



**HS Social Studies**  
**(US History & World History)**  
**Distance Learning Activities**



# TULSA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

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Dear families,

These learning packets are filled with grade level activities to keep students engaged in learning at home. We are following the learning routines with language of instruction that students would be engaged in within the classroom setting. We have an amazing diverse language community with over 65 different languages represented across our students and families.

If you need assistance in understanding the learning activities or instructions, we recommend using these phone and computer apps listed below.



## Google Translate

- Free language translation app for Android and iPhone
- Supports text translations in 103 languages and speech translation (or conversation translations) in 32 languages
- Capable of doing camera translation in 38 languages and photo/image translations in 50 languages
- Performs translations across apps



## Microsoft Translator

- Free language translation app for iPhone and Android
- Supports text translations in 64 languages and speech translation in 21 languages
- Supports camera and image translation
- Allows translation sharing between apps

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Queridas familias:

Estos paquetes de aprendizaje tienen actividades a nivel de grado para mantener a los estudiantes comprometidos con la educación en casa. Estamos siguiendo las rutinas de aprendizaje con las palabras que se utilizan en el salón de clases.

Tenemos una increíble y diversa comunidad de idiomas con más de 65 idiomas diferentes representados en nuestros estudiantes y familias.

Si necesita ayuda para entender las actividades o instrucciones de aprendizaje, le recomendamos que utilice estas aplicaciones de teléfono y computadora que se enlistan a continuación:



## Google Translate

- Aplicación de traducción de idiomas para Android y iPhone (gratis)
- Traducciones de texto en 103 idiomas y traducción de voz (o traducciones de conversación) en 32 idiomas
- Traducción a través de cámara en 38 idiomas y traducciones de fotos / imágenes en 50 idiomas
- Realiza traducciones entre aplicaciones



## Microsoft Translator

- Aplicación de traducción para iPhone y Android (gratis)
- Traducciones de texto en 64 idiomas y traducción de voz en 21 idiomas
- Traducción a través de la cámara y traducción de imágenes
- Permite compartir la traducción entre aplicaciones

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## High School US History Packet

### Week of April 20<sup>th</sup>-April 24<sup>th</sup>

- While reading Sections 1-4 of the A Shift to the Right Under Reagan reading, complete each section in the Interactive Notebook (page 2 of the packet before the reading).

### Week of April 27<sup>th</sup>- May 1<sup>st</sup>

- Read the US Domestic Politics at the Turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century Reading. Complete Sections 1-4 and the processing in the interactive notebook. If you can conduct research, complete Section 5.

## Shift to the Right Under Reagan INTERACTIVE STUDENT NOTEBOOK

### READING NOTES

#### Sections 2 and 3

Prepare two pages of your notebook as shown below. Then, in the appropriate space, answer the following questions from the perspective of both a liberal and a conservative. Give at least one argument in support of each response.

#### Section 2

- Is New Federalism good for America?
- Is supply-side economics good for America?
- Is deregulation good for America?
- Are Reagan's budget priorities, which have led to high federal budget deficits and a high national debt, good for America?

#### Section 3

- Are reductions in federal social welfare programs good for America?
- Is Reagan's antidrug approach good for America?
- Have the Reagan-era Supreme Court decisions on student privacy been good for America?
- Are Reagan's civil rights policies good for America?

| Liberal   | Conservative |
|-----------|--------------|
| Section 2 | Section 2    |
| Section 3 | Section 3    |

#### Section 4

In your notebook, create a T-chart. Label one side of the T-chart "Bush's Legislative Wins" and the other side "Bush's Legislative Losses." As you read Section 4, record factual details about at least three of Bush's domestic policies in the chart.

### PROCESSING

You are a guest on tonight's political debate show *Across Fire*. The debate question for tonight is, *How did the Reagan Revolution impact the nation?*

Write a two-paragraph response to the question from the perspective of a liberal or conservative. Consider whether the Reagan Revolution had positive or negative effects on the nation. Each paragraph should include:

- a clear topic sentence that communicates the main idea of your paragraph.
- one or two pieces of evidence (facts, data, quotations, examples) from the reading to support your topic sentence.
- one or two sentences that explain how your evidence supports your topic sentence.



## A Shift to the Right Under Reagan

How did the Reagan Revolution impact the nation?

### Introduction



Press Secretary James Brady and police officer Thomas Delahanty lie wounded on the sidewalk after the attempt on Reagan's life. President Reagan and Officer Delahanty made full recoveries, but the shooting left Brady permanently paralyzed. Would-be assassin John Hinckley Jr. was committed to a mental institution after being declared not guilty by reason of insanity.

Ronald Reagan took office on January 20, 1981, at almost 70 years old. Two months after Reagan's inauguration, his presidency—and his life—nearly came to an abrupt end when a lone gunman attempted to assassinate the president as he left a Washington, D.C., hotel. The would-be killer was 25-year-old John Hinckley Jr.

Timothy McCarthy, one of President Reagan's Secret Service agents,

had assumed the day would be routine. Everything occurred as planned until Reagan left the hotel and walked toward the presidential motorcade. "Just before the president got to the car," McCarthy recalled, "Hinckley pushed himself forward and fired six rounds in about one and a half seconds." McCarthy threw himself in front of Reagan, taking one of the bullets. Another bullet hit Reagan in the chest.

A police officer and Reagan's press secretary, James Brady, were also caught in the gunfire. While Reagan and the other injured men were immediately transported to the hospital, police arrested Hinckley, who confessed that he shot the president to attract the attention of a famous movie actress. Hinckley was declared not guilty by reason of insanity at his trial. Originally committed to a mental institution for life in 1982, he was later granted conditional release in 2016.

After the shooting, Reagan joked with hospital doctors before undergoing surgery. As they wheeled him into the operating room, he looked around, smiled, and said, "I hope you are all Republicans."

When Reagan was elected president, some people wondered whether he possessed the energy and stamina for such a demanding job. However, he survived the shooting and led the country for two terms as president. His conservative agenda, which called for lowering taxes, reducing government regulation of business, and cutting funding for social programs, ushered in an era of political and economic change known as the **Reagan Revolution**.



President Reagan and First Lady Nancy Reagan wave to crowds after the president's inauguration in 1981.



A former actor and Republican governor of California, Ronald Reagan made an appealing presidential candidate. His friendly manner and positive, "can-do" attitude won the support of voters across the country, including some moderate Democrats. Reagan's natural public speaking ability earned him the nickname "the Great Communicator."

## 1. The Triumph of the Conservative Coalition

Two years after the assassination attempt, Ronald Reagan addressed a gathering of conservative Christian organizations. They were part of a broad coalition of diverse groups of Americans with traditional social values. In his speech, Reagan referenced many of the points that had helped him win conservatives' support, including religion's important role in the founding of the nation. "Freedom prospers when religion is vibrant and the rule of law under God is acknowledged," he said.

**Evangelical Christians Gain a Political Voice** Reagan's audience comprised evangelical Christians, or evangelicals. Evangelicals are Christians who emphasize the authority of the Bible, believe strongly in spreading their faith, and seek a direct, personal experience with God. Many describe their conversion to evangelical faith as being "born again." By the late 1970s, evangelicals had become a significant force in both religion and politics.

Many evangelicals, particularly conservative fundamentalists, were upset by the perceived decline of moral and religious values in American society. They were distressed by rising divorce rates, drug use, gay rights, and feminism, as well as Supreme Court decisions that legalized abortion and banned prayer in public schools. They feared that the nation was spurning religion, thereby becoming a "godless culture."

In 1979, evangelical leaders united to form the **Moral Majority**, a political lobbying group led by Reverend Jerry Falwell. Falwell wanted to train Christian activists to make their voices "heard in the halls of Congress," and also called on Christians to elect public officials who were "pro-life, pro-family, pro-moral, and pro-America." The Moral Majority was succeeded by an even larger group, called the Christian Coalition, led by Reverend Pat Robertson.

