

There's More Online!

- ✓ **BIOGRAPHY** Jesse Jackson
- ✓ **IMAGE** Pro-Busing and Anti-Busing
- ✓ **IMAGE** Protests at Wounded Knee
- ✓ **VIDEO** New Approaches to Civil Rights
- ✓ **INTERACTIVE SELF-CHECK QUIZ**



LESSON 4

New Approaches to Civil Rights

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS • How do you think the Nixon administration affected people's attitudes toward government? • How does society change the shape of itself over time?

Reading **HELPDESK**

Academic Vocabulary

- criteria
- appropriate

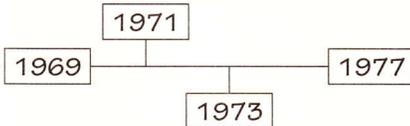
Content Vocabulary

- **busing**
- **affirmative action**

TAKING NOTES:

Key Ideas and Details

Sequencing Complete a time line similar to the one below by recording groups in the civil rights movement and their actions.



IT MATTERS BECAUSE

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, minority groups such as African Americans, Native Americans, and persons with disabilities began to develop new ways to expand opportunities and assert their civil rights.

African Americans Seek Greater Opportunity

GUIDING QUESTION How did African American civil rights leaders change their reform focus?

Although various forms of racial discrimination had become illegal, many African Americans saw little improvement in their daily lives. Access to good jobs and schooling remained issues. Civil rights leaders began to focus on these problems.

Equal Access to Education

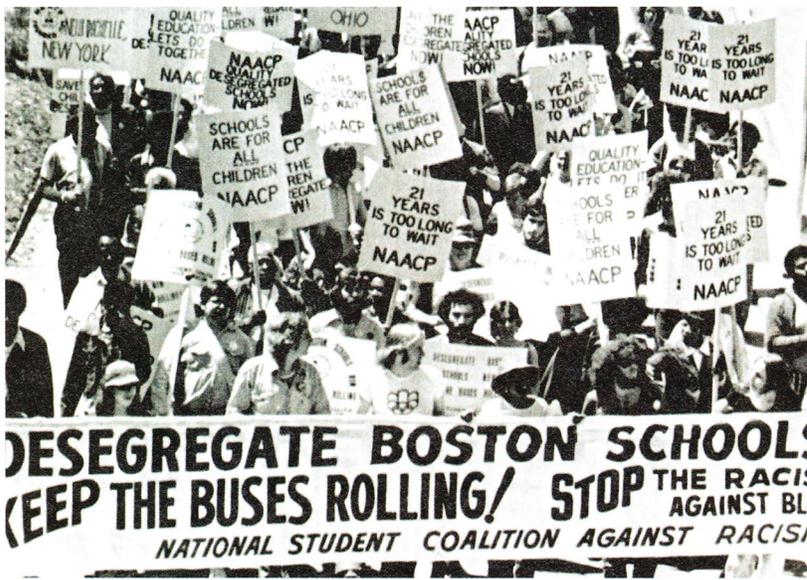
In the 1970s, African Americans began to push harder for improvements in public education and access to good schools. In the 1954 case *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Supreme Court had ordered an end to segregated public schools. In the 1960s, however, many schools remained segregated as communities moved slowly to comply with the Court. Since children usually attended a school in their neighborhood, segregation in public schools reflected the racial segregation of neighborhoods.

In many cases where such de facto segregation existed, the white schools were superior, as Ruth Baston of the NAACP noted in 1965 after visiting Boston schools:

PRIMARY SOURCE

“When we would go to white schools, we’d see . . . a small number of children in each class. The teachers were permanent. We’d see wonderful materials. When we’d go to our schools, we would see overcrowded classrooms, children sitting out in the corridors, and so forth. And so then we decided that where there were a large number of white students, that’s where the care went. That’s where the books went. That’s where the money went.”

—quoted in *Voices of Freedom*, 1990



The National March on Boston in 1975 marked the anniversary of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision.

► CRITICAL THINKING

Making Inferences Why are protesters holding signs that read “21 years is too long to wait”?

busing a policy of transporting children to schools outside their neighborhoods to achieve greater racial balance

affirmative action an active effort to improve employment or educational opportunities for minorities and women

minorities made up the majority of Boston’s public school students. This “white flight” also occurred in other cities. Detroit tried to bus students from one district to another in 1974. The plan was challenged, however, and the Court ruled in *Milliken v. Bradley* that busing across district lines was unconstitutional unless districts had been purposely drawn to create segregation.

Affirmative Action

In addition to supporting busing, civil rights leaders began advocating **affirmative action** as a new way to solve discrimination. Affirmative action was enforced through executive orders and federal policies. It called for companies, schools, and institutions doing business with the federal government to recruit African Americans. The hope was that this would lead to improved social and economic status. Officials later expanded affirmative action to include other minority groups and women.

Through affirmative action, Atlanta witnessed a significant increase in minority job opportunities. In 1974 Maynard Jackson took office as Atlanta’s first African American mayor. When Jackson was elected, African Americans made up a large part of Atlanta’s population. Few city contracts went to African American companies, however. Jackson worked to change this imbalance. Through his efforts, small companies and minority firms took on a higher percentage of all city contracts.

