The United States in Today’s World

Essential Question
What are the most important issues that affect the United States and the world today?

What You Will Learn
In this chapter you will learn about the challenges that faced the United States at the turn of the 21st century.

SECTION 1: The 1990s and the New Millennium
Main Idea: The nation became divided as the Democrats gained control of the White House in the 1990s, and the Republicans came to power at the beginning of the new millennium.

SECTION 2: The New Global Economy
Main Idea: Because of technological advances and new trade laws, the U.S. economy underwent a boom during the late 20th century.

SECTION 3: Technology and Modern Life
Main Idea: Advances in technology have increased not only the pace but also the comfort of many Americans’ daily lives.

SECTION 4: The Changing Face of America
Main Idea: At the end of the 20th century, the U.S. population grew more diverse both in ethnic background and in age.

Participants at the Walk For Hunger, held annually in Massachusetts, help to support local and emergency food programs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>USA</th>
<th>WORLD</th>
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<td>1992 Russia and United States sign START-II treaty reducing warheads and ICBMs.</td>
<td>1994 Republicans gain control of both houses of Congress.</td>
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You are a high school senior who is active in student government and community service. You have been chosen from among thousands of students nationwide to address an international youth symposium on global issues and reforms. As a U.S. delegate to the event, you address the crowd, confident that young people will be able to change the future.

Explore the Issues

• What makes nations increasingly dependent on one another?
• How does technology affect society worldwide?
• What are the ways to foster cooperation among nations?

1997
Madeleine Albright is the first woman to become secretary of state.

1998
President Clinton is impeached.

2000
George W. Bush is elected 43rd president.

2001
On September 11, terrorists attack New York’s World Trade Center and the Pentagon with hijacked jets.

2003
U.S. forces invade Iraq.

2008
Barack Obama is elected 44th president.

1996
Scottish scientist clones “Dolly” the sheep.

1998
Northern Ireland, the Irish Republic, and the United Kingdom sign peace agreements.

2001
Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic is brought before the UN war crimes tribunal.

2003
U.S. forces invade Iraq.
On January 20, 1993, poet Maya Angelou was honored as the first woman and the first African American to read her work at a presidential inauguration. Bill Clinton asked Angelou to compose and deliver a poem. Angelou expressed the optimism of the day, recalling the dream of Martin Luther King, Jr., as she recited her poem “On the Pulse of Morning.”

“Lift up your faces, you have a piercing need
For this bright morning dawning for you.
History, despite its wrenching pain,
Cannot be unlived, but if faced
With courage, need not be lived again.

Lift up your eyes
Upon this day breaking for you.
Give birth again
To the dream.”

—“On the Pulse of Morning”

Moments later, William Jefferson Clinton was inaugurated as the 42nd president of the United States. Clinton entered the presidency at a time when America was at a turning point. A severe economic recession had made many Americans uneasy about the future. They looked to Clinton to lead a government that would be more responsive to the people.

**Clinton Wins the Presidency**

Governor William Jefferson Clinton of Arkansas became the first member of the baby-boom generation to win the presidency. He captured the White House, at the age of 46, by vowing to strengthen the nation’s weak economy and to lead the Democratic Party in a more moderate direction.
THE ELECTION OF 1992 After the U.S. victory in the Persian Gulf War in 1991, Republican president George Bush's popularity had climbed to an 89 percent approval rating. Shortly after the war ended, however, the nation found itself in the grips of a recession. In early 1992, Bush's approval rating nose-dived to 40 percent. In his run for reelection, President Bush could not convince the public that he had a clear strategy for ending the recession and creating jobs.

Throughout the presidential race, Bill Clinton campaigned as the candidate who would lead the nation out of its economic crisis. So did a third-party candidate—Texas billionaire H. Ross Perot. Perot targeted the soaring federal budget deficit as the nation’s number one problem. A budget deficit occurs when the federal government borrows money to meet all its spending commitments. “It’s time,” Perot declared in his usual blunt style, “to take out the trash and clean up the barn.”

Election Day results, however, demonstrated that Clinton’s center-of-the-road strategy had the widest appeal. Though Clinton won, he captured only 43 percent of the popular vote. Bush received 38 percent, while Perot managed an impressive 19 percent.

A “NEW” DEMOCRAT Bill Clinton won the presidency in part by promising to move away from traditional Democratic policies. He also emphasized the need to move people off welfare and called for growth in private business as a means to economic progress.

In office, Clinton worked to move the Democratic Party toward the political center by embracing both liberal and conservative programs. According to an ally, Clinton hoped “to modernize liberalism so it could sell again.” By doing so, he sought to create a “new” and more inclusive Democratic Party.

Moderate Reform and Economic Boom

President Clinton demonstrated his willingness to pursue both liberal and conservative policies on health care, the budget deficit, crime, and welfare.

HEALTH CARE REFORM Clinton had pledged to create a plan to guarantee affordable health care for all Americans, especially for the millions of Americans who lacked medical insurance. Once in office, Clinton appointed First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, a skilled lawyer and child-welfare advocate, to head the team creating the plan. The president presented the health care reform bill to Congress in September 1993.

Congress debated the plan for a year. Intense lobbying and Republican attacks on the plan for promoting “big government” sealed its doom. In the end, Congress never even voted on the bill.
**BALANCED BUDGET AND AN ECONOMIC BOOM** President Clinton was more successful in his efforts to reduce the federal budget deficit. Clinton and the Republican-controlled Congress agreed in 1997 on legislation to balance the federal budget by the year 2002. The bill cut spending by billions of dollars, lowered taxes to win Republican support, and included programs aimed at helping children and improving health care.

A year later, Clinton announced that—for the first time in nearly 30 years—the federal budget had a surplus. That is, the government took in more than it spent. Surpluses were used, in part, to pay down the nation’s debt, which had soared to around $5.5 trillion.

Perhaps the most effective tool in generating a surplus was the booming economy. About the time Clinton took office, the economy rebounded. Unemployment fell and the stock market soared to new heights. As a result, the government’s tax revenues rose, and fewer people received public aid. These factors helped slash the federal debt.

**REFORMING WELFARE** Clinton and the congressional Republicans cooperated to reform the welfare system. In 1996, a bill was proposed to place limits on how long people could receive benefits. It also put an end to a 61-year federal guarantee of welfare, and instead gave states “block grants”—set amounts of federal money they could spend on welfare or for other social concerns.

Although liberal Democrats feared the effects of eliminating the federal safety net for the poor, the president backed the bill. Over the next few years, states moved millions of people from welfare to jobs. Because of the strong economy, the transition was more successful than some had been predicting.

**Crime and Terrorism**

The improved economy—along with enlargement of police forces—combined to lower crime rates in the 1990s. However, fears were raised among Americans by acts of violence and terrorism around the country.

A shocking crime occurred April 1999 when two students at Columbine High School, in Colorado, killed 12 students and a teacher and wounded 23 others, and then shot themselves. Americans were appalled at copycat crimes that began to occur. Some called for tougher gun control, while others argued that exposure to violent imagery should be curtailed. Violence had pervaded television news throughout the decade.

In 1993, terrorists had exploded bombs in the World Trade Center in New York City. This was closely followed by a 1995 blast that destroyed a nine-story federal office building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 children, women, and men. Timothy McVeigh, an American veteran of the Gulf War, was found guilty in the Oklahoma bombing. He was executed in 2001, the first use of the federal death penalty in 38 years. Although American embassies and military targets abroad were subject to sporadic and deadly terrorist attacks during the decade, the U.S. was in no way prepared for a devastating attack that took place on its own soil on the morning of September 11, 2001.
In a coordinated effort, two hijacked commercial jets struck the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, one crashing just minutes after the other. The jets exploded on impact and subsequently leveled the tallest buildings of New York’s skyline, the symbolic center of American finance. About an hour later, a third plane tore into the Pentagon building, the U.S. military headquarters outside Washington, D.C. Air travel ceased almost immediately; across the nation planes in the air were ordered to land. During the evacuation of the White House and the New York financial district, a fourth hijacked plane crashed near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

About 3,000 people were killed in the attacks. These included all the passengers on all four planes, workers and visitors in the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, and hundreds of rescue workers. (See the first issue in “Issues for the 21st Century,” on page 894.)