These groups formed part of a political movement known as the **New Right**, which comprised various special-interest groups and activists who supported conservative causes. New Right groups lobbied Congress, raised money for political campaigns, and supported the growth of conservative "think tanks" like the Heritage Foundation, where scholars wrote policy papers and opinion pieces for publication. The New Right influenced public debate on many issues and helped catalyze the Reagan Revolution of the 1980s.

**Reagan Wins the 1980 Election** As the 1980 election drew near, conditions at home and abroad prompted many Americans to seek a change in leadership. The nation faced high inflation and unemployment, in addition to soaring energy prices. Meanwhile, the Iran hostage crisis continued overseas, and the United States seemed to be losing ground to the Soviet Union in the Cold War.

For many voters, Ronald Reagan offered an appealing alternative to President Jimmy Carter. Before he launched his political career, Reagan was a film actor and the host of a popular TV show. He served two terms as governor of California before running for president. On the campaign trail, he demonstrated a talent for public speaking, a skill

that earned him the nickname "the Great Communicator." He was adept at conveying messages and wielding humor to attack political opponents. One of Reagan's most memorable jabs targeted Carter's handling of the economy. "A recession is when your neighbor loses his job," Reagan said. "A depression is when you lose yours. And recovery is when Jimmy Carter loses his."

During a televised debate with President Carter in October 1980, Reagan delivered the most famous line of his campaign, asking viewers, "Are you better off than you were four years ago?" For millions of Americans, the answer was no. Reagan promised to pull the nation out of its slump and restore its international standing. His optimism appealed to many Americans, restoring their confidence in the nation's future.



Reagan carried nearly every state in the 1980 election, winning the Electoral College vote by a landslide. He also secured the popular vote by a wide margin. This overwhelming victory bolstered the new president with a strong mandate to enact his policies.

On election day, Reagan defeated Carter by more than 8 million votes. He owed part of his success to the Republican Party's effective use of databases to identify potential supporters and encourage them to vote. Reagan won the support of the religious right, most Republicans, many business leaders, and many moderate Democrats. Republicans secured control of the Senate for the first time since 1955, and while Democrats



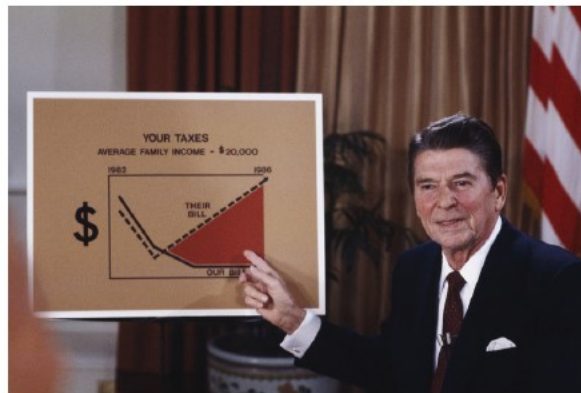
#### A SHIFT TO THE RIGHT...

managed to retain their House of Representatives majority, Republicans made significant gains in the House as well.

**Reagan in the White House** In his inaugural speech, Reagan introduced many of the ideals that he would work toward as president. Recognizing that many Americans had become disillusioned with government in the aftermath of the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal, he called on his audience to have faith in themselves and in their ability to solve the country's problems. "After all," he said, "why shouldn't we believe that? We are Americans." Mere minutes after Reagan was sworn in, Iran released the American hostages as a result of previous negotiations. Across the country, Americans celebrated the hostages' release, giving Reagan's first term an auspicious start.

As president, Reagan used televised and public speeches to amass support for his programs, sometimes referencing scenes from old movies to explain his ideas in a more understandable way. Charming and friendly, he was often liked even by those who disagreed with his policies. Reagan's advisers soon learned, however, that the president rarely involved himself with policy details or the daily tasks of governing. Instead, he provided a general overview of what he wanted done and relied on his advisers and staff to carry out his wishes.

#### A SHIFT TO THE RIGHT...



Reagan was a talented orator, and he effectively used public and televised speeches to garner support for his policies. Reagan's charm endeared him to many Americans, even those who did not support his politics. Here, Reagan explains his tax reduction policies in a televised speech that was broadcasted from the Oval Office in 1981.



Tax cut supporters claimed that lower taxes would promote economic growth and create more jobs. In contrast, critics argued that lowering taxes helped only rich Americans, while poor and middle-class Americans had to wait for the benefits to “trickle down” from above. Some critics referred to the theory of supply-side economics, which supports lowering taxes to increase economic revenue, as “voodoo economics.”

## 2. Reagan's Economic Policies

Ronald Reagan came into office promising to change government, since he had won the support of voters who resented the federal government for overtaxing and wasting tax funds. Pledging to get the government “off their backs,” Reagan aimed to reduce the federal government’s power. “Government is not the solution to our problem,” he said. “Government is the problem.”

**The Evolution of the New Federalism** As part of his assault on “big government,” Reagan expanded Richard Nixon’s New Federalism policy. Like Nixon, Reagan wanted to shift power from the federal government to the states. However, while Nixon had used revenue sharing to distribute federal tax dollars to the states, Reagan delegated responsibility for many health, education, and welfare programs to the states.

Reagan helped states fund these social programs by issuing block grants from the federal treasury, or lump-sum payments that states could use freely. This system gave the states more flexibility, allowing them to design programs and allocate resources to suit their needs. Because these block grants often provided less funding than the federal programs they replaced, some liberal critics charged that the block grant system was being used to reduce federal spending on social programs.

**Supply-Side Economics Leads to Tax Cuts** When Reagan became president, the economy was burdened by inflation. According to the law of supply and demand, inflation occurs when demand exceeds supply. It often occurs in times of low unemployment, when more workers are purchasing goods and services, thereby raising prices. As president, Reagan faced both inflation and high unemployment, partly the result of soaring oil prices. To address these issues, he promised to stimulate the economy by cutting taxes and promoting private enterprise, an economic plan that was soon named Reaganomics.

Much of Reagan’s plan was based on a theory called **supply-side economics**, which states that economic growth depends on increasing the supply of goods and services. The way to increase supply is to cut taxes. Lower tax rates will leave more money in the hands of individuals and businesses, providing an incentive for them to save and invest. Individuals will work harder, save more, and spend more. In turn, companies can hire more workers and increase the supply of goods and services. As businesses create more jobs, new workers will pay taxes, which will replace at least some of the revenue lost through lower tax rates.

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Critics called this theory “voodoo economics,” claiming it was unrealistic to believe that lowering tax rates would increase revenue. But Reagan and his advisers believed it was the optimal path to stimulate economic growth. In August 1981, Reagan signed a bill to cut federal taxes by 25 percent over a three-year period. The economy continued to lag for another two years, producing even greater rates of unemployment. Yet inflation gradually began to improve, and by the end of 1983, the economy was making a strong comeback. The following year, the gross national product grew by 7.1 percent, and the stock market rose as well.



President Reagan campaigned for reelection in 1984, easily defeating Democratic challenger Walter Mondale. The president's election campaign emphasized renewed American optimism and pride. Reagan's popularity was boosted by the flourishing U.S. economy. At the 1984 Republican Convention, above, Reagan and running mate George H. W. Bush wave to cheering crowds.

The economic recovery created 18.4 million new jobs. Economists still debate the impact of tax cuts on the resurgence, but many agree that increased defense spending was an important factor. Military spending pumped billions of dollars into the economy.

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The economic recovery did not benefit all Americans equally. Although personal incomes grew in every economic stratum during the 1980s, the income gap between rich and poor widened considerably. Because incomes of the wealthy increased significantly more than those of lower economic classes, liberals argued that Reaganomics helped the rich and hurt the poor. One economist noted that tax cuts redistributed “income, wealth and power—from government to private enterprise, . . . from poor to rich.” A Reagan official claimed that the tax cuts were intended to produce wealth at the upper classes, which would eventually “trickle down” to all Americans.

