

# A Time of Social Change

## THE BIG PICTURE

Inspired by the African American civil rights movement, women,

Native Americans, and Latinos all stood up against social, political, and economic inequality in the 1960s. At the same time a youthful counterculture turned its back on mainstream society in search of a new way of life.

### Skills Focus

### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

These farmworkers call out from a picket line. Beginning in the 1960s, farmworkers began organizing, using strikes and initiating boycotts to fight for better working conditions and better wages.

**Interpreting Visuals** What does this photograph tell you about the workers' commitment and determination?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H30



U.S.



1964

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlaws gender discrimination in employment.

1963



World

1964

South African rebel leader Nelson Mandela is sentenced to life in prison.





## History's Impact video program

Watch the video to understand the impact of the right of assembly.



**1969**  
400,000 attend the Woodstock Music and Art Fair in upstate New York.



**1972**  
Congress approves the Equal Rights Amendment.

**1973**  
Federal marshals and Indian activists face off at Wounded Knee, South Dakota.

**1967**

Israel defeats Egypt, Jordan, and Syria in the Six-Day War.

**1969**

The UN recognizes Communist China and expels Nationalist China (Taiwan).

**1971**

**1973**

Egypt and Syria attack Israel, beginning the Yom Kippur War.

**1975**

Saigon, capital of South Vietnam, falls to North Vietnam, ending the Vietnam War.



# Women and Native Americans Fight for Change

## BEFORE YOU READ

### MAIN IDEA

In the 1960s, women and Native Americans struggled to achieve social justice.

### READING FOCUS

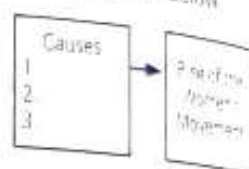
1. What led to the revival of the women's movement?
2. Which issues were important to the women's liberation movement?
3. What were the lives of Native Americans like by the early 1960s?
4. How did Native Americans fight for fairness?

### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Betty Friedan  
feminism  
National Organization for Women  
Equal Rights Amendment  
Phyllis Schlafly  
*Roe v. Wade*  
American Indian Movement  
Russell Means

### TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on the causes of the rise of the women's movement. Write your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown below.



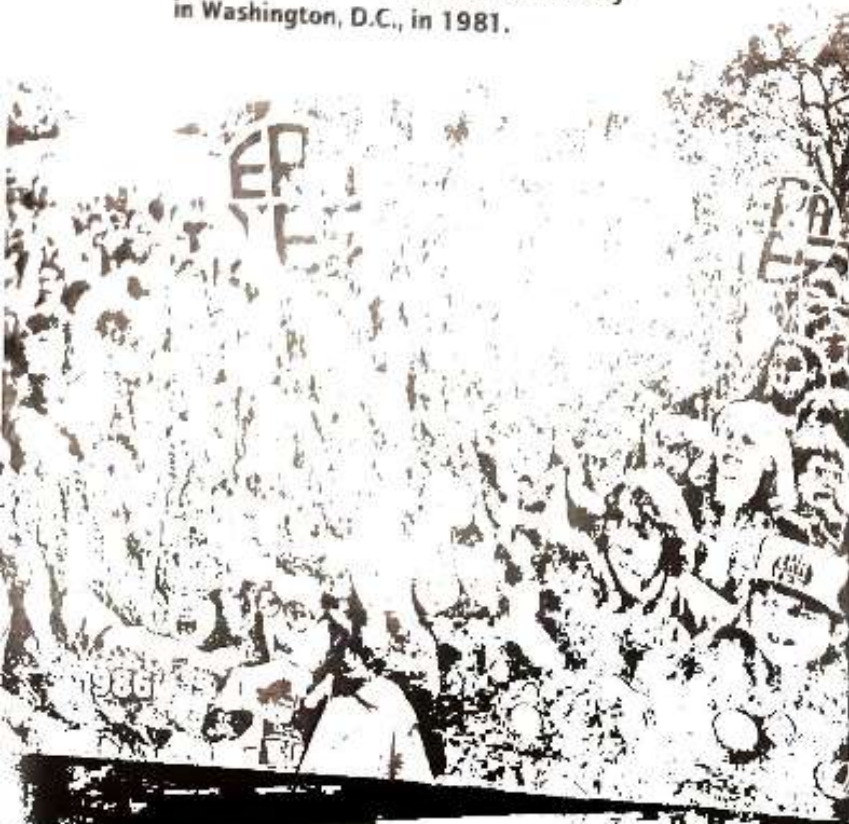
## A Failed Amendment

### THE INSIDE STORY

*What did labor unions have to do with women's rights?*

"Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex." This was the wording of a constitutional amendment that Congress proposed in 1972.

▼ Demonstrators show their support of the Equal Rights Amendment at a rally in Washington, D.C., in 1981.



Many Americans regarded this Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) as long overdue. After all, Congress had been considering it for 49 years.

When the Nineteenth Amendment extended suffrage to women in 1920, an amendment guaranteeing equality with men in other areas had seemed a logical next step. The ERA was first introduced in Congress in 1923 and then introduced again in every subsequent session. The result was always the same—defeat. Powerful labor unions opposed the ERA because they feared it would undo protections they had won for women workers.

In the 1960s the civil rights movement changed everything. Hoping to weaken support for the proposed Civil Rights Act, which aimed to ban racial discrimination in employment, opponents added a ban on gender discrimination. To their dismay, the bill passed anyway.

Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 pumped new life into the ERA. With special protections for women workers now outlawed by the Civil Rights Act, the unions no longer had a reason to oppose the ERA. In fact, they gradually reversed their position and backed it.

Representative Martha Griffiths of Michigan, a state where unions were strong, lobbied hard for the ERA. Congress finally passed it in 1972 and submitted it to the states for ratification. In the states, though, supporters of the ERA would fight a losing battle. ■



## Revival of the Women's Movement

After the Nineteenth Amendment gave women the right to vote in 1920, the organized movement for women's rights declined. In the 1960s, women began to question once more why they were still considered unequal—and what could be done about it.

**Experiences at work** To understand the revival of the women's movement, it is important to know what many women's lives were like in the 1950s and early 1960s. Throughout the 1950s more women began to join the workforce. By 1963, nearly one-third of American workers were women.

Yet on average, women in 1963 earned only 64 percent of what men earned. One reason for this difference was that most women worked in service jobs, such as retail sales, clerical work, and domestic service. These jobs typically paid less. Many of the better-paying jobs, such as

those in manufacturing and construction, were considered men's domain. Even when women had the same jobs as men, however, they often received lower wages than men did.

In 1961 President John F. Kennedy ordered a formal inquiry into the position of women in American society. The Presidential Commission on the Status of Women reported that women did experience discrimination at work. Employers paid women less than men and promoted them less often. This report opened many people's eyes to the need for change.

### ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

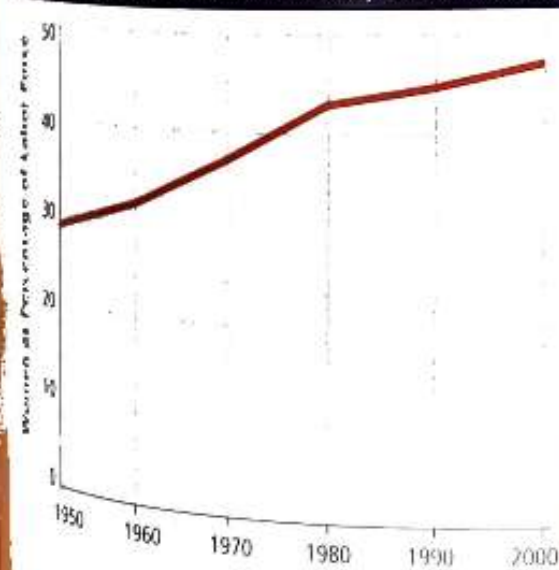
**inquiry** investigation, examination

**Experiences at home** Even though increasing numbers of women entered the workforce, many other women remained full-time homemakers. A popular idea in the 1950s was that women would be happiest as wives, mothers, and homemakers. Women tended to marry young; their average age at marriage was 20 years old. Many women who delayed marriage and built careers often left their jobs once they got married.

## American Women: A Statistical Profile

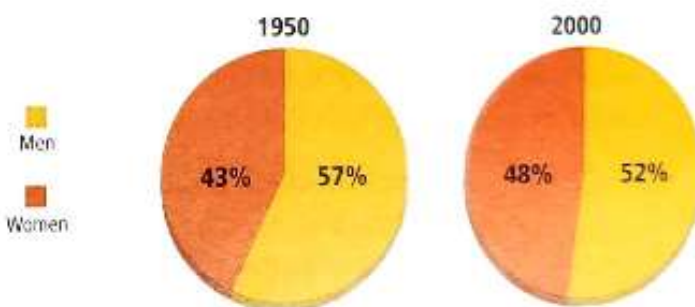
During the latter half of the twentieth century, women began playing a greater role in public life, working at paid employment in greater numbers than ever before and attaining higher levels of education. **How do you think these experiences would lead women to seek social equality?**

### WOMEN IN THE LABOR FORCE, 1950–2000

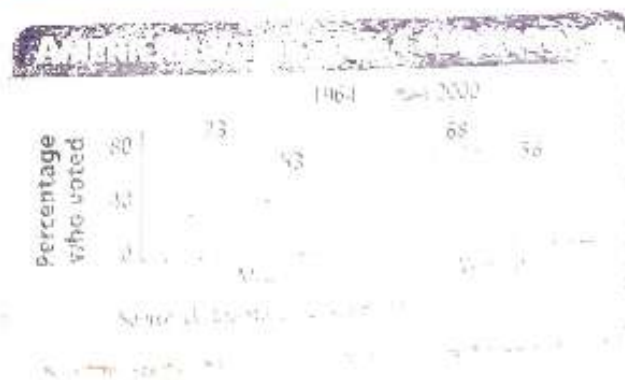


Source: United States Census Bureau

### COLLEGE GRADUATES, 1950 AND 2000



Source: United States Census Bureau



In the year 2000, who was a more active voting bloc, men or women?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H16, H17



Betty  
FRIEDAN  
1921–2005



After graduating from Smith College, Betty Friedan settled in New York and became a journalist. This was during World War II, when

women were filling the jobs of men who had left to fight. Friedan discovered that women reporters were being paid less than men doing the same work. When Friedan requested maternity leave, her employer fired her.

