Standards

National History Standard (NCHS):

- U.S. History Era 9, Standard 4: The struggle for racial and gender equality and for the extension of civil liberties.

- U.S. History Era 9, Standard 4A: The student understands the “Second Reconstruction” and its advancement of civil rights.

- U.S. History Era 9, Standard 4B: The student understands the women’s movement for civil rights and equal opportunities.

Common Core:

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RI.9-10.3: Analyze how the author unfolds an analysis or series of ideas or events, including the order in which the points are made, how they are introduced and developed, and the connections that are drawn between them.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RI.9-10.4: Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including figurative, connotative, and technical meanings; analyze the cumulative impact of specific word choices on meaning and tone (e.g., how the language of a court opinion differs from that of a newspaper).

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RI.9-10.5: Analyze in detail how an author’s ideas or claims are developed and refined by particular sentences, paragraphs, or larger portions of a text (e.g., a section or chapter).

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RI.9-10.6: Determine an author’s point of view or purpose in a text and analyze how an author uses rhetoric to advance that point of view or purpose.

CCSS.ELA-Literacy.RI.9-10.9: Analyze seminal U.S. documents of historical and literary significance (e.g., Washington’s Farewell Address, the Gettysburg Address, Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms speech, King’s “Letter from Birmingham Jail”).

Curriculum Snapshot

• School integration and the demand for educational reform: Little Rock, Boston, and Los Angeles

• Voices of change and the use of argument: Martin Luther King, Jr.’s Letter from Birmingham Jail, Malcolm X’s The Ballot or the Bullet speech, the National Organization for Women’s Statement of Purpose, and the Alcatraz Red Power Movement’s Alcatraz Proclamation

Grade Level

Middle and High School

Classroom Connections

Social Studies, U.S. History, Civics, American Literature, and English Language Arts
Prerequisite Knowledge

Before viewing the photographs and doing the activities, students should be able to:

- Understand American history up to 1960, including the Supreme Court ruling of Brown v. Board of Education (1955).
- Articulate the origins of the postwar civil rights movement.
- Explain the resistance to civil rights in the South between 1954 and 1965.
- Understand the leadership and ideology of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X in the civil rights movement and evaluate their legacies.
- Understand the reasons for, and the effectiveness of, the escalation from civil disobedience to more radical protest in the civil rights movement.
- Have a general understanding of the major social, economic, and political issues affecting women in the 1960s and 1970s, and explain the conflicts these issues caused.
- Understand African Americans, Asian Americans, Latino Americans, and Native Americans were in a quest for civil rights and equal opportunities that became unified during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s.

Introduction

Achieving equal access to civil rights for all Americans and meeting the mandate of “justice for all” (stated in the Pledge of Allegiance as well as the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights) has been a continual struggle of the nation. The Civil Rights Era in American history usually focuses on the 1950s, 1960s, and early 1970s because it marks a time when many civil rights movements erupted on televisions and news outlets throughout the nation. Civil rights were sought for decades before this era and continue today; however, this period marks a particularly powerful nexus of activism and social change. This historical era is commonly taught in middle and high school social studies and history courses. The National Center for History in the Schools identifies this period of U.S. history as Era 9, Standard 4: “The struggle for racial and gender equality and for the extension of civil liberties.” Related works of literature and other texts are sometimes used either in social studies or U.S. history courses, or in English language arts and American literature classes.

The Civil Rights Era and, in particular, the African American struggle for equality are often taught with a focus on people and events in the southern region of the United States. Other regions in the United States—north and west—also reacted against racism and institutionalized inequality through violent and non-violent protests. This collection of photographs and activities
offers the chance to explore and compare events across three regions of the country. While the collection explores the African American equality movement through the lens of school integration, it also offers ways to consider the unique but related struggles of other groups: Chicanos, women, and Native Americans.

The photography of the Civil Rights Era—and indeed the ongoing and contemporary quest of many people for equality—is vast and rich. This photo collection is not intended to be comprehensive. Rather, it provides several specific photographs and ways to use them in the study of particular topics. Hopefully it will also serve as a model for creating collections of your own around additional areas of your curriculum.

**Key Learning Targets**

**Students will:**

- Realize that attempts to change the status quo are difficult and often encounter resistance.

- Be able to explain civil disobedience and give historic examples of it.

- Be able to explain how the events known as “Little Rock 9” and “Boston School Desegregation” are two examples of violent resistance against court-mandated school integration.

- Be able to discuss how the Chicano School “Blowouts” in East Los Angeles were different from—but related to—events surrounding school integration in Little Rock and Boston.

- When shown examples of a letter, a speech, a statement of purpose, and a proclamation, be able to explain how each is effective or ineffective.

- Be able to suggest reasons why school integration caused violent reactions in the South and North, and be able to support their reasons with evidence.

- Compare and contrast the African American struggle for equality in Little Rock and Boston, the Chicano American movement for equal treatment in public schools in Los Angeles, the second-wave feminists’ quest for equal opportunity for women, and the Native Americans’ call to attention of their history and their present plight.

- Be able to identify components of an effective argument by noting claims, warrants, and use of evidence in Martin Luther King, Jr.’s *Letter from Birmingham Jail*, Malcolm X’s *The Ballot or the Bullet* speech, the National Organization for Women’s *Statement of Purpose*, and the Alcatraz Red Power Movement’s *Alcatraz Proclamation*.

**Essential Questions**

Essential questions help organize the content and topics. Exploring the concepts of change and resistance through this collection of photographs will allow students to consider the following questions:

- What strategies did oppressed groups use to demand an expansion of rights and equal treatment?

- What are strategies that people can use today to seek societal change and/or expansion of equal rights?

- Why does the push for societal change often meet with resistance?

- Why does resistance to change often result in violent responses?