The economic boom boosted Reagan's popularity during the 1984 election. He centered his campaign around the theme “It's Morning Again in America,” suggesting a new era of pride and prosperity. A Reagan adviser remarked on the uphill battle faced by the Democratic challenger, Walter Mondale, saying, “It's like running against America.” Reagan won by a landslide.

**Reagan Calls for Deregulation** Another key element of Reagan's economic plan was **deregulation**, or the reduction or removal of government controls on business in order to promote economic efficiency and stimulate free enterprise. Reagan believed deregulation was a viable way to limit the power of government. Like many conservatives, he believed that deregulation would foster businesses' efficiency and competitiveness, which would generate profits transferrable to consumers. Under President Carter in the 1970s, Congress eased restrictions on the airline, railroad, and trucking industries that determined what they could transport, where, and at what price. Reagan believed further deregulation would increase business activity in other industries, thereby boosting the economy.

Some deregulation efforts focused on eliminating laws designed to curb pollution and ensure safety in the workplace because many companies believed such regulations were a costly obstacle. A Reagan deregulation task force delayed and obstructed regulation of companies handling hazardous waste, as well as rules against exposing workers to toxic chemicals. Per Reagan's guidelines, the Environmental Protection Agency began to lower federal standards on air and water quality.

Reagan chose officials who supported deregulation to lead government agencies. For example, Secretary of the Interior James Watt removed many environmental regulations, arguing that these laws prevented industry from creating jobs and expanding the economy. He portioned more national forest land for logging operations and gave oil and gas



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companies offshore drilling rights. He also approved cheap public land sales to oil and mining companies.

Many public-interest groups challenged these efforts to revise environmental laws and workplace safety rules, arguing that the proposed changes endangered workers and the general public. In some cases, court decisions and Congressional action delayed efforts by Reagan officials to eliminate environmental regulations.

**Deficits and Debt Grow Under Reagan** Despite Reagan's efforts to minimize government spending, **federal budget deficits** soared during his two terms in office. A budget deficit occurs when government spending exceeds government revenues in a given year. U.S. budget deficits remained below \$75 billion before Reagan, but from 1982 to the end of his second term, annual deficits exceeded \$100 billion. In 1986, the annual deficit reached a record \$221 billion.

These expanding deficits were due in part to Reagan's tax cuts, which considerably decreased government revenue. Another contributing factor was increased military spending—the Department of Defense's annual budget increased nearly 85 percent in Reagan's first term. Budget deficits also grew with the rising costs of Social Security and Medicare.

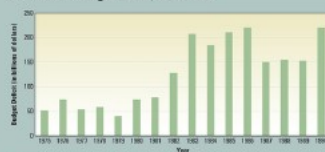
Federal budget deficits caused the **national debt**, or the sum of all loans taken out by the government to finance its annual deficits, to skyrocket. During the Reagan years, the national debt nearly tripled, rising from \$908 billion in 1980 to \$2.6 trillion in 1988. This sum was far greater than the debt accumulated by all former U.S. presidents combined. The government was forced to borrow hundreds of billions of dollars each year just to pay the debt's interest.

Conservatives and liberals held conflicting views on the deficits and national debt. Although both favored a balanced budget, each said a national debt could be justified for the right reasons. Conservatives believed that low taxes and strong defense were good debt justifications, while Liberals argued that debt was acceptable if it resulted from investing in transportation, education, health care, and other social and economic programs. Analysts called this the "guns or butter" debate, in which conservatives favored "guns," and liberals favored "butter."

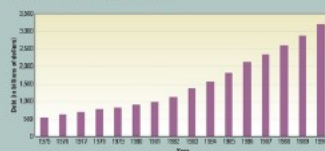
## A SHIFT TO THE RIGHT...

Under Reagan, federal budget deficits skyrocketed. These annual deficits, in turn, caused the national debt to swell. In less than a decade, the United States went from being the world's largest creditor, or lending, nation to one of the world's biggest debtor nations. Democrats had often been called "tax-and-spend liberals." Now liberals called Republicans "borrow-and-spend conservatives."

U.S. Federal Budget Deficit, 1975–1990



U.S. National Debt, 1975–1990





Panels of the AIDS Memorial Quilt, which honors people who have died from AIDS, were displayed in New York City in 1988. The quilt included about 2,000 panels at its first exhibit, in Washington, D.C., the year previous. Since then, thousands of panels have been added to the quilt as part of a touring exhibit. These tours have helped raise millions of dollars for AIDS organizations.

### 3. Reagan's Social Policies

Ronald Reagan likened the United States to a "shining city upon a hill," a phrase adapted from a sermon by John Winthrop, founder of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Winthrop hoped the colony would become a model Christian society, or a "city upon a hill" that would serve as an example to the world. In his farewell address, Reagan said,

The past few days, I've thought a bit of the "shining city upon a hill." . . . In my mind it was a tall, proud city . . . God-blessed and teeming with people of all kinds living in harmony and peace, open to anyone with the will and the heart to get here.

—Ronald Reagan, Farewell Address, January 11, 1989

Did Reagan's social policies help create such a model society? His admirers and critics disagree.

**Social Welfare Spending Is Reduced** Reagan and other conservatives largely opposed government spending on social welfare, believing that social programs stifled personal initiative and produced a dependence on government aid, trapping people in a cycle of poverty. At Reagan's urging, Congress slashed funding for many of Lyndon Johnson's antipoverty programs, including food stamps and federal aid for the elderly, poor, and disabled. Other cuts targeted student loans and subsidized-housing programs that helped low-income families pay rent.

Liberals protested that these cuts forced cities to reduce services to those in need, harming the poor. Cuts severely affected single women with young children, as well as young adults with few job skills and little education. The number of children living in poverty grew by 25 percent during the 1980s, and the amount of homeless people also increased dramatically.

**HIV/AIDS Emerges** In the 1980s, the United States faced a grave health crisis caused by a previously unknown disease called **HIV/AIDS**. This disease attacks the immune system, hindering the body from fighting illness. Many AIDS patients die from infections, like pneumonia, that their weakened immune systems cannot fight.

Many of the first AIDS cases in the United States were among gay men, fostering the mistaken belief that AIDS was largely a "gay disease." In the mid-1980s, AIDS began to appear in patients who had received blood transfusions, leading to the discovery that AIDS was transmitted mainly through contact with infected blood or other bodily fluids. This form of transmission also explained why many drug users who shared needles contracted AIDS.

At the end of Reagan's first term, there were over 8,700 confirmed AIDS deaths in the United States. Four years later, that number had grown to over 46,000. AIDS activists urged Reagan to address AIDS and fund research of the disease, initiatives that the president resisted. By the end of his second term, Reagan finally addressed the AIDS crisis, declaring it "public health enemy number one." Still, he dedicated little effort to fighting the epidemic.

**The Reagans Urge Americans to "Just Say No" to Drugs** Like



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AIDS, drug-related violence in inner-city neighborhoods was also a concern in the 1980s. With his wife, Nancy, the president initiated a "Just Say No" media campaign, urging youths to "just say no to drugs." The Reagan administration also funded a drug education program called Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE), which sent police officers to schools to teach students about the dangers of drug use.



First Lady Nancy Reagan promoted drug and alcohol prevention programs like DARE (Drug Abuse Resistance Education), whose slogan was "Just Say No." The program was designed to educate students on the dangers of drug use. Some critics believed that funding for DARE might have been more effective in drug treatment programs or in efforts to combat drug-related crime.

Reagan's advisers lauded DARE as a success, citing studies that indicated reduced drug use among high school seniors. However, longer-term studies conducted in the mid-1990s concluded that the program had little or no effect. In addition, critics of Reagan's drug-intervention policy cited studies showing increased use of cocaine among urban poor and minority youths.

Although many conservatives supported educating students about the dangers of drug use, these conservatives opposed government

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programs that provided treatment for drug addicts. Critics of this viewpoint emphasized the importance of helping people overcome addiction to reduce drug-related crime and unemployment.