Friedan became a pioneer of the women's movement with her best-selling book, *The Feminine Mystique*. She has remained a vocal feminist leader, calling for reforms to aid women and families, such as increased childcare, flexible work schedules, and equal pay.

**Analyze** A popular saying of the women's movement was "The personal is political." How did this fit Friedan's own life?

Life as a homemaker did not make all women happy, however. **Betty Friedan** (free-DAN) conducted a survey of college-educated women and found that many were dissatisfied with their lives. Nearly all of the survey respondents were full-time homemakers. In her 1963 book, *The Feminine Mystique*, Friedan concluded that many women felt trapped by domestic life, rather than fulfilled by it.

**Consciousness raising** By the late 1960s, *The Feminine Mystique* had sparked a national debate about the roles and rights of women. Some women organized small group discussions. In these consciousness-raising sessions, women discovered that the discrimination they experienced individually was part of a larger pattern of discrimination based on gender. More and more women came to feel like second-class citizens.

Ironically, even the civil rights movement—a movement aimed at eliminating discrimination—harbored discriminatory attitudes toward women. In 1964 two female volunteers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) noted that SNCC's "assumption of male superiority" was "as widespread and . . . as crippling to . . . women as the assumptions of white supremacy are to the Negro."

**READING CHECK**

**Summarizing** What factors contributed to the revival of the women's movement?

## The Women's Liberation Movement

In the late 1960s and 1970s, the movement for women's rights was known by several different names—the women's liberation movement, the feminist movement, and the equal rights movement. The core belief of the women's liberation movement was **feminism**, the conviction that women and men should be socially, politically, and economically equal.

Feminists cheered the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The act banned gender discrimination in employment and created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to enforce the law. Yet it soon became clear that many government officials gave low priority to fighting gender-based discrimination.

**NOW** In 1966 a group of feminists formed the **National Organization for Women (NOW)**. This women's rights organization fought gender discrimination in the workplace, schools, and justice system. It also worked to end violence against women and to achieve abortion rights.

Members of NOW used many tactics to achieve their goals. They lobbied government officials to change the laws. They filed lawsuits to seek equality through the justice system. They also staged rallies, marches, and other nonviolent protests.

The first president of NOW was Betty Friedan. She and Pauli Murray—the first African American woman Episcopal priest and a co-founder of NOW—wrote NOW's original Statement of Purpose.

### HISTORY'S VOICES

"We believe that women will do most to create a new image of women by acting now, and by speaking out in behalf of their own equality, freedom, and human dignity . . . in an active, self-respecting partnership with men. By so doing, women will develop confidence in their own ability to determine actively, in partnership with men, the conditions of their life, their choices, their future and their society."

—NOW's Statement of Purpose, 1968

**The Equal Rights Amendment** NOW actively campaigned for passage of the **Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)**. This proposed amendment to the Constitution promised



and treatment for men and women in all cases, not just employment. Before it could go into effect, though, the ERA had to be ratified by at least 38 states.

A first ratification seemed certain. NOW staged a 1978 march in support of the ERA that drew more than 100,000 people to Washington, D.C. Some people, however, viewed the ERA as a threat to traditional family life. Critics warned that the ERA would cancel laws that distinguished between men and women. They argued that women would be drafted into military and that men and women would have to share public restrooms.

Conservative groups launched a campaign to defeat the ERA. One of the most outspoken critics of the ERA was **Phyllis Schlafly**. She argued that it would take away legal protections that women already had without conferring any new benefits. By the 1982 deadline set by Congress, the ERA was three states short of ratification. It failed to become law.

**Roe v. Wade** Another significant issue for the women's movement was the campaign for abortion rights. The Supreme Court struck down state laws that banned abortion in the 1973 landmark case **Roe v. Wade**. The Court ruled that such laws violated a constitutional right to privacy.

The decision sparked a debate that continues to this day. Supporters argued that women could not achieve equality until they could control when or whether to have children. Supporters also believed that legal abortion was necessary to protect women's health. They argued that many women would otherwise resort to inept, "back-alley" practitioners who often botched the procedure.

Many people opposed the decision because of religious or moral beliefs that fetal life was sacred and should be protected. Other opponents of the ruling argued that the Court's assumption of a right to privacy strayed too far from the original intent of the Constitution.

#### THE IMPACT TODAY

##### Government

For more than 20 years after its failure to become law, the ERA continued to be reintroduced into every session of Congress, but failed to pass again.

#### COUNTERPOINTS

## The ERA

Writer and editor **Gloria Steinem** was a leading feminist fighting for the Equal Rights Amendment.

"[E]qual pay for equal work, equal chance for advancement, and equal training or encouragement... When black people leave their 19th century roles, they are feared. When women dare to leave theirs, they are ridiculed. We understand this, and accept the burden of ridicule. It won't keep us quiet anymore."

**Gloria Steinem,**  
1970

**Phyllis Schlafly believed that the ERA was "a fraud" and that women were most fulfilled by their roles as wives and mothers.**

"There is no gain in ERA for women... There is no way ERA can add anything to the effect of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972, the education amendments of 1972, and the Equal Credit Opportunity Act of 1974."

**Phyllis Schlafly,**  
1975

Skills  
FOCUS

#### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

1. **Comparing** Steinem compares the plight of women to which group? Why?
2. **Identifying Points of View** What reasons does Schlafly give for opposing the ERA?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H10, H28-29



## THE IMPACT TODAY

### Daily Life

By the early twenty-first century, nearly half the nation's law students and medical students were women, and a majority of workers in professional positions were women.

**Effects of the women's movement** The women's movement had many notable successes in the 1970s. By the end of the decade, the number of women holding professional jobs had increased, although most women still held low-paying jobs. For example, in 1970 just 5 percent of the nation's lawyers were women. A decade later, 12 percent of American lawyers were women.

More women also began to move into senior positions in government. More female politicians were elected to Congress, although they still made up less than 5 percent of its members. Representatives Bella Abzug and Shirley Chisholm of New York received national attention. Abzug became an outspoken supporter of women's issues in Congress. In 1972 Shirley Chisholm—the first African American woman elected to Congress—became the first African American woman to run for president.

The pace of the feminist movement slowed in the late 1970s, however. There was a perception that its leaders and its beneficiaries were mainly wealthy white women. Many working-class and nonwhite women felt that the movement offered little to address the problems they faced.

### READING CHECK

**Summarizing** What were the arguments for and against the ERA?

## The Lives of Native Americans

Just as many women felt they were held back in mid-twentieth-century America, so did many Native Americans. Indian groups had suffered injustices since colonial times. During the 1950s, negative stereotypes of Indians still persisted, and hardships abounded.

**Living conditions** Native Americans did not share the prosperity many Americans experienced in the 1950s. As a group, they suffered some of the highest unemployment rates in the nation. The average income of Native American men was less than half that of white American men. Mary Crow Dog recalled growing up poor on a Sioux reservation in South Dakota: "We had no shoes and went barefoot most of the time. I never had a new dress."

The Native American population suffered disproportionately from poor health. Rates of alcoholism and tuberculosis were alarmingly high. Native Americans had lower life expectancy than other Americans, and their children were more likely to die in infancy.

**Termination policy** During the presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower, the federal government began a policy called termination. The

## TRACING HISTORY

### Native American Policy

Native American peoples have struggled to retain their ways of life ever since European colonists first arrived in America. Study the time line to learn more about Native Americans and government policies.



**1838** Some 18,000 Cherokee embarked upon the Trail of Tears as they were forced to move from the Southeast to Oklahoma.



**1887** The Dawes Act split Native American land into individual plots and allowed surplus land to be sold to settlers.



goal was to "end the status of Indians as wards of the government and grant them all the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship." The architects of the policy hoped to draw Native Americans out of their isolated reservations and into mainstream society. The method for doing this, however, was to stop federal services to reservations and relocate Native Americans to the cities.

Between 1952 and 1967, some 200,000 Native Americans were resettled in this way. However, the government failed to allocate resources to help them adjust to urban life. The results were disastrous. Most of the Native Americans affected by termination remained desperately poor.

**A movement emerges** Many Native Americans believed the time had come for an organized movement for Native American rights. In 1961 a group of about 700 Native Americans from 64 nations held a conference in Chicago to oppose the termination policy and create a political agenda for change.

At the conference a Chippewa-Cree activist named D'Arcy McNickle drafted the Declaration of Indian Purpose. This document condemned termination. It also boldly stated Native Americans' intention to take control over their own lives.

## HISTORY'S VOICES

"Since our Indian culture is threatened by presumption of being absorbed by the American society, we believe we have the responsibility of preserving our precious heritage . . . What we ask of America is not charity . . . We ask only that the nature of our situation be recognized and made the basis of policy and action."

—Declaration of Indian Purpose, June 1961

The declaration marked the beginning of what became known as the Red Power movement. A new sense of unity arose among Native Americans as different groups joined forces to confront common challenges.