**New Foreign Policy Challenges**

Conflicts and confused alliances grew in the wake of the Cold War. The question of U.S. intervention overseas, and the globalization of the economy presented the United States with a host of new challenges.

**RELATIONS WITH FORMER COLD WAR FOES** Maintaining strong relations with Russia and China became major goals for the Clinton administration. Throughout the 1990s, the U.S. and Russia cooperated on economic and arms-control issues. Still, Russia criticized U.S. intervention in Yugoslavia, where a bloody civil war raged. Meanwhile, U.S. officials protested against Russian attacks on rebels in the Russian region of Chechnya.

U.S. relations with China were strained as well. Clinton had stressed that he would lean on China to grant its citizens more democratic rights. As president, however, he put greater emphasis on increasing trade with China. Despite concerns that Chinese spies had stolen U.S. defense secrets, Clinton supported a bill—passed in 2000—granting China permanent trade rights.

**TROOPS ABROAD** With the Cold War over, the United States turned more of its attention to regional conflicts. President Clinton proved willing to use troops to end conflicts overseas. In 1991, military leaders in Haiti forced the elected president from office. Thousands of refugees fled the military leaders’ harsh rule. In 1994, President Clinton dispatched American troops to Haiti, and the military rulers were forced to step down.

Other interventions occurred in Yugoslavia. In 1991, Yugoslavia broke apart into five nations. In Bosnia, one of the new states, some Serb militias under Slobodan Milosevic began “ethnic cleansing,” killing or expelling from their homes people of certain ethnic groups. In 1995, the United States helped negotiate a peace agreement in Bosnia. Clinton sent U.S. troops to join NATO troops to help ensure the deal. About three years later, Serb forces attacked ethnic Albanians in the Serb province of Kosovo. The U.S. and its NATO allies launched air strikes against Serbian targets in 1999, forcing the Serbs to back down. American troops followed up by participating in an international peace-keeping force.
In both Bosnia and Kosovo, the administration promised early withdrawal. However, the U.S. troops stayed longer than had been intended, drawing criticism of Clinton’s policies.

**TRADE AND THE GLOBAL ECONOMY** Seeing flourishing trade as essential to U.S. prosperity and to world economic and political stability, President Clinton championed the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). This legislation would bring Mexico into the free-trade zone that the United States and Canada already had formed. Supporters said NAFTA would strengthen all three economies and create more American jobs. Opponents insisted that NAFTA would transfer American jobs to Mexico, where wages were lower, and harm the environment because of Mexico’s weaker antipollution laws. Congress rejected these arguments, and the treaty was ratified by all three countries’ legislatures in 1993. Once the treaty took effect, on January 1, 1994, trade with Mexico increased.

Critics of free trade and the global economy remained vocal, however. In late 1999, the World Trade Organization (WTO), an organization that promotes trade and economic development, met in Seattle. Demonstrators protested that the WTO made decisions with little public input and that these decisions harmed poorer countries, the environment, and American manufacturing workers.

Subsequent anti-globalization protests have been held worldwide. Demonstrations at Summit of the Americas meetings in Quebec City, Canada, in 2001, Miami in 2003, and Mar del Plata, Argentina, in 2005 ended violently. Such protests helped to halt plans to launch the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA)—an enlarged version of NAFTA covering the 34 countries in the Western Hemisphere.

**Partisan Politics and Impeachment**

While Clinton and Congress worked together on deficit reduction and NAFTA, relations in Washington became increasingly partisan. In the midst of political wrangling, a scandal rocked the White House, and Bill Clinton became the second president in U.S. history to be impeached.

**REPUBLICANS TAKE CONTROL OF CONGRESS** In mid-1994, after the failure of President Clinton’s health care plan and recurring questions regarding his leadership, Republican congressman Newt Gingrich began to turn voters’ dissatisfaction with Clinton into support for Republicans. He drafted a document called the **Contract with America**—ten items Republicans promised to enact if they won control of Congress. They included congressional term limits, a balanced-budget amendment, tax cuts, tougher crime laws, and welfare reform.

In the November 1994 election, the Republicans handed the Democrats a humiliating defeat. Voters gave Republicans control of both houses of Congress for the first time since 1954. Chosen as the new Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich was jubilant.

**A PERSONAL VOICE** **NEWT GINGRICH**

“*I will never forget mounting the rostrum . . . for the first time. . . . The whole scene gave me a wonderful sense of the romance of America and the magic by which Americans share power and accept changes in government.*”

—To Renew America
President Clinton and the Republican-controlled Congress clashed. Clinton opposed Republican budgets that slowed spending on entitlements such as Social Security and Medicaid. Clinton and Congress refused to compromise, and no budget was passed. As a result, the federal government shut down for almost a week in November 1995, and again for several weeks in the next two months. The President and Congress did eventually work together to pass welfare reform.

**THE 1996 REELECTION** The budget standoff helped Clinton, as did the strong economy and passage of the welfare reform law of 1996, which suggested an improved working relationship with Congress. As a result, voters reelected Clinton in November 1996. With 49 percent of the popular vote, he outpolled the Republican nominee, U.S. Senator Bob Dole, and the Reform Party candidate, H. Ross Perot. Still, the Republicans maintained control of the House and Senate. Both President Clinton and Republican leaders pledged to work more cooperatively. Soon however, the president faced his most severe problems yet.

**CLINTON IMPEACHED** President Clinton was accused of improperly using money from a land deal with the Whitewater Development Company to fund his 1984 gubernatorial reelection campaign. In addition, Clinton allegedly had lied under oath about having an improper relationship with a young White House intern. In 1998, Clinton admitted that he had had an improper relationship with the young woman, but he denied lying about the incident under oath or attempting to obstruct the investigation.

In December 1998, the House of Representatives approved two articles of impeachment, charging the president with perjury and obstruction of justice. Clinton became only the second president—and the first in 130 years—to face a trial in the Senate. At the trial a month later, the Senate fell short of the 67 votes—a two-thirds majority—required to convict him. Clinton remained in office and apologized for his actions.

**The Race for the White House**

In the 2000 presidential race, the Democrats chose Vice President Al Gore to succeed Bill Clinton. The Republicans nominated George W. Bush, governor of Texas and the son of the former president. Ralph Nader, a long-time consumer advocate, ran for the Green Party, which championed environmental causes and promoted an overall liberal agenda. On the eve of the election, polls showed that the race would be tight. In fact, the election proved one of the closest in U.S. history. Determining a winner would take over a month.

**ELECTION NIGHT CONFUSION** As election night unfolded, Al Gore appeared to take the lead. The television networks projected that he would win Florida, Pennsylvania, and Michigan—states rich in electoral votes that would ultimately decide the winner of the race. Then, in a stunning turn of events, the TV networks recanted their original projection about Gore’s victory in Florida and proclaimed the state “too close to call.”
As midnight passed, it became clear that whoever won Florida would gain the 270 electoral votes needed to win the election. About 2 A.M., the networks predicted Bush the winner of Florida—and thus the presidency. However, as the final votes in Florida rolled in, Bush’s lead shrank considerably and the state again became too close to call. By the next day, Al Gore had won the popular vote by more than 500,000 votes out of 105 million cast across the nation. Meanwhile, George Bush’s razor-thin victory in Florida triggered an automatic recount.

**DISPUTE RAGES IN FLORIDA** In the weeks following the election, lawyers and spokespersons went to Florida to try to secure victory. The recount of the state’s ballots gave Bush a win by just over 500 votes—but the battle for the presidency did not end there. The Gore campaign requested manual recounts in four mostly Democratic counties. Bush representatives opposed the manual recounts. James A. Baker III, former secretary of state and leader of the Bush team in Florida, argued that such recounts would raise the possibility of political mischief.

**THE BATTLE MOVES TO THE COURTS** As the manual recounting began on November 12, the Republicans sued to stop the recounts; a month-long court fight followed. The battle ultimately reached the Supreme Court. On December 12, the court voted 5 to 4 to stop the recounts, thus awarding the Florida electoral votes and the presidency to Bush. The justices argued that manual recounts lacked uniform standards and, therefore, violated equal protection for voters.