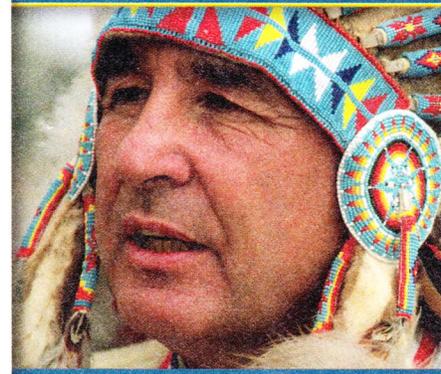
The Bakke Case

Critics viewed affirmative action programs as a form of reverse discrimination. They claimed that qualified white male workers and students were kept from jobs, promotions, and places in schools because of the slots set aside for minorities or women. In 1978 the Supreme Court addressed affirmative action in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*. Officials at the University of California at Davis medical school had twice turned down the application of a white applicant named Allan Bakke. When Bakke learned that slots had been set aside for minorities, he sued the school. Bakke pointed out that the school had admitted minority applicants with lower exam scores than his. He claimed that the school had discriminated against him based on his race.

In a 5-to-4 ruling, the Supreme Court declared that the university had violated Bakke’s civil rights. It added, though, that schools had an interest in having racial diversity and could consider race as part of their admissions **criteria**. They could not, however, use “fixed quotas,” or slots reserved for minority students.

Courts began ordering local governments to bus children to schools outside their neighborhoods to achieve greater racial balance. The practice led to protests and even riots in several white communities. The Supreme Court, however, upheld the constitutionality of **busing** in the 1971 case *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*.

In response, many white parents took their children out of public schools or moved to districts with no busing. For example, thousands of white students left Boston’s public school system to attend parochial and private schools. By late 1976,



Ben Nighthorse Campbell (1933–)

A member and chief of the Northern Cheyenne tribe, Ben Nighthorse Campbell entered politics in the early 1980s as a Colorado state legislator. He was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1992, serving as the governing body's only Native American member until he chose not to run for reelection in 2004. In addition to his political career, Campbell has also been a successful jewelry designer, rancher, and horse trainer.

► CRITICAL THINKING

Explaining Why was Campbell's election to the U.S. Senate significant?

criteria standards on which a judgment or action may be based

New Political Leaders

New political leaders emerged in the African American community in the 1970s. For the first time since Reconstruction, African Americans became more influential in national politics. Jesse Jackson, a former aide to Martin Luther King, Jr., was among this new generation of activists. In 1971 Jackson founded Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity). Operation PUSH was dedicated to developing African American businesses, educational opportunities, and social and political development. In 1984 and 1988, Jackson sought the Democratic presidential nomination and lost. Yet he won over millions of voters.

In 1971 African American members of Congress organized the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) to more clearly represent their concerns. One of the CBC's founding members was Shirley Chisholm of New York, the first African American woman to serve in Congress. In 1977 another former assistant to Dr. King, U.S. representative Andrew Young, became the first African American to serve as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. He later served as the mayor of Atlanta. By the mid-1980s, African American mayors had been elected in Atlanta, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C.

Another leader who emerged in the 1980s was Louis Farrakhan, a prominent minister of the Nation of Islam. He organized the Million Man March on October 16, 1995. His goal for the march was to promote self-reliance and responsibility among African American men. Speakers at the event included Jesse Jackson and poet Maya Angelou.

In 1990 Virginia voters elected L. Douglas Wilder, who became the first African American governor of a state. That same year, David Dinkins took office as the first African American mayor of New York City.

✓ READING PROGRESS CHECK

Explaining What was the goal of affirmative action?

Native Americans Raise Their Voices

GUIDING QUESTION *What civil rights gains have Native Americans achieved since the 1960s?*

In 1970 Native Americans were one of the nation's smallest minority groups, yet they faced enormous problems. The unemployment rate for Native Americans was ten times the national rate. Unemployment was particularly high on reservations, where nearly half of all Native Americans lived. Little education or training was available. Their average annual family income was \$1,000 less than that of African Americans. In addition, statistics showed that the life expectancy of Native Americans was seven years below that of whites.

A Protest Movement Emerges

In 1961 more than 400 members of 67 Native American groups gathered in Chicago to discuss their problems. They developed a Declaration of Indian Purpose asking for federal programs to create greater economic opportunities for all Native Americans. In 1968 Congress passed the Indian Civil Rights Act. The legislation guaranteed reservation residents the protections of the Bill of Rights while still recognizing tribal courts.

Native Americans who viewed the government's efforts as too modest formed more militant groups, such as the American Indian Movement (AIM). In 1969 Native Americans occupied the closed federal prison on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay for 19 months, claiming ownership "by right of discovery."

The American Indian Movement, with leaders Russell Means (left) and Dennis Banks, staged a protest at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973.

