

The social impact of television

In 1954, water officials in Toledo, Ohio, puzzled over rocketing demand for water during random three-minute periods every evening, then realised viewers were going to the bathroom during the breaks in television programmes. In 1954, TV dinners were marketed so that families could heat up pre-packed mass-produced meals rather than waste valuable TV time cooking and sitting around the dinner table. Polls revealed television as the favourite leisure activity for over half of Americans in the 1960s.

Criticisms of television

Critics believed television promoted conformity. Programmes were financed by advertisers and the need to keep sponsors and a majority of the audience happy resulted in predictability and sameness in programming. For example, the many 1950s family sitcoms such as *Father Knows Best* idealised white, middle-class suburban life and stay-at-home moms.

SOURCE B

From Federal Communications Commission chief Newton Minnow's 1961 address to the National Association of Broadcasters. Accessed at www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/newtonminnow.htm

When television is good, nothing - not the theater, not the magazines or newspapers - is better ... But when television is bad, nothing is worse ... what you will observe is a vast wasteland. You will see a procession of game shows, violence, audience participation shows, formula comedies about totally unbelievable families, blood and thunder, mayhem, violence, sadism, murder, western bad men, western good men, private eyes, gangsters, more violence, and cartoons. And endlessly, commercials - many screaming, cajoling, and offending. And most of all, boredom.

To what extent would you trust Minnow's criticism of some television programmes?



Critics claimed television promoted consumerism through non-stop advertisements and programme content. When Disney began the Davy Crockett series in 1955, \$300 million worth of Davy Crockett dolls, toys, T-shirts and coonskin caps were sold. TV was also blamed for the decline in educational test scores and reading: newspapers and magazines certainly lost sales because of television. In the 1955 Senate hearings on juvenile delinquency, a psychologist said violent programmes such as the Western *Hopalong Cassidy* increased violence and crime, although others asserted that hours of armchair viewing made viewers physically inactive and mentally passive.

Many intellectuals thought TV adversely affected politics. In the 1952 election, the Eisenhower campaign introduced TV advertising that one magazine editor lamented was 'selling the President like toothpaste'. However, most analysts thought them effective. Millions watched them in the intervals between the most popular programmes. Television now had a great influence on politics.

During the 1950s, television programmes containing news were rarely given prime-time slots. However, televised news was sometimes influential. Daytime live screenings of the Army-McCarthy hearings attracted as many as 20 million viewers and contributed to McCarthy's downfall. When on-the-spot TV reporting was pioneered at Little Rock (see page 98), footage of young black Americans trying to get past a rabid white mob to get into school shocked some Northern whites. Southern racism, so often unnoticed in the past, was now recurrent national news and all the more real when accompanied by moving pictures.

Broadcast news

- broadcast some thoughtful programmes, for example, Edward Murrow's pioneering television documentaries in his *See It Now* series (1951-8). In spring 1954, Murrow used film of McCarthy's speeches and interviews to demonstrate his inconsistency. However, most Americans did not watch Murrow, and when televisions became more common and shows had to appeal to a wider audience, CBS began downgrading Murrow's show. By 1958, wits called it *See It Now and Then*.
- helped to develop and define a more national culture, decreasing provincialism and social divisions, while giving people access to whole new worlds and perspectives that contributed to greater understanding of those who were different
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- did not promote conformity, because viewers were not passive recipients (they frequently laughed at the excessive claims in advertisements)
- helped to develop and define a more national culture, decreasing provincialism and social divisions, while giving people access to whole new worlds and perspectives that contributed to greater understanding of those who were different
- was cheap entertainment with programmes that could be watched by the whole family
- did not promote conformity, because viewers were not passive recipients (they frequently laughed at the excessive claims in advertisements)
- helped to develop and define a more national culture, decreasing provincialism and social divisions, while giving people access to whole new worlds and perspectives that contributed to greater understanding of those who were different

Some people praised television, arguing that it:

Praise for television

An early demonstration of the potential power of television in politics came with the 1960 presidential election debates between the Republican Richard Nixon and the Democrat John Kennedy. Those who listened on the radio thought Nixon had won; those who saw the candidates thought Kennedy had. While Kennedy looked straight at the cameras, Nixon looked sideways at him and projected shyness. Kennedy seemed relaxed and a picture of glowing health after a weekend at Cape Cod, but Nixon was tired and recovering from an infection. Sweat streaked his make-up, his eyes were hollow and black-ringed, and his jowls drooped. 'My God! They've embalmed him before he even died,' exclaimed Chicago's Democrat Mayor Daley.

