Chapter 28 -SECTION 1: RECONSTRUCTION AND JIM CROW

One American’s Story
From the late 1870s through the 1960s, Jim Crow laws in the South enforced racial segregation. T. R. Davidson, an African American in 1940s North Carolina, felt the effects of Jim Crow.

PRIMARY SOURCE
"[Y]ou always had to make a special effort . . . to find out the places where you could go, where you wouldn’t be embarrassed or refused service. So, if you were in a strange place, no matter what part of the country it was, you had to say, ‘Where do they serve black people?’ “ —T. R. Davidson, “Eyewitness to Jim Crow”

Segregation and the lack of civil rights made life much more difficult for African Americans.

Civil Rights Won and Lost
KEY QUESTION How were African Americans’ civil rights violated in the decades following Reconstruction?
After the Civil War, enslaved African Americans were not only freed, but their civil rights were established by three amendments to the Constitution.

Civil Rights Gains of Reconstruction The process of Reconstruction created intense political conflict. Southern states resisted actions by Congress to ensure the civil rights of African Americans. In December 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified, banning slavery. In response, Southern states passed the black codes. Congress then passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which stated that all persons born in the United States (except Native Americans, who were not taxed) were citizens and had equal rights, regardless of their race.
Congress also proposed the Fourteenth Amendment, which prohibited states from infringing on the rights of citizens, including the right to vote.

A state could not deny any citizen “the equal protection of the laws.” This became the foundation of the modern civil rights movement.
In 1869, despite resistance from southern states, Congress proposed the Fifteenth Amendment, which prohibited states from discriminating against voters based on “race, color, or previous condition of servitude.”

The Supreme Court Reacts While Congress advanced the civil rights of African Americans, the Supreme Court reversed many civil rights they had gained during Reconstruction.
In 1876, in U.S. v. Cruikshank, the Court ruled that only the states, not the federal government, could punish those who violated the civil rights of African Americans. In a landmark case in 1896, Plessy v. Ferguson, the Supreme Court upheld a Louisiana law segregating African Americans from whites in railroad cars, stating that no civil rights were violated because the accommodations were “separate but equal.”

ANALYZE CAUSES AND EFFECTS Explain how African Americans’ civil rights were violated in the decades following Reconstruction.

The Fight Against Injustice
KEY QUESTION How did African Americans react to discrimination and segregation?
As African Americans suffered from more racist policies and discrimination, they began organizing to win back their civil rights.

**Life Under Jim Crow** After the Supreme Court rulings, racism and discrimination in the South spread. Jim Crow laws, which had begun to be adopted in various settings in the late 1870s, became systematized and widespread.

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**Slaughterhouse cases**
The 14th Amendment is weakened because most civil rights are ruled to be state, rather than federal rights.

**U.S. v. Cruikshank**
State governments are given the power to let violators of African-Americans’ civil rights go unpunished.

**U.S. v. Reese**
While states cannot deny the vote for reasons of “race, color, or previous condition of servitude,” they can deny it for any other reason they choose, such as failure to pass a literacy test or to pay a poll tax.

**Civil Rights Cases**
While states cannot deny equal protection to citizens, individuals such as hotel, restaurant, and other business owners are free to discriminate.

**Plessy v. Ferguson**
Segregation practices which had begun earlier throughout the South are given a legal basis to continue and spread.

The purpose of Jim Crow laws was to segregate races. African Americans could not attend the same schools as whites or sit in the same sections in restaurants or other public places. Buses followed the “separate but equal” standard established by Plessy v. Ferguson, but schools, for example, were markedly inferior for African Americans.

Another purpose of Jim Crow was intimidation. In Mississippi in 1875, white people shot African-American voters. During that same period, the right of African Americans to vote was denied legally when states made them take special “tests” or charged them poll taxes.

While racial discrimination was especially intense in the South, blacks settling in the North were often resented by whites. Lynchings occurred in the Midwest, and race riots erupted in Chicago in 1919 and Tulsa in 1921.

**Calls for Justice and Equality Grow** Despite outbreaks of violence, the North offered a better life for African Americans. The period from 1916 to 1919 is the first wave of what is called “The Great Migration.” During that migration, more than a half million African Americans moved north to such cities as Chicago, Detroit, and New York.

