CHAPTER 30
SOCIETY IN FLUX

Carnes/Garraty
A SOCIETY ON THE MOVE

- In the postwar decades, the automobile entered its golden age
  - 1920s: 31 million autos were produced by American factories
  - 1950s: 58 million produced
  - 1960s: 77 million produced
- New cars were heavier and more powerful
  - Gas consumption rose
    - 1931: 15 billion gallons
    - 1950: 35 billion gallons
    - 1970: 92 billion gallons
- Motels developed to meet the needs of travelers
A SOCIETY ON THE MOVE

- Development of the interstate highway system begun under Eisenhower in 1956 was a major cause of this new mobility
  - Accelerated shift to suburbs and decline of inner-city districts
- Air travel also came of age with first jetliner—Boeing 707—in 1958
Advent of television as a means of mass communication was another postwar change

- By 1961 there were 55 million sets in operation
- By mid-1960s orbiting government and commercial satellites were relaying pictures from one continent to another instantly

Television combined the immediacy of radio with the visual impact of films

- TV became indispensable to the political system due to coverage of public events and as a vehicle for political advertising
As early as 1952, Republicans made effective use of “spots”—20 second tapes of candidate Eisenhower responding to questions about issues.

Later campaigns for state and local, as well as national, office spent millions on TV ads.

Television also brought sporting events to viewers, attracting enormous audiences and producing so much money in advertising revenue that the economics of professional sports was revolutionized.

- Team franchises were bought and sold for large sums.
- Ordinary players commanded salaries in the hundreds of thousands while stars received millions.
THE ADVENT OF TELEVISION

- Some excellent drama was presented, especially on the National Educational Television network, along with many documentaries.
- The head of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) declared most television stations to be a “vast wasteland”:
  - Uninspired and vulgar television serials
  - Routine variety shows
  - Giveaway and quiz shows
  - Reruns of old movies cut to fit TV schedules
- Most TVs had poor acoustic qualities.
THE ADVENT OF TELEVISION

- Problems
  - TV fascinated children
  - Had capacity for influencing the opinions and feelings of viewers
    - Ads for products and politicians
  - Need for political ads raised the cost of campaigns and threatened to undermine democracy
- Importance of the major networks (ABC, NBC, CBS) was heavily impacted in the 1980s with the advent of cable
  - Brought broadcasts to remote areas
  - Made available large numbers of additional channels
- Introduction of VCRs made TVs even more useful
In 1946 more than 10 percent of all single females over the age of 14 got married

- Federal government granting income tax deductions for dependents
- Birthrate soared

People sought security in domesticity

- Divorce rate slackened
- Tended to be conformists
- 1947 survey in *Women’s Home Companion* found that readers favored nursing, clerical work, retailing, and teaching as careers because provided best training for real goal: marriage

- Popular magazines ran articles showing college-educated women how to make a career of home management and child development
AT HOME AND WORK

Scholars mostly agreed women belonged at home

- 1947: Psychoanalyst Marynia Farnham stated that women’s reproductive organs predisposed them to the protective and nurturing tasks of child rearing and that women who pursued careers would be forever at odds with their bodies

- Dr. Benjamin Spock, whose *Common Sense Guide to Baby and Child Care* sold 24 million in the quarter century after its publication in 1946, insisted that the mother’s most important job was to shore up her child’s sense of self by providing continuous support and affection—women who worked outside the home “neglected” their children
Harvard sociologist Talcott Parsons maintained that the evolution of modern industrial society was linked to the specialization of gender roles.

