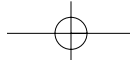


An Era of Social Change



CHAPTER 23

AN ERA OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Hippies gather in El Rito, New Mexico, at a Fourth of July parade in 1969.



1962 César Chávez and Dolores Huerta found the National Farm Workers Association.

1964 Lyndon B. Johnson is elected president.

1966 National Organization for Women (NOW) is formed.



USA
WORLD

1960

1962

1964

1966

1962 Chinese forces invade India.

1963 Civil war breaks out between Greeks and Turks on Cyprus.



1967 Six-Day War between Israel and Arab nations.



INTERACT

WITH HISTORY

In the late 1960s, a new breed of youth known as the counterculture rejects the fashions, traditions, and morals of American society. Minority groups assert their equal rights, demanding changes to long-standing practices and prejudices. Women protest forms of oppression and male privileges that have “always,” it seems, been taken for granted. Many Americans begin to feel as if the whole nation has been turned on its side.

How much can a society change?

Examine the Issues

- Does every individual have a responsibility to follow the unwritten rules of society?
- What are the positive and negative aspects of change?



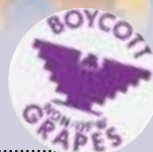
RESEARCH LINKS CLASSZONE.COM

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1968
Richard M. Nixon is elected president.

1970 Political party La Raza Unida is formed.

1970 Grape boycott forces growers to sign contracts with United Farm Workers.



1972
Richard M. Nixon is reelected.

1973 Native Americans stage protest at Wounded Knee, South Dakota.



1968

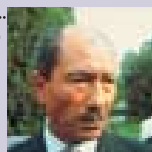
1970

1972

1974

1969 President Charles de Gaulle of France resigns.

1970 Anwar el-Sadat becomes president of Egypt.



1972 Earthquake kills 10,000 in Nicaragua.



Latinos and Native Americans Seek Equality

MAIN IDEA

Latinos and Native Americans confronted injustices in the 1960s.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

Campaigns for civil rights and economic justice won better representation and opportunity for Latinos and Native Americans.

Terms & Names

- César Chávez
- United Farm Workers Organizing Committee
- La Raza Unida
- American Indian Movement (AIM)

One American's Story

Jessie Lopez de la Cruz's life changed one night in 1962, when **César Chávez** came to her home. Chávez, a Mexican-American farm worker, was trying to organize a union for California's mostly Spanish-speaking farm workers. Chávez said, "The women have to be involved. They're the ones working out in the fields with their husbands." Soon Jessie was in the fields, talking to farm workers about the union.

A PERSONAL VOICE JESSIE LOPEZ DE LA CRUZ

"Wherever I went to speak . . . I told them about . . . how we had no benefits, no minimum wage, nothing out in the fields—no restrooms, nothing. . . . I said, 'Well! Do you think we should be putting up with this in this modern age? . . . We can stand up! We can talk back! . . . This country is very rich, and we want a share of the money those growers make [off] our sweat and our work by exploiting us and our children!'"

—quoted in *Moving the Mountain: Women Working for Social Change*

The efforts of Jessie Lopez de la Cruz were just part of a larger rights movement during the turbulent and revolutionary 1960s. As African Americans were fighting for civil rights, Latinos and Native Americans rose up to assert their own rights and improve their lives.



▲ Carrying signs that say "Strike" (*huelga*), Mexican-American farm workers protest poor working conditions.

The Latino Presence Grows

Latinos, or Americans of Latin American descent, are a large and diverse group. During the 1960s, the Latino population in the United States grew from 3 million to more than 9 million. Today the Latino population includes people from several different areas, primarily Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Central America, and South America. Each of these groups has its own history, its



◀ In the 1920s, thousands of Mexican people came to the U.S. and settled in *barrios*. Shown here, Hispanic men gather in a park in California.

own pattern of settlement in the United States, and its own set of economic, social, cultural, and political concerns.

LATINOS OF VARIED ORIGINS Mexican Americans, the largest Latino group, have lived mostly in the Southwest and California. This group includes descendants of the nearly 100,000 Mexicans who had lived in territories ceded by Mexico to the United States in 1848. Another million or so Mexicans came to the United States in the 1910s, following Mexico's revolution. Still others came as *braceros*, or temporary laborers, during the 1940s and 1950s. In the 1960s close to half a million Mexicans immigrated, most in search of better paying jobs.

Puerto Ricans began immigrating to the United States after the U.S. occupation of Puerto Rico in 1898. As of 1960, almost 900,000 Puerto Ricans were living in the continental United States, including almost half a million on New York City's West Side.

Large Cuban communities also formed in New York City and in Miami and New Jersey. This is because hundreds of thousands of Cubans, many of whom were academics and professionals, fled to the United States in 1959 to escape Fidel Castro's Communist rule. In addition, tens of thousands of Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Nicaraguans, and Colombians immigrated to the United States after the 1960s to escape civil war and chronic poverty.

Wherever they had settled, during the 1960s many Latinos encountered ethnic prejudice and discrimination in jobs and housing. Most lived in segregated *barrios*, or Spanish-speaking neighborhoods. The Latino jobless rate was nearly 50 percent higher than that of whites, as was the percentage of Latino families living in poverty. **A**

Latinos Fight for Change

As the presence of Latinos in the United States grew, so too did their demand for greater representation and better treatment. During the 1960s, Latinos demanded not only equal opportunity, but also a respect for their culture and heritage.

MAIN IDEA

Identifying Problems

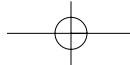
A What problems did different groups of Latino immigrants share?

HISTORICAL SPOTLIGHT

DESPERATE JOURNEYS

In the 1960s and 1970s, thousands of poor Mexicans illegally crossed the 2,000-mile border between the United States and Mexico each year. The journey these illegal aliens undertook was often made more difficult by "coyotes," guides who charged large amounts of money to help them cross the border, but who often didn't deliver on their promises.

Illegal immigrants' problems didn't end when they entered the United States, where they were denied many social services, including unemployment insurance and food stamps. In addition, the Immigration and Naturalization Service urged businesses to refrain from hiring them. As a result, some owners stopped employing people with Latino names, including legal immigrants.



“To us, the boycott of grapes was the most near-perfect of nonviolent struggles.”