**The Bush Administration**

After the protests and legal actions subsided, George W. Bush was inaugurated as the 43rd president of the United States on January 20, 2001. Bush inherited several challenges, including a weakening national economy and an energy problem in California.

During his first months as president, Bush began to advance his political agenda. He declared plans to reform the federal role in education and to privatize Social Security. Bush also proposed a $1.35 trillion tax cut, which became law in June 2001.

**ANTITERRORIST MEASURES** The political landscape changed dramatically after the September 11 terrorist attacks. The Bush administration, now with the overwhelming support of Congress and the American people, shifted its energy and attention to combating terrorism.

In October 2001, Bush signed an antiterrorism bill into law. The law allowed the government to detain foreigners suspected of terrorism for seven days without charging them with a crime. By the following month, Bush had created the Department of Homeland Security, a government body set up to coordinate national efforts to combat terrorism. In addition, the federal government increased its involvement in aviation security.

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**MAIN IDEA**

Analyzing Issues

> How did the election of 2000 highlight both the weaknesses and the strengths of America’s election process?

**KEY PLAYER**

**GEORGE W. BUSH, 1946–**

George W. Bush was born into a family steeped in politics. His father, George H. W. Bush, was the 41st president of the United States (1989–1993). However, George W. Bush did not immediately follow in his father’s political footsteps. In 1975, he started an oil company in Midland, Texas. For a time, he also was part owner of the Texas Rangers baseball team. Eventually, Bush was elected governor of Texas in 1994. Six years later, he became the 43rd president of the United States. He won reelection in 2004.
The Bush Administration also began waging a war against terrorism. In October 2001, coalition forces led by the United States began bombing Afghanistan. The Afghan government was harboring Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaeda terrorist network believed responsible for the September 11 attacks. In 2002, the coalition successfully broke up the al-Qaeda network in Afghanistan. Osama bin Laden, however, remained at large. (See the first issue in "Issues for the 21st Century," on page 894.) Nonetheless, the Bush administration gained widespread public approval for the decisive steps taken.

Bush also scored a major success when direct elections were held for the first time in Afghanistan in October 2004. The Afghan people elected interim president Hamid Karzai as their first democratically elected president. Although Afghanistan still faced many problems, the elections were considered a positive move toward resolving them.

WAR AGAINST IRAQ In 2003, Bush expanded the war on terrorism to Iraq. Following the Persian Gulf War, Iraq had agreed to UN demands to stop the production of biological, chemical, and nuclear weapons. However, throughout the 1990s, the leader of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, cooperated only partly with UN arms inspectors and eventually barred them from entering his country.

After the September 11 attacks, Bush alleged that Hussein was supporting terrorists such as al-Qaeda and might supply them with weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Bush called for renewed arms inspections in Iraq. The inspectors determined that Iraq had not resumed its WMD programs; but Hussein had again not cooperated fully with the inspection process. The United States and Great Britain then ended diplomacy with Iraq and invaded in March 2003. Within a month, Iraq's forces were defeated. U.S. forces then began an intensive search for WMD in Iraq. No traces of nuclear, chemical, or biological weaponry were found. U.S. forces captured the former dictator in December 2003, and Hussein was later tried and executed by the Iraqi government.

DOMESTIC AGENDA Meanwhile, on the home front, President Bush concentrated on education and the economy. He signed into law an education reform plan entitled No Child Left Behind. This plan called for more accountability by states for students' success, mandatory achievement testing, and more school options available for parents.

The economy posed a greater challenge, as corporate scandals, such as those related to such highly successful companies as Enron and WorldCom, rocked the nation. Congress responded to these corporate scandals by passing the Sarbanes-Oxley Act. This act established a regulatory board to oversee the accounting industry and its involvement with corporations. The scandals caused many investors to lose faith in corporations, which had a negative impact on the U.S. economy.

In 2003, Congress passed and Bush signed into law a $350 billion tax cut, which Bush claimed would help the sagging economy and create jobs. Democrats in Congress opposed the tax cut, saying it would mostly benefit the rich. The Democrats were overruled, however, because the Republican Party had regained control of the Senate in the 2002 midterm elections.

BUSH REELECTED IN 2004 Although the Bush administration received much initial support for the war on terrorism that it began waging after the September 11 attacks, many Americans came to question the decision to invade Iraq. They were dismayed by the failure to find weapons of mass destruction there. In 2004, President Bush was reelected, despite deep divisions among the American people.
During Bush’s second term, discontent about the war grew. At the same time, controversies arose over warrantless spying on American citizens and allegations that the administration allowed torture of terrorist suspects. The Bush administration was also criticized over its response to Hurricane Katrina. In the 2006 mid-term elections, Democrats regained control of both the House and the Senate.

**The 2008 Presidential Election**

The continuing war in Iraq and a deteriorating economy contributed to President Bush’s unpopularity. The collapse of the financial markets in the fall of 2008 did little to improve the situation. More than two-thirds of Americans disapproved of his handling of the presidency. As a result, in the 2008 presidential election, Americans voted for a change in direction by electing Democrat Barack Obama, U.S. senator from Illinois. In defeating Republican Senator John McCain of Arizona, Obama made history as the first African American to be elected president of the United States.

On taking office, Obama pushed through an economic stimulus package to combat the recession brought on by the crash of the financial markets. He also drew up plans to end combat operations in Iraq and in Afghanistan. In addition, he fulfilled a campaign promise by passing a sweeping health care reform bill.

**1. TERMS & NAMES**

For each term or name, write a sentence explaining its significance.

- William Jefferson Clinton
- H. Ross Perot
- Hillary Rodham Clinton
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)
- Contract with America
- Newt Gingrich
- Al Gore
- George W. Bush
- Barack Obama

**2. TAKING NOTES**

Create a time line of President Clinton’s major actions during his two terms. Use a form such as the one below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>major action</th>
<th>major action</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>major action</td>
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Explain whether each action was a success or a failure for Clinton.

**3. EVALUATING**

What event or trend during the Clinton administration do you think will have the most lasting impact on the United States? Why?

**4. ANALYZING MOTIVES**

Why did the Gore campaign support manual recounts in Florida and the Bush campaign oppose them?

**5. EVALUATING DECISIONS**

Do you think President Bush’s decision to invade Iraq was justified? Explain why or why not.

Think About:

- arms inspections in Iraq
- fear created by the September 11 attacks
- the search for WMD
The New Global Economy

**One American’s Story**

As Bill Clinton took office in 1993, some regions of the nation, particularly the Northeast, were still in an economic recession. Near Kennebunkport, Maine, the John Roberts clothing factory faced bankruptcy. With help from their union, the factory workers were able to turn their factory into an employee-owned company.

Ethel Beaudoin, who worked for the company for more than 30 years, was relieved that the plant would not be closing.

**A Personal Voice  Ethel Beaudoin**

“It’s a nice feeling to be part of the process . . . of deciding what this company buys for machinery and to know the customers more intimately. They’re our customers, and it’s a nicer feeling when the customers know that the coat that we put out is made by owners.”

—quoted in *Divided We Fall*

Beaudoin’s experience offered one example of the economic possibilities in America. A new global economy—brought about by new technologies, increased international competition, and the end of the Cold War—changed the nation’s economic prospects.

**The Shifting Economy**

Americans heard a great deal of good news about the economy. Millions of new jobs were created between 1993 and 1999. By the fall of 2000, the unemployment rate had fallen to the lowest it had been since 1970.
But there was alarming news as well. Wage inequality between upper- and lower-income Americans—the income gap—widened. Median household income began to drop. Although economists disagreed about the reasons for the economy’s instability, most everyone agreed it was undergoing significant changes.

MORE SERVICE, LESS SECURITY Chief among the far-reaching changes in the workplace of the 1990s was the explosive growth of jobs in the service sector, the part of the economy that provides services to consumers. By 2008, nearly 80 percent of American workers were teachers, medical professionals, lawyers, engineers, store clerks, waitstaff, and other service workers.

