## **CHAPTER SIXTEEN**

# HISTORY SOCIAL SCIENCE FRAMEWORK

### FOR CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve

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# **CHAPTER 16**

# United States History and Geography: Continuity and Change in Modern United States History

- How did the federal government grow between the late nineteenth and twenty-first centuries?
- What does it mean to be an American in modern times?
- How did the United States become a superpower?
- How did the United States' population become more diverse over the twentieth century?

In this course, students examine major developments and turning points in American history from the late nineteenth century to the present. During the year, the following themes are emphasized: the expanding role of the federal government; the emergence of a modern corporate economy and the role of organized labor; the role of the federal government and Federal Reserve System in regulating the economy; the impact of technology on American society and culture; changes in racial, ethnic, and gender dynamics in American society; the movements toward equal rights for racial, ethnic, religious, and sexual minorities and for women; and the rise of the United States as a major world power.

As students survey nearly 150 years of American history, they learn how geography shaped many of these developments, especially in terms of the country's position on the globe, its climate, and abundant natural resources. In each unit, students examine American culture, including religion, literature, art, music, drama, architecture, education, and the mass media.

The content covered in grade eleven is expansive, and the discipline-specific skills that are to be taught are equally demanding. To highlight significant developments, trends, and events, teachers should use guiding questions around which their curriculum may be organized. Organizing content around questions of historical significance allows students to develop their understanding of that content in greater depth. Guiding questions also allow teachers the leeway to prioritize their content and highlight particular skills through students' investigations of the past.

Questions that can frame the year-long content for eleventh grade are as follows: How did the federal government grow between the late nineteenth and twenty-first centuries? What does it mean to be an American in modern times? How did the United States become a superpower? How did the United States' population become more diverse over the twentieth century?

As students learn American history from the late 1800s through the 2010s, they should be encouraged to develop reading, writing, speaking, and listening skills that will enhance their understanding of the content. As in earlier grades, students should be taught that history is an investigative discipline, one that is continually reshaped based on research in primary sources and on new perspectives that can be uncovered. Students should be encouraged to read multiple primary and

secondary sources; to understand multiple perspectives; to learn about how some things change over time and others tend not to; and they should appreciate that each historical era has its own context and it is up to the student of history to make sense of the past on these terms by asking questions about it.

# Connecting with Past Studies: The Nation's Beginnings

- What are key tenets of American democracy?
- How did the country change because of the Civil War and Reconstruction in the nineteenth century?

The course begins with a selective review of United States history, with an emphasis on two major topics—the nation's beginnings, linked to the tenth-grade retrospective on the Enlightenment and the rise of democratic ideas; and the industrial transformation of the new nation, linked to the students' tenth-grade studies of the global spread of industrialism during the nineteenth century.

Special attention is given to the ideological origins of the American Revolution and its grounding in the democratic political tradition and the natural rights philosophy of the Founding Fathers, especially the ideas of liberty, equality, and individual pursuit of happiness. This framing of the Constitution provides a background for understanding the contemporary constitutional issues raised throughout this course.

Students may wish to participate in any number of Constitution Day activities on September 17. Students address the question **What are key tenets of American democracy?** Teachers may want to highlight the emergence of a free, democratic system of government alongside an entrenched system of chattel slavery that lasted for nearly a century. The question **How have American freedom and slavery coexisted in the nation's past?** reminds students of the parallel—and seemingly paradoxical—relationship.

Students can continue with a selective review of American government by considering this question: **How did the country change because of the Civil War and Reconstruction in the nineteenth century?** The events leading up to the Civil War, the successes and failures of Reconstruction, and informal and formal

segregation brought on by Jim Crow laws also provide context for understanding racial inequities in late-nineteenth-century America. To help students understand the history of the Constitution after 1787, teachers pay particular attention to the post–Civil War amendments (Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth), which laid the foundation for the legal phase of the twentieth-century civil rights movement.

The amended Constitution gave the federal government increased power over the states, especially for the extension of equal rights and an inclusive definition of citizenship. A focus on these topics later on in the course allows for a comparative study of the civil rights movement over time as ethnic and racial minorities experienced it.

In addition to the civil rights groundwork laid by the Reconstruction-era Constitutional Amendments, students should closely read the Fourteenth Amendment as it is has been continually reinterpreted and applied to different contexts by the courts; for example, sometimes it has been employed as a protection for workers and other times as a protection for corporations. In the context of the late nineteenth century, civil right advocates such as Booker T. Washington, the founder of Tuskegee Institute and author of the 1895 Atlanta Exposition address, and W. E. B. Du Bois, a founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and author of *The Souls of Black Folk*, had different perspectives on the means of achieving greater progress and equality for African Americans. Racial violence, discrimination, and segregation inhibited African Americans' economic mobility, opportunity, and political participation.

As background for their later studies about challenges to Jim Crow segregation, students understand the meaning of "separate but equal," as both a legal term and as a reality that effectively limited the life chances of African Americans by denying them equal opportunity for jobs, housing, education, health care, and voting rights.

# Industrialization, Urbanization, Immigration, and Progressive Reform

How did America's economy, industries, and population grow after the Civil War?

- Who came to the United States at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century? Why did they come? What was their experience like when they arrived?
- How did the federal government impact the country's growth in the years following the Civil War?
- Why did women want the right to vote, and how did they convince men to grant it to them?

In the second unit, students concentrate on the nineteenth-century growth of the nation as an industrial power and the resulting societal changes. This question can frame students' initial investigation of this era: How did America's economy, industries, and population grow after the Civil War? A brief retrospective of the grade-ten study of the industrial revolution helps to set the global context for America's economic and social development. *Industrialization* —an umbrella term that describes the major changes in technology, transportation, communication, the economy, and political system that fostered the growth—allowed for ballooning prosperity at the turn of the century.

New technology in farming, manufacturing, engineering, and the production of consumer goods created material abundance. The flood of new items supported a larger and more urban population, and it made the producers of the goods very wealthy when prices were stable. Industrialization made possible the wide-scale use of McCormick Reapers, hydropower mining, assembly lines, high-rise buildings, chain stores, and eventually automobiles, among many other technological feats from the turn of the century. These and other features of modern life seemed to confirm the idea of unending progress.

By pooling together capital to minimize risk and increase profits, American entrepreneurs generated unprecedented wealth. Some large businesses in the nineteenth century grew by organizing into trusts and monopolies and through integration. Students can learn about different kinds of business growth in the nineteenth century by comparing vertical integration with horizontal integration. In the Gilded Age, the meatpacking industry integrated vertically by consolidating the many levels of bringing meat to the marketplace, but the oil industry integrated horizontally by having one company (Standard Oil) take over all refineries. Students may compare the strategies used by businesses in employing these two

organizational strategies as well as the potential impact on consumers. Students also examine the emergence of industrial giants, "robber barons," anti-union tactics, and the gaudy excesses of the Gilded Age.

Widespread corruption among industrialists and governing officials resulted in city bosses and local officials consolidating a great deal of power. The perceived economic progress of the late nineteenth century was repeatedly disrupted by prolonged periods of severe financial distress; the country suffered several economic recessions during the intense boom-and-bust cycles at the end of the nineteenth century.

Industrialization also had a serious impact on farmers, which students may learn about by considering the following questions: **How were farmers affected by industrialization? How did they respond to industrialization?** Advances in the nineteenth century, like the McCormick Reaper, made agriculture much more efficient, but it also meant that farmers had to invest in new technology to stay afloat. As farms became more productive, prices of agricultural products fell. In 1865 the price of a bushel of wheat was \$1.50; by 1894 the price of that same bushel was \$0.49.

To stay afloat and compete, some farmers entered a cycle of debt that often included tenant farming or sharecropping as well as the borrowing of seeds and tools from a furnishing merchant. The problem quickly grew as furnishing merchants charged farmers exorbitant interest rates of about 60 percent. This cycle left farmers in a state of debt peonage. Farmers started to feel that they had lost their independence because they were dependent on furnishing agents, banks, and railroads, who also charged farmers high interest rates.

Because of these shared economic grievances, farmers started to organize and unite in protest. The first Farmers Alliance started in Texas in the 1870s, and by the 1880s there were millions of members in the Midwest and the South. Serving a social, cultural, and political purpose, Farmers Alliances started to create cooperatives that collectively demanded lower shipping and storage rates from railroads and better loans from banks. They pooled their economic resources into local granges to afford the newest and most efficient equipment and to lobby for cheaper prices for materials. The cooperatives even asked the federal government to establish the Subtreasury System whereby the government set up storage silos

(or subtreasuries) in urban centers, and when a farmer deposited a crop in the silo, the government would loan the farmer a percentage of the crop value to buy new seeds for the next season at a low interest rate.

To promote their ideas, farmers created a third political party in 1890, which by 1892 became national in focus and was called the People's Party, or the Populists, which called for a government that would serve "the plain people." Throughout the 1890s, the Populists united farmers in the South and the West. Though by the 1896 election, the Democratic candidate—William Jennings Bryan—effectively co-opted much of the Populist platform and ideology, and farmers threw their support behind the Democrats.

The people who fueled industrialization in the nation's expanding urban centers migrated domestically from more rural areas and came from nations all over the world. Students may consider these questions to organize their study of immigration: Who came to the United States at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century? Why did they come? What was their experience like when they arrived? A distinct wave of southern and eastern European immigration between the 1890s and 1910s (distinct from an earlier mid-nineteenth-century wave of immigration that resulted from European developments such as the Great Irish Famine) brought tens of millions of darker-skinned, non-English-speaking, non-Protestant migrants to American cities.

Pushed from their homelands for economic, political, and religious reasons, this diverse group was pulled to America with hope for economic opportunities and political freedom. Asian immigration continued to affect the development of the West despite a series of laws aimed to restrict migration from the Western Hemisphere, including the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the Alien Land Act of 1913. The southwest borders continued to be quite fluid, making the United States an increasingly diverse nation in the early twentieth century.

Industrialization affected not only the demographic makeup and economic growth of the country; it changed the way that ordinary people lived, worked, and interacted with one another. At the turn of the century, a growing number of the U.S. population lived in urban areas in small, crowded quarters, often termed *tenements*. Designed to house as many individuals as possible, tenements were notorious for poor ventilation, lack of sanitation, and substandard construction.

These qualities made crowd-diseases and fires especially deadly in cities like Chicago and New York. In addition to living in unsafe housing, many workers—especially immigrants who recently arrived—found work in urban factories where low wages, long hours, child labor, and dangerous working conditions were all commonplace. Students study the labor movement's growth, despite the repeated efforts of corporations to use violence against labor protests. To learn about the labor movement on the ground, students might conduct a mock legislative hearing to investigate the causes and consequences of the Haymarket riot in Chicago in 1886.

#### Grade Eleven Classroom Example: Working Children

Mr. Gavin's eleventh-grade U.S. history class gets an up-close view of daily life for working-class children in their studies of industrialization. On the first day, he poses a question to the class: How old should you have to be to work? After discussing with students how most Americans (until the end of the nineteenth century) lived on farms and the children worked alongside parents during most harvesting seasons, Mr. Gavin asks students to speculate as to the similarities and differences between working on a family farm and working in a factory. Using a Child Labor Law Pamphlet from the California Department of Industrial Relations and their own personal experience, students brainstorm a list of current age-related labor restrictions. While students compile their list, Mr. Gavin asks whether jobs should have age limits at all, especially if the wages the child brought home would enable the family to have enough to eat, for example. After listing on the board important factors that guide understanding of age limits in the workplace, Mr. Gavin then tells students they will do a gallery walk to learn about child labor around the turn of the century.