- Advanced societies benefited from women performing the “expressive” tasks of family life and men the “instrumental” tasks of running economic and political systems.
- Women who worked outside the home endangered the mental well being of themselves and their children and also threatened the progress of humanity.
Men were expected to cede management of the domestic sphere to women, as supported by numerous Hollywood movies where well-meaning but inept patriarchs had to be eased out of their blundering interference in domestic affairs

- *Life with Father* (1947)
- *Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House* (1948)
- *Cheaper by the Dozen* (1950)
- *Father of the Bride* (1950)

Television repeated these themes in shows like

- *Father Knows Best* (1954-1962)
- *The Honeymooners* (1953-1956)
- *I Love Lucy* (1952-1957)
AT HOME AND WORK

- The main job of men was to earn enough money to sustain the family
  - From 1949 to 1975, unemployment never exceeded 7 percent
  - During mid-1960s, it fell below 4 percent
- The character of work was changing
  - Second World War accelerated the growth of giant corporations and their mountains of paperwork
  - Regiments of managers and their staff of clerical workers ran the system
    - 1870: 1 in 160 workers was employed in clerical work.
    - 1950: 1 in 8
  - There was a decline in sales as an occupation
Salesmen were replaced by “organization man”: Man who went to college, maintained a B average, joined sports teams and clubs, found work in a large corporation and subordinated his interests, even his taste in clothes, to the requirements of the company.

Wife was also expected to conform and, especially, be attractive.
Growth of suburbs gave a geographic dimension to changing roles of husbands and wives

- Government encouraged single family home construction by allowing homeowners to deduct mortgage interest from taxes and by making low cost mortgage loans available
- New suburbs, with streets named after flowers or pleasant emotional states, sprang up across the country
Yet suburban world pictured on TV had little alignment with reality

- More women leaving home to find work, especially in clerical and service sectors
  - 1940: only 1 in 4 civilian employees female, one-third married
  - 1970: 4 in 10 women, two-thirds married

- These women’s lives did not mirror those on TV
THE GROWING MIDDLE CLASS

- Growth of middle class
  - 1947 only 5.7 million American families had middle class incomes—enough to provide something for leisure, entertainment and cultural activities as well as necessities
  - By early 1960s, more than 12 million families (one-third of the population) had such incomes

- Decline in percentage of immigrants in population
  - 1965: over 95 percent of all Americans were native-born

- Increase in incomes of industrial workers and change in character of labor
  - By 1962, 90 percent of industrial workers enjoyed paid vacations and medical insurance at least partially financed by employers
  - 70 percent participated in pension plans
  - 1955 merger of AFL and CIO added to prestige of unions
RELIGION IN CHANGING TIMES

- Many saw expansion of middle class as one of the reasons behind glorification of conformity
  - Blurring of party lines in politics
  - National obsession with moderation and consensus
  - Complacency of many Americans and tendency to be interested in social aspects of church going rather than moral and philosophical aspects of religion

- In wake of WWII, an expansion of religious activity
  - Catholic Church built 1000 new schools and more than a hundred hospitals along with countless new churches
  - By 1950 Southern Baptists had enrolled nearly 300,000 new members and built some 500 churches
While most faiths prospered materially, the faithful tended to accept the world as it was.

- Religious toleration was becoming routine.
- A Gallup poll shortly after the war showed 97 percent of Americans believed in God though another poll showed most to be woefully ignorant of religious history and doctrine.
- 1954: Eisenhower signed a law adding “one nation under God” to the Pledge of Allegiance.
- 1955: Congress added “In God We Trust” to currency.
RELIGION IN CHANGING TIMES

- Expansion of higher education tended to make people more tolerant of beliefs of others
  - Better educated also tended to be less involved in formal aspects of religion
  - Some became interested in non-Western faiths
- Civil rights movement and war in Vietnam had important religious implications
  - Many militant blacks converted to Islam because of its lack of racial bias
  - Nearly all religious groups became involved in fight for racial justice that emerged after Supreme Court outlawed segregation
Social changes of period had religious ramifications

- Feminists objected to male domination of most Christian churches and called for ordination of female ministers and priests

- Every aspect of the sexual revolution, from couples living together outside of marriage to tolerance of homosexuality and pornography to the legalization of contraception and abortion, caused shock waves in the religious community
  - Roman Catholic insistence on celibacy discouraged many young people from becoming priests and nuns which, in turn, hurt the parochial school system which depended heavily on clergy for teachers
Radio and television directly affected religion