African Americans in the North united. In 1909, African-American leaders and white activists formed the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which brought attention to discrimination against African Americans.

World Wars I and II also strengthened African Americans’ awareness of their civil rights. After fighting against racism in Europe, they were no longer
willing to accept it at home.

Chapter 28 - Section 2
THE MODERN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

One American’s Story
On December 1, 1955, in Montgomery, Alabama, Rosa Parks boarded a bus to ride home from work. Along the way, a group of white people boarded. The bus driver ordered Parks and a few other African Americans to give up their seats to the white people and move to the back of the bus. All of them except Parks obeyed.

PRIMARY SOURCE
“The driver of the bus saw me still sitting there, and he asked was I going to stand up. I said, ‘No.’ He said, ‘Well, I’m going to have you arrested.’ Then I said, ‘You may do that.’” —Rosa Parks, Rosa Parks: My Story

Parks was arrested, and this event would spark a movement that began to tear down segregation in America.

Court Decisions and Grassroots Organizing
KEY QUESTION How did civil rights supporters challenge segregation?
As you have read, African Americans had been fighting for equality since the Civil War. Their goals included full political rights, better job opportunities, and an end to segregation. But before World War II, they had little success. This situation changed in the 1950s. A series of Supreme Court decisions and a popular grassroots movement—one that was locally organized by ordinary citizens—helped expand the civil rights of all Americans.

Brown Overturns Plessy
The NAACP, the oldest civil rights organization in the United States, benefited from these changes. Before the war, it had established a fund to pay for legal challenges to segregation. Even so, the “separate but equal” doctrine remained in effect well into the 1950s. This doctrine had been established by the Plessy v. Ferguson case in 1896.

In the early 1950s, African Americans in several states sued to integrate, or end segregation, in public schools. Until this time, white-controlled school boards had provided white children with better schoolhouses and newer books and equipment than they had provided to black children. Schools were separate, but they were unequal in the service they provided.

Thurgood Marshall, the NAACP counsel, led the legal team that challenged the segregation laws in the courts.
In the early 1950s, the Supreme Court took on the issue by accepting the case of Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka. On May 17, 1954, Chief Justice Earl Warren delivered the Court’s historic opinion:

PRIMARY SOURCE
“We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of ‘separate but equal’ has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.” —CHIEF JUSTICE EARL WARREN, Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka

Thurgood Marshall’s arguments had prevailed. The Court overturned Plessy v. Ferguson, striking down the “separate but equal” doctrine and declaring that the nation’s public schools should be integrated.
Although the Brown decision was limited to public schools, many people
hoped that it would eventually end segregation in other public facilities. In the meantime, civil rights supporters assumed that African-American children would receive the same educational opportunities as white children. But the Supreme Court did not say how desegregation was to occur until a year later. At that time, the Court ordered public schools to desegregate “with all deliberate speed.” This ruling, which was known as Brown II, actually gave segregated school districts more time to desegregate. Some communities, such as Washington, D.C., desegregated quickly. But in most places, white-controlled schools bitterly resisted desegregation.

Montgomery Bus Boycott In 1955, about six months after the Brown II decision, Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to give up her seat on a city bus. News of her arrest quickly spread from the NAACP and members of her church to other African-American churches and local groups. Along with the news came a call to action: “If Negroes did not ride the buses, they [the buses] could not operate. We are, therefore, asking every Negro to stay off the buses Monday in protest of the arrest and trial.” This protest became known as the Montgomery bus boycott. A boycott is a form of political activism, or direct action taken to support or oppose a social or political goal.

That evening, local NAACP leaders held a meeting to decide whether to continue the boycott. A 26-year-old Baptist minister from Atlanta, Georgia, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke plainly yet eloquently to the group.

PRIMARY SOURCE
“...There comes a time that people get tired. We are here this evening to say to those who have mistreated us so long that we are tired—tired of being segregated and humiliated; tired of being kicked about by the brutal feet of oppression.” —Martin Luther King, Jr., quoted in Stride Toward Freedom

The church members decided to continue the boycott despite the numerous hardships involved. It went on for 13 months—months during which Montgomery’s black community remained united in the fight against injustice. Boycotters organized car pools or simply walked. King and other leaders endured death threats, bombings, and jailings. The violent reactions of whites to the nonviolent boycott gained the attention of the national media.

