



Module 15

Civil Rights



Essential Question

Why should all Americans have equal rights and opportunities?

About the Photograph: Civil Rights activists lead the 1965 voting rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama.

In this module you will learn how African Americans fought for equal rights and how their struggle inspired Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, women, and other groups to lead their own movements to seek equality and fair treatment.

Explore ONLINE!



VIDEOS, including...

- Civil Rights Bill
- Freedom March

- Document-Based Investigations
- Graphic Organizers
- Interactive Games
- Image Compare: Public School Segregation
- Carousel: March on Washington

What You Will Learn . . .

Lesson 1: Taking on Segregation 716

The Big Idea Activism and a series of Supreme Court decisions advanced equal rights for African Americans in the 1950s and 1960s.

Lesson 2: The Triumphs of a Crusade 728

The Big Idea Civil rights activists broke through racial barriers. Their activism prompted landmark legislation.

Lesson 3: Challenges and Changes in the Movement 738

The Big Idea Disagreements among civil rights groups and the rise of black nationalism created a violent period in the fight for civil rights.

Lesson 4: Hispanic and Native Americans Seek Equality 746

The Big Idea Hispanic Americans and Native Americans confronted injustices in the 1960s.

Lesson 5: Women Fight for Equality 756

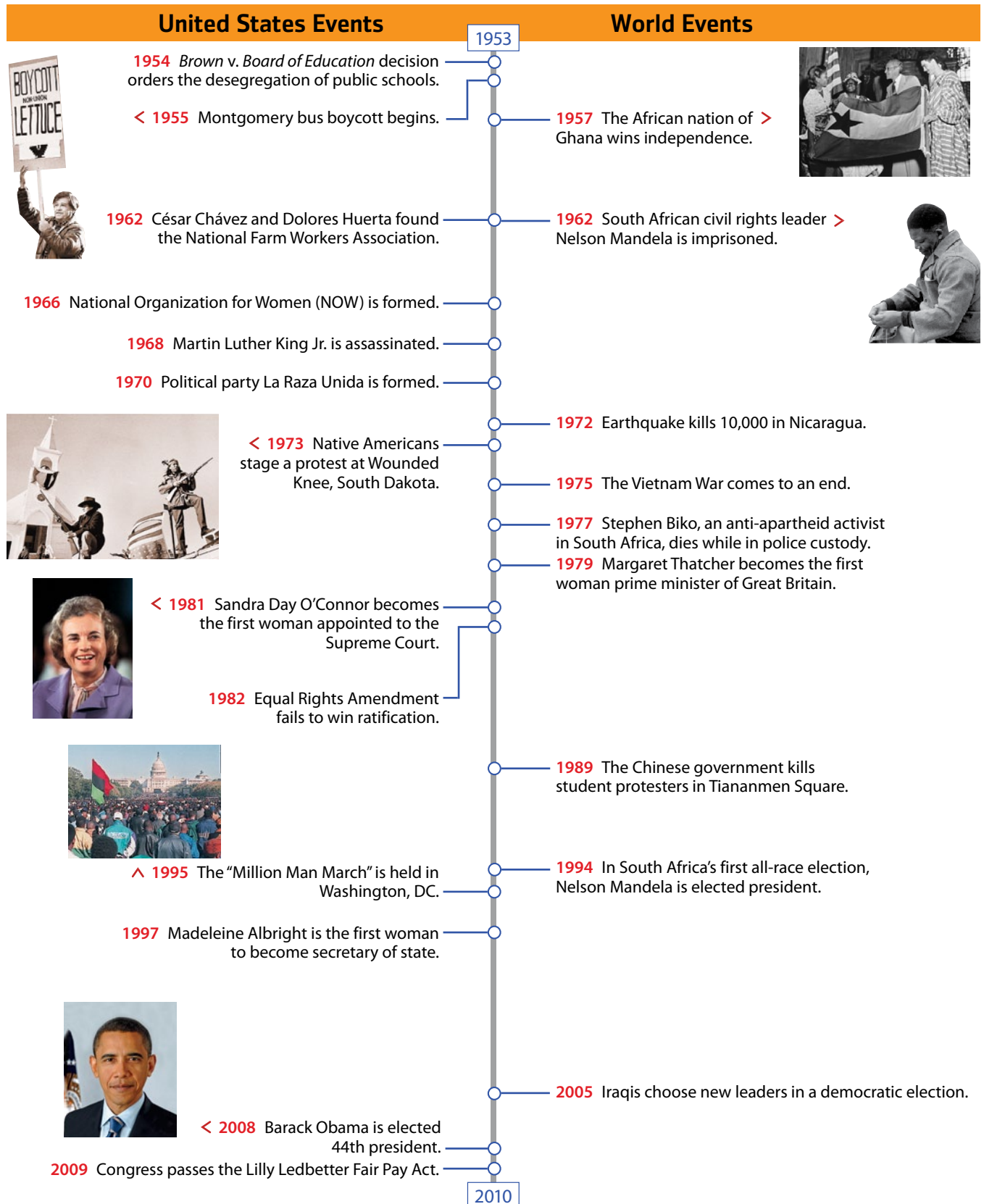
The Big Idea Through protests and marches, women confronted social and economic barriers in American society.

Lesson 6: The Struggle Continues 763

The Big Idea In the decades that followed the civil rights and equal rights movements, groups and individuals continued to pursue equal rights for all Americans.

Timeline of Events 1953–2010

Explore ONLINE!



Taking on Segregation

The Big Idea

Activism and a series of Supreme Court decisions advanced equal rights for African Americans in the 1950s and 1960s.

Why It Matters Now

Landmark Supreme Court decisions beginning in 1954 have guaranteed civil rights for Americans today.

Key Terms and People

Thurgood Marshall

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka

Rosa Parks

Martin Luther King Jr.

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

sit-in

One American's Story

Jo Ann Gibson Robinson drew back in self-defense as the white bus driver raised his hand as if to strike her. "Get up from there!" he shouted. Robinson, laden with Christmas packages, had forgotten the rules and sat down in the front of the bus, which was reserved for whites.

Humiliating incidents were not new to the African Americans who rode the segregated buses of Montgomery, Alabama, in the mid-1950s. The bus company required them to pay at the front and then exit and reboard at the rear. "I felt like a dog," Robinson later said. A professor at the all-black Alabama State College, Robinson was also president of the Women's Political Council, a group of professional African American women determined to increase black political power.

"We had members in every elementary, junior high, and senior high school, and in federal, state, and local jobs. Wherever there were more than ten blacks employed, we had a member there. We were prepared to the point that we knew that in a matter of hours, we could corral the whole city."

—Jo Ann Gibson Robinson,
quoted in *Voices of Freedom: An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement*



Jo Ann Gibson Robinson

On December 1, 1955, police arrested an African American woman for refusing to give up her seat on a bus. Robinson promptly sent out a call for all African Americans to boycott Montgomery buses.

The Segregation System

Segregated buses might never have rolled through the streets of Montgomery if the Civil Rights Act of 1875 had remained in force. This act outlawed segregation in public facilities. It decreed that “all persons . . . shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations . . . of inns, public conveyances on land or water, theaters, and other places of public amusement.” In 1883, however, the all-white Supreme Court declared the act unconstitutional.

PLESSY v. FERGUSON During the 1890s a number of other court decisions and state laws severely limited African American rights. In 1890 Louisiana passed a law requiring railroads to provide “equal but separate accommodations for the white and colored races.” In the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case of 1896, the Supreme Court ruled that this “separate but equal” law did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment, which guarantees all Americans equal treatment under the law.



Passengers wait at a bus station in Durham, North Carolina, in 1940.

Armed with the *Plessy* decision, states throughout the nation, but especially in the South, passed what were known as Jim Crow laws, aimed at separating the races. These laws forbade marriage between blacks and whites. They also established many other restrictions on social and religious contact between the races. There were separate schools as well as separate streetcars, waiting rooms, railroad coaches, elevators, witness stands, and public restrooms. The facilities provided for blacks were always inferior to those for whites. Nearly every day, African Americans faced humiliating signs that read: “Colored Water”; “No Blacks Allowed”; “Whites Only!”

SEGREGATION CONTINUES INTO THE 20TH CENTURY After the Civil War, some African Americans tried to escape southern racism by moving north. This migration of southern African Americans sped up greatly during World War I. It accelerated again after World War II, as many African American sharecroppers abandoned farms for the promise of industrial jobs in northern cities. However, they discovered racial prejudice and segregation there, too. Most could find housing only in all-black neighborhoods. Many white workers also resented the competition for jobs. This sometimes led to violence.

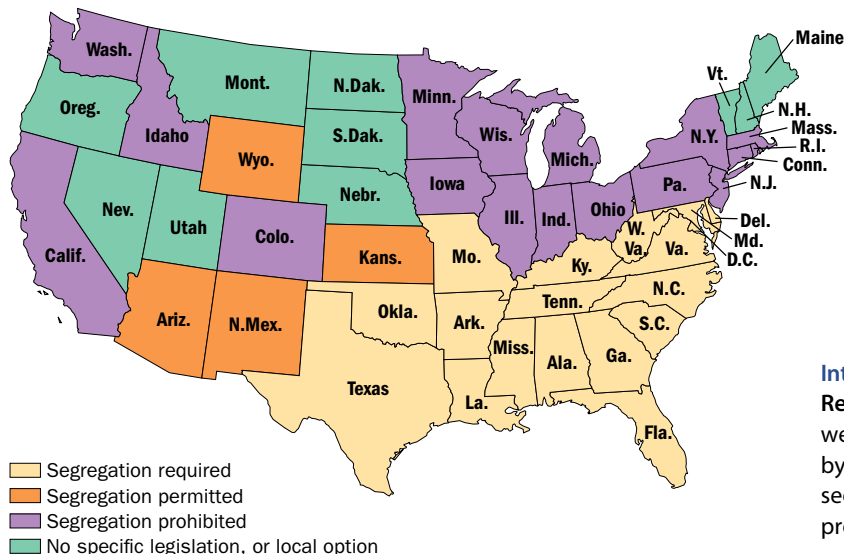
A DEVELOPING CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT In many ways, the events of World War II set the stage for the civil rights movement. First, the demand for soldiers in the early 1940s created a shortage of white male laborers. That labor shortage opened new job opportunities for African Americans, Latinos, and white women.

Second, during the war, civil rights organizations actively campaigned for African American voting rights and challenged Jim Crow laws. In response to protests, President Roosevelt issued a presidential directive. The directive prohibited racial discrimination by federal agencies and all companies that were engaged in war work. The groundwork was laid for more organized campaigns to end segregation throughout the United States.

U.S. School Segregation, 1952



These photos of the public schools for white children (left) and for black children (right) in a southern town in the 1930s show that separate facilities were often unequal in the segregation era.



Interpret Maps

Region In which regions were schools segregated by law? In which was segregation expressly prohibited?

Third, nearly one million African Americans served in the armed forces, which needed so many fighting men that they had to end their discriminatory policies. Such policies had previously kept African Americans from serving in fighting units. Many African American soldiers returned from the war determined to fight for their own freedom now that they had helped defeat fascist and racist regimes overseas. However, black veterans who had risked their lives to serve their country returned home to face discrimination, which inevitably led to clashes.

One major event occurred in February of 1946 in Columbia, Tennessee. U.S. Navy veteran James Stephenson was arrested and charged with intent to commit murder after he fought with a white store clerk over the way the clerk treated his mother. This led to violence between the police and the black citizens and veterans in the town. State highway patrol officers were called in and raided the black section of town without warrants. They shot up buildings, stole money and other goods, and confiscated every gun they found. They also arrested over 100 blacks without providing legal counsel or granting bail. A few days later, two black men were killed while in police custody. The “Columbia Race Riots,” as this incident came to be known, made national headlines. It is regarded as a key event leading up to the civil rights movement.

Reading Check

Find Main Ideas

How did events during World War II lay the groundwork for African Americans to fight for civil rights in the 1950s?

Challenging Segregation in Court

The desegregation campaign was led largely by the NAACP, which had fought to end segregation since 1909. One influential figure in this campaign was Charles Hamilton Houston, a brilliant Howard University law professor who served as chief legal counsel for the NAACP from 1934 to 1938.

THE NAACP LEGAL STRATEGY In deciding the NAACP's legal strategy, Houston focused on the inequality between the separate schools that many states provided. At that time, the nation spent ten times as much money educating a white child as an African American child. Thus, Houston focused the organization's limited resources on challenging the most glaring inequalities of segregated public education.

In 1938 Houston placed a team of his best law students under the direction of **Thurgood Marshall**. Over the next 23 years, Marshall and his NAACP lawyers would win 29 out of 32 cases argued before the Supreme Court.

Several of the cases became legal milestones, each chipping away at the segregation platform of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. In the 1946 case *Morgan v. Virginia*, the Supreme Court declared segregated seating on interstate buses unconstitutional. In 1950 the high court ruled in *Sweatt v. Painter* that state law schools must admit black applicants, even if separate black schools exist.

BROWN v. BOARD OF EDUCATION Marshall's most stunning victory came on May 17, 1954, in the case known as ***Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka***. In this case, the father of eight-year-old Linda Brown had charged the board of education of Topeka, Kansas, with violating Linda's rights by denying her admission to an all-white elementary school four blocks from her house. The nearest all-black elementary school was 21 blocks away.

In a landmark verdict, the Supreme Court unanimously ruled that segregated schools violated the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause. Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote that, "[I]n the field of public education, the doctrine of separate but equal has no place." The *Brown* decision was relevant for some 12 million schoolchildren in 21 states.

Reading Check

Make Inferences

How did the *Brown* decision affect schools outside of Topeka?

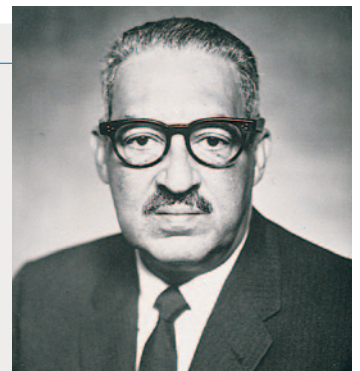
— BIOGRAPHY

Thurgood Marshall (1908–1993)

Thurgood Marshall dedicated his life to fighting racism. His father had labored as a steward at an all-white country club, his mother as a teacher at an all-black school. Marshall himself was denied admission to the University of Maryland Law School because of his race.

In 1961 President John F. Kennedy nominated Marshall to the U.S. Court of Appeals. Lyndon Johnson picked Marshall for U.S. solicitor general in 1965 and two years later named him as the first African American Supreme Court justice. In that role he remained a strong advocate of civil rights until he retired in 1991.

After Marshall died in 1993, a copy of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision was placed beside his casket. On it, an admirer wrote: "You shall always be remembered."



Reaction to the *Brown* Decision

Official reaction to the ruling was mixed. In Kansas and Oklahoma, state officials said they expected segregation to end with little trouble. In Texas, the governor warned that plans might “take years” to work out. He actively prevented desegregation by calling in the Texas Rangers. In Mississippi and Georgia, officials vowed total resistance. Governor Herman Talmadge of Georgia said “The people of Georgia will not comply with the decision of the court. . . . We’re going to do whatever is necessary in Georgia to keep white children in white schools and colored children in colored schools.”

RESISTANCE TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION Within a year, more than 500 school districts had desegregated their classrooms. In Baltimore, St. Louis, and Washington, DC, black and white students sat side by side for the first time in history. However, in many areas where African Americans were a majority, whites resisted desegregation. Groups calling themselves White Citizens’ Councils used economic pressure as a weapon, calling for boycotts of businesses and individuals who supported desegregation. These “councils” were made up of prominent community members who expressed their racism with pride. Some white supremacists felt that even stronger action should be taken to stop desegregation. In some places, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) reappeared. The KKK had been the most widespread white supremacist group during the late 1860s, with a resurgence in the 1920s. In the 1950s and 1960s, the KKK claimed responsibility for hundreds of violent attacks against African Americans and white supporters of civil rights.