- Airwaves enabled rhetorically skilled preachers to reach millions with emotionally charged messages on religious topics and on political and social questions
- Leaders of evangelical sects were especially successful and by 1960s had mastered TV
  - Most postwar revivalists, such as Billy Graham, stressed interdenominational cooperation
  - In 1970s, more militant, fundamentalist type emerged
  - By 1980s a number of scandals led to disillusionment among followers
  - Rapid spread of cable television enabled scores of new evangelists to reach out to viewers
- In 1989 membership in all churches and synagogues surpassed 148 million, an increase of 60 million during the previous four decades
  - Membership in the Catholic church more than doubled
  - 1990, two-thirds of all Americans reported they belonged to a church
    - Highest percentage of major industrial nations
After the war, a number of excellent novels based on the military experiences of young writers appeared
- Norman Mailer’s *The Naked and the Dead* (1948)
- James Jones’s *From Here to Eternity* (1951)

Jack Kerouac, founder of the “beat” school, reveled in the chaotic description of violence, perversion and madness in *On the Road* (1957)

J.D. Salinger (most famous for *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951) wrote about people entirely wrapped up in themselves

Joseph Heller’s *Catch-22* (1955) was a war novel at once farcical and an indignant denunciation of the stupidity and waste of warfare

Young writers’ wariness toward the adult world reflected both the postwar idealization of adolescence and a widespread fear of the responsibilities of adulthood—reflected in John Updike’s *Rabbit* tetralogy
LITERATURE AND ART

- Book sales consistently increased, especially paperbacks which were first introduced in 1939
  - By 1969 25,000 titles were in print and sales were approaching 1 million copies a day
- Expansion of higher education, new affluence and improvements in printing technology created a demand for works of art
  - Technology also enabled artists to experiment with new materials and styles
  - Leading artists became celebrities, some of them millionaires
  - Corporations increased their purchases of art and museums attracted large crowds by putting “blockbuster” exhibitions of the work of famous painters and sculptors, living and dead
U.S. defense and intelligence agencies also funded expositions of American abstract painters because their aesthetic principles were diametrically opposed to the representational “realism” endorsed by Stalin and his ideologues in the Soviet Union.

The new American style was known as abstract expressionism and was led by Jackson Pollock.
Abstract expressionists utterly subjective in their approach to art

Led to op art, which employed the physical impact of pure complementary colors to produce dynamic optical effects

Even within rigid limitations of severely formal designs of circles, stripes, squares and rectangles, such paintings appeared to be constantly in motion

Op art devoid of social connotations
LITERATURE AND ART

- Pop art satirized many aspects of American culture: vapidity, crudeness, and violence
  - Jasper Johns, Roy Lichtenstein and Andy Warhol created portraits of mundane objects
- Op art and pop art reflected the mechanized aspects of life
  - Painters made use of technology in their work—fluorescent paints, dots of color, commercial art techniques
Successful artists became national personalities and a few of them became enormously rich

- Some artists were corrupted by fame
- “Schools” rose and fell in rapid order at the whim of influential art critics or dealers
- Being different was more highly valued than aesthetic quality or technical skill
THE PERILS OF PROGRESS

DILEMMA 1: Progress was often self-defeating—reforms and innovations often seemed to make things worse not better

- DDT, developed to kill insects, had lethal effects on birds and fish
- Goods that were supposed to make life better—cars, detergents, etc.—had waste products that disfigured the land and polluted air and water
- Change occurred so fast that experience tended to become less useful and sometimes even counterproductive as a guide for dealing with current problems
DILEMMA 2: Modern industrial society placed an enormous premium on social cooperation, at the same time undermining the individual citizen’s sense of being essential to the proper functioning of society.