Mr. Gavin has displayed on the walls of his classroom a number of Lewis Hines photographs that document child labor. He has organized four stations with each one containing a few images around a theme. The themes are (1) children and factory work, (2) children and mining, (3) children posed alone, (4) children in their homes. Before students start viewing the images, he hands them a photograph-analysis page and instructs them to select one photograph at each station to report on and closely analyze. On the photograph-analysis

#### Example (continued)

page, students are directed to (1) collect all available bibliographic information (time, date, subjects, for example); (2) write a one-sentence explanation of what they see in the photograph, including an estimation of the child's age; (3) collect information about what the child is wearing or not wearing that might provide clues about status (e.g., Is a child working in a factory wearing shoes? What might this reveal about money?); (4) assess what they think the perspective or agenda of the photographer is and provide one piece of evidence why they think that (encourage students to think about the role of the photographer beyond bringing an objective lens); (5) make connections to historical content already studied (e.g., Does it relate to industrialization or immigration?).

After students have viewed the stations, collected information about the four images, and documented it on their graphic organizers, they report to the class. They follow a structured discussion protocol in which students are paired and take turns synthesizing their responses from the graphic organizer, using sentence starters ("Overall, we can say that . . . ," "The main point seems to be ...," "As a result of this conversation, we think that ...," "A summary of our evidence might be ...," "The evidence seems to suggest ...") to ask probing questions about the partner's reports. Finally, Mr. Gavin has a brief conversation with the whole class and asks them to focus closely on what Lewis Hines hoped to communicate, pointing out that most images are posed photographs. Mr. Gavin also asks students to return to the original question about how old children should be to work, by asking students to write a letter to the editor of a newspaper that had just published Hines' photographs. In their letters, students are encouraged to discuss their analysis of Hines' work, as well as both the justification(s) for and problems resulting from child labor in an argumentative essay format, using evidence from the photographs, as well as other primary sources depicting or describing life during the industrial age.

Mr. Gavin concludes this lesson by building upon the themes outlined in his students' essays as he transitions to a discussion of Progressive-era reformers.

#### Example (continued)

*Source:* Classroom activity adapted from teacher Jessica Williams' structured discussion lessons, as detailed in "Conversations in the Common Core Classroom," by Letty Kraus, in *The Source*, pp. 26–30, a publication of the California History–Social Science Project. Copyright @ 2015, Regents of the University of California.

CA HSS Content Standard: 11.2.1

CA HSS Analysis Skills (9–12): Chronological and Spatial Thinking 1; Historical Research,

Evidence, and Point of View 4; Historical Interpretation 3

CA CCSS for ELA/Literacy: RH.11-12.1, 2, 7, 8, WHST.11-12.1, 9, SL.11-12.1c

CA ELD Standards: ELD.PI.11-12.1, 3, 6b, 10a, 11a

Nevertheless, in the problem-ridden environments of recently industrialized cities, many people found the opportunities of city life to be exciting. Thriving urban centers became havens for the middle-class single women who played an important role in the settlement house movement. These women established collective homes in the poor areas of cities and often formed marriage-like relationships, known as "Boston marriages," with one another as they worked to provide services.

In addition, in these growing cities, poorer young women and men who moved from farms and small towns to take employment in factories, offices, and shops found themselves free from familial and community supervision in the urban environment. At nights and on weekends, they flocked to new forms of commercialized entertainment such as amusement parks, dance halls, and movie theaters, and engaged in less restricted forms of intimacy, alarming some middle-class reformers. The more anonymous environment of cities also made space for men and women seeking relationships with one another and with someone of the same sex. By the end of the century, concepts of homosexuality and heterosexuality became defined as discrete categories of identity. This had consequences for the ways that people thought about intimate relationships between people of the same gender.

While primarily working-class youths found excitement in the opportunities of the city, a group of reformers—broadly termed *progressives*—also emerged around the turn of the century and sought to remedy some of the problems arising from industrialization. Primarily composed of white, middle-class, Protestant, college-

educated people (often women), progressives aimed to identify urban problems, work closely with communities to solve them, and then lobby the government to institute broader reforms to prevent future suffering.

One of the first tasks was to take on the widespread corruption of bosses and government officials, as well as civil service reform. Female reformers took advantage of new opportunities for education and employment previously reserved for men. Students may study Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, and Margaret Culbertson, who engaged in progressive work such as forming alliances with labor unions and business interests to press for state reforms in working conditions, lobbying to clean up local government corruption, seeking to improve public services, and establishing rescue or settlement homes.

Progressives, in particular, tried to address problems of immigrants, and especially the children, through advocacy of the Americanization movement, which sought to assimilate European immigrants into becoming Americans through schooling, cultural and social practices, and at work. Although the approach taken by the movement is questionable by today's standards, which generally embrace having a plurality of experiences in the country, analyzing the Americanization movement offers students an opportunity to think historically, employing cause-and-effect and the skill of contextualization to understand the movement as a product of its time.

The historical context that gave rise to the Americanization movement also included social Darwinism, laissez-faire economics, as well as the religious reformism associated with the ideal of the Social Gospel. Together these ideas reinforced the notion that those with the will and strength for hard work could attain individual progress. But these notions also reflected an increasing concern about the changing face of America, and some leaders called into question whether all people could be fit for citizenship.

Although attempts to build new political parties, such as the Populists and Progressive Party, around the cause of reform ultimately failed, progressive legislation led to an expansion of the role of the federal government in regulating business, commerce, labor, mining, and agriculture during the administrations of Presidents Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson. Students may investigate this question as they consider shifts in the government: **How did the federal government impact** 

the country's growth in the years following the Civil War? During these same years, progressive state legislation regulated child labor, the minimum wage, the eight-hour day, and mandatory public education, as well as supplied women in many states with the vote. The president who is most often associated with implementing progressive reforms is Theodore Roosevelt. After the assassination of Republican President William McKinley in 1901, Roosevelt instituted significant national reforms, expanded the role of the federal government in order to do things like control trusts, and took charge of national land to develop the national parks system. He embodied the progressive sentiment that called upon the government to restore and preserve freedom because the sense was that only by working through the government could the power of big business be harnessed and people protected.

Because progressivism called for an expanded government to protect individuals, it is only natural that expanding voting rights were deemed equally important. In California, women received the right to vote in 1911; on the national level, it took several more years. Students read about leading suffragists and their organizations, especially the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) and the National Women's Party (NWP). This question can frame students' exploration of the woman's suffrage movement: Why did women want the right to vote, and how did they convince men to grant it to them? Progressive impulses also challenged big-city bosses and government corruption; rallied public indignation against trusts; pushed for greater urban policing, social work, and institutionalization related to gender, sexuality, race, and class; and played a major role in national politics in the pre–World War I era.

Moreover, labor and social justice movements also called for education reform, better living conditions, wage equality, more social freedom for women, and sometimes acceptance of, or at least tolerance for, women and men living outside of traditional heterosexual roles and relationships. Excerpts from the works of muckrakers, reformers, and radical thinkers such as Lincoln Steffens, Jacob Riis, Ida Tarbell, Helen Hunt Jackson, Joseph Mayer Rice, Emma Goldman, and Jane Addams and novels by writers such as Theodore Dreiser, Upton Sinclair, and Frank Norris will help set the scene for students.

### The Rise of the United States as a World Power

- How did America's role in the world change between the 1870s and 1910s?
- Did the United States become an imperial power? Why or why not?
- How did America change because of World War I?

In grade ten, students studied America's growing influence as a world power in the global context of nineteenth-century European imperialism. The United States protected and promoted its economic and political interests overseas during this intense period of global competition for raw materials, markets, and colonial possessions. In grade eleven, students learn about these developments from an American perspective. This question can frame their studies of this topic: **How did America's role in the world change between the 1870s and 1910s?** Presidents William McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, William Taft, and Woodrow Wilson all sought to expand the United States' interests beyond its borders. A noteworthy example of this was the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, which argued for American intervention in Latin America. American foreign policy aimed to promote business interests abroad because of concerns about oversaturated markets at home.

This concern for encouraging open markets that would be friendly to business interests became tied to promotion of American-style democracy and civilizing missions. As President Woodrow Wilson once told a group of American businessmen: "Lift your eyes to the horizons of business, let your thoughts and your imagination run abroad throughout the whole world, and with the inspiration of the thought that you are Americans and are meant to carry liberty and justice and the principles of humanity wherever you go, go out and sell goods that will make the world more comfortable and more happy, and convert them to the principles of America."

Students may consider the nation's objectives and attitudes about other nations and diverse people in analyzing its immigration policy, limitations, and scrutiny of those already in the U.S., and exclusion of people considered to have disabilities, as well as foreign policy, including the American Open Door policy, and expansion into the South Pacific and Caribbean following the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars.

Moreover, American intervention in the Panama Revolution helped secure control over the Panama Canal and certified America's emergence as a global economic and military power. President Roosevelt portrayed his "big stick" policies as necessary extensions of American strength and racial destiny onto a world that needed U.S. leadership. The voyage of the Great White Fleet and the United States' involvement in World War I are additional examples of America's complicated expansion into world affairs. These seemingly simple questions can help students to form a nuanced analysis: Did the United States become an imperial power? Why or why not?

World War I began in 1914, and while the US began to supply the Allies with weapons and goods that year, American soldiers did not join the conflict until three years later. Although American entry into the Great War came later than the Allied Powers hoped for, when Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war in April 1917, he did so in an effort to continue promoting America's vision for the world. When American troops arrived in Europe in the fall of 1917, their participation helped bring an end to the war and establish the United States as a global power. Students should read Wilson's Fourteen Points as a justification for why he felt America should go to war, analyze how the Fourteen Points were an extension of earlier policies, and identify which of the points might be controversial in the context of the war.

With the end of the war, Wilson was heralded as a hero in Europe when he traveled there to attend the Paris Peace Conference. Despite his significant role in designing the Versailles Treaty that ended the war, Wilson ultimately could not convince Congress to join the League of Nations. Students may identify the significance of World War I in transforming America into a world leader, but they should also understand that the aftermath of the war ushered in a decade of isolationism, which by the end of the 1920s would have serious consequences for the world economies.

Just as World War I stands as an important marker of the new role for the U.S. on the world stage, the war also stands as an important event that started a century-long growth of the federal government. Once the United States entered the war, the government grew through the administration of the draft, the organization of the war at home, and the promotion of civilian support for the war.

Americans on the home front had mixed reactions to the war. Some bought Liberty Bonds to support the war, while others opposed the war. National security concerns led to the passage and enforcement of the Espionage and Seditions Acts, which encroached upon civil liberties.

German Americans experienced prejudice and extreme nativism. African Americans, who served in the military—in segregated units—came home and often moved to industrial centers as part of the "Great Migration," and were typically met with hostility from locals. Young men serving abroad found European ideas about race and sexuality liberating. The war provided the context in which women's activism to secure the vote finally succeeded. The war also had consequences for soldiers who returned home with physical injuries and a new syndrome known as "shell shock." A number of American writers and poets of the "Lost Generation," such as Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, and Ezra Pound, sought solace in their creative work to make meaning out of the death and destruction caused by the war, and their resulting disillusionment with American idealism. This question can help students synthesize their studies of World War I, both abroad and at home: How did America change because of World War I?

### The 1920s

- Why were the 1920s filled with political, social, and economic extremes?
- How did culture change in the 1920s?
- Were the 1920s a "return to normalcy?" Why or why not?

The 1920s is often characterized as a period of Prohibition, gangsters, speakeasies, jazz bands, flappers, and conspicuous consumption, which overshadows the complex realities of this era. In reality, the 1920s is a decade of extremes: broad cultural leaps forward to embrace modernity and simultaneously a deep anxiety about the country changing too fast and for the worse. Students consider this question as they learn about the movements of the 1920s: **Why were the 1920s filled with political, social, and economic extremes?** For middle-class white Americans, the standard of living rose in the 1920s, and new consumer goods such as automobiles, radios, and household appliances became available, as well as consumer credit.