- brief campaign ads were designed to catch attention but unlikely to add to informed discussion
- expensive ads gave special interest donors greater political influence
- ads advantaged the most telegenic campaigners, and/or those with sufficient funds.

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The Cold War press

The press traditionally claimed objectivity but had always been partisan. During the Cold War, it assumed the superiority of the American political and economic systems, of small-town life, and even of rugged individualism. Newspapers helped promote McCarthyism. One problem was that before McCarthy's latest accusation could be investigated and refuted, he had made another. Furthermore, he was good copy – and papers needed to sell when the news was increasingly purveyed by rival media such as television.

The social impact of movies and popular music

Movies often reflected 1950s conservatism. There were many anti-Communist films, although the most blatant ones such as *My Son John* (1952) rarely made a profit. However, some popular films subversively criticised witch-hunts, for example, *High Noon* (1952). The 'social message' movie *The Blackboard Jungle* (1955) told of disruptive behaviour in the classroom. Some localities wanted it banned, even though the classroom teacher re-established control. It is difficult to tell whether the film's popularity was due to the message, the controversy over the message, the stars, what else was on at the time, or the inclusion of a sensational hit song, Bill Haley's *Rock Around the Clock*.

The continuing debate over the influence of movies was fuelled by the story of how a movie theatre in Fort Lee, New Jersey, flashed the words 'popcorn' and 'drink Coca-Cola' on screen too fast to be seen consciously and then sold far more of both. Some people believed movie content had a similar effect. Young people were certainly attracted by James Dean's portrayal of an alienated teen in *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955). Elvis Presley could recite the whole script word for word.

Rock 'n' roll A combination of black race music (rhythm and blues) and hillbilly (country and western) that emerged in the 1950s, christened rock 'n' roll because the lyrics were frequently focused on sexual activity.

KEY TERM

The social impact of the **rock 'n' roll** music of Elvis Presley and others was also much discussed. Prior to the 1950s, there was no sharply defined 'teenage' music: young and old liked Frank Sinatra. The advent of rock 'n' roll was divisive: most young people liked it, many adults did not. A *psychiatrist* described it as 'a communicative disease ... a cannibalistic and tribalistic kind of music'; Parents feared its impact on their children, because it was often critical of middle-class behaviour and full of sexual longing. The Senate subcommittee on delinquency received a letter that said Elvis Presley was 'a symbol, of course, but a dangerous one. His strip-tease antics threaten to rock 'n' roll the juvenile world into open revolt against society. The gangster of tomorrow is the Elvis Presley type of today.'

The close relationship of rock 'n' roll to black 'race music' made some parents fearful of black culture contaminating their children. The head of the Alabama White Citizens' Council said, 'the obscenity and vulgarity of the rock 'n' roll music is obviously a means by which the white man and his children can be driven to the level with a nigra.'

Several industries were particularly stimulated by the war, including the aircraft, electronic, electrical, chemical, tobacco, food processing and pharmaceutical industries. As factories worked flat out to produce war materiel and millions of

The impact of the Second World War

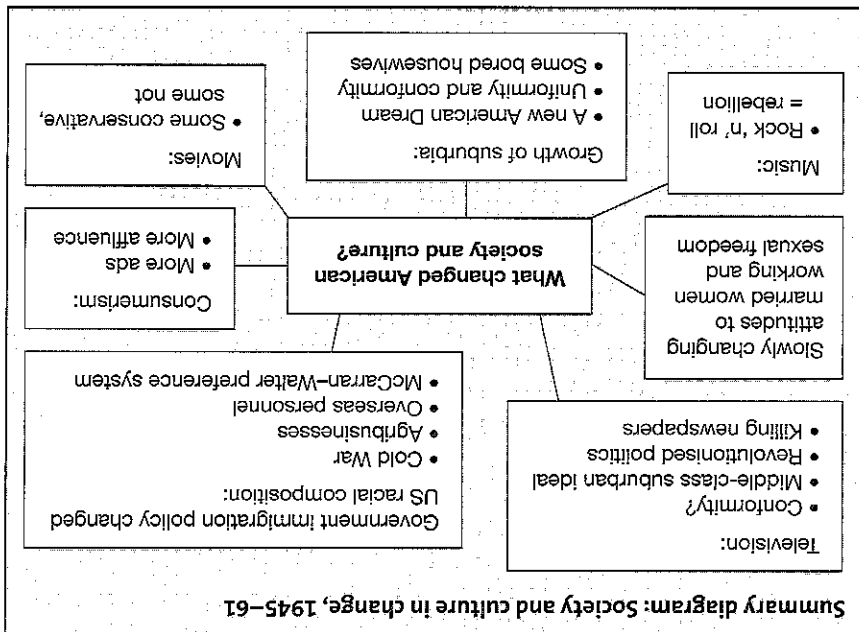
After the Second World War, the United States experienced two decades of remarkable prosperity. The Second World War boosted the economy of a country already rich in natural resources such as coal, iron ore, oil, timber and minerals.