Meanwhile, the Montgomery bus segregation law had been challenged in court. On November 13, 1956, the Supreme Court ruled that the law was unconstitutional. The ruling was a turning
point for African Americans and a significant victory for the emerging civil rights movement. African Americans once again boarded the buses in Montgomery. This time they sat wherever they pleased.
The boycott had several important results. First, it ended segregation on Montgomery buses. Second, it led to the founding of the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).** The SCLC soon coordinated nonviolent civil rights protests across the South. Third, the boycott set Dr. King on a path that would make him one of the best-known civil rights leaders of his day.

**SUMMARIZE** Describe how civil rights' supporters challenged segregation.

**Martin Luther King, Jr.**

**1929–1968**

King was only twenty-six years old when he became leader of the Montgomery bus boycott. Although he was young, King’s extraordinary courage, intelligence, and speaking abilities made him the ideal leader for the civil rights movement. His belief in love and nonviolence was in stark contrast to the hatred and violence African Americans continued to suffer in the Jim Crow South.

King learned about nonviolence by studying writers and thinkers such as Mohandas Gandhi. He came to believe that only love could convert people to the side of justice. He described the power of nonviolent resisters: “We will soon wear you down by our capacity to suffer. So in winning the victory . . . we will win you in the process.”

**Civil Rights Supporters Face Violence**

**KEY QUESTION** How did segregationists try to stop integration?

Civil rights victories upset many Southern whites. Segregationists fought back against African Americans and civil rights organizations. The Ku Klux Klan used beatings, arson, and murder to threaten African Americans who pursued their civil rights. Many whites organized groups known as White Citizens Councils to prevent desegregation. The opposition of whites to desegregation became known as “massive resistance.”

**Showdown in Little Rock** Massive resistance threatened the desegregation of schools in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957. Following the *Brown* case, the Little Rock school board made plans to integrate. It called for nine African-American students to enroll at Central High School in September 1957. They became known as “the Little Rock Nine.” Segregationists tried to stop the integration of the school. Governor Orval
Faubus of Arkansas sided with the segregationists. On September 3, he ordered National Guard troops to prevent the nine students from entering the school the next morning.

Eight of the students had been informed that someone would drive them to the high school for their safety. When the students arrived at the school, the National Guard troops turned them away. The family of the ninth student, Elizabeth Eckford, had no telephone. She rode a bus to school alone that morning. When she arrived, a mob of angry white people followed her toward the school’s doors. She saw a guard let some white students pass, so she went to him. But he would not move. Later Eckford wrote, “When I tried to squeeze past him, he raised his bayonet. . . . Somebody started yelling, ‘Lynch her! Lynch her!’” Finally, a white woman guided Eckford away and took her home.

For three weeks, Faubus refused to allow the African-American students into the school—even after meeting with President Dwight Eisenhower. The president did not want to force the governor to obey the law, but he eventually realized that it was his only choice.

On September 24, Eisenhower ordered the 101st Airborne Division into Little Rock. The Little Rock Nine rode to school escorted by jeeps armed with machine guns. Paratroopers lined the streets and protected the students as they entered Central High.

**Sit-Ins Energize the Movement** Victories like the one in Little Rock encouraged civil rights supporters to continue their fight. In February 1960, four African-American college students began a sit-in to desegregate a lunch counter at a store in Greensboro, North Carolina. A **sit-in** is a protest in which people sit and refuse to move until their demands are met. The students sat at the lunch counter and ordered coffee. The waitress refused to serve them because they were African Americans. That first day, the students stayed for about an hour. They came back each day that week and brought more protesters. By Thursday, there were more than 100 protesters, including some whites. In the following weeks, thousands of protesters took part in sit-ins across the South.

As the sit-ins spread, segregationists began to abuse the protesters. They covered the protesters with ammonia and itching powder. Acid was also thrown. They yelled at them, beat them, and burned them with cigarettes. Some protesters went to jail. But other protesters came forward to replace them. The sit-ins were an effective protest tactic. They eventually forced many stores with lunch counters to serve African Americans.