Students learn how productivity increased through the widespread adoption of mass production techniques, such as the assembly line. The emergence of mass media created new markets, tastes, and popular culture.

Movies, radio, and advertising spread styles, raised expectations, promoted interests in fads and sports, and created gendered celebrity icons such as "It Girl" Clara Bow and Babe Ruth, the "Sultan of Swat." At the same time, major new writers began to appear, such as William Faulkner, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Gertrude Stein, and Sinclair Lewis. As students learn about the prosperity and proliferation of consumer goods on the market in the 1920s, students learn that with these changes came both intended and unforeseeable consequences, many resulting in social effects on people and impacts on the environments where they lived (see appendix G for Environmental Principle IV).

This question can help frame students' understanding of the 1920s: **How did** culture change in the 1920s? Students should explore cultural and social elements of the Jazz Age. Women, who had just secured national suffrage with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment, experienced new freedoms but also faced pressure to be attractive and sexual through the growing cosmetics and entertainment industries, and related advertisements.

The passage of the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act triggered the establishment of speakeasies. These not only represented a challenge to Prohibition but established a vast social world that broke the law and challenged middle-class ideas of what should be allowed. In those arenas, lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) patrons and performers became part of what was tolerated and even sometimes acceptable as LGBT-oriented subcultures grew and became more visible. At the same time, modern heterosexuality became elaborated through a growing world of dating and entertainment—a celebration of romance in popular media, the new prominence of young people and youth cultures, and a new kind of marriage that valued companionship.

American culture was also altered by the first Great Migration of over a million African Americans from the rural South to the urban North during and after World War I, which changed the landscape of black America. The continued flow of migrants and the practical restrictions of segregation in the 1920s helped to create the Harlem Renaissance, the literary and artistic flowering of black artists,

poets, musicians, and scholars such as Alain Locke, Langston Hughes, Countee Cullen, Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, and Zora Neale Hurston. Their work provides students with stunning portrayals of life during segregation, both urban and rural.

LGBT life expanded in 1920s Harlem. At drag balls, rent parties, and speakeasies, rules about acceptable gendered behavior seemed more flexible for black and white Americans than in other parts of society, and many leading figures in the Renaissance such as Hughes, Locke, Cullen, and Rainey were lesbian, gay, or bisexual. The Harlem Renaissance led many African Americans to embrace a new sense of black pride and identity, as did Marcus Garvey, the Black Nationalist leader of a "Back to Africa" movement that peaked during this period.

#### Grade Eleven Classroom Example: The Harlem Renaissance

Ms. Brooks asks her students to examine Langston Hughes' poem "I, Too" to study the intent of Harlem Renaissance artists:

I, too, sing America.

I am the darker brother.

They send me to eat in the kitchen

When company comes,

But I laugh,

And eat well.

And grow strong.

Tomorrow,

I'll be at the table

When company comes.

Nobody'll dare

Say to me,

"Eat in the kitchen,"

Then.

Besides,

They'll see how beautiful I am

And be ashamed—

I, too, am America.

#### Example (continued)

She introduces this poem to the class by asking students why African American leaders would use art to express themselves—and to advocate equal rights—rather than to work through political, legal, or economic avenues. Students discuss this question in groups of three, and then post their answers in a controlled online backchannel chat moderated by Ms. Brooks, who quickly reviews student responses to make sure all students have had the opportunity to share their thinking.

Ms. Brooks then distributes copies of Hughes' poem to students and reads it aloud for them. Students then turn to a neighbor and share one word or phrase that resonated with them; Ms. Brooks randomly asks for a few students to share what their partners said with the rest of the class. Ms. Brooks then directs students to read the poem again, this time with another student, to find and then circle words and short phrases relating to America and underline words and short phrases relating to inequality.

After this second read-through and with their texts marked, Ms. Brooks asks for volunteers to share stanzas to read aloud the poem for a third time. Finally, students are asked to share, first in discussion with a small group and then in a brief written response, answers to these questions: What did Hughes intend to accomplish with this poem? Why would he use poetry (or other art forms) to communicate this point during the 1920s?

Ms. Brooks encourages students to use terms such as *probably*, *likely*, *potentially*, or *certainly* in their written responses. As students draft their answers, Ms. Brooks reminds them to consider the impact of Jim Crow laws and the many unofficial restrictions on opportunities for advancement for African Americans; thus, art was one of the few avenues for creativity and advancement.

CA HSS Content Standard: 11.5.5

CA HSS Analysis Skills (9–12): Historical Interpretation 3

CA CCSS for ELA/Literacy: RL.11-12.4, 5, WHST.11-12.6, 7, SL.11-12.1

CA ELD Standards: ELD.PI.11-12.1, 6b, 7, 8, 11

At the same time that American consumer and popular culture was being remade, farm income declined precipitously and farmers found themselves once again suffering from the pressures of technology and the marketplace. American politicians espoused a desire to return to "normalcy" as evidenced by the election of Warren Harding, Calvin Coolidge, and Herbert Hoover.

In addition to American political leaders' reluctance to embrace change, many Americans did not embrace the social and cultural openness of the decade. These people found a voice in many organizations that formed to prevent such shifts. The Ku Klux Klan launched anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, and moralizing campaigns of violence and intimidation; vice squads targeted speakeasies, communities of color, and LGBT venues.

As a reflection of the anxiety about the changing demographic composition of the country, the United States Supreme Court ruled in *United States v. Bhagat Singh Thind* (1923) that the country could restrict the right to naturalization based on race. Congress, encouraged by eugenicists who warned of the "degradation" of the population, restricted immigration by instituting nationality quotas the following year in 1924.

Similar fears about outsiders hurting the nation led to campaigns against perceived radicals. Fears of communism and anarchism associated with the Russian Revolution and World War I provoked attacks on civil liberties and industrial unionists, including the Palmer Raids, the "Red Scare," the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and legislation restraining individual expression and privacy. Legal challenges to these activities produced major Supreme Court decisions defining and qualifying the right to dissent and freedom of speech. By reading some of the extraordinary decisions of Justices Louis Brandeis and Oliver Wendell Holmes (Schenck v. U.S. (1919) and Whitney v. California (1927)), students will understand the continuing tension between the rights of the individual and the power of government. Students can engage in a debate that weighs the need to preserve civil liberties against the need to protect national security. Learning about the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), formed in 1920 with the purpose of defending World War I dissenters, and the NAACP, established in 1909 to protect and promote the constitutional rights of minorities, helps students identify organizational responses to unpopular views and minority rights. Students can synthesize their studies of the 1920s by addressing these questions: Were the 1920s a "return to normalcy?" Why or why not?

## The Great Depression and the New Deal

- Why was there a Great Depression?
- How did the New Deal attempt to remedy problems from the Great Depression?
- How did ordinary people respond to the Great Depression?

Students should begin their investigation of the Great Depression by considering this question: Why was there a Great Depression? The collapse of national and international financial systems in 1929 led to the crash of the American stock market in October 1929. The stock market crash revealed broad underlying weaknesses in the economy, which resulted in the most intense and prolonged economic crisis in modern American history. An interconnected web of international investments, loans, monetary and fiscal policies, and World War I reparations collided in 1929 and led to a worldwide economic downturn.

In America, four conditions account for the Great Depression and, more importantly, why it lasted for a decade: (1) oversaturated markets in the nation's two leading industries: automobiles and construction; (2) lack of regulations in the financial and banking industries (for example, pools artificially inflated stock prices while banks heavily invested depositors' funds in the volatile stock market); (3) maldistribution of income (in 1929, more than half of American families lived on the edge of or below the minimum subsistence level despite the low level of unemployment. The failure of businesses to share more equally the fruits of prosperity decreased demands for goods and services); (4) the worldwide financial system resulting from World War I (in which America replaced Britain as the financial leader but declined to facilitate the flow of capital, goods, and people through adoption of an aggressive tariff policy, for example).

The effects of the Great Depression started to be felt almost immediately. The stock market crash exposed the fragile positions of banks, so that when a few extremely vulnerable banks closed their doors, ordinary Americans panicked and started to withdraw their deposits from other banks, which led to an even more severe strain on the banking industry. A crashing stock market, failing banks, and panicked citizens affected people so that they stopped spending money.

Factories quickly cut production because of the drastic falloff in demand; for

example, by 1932 automobile plants were operating at 12 percent of capacity. National unemployment started a steady climb from its average of 3.7 percent in the 1920s. By 1930 unemployment averaged 9 percent; by 1932 it was at 23 percent. An additional 33 percent of Americans were considered underemployed, unable to find adequate hours to secure a full paycheck. These figures were accompanied by a declining gross national product, consumer price index, and farm income. To make sense of quantitative economic information, students can organize these figures into graphics in which they chart change over time and identify and explain large-scale trends.

American political leaders initially responded cautiously, if not optimistically, to the Depression. In November of 1929, President Herbert Hoover famously declared, "Any lack of confidence in the economic future or the basic strength of business in the United States is foolish." Ordinary Americans felt differently, electing Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) in 1932. FDR won by a wide margin, largely because he convinced Americans that their economic livelihoods would improve under his administration. Roosevelt created the New Deal—a series of programs, agencies, laws, and funds intended to provide relief, reform, and recovery to combat the economic crisis.

Expansionary fiscal and monetary policies, job programs, and regulatory agencies are a few of the broad roles for government set in place by the New Deal. This question may frame students' investigations of the New Deal: **How did the New Deal attempt to remedy problems from the Great Depression?** Key New Deal innovations included the right to collective bargaining for unions, minimumwage and hours laws and Social Security for the elderly, disabled, unemployed, and dependent women and children. Taken together, these new developments created

the principle that the government has a responsibility to provide a safety net to protect the most vulnerable Americans; the legacy of these safety net programs created the notion of the modern welfare state.

New Deal agencies that students can focus on are the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA),



National Industrial Recovery Administration (NIRA), and Works Progress Administration (WPA). These agencies—and many new policies set in place by Roosevelt—were based on a theory of Planned Scarcity; the root of economic problems was an oversupply of goods in the marketplace and the role of the government would to be to stabilize production and aid businesses, which would ultimately help workers. John Maynard Keynes, the leading economist whose ideas of "priming the pump" also guided many of Roosevelt's later economic policies, argued that if the government directly invested in the economy—even if it had to run a deficit by doing so—individual Americans would have more purchasing power and the economy would recover sooner from the Depression.

Though the New Deal coalition forged a Democratic voting bloc that comprised workers, farmers, African Americans, Southern whites, Jews, Catholics, and educated Northerners, the New Deal generated controversy and inspired significant opposition to Roosevelt. Criticism came from both the Far Left, who argued that the government was not doing enough to help Americans' suffering, and the Right of the political spectrum, which argued that the executive branch was doing far too much to regulate the economy.

Students may study dissident voices in the New Deal and analyze the effects of the New Deal by exploring the areas of U.S. society that were addressed. What agencies were created? Were they effective? Why were many nullified? Which are still in place? Students may watch, listen to, or read excerpts from Roosevelt's inaugural addresses and fireside chats in order to analyze how the president worked to rally the nation by communicating with Americans in a sympathetic and plainspoken way.

Ultimately, Roosevelt's economic policies did not end the Great Depression; World War II did, because it involved a level of government spending and mobilization that led sectors of the economy to put everyone back to work. However, New Deal policies did ameliorate some of the worst ravages of the Depression, gave the nation hope at a time of despair, and paved the road to recovery, which had made significant progress by 1937.