In 1955 the Supreme Court handed down a second ruling, known as *Brown II*, that ordered school desegregation implemented “with all deliberate speed.” Still, southern states resisted. Three years later, the Court acted again to uphold and enforce the law, stating in *Cooper v. Aaron* that school districts had to follow desegregation laws and could no longer delay taking action to integrate.

Initially President Eisenhower refused to enforce compliance. “The fellow who tries to tell me that you can do these things by force is just plain nuts,” he said. Events in Little Rock, Arkansas, would soon force Eisenhower to go against his personal beliefs.

CRISIS IN LITTLE ROCK In 1948 Arkansas had become the first southern state to admit African Americans to state universities without being required by a court order. By the 1950s some scout troops and labor unions in Arkansas had quietly ended their Jim Crow practices. Little Rock citizens had elected two men to the school board who publicly backed desegregation. And the school superintendent, Virgil Blossom, began planning for desegregation soon after *Brown*.

However, Governor Orval Faubus publicly supported segregation. In September 1957 he ordered the National Guard to turn away the “Little Rock Nine”—nine African American students who had volunteered to integrate Little Rock’s Central High School as the first step in Blossom’s plan. A federal judge ordered Faubus to let the students into school.



As white students jeer her and members of the Arkansas National Guard look on, Elizabeth Eckford enters Little Rock Central High School in 1957.

NAACP members called eight of the students and arranged to drive them to school. They could not reach the ninth student, Elizabeth Eckford, who did not have a phone, and she set out alone. Outside Central High, Eckford faced an abusive crowd. Terrified, the 15-year-old made it to a bus stop, where two friendly whites stayed with her.

The crisis in Little Rock forced Eisenhower to act. He placed the Arkansas National Guard under federal control. He also ordered 1,000 paratroopers into Little Rock. The nation watched the televised coverage of the event. Under the watch of soldiers, the nine African American teenagers attended class.

But even these soldiers could not protect the students from troublemakers who confronted them in stairways, in the halls, and in the cafeteria. Throughout the year, African American

students were regularly harassed by other students. At the end of the year, Faubus shut down Central High rather than let integration continue.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1957 On September 9, 1957, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1957, the first civil rights law since Reconstruction. Shepherded by Senator Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, the law gave the attorney general greater power over school desegregation. It also gave the federal government jurisdiction, or authority, over violations of African American voting rights.

The act passed despite fierce opposition from some members of Congress. Almost a decade earlier, a group of politicians who staunchly supported segregation broke away from the Democrats to form the States' Rights Democratic Party, more commonly called the Dixiecrats. They nominated Strom Thurmond, then the governor of South Carolina, to represent them in the 1948 presidential election. Although the party disbanded after losing the election, the term *Dixiecrat* continued to be used for southern politicians who opposed desegregation and other civil liberties for African Americans. Dixiecrat Thurmond, elected into the Senate in 1954, unsuccessfully attempted to block the bill by filibuster, speaking for 24 hours and 18 minutes straight.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

The face-to-face confrontation at Central High School was not the only showdown over segregation in the mid-1950s. Impatient with the slow pace of change in the courts, African American activists had begun taking direct action to win the rights the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution promised them. Among those on the frontline of change was Jo Ann Gibson Robinson.

Reading Check

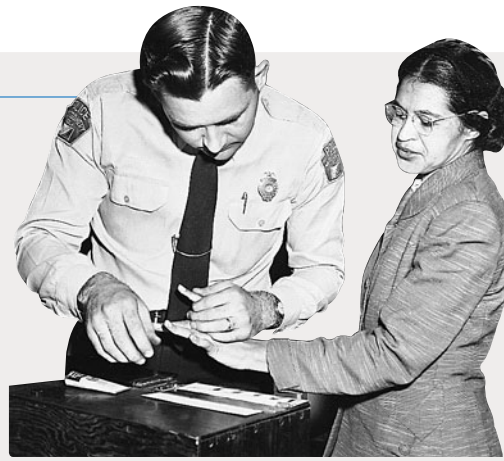
Analyze Causes

Why weren't schools in all regions desegregated immediately after the *Brown II* decision?

Rosa Parks (1913–2005)

Long before December 1955, Rosa Parks had protested segregation through everyday acts. She refused to use drinking fountains labeled “Colored Only.” When possible, she shunned segregated elevators and climbed stairs instead.

Parks joined the Montgomery chapter of the NAACP in 1943 and became the organization’s secretary. A turning point came for her in the summer of 1955, when she attended a workshop designed to promote integration by giving the students the experience of interracial living.



Returning to Montgomery, Parks was even more determined to fight segregation. As it happened, her act of protest against injustice on the buses inspired a whole community to join her cause.

BOYCOTTING SEGREGATION Four days after the *Brown* decision in May 1954, Robinson wrote a letter to the mayor of Montgomery, Alabama. In it she asked that bus drivers no longer be allowed to force riders in the “colored” section to yield their seats to whites. The mayor refused. Little did he know that in less than a year another African American woman from Alabama would be at the center of this controversy, and that her name and her words would far outlast segregation.

On December 1, 1955, **Rosa Parks**, a seamstress and an NAACP officer, took a seat in the front row of the “colored” section of a Montgomery bus. As the bus filled, the driver ordered Parks and three other African American passengers to empty the row they were occupying so that a white man could sit down without having to sit next to an African American. “It was time for someone to stand up—or in my case, sit down,” recalled Parks. “I refused to move.”

As Parks stared out the window, the bus driver said, “If you don’t stand up, I’m going to call the police and have you arrested.” The soft-spoken Parks replied, “You may do that.”

News of Parks’s arrest spread rapidly. Jo Ann Gibson Robinson and NAACP leader E. D. Nixon suggested a one-day bus boycott. The majority of bus passengers were black, and about 90 percent of them participated in the boycott. This level of success led leaders of the African American community, including many ministers, to extend the boycott. They formed the Montgomery Improvement Association to coordinate efforts and elected the pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, 26-year-old **Martin Luther King Jr.**, to lead the group. An ordained minister since 1948, King had just earned a PhD in theology from Boston University.

WALKING FOR JUSTICE On the night of December 5, 1955, Dr. King addressed an estimated crowd of between 5,000 and 15,000 people, calling for justice. King’s passionate and eloquent speech brought people to their feet and filled the audience with a sense of mission. African Americans filed a lawsuit

Reading Check
Synthesize Why
was Rosa Parks's
action on December 1,
1955, significant?

and for 381 days—over a year—refused to ride the buses in Montgomery. In most cases they had to find other means of transportation by organizing carpools or walking long distances. Support came from within the black community—workers donated one-fifth of their weekly salaries—as well as from outside groups like the NAACP, the United Auto Workers, Montgomery's Jewish community, and sympathetic white southerners. The boycotters remained nonviolent even after a bomb ripped apart King's home (no one was injured). Finally, in 1956 the Supreme Court outlawed bus segregation.

The Movement Spreads

The Montgomery bus boycott proved to the world that the African American community could unite and organize a successful protest movement. It also proved the power of nonviolent resistance, the peaceful refusal to obey unjust laws. Despite threats to his life and family, King urged his followers to remain calm and not to give in to the hatred shown to them.

CHANGING THE WORLD WITH SOUL FORCE King called his brand of nonviolent resistance “soul force.” He based his ideas on the teachings of several people. From the teachings of Jesus, he learned to love one's enemies. From writer Henry David Thoreau he took the concept of civil disobedience—the refusal to obey an unjust law. From labor organizer A. Philip Randolph he learned to organize massive demonstrations. From Mohandas Gandhi, the leader who helped India throw off British rule, he learned to resist oppression without violence. King predicted that demonstrators would experience consequences for their protest but would eventually win over the hearts and minds of their opponents through their willingness to suffer.

King held steadfast to his philosophy, even when a wave of racial violence swept through the South after the *Brown* decision. The violence included the

— BIOGRAPHY —

Martin Luther King Jr. (1929–1968)

Born Michael Luther King Jr., King had to adjust to a new name in 1934. In that year, his father—Rev. Michael King Sr.—returned home from a trip to Europe, where he had toured the site where Martin Luther had begun the Protestant Reformation. Upon his return, the elder King changed his and his son's names to Martin.

Like Luther, the younger King became a reformer. In 1964 he won the Nobel Peace Prize. Yet there was a side of King unknown to most people—his inner battle to overcome his hatred of the white bigots. As a youth, he had once vowed “to hate all white people.” As leader of the



civil rights movement, King said the freedom of all Americans was limited by the effects of segregation and bigotry.

1955 murder of Emmett Till—a 14-year-old African American boy who had allegedly flirted with a white woman. There were also shootings and beatings, some fatal, of civil rights workers.

FROM THE GRASSROOTS UP After the bus boycott ended, King joined with ministers and civil rights leaders to found the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)** in 1957. Its purpose was “to carry on non-violent crusades against the evils of second-class citizenship.” Using African American churches as a base, the SCLC planned to stage protests and demonstrations throughout the South. The leaders hoped to build a movement from the grassroots up and to win the support of ordinary African Americans of all ages. King, president of the SCLC, used the power of his voice and ideas to fuel the movement’s momentum.

The nuts and bolts of organizing the SCLC was handled by its first director, Ella Baker, the granddaughter of slaves. While with the NAACP, Baker had served as national field secretary, traveling over 16,000 miles throughout the South. From 1957 to 1960, Baker used her contacts to set up branches of the SCLC in southern cities. In April 1960, Baker helped students at Shaw University, an African American university in Raleigh, North Carolina, organize a national protest group, the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee**, or **SNCC**, pronounced “snick” for short.

It had been six years since the *Brown* decision, and many college students viewed the pace of change as too slow. Although these students risked a great deal—losing college scholarships, being expelled from college, being physically harmed—they were determined to challenge the system. SNCC hoped to harness the energy of these student protesters. It would soon create one of the most important student activist movements in the nation’s history.

DEMONSTRATING FOR FREEDOM Although SNCC adopted King’s ideas in part, its members had ideas of their own. Many people called for a more confrontational strategy and set out to reshape the civil rights movement.

Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

Sit-Ins

Sit-in demonstrators, such as these at a Jackson, Mississippi, lunch counter in 1963, faced intimidation and humiliation from white segregationists.

Analyze Historical Sources

1. What does this photograph tell you about how many whites in the South felt about equal rights for African Americans?
2. What can you tell about the protesters sitting at the counter?



The founders of SNCC had models to build on. In 1942 in Chicago, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) had staged the first **sit-ins**, sometimes called sit-downs. During these sit-ins, African American protesters sat down at segregated lunch counters and refused to leave until they were served. Like boycotts, this tactic brought attention to the movement while applying economic pressure—sit-ins blocked business at the stores. In February 1960 African American students from North Carolina’s Agricultural and Technical College staged a sit-in at a whites-only lunch counter at a Woolworth’s store in Greensboro. This time, television crews brought coverage of the protest into homes throughout the United States. There was no denying the ugly face of racism. Day after day, news reporters captured the scenes of whites beating, jeering at, and pouring food over students who refused to strike back. The coverage sparked many other sit-ins across the South. In Nashville, Tennessee, for example, James Lawson and Diane Nash led a series of sit-ins from February 13 to May 10, 1960, targeting several downtown businesses.

In response to such protests, store managers called in the police, raised the price of food, and removed counter seats. But the movement continued and spread to the North. There, students formed picket lines around national chain stores that maintained segregated lunch counters in the South.

By late 1960 students had descended on and desegregated lunch counters in some 48 cities in 11 states. To help the many sit-ins, supporters of all races boycotted and picketed the targeted businesses. They endured arrests, beatings, suspension from college, and tear gas and fire hoses, but the army of nonviolent students refused to back down. “My mother has always told me that I’m equal to other people,” said Ezell Blair Jr., one of the students who led the first SNCC sit-in in 1960.

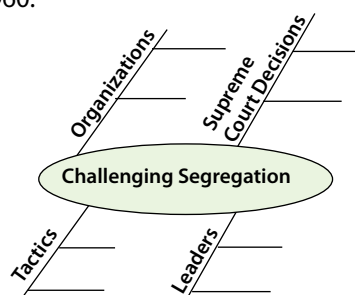
Coalitions between groups like SNCC, the SCLC, CORE, and the NAACP would prove crucial in the fight to end segregation. For the rest of the 1960s, many Americans banded together to convince the rest of the country that blacks and whites deserved equal treatment.

Reading Check

Analyze Effects
How did the SCLC help in the fight to achieve civil rights?

Lesson 1 Assessment

- 1. Organize Information** Fill in a spider diagram with examples of tactics, organizations, leaders, and Supreme Court decisions of the civil rights movement up to 1960.



- 2. Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- 3. Evaluate** Do you think the nonviolence used by civil rights activists was a good tactic? Explain.

Think About:

- the Montgomery bus boycott
- television coverage of events
- sit-ins

- 4. Contrast** How did the tactics of the student protesters from SNCC differ from those of the boycotters in Montgomery?
- 5. Draw Conclusions** After the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* ruling, what do you think was the most significant event of the civil rights movement prior to 1960? Why?

Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1954)

ORIGINS OF THE CASE

In the early 1950s the school system of Topeka, Kansas, like southern elementary school systems, operated separate schools for “the two races”—blacks and whites. Reverend Oliver Brown protested that this was unfair to his eight-year-old daughter, Linda. Although the Browns lived near a “white” school, Linda was forced to take a long bus ride to her “black” school across town.

THE RULING

The Court ruled that segregated public schools were “inherently” unequal and therefore unconstitutional.



Linda Brown's name headed a list of five school desegregation cases heard by the Supreme Court.

LEGAL REASONING

While the correctness of the *Brown* ruling seems obvious today, some justices had difficulty agreeing to it. One reason was the force of legal precedent. Normally, judges follow a policy of *stare decisis*, “let the decision stand.” The *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision endorsing segregation had stood for over 50 years. It clearly stated that “separate but equal” facilities did not violate the Fourteenth Amendment.

Thurgood Marshall, the NAACP lawyer who argued *Brown*, spent years laying the groundwork to chip away at Jim Crow—the local laws that required segregated facilities. Marshall had recently won two Supreme Court decisions in 1950 (*McLaurin* and *Sweatt*; see Legal Sources) that challenged segregation at graduate schools. Then in 1952 the Supreme Court agreed to hear the Browns’ case. The Court deliberated for two years, deciding how to interpret the Fourteenth Amendment.

In the end, Chief Justice Earl Warren carefully sidestepped *Plessy*, claiming that segregated schools were not and never could be equal. On Monday, May 17, 1954, Warren read the unanimous decision:

“Does segregation of children in public schools . . . deprive the children of . . . equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does. . . . To separate them . . . solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority . . . that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.”

—*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*

LEGAL SOURCES

U.S. CONSTITUTION

Fourteenth Amendment, Equal Protection Clause (1868)

“No state shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.”

RELATED CASES

***Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)**

- Upheld Louisiana’s laws requiring that train passengers be segregated by race.
- Established the doctrine of “separate but equal.”

***McLaurin v. Oklahoma State* (1950)**

Ruled that Oklahoma State University violated the Constitution by keeping its one “Negro” student in the back of the class and the cafeteria.

***Sweatt v. Painter* (1950)**

Required the University of Texas to admit an African American student to its previously all-white law school.



Thurgood Marshall was appointed the first African American Supreme Court justice by President Johnson in 1967.



