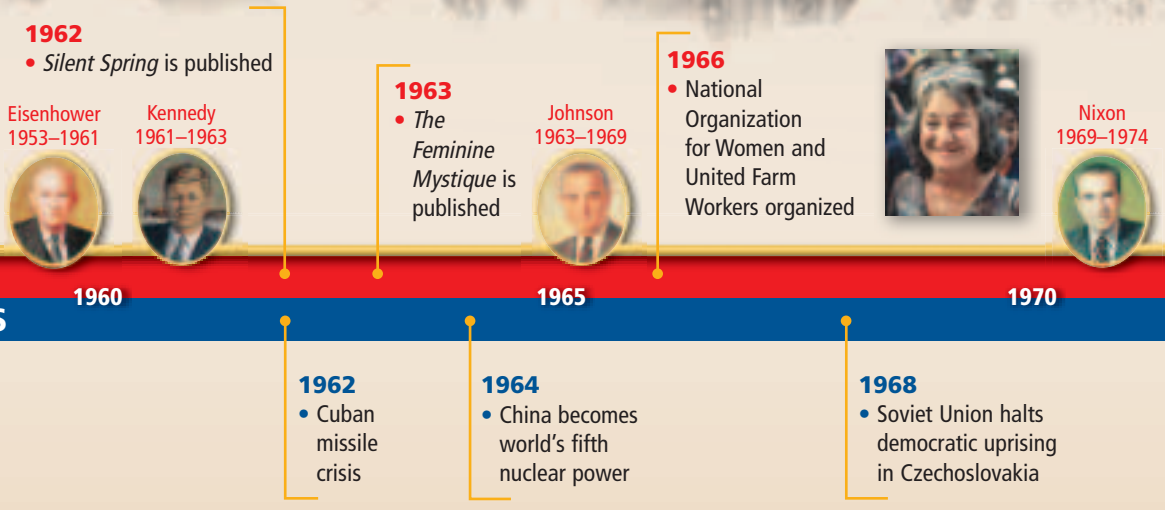
Chapter 27

The Politics of Protest

1960–1980

▲ *César Chávez leads a march in Delano, California in 1966.*



MAKING CONNECTIONS

Can Protests Bring Change?

The civil rights movement that began in the 1950s inspired other groups in American society to stage protests in the 1960s and 1970s. Students, women, and Latinos all formed organizations and began demanding changes in how American society treated them. Instead of trying to lobby legislatures or educate voters, all of these groups used mass protests and demonstrations to draw attention to their cause.

- ***Why do you think these groups decided to use public protests to achieve change?***
- ***How has society changed for students, women, and Latinos?***

1973
- *Roe* v. *Wade* decision on abortion
- Native Americans clash with FBI at Wounded Knee

Ford 1974–1977

Carter 1977–1981

1979
- Nuclear accident at Three Mile Island

1975 — 1980

1975
- Last European colonies in Africa gain independence from Portugal

1979
- Ayatollah Khomeini leads revolution against the Shah of Iran

FOLDABLES

Organizing Information Make a Four-Door Book Foldable about the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), or the National Organization for Women. As you read, complete the Four-Door Book by answering the questions *who, what, when,* and *why.*

History ONLINE Chapter Overview
Visit glencoe.com to preview Chapter 27.

Section 1

Students and the Counterculture

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

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

Content Vocabulary

- counterculture *(p. 912)*
- hippies *(p. 912)*
- communes *(p. 913)*

Academic Vocabulary

- rationality *(p. 912)*
- conformity *(p. 913)*

People and Events to Identify

- Port Huron Statement *(p. 911)*
- Tom Hayden *(p. 911)*
- Free Speech Movement *(p. 911)*
- Haight-Ashbury district *(p. 913)*
- Woodstock *(p. 913)*
- Bob Dylan *(p. 913)*

Reading Strategy

Organizing Use the major headings of this section to create an outline similar to the one below.

Students and the Counterculture
I. The Rise of the Youth Movement
  A.
  B.
II.
  A.
  B.

The 1960s was one of the most tumultuous decades in American history. The decade also gave birth to a youth movement that challenged the American political and social system and conventional middle-class values.

The Rise of the Youth Movement

MAIN Idea The youth protest movement of the 1960s included Students for a Democratic Society and the Free Speech Movement.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you know of any groups that work to improve society? Read how the youth of the 1960s protested social injustice.

The roots of the 1960s youth movement stretched back to the 1950s. In the decade after World War II, the country had enjoyed a time of peace and prosperity. Prosperity did not extend to all, however, and some, especially the artists and writers of the "beat" movement, had openly criticized American society. They believed American society valued conformity over independence and financial gain over spiritual and social advancement.

At the same time, the turmoil of the civil rights movement had raised serious questions about racism in American society and the nuclear arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union made many of the nation's youth uneasy about the future. For many young people, the events of the 1950s had called into question the wisdom of their parents and their political leaders.

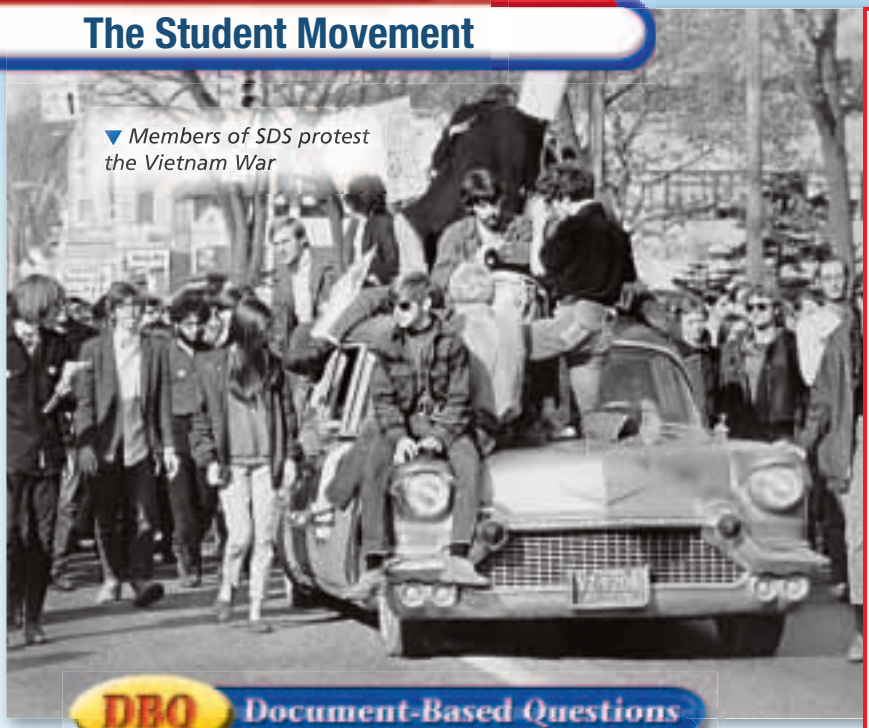
The youth movement originated with the "baby boomers," the huge generation born after World War II. By 1970, 58.4 percent of the American population was 34 years old or younger. (By comparison, those 34 or younger in 2000 represented an estimated 48.9 percent.) The early 1960s also saw a rapid increase in enrollment at colleges. The economic boom of the 1950s meant more families could afford to send their children to college. Between 1960 and 1966, enrollment in 4-year colleges rose from 3.1 million to almost 5 million. College life gave young people a sense of freedom and independence. It also allowed them to meet and bond with others who shared their feelings about society and fears about the future. It was on college campuses across the nation that youth protest movements began and reached their peak.