After 1937, Roosevelt reduced the government stimulus in a pronounced shift to balance the budget, temporarily stalling the recovery. Despite the New Deal's failure to end the Great Depression, Roosevelt forever changed the office of the

presidency by expanding the scope and power of the executive branch through what some historians have called the "imperial presidency." Teachers may show students select clips of Ken Burns' documentary *The Roosevelts*.

The Great Depression affected American society and culture in profound ways. Students should consider **How did ordinary people respond to the Great Depression?** The effects of the Depression were worsened by the Dust Bowl, a result of natural drought combined with unwise agricultural practices that led to the dislocation of farmers who could no longer make a living from agriculture in the Great Plains. The famed Okies, portrayed in the literature of John Steinbeck and photographs of Dorothea Lange (among other artists of the 1930s), were pushed off their land and joined the significant migration of workers who came to California in search of work and opportunities only to find themselves treated poorly and in a continued state of economic turmoil.

In addition to migrant farmworkers faring poorly during the Depression, the trial of the Scottsboro Boys, nine black youths falsely charged with raping two white women, illuminates the racism of the period.

The economic crisis also led to the Mexican Repatriation Program: a massive effort by government officials and some private groups to get rid of Mexicans, citing federal immigration law, the need to save jobs for "real Americans," and a desire to reduce welfare costs. The resulting repatriation drives were done in violation of individual civil rights. Scholars estimate that at least one million Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans, including children, were deported from the United States to Mexico; approximately 400,000 of them were from California. Many of those who were illegally "repatriated" returned home during World War II, joining the armed services and working in the defense industry.

In 2005, the California State Legislature passed Senate Bill 670, the Apology Act for the 1930s Mexican Repatriation Program, issuing a public apology for the action and authorizing the creation of a public commemoration site in Los Angeles. In 1935, Congress also passed the Filipino Repatriation Act, which paid for the transportation of Filipinos who agreed to return permanently to their home country. Students can compare these Depression–era events to the institution of the Bracero Program in 1942, which brought Mexicans back into California (and other parts of the U.S.) to supply farm labor during World War II.

Severe economic distress also triggered social protests, such as sit-down strikes, and the successful unionization of unskilled workers in America's giant industries led by the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Moreover, black and white sharecroppers in the South launched the Southern Tenants Farmers Union. With the Roosevelt administration in support of the rights of workers through such laws as the Wagner Act, the 1930s saw a vast acceleration of the number of workers that felt free and protected to join a union. Photographs, videotapes, monographs, newspaper accounts, interviews with persons who lived in the period (for example in Studs Terkel's *Hard Times*, Vicki Ruiz's *Cannery Women*, *Cannery Lives*, and Dorothea Lange's photojournalism), as well as paintings and novels (such as John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*), capture how ordinary people experienced the Depression.

To make projects from the New Deal local and concrete, students may participate in a project in which they identify and study something in their community that was created during the New Deal by one of the agencies. California students may focus on projects done through the WPA or the Civilian Conservation Corps. Teachers can guide students to identify the artifact (such as an art installation, bridge, building, reservoir, hiking trail, and the like) in their communities. Then students are directed to tell the story of the artifact; identify the agency that worked on the project; research who worked for the agency and, ideally, on the project itself; and to contextualize the project in the New Deal by responding to this question: How is this artifact a reflection of the New Deal?

## America's Participation in World War II

- Why did Americans not want to join World War II before the bombing at Pearl Harbor?
- How did the American government change because of World War II?
- How was the war mobilized and fought differently in the Atlantic versus the Pacific?
- How did America win the war in the Pacific?
- How did World War II serve to advance movements for equality at home and abroad?

In this unit, students examine the role of the United States in World War II. Students may begin their World War II study with a short review of selected content from their tenth-grade course, such as the rise of dictatorships in Germany and the Soviet Union and the military-dominated monarchy in Japan, and the events in Europe and Asia in the 1930s that led to war, including the economic and political ties between the United States and the Allies prior to U.S. entry into World War II. However, students should study the war from the American perspective, which means they learn that the war was extremely unpopular domestically before 1941.

Students should consider this question to contextualize America in the events leading up to war: Why did Americans not want to join World War II before the bombing at Pearl Harbor? Following the will of the American public, Congress passed a series of Neutrality Acts in the 1930s intended to prevent any sort of American aid to nations at war. Standing in direct opposition to the American people and Congress, President Roosevelt felt very early on that the country should support the Allied cause. Roosevelt believed that Hitler posed a threat to the world unlike any other and that the United States needed to hold strong against Japan's territorial aggressions in Asia.

Students understand the debate between isolationists and interventionists in the United States as well as the effect of the Nazi–Soviet pact and then the breaking of it on American public opinion. However, the bombing of Pearl Harbor instantly turned the tide of American opinion about war. The day after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, Congress declared war on Japan; three days later, Germany declared war on the United States. World War II would require a massive buildup of resources for the two fronts.

World War II was a watershed event for the nation, especially for California. Students can address this question to learn about cause-and-effect during the war: How did the American government change because of World War II? By reading contemporary accounts in newspapers and popular magazines, students understand the extent to which this war taught Americans to think in global terms. By studying wartime strategy and major military operations, students grasp the geopolitical implications of the war and its importance for postwar international relations.

Through a guided reading of Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" speech, students learn how the war became framed as a conflict about fundamental values. They may also learn how the Four Freedoms inspired Norman Rockwell to create illustrations that translated the war aims into scenes of "everyday American life" and became a centerpiece of the bond drive during the war. Students learn about the roles and sacrifices of American soldiers during the war, including the contributions of the Tuskegee Airmen, the 442nd Regimental Combat team, women and gay people in military service, the Navajo Code Talkers, and the important role of Filipino soldiers in the war effort. When possible, this study may include oral or video histories of those who participated in the conflict. California played a huge role in America's successful war effort. The number of military bases in the state increased from 16 to 41, more than those of the next five states combined. By the end of the war, California would be the nation's fastest-growing state, and the experience of war would transform the state demographically, economically, socially, and politically.

Although American casualties from the war were small in comparison to what other nations endured, over 400,000 Americans lost their lives. These questions can frame students' understanding of the two fronts of the war: How did nations mobilize for war? How was it fought differently in the Atlantic versus the Pacific? In their study of the conflict, students should learn about the key battles on the different fronts of the war, including Midway, Iwo Jima, and Okinawa in the Pacific, and Normandy and the Battle of the Bulge in Europe. In the haze of war, many American leaders knew about Hitler's hatred of the Jews, but bombing of death camps or railroads leading to them was not a priority for them, for example, because the sentiment was that all efforts should focus on the quickest end to the war. Students may explore the Holocaust from the American perspective and consider the response of Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration to Hitler's atrocities against Jews and other groups and the response to asylum seekers fleeing Nazi Europe.

Given the emphasis on the war in Europe in the tenth-grade course, teachers may want to focus their instruction on the war in the Pacific in the eleventh-grade course. Students analyze the strategies employed by the Japanese military to conquer Asia and the western Pacific and the United States' response to Japanese aggression through the question **How did America win the war in the Pacific?** 

Students can analyze early American losses, such as the surrender (and eventual liberation) of the Philippines, to understand and appreciate the sacrifices of individual soldiers and civilians, the importance of visionary and courageous leadership, the brutality of the conflict, and the necessity of logistical support. Designated as a commonwealth of the United States in 1935, the Philippines was attacked by Japanese forces within hours of Pearl Harbor.

After the Japanese air force bombed airfields, bases, harbors, and shipyards, approximately 56,500 soldiers from the Japanese Army came ashore at Luzon. The U.S. Army Forces in the Far East (USAFFE), composed of Americans and a majority of Filipinos, led by General Douglas MacArthur were unable to defend the territory and strategically retreated to the jungles of the Bataan Peninsula. Despite suffering from massive disease and starvation and fighting without any air support, the USAFFE troops delayed Japan's 50-day timetable by defending Bataan for 99 days. MacArthur left for Australia during this period, vowing, "I shall return."

On April 9, 1942, General Edward P. King, Jr., Commanding General of the Luzon Force, surrendered 75,000 Filipino and American troops. They were forced to march some 60 miles to their prison at Camp O'Donnell without provisions for food, water, or shelter. Those who could no longer go on were beaten, bayoneted, shot, and, in some cases, even beheaded by their Japanese captors. Approximately 10,000 Filipinos and 750 Americans died in what became known as the Bataan Death March. Once inside Camp O'Donnell, approximately 20,000 Filipinos and 1600 Americans died. A majority of the American prisoners were later transported in the hulls of unmarked vessels, termed as "Hell Ships," to Japan, China, Formosa, and Korea where they worked as slave laborers. Thousands died en route and while serving.

During the next three years, Filipinos and Americans formed guerrilla groups in preparation for the liberation. In October 1944, the Battles of Leyte Gulf destroyed the Imperial Japanese Navy. Manila became the second most devastated city in the world after Warsaw following its liberation in March 1945. By the end of the war, approximately 1 million civilians had died.

Students should also consider President Harry S. Truman's decision to drop two atomic bombs on Japan in order to end the war. They can analyze the reasons for the dropping of the bombs, considering both his rationale and different historical judgments. Students may simulate, in small groups, Truman's cabinet to evaluate the then-available evidence about the condition of Japan and the effects of nuclear weapons, make a reasoned recommendation, and compare each group's decision making.

At home, World War II had many long-lasting effects on the nation. Industrial demands fueled by wartime needs contributed to ending the Depression and set a model for an expanded governmental role in regulating the economy after the war. Students can consider this question in order to identify cause-and-effect changes for ordinary people on the home front: How did World War II serve to advance movements for equality at home and abroad? Wartime factory work created new and higher-paying job opportunities for women, African Americans, and other minorities; the opening up of the wage-labor force to women and minorities helped them to raise their expectations for what they should be able to achieve. Unlike World War I, many women remained in the workforce after demobilization.

The defense-related industries became especially critical to California's economy, helping to drive other sorts of development such as the manufacturing sector and the science–technology establishment. These jobs drew enormous numbers of migrants from other parts of the country and eventually spurred the creation of expansive suburbs, highways, and shopping complexes.

Meanwhile, immigration continued, especially to California, which depended on agricultural labor provided by immigrants, particularly Mexicans, who came through the Bracero Program. This 1942 government-sponsored program, designed primarily to replace native-born agricultural and transportation industry workers who were mobilizing for war and interned Japanese-American farmers with imported Mexican laborers, continued until 1964. Instruction on the Bracero program may include oral or video histories of those who came to the United States as part of the program. Students can use those resources to explore the economic and cultural effects of the program during and after World War II and the reasons why the *braceros* chose to participate.

In addition to the economic opportunities advanced by World War II, the ideology of the war effort, combined with the racial segregation of the armed forces, sparked multiple efforts at minority equality and civil rights activism when

the war ended. For example, the head of the largely African-American Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Union, A. Philip Randolph, planned a march on Washington, D.C., in 1941 to focus international attention on the hypocrisy of undemocratic practices at home while the country was about to become engaged in fighting for democracy abroad. This march ultimately prompted President Roosevelt to sign Executive Order 8802 to desegregate military-related industries.

Readings from Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* helps students consider the contrast between American principles of freedom and equality and practices of racial segregation in the context of World War II. Military officials established an unprecedented effort to screen out and reject homosexuals, though gay men and lesbians still served in the armed forces in significant numbers. Some were tolerated in the interests of the war effort, but many others were imprisoned or dishonorably discharged. That persecution set the stage for increased postwar oppression and organized resistance.

But wartime racial discrimination went beyond military segregation. Los Angeles Mexicans and Mexican Americans found themselves under violent attack during the 1943 Zoot Suit Riots, when the police allowed a rampage of white Angelenos and servicemen against them.