Post-war affluence and growth, 1945-61

Unprecedented numbers attained the American Dream of material plenty in this period.

Why and to what extent was post-war America affluent?

4 The changing quality of life, 1945-61



Elvis and rock 'n' roll revolutionised popular music, but although rock 'n' roll sounded revolutionary it tended to focus on love and irritating social conventions rather than major issues. Still, it probably played a contributory part in the youth rebellion of the 1960s.

In search of the American Dream: the USA, c1917-96 for Edecel

citizens served in the armed forces, there was full and well-paid employment and most Americans experienced unprecedented levels of disposable income.

The impact of the war lasted long after the Japanese surrender in August 1945. Manufacturing industries flourished as factories reverted to peacetime production and worked flat out to meet the pent-up consumer demand. Wartime boom industries such as aerospace and electronics continued to be world leaders in the post-war years, especially as the war had damaged the economies of potential rivals such as Europe and Japan. Eight million veterans gained improved employment opportunities from the GI Bill of Rights (1944), which offered free vocational training and higher education and contributed to a rise in the percentage of college-educated Americans from 10 per cent in 1939 to 15 per cent in 1948. Veterans were also offered lower-interest loans for housing and the establishment of businesses. Over \$20 billion was distributed to veterans between 1945 and 1955. These benefits dramatically increased the number of home owners, which in turn encouraged the post-war construction boom.

Other factors behind the post-war boom

Several other factors contributed to the post-war economic boom:

- Cheap oil benefited industry and transportation.
- Investment in research and development led to scientific and technological advances and increased productivity.
- The population grew from 151.7 million in 1950 to 180.7 million in 1960. This 'baby boom' encouraged the purchase of homes, labour-saving electrical goods, and children's clothes and toys.
- The USA became the archetypal **consumer society** (see below).
- Some presidential policies were helpful. Eisenhower's interstate highway system required massive federal financial investment, while his refusal to overspend meant there was little inflation or unemployment during his presidency.

Changing living standards

By 1949, American per capita income was nearly twice that of the other most prosperous nations such as Canada. Unemployment remained under 4 per cent throughout the decade and the personal income of Americans was four times higher in 1945 than in 1933.

Table 3.3 Rising living standards

Homes that had	1940 Census	1960 Census
Owners rather than renters	43.6%	62%
Indoor flushing toilets	59.7%	86%
Running water	69%	93%
Bath or shower	56.2%	85%