## READING CHECK

### Identifying the Main Idea

What factors led Native Americans to begin an organized fight for their rights?

## ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

**allocate** set aside for a specific purpose

## Native Americans Fight for Fairness

In 1968 President Lyndon B. Johnson declared his support for Indian self-determination. He established the National Council on Indian Opportunity to get Native Americans more involved in setting policy regarding Indian affairs. Real change, though, came through the efforts of Native American political activists.

**1953** Congress adopted the termination policy, moving many Native Americans to cities and cutting aid to reservations.



**1969**

Occupation of Alcatraz began, awakening the public to Native Americans' struggle for self-determination.

**2000**

**1972** The Indian Education Act established culturally appropriate educational programs for Native American students.



**2005** Nearly 60 percent of federally recognized Indian nations earn money and create jobs by running gambling casinos.

**1934**

The Indian Reorganization Act set up Tribal Business Councils and stopped the sale of tribal lands.



**The occupation of Alcatraz** In 1969 a group of Native Americans tried to reclaim Alcatraz Island, the site of an abandoned federal prison in San Francisco Bay. They claimed that the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie gave them the right to use any surplus federal territory.

The highly publicized occupation lasted nearly 18 months, until federal marshals removed the Indians by force. Although they did not succeed in gaining ownership of Alcatraz, the occupiers did draw attention to the plight of Native Americans. Partly as a result, New Mexico returned 48,000 acres of the Sacred Blue Lake lands to the Taos Pueblo in 1970. Indian nations in Washington State, Maine, and Connecticut also settled land claims.

John Trudell, a Santee Sioux, found the Alcatraz occupation to be a transforming experience. "Alcatraz put me back into my community and helped me remember who I am. It was a rekindling of the spirit. Alcatraz made it easier for us to remember who we are."

**AIM** The Alcatraz Island takeover helped invigorate the **American Indian Movement** (AIM), founded in Minnesota in 1968 by Dennis Banks, Clyde Bellecourt, and others. Originally focused on urban Native Americans, AIM became the major force behind the larger Red Power movement. AIM called for renewal of traditional cultures, economic independence, and better education for Indian children.

Russell Means, one of AIM's best-known leaders, summarized the organization's importance to Native Americans in an interview in a 2002 PBS television documentary.

#### HISTORY'S VOICES

"Before AIM, Indians were dispirited, defeated and culturally dissolving. People were ashamed to be Indian . . . We put Indians and Indian rights smack dab in the middle of the public consciousness for the first time since the so-called Indian Wars . . . [AIM] laid the groundwork for the next stage in regaining our sovereignty and self-determination as a nation."

—Russell Means, "Alcatraz Is Not an Island"

In an era when many civil rights groups used nonviolent strategies, AIM sometimes used more forceful tactics. In November 1972, for example, AIM and several other Native American rights groups staged a protest called the Trail of Broken Treaties. Protesters marched to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in Washington, D.C., to demand changes in the relationship between Native Americans and the government. Angered by the government's lack of support, the protesters took over BIA headquarters. Officials were embarrassed by the media coverage and agreed to appoint a committee to study the demands. In return, the protesters ended the occupation.

In February 1973, AIM took its most dramatic action on the Pine Ridge Reservation in Wounded Knee, South Dakota. This was where U.S. soldiers had killed more than 300 Sioux in 1890. Now, some 80 years later, conflict unfolded again. The Oglala Sioux president, Richard Wilson, had banned all AIM activities on the reservation, calling AIM a "lawless" band of "social misfits." AIM believed that Wilson's tribal government was corrupt. About 200 AIM members occupied Wounded Knee in order to force the federal government to investigate the tribal government. They also wanted an investigation of alleged misconduct at the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

After AIM members seized Wounded Knee, federal agents arrived to drive them out. For 71 days AIM and U.S. marshals faced off. Finally, after two AIM activists had been killed and a federal marshal wounded, the government agreed to consider AIM's grievances. The siege ended, but the government did not follow through on its promise to AIM.

#### THE IMPACT TODAY

##### Culture

Alcatraz is now a popular tourist attraction in San Francisco. Visitors who tour the old prison can also study exhibits and watch a film about the Indian occupation of the island.

#### FACES OF HISTORY

##### Clyde BELLECOURT



It is little wonder that Clyde Bellecourt became a Native American activist. He developed a passion for social justice

early on, listening to his mother tell stories about attending boarding school and being punished for speaking her native language.

Bellecourt has been influential in many Native American organizations, including AIM, the Indian School System, and the International Indian Treaty Council, which seeks to protect traditional cultures and sacred lands. More recently, he helped organize the National Coalition on Racism in Sports and the Media, which demonstrates against sports teams whose names perpetuate racial and cultural stereotypes. Bellecourt believes that things are destined to change for Native Americans, that there is "a spiritual rebirth going on."

**Explain** How has Bellecourt helped Native Americans?



Other organizations AIM was not the only organization fighting for Native American rights at this time. Many other organizations focused on particular needs.

The National Indian Education Association formed in 1969, fought to improve access to education for Native Americans. The Native American Rights Fund, founded in 1971, provided legal services to Native Americans. The Council on Energy Resource Tribes helped its member nations gain control over their natural resources and choose whether to protect or develop them.

These groups, and others like them, worked to protect Native Americans' rights, improve standards of living, and do it all in a manner consistent with Native Americans' cultures and traditions. Today reservations are home to many Indian-owned businesses, including oil and natural gas companies. Tourism is booming on Indian lands, and Native American arts and crafts have increased in value.

**Assessing progress** During the era of Red Power activism, Native Americans made important legislative gains. Congress passed a number of laws in the 1970s to enhance education, health care, voting rights, and religious freedom for Native Americans.

The Red Power movement also instilled greater pride in Native Americans and generated wider appreciation of Native American

## MAJOR NATIVE AMERICAN LEGISLATION

QUICK FACTS

### Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, 1971

This act turned over 44 million acres of land to Alaska Natives and provided \$962.5 million to settle other land claims by Alaska Natives.

### Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, 1975

This act allowed tribes to implement their own education, health, and housing programs with government funding.

### Indian Child Welfare Act, 1978

This act set standards for adoptions of Native American children, giving preference to relatives, members of the tribe, and Native American foster parents over white families.

culture. N. Scott Momaday, a Kiowa author, won the prestigious Pulitzer Prize for Fiction in 1969. Fritz Scholder led the New American Indian Art movement, which depicted Native American life in a fresh way, free of clichés.

Despite their accomplishments, Native Americans continued to face many problems. Unemployment rates remained high in the 1970s, averaging 40 percent and reaching as high as 90 percent on some reservations. The high school dropout rate among Native Americans was the highest in the nation.

### READING CHECK Identifying Cause and Effect

What were the results of the Indian occupation of Alcatraz Island?

## SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

### Reviewing for Terms, and People

1. **a. Identify** What was *The Feminine Mystique*?  
**b. Explain** How did *The Feminine Mystique* inspire the women's movement?  
**c. Elaborate** What expectations were placed on women at home and in the workplace during the 1950s?
2. **a. Define** What is feminism?  
**b. Draw Conclusions** Why was *Roe v. Wade* controversial?  
**c. Evaluate** Given the failure of the Equal Rights Amendment to be ratified, was the women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s a success or a failure? Explain.
3. **a. Recall** What was the Declaration of Indian Purpose?  
**b. Make Inferences** How do you think Native Americans felt about the federal government's termination policy?
4. **a. Describe** What was the American Indian Movement?  
**b. Analyze** How did the occupation of Alcatraz affect AIM?

- c. Evaluate** How successful was the Native American fight for fairness? Explain.

### Critical Thinking

5. **Organizing Information** Copy the chart below and record key characteristics of the women's movement and the Red Power movement in the 1960s and 1970s.

Movement	1960s	1970s

### FOCUS ON WRITING

6. **Persuasive** Suppose it is 1960. Write a letter to the editor opposing the U.S. government's policy of termination and suggesting reforms.



# Latinos Fight for Rights

## BEFORE YOU READ

### MAIN IDEA

In the 1960s Latinos struggled to achieve social justice.

### READING FOCUS

1. What were the lives of Latinos like in the early 1960s?
2. What event launched Latinos' struggle for social justice?
3. What were the main goals of the movements for Latino rights?

### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

social justice  
César Chávez  
Chicano  
Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales  
José Angel Gutiérrez  
La Raza Unida Party  
boricua

### TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on the major organizations in the movement for Latino rights. Write your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown below, adding as many rows as you need.

Organization	Key Facts

### THE INSIDE STORY

#### How did farmworkers improve their lives?

In 1965, Filipino workers began a strike against grape growers around Delano, California, in the state's agricultural San Joaquin Valley. Demanding a 15-cent increase in their hourly wages, they asked Mexican American farmworkers to join them. Dolores Huerta and César Chávez, co-founders of the National Farm Workers Association, a union of Mexican American farmworkers, agreed to help. Some 5,000 grape workers walked off their jobs.

The now-famous Delano Grape Strike lasted five years. It was bitter and hard-fought. Strikers picketed the fields to convince the nonstriking workers to join them. Growers sprayed the picketers with farm chemicals and drove tractors through the fields to choke them with dust.

To build support for the strike, Chávez led a 250-mile march to the state capital at Sacramento. As the march passed through towns along the way, many farmworkers joined it. By the time it reached Sacramento, the number of marchers had grown from just a few hundred to more than 5,000.

When picketing and marches did not win the strike, Huerta sent union activists around the nation to set up local boycott committees. Committee members stood outside supermarkets to tell customers about conditions for workers in the fields. They urged shoppers to support the strike by not buying California grapes.