Students for a Democratic Society

Some young people were concerned most about the injustices they saw in the country's political and social system. In their view, a small wealthy elite controlled politics, and wealth itself was unfairly

PRIMARY SOURCE

The Student Movement



▼ *Members of SDS protest the Vietnam War*

DBQ Document-Based Questions

1. **Determining Cause and Effect** What two issues led to the activism of the members of SDS?
2. **Summarizing** What were the two goals of the group?

Primary Source

In 1962 Students for a Democratic Society issued the Port Huron Statement explaining SDS and the reasons for their actions:

"We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit. . . .

When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world . . . Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by, and for the people—these American values we found good. . . .

As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the permeating and victimizing fact of human degradation, symbolized by the Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second, the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract 'others' . . . might die at any time.

. . . Our work is guided by the sense that we may be the last generation in the experiment with living. . . . The search for truly democratic alternatives to the present, and a commitment to social experimentation with them, is a worthy and fulfilling human enterprise, one which moves us and, we hope, others today.

—from the *Port Huron Statement*, 1962

divided. These young people formed what came to be known as the New Left. (The "new" left differed from the "old" left of the 1930s, which had advocated socialism and communism.)

A prominent organization within the New Left was Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), founded in 1959. It defined its views in a 1962 declaration known as the **Port Huron Statement.** Written largely by **Tom Hayden,** editor of the University of Michigan's student newspaper, the declaration called for an end to apathy and urged citizens to stop accepting a country run by big corporations and big government.

SDS chapters focused on protesting the Vietnam War, but they also addressed other issues, including poverty, campus regulations, nuclear power, and racism. In 1968, for example, SDS leaders assisted in an eight-day occupation of several buildings at Columbia University to protest the administration's plan to build a new gym in an area that had served as a neighborhood park near Harlem.

The Free Speech Movement

Another movement that captured the nation's attention in the 1960s was the **Free Speech Movement,** led by Mario Savio and others at the University of California at Berkeley. The movement began when the university decided, in the fall of 1964, to restrict students' rights to distribute literature and to recruit volunteers for political causes on campus. The protesters, however, quickly targeted more general campus matters as well.

Like many college students, those at Berkeley were dissatisfied with practices at their university. Officials divided huge classes into sections taught by graduate students, while many professors claimed they were too busy with research to meet with students. Faceless administrators made rules that were not always easy to obey and imposed punishments for violations. Feeling isolated in this impersonal environment, many Berkeley students rallied to support the Free Speech Movement.

The struggle between Berkeley's students and administrators peaked on December 2, 1964, with a sit-in and powerful speech by Savio. Early the next morning, 600 police officers entered the campus and arrested more than 700 protesters.

The arrests set off an even larger protest movement. Within days, a campus-wide strike had stopped classes and many members of the faculty also voiced their support for the Free Speech Movement. In the face of this growing opposition, the administration gave in to the students' demands.

Soon afterward, the Supreme Court upheld students' rights to freedom of speech and assembly on campuses. In a unanimous vote, the Court upheld the section of the Civil Rights Act assuring these rights in places offering public accommodations, which, by definition, included college campuses. The Berkeley revolt was one of the first major student protests in the 1960s, and it became a model for others. The tactics the Berkeley protesters had used were soon being used in college demonstrations across the country.

Reading Check **Synthesizing** What were three reasons for the growth of the youth movement of the 1960s?

The Counterculture

MAIN Idea Counterculture youths tried to create an alternative to mainstream culture.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you know anyone today who rejects mainstream society? Read on to learn about the ideas of the 1960s counterculture.

While many young Americans in the 1960s sought to reform the system, others rejected it entirely and tried to create a new lifestyle based on flamboyant dress, rock music, drug use, and communal living. They created what became known as the **counterculture** and were commonly called "**hippies.**"

Hippie Culture

Originally, hippies rejected **rationality,** order, and traditional middle-class values. They wanted to build a utopia—a society that was freer, closer to nature, and full of love, empathy, tolerance, and cooperation. Much of this was a reaction to the 1950s stereotype of the white-collar "man in the gray flannel suit" who led a constricted and colorless life.

As the counterculture grew, many newcomers did not understand these ideas. For them, what mattered were the outward signs that

PRIMARY SOURCE

The Counterculture

▲ *Hippies at a festival in New Orleans, Louisiana in 1971*

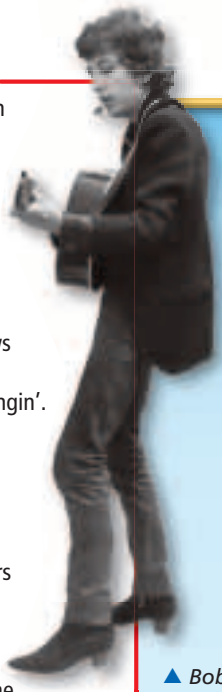
DBQ Document-Based Questions

1. **Identifying** What two groups does Dylan address in these two stanzas?
2. **Finding the Main Idea** What is Dylan asking these groups to do?

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

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

—from *"The Times They Are A-Changin'"*



▲ *Bob Dylan performs at the Newport Folk Festival in 1965.*

defined the movement—long hair, Native American headbands, cowboy boots, long dresses, shabby jeans, and the use of drugs.

Many hippies wanted to drop out of society by leaving home and living together in **communes**—group living arrangements in which members shared everything and worked together. Some hippies established rural communes, while others lived together in parks or crowded apartments in large cities. One of the most famous hippie destinations was San Francisco's **Haight-Ashbury district.** By the mid-1960s, thousands of hippies had flocked there.

The Impact of the Counterculture

After a few years, the counterculture movement began to decline. Some urban hippie communities became dangerous places where muggings and other criminal activity took place. The glamour of drug use waned as more and more young people became addicted or died from overdoses. In addition, many people in the movement had gotten older and moved on. Although the counterculture declined without achieving its utopian ideals, it did change some aspects of American culture.

Fashion Protesters and members of the counterculture often expressed themselves with their clothing. By wearing cheap surplus clothes recycled from earlier decades and repaired with patches, they showed that they were rejecting both consumerism and the social class structure. Ethnic clothing was popular for similar reasons. Beads and fringes imitated Native American costumes, while tie-dyed shirts borrowed techniques from India and Africa.

Perhaps the most potent symbol of the era was hair. Long hair, beards, and mustaches on young men symbolized defiance of both 1950s **conformity**—when buzz cuts were popular—and the military, which required all recruits to have short hair. School officials at the time debated the acceptable length of a student's hair. Over time, however, longer hair on men and more individual clothing for both genders became generally accepted. What was once the clothing of defiance became mainstream.

Music Counterculture musicians made use of folk music and the rhythms of rock 'n' roll and wrote heartfelt lyrics that expressed the hopes and fears of their generation. At festivals such as **Woodstock,** held in upstate New York in August 1969, and in Altamont, California, later that year, hundreds of thousands of people gathered to listen to the new music.