Low-paying jobs, such as sales and fast-food, grew fastest. These positions, often part-time or temporary, offered limited benefits. Many corporations, rather than invest in salaries and benefits for full-time staff, instead hired temporary workers, or temps, and began to downsize—trim payrolls to streamline operations and increase profits. Manpower, Inc., a temporary services agency, became the largest U.S. employer, earning $2 billion in 1993 when fully 640,000 Americans cashed its paychecks. In 2008, about one-fifth of the nation’s labor force worked in temporary or part-time positions.

Of those cut in downsizing, younger workers suffered higher rates of unemployment. In 2008, about 14 percent of workers aged 16 to 24 were unemployed—more than double the national rate. And many young Americans are living at home longer and are less financially secure than American youth in the past.

FARMS AND FACTORIES The nation’s shift to a service economy came at the expense of America’s traditional workplaces. Manufacturing, which surpassed farming mid-century as the largest job sector, experienced a sharp decline in the 1980s and 1990s. In 1992, for example, 140,000 steelworkers did the same work that 240,000 had accomplished ten years earlier. Larry Pugh talked about the downsizing of a farm equipment factory in his hometown of Waterloo, Iowa.

A PERSONAL VOICE LARRY PUGH

“There used to be 17,500 people working here. . . . Now there are 6000. Those people spent their money. They bought the cars. They bought the houses. They were replaced by people that are at the minimum wage—seven or eight dollars an hour, not 15 or 20 dollars an hour. These people can hardly eke out a living.”

—quoted in Divided We Fall

The decline in industrial jobs contributed to a drop in union membership. In 1945, 35 percent of American workers belonged to unions; by 2008, only 12 percent were union members. In the 1990s and early 2000s, unions had trouble organizing. High-tech and professional workers felt no need for unions, while low-wage service employees feared losing their jobs in a strike. Some workers saw their incomes decline. The increased use of computer-driven robots to make manufactured goods eliminated many jobs, but it also spurred a vibrant high-tech economy. Those with advanced training and specialized technical skills or a sense of entrepreneurial risk-taking saw their salaries rise and their economic security expand.
In the late 1990s, entrepreneurs turned innovative ideas about computer technology into huge personal fortunes, hoping to follow in the footsteps of Bill Gates, the decade’s most celebrated entrepreneur. Gates founded the software company Microsoft. By 2008, it had made him the second wealthiest individual in the world, with assets estimated at about $53 billion.

A rapid outcropping of new businesses accompanied the explosive growth of the Internet late in the decade. The NASDAQ (National Association of Securities Dealers Automated Quotation System), a technology-dominated stock index on Wall Street, rose dramatically as enthusiasm grew for high-tech businesses. These businesses were known as dotcoms, a nickname derived from their identities, or addresses, on the World Wide Web, which often ended in “.com.” The dotcoms expanded rapidly and attracted young talent and at times excessive investment funding for such untested fledgling companies.

Thousands of smaller businesses were quick to anticipate the changes that the Internet would bring. Suddenly companies could work directly with consumers or with other companies. Many predicted that the price of doing business would fall markedly and that overall worldwide productivity would jump dramatically. The boom of new business was termed “The New Economy.”

However, the positive economic outlook fueled by “The New Economy” was short lived. In 2000, only 38 percent of online retailing made a profit. As a result, many dotcoms went out of business. This decline had many causes. Entrepreneurs often provided inadequate advertising for their e-companies. Also, many dotcoms had hard-to-use Web sites that confused customers. The unsuccessful dotcoms caused many investors to stop putting money in Internet businesses.

In 2002, the U.S. economy was also hard hit by corporate scandals, when Enron was charged with using illegal accounting practices and WorldCom filed what was then the largest bankruptcy claim in U.S. history. Investors began to lose faith in corporations. In addition, the continued threat of terrorism had a negative effect on the economy. All of these factors caused the NASDAQ to decline. After the NYSE and NASDAQ rose again to record highs in 2007, they both were rocked by the global financial crisis of 2008 and 2009.
Change and the Global Economy

In 1900, airplanes hadn’t yet flown and telephone service was barely 20 years old. U.S. trade with the rest of the world was worth about $2.2 billion (roughly 12 percent of the economy). Over a century later, New Yorkers could hop a jet and arrive in London in a few hours, information traveled instantly by computer, and U.S. trade with other countries exceeded $4 trillion (about 30 percent of the economy). As American companies competed for international and domestic markets, American workers felt the sting of competing with workers in other countries.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE The expansion of U.S. trade abroad was an important goal of President Clinton’s foreign policy, as his support of NAFTA had shown. In 1994, in response to increasing international economic competition among trading blocs, the United States joined many other nations in adopting a new version of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The new treaty lowered trade barriers, such as tariffs, and established the World Trade Organization (WTO) to resolve trade disputes. As President Clinton announced at the 1994 meeting of the Group of Seven, (the world’s seven leading economic powers, which later became the Group of Eight when Russia joined in 1996), “[T]rade as much as troops will increasingly define the ties that bind nations in the twenty-first century.”
INTERNATIONAL COMPETITION  International trade agreements caused some American workers to worry about massive job flight to countries that produced the same goods as the United States but at a lower cost.

In the 1990s, U.S. businesses frequently moved their operations to less economically advanced countries, such as Mexico, where wages were lower. After the passage of NAFTA, more than 100,000 low-wage jobs were lost in U.S. manufacturing industries such as apparel, auto parts, and electronics. Also, competition with foreign companies helped U.S. companies to maintain low wages and decrease benefits.

INTERNATIONAL SLOWDOWN  Around the turn of the 21st century, the global economy began to slow down. Between 1997 and 2002, the gross domestic product in Japan declined by 6 percent. In 2001, the economies of more than a dozen countries were in recession, and many other countries reported lower growth rates than they had the previous year.

The flow of foreign direct investment (FDI) to developing countries declined dramatically. As a result, the economies of these countries were particularly hard hit. For example, the overall growth of Africa’s economies slowed to 2.7 percent in 2002.

The U.S. economy also suffered. As it happened, both the U.S. and world economies began to reverse the downward trend by 2004. But in 2008, a global financial crisis, brought on by the collapse of several major banking firms, left growth in the world’s economies sluggish at best.
The broadening of opportunities for American women that began in the 1970s is as evident in literature as it is in other fields. Toni Morrison, Mary Oliver, Nikki Giovanni, Amy Tan, Anne Tyler, Alice Walker, Marge Piercy, Sandra Cisneros—these are just a few of the talented women novelists and poets who reflect the multicultural nature of the American identity. These women's writing shares a common characteristic—that of conveying the American experience through the exploration of personal memories, nature, childhood, and family.

NIKKI GIOVANNI

In the late 1960s, Nikki Giovanni won instant attention as an African American poet writing about the Black Power movement. Since then her poetry has often focused on childhood, family ties, and other personal concerns. In the following poem, Giovanni deals with individual empowerment—even under less than ideal circumstances.

Choices

If I can't do what I want to do
Then my job is to not do what I don't want to do

It's not the same thing
But it's the best I can do

If I can't have what I want
Then my job is to want what I've got
And be satisfied
That at least there is something more to want

Since I can't go where I need
to go then I must go
where the signs point
though always understanding
parallel movement isn't lateral

When I can't express what I really feel
I practice feeling what I can express
and none of it is equal
I know
but that's why mankind
alone among the mammals
learns to cry

—Nikki Giovanni,
“Choices,” from Cotton Candy on a Rainy Day (1978)
AMY TAN

A native of Oakland, California, Amy Tan draws on personal experiences in *The Joy Luck Club*, a series of interconnected stories about four Chinese-American daughters and their immigrant mothers. The four mothers establish a club for socializing and playing the game of mahjong.

My mother started the San Francisco version of the Joy Luck Club in 1949, two years before I was born. This was the year my mother and father left China with one stiff leather trunk filled only with fancy silk dresses. There was no time to pack anything else, my mother had explained to my father after they boarded the boat. Still his hands swam frantically between the slippery silks, looking for his cotton shirts and wool pants.