WHY IT MATTERED

The Court's decision in *Brown* had an immediate impact on pending rulings. In a series of cases after *Brown*, the Supreme Court prohibited segregation in housing, at public beaches, at recreation facilities, and in restaurants. Later decisions extended equal access to other groups, including women and resident aliens.

The decision encountered fierce resistance, however. It awakened the old battle cry of states' rights. Directly following *Brown*, some members of Congress circulated the "Southern Manifesto," claiming the right of the states to ignore the ruling. In taking a stand on a social issue, they said, the Court had taken a step away from simply interpreting legal precedents. Critics charged that the Warren Court had acted as legislators and even as sociologists.

The *Brown* case strengthened the civil rights movement, however, and paved the way for the end of Jim Crow. The NAACP had fought and won the legal battle and had gained prestige and momentum. Americans got the strong message that the federal government now took civil rights seriously.

HISTORICAL IMPACT

Three of the parties involved in *Brown*—Delaware, Kansas, and the District of Columbia—began to integrate schools in 1954. Topeka County informed the Court that 123 black students were already attending formerly all-white schools. Even so, the Supreme Court was well aware that its decision would be difficult to enforce. In a follow-up ruling, *Brown II* (1955), the Court required that integration take place with "all deliberate speed." To some, this meant quickly. Others interpreted *deliberate* to mean slowly.

Only two southern states even began to integrate classrooms in 1954; Texas and Arkansas opened one and two districts, respectively. By 1960 less than 1 percent of the South's students attended integrated schools. Many school districts were ordered to use aggressive means to achieve racial balance. Courts spent decades supervising forced busing, a practice that often pitted community against community.

Still, despite the resistance and the practical difficulties of implementation, *Brown* stands today as a watershed, the single point at which breaking the "color barrier" officially became a federal priority.

Critical Thinking

1. Connect to History Legal precedents are set not only by rulings but also by dissenting opinions, in which justices explain why they disagree with the majority. Justice John Marshall Harlan was the one dissenting voice in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Do Internet research to read his opinion and comment on how it might apply to *Brown*.

2. Connect to Today Do Internet research to learn about the Supreme Court's changing opinions on civil rights. Compile a chart or timeline to present the facts—date, plaintiff, defendant, major issue, and outcome—of several major cases. Then give an oral presentation explaining the Supreme Court's role in civil rights.

The Triumphs of a Crusade

The Big Idea

Civil rights activists broke through racial barriers. Their activism prompted landmark legislation.

Why It Matters Now

Activism pushed the federal government to end segregation and ensure voting rights for African Americans.

Key Terms and People

freedom riders

James Meredith

Civil Rights Act of 1964

Freedom Summer

Fannie Lou Hamer

Voting Rights Act of 1965

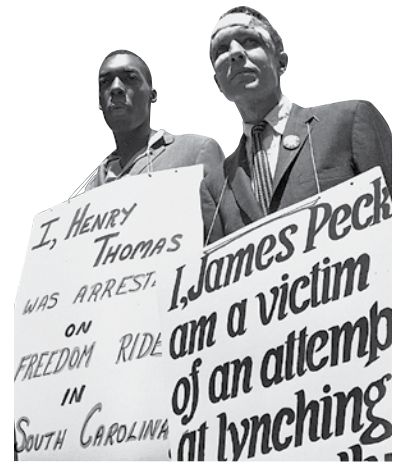
One American's Story

In 1961 James Peck, a white civil rights activist, joined other CORE members on a historic bus trip across the South. The two-bus trip would test the Supreme Court decisions banning segregated seating on interstate bus routes and segregated facilities in bus terminals. Peck and other **freedom riders** expected a violent reaction. They hoped that this would convince the Kennedy administration to enforce the law. The violence was not long in coming.

At the Alabama state line, white racists got on Bus One carrying chains, brass knuckles, and pistols. They brutally beat African American riders and white activists who tried to intervene. Still the riders managed to go on. Then on May 4, 1961—Mother's Day—the bus pulled into the Birmingham bus terminal. James Peck saw a hostile mob waiting, some holding iron bars.

"I looked at them and then I looked at Charles Person, who had been designated as my team mate. . . . When I looked at him, he responded by saying simply, 'Let's go.' As we entered the white waiting room, . . . we were grabbed bodily and pushed toward the alleyway . . . and out of sight of onlookers in the waiting room, six of them started swinging at me with fists and pipes. Five others attacked Person a few feet ahead."

—James Peck, from *Freedom Ride*



Three days after being beaten unconscious in Birmingham, freedom rider James Peck demonstrates in New York City to pressure national bus companies to support desegregation.

The ride of Bus One had ended, but Bus Two continued southward on a journey that would shock the Kennedy administration into action.

Riding for Freedom

In Anniston, Alabama, about 200 angry whites attacked Bus Two. The mob followed the activists out of town. When one of the tires blew, they smashed a window and tossed in a firebomb. The freedom riders spilled out just before the bus exploded.

NEW VOLUNTEERS The bus companies refused to carry the CORE freedom riders any farther. Even though the determined volunteers did not want to give up, they ended their ride. However, CORE director James Farmer and SNCC leader Diane Nash announced that a group of SNCC volunteers in Nashville were ready to pick up where the others had left off. Knowing they risked death, some riders made out their wills or wrote farewell letters.

When the new band of freedom riders rode into Birmingham, policemen pulled them from the bus, beat them, and drove them into Tennessee. Defiantly, they returned to the Birmingham bus terminal. Their bus driver, however, feared for his life and refused to transport them. In protest, they occupied the whites-only waiting room at the terminal for 18 hours until a solution was reached. After an angry phone call from U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy, bus company officials convinced the driver to proceed. The riders set out for Montgomery on May 20.

ARRIVAL OF FEDERAL MARSHALS Although Alabama officials had promised Kennedy that the riders would be protected, a mob of whites—many carrying bats and lead pipes—fell upon the riders when they arrived in Montgomery. John Doer, a Justice Department official on the scene, called

In May 1961 a mob firebombed this bus of freedom riders outside Anniston, Alabama, and attacked passengers as they tried to escape.



Reading Check
Analyze Issues
What did the freedom
riders hope to
achieve?

the attorney general to report what was happening. “A bunch of men led by a guy with a bleeding face are beating [the passengers]. There are no cops. It’s terrible. There’s not a cop in sight. People are yelling. ‘Get ‘em, get ‘em.’ It’s awful.”

The violence provoked exactly the response the freedom riders wanted. Newspapers throughout the nation and abroad denounced the beatings.

President Kennedy arranged to give the freedom riders direct support. The Justice Department sent 400 U.S. marshals to protect the riders on the last part of their journey to Jackson, Mississippi. In addition, the attorney general and the Interstate Commerce Commission banned segregation in all interstate travel facilities, including waiting rooms, restrooms, and lunch counters.

Standing Firm

With the integration of interstate travel facilities underway, some civil rights workers turned their attention to integrating some southern schools and pushing the movement into additional southern towns. At each turn they encountered opposition and often violence.

INTEGRATING OLE MISS In September 1962 Air Force veteran **James Meredith** won a federal court case that allowed him to enroll in the all-white University of Mississippi, nicknamed Ole Miss. But when Meredith arrived on campus, he faced Governor Ross Barnett, who refused to let him register as a student.

President Kennedy ordered federal marshals to escort Meredith to the registrar’s office. Barnett responded with a heated radio appeal: “I call on every Mississippian to keep his faith and courage. We will never surrender.” The broadcast turned out white demonstrators by the thousands.

On the night of September 30, riots broke out on campus, resulting in two deaths. It took thousands of soldiers, 200 arrests, and 15 hours to stop the rioters. In the months that followed, federal officials accompanied Meredith to class and protected his parents from nightriders who shot up their house.

HEADING INTO BIRMINGHAM The trouble continued in Alabama. Birmingham, a city known for its strict enforcement of total segregation in public life, also had a reputation for racial violence, including 18 bombings from 1957 to 1963. Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, head of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and secretary of the SCLC, decided something had to be done. Believing Birmingham the ideal place to test the power of non-violence, Shuttlesworth invited Martin Luther King Jr. and the SCLC to help desegregate the city. On April 3, 1963, King flew into Birmingham to hold a planning meeting with members of the African American community. He told them that to be successful in Birmingham, one of the most segregated cities in the United States, they would have to work together.

After days of demonstrations led by Shuttlesworth and others, King and a small band of marchers were finally arrested during a demonstration on Good Friday, April 12. The next day, a group of local white clergy took out a



News photos and television coverage of police dogs in Birmingham attacking African Americans shocked the nation.

full-page ad in the city's newspaper. They attacked King's actions as unwise and argued that he was pushing too fast. In his jail cell, King rejected these charges with an eloquent response that gained fame as "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." King expressed the difficulty of waiting for change in the face of vicious, hateful treatment.

On April 20 King posted bail and began planning more demonstrations. On May 2 more than a thousand African American children marched in Birmingham. Police commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor's men arrested 959 of them. On May 3 a second "children's crusade" came face to face with a helmeted police force. Police swept the marchers off their feet with high-pressure fire hoses, set attack dogs on them, and clubbed those who fell. TV cameras captured all of it, and millions of viewers heard the children screaming. Several commenters noted that the media coverage of police dogs and fire hoses did much to advance the cause of civil rights among Americans who previously had been undecided on the issue.

Continued protests, an economic boycott, and negative media coverage finally convinced Birmingham officials to end segregation. This stunning civil rights victory inspired African Americans across the nation. It also convinced President Kennedy that only a new civil rights act could end racial violence and satisfy the demands of African Americans—and many whites—for racial justice.

KENNEDY TAKES A STAND Another confrontation occurred on the campus of the University of Alabama. A federal judge had ordered the university to admit Vivian Malone and James Hood, two black students. On June 11, 1963, President Kennedy sent National Guard troops to escort the students and ensure the court's orders were carried out. Alabama governor George C. Wallace stood in front of the enrollment building to try to stop Malone and Hood

Background

Beckwith was finally convicted in 1994, after the case was reopened based on new evidence.

Reading Check

Analyze Causes
What events led to desegregation in Birmingham?

from going inside. Aware of the resistance they might meet, the National Guard soldiers were prepared to physically lift and remove the governor if necessary. The action was not needed. After making a short speech about states' rights, Wallace let the black students pass.

That evening, Kennedy asked the nation: "Are we to say to the world—and much more importantly, to each other—that this is the land of the free, except for the Negroes?" He demanded that Congress pass a civil rights bill.

A tragic event just hours after Kennedy's speech highlighted the racial tension in much of the South. Shortly after midnight, a sniper murdered Medgar Evers in front of his home in Jackson, Mississippi. Evers was a World War II veteran, the NAACP field secretary in Mississippi, and one of the movement's most effective leaders. His killing shocked many Americans. Police soon arrested a white supremacist, Byron de la Beckwith, but he was released after two trials resulted in hung juries. His release brought a new militancy to African Americans. Many demanded, "Freedom now!"

Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

Capturing the Movement

Born in Memphis in 1922, photographer Ernest Withers believed that if the struggle for equality could be shown to people, things would change. Armed with only a camera, he braved violent crowds to capture the heated racism during the Montgomery bus boycott, the desegregation of Central High in Little Rock, and the 1968 Memphis sanitation workers strike, shown in this photograph, led by Martin Luther King Jr. The night before the Memphis march, Withers helped make some of the signs he photographed.



Analyze Historical Sources

1. What do the signs tell you about African Americans' struggle for civil rights?
2. What kind of treatment do you suppose these men had experienced? Why do you think so?

Marching to Washington

The civil rights bill that President Kennedy sent to Congress guaranteed equal access to all public accommodations and gave the U.S. attorney general the power to file school desegregation suits. With this bill, Kennedy hoped to take the important first steps to ending racial discrimination. To persuade Congress to pass the bill, two veteran organizers—labor leader A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin of the SCLC—summoned Americans to a march on Washington, DC.

THE DREAM OF EQUALITY On August 28, 1963, more than 250,000 people—including about 75,000 whites—converged on the nation’s capital. They assembled on the grassy lawn of the Washington Monument and marched to the Lincoln Memorial. There, people listened to speakers demand the immediate passage of the civil rights bill.

When Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. appeared, the crowd exploded in applause. In his now famous speech, “I Have a Dream,” he appealed for peace and racial harmony. This speech, like King’s other writings, brought national attention to the movement and to the progress that still needed to be made.

“I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up, live out the true meaning of its creed: ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.’ . . . I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. . . . I have a dream that one day in Alabama, . . . one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.”

—Martin Luther King Jr., from “I Have a Dream”

MORE VIOLENCE Two weeks after King’s historic speech, on September 15, 1963, violence once again struck Birmingham. In what came to be known as the Birmingham Church Bombing, a bomb exploded at the 16th Street Baptist Church, killing four girls—11-year-old Denise McNair and three 14-year-olds—Cynthia Wesley, Carole Robertson, and Addie Mae Collins. Two more African Americans died in the unrest that followed.

Two months later, an assassin shot and killed John F. Kennedy. His successor, President Lyndon B. Johnson, pledged to carry on Kennedy’s work. On July 2, 1964, Johnson signed the **Civil Rights Act of 1964**, which prohibited discrimination because of race, religion, national origin, and gender. It gave all citizens the right to enter and use public accommodations such as washrooms, restaurants, and theaters.

Title VI of the act specifically addressed all agencies and institutions that receive federal funding, stating, “No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program

Civil Rights Acts of the 1950s and 1960s



Martin Luther King Jr. looks on as President Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law.

CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1957	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Established federal Commission on Civil Rights Established a Civil Rights Division in the Justice Department to enforce civil rights laws Enlarged federal power to protect voting rights
CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Banned most discrimination in employment and in public accommodations Enlarged federal power to protect voting rights and speed up school desegregation Established Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to ensure fair treatment in employment
VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Eliminated voter literacy tests Enabled federal examiners to register voters
CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1968	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prohibited discrimination in the sale or rental of most housing Strengthened antilynching laws Made it a crime to harm civil rights workers
Interpret Tables Which law do you think benefited the most people? Explain your choice.	

or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.” This ensured rights for all citizens to use public, federally funded facilities such as parks and libraries. It also protected against discrimination at public schools and universities. Title VII of the act prohibited employment discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. It created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to investigate and resolve charges of workplace discrimination.

Like other civil rights laws, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 faced resistance from staunch opponents, especially in the South. Some private business owners looked for loopholes in the act. Later that year, the law was tested and upheld when it appeared in a case before the Supreme Court. In *Heart of Atlanta Hotel, Inc. v. United States*, the Supreme Court ruled that even private businesses like hotels and restaurants could not legally discriminate by claiming they had the right to choose their customers. This landmark ruling made it clear that businesses had no legal right to refuse to serve blacks. The act and the actions of the Supreme Court to uphold it gave a strong legal backbone to the fight against discrimination in public places.

Reading Check

Analyze Events
 Why did civil rights organizers ask their supporters to march on Washington?

Fighting for Voting Rights

Meanwhile, the right of all African Americans to vote remained elusive. In 1964 CORE and SNCC workers in the South began working together to register as many African Americans as they could to vote. They hoped their campaign would receive national publicity, which would in turn influence Congress to pass a voting rights act. Focused in Mississippi, the project became known as **Freedom Summer**.

FREEDOM SUMMER To fortify the project, civil rights groups recruited college students and trained them in nonviolent resistance. Thousands of student volunteers—mostly white, about one-third female—went into Mississippi to help register voters. For some, the job proved deadly. In June 1964, three civil rights workers disappeared in Neshoba County, Mississippi. Investigators later learned that Klansmen and local police had murdered the men, two of whom were white. Through the summer, the racial beatings and murders continued, along with the burning of businesses, homes, and churches.

