: Choose the phrase that best completes the following sentence.

Women faced all of the following kinds of discrimination in the 1960s EXCEPT

- F unequal pay for performing the same tasks as men.
- G being prohibited from attending certain universities.
- H being denied the right to vote.
- J the inability to obtain loans and credit.

Test-Taking Tip: This question is looking for the *exception*. Three of the answer choices describe types of discrimination that women faced *in the 1960s*. Women gained the right to vote in 1920, when the Nineteenth Amendment was ratified by the states.