When they arrived in San Francisco, my father made her hide those shiny clothes. She wore the same brown-checked Chinese dress until the Refugee Welcome Society gave her two hand-me-down dresses, all too large in sizes for American women. The society was composed of a group of white-haired American missionary ladies from the First Chinese Baptist Church. And because of their gifts, my parents could not refuse their invitation to join the church. Nor could they ignore the old ladies’ practical advice to improve their English through Bible study class on Wednesday nights and, later, through choir practice on Saturday mornings. This was how my parents met the Hsus, the Jongs, and the St. Clairs. My mother could sense that the women of these families also had unspeakable tragedies they had left behind in China and hopes they couldn’t begin to express in their fragile English. Or at least, my mother recognized the numbness in these women’s faces. And she saw how quickly their eyes moved when she told them her idea for the Joy Luck Club.


SANDRA CISNEROS

Sandra Cisneros is one of many Chicana writers to win fame in recent years. In *The House on Mango Street*, she traces the experiences of a poor Hispanic girl named Esperanza (Spanish for hope) and her warm-hearted family. Nenny is her sister.

**Four Skinny Trees**

They are the only ones who understand me. I am the only one who understands them. Four skinny trees with skinny necks and pointy elbows like mine. Four who do not belong here but are here. Four raggedy excuses planted by the city. From our room we can hear them, but Nenny just sleeps and doesn’t appreciate these things.

Their strength is secret. They send ferocious roots beneath the ground. They grow up and they grow down and grab the earth between their hairy toes and bite the sky with violent teeth and never quit their anger. This is how they keep.

Let one forget his reason for being, they’d all droop like tulips in a glass, each with their arms around the other. Keep, keep, keep, trees say when I sleep. They teach.

When I am too sad and too skinny to keep keeping, when I am a tiny thing against so many bricks, then it is I look at trees. When there is nothing left to look at on this street. Four who grew despite concrete. Four who reach and do not forget to reach. Four whose only reason is to be and be.

—Sandra Cisneros

*The House on Mango Street* (1989)

**THINKING CRITICALLY**

1. **Comparing** From these selections, what can you infer about women’s experiences in American life today? Cite passages to support your response.

   SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R8.

2. **INTERNET ACTIVITY** Visit the links for American Literature to find and choose selections for an anthology of writing by three contemporary American women. Write a “capsule biography” summarizing each writer’s background and achievements.
One American’s Story

The crowds stand four-deep cheering for 12-year-old Rudy Garcia-Tolson as he captures a new national record for his age group at the San Diego half-marathon. Despite the loss of his legs, Rudy competes in sports and won a gold medal in swimming at the 2004 paralympics.

For years, Rudy was confined to a wheelchair. After undergoing a double amputation he was fitted with carbon fiber prostheses—artificial replacements for missing body parts. These lightweight, strong, and durable new legs now make many things possible for Rudy.

**A PERSONAL VOICE RUDY GARCIA-TOLSON**

“...I told them to cut my legs off. I saw pictures of people running with prosthetic legs. I didn’t want to stay in a wheelchair...My legs won’t stop me. Nothing stops me...I like to show kids that there’s no limitations—kids or challenged people or adults, there’s no limitations to what a person can do...My motto is, if you have a brave heart, that’s a powerful weapon.”

—quoted in Press-Enterprise, January 1, 2000

Advances in medical technology have permitted Rudy to live a more fully active life. Throughout the 20th century and into the 21st, technological developments helped Americans become more active in many ways.

**The Communications Revolution**

The computer industry transformed the 1980s. Instead of giant mainframes and minicomputers, desktop workstations now ruled business. Home computers became widely available, and many thousands of people joined online subscription services that provided electronic mail and magazine-style information.
ENTERING THE INFORMATION AGE The information superhighway—a network of communication devices linking people and institutions across the nation and the world—promised to advance the revolution that had begun with the personal computer. In 1994, Vice President Al Gore began to oversee the government’s participation in developing this superhighway. Even though private industries would build the superhighway, the government would keep access democratic, ensure affordable service for everyone, protect privacy and property rights, and develop incentives for investors.

The 1990s enjoyed explosive growth of the Internet, an international network linking computers and allowing almost instant transmittal of text, images, and sound. Originally developed in the late 1960s by the U.S. Department of Defense for defense research, the Internet drew early popularity at universities. By the mid-1990s Internet became a household word. Use of the network was further popularized by the World Wide Web, which provided a simple visual interface for words and pictures to be seen by an unlimited audience. As businesses, schools, and organizations began to use the Web as a primary form of communication, new forms of social interaction emerged. Users developed online communities, such as MySpace and Facebook, to “meet” and communicate with one another.

NEW TOOLS, NEW MEDIA Through an electronic connection, such as a TV cable or phone line, users accessed an array of media, from streaming video to research archives, from on-line shopping catalogs to customized news broadcasts. Users could interact with each other across the world. By 2009, nearly 228 million Americans used the Internet regularly to send e-mail, to network, to share music, or to browse or search through pages on the Web. During the 1990s, classrooms across the nation increasingly used computer networking. By 2009, 97 percent of public-school classrooms offered Internet access. Long-distance video and audio transmissions also linked American students. Some content was delivered not on networks but stored via CD-ROM (Compact Disc Read-Only Memory). CD-ROMs also carry digital code for pictures, text, and animation to be played on a computer.
The late-20th-century advances in computers and communications have had an impact on American society and business comparable to the industrial developments of the late 1800s. Americans now have more entertainment options, as cable service has multiplied the number of television channels available and greater bandwidth has made high-definition television possible. Because of cellular phones, fax machines, the Internet, wireless connectivity, and overnight shipping, people can more readily telecommute, or work from a location of their choice instead of going to an office every day.

**LEGISLATING TECHNOLOGY** In the 1980s, the government was slow to recognize the implications of the new communications technology. In 1994, however, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) began to auction the valuable rights to airwaves and collected over $9 billion. Then, with the rapid growth in the communications industry, the federal government took several steps to ensure that consumers received the best service. Congress passed the *Telecommunications Act of 1996*, removing barriers that had previously prevented one type of communications company from starting up or buying another related one. While it increased competition in the industry, the law also paved the way for major media mergers. When Capital Cities/ABC Inc. joined the Walt Disney Company, industry watchdogs noted that this reflected the trend toward concentrating media influence in the hands of a few powerful conglomerates.

The passage of the Telecommunications Act won applause from the communications industry but only mixed reviews from the public. Consumer activists worried that the law would fail to ensure equal access to new technologies for rural residents and poor people. Civil rights advocates contended that the Communications Decency Act (part of the Telecommunications Act) restricted free speech because it barred the transmission of “indecent” materials to minors via the Internet. Since the early 2000s, the issue of network neutrality has created considerable controversy. Supporters of network neutrality want regulations established that would prevent service providers or the government from restricting access to, or content delivered on, the Internet.

**Scientific Advances Enrich Lives**

The exciting growth in the telecommunications industry in the 1990s and early 2000s was matched by developments that revolutionized robotics, space exploration, and medicine. The world witnessed marvels that for many of the baby boom generation echoed science fiction.

**SIMULATION, ROBOTICS, AND MACHINE INTELLIGENCE** Visual imaging and artificial intelligence (a computer's ability to perform activities that require intelligence) were combined to provide applications in industry, medicine, and education. For example, virtual reality began with the flight simulators used to train military and commercial pilots. Today, with a headset that holds tiny video screens and earphones, and with a data glove that translates hand movements to a computer screen, a user can navigate a “virtual landscape.” Doctors have used virtual reality to take...
a computerized tour of a patient’s throat and lungs to check for medical problems. Surgeons have performed long-distance surgery through telepresence systems—gloves, computers, and robotic elements specially wired so that a doctor can operate on a patient hundreds of miles away. Architects and engineers have used virtual reality to create visual, rather than physical, models of their buildings, cars, and other designs. Modeling also affected the nightly newscast. Using supercomputers and improved satellite data, meteorologists could offer extended weather forecasts that reached the accuracy of one-day forecasts of 1980.

As technology became more sophisticated, computers increased in capability. IBM’s Deep Blue defeated chess champion Garry Kasparov in 1997. Computational linguists steadily improved natural language understanding in computers, thus fine-tuning the accuracy of voice recognition systems.

Robots grew more humanlike as engineers equipped them with high-capacity chips simulating brain function. By the early 2000s, robots had the ability to walk on two legs, interact with people, learn taught behaviors, and express artificial feelings with facial gestures.