In 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which authorized the relocation and internment of 110,000 Japanese Americans and "resident aliens" living within 60 miles of the West Coast, and stretching inland into Arizona, on grounds of national security. The order violated their constitutional and human rights, but the Supreme Court, in a decision heavily criticized today, upheld its implementation in *Korematsu v. United States*, arguing, "when under conditions of modern warfare our shores are threatened by hostile forces, the power to protect must be commensurate with the threatened danger."

In addition, many persons of Italian and German origin who were in the United States when World War II began were classified as "enemy aliens" under the Enemy Alien Control Program and had their rights restricted, including thousands who were interned. The racial distinction in the application of these policies is clear in the fact that, unlike the Italians and Germans who were interned, over 60 percent of those with Japanese ancestry were American citizens. Japanese Americans lost personal property, businesses, farms, and homes as a result of their

forced removal. After Japanese Americans spent many years campaigning for redress, Congress apologized in 1988 for Japanese internment and allocated compensation funds for survivors. *Only What We Could Carry*, edited by Lawson Inada, is a particularly good source for firsthand accounts of the Japanese American experience during World War II, including oral histories of servicemen.

### **Postwar America**

The United States government, especially the presidency, emerged from the Great Depression and World War II with new powers, which expanded during the late 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s through the development of a national security state. The term *liberal consensus* (coined by historian Godfrey Hodgson) is often used to characterize the postwar years from the 1940s through the 1960s. During this time of relative political agreement, both political parties agreed on these key tenets: a promotion of the welfare state that was started during the New Deal and expanded in the 1940s and beyond; support for anti-communism through the development of a national security state; and the necessity of a strong, central government, especially the executive branch, to facilitate the welfare state and anti-communist policy.

The years of the liberal consensus were characterized by remarkable prosperity. This prosperity was shared by more Americans than at any other time in the twentieth century; thus, the liberal consensus allowed the middle class to grow and the American dream to be realized by people who had just survived the traumas of war and depression.

Government spending remained high throughout the postwar era and included new investments, such as President Eisenhower's interstate highway system at the federal level, and the California Master Plan for education at the state level. Spending on defense remained high as well, which led Eisenhower to warn about the rise of a "military–industrial complex" that would endanger American democracy. This spending led to the growth of both new and existing industries that affected the American economy and society for decades, including the rise of the aerospace and computer industries in California. Although this consensus lasted for more than twenty years, students will learn that as the 1960s progressed, the Right moved farther to the right and the Left moved farther to the left, thus unraveling the consensus.

## **Cold War Struggles Abroad**

- What was Containment? How was it employed?
- How did American foreign policy shift after World War II?
- Why was the period between 1946 and 1990 known as the Cold War?
- How did anti-communism drive foreign policy?

Even before the end of World War II, American leaders sensed that Joseph Stalin, the leader of the Soviet Union, had a plan for the postwar world that did not align with America's vision of an open-door world. It was soon clear that there would be an ideological and geopolitical struggle with consequences rippling across the globe between the Soviet Union, a communist nation with an authoritarian government that had a dismal record of protecting human rights (which students should recall from grade ten), and a vision of foreign policy bent on creating and supporting other communist nations, and the United States, a capitalist-leaning nation with an elected government and a vision of foreign policy bent on supporting other capitalist-leaning nations.

Although the Americans and Soviets were allies during World War II, the postwar relations of these two superpowers pitted them in opposition to one another. Teachers should be sure to revisit key tenets of communist economies and capitalist economies in the postwar eras so that students will understand the ideologies that underpinned this decades-long struggle.

Equipped with a background on the differences between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, students can address these questions: **What was Containment? How was it employed?** Containment, the American strategy designed by American Foreign Service Officer George Kennan for confronting the Soviet vision for the world, asserted that the U.S. employ "adroit and vigilant application of counter-force at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points, corresponding to the shifts and maneuvers of Soviet policy."

Students can learn about change over time by deconstructing the intent of Containment; the goal of containing the threat of further Soviet influence in the world broke from earlier precedents that advocated spreading American ideals of open markets and self-determination all over the world. As part of their study of

the policy of Containment, students examine the Soviet expansion into Eastern Europe, the Marshall Plan, the Truman Doctrine, and the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization military alliance, and the competition for allies within the developing world.

In the postwar Cold War context, students study the creation of the United Nations in 1945 and its role in global politics and economics, including the role of institutions such as the International Monetary Fund; the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization; the United Nations Human Rights Commission; the World Health Organization; and the World Bank. They also learn about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations in 1948. Students understand the reasons for the continued U.S. support of the Geneva Conventions and the U.S. role in the adoption of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949. These new worldwide organizations created in the context of the Cold War may be unified for students under the umbrella of this question: How did American foreign policy shift after World War II?

The study of American Cold War foreign policy may extend to an examination of the major events during the administrations of Harry Truman, Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson. This question can help frame the conflict through the wide lens of several presidential administrations: Why was the period between 1946 and 1990 known as the Cold War? Students examine the nuclear arms race and buildup, Berlin blockade and airlift, United Nations' intervention in Korea, Eisenhower's conclusion of the Korean War, and his administration's defense policies based on nuclear deterrence and the threat of massive retaliation, including the CIA-assisted coup in Iran as part of early Cold War history.

Foreign policy during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations continued Cold War strategies—in particular, the "domino theory" that warned of the danger of communism rapidly spreading through Southeast Asia. Students study how America became involved in Southeast Asia, particularly after the French conceded to the Vietnamese in 1956.

Although teachers may wish to cover the Vietnam War in this Cold War foreign policy unit, the approach suggested in this framework is to return to the escalation of the war at the end of the civil rights movement (where there is narrative and a lesson suggestion). Students will have more background for understanding the domestic side of the war at this point. Nevertheless, the escalation of the Vietnam War and secret bombings of Laos and Cambodia proved to be the culmination of Cold War strategies and ultimately caused Americans to question the underlying assumptions of the Cold War era and protest against American policies abroad.

Collectively, Linda Granfield's *I Remember Korea*; David Halberstam's *The Coldest Winter*; Rudy Tomedi's *No Bugles, No Drums*; Sucheng Chan's *Hmong Means Free*; John Tenhula's *Voices from Southeast Asia*: *The Vietnam Reader*, edited by Stewart O'Nan; and Lam Quang Thi's *The Twenty-Five Year Century* are examples of oral histories, memoirs, and other primary sources that represent soldiers' and refugees' experiences during the Korean and the Vietnam Wars.

Students also learn about how the Cold War was conducted in the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America by addressing this question: **How did anti-communism drive foreign policy?** In pursuit of supporting anti-communist governments all

over the globe, the American government—the CIA in particular—backed a number of authoritarian regimes with poor records of protecting human rights. These events should be placed in the context of continuing tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States and thus understood as proxy wars for the ongoing geopolitical and ideological struggle.

American foreign policy in the Middle East included CIA involvement in overthrowing the democratically elected Mossadegh government in Iran, leading to the 26-year rule of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, an authoritarian monarch. Tension in the region would lead (much later) to the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the rise of Islamism in the Middle East, and a host of post–Cold War conflicts.

American Cold War foreign policy also provided support for Israel and Turkey. Students examine the events in the Western Hemisphere leading to the Cuban Revolution of 1959; the political purges and The History Blueprint is a curriculum developed by the California History–Social Science Project (CHSSP) (<a href="http://chssp.">http://chssp.</a> ucdavis.edu), designed to increase student literacy and understanding of history. Three units are available for download free of charge from the CHSSP's Web site, including The Cold War, a comprehensive standardsaligned unit for eleventh-grade teachers that combines select excerpts of primary sources, original content, and substantive support for student literacy development. For more information or to download the curriculum, visit: http://chssp. ucdavis.edu/programs/ historyblueprint.

the economic and social changes introduced and enforced by Castro; Soviet influence and military aid in the Caribbean; American intervention in Guatemala (1954) and Chile (1973); the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion and the 1962 Missile Crisis; and the 1965 crisis in the Dominican Republic.

## **Cold War Struggles at Home**

- How was the Cold War fought domestically?
- How did the government work to combat the perceived threat of communism domestically?
- How were American politics shaped by the Cold War?
- How did the Cold War affect ordinary Americans?

Students learn about the domestic side of the Cold War by considering the question How was the Cold War fought domestically? The domestic political response to the international spread of communism involved government investigations, new laws, trials, and values. Students learn about the investigations of domestic communism at the federal and state levels and about the spy trials of the period. Congress passed the Smith Act (Alien Registration Act) in 1940, which criminalized membership in or advocacy of an organization that supported the overthrow of the government; this meant that any communist-leaning group violated the Smith Act.

The following question can frame how students study the government during these years: How did the government work to combat the perceived threat of communism domestically? From 1948 to 1950, California Congressman Richard Nixon established himself as an anti-communist crusader by prosecuting Alger Hiss, a supporter of the New Deal who had worked at the State Department, for his Communist affiliations as a member of a Soviet spy ring, and for espionage conducted for the Soviet Union in the late 1930s.

In 1951, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were tried and convicted of espionage for passing nuclear secrets to Soviets; both were executed for their crimes in 1953. Senator Joseph McCarthy heightened Americans' fear of Communists with his dramatic, public, yet ultimately demagogic allegations of large numbers of Communists infiltrating the government in the early 1950s. Although his

colleagues in the U.S. Senate censured him, the influence of McCarthy outlasted his actions and explains why the term *McCarthyism* signifies the entire era of suspicion and disloyalty.

Hysteria over national security extended to homosexuals, considered vulnerable to blackmail and thus likely to reveal national secrets. The public Red Scare overlapped with a Lavender Scare. Congress held closed-door hearings on the threat posed by homosexuals in sensitive government positions. A systematic investigation, interrogation, and firing of thousands of suspected gay men and lesbians from federal government positions extended into surveillance and persecution of suspected lesbians and gay men in state and local government, education, and private industry. Students may debate whether such actions served national security and public interests and consider how the Lavender Scare shaped attitudes and policies related to LGBT people from the 1950s to the present.

Students can synthesize this breadth of information about the government and Cold War by addressing this question: How were American politics shaped by the Cold War? Outside the federal government, fear of communism also affected people's daily lives. Students may use the following question to connect their studies of daily life during the Cold War with national and international developments:

How did the Cold War affect ordinary Americans? A wide range of institutions—school districts and school boards, the Screen Actors Guild in Hollywood, and civil rights organizations—produced blacklists that contained the names of suspected communists or communist sympathizers. Individuals on a blacklist were often shunned by those groups. Students may study loyalty oaths (an important issue at the University of California in the 1950s) and legislative investigations of people's beliefs as part of this unit. Still, during this era, there were significant Supreme Court decisions that protected citizens' rights to dissent and freedom of speech.

Another way to address the question **How did the Cold War affect ordinary Americans?** is to have students consider how Cold War spending and ideology shaped people's daily lives. Fighting the Cold War meant heavy government investments in the defense and new aerospace industry, which had a significant impact on California. A generation of Americans who survived the Great Depression and fought in World War II started to take advantage of the GI Bill of Rights, which opened college doors to millions of returning veterans, who contributed to the nation's technological capacity.

This educated group of Americans was able to contribute to the nation's strong industrial base and experienced rapid economic growth and a steady increase in the standard of living. These Americans were also eager to have children, and thus soon after World War II ended, key demographic changes such as the baby boom, white migration to the newly developing suburbs, migration to the Sun Belt, and the decline of the family farm transformed where and how Americans lived. Along with these broad demographic shifts, the advent of televisions, home appliances, automobiles, the interstate highway system, and shopping malls fostered changes in American families' lifestyles.