The Great Grape Boycott proved successful. By 1969 it had even spread to Great Britain. As people in other European nations considered joining the boycott, the growers gave in and finally settled with the union. The Delano Grape Strike was the first major victory in a long, difficult struggle to improve the lives and working conditions of migrant farmworkers. ■



▲ César Chávez (right) leads striking farmworkers.



## The Lives of Latinos

In 1960 more than 900,000 Latinos lived in the United States. A Latino is any person of Latin American descent. Latinos may also be called Hispanics, but *Hispanic* has a slightly different meaning. It encompasses all people of Spanish-speaking ancestry, including those whose families came from Spain.

The U.S. Latino population increased sharply during the 1960s. This was partly because the Immigration Act of 1965 gave preference to immigrants with relatives already in the country. Eligible Latinos, especially Mexicans, streamed in.

Latinos, however, often struggled in the United States. In 1960 one-third of Mexican American families lived below the poverty line. Twice as many Mexican Americans as white Americans were unemployed. About 80 percent of Mexican Americans worked in low-paying, unskilled jobs, such as farm labor, household service, construction, or factory work.

Latinos faced discrimination in education too. Their children often attended schools with less qualified teachers, fewer resources, and

shabbier facilities than other American schools. Few of their teachers were Hispanic or able to speak Spanish. In this discouraging environment, about 75 percent of Latino students dropped out before finishing high school.

In politics Latinos had far less power than the size of their population would warrant. State legislatures drew the boundaries of election districts in ways that kept Latino voices scattered. The number of Latinos in political office was very small. In addition, Latinos were often excluded from serving on juries.

### READING CHECK

#### Comparing and Contrast-

**ing** How did Latinos' living standards compare to those of other Americans in the early 1960s?

### THE IMPACT TODAY

#### Government

In 2003 the U.S. Census Bureau announced that Latinos had become the nation's largest minority group. The political power that comes with such numbers is apparent as major political parties now make serious efforts to attract Latino voters.

## Launching the Struggle for Social Justice

As other groups began campaigning for their rights, Latinos also sought **social justice**, or the fair distribution of advantages and disadvantages in society. One of the earliest efforts was made in the farm fields of California. Migrant

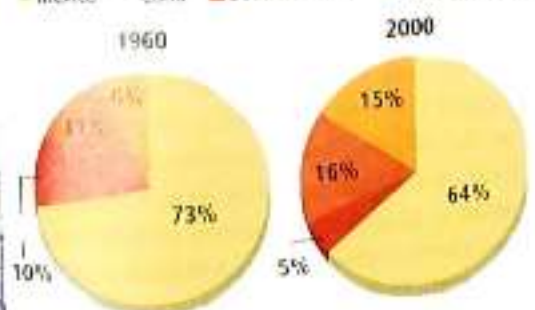
## Hispanic Americans: A Statistical Profile

According to the U.S. census taken in 2000, more than half of all immigrants to the United States that year came from Latin America. Specifically, one fourth of all immigrants that year came from Mexico.

### HISPANIC IMMIGRANTS TO THE UNITED STATES, 1960-2000

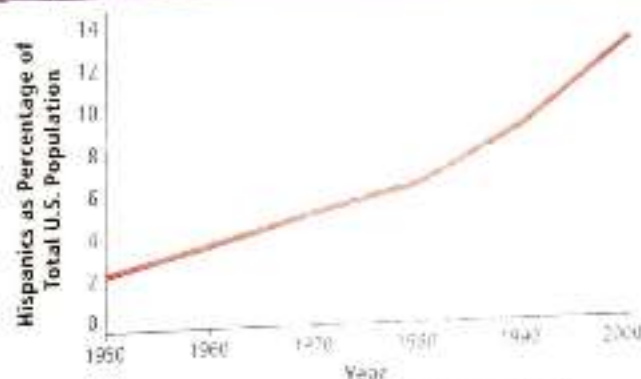
Country / Region of Origin

Mexico Cuba South America Central America



Source: United States Census Bureau

### HISPANIC AMERICAN POPULATION, 1950-2000



Source: Population Reference Bureau, *U.S. Census Bureau*

### Skills Focus

#### Info

1. How has the place of origin of Hispanic immigrants changed since 1960?
2. How has the rate of Hispanic immigration changed over time?

See *Skills manual*, pp. 1016, 1017.



## FACES OF HISTORY

### César CHÁVEZ

1927–1993



César Chávez spent his early years on his family's small farm in Arizona. When the farm failed during the Great Depression, his family

moved to California and lived in migrant labor camps. Chávez left school in the eighth grade to work in the fields. After serving in the navy, he returned to California and to the life of a migrant worker.

In 1952 Chávez began a career as an activist, joining the Community Service Organization and registering Mexican Americans to vote. In 1962 he co-founded the National Farm Workers Association to help migrant farmworkers unionize. In the photo at right, Chávez (center) is talking with grape pickers. After his success in the grape strike, Chávez turned to organizing workers in California's lettuce fields and migrant fruit pickers in Florida's citrus groves.

**Make Inferences** Why was Chávez so successful in his efforts to organize migrant farmworkers?



agricultural workers, many of whom were Latinos, received low wages for backbreaking labor. In 1965 farmworkers went on strike in Delano, California. The National Farm Workers Association soon joined the strike, under the leadership of César Chávez and Dolores Huerta.

Chávez and Huerta knew that the strike needed publicity. Simply stopping work in the fields would not draw enough attention to their cause. So, as you read at the beginning of this section, union activists and sympathetic volunteers stood in front of grocery stores nationwide, urging Americans not to buy grapes.

#### HISTORY'S VOICES

“Grapes must remain an unenjoyed luxury for all as long as the barest human needs and basic human rights are still luxuries for farm workers. The grapes grow sweet and heavy on the vines, but they will have to wait while we reach out first for our freedom. The time is ripe for our liberation.”

—Dolores Huerta, “Proclamation of the Delano Grape Workers for International Boycott Day,” 1969

The success of the strike made César Chávez a national figure, respected for his tireless support of migrant workers and his commitment to nonviolent protest. Chávez's leadership

inspired many Mexican Americans to fight discrimination in their lives. The union's symbol, a black Aztec eagle, came to represent the Mexican American civil rights movement that developed during the late 1960s.

#### READING CHECK

#### Identifying Main Idea

**and Details** How did farmworkers enlist the help of consumers to achieve better working conditions?

## Movements for Latino Rights

César Chávez proved the effectiveness of mass action. While he fought for farmworkers, other Latino activists pursued different agendas.

**Defining the Chicano movement** In the late 1960s some Mexican Americans began to embrace a form of cultural nationalism similar to the Black Power movement supported by black nationalists. They called themselves **Chicanos**, a shortened form of *mexicanos*. The name conveyed their ethnic pride and commitment to political activism.

In earlier generations the term *Chicano* had carried a negative connotation. Now Chicanos adopted the name proudly. They used the term



*Mexican American* to describe someone who had assimilated—someone who held American views rather than Mexican ones.

**Alianza** One early Chicano leader was Reyes López Tijerina. He formed the Alianza Federal de Mercedes (Federal Alliance of Land Grants) to focus on the enduring issue of land rights.

After winning the Mexican-American War in 1848, the United States had signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, promising to respect Mexicans' land claims in territories it annexed. Despite this promise, Mexican Americans had lost tens of thousands of acres over the years—often through fraud or deception. In Rio Arriba County, New Mexico, for example, some 60 percent of the land once belonging to Mexican Americans had been taken away—much of it by the federal government.

In 1967 Tijerina and his followers charged into the Rio Arriba County courthouse to demand justice. A gun battle broke out, and two police officers were wounded. The incident focused national attention on the unfair seizure of Mexican American lands. However, Tijerina was later arrested because of his activities, and Alianza eventually broke up.

**The Crusade for Justice** Another leading figure in the Chicano movement was Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales. A former boxer, Gonzales became active in Democratic Party politics and antipoverty programs in Denver, Colorado, during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Over time, though, he grew to believe that mainstream politics did little to help Mexican Americans.

In 1966 Gonzales founded the Crusade for Justice, a group that promoted Mexican American nationalism. Operating out of an old church, the group provided legal aid, a theater for enhancing cultural awareness, a Spanish-language newspaper, and other community services. It also ran a school that offered children free bilingual classes and lessons in Chicano culture.

Gonzales credited the Crusade for Justice with igniting the "nationalism that now exists here in the Southwest. It has been a dream of the past, but we're now creating a reality out of it." He popularized the use of the nationalist term *Chicano*. Gonzales also composed a poem, "I Am Joaquín," which served as an anthem for the Chicano movement.

## HISTORY'S VOICES

"I have endured in the rugged mountains / Of our country / I have survived the toils and slavery of the fields. / I have existed / In the barrios [Latino neighborhoods] of the city / In the suburbs of bigotry / In the mines of social snobbery / In the prisons of dejection / In the muck of exploitation / And / In the fierce heat of racial hatred. / And now the trumpet sounds, / The music of the people stirs the / Revolution, / Like a sleeping giant it slowly / Rears its head / To the sound of / Tramping feet / Clamoring voices / Mariachi strains . . . / And in all the fertile farmlands, / the barren plains, / the mountain villages, / smoke-smeared cities, / we start to MOVE. / La raza! [The people!] / Méjicano! [Mexican!] / Español! [Spanish!] / Latino! / Chicano! / Or whatever I call myself, / I look the same / I feel the same / I cry / And / Sing the same. / I am the masses of my people and / I refuse to be absorbed."