Major folk singers included **Bob Dylan,** who became an important voice of the movement, as did singers Joan Baez and Pete Seeger. Rock musicians popular with the counterculture included Jimi Hendrix, Janis Joplin, and The Who. These musicians used electrically amplified instruments that drastically changed the sound of rock, and their innovations continue to influence musicians today.

Reading Check **Evaluating** What lasting impact did the counterculture have on the nation?

Section 1 REVIEW

Vocabulary

1. **Explain** the significance of: Port Huron Statement, Tom Hayden, Free Speech Movement, counterculture, hippies, communes, Haight-Ashbury district, Woodstock, Bob Dylan.

Main Ideas

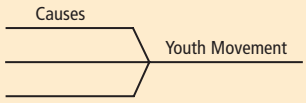
2. **Describing** With what issues did SDS concern itself?

3. **Summarizing** What were the core ideals of the members of the counterculture?

Critical Thinking

4. **Big Ideas** How did the U.S. Supreme Court validate the actions of the members of the Free Speech Movement?

5. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the causes of the youth movement.



6. **Analyzing Visuals** Study the image on page 911. Why do you think that older adults were frightened or threatened by the student movement?

Writing About History

7. **Descriptive Writing** Suppose that you are a journalist in the 1960s. Write an article in which you visit a commune and describe the hippie culture of the day.

History ONLINE

Study Central To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.

Section 2

The Feminist Movement

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Struggles for Rights Women organized to claim their rights and responsibilities as citizens.

Content Vocabulary

- feminism *(p. 914)*

Academic Vocabulary

- gender *(p. 915)*
- compatible *(p. 919)*

People and Events to Identify

- Equal Pay Act *(p. 915)*
- Betty Friedan *(p. 915)*
- National Organization for Women (NOW) *(p. 916)*
- Gloria Steinem *(p. 916)*
- Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) *(p. 917)*
- Phyllis Schlafly *(p. 918)*
- Title IX *(p. 918)*

Reading Strategy

Categorizing Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to compare the ideas of the two organizations that formed when the women's movement split.

Organization	Ideas

By the 1960s, many women had become increasingly dissatisfied with society's perception of women and their place in society. Some women began to join organizations aimed at improving their role in society. The Equal Rights Amendment stirred a national debate.

A Renewed Women's Movement

MAIN Idea Women in the 1960s and 1970s began creating organizations to change society through education and legislative action.

HISTORY AND YOU Have you ever read a book that spurred you to action or got you excited? Read on to learn about a book that helped define and reawaken the women's movement.

African Americans and college students were not the only groups seeking to change American society in the 1960s. By the middle of the decade, a new women's movement had emerged as many women became discontent with their status and treatment in American society. This movement became known as the feminist movement, or the women's liberation movement.

Feminism—the belief that men and women should be equal politically, economically, and socially—had been a weak and often embattled force since the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment guaranteeing women's voting rights in 1920. Soon after the amendment was ratified, the women's movement split into two camps. For the next 40 years, it had very little political influence.

The onset of World War II provided women with greater opportunity, at least temporarily. With many men enlisted in the army, women became an integral part of the nation's workforce. After the war, however, many women returned to their traditional role of homemaker. Even though 8 million American women had gone to work during the war, the new postwar emphasis on having babies and establishing families discouraged women from seeking employment. Many Americans assumed that a good mother should stay home to raise her children.

Despite the popular emphasis on homemaking, however, the number of women who held jobs outside the home actually increased during the 1950s. Most women who went to work did so in order to help their families maintain their comfortable lifestyles. By 1960, nearly one-third of all married women were part of the paid workforce. Yet many people continued to believe that women, even college-educated women, could better serve society by remaining in the home to influence the next generation of men.

PRIMARY SOURCE

What Caused the Women's Movement?

The women's movement was revitalized in the 1960s, partly because of the efforts of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, and partly because writers, such as Betty Friedan, convinced women the time had come to take action.

▲ *President Kennedy meets with Eleanor Roosevelt, Representative Edith Green (center) and Esther Peterson, director of the Women's Bureau at the Department of Labor (right) in early 1962 to discuss the findings of the President's Commission on the Status of Women.*

DBQ Document-Based Questions

1. **Making Inferences** What was the "feminine mystique"?
2. **Drawing Conclusions** What do you think "the problem" was?
3. **Hypothesizing** Why might President Kennedy have wanted Eleanor Roosevelt to head the commission studying the status of women?

PRIMARY SOURCE

In 1963 Betty Friedan tried to describe the feelings that would lead to the rebirth of the women's movement:

▲ *Betty Friedan, 1972*

"The problem lay buried, unspoken, for many years in the minds of American women. . . . Each suburban housewife 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 . . . she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent question—'Is this all?'

. . . In the fifteen years after World War II, this mystique of feminine fulfillment became the cherished and self-perpetuating core of contemporary American culture. Millions of women lived their lives in the image of those pretty pictures of the American suburban housewife . . . Words like 'emancipation' and 'career' sounded strange and embarrassing. . . .

But on an April morning in 1959, I heard a mother of four, having coffee with four other mothers in a suburban development . . . say in a tone of quiet desperation, 'the problem.' And the others knew, without words, that she was not talking about a problem with her husband, or her children, or her home. Suddenly they realized they all shared the same problem, the problem that has no name.

. . . Sometimes a woman would say 'I feel empty somehow . . . incomplete.' Or she would say, 'I feel as if I don't exist.'"

—from *The Feminine Mystique*

Origins of the Movement

By the early 1960s, many women were increasingly resentful of a world where newspaper ads separated jobs by **gender,** banks denied them credit, and, worst of all, they often were paid less for the same work. Women found themselves shut out of higher-paying professions such as law, medicine, and finance. By the mid-1960s, about 47 percent of American women were in the workforce, but three-fourths of them worked in lower paying clerical, sales, or factory jobs, or as cleaning women and hospital attendants.

Workplace Rights One stimulus that invigorated the women's movement was the President's Commission on the Status of Women, established by President Kennedy and headed by Eleanor Roosevelt. The commission's report highlighted the problems faced by women in the workplace and helped create a network of feminist activists who lobbied Congress for women's legislation. In 1963, with the support of organized labor, they won passage of the **Equal Pay Act,** which in most cases outlawed paying men more than women for the same job.

The Feminine Mystique Although many working women were angry about inequality in the workplace, many other women who had stayed home were also discontent. **Betty Friedan** tried to describe the reasons for their discontent in her book *The Feminine Mystique,* published in 1963.

Friedan had traveled around the country interviewing women who had graduated with her from Smith College in 1942. She found that while most of these women reported having everything they could want in life, they still felt unfulfilled.

Friedan's book became a best-seller. Many women began reaching out to one another, pouring out their anger and sadness in what came to be known as consciousness-raising sessions. While they talked informally about their unhappiness, they were also building the base for a nationwide mass movement.

The Civil Rights Act and Women Congress gave the women's movement another boost by including them in the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Title VII of the act outlawed job discrimination not only on the basis of race, color, religion, and national origin, but also on the basis of gender. The law provided a strong legal basis for the changes the women's movement would later demand.