KEY TERM

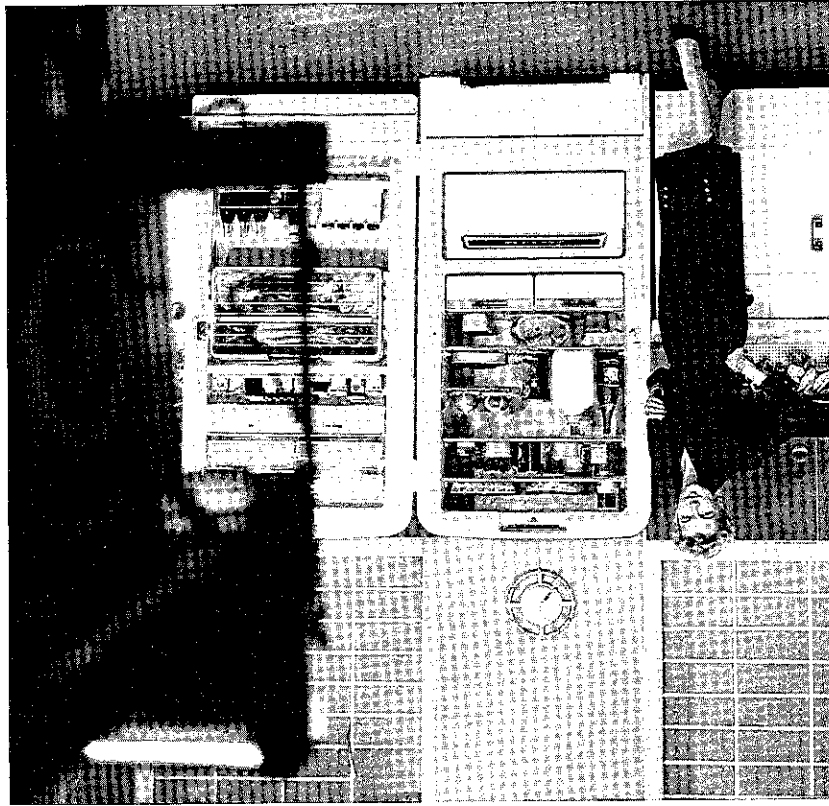
Consumer society

A society in which there is exceptional interest in acquiring consumer goods such as cars and kitchen gadgets.

Several factors contributed to an unprecedented consumer boom. Manufacturers responded to the rise in disposable income with easy credit and enticing products. Many Americans bought cars and labour-saving devices such as washing machines, freezers, dishwashers, electrical clothes dryers and automatic garbage disposal. Such consumer goods made housewives' lives easier and the mass media (magazines, radio, and especially television) emphasised that they were essential to the American Dream in advertisements, news stories, celebrity profiles and television shows. Between 1939 and 1948, household appliance sales increased by 500 per cent, contributing to a general rise in the standard of living and creating employment for workers involved in their production. The consumer society of the 1950s generated social and cultural change and made many believe the American Dream was a reality.

The growth of a consumer society

Betty Furness ('The Lady from Westinghouse') became a household name when she appeared in advertisements that greatly increased sales of Westinghouse appliances such as refrigerators and fans. These advertisements appeared on TV and in magazines such as the *Ladies' Home Journal* and the *Saturday Evening Post*.



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What can you infer from this source about post-war prosperity?

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The teenage consumer

In 1959, *Life* magazine recorded how teenage consumers had become a major factor in the nation's economy, worth \$10 billion per annum. In 1958, teenagers owned 10 million record players, one million TV sets and 13 million cameras. They spent \$20 million on lipstick, \$25 million on deodorants, \$9 million on curling hair, and over \$1.5 billion on entertainment. They ate 20 per cent more than adults, including 145 million gallons of ice cream annually. The growing number of teenage marriages (one third of 18- and 19-year-old girls were married) made young teenage wives big spenders on major items such as furniture. The

article recounted how in 1958, at a time when average family income was around \$5000, the 17-year-old daughter of a reasonably well-to-do Californian TV announcer cost her parents

- \$1500 for clothes
- \$900 for food
- \$550 for entertainment
- \$96 for beauty parlour visits.

She had her own telephone and her own soda fountain in the family home and her high school graduation present was a holiday cruise to Hawaii.

No American Dream?

Not everyone shared and/or believed in the American Dream. Some intellectuals

hated the impact of the consumer society. Harvard economist John Kenneth

Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* (1958) argued that Americans were grossly

materialistic and cared little about the less fortunate. Sociologist David

Riesman feared consumerism and runaway **materialism** were becoming

central to the nation's identity and undermining 'traditional American

values' such as hard work and careful money management. Historian and

sociologist Lewis Mumford believed the consumer society contributed to

undesirable standardisation and conformity in suburbia (see page 101). Many

intellectuals attributed increasing conformity and consumerism to television and

advertisements, while liberals summarised the Eisenhower years as 'the bland

leading the bland'.

Not all Americans prospered. There were massive disparities in wealth, ranging

from billionaire dynasties such as the Rockefellers, through rich families such

as the Roosevelts and comfortable families such as those of Bess Truman,

to the impoverished white people of the Appalachian Mountains, the black

sharecroppers of the South and the Native Americans on their reservations.

Nearly one third of Americans lived in poverty for much of this period, although

the boom and social mobility led poverty to fall to 22 per cent in 1959.

Truman asked Congress for 'Fair Deal' legislation to expand the welfare

safety net introduced by Roosevelt's New Deal. Congress rejected his idea

of freely available universal health care as socialist, but reluctantly agreed

to the construction of some federally-financed low-cost housing and slum

redevelopment. Social Security coverage was extended to a further one million

Americans and the hourly minimum wage raised from 40 cents to 75 cents.