—Rodolfo Gonzales, "I Am Joaquín"

In March 1969 Gonzales and the Crusade for Justice sponsored the National Chicano Liberation Youth Conference. Conference delegates produced *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán*, or the Spiritual Plan of Aztlán. The plan called upon Chicanos to reclaim the lands of the Southwest. The ultimate goal was to build a unified Chicano community that was empowered to determine its own future.

**MAYO** Mexican Americans in Texas also turned to protest during the 1960s. In 1967 a group of college students in San Antonio formed the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO). The founders of MAYO, including José Angel Gutiérrez, wanted to achieve economic independence for Mexican Americans, to gain local control over the education of Hispanic children, and to achieve power for Latinos through the creation of a third political party.

Under Gutiérrez's leadership, MAYO organized school walkouts and mass demonstrations to protest discrimination against Mexican Americans. MAYO's aggressive tactics were a departure from the moderate approach of more established contemporary Latino organizations, such as the League of United Latin American Citizens.

"Most of our traditional organizations will sit there and pass resolutions and mouth off at conventions, but they'll never take on the gringo [white American]," Gutiérrez charged.

## THE IMPACT TODAY

### Culture

Spanish-language newspapers have become big business in the United States. In 2002 there were 35 dailies with a combined circulation of more than 1.7 million.

### ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

**contemporary** existing during the same period of time



"They'll never stand up to him and say, 'Hey man, things have got to change . . . We've had it long enough!'"

Not all Latinos approved of MAYO's tactics. Henry B. Gonzalez, a member of Congress from San Antonio, was a vocal critic. "MAYO styles itself . . . [as all] good and the Anglo-American as . . . [all] evil. That is not merely ridiculous, it is drawing fire from the deepest wellsprings of hate," Gonzalez declared. "One cannot fan the flames of bigotry one moment and expect them to disappear the next."

MAYO did force changes, though, especially in education. In 1969 Gutiérrez helped organize a student protest in Crystal City, Texas, where about 80 percent of the population was Mexican American. Many local high school students fumed about discrimination. They wanted more Mexican American teachers and a bilingual education program. They also wanted their cheerleaders and homecoming queen to be elected by the students, not appointed by teachers.

The protest began when teachers appointed two Anglo students as cheerleaders. Chicano students' complaints to school officials had no effect. Gutiérrez helped the students organize a boycott of the school. The U.S. Justice Department intervened to resolve the crisis. The settlement required the school board to meet most of the students' demands, including bilingual and bicultural education.

The success at Crystal City inspired students in other Texas schools. MAYO supported numerous student walkouts to protest the crumbling conditions of schools, the lack of Latino teachers, and rules against speaking Spanish. After many of these boycotts, students gained the reforms they were seeking.

**La Raza Unida** After his success in Crystal City, Gutiérrez formed **La Raza Unida Party** (RUP). (The name means "the united people.") The party campaigned for bilingual education, improved public services, education for children of migrant workers, and an end to job discrimination. In 1970, RUP candidates were elected to offices in several Texas cities with large Chicano populations.

## HISTORY CLOSE-UP

# The Chicano Movement

During the 1960s and 1970s Mexican Americans forged political power by embracing their cultural identity.





Rodolfo Gonzales also organized a Colorado branch of the RUP. The Colorado party did not have many election victories, but it drew attention to Chicano causes. The RUP expanded into other parts of the Southwest as well. In Arizona, New Mexico, and California, it registered some 10,000 new voters and ran candidates for several state offices.

In the late 1970s, disagreements among RUP leaders caused the party to fall apart. However, for the better part of a decade it symbolized growing Chicano power.

**The Brown Berets** In the late 1960s the Brown Berets emerged as one of the most militant organizations in the Chicano movement. Founded by working-class Chicano students in Los Angeles in 1967, the Brown Berets began their activism by protesting against police brutality in East Los Angeles.

Soon the group also began fighting for bilingual education, better school conditions, Chicano studies, and more Chicano teachers. In school walkouts in California, the Brown Berets protected striking students by standing

between them and the police. "When the cops moved in," one observer noted, "it was the Berets that were dragged behind bars."

The Brown Berets also supported the efforts of Chicanos in New Mexico to recover their historic lands. They lent their support to the United Farm Workers' campaigns, and they protested the high death rate of Chicano soldiers in the Vietnam War. They worked with African American civil rights groups as well, such as the Black Panther Party and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

The Brown Berets received much media attention because of their strong rhetoric and action-oriented protests. They also gained the notice of law enforcement officials, who tracked their activities and infiltrated the group. The publicity strengthened the Chicano movement in California and helped it spread farther. By 1970 there were 60 Brown Beret groups across the Southwest.

In the Brown Berets, as in many Chicano organizations, men held positions of leadership and women often struggled to have their voices heard. Women participated in marches and



## Corky Gonzales

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, boxer turned activist, knew firsthand the plight of many poor Mexican Americans. Born to migrant farmworkers, Gonzales urged Mexican Americans to embrace their cultural heritage. He saw Chicano nationalism as a way for his people to gain economic independence and political power.



## Student Activism

In 1969 some 700 Mexican American high school students in Crystal City, Texas, boycotted class. The strike began as a protest of the mainly Anglo cheer-leading squad, but it grew to include broader educational issues. The students' action forced the school to abandon its discriminatory policies.

**Skills Focus**

### INTERPRETING INFOGRAPHICS

Chicanos were among the many groups of Americans fighting for their rights in the 1960s and 1970s.

**Drawing Conclusions** Why do you think Chicanos wanted their own political party?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H18.



## Mural

Chicano artists have portrayed their community's history since the 1960s. One of the best-known murals in Mexico is the *Los Pasaños* (The Passages) by Diego Rivera, which depicts the struggles of the Mexican people throughout the centuries. This mural is a powerful statement about the role of the Mexican people in the history of the United States and the world.

The figures on the left represent skilled laborers. Those on the right signify professionals such as teachers and doctors.



The black Aztec eagle was a symbol of the Mexican American civil rights movement.

A farmworker, symbolizing early Mexican immigrants, toils in the fields.

This group represents middle- and upper-class Chicanos in the city of the future.

**Skills Focus**

**READING LIKE A HISTORIAN**

- 1. Comparing** Moving from left to right, how do the workers in the image change?
- 2. Interpreting Visuals** How does the mural reflect the artist's hopes for the Chicano people?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H30

demonstrations, but those actions were always led by men. As one female member noted, "They [the men] wanted to make all the decisions and we always got the [unpleasant] jobs."

The Brown Berets disbanded in 1972 after a series of demonstrations turned violent. Public opinion within the Mexican American community began to turn against their activities. Although the Brown Berets were not successful in ending police brutality in East Los Angeles, the group succeeded in raising awareness of the struggles Chicanos often faced.

**The boricua movement** **Boricua** is the name by which many Puerto Ricans refer to themselves. Like the term *Chicano*, it expresses ethnic pride and support for political activism.

The island of Puerto Rico has been governed as a U.S. territory since the United States acquired the island from Spain after the Spanish-American War in 1898. Slow economic growth and lack of opportunity in Puerto Rico in the early 1900s prompted some Puerto Ricans to migrate to the mainland United States.

The pace of migration increased after World War II, as many Puerto Ricans hoped to share in the economic boom the United States experienced after the war. Some U.S. companies even recruited workers from Puerto Rico, viewing the island as a source of cheap labor. New York, Chicago, and several other U.S. cities developed large Puerto Rican communities. In New York, for example, Puerto Ricans made up more than 9 percent of the city's population by 1964.



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This group represents  
middle- and upper-class  
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by 1964.

Like other minority groups, Puerto Ricans in the United States experienced social and economic discrimination. Holding low-paying jobs, many had to live in run-down neighborhoods and send their children to overcrowded, substandard schools. In the 1950s and 1960s, they organized to seek change.

The boricua movement sprang from the calls of some Puerto Ricans, both in Puerto Rico and on the mainland, for the island's independence. When this demand failed to gain much support, even within the Puerto Rican community, the movement's goals gradually shifted to self-government for Puerto Rico and better conditions for all Puerto Ricans.

Among those pushing for social justice for Puerto Ricans were the Young Lords, a militant boricua organization inspired by the Black Panthers. In 1969 the New York City chapter of the Young Lords barricaded streets until the city promised more frequent trash pickups in Puerto Rican neighborhoods. The Young Lords also called for local control of Puerto Rican communities, as well as better health care, employment, and educational opportunities.

Other boricua groups shared some of the Young Lords' goals but not their methods. One group called Taller Boricua (meaning "Puerto Rican Workshop") was founded in 1970 as a community arts organization in New York. It

provided art education programs as a means of encouraging cultural, social, and economic development in the Puerto Rican community. Similar groups now exist in many other American cities.

**Cuban Americans** After Fidel Castro seized power in Cuba in 1959, many well-to-do Cubans fled Castro's Communist government for the United States. After 78,000 Cubans left in 1962, Castro banned further emigration. The exodus continued nonetheless. About 50,000 people left on flights allowed by the Cuban government between 1965 and 1973. However, most refugees made dangerous, illegal voyages to the United States in small boats.

The majority of Cubans who arrived during this period were professionals and business people. Unlike most other Latinos, they had left their homeland for political reasons, not economic ones. Therefore, they did not generally suffer the economic disadvantages that prompted other Latino groups to demand social justice. Instead, most Cuban Americans who organized for change were seeking changes for Cuba—the overthrow of Castro and communism—and not for themselves.

#### READING CHECK Making Generalizations

What issues were most important to the movements for Latino rights?

## SECTION ASSESSMENT

go.hrw.com

Online Quiz

Keyword: SO<sup>1</sup> HP20

### Reviewing Words, Terms, and People

- a. Recall** What is the difference between the terms *Hispanic* and *Latino*?