A NEW POLITICAL PARTY African Americans needed a voice in the political arena if sweeping change was to occur. In order to gain a seat in Mississippi's all-white Democratic Party, SNCC organized the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). **Fannie Lou Hamer**, the daughter of Mississippi sharecroppers, would be their voice at the 1964 Democratic National Convention. In a televised speech that shocked the convention and viewers nationwide, Hamer described how civil rights activists had experienced violence and injustice. She also described how she was jailed after attending a voter registration workshop in 1963 and how police forced other prisoners to beat her.

"The first [prisoner] began to beat [me], and I was beat by the first until he was exhausted. . . . The second [prisoner] began to beat. . . . I began to scream and one white man got up and began to beat me in my head and tell me to 'hush.' . . . All of this on account we want to register, to become first-class citizens, and if the Freedom Democratic Party is not seated now, I question America."

—Fannie Lou Hamer, quoted in
The Civil Rights Movement: An Eyewitness History

In response to Hamer's speech, telegrams and telephone calls poured in to the convention in support of seating the MFDP delegates. President Johnson feared losing the southern white vote if the Democrats sided with the MFDP, so his administration pressured civil rights leaders to convince the MFDP to accept a compromise. The Democrats would give 2 of Mississippi's 68 seats to the MFDP, with a promise to ban discrimination at the 1968 convention.

When Hamer learned of the compromise, she said, "We didn't come all this way for no two seats." The MFDP and supporters in SNCC felt that the leaders had betrayed them.



In the summer of 1964, college students volunteered to go to Mississippi to help register that state's African American voters.

THE SELMA CAMPAIGN At the start of 1965, the SCLC conducted a major voting rights campaign in Selma, Alabama, where SNCC had been working for two years to register voters. By the end of 1965, more than 2,000 African Americans had been arrested in SCLC demonstrations. After a demonstrator named Jimmy Lee Jackson was shot and killed, King responded by announcing a 50-mile protest march from Selma to Montgomery, the state capital. On March 7, 1965, about 600 protesters set out for Montgomery.

That night, mayhem broke out. Once again, television cameras captured the scene. The rest of the nation watched in horror as police swung whips and clubs, and clouds of tear gas swirled around fallen marchers. Demonstrators poured into Selma by the hundreds. Ten days later, President Johnson presented Congress with a new voting rights act and asked for its swift passage.

On March 21, about 3,000 marchers again set out for Montgomery, this time with federal protection. Soon the number grew to an army of 25,000.

EXTENDING VOTING RIGHTS That summer, Congress finally passed Johnson's **Voting Rights Act of 1965**. The act eliminated the so-called literacy tests that had disqualified many voters. It also stated that federal examiners could enroll voters who had been denied suffrage by local officials. In Selma, the proportion of African Americans registered to vote rose from 10 percent in 1964 to 60 percent in 1968. Overall, the percentage of registered African American voters in the South tripled.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH AMENDMENT Another step toward ensuring voting rights for African Americans occurred on January 24, 1964, when South Dakota became the 38th state to ratify the Twenty-Fourth Amendment to the Constitution. The key clause in the amendment reads: "The right of citizens

of the United States to vote in any primary or other election . . . shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State by reason of failure to pay any poll tax or other tax.”

Poll taxes were often used to keep poor African Americans from voting. Although most states had already abolished their poll taxes by 1964, five southern states—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia—still had such laws on the books. By making these laws unconstitutional, the Twenty-Fourth Amendment gave the vote to millions who had been disqualified because of poverty.

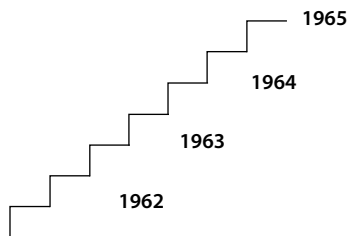
Together, the Twenty-Fourth Amendment and the Voting Rights Act marked a major civil rights victory. These significant policy changes abolished many of the barriers that had prevented African Americans from exercising their constitutionally protected right to vote. However, some felt that the law did not go far enough. Centuries of discrimination had produced social and economic inequalities. Anger over these inequalities led to a series of violent disturbances in the cities of the North.

Reading Check

Compare In what ways was the civil rights campaign in Selma similar to the one in Birmingham?

Lesson 2 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** Use a graphic organizer to list the steps that African Americans took to desegregate buses and schools from 1962 to 1965.



2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
3. **Analyze Issues** What assumptions and beliefs do you think guided the fierce opposition to the civil rights movement in the South? Support your answer with evidence from the text.

Think About:

- the social and political structure of the South
- Mississippi governor Ross Barnett’s comment during his radio address
- the actions of police and some white southerners

4. **Analyze Primary Sources** Just after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed, white Alabama governor George Wallace said,

“It is ironical that this event occurs as we approach the celebration of Independence Day. On that day we won our freedom. On this day we have largely lost it.”

What do you think Wallace meant by his statement?

5. **Develop Historical Perspective** Explain the significance of Martin Luther King Jr.’s “Letter from a Birmingham Jail” and “I Have a Dream” speech.

Challenges and Changes in the Movement

The Big Idea

Disagreements among civil rights groups and the rise of black nationalism created a violent period in the fight for civil rights.

Why It Matters Now

From the fight for equality came a resurgence of racial pride for African Americans, a legacy that influences today's generations.

Key Terms and People

de facto segregation

de jure segregation

Malcolm X

Nation of Islam

Stokely Carmichael

Black Power

Black Panthers

Kerner Commission

Civil Rights Act of 1968

affirmative action

One American's Story

Alice Walker, the prize-winning novelist, became aware of the civil rights movement in 1960, when she was 16. Her mother had recently scraped together enough money to purchase a television.

"Like a good omen for the future, the face of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was the first black face I saw on our new television screen. And, as in a fairy tale, my soul was stirred by the meaning for me of his mission—at the time he was being rather ignominiously dumped into a police van for having led a protest march in Alabama—and I fell in love with the sober and determined face of the Movement."

—Alice Walker, from *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens*



Alice Walker during an interview in New York's Central Park in August 1970

The next year, Walker attended the all-black Spelman College. In 1963 she took part in the March on Washington. She then traveled to Africa to discover her spiritual roots. After returning home in 1964, she worked on voter registration, taught African American history and writing, and wrote poetry and fiction.

Walker's interest in her heritage was part of a growing trend among African Americans in the mid-1960s. But millions of African Americans were still living in poverty. Angry and frustrated over the difficulty in finding jobs and decent housing, some participated in riots that broke out between 1964 and 1966.

African Americans Seek Greater Equality

In the early 1960s civil rights groups were united in their calls for a new-found pride in black identity. They were also committed to changing the social and economic structures that kept people in a life of poverty. However, by 1965 the leading civil rights groups began to drift apart. Some younger leaders felt that the older leaders had made too many compromises. New leaders emerged as the movement turned its attention to the North, where African Americans faced not legal segregation but deeply entrenched and oppressive racial prejudice. State and city governments did not act to address these problems.

NORTHERN SEGREGATION The problem facing African Americans in the North was **de facto segregation**—segregation not supported by laws but continued in practice. De facto segregation can be harder to fight than **de jure** (dē jŏr'ē) **segregation**, or segregation by law, because eliminating it requires changing people's attitudes rather than repealing laws. Activists in the mid-1960s would find it much more difficult to convince whites to share economic and social power with African Americans than to convince them to share lunch counters and bus seats. Just as many southern state governments had resisted ending de jure segregation, local and state governments in all regions often turned a blind eye toward the problems of de facto segregation and economic inequality.

De facto segregation intensified after African Americans migrated to northern cities during and after World War II. This began a “white flight,” in which great numbers of whites moved out of the cities to the nearby suburbs. By the mid-1960s most urban African Americans lived in decaying slums, paying rent to landlords who didn't comply with housing and health ordinances. The schools for African American children deteriorated along with their neighborhoods. Unemployment rates were more than twice as high as those among whites.

In addition, many blacks were angry at the sometimes brutal treatment they received from the mostly white police forces in their communities. In 1966 King spearheaded a campaign in Chicago to end de facto segregation and create an “open city.” On July 10 he led about 30,000 African Americans in a march on City Hall. In late July, when King led demonstrators through a Chicago neighborhood, angry whites threw rocks and bottles. On August 5 hostile whites stoned King as he led 600 marchers. King left Chicago without accomplishing what he wanted, yet pledging to return.

URBAN VIOLENCE ERUPTS In the mid-1960s racial clashes spread like wildfire. In New York City in July 1964, an encounter between white police and African American teenagers ended in the death of a 15-year-old student. This event sparked a six-day race riot in central Harlem. On August 11, 1965, only five days after President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act into law, one of the worst race riots in the nation's history raged through the streets of Watts, a predominantly African American neighborhood in Los Angeles. Thirty-four people were killed. Hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of

Reading Check
Analyze Causes
What were some of
the causes of urban
rioting in the 1960s?

property was destroyed. The next year, 1966, saw even more racial disturbances. And in 1967 alone, riots and violent clashes swept through more than 100 cities.

One of the largest and most notorious riots of 1967 occurred in Detroit. On July 23 police raided an illegal after-hours saloon in one of Detroit's largest African American neighborhoods. The arrest of over 80 occupants of the saloon caused a crowd to gather. Eventually, tensions simmered over, and the crowd became violent. The violence continued for five days, causing the deaths of 43 people and millions of dollars' worth of property damage. Some of the effects of the civil unrest lasted for several years.

The African American rage baffled many whites. "Why would blacks turn to violence after winning so many victories in the South?" they wondered. Some realized that what African Americans wanted and needed was equal opportunity in jobs, housing, and education. Advances in civil rights were happening too slowly. And African Americans were frustrated.

Even before the riots in 1964, President Johnson had announced his War on Poverty, a program to help poor Americans. But the flow of money needed for Johnson's Great Society was soon redirected to fund the war in Vietnam.

New Leaders Voice Discontent

The anger that sent rioters into the streets stemmed in part from African American leaders who urged their followers to take complete control of their communities, livelihoods, and culture. One such leader, **Malcolm X**, declared to a Harlem audience that they were under no obligation to white society.

AFRICAN AMERICAN SOLIDARITY Malcolm X, born Malcolm Little, went to jail at age 20 for burglary. While in prison, he studied the teachings of Elijah Muhammad, the head of the **Nation of Islam**, or the Black Muslims. Malcolm changed his name to Malcolm X (dropping what he called his "slave name") and, after his release from prison in 1952, became an Islamic minister. As he gained a following, the brilliant thinker and engaging speaker

— BIOGRAPHY —

Malcolm X (1925–1965)

Malcolm X's early life left him alienated from white society. White racists allegedly killed his father. His mother had an emotional collapse, leaving Malcolm and his siblings in the care of the state. At the end of eighth grade, Malcolm quit school. He was later jailed for criminal behavior. In 1946, while in prison, Malcolm joined the Nation of Islam. He developed a philosophy of black superiority and separatism from whites.

In the later years of his life, he urged African Americans to identify with Africa. He also urged them to work with world organizations and even progressive whites to attain equality. Although silenced by gunmen, Malcolm X is a continuing inspiration for many Americans.



openly preached Elijah Muhammad's views that whites were the cause of the black condition and that blacks should separate from white society. He also advocated armed self-defense.

The press gave Malcolm X a great deal of publicity because his controversial statements made dramatic news stories. This had two effects. First, his call for armed self-defense frightened most whites and many moderate African Americans. Second, all of the attention Malcolm received awakened resentment in some other members of the Nation of Islam.

BALLOTS OR BULLETS? In March 1964 Malcolm broke with Elijah Muhammad over differences in strategy and doctrine. He then formed another Muslim organization. One month later, he made a pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, a trip required of followers of orthodox Islam. In Mecca, he learned that orthodox Islam preached racial equality, and he worshiped alongside people from many countries. Malcolm wrote of his encounter with Muslims of different races and nationalities, including those who appeared white. When he returned to the United States, his attitude toward whites had changed radically. He explained his new slogan, "Ballots or bullets," to a follower that if they didn't try to use the political system (ballots), they would be forced to resort to violence (bullets). He said he preferred to try to change the system through ballots first.

Because of his split with the Black Muslims, Malcolm believed his life might be in danger. On February 21, 1965, while giving a speech in Harlem, the 39-year-old Malcolm X was shot and killed.

BLACK POWER In early June 1966, tensions that had been building between SNCC and the other civil rights groups finally erupted in Mississippi. Here, James Meredith, the man who had integrated the University of Mississippi, set out on a 225-mile "walk against fear." Meredith planned to walk all the way from the Tennessee border to Jackson. However, he was shot by a white racist and was too injured to continue.

Martin Luther King Jr. of the SCLC, Floyd McKissick of CORE, and **Stokely Carmichael** of SNCC decided to lead their followers in a march to

Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

Black Power

Stokely Carmichael was arrested in Greenwood, Mississippi, during the march to complete Meredith's walk. When he showed up at a rally later, his face swollen from a beating, he electrified the crowd.

"This is the twenty-seventh time I have been arrested—and I ain't going to jail no more! The only way we're gonna stop them white men from whippin' us is to take over. We been saying freedom for six years—and we ain't got nothin'. What we gonna start now is BLACK POWER."

—Stokely Carmichael, quoted in *The Civil Rights Movement: An Eyewitness History*

Analyze Historical Sources

Why do you think Carmichael's message appealed to many African Americans?



The slogan “Black Power” became the battle cry of militant civil rights activists.

Reading Check
Make Inferences
Why was the public reaction to the Black Panthers mixed?

finish what Meredith had started. But it soon became apparent that SNCC and CORE members were quite militant, as they began to shout slogans similar to those of the black separatists who had followed Malcolm X. When King tried to rally the marchers with the refrain of “We Shall Overcome,” many SNCC workers—bitter over the violence they’d suffered during Freedom Summer—began singing, “We shall overrun.”

Black Power, Carmichael said, was a “call for black people to begin to define their own goals . . . [and] to lead their own organizations.” King urged him to stop using the phrase. He believed it would provoke African Americans to violence and antagonize whites. Carmichael refused to compromise. He urged SNCC to stop recruiting whites and to focus on developing African American pride.

BLACK PANTHERS Later that year, another development demonstrated the growing radicalism of some segments of the African American community. In Oakland, California, in October 1966, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale founded a political party known as the **Black Panthers** to fight police brutality in the ghetto. The party advocated self-sufficiency for African American communities, as well as full employment and decent housing. Members maintained that African Americans should be exempt from military service because an unfair number of black youths had been drafted to serve in Vietnam.

Dressed in black leather jackets, black berets, and sunglasses, the Panthers preached self-defense. They also sold copies of the writings of Mao Zedong, leader of the Chinese Communist revolution. Several shootouts occurred between the Panthers and police. And the FBI conducted numerous investigations of group members (sometimes using illegal tactics). Even so, many of the Panthers’ activities—the establishment of daycare centers, free breakfast programs, free medical clinics, assistance to the homeless, and other services—won support in the ghettos.

Though the Black Panthers remained active throughout the 1970s, the group eventually fell apart. Many black Americans objected to the group’s militant tactics. Some Panther leaders tried to shift the group’s focus to more traditional politics, but the Black Panthers had essentially broken up by the early 1980s.

King Is Assassinated

Martin Luther King Jr. objected to the Black Power movement. He believed that preaching violence could only end in grief. King was planning to lead a Poor People’s March on Washington, DC. However, this time the people would have to march without him.

Dr. King seemed to sense that death was near. On April 3, 1968, he addressed a crowd in Memphis, where he had gone to support the city’s striking garbage workers. He predicted that he might not be with his people at the end of their journey to full civil rights. But he told them that he was unafraid, that he knew they would achieve their goals. The next day, as King stood on his hotel balcony, James Earl Ray thrust a high-powered rifle out of a window and squeezed the trigger. King crumpled to the floor.