CÉSAR CHÁVEZ

THE FARM WORKER MOVEMENT As Jessie Lopez de la Cruz explained, thousands working on California’s fruit and vegetable farms did backbreaking work for little pay and few benefits. César Chávez believed that farm workers had to unionize, that their strength would come from bargaining as a group. In 1962, Chávez and Dolores Huerta established the National Farm Workers Association. Four years later, this group merged with a Filipino agricultural union (also founded by Huerta) to form the **United Farm Workers Organizing Committee** (UFWOC).

Chávez and his fellow organizers insisted that California’s large fruit and vegetable companies accept their union as the bargaining agent for the farm workers. In 1965, when California’s grape growers refused to recognize the union, Chávez launched a nationwide boycott of the companies’ grapes. Chávez, like Martin Luther King, Jr., believed in using nonviolence to reach his goal. The union sent farm workers across the country to convince supermarkets and shoppers not to buy California grapes. Chávez then went on a three-week fast in which he lost 35 pounds. He ended his fast by attending Mass with Senator Robert F. Kennedy. The efforts of the farm workers eventually paid off. In 1970, Huerta negotiated a contract between the grape growers and the UFWOC. Union workers would finally be guaranteed higher wages and other benefits long denied them. **B**

CULTURAL PRIDE The activities of the California farm workers helped to inspire other Latino “brown power” movements across the country. In New York, members of the Puerto Rican population began to demand that schools offer Spanish-speaking children classes taught in their own language as well as programs about their culture. In 1968, Congress enacted the Bilingual Education Act, which provided funds for schools to develop bilingual and cultural heritage programs for non-English-speaking children.

Young Mexican Americans started to call themselves Chicanos or Chicanas—a shortened version of “Mexicanos” that expressed pride in their ethnic heritage. A Chicano community action group called the Brown Berets formed under the leadership of David Sanchez. In 1968, the Brown Berets organized walkouts in East Los Angeles high schools. About 15,000 Chicano students walked out of class demanding smaller classes, more Chicano teachers and administrators, and programs designed to reduce the high Latino dropout rate. Militant Mexican-American students also won the establishment of Chicano studies programs at colleges and universities.

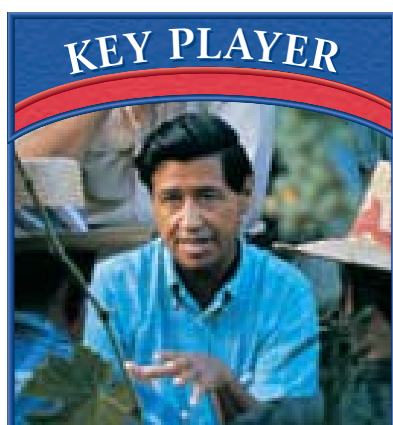
POLITICAL POWER Latinos also began organizing politically during the 1960s. Some worked within the two-party system. For example, the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA) helped elect Los Angeles politician Edward Roybal to the House of Representatives. During the 1960s, eight Hispanic Americans served in the House, and one Hispanic senator was elected—Joseph Montoya of New Mexico.

Others, like Texan José Angel Gutiérrez, sought to create an independent Latino political movement. In 1970, he established **La Raza Unida** (Mexican-Americans United). In the 1970s, La Raza Unida ran Latino candidates in five states and won races for mayor, as well as positions on school boards and city councils.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

B What impact did the grape boycott have?



CÉSAR CHÁVEZ 1927–1993

César Chávez spoke from experience when he said, “Many things in farm labor are terrible.”

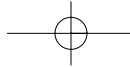
As a teenager, Chávez moved with his family from farm to farm, picking such crops as grapes, apricots, and olives. “The worst crop was the olives,” Chávez recalled. “The olives are so small you can never fill the bucket.”

The seeds of protest grew early in Chávez. As a teenager, he once went to see a movie, only to find that the theater was segregated—whites on one side of the aisle and Mexicans on the other side. “I really hadn’t thought much about what I was going to do, but I had to do something,” Chávez recalled.

The future union leader sat down in the whites-only section and stayed there until the police arrived and arrested him.

Background

Prior to 1960, 32 Hispanics had been elected to Congress, beginning with Joseph Hernandez in 1822.



Still other Latinos took on a more confrontational tone. In 1963, one-time evangelical preacher Reies Tijerina founded the Alianza Federal de Mercedes (Federal Alliance of Land Grants) to help reclaim U.S. land taken from Mexican landholders in the 19th century. He and his followers raided the Rio Arriba County Courthouse in Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico, in order to force authorities to recognize the plight of New Mexican small farmers. They were later arrested.

Native Americans Struggle for Equality

Vocabulary

homogeneous:
uniform or similar
throughout

As are Latinos, Native Americans are sometimes viewed as a single homogeneous group, despite the hundreds of distinct Native American tribes and nations in the United States. One thing that these diverse tribes and nations have shared is a mostly bleak existence in the United States and a lack of autonomy, or ability to control and govern their own lives. Through the years, many Native Americans have clung to their heritage, refusing to assimilate, or blend, into mainstream society. Native American nationalist Vine Deloria, Jr., expressed the view that mainstream society was nothing more than “ice cream bars and heart trouble and . . . getting up at six o’clock in the morning to mow your lawn in the suburbs.”

NATIVE AMERICANS SEEK GREATER AUTONOMY

Despite their cultural diversity, Native Americans as a group have been the poorest of Americans and have suffered from the highest unemployment rate. They have also been more likely than any other group to suffer from tuberculosis and alcoholism. Although the Native American population rose during the 1960s, the death rate among Native American infants was nearly twice the national average, while life expectancy was several years less than for other Americans.

In 1954, the Eisenhower administration enacted a “termination” policy to deal with these problems, but it did not respect Native American culture. Native Americans were relocated from isolated reservations into mainstream urban American life. The plan failed miserably. Most who moved to the cities remained desperately poor.