Thus, many Americans' economic livelihoods—especially in California—were based on Cold War government investment and ideological goals. As William Levitt, the builder who perfected and duplicated suburban homes and



neighborhoods across the country declared, "No man who owns his own house and lot can be a Communist." Students investigate the ways in which the economic boom and social transformation that occurred after World War II, resulted in significant changes to many industries, for example, large-scale agriculture and energy production. Students learn that human industrial activities have

influenced the function and health of natural systems as a result of the extraction, harvesting, manufacturing, transportation, and consumption of these goods and services (see appendix G for Environmental Principle II).

Although more Americans than ever before enjoyed the comforts of middleclass suburban affluence, not all people benefited from it. Minorities were forbidden from owning property in these newly constructed developments. As the white middle class grew in size and power, poverty concentrated among minority groups, the elderly, and single-parent families.

Betty Friedan also coined the term *feminine mystique* to describe the ideology of domesticity and suburbanization, which left white middle-class college-educated housewives yearning for something more than their responsibilities as wives and

mothers. Students can see the contradiction between the image of domestic contentment and challenges to the sex and gender system through the publication of and responses to the Kinsey reports on male and female sexuality in 1948 and 1953; the publicity surrounding Christine Jorgensen, the "ex-G.I." transformed into a "blonde beauty" through sex-reassignment surgery in 1952; the efforts of the medical profession to enforce proper marital heterosexuality; and the growth of LGBT cultures.

## Grade Eleven Classroom Example: Containing Communism at Home, a Museum Exhibit

Ms. Tran's eleventh-grade class is learning about how the Cold War impacted the United States. They cull primary sources and create projects on the topic. On the first day, Ms. Tran tells her class, "Working in groups of three or four, your task is to design a museum exhibit that explores domestic containment in an engaging and informative way."

She provides each group with a total of four packets, each detailing a specific component of domestic containment: (1) harnessing atomic energy for security, (2) rooting out communists and subversives in American society, (3) promoting certain notions of sexuality and the American family structure, and (4) containing the race problem. Each packet includes a short overview, followed by related primary sources.

Each group is to use these sources to design its own exhibit, which will be shared with the rest of the class. After each group shares its exhibit, all students will be asked to use this information to answer the following question: *How did the U.S. contain communism at home?* 

After explaining these instructions and having the students read the background material, Ms. Tran directs them to brainstorm a list of possible questions that could organize their exhibit. She clarifies that questions should not be yes or no, but instead be open-ended like "How were women affected by domestic containment efforts?" The groups create two investigation questions on their topic, review them with the teacher, and then begin to prioritize evidence (or displays) for the museum.

#### Example (continued)

Students select eight to ten pieces of evidence that best tell their story, organize them in a flowchart, and then create the display. Some students create a virtual museum, using QR codes on their smartphones to view sources; others select multimedia sources; a few others create museum boards. Once the exhibit is complete, students create a flyer, which contains the investigative question and other designs that will provide potential museum visitors with a "flavor" of their exhibit. Finally, the museum exhibits are shared, and each student completes a survey about the other exhibits to collect and synthesize all of the information.

This example is summarized from a full unit, *The Cold War: Containment at Home*, and available for download free of charge. It was developed by the California History–Social Science Project (<a href="http://chssp.ucdavis.edu/programs/historyblueprint">historyblueprint</a>) as part of the History Blueprint initiative. Copyright © 2014, Regents of the University of California, Davis Campus.

CA HSS Content Standards: 11.9.3, 11.9.4

CA HSS Analysis Skills (9–12): Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View 4,

Historical Interpretation 3

CA CCSS for ELA/Literacy: RH.11-12.2, 7, WHST.11-12.6, 7, 8

CA ELD Standards: ELD.PI.11-12.1, 2, 4, 6a

### **Movements for Equality**

- Why was there a Civil Rights Movement?
- What does "equal rights" mean?
- What were the goals and strategies of the Civil Rights Movement?
- How did various movements for equality build upon one another?
- Did the Civil Rights Movement succeed?
- How was the government involved in the Civil Rights Movement?
- How was the war in Vietnam similar to and different from other Cold War struggles?
- How did the war in Vietnam affect movements for equality at home?

Although the 1950s have been characterized as a decade of relative social calm, the struggles of African Americans, Chicano/as, Native Americans, Asian Americans, as well as women and LGBT people that emerged forcefully in the 1960s have their roots in this period. In this unit, students focus on the history of the movements for equality and the broader social and political transformations that they inspired, beginning with the Civil Rights Movement in the South and continuing for the 35-year period after World War II.

The question **Why was there a Civil Rights Movement?** will prompt students to identify the hurdles minorities faced in the mid-twentieth century; however, teachers should remind students that there had been civil rights activism before now, but this time the movement seemed different. The goal of the class is to explain how and why. A brief review of earlier content helps students grasp the enormous barriers African Americans had to overcome in the struggle for their rights as citizens: legal statutes in place that prevented them from voting and exercising their rights as citizens, Jim Crow laws that kept them in a state of economic dependence, a system of violence and intimidation that prevented most African Americans from attempting to exercise power, and a legal system that was devoted to preserving the status quo. Life for African Americans at the century's mid-point was one of second-class status.

At the beginning of this unit, teachers may have students address this question: What does "equal rights" mean? To investigate this issue, students should be encouraged to consider what "equality of rights" versus "equality of opportunity" might entail; this sort of discussion will lead students to employ the historical thinking skill of *contingency*—in other words, to see the Civil Rights Movement not as a pre-ordained movement that turned out exactly as intended. Instead, teachers should encourage the class to develop a working definition of equal rights, as it will likely change or be challenged as the class surveys different forms of activism.

Students should first learn about the rise of the African American Civil Rights Movement and the legal battle to abolish segregation by considering this question: What were the goals and strategies of the Civil Rights Movement? An important stimulus for this movement was World War II, when African Americans worked in both the defense industries at home and in military service abroad that were often framed as wars against two racist empires.

American Indians also became more aware of the inequality of their treatment in many states where Indian tribes are located. American Indian veterans returning from World War II were no longer willing to be denied the right to vote by the states, which controlled the voting sites, or to be told their children could not attend state public schools. Some veterans and their families brought lawsuits in the late 1940s and the 1950s successfully challenging such practices.

Some of the most successful state and federal court cases challenged racial segregation and inequality in education, including cases in state and federal district courts, such as *Mendez v. Westminster* (1947), which addressed segregation of Mexican and Mexican-American schoolchildren and involved then-Governor Earl Warren, who would later, as Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, write the *Brown* decision. The NAACP in 1954 achieved a momentous victory with the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka et al.* (1954) decision in challenging racial segregation in public education. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund, employing Thurgood Marshall as its lead counsel, successfully overturned the entire legal basis of "separate but equal." Exploring why African Americans and other minorities demanded equal educational opportunity early on in the Civil Rights Movement is important for students to consider and understand.

The *Brown* decision stimulated a generation of political and social activism led by African Americans pursuing their civil rights. Students can continue to address the question **What were the goals and strategies of the Civil Rights Movement?** to unite the many historical actors and moments that define the movement. Events in this story illuminate the process of change over time in terms of goals and strategies, and they highlight for students the challenges of participating in the movement: the Montgomery bus boycott, triggered by the arrest of Rosa Parks, led by the young Martin Luther King, Jr., and sustained by thousands of African-American women; the clash in Little Rock, Arkansas, between federal and state power; the student sit-in demonstrations that began in Greensboro, North Carolina; the "freedom rides"; the march on Washington, D.C., in 1963; the Mississippi Summer Project of 1964; the march in Selma, Alabama, in 1965; and the Supreme Court's 1967 *Loving v. Virginia* decision to overturn state antimiscegenation laws.

By focusing on African Americans' struggle to gain equal rights, students can learn about key civil rights organizations and put them in a comparative context: King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Congress on Racial

Equality (CORE), and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) among others. Students recognize how these organizations and events influenced public opinion and enlarged the jurisdiction of the federal government. There was also considerable violent opposition to the goals and strategies of the movement; many white Southerners committed their resources to pushing back against what they perceived to be an overly intrusive federal government regulating race relations. Students may read select excerpts from "The Southern Manifesto on Integration," a 1956 resolution adopted by dozens of senators and congressmen that opposed the integration of schools and the *Brown* decision, which declared: "Without regard to the consent of the governed, outside agitators are threatening

immediate and revolutionary changes in our public school systems. If done, this is certain to destroy the system of public education in some of the states."

Students will likely need a variety of tools (such as a graphic organizer that deconstructs both individual sentences and relevant phrases) to both comprehend the text and understand the coded language that fuels the



argument against integration. Students should also learn about Dr. King's philosophical and religious dedication to nonviolence by reading select excerpts from primary-source documents such as "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," his response to a "Call for Unity," signed by a group of Alabama clergymen. They recognize the leadership of the black churches, female leaders such as Rosa Parks, Ella Baker, and Fannie Lou Hamer, and gay leaders such as Bayard Rustin, all of whom played key roles in shaping the movement. Through the careful selection and analysis of the many primary sources available from the period, students come to understand both the extraordinary courage of ordinary black men, women, and children and the interracial character of the Civil Rights Movement.

One of the hallmark achievements of the Civil Rights Movement in the South was convincing the federal government to protect civil and voting rights. The question **How was the government involved in the Civil Rights Movement?** offers students an opportunity to think about how equality is achieved—through

grassroots activism and through government action. Students examine the expansion of the role of the federal government as a guarantor of civil rights, especially during the administrations of Presidents Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon. After President Kennedy's assassination, Congress enacted landmark federal programs in civil rights, education, and social welfare. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 indicated the federal government's commitment to provide the rights of full citizenship to people of all races, ethnicities, religious groups, and sexes.

The findings of President Johnson's Kerner Commission may be analyzed to understand the media perspectives on race relations. Students can then read excerpts of the text from each federal act to understand what the federal government would do and to analyze the new and expanded responsibilities. Teachers may wish to place these pieces of federal legislation in the context of Great Society programs, which aimed to expand the welfare state and provide a broader safety net for vulnerable Americans.

The peak of legislative activity in 1964–65 was accompanied by a shifting ideology, geographic orientation, organizational composition, and form of protest for the movements for equality. Students can revisit the question **What were the goals and strategies of the Civil Rights Movement?** to chart change over time and cause-and-effect. One catalyst for changes in the movement was police violence against African Americans, which contributed to the Los Angeles Watts riot in 1965. Another was the 1965 assassination of Malcom X, an influential Black Muslim leader who had criticized the Civil Rights Movement for its commitment to nonviolence and integration. In 1966, inspired by Malcolm X, the Black Power movement emerged. Some Black Power advocates demanded change "by any means necessary," promoted Black Nationalism, and espoused plans for racial separatism.

Although the Black Power movement never received the mainstream support that the Civil Rights Movement did, it had enduring social influence in its emphasis on racial pride, its celebration of black culture, and its powerful criticisms of racism. The assassination of Dr. King in 1968 deprived the Civil Rights Movement of its best-known leader, but not its enduring effects on American life. In considering issues such as school busing (*Swann v. Board of Education*, 1971, and *Milliken v. Bradley*, 1974) and affirmative action (*Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*, 1978), students can discuss the continuing controversy between group rights

to equality of opportunity versus individual rights to equal treatment. More recent Supreme Court decisions that address education for undocumented children (*Plyler v. Doe*, 1982), affirmative action (*Fisher v. University of Texas*, 2013), and the Voting Rights Act (*Shelby County v. Holder*, 2013) provide opportunities for students to consider the influence of the past on the present.