- What are some reasons that societal changes take so long?
ACTIVITY 1
Activating Students’ Prior Knowledge

Ask students what photos, images, or subject matter come to mind when they think about the phrase “civil rights movement.” As a follow-up, ask them to identify on a map where they think most of the movement occurred. Often, students will identify Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, and other southern states. Encourage students to think of civil rights activities in places other than the South.
ACTIVITY 2
Examining Photographs of School Integration and Demands for Equal Education

Learning Targets

• I can give examples of how social change can often lead to resistance.

• I can explain how laws requiring school desegregation led to violence.

• I can describe how racism in the 1960s was present across the United States.

• I can explain how geographical features of a particular place, and the demographic and cultural influences in Little Rock, Boston, and Los Angeles, shaped the racial unrest in each city.

Background

School Integration and the Demand for Educational Reform

The 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision Brown v. Board of Education ruled that state laws allowing segregated schools were unconstitutional. Schools that separated students along racial lines—“white only” schools and “non-white” schools, for example—were deemed unequal and thus were required to be integrated. Schools that segregated students were inherently unequal in funding and budgets, opportunities for extracurricular activities, and overall learning and achievement. Resistance to desegregation—black and white students attending school together—was a powerful force in the South. For example, Virginia and other states closed public schools following the Court’s decision.

The photographs in this activity explore three case studies of school integration efforts, and the resistance that met these changes to the unconstitutional status quo: Little Rock; Boston; and, Los Angeles. You will notice that these three schools are in three different regions of the United States. They also involve different groups of students and authorities. Background for each group follows. Of course, the school conditions were just one of many economic and social injustices.

The Little Rock 9

In Little Rock, integration of schools to include both black and white students was a direct result of the 1954 Brown decision. In September 1957, when nine African American students attempted to enter Little Rock’s Central High School for the first time, Governor Orval Faubus sent in the Arkansas National Guard
to block the students from the school. Weeks later, President Eisenhower sent in the 101st Airborne Division of the United States Army and took command of the Arkansas Guard to enforce the law and admit the Little Rock 9 to Central High.

The U.S. Army left Little Rock at the end of September, leaving the federalized Arkansas National Guard to maintain order and allow the school integration to go forward.

Selected for their academic excellence and willingness to serve as racial pioneers, the nine young students endured hostility and even violence throughout the year. But most of them completed their education at integrated Central High School, going on to college. They became role models for other young black Americans enlisting in the crusade to break down the racial barriers they confronted. In 1958, the NAACP honored the Little Rock 9 with its highest award, the Spingarn Medal, previously won by Martin Luther King, Jr. and Thurgood Marshall.

In September of 1958, Little Rock closed the public schools entirely. White students attended private schools or schools outside the city, while black students were left with no school to attend. This was short lived: In December 1959, the Supreme Court formally ruled that the schools must be opened and must continue with school desegregation efforts, and the Little Rock school board finally reopened the schools. For additional background, visit the Encyclopedia of Arkansas.

www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net/encyclopedia/entry-detail.aspx?entryID=723

Boston Busing Riots

The Racial Imbalance Act passed by the Massachusetts legislature in 1965 ordered school districts to integrate their student bodies or risk losing state school funding. It is noteworthy that this act was passed eleven years after the Brown v. Board of Education ruling. Still, the Boston school leaders moved slowly, unwilling to comply because it would require busing students from highly segregated neighborhoods into other areas of the city. Black parents, with the support of the NAACP, put forth that the school system’s segregation was unconstitutional. Judge Wendell Garrity, of the U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts, ruled in June 1974 that the Boston Public Schools were practicing a form of racial discrimination. To correct this, and to properly enforce a state law requiring racial balance in schools, the school system must adopt a busing plan. Highly controversial, busing began in September 1974 (nine years after the Racial Imbalance Act was passed).

State troopers were needed to even open the schools. At South Boston High, where white ethnics predominated, only about 100 students came on the first day of school integration.
only 13 of approximately 550 white students who were scheduled to be bussed showed up. Racial hostility and violence occurred, with white parents leading the charges that white suburban students were not obliged to participate in the city school desegregation. In October 1965, 6,000 Bostonians, predominantly from Irish American and Italian American neighborhoods, marched against the South Boston High School busing.

As the years passed, white opposition to school desegregation led to massive white flight from Boston public schools, not dissimilar to what happened in cities in Virginia, North Carolina, and other southern states. By 1988, students in the Boston school district had withered from about 100,000 to 57,000, with only 15 percent of them white. The documentary series “Eyes on the Prize,” offers additional background information; visit PBS’s American Experience.

www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/eyesontheprize/story/21_boston.html

**East Los Angeles Chicano Student “Blowouts”**

On March 6, 1968, Salvador (Sal) Castro, a young social studies teacher at Lincoln High School in East Los Angeles, led hundreds of students in walkouts, known as “blowouts,” to protest long-standing racial bias and inequalities against Latino students in the Los Angeles Unified School District. While the schools were not officially segregated, Latino students believed that the facilities, curriculum, and treatment by the (mostly) white teachers programmed them for failure and limited their access to higher education. Led by Castro, the students demanded ethnic studies courses, bilingual education, more Latino teachers, and other changes. They hoped that this would give them equal educational opportunities and help them gain access to college, rather than programming them for menial jobs.

The East Los Angeles walkouts spread rapidly to other eastside high schools in Los Angeles, and then to schools throughout the Southwest. Thousands of students joined the protests, triggering a new era of Chicano activism that paralleled the African American civil rights movement of the 1960s. Castro was arrested, jailed, and charged with felony conspiracy and disturbing the peace. Later acquitted, he served for many years as a social studies teacher before he died in 2013.