Vocabulary
polarization
separation into
opposite camps

Reading Check

Analyze Causes
Why do you think
so many African
Americans failed
to heed Robert
Kennedy's plea for
moderation after
Martin Luther King
was assassinated?

The night King died, Robert F. Kennedy was campaigning for the Democratic presidential nomination. Fearful that King's death would spark riots, Kennedy's advisers told him to cancel his appearance in an African American neighborhood in Indianapolis. However, Kennedy attended anyway, making an impassioned plea for nonviolence.

"For those of you who are black—considering the evidence . . . that there were white people who were responsible—you can be filled with bitterness, with hatred, and a desire for revenge. We can move in that direction as a country, in great polarization—black people amongst black, white people amongst white, filled with hatred toward one another.

Or we can make an effort, as Martin Luther King did, to understand and comprehend, and to replace that violence, that stain of bloodshed that has spread across our land, with an effort to understand [with] compassion and love."

—Robert F. Kennedy, from "A Eulogy for Dr. Martin Luther King Jr."

Despite Kennedy's plea, rage over King's death led to the worst urban rioting in U.S. history. Over 100 cities exploded in flames. The hardest-hit cities included Baltimore, Chicago, Kansas City, and Washington, DC. Then, in June 1968 Robert Kennedy himself was assassinated.

King's assassination caused social turmoil and marked a turning point in the fight for civil rights. The Poor People's Campaign continued. But without King's eloquence and leadership, it failed to clearly express its goals and ended in disaster. The SCLC and its role in the movement declined.

The Movement Continues

On March 1, 1968, the **Kerner Commission**, which President Johnson had appointed to study the causes of urban violence, issued its 200,000-word report. In it, the panel named one main cause: white racism. Said the report: "This is our basic conclusion: Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." The report called for the nation to create new jobs, construct new housing, and end de facto segregation in order to wipe out the destructive ghetto environment. However, the Johnson administration ignored many of the recommendations because of white opposition to such sweeping changes. So what had the civil rights movement accomplished?

CIVIL RIGHTS GAINS The civil rights movement ended de jure segregation by bringing about legal protection for the civil rights of all Americans. Congress passed the most important civil rights legislation since Reconstruction, including the **Civil Rights Act of 1968**, which ended discrimination in housing. After school segregation ended, the numbers of African Americans who finished high school and who went to college increased significantly. This in turn led to better jobs and business opportunities.

Another accomplishment of the civil rights movement was to give African Americans greater pride in their racial identity. Many African Americans adopted African-influenced styles and proudly displayed symbols of African history and culture. College students demanded new Black Studies programs so they could study African American history and literature. In the entertainment world, the “color bar” was lowered. African Americans began to appear more frequently in movies and on television shows and commercials.

In addition, African Americans made substantial political gains. By 1970 an estimated two-thirds of eligible African Americans were registered to vote. A significant increase in African American elected officials resulted.

The movement also inspired other groups to seek more rights, including women, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans. Asian Americans led a “yellow power” movement in the 1960s and 1970s, focusing on ending discrimination and promoting the inclusion of ethnic studies in college curriculums.

UNFINISHED WORK The civil rights movement was successful in changing many discriminatory laws. Yet as the 1960s turned to the 1970s, the challenges for the movement changed. The issues it confronted—housing and job discrimination, educational inequality, poverty, and racism—involved the difficult task of changing people’s attitudes and behavior. Some of the proposed solutions, such as more tax monies spent in the inner cities and the forced busing of schoolchildren, angered some whites, who resisted further changes. Public support for the civil rights movement declined because the urban riots and the Black Panthers frightened some whites.

American Literature

Alex Haley

In 1964 American author Alex Haley collaborated with Malcolm X to publish *Autobiography of Malcolm X*, giving Americans new access to the civil rights leader’s thoughts and philosophies. In 1976 Haley published *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*. Haley said he began writing *Roots* after listening to his grandmother talk about the family’s history. The novel told the story of Kunta Kinte, captured in Africa and sold into slavery in the United States, and followed the lives of Kunta’s descendants through the 19th and 20th centuries. The saga earned Haley numerous accolades, including a Pulitzer Prize.

Roots: The Saga of an American Family

“The first time he had taken the massa to one of these “high-falutin’ to-dos,” as Bell called them, Kunta had been all but overwhelmed by conflicting emotions: awe, indignation, envy, contempt, fascination, revulsion—but most of all a deep loneliness and melancholy from which it took him almost a week to recover. He couldn’t believe that such incredible wealth actually existed, that people really lived that way. It took him a long time, and a great many more parties, to realize that they *didn’t* live that way, that it was all strangely unreal, a kind of beautiful dream the white folks were having, a lie they were telling themselves: that goodness can come from badness, that it’s possible to be civilized with one another without treating as human beings those whose blood, sweat, and mother’s milk made possible the life of privilege they led.”

—Alex Haley, from *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*

Analyze American Literature

What is the “beautiful dream” to which Kunta alludes in the passage?

Shirley Chisholm (1924–2005)

African American women such as Shirley Chisholm exemplified the advances won in the civil rights movement. In 1968 Chisholm became the first African American woman in the United States House of Representatives.

In the mid-1960s Chisholm served in the New York state assembly, representing a district in New York City. While there, she supported programs to establish public daycare centers and provide unemployment insurance to domestic workers.

In 1972 Chisholm gained national prominence by running for the Democratic presidential nomination. Despite the fact that she never won more than 10 percent of the vote in the primaries, she controlled 152 delegates at the Democratic convention in Miami.



Vocabulary

quota requirement that a certain number of positions are filled by minorities

Reading Check

Synthesize

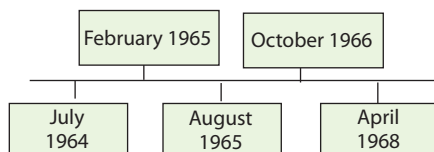
What were some accomplishments of the civil rights movement?

To help equalize education and job opportunities, the government in the 1960s began to promote **affirmative action**. Affirmative-action programs involve making special efforts to hire or enroll groups that have suffered discrimination. This was seen as one way to improve educational and economic opportunities for minorities. Many colleges and almost all companies that do business with the federal government adopted such programs. But in the late 1970s, some people began to criticize affirmative-action programs as “reverse discrimination” that set minority hiring or enrollment quotas and deprived whites of opportunities. The scope of affirmative action would continue to narrow in the 1980s in response to these concerns. The fate of affirmative action is still to be decided.

Today, African Americans and whites interact in ways that could have only been imagined before the civil rights movement. In many respects, Dr. King’s dream has been realized—yet much remains to be done.

Lesson 3 Assessment

- Organize Information** Create a timeline of key events of the civil rights movement.



In your opinion, which event was most significant? Why?

- Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- Analyze Issues** What factors contributed to the outbreak of violence in the fight for civil rights?
Think About:
 - different leaders’ approaches to civil rights issues
 - living conditions in urban areas
 - de facto and de jure segregation
- Compare and Contrast** Compare and contrast the beliefs and civil rights strategies of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr. Whose strategies do you think were more effective? Explain and support your response.

Hispanic and Native Americans Seek Equality

The Big Idea

Hispanic Americans 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 Hispanic Americans and Native Americans.

Key Terms and People

César Chávez

United Farm Workers

Organizing Committee

Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales

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.

“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!’”

—Jessie Lopez de la Cruz, quoted in
Moving the Mountain: Women Working for Social Change



Carrying signs that say “Strike” (*huelga*), Mexican American farm workers protest poor working conditions.

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, Hispanic Americans and Native Americans rose up to assert their own rights and improve their lives.

Reading Check
Identify Problems
What problems did
different groups of
Hispanic American
immigrants share?

The Hispanic American Presence Grows

Hispanic Americans, or Americans of Latin American or Spanish descent, are a large and diverse group. During the 1960s the Hispanic American population in the United States grew from 3 million to more than 9 million. Today, the Hispanic American 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 own pattern of settlement in the United States, and its own set of economic, social, cultural, and political concerns.

Mexican Americans, the largest Hispanic American group, have lived mostly in the Southwest and California. This group includes descendants of the nearly 100,000 Mexicans who had lived in territories Mexico ceded 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, many on New York City's West Side.

Large Cuban communities also formed in New York City, 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 Hispanic Americans encountered ethnic prejudice and discrimination in jobs and housing. Most lived in segregated *barrios*, or Spanish-speaking neighborhoods. The Hispanic American jobless rate was nearly 50 percent higher than that of whites. So too, was the percentage of Hispanic American families living in poverty.

Hispanic Americans Fight for Change

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

THE FARM WORKER MOVEMENT As Jessie Lopez de la Cruz explained, thousands of people 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. Their strength would come from bargaining as a group.

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 sat on one side of the aisle. Mexicans sat 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. He stayed there until the police arrived and arrested him.

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 boycott ultimately proved successful. As Chávez later declared, “To us, the boycott of grapes was the most near-perfect of nonviolent struggles.” By 1969 the boycott had even spread beyond the United States to Great Britain. As people in other European nations also considered joining the boycott, the grape growers faced so much economic pressure that they gave in. 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.

CULTURAL PRIDE The activities of the California farm workers helped to inspire other Hispanic American “brown power” movements across the country. In New York, Puerto Ricans 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.

Some young Mexican Americans began to embrace a form of cultural nationalism similar to the Black Power movement. They called themselves Chicanos or Chicanas—a shortened version 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.

One leading figure in the Chicano movement was **Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales**. In 1966 he 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 increasing 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. The ultimate goal of the Crusade for Justice was to build a unified Chicano community that was empowered to determine its own future.

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 1967 under the leadership of David Sanchez, the Brown Berets began their activism by protesting police brutality in East Los Angeles. Soon the group began to focus on education. They fought for bilingual education, better school conditions, Chicano studies, and more Chicano teachers. In 1968 the Brown Berets organized walkouts in East Los Angeles high schools. About 15,000 Chicano students walked out of class. Their demands included smaller classes, more Chicano teachers and administrators, and programs to reduce the high Hispanic American drop-out rate. Militant Mexican American students also won the establishment of Chicano studies programs at colleges and universities.

Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

Labor Unions

César Chávez firmly believed that unionization was the best way to improve working conditions and wages.

Analyze Historical Sources

What role does Chávez hope that the government will play in labor relations?

“The need is for amendments that will make strong, effective labor unions realistically possible in agriculture. I say ‘realistically possible’ because laws cannot deliver a good union any more than laws can bring an end to poverty. Only people can do that through hard work, sacrifice and dedicated effort. . . . Our cause, our strike and our international boycott are all founded upon the deep conviction that the form of collective self-help which is unionization holds far more hope for the farm worker than any other single approach, . . . The best insurance against strikes and boycotts lies not in repressive legislation, but in strong unions that will satisfy the farmworker’s hunger for decency and dignity and self-respect. Unionization cannot make progress in the face of hostile employer attitudes unless it receives effective governmental support.”

—César Chávez, from a speech before the Senate Subcommittee on Labor,
April 16, 1969

Background

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



La Raza Unida button

Reading Check

Compare and Contrast How was the Chicano movement similar to the Black Power movement?

Vocabulary

homogeneous
uniform or similar throughout

POLITICAL POWER Hispanic Americans 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 Hispanic American political movement. In 1970 he established **La Raza Unida** (The People United, also known as RUP). 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. The party moved to the state level in 1972, backing Ramsey Muñiz for governor and supporting many Chicano candidates for other offices. Although Muñiz did not win his race, La Raza Unida successfully changed the landscape of Texas politics.

The RUP expanded into Colorado and other parts of the Southwest. In New Mexico, Arizona, and California, it registered some 10,000 new voters. The party ran Hispanic American candidates in five states and won races for mayor, as well as other local positions on school boards and city councils. In the late 1970s, disagreements among the RUP leaders caused the party to fall apart. However, for almost a decade, it symbolized growing Chicano power.

While the RUP sought change by running for political office, other Hispanic Americans were more confrontational. In 1963, one-time evangelical preacher Reies Tijerina founded the Alianza Federal de Mercedes (Federal Alliance of Land Grants). Tijerina wanted to reclaim land taken from Mexican landholders in the 1800s. He and his followers raided the Rio Arriba County Courthouse in Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico, to force authorities to recognize the plight of New Mexican small farmers. They were later arrested.

Native Americans Struggle for Equality

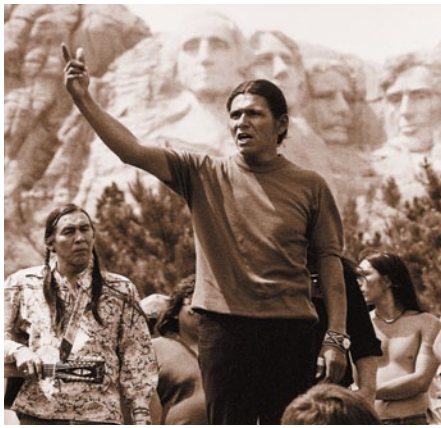
Native Americans are sometimes viewed as one homogeneous group, despite the hundreds of distinct Native American tribes and nations in the United States. One thing these diverse peoples have shared is a mostly bleak existence and a lack of autonomy, or ability to control and govern their own lives. Through 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. 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. The declaration stressed the determination of Native Americans to “choose our own way of life.” It also 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.”



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

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. 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.

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.

“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.’”

—Mary Crow Dog, quoted in *Lakota Women*

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, DC, 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.

Ben Nighthorse Campbell (1933–)

Whereas many Native Americans rejected assimilation, Ben Nighthorse Campbell chose 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. Not since 1929 had a Native American been elected to the Senate. Campbell stated that while he served the entire nation, the



needs of Native Americans would always remain a priority. He retired from the Senate in 2004.

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.

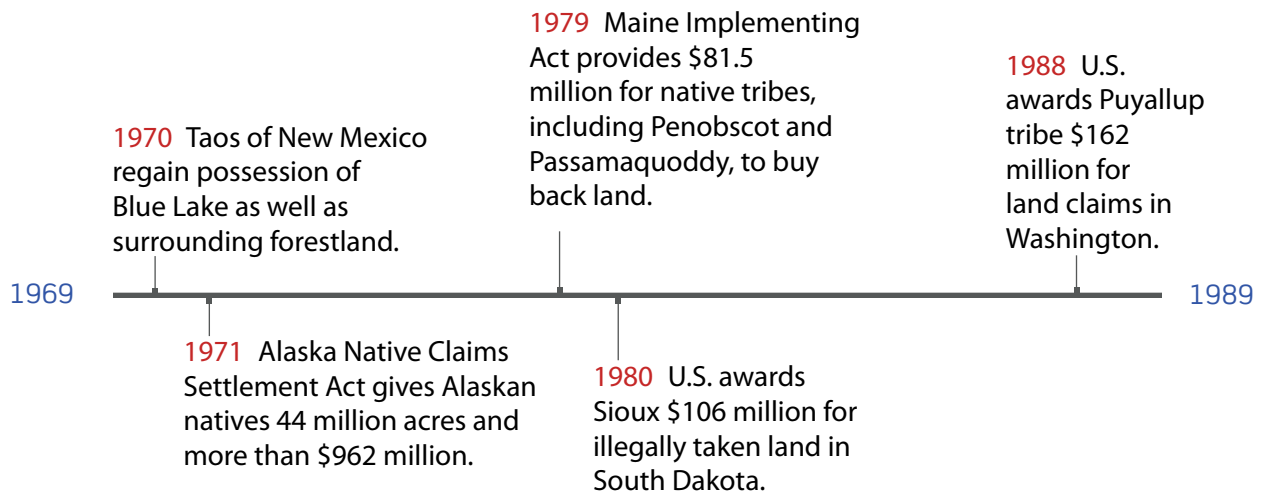
NATIVE AMERICAN VICTORIES In 1924 the Snyder Act had granted full U.S. citizenship to Native Americans born in the United States. However, despite the right of U.S. citizens to vote guaranteed by the Fifteenth Amendment, many states restricted Native American voting rights. It took lawsuits from Native Americans eager to exercise their rights to change the situation.