Many civil rights leaders saw the success of the sit-ins and supported an organization for young people. Out of this movement, the
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was formed. Through SNCC, SCLC, and other groups, the civil rights movement increased the pressure for change in the 1960s.

Chapter 28 -SECTION 3
KENNEDY, JOHNSON, AND CIVIL RIGHTS

One American’s Story
Jim Zwerg joined a Freedom Ride in May 1961. Freedom Rides were protests against segregation on interstate buses in the South. During the rides, whites would sit in the back of a bus. African Americans would sit in the front and refuse to move. At bus terminals along the route, black riders would try to use “whites only” facilities. A mob attacked Zwerg’s group.

PRIMARY SOURCE
“I was knocked to the ground. I remember being kicked in the spine and hearing my back crack, and the pain. I fell on my back and a foot came down on my face. . . . I went unconscious and I woke up in the hospital. I was informed that I had been unconscious for a day and a half. One of the nurses told me that another little crowd were going to try and lynch me.” —Jim Zwerg, from a radio interview

The many, many people who participated in Freedom Rides and other forms of protest opened the doors to change in government and society.

The Movement Gains Strength
KEY QUESTION How did ordinary people help bring about change?
In the early 1960s, Congress was reluctant to act on civil rights issues. However, ordinary people throughout America were joining the civil rights movement. They traveled from all parts of the country to support African Americans in the South. As this grassroots movement intensified its protests, politicians were forced to get involved.

Kennedy and Civil Rights
In 1960 Americans elected a new president. Although civil rights was not the main issue in the campaign, it played an important role. The Democrats nominated John F. Kennedy, a senator from Massachusetts. The Republicans nominated Vice-President Richard Nixon of California. Though the candidates had similar positions on many issues, Kennedy won in a very close election.
Southern Democrats supported segregation. Kennedy did not want to anger them because they could weaken his presidency and prevent his reelection. However, civil rights activists continued to pressure the federal government. In May 1961, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) staged Freedom Rides to desegregate buses traveling between states. Despite attacks by segregationists along the route, the freedom riders would not give up. Kennedy sent federal marshals to protect the riders. Four months later, the federal government issued an order to integrate all interstate bus facilities.

Protests in Birmingham
In the early 1960s, the civil rights movement gained strength. African Americans in Birmingham, Alabama, wanted to integrate public facilities and gain better job and housing opportunities.
Local civil rights leaders invited Dr. King and SCLC to join the protests. Birmingham presented an opportunity for protesters. They knew that Eugene “Bull” Connor, the city’s Public Safety Commissioner, would use violence to stop the protests. They also knew that the sight of segregationists attacking nonviolent protesters would increase the pressure for change.

The demonstrations began in April 1963. The police arrested and held Dr. King. From jail, he wrote a defense of the protests.

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

“I guess it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, ‘Wait.’ . . . [But] there comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into an abyss [a bottomless pit] of injustice.” —Martin Luther King, Jr., “Letter from Birmingham Jail”

The SCLC recruited children to join the Birmingham marches. The police used dogs and firehoses on them. People across the nation who watched the events on television were horrified. Soon Birmingham’s white leaders agreed to desegregate lunch counters, remove segregation signs, and employ more African Americans in downtown stores.

**The High Water Mark, 1963–1965**

**KEY QUESTION** What did the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act achieve?

The Birmingham protests, a march on Washington, and a voter registration drive helped move civil rights legislation through Congress.

**The March on Washington** The events in Birmingham caused many Americans to support passage of new laws to protect the civil rights of all American citizens.

On August 28, 1963, about 250,000 people joined Martin Luther King, Jr., in the March on Washington. The high point of the demonstration came when King delivered his “I Have a Dream” speech. (For a selection from King’s speech, see page 901.) During this speech, he spoke these famous words:

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

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

The March on Washington united many groups that all called for passage of civil rights laws. President Kennedy promised his support.