Given the era's attitudes about what kind of work was proper for women, simply having the law on the books was not enough. Even the agency charged with administering the civil rights act—the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)—accepted the idea that jobs could be gender-specific. In 1965 the commission ruled that gender-segregated help-wanted ads were legal.

The Time Is NOW

By June 1966, Betty Friedan returned to an idea that she and other women had been considering—the need for an organization to promote feminist goals. On the back of a napkin she scribbled that it was time "to take the actions needed to bring women into the mainstream of American society, now . . . in fully equal partnership with men." Friedan and others then set out to form the **National Organization for Women** (NOW).

In October 1966, a group of about 300 women and men held the founding conference of NOW. "The time has come," its founders declared, "to confront with concrete action the conditions which now prevent women from enjoying the equality of opportunity and freedom of choice which is their right as individual Americans and as human beings."

The new organization responded to frustrated housewives by demanding greater educational opportunities for women. The group also focused much of its energy on aiding women in the workplace. NOW leaders denounced the exclusion of women from certain professions and from most levels of politics. They lashed out against the practice of paying women less than men for equal work, a practice the Equal Pay Act had not eliminated.

When NOW set out to pass an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, its membership rose to over 200,000. By July 1972, the movement had its own magazine, *Ms.*, which kept readers informed about women's issues. The editor of the magazine was **Gloria Steinem,** an author who became one of the movement's leading figures.

Reading Check **Identifying** What two forces helped bring the women's movement to life again?

Debates IN HISTORY

Should the Equal Rights Amendment Be Ratified?

In the 1970s ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) was a hotly debated issue. Organizations such as NOW and other supporters of the amendment fought hard for its ratification. One of these was U.S. Representative Shirley Chisholm, who spoke out in support of the ERA in a speech to Congress in 1970. In 1971 conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly formed the group Stop-ERA to fight the legislation.

Successes and Failures

MAIN Idea The women's movement made gains for women in education and employment but has not achieved complete equality for women.

HISTORY AND YOU Have you ever seen men and women treated differently because of their gender? Read to learn how the women's movement tried to get equal treatment for women in the 1960s and 1970s.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the women's movement fought to amend the Constitution and enforce Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, lobbied to repeal laws against abortion, and worked for legislation against gender discrimination in employment, housing, and education. The movement had many successes, but also encountered strong opposition to some of the reforms it wanted.

The Equal Rights Amendment

The women's movement seemed to be off to a strong start when Congress passed the **Equal Rights Amendment** (ERA) in March 1972. The amendment specified that "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex." To become part of the Constitution, the amendment had to be ratified by 38 states. Many states did so—35 by 1979—but by then, significant opposition to the amendment had begun to build up.

Opponents of the ERA argued that it would take away some traditional rights, such as the right to alimony in divorce cases or the right to have single-gender colleges. They also feared it would allow women to be drafted into the military and eliminate laws that provided special protection for women in the workforce.

YES

Shirley Chisholm

Member of the U.S. House of Representatives

PRIMARY SOURCE

"Discrimination against women . . . is so widespread that it seems to many persons normal, natural and right. . . .

It is time we act to assure full equality of opportunity . . . to women.

The argument that this amendment will not solve the problem of sex discrimination is not relevant. . . . Of course laws will not eliminate prejudice from the hearts of human beings. But that is no reason to allow prejudice to continue to be enshrined in our laws. . . . The Constitution they wrote was designed to protect the rights of white, male citizens. As there were no black Founding Fathers, there were no founding mothers—a great pity, on both counts. It is not too late to complete the work they left undone."

—speech before Congress, August 10, 1970

NO

Phyllis Schlafly

Author and Conservative Activist

PRIMARY SOURCE

"This Amendment will absolutely and positively make women subject to the draft. Why any woman would support such a ridiculous and un-American proposal as this is beyond comprehension. . . . Foxholes are bad enough for men, but they certainly are *not* the place for women—and we should reject any proposal which would put them there in the name of 'equal rights.'. . .

Another bad effect of the Equal Rights Amendment is that it will abolish a woman's right to child support and alimony . . .

Under present American laws, the man is *always* required to support his wife and each child he caused to be brought into the world. Why should women abandon these good laws . . . ?"

—from the *Phyllis Schlafly Report*, February 1972

DBQ Document-Based Questions

1. **Summarizing** Why does Chisholm believe that the ERA is necessary?
2. **Explaining** What does Schlafly say was the main flaw in the arguments of the ERA supporters?
3. **Evaluating** With which position do you agree? Write a paragraph to explain your choice.

One outspoken opponent was **Phyllis Schlafly,** who organized the Stop-ERA campaign. By the end of 1979, four states had voted to rescind their approval. Many people had become worried that the amendment would give federal courts too much power to interfere with state laws. Unable to achieve ratification by three-fourths of the states by the deadline set by Congress, the Equal Rights Amendment finally failed in 1982.

Equality in Education

One major achievement of the movement came in the area of education. Kathy Striebel's experience illustrated the discrimination female students often faced in the early 1970s. In 1971 Striebel, a high school junior in St. Paul, Minnesota, wanted to compete for her school's swim team, but the school did not allow girls to join. Kathy's mother, Charlotte, was a member of the local NOW chapter. Through it, she learned that St. Paul had recently banned gender discrimination in education. She filed a grievance with the city's human rights department, and officials required the school to allow Kathy to swim.

Shortly after joining the team, Kathy beat out one of the boys and earned a spot at a meet. As she stood on the block waiting to swim, the opposing coach declared that she was ineligible because the meet was outside St. Paul and thus beyond the jurisdiction of its laws. "They pulled that little girl right off the block," Charlotte Striebel recalled angrily.

Recognizing the problem, leaders of the women's movement lobbied Congress to ban gender discrimination in education. In 1972 Congress responded by passing a law known collectively as the Educational Amendments. One section, **Title IX,** prohibited federally funded schools from discriminating against women in nearly all aspects of its operations, from admissions to athletics.

Roe v. *Wade*

One of the most important goals for many women activists was the repeal of laws against abortion. Until 1973, the right to regulate abortion was reserved to the states. This was in keeping with the original plan of the Constitution, which reserved all police power—the power to control people and property in the

For further information on the case of *Roe* v. *Wade*, see page R60 in **Supreme Court Case Summaries.**

PRIMARY SOURCE

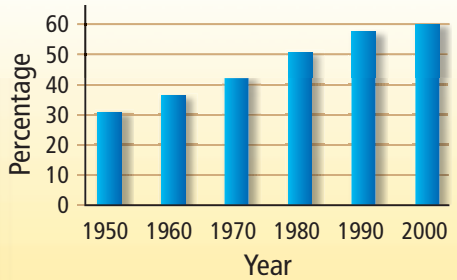
The Changing Status of Women

Women's roles were changing in society. Although the ERA failed, more women entered the workforce and gender discrimination in schools was banned with the passage of Title IX.

Analyzing VISUALS

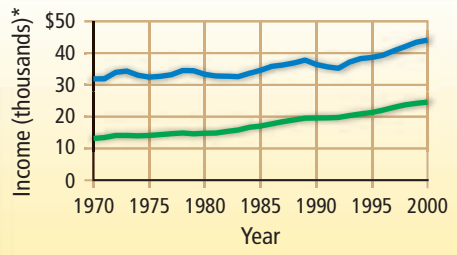
1. **Analyzing** By how much did the percentage of working women increase between 1950 and 2000?
2. **Interpreting** What gains, if any, did women make in median income compared to men?