The 1968 walkouts were the leading edge of Latino activism that would continue for decades and create a new generation of Latino politicians and professionals. Using similar walkout tactics, they also inspired later protests—most importantly, the 1994 student walkouts to protest California’s Proposition 187 that denied public health care, education, and other social services to illegal immigrants. Read a transcript of eulogy for Salvador Castro (it provides a helpful overview of the student-led “blowouts.”):
thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/z?r113:E17JN3-0021
Begin the Activity

As an introduction, hand out copies of photographs 1008, 1010, 1068 or project them. Ask students to describe what they see in the photos about racial segregation and to explain whether they have seen photographs similar to these before.

After this initial conversation, hand out copies of photographs 1005, 1007, 1011, 1014, 1027, 1035, 1050, 1057, and 1069 or project them. Ask students to describe what they see in the photos. Have small groups discuss the photos, take descriptive notes, and then share with the class.

Ask students to share what they know. Provide background as needed. Following this initial interaction with students about background, begin to compare photographs. The following comparisons of photographs and sequence provides an intentional examination.

Have students look at photographs 1050 and 1057 and state what they can learn from this comparison.

Next, have students look at photographs 1014 and 1027 and describe what the individuals depicted might have been feeling when the photographs were taken. Ask them to provide evidence to support their answers.

Then have students look at photographs 1011 and 1035 and describe similarities, and then the differences between the scene caught in the pictures.

Next, hand out copies (or project) of photographs 1005, 1007, and 1069. Students may know less about the Los Angeles Chicano student “blowouts,” so provide a small amount of context for them. Then ask students to describe what they see in the photos. Note: you may find it useful to review the Focus In tool to assist in the analysis of photographs like these.

Have students refer to all of the photographs from this part of the activity, and briefly write down what similarities exist amongst these three examples of equity and desegregation in the public schools. Then have students write down two or three differences.

After discussion, or after the students share their written work, see if this exercise sparked questions about change and resistance in Little Rock, Boston, or Los Angeles. For instance, the Boston photograph showed evidence of both support and opposition for busing (and, therefore, for integration of the schools). Students may wonder whether there were supporters of integration in Little

Questions to Consider

- What do you know about racism and racial segregation in the South in this period?
- What do you know about the Little Rock 9?
- What do you know about racism and racial segregation in the North?
- What do you know about Boston’s effort to integrate public schools?
Rock or in the South. They may also wonder about the reaction to the Chicano student blowouts. They may also consider the benefits or burden of movements starting from within (a teacher and students in LA) or starting from outside sources (Supreme Court ruling in Little Rock). Did this affect the type of protests and the success of the movements? Each of these questions could provide a starting point for an inquiry project seeking to find answers.

Extension Activities

Part 1

Photographs 1053 and 1054 use the same photograph from the March on Washington in 1963. The original photograph (1053) was converted into a political poster for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (1054). The impact of adding text and signage in the photograph helps project a very specific message. Students might be encouraged to view the photographic images for Little Rock, Boston, and Los Angeles, and consider if any could have been used as a political poster to help send a message about equality in schools. Students could create posters and present them to classmates with an explanation about the event and why a particular image and message was a good choice for shaping public opinion.

Part 2

Consider having students research photographs from their local public schools or libraries about the Civil Rights Era and the current day. When and in what ways were local schools integrated, and what are some of the results of this? What is the status of public education today: are different groups, such as Muslims or immigrant children from El Salvador or Nicaragua, getting equal access to educational resources? Are students still being, as the students in Los Angeles claimed, “programmed for failure”?

Part 3

Consider looking at photos from news websites and print publications about contemporary struggles for societal change worldwide (e.g., movements in Egypt, Turkey, and other countries). Have students talk with partners or small groups about questions such as:

- What comparisons can be made with civil rights movements in the United States?
- How is protest or civil disobedience portrayed in these struggles?
- How does photography shape our understanding of these conflicts and of the leader(s) of the struggle?

Questions to Consider

- Who seems to be leading the protests or blowouts in these photographs?
- Using examples from the photographs, what can you infer about racial inequality in Los Angeles in the 1960s?
- While the schools were not officially segregated, Latino students believed that the facilities, curriculum, and treatment by (mostly) white teachers programmed them for failure and limited their access to higher education. What does it mean to be “programmed for failure”? How does this justify a blowout? Are the Chicano students’ actions an example of civil disobedience? Why or why not?
ACTIVITY 3
Understanding and Analyzing Iconic Non-Fiction Texts of the Civil Rights Movement

Learning Targets

- I can compare and contrast the 1960s protests encouraged by King, Malcolm X, National Organization of Women, and the Alcatraz Red Power Movement.
- I can use pictures to help understand context, setting, and place.
- I can identify claims and evidence in a well-crafted written or spoken argument.

Introduction

This activity provides photographs to help students contextualize three historical texts that represent four different genres: a letter, a speech, a statement of purpose, and a proclamation. The images in the photographs are from the period of the texts, and provide a visual aid to help students imagine what it might have looked like at the time each was presented. The following four pieces of literature are provocative, challenge the status quo, and exemplify well-reasoned arguments:

1. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Letter from Birmingham Jail (April 16, 1963)
2. Malcolm X's The Ballot or the Bullet speech (April 1964)

In this activity, students will first examine each text, and then engage in different forms of literary analyses. Following this initial examination, students will then look across the texts to compare and contrast strands across the four. Each of the four texts will require students to read the document the night before as homework, and then use class time to debrief about the content. Of course, if you prefer to read the text in class, you will simply need to build the additional time demands into your plan.
Background

The American civil rights movement provides powerful arguments for students to read and consider. When thinking about the actions of people intending to bring about social change and overcoming resistance, many examples are available. The four texts in this collection are a small sampling to model the use of photographs to enhance student understanding of this topic.

The skill of analyzing and presenting an argument is commonly developed in English/language arts classrooms, and the Common Core State Standards suggest that students develop the “ability to use evidence from primary and secondary sources to support opinions in writing and in oral presentations, and summarizing, analyzing and addressing opposing opinions in writing” (CCSS. ELA-Literacy.W.9-10.1 and 10.2). Analyzing the arguments of King, Malcolm X, NOW, and the ARPM might be supplemented with the photographs included in Activity 2 so students are able to gain a visual perspective of the context of the time.