Students should understand the significance of President Obama's election as the first African-American president and be able to place it in the context of the fight, both historical and ongoing, for African-American civil rights. Well-chosen readings heighten students' sensitivity to the issues raised in this unit, such as *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, Lerone Bennett's *Before the Mayflower: A History of Black America*, Anne Moody's *Coming of Age in Mississippi*, Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*, Richard Wright's *Native Son*, and Lorraine Hansberry's *A Raisin in the Sun*.

The advances of the black Civil Rights Movement encouraged other groups—including women, Hispanics and Latinos, American Indians, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, LGBT Americans, students, and people with disabilities—to mount their own campaigns for legislative and judicial recognition of their civil equality.

Students can use the question **How did various movements for equality build upon one another?** to identify commonalities in goals, organizational structures, forms of resistance, and members. Students may note major events in the development of these movements and the consequences. Students may study how Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, and the United Farm Workers movement used nonviolent tactics, educated the general public about the working conditions in agriculture, and worked to improve the lives of farmworkers.

Students should understand the central role of immigrants, including Latino Americans and Filipino Americans, in the farm labor movement. This context also fueled the brown, red, and yellow power movements. The manifestos, declarations, and proclamations of the movements challenged the political, economic, and social discrimination faced by their groups. They also sought to combat the consequences of their "second-class citizenship" by engaging in grassroots mobilization. For example, from 1969 through 1971 American Indian activists occupied Alcatraz Island; while in 1972 and 1973, American Indian Movement (AIM) activists took over the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington, D.C., and held a standoff at Wounded Knee, South Dakota.

Meanwhile, Chicano/a activists staged protests around the country, such as the famed Chicano Moratorium in Los Angeles in 1970 that protested the war in Vietnam, and formed a number of organizations to address economic and social inequalities as well as police brutality, and energized cultural pride. Students should learn about the emergence and trajectory of the Chicano Civil Rights Movement by focusing on key groups, events, documents such as the 1968 walkout or "blowout" by approximately 15,000 high school students in East Los Angeles to advocate improved educational opportunities and protest racial discrimination; El Plan de Aztlan, which called for the decolonization of the Mexican American people; El Plan de Santa Barbara, which called for the establishment of Chicano studies; the formation of the Chicano La Raza Unida Party, which sought to challenge mainstream political parties; and Rodolfo "Corky" González's "I Am Joaquin," which underscores the struggles for economic and social justice. California activists such as Harvey Milk and Cleve Jones were part of a broader movement that emerged in the aftermath of the Stonewall riots, which brought a new attention to the cause of equal rights for LGBT Americans. Asian Americans: The Movement and the Moment, edited by Steve Louie and Glenn Omatsu; The Latino Reader, edited by Harold Augenbraum and Margarite Olmos; and Native American Testimony, edited by Peter Nabokov, are a few of the readily available collections of personal histories and literature of a period of intense introspection and political activism.

Students also consider the modern women's movement by addressing the following question: How did various movements for equality build upon one another? Inspired by the Civil Rights Movement, the women's movement grew stronger in the 1960s. Armed with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Betty Friedan, author of *The Feminine Mystique*, helped found the National Organization for Women (NOW) in 1966. Similar to the NAACP, NOW pursued legal equalities for women in the public sphere. Women's rights activists also changed laws, introducing, for example, Title IX of the 1972 Educational Amendments, which mandated equal funding for women and men in educational institutions.

On the social and cultural front, feminists tackled day-to-day sexism with the mantra "The personal is political." Many lesbians active in the feminist movement developed lesbian feminism as a political and cultural reaction to the limits of the gay movement and mainstream feminism to address their concerns. Throughout

the 1970s and 1980s, feminists promoted women's health collectives, opened shelters for victims of domestic abuse, fought for greater economic independence, and worked to participate in sports equally with men.

Students consider Supreme Court decisions in the late 1960s and early 1970s that recognized women's rights to birth control (*Griswold v. Connecticut*, 1965) and abortion (*Roe v. Wade*, 1973). Students can debate the Equal Rights Amendment and discuss why it failed to get ratified. Students can also read and discuss selections from the writings of leading feminists and their opponents. Over time, students can trace how, by the 1980s and 1990s, women made serious gains in their access to education, politics, and the workforce, though women continue to be denied equal representation at the very highest ranks.

Students also examine the emergence of a movement for LGBT rights, starting in the 1950s with California-based groups like the Mattachine Society and the Daughters of Bilitis. Throughout the 1950s and early 1960s, these fairly secretive organizations created support networks; secured rights of expression and assembly; and cultivated relationships with clergy, doctors, and legislators to challenge teachings and laws that condemned homosexuality as sinful, sick, and/or criminal. In the 1960s, younger activists, often poorer and sometimes transgender, began to confront police when they raided gay bars and cafes in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and most famously at the Stonewall Inn in New York City in 1969. Organizations such as the Gay Liberation Front and the Gay Activists Alliance called on people in the movement to "come out" as a personal and political act.

Students may consider figures such as Alfred Kinsey, Harry Hay, Jose Sarria, Del Martin and Phyllis Lyon, Frank Kameny, Sylvia Rivera, and Harvey Milk. By the mid-1970s, LGBT mobilization led to successes: the American Psychiatric Association stopped diagnosing homosexuality as a mental illness; 17 states had repealed laws criminalizing gay sexual behavior; 36 cities had passed laws banning antigay discrimination; and gay-identified neighborhoods had emerged in major cities.

Students may consider how a 1958 Supreme Court decision that rejected the U.S. Post Office's refusal to distribute a gay and lesbian magazine through U.S. mails (*One, Inc. v. Olsen*) and a 1967 Supreme Court decision that upheld the exclusion and deportation of gay and lesbian immigrants (*Boutilier v. Immigration*)

and Naturalization Service) relate to more recent decisions, such as the 1986 decision that upheld state sodomy laws (Bowers v. Hardwick), the 2003 decision overturning such laws (Lawrence v. Texas), 2013 and 2015 decisions on same-sex marriage (United States v. Windsor, Hollingsworth v. Perry, and Obergefell v. Hodges), and the constitutional guarantee of equal protection under the law for transgender individuals, as exemplified through successful claims of employment discrimination including Glenn v. Brumby, Schroer v. Billington, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's decision in Macy v. Holder.

Students can consider the following question: **Did the Civil Rights Movement succeed?** Making a class presentation, composing an essay, or creating a project that addresses this question will encourage students to make a claim based on a variety of pieces of evidence they have collected throughout the unit. They analyze historical examples of movements for equality to support their claims.

In addition to the movements for equality that made the 1960s and early 1970s remarkable for the heightened level of activism, the expansion of the war in Vietnam provoked antiwar protests that reflected and contributed to a deep rift in American society and culture.

Two questions can guide students' investigations of the war in Vietnam: How was the war in Vietnam similar to and different from other Cold War struggles? How did the war in Vietnam affect movements for equality at home? After escalation of the war following the Gulf of Tonkin Incident and Resolution, along with Johnson's re-election in 1964, the U.S. military embarked on an air and ground war that aimed to eliminate the communist threat from South Vietnam. Hundreds of thousands of American service members volunteered and were drafted to fight in the war, which government and military leaders portrayed as an extension of broader Cold War struggles.

During the first year of the war, American casualties started to mount, progress seemed elusive, and the ways of achieving success were muddled. In the haze of war, American journalists reported on television what urban warfare and guerrilla fighting entailed; in this context, Americans started to call into question the principles on which the war was fought. By the time of the Tet Offensive and My Lai Massacre in early 1968, American public opinion had turned against the war effort. According to Senator William Fulbright: "We are trying to remake

Vietnamese society, a task which certainly cannot be accomplished by force and which probably cannot be accomplished by any means available to outsiders. The objective may be desirable, but it is not feasible . . . "

Moreover, when it became clear that American minorities were fighting and dying disproportionate to their representation in the country, many radicalized rights groups loudly protested the war on the grounds that, to them, it represented one more form of oppression—of minorities at home—and abroad.

Inside the antiwar and rights protest movements, a "counterculture" emerged with its own distinctive style of music, dress, language, and films, which went on to influence mainstream social and cultural sensibilities. Those that participated in the counterculture believed that true equality could be realized only through a revolution of cultural values; thus hippies decided to "check out" from mainstream society as a way of rebelling against the mainstream middle-class American values and seeking true happiness. Counterculturalists rebelled by calling into question Cold War values and even American principles. According to Mario Savio, a pioneer of the Free Speech Movement at UC Berkeley in 1964:

There's a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious—makes you so sick at heart—that you can't take part. You can't even passively take part. And you've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you've got to make it stop. And you've got to indicate to the people who run it, to the people who own it that unless you're free, the machine will be prevented from working at all.

#### Grade Eleven Classroom Example: The Vietnam War

Mr. McMillan's eleventh-grade U.S. history class is nearing the end of the study of the Vietnam War. The students have learned about how and why the United States got involved in the conflict, how the war related to the larger Cold War tensions, and factors that made the war especially challenging for American soldiers. Students have also studied specific events of the war and the effects of the conflict on the American home front, including the draft and the antiwar movement.

To conclude their study of the Vietnam War and to assess students' understanding of the conflict and its significance, Mr. McMillan asks each

#### Example (continued)

student to respond, in writing, to the following question: What did the United States lose in Vietnam?

To help students fully consider this question, Mr. McMillan first divides the class into groups. Each group is asked to discuss one of the following questions: (A) Why did the U.S. enter the Vietnam War? (B) What methods did the military use to fight the communists? (C) What sacrifices did American soldiers make during the war? (D) What impact did the war abroad have upon events at home? (E) How did American participation in the Vietnam War help or hurt our fight against communists in the Cold War?

Each group is given the rest of the period to review their notes, their texts, and selected primary sources in order to discuss their perspective. Mr. McMillan circulates during this discussion to make sure that all students are participating and that each group bases its perspective on relevant evidence. The next day, each group is given five minutes to discuss its response in front of the rest of the class. When not presenting, students are encouraged to take note of classmates' presentations so that they can use that work to develop their own written response to the question What did the United States lose in Vietnam?

For the next week, Mr. McMillan's students spend time each day refining their arguments by reviewing the writing process, seeking relevant evidence, and corroborating sources. Each day, Mr. McMillan begins the class with an activity to support his students' writing of their essays, followed by small-group discussions where students share their research and developing arguments.

On the first day, students discuss the selection of evidence, by asking each other to explain how their selected evidence is relevant to their argument and whether they need to include more sources in their research.

Day two focuses on refining and revising thesis statements after a review of selected evidence.

#### Example (continued)

On day three, Mr. McMillan reviews a step-by-step process students have used to develop their introductory and concluding paragraphs, and students share drafts of these paragraphs with each other in order to improve their writing.

Day four focuses on the evaluation and analysis of evidence, and on day five, students consider the overall organizational structure of their writing, as well as their use of evidence to support the thesis.

Students complete their essays the next week and give brief two-minute oral presentations of their written work to their classmates.

This example is summarized from a full unit, *The Cold War: Vietnam*, developed by the California History–Social Science Project (<a href="http://chssp.ucdavis.edu/programs/historyblueprint">http://chssp.ucdavis.edu/programs/historyblueprint</a>) as part of the History Blueprint initiative. It is available for download free of charge. Copyright © 2014, Regents of the University of California, Davis Campus.

**CA HSS Content Standards:** 11.8, 11.9.3, 11.9.4

**CA HSS Analysis Skills (9–12):** Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View 4, Historical Interpretation 1

CA CCSS for ELA/Literacy: RH.11-12.1, 2, 6, 8, WHST.11-12.1, 4, 5, 9, 10, SL.11-12.1, 4b

CA ELD Standards: ELD.PI.11-12.1, 3, 4, 6a, 9, 10a, 11a; ELD.PII.11-12.1, 2a, 2b

Finally, students read about the beginning of the modern environmental movement in the 1960s and the resulting environmental protection laws that were passed in the next decade. They note similarities and differences between environmentalism and other forms of activism of the decade, and they can also trace effects of the Cold War (especially fears of nuclear proliferation) to the priorities of the movement. Examining case studies, such as the controversial expansion of Redwood National Park and state parks in 1978 and oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, helps students develop skills in analysis of complex and controversial issues. Students may also link those early achievements with a student-led debate over issues such as climate change today and the appropriate role of government in dealing with these problems.