Women in the Workforce



Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to the Present, Volume 2.*

Median Income, 1970–2000



*Amount is in 2004 dollars.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

interest of safety, health, welfare, and morals—to the state. Early in the country's history, some abortions were permitted in the early stages of pregnancy, but by the mid-1800s, states had passed laws prohibiting abortion, except to save the life of the mother.

In the late 1960s, some states began adopting more liberal abortion laws. For example, several states allowed abortion if carrying a baby to term might endanger the woman's mental health or if she was a victim of rape or incest. The big change came with the 1973 Supreme Court decision in *Roe* v. *Wade.* The Supreme Court ruled that state governments could not regulate abortion during the first three months of pregnancy, a time that was said to be within a woman's constitutional right to privacy. During the second three months of pregnancy, states could regulate abortions on the basis of the health of the mother. States could ban abortion in the final three months except in cases of a medical emergency. Those in favor of abortion rights cheered *Roe* v. *Wade* as a victory, but the issue was far from settled politically. The decision gave rise to the right-to-life movement, whose members consider abortion morally wrong and advocate its total ban.

After the *Roe* v. *Wade* ruling, the two sides began an impassioned battle that continues today. In the 1992 case *Planned Parenthood* v. *Casey,* the Supreme Court modified *Roe* v. *Wade*. The court decided that states could place some restrictions on all abortions, such as requiring doctors to explain the risks and require their patients to give "informed consent." The court also upheld laws that required underage girls to inform their parents before obtaining an abortion. At the same time, the court struck down laws requiring women to notify their husbands before having an abortion. The court also abandoned the rule that states could ban abortion only in the final three months. Technology had now made it possible for the fetus to be viable outside the womb much earlier in a pregnancy. States could now restrict abortion based on the viability of the fetus.

The Impact of the Feminist Movement

Despite the failure of the ERA, the women's movement has brought profound changes to society. Since the 1970s, many more women have pursued college degrees and careers outside of the home, and two-career families are much more common than they were in the 1950s and 1960s. Many employers now offer options to help make work more **compatible** with family life, including flexible hours, on-site child care, and job-sharing.

Even though the women's movement helped change social attitudes toward women, a significant income gap between men and women still exists. A major reason for the gap is that many working women still hold lower-paying jobs such as bank tellers, administrative assistants, cashiers, schoolteachers, and nurses. It is in professional jobs that women have made the most dramatic gains since the 1970s. By 2000, women made up over 40 percent of the nation's graduates receiving medical or law degrees.

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

Section 2 REVIEW

Vocabulary

1. **Explain** the significance of: feminism, Equal Pay Act, Betty Friedan, National Organization for Women (NOW), Gloria Steinem, Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), Phyllis Schlafly, Title IX.

Main Ideas

2. **Analyzing** What two events weakened the women's movement after 1920?

3. **Explaining** Why were some people against passage of the ERA?

Critical Thinking

4. **Big Ideas** What gains have been made in women's rights since the 1960s?

5. **Organizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to list the major achievements of the women's movement.

6. **Analyzing Visuals** Study the bar graph on page 918. In what decade did the greatest percentage of women join the workforce? Why might this be?

Writing About History

7. **Persuasive Writing** Assume the role of a supporter or opponent of the ERA. Write a letter to the editor of your local newspaper to persuade people to support your position.

History ONLINE

Study Central To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.

Section 3

Latino Americans Organize

Guide to Reading

Big Ideas

Struggles for Rights Latinos organized to fight discrimination and to gain access to better education and jobs.

Content Vocabulary

- repatriation *(p. 922)*
- bilingualism *(p. 925)*

Academic Vocabulary

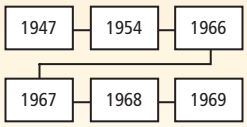
- likewise *(p. 920)*
- adequate *(p. 924)*

People and Events to Identify

- League of United Latin American Citizens *(p. 923)*
- American GI Forum *(p. 924)*
- César Chávez *(p. 925)*
- Dolores Huerta *(p. 925)*
- United Farm Workers *(p. 925)*
- *La Raza Unida* *(p. 925)*
- Bilingual Education Act *(p. 925)*

Reading Strategy

Organizing Complete a time line similar to the one below to record major events in the struggle of Latinos for equal civil and political rights.



Most Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants lived in the Southwest, where many faced discrimination in jobs and housing. By the mid-twentieth century, more immigrants arrived from various parts of Latin America. Latinos formed civil rights organizations to challenge discrimination.

Latinos Migrate North

MAIN Idea Mexicans, the largest Spanish-speaking immigrant group, faced discrimination and segregation in the West and Southwest.

HISTORY AND YOU Have you ever heard of immigrants getting their "green cards," which permit them to work in the United States? Read on to learn how the Bracero Program allowed some Mexicans to work on a temporary basis.

Americans of Mexican heritage have lived in what is now the United States since before the founding of the republic. Their numbers steadily increased in the 1800s, in part because the United States acquired territory where Mexicans already lived, and in part because Mexicans began migrating north to live in the United States. In the twentieth century, Mexican immigration rose dramatically.

In 1910 the Mexican Revolution began and the resulting turmoil prompted a wave of emigration from Mexico that lasted more than a decade. During the 1920s, half a million Mexicans immigrated to the United States through official channels, and an unknown number entered the country through other means. Precise population estimates are impossible because many Mexicans frequently moved back and forth across the border.

Not surprisingly, persons of Mexican heritage remained concentrated in the areas that were once the northern provinces of Mexico. In 1930, 90 percent of ethnic Mexicans in the United States lived in Texas, California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado. In Texas, the favorite destination for Mexican immigrants, cities such as San Antonio and El Paso had large populations of Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants. As a result of heavy Mexican immigration, the ethnic Mexican population in Texas grew from 71,062 in 1900 to 683,681 in 1930. Southern California, **likewise,** had a large Spanish-speaking population.

Of course, not all Mexican Americans remained in the West and Southwest. In the 1910s and 1920s, along with Americans of other ethnic backgrounds, many Mexican Americans headed for the cities of the Midwest and Northeast, where they found jobs in factories.

PRIMARY SOURCE

Latinos Arrive in America, 1910–1950

In the twentieth century, Latinos, mainly Mexicans, began to enter the United States in large numbers settling mostly in the West and Southwest. Others, who came from Puerto Rico or Cuba, often settled in the barrios of the large cities in the East.