The Supreme Court shifted right under Ronald Reagan, who appointed conservative justices Sandra Day O'Connor (pictured here at her confirmation hearings), Antonin Scalia, and Anthony Kennedy. Presidential appointments can greatly influence Court rulings. The conservative-dominated Court ruled against students' privacy rights in *New Jersey v. T.L.O.* and *Vernonia School District v. Acton*.

**Conservatism Dominates the Supreme Court** President Reagan's judicial appointments prompted the Supreme Court in a conservative direction. He appointed three new justices to the Court: Sandra Day O'Connor, the first female justice, and conservatives Antonin Scalia and Anthony Kennedy.

The Court's conservatism was evident in the 1985 case *New Jersey v. T.L.O.*, which debated the privacy rights of high school students. The case centered on a 14-year-old girl, identified as T.L.O., whose purse was searched at school and found to contain marijuana. She was then charged with delinquency and sent to juvenile court. Her lawyers argued that the evidence against T.L.O. was obtained in violation of the Fourth Amendment's protection against unreasonable search and

seizure. The Supreme Court disagreed, ruling that a search without warrant by school officials did not violate the Fourth Amendment as long as “there are reasonable grounds for suspecting that the search will turn up evidence that the student has violated or is violating either the law or the rules of the school.”

A decade later, the Court—still dominated by Reagan-era conservatives—ruled against privacy rights in *Vernonia School District v. Acton*. This time, the Court mandated that schools have the right to impose random drug tests on student athletes, despite objections that such tests violate students’ rights.



Civil rights leader Jesse Jackson ran for president twice, in 1984 and 1988. Jackson strongly criticized Reagan-era policies that he believed harmed poor and disadvantaged Americans. He formed the National Rainbow Coalition in 1984 in order to fight for progressive reform.

**Civil Rights Groups Feel Alienated** Reagan believed the federal government should be less involved in enforcing civil rights. He was reluctant to support an extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, opposed school busing as a means of achieving integration, and called for an end to affirmative action, which he considered reverse discrimination against whites. Supporters claimed that civil rights efforts infringed on the rights of state and local governments. Civil

rights groups contended that Reagan was attempting to appeal to southern white voters by rescinding civil rights legislation.

Civil rights activist Jesse Jackson was one of the strongest critics of Reagan’s policies, and twice sought the Democratic nomination for president in the 1980s. In 1984, Jackson formed the National Rainbow Coalition, a political organization that advocated social progress and equal rights for people of color, women, and gays and lesbians.

In his 1984 Democratic National Convention speech, Jackson blamed worsening conditions in the inner cities on cuts in social programs for the poor and elderly. Quoting a common saying in economics that “a rising tide lifts all boats,” Jackson disputed the claim that Reagan’s economic expansion would eventually benefit all Americans. “Rising tides don’t lift all boats,” he said, “particularly those stuck at the bottom. For the boats stuck at the bottom there’s a misery index . . . Under Mr. Reagan, the misery index has risen for the poor.” Jackson called for renewed efforts to advance civil rights and aid the poor.

**Reagan Supports Immigration Reform** Another focus of Reagan’s domestic policy was immigration reform because the Immigration Act of 1965 had prompted increased immigration. By the 1980s, large numbers of immigrants from Asia and Latin America had arrived in the United States. Some of these people were **undocumented immigrants**, or those who entered the country illegally, without a visa. Many of these undocumented immigrants were Latin Americans who crossed the U.S.–Mexico border. Thus, illegal immigration most impacted the southwestern border states, from Texas to California.

Some Americans protested increased immigration by joining the “English-only movement.” Members of this group advocated making English the official language of the United States and limiting the use of other languages by government agencies. Most English-only supporters opposed bilingual education in schools because they believed it prevented immigrants from learning English. In the 1980s, several states passed laws establishing English as the official language.

In 1986, Reagan signed the Immigration Reform and Control Act which called for stricter immigration controls on the U.S.–Mexico border and severely penalized employers who hired undocumented workers. At the same time, the law provided amnesty for the 2.8 million immigrants who had entered the country illegally, thus facilitating their path to U.S. citizenship.





When George H. W. Bush became president in January 1989, he already had a notable career in public service. He was the youngest fighter pilot in the Navy during World War II. He later represented Texas in the House of Representatives for two terms, served as ambassador to the United Nations, directed the Central Intelligence Agency, and was Reagan's vice president.

## 4. George H. W. Bush: Continuing Reagan's Policies

The election of 1988 challenged both old and new party loyalties. The Republican candidate was Reagan's vice president, George H. W. Bush, who promised to continue the Reagan Revolution. His campaign appealed to evangelicals and voters who had benefited from Reaganomics. Bush's Democratic opponent, Massachusetts Governor

Michael Dukakis, attempted to unify the fraying Democratic coalition by focusing on weaknesses in the economy. Dukakis appealed to liberals as well as poor and middle-class voters who did not benefit from the economic recovery.

When the votes were tallied on election night, Bush was the clear winner, securing 40 states and 53 percent of the popular vote. Alarming Democratic Party leaders, Bush won key industrial states like Michigan and Ohio.

**Legislative Wins and Losses** In his Republican National Convention acceptance speech, Bush made a number of promises for his presidential campaign. He pledged to expand the economy by creating "30 in 8—Thirty million jobs in the next eight years." He also promised to curb taxes. "Read my lips," he declared, "no new taxes!" Finally, Bush spoke of creating a "kinder, gentler nation," pledging "to do whatever it takes to make sure the disabled are included in the mainstream," because "for too long they've been left out. But they're not gonna be left out anymore."

Bush fulfilled this last campaign promise when Congress passed the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) in 1990. This law banned employment discrimination against people with disabilities. It also required employers to make "reasonable accommodation" for disabled employees. This clause could entail building ramps to enable people in wheelchairs to enter a workplace, or ordering special equipment to help workers with limited vision or hearing perform their jobs.

The president was less successful in fulfilling his pledge to create 30 million new jobs. This was due in part to the financial crisis he inherited from the Reagan administration, known as the **savings and loan crisis**. Savings and loan associations, or S&Ls, are financial institutions that were established to provide low-cost home loans to the public. During the Great Depression, the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Company (FSLIC) encouraged people to deposit their money in S&Ls by guaranteeing their deposits up to a fixed amount. In return for this guarantee, S&Ls were limited by regulation to issuing only low-risk loans.

In the 1980s, the Reagan administration deregulated the S&L industry, so some S&Ls began making risky loans as part of their efforts to earn higher profits. More than 1,000 of these S&Ls stumbled into financial troubles and went bankrupt, which slowed lending and home sales and hurt the U.S. economy. By 1990, the nation was moving into a recession, and unemployment rates were increasing as well.

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Bush worked with Congress to clean up the S&L mess by repaying depositors who had lost their savings. But the cost of their plan, borne partly by taxpayers, was over \$150 billion. The resulting drain on the federal treasury contributed to yet another economic problem—soaring budget deficits.



A man sits on a bicycle in front of burning buildings during the Rodney King riots in April 1992. The violence, arson, and looting that occurred during the riots caused widespread damage in Los Angeles. The unrest was sparked by tensions between Los Angeles police and the African American community in Los Angeles.

In 1990, Bush met with Congressional leaders to negotiate a budget compromise that would reduce the deficit. Congress agreed to cut spending after Bush agreed to raise taxes. This violated Bush's "Read my lips" pledge, upsetting his conservative supporters. Journalist Tom Wicker later wrote,

[Bush] had broken one of the most ironclad political pledges ever made— offered . . . before a national television audience—a promise without which he might conceivably not have been able to win the presidential election. With that one action . . . the president of the United States brought into question both his personal reliability and his political judgment.

—Tom Wicker, *George Herbert Walker Bush*, 2004

## A SHIFT TO THE RIGHT...

**Economic Problems and Social Tensions Increase** Despite the budget compromise, both the deficit and debt continued to rise. In late 1990, the U.S. economy entered a recession. Economic growth slowed as unemployment rates increased. Working-class Americans were especially affected.