In 1947 Frank Harrison, a Native American from Maricopa County in Arizona, challenged these restrictions. In the end, the Arizona supreme court ruled unanimously in Harrison's favor, striking down a provision in the state constitution. Soon after, the other states followed Arizona's lead.

In 1962 the last challenge to Native American voting rights was brought in New Mexico when a non-Native American candidate lost an election. He challenged the result, claiming that Native Americans should not have been allowed to vote. However, the state supreme court, which reaffirmed that all Native Americans were U.S. citizens, quickly struck down this challenge. In 1965 the Voting Rights Act, which further strengthened protections for Native Americans and other minorities, finally settled the issue of Native American voting rights.

Congress and the federal courts made additional reforms on behalf of Native Americans in the 1970s. In 1972 Congress passed the Indian Education Act. In 1975 it passed the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. These laws gave tribes greater control over their own affairs and over their children's education.

Native American Legal Victories



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 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.

Reading Check

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

Lesson 4 Assessment

- Organize Information** Create a Venn diagram to show the broad similarities between the issues faced by Hispanic Americans and Native Americans during the 1960s, as well as the unique concerns of the two groups.

A Venn diagram with two overlapping circles. The left circle is labeled 'Hispanic Americans', the right circle is labeled 'Native Americans', and the overlapping area in the center is labeled 'Both'.

Which group do you think had more to gain by fighting for what they wanted?
- Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.
- Evaluate** 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
- Analyze Effects** In what ways did the Hispanic American campaign for economic and social equality affect non-Hispanic Americans?
- Analyze 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?

Reynolds v. Sims (1964)

ORIGINS OF THE CASE

In 1901 seats in the Alabama state legislature were apportioned, or assigned to districts, based on population. By the early 1960s each Alabama county still had the same number of representatives as it did in 1901, even though the populations of the counties had changed. A group of voters sued to make representation proportional to the changed populations. When the suit succeeded, state legislators who were threatened with losing their seats appealed to the Supreme Court.

THE RULING

The Supreme Court upheld the principle of “one person, one vote” and ruled that the equal protection clause required representation in state legislatures to be based on population.

LEGAL REASONING

Prior to *Reynolds*, the Court had already applied the “one person, one vote” principle to federal congressional elections (see Legal Sources). In *Reynolds*, Chief Justice Earl Warren extended this principle to state legislatures. He argued that when representation does not reflect population, some people’s votes are worth more than others’.

“The fundamental principle of representative government in this country is one of equal representation for equal numbers of people, without regard to . . . place of residence within a State. Legislators represent people, not trees or acres. Legislators are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests.”

Warren concluded that Alabama’s apportionment scheme discriminated against people because of where they live.

For these reasons, the Court ruled that any acceptable apportionment plan must provide an equal number of legislative seats for equally populated areas. A plan that does not is unconstitutional because it denies some voters the equal protection of the laws.

LEGAL SOURCES

U.S. CONSTITUTION

U.S. Constitution, Fourteenth Amendment (1868)

“No state shall . . . deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.”

RELATED CASES

Baker v. Carr (1962)

The Court decided that federal courts could settle issues of apportionment. Previously, federal courts had refused to address such issues on the grounds that they were political issues.

Gray v. Sanders (1963)

The Court ruled that states must follow the principle of “one person, one vote” in primary elections.

Wesberry v. Sanders (1964)

The Court applied the “one person, one vote” rule to congressional districts.



Chief Justice Warren (front, center) and members of the 1964 Supreme Court

WHY IT MATTERED

The voters who initiated the suit against Alabama's apportionment were part of America's tremendous urban growth in the 20th century. During and after World War II, tens of thousands of Americans—including large numbers of African Americans—moved from rural areas to cities and suburbs. Voters in Alabama's more urban areas found that they were underrepresented. Likewise, before *Reynolds*, urban residents as a whole paid far more in taxes than they received in benefits. A great deal was at stake.

The "one person, one vote" principle increased the influence of urban residents by forcing legislatures to create new election districts in the cities to reflect their large populations. As more legislators representing urban and suburban needs were elected, they were able to change funding formulas, funneling more money into their districts. In addition, minorities, immigrants, and professionals, who tend to make up a large proportion of urban populations, gained better representation.

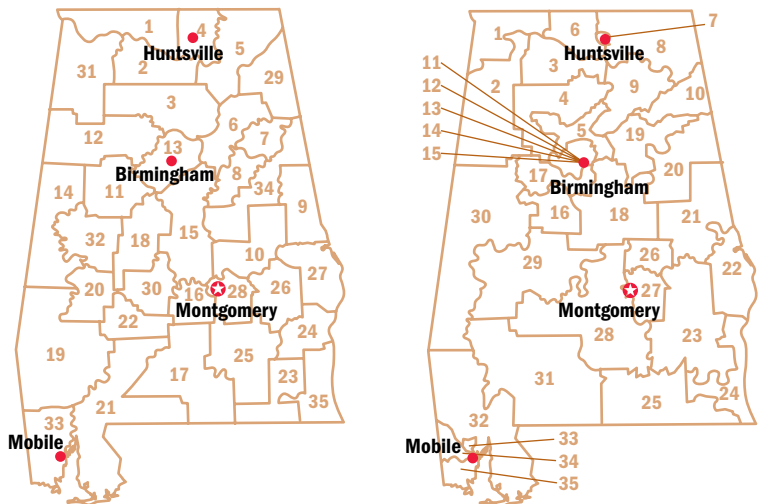
On the other hand, the power of farmers was eroded as election districts in rural areas were combined and incumbents had to campaign against each other for a single seat.

HISTORICAL IMPACT

The Warren Court's reapportionment decisions in *Baker v. Carr*, *Gray v. Sanders*, *Wesberry v. Sanders*, and *Reynolds* were a revolution in U.S. politics. The lawsuit that culminated in the *Reynolds* decision was also part of a broader movement in the 1960s to protect voting rights. Largely because of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, voter registration among African Americans in Mississippi, for instance, climbed from 6.7 percent to 59.8 percent. Viewed together, the combination of increased protection of voting rights and acceptance of the "one person, one vote" principle brought the United States several steps closer to fulfilling its democratic ideals.

In the 1990s the Court revisited reapportionment. A 1982 act of Congress had required states to create districts with "minority majorities" in order to increase the number of nonwhite representatives. As a result, following the 1990 census, a record number of African Americans were elected to Congress. But opponents contended that defining districts by race violated equal protection and "one person, one vote." In a series of decisions, the Court agreed and abolished minority districting.

These two apportionment maps show Alabama's 35 state senatorial districts in 1901 (left) and 1973 (right). The 1973 map shows how the districts were redrawn after the *Reynolds* decision, based on the 1970 census. Notice how the 1973 map reflects the growth of Alabama cities.



Critical Thinking

1. Connect to History Use Internet resources to research minority redistricting decisions such as *Shaw v. Hunt* (1996). Write a summary of the rulings and how they have affected elections.

2. Connect to Today Obtain a map of the state legislative districts in your state. Then compare the map created following the 2010 census with the map based on the 1990 census. Study the differences in the size and location of the districts. Write a paragraph explaining which regions of the state gained representatives and which lost representatives.

Women Fight for Equality

The Big 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.

Key Terms and People

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."

"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?'"



Betty Friedan, November 1967

—Betty Friedan, from *The Feminine Mystique*

During the 1960s women answered Friedan's question with a resounding "no." In increasing numbers, they joined the nation's African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and Asian 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 photograph, taken in 1966, shows the typical office roles at the time—women working as data processors, supervised by male managers.

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. A scientific development in 1960 helped even more women enter the workplace—the birth control pill was approved for contraceptive use. This gave women new choices. Women who wanted to avoid pregnancy or postpone having children in order to start a career now had that freedom. By 1963 nearly one-third of American workers were women.

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. The Equal Pay Act was signed into law in 1963 as part of Kennedy’s New Frontier program, requiring employers to pay men and women equal salaries for the same work. Still, 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. This was not the first time this situation occurred. Women such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony had been active in the abolitionist movement. When they tried to assert women’s rights, they were rejected by the male leaders of the abolitionist movement.

Within some 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. They were told that there were more important issues to discuss than “women’s liberation.”

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.

Vocabulary
ideological
concerned with a
certain set of ideas

“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.”

—Robin Morgan, quoted in *Sisterhood Is Powerful: An Anthology of Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement*

Reading Check

Analyze Effects

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 bestseller. Housewives who were part of the major population shift from cities to the suburbs in the 1950s were asking themselves the same questions as Friedan. Her book 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. Title VII of the act, which focused on employment discrimination, 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.”

NOW members pushed for the creation of childcare 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. The

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."



organization'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 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.

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 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.

Numerous legal changes paralleled these changes in attitude. In 1972 Congress expanded the powers of the EEOC and gave working parents a tax break for childcare expenses. That same year, Congress passed Title IX, a ban on gender discrimination in "any education program or activity receiving federal financial assistance," as part of the Higher Education Act.

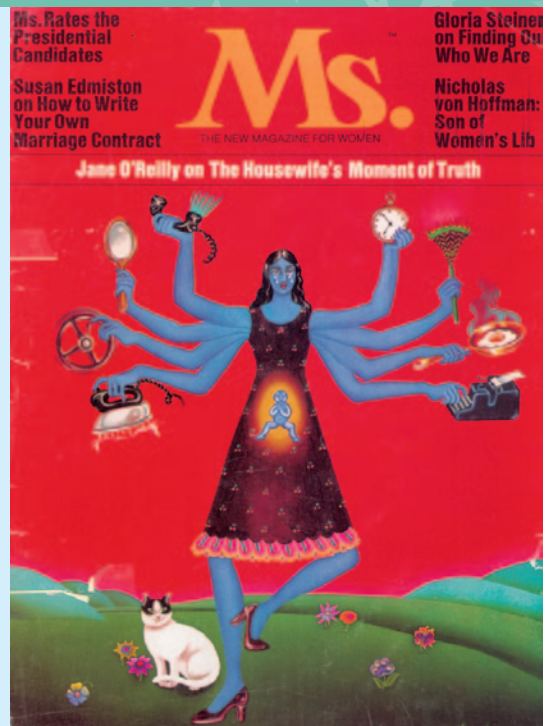
Document-Based Investigation Historical Source

Ms. Magazine

In 1972 Gloria Steinem and other women created a new women's magazine, *Ms.*, designed to treat contemporary issues from a feminist perspective. On the cover of this 1972 issue of *Ms.*, the woman shown has eight arms and is holding a different object in each hand.

Analyze Historical Sources

1. What do you think these objects symbolize in terms of women's roles?
2. What do you think this drawing says about women in the 1960s? Explain.



Title IX had a tremendous effect on women's access to higher education. All-male colleges opened their doors to women, and more and more female students began to enroll in colleges and universities in the years to follow. By 1979 women outnumbered men on college campuses. Today, women make up about 57 percent of the total college population.

Athletics, especially at the collegiate level, also felt the impact of Title IX. Prior to the 1970s, funding for women's athletics was almost nonexistent. Female athletes didn't begin receiving athletic scholarships until 1973. As a result of Title IX, female participation in intercollegiate sports increased. In 1972 approximately 21 percent of all college athletes were female, and that percentage climbed to almost 43 percent by 2012. This also affected interest in participation in high school athletics, and female participation in high school sports rose from 294,000 in 1971 to nearly 3 million in 2006.

Gains in equality were also made in the U.S. military. Although Truman signed the Women's Armed Forces Integration Act in 1948, allowing women to serve as full members of the armed services, women were not allowed to serve in certain roles or to serve in the same units as men. These restrictions began to change in the 1970s. Pilot training in the army and the navy opened to women in 1972, and the Air Force began training female pilots in 1976. West Point military academy accepted its first group of female cadets in 1976. In 1977 women in the army began training in the same basic training units as men, and in 1979 the military's enlistment qualifications changed to be the same for men and women. However, women were barred from combat units until 2013.

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 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 a woman's health. They argued that many women would otherwise resort to inept, "back-alley" practitioners who often botched the procedure, endangering the life of the patient.

Many people opposed the decision because of religious or moral beliefs that all life, including that of a fetus, 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 Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution.

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 antifeminists, 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." However, supporters of the ERA argued that women's rights were compromised without the protection of the amendment.

"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."

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

Phyllis Schlafly in 1977



Reading Check Form

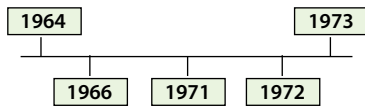
Generalizations
What gains did the women's movement make by the early 1970s?

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.

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 1982—the deadline for ratification—not enough states had approved the amendment. The ERA went down in defeat.

Lesson 5 Assessment

1. **Organize Information** Create a timeline of key events relating to the women’s movement.



Explain which event you think best demonstrates progressive reform.

2. **Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

3. **Draw Conclusions** 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. **Analyze Effects** What were the successes and failures of the women’s movement in the 1960s and 1970s?

The Struggle Continues

The Big Idea

In the decades that followed the civil rights and equal rights movements, groups and individuals continued to pursue equal rights for all Americans.

Why It Matters Now

Issues involving equal rights and equal opportunities continue to challenge American society.

Key Terms and People

Barack Obama

L. Douglas Wilder

Colin Powell

Condoleezza Rice

Sonia Sotomayor

Madeleine Albright

pay equity

Stonewall riots

Americans with Disabilities Act

One American's Story

In 2008 President **Barack Obama** was elected the 44th president of the United States of America, becoming the first African American to hold the office. In 2013, during his second term in office, the country celebrated the 50th anniversary of the March on Washington. From the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, Obama praised the courage of those who fought for equal rights. He pointed to the progress made and victories won. But he also acknowledged that the work started by civil rights pioneers should not be considered complete.

“The arc of the moral universe may bend towards justice, but it doesn’t bend on its own. To secure the gains this country has made requires constant vigilance, not complacency. Whether by challenging those who erect new barriers to the vote, or ensuring that the scales of justice work equally for all, and the criminal justice system is not simply a pipeline from underfunded schools to overcrowded jails, it requires vigilance. And we’ll suffer the occasional setback. But we will win these fights.”

—Barack Obama, from a speech commemorating the March on Washington, August 28, 2013



At the Let Freedom Ring ceremony, President Obama marks the 50th anniversary of the March on Washington.

As the United States entered the 21st century, many groups of Americans were working toward recognition and protection of their civil rights. For some, the struggle had begun decades before. For others, the process had only recently begun.

The Fight for Rights Continues

During the height of the civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s, African Americans, Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and others had made tremendous strides. All had moved toward gaining full equality under the law. However, they had not yet fully achieved their goals. In the decades that followed, members of these and other groups continued their crusade, often in the face of lingering opposition.

AFRICAN AMERICANS African Americans made striking political gains during the 1980s. By the mid-1980s African American mayors governed many cities, including Los Angeles, Detroit, Chicago, Atlanta, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and Washington, DC. Hundreds of communities in both the North and the South had elected African Americans to serve as sheriffs, school board members, state legislators, and members of Congress. The Reverend Jesse Jackson ran for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984 and 1988, winning a few state primaries. In 1990 **L. Douglas Wilder** of Virginia became the nation's first African American governor since Reconstruction. He was the first African American in U.S. history to be elected—not appointed—to the position. The number of African Americans holding elected office grew from fewer than 100 in 1965 to more than 7,000 in 1992. Since the early 1990s, several African Americans have held key positions in the federal government. Both **Colin Powell** and **Condoleezza Rice** served as secretary of state under President George W. Bush. In 2008 Barack Obama made history as the first African American to be elected president. In doing so, he inspired countless Americans of all ethnicities and backgrounds to believe that they could achieve their dreams.