**New Civil Rights Laws** Tragically, President Kennedy did not live long enough to fulfill this promise. On November 22, 1963, Kennedy and Vice-President Lyndon Baines Johnson went to Texas to campaign. As the motorcade passed through Dallas, thousands of people greeted the president. Suddenly, shots rang out. President Kennedy was hit and died within an hour.

Lyndon Johnson was sworn in as president, and he promised to continue Kennedy’s policies. Johnson argued that “no memorial oration or eulogy

could more eloquently honor President Kennedy’s memory than the earliest possible passage of the civil rights bill.” The nation’s grief led to broad support for the bill.

In July the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was signed into law. The law banned segregation in public places, such as
hotels and theaters. It also created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to prevent job discrimination. Segregation officially became illegal throughout the United States.

**Fighting for Voting Rights** Southern states had long used literacy tests, poll taxes, and violence to prevent African Americans from voting. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 barred states from using different voting standards for blacks and whites. In the same year, the states ratified the Twenty-Fourth Amendment. It outlawed poll taxes. Even so, many African Americans still found it difficult to vote. They lobbied Congress to pass a stronger voting rights law. In 1964, SNCC organized a voter-registration drive for Southern blacks. It was called **Freedom Summer**. It brought Northern college students into Mississippi to work with SNCC organizers. These young volunteers endured much mistreatment while performing their work. Some were even killed. Still, they helped add many African Americans to the voter-registration roles.

Early in 1965, King and SCLC organized voter-registration drives in Selma, Alabama, including a protest march to Montgomery. On March 7, as the marchers crossed a bridge at the edge of Selma, state troopers on horseback attacked them. Americans watched as the violence was broadcast on national television. Pressure for federal action rose.

President Johnson told Alabama Governor George Wallace that he would not tolerate any more violence. When the march to Montgomery resumed, the president sent troops to protect it. He also used the public’s anger to push for action on voting rights.

On August 6, 1965, Johnson signed the **Voting Rights Act** into law. It banned literacy tests and other laws that kept people from registering to vote. It also sent federal officials to register voters. The percentage of African Americans in Selma who registered to vote increased within months by more than 50 percent.

**The Focus Shifts**

**KEY QUESTION** What happened to the civil rights movement in the late 1960s?

After President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act into law, the focus of the civil rights movement began to shift to economic issues. However, disagreements over goals caused division within the movement.

**Johnson and the Great Society** Shortly after taking office, Johnson asked Americans to seek a “great society [that] demands an end to poverty and racial injustice.” His program was called the **Great Society**. It provided a series of measures to help the poor, the elderly, women, and the disenfranchised—people deprived of the right to vote. It also included legislation to promote education,
end discrimination, and protect the environment. Many of these programs passed and still exist today, such as Medicare and Medicaid. Medicare provides health insurance for senior citizens, while Medicaid provides medical care for the poor. In addition, Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary School Act, which provided new federal funds for education. Congress also strengthened the 1960 Clean Water and 1963 Clean Air acts. It passed legislation to protect endangered species and to preserve millions of acres of wilderness.

**Divisions in the Civil Rights Movement** In the late 1960s, civil rights leaders disagreed about what steps to take next. The SCLC and other organizations wanted to expand the nonviolent struggle. But other groups wanted the movement to become more aggressive.

Some African Americans had begun to reject nonviolence and cooperation with whites. In 1966, SNCC’s black members forced white members out of the organization. Stokely Carmichael, the leader of SNCC, began to call for “black power.” He and others wanted black people to create their own organizations under their own control to fight racism. The Nation of Islam, a branch of Islam founded in the United States, also urged African Americans to separate from whites. The Nation was led by Elijah Muhammad, but its most popular figure was Malcolm X. By the mid-1960s, Malcolm X had rejected the separatist ideas of the Nation of Islam and left the group. During a trip to Mecca, in Saudi Arabia, he saw Muslims of all races treat each other as equals. He envisioned a world where all races could live together in peace. But he had little time to spread his new message. In 1965, he was gunned down by members of the Nation of Islam.

In 1966, Dr. King and the SCLC joined protests in Chicago. In the North, laws didn’t deny African Americans their civil rights—white people simply discriminated against them. Whites would not sell property in certain areas to African Americans, and some employers refused to hire African-American workers.