Meanwhile, social tensions were mounting, particularly in urban areas. In April 1992, riots erupted in a poor Los Angeles neighborhood after a jury acquitted four police officers in the videotaped beating of Rodney King, a black resident. The ensuing Rodney King riots spread across the city, causing over 50 deaths and millions of dollars in damages. Smaller riots broke out in other U.S. cities as well. For many Americans, these riots symbolized persistent social and economic tensions in the country.

## Summary

**In the 1980s, Ronald Reagan's political skills and conservative support won him two terms in office. During his presidency, the economy revived, but the federal budget deficit soared. His approach to social problems reflected his conservative ideals.**

**Reagan Revolution** Reagan helped spark a conservative revolution in American politics. He worked to shrink government, promote free enterprise, and reduce spending on social programs. He also called for fewer regulations related to business and the environment.

**The New Right** Reagan's strongest support came from the New Right, a movement of conservative activists and organizations. The New Right included evangelical Christian organizations, such as the Moral Majority.

**Supply-side economics** Reagan's economic plan was rooted in supply-side economics. He cut taxes to stimulate business activity, claiming this would boost the economy. His tax cuts and increased defense spending led to large budget deficits and a massive national debt.

**A conservative Court** The Supreme Court shifted to the right under Reagan. This change was evident in such cases as *New Jersey v. T.L.O.*, which limited privacy rights for students.

**George H. W. Bush** In 1988, Bush appealed to Reagan Republicans with his campaign pledges to expand the economy, introduce no new taxes, and create a "kinder, gentler" America. After a costly bailout



necessitated by the savings and loans crisis, Bush broke his no-taxes pledge in an effort to balance the federal budget.

## Ryan White: A Young American Who Made a Difference

This section tells you about Ryan White, a courageous teenager who helped educate Americans about AIDS. He is one of several people who contributed to the growth of the nation's moral character.

Ryan White was born on December 6, 1971, in Kokomo, Indiana. At birth, he was diagnosed with hemophilia. Hemophilia is a genetic disease that causes blood not to clot properly. As a child, Ryan had to go to the hospital at least twice a month to receive extra blood. He was told he couldn't play sports like most children because an injury might cause him to bleed to death.

Just before Ryan was born, a new discovery was made that would change his life. This discovery was called Factor VIII. It was a blood product that combined blood from thousands of donors. Factor VIII included blood from people who could clot normally. Ryan regularly received transfusions of Factor VIII. It allowed him to do what other children his age could do. He learned to ride a bike and even played Little League Baseball for one season.

At the age of 12, Ryan spent the summer with his grandparents. He went fishing with his grandfather. He hung out with his friends. He collected comic books and even had a girlfriend. He also began feeling more and more sick.

Ryan's pediatrician said that Ryan just had a bad case of flu. A few months later, an annual checkup showed that Ryan had a disease called hepatitis. He and his family were relieved. They thought the hepatitis had caused his diarrhea, stomach cramps, and night sweats.

Ryan's 13th birthday arrived, but it wasn't a happy occasion. He spent the weekend coughing, sleeping, and burning up with a high fever. Eventually, he ended up in a children's hospital in Indianapolis. There Ryan learned he had AIDS, a recently discovered and deadly disease. AIDS attacks the body's ability to fight off other diseases. Ryan had gotten it through the very same blood product that had allowed him to be like other kids—Factor VIII.

After months of recovery, Ryan began to feel better. He wanted to return to school, but the school did not want him back. The administrators, teachers, students, and parents at Ryan's school were afraid that he would give everyone AIDS. In the early 1980s, little was known about how AIDS could be transmitted. People thought that even casual contact could pass the terrible disease from person to person. AIDS patients, like Ryan, got caught in the middle of this confusion.

Though Ryan was fighting a deadly condition, he fought hard for the right to go back to school. The people of Kokomo were not accepting of Ryan's AIDS. Newspapers and television stations called his mother unfit because she had "allowed" him to get AIDS. His sister and cousins were harassed at school. Even Ryan's favorite teacher told a reporter that he didn't want Ryan back in school. At church, nobody would shake his hand during the service. One Sunday, Ryan's family returned home to find that a bullet had been shot through their front window.

Ryan got a very different reception outside of his hometown. He began traveling all over the country and even to Italy to speak on television shows about his illness and his fight to return to school. On the streets of Rome, strangers recognized him and gave him warm hugs of support. He was invited to a benefit party for the American Foundation for AIDS Research. There he met many celebrities who praised him for his courage. When singer Elton John found out that he was the entertainer Ryan most wanted to meet, he called Ryan to apologize for not being at the benefit. He promised to make it up to Ryan at his next concert.

A court finally ordered the school to allow Ryan to return. He started high school in August of 1986 at the age of 15. Sadly, he faced more harassment. One day some students broke into and vandalized his locker. Ryan wanted to move to a place where he would be respected. His family moved to Cicero, Indiana. The people of Cicero did not let fear get the best of them. Students at his new school, Hamilton High, went through an AIDS education program. They learned that people can't get AIDS by touching others or by sharing a bathroom. Ryan made many friends who would help him through his illness.

Ryan continued to draw public attention. He felt it was important to educate people about the facts of his disease. He spoke before the President's Commission on AIDS about his experience in Kokomo. He helped in the filming of a television movie about his life. He even got to play a small part as Chad, another hemophiliac who had died of AIDS. He got offers to speak to audiences several times per week. One of his most memorable appearances came before a convention of the

## A SHIFT TO THE RIGHT...

National Education Association in New Orleans. More than 10,000 teachers gave Ryan a standing ovation.

Just before his 18th birthday, Ryan began to feel sicker. He stopped going to school, though he did plan to go to his prom with his good friend Heather. He went into the hospital in the spring of 1990. Elton John flew in to be near Ryan's bedside and help his family.

On April 8, 1990, Ryan White died. His funeral was the largest Indiana had ever seen. Besides family and friends, the funeral was attended by celebrities and strangers who had been touched by Ryan's work. Over 50,000 cards were sent to Ryan's family.



In 2009, President Obama signed amendments to the Ryan White HIV/AIDS Treatment Extension Act. It represents ongoing commitment to ensuring access to HIV/AIDS care and treatment. Ryan's mother Jeanne White-Ginder is pictured on the right side of the photo.

Since Ryan's death, there has been much more education about AIDS. His mother continues Ryan's work to educate people about the facts. She has spoken before many audiences. She spends hours on the phone with other children who have AIDS and their parents. She worked with Senators Edward Kennedy and Orrin Hatch to lobby Congress for the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resources Emergency (CARE) Act. The bill passed, allowing AIDS patients and their families to get full medical care.

## A SHIFT TO THE RIGHT...

Ryan White inspired others with both his deeds and his words. This is his testimony to the President's Commission on AIDS in 1988:

*Thank You, Commissioners:*

*My name is Ryan White. I am sixteen years old. I have hemophilia, and I have AIDS.*

*When I was three days old, the doctors told my parents I was a severe hemophiliac, meaning my blood does not clot. Lucky for me, there was a product just approved by the Food and Drug Administration. It was called Factor VIII, which contains the clotting agent found in blood.*

*While I was growing up, I had many bleeds or hemorrhages in my joints which make it very painful. Twice a week I would receive injections or IV's of Factor VIII which clotted the blood and then broke it down. A bleed occurs from a broken blood vessel or vein. The blood then had nowhere to go so it would swell up in a joint. You could compare it to trying to pour a quart of milk into a pint-sized container of milk.*

*The first five to six years of my life were spent in and out of the hospital. All in all I led a pretty normal life. Most recently my battle has been against AIDS and the discrimination surrounding it. On December 17, 1984, I had surgery to remove two inches of my left lung due to pneumonia. After two hours of surgery the doctors told my mother I had AIDS. I contracted AIDS through my Factor VIII which is made from blood. When I came out of surgery, I was on a respirator and had a tube in my left lung. I spent Christmas and the next thirty days in the hospital. A lot of my time was spent searching, thinking and planning my life.*

*I came face to face with death at thirteen years old. I was diagnosed with AIDS: a killer. Doctors told me I'm not contagious. Given six months to live and being the fighter that I am, I set high goals for myself. It was my decision to live a normal life, go to school, be with my friends, and enjoying day to day activities. It was not going to be easy.*

*The school I was going to said they had no guidelines for a person with AIDS. The school board, my teachers, and my*



principal voted to keep me out of the classroom even after the guidelines were set by the I.S.B.H., for fear of someone getting AIDS from me by casual contact. Rumors of sneezing, kissing, tears, sweat, and saliva spreading AIDS caused people to panic.