People tried to deal with this dilemma by joining organizations dedicated to achieving particular goals—American Association of Retired People (AARP), Sierra Club, NAACP.

- But these groups got so large that members also felt incapable of influencing them.
- Also, they were so numerous and had so many conflicting agendas that they often made people more self-centered rather than more socially aware.
THE PERILS OF PROGRESS

PARADOX:

- U.S. was the most powerful nation in the world, its people the best educated, the richest, probably the most energetic

- American society was technologically advanced and dynamic; American traditional values were idealistic, humane and democratic

- YET the nation seemed incapable of mobilizing its resources intelligently to confront the most obvious challenges, its citizens unable to achieve much personal happiness or identification with their fellows, the society helpless to live up to its most universally accepted ideals
NEW RACIAL TURMOIL

- President Johnson and most who supported his policies expected all the legislation they passed would produce an era of racial peace and social harmony.

- 1964: Malcolm X left the Black Muslims and founded his own Organization of Afro-American Unity.
  - Continued to stress black self-help and militant defense of black rights but now saw fight for racial equality as part of larger struggle for all human rights.
  - In 1965, radical Black Muslims assassinated him.
NEW RACIAL TURMOIL

- Official white recognition of past injustices was making blacks more insistent that all discrimination had to end
  - Militancy broke forth in mid-1960s, and even people like Martin Luther King Jr. were effected
- 1965: King led a march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, to force Alabama authorities to allow blacks to register to vote
  - Marchers were assaulted by state policemen and the liberal opinion was shocked
  - Thousands descended on Selma to demonstrate their support
NEW RACIAL TURMOIL

- By mid-1960s, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) had become a radical group contemptuous about racial integration and cooperation
  - Stokely Carmichael, chairman of SNCC, coined the term “Black Power”
  - Black Power caught on swiftly among militants which troubled white liberals who felt it would antagonize white conservatives
- Black anger erupted in a series of destructive urban riots
  - The most important occurred in Watts, Los Angeles, in August 1965, when the neighborhood erupted in violence for over six days and 15,000 National Guardsmen had to be called in to assist local police
  - The following two summers saw similar incidents in scores of cities
Violence and Segregation in Watts, Los Angeles, August 11, 1965

During the race riots that began on this day, hundreds of buildings in the predominantly black ghetto of Watts were destroyed, and some people were killed. Among the complaints of residents was that two superhighways—the Santa Monica Freeway and the Harborway Freeway—turned Watts into a prison for those who lacked automobiles.
NEW RACIAL TURMOIL

- April 1968: Martin Luther King, Jr. was murdered in Memphis, Tennessee, by a white man, James Earl Ray
  - Blacks in more than 100 cities unleashed anger in outbursts of burning and looting
  - Whites were shocked and depressed
- Commission under Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois was appointed in 1967 to investigate the causes of the riots
  - Rioters expressing frustration and despair
  - Directed at social system rather than individuals
NEW RACIAL TURMOIL

- While blacks were trapped in ghettos, middle class whites increasingly fled to the suburbs or called on police to maintain “law and order”
- The most frightening aspect of the riots was their tendency to polarize society on racial lines
  - Black Power advocates became increasingly determined to separate themselves from white society
  - Extremists formed the Black Panther party and demanded public compensation for past injustices
- Middle class whites increasingly resented what they viewed as government favoritism
After WWI, thousands of immigrants from Mexico flocked to the American Southwest, mingling with far larger native-born Hispanic population
- No immigration restrictions
- During Great Depression, half a million Hispanics who were not citizens sent back to Mexico
- During WWII and from 1948 to 1965, federal legislation encouraged importation of braceros (temporary farm workers)
- Many other Mexicans entered country illegally—mojados

Many of these Mexicans and other Spanish speaking people, including thousands from Puerto Rico who could immigrate legally, moved to big cities
- Held low paying but usually steady work
- Lived in slums called barrios which were as crowded, segregated and crime-ridden as ghettos
NATIVE-BORN ETHNICS