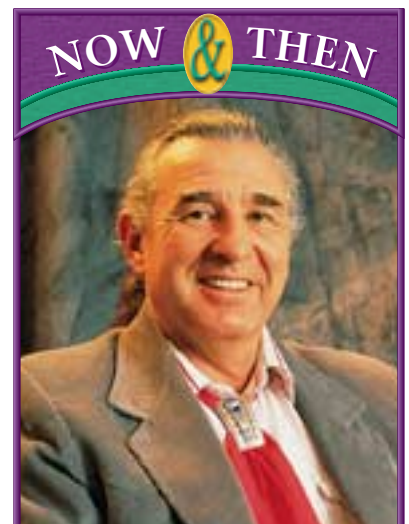
In 1961, representatives from 61 Native American groups met in Chicago and drafted the Declaration of Indian Purpose, which stressed the determination of Native Americans to “choose our own way of life.” The declaration called for an end to the termination program in favor of new policies designed to create economic opportunities for Native Americans on their reservations. In 1968, President Lyndon Johnson established the National Council on Indian Opportunity to “ensure that programs reflect the needs and desires of the Indian people.”

VOICES OF PROTEST Many young Native Americans were dissatisfied with the slow pace of reform. Their discontent fueled the growth of the **American Indian Movement (AIM)**, an often militant Native American rights organization. While AIM began in 1968 largely as a self-defense group against police brutality, it soon branched out to include protecting the rights of large Native American populations in northern and western states.

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

C Why did Native Americans resist assimilation?



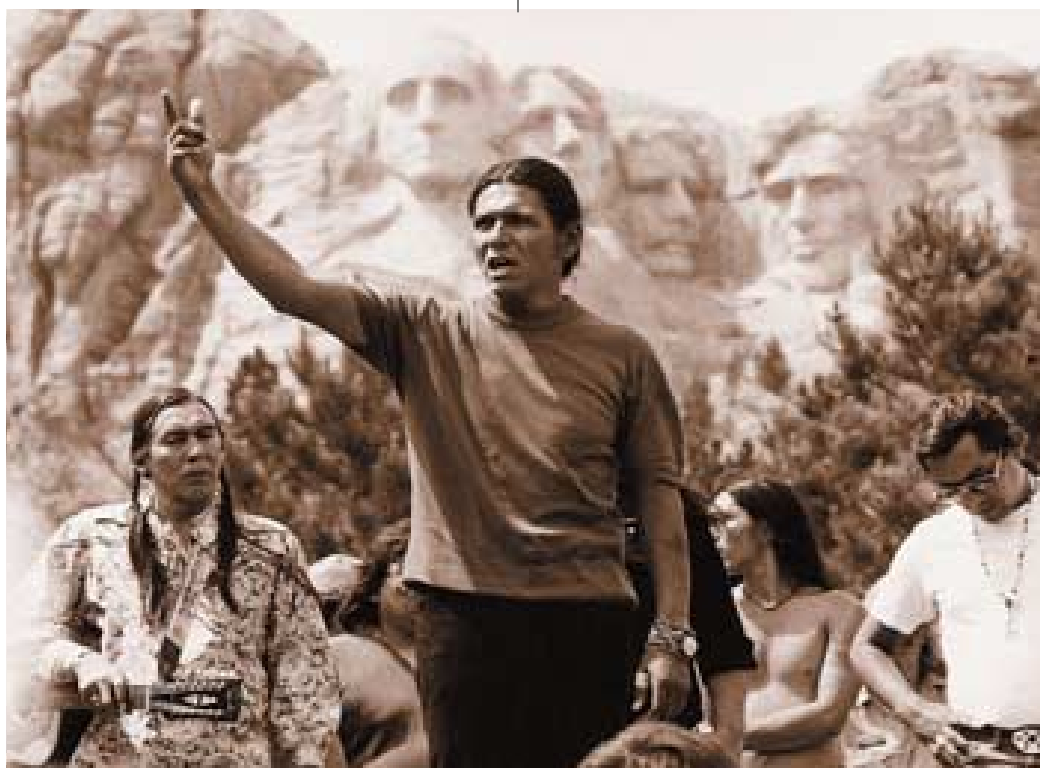
**BEN NIGHTHORSE
CAMPBELL**

Whereas many Native Americans rejected assimilation, Ben Nighthorse Campbell has chosen to work within the system to improve the lives of Native Americans. Campbell’s father was a North Cheyenne, and his great-grandfather, Black Horse, fought in the 1876 Battle of the Little Bighorn—in which the Cheyenne and the Sioux defeated Lieutenant Colonel George Custer.

In 1992, Campbell was elected to the U.S. Senate from Colorado, marking the first time since 1929 that a Native American had been elected to the Senate. Campbell stated that while his new job covered the entire nation, the needs of Native Americans would always remain a high priority.



AIM leader Dennis Banks speaks at the foot of Mount Rushmore, in South Dakota, during a 1970s rally.



For some, this new activism meant demanding that Native American lands, burial grounds, and fishing and timber rights be restored. Others wanted a new respect for their culture. Mary Crow Dog, a Lakota Sioux, described AIM's impact.

A PERSONAL VOICE MARY CROW DOG

“My first encounter with AIM was at a pow-wow held in 1971. . . . One man, a Chippewa, stood up and made a speech. I had never heard anybody talk like that. He spoke about genocide and sovereignty, about tribal leaders selling out. . . . He had himself wrapped up in an upside-down American flag, telling us that every star in this flag represented a state stolen from the Indians. . . . Some people wept. An old man turned to me and said, ‘These are the words I always wanted to speak, but had kept shut up within me.’”

—Lakota Women

“If the government doesn’t start living up to its obligations, armed resistance . . . will have to become a regular thing.”

CHIPPEWA PROTESTER

CONFRONTING THE GOVERNMENT In its early years, AIM, as well as other groups, actively—and sometimes violently—confronted the government. In 1972, AIM leader Russell Means organized the “Trail of Broken Treaties” march in Washington, D.C., to protest the U.S. government’s treaty violations throughout history. Native Americans from across the country joined the march. They sought the restoration of 110 million acres of land. They also pushed for the abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), which many believed was corrupt. The marchers temporarily occupied the BIA building, destroyed records, and caused \$2 million in property damage.