We began a series of court battles for nine months, while I was attending classes by telephone. Eventually, I won the right to attend school, but the prejudice was still there. Listening to medical facts was not enough. People wanted one hundred percent guarantees. There are no one hundred percent guarantees in life, but concessions were made by Mom and me to help ease the fear. We decided to meet them halfway:

- Separate restrooms
- No gym
- Separate drinking fountains
- Disposable eating utensils and trays

Even though we knew AIDS was not spread through casual contact. Nevertheless, parents of twenty students started their own school. They were still not convinced. Because of the lack of education on AIDS, discrimination, fear, panic, and lies surrounded me:

- I became the target of Ryan White jokes
- Lies about me biting people
- Spitting on vegetables and cookies
- Urinating on bathroom walls
- Some restaurants threw away my dishes
- My school locker was vandalized inside and folders were marked FAG and other obscenities

I was labeled a troublemaker, my mom an unfit mother, and I was not welcome anywhere. People would get up and leave so they would not have to sit anywhere near me. Even at church, people would not shake my hand.

This brought on the news media, TV crews, interviews, and numerous public appearances. I became known as the AIDS boy. I received thousands of letters of support from all around the world, all because I wanted to go to school. Mayor Koch, of New York, was the first public figure to give me support. Entertainers, athletes, and stars started giving

me support. I met some of the greatest like Elton John, Greg Louganis, Max Headroom, Alyssa Milano (my teen idol), Lyndon King (Los Angeles Raiders), and Charlie Sheen. All of these plus many more became my friends, but I had very few friends at school. How could these people in the public eye not be afraid of me, but my whole town was?

It was difficult, at times, to handle; but I tried to ignore the injustice, because I knew the people were wrong. My family and I held no hatred for those people because we realized they were victims of their own ignorance. We had great faith that with patience, understanding, and education, that my family and I could be helpful in changing their minds and attitudes around. Financial hardships were rough on us, even though Mom had a good job at G.M. The more I was sick, the more work she had to miss. Bills became impossible to pay. My sister, Andrea, was a championship roller skater who had to sacrifice too. There was no money for her lessons and travel. AIDS can destroy a family if you let it, but luckily for my sister and me, Mom taught us to keep going. Don't give up, be proud of who you are, and never feel sorry for yourself.

After two and a half years of declining health, two attacks of pneumocystis, shingles, a rare form of whooping cough, and liver problems, I faced fighting chills, fevers, coughing, tiredness, and vomiting. I was very ill and being tutored at home. The desire to move into a bigger house, to avoid living AIDS daily, and a dream to be accepted by a community and school, became possible and a reality with a movie about my life, "The Ryan White Story."

My life is better now. At the end of the school year (1986-87), my family and I decided to move to Cicero, Indiana. We did a lot of hoping and praying that the community would welcome us, and they did. For the first time in three years, we feel we have a home, a supportive school, and lots of friends. The communities of Cicero, Atlanta, Arcadia, and Noblesville, Indiana, are now what we call "home." I'm feeling great. I am a normal happy teenager again. I have a learner's permit. I attend sports functions and dances. My studies are important to me. I made the honor roll just recently, with 2 A's and 2 B's. I'm just one of the kids, and all because the students at Hamilton Heights High School listened to the facts, educated their parents and

themselves, and believed in me.

*I believe in myself as I look forward to graduating from Hamilton Heights High School in 1991.*

*Hamilton Heights High School is proof that AIDS EDUCATION in schools works.*

Ryan White's Testimony before the President's Commission on AIDS, 1988.

Entire Selection:

[https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Ryan\\_White's\\_Testimony\\_before\\_the\\_Presid](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Ryan_White's_Testimony_before_the_Presid)

Accessed March, 2017

## U.S. Domestic Politics at the Turn of the 21st Century

**How have recent presidents tried to fulfill their domestic policy goals?**

### Vocabulary Terms

As you complete the Reading Notes, use these Vocabulary Terms in your answers:

|   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| New Democrat  | No Child Left Behind             |
| Contract with America                               | Act (NCLB)                       |
| Temporary Assistance<br>to Needy Families<br>(TANF) | 9/11<br>stimulus<br>debt ceiling |
| <i>Bush v. Gore</i>                                 | gridlock                         |

### PREVIEW

In your notebook, write the following list of domestic policy goals:

- landing a man on the moon
  - deregulating businesses
  - ending the Great Depression
  - preserving the environment by establishing national parks
1. Which of the following presidents was associated with each domestic policy goal: Franklin D. Roosevelt, John F. Kennedy, Ronald Reagan, or Theodore Roosevelt? Write the president's name next to the appropriate goal.
  2. What factors do you think might have allowed each president to achieve his goal?

### READING NOTES

#### Section 1

1. Describe the red-blue divide in U.S. politics, and identify the features associated with each side of the divide.
2. Why might the red-blue divide not be as large as many believe it to be?

#### Sections 2 to 4

In your notebook, create three T-charts. Title each with the name of one of the three presidents studied in these sections. Label one side of the T-charts "Domestic Policy Goals Achieved" and the other side "Domestic Policy Goals Not Achieved." As you read Sections 2 to 4, record factual details about at least five domestic policy goals of that president in the appropriate column of the chart.

#### Section 5

Choose two of President Trump's domestic policy goals from Section 5. Conduct research online to determine current progress and setbacks for these domestic policy goals. Then, respond to this question: *What is the current state of these policy goals?* Use evidence from your research to support your response.



## PROCESSING

If Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and Donald Trump were asked to summarize the economy and social concerns during their administrations, they might be asked the following questions. For each question, write a few sentences from each president's perspective.

- What do you think the government's role should be when it comes to ensuring that America's economy is strong?
- During your presidency, what was America's most pressing social concern, and how did your administration handle that concern?
- To what extent do you believe that you achieved your domestic policy goals?

## U.S. Domestic Politics at the Turn of the 21st Century

How have recent presidents tried to fulfill their domestic policy goals?

### Introduction



Barack Obama (left), Bill Clinton (center), George W. Bush (right), and Donald Trump (not pictured) each strived to meet their own unique domestic policy goals during their terms as president of the United States.

George H. W. Bush did not serve a second term as president, losing the 1992 election to Bill Clinton. Clinton won, in part, by focusing on economic issues. The recession that had begun in 1990 ended less than a year later, but the sluggish economy still worried Americans. Clinton believed that promoting economic growth should be his main theme. A sign posted in his campaign headquarters said, "It's the economy, stupid."

The economy has always been a major political issue. Modern presidents know that to be successful, they must steadily guide the economy. But doing so has proved to be a difficult task.

The economy boomed under Clinton. The stock market climbed to record heights,

thanks largely to the computer revolution. Internet-based businesses, often called dot-coms, multiplied rapidly. Economists refer to the too-rapid expansion of a sector of the economy as a "bubble." A year before George W. Bush, son of George H. W. Bush, took office in 2001, the dot-com bubble burst. Stock prices plunged, and the economy went into a recession.

The economy roared back early in Bush's second term, only to take a nosedive again late in 2007. Home prices had soared, thanks in part to questionable lending practices. When the housing bubble burst, home prices fell, and the economy fell with them. In 2009, when Barack Obama took office as president, the nation's economy faced serious problems.