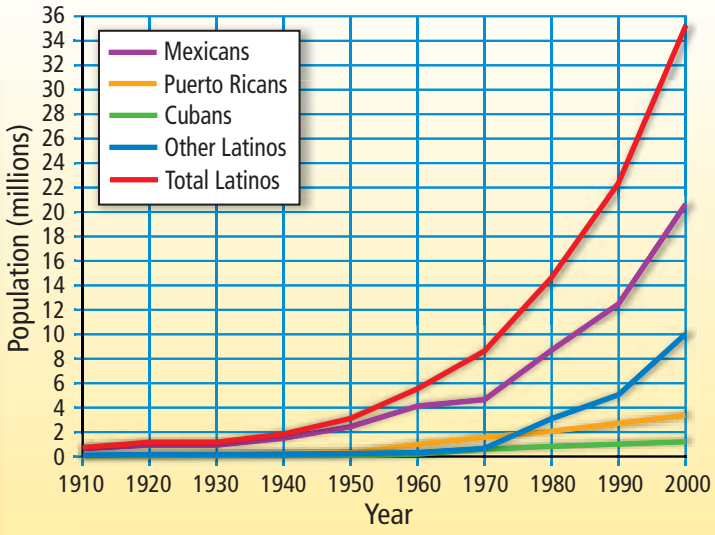
▲ *These refugees, guarded by U.S. troops at Fort Bliss, Texas, were some of the more than 500,000 who came to the United States to escape the turmoil of the Mexican Revolution.*

▲ *Family of Mexican migrant workers, who came to the United States as part of the* Bracero *program during World War II*

Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Interpreting** The U.S. Latino population is made up of which main groups?
2. **Drawing Conclusions** Why have Latino Americans experienced a growing political influence in recent years?

Growth of Latino Population in the U.S.



Source: *Historical Statistics of the United States: Earliest Times to the Present, Volume 1.*

Mexicans Face Discrimination

Across the Southwest, most Mexican Americans lived in barrios. Barrios were the product of a combination of the region's history and discrimination against Latinos. Los Angeles, for example, was founded as a Spanish town in 1781. When English-speaking settlers arrived a century later, they built around the older Spanish-speaking district.

Residential segregation, however, also had roots in ethnic discrimination. With heavy Mexican immigration in the early twentieth century, the ethnic Mexican population of Los Angeles grew from 5,000 in 1900 to around 190,000 in 1930. By that time, the Spanish-speaking population was segregated in the eastern part of the city, where most lived in small, dilapidated housing and suffered high rates of infant mortality and disease.

In California and across the Southwest, discrimination in employment meant that most ethnic Mexicans could find work only in low-paying jobs. Many lived in rural areas where they worked as agricultural laborers. Ernesto Galarza was eight years old when his family immigrated to California and settled in Sacramento in 1913. In his autobiography, he recalled the importance of the barrio to new immigrants:

PRIMARY SOURCE

"For the Mexicans the *barrio* was a colony of refugees. We came to know families from Chihuahua, Sonora, Jalisco, and Durango. . . . As poor refugees, their first concern was to find a place to sleep, then to eat and find work. In the *barrio* they were most likely to find all three, for not knowing English, they needed something that was even more urgent than a room, a meal, or a job, and that was information in a language they could understand."

—from *Barrio Boy*

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, approximately one-third of the Mexican population in the United States returned to Mexico. Some left voluntarily, believing it would be easier to get by in Mexico. Many Mexican Americans, however, faced increased hostility and discrimination as unemployment rates soared in the early 1930s.

Then, federal officials launched a series of deportations that not only included immigrants from Mexico but often their American-born children as well. This return to Mexico became known as the **repatriation.**

During World War II, labor shortages in the Southwest led to the creation of the Bracero Program. Under this arrangement, Mexican workers entered into short-term labor contracts, mostly as low-wage farm workers.

Meanwhile, illegal immigration increased. In 1954 Eisenhower's administration launched a program intended to deport illegal Latino immigrants. Police swept through barrios seeking illegal immigrants, and more than 3.7 million Mexicans were deported over the next three years. The raids were criticized in the United States and in Mexico for intimidating people for simply looking "Mexican." In addition, the program often failed to distinguish between individuals legally in the country (some of whom were U.S. citizens) and those who had entered illegally.

Other Latinos Arrive

Although Mexicans remained the largest group of Spanish-speaking newcomers in the 1950s, large numbers of Puerto Ricans arrived as well. American citizens since 1917, Puerto Ricans may move freely within American territory. After World War II, economic troubles in Puerto Rico prompted over a million Puerto Ricans to move to the mainland United States. American factory owners and employment agencies had also begun to recruit in Puerto Rico for workers, and the advent of relatively cheap air travel made immigration easier. The majority of Puerto Ricans settled in New York City. There, they suffered racial discrimination and alarmingly high levels of poverty.

The United States also became home to more than 350,000 Cuban immigrants in the decade after the Cuban Revolution of 1959. Many Cubans fleeing the Communist regime were professionals or business owners who settled in and around Miami, Florida. Most were welcomed in the United States because they were middle class or affluent and viewed as refugees fleeing Communist oppression. In 1960 about 3 million Latinos lived in the United States. By the late 1960s, more than 9 million Latinos lived in the United States.

Reading Check **Summarizing** What were some of the criticisms of Eisenhower's deportation program?

PRIMARY SOURCE

Latinos in the United States

By the late 1960s, approximately 9 million Latinos lived in the United States. Although many were citizens, they still faced segregation, discrimination, and other forms of racial prejudice. However, with their increasing population and through political protest and legal action they began to work to improve conditions.

▲ *Latino dancers in a traditional dance at a fiesta in Taos, New Mexico*

Latinos Organize

MAIN Idea Latino civil rights organizations, such as LULAC and the American GI Forum, fought against discrimination.

HISTORY AND YOU Recall what you learned about the decision in the Supreme Court case *Brown* v. *Board of Education.* Read on to find out how LULAC filed similar lawsuits challenging discrimination against Mexican Americans.

The Latino community in the West and Southwest included American citizens and immigrant noncitizens. Regardless of their citizenship status, however, people of Mexican heritage were often treated as outsiders by the English-speaking majority. Latinos formed several organizations to work for equal rights and fair treatment.

In 1929 a number of Mexican American organizations came together to create the **League of United Latin American Citizens** (LULAC). The purpose of this organization was to fight discrimination against persons of Latin American ancestry. The organization limited its membership to people of Latin American heritage who were American citizens. LULAC encouraged assimilation into American society and adopted English as its official language.

LULAC achieved many advances for Latinos. One of its early crusades ended segregation of public places in Texas where Mexican Americans (along with African Americans) had been barred from "whites only" sections. The organization also ended the practice of segregating Spanish-speaking children in "Mexican schools."

In *Mendez* v. *Westminster* (1947), a group of Mexican parents won a lawsuit that challenged school segregation in California. Two years later, LULAC filed a similarly successful suit in Texas. During the 1950s, the organization was a frequent and vocal critic of the excesses and abuses of deportation authorities. In 1954 the Supreme Court's ruling in *Hernandez* v. *Texas* extended more rights to Latino citizens. The case ended the exclusion of Mexican Americans from juries in Texas.

▼ *Many migrant workers lived in terrible conditions, such as this family who shared one small room.*

▲ *Every member of the family had to work to survive, such as these Mexican children picking cotton in Texas.*

Analyzing VISUALS

1. **Describing** What types of treatment did many Latinos experience in the United States?
2. **Differentiating** What challenges were presented by the living and working conditions for Latino families in the United States?

History ONLINE **Student Web Activity** Visit glencoe.com and complete the activity on protest movements.

Another Latino organization, the **American GI Forum,** was founded to protect the rights of Mexican American veterans. After World War II, Latino veterans were excluded from veterans' organizations and denied medical services by the Veterans Administration.