A 1952 Census report showed unprecedented improvements in income, standards of living, education and housing during Truman's presidency. There

were similar advances under Eisenhower (see page 85).

KEY TERM

Materialism Preoccupation with material possessions and wealth.

Indians The term used to identify the descendants of the earliest inhabitants of North America until the second half of the twentieth century, when they were more commonly referred to as Native Americans.

KEY TERM

In search of the American Dream: the USA, c1917-96 for Edeked

The impact of increased leisure time

Leisure interests such as television, movies and music fuelled consumerism and had an impact (real and perceived) on American culture (see pages 104-8). Tourism boomed in the 1950s: recreational travel became the norm for the middle classes and for increasing numbers of the working class.

The post-war growth of tourism was a result of

- increased leisure time (after unions gained in strength under Roosevelt's New Deal, they negotiated contracts that included paid vacation time)
- growing affluence
- improved roads
- the car culture
- advertisements
- the development of essential supporting services such as travel agencies and roadside facilities.

Tourism affected the economy, local and national cultures, and urban development and the landscape.

The impact of tourism

Tourists needed to be moved, housed, fed and entertained. This led to the expansion of air travel, credit cards, travel agencies, and motel and restaurant chains, all of which created jobs and benefited the national economy. The combination of the burgeoning tourist industry and improved roads affected urban development. Southern California's warm climate and sandy beaches attracted tourists and contributed to the growth of Los Angeles and San Diego, while Las Vegas grew and prospered in the middle of the inhospitable Nevada desert because it provided leisure facilities.

Some critics bemoaned the industrialisation of leisure and its impact on American life. Historian Earl Pomeroy (1957) explored how commercial exploitation of attractions shaped the Western landscape, as when attractions were advertised on huge roadside billboards. The historian Daniel Boorstin (1961) derided tourists as consumers of manufactured realities, while Dean MacCannell (1976) interpreted visits to the Statue of Liberty, Liberty Bell or Disneyland as tourist rituals in which Americans had to participate to prove and reinforce their Americanism. The federal government played a major role in promoting a particular vision of America through the expansion of National Parks and National Monuments often designed to promote national pride. In 1948, for example, patriotic fervour led Congress to authorise the creation of Independence National Historic Park in Philadelphia, where park staff told tourists of the foundation and philosophy of the nation.

Some critics feared the impact of large-scale tourism upon local cultural landscape and identities, as in the case of the Cherokee **Indian** tribe in North

Carolina. The population included nearly 1960, and visitors were Indian, tipi or remained impo
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Growing car ownership changed American society and lifestyles. Spacious new cars with automatic transmission, power steering, powerful engines, radios, heaters and air conditioning gave an easy and luxurious drive, demonstrated one's status, and made lives easier and more varied. Americans could reach places faster and more comfortably. They could eat fast food, watch movies

The continued growth of a car-owning culture owed much to the post-war economic boom and to Eisenhower's interstate highway system, which revolutionised American roads. This growth had a great influence in several areas of American life.