The economy is a key domestic issue. But it has never been the only one. All three of these presidents came into office with several goals. In a country deeply divided in its party loyalties, none of them would accomplish all they had hoped. In this lesson, you will examine how Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and Donald Trump have tried to meet their domestic policy goals after entering the Oval Office.



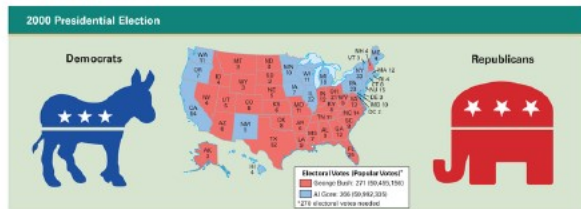
On January 20, 2017, President Donald Trump, accompanied by First Lady Melania Trump, was sworn in to office.

## 1. Parties and Politics at the Turn of the Century

At the turn of the 21st century, American politics was taking a new shape. Many observers believed that the nation had splintered politically into two main camps. On election night in 2000, the major television networks gave this split a color code, using the same two colors to shade their election maps. Red represented states in which a majority voted for Republican George W. Bush. Blue signified states that favored Democrat Al Gore. By evening's end, there seemed to be two Americas—red and blue. However, a closer look at recent elections reveals a more complex picture.

**Red America vs. Blue America** Voters in red states in the 2000 election

generally supported a conservative agenda. They believed in reducing the size of government, lowering taxes, maintaining a strong military, and promoting traditional social values. This agenda appealed to many evangelical Christians and people living in small towns. It also attracted many blue-collar workers, veterans, and businesspeople. These groups made up the Republican Party's **political base**, or core of supporters.



The terms red state and blue state originated with the 2000 presidential election map. Red states are states in which the majority votes Republican. In blue states, the majority votes Democratic. Although the red states cover more territory, the blue states are usually more densely populated. The result was a very close election in 2000.

The voters in blue states in the 2000 election included those who had long been loyal to the party—liberals, African Americans, immigrants, and union members. They were united by their belief in government's power to improve life for ordinary people.

Not everyone was willing to accept the red vs. blue split. Both parties had a large group of moderates who favored welfare reform, a balanced budget, and a tough stand on crime. In a speech delivered at the 2004 Democratic National Convention, a state senator from Illinois named Barack Obama said,

[T]here's not a liberal America and a conservative America—there's the United States of America. There's not a black America and white America and Latino America and Asian America—there's the United States of America. The pundits [self-appointed experts] like to slice-and-dice our country into Red States and Blue States; Red States for Republicans, Blue States for Democrats. But I've got news for them, too. . . . We are one people, all of us pledging

allegiance to the stars and stripes, all of us defending the United States of America.

—Barack Obama, speech at the Democratic National Convention, 2004



A young supporter of the Green Party holds a sign for candidate Ralph Nader in the 2000 presidential election. The Green Party platform focused on the need for universal health care, environmental and consumer protections, and campaign finance reform. The Green Party failed to attract a significant number of people away from the traditional two-party system and won only 2.7 percent of the vote in the 2000 election.

Obama's stirring speech brought him national recognition. It was the first step on the road that would lead him to the presidency five years later.

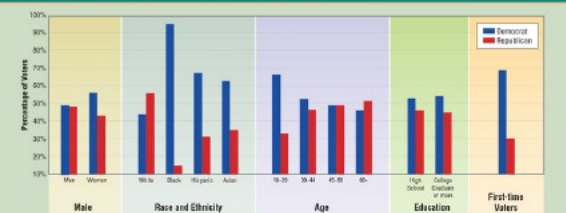
**Neither Red Nor Blue: Independents and Third-Party Voters** About 42 percent of registered voters define themselves as independents. As a result, neither Democrats nor Republicans can claim that their party represents a majority of the **electorate**, or the officially qualified voters. To win elections, both parties must also appeal to independent voters.

This new political arithmetic drove Bill Clinton's decision in 1992 to campaign as a moderate, or what Democratic party leaders called a **New Democrat**. It also helped motivate Republican George W. Bush in 2000 to promote more caring social policies, which he called "compassionate conservatism." Even so, in both of those elections, millions of voters rejected the major party nominees. Instead, they cast their ballots for third-party presidential candidates.

The most successful third-party candidate in recent elections was Texas billionaire Ross Perot. In 1992, Perot ran for president as an independent candidate. On election day, Perot received 19 percent of the votes cast. This was the best showing for a third-party candidate since Theodore Roosevelt ran for president as a Progressive in 1912.

In 2000, consumer advocate Ralph Nader ran for president on the Green Party ticket. The roughly 2.9 million votes cast for Nader amounted to only 2.7 percent of the national vote. But that election was so close that many Democrats accused Nader of acting as a "spoiler" whose campaign cost their candidate, Al Gore, the White House.

How Groups Voted in the 2008 Presidential Election



Source: The New York Times 2008 Election Results, based on data from Edison Media Research/Abt Associates International

The Republican and Democratic parties have always appealed to different groups of voters. In the early 21st century, however, both parties struggled to adapt to a decrease in party loyalty and an increase in independent voters.





In 1992, Ross Perot became the first third-party candidate to participate in televised presidential debates. "Look at all three of us," Perot advised viewers. "Decide who you think will do the job, pick that person in November, because believe me, as I've said before, the party's over, and it's time for the cleanup crew."

## 2. Bill Clinton: A New Democrat in the White House

As Democrats approached the 1992 presidential election, they had to confront some unpleasant realities. The New Deal coalition was broken. The Reagan Revolution had moved the nation to the right. And George H. W. Bush, running for a second term, began the campaign with high approval ratings. To overcome

these obstacles, the party needed an appealing candidate with a fresh message. It found both traits in the young, five-term governor of Arkansas: Bill Clinton.

**The Election of 1992 Leaves Clinton Without a Mandate** Clinton reached out to voters as a New Democrat who cared deeply about the struggles and concerns of ordinary Americans. When he accepted the Democratic nomination, he spoke of creating a new style of government, which he described as

a government that is leaner, not meaner; a government that expands opportunity, not bureaucracy; a government that understands that jobs must come from growth in a vibrant and vital system of free enterprise. . . . We offer opportunity. We demand responsibility. We will build an American community again. The choice we offer is not conservative or liberal. In many ways, it is not even Republican or Democratic. It is different. It is new. And it will work.

—Bill Clinton, speech accepting the nomination for president at the Democratic National Convention, 1992

Opportunity, responsibility, and community became the central themes of Clinton's campaign.

Two factors helped Clinton overcome Bush's early lead. The first was the recession that began in 1990. As the months passed and the economy continued to limp along, Bush's popularity sank. Clinton gained ground by focusing on how to get the economy moving again. The second factor was the third-party candidacy of Ross Perot. The Texas billionaire promised to restore prosperity by balancing the federal budget and reducing the national debt. His frank talk about the economy attracted voters who felt dissatisfied by the two main parties. Many of Perot's supporters opposed the two established candidates and mounted a successful grassroots effort to put him on the ballot in all 50 states.

On election day, Clinton won 32 of 50 states. But owing to Perot's strong showing at the polls, Clinton received only 43 percent of the popular vote—the lowest percentage for a winning presidential candidate since 1912.

**Legislative Wins and Losses** Clinton took office with a Democratic majority in both houses of Congress. With this support, he won several legislative victories, including passage of the Family and Medical Leave Act. This law allowed workers to take time off for the birth or adoption of a child or family emergencies without

risking their jobs.

However, Clinton failed to reform the nation's health insurance system. Since the end of World War II, most working Americans received health insurance through their employers. The creation of Medicare and Medicaid in the 1960s provided health insurance to retirees and the poor. Even so, when Clinton took office in 1993, millions of Americans had no health insurance.