▶ CRITICAL THINKING

Comparing and Contrasting How were the goals of the Native American movement similar to the goals of other movements in the 1960s and 1970s?



Analyzing PRIMARY SOURCES

Letter Protesting Mining on Hopi Lands

“Today the sacred lands where the Hopi live are being desecrated by men who seek coal and water from our soil that they may create more power for the white man’s cities. This must not be allowed to continue. . . . The Great Spirit said not to take from the Earth. . . . Your government has almost destroyed our basic religion which is actually a way of life for all our people in this land of the Great Spirit.”

—quoted in *Touch the Earth*, 1971

DBQ ANALYZING PRIMARY

SOURCES Why do the Hopi claim that coal mining on their lands is wrong?

AIM’s most famous protest took place at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. U.S. troops had killed hundreds of Sioux there in 1890. In February 1973, AIM members seized the town for 70 days. They demanded that the government honor its past treaty obligations, insisting on changes in reservation administration. Before the siege between AIM and the FBI ended, two Native Americans were killed and both sides suffered injuries.

Other groups, such as the Hopi and the Navajo, objected to land leases to mining companies that scoured the land, displaced families, and posed a threat to sacred places. They wrote letters of protest to the government.

Native American Gains

By the mid-1970s, the Native American movement had begun to achieve some of its goals. In 1975 Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act. This act encouraged tribal participation in and management of federal programs, such as social services, law enforcement, and health services, which the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Health and Human Services’ Indian Health Service had previously administered. It also increased funds for Native American education.

Native Americans won several court cases involving land and water rights. The Pueblo of Taos, New Mexico, regained property rights to Blue Lake, a place sacred to their religion. In 1980 the government paid the Passamaquoddy and the Penobscot peoples \$81.5 million to give up their claim to land in Maine. Other court decisions gave tribal governments the power to tax businesses on reservations.

Since Native Americans began to organize, many reservations have improved their economic conditions. Businesses such as electric plants, resorts, cattle ranches, and oil and gas wells have been developed. More recently, gambling casinos have become a successful activity. Rulings on sovereignty have allowed some Native Americans to operate casinos under their own laws even though state laws prevent others from doing so.

✓ READING PROGRESS CHECK

Summarizing Why did Native Americans protest for their civil rights to be recognized?

The Disability Rights Movement

GUIDING QUESTION How did federal legislation protect the civil rights of people with disabilities?

The struggle for disability rights had its early expression in the independent living movement that began at the University of California at Berkeley in the early 1970s. The movement advocated for the right of people of all

levels of abilities to choose to live freely in society. This was part of a new attitude that encouraged people who had disabilities to move out of institutions and live independently.

People with disabilities also looked to the federal government to protect their civil rights. They sought access to public facilities. They also demanded bans on discrimination in employment. One victory was the 1968 Architectural Barriers Act. This act required that new buildings constructed with federal funds be accessible to persons with disabilities. The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 was even more significant. Section 504 states that no person with a disability can be discriminated against in any way by an entity that receives federal funding.

Passage of the Rehabilitation Act meant little, however, until procedures for enforcing it were established. As of 1977, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) had no such procedures. Frustrated, the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities organized protests. On April 5, 1977, some 2,000 persons with disabilities in 10 cities began sit-ins at regional HEW offices. Protesters in San Francisco kept up their sit-in for over three weeks, until HEW's director signed the regulations banning discrimination.

Changes also occurred in special education. In 1966 Congress created the Bureau for the Education of the Handicapped, which provided grants to develop programs for educating children with disabilities. In 1975 the Education for All Handicapped Children Act required that all students with disabilities receive a free, **appropriate** education. One trend was to mainstream, or bring into the regular classroom, students with disabilities.

In 1990 Congress enacted the Americans with Disabilities Act. This far-reaching legislation banned discrimination against persons with disabilities in employment, transportation, public education, and telecommunications. Today, technologies such as closed-captioned television broadcasts, devices for telephones, and screen readers help people with disabilities access information in new ways.

READING PROGRESS CHECK

Explaining What tactics did people with disabilities use to protest that were also used by other minority groups? Were they effective? Explain.



Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act and, later, the Americans with Disabilities Act specified that people with disabilities must have equal access to public facilities, such as transportation and parking.

CRITICAL THINKING

Identifying Central Ideas What rights did people with disabilities struggle for in the 1970s?

appropriate especially suitable or compatible

PHOTO: © Ed Kashi/Corbis

LESSON 4 REVIEW



Reviewing Vocabulary

1. Identifying What was the purpose of busing?

Using Your Notes

2. Comparing Use your notes to write a paragraph identifying similarities among the gains made by African Americans, Native Americans, and people with disabilities.

Answering the Guiding Questions

3. Evaluating How did African American civil rights leaders change their reform focus?

4. Describing What civil rights gains have Native Americans achieved since the 1960s?

5. Summarizing How did federal legislation protect the civil rights of people with disabilities?

Writing Activity

6. INFORMATIVE/EXPLANATORY Write a paragraph in which you summarize the issues involved in the Supreme Court cases of *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* and *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*.