**b. Summarize** What economic, educational, and political challenges did many Latinos face in the early 1960s?

**c. Elaborate** Do you think that speaking Spanish was an asset or a drawback for Latinos in the 1960s? Explain.
- a. Identify** Who were César Chávez and Dolores Huerta?

**b. Explain** How did farmworkers pressure grape growers to address their demands?

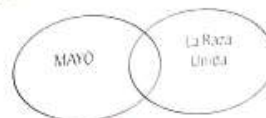
**c. Predict** Do you think the grape boycott would have turned out differently if strikers had used violent tactics? Explain.
- a. Describe** What do the terms *Chicano* and *boricua* have in common?

**b. Sequence** What experiences led José Angel Gutiérrez to form a new political party?

**c. Rank** With which issue do you think the Latino rights movements had the most success? Explain.

### Critical Thinking

- Comparing and Contrasting** Copy the chart below and record the similarities and differences between MAYO and La Raza Unida Party.



### FOCUS ON WRITING

- Expository** Reread the excerpt from Rodolfo Gonzales's poem, "I Am Joaquín." In your own words, analyze the excerpt. What past hardships does Gonzales describe? How have the conditions of his people changed, and why? What emotions are conveyed in his poem? Why would this poem be considered an anthem of the Chicano movement?



## SECTION 3

# Culture and Counterculture

### BEFORE YOU READ

#### MAIN IDEA

The counterculture that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s left a lasting impact on American life.

#### READING FOCUS

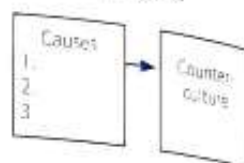
1. What led to the rise of the counterculture?
2. What was life like in the counterculture?
3. How did mainstream American society react to the counterculture?
4. What legacy did the counterculture leave behind?

#### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

counterculture  
Establishment  
Free Speech Movement  
flower children  
Summer of Love  
pop art

#### TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on the causes and effects of the counterculture. Write your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown below.



#### THE INSIDE STORY

#### How would hosting a huge public event affect a small town?

The word was out. Some rich music promoters needed a place to hold a rock concert. In tiny Bethel, New York, resort owner Ed Tiber had a permit from town officials for a small music and arts festival to attract business to his resort hotel. He put the concert's organizers in touch with Max Yasgur, a nearby dairy farmer. They paid Yasgur \$75,000 to hold their concert in one of his fields.

As workers prepared the site, Bethel's 3,900 residents became concerned that the expected 100,000 concertgoers might overwhelm their town. Signs went up: "Buy No Milk. Stop Max's Hippie Music Festival." There was no turning back, though. Too many tickets to the concert had already been sold—nearly 190,000!

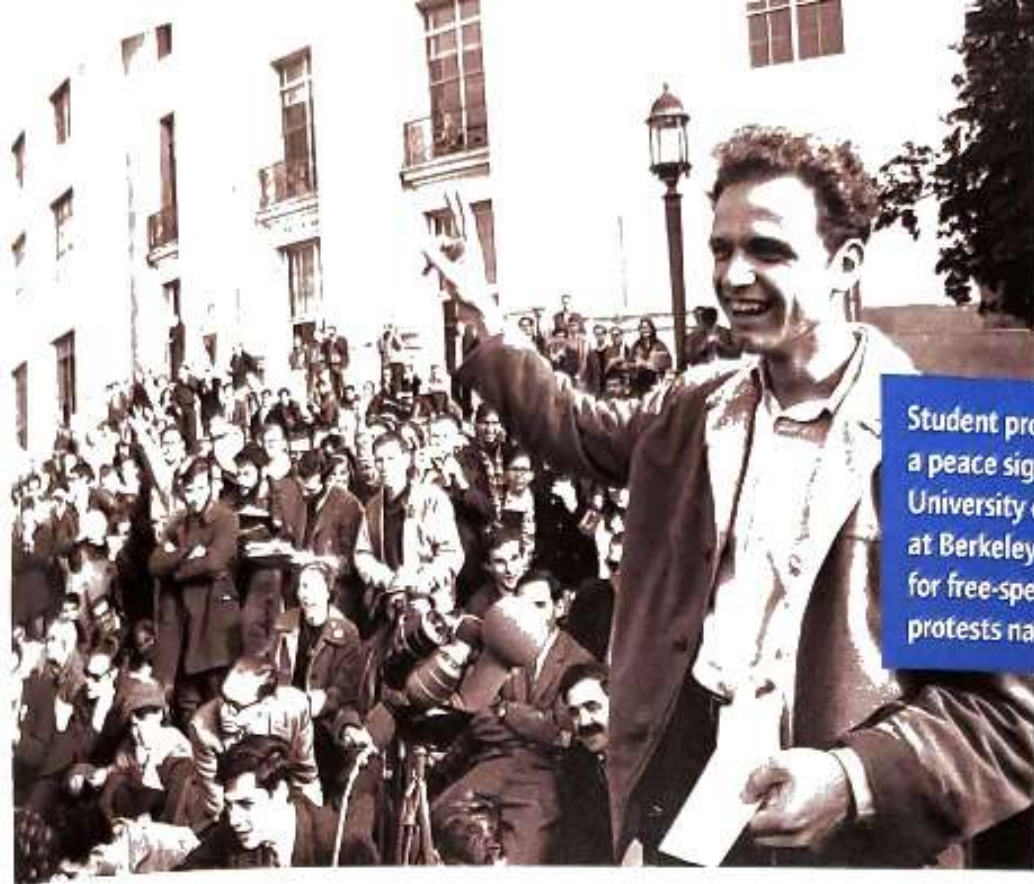
Despite opposition, the Woodstock Music and Art Fair began on schedule, on August 15, 1969. By then it had snowballed into a four-day event attended by more than 400,000 people. Woodstock astounded Bethel and became a defining experience for a whole generation.

## Rock Concert in a Small Town

▼ The band Jefferson Airplane rocks for a crowd that stretches as far as the eye can see.







Student protest leader Mario Savio makes a peace sign with his hand at a rally at the University of California, Berkeley. Students at Berkeley fought the school administration for free-speech rights and inspired campus protests nationwide.

## Rise of the Counterculture

The **counterculture** of the 1960s was a rebellion of teens and young adults against mainstream American society. These young Americans, called hippies, believed that society's values were hollow and its priorities were misplaced. Turning their backs on the mainstream—which they called the **Establishment**—hippies wanted to create an alternative culture based on peace and love.

**The youth culture** Where did the counterculture come from? First of all, the number of teens and young adults in the United States rose dramatically in the 1960s. Between 1960 and 1970 the number of Americans aged 15 through 24 increased almost 50 percent.

Second, these young people were living in turbulent times. They blamed their parents' generation for the problems the nation faced—the threat of nuclear war, racial discrimination and segregation, the Vietnam War, and environmental pollution. They vowed to do things differently.

Rebellion against the dominant culture was not something new. The Beat generation of the 1950s also broke with mainstream America. Beatniks questioned traditional values, challenged authority, and experimented with nonconformist lifestyles. Although beatniks were few in number, the Beat generation would influence the hippie culture that arose later.

**Rising student activism** On college campuses in the 1960s, students enjoyed newfound independence. They began rebelling against school policies they considered restrictive, unjust, or not **relevant**. At the University of California at Berkeley, students had often used one of the entrances to the campus as a place for speech making and political organizing. In September 1964, university officials banned that activity at the campus entrance. Students protested loudly. They picketed and held sit-ins, nonviolent demonstrations in which they sat down and refused to move.

On October 1, 1964, a former student named Jack Weinberg set up a table in the banned area to collect donations for CORE, a civil rights group. Police arrived to arrest him for trespassing. Hundreds of students surrounded the police car so that it could not move. Student Mario Savio climbed on top of the car and urged more students to join the protest.

For 32 hours the students surrounded the car and prevented the police from taking Weinberg away. Other students protested at the main administration building. However, university officials refused to drop the charges against Weinberg. California governor Edmund Brown issued a statement: "This will not be tolerated. We must have—and will continue to have—law and order on our campuses." Some 500 police officers were called out as the crowd swelled to more than 7,000 demonstrators.

### ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

**relevant** having practical application or value for society



## Counterculture Life



Hippie clothing and hairstyles tended to be loose and flowing, but the main characteristics were individuality and low cost. Flowers worn in the hair were also a mainstay of hippie expression.



Members of the Family of the Mystic Arts (above) lived in this Oregon commune for over a year. Communes had high ideals but were often short-lived.



This detail from a poster by the artist Peter Max (left) is an example of psychedelic art, or art that mimics a drug-induced state. Below is the psychedelic album cover to the Broadway musical *Hair*, which celebrated the counterculture and shocked the Establishment.



The protest came to a nonviolent end when university officials agreed to consider students' grievances. A few weeks later, though, the university decided to discipline Savio and another organizer of the protest, Arthur Goldberg. In response, about a thousand students took over the campus administration building in a massive sit-in. On December 3, more than 600 police arrested nearly 800 students.

For the next few days, a student strike shut down the campus. As pressure mounted—from the faculty as well as the student body—administrators finally agreed to ease restrictions on students' political activities.

The events in Berkeley marked the beginning of the **Free Speech Movement**, which swept campuses across the nation. Arthur Goldberg summed up the goal this way: "We ask only the right to say what we feel when we feel like it. We'll continue to fight for this freedom, and we won't quit until we've won." Students used the tactics of civil disobedience to protest a variety of injustices. In the process, they shocked mainstream Americans, who expected young people not to question authority.