SPACE EXPLORATION  In the 1990s, astronomy expanded our view of the universe. In 1997, NASA’s Pathfinder and its rover Sojourner transmitted live pictures of the surface of Mars to millions of Internet users.

Shuttle missions, meanwhile, concentrated on scientific research and assembly, transport, and repair of orbiting objects, paving the way to possible human missions to Mars and other space travel in the coming century. NASA concentrated on working with other nations to build the International Space Station (ISS). The ISS promised to offer scientists a zero-gravity laboratory for research in medicine, space mechanics and architecture, and long-term living in space. Ellen Ochoa, part of the first shuttle crew to dock to the ISS, hoped to inspire young students:

**A PERSONAL VOICE  ELLEN OCHOA**

“I’m not trying to make everyone an astronaut, but I want students to think about a career and the preparation they’ll need. . . . I tell students that the opportunities I had were a result of having a good educational background. Education is what allows you to stand out.” —quoted in Stanford University School of Engineering Annual Report, 1997–98.

Another shuttle crew in 1993 aboard the Endeavour repaired the Hubble Space Telescope, which returns dazzling intergalactic views. In late 1995, astronomers using observatories discovered a planet orbiting the fourth closest star to Earth, the first planet to be detected outside our own solar system. Since then dozens more have been detected. Manned flights remained a part of the country’s plan for space exploration. In 2010, President Obama stated, “By the mid-2030s, I believe we can send humans to orbit Mars and return them safely to Earth. And a landing on Mars will follow.”

BIOTECHNOLOGY  The most profound insight into the book of life came from the field of biotechnology. The Human Genome Project, an international effort to map the genes of the human body, and Celera, a private company in molecular biology, simultaneously announced in 2000 that they had sequenced nearly all of the human genome only a decade after the research began. Cooperation via the Internet and access to computerized databases by multiple research groups vastly accelerated the scientists’ ability to identify and order over three billion chemical
“letters” of the genetic code of DNA. Molecular biologists hoped that this genetic map would offer the key to treating many inherited diseases and diagnosing congenital disabilities, and that drug makers could one day design pharmaceuticals for each patient’s particular profile.

DNA had been in the spotlight before the breakthrough announcement. In well-publicized legal proceedings, prosecutors relied on DNA evidence to help prove the guilt of defendants who may have left behind a single hair at a crime scene. Others, wrongly imprisoned, were released when genetic analysis proved their innocence.

But different opinions arose over some of the new “biotechnology.” Some speculated that technological progress outpaced social evolution and society’s ability to grapple with the consequences. In 1997, Scottish researchers cloned Dolly the sheep from one cell of an adult sheep. Shortly thereafter, two Rhesus monkeys were cloned in Oregon, and many wondered whether human cloning was next. Firms sought to patent genes used for medical and research applications, using the principle of invention and property. Advances such as these, as well as gene therapy, artificial human chromosomes, and testing embryos for genetic defects all sparked heated debates among scientists, ethicists, religious leaders, and politicians.

The use of genetic engineering—the artificial changing of the molecular biology of organisms’ cells to alter an organism—also aroused public concern. However, the Federal Department of Agriculture (FDA) holds that genetically engineered foods are safe and that they require no extra labeling. Scientists in the late 1990s modified corn and rice to provide resistance to pests and increase nutritional value. In 1996, the European Union limited the importation of such products in response to consumer pressure, allowing only those clearly labeled as having been genetically modified.

**MEDICAL PROGRESS** People suffering from some diseases benefited from advances in medicine in the 1990s and early 2000s. Cancer survival rates improved drastically as clinicians explored the use of gene therapy, genetically engineered antibodies, and immune system modulation. Improvements in tracking the spread of HIV—the virus that causes AIDS (acquired immune deficiency syndrome)—through the body made researchers better prepared to find a cure. AIDS patients were treated with combination therapies, and public health officials advocated abstinence and “safer sex” practices to control the spread of HIV.

Improved technology for making medical diagnoses offered new hope as well. Magnetic resonance imaging (MRI), for example, was used to produce cross-sectional images of any part of the body. Advances that will make the MRI procedure ten times faster will also make MRI more widely available and cheaper to use. Medical researchers look ahead to using fleets of tiny “nanosensors” one-thousandth the width of a human hair to find tumors and to deploying “nanobots” to repair tissues and even genes.

**Background**

In 2007, about 14,100 Americans died from AIDS, roughly one-third the 1992 number.
ALTERNATIVE CARS

In an effort to reduce the nation’s dependence on fossil fuels, researchers have been working to develop a “cleaner” car, or one that runs on something other than gasoline. Such alternative models include an electric car, which uses a rechargable battery and gas power, and a vehicle that runs on compressed natural gas.

Carl Bielenberg of Calais, Vermont, holds a container of seeds of the jatropha plant. He runs his compact car on vegetable oil that is made from the seed.

ENVIRONMENTAL MEASURES

With the spreading use of technology came greater concern about the impact of human activities on the natural environment. Scientists have continued examining ways to reduce American dependence on pollution-producing fossil fuels. Fossil fuels such as oil provided 84 percent of the energy in the United States in 2009 but also contributed to poor air quality, acid rain, and global warming. Many individuals have tried to help by reducing consumption of raw materials. The recycling of glass bottles and jars, plastic bottles, newspapers, cardboard, and aluminum cans and other materials is now commonplace. In 2007, recycling saved the energy equivalent of nearly 11 billion gallons of gasoline.

CRITICAL THINKING

3. MAKING INFERENCE

Explain how government, business, and individuals are important to the existence of the information superhighway. Think About:

- the costs of developing the superhighway
- the equipment and personnel needed to maintain it
- who uses the superhighway and why they use it

4. ANALYZING ISSUES

Why is genetic engineering a source of controversy?

5. EVALUATING

Which area of technological change described in this section do you think was the most important one for the country? Explain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Technological Change</th>
<th>Effect on Me</th>
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The Changing Face of America

At the end of the 20th century, the U.S. population grew more diverse both in ethnic background and in age. Americans of all backgrounds share common goals: the desire for equal rights and economic opportunity.

Every ten years the United States conducts a census, or head count of its population. The results of the census determine, among other things, how billions of federal dollars are spent for housing, health care, and education over the coming decade. The Census Bureau estimates that the 1990 census undercounted Latinos by more than five percent. This undercount resulted in a loss of millions of dollars of aid to municipalities with large Latino populations, as well as denying Latinos political representation in all levels of government.

During the census conducted in 2000, Antonia Hernandez, President and General Counsel of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF), spearheaded the national ¡Hágase Contar! Make Yourself Count! campaign. MALDEF workers canvassed neighborhoods urging residents to complete the census. They stressed that all information was confidential and discussed the high stakes of being counted.

**A Personal Voice**  [Antonia Hernandez]

“The census not only measures our growth and marks our place in the community, but it is the first and indispensable step toward fair political representation, equal distribution of resources, and enforcement of our civil rights.”

—Public statement for ¡Hágase Contar! campaign, 2000

Data from the 2000 census revealed that the Hispanic population had grown by close to 58 percent since 1990, reaching 35.3 million. In the next seven years, it grew by nearly 30 percent to 45.5 million.

**Urban Flight**

One of the most significant socio-cultural changes in American history has been the movement of Americans from the cities to the suburbs. The years after World War II through the 1980s saw a widespread pattern of urban flight, the process in which Americans left the cities and moved to the suburbs. At mid-century, the population of cities exceeded that of suburbs. By 1970, the ratio became even.
By the early 2000s, after decades of decline, some major cities across the country had increased their populations while others slowed or halted declines. The transformation of the United States into a nation of suburbs had intensified the problems of the cities.

**CAUSES OF URBAN CHANGE** Several factors contributed to the movement of Americans out of the cities. Because of the continued movement of job-seeking Americans into urban areas in the 1950s and 1960s, many urban American neighborhoods became overcrowded. Overcrowding in turn contributed to such urban problems as increasing crime rates and decaying housing.