Background information for the Letter from Birmingham Jail and the The Ballot or the Bullet speech are provided below, followed by activities exploring those two pieces of literature. Next, background information for the NOW Statement of Purpose, and the ARPM’s Alcatraz Proclamation is provided, followed by activities that help students think more deeply about the written statements. A final task looks across the four texts to examine the use of argument as a technique.

Letter from Birmingham Jail

With the civil rights movement in the South reaching a fever pitch in April 1963, Martin Luther King, Jr. made a crucial decision to do what he had urged other black leaders and followers to do: Defy ordinances against “parading without a permit,” knowing that he, like others, would be jailed. He had been pushed to do this by Fred Shuttlesworth, a fiery Birmingham black minister, and by younger black activists. But King also knew that by being in jail for an unknown time, he would not be able to raise money to keep the civil rights movement going.

“What would be the verdict of the country about a man who had encouraged hundreds of people to make a stunning sacrifice and then excused himself?” he later recalled. Then he whispered to himself, “I must go.”

It was a turning point in the civil rights movement because King’s jailing helped the movement gain national support. It also moved King to write his famous letter from the Birmingham jail that asked black Americans, despite peaceful demonstrations all over the country, to move outside legal channels to create
crisis situations. In response, black protests increased, leading to more than 3,000 jailings by May 1963. Soon, school children would join the marchers, intensifying the movement—and making national instead of only regional.

This letter is long and contains complex academic language. It is probably best to highlight key terms for students ahead of time, or to encourage them to talk about small sections of the letter with a partner. This will happen naturally as you work with students to analyze the argument he presents, but reading it ahead of time will help their comprehension of the letter and the main points made by King.

You can read the full text here:
mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/kingweb/popular_requests/frequentdocs/birmingham.pdf

The Ballot or the Bullet Speech
Delivered at the Cory Methodist Church in Cleveland, Ohio, on April 3, 1964, Malcolm X’s The Ballot or the Bullet speech marked both a turning point in his life as an African American activist and a turning point in the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Malcolm X had recently separated from the Nation of Islam, the black, nationalist, religious organization that advocated separatist and “back to Africa” movements, and for which he had served for almost a decade. In asking the hard-hitting question—ballots or bullets?—people were going to have to bring about social change by either electing the right people to be lawmakers, or they were going to have to take matters into their own hands and, possibly, have a violent overthrow of the current political system. Malcolm distanced himself from the Nation of Islam while defending black self-defense by any available means.

The speech was especially poignant because President John F. Kennedy had sent a civil rights bill to Congress in June 1963 that had stalled in the House of Representatives, but then passed in February 1964, three months after JFK’s assassination and President Lyndon Johnson’s support of the bill. Yet the bill faced heavy opposition in the Senate from Southern Democrats, most of whom were segregationists and opposed to racial equality. It was in this context that Malcolm X’s speech put two alternatives squarely before black and white Americans alike. Malcolm X also delivered this speech in Detroit, Michigan.

You can read the full text here:
americanradioworks.publicradio.org/features/blackspeech/mx.html
Begin the Activity

Part 1: Letter from Birmingham Jail

Present students with photographs 1023, 1037, 1038, 1050, 1071, 1076. When looking at all of these as a group, have them describe what they see by answering Questions to Consider.

It was in this setting that King was put into jail. For additional background on events leading up to and following the arrest, see: mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_birmingham_campaign/

Photograph 1076 is a photo of King along with Fred Shuttlesworth and Ralph Abernathy, right before their arrest for protesting. King wrote his well-known Letter from Birmingham Jail from his cell.

Have students read the Birmingham jail letter. As students read the letter, have them keep “facts and feelings/questions” notes, writing down new facts and information they did not know before, and then their feelings and thoughts about these new facts. For example, after reading the first sentence they might write:

Fact: I did not realize Martin Luther King, Jr. wrote the letter to other pastors and clergy who criticized his work.

Feeling: I thought the churches were united; now I realize that segregation was in all areas of society. Were the clergy who wrote the letter to the newspaper white?

These notes allow for students to have writing prompts and opportunities to interact with each other. As they come to class after having read the letter, have them form groups of three or four to talk about four new facts. The letter is quite long, so you may want to divide into sections and just focus on one section at a time.

After the students have had a chance to debrief with each other, ask them to determine what King’s main concern or claim was in the letter. If students are aware of the components of a well-written argument, then have them identify evidence and warrants that he used to support his claim. Each group should be able to tell the class what they determined was King’s claim and what evidence was used for support. Assess students the evidence they gather from analyzing King’s letter that supports their claim.

Questions to Consider

• What do you see in these photographs? What does the picture and photographer capture in terms of emotion or attitude toward African Americans?

• What types of resistance did African Americans seeking civil liberties face in the South in this period? Give examples from the photographs.

• What do you see in the background of the photographs that may go unnoticed at first, but is important to see?
Part 2: The Ballot or the Bullet Speech

Background

Malcolm X presented a different approach to attaining civil rights than Martin Luther King, Jr. Have students look at a grouping of photos representing struggles African Americans and others who sought an expansion of their civil rights, and photos of resistance to an expansion of civil rights (photographs 1023, 1050, 1057, 1071) and attempt to identify emotion and passion in the photographs. This is also an opportunity to have students share how the photographs illustrate strategies of civil disobedience. Photograph 1071 in particular will allow for a fruitful class discussion about strategies.