Jesse Jackson campaigns for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1984.

Despite these great political gains, African Americans on the whole have not fared as well economically since the 1980s. While middle-class African Americans often held professional and managerial positions, the poor faced an uncertain future of diminishing opportunities. In 1989 the newly conservative Supreme Court handed down a series of decisions that continued to change the nation's course on economic equality. In the case of *Richmond v. J. A. Croson Company*, for example, the Court further limited the scope of affirmative action, policies that had been designed to correct the effects of discrimination against minority groups or women. The Court found that claims of past discrimination were not enough to justify the racial quotas that the city of Richmond, Virginia, had put into effect for granting city contracts and other business. Other Court decisions outlawed contracts set aside for

Affirmative Action

Affirmative action refers to the effort to provide education and employment opportunities for historically disadvantaged groups, such as women and racial and ethnic minorities. The federal government first instituted affirmative-action policies under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Presidents Reagan and Bush actively opposed affirmative action and racial quotas. Today, the future of affirmative action is uncertain. In 2001 President Bush expressed support for equal

opportunity. But civil rights groups denounced his first attorney general, John Ashcroft, in part because of his anti-affirmative action record. Several state governments have acted to ban affirmative-action practices, actions that the Supreme Court has upheld. In 2003 the Supreme Court protected the University of Michigan's race-conscious admissions policy. But in 2007 initiative campaigns to prohibit affirmative action were active in several states. In 2013 and 2014 Supreme Court decisions reversed the earlier Michigan decision and effectively banned racial considerations in university admissions.

minority businesses. Sylvester Monroe, an African American correspondent for *Newsweek* magazine, commented on the way in which some African Americans saw the backlash against affirmative action.

“There’s a finite pie and everybody wants his piece. Everybody is afraid of losing his piece of the pie. That’s what the fight against affirmative action is all about. People feel threatened. As for blacks, they’re passé. They’re not in any more. Nobody wants to talk about race.”

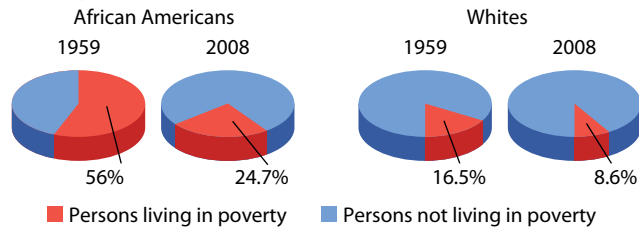
—Sylvester Monroe, quoted in *The Great Divide*

The 1980s and 1990s also witnessed a reversal in the trend toward school integration. As whites moved out of many cities into the suburbs, the remaining urban populations were largely African American. As a result, by 1996–1997, 28 percent of blacks in the South and 50 percent of blacks in the Northeast were attending schools with fewer than 10 percent whites. Still, African Americans have made tremendous gains in education since the civil rights movement. While a high percentage of African American students once dropped out of high school, today the percentage finishing high school is only a few points lower for African Americans than for white Americans. Still, some negative trends in education have potentially far-reaching consequences. Although more African Americans attend college today than in the 1960s, the percentage of these students who graduate is only about half of that of white Americans. This disparity contributes to a substantial income and employment gap between African Americans and whites. This has had a significant impact on black children, about 30 percent of whom live in poverty.

Although incidents of racial violence are not as common in the United States as they once were, they still occur. One such riot began in Los Angeles in 1992 after white police officers beat a black motorist, Rodney King. More than 50 people were killed in the rioting, which destroyed more than \$1 billion worth of property. More recently, the 2014 shooting of a young black man in Ferguson, Missouri, led to several days of protesting, looting, and violence.

Changes in Poverty and Education

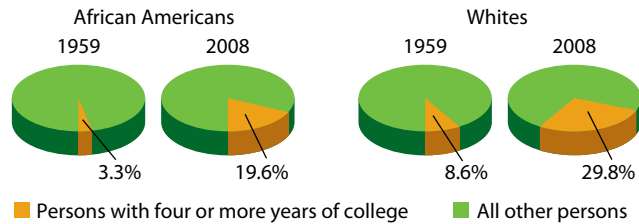
Poverty Status¹



¹Persons in families

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census

College Education²



²Persons 25 years of age or older

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census

Interpret Graphs

1. Did the economic situation for African Americans get better or worse between 1959 and 2008?
2. About how much greater was the percentage of whites completing four or more years of college in 1959 than the percentage of African Americans?

Faced with continued challenges, many African American leaders are working to improve conditions for black Americans. Such organizations as the National Urban League strive to empower African Americans through leadership and education programs. African Americans are also working to improve education, health care, and the criminal justice system. At the ceremony celebrating the 50th anniversary of Dr. King's March on Washington, civil rights leaders named three areas that they believe still need to be addressed. These include the gap between rich and poor, efforts to restrict voters' access to the polls, and discrimination in the criminal justice system. Martin Luther King III, the son of Dr. King, has said that more work needs to be done to achieve his father's vision of a country free of racial prejudice.

Today's civil rights workers hope to bring about as much progress as was made a half-century ago. They are taking up the cause of justice and equality with new tools. They use the Internet and social media to spread their message. Technology has allowed them to register student voters electronically and file online petitions in response to key issues.

GAINS FOR HISPANIC AMERICANS During the 1980s Hispanic Americans became the fastest-growing minority in the United States. By 1990 they constituted almost 9 percent of the population. And demographers estimated that Hispanic Americans would soon outnumber African Americans as the nation's largest minority group. About two out of three Hispanic Americans were Mexican Americans, who lived mostly in the Southwest. A Puerto Rican

Vocabulary

demographer a person who studies the characteristics of human population, such as growth, density, and distribution

community thrived in the Northeast, and a Cuban population was concentrated in Florida. Like African Americans, Hispanic Americans gained political power during the 1980s. Toney Anaya became governor of New Mexico, while Robert Martinez became governor of Florida. In August 1988 President Reagan appointed Lauro Cavazos as secretary of education. In 1990 President Bush named Dr. Antonia Coello Novello to the post of surgeon general. In 2009 **Sonia Sotomayor** became the first Hispanic justice to serve on the U.S. Supreme Court.

Many Hispanic Americans worked to preserve their cultures within the United States. For example, they supported bilingual education. They feared that abandoning Spanish would weaken their distinctive culture. In the words of Daniel Villanueva, a television executive, “We want to be here, but without losing our language and our culture. They are a richness, a treasure that we don’t care to lose.” The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and the 1975 amendment to the Voting Rights Act enabled Spanish speakers to attend school and vote in their own language. But by the mid-1980s, opposition to bilingualism was rising. Critics argued that it slowed the rate at which Spanish-speaking people entered mainstream American life. They also feared that the nation would become split between English speakers and Spanish speakers.

By the 1990s some Americans had grown concerned about the rapid growth of the Hispanic population in the United States. Many of their concerns stemmed from the number of Latin American immigrants who entered the United States illegally in search of jobs. These undocumented workers, opponents claim, take jobs from U.S. citizens and cost the government millions of dollars each year. To combat this issue, many Americans began calling for better border security, particularly between the United States and Mexico. Some states took action as well. For example, in 2010 Arizona passed a law that enhanced state and local police authority to enforce federal immigration laws. Unfortunately, the protest against illegal immigration affected many Hispanic American citizens as well. Even some Hispanic Americans whose families had been living in the United States for hundreds of years faced increased discrimination.

In 2004 some anti-immigrant activists began organizing along the U.S.–Mexico border. Groups who supported immigrant rights held rallies to counter those activists. In 2006 Latin American immigrants and their supporters began holding demonstrations across the country in support of immigrant rights. They also protested the growing hostility toward undocumented workers. In May 2006 some Hispanic immigrants took part in an event called A Day Without Immigrants. For one day they boycotted work, school, and shopping areas to remind people of the importance of immigrants to the U.S. economy.

In the discussion of Hispanic civil rights, immigration reform remains one of the most important and most polarizing issues. The president and leaders from both parties in Congress continue to debate the issue. But it has been difficult to reach agreement among all the different groups involved. Meanwhile, advocacy organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) continue to work for equal rights and equal opportunities for Hispanic Americans.

NATIVE AMERICANS SPEAK OUT Native Americans also became more self-conscious of their dignity and more demanding of their rights. In the 1970s they organized schools to teach young Native Americans about their past. They also began to fight for the return of ancestral lands wrongfully taken from them.

During the 1980s the Reagan administration slashed federal aid to Native Americans for health, education, and other services. Driven to find new sources of revenue, many Native Americans campaigned for the right to build gambling casinos on their land as a way to bring in money. After the Supreme Court ruled in favor of Native Americans, many tribes opened Las Vegas-style casinos, which provided additional funding for the tribes that operated them. Nonetheless, gambling casinos have not solved the long-term problems faced by Native Americans, although the new wealth has helped improve conditions to some extent.

One issue still facing many Native American groups is a lack of federal recognition. Currently, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a division of the Department of the Interior, recognizes more than 560 distinct Native American groups. This recognition entitles the groups to receive funding and special protections from the government. Federal recognition also grants the right to establish self-government. Hundreds more groups from all around the country have petitioned the government for federal recognition and are still awaiting determination of their status.

AN EXPANDING ASIAN AMERICAN POPULATION Since 1980 Asian Americans have been among the fastest growing minorities in the United States. By 1982 Asian Americans constituted 3.25 percent of the U.S. population. By 2011 that number had grown to 5.8 percent, a population of more than 18.2 million people. The Asian American population today includes immigrants and the descendants of immigrants from nearly every country in Asia.

Unlike some other minority groups, Asian Americans did not conduct their own extensive civil rights movement. However, they did benefit from many of the gains made during the movements of the 1960s and 1970s. For example, the same law that ended the ban on interracial marriage for African Americans also allowed Asian Americans to marry whomever they chose. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 protected the voting rights of Asian Americans in addition to those of other groups. Also, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 lifted quotas on the number of immigrants allowed into the United States from Asian countries.

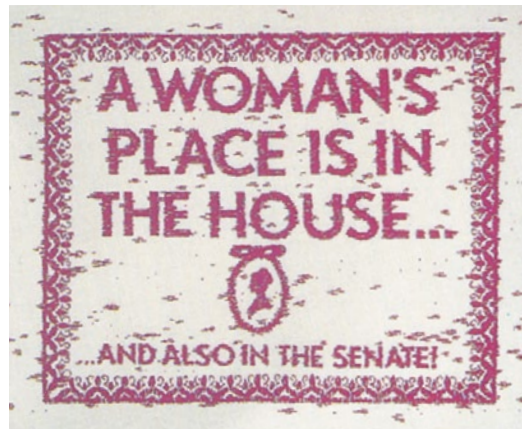
Before the 1980s few people thought of themselves as Asian American. Instead, they considered themselves members of individual nationalities: Chinese American, Indian American, and so on. However, a terrible crime in 1982 helped create a sense of Asian American community nationwide. In that year, white autoworkers killed a Chinese American man in Detroit. Upset by the success of the Japanese auto industry and its effects on American companies, the workers attacked the man, whom they wrongly assumed had Japanese ancestry. News of the killing spread through the country, shocking people of all Asian backgrounds. As a result of this terrible incident, people of various backgrounds came together to protest discrimination against Asian Americans.

Reading Check

Analyze Issues

What political gains did African Americans make during the 1980s?

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



Some Asian Americans have also been the targets of violence because of their religion. After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, several Sikhs—mostly people of South Asian descent—and Sikh temples were attacked. In most cases, the Sikhs were mistaken for Muslims by people who knew little about the religion. The attacks were part of a wave of violence and discrimination against Muslims (and those perceived as Muslims) and Arab Americans by people who held all Muslims responsible for the 2001 attacks.

Despite incidents of discrimination, Asian Americans have largely thrived economically and socially. For example, 2006 statistics indicate that 49 percent of all Asian Americans over the age of 25 have college degrees, a much higher percentage than the 28.6 percent of white Americans with college educations. Partially because of this educational success, the median income for Asian American families was about \$16,000 higher than the median for other American households. In addition, Asian Americans generally have low crime rates, low school dropout rates, and low divorce rates. For these reasons, Asian Americans have sometimes been called a “model minority.”

However, many Asian Americans dispute the model minority label, arguing that it hides the real issues they face. The Asian American community is not without its challenges. Although poverty rates are low among Americans with Chinese or Japanese ancestry, those with Southeast Asian backgrounds have experienced above average poverty rates. In addition, some Southeast Asian immigrant groups, especially Hmong and Cambodian Americans, generally have lower education levels than other immigrants. But these issues are frequently overlooked by those who see only Asian American successes.

The Equal Rights Struggle

The failure of the Equal Rights Amendment in 1982 was a setback for the women’s rights movement. That failure, however, was not the end of the movement. Since the 1980s women have continued to campaign to improve their political and economic situations.

POLITICAL GAINS With the failure of the Equal Rights Amendment, women’s organizations began to concentrate on electing women to public office. More women candidates began to run for office, including offices at the

highest levels of government. By 1983 women held 13.5 percent of elected state offices as well as 24 seats in the U.S. Congress. In 1984 the Democrats chose Geraldine Ferraro as their vice-presidential candidate. She had spoken of the necessity for women to continue working for equal opportunities in American society.

“It is not just those of us who have reached the top who are fighting this daily battle. It is a fight in which all of us—rich and poor, career and home oriented, young and old—participate, simply because we are women.”

—Geraldine Ferraro, quoted in *Vital Speeches of the Day*

In the November 1992 election, the number of women in the House of Representatives increased to 47, and the number of female senators tripled—from two to six. By 2009 those numbers had risen to 73 women in the House and 17 in the Senate. In 2007 Nancy Pelosi of California became the first female Speaker of the House. Several women had also served in key cabinet positions. Among them was **Madeleine Albright**, the first female secretary of state, appointed by President Bill Clinton in 1997. Four women—Sandra Day O'Connor, Ruth Bader Ginsburg, Sonia Sotomayor, and Elena Kagan—have sat on the Supreme Court. Nevertheless, women remained underrepresented in political affairs.

INEQUALITY In 1961 President John F. Kennedy had named a commission to study the status of women in the workplace. Its report revealed that employers paid women less than men for equal work. The report also said that women were rarely promoted to top positions in their fields.

Several factors contributed to what some called the “feminization of poverty.” By the early 2000s about 60 percent of the nation’s women worked outside the home, making up 47 percent of the American work force. Yet women earned only about 75 cents for every dollar men earned. Female college graduates earned only slightly more than male high school graduates. Also, about 31 percent of female heads of households lived in poverty. Among African American women, the poverty rate was even higher. New trends in divorce settlements aggravated the situation. Because of no-fault divorce, fewer women won alimony payments, and the courts rarely enforced the meager child support payments they awarded.

To close the income gap that left so many women poor, women’s organizations and unions proposed a system of **pay equity**. Jobs would be rated on the basis of the amount of education they required, the amount of physical strength needed to perform them, and the number of people that an employee supervised. Instead of relying on traditional pay scales, employers would establish pay rates that reflected each job’s requirements. By 1989, 20 states had begun adjusting government jobs to offer pay equity for jobs of comparable worth. In 2009 Congress passed the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act. The new law amended Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibited discrimination in hiring. The new act provided federal protection against pay discrimination as well.