During the 1970s and early 1980s, city dwellers who could afford to do so moved to the suburbs for more space, privacy, and security. Often, families left the cities because suburbs offered newer, less crowded schools. As many middle-class Americans left cities for the suburbs, the economic base of many urban neighborhoods declined, and suburbs grew wealthy. Following the well-educated labor force, more industries relocated to suburban areas in the 1990s. The economic base that provided tax money and supported city services in large cities such as New York, Detroit, and Philadelphia continued to shrink as people and jobs moved outward.

In addition, many downtown districts fell into disrepair as suburban shoppers abandoned city stores for suburban shopping malls. According to the 1990 census, the 31 most impoverished communities in the United States were in cities. By the mid-1990s, however, as the property values in the nation’s inner cities declined, many people returned to live there. In a process known as **gentrification**, they purchased and rehabilitated deteriorating urban property, oftentimes displacing lower income people. Old industrial sites and neighborhoods in locations convenient to downtown became popular, especially among young, single adults who preferred the excitement of city life and the uniqueness of urban neighborhoods to the often more uniform environment of the suburbs.

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**REBUILDING THE RIVERFRONTS**

As part of the effort to revitalize cities, a number of architects, landscape architects, and urban planners have focused on enhancing what for many urban centers had become a neglected eyesore—their waterfronts. In Pittsburgh, landscape architects turned a dreary strip of concrete and parking lot into Allegheny Riverfront Park, an inviting stretch of natural walkways and recreation areas.

**SKILLBUILDER**

**Interpreting Visual Sources**

1. Why might landscape architects consider improving riverfronts to be a key part of revitalizing cities?
2. In what other ways could architects and urban designers make city living more attractive?

SEE SKILLBUILDER HANDBOOK, PAGE R23.
While many suburbanites continued to commute to city jobs during the 1990s and early 2000s, increasing numbers of workers began to telecommute, or use new communications technology, such as computers, modems, and fax machines, to work from their homes. Another notable trend was the movement of minority populations to the suburbs. Nationwide, by the early 2000s, more Latinos, Asians, and African Americans lived in the suburbs than lived in the core cities.

Suburban growth led to intense competition between suburbs and cities, and among the suburbs themselves, for business and industry. Since low-rise suburban homes yielded low tax revenues, tax-hungry suburbs offered tax incentives for companies to locate within their borders. These incentives resulted in lower tax revenues for local governments—meaning that less funds were available for schools, libraries, and police departments. Consequently, taxes were often increased to fund these community services as well as to build the additional roads and other infrastructure necessary to support the new businesses.

The shift of populations from cities to suburbs was not the only significant change in American life in the 1990s and early 2000s. The American public was also growing older, and its aging raised complex issues for policymakers.

**The Aging of America**

The U.S. Census Bureau documents that in 2008 Americans were older than ever before, with a median age of 36.8—four years older than in 1990. Increased longevity and the aging of the baby boom generation were the primary reasons for the rising median age.

Behind the rising median age lie several broad trends. The country’s birthrate has slowed slightly, and the number of seniors has increased as Americans live longer because of advances in medical care and living healthier lifestyles. The number of people over 85 has increased at a faster rate than any other segment of the population, to 5.7 million in the year 2008.

The graying of America has placed new demands on the country’s programs that provide care for the elderly. These programs accounted for only 6 percent of the national budget in 1955. By 2010, these programs consumed about one-third of the national budget.

The major programs that provide care for elderly and disabled people are Medicare and Social Security. Medicare, which pays medical expenses for senior citizens, began in 1965, when most Americans had lower life expectancies. By 2010, the costs of this program exceeded $465 billion.
Social Security, which pays benefits to retired Americans, was designed to rely on continued funding from a vast number of younger workers who would contribute taxes to support a small number of retired workers. That system worked well when younger workers far outnumbered retirees and when most workers didn’t live long after retirement.

In 1996, it took Social Security contributions from three workers to support every retiree. By 2030, however, with an increase in the number of elderly persons and an expected decline in the birthrate, there will be only two workers’ contributions available to support each senior citizen. Few issues loomed as large in the recent presidential elections as what to do about Social Security. If the government does not restructure the system, Social Security will eventually pay out more money than it will take in. Some people suggest that the system be reformed by raising deductions for workers, taxing the benefits paid to wealthier Americans, and raising the age at which retirees can collect benefits.

The Shifting Population

In addition to becoming increasingly suburban and elderly, the population of the United States has also been transformed by immigration. Between 1970 and 2010, the country’s population swelled from 204 million to more than 309 million. Immigration accounted for much of that growth. As the nation’s newest residents yearned for U.S. citizenship, however, other Americans debated the effects of immigration on American life.

A CHANGING IMMIGRANT POPULATION The most recent immigrants to the United States differ from immigrants of earlier years. The large numbers of immigrants who entered the country before and just after 1900 came from Europe.

GEOGRAPHY SKILLBUILDER

1. Movement Which states show the greatest rise in numbers of immigrants?

2. Movement In the past, immigrants settled in the U.S. along borders and coastlines. Has this changed in 2000? Explain.
In contrast, more than 30 percent of immigrants since the 1960s have come from Asia and about 50 percent from the Western Hemisphere, primarily Mexico.

In Mexico, for example, during three months in 1994–1995, the Mexican peso was devalued by 73 percent. The devaluation made the Mexican economy decline. As a result, almost a million Mexicans lost their jobs. Many of the unemployed headed north in search of jobs in the United States.

This search for a better opportunity continued throughout the 1990s as thousands of legal and illegal immigrants arrived each day—the vast majority from Mexico. To help those persons seeking more opportunity in America, a temporary guest worker program for those immigrants residing illegally in the United States was proposed several times in the early 2000s. By 2010, however, this guest worker program had not been enacted into law.

Census Bureau data indicated that patterns of immigration are changing the country’s ethnic and racial makeup. By 2001, for example, California had become a “majority-minority” state, with Asian Americans, Latinos, African Americans, and Native Americans making up more than half its population. By 2009, three other states—Hawaii, New Mexico, and Texas—had also become majority-minority states. Arizona, Georgia, Maryland, Mississippi, and New York were close, with minority populations of 40 percent.

DEBATES OVER IMMIGRATION POLICY

The presence of such a large number of immigrants has also added to the continuing debate over U.S. immigration policies. Many Americans believe that their country can’t absorb more immigrants. By the early 1990s, an estimated 3.2 million illegal immigrants from Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Haiti had made their way to the United States. Many illegal immigrants also arrived from Canada, Poland, China, and Ireland. They took jobs many Americans turned down, as farm workers and domestic servants—often receiving the minimum wage or less and no benefits. By 2009, an estimated 10.8 million illegal immigrants resided in the United States.

Hostility toward illegal immigration has increased in states such as California and Arizona, two states with high percentages of immigrants. In 1994, California passed Proposition 187, which cut all education and nonemergency health benefits to illegal immigrants. By March 1998, Proposition 187 was ruled unconstitutional. In 2010, Arizona passed a law that enhanced state and local police authority to enforce federal immigration laws. These efforts to control immigration inspired political participation among Hispanic voters, who saw themselves as targets.

As more immigrants make their way to the U.S. and the nation’s ethnic composition changes, debates about immigration will continue. Those who favor tighter restrictions argue that immigrants take desired jobs. Others, however, point to America’s historical diversity and the new ideas and energy immigrants bring.
NATIVE AMERICANS CONTINUE LEGAL BATTLES As the nation debated its immigrant policies, the ancestors of America’s original inhabitants continued to struggle. The end of the 20th century found most members of this minority enduring extremely difficult lives. In 2007, about 25 percent of Native Americans lived below the poverty line, more than two times the poverty rate for white Americans. Furthermore, Native Americans endured suicide rates and alcoholism rates that were considerably higher than that of the general population.

In the face of such hardships, Native Americans strived to improve their lives. Throughout the 1990s, dozens of tribes attained greater economic independence by establishing thriving gaming resorts. Although controversial for promoting gambling, reservation gaming—$27 billion a year industry by 2008—provided Native Americans with much-needed money for jobs, education, social services, and infrastructure. Over the past decades, Native Americans have used the courts to attain greater recognition of their tribal ancestry and land rights. In 1999, for example, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota retained fishing and hunting rights on some 13 million acres of land that were guaranteed to them in an 1837 treaty. Across the nation, a number of other tribes have had similar land rights affirmed.