The development and influence of a car-owning culture and improved air travel

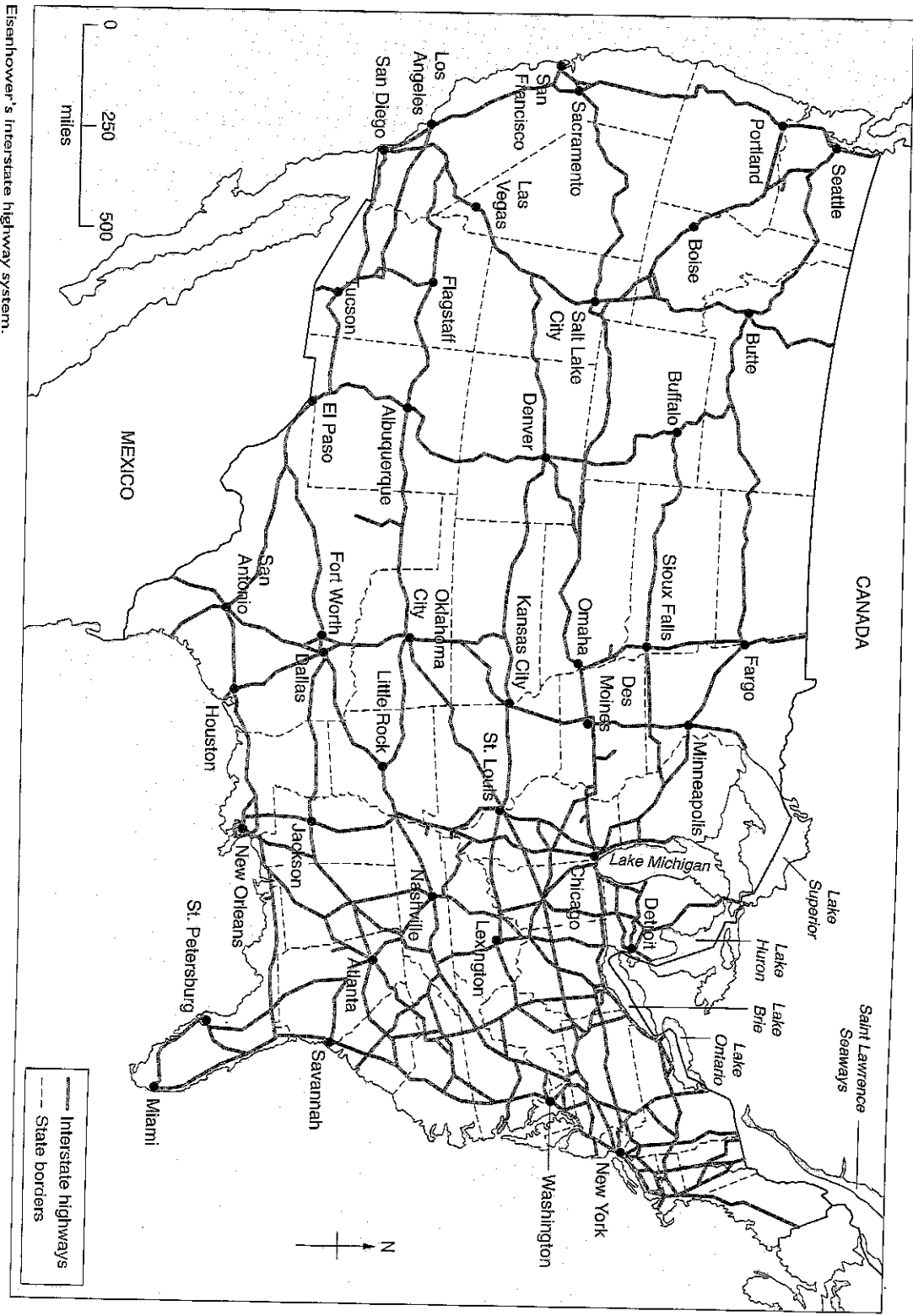
Sport reflected contemporary society in ever-increasing commercialisation and in demonstrating the power of television (TV dramatically increased the popularity of professional football during the 1950s). Sport also reflected changing race relations (as when the Brooklyn Dodgers introduced the first black player to major league baseball in 1947) and the middle-class family ideal (as when whole families watched offspring participate in the increasingly popular Little League baseball).

Although a 1922 Supreme Court decision said professional baseball was 'still sport not trade', sport was big business and the movement of baseball teams in the 1950s illustrates its commercialisation. For example, the Brooklyn Dodgers suffered from falling gate receipts. Their old stadium, in a declining neighbourhood with limited parking facilities, was difficult for car-driving suburbanites to access. So, the Dodgers moved to Los Angeles in 1957. It made economic sense to relocate to a state with a rocketing population, where better stadiums and facilities could be built. The new Dodgers Stadium in LA had 24,000 car parking spaces. Deserted Dodgers fans in New York concluded that sport was trade.

Increased leisure time, rising wages and the opportunity to make money led to the continued growth of spectator sports. When the Second World War ended, restrictions on travel to sports events were lifted and the spectators flocked back. Baseball remained the most popular spectator sport, although television decreased attendance by one third during 1948-53.

The growth of spectator sports

Carolina. The tribe had focused upon farming in the nineteenth century, but population increases led them to welcome tourists after the Second World War. By 1960, nearly 2 million cars passed through East Cherokee each summer and visitors were invited to pay for a photo opportunity alongside a 'real-life Indian', tipi or totem pole. However, the tourism was seasonal and the Cherokee remained impoverished during the winter months.



Eisenhower's interstate highway system.

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and even attend church from the comfort of their automobile. Perhaps most importantly, cars freed them to live in spacious suburban homes within an easy drive of work. However, this phenomenon of 'white flight' from crowded urban areas deprived cities of their tax base and contributed to the growth of ghettos containing impoverished minority populations. Public transportation also suffered as fewer people travelled by bus or railroad.