Some suggest that non-violent protests required too much waiting, and that Malcolm X pushed for a more aggressive approach. Evidence of this is his speech called the *The Ballot or the Bullet*. The speech is long, so provide students with a transcript of the words. As a speech, however, this text was intended to be listened to (as opposed to the King letter, which was intended to be read). Ideally, students should listen to Malcolm X deliver the speech. As they do, have them write down “facts and feelings/questions” from the speech, as they did with the Birmingham letter. After completing the speech, have them form groups and share what they wrote down. Again, due to length, you may want to divide it into segments, and then have the students examine each segment.

After the students have debriefed about the speech, have them identify the key claims that Malcolm X is making and the evidence he used to support his claim.

Questions to Consider

- Who is his audience?
- What is he calling people to do?
- What does he mean when he says “the ballot or the bullet”?
- In what ways are King and Malcolm X similar? In what ways are they different?
- Both were assassinated. If they were alive today, which message would be the most effective? Support your answer with facts and examples.

Part 3: The Women’s Movement & The NOW Statement of Purpose

Background

The civil rights era in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s receives a lot of attention as being a time when citizens stood up for equality. It can be misleading, however, to think that this was the only time Americans sought civil rights. Throughout American history, people have attempted to increase the freedoms and rights of oppressed groups, and this continues today.

The Civil Rights Era is also miscast as a time when only African Americans were seeking civil rights. Many different ethnic groups were battling racism, prejudice, and oppression. Women, too, were seeking more opportunities and civil rights. A first wave of feminism in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century had fought for and gained, among other things, suffrage—the right to vote—for women. The women’s movement in the mid-twentieth century in the United States is sometimes seen as an outgrowth of the African American movement for civil rights. Existing societal conditions that institutionalized inequality of the sexes provided the impetus for a new awareness of sexism,
however. In the 1950s and 1960s, growing numbers of women earned college degrees and entered the workforce. Women earned only 25 percent of all bachelor of arts degrees in 1950; in 1970, this was up to 41 percent. (By comparison, in 2010, about 54 percent of BAs were awarded to women). Numbers of women in the workforce steadily rose in these decades as well; however, women did not get equal pay. In addition, women, traditionally considered responsible for the domestic realm, were impacted to a greater extent than were men by the lack of resources, such as daycare centers for working parents.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 made discrimination on the basis of gender unlawful, giving women's rights activists legal footing to seek change. Just as African Americans had done (and continued to do), women's groups formed to bring the issue of gender inequality to the public's attention. One such group was the National Organization for Women, or NOW, started in 1968 by a small group of professional women, including Betty Friedan, author of the 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique*. NOW declared “…women, first and foremost, are human beings, who, like all other people in our society, must have a chance to develop their fullest human potential.”

In the 1960s and 1970s, the so-called “Second-Wave Feminists” staged protests, employing civil disobedience to attack, among other things, mass media’s portrayal of women and events such as beauty pageants. In 1968, feminists protested the Miss America pageant in Atlantic City, burning bras and copies of *Playboy* magazine, and nominating a sheep for Miss America. Show photograph 1065 to help provide a context of how these protests appeared in pictures.

The women’s movement helped initiate a societal shift toward gender equality. The 1970s brought legal gains for women, including passage of Title IX of the Education Amendments. Educational institutions and activities, such as sports, that received money from the federal government were now barred from gender discrimination. Other reforms were more difficult to achieve. Though many women and men worked for passage of an Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution to ensure full political, social, and economic equality, the ERA was not ratified by enough states to become law. Like other movements for societal change, the women’s movement met resistance from those who believed women should maintain traditional roles.

To read the NOW Statement of Purpose see: now.org/about/history/statement-of-purpose/
With this background information, have students look at photograph 1065 and describe what they see. Then have them look at photograph 1030. In pairs, have the students suggest why someone would have made a poster with a women’s body marked like this. This is an example of using a photograph as the basis for a political poster. The photographer has added text to make a provocative photograph about women’s roles in society. Consider asking pairs of students to talk about the following questions:

- How does dividing a women as the picture shows help rally support for the women’s movement?
- We often see this type of marking for a cow. How did the photographer build on that imagery?
- What message was the poster trying to convey?

Prompt them to use examples from the background on the women’s movement to support their answers. Show the photographs and ask students to compare and contrast the photographs with Martin Luther King, Jr. How did these two forms of civil disobedience seem the same and different?

With this as background and context, have the students refer to the NOW Statement of Purpose. (Students may have read this the night before, or students might read it in class.) Have students refer to the statement as they record answers to the following questions:

- What is the purpose of the National Organization of Women?
- What are the claims they make in the Statement of Purpose? These might also be identified as belief statements.
- What evidence or examples do they use to support these claims?

After the students have read the statement and answered these questions, have them consider whether NOW is successful today. Does NOW still have relevance today? What should the series of “we believe” statements be for today? Are they still appropriate, or should they be updated? Students can be assessed for how well they support their statements with current examples, facts, and evidence.

Return to photograph 1065, and ask students to come up with a political poster that would help communicate the “women’s movement” at this time. What would the photograph depict? What words would be added to the photograph and why?
Part 4: The Alcatraz Red Power Movement & the Alcatraz Proclamation

Background

Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay served as a federal prison from 1934 until 1963. After closing the prison, Alcatraz was deemed to be “surplus” federal land and abandoned for a time. On November 20, 1969, 89 Native Americans—mostly students from colleges and universities in San Francisco and Los Angeles—announced they were taking over the island, and began what would become a 19-month occupation; the longest occupation of a federal facility by Native Americans.

In actuality, the participants likely never intended to live on Alcatraz long term. Although this event was designed to highlight issues concerning Native Americans, it is now viewed as a monumental protest that inspired activism for Native American rights across the country. During the 1940s and ‘50s, Native American activism against the U.S. government was generally organized and executed by specific tribes and nations and focused on a specific issue, such as fishing rights or other treaty rights violations. The tone of the activism sweeping the nation in the 1960s, however, may have helped promote a more attention-grabbing action: The occupation of Alcatraz inspired Native Americans across the country to rally together.