## **Contemporary American Society**

- How has the role of the federal government (and especially the presidency) changed from the 1970s through more recent times?
- How did the Cold War end, and what foreign policy developments resulted?
- What does globalization mean, and how has it affected the United States?
- Why is the United States more diverse now than it was in the middle of the twentieth century?
- In what ways have issues such as education; civil rights for people of color, immigrants, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) Americans, and disabled Americans; economic policy; recognition of economic, social and cultural rights; the environment; and the status of women remained unchanged over time? In what ways have they changed?

In the last decades of the twentieth century and first decades of the twenty-first century, America's economy, political system, and social structure became more global and interconnected. This unit attempts to distill complicated changes related to de-industrialization, globalization, changing patterns of immigration, political scandals and realignments, and the age of terror into a coherent course of study.

Students begin their studies of contemporary America by surveying American presidents who served during these decades. Presidents Richard Nixon, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama all promised to alter the scope of the government—some to limit it and some to extend it. Students may view clips or read excerpts from the notable convention or inaugural addresses of these presidents. They can track continuity and change over time in the goals and problems that each president identifies in his address as well as the tone of the speech. This information will help students address the question How has the role of the federal government (and especially the presidency) changed from the 1970s through more recent times?

The Nixon administration (1968–1974) established relations with the People's Republic of China, opened a period of *detente* with the Soviet Union, and negotiated withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. Despite Richard Nixon's skill in managing foreign affairs, his administration was marred by the Watergate

political scandal that led to his resignation in 1974. Students learn about the events that led to President Nixon's resignation and assess the roles of the courts, the press, and the Congress.

Students may discuss the continuing issue of unchecked presidential power. Are the president and his staff above the law? Students may see how this issue ties into twenty-first century American politics by examining the debates about presidential power and individual liberties that followed the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001.

In 1980, Ronald Reagan won the presidency and forged a new Republican Party by uniting fiscal and social conservatives with a landslide victory. Reagan called for a smaller government by decreasing taxes on individuals and businesses (what his administration termed *supply side economics*) and deregulating industries. He supported a stronger government that would outlaw abortion and appealed to social conservatives seeking to promote heterosexual marriage, to oppose ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, to support faith-based cultural advocacy, to champion individual accomplishment, and to oppose many safetynet programs. He also vowed to expand the military and the Cold War. These three areas led to the resurgence of the Republican Party under Reagan as he restructured the scope of the federal government.

The modern conservative movement, which had started well before Reagan's election in 1980 and extended beyond the presidency of George W. Bush in the 2000s, echoed populist voices from the prior century with its criticism of "establishment elites" and support of a smaller government that would advocate social programs that promoted what they termed "traditional family values." This movement built a part of its base through evangelical churches, televangelism, and other media outlets. Its leaders formed their ideology through organizations like the Young Americans for Freedom and went on to found a variety of think tanks and lobbying organizations. Students can extend their studies of Reagan by exploring political developments of the 1990s and 2000s; they may chart how conservative principles from the 1980s influenced the nation around the turn of the millennium.

In the 1980s, the Cold War thawed and eventually ended. In order for students to understand the context and significance of the end of the Cold War, they should be reminded of the anti-communist and free-market goals that drove American

foreign policy in the past decades. The following questions can guide students' investigation of these years: **How did the Cold War end, and what foreign policy developments resulted?** During Reagan's first term in office, Cold War policies toward Latin America and the Soviet Union intensified: conflicts in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Panama, for example, demonstrated Reagan's willingness to send American support to anti-communists all over the Western Hemisphere. Likewise, his commitment to Star Wars, or the Strategic Defense Initiative, resulted in an escalated arms race.

An ongoing struggle in Afghanistan depleted the Soviets of many of their financial and military resources, and by the mid-1980s the Soviet Union adopted policies of *Perestroika* and *Glasnost*, which ultimately led to its dissolution.

Students may look at the consequences of the end of the Cold War with a thematic, topical, or geographic approach. These questions can frame students' surveys of the post–Cold War years: What does globalization mean, and how has it affected the United States? Students can focus geographically on American post–Cold War relations with Latin America. The strong economic ties between the regions deepened throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s. *Maquiladoras*, export processing zones or free enterprise zones, between Mexico and the U.S. meant that from the 1980s through the 2000s goods flowed between countries more freely and at faster rates.

Similarly, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between Canada, the United States, and Mexico played a central role in fostering closer relationships among the three countries, but tensions lingered related to economic regulation, labor conditions, immigration, and damage to the environment. Implementation of NAFTA was and continues to be contentious on both sides of the border; for example, the Chiapas Rebellion in 1994 was an armed uprising in the southern Mexico state of Chiapas. The outbreak involved Indian rebels calling for "a world in which many worlds fit," not a mono-world with no space for them.

Another way for students to examine globalization is to conduct case studies of borderlands. The borderland between the United States and Mexico is a dynamic region in which cultures and political systems merge and environmental issues cross political boundaries. Students can use the Tijuana River as an example of U.S.–Mexican economic, political, and environmental issues. Using management

of natural resources in the region as a context for their studies builds their understanding of the spectrum of considerations that are involved with making decisions about resources and natural systems and, in this case, how those factors influence international decisions (see appendix G for Environmental Principle V; Education and the Environment Initiative curriculum unit "The United States and Mexico—Working Together," 11.9.7).

Another key topic that Americans wrestled with in recent decades has been immigration. Students can examine census data to identify basic demographic changes: How has the composition of the U.S. shifted between 1950 and 1980 and between 1980 and today, for example? By exploring quantitative immigration

information, students notice significant changes in the national origins of immigrants to the United States.

As with their studies of immigration from the beginning of the twentieth century, students can analyze push-and-pull factors that contributed to shifting immigration patterns, but they should also learn about changes in immigration policy.



Starting with the Immigration Act of 1965, laws have liberalized country-oforigin policies, emphasizing family reunification, and rejecting same-sex partners of American citizens.

Students can explain how these policies have affected American society. In California, Propositions 187, 209, and 227 attacked illegal immigration, affirmative action, and bilingual education, respectively. While all provisions of Proposition 187 were blocked by federal courts except one, throughout the 1990s and even more so after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, Congress provided for increased border enforcement. By the 2000s, the status of Mexican Americans and Mexican immigration became a national political discussion.

In California, Latino/as became the largest ethnic group in 2010, and Latino/a children comprised more than 51 percent of public schools. It was in this context that the Latino/a community became increasingly politically active. In addition,

students analyze the impact and experience of refugees who fled Southeast Asia after the Vietnam War or Iranians after the Islamic Revolution.

To synthesize these developments, students can address this question: Why is the United States more diverse now than it was in the middle of the twentieth century? Students can also explore how the immigrant experience has changed over time by considering the following questions: How does the life of a new immigrant to the United States today compare with what it was in 1900? How do policies from the second half of the twentieth century compare with those of the early twenty-first century?

In addition to shifts in foreign policy and immigration affecting America's national identity from the 1980s through recent times, the nation's economic structure also underwent key changes that affected how many native-born middle-class Americans lived. Globalization meant the faster and freer flow of people, resources, and ideas across national borders. Goods that were once produced in the United States could be produced cheaper first in Mexico, then in China, and now in smaller nations like Bangladesh. This resulted in falling prices for many goods that Americans consumed, but it also led to domestic job dislocations.

Students study the roots and consequences of de-industrialization. They understand that starting in the 1970s and continuing through recent times, economic production has shifted away from heavy industry and toward the service sector, which has altered the daily lives of many working and middle-class families.

This change has resulted in the fact that over the past 30 years, gaps in income between top earners and middle and working class earners have become more pronounced. Students can consider the question **How did the wealth gap between top earners and the majority of Americans grow between the 1970s and 2010s?** Working-class wages have stagnated as higher-paying unionized blue collar jobs have been outsourced and replaced with minimum-wage paying service sector jobs. The stagnant or decreasing wealth of working and middle-class Americans has been compounded by changes in tax structures and safety-net programs. It has also been amplified by higher costs for education, child care, and housing.

In recent years, a growing populist movement has sought to bring attention to the income gap and has aimed to provide solutions through education or organization as a remedy. Students can also learn about resistance to globalization, both domestically and abroad like demonstrations in support of the Zapatistas. To make these broad economic developments more concrete, teachers have students learn about the changing experiences of the middle class and the persistence of poverty.

A continuation of this thematic, topical, and geographic explanation of recent history includes technology and terrorism. Students can study how late-twentieth century developments, such as the Internet, new multinational corporations, broadened environmental impacts, and threats such as extremist terrorist groups, are made possible because of globalization (see appendix D for a thorough explanation of the consequences of globalization). Students can also learn about how different groups of Americans have fared in this new globalized world—ranging from the development of Silicon Valley to immigrant communities to those serving in the military—and what the consequences have been.

Finally, consideration should be given to the major social and political challenges of contemporary America. Issues inherent in contemporary challenges can be debated, and experts from the community may be invited as speakers. The following questions can guide students' explorations of these varied topics: In what ways have issues such as education; civil rights for people of color, immigrants, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) Americans, and disabled Americans; economic policy; recognition of economic, social and cultural rights; the environment; and the status of women remained unchanged over time? In what ways have they changed? The growth of the LGBT rights movement, for example, led to the pioneering role of gay politicians such as Elaine Noble, who was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1974, and Harvey Milk, elected in 1977 to the San Francisco Board of Supervisors.

Students can learn about how such activism informed the history of the AIDS epidemic in the United States. California students, in particular, can tap local history resources on the epidemic and its relationship to a retreat from some areas of the civil rights, women's liberation, and sexual liberation movements. By talking about the nation's hysteria over AIDS, educators may be able to connect the early response to the epidemic to previous alarmist reactions in American history and the activism generated by them.

# **Promoting Civic Engagement**

To promote civic engagement at this grade level, students can participate in mock trials that recreate some of the landmark cases of the twentieth century detailed in this chapter. They can participate in debates for and against significant governmental policy decisions, such as Prohibition; the creation of the New Deal; efforts to integrate the schools through busing; considerations of racial or gender restrictions on the right to marry; or the question of women, people of color, and LGBT people serving in the military.

They can also conduct oral histories with their family or community members in order to deepen their understanding of national historical trends through the lens of local participation. To learn about how communities change and how they stay the same, students can interview people who served in the military, who participated in the struggle for civil rights, worked in industries transformed by rapid economic or technological change, or simply lived ordinary lives and came of age at different historical moments.

Students recognize that under the American democratic political system the United States has achieved a level of freedom, political stability, and economic prosperity that has made it a model for other nations: the leader of the world's democratic societies and a magnet for people all over the world who yearn for a life of freedom and opportunity. Students understand that Americans' rights and freedoms are the result of a carefully defined set of political principles that are embodied in the Constitution.

Yet these freedoms are imperfect: for example, even though Americans elected the nation's first black president in 2008, poverty, incarceration, and lower life-expectancy rates continue to afflict communities of color at rates that are far higher than that of white communities. Nevertheless, students see that the enduring significance of the United States lies in its free political system, its pluralistic nature, and its promise of opportunity. The United States has demonstrated the strength and dynamism of a racially, religiously, and culturally diverse people. Students recognize that the nation's democratic political system depends on them—as educated citizens—to survive and prosper.