America in a New Millennium

As the 21st century begins, Americans face both new problems and old ones. Environmental concerns have become a global issue and have moved to center stage. Furthermore, poverty remains a problem for many Americans in the late 20th century, as does the increasing threat that terrorist acts pose to Americans at home and abroad.

It is clear that the new century America faces will bring changes, but those changes need not deepen divisions among Americans. With effort and cooperation, the change could foster growth and tolerance. The 20th century brought new ways of both destroying and enriching lives. What will the 21st bring? Much will depend on you—the dreamers, the decision makers, and the voters of the future.

MAIN IDEA

2. TAKING NOTES
Demography is the study of statistics about human populations. Use a table like the one below to summarize the demographic changes occurring in the United States.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic Changes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban distribution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic and racial makeup</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CRITICAL THINKING

3. HYPOTHESIZING
As urban problems become more common in the suburbs, how might the residents of suburbs respond? Base your answer on existing behavior patterns. Think About:
• the spread of suburbs farther and farther from the city
• the new ability to telecommute
• the tax problems that suburbs face

4. COMPARING AND CONTRASTING
How was the immigration that occurred in the 1990s and early 2000s similar to and different from earlier waves of immigration?

5. DRAWING CONCLUSIONS
How do disagreements over immigration policy reflect the benefits and challenges of a diverse population?
Immigration and Migration

Immigrants to the United States have been part of a worldwide movement pushing people away from traditional means of support and pulling them toward better opportunities. Most immigrants have left their homelands because of economic problems, though some have fled oppressive governments or political turmoil.

War has often been the deciding factor for people to immigrate to the United States or to migrate within the country. Others have migrated to escape poverty, religious persecution, and racial violence. But the chief lure in coming to the United States or migrating within its borders continues to be the opportunity to earn a living.

1840s

MIGRATING TO THE WEST

Throughout the 19th century, Americans continued their movement westward to the Pacific Ocean. Victory in the War with Mexico in 1848 greatly increased the amount of land under American control, and thousands of Americans moved out West to take advantage of it.

Two important consequences emerged from this movement. First, following the discovery of gold in California, hundreds of thousands of people from around the world rushed in to strike it rich. Within a year, there were enough residents in California to qualify it for statehood. Second, Americans disagreed over whether the new lands should be open to slavery. That disagreement fueled the fires that led to the Civil War.

1910–1920

ADAPTING TO AMERICAN WAYS

With hope and apprehension, millions of foreign immigrants poured into America’s pulsing cities during the early 20th century. Bringing with them values, habits, and attire from the Old World, they faced a multitude of new experiences, expectations, and products in the New World.

Many native-born Americans feared that the new immigrants posed a threat to American culture. Instead of the immigrants being allowed to negotiate their existence by combining the old with the new, they were pressured to forget their old cultures, languages, and customs for more “American” ways.
Throughout the 20th century, African Americans migrated across the United States. In the Great Migration of the early 20th century, they left their homes in the rural South. Of the millions of African Americans who left, most moved to cities, usually in the North.

The Second Migration, sparked by World War II, allowed African Americans to take industrial jobs—many formerly held by whites—to support the war effort. This migration had lasting consequences for the civil rights movement. Many African Americans who remained in the South moved to cities, where they developed organizations that helped them fight segregation.

In 1964, 603 Vietnamese lived in the United States. A decade later, as the Vietnam War ended, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese refugees fled their homeland for other nations, including the United States. Vietnamese immigration to America continued, and by 1998 there were nearly 1 million Vietnamese-born persons living in the United States.

The men and women who made this long and arduous journey from Vietnam are part of the changing face of U.S. immigration. Beginning in the 1970s, Asians and Latin Americans replaced Europeans as the two largest immigrant groups in the United States. Between 1970 and 1990, about 1.5 million Europeans journeyed to America’s shores. During that same period, roughly 5.6 million Latin Americans and 3.5 million Asians arrived. This trend has continued. In 2008, the largest immigrant groups in the United States hailed from Mexico, the Philippines, India, and China and Hong Kong respectively. These most recent arrivals to the United States have come for largely the same reasons—greater freedom and economic opportunity and the chance to begin a new life.

**THINKING CRITICALLY**

**CONNECT TO HISTORY**

1. **Forming Generalizations** Based on what you have read about immigration, what generalizations can you make about the causes that led to a rise in the number of immigrants to the United States? How have wars affected the flow of immigration? How does this affect economic change?

**CONNECT TO TODAY**

2. **Research** Interview family members and people in your community to find out how immigration and migration have shaped your current surroundings. Try to record specific stories and events that compare a recent immigration with one in the more distant past.
TERMS & NAMES
For each term or name below, write a sentence explaining its significance.
1. William Jefferson Clinton
2. NAFTA
3. Contract with America
4. George W. Bush
5. service sector
6. General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
7. Telecommunications Act of 1996
8. genetic engineering
9. urban flight
10. Proposition 187

MAIN IDEAS
Use your notes and the information in the chapter to answer the following questions.
The 1990s and The New Millennium (pages 860–868)
1. What happened following the investigation of President Clinton?
2. What factors led George W. Bush to victory in 2000?
The New Global Economy (pages 869–873)
3. Summarize which parts of the economy grew during the 1990s and which declined.
4. Why was the World Trade Organization founded?
Technology and Modern Life (pages 876–881)
5. What resources did the Internet make available?
6. What were the positive and negative influences that technology had on American lives in the 1990s?
The Changing Face of America (pages 882–887)
7. How has urban flight changed both cities and suburbs?
8. What challenges do experts think the United States will face in the future?

CRITICAL THINKING
1. USING YOUR NOTES Create a time line of important events from the 2000 election, using a form like the one below.

Which event do you think was the turning point? Explain.

2. PREDICTING EFFECTS Compile a list of technological innovations of the late 20th century described in the chapter. Then predict what kinds of technological advancements might change American life during the 21st century.

3. INTERPRETING MAPS Look carefully at the map on page 885. What might account for the high percentage change in numbers of immigrants in Iowa and Mississippi, compared with more traditional destinations—such as California and New York?

VISUAL SUMMARY
THE UNITED STATES IN TODAY’S WORLD

POLITICS
• Clinton is impeached.
• U.S. becomes involved in conflicts in the Balkans and the Middle East.
• Election 2000 is settled by the Supreme Court; George W. Bush wins.

ECONOMICS
• U.S. records its longest economic expansion.
• Service industries grow; manufacturing declines; telecommuting increases.
• Trade relations become globalized.

TECHNOLOGY
• Technological revolution transforms daily life.
• Advanced communications allow wider contact.
• Inventions improve health and lifestyle.

DEMOGRAPHICS
• Minorities move to suburbs; urban living attracts single adults.
• Changing immigration policy affects culture.
• Native Americans dispute land rights.
INTERACT WITH HISTORY

Recall the issues that you explored at the beginning of the chapter. As a “think tank” director who researches and analyzes future issues, you are asked to write a concise summary of the five most important issues facing Americans in the 21st century. Present and distribute your summary to the class.

FOCUS ON WRITING

Based on what you have read in this chapter, write a paragraph that describes how the United States will change over the next 20 years.

STANDARDIZED TEST PRACTICE

1. Which U.S. population increased the most between 1990 and 2000?
   A. Latinos
   B. Native Americans
   C. Whites
   D. Blacks

2. What conclusion can be drawn from the 2000 census data, compared with the data from 1990?
   F. There were more immigrants in the Midwest.
   G. The population of non-Latino whites declined.
   H. The 2000 census reflects a broader range of categories.
   J. Immigration has slowed in the 1990s.

3. Which country was not a member of the G8 in 2000?
   A. China
   B. Japan
   C. Italy
   D. United States

For additional test practice, go online for:
- Diagnostic tests
- Tutorials

COLLABORATIVE LEARNING

Working in a small group, use the Internet and library resources to find recent population statistics for the United States. Consider the following:
- What significant changes have taken place in the United States in recent years?
- How has your state changed?

Present your findings in a poster.