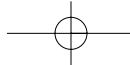
A year later, AIM led nearly 200 Sioux to the tiny village of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, where the U.S. cavalry had massacred a Sioux village in 1890. In protest against both tribal leadership and federal policies, the Sioux seized the town, taking hostages. After tense negotiations with the FBI and a shootout that left two Native Americans dead and others wounded, the confrontation ended with a government promise to reexamine Native American treaty rights. **D**

NATIVE AMERICAN VICTORIES Congress and the federal courts did make some reforms on behalf of Native Americans. In 1972, Congress passed the Indian Education Act. In 1975, it passed the Indian Self-Determination and Education

MAIN IDEA

Summarizing

D What tactics did AIM use in its attempts to gain reforms?



Native American Legal Victories

1970

Taos of New Mexico regain possession of Blue Lake as well as surrounding forestland.

1971

Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act gives Alaskan natives 44 million acres and more than \$962 million.

1979

Maine Implementing Act provides \$81.5 million for native tribes, including Penobscot and Passamaquoddy, to buy back land.

1980

U.S. awards Sioux \$106 million for illegally taken land in South Dakota.

1988

U.S. awards Puyallup tribe \$162 million for land claims in Washington.

Assistance Act. These laws gave tribes greater control over their own affairs and over their children's education.

Armed with copies of old land treaties that the U.S. government had broken, Native Americans went to federal court and regained some of their rights to land. In 1970, the Taos of New Mexico regained possession of their sacred Blue Lake, as well as a portion of its surrounding forestland. Land claims by natives of Alaska resulted in the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971. This act gave more than 40 million acres to native peoples and paid out more than \$962 million in cash. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, Native Americans won settlements that provided legal recognition of their tribal lands as well as financial compensation.

While the 1960s and the early 1970s saw a wave of activism from the nation's minority groups, another group of Americans also pushed for changes. Women, while not a minority group, were in many ways treated like second-class citizens, and many joined together to demand equal treatment in society.



ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

•César Chávez

•United Farm Workers
Organizing Committee

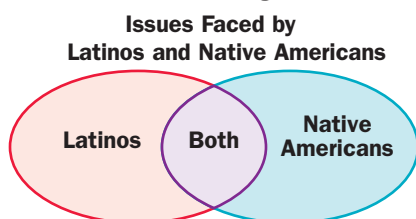
•La Raza Unida

•American Indian Movement
(AIM)

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

Create a Venn diagram like the one below to show the broad similarities between the issues faced by Latinos and Native Americans during the 1960s, as well as the unique concerns of the two groups.



Which group do you think had more to gain by fighting for what they wanted?

CRITICAL THINKING

3. EVALUATING

How would you judge whether an activist organization was effective? List criteria you would use, and justify your criteria. **Think About:**

- UFWOC, MAPA, and La Raza Unida
- AIM
- the leaders and activities of these organizations

4. ANALYZING EFFECTS

In what ways did the Latino campaign for economic and social equality affect non-Latino Americans?

5. ANALYZING PRIMARY SOURCES

Vine Deloria, Jr., said,

“When you get far enough away from the reservation, you can see it’s the urban man who has no identity.”

What do you think he meant by this?



Women Fight for Equality

MAIN IDEA

Through protests and marches, women confronted social and economic barriers in American society.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The rise of the women's movement during the 1960s advanced women's place in the work force and in society.

Terms & Names

- Betty Friedan
- feminism
- National Organization for Women (NOW)
- Gloria Steinem
- Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)
- Phyllis Schlafly

One American's Story

During the 1950s, writer **Betty Friedan** seemed to be living the American dream. She had a loving husband, healthy children, and a house in the suburbs. According to the experts—doctors, psychologists, and women's magazines—that was all a woman needed to be fulfilled. Why, then, wasn't she happy? In 1957, after conducting a survey of her Smith College classmates 15 years after graduation, she found she was not alone. Friedan eventually wrote a book, *The Feminine Mystique*, in which she addressed this "problem that has no name."



A PERSONAL VOICE BETTY FRIEDAN

"The problem lay buried, unspoken. . . . It was a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning that women suffered in the middle of the twentieth century in the United States. Each suburban wife struggled with it alone. As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night—she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question—'Is this all?'"

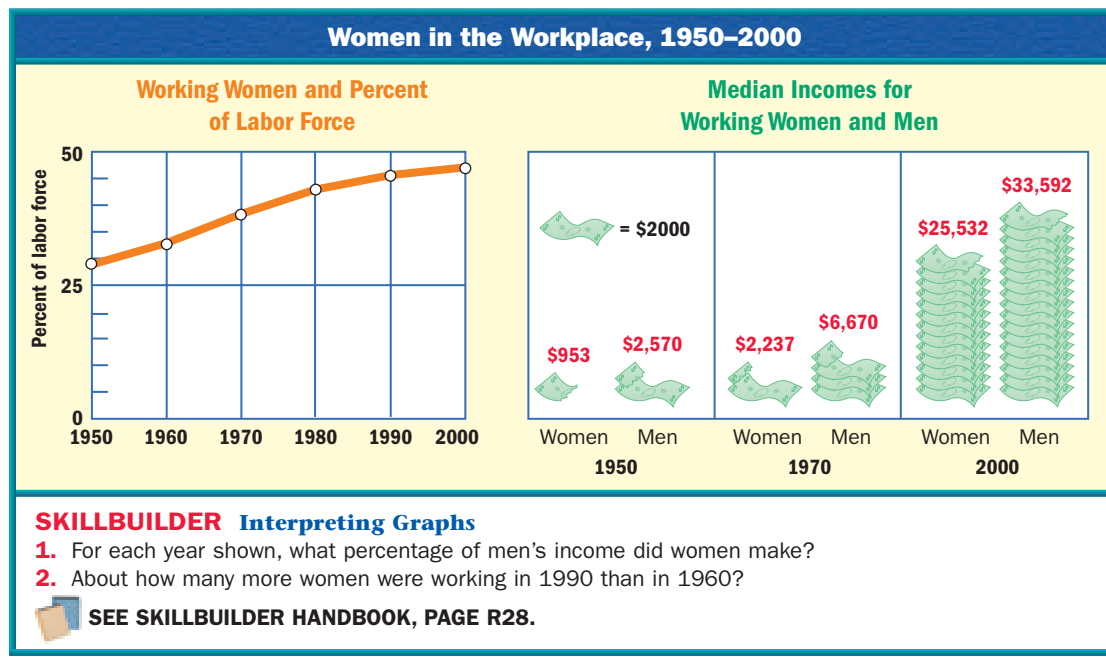
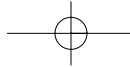
—*The Feminine Mystique*

▲
Betty Friedan,
November 1967

During the 1960s, women answered Friedan's question with a resounding "no." In increasing numbers they joined the nation's African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans in the fight for greater civil rights and equality in society.