The GI Forum's first effort to combat racial injustice involved a Mexican American soldier who was killed during World War II. A funeral home refused to hold his funeral because he was Mexican American. The GI Forum drew national attention to the incident and, with the help of Senator Lyndon Johnson, the soldier's remains were buried in Arlington National Cemetery. Initially concerned only with issues directly affecting Latino veterans, the organization later broadened its scope to challenge segregation and other forms of discrimination against all Latinos.

Reading Check **Analyzing** How did American society discriminate against Latinos?

Protests and Progress

MAIN Idea Many Latinos worked as poorly paid agricultural laborers; the United Farm Workers tried to improve their working conditions.

HISTORY AND YOU Do you think the United States should have a national language? Read how school districts set up bilingual education classes to teach immigrant students in their own language while they were still learning English.

As the 1960s began, Latino Americans continued to face prejudice and limited access to **adequate** education, employment, and housing. Encouraged by the achievements of the African American civil rights movement, Latinos launched a series of campaigns to improve their economic situation and end discrimination.

One major campaign was the effort to improve conditions for farmworkers. Most Mexican American farm laborers earned little pay, received few benefits, and had no job

PRIMARY SOURCE

Latino Americans Gain Ground

▲ *Activist César Chávez was instrumental in improving conditions for Latino migrant workers.*

PRIMARY SOURCE

"I'm not very different from anyone else who has ever tried to accomplish something with his life. My motivation comes from my personal life . . . from what we experienced as migrant farm workers in California. . . .

That dream, that vision, grew from my own experience with racism, with hope, with the desire to be treated fairly and to see my people treated as human beings and not as chattel. It grew from anger and rage—emotions I felt forty years ago when people of my color were denied the right to see a movie or eat at a restaurant . . .

I began to realize what other minority people had discovered: that the only answer, the only hope was in organizing.

More of us had to become citizens. We had to register to vote. And people like me had to develop the skills it would take to organize, to educate, to help empower the Chicano people.

Like the other immigrant groups, the day will come when we win the economic and political rewards which are in keeping with our numbers in society. . . .

That day may not come this year. That day may not come during this decade. But it will come, someday!"

—César Chávez, speech to the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, 1984

DBQ Document-Based Questions

1. **Summarizing** What about his early life inspired Chávez to become an activist?
2. **Explaining** What does Chávez say is the only hope for minority people?

security. In the early 1960s, **César Chávez** and **Dolores Huerta** organized two groups that fought for farmworkers. In 1965 the groups went on strike in California to demand union recognition, increased wages, and better benefits.

When employers resisted, Chávez enlisted college students, churches, and civil rights groups to organize a national boycott of table grapes, one of California's main agricultural products. An estimated 17 million citizens stopped buying grapes, and industry profits tumbled. In 1966, under the sponsorship of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organization (AFL-CIO), Chávez and Huerta merged their two organizations into one—the **United Farm Workers** (UFW). The new union kept the boycott going until 1970, when the grape growers finally agreed to raise wages and improve working conditions.

During the 1960s and 1970s, a growing number of Latino youths became involved in civil rights. In 1967 college students in San Antonio, Texas, led by José Angel Gutiérrez, founded the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO). MAYO organized walkouts and demonstrations to protest discrimination. In 1968 about 1,000 Mexican American students and teachers in East Los Angeles walked out of their classrooms to protest racism. In Crystal City, Texas, protests organized by MAYO in 1969 led to the creation of bilingual education at the local high school.

MAYO's success and the spread of protests across the West and Southwest convinced Gutiérrez to found a new political party, ***La Raza Unida***, or "the United People," in 1969. *La Raza* promoted Latino causes and supported Latino candidates in Texas, California, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico. The group mobilized Mexican American voters with calls for job-training programs and greater access to financial institutions. By the early 1970s, it had elected Latinos to local offices in several cities with large Latino populations.

La Raza was part of a larger civil rights movement among Mexican Americans (many of whom began calling themselves Chicanos). This "Brown Power" movement fought against discrimination and celebrated ethnic pride. On September 16, 1969 (Mexican Independence Day), students at the University of California at Berkeley staged a sit-in demanding a Chicano Studies program. Over the next decade, more than 50 universities created programs dedicated to the study of Latinos in the United States.

One issue many Latino leaders promoted in the late 1960s was **bilingualism**—the practice of teaching immigrant students in their own language while they also learned English. Congress supported their arguments, passing the **Bilingual Education Act** in 1968. This act directed school districts to set up classes for immigrants in their own language while they were learning English.

Later, bilingualism became politically controversial. Many Americans worried that bilingualism made it difficult for Latino immigrants to assimilate. Beginning in the 1980s, an English-only movement began, and by the 2000s, legislatures in 25 states had passed laws or amendments making English the official language of their state.

Reading Check **Explaining** How did Latino Americans increase their economic opportunities in the 1960s?

Section 3 REVIEW

Vocabulary

1. **Explain** the significance of: repatriation, League of United Latin American Citizens, American GI Forum, César Chávez, Dolores Huerta, United Farm Workers, *La Raza Unida*, bilingualism, Bilingual Education Act.

Main Ideas

2. **Identifying** What are the national origins of the three main groups of Latinos in the United States?

3. **Describing** Under what circumstances did the American GI Forum first take action?

4. **Explaining** Why did some Americans worry about the Bilingual Education Act?

Critical Thinking

5. **Big Ideas** How did the judicial system support Latino civil rights in the last century? Cite two relevant court cases and their decisions.

6. **Categorizing** Use a graphic organizer similar to the one below to identify Latino groups and their achievements.

Civil Rights Group	Achievement

7. **Analyzing Visuals** Study the graph on page 921. What was the total U.S. Latino population in 2000? Which group had the largest population?

Writing About History

8. **Expository Writing** Write a magazine article about the conditions that gave rise to the Latino civil rights movement in the postwar period.

History ONLINE

Study Central To review this section, go to glencoe.com and click on Study Central.

Chapter 27 Visual Summary

You can study anywhere, anytime by downloading quizzes and flashcards to your PDA from glencoe.com.

Causes of the New Protest Movements

- Earlier "beat" movement questioned American values.
- The successes of African Americans' fight for civil rights demonstrated to other groups that change was possible if people demanded change.
- Many in the baby boom generation became frustrated with society as they entered college and begin to advocate for social reform.
- The Vietnam War and the draft led many students to join protests.
- Women began to question their position in postwar society. Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique* influenced many young women.
- The Kennedy administration began to pay attention to women's issues, passing the Equal Pay Act and creating the President's Commission on the Status of Women.
- The Latino American population increased through immigration; Latino newcomers, as well as citizens, faced discrimination.