White flight The post-Second World War exodus of white Americans from inner-city areas that were then left to minorities such as African-Americans.

KEY TERM

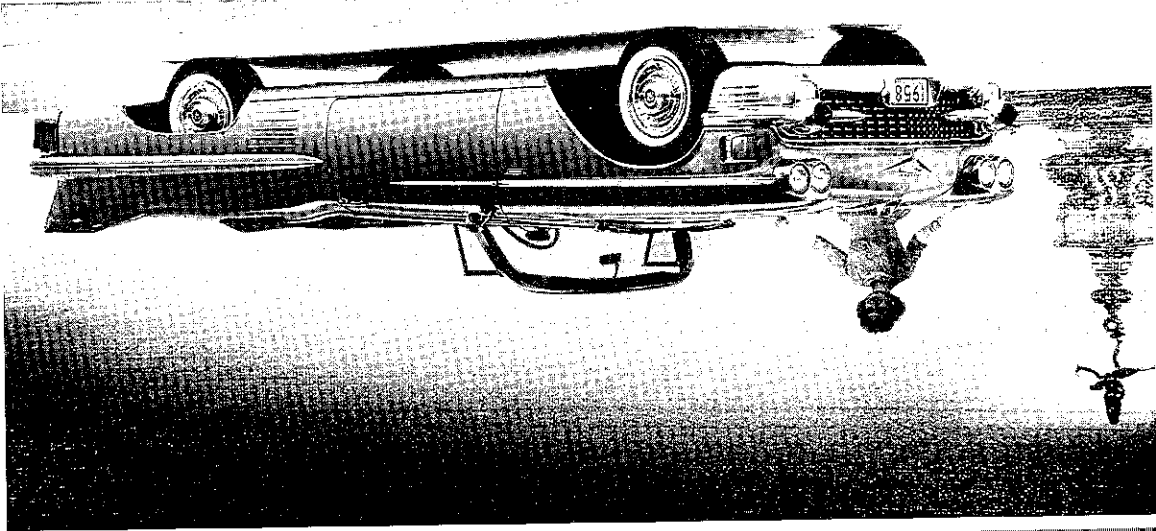
Table 3.4 The percentage of Americans living in the suburbs

1920	17%
1940	20%
1960	33%

The car influenced the economy. The automobile industry employed hundreds of thousands of Americans. When thousands of wives of the Association of Automobile Dealers attended an event at the White House, Mamie Eisenhower told her husband, 'That is one crowd that is prospering! I never saw so many furs and diamonds.' Most of the cars on American roads in the 1950s were made in Detroit by the Big Three - General Motors, Ford and Chrysler. Their products - long, multi-coloured and decorated with large quantities of chrome and ostentatious tail-fins - reflected American self-confidence and affluence. Automobile manufacturers, the advertising industry and the desire to demonstrate one's social status combined to convince consumers that they should buy a new car as often as possible. An average 4.5 million cars were scrapped each year in the 1950s and 7.9 million new cars were manufactured in 1955 alone.

The car culture led to a boom in the service industries. When Americans became exceptionally mobile, their new on-the-road culture necessitated gas stations, cheap accommodation and fast food: in 1952, the modern American motel chain was born when the first Holiday Inn opened near Memphis, and by 1960 there were 228 McDonald's.

SOURCE F



This 1958 Cadillac was a typical automobile from the 1950s.

What can you infer from this source about American society in the 1950s?

1945	3.3 billion
1950	8 billion
1960	30.5 billion

Table 3.5 Passenger miles flown by American airlines

The post-war decades saw a dramatic increase in passenger air travel (see Table 3.5). This owed much to government intervention. The federal government provided airlines with weather and traffic control services and direct subsidies (over \$75 million in 1953), while urban officials financed the construction of air terminals in anticipation that they would help the regional economy. In the 1940s, the typical flyer was a white male businessman travelling on the company expense account. However, in 1948 Capital Airlines introduced the first coach or tourist fares. Lower fares made travel more popular, as did the fast jets introduced in the late 1950s.

The impact of improved air travel

The car culture changed the landscape. Large areas of rural America were covered with roads and homogenised by adjacent motels, restaurants, stores, huge parking lots, neon signs and advertisements. Some considered this a negative development. Previously remote and empty-looking areas such as the desert lands of the South West were opened up to travellers and new businesses and residents.