- 1960s a new spirit of resistance emerged among previously apolitical Hispanic populations
  - Leaders of new movement called themselves Chicanos
  - Demanded better schools and easier access to higher education
  - Urged friends and relatives to take pride in their traditions and culture, to demand their rights and organize themselves politically
César Chávez was the most influential Hispanic leader
- Concentrated on organizing migrant farm workers into unions
- Founded the National Farm Workers’ Association, later known as the United Farm Workers’ Organizing Committee

1965: Grape workers in the union struck for higher wages and union recognition
- Chávez turned the strike into a countrywide crusade that included sit-ins, a march on the capital and a nationwide boycott that had the support of 17 million people
NATIVE-BORN ETHNICs

- The struggles of blacks radicalized many American Indians who began to call themselves Native Americans and talk of Red Power
  - National Indian Youth Council and later the American Indian Movement (AIM) demanded return of lands illegally taken from their ancestors
  - Called for self-determination and concerted effort to revive tribal cultures
  - Organized a Pan-Indian movement to advance a cause, which brought them into conflict with traditionalist Indians devoted to local autonomy
NATIVE-BORN ETHNICS

- Some AIM leaders sought total separation from the United States, seeking to establish states within states
  - 1973: Radicals occupied the town of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, and held it at gunpoint for weeks
  - While traditionalists resisted militants; liberal white opinion was generally sympathetic
  - 1975: Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination Act, which gave individual tribes much greater control over such matters as education, welfare programs, and law enforcement
    - Specifically recognized the government’s obligation to ensure “maximum Indian participation” in the management of federal policy in these areas
Militant ethnic pride characterized the behavior of other racial minorities and of many white Americans
- Blacks donned dashikis and wore their hair in natural “Afro” style
- Italian Americans, Polish Americans and descendants of other “new immigrant” groups eagerly studied their history to preserve their culture and revive dying traditions

For all ethnics the concern for origins was part nostalgic and romantic

Racial pride was a reflection of the new black militancy and the achievements that blacks made in the postwar period
- Thurgood Marshall was on the Supreme Court
- Robert Weaver was secretary of housing and urban development, a cabinet position
- First black since reconstruction was elected to the Senate in 1966
- A large number of cities elected black mayors
- Color line was broken in major league baseball in 1947 and soon all professional sports were open to black athletics
After WWI, under the impact of Freudian psychology, the emphasis in elementary education shifted from using schools as instruments of social change to using them to promote emotional development.

- “Child-centered” educators played down academic achievement in favor of “adjustment”
- The system produced poor work habits and fuzzy thinking and fostered ignorance

The demand of society for rigorous intellectual achievement increasingly made this form of education unsatisfactory.

- Following WWII, critics, led by James B. Conant, began to assault the system
Conant flayed the schools for failure to teach English grammar and composition effectively, for neglecting foreign languages and for ignoring the needs of both the brightest and dullest students.

- Insisted teachers’ colleges should place subject matter above educational methodology in the curricula.
- Success of Soviet Union in launching Sputnik in 1957 increased the influence of critics.
- Even as schools were under pressure to do more for students going to college, colleges were raising their admission standards.
National Defense Education Act of 1958 allocated funds for upgrading work in the sciences, foreign languages and other subjects and for experimenting with television and other new teaching devices. States encouraged small schools to consolidate into larger units. High schools became larger, allowing more specialization among faculty and more college level classes. Only after larger schools were built did administrators realize many students felt lost in them.
Critics demanded that secondary schools and colleges raise their standards and place more stress on the sciences

By the mid-1960s, educational institutions were bursting at the seams with the children of baby boomers

- By 1950, there were 2.3 million students in American colleges and universities
- In 1990, there were 14 million