A New Women's Movement Arises

The theory behind the women's movement of the 1960s was **feminism**, the belief that women should have economic, political, and social equality with men. Feminist beliefs had gained momentum during the mid-1800s and in 1920 won women the right to vote. While the women's movement declined after this achievement, it reawakened during the 1960s, spurred by the political activism of the times.



This 1960s pin displays a slogan used by Betty Friedan at the National Women's Political Caucus.



WOMEN IN THE WORKPLACE In 1950, only one out of three women worked for wages. By 1960, that number had increased to about 40 percent. Still, during this time, certain jobs were considered “men’s work” and women were shut out. The jobs available to women—mostly clerical work, domestic service, retail sales, social work, teaching, and nursing—paid poorly.

The country largely ignored this discrimination until President Kennedy appointed the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women in 1961. In 1963, the commission reported that women were paid far less than men, even when doing the same jobs. Furthermore, women were seldom promoted to management positions, regardless of their education, experience, and ability. These newly publicized facts awakened many women to their unequal status in society.

WOMEN AND ACTIVISM Ironically, many women felt the sting of discrimination when they became involved in the civil rights and antiwar movements—movements that toted the ideological banner of protecting people’s rights. Within some of these organizations, such as SNCC and SDS, men led most of the activities, while women were assigned lesser roles. When women protested this arrangement, the men usually brushed them aside.

“Move on little girl; we have more important issues to talk about here than women’s liberation.”

A MALE ANTIWAR ACTIVIST

Such experiences led some women to organize small groups to discuss their concerns. During these discussions, or “consciousness-raising” sessions, women shared their lives with each other and discovered that their experiences were not unique. Rather, they reflected a much larger pattern of sexism, or discrimination based on gender. Author Robin Morgan delineated this pattern. **A**

A PERSONAL VOICE ROBIN MORGAN

“It makes you very sensitive—raw, even, this consciousness. Everything, from the verbal assault on the street, to a ‘well-meant’ sexist joke your husband tells, to the lower pay you get at work (for doing the same job a man would be paid more for), to television commercials, to rock-song lyrics, to the pink or blue blanket they put on your infant in the hospital nursery, to speeches by male ‘revolutionaries’ that reek of male supremacy—everything seems to barrage your aching brain. . . . You begin to see how all-pervasive a thing is sexism.”

—quoted in *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women’s Liberation Movement*

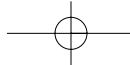
Vocabulary

ideological: concerned with a certain set of ideas

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Effects

A What effects did the civil rights and the antiwar movements have on many women?



THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT EMERGES *The Feminine Mystique*, which captured the very discontent that many women were feeling, quickly became a best-seller and helped to galvanize women across the country. By the late 1960s, women were working together for change. "This is not a movement one 'joins,'" observed Robin Morgan. "The Women's Liberation Movement exists where three or four friends or neighbors decide to meet regularly . . . on the welfare lines, in the supermarket, the factory, the convent, the farm, the maternity ward."

The Movement Experiences Gains and Losses

As the women's movement grew, it achieved remarkable and enduring political and social gains for women. Along the way, however, it also suffered setbacks, most notably in its attempt to ensure women's equality in the Constitution.

THE CREATION OF NOW The women's movement gained strength with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibited discrimination based on race, religion, national origin, and gender and created the Equal Employment

Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to handle discrimination claims. By 1966, however, some women argued that the EEOC didn't adequately address women's grievances. That year, 28 women, including Betty Friedan, created the **National Organization for Women (NOW)** to pursue women's goals. "The time has come," the founders of NOW declared, "to confront with concrete action the conditions which now prevent women from enjoying the equality of opportunity . . . which is their right as individual Americans and as human beings." **B**

NOW members pushed for the creation of child-care facilities that would enable mothers to pursue jobs and education. NOW also pressured the EEOC to enforce more vigorously the ban on gender discrimination in hiring. NOW's efforts prompted the EEOC to declare sex-segregated job ads illegal and to issue guidelines to employers, stating that they could no longer refuse to hire women for traditionally male jobs.

A DIVERSE MOVEMENT In its first three years, NOW's ranks swelled to 175,000 members. A number of other women's groups sprang up around the country, too. In 1968, a militant group known as the New York Radical Women staged a well-publicized demonstration at the annual Miss America Pageant. The women threw bras, girdles, wigs, and other "women's garbage" into a "Freedom Trash Can." They then crowned a sheep "Miss America." Around this time, **Gloria Steinem**, a journalist, political activist, and ardent supporter of the women's liberation movement, made her voice heard on the subjects of feminism and equality. Steinem's grandmother had served as president of the Ohio Woman's Suffrage Association from 1908 to 1911; Steinem had inherited her passion and conviction. In 1971, Steinem helped found the National Women's Political Caucus, a moderate group that encouraged women to seek political office. In 1972, she and other women created a new women's magazine, *Ms.*, designed to treat contemporary issues from a feminist perspective.

LEGAL AND SOCIAL GAINS As the women's movement progressed, women began to question all sorts of gender-based distinctions. People protested that a woman's physical

KEY PLAYER



GLORIA STEINEM
1934–

Gloria Steinem became one of the more prominent figures of the women's movement after she and several other women founded *Ms.* magazine in 1972. The magazine soon became a major voice of the women's movement.

Steinem said that she decided to start the feminist magazine after editors in the mainstream media continually rejected her stories about the women's movement:

"Editors who had assumed I had some valuable biological insight into food, male movie stars, and textured stockings now questioned whether I or other women writers were biologically capable of writing objectively about feminism. That was the beginning."

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Causes

B What prompted women to establish NOW?



Thousands of women march through the streets of New York City during the summer of 1970 to promote women's equality.