Women also fought for improvements in the workplace. Since many working women headed single-parent households or had children under the age of six, they pressed for family benefits. Government and corporate benefit packages began to include maternity leaves, flexible hours and workweeks, job sharing, and work-at-home arrangements. Individual firms launched some of these changes, while others required government intervention. Yet the Reagan administration sharply cut the budget for federally-funded daycare and other similar programs.

Women have made great strides in recent decades. In 2002 they filled half of all jobs in managerial and professional specialty areas. Women have also been entering new fields, including construction work and equipment repair. The increase in the number of women in managerial and other professional jobs has helped change and shape American culture.

Reading Check
Summarize What steps did women take to help them move forward after the ERA failed to pass?

Despite these positive signs, the key issues of unequal pay and unequal representation remain. Women are still making less than their male counterparts—averaging only 77 cents for every dollar men earn.

In the nation's most top-level jobs, men continue to vastly outnumber women. As of 2007 women headed only ten Fortune 500 companies. Very few women who became corporate officers held line positions, jobs with profit-and-loss responsibility. In 2005 women held only 10.6 percent of line positions.

Civil Rights for All

Civil rights and equality are not issues only for racial or ethnic minorities and women. Since the 1960s, members of various groups in the United States have worked to secure the protection of their rights under state and federal law.

LGBT RIGHTS Among the groups that fought for civil rights was the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender, or LGBT, community. In the 1940s LGBT Americans were banned from working for the federal government or serving in the military. Members of the community were also frequent targets of discrimination and police harassment. In 1969 New York City police officers raided the Stonewall Inn, a popular LGBT gathering spot. Angry patrons clashed with the police. And the confrontation sparked several days of riots in the neighborhood of Greenwich Village. The **Stonewall riots** are credited as the beginning of the LGBT rights movement.

During the 1970s and 1980s, members of the LGBT community began to fight openly for civil rights. Direct action groups sprang up throughout the country, calling for an end to antigay discrimination. Some people condemned this activism but were unable to slow the pace of change. By the early 1990s, several states and more than 100 local communities had outlawed such discrimination. In 1994 the U.S. government implemented the “Don’t Ask,



A LGBT rights march in Washington, DC, October 1987

Don't Tell" policy. While openly LGBT individuals were still banned from serving in the military, the new policy forbade military officials from asking about an individual's orientation.

The LGBT rights movement in the United States has made great strides toward equal rights and opportunities in recent years. For instance, after years of protesting the U.S. military's policies regarding gay soldiers, the "Don't Ask, Don't Tell" policy was repealed in September 2011. For the first time, military service was open to LGBT individuals.

One major area of focus for LGBT activists and many other American citizens has been obtaining and protecting legal rights for same-sex couples who want to get married. LGBT rights activists and groups such as Marriage Equality USA used education, outreach, and media campaigns to advocate for the legalization of same-sex marriage in the United States. Although 37 states and the District of Columbia had legalized same-sex marriage by mid-2015, several states passed laws banning same-sex unions. On June 26, 2015, the Supreme Court issued a ruling stating that it is illegal for states to ban same-sex marriage, effectively making same-sex marriages legal everywhere in the United States.

RIGHTS FOR AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES Another group that has had to campaign for protection of their rights are Americans with disabilities, a group that includes more than 56.7 million people. The term *disability* covers a wide range of conditions, including physical disabilities; chronic health impairments; mental illness; and visual, hearing, or speech impairments. Disabilities vary in severity.

In addition to dealing with health issues, many Americans with disabilities have had to deal with prejudice and discrimination, especially in employment. A common challenge facing Americans with disabilities is the stereotypical belief that disabilities limit their ability to perform productive work. As a result, people with disabilities have historically had trouble finding meaningful, well-paid jobs.

For decades, disability rights activists have struggled to gain the civil rights granted to other groups. Over the years, their efforts have resulted in legislation to protect many rights. The Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975, for example, guaranteed access to educational facilities and learning opportunities for children with disabilities. The Fair Housing Amendments Act, passed in 1988, protected persons with disabilities from discrimination in housing.

The most significant legislation protecting the rights of people with disabilities was the **Americans with Disabilities Act** (ADA), signed by President George H. W. Bush in 1990. The ADA addresses the rights of people with disabilities in four main areas: employment, public services, public accommodations, and telecommunications. The act outlawed all discrimination against people with disabilities. It required state and local government programs, public transportation vehicles, and businesses that serve the public to be made accessible to Americans with disabilities.

The ADA has improved opportunities for people with disabilities, but their struggle is not yet over. Finding rewarding work is still a challenge for many.

Americans with Disabilities Act

On July 26, 1990, President George H. W. Bush signed the Americans with Disabilities Act into law. He spoke to the crowd gathered on the White House lawn about the importance of the act and the new freedoms it would provide.

"With today's signing of the landmark Americans [with] Disabilities Act, every man, woman, and child with a disability can now pass through once-closed doors into a bright new era of equality, independence, and freedom. . . . I remember clearly how many years of dedicated commitment have gone into making this historic new civil rights act a reality. It's been the work of a true coalition, a strong and inspiring coalition of people who have shared both a dream and a passionate determination to make that dream come true . . . a joining of Democrats and Republicans, of the legislative and the executive branches, of Federal and State agencies, of public

officials and private citizens, of people with disabilities and without.

This act . . . will ensure that people with disabilities are given the basic guarantees for which they have worked so long and so hard: independence, freedom of choice, control of their lives, the opportunity to blend fully and equally into the rich mosaic of the American mainstream. Legally, it will provide our disabled community with a powerful expansion of protections. . . . It will guarantee fair and just access to the fruits of American life which we all must be able to enjoy."

—George H. W. Bush, from a speech on July 26, 1990

Analyze Historical Sources

Explain why it takes a coalition such as the groups President Bush lists to create a new civil rights law.

STUDENTS' CIVIL RIGHTS In an age of social media, many questions have arisen about students' rights to expression and free speech. In recent years, students have been punished or suspended for comments made about classes, teachers, or other students online.

The debate about students' rights goes back several decades. In the 1960s, two key Supreme Court decisions set precedents for determining what freedoms students enjoyed. The first, *Engel v. Vitale* (1962), ruled that students could not be required to participate in school-sponsored prayer. The case stemmed from a challenge to a New York state law that required public schools to open each day with a nondenominational prayer. Although students could opt out of participating in this prayer, a group of parents filed suit, claiming that the law violated the First Amendment protection of freedom of religion. In the end, the Supreme Court agreed, and the law was struck down.

The Supreme Court reaffirmed students' First Amendment protections again in *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District* (1969). After a group of students was expelled for wearing black armbands in protest of the Vietnam War, they sued the school district, claiming their right to

Supreme Court Rulings on Student Rights

Case	Decision
<i>Engel v. Vitale</i> (1962)	Students cannot be required to participate in religious displays at school, even if the displays are nondenominational.
<i>Tinker v. Des Moines</i> (1969)	Students retain the right to free expression at school. Freedom of expression extends to symbolic speech as well as actual words.
<i>New Jersey v. T.L.O.</i> (1985)	Student lockers can be searched, as long as school officials have reasonable suspicion of wrongdoing.
<i>Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier</i> (1988)	The contents of student newspapers can be limited with a valid educational reason for doing so.

free speech had been restricted. The Supreme Court agreed. Ruling that First Amendment protection extends not only to spoken words but also to “symbolic speech,” or actions, the Court established the right of public school students to express political opinions at school.

In the years since the *Tinker* decision, the Supreme Court has clarified students’ right of expression. In 1986 the Court ruled that disruptive or indecent speech was not protected. *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier* (1988) determined that student newspapers did not enjoy the same level of First Amendment protection as professional journalism. Schools could restrict the contents of student newspapers if there were a compelling educational reason for doing so. Furthermore, in 2007, the Court determined that schools could, within limits, restrict student speech at school-sponsored events.

Personal privacy has also been a key civil rights concern for students. Court decisions have determined that students have the right to privacy at school, but within limits. For example, the 1985 case *New Jersey v. T.L.O.* ruled that student lockers could be searched, but only if the school had a reasonable suspicion of wrongdoing. Random locker searches, however, violated student rights. In 1995 the Court ruled that students could not refuse to take drug tests mandated for participation in school athletics programs. Because the programs were optional, the Court ruled, the drug tests were not a violation of privacy. More recent cases have addressed the issue of students’ online activity and whether schools have the right to monitor activity that takes place away from school grounds. Supporters of such monitoring say they are working to protect school and student security. Opponents compare the monitoring to illegal searches of student backpacks or possessions. As online activity increases, such debates will likely become more common.

THE RIGHTS OF NEW IMMIGRANTS As debates over immigration have heated up in recent years, some groups have begun campaigns to protect the civil rights of recent arrivals to the country. Over the last few decades, debates in Congress and state legislatures have addressed the issue.



Pro-immigration supporters take part in a rally held by the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) in Dallas, Texas.

Reading Check

Form

Generalizations

How has the federal government worked to protect the rights of students and Americans with disabilities?

In 1980 Congress passed the Refugee Act, which made it easier for immigrants fleeing political turmoil or violence to settle in the country. The act supported English language education, promoted economic self-sufficiency, and banned gender discrimination in these programs. By the mid-1990s, however, the government had imposed new restrictions on immigration. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, for example, required that all immigrants seeking jobs prove their immigration status. In addition, the act increased the number of border patrols along the U.S.–Mexico border.

New laws passed in 1996 further limited the civil rights of immigrants. The new laws created a mandatory detention policy for immigrants with prior criminal records, even if their offenses were old or minor. Even immigrants with misdemeanor offenses faced potentially harsh punishments—and possibly deportation. More recently, some states have passed laws that allow officials to question anyone suspected of being in the country illegally, requiring them to present papers on demand. Civil rights advocates point to this requirement as a violation of immigrants' rights as Americans.

In recent years, immigration rights advocates have called for reform to American immigration policy. They want to streamline the path to permanent residency, making it easier for new Americans to find work and begin the path to citizenship. They also want an overhaul of the 1996 laws to impose less stringent punishments. Furthermore, they want to make it easier for recent immigrants to reunite with their families. With immigration a sensitive issue, however, the debate over reform is likely to last many years.

Lesson 6 Assessment

- 1. Organize Information** Use a chart to identify the civil rights challenges various groups in the United States face today and the steps that each group has made to address those challenges.

Group	Challenges	Solutions
LGBT community		
Americans with disabilities		
Students		
New immigrants		

- 2. Key Terms and People** For each key term or person in the lesson, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- 3. Analyze Effects** To what extent have civil rights movements been effective in creating political, economic, and social equality in the United States?

Think About:

- the gains made by various racial and ethnic minorities since 1980
- women's struggle for equality
- civil rights movements among other groups

- 4. Evaluate** How is today's civil rights movement different from how it was in the past? How is it similar?
- 5. Compare and Contrast** How have civil rights efforts among Asian Americans been different from those of other groups? How have they been similar?

Module 15 Assessment

Key Terms and People

For each key term or person below, write a sentence explaining its connection to the pursuit of civil rights and the fight for equality in the United States.

1. *Brown v. Board of Education*
2. Rosa Parks
3. freedom riders
4. Civil Rights Act of 1964
5. de facto segregation
6. Malcolm X
7. César Chávez
8. American Indian Movement (AIM)
9. Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)
10. Americans with Disabilities Act

Main Ideas

Use your notes and the information in the module to answer the following questions.

Taking on Segregation

1. What were Jim Crow laws and how were they applied?
2. What was the role of Martin Luther King Jr. within the civil rights movement?
3. How did White Citizens' Councils use boycotts as a weapon?
4. What is the connection between Dixiecrats and the Civil Rights Act of 1957?
5. What was the Montgomery bus boycott?

The Triumphs of a Crusade

6. What was the significance of the federal court case won by James Meredith in 1962?
7. Cite three examples of violence committed against African Americans and civil rights activists between 1962 and 1964.
8. Why did civil rights groups work together to organize Freedom Summer?
9. Why did young people in SNCC and the MFDP feel betrayed by some civil rights leaders?

Challenges and Changes in the Movement

10. How did the compromises of civil rights leaders lead to the rise of the Black Power movement?
11. How were civil rights problems in northern cities similar to those in the South?
12. What were some of the key beliefs Malcolm X advocated?
13. Why did some urge Stokely Carmichael to stop using the slogan "Black Power"?
14. Describe the social turmoil after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr.

Hispanic and Native Americans Seek Equality

15. What strategies did both César Chávez and the UFWOC use to achieve their goals? How did they successfully apply these tactics?
16. Describe the Chicano movement and explain its main goals.
17. What were the demands of the American Indian Movement (AIM) organizers who staged "The Trail of Broken Treaties" march on Washington in 1972?
18. Explain the successes and failures of the American Indian Movement (AIM) in the pursuit of civil rights and equal opportunities.

Women Fight for Equality

19. Name three changes that members of the National Organization of Women (NOW) advocated.
20. What was the Supreme Court's decision in the *Roe v. Wade* case?
21. What prompted women to establish NOW?
22. What concerns motivated those who opposed the ERA?

The Struggle Continues

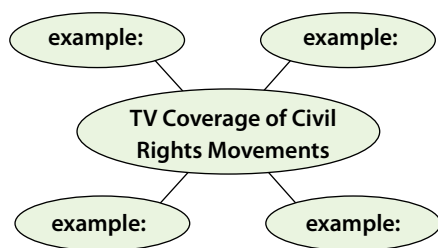
23. What progress and obstacles did different minority groups experience in the 1980s and 1990s?
24. What were some gains that women achieved in the 1980s and 1990s?

Module 15 Assessment, continued

25. What problems did Native Americans face in the 1980s?
26. How did the cases *New Jersey v. T.L.O.* and *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier* limit student rights?

Critical Thinking

1. **Draw Conclusions** On your own paper, draw a cluster diagram and fill it in with four events from the civil rights movement that were broadcast on nationwide television and that you find the most compelling.



How do you think television coverage of these events affected American politics?

2. **Develop Historical Perspective** Would you characterize the civil rights struggle as a unified or disunified movement? Explain.
3. **Draw Conclusions** Why were national government actions needed to ensure civil rights for African Americans? Analyze the response of state governments and city officials, citing the actions of Orval Faubus, George Wallace, and Bull Connor as examples.
4. **Evaluate** Was Title VII effective in promoting civil liberties and equal opportunities? Explain.
5. **Contrast** Explain the difference between de jure and de facto segregation. How did state governments and state government officials confront each type of segregation?
6. **Evaluate** What were the main successes of La Raza Unida?
7. **Analyze Effects** How effective was Title IX in promoting civil liberties and equal opportunities for women? Explain.

8. **Develop Historical Perspective** Consider the organizations that Hispanic Americans, Native Americans, and women formed during the 1960s. Which do you think was the most influential? Why?
9. **Form Opinions** How do you think increasing numbers of women in managerial and other professional roles help shape American culture? Explain your answer.
10. **Evaluate** Have women met their goals of equality in the workplace and politics? Explain.

Engage with History

Create a script in which five characters—an African American activist, a Hispanic American activist, a Native American activist, a member of the women's movement, and a politician who wants to preserve the status quo—debate the following question: How much can a society change?

Focus on Writing

Write a persuasive essay explaining why civil rights for all people are necessary. Base your arguments on historical examples, democratic values, and constitutional principles. You may wish to support your arguments by listing the benefits that civil rights provide for all citizens.

Collaborative Learning

Working in a group, use library or Internet sources to find the full texts of Martin Luther King's March on Washington speech, the Declaration of Independence, the Seneca Falls Resolution, and the Gettysburg Address. Have one member of the group read King's speech aloud. Discuss the main points and ideas King expresses. Then take turns reading the other texts aloud. After each text is read, discuss how the ideas expressed are similar or different than the ideas presented in King's speech. Create a chart to list at least two differences and two similarities for each text.

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ISBN 978-0-544-66906-2

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