**READING CHECK** Summarizing What major influences led to the rise of the counterculture?

## Life in the Counterculture

Throughout the 1960s, thousands of teens and young adults abandoned school, jobs, and traditional home life in search of a more freewheeling existence. Like the beatniks of the 1950s, hippies rejected the materialism and work ethic of older generations. Instead, they wanted to live simply and "do your own thing."

Some hippies formed communities in run-down urban neighborhoods, such as San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district. Haight-Ashbury became the most famous center of the counterculture. Young people flocked there because of the cheap rents and flourishing hippie culture. Urban hippie communities in general attracted many newcomers because of the promise of a new lifestyle. Writer Carol Brightman spoke about the freedom of moving to Berkeley in 1970.

### HISTORY'S VOICES

"Coming to California and settling in the Bay Area, [I] was . . . looking for a cultural experience outside the mainstream . . . Berkeley was like a liberated zone; you know . . . You were on the edge there."

—Carol Brightman, Interview with David Gans, 1995

Other hippies "dropped out" of society by joining rural communes—collectively run communities—where they attempted to live in harmony with nature. Residents of communes often rejected modern conveniences. They often grew their own food and shared all property. The main goal was to build communities based on peace and love.

**Hippie culture** Hippies sought new experiences in a variety of ways. Some looked for enlightenment through Eastern religions such as Buddhism. Others searched for knowledge through astrology or the occult. Many experimented with illegal drugs, such as marijuana and LSD, or "acid." Timothy Leary, a former Harvard University psychologist, promoted the use of LSD as a way to expand the mind. Leary urged people to "tune in, turn on, and drop out." Hippies expressed their sense of freedom through a casual and colorful style of dress. Bright, tie-dyed T-shirts were popular. Many Americans adopted the hippie style. African shirt usually had bright colors. Some men wore beards. The traditional neckties were replaced by scarves.



This detail from a poster by the artist Peter Max (left) is an example of psychedelic art, or art that mimics a drug-induced state. Below is the psychedelic album cover to the Broadway musical *Hair*, which celebrated the counterculture and shocked the Establishment.



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Hippies expressed their sense of freedom through a casual and colorful style of clothing. Bright, tie-dyed T-shirts were popular. Many African Americans adopted the dashiki, a pullover-style African shirt usually decorated with vivid colors. Some men wore beads as a rejection of the traditional necktie. Men also

began wearing longer hair and beards. Some African Americans sported Afros, a hairstyle that came to symbolize racial pride. Other hippies wore flowers in their hair and called themselves **flower children**.

**The counterculture's decline** The height of the hippie movement was the summer of 1967. In San Francisco, this was known as the **Summer of Love**. A generation proclaimed the dawning of a blissful new age. Although the country was at war in Vietnam and wracked by racism and sexism, hippies professed peace, love, and harmony.

These ideals were difficult to achieve, however. The freedom that hippies sought often led to serious problems. Many young people struggled with drug addiction—or worse. Singer Janis Joplin and guitarist Jimi Hendrix died from overdoses of drugs, as did other less-famous members of the counterculture.

Hippies expected to find mellow living by moving to communes and places such as Haight-Ashbury. However, many hippies had no means of supporting themselves. The lack of rules often led to conflict. The counterculture also attracted sinister characters such as Charles Manson, who moved to Haight-Ashbury in 1967. Two years later Manson and a handful of his followers committed a mass murder in California that horrified the nation.

**READING CHECK** **Contrasting** How did the counterculture lifestyle differ from that of traditional, middle-class Americans?

## Mainstream Society Reacts

Some observers of the counterculture were put off by the unkempt appearance of hippies. George Harrison, a member of the legendary British music group the Beatles, recalled his surprise when he visited Haight-Ashbury in 1967. “I expected them to all be nice and clean and friendly and happy.” Instead, he saw them as “hideous, spotty little teenagers” who “were all terribly dirty and scruffy.”

On a deeper level, many mainstream Americans objected to the unconventional values of the counterculture. They viewed hippies’ attitudes and actions as disrespectful, uncivilized, and threatening. Some believed that American society as a whole was losing its sense of right and wrong.



Daily Life

U.S. History

Consider This

1. How did the hippie movement differ from the Beat movement?

2. How did the hippie movement differ from the Beat movement?

3. How did the hippie movement differ from the Beat movement?

4. How did the hippie movement differ from the Beat movement?

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6. How did the hippie movement differ from the Beat movement?

7. How did the hippie movement differ from the Beat movement?



To many in the Establishment, it appeared that society was unraveling. Unrest on college campuses particularly troubled FBI director J. Edgar Hoover.

#### HISTORY'S VOICES

“It would be foolhardy for educators, public officials, and law enforcement officers to ignore or dismiss lightly the revolutionary terrorism invading college campuses. It is a serious threat to both the academic community and a lawful and orderly society.”

—J. Edgar Hoover, in *The Review of the News*, September 11, 1968

A daring television comedy called *All in the Family* dramatized both the older generation's distrust of the counterculture and the younger generation's desire to change society. Premiering in 1971, the program featured a bigoted, working-class character named Archie Bunker. Archie bluntly criticized hippies, Vietnam War protesters, and anyone else who didn't fit his view of what Americans should be. Archie's son-in-law, Mike Stivic, was a college student

fighting against the Establishment. The lack of understanding between Archie Bunker and Mike Stivic was symbolic of the divisions in American society at the time.

#### READING CHECK

#### Identifying the Main Idea

Why did many Americans find the counterculture to be so alarming?

## The Counterculture's Legacy

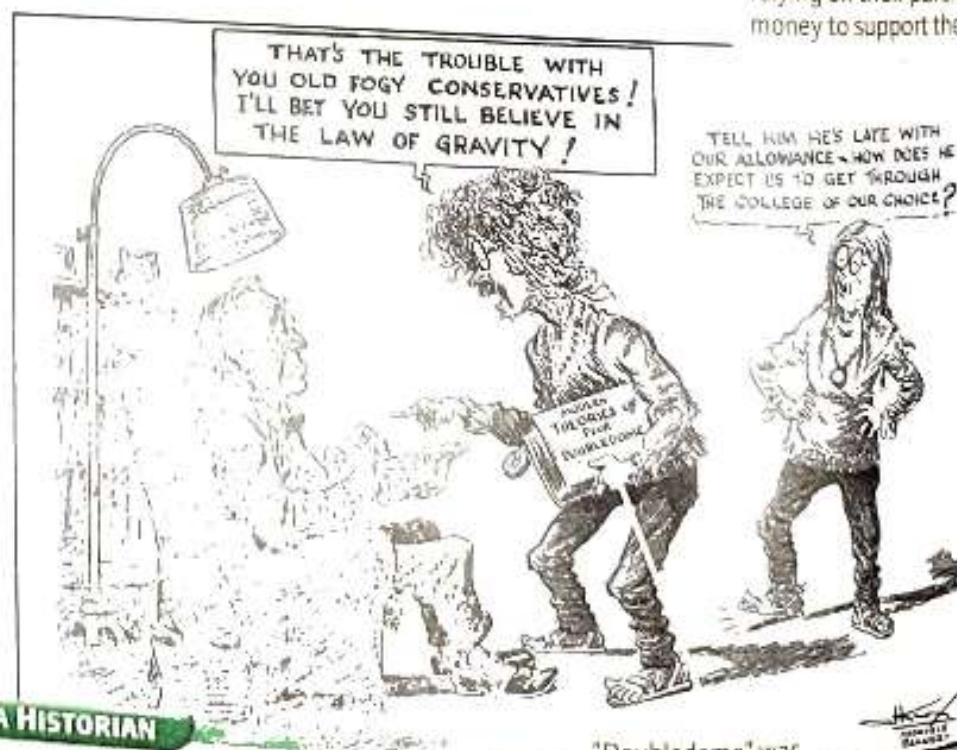
The counterculture did not last long. However, it did make a lasting impact on American culture, particularly in attitudes, art, and music.

**Attitudes** The permissiveness of the counterculture affected the wider American society. Many Americans became more casual in the way they dressed and more open-minded about lifestyles and social behavior. Attitudes toward sexual behavior loosened. In movies, on television, and in books and magazines, people wanted to explore topics that had once been taboo, including sexual activity and violence.

### PRIMARY SOURCES

## Political Cartoon

The attitudes and lifestyles of the counterculture shocked many Americans. As this cartoon depicts, some Americans believed hippies were defiant youths with no respect for authority.



Many people felt that hippies were hypocrites for criticizing the older generation while relying on their parents' money to support them.

#### Skills Focus

#### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

**Interpreting Political Cartoons** Do you think the artist viewed hippies sympathetically or critically? Explain.

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H31

"Doubledome" was a slang term for an intellectual who supported silly ideas.



**Art and film** The counterculture's questioning of tradition and authority extended into the art world. Many artists of the 1960s argued that art had become a slave to elite tastes. They claimed that established artists created works only to please a few cultural critics.

In this period, a new style developed called **pop art**. Aiming to appeal to popular tastes, artists took inspiration from elements of the popular culture, including advertising, comic books, and movies. Andy Warhol led the pop art movement. He painted common, mass-produced objects such as Campbell Soup cans and Coke bottles. He also produced works featuring brightly colored likenesses of celebrities such as Marilyn Monroe and John F. Kennedy.

Film also underwent a broadening of subject matter as censorship rules relaxed. The film industry adopted a rating system ranging from G to X to inform audiences about the content of movies. The rating system was designed to gain favor with the viewing public, who wanted more information about what they would see on screen. Some people argued, however, that moral standards began to decline, because movies rated for mature audiences drew larger crowds than family-oriented films.