MAIN IDEA

Making Generalizations

C What sort of gains did the women's movement make by the early 1970s?

appearance was often considered a job qualification. Girls' exclusion from sports such as baseball and football came into question. Some women began using the title Ms., instead of the standard Miss or Mrs., and refused to adopt their husband's last name upon marriage.

These changes in attitude were paralleled by numerous legal changes. In 1972, Congress passed a ban on gender discrimination in "any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance," as part of the Higher Education Act. As a result, several all-male colleges opened their doors to women. That same year, Congress expanded the powers of the EEOC and gave working parents a tax break for child-care expenses. **C**

ROE v. WADE One of the more controversial positions that NOW and other feminist groups supported was a woman's right to have an abortion. In 1973, the Supreme Court ruled in *Roe v. Wade* that women do have the right to choose an abortion during the first three months of pregnancy. Some thought the ruling might "bring to an end the emotional and divisive public argument." However, the issue still divides Americans today.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT (ERA) In what seemed at first to be another triumph for the women's movement, Congress passed the **Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)** in 1972. The amendment then needed ratification by 38 states to become part of the Constitution. First introduced to Congress in 1923, the ERA would guarantee that both men and women would enjoy the same rights and protections under the law. It was, many supporters said, a matter of "simple justice."

The amendment scared many people, and a Stop-ERA campaign was launched in 1972. Conservative **Phyllis Schlafly**, along with conservative religious groups, political organizations, and many anti-feminists, felt that the ERA would lead to "a parade of horrors," such as the drafting of women, the end of laws protecting homemakers, the end of a husband's responsibility to provide for his family, and same-sex marriages. Schlafly said that radical feminists "hate men, marriage, and children" and were oppressed "only in their distorted minds."

A PERSONAL VOICE PHYLLIS SCHLAFLY

"The U.S. Constitution is not the place for symbols or slogans, it is not the proper device to alleviate psychological problems of personal inferiority. Symbols and slogans belong on bumper strips—not in the Constitution. It would be a tragic mistake for our nation to succumb to the tirades and demands of a few women who are seeking a constitutional cure for their personal problems."

— quoted in *The Equal Rights Amendment: The History and the Movement*



Phyllis Schlafly

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Motives

D What concerns motivated those who opposed the ERA?

THE NEW RIGHT EMERGES In order to combat the ERA and the pro-abortion supporters, conservatives built what they called a new "pro-family" movement. In the 1970s, this coalition—which focused on social, cultural, and moral problems—came to be known as the New Right. The New Right and the women's movement debated family-centered issues such as whether the government should pay for daycare, which the New Right opposed. Throughout the 1970s, the New Right built grassroots support for social conservatism. It would later play a key role in the election of Ronald Reagan to the presidency in 1980. **D**

The Movement's Legacy

The New Right and the women's movement clashed most dramatically over the ERA. By 1977 it had won approval from 35 of the 38 states needed for ratification, but the New Right gained strength. By June of 1982—the deadline for ratification—not enough states had approved the amendment. The ERA went down in defeat.

Despite ERA's defeat, the women's movement altered society in countless ways, such as by transforming women's conventional roles and their attitudes toward career and family. Interviews with women graduates at Stanford University reflect the change. Of graduates in 1965, 70 percent planned not to work at all when their children were of preschool age. When the class of 1972 was surveyed, only 7 percent said they would stop working to raise children.

The women's movement also succeeded in expanding career opportunities for women. For instance, as of 1970, 8 percent of all medical school graduates and 5 percent of all law school graduates were women. By 1998, those proportions had risen to 42 and 44 percent, respectively. Yet many women ran into a "glass ceiling"—an invisible, but very real, resistance to promoting women into top positions.

By 1983 women held 13.5 percent of elected state offices as well as 24 seats in the U.S. Congress. More importantly, as historian Sara Evans has noted, by 1980 "feminist concerns were firmly on the national political agenda and clearly there to stay." Most of all, the women's movement helped countless women open their lives to new possibilities. "For we have lived the second American revolution," wrote Betty Friedan in 1976, "and our very anger said a 'new YES' to life."

As this poster shows, women have made significant political strides by being elected to the U.S. Congress.



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ASSESSMENT

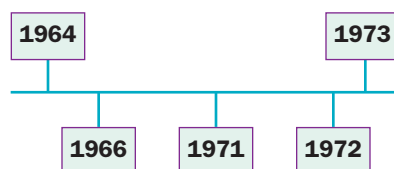
1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- Betty Friedan
- National Organization for Women (NOW)
- Gloria Steinem
- Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)
- Phyllis Schlafly
- feminism

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

Create a time line of key events relating to the women's movement.



Explain which event you think best demonstrates progressive reform.

CRITICAL THINKING

3. HYPOTHESIZING

What if the Equal Rights Amendment had been ratified? Speculate on how women's lives might have been different. Use reasons to support your answer.

Think About:

- rights addressed by the amendment
- legal support that the amendment might have provided
- possible reactions from groups opposing the amendment

4. ANALYZING VISUAL SOURCES

Examine the drawing on this 1972 cover of *Ms.* The woman shown has eight arms and is holding a different object in each hand. What do you think these objects symbolize in terms of women's roles? What do you think this drawing says about women in the 1960s? Explain.



Culture and Counterculture

MAIN IDEA

The ideals and lifestyle of the counterculture challenged the traditional views of Americans.

WHY IT MATTERS NOW

The music, art, and politics of the counterculture have left enduring marks on American society.

Terms & Names

- counterculture
- Haight-Ashbury
- the Beatles
- Woodstock

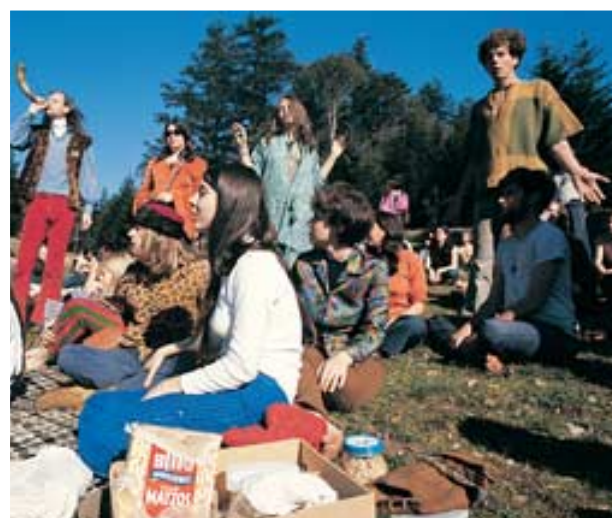
One American's Story

In 1966, Alex Forman left his conventional life in mainstream America and headed to San Francisco. Arriving there with little else but a guitar, he joined thousands of others who were determined to live in a more peaceful and carefree environment. He recalled his early days in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district, the hub of hippie life.