To announce their action to the nation, occupiers issued the Alcatraz Proclamation. Because the Native Americans were from many native populations (Sioux, Blackfoot, Apache, Navajo, Cheyenne, and Iroquois), the Proclamation was signed by “Indians of all Tribes.”

The Proclamation had a half-serious style: Its statements were meant to give insight. The inhabitants made hand-painted signs with sayings such as “You Are on Indian Land,” “Red Power,” and “Human Rights, Free the Indians.” This movement called to action Native Americans who would occupy other federal lands in the coming months. As one Native American activist stated: “Then there was that spark at Alcatraz, and we took off. Man, we took a ride across this country. We put Indians and Indian rights smack dab in the middle of the public consciousness for the first time since the so-called Indian Wars” (Russell Means, Oglala Lakota). To read Russell Means’s full quotation, and have background information, see: www.pbs.org/itvs/alcatrazisnotanisland/activism.html

To read the full Alcatraz Proclamation see image 1075, Appendix, page 57.

With this background information, have students look at photographs 1061, 1064, 1073, and 1074, and describe what they see.
In pairs, have students share answers to the following questions:

- What is taking place in these pictures on Alcatraz Island?

- How are these protests similar to and different from the protests by African Americans in the South, or by the National Organization of Women?

As a class, look at copies of photograph 1061. This is a picture of the Alcatraz Declaration. Ask students to describe how the Declaration was presented, what they notice about the material on which it is printed, or if anything else stands out as being noticeable in the photograph.

Turning to the Proclamation text (image 1075), have the students read along as you read it to them. Focusing on “voice,” ask the students to share how they would describe the tone of the writing. For example: Was it funny? Was it sarcastic? Was it confrontational? What evidence can they pull from the text that would support their opinion about the tone?

In groups of four, have the students read the Alcatraz Proclamation again and specify what they think the protesters were demanding. What was the main argument they were making? What historical examples did the writers use to explain the reason for occupying Alcatraz Island? When supporting a claim, what evidence is used to support the claims made in the Proclamation?

Finally, in these same groups of four, have students research one of the following topics mentioned in the Proclamation. Their research could be done in class, and should result in a short paragraph description of the topic:

- The condition of Native American reservations in the 1960s

- The purchase of Manhattan Island

- The Trail of Tears and the Massacre at Wounded Knee

- Native American activism in the 1970s

Note: Photo 1061 is of the Declaration (May 1970) written on cowhide after the Proclamation (November 1969). To read a transcript of the Declaration see Appendix, page 53.)
After each group has found a suitable answer, “jigsaw” them by forming new groups that have one member from each question group. In this way, the new groups will have at least one student for each of the questions, and they can share their answers with the other group members.

Note: In a class of 32 students, you will have eight groups of 4; each group will research two questions. After sharing with the groups, have the class discuss whether the occupation was a success.

Extension Activity

Argument is a structured approach of appealing to logic. According to the Common Core State Standards for English/Language Arts, “the ability to write logical arguments based on substantive claims, sound reasoning, and relevant evidence is a cornerstone of the writing standards, with opinion writing—a basic form of argument—extending down into the earliest grades.” In groups of three or four, have the students select one of the four texts and evaluate it based on the following criteria:

1. How significant are the claims?
2. How sound is the reasoning for having those claims?
3. How well does the evidence support the claims?

Student groups will need a substantial amount of time to think about this topic, and you may want to set aside class time for this. One idea would be for all the student groups to examine the same argument together. Or, you could divide the groups so that each of the four arguments is examined, and then a class discussion about the merits of each can be held as a concluding activity. Of course, the Letter from Birmingham Jail, and the The Ballot or the Bullet speech will require more time for this evaluation activity than the NOW statement or the ARPM proclamation, so you will want to plan accordingly. Students could also select one photograph that they think would be a compelling “icon” for this argument, and provide an explanation why this “iconic photograph” is a good choice.

Additionally, and as a further extension of their learning from these texts, have the students answer these two questions:

1. What is one thing you learned about making an effective argument from this example?
2. What current event or public issue is using argument? Does their argument resemble any of the four we looked at together?
Conclusion

The segregated public school system in the 1950s and 1960s revealed deep-rooted racism in America—racism that went far beyond the schools. The photographs from Little Rock, Boston, and Los Angeles intended to establish that seeking civil liberties was not just a series of events by African Americans in the South. When moving to the literature, four very different texts allowed for a look at using argument to seek freedom from oppression. The letter from King, the speech by Malcolm X, the statement by NOW, and the Proclamation by ARPM each have claims, warrants, and evidence. They argue for improvements to the current state of freedom of civil rights. These groups and countless others still seek freedom and equality in United States. These four texts are case studies from which students might inquire into other groups’ approaches for seeking civil rights. Photographs provide powerful imagery of place, context, and setting. Photographs, primary source texts, and background information all help provide for a cognitive and sensory engagement with this historical period of America.
References and Further Reading

“The Alcatraz Proclamation: A Primary Document Activity”
Teaching Tolerance: A Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center

Common Core Standards (2014).
http://www.corestandards.org/resources/key-points-in-english-language-arts

“The Teaching is a Fight: An Interview with Sal Castro.” Rethinking Schools. Winter 2010. (Note: Castro was one leader of LA school “blowouts.”)
http://www.rethinkingschools.org/archive/25_02/25_02_ochoa.shtml

“Eyes on the Prize: America’s Civil Rights Movement 1965-1985”: multi-part documentary series
http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/eyesontheprize

Boston Public Library: resources on Boston school desegregation
http://www.bpl.org/govinfo/guides-resources/boston-school-desegregation-boston-busing-crisis

Global Non-Violent Action Database, entry for LA school “blowouts”
http://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/east-los-angeles-students-walkout-educational-reform-east-la-blowouts-1968