When the growing use of cars led to the proliferation of motels, fast food outlets and out-of-town shopping malls, it contributed to increased numbers of service workers, such as waitresses, gas station attendants, maids, domestics and janitors. By 1960, there were 7.6 million service workers, at a time when automation was decreasing the number engaged in manufacturing (25.6 million). However, service workers generally struggled to live the American Dream because most were poorly paid.

McDonald's
 McDonald's was emblematic of the United States in the 1950s in that it reflected the new on-the-road culture, the rise of service industries that catered to the consumer who wanted speed, efficiency and quality, and the homogenisation of the nation.
 In 1940, unsuccessful businessmen Dick and Maurice McDonald tried a drive-in restaurant in San Bernardino, California. In order to speed up their service, they dumped labour-intensive sandwiches and focused instead upon speedily producing the hamburgers that were their most popular product. They substituted paper bags, wrappers and paper cups for the plates and silverware that needed washing or 'disappeared' or got broken. Customers took time choosing condiments, so the brothers put ketchup, mustard, onions and two pickles on every burger. 'Our whole concept was based on speed, lower prices and volume', said Dick.
 In 1954, they appointed Ray Kroc as McDonald's franchise manager. Kroc opened his first McDonald's franchise in a Chicago suburb in 1955, by which time McDonald's made \$100,000 per annum, a huge sum based upon a \$0.15 hamburger. In 1961, Kroc bought out the brothers.
 Today there are over 10,000 McDonald's in the USA.

Franchises When entrepreneurs pay a big company in order to operate and profit from a local branch of that company.

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The overall impact was to make America an ever-more mobile society. Planes made life easier, helped business and facilitated personal contact. This was demonstrated when the establishment of relatively inexpensive air routes between Puerto Rico and New York City enabled migrants to join friends and family and find employment on the mainland. Planes increased leisure opportunities. During the 1950s, cheap flights and hotel deals attracted ordinary Americans to Cuba: \$50 (several hundred dollars in today's money) could buy flight, hotel, food and top class entertainment.

However, air travel remained relatively slow. Flights were long and delays frequent for much of this period. 'Time to spare, go by air' was a common phrase. In the 1950s, an LA-New York flight could take over 12 hours. Flying was also more expensive and dangerous than today. In 1960, 363 people died in crashes.

Summary diagram: The changing quality of life, 1945-61

Positive	Economic boom = better standard of living
	Consumer society - exciting and useful products bought by many
	Leisure industries stimulated the economy + gave people pleasure + decreased regionalism and isolation
	More mobile society = convenience, variety, time saved, suburban life, economy stimulated
Negative	White flight + ghettos, damaged public transportation, service workers poorly paid
	Materialistic, un-American, uniformity, conformity
	Increasing commercialisation, damaged landscape, tedious uniformity

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Chapter summary

President Truman's aggressive, interventionist leadership style failed to produce the social and economic changes he sought, but he persuaded Americans to engage the Soviets in Cold War. Eisenhower worked to restore presidential dignity after his partisan 'man of the people' predecessor. Eisenhower's 'hidden hand' presidency helped maintain the Cold War status quo. Anti-Communism dominated society and politics. It led to the national security state, an expensive arms race, war in Korea, and a second Red Scare that culminated in McCarthyism.

The emphasis in the black American struggle for civil rights changed from NAACP-initiated litigation to the direct action of the Montgomery bus boycott

and the sit-ins. The first civil rights legislation since the Civil War era was ineffective but confirmed the growing concern of the federal government.

In the 1950s, society was dominated by the growth in suburbia, consumerism, television and 'teenage' culture. Debates as to the merits and influence of these developments continued. Overall though, American society seemed more conservative and stable, which some attributed to the decrease in immigrants even as government policy began to initiate a revolution in immigrant racial and ethnic origins.

The post-war American economy boomed and the consumer society developed apace. Leisure industries were big business and in combination with the car culture changed the American landscape. The new interstate highways and airline expansion made America a very mobile society.

Refresher questions

Use these questions to remind yourself of the key material covered in this chapter.

- 1 What did Congress pass in both 1957 and 1960?
- 2 In what ways did the car culture change America?
- 3 What was another name for the 1952 Immigration Act?
- 4 What were the dates of the Korean War?
- 5 What were the factors behind the post-war economic boom?

Question practice

SECTION A ESSAY QUESTION

1 How far do you agree that television was the main influence on changes in American society in the 1950s?

SECTION B ESSAY QUESTION

2 How accurate is it to say that black civil rights campaigners achieved little success in the years 1917-60?

Key dates

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- 1961 D
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