**Music** The counterculture had a tremendous influence on popular music. Rock and roll became an outlet for young people to express their discontent and their desire for change.

The Beatles, for example, moved from love songs like "I Want to Hold Your Hand" to more topical songs such as "Revolution." The group also brought new ideas and techniques to rock and roll music. Their performances electrified audiences and influenced countless other musicians.

Bob Dylan was another key figure on the music scene. Hailed as the spokesperson of his generation, Dylan found audiences wildly responsive to political songs like "The Times They Are A Changin'" and "Masters of War."

One of the most significant events of the period was the Woodstock Music and Art Fair, commonly known as Woodstock. In August 1969, some 400,000 people attended the music festival in rural upstate New York. Massive traffic jams led officials to close the roads leading to the area. Those who made it to Woodstock had to deal with driving rain, knee-deep mud, and shortages of food and water.

Despite the enormous crowds, the festival was peaceful. Over four days, many of the most popular musicians and bands performed, including Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, Joan Baez, and the Grateful Dead. Woodstock was more than just a rock concert. It was the celebration of an era, and it marked the high point of the counterculture movement.

#### READING CHECK

#### Drawing Conclusions

How did the values of the counterculture influence art and music?

## SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

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Online Quiz

Keyword: SD3-HP30

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Identify** What factors contributed to the rise of the counterculture in the 1960s?  
**b. Make Inferences** Why did university officials at Berkeley want to shut down the Free Speech Movement?  
**c. Evaluate** Did university officials handle the conflict with students appropriately? Explain.
- a. Recall** Who were the flower children?  
**b. Analyze** What were members of the counterculture trying to achieve?  
**c. Evaluate** Was the decline of the counterculture avoidable? Why or why not?
- a. Identify** Who was Archie Bunker?  
**b. Interpret** Why would J. Edgar Hoover describe student activism as "revolutionary terrorism"?

- a. Describe** What was Woodstock?  
**b. Summarize** What effects did the counterculture have on the broader society?

### Critical Thinking

- Identifying Cause and Effect** Copy the chart below and record the causes and effects of the counterculture.



### FOCUS ON SPEAKING

- Persuasive** What would you have said if you were addressing the crowd at the Berkeley student protests in 1964?



## The Women's Movement

**Historical Context** The documents below provide different information on the women's movement during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

**Task** Examine the documents and answer the questions that follow. Then write an essay about the women's movement. Use facts from the documents and from the chapter to support the position you take in your thesis statement.

### DOCUMENT 1

In 1969 students protested at the University of Chicago after it refused to extend the appointment of Marlene Dixon, a professor known for her radical political views. The Chicago Women's Liberation Union issued this statement in support of the protests.

"What does women's freedom mean? It means freedom of self-determination, self-enrichment, the freedom to live one's own life, set one's own goals, the freedom to rejoice in one's own accomplishments. It means the freedom to be one's own person in an integrated life of world, love, play, motherhood: the freedoms, rights, and privileges of first class citizenship, of equality in relationships of love and work: the right to choose to make decisions or not to; the right to full self-realization and to full participation in the life of the world. That is the freedom we seek in women's liberation.

To achieve these rights we must struggle as all other oppressed groups must struggle: one only has the rights one fights for. We must come together, understand the common problems, despair, anger, the roots and processes of our oppression: and then together, win our rights to a creative and human life.

At the U of C we see the first large action, the first important struggle of women's liberation. This university—all universities—discriminate against women, impede their full intellectual development, deny them places on the faculty, exploit talented women and mistreat women students."

### DOCUMENT 2

Bill Mauldin created drawings that commented on current events for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *Chicago Sun-Times*. In this cartoon, he comments on the challenges facing the women's movement.





# DOCUMENT 3

Over the past several decades, women's lives have changed in many ways. This table presents statistics that indicate women's progress in education, employment, athletics, and government service.

## EDUCATION AND EARNINGS

	1970	2002
Number of female college students (approximate)	3,000,000	9,300,000
Percentage of college students who were women	40.5 percent	56.4 percent
Percentage of undergraduate and graduate degrees received by women	40.8 percent	57.8 percent
Percentage of doctoral degrees received by women	13.3 percent	45.5 percent
Women's earnings compared to every dollar earned by men	59.4 cents	76.6 cents

## ATHLETICS

	1970	2002
Number of female participants in high school athletics	294,000	2,856,350
Percentage of participants in high school athletics who were women	7.4 percent	41.7 percent

## CORPORATE LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNMENT SERVICE

	1970	2002
Number of female chief executive officers of Fortune 500 companies	0	6
Percentage of female federal civilian employees	30.3 percent	45 percent
Number of women elected to U.S. House of Representatives	10	59
Number of women elected to U.S. Senate	1	13

Sources: Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1976, 2004–2005; National Federation of State High School Associations Participation Figure History; National Committee on Pay Equity; *feminx*, Volume 10, issue 1, May 2002

## Skills Focus

## READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

- Recall** Refer to Document 1. Why are the protests important, according to the Chicago Women's Liberation Union?
  - Interpret** How does this statement encourage cooperation with other groups?
- Describe** Refer to Document 2. How does Mauldin portray equal rights for women?
  - Analyze** Based on this cartoon, what is Mauldin's attitude toward the women's movement?
- Identify** Refer to Document 3. Which category shows the least change over time?

**b. Make Inferences** How might changes in educational achievement and changes in government employment be related?

- Document-Based Essay Question** Consider the question below and form a thesis statement. Using examples from Documents 1, 2, and 3, create an outline and write a short essay supporting your position.

How did the women's movement contribute to change in the United States?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H15, H28–H29, H31



## Visual Summary: A Time of Social Change

1961

Native American activists issue the Declaration of Indian Purpose.

1963

Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* is published.

1965

The Delano Grape Strike begins.



1967

José Angel Gutiérrez and other students form MAYO.

1968

AIM is founded.



1969

The Woodstock Music and Art Fair takes place in New York.

1970

La Raza Unida wins elections in several Texas cities.

1972

Congress passes the ERA.

1960

1965

1970

1975

YEARS

## Reviewing Key Terms and People

Match each lettered definition with the correct numbered item at right.

- a. Rebellion of teens and young adults against mainstream American society
- b. Another popular name for hippies
- c. Name by which many Puerto Ricans refer to themselves
- d. A leader of the American Indian Movement
- e. Conservative leader who opposed the ERA
- f. Founder of MAYO who campaigned against anti-Latino discrimination in Texas schools
- g. Chicano founder of the Crusade for Justice and author of the poem "I Am Joaquín"
- h. Organization founded by José Angel Gutiérrez to strengthen Latinos' political power
- i. Chicano labor leader who championed the rights of migrant farmworkers

1. boricua
2. counterculture
3. José Angel Gutiérrez
4. Phyllis Schlafly
5. flower children
6. Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales
7. Russell Means
8. César Chávez
9. La Raza Unida Party



## Comprehension and Critical Thinking

### SECTION 1 (pp. 986–993)

10. **a. Recall** What was the ERA?
- b. Summarize** What gains did Native Americans make in the 1970s?
- c. Elaborate** Not all women supported NOW, nor did all Native Americans support AIM. Why was this the case?

### SECTION 2 (pp. 994–1001)

11. **a. Identify** Who were the Brown Berets?
- b. Compare and Contrast** What did Chicano and Puerto Rican activists have in common, and how did they differ from Cuban Americans?
- c. Develop** Why do you think that the issue of fairness in education was so important to the Latino movements for equal rights?

### SECTION 3 (pp. 1002–1007)

12. **a. Describe** What were the goals of the counterculture?
- b. Analyze** Why did some people find the counterculture threatening?
- c. Evaluate** Did the counterculture have more positive or negative effects on American culture and society? Explain.

## Using the Internet

13. President Bill Clinton awarded César Chávez the Presidential Medal of Honor in 1994. Using the keyword above, do research to learn about Chávez's activism after the Delano Grape Strike. Then write a short biography of Chávez, highlighting the important achievements of his leadership after the strike.

## Analyzing Primary Sources

**Reading Like a Historian** The epic poem "I Am Joaquín" called on Chicano youths to find strength and pride in their culture and history. Reread the excerpt in Section 2.

14. **Describe** How does the poet describe the lives of Mexican Americans in the past?
15. **Draw Conclusions** What made this poem inspirational to a generation of Chicanos?

## Critical Reading

Read the passages in Section 1 that discuss the occupation of Alcatraz and AIM. Then answer the questions that follow.

16. Why was the Indian occupation of Alcatraz Island significant?
- A** Congress gave Native Americans the right to use any surplus government property.
  - B** It led to the founding of the American Indian Movement.
  - C** It drew attention to injustices against Native Americans and encouraged AIM activists.
  - D** The Bureau of Indian Affairs agreed to consider Native Americans' grievances.
17. Which of the following statements is true?
- A** The goals of AIM were to protect Native Americans' traditional ways of life, foster economic independence, and improve educational opportunities.
  - B** The American Indian Movement was founded with the intention of helping Native Americans who lived on reservations.
  - C** AIM activists seized Wounded Knee in retaliation for the killing of 300 Sioux in 1890.
  - D** AIM's tactics were limited to nonviolent marches and demonstrations.

## WRITING FOR THE SAT

Think about the following issue:

Throughout the 1960s, thousands of teens and young adults rebelled against mainstream American society. They abandoned school, jobs, and traditional home life in search of a more freewheeling existence. They wanted to live simply and "do your own thing."

18. **Assignment** Was the counterculture a bold experiment in nontraditional living or a self-indulgent escape from reality? Write a short essay in which you develop your position on this issue. Support your point of view with reasoning and examples from your reading and studies.