◀ *SDS leader Mario Savio speaks at a 1966 sit-in.*

▶ *Latinos began to fight for improved labor conditions through the work of the United Farm Workers who held rallies such as this one in 1979.*

▲ *Women's rights leaders, such as Bella Abzug (left, in hat) and Betty Friedan (right, in red coat) fought for greater equality for women.*

Effects of the New Protest Movements

- New student groups, including Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), were formed. Court cases affirmed student rights to free speech on campus.
- New women's groups, such as the National Organization of Women (NOW), emerged. They fought for equal economic rights in the workplace and in society; demanded equal opportunities in education.
- A campaign began for the Equal Rights Amendment, but the amendment was not ratified.
- The *Roe* v. *Wade* decision affirmed a constitutional right to abortion, with some limits.
- New Latino organizations emerged, such as the United Farm Workers (UFW) and *La Raza Unida*, fighting for increased economic opportunity and greater representation in political institutions.
- Latinos made substantial gains politically and economically, and many were elected to positions in Congress and state governments.

STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

TEST-TAKING TIP

Read each question carefully to understand exactly what it is asking. Then review all the answer choices before finally choosing the ***best*** answer to the question.

Reviewing Vocabulary

Directions: Choose the word or words that best complete the sentence.

1. In the 1960s young people known as hippies began the _____ movement.

A beat
B counterculture
C student
D commune

2. A newly energized belief in _____ led to the fight to pass the Equal Rights Amendment.

A communism
B environmentalism
C fascism
D feminism

3. In the 1930s U.S. officials began to return Mexican immigrants to Mexico in what became known as the

A counterculture.
B barrio.
C repatriation.
D *La Raza Unida.*

4. Latinos lobbied successfully for the addition of _____ in public education.

A bilingualism
B repatriation
C feminism
D legalism

Reviewing Main Ideas

Directions: Choose the best answer for each of the following questions.

Section 1 *(pp. 910–913)*

5. SDS was begun by Tom Hayden at which university?

A Harvard University
B University of California at Berkeley
C Kent State University
D University of Michigan

6. Which of the following was an outgrowth of hippie culture?

A SDS
B rock 'n' roll music
C communes
D buzz cuts

Section 2 *(pp. 914–919)*

7. The work of the President's Commission on the Status of Women led to

A the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.
B the Equal Rights Amendment.
C the Equal Pay Act.
D the National Organization for Women.

8. Title IX of the Educational Amendments prohibited federally funded schools

A from paying male teachers more than female teachers.
B from discriminating against minorities.
C from providing same-gender education.
D from discriminating on the basis of gender.

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Go to Page . . .	912	914–919	922	925	910–911	913	915	918

GO ON

9. Why did some people oppose the Equal Rights Amendment?

A It said that state governments could not regulate abortion during the first three months of pregnancy.

B It allowed women to go to college and vocational schools for free.

C People feared that it would take away traditional rights such as receiving alimony and exemption from military combat.

D People feared that more women would choose to stay at home with their families rather than having a career.

Section 3 *(pp. 920–925)*

10. Cuban immigrants arriving after the Cuban Revolution in 1959 were welcomed by Americans because

A there was a shortage of cheap labor.

B they were considered refugees from communism.

C most of them were fluent in English.

D there was a need for more doctors and other professionals.

11. Using a tactic the NAACP had used to advance the rights of African Americans, LULAC fought discrimination against Latinos mainly through

A lobbying efforts.

B demonstrations and other protests.

C the court system.

D periodicals and other mass media.

12. Who was the American GI Forum founded to protect?

A African American veterans

B women veterans

C Mexican veterans

D Veterans of Pacific Battles

Critical Thinking

Directions: Choose the best answers to the following questions.

13. The Supreme Court upheld the Free Speech protesters' rights to free speech and assembly under which law?

A the Civil Rights Act of 1964

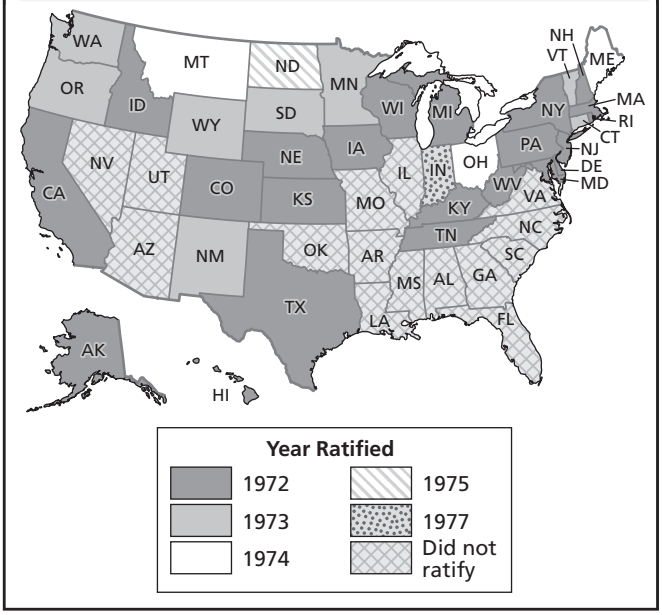
B the Equal Rights Amendment

C the Educational Amendments

D the Twenty-sixth Amendment

Base your answers to questions 14 and 15 on the map below and on your knowledge of Chapter 27.

ERA Ratification, 1972–1982



14. How many states had ratified the ERA by 1977?

A 20 **C** 30

B 25 **D** 35

15. In what region did most states fail to ratify the ERA?

A the South **C** the West

B New England **D** the Midwest

Need Extra Help?

If You Missed Questions . . .	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Go to Page . . .	917–918	922–923	923	924	911–912	R15	R15

GO ON

16. The United Farm Workers' boycott against California grape growers was effective because

A the grape growers gave in so quickly to the union's demands.

B no one thought that they could organize so well.

C grapes were a major agricultural product of California.

D the union had the support of the U.S. government.

17. What did the cartoonist imply with this cartoon?

A Hippies know a great deal of information.

B Parents do not listen to their children.

C Hippies were wrong to question the older generation when they still accepted money from them.

D The older generation thought hippies were lazy and unintelligent.

Document-Based Questions

Directions: Analyze the document and answer the short-answer questions that follow the document.

On December 2, 1964, Mario Savio, the leader of the Free Speech Movement, led a protest at the University of California at Berkeley. Before the protest, Savio made a speech in reaction to comments by Berkeley's president, Clark Kerr. Kerr had said that he would not speak out in favor of students' demands in opposition to the Board of Regents, in the same way that a manager would not speak out against a board of directors. Savio used Kerr's metaphor of the university as a corporation in the following excerpt from his speech:

> "[I]f this is a firm, and if the Board of Regents are the board of directors, and if President Kerr in fact is the manager, then I'll tell you something: the faculty are a bunch of employees, and we're the raw material! But we're a bunch of raw material[s] that don't mean to have any process upon us, don't mean to be made into any product. . . . We're human beings! . . . you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you've got to make it stop. And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it, that unless you're free, the machine will be prevented from working at all!"
>
> —from Mario Savio's speech to Free Speech Movement demonstrators

18. According to Savio, if the university is a company, then what are the students?

19. What is Savio asking his fellow students to do, both literally and figuratively?

Extended Response

20. Write an expository essay explaining why so many protest movements emerged in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s. Your essay should include an introduction and at least three paragraphs that explore this issue, including facts and examples from the chapter.

STOP

History ONLINE

For additional test practice, use Self-Check Quizzes—Chapter 27 at glencoe.com.

Need Extra Help?					
If You Missed Questions . . .	16	17	18	19	20
Go to Page . . .	925	R18	R19	R19	R12