In spite of the protests, most white Chicagoans were no more interested in desegregation than Southern whites had been. Chicago mayor Richard J. Daley made only a few changes before SCLC abandoned its campaign. African Americans in Chicago and other U.S. cities grew frustrated with their lack of political power and economic opportunity. Their frustration led to a series of riots in the late 1960s. Nationwide, 164 riots broke out in the first nine months of 1967. Then, on April 4, 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee. African-American neighborhoods
across the country exploded in anger. About 40 people died in the rioting.

CHAPTER 28 Section 4

The Equal Rights Struggle Expands

During the first half of the twentieth century, efforts by farm workers to organize labor unions had been suppressed by farm owners. In the 1950s and 1960s, Mexican-American activists continued to organize, inspired by African Americans in the civil rights movement. Dolores Huerta was teaching the children of farm workers in California when she realized what her contribution could be.

PRIMARY SOURCE

“I couldn’t stand seeing kids come to class hungry and needing shoes. I thought I could do more by organizing farm workers than by trying to teach their hungry children.” —Dolores Huerta, Biography of Dolores Huerta

Huerta went on to help found the first farm workers’ union in 1962. She became the union’s chief negotiator for contracts, guaranteeing farm workers fair wages, benefits, and humane working conditions.

Other Minorities Organize

KEY QUESTION How did other minorities fight for civil rights?

The civil rights movement sent shock waves through American society. Many people reconsidered issues of equality and discrimination and became politically involved in their communities. The civil rights movement encouraged other minorities in their fight for equal rights.

Mexican Americans Unite Latinos trace their roots to Spanish-speaking Latin American countries. The Latino population in the United States is extremely diverse. It includes people from many places, including Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Central and South America. Each group has its own social and political concerns. For example, Mexican Americans are concerned about immigration and citizenship. Puerto Ricans are already U.S. citizens; therefore immigration issues aren’t their primary concern.

Like African Americans, Mexican Americans united to fight for equality. In the 1950s, César Chávez, a Mexican-American farm worker and labor organizer, began working with Dolores Huerta to create a labor union. Chávez had been inspired by the nonviolent tactics of Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. In 1962, Chávez and
Huerta founded what would become the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC). In 1965, when California’s grape growers refused to recognize the union, Chávez launched a nationwide grape boycott. The boycott succeeded, and in 1970 Huerta negotiated a favorable contract between grape growers and the UFWOC. The farm workers’ struggle inspired Mexican Americans in cities to organize. In 1968, students in Los Angeles walked out of classes to press their demands for reform in the school system. They wanted better facilities, more courses on Mexican-American topics, and more Mexican-American teachers. At first, school authorities had protesters arrested. Later, they admitted to the poor conditions, and many reforms were eventually made. In 1970, Mexican Americans formed La Raza Unida (lah RAH•sah oo•NEE•dah), meaning the united people, to elect Mexican Americans to public office and to advocate for better jobs, pay, housing, and education.

**Native American Activism** As the United States grew, Native American groups suffered the loss of their lands and the massive killing of their people. Surviving Native Americans had been relocated onto reservations, where they lived in poverty. From the late 1800s until the mid-1900s, many Native American children were taken from reservations to attend “Indian schools.” There Native American languages, clothing, and other expressions of culture were forbidden, and children were taught to assimilate, or blend into white society. In the 1950s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs began a “termination policy” that ended federal protection of assets held by Native American tribes. Responsibility for providing services to Native Americans was given to state governments. The bureau also sold to developers 1.6 million acres of land that belonged to Native Americans.

Native Americans united to protest the termination policy. The

**National Congress of American Indians (NCAI)**—founded in 1944 to promote the “common welfare” of Native Americans—led the protests. Under pressure, the federal government changed the policy in 1958. These protests inspired a new generation of Native American activists to fight for their rights. By the 1960s, Native Americans were the least prosperous and least healthy of all ethnic groups in the United States. Their unemployment rate was ten times the national average. Poverty and disease made their life expectancy
twenty years shorter than the national average. In 1961 more than 400 people from dozens of tribes met in Chicago. They issued the Declaration of Indian Purpose. In it, they demanded the “right to choose our own way of life” and the “responsibility of preserving precious heritage.” In 1968, the American Indian Movement (AIM) was founded. AIM demanded rights for people on reservations and recognition of tribal laws. In 1972 AIM members occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C. In the early 1970s, Native Americans protested for more federal aid. The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 gave tribal governments more control over social programs, law enforcement, and education. Through other court victories, Native Americans won back some of their land. They also went to court over rights to water, hunting, and fishing on what was once Native American land.