Two-year community colleges proliferated

- Almost 1300 by 1980
- Enrollment rose from 1.3 million in mid-1960s to 5.2 million in 1990
High School and College Graduates, 1870–1983
Lyndon Johnson’s Elementary and Secondary Education Act, passed in 1965, was a landmark in the century-long expansion of high school education and directly influenced college education in the United States. The most rapid increase in high school graduates occurred between 1920 and 1940, but the number of graduates as a percentage of all people aged 17 was greatest in 1967. The peak period for college graduates, 1945 to 1950, reflects the GI Bill after World War II.
STUDENTS IN REVOLT

- By the 1960s, students began to feel insignificant and powerless in modern industrial society with its “soul-less” corporations and unfeeling bureaucracies
  - Their advantages also made them feel guilty when they thought about those less fortunate
  - Poverty in a rich country like the U.S. seemed intolerable
  - Racial prejudice seemed both stupid and evil
  - Yet government seemed incapable of handling any of the above while response to McCarthyism seemed like craven cowardice
STUDENTS IN REVOLT

- Port Huron Statement issued by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in 1962
  - Main concerns — racial bigotry, the bomb and the “disturbing paradoxes” associated with these concerns
- SDS grew rapidly powered by
  - Rising college enrollment
  - Protest against the escalation of the Vietnam war
  - A seemingly unending list of local campus issues
- First great student outburst convulsed University of California at Berkeley in fall of 1964
  - Staged sit-down strikes in university buildings to protest the prohibition of political canvassing on the campus
  - Free Speech Movement disrupted the institution over a period of weeks
  - Hundreds were arrested, state legislature threatened reprisals, faculty became involved in the controversy and crisis led to the resignation of the president of the University of California
STUDENTS IN REVOLT

- On campus after campus in the late 1960s, students organized sit-ins and employed other disruptive tactics
  - At Columbia in 1968, SDS and black students occupied university buildings and refused to leave unless a series of “nonnegotiable” demands were met
    - When the president of the university finally called in the police to clear the buildings, a riot broke out and dozens of students were clubbed and beaten
    - The president was forced to resign and the university enacted reforms
STUDENTS IN REVOLT

- Equally significant in altering the students’ mood was the frustration that so many of them felt with traditional aspects of college life
  - Dissidents denounced rules that regulated their personal lives
  - Complained that required courses inhibited their intellectual development
  - Demanded a share in the government of their institutions
  - Refused to put up with anything they considered wrong and tended to think in absolutes and even, for some, to become nihilistic enough to believe that only destruction provided the answer
By the end of the 1960s, the SDS, wracked by internal disputes, had lost much of its influence.

Colleges tried to increase black enrollment through scholarship funds and by lowering academic entrance requirements when necessary to compensate for the poor preparation many black students had received.

- Most black students were not satisfied with college life.
- They demanded more control over all aspects of their education than the typical white student.
- They wanted black studies programs taught and administered by blacks.
- Unlike white militants, blacks tended to confine their demands to matters directly related to local conditions.
THE COUNTERCULTURE

- Some young people, generally known as hippies, were so “turned off” by the modern world that they retreated from it, finding refuge in communes, drugs, and mystical religions, often wandering from place to place.
- Allen Ginsberg (*Howl*) and Ken Kesey were creative people.
THE COUNTERCULTURE

- Hippies developed a counterculture directly opposite that of their parents’ generation
  - Wore old blue jeans and any nondescript garments they happened to find at hand
  - Male hippies wore their hair long and grew beards
  - Females avoided makeup, bras and other devices more conventional women used to make themselves attractive
  - Being hippie meant not caring about money or material goods or power over other people
  - Love was more important
THE COUNTERCULTURE

- Most hippies resembled radicals in their political and social opinions.
  - Rejected activism and were almost totally apolitical
  - World of folk songs and acid rock music, of be-ins, casual sex, and drugs
  - Passivity was a philosophy
THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION

- Almost overnight conventional ideas about premarital sex, contraception and abortion, homosexuality, pornography, and a host of related matters were openly challenged.