University of Illinois at Chicago timeline and chronology of second wave feminism
http://www.uic.edu/orgs/cwluherstory/CWLAbout/timeline.html


Lukas, J. Anthony. *Common Ground*, This Pulitzer Prize volume follows how busing affects three Boston families, one Irish American from Charlestown, one African American from Roxbury, and one urban professional living in the South End. (1985)


Formisano, Ronald. *Boston Against Busing: Race, Class, and Ethnicity in the 1960s and 1970s*. 2nd ed. This was an attempt to view the issue beyond the usual racial prism. (1991 and 2001)
APPENDIX

Activity 2
pgs. 26-39
1008, 1010, 1068, 1005,
1007, 1011, 1014, 1027, 1035,
1050, 1057, 1069, 1053, 1054

Activity 3
pgs. 40-57

PART 1
1023, 1037, 1038, 1050, 1071,
1076

PART 2
1023, 1050, 1057, 1071

PART 3
1065, 1030

PART 4
1061, 1064, 1073, 1074, 1075
Activity 2 - 1008

CHANGE AND RESISTANCE:
CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENTS ACROSS THE NATION
Activity 2

"Negro drinking at "Colored" water cooler in streetcar terminal." July 1939, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. (Russell Lee, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection, LC-DIG-fsa-8a26761)
Activity 2

1005 - Audience, primarily students, at a school board meeting. Peter Rodriquez, Wilson High School student, speaking into the microphone, waving an intact draft card to prove his participation was not communist inspired. March 12, 1968, Los Angeles, California. Photo by Lee Lee. Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection.
Activity 2

John Ortiz, Mexican-American student leader at James A. Garfield High School, addresses assembled school students during a walkout on March 7, 1968. Los Angeles, California. (Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection)
Activity 2 – Rally at the state capital. Photograph showing a group of people, several holding signs and American flags, protesting the admission of the “Little Rock 9” to Central High School, August 20, 1959, Little Rock, Arkansas. (John T. Bledsoe, Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-DIG-pmsca-19754)
Activity 2

Workman cleans up derogatory inscriptions on sidewalk as black students enter Hyde Park High School in Boston. There was a minor racial incident in another school as the city entered the sixth full week of court-ordered school busing. October 21, 1974. Boston, Massachusetts. (AP Photo)
Activity 2 - 1027

This photograph has come to be known as "The Screaming Image." Elizabeth Eckford (in white dress, carrying folder and wearing sunglasses); Hazel Bryan (directly behind Elizabeth, with clenched teeth; also wearing white dress). September 4, 1957. Little Rock, Arkansas. (Will Counts Collection, Indiana University Archives.)
Activity 2 - 1035 - A “National March on Boston,” sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), is held to commemorate the 21st Anniversary of the Supreme Court Decision banning segregated schools. Police estimated that some 5,000 to 7,000 walked from the Fenway area to the Boston Common, where hundreds more waited. May 17, 1975. Boston, Massachusetts. (Bettmann/Corbis/AP Images)
Activity 2

A reporter from the Tri-State Defender, Alex Wilson, is shoved by an angry mob of white people near Central High School. The fight started when nine black students gained entrance to the school as the Army enforced integration September 23, 1957. Little Rock, Arkansas.

(AP Photo)
Massachusetts
February 11, 1975
Boston
Boston, MA

White students hit and kick a black student who is on the ground between parked cars outside Boston’s racially troubled Hyde Park High School. The fighting broke out as black students were boarding buses. Several students, including the victim, were arrested. The student who is on the ground between the students who are on the ground is an out-of-town student who is on a field trip outside the school. February 11, 1975. Boston, Massachusetts. (AP Photo)
Activity 2

Carrying placards, 18 persons staged a demonstration in front of Lincoln High School at the fall semester opening in a protest against the lack of Hispanic education and services and the lack of protest against a high school closing in Los Angeles. This demonstration is thought to be the first such demonstration in Los Angeles history. 1966. Los Angeles, California. (Los Angeles Public Library Photo Collection)
Activity 2 - 1054 - SNCC poster. (McCain Library & Archives, The University of Southern Mississippi)
Activity 3

Part 1

Woolworth’s closed its main downtown store in Atlanta, Georgia, October 20, 1960. After hours, the store remained open without incident. About 100 people marching in the street with nothing to eat approached the section with spraying water. Property was damaged. At 10:15, the force was stopped. About 40 people had been demonstrating. African Americans who showed heads of money $100 spraying water at them, owned lunch counter across the street. Woolworth’s closed its doors.
Activity 3 - Part 1 - 1037 - A 17-year-old civil rights demonstrator, defying an anti-parade ordinance, is attacked by a police dog on May 3, 1963. On the afternoon of May 4, 1963, during a meeting at the White House with members of a political group, President Kennedy discussed this photo, which had appeared on the front page of that day's New York Times. Thousands of students re-created the march Thursday, May 2, 2013, in a peaceful march through downtown Birmingham. May 3, 1963. Birmingham, Alabama. (Bill Hudson/AP Photo)

Activity 3 - Part 1

Firemen beat in on a group of African Americans who sought shelter in a doorway as hoses and dogs were used in routing anti-segregation demonstrators.
Activity 3

Part 1

A reporter from the Tri-State Defender, Alex Wilson, is shoved by an angry mob of white people near Central High School. The fight started when nine black students gained entrance to the school as the Army enforced integration.