A PERSONAL VOICE ALEX FORMAN

"It was like paradise there. Everybody was in love with life and in love with their fellow human beings to the point where they were just sharing in incredible ways with everybody. Taking people in off the street and letting them stay in their homes. . . . You could walk down almost any street in Haight-Ashbury where I was living, and someone would smile at you and just go, 'Hey, it's beautiful, isn't it?' . . . It was a very special time."

—quoted in *From Camelot to Kent State*



Members of the counterculture relax in a California park.

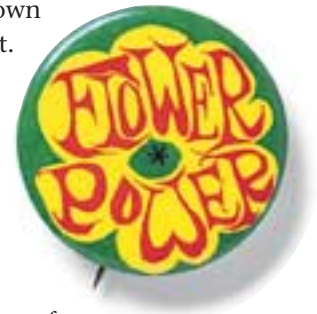
Forman was part of the **counterculture**—a movement made up mostly of white, middle-class college youths who had grown disillusioned with the war in Vietnam and injustices in America during the 1960s. Instead of challenging the system, they turned their backs on traditional America and tried to establish a whole new society based on peace and love. Although their heyday was short-lived, their legacy remains.

The Counterculture

In the late 1960s, the historian Theodore Roszak deemed these idealistic youths the counterculture. It was a culture, he said, so different from the mainstream "that it scarcely looks to many as a culture at all, but takes on the alarming appearance of a barbarian intrusion."



“TUNE IN, TURN ON, DROP OUT” Members of the counterculture, known as hippies, shared some of the beliefs of the New Left movement. Specifically, they felt that American society—and its materialism, technology, and war—had grown hollow. Influenced by the nonconformist beat movement of the 1950s, hippies embraced the credo of Harvard psychology professor and counterculture philosopher Timothy Leary: “Tune in, turn on, drop out.” Throughout the mid- and late 1960s, tens of thousands of idealistic youths left school, work, or home to create what they hoped would be an idyllic community of peace, love, and harmony.



“How does it feel to be without a home . . . like a rolling stone?”

BOB DYLAN

HIPPIE CULTURE The hippie era, sometimes known as the Age of Aquarius, was marked by rock ‘n’ roll music, outrageous clothing, sexual license, and illegal drugs—in particular, marijuana and a new hallucinogenic drug called LSD, or acid. Timothy Leary, an early experimenter with the drug, promoted the use of LSD as a “mind-expanding” aid for self-awareness. Hippies also turned to Eastern religions such as Zen Buddhism, which professed that one could attain enlightenment through meditation rather than the reading of scriptures.

Hippies donned ragged jeans, tie-dyed T-shirts, military garments, love beads, and Native American ornaments. Thousands grew their hair out, despite the fact that their more conservative elders saw this as an act of disrespect. Signs across the country said, “Make America beautiful—give a hippie a haircut.”

Hippies also rejected conventional home life. Many joined communes, in which the members renounced private property to live communally. By the mid-sixties, **Haight-Ashbury** in San Francisco was known as the hippie capital, mainly because California did not outlaw hallucinogenic drugs until 1966.

DECLINE OF THE MOVEMENT After only a few years, the counterculture’s peace and harmony gave way to violence and disillusionment. The urban communes eventually turned seedy and dangerous. Alex Forman recalled, “There were ripoffs, violence . . . people living on the street with no place to stay.” Having dispensed with society’s conventions and rules, the hippies had to rely on each other. Many discovered that the philosophy of “do your own thing” did not provide enough guidance for how to live. “We were together at the level of peace and love,” said one disillusioned hippie. “We fell apart over who would cook and wash dishes and pay the bills.” By 1970, many had fallen victim to the drugs they used, experiencing drug addiction and mental breakdowns. The rock singer Janis Joplin and the legendary guitarist Jimi Hendrix both died of drug overdoses in 1970.

As the mystique of the 1960s wore off, thousands of hippies lined up at government offices to collect welfare and food stamps—dependent on the very society they had once rejected. **A**

MAIN IDEA

Analyzing Causes

A What events and other factors hastened the decline of the counterculture movement?

A prominent symbol of the counterculture movement was bright colors. ▶





A Changing Culture

Although short-lived, some aspects of the counterculture—namely, its fine arts and social attitudes—left a more lasting imprint on the world.

ART The counterculture’s rebellious style left its mark on the art world. The 1960s saw the rise of pop art (popular art). Pop artists, led by Andy Warhol, attempted to bring art into the mainstream. Pop art was characterized by bright, simple, commercial-looking images often depicting everyday life. For instance, Warhol became famous for his bright silk-screen portraits of soup cans, Marilyn Monroe, and other icons of mass culture. These images were repeated to look mass-produced and impersonal, a criticism of the times implying that individual freedoms had been lost to a more conventional, “cookie-cutter” lifestyle.

ROCK MUSIC During the 1960s, the counterculture movement embraced rock ‘n’ roll as its loud and biting anthem of protest. The music was an offshoot of African-American rhythm and blues music that had captivated so many teenagers during the 1950s. **B**

The band that, perhaps more than any other, helped propel rock music into mainstream America was **the Beatles**. The British band, made up of four youths from working-class Liverpool, England, arrived in America in 1964 and immediately took the country by storm. By the time the Beatles broke up in 1970, the four “lads” had inspired a countless number of other bands and had won over millions of Americans to rock ‘n’ roll.

One example of rock ‘n’ roll’s popularity occurred in August 1969 on a farm in upstate New York. More than 400,000 showed up for a free music festival called “**Woodstock** Music and Art Fair.” This festival represented, as one songwriter put it, “the ‘60s movement of peace and love and some higher cultural cause.” For three days, the most popular bands and musicians performed, including Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, Joe Cocker, Joan Baez, the Grateful Dead, and Jefferson Airplane. Despite the huge crowd, Woodstock was peaceful and well organized. However, Tom Mathews, a writer who attended the Woodstock festival, recalled his experience there as less than blissful.