**SUMMARIZE** Summarize how other minorities fought for civil rights.

**The Women’s Movement Revives**

**KEY QUESTION** What did the Women’s Movement hope to achieve?
The American women’s movement began in the mid-19th century. After decades of fighting for equal rights, a victory was achieved in 1920 when women gained the right to vote. Despite this achievement, women were still excluded from many jobs, and they had limited legal rights.

**Discrimination and Limited Rights** During World War II, almost seven million women filled jobs left open by servicemen. When the soldiers began coming home, however, many women lost their jobs. In the 1960s, women continued to demand equal rights. Early in the decade, women faced discrimination in many businesses. For example, there were few female police officers; the military also limited jobs for women. Women also had limited legal rights. Married women, for example, faced problems in signing contracts, selling property, and getting credit. A woman could lose her job if she became pregnant. Society pressured women to quit their jobs when they married.

**Betty Friedan 1921–2006**
In the late 1950s, Betty Friedan was a housewife and mother. She was also a journalist and graduate of Smith College. She began a survey of her college classmates and found many of them experienced “a strange stirring, a sense of dissatisfaction, a yearning...” The result of her survey eventually led her to write *The Feminine Mystique*, which would become one of the most important books in the feminist movement.

**Bella Abzug 1920–1998**
Elected in 1970, Bella Abzug began three terms representing
her New York City district in the U.S. Congress. She took on a wide range of issues, including the Equal Rights Amendment. Abzug once said: “Women have been trained to speak softly and carry a lipstick. Those days are over.”

**Gloria Steinem** b. 1934

After graduating from college, Gloria Steinem became a journalist to fight social injustice. In 1972 she helped to found *Ms. Magazine*, the first magazine to reflect a feminist point of view. Steinem has written five books and has continued to promote women’s rights.

**Betty Friedan** described the problems women faced in her 1963 book, *The Feminine Mystique*.

**PRIMARY SOURCE**

“We can no longer ignore that voice within women that says: ‘I want something more than my husband and my children and my home.’” —Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*

Friedan’s words helped give direction to a movement for women’s liberation. In 1966, Friedan helped found the **National Organization for Women (NOW)**. NOW’s goals included helping women get good jobs and equal pay. According to NOW’s charter, in 1966 fewer than 4 percent of lawyers and one percent of federal judges were women. Also, “full-time women workers today earn on the average only 60 percent of what men earn.” As of 2006, women still only earned about 79 percent as much as men. Part of the problem has been identified as the “glass ceiling”—an invisible barrier that keeps women, no matter how talented, from receiving the same promotions as equally-qualified men. In fact, in 2005 only eight of the 500 largest corporations in the country were led by women.

**The Movement’s Impact** In response to women’s groups, Congress passed the **Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)** in 1972 and sent it to the states for ratification. The proposed amendment stated that “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged (shortened) by the United States or any State on account of sex.” Supporters argued that it would protect women against discrimination and help them achieve equality with men, including equal opportunity for jobs, pay, and education. For the amendment to be added to the Constitution, 38 of the 50 states had to ratify it. By the 1982 deadline, only 35 states had ratified the amendment. The amendment faced well-organized opposition. Phyllis Schlafly, ERA’s most famous opponent, argued that the amendment would destroy American families and that the problems of women were not the government’s business. Other reforms reduced some of the inequality between women and men. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 covered many areas where discrimination
occurred, but some inequalities remained. The Higher Education Act of 1972, sometimes called “Title IX,” outlawed discrimination against women in schools, including colleges that receive federal funds. For example, many large universities spent far more money on men’s sports programs than on women’s. Title IX made it against the law to do so.

**FIND MAIN IDEAS** Explain what the women's movement achieved.