September 23, 1957. Little Rock, Arkansas. (AP Photo)
A Caucasian woman hurriedly bars the way as Negroes attempt to enter the lunch counter of a downtown department store in Memphis to protest the segregation policy of the establishment. Some 100 demonstrators walked through the street, entering a number of stores in a peaceful demonstration. June 10, 1961. Memphis, Tennessee.
Activity 3
Part 1

Left to right: Fred Lee Shuttlesworth, Ralph David Abernathy, and Martin Luther King, Jr., protesting on Good Friday defying an injunction in the "Jim Crow" movement. From Birmingham, Alabama, they were arrested and imprisoned on Friday, April 12, 1963. From Birmingham, Alabama Public Library Archives.
Activity 3

October 20, 1960. Atlanta, Georgia. Woolworth's closed its main downtown store after a white youth, identified as Harold Sprayberry, walked into the store, sat down, and refused to move. The store, which had been open for over 50 years, closed its doors on that day. According to reports, about 100 African Americans who had been demonstrating for the rights of African Americans were arrested in the incident. This event, known as the Woolworth's sit-in, is a significant event in the Civil Rights Movement.

After the sit-in, the store remained closed for several days. The incident sparked a wave of similar protests across the country, leading to increased awareness and support for civil rights issues. The Woolworth's sit-in is a symbol of the courage and determination of those who fought for equality and justice in the face of resistance.
A reporter from the Tri-State Defender, Alex Wilson, is shoved by an angry mob of white people near Central High School. The fight started when nine black students gained entrance to the school as the Army enforced integration. September 23, 1957. Little Rock, Arkansas. (AP Photo)
White students hit and kick a black student who is on the ground between parked cars outside Boston’s racially troubled Hyde Park High School as the fighting broke out. Several students were arrested. The fighting broke out as bus students were boarding buses. February 11, 1975. Boston, Massachusetts. (AP Photo)
Activity 3 - Part 2 - 1071

A Caucasian woman hurriedly bars the way as Negroes attempt to enter the lunch counter of a downtown department store in Memphis to protest the segregation policy of the establishment. Some 100 demonstrators walked through the street, entering a number of stores in a peaceful demonstration, June 10, 1961, Memphis, Tennessee.
Members of the National Women’s Liberation Party hold protest signs in front of Convention Hall where the Miss America Pageant will be held. The picketers, who were protesting the annual pageant as degrading to women, were seen behind the annual pageant as degrading to women.

Atlantic City, New Jersey, September 7, 1968. (AP Photo)
Activity 3 - Part 3 - 1030 - Signs of the times are shown here, as about 150 women marched through downtown St. Louis and visited the Mayor's office as part of women's liberation demonstration on the 50th anniversary of ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, giving women the right to vote. The women carried signs supporting legalized abortion, child care centers, and the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. August 26, 1970. St. Louis, Missouri. (Bettmann/Corbis Images)
Activity 3 - Part 4 - 1061 - The Declaration by the occupiers of Alcatraz Island, the Indians of All Tribes. The Declaration was originally thought to be written on a buffalo hide; however, it was actually a cowhide. This Declaration was a humorous, tongue-in-cheek statement by the local Bay Area Indian community, stating why the poor conditions of Alcatraz were perfectly suitable for Indians. The bleak and rugged conditions of ‘The Rock’ were strikingly like those on reservations. San Francisco, California. May 30, 1970. (Ilka Hartmann)
Declaration of the Return of Indian Land

How did we lose our land?
Wars-Massacres-Fraud-Occupation-expropriation-Forced sales-Division of Tribal Lands-Deprivation of Water-Flooding.

Who Took it?
Government-Railroad-Oil-Mining-Timber companies-Settlers Homesteaders-Robbers.

When England ruled our right to our land was recognized by the British Crown. After the revolution, Indian title was recognized by The United States in proclamations by Presidents, in Treaties in Statutes. Vast Areas of the United States were ceded by Indian tribes to the government. Could anyone believe that any Indian tribe would voluntarily cede their ancestral land, more precious to them than life itself, and the sole source Of satisfaction for their spiritual, religious and material needs? Almost before The treaties were signed they were broken-In order to take still more Land.

Finally within the past two or three decades the government has (confessed?) the wrongs done to the Indian people. Statutes have been passed concerning illegality, unconstitutionality and unconscionable behavior and the courts and the Indian claims commission have been authorized to find specifically the (?) places and victims of these wrongs.

How does the government propose to right these wrongs?
In place of their land the government offers to the Indian tribes, and the Indian people. Money. How much money? For California they offer 47 cents an acre for land which, in some areas is worth 5 million times that. For the hundreds of billions taken from or earned by Indian land-nothing. For more than one hundred years that Indians have been without their land-nothing.

Will Indians accept money for their land?
To the government of the United States the Indian people say: You cannot be relieved from your Legal and moral obligations, Your conscience cannot be assuaged, the historical, spiritual and material needs of the Indian people cannot be satisfied-except by what we demand and by this declaration affirm.

The Return of our land
Under the white man’s law we have the right to the return of our land. When (?) white man illegally deprives another of his land the wronged one always (?) (?) his land. At the very moment the government is promising the TAOS Indians that they reject their Indian claims commission checks and their historic (?) land will be restored to them. It would have been better for the white man’s (?) self-esteem & world-image if he had done what we must do. Indian patience and (?) have been exhausted. We cannot, will not wait any longer. From the facts, (?) (?) and the verities we have recited it flows as inevitably and relentlessly as the great rivers of our country, that we mist, and we do declare.

Our land is ours again
As a first step we announce on behalf of all the Indian people, or tribes, that from this day forward we shall exercise dominion, and all rights of use and possession, over Alcatraz island in San Francisco Bay.

Hence forth, from time to time, the Indian people, Or tribes or other groupings of Indian people, will Similarly announce the restoration of other land to Indian Dominion use and possession.

What we have done by this declaration we have done Indians-but to those whites who desire their government To be a government of law, justice and morality we say We have done it also for you.

Indians of All Tribes, Inc., Alcatraz Island, May 31" 1970
Activity 3 - Part 4

Activity 3 - Part 4
1973
Activity 3 - Part 4

To the Great White Father:

Proclamation to the Great White Father: January 1970. California. (Courtesy Golden Gate National Recreation Area Park Archives, Marc S. Boatwright Alcatraz Collection, GOGA 35158)