▲ The Beatles, shown here in 1967, influenced fashion with their long hair and psychedelic clothing.

MAIN IDEA

Making Inferences

B What did rock ‘n’ roll symbolize for American youth?

A PERSONAL VOICE TOM MATHEWS

“The last night of the concert I was standing in a narrow pit at the foot of the stage. I made the mistake of looking over the board fence separating the pit from Max Yasgur’s hillside. When I peered up I saw 400,000 . . . people wrapped in wet, dirty ponchos, sleeping bags and assorted, tie-dyed mufti slowly slipping toward the stage. It looked like a human mud slide. . . . After that night I couldn’t get out of there fast enough.”

—“The Sixties Complex,” *Newsweek*, Sept. 5, 1988

CHANGING ATTITUDES While the counterculture movement faded, its casual “do your own thing” philosophy left its mark. American attitudes toward sexual behavior became more casual and permissive, leading to what became known as the sexual revolution. During the 1960s and 1970s, mass culture—including TV, books,



History Through

Music

PROTEST SONGS OF THE SIXTIES

During the turbulent climate of the sixties, hippies and other activists used music as a vehicle for political expression. In bus terminals, in the streets, and on the White House lawn, thousands united in song, expressing their rejection of mainstream society, their demand for civil rights, and their outrage over the Vietnam War. Musicians like Bob Dylan stirred up antiwar sentiment in songs like “The Times They Are A-Changin’,” while Joan Baez and Pete Seeger popularized the great African-American spiritual “We Shall Overcome,” which became the anthem of the Civil Rights Movement.

We Shall Overcome (African-American Spiritual)

We shall overcome,
We shall overcome,
We shall overcome some day.
(Chorus) Oh, deep in my heart
I do believe:
We shall overcome some day.
We'll walk hand in hand. . . .
We shall all be free. . . .
We are not afraid. . . .
We are not alone. . . .
The whole wide world around. . . .
We shall overcome. . . .



▲ Joined in harmony, African-American students in Selma, Alabama, gather on the steps of the Tabernacle Baptist Church to sing “We Shall Overcome.” (1963)



Joan Baez, 1965



Bob Dylan,
1966 ▶

from *The Times They Are A-Changin’* (Bob Dylan, 1962)

Come senators, congressmen
Please heed the call
Don't stand in the doorway
Don't block up the hall
For he that gets hurt
Will be he who has stalled
There's a battle outside
And it is ragin'.
It'll soon shake your windows
And rattle your walls
For the times they are a-changin'.

Come mothers and fathers
Throughout the land
And don't criticize
What you can't understand
Your sons and your daughters
Are beyond your command
Your old road is
Rapidly agin'.
Please get out of the new one
If you can't lend your hand
For the times they are a-changin'.

magazines, music, and movies—began to address subjects that had once been prohibited, particularly sexual behavior and explicit violence.

While some hailed the increasing permissiveness as liberating, others attacked it as a sign of moral decay. For millions of Americans, the new tolerance was merely an uncivilized lack of respect for established social norms. Eventually, the counterculture movement would lead a great many Americans to more liberal attitudes about dress and appearance, lifestyle, and social behavior; yet in the short run, it produced largely the opposite effect.



The Conservative Response

In the late 1960s, many believed that the country was losing its sense of right and wrong. Increasingly, conservative voices began to express people's anger. At the 1968 Republican convention in Miami, candidate Richard M. Nixon expressed that anger.

A PERSONAL VOICE RICHARD NIXON

"As we look at America we see cities enveloped in smoke and flame. We hear sirens in the night . . . We see Americans hating each other at home. . . . Did we come all this way for this? . . . die in Normandy and Korea and Valley Forge for this?"

—Speech at Republican Convention, 1968



▲ In contrast to the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago, the Republican convention was orderly and united—particularly in the delegates' opposition to the counterculture.

CONSERVATIVES ATTACK THE COUNTERCULTURE Nixon was not the only conservative voice expressing alarm. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover issued a warning that "revolutionary terrorism" was a threat on campuses and in cities. Other conservative critics warned that campus rebels posed a danger to traditional values and threatened to plunge American society into anarchy. Conservatives also attacked the counterculture for what they saw as its decadent values. In the view of psychiatrist Bruno Bettelheim, student rebels and members of the counterculture had been pampered in childhood; as young adults, they did not have the ability for delayed gratification. According to some conservative commentators, the counterculture had abandoned rational thought in favor of the senses and uninhibited self-expression. **C**

The angry response of mainstream Americans caused a profound change in the political landscape of the United States. By the end of the 1960s, conservatives were presenting their own solutions on such issues as lawlessness and crime, the size of the federal government, and welfare. This growing conservative movement would propel Nixon into the White House—and set the nation on a more conservative course.

MAIN IDEA

Forming Generalizations

C Why were conservatives angry about the counterculture?



ASSESSMENT

1. TERMS & NAMES For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

•counterculture

•Haight-Ashbury

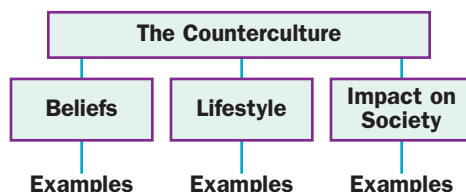
•the Beatles

•Woodstock

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES

Re-create the tree diagram below on your paper. Then fill in examples that illustrate the topics in the second row of boxes.



Which example do you think had the biggest impact on society? Why?

CRITICAL THINKING

3. DEVELOPING

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

A stereotype is a generalization made about a group. What stereotype do you think hippies might have formed about mainstream Americans? What stereotype do you think mainstream Americans might have formed about hippies? Why? **Think About:**

- Alex Forman's comments in "A Personal Voice" (page 781)
- hippies' values and lifestyle
- mainstream Americans' values and lifestyle

4. MAKING INFERENCES

In your opinion, why didn't the hippies succeed?

5. ANALYZING ISSUES

What role did the counterculture and antiwar movement play in helping Richard Nixon win the presidency?