- More efficient methods of contraception, especially the birth control pill, and antibiotics that cured venereal disease removed the two principal arguments against sex outside marriage.
STATE LAWS FOR
RESTRICTING ABORTION
(1973)
AND
ABORTION RATES BY
STATE (2000)
THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION

- Alfred Kinsey’s *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948), based on confidential interviews with thousands of males
  - Half had had homosexual activities before adolescence
  - 90 percent had masturbated
  - Between 30 and 45 percent had adulterous sexual relations
  - 70 percent had patronized prostitutes
  - 17 percent of farm boys had had sex with animals
THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION

- 1958: *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1958) demonstrated female practices were as varied as male
  - Kinsey was subjected to a storm of abuse and had his foundation money pulled

- Homosexuals began to openly admit their feelings and demand heterosexual society cease to harass and discriminate against them
  - 1969 Stonewall Riot in New York marked the refusal of gays and lesbians to remain "in the closet"
  - In 2003, Massachusetts became first state to legalize same-sex marriage

- Problems:
  - Peer pressure could force young people into sexual relations they weren’t ready for
  - Rise in the number of illegitimate births
  - Rise in sexually transmitted disease and emergence of new disease AIDS
WOMEN’S LIBERATION

- Sexual freedom contributed to the revival of the women’s rights movement
  - New attitudes heightened women’s awareness of the way the old sexual standards and patterns of family living had restricted their entire existence
  - The movement was also fed by concern of the treatment of minorities because this encouraged women to think about their own treatment and rights
- Betty Friedan, one of the leaders of the movement, argued in *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), that advertisers, popular magazines and other opinion-shaping forces were undermining the capacity of women to use their intelligence and their talents creatively by a pervasive form of brainwashing designed to convince them of the virtues of domesticity
WOMEN’S LIBERATION

- *The Feminine Mystique* sold over a million copies and Friedan was deluged with letters from women who thought their unease and depression, despite their “happy” marriage, was unique and unreasonable.
  - Many determined to expand their horizons by taking jobs or resuming their education.

- When employers did not instantly recognize women’s abilities and stop discriminating, Friedan and other women formed the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966.
  - Called for equal employment opportunities and equal pay.
  - 1967 came out for Equal Rights Amendment, for changes in divorce laws and for the legalization of abortion.
By 1967 many younger feminists argued that NOW was not radical enough and deplored its hierarchical structure, its lobbying activities, its stress on attracting celebrities and its imitation of conventional pressure-group tactics.

- Equality of the two sexes smacked of “separate but equal” to these women.
- Kate Millet, *Sexual Politics* (1970), called for a “sexual revolution” to do away with “traditional inhibitions and taboos,” denounced male supremacy and drew a distinction between immutable biological differences and gender.
WOMEN’S LIBERATION

- Radicals gathered in small consciousness raising groups to discuss a variety of questions
  - Held conferences and seminars
  - Published magazines such as *Ms.*
  - Academics among them organized women’s studies programs
  - Some advocated raising children in communal centers and doing away with marriage as a legal institution
  - Some rejected heterosexuality as a matter of principle

- Insisted on total equality
  - Men to have equal share in raising children, cooking and doing housework
  - Took self defense classes
  - Denounced the use of masculine words like “chairman” and advocated *Ms.* over the use of *Miss* or *Mrs.*
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<td>1968</td>
<td>Police break student strike at Columbia University</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Martin Luther King Jr. is assassinated</td>
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<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>A half million attend Woodstock Festival in New York</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stonewall riots mark public assertion of rights of homosexuals</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U.S. astronauts land on moon</td>
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<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Supreme Court legalizes abortion in <em>Roe v. Wade</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>Congress gives tribes more autonomy in Indian Self-Determination Act</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Supreme Court limits abortion rights in <em>Webster v. Reproductive Health Services</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>Supreme Court further limits abortion rights in <em>Planned Parenthood v. Casey</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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