President Clinton appointed his wife, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, to lead a committee charged with developing a plan for universal health care, but the resulting proposal was widely criticized and died in Congress. Several years later, Hillary Clinton would first represent New York as a U.S. senator, move to serve as President Obama's first secretary of state, and then become the Democratic presidential candidate in the 2016 election.

In 1993, Clinton sent to Congress a plan for sweeping reform of the nation's health care system. The plan sought to provide **universal health care**, or health care for all Americans. But the plan proved overly complex, and it faced fierce criticism by Republicans. Many health care providers opposed it, fearing increased government regulation. After much debate, Congress failed to act on

the plan. When Clinton left office in 2000, about 40 million Americans still lacked health insurance.

**Republicans Take Control of Congress** Every two years, congressional elections take place. Since they occur in the middle of a president's term, they are known as **midterm elections**. As the 1994 midterm elections approached, Republicans aimed to gain control of Congress. Led by Georgia Representative Newt Gingrich, Republican candidates appealed to voters with a 10-point plan called the **Contract with America**. The contract promised that, if elected, Republicans would strive to balance the federal budget, combat crime, reform the welfare system, cut taxes, create jobs, and minimize lawsuits. The contract captured many voters' imaginations. In 1995, Republicans had gained a majority in both the House and the Senate for the first time since the mid 1950s.

House Republicans set out to balance the federal budget. They called for major cutbacks in government spending on education, welfare, and Medicare. Clinton rejected their plan, claiming the reductions were too steep. Both sides refused to alter their stances. Without a budget to authorize expenditures, the government prepared to close down in mid-November 1995. On the eve of the shutdown, Clinton met with Republican leaders. "I am not going to sign your budget," he told them. "It is wrong. It is wrong for the country."

The next day, a large part of the federal government came to a standstill. Most Americans blamed Congress for the shutdown. The government did not fully reopen until early 1996, after Congress approved a budget that Clinton would accept.

**Reforming the Welfare System** Republicans in Congress next turned to welfare reform. The U.S. welfare system included a federal program known as Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Initiated during the Depression as part of the Social Security system, this program gave money to unemployed single mothers. By 1996, nearly 5 million women and 9 million children were receiving public assistance under AFDC.

Critics of the welfare system charged that instead of serving as a temporary safety net to help families through hard times, AFDC had created a culture of poverty that continued from one generation to the next. They pointed out that if welfare recipients married or found work, they would lose their welfare benefits. Such eligibility rules, they claimed, discouraged mothers from making changes that might help them gain economic stability. The program's opponents also observed

that children raised in homes with no working parent were more likely to need welfare as adults.

During his 1992 campaign, Clinton had pledged to "end welfare as we know it." Some Democrats took this to mean reforming AFDC. Instead, the Republican-controlled Congress abolished AFDC and created a new system, called **Temporary Assistance to Needy Families** (TANF). TANF limited the amount of time a family could receive welfare payments to five years. Its goal was to get mothers off welfare and into the workforce as quickly as possible.

Despite protests from Democrats that the new law would increase poverty and hunger, Clinton signed the welfare reform bill. It soon made a significant impact. Employment of single mothers increased dramatically. As it did, the child poverty rate decreased from 20.2 percent in 1995 to 15.8 percent in 2001.

**A Balanced Budget and an Economic Boom** Clinton's support for welfare reform, coupled with an improving economy, boosted his popularity as president. In 1996, he easily won reelection. The victory made Clinton the first Democratic president since Franklin Roosevelt to secure a second term.

Clinton began his second term determined to avoid another budget impasse. Over the next year, Republicans and Democrats worked together to craft a tax-cut bill and the Balanced Budget Act of 1997. "This legislation represents an historic compromise," said Clinton, "a monument to the progress that people of goodwill can make when they put aside partisan [political party] interests to work together for the common good and our common future."

In 1998, the federal budget ran its first surplus in nearly 30 years. A **budget surplus** occurs when the government takes in more money than it spends. Clinton's efforts to slow federal spending contributed to the surplus. A surge in tax revenues, however, had an even greater impact.

By 1998, the country was enjoying a period of prosperity. It was largely driven by new business opportunities related to the Internet. By linking computers all over the world, the Internet gave businesses instant access to distant markets. It made today's global economy possible. The Internet also gave rise to a host of online businesses. Their Web addresses ended in .com—short for *commercial*. As the dot-com boom continued, unemployment dropped to around 4 percent, the lowest it had been in 30 years. Inflation also remained low, while stock prices soared.





In 1998, President Clinton lied under oath about his relationship with a White House intern. The House of Representatives impeached Clinton for perjury and obstruction of justice. The Senate, however, chose not to remove him from office.

As the amount of money people earned, spent, and invested increased, tax revenues poured into the federal treasury, helping put the federal budget in surplus. The budget surplus continued through the year 2001. "If we maintain our fiscal discipline," Clinton declared, "America will entirely pay off the national debt by 2015." Republicans argued that the government should return some of the surplus to taxpayers in the form of tax cuts.

**Surviving Scandal and Impeachment** Rumors of scandals dogged Clinton from the start of his presidency. The primary charge was that he had illegally profited from an investment in an Arkansas real estate development called Whitewater. Accusations also surfaced of his having had numerous affairs while he was governor of Arkansas. In May 1994, a former Arkansas state employee filed a lawsuit accusing Clinton of sexual harassment.

An independent panel appointed lawyer Kenneth Starr to investigate the Whitewater claims. In January 1998, Starr also obtained evidence that Clinton had engaged in an affair with a White House intern, Monica Lewinsky, which contradicted Clinton's sworn testimony in the Arkansas sexual harassment case. In September, Starr submitted to Congress a report that accused the president of committing perjury, or lying under oath. The report also recommended that Clinton be impeached.

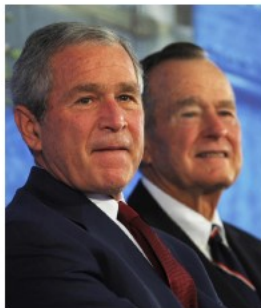
On December 19, 1998, the House voted along party lines to impeach President Clinton on two counts: (1) he had committed perjury, and (2) he had obstructed justice by lying under oath. In January 1999, the Senate tried Clinton on both counts. At the close of the trial, senators voted largely along party lines. As a result, the votes on both charges fell far short of the two-thirds needed to remove Clinton from office. After the trial Clinton asserted, "I want to say again to the American people how profoundly sorry I am for what I said and did to trigger these events and the great burden they have imposed on the Congress and on the American people."

Clinton not only survived the scandal but also ended his presidency around a remarkably high 65 percent approval rating. This was the best "end-of-career" showing of any president since the end of World War II.

#### Bill Clinton's Domestic Agenda

| Issue          | Goals   | Progress and Setbacks   |
|----------------|---|---|
| Crime          | Increase public safety and reduce gun violence                          | <b>Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994</b> Banned sales of some assault weapons, increased penalties for many crimes against women, and funded the hiring of 50,000 new police officers   |
|                |   | <b>Brady Handgun Violence Prevention Act of 1993</b> Required a waiting period and background check before purchase of a handgun  |
|                |   | <b>Hate Crimes Prevention Act of 1999</b> Expanded hate crimes to include those based on gender, sexual orientation, or disability (supported by Clinton but failed to pass Congress)   |
| Trade          | Expand trade across U.S. borders  | <b>North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA; 1992)</b> Reduced trade barriers, such as tariffs, among the United States, Canada, and Mexico   |
| Civil Rights   | Continue Affirmative Action<br><br>Promote equal rights for homosexuals | <b>"Mend it, don't end it"</b> Fought off attempt to end affirmative action while improving how it works  |
|                |   | <b>Appointments of gays</b> Appointed more than 150 openly gay men and women to key executive and judicial positions  |
|                |   | <b>"Don't Ask, Don't Tell" Policy</b> Allowed homosexuals to serve in the military as long as they kept their sexual preference a secret  |
| Education      | Improve education and job opportunities for young people                | <b>Corporation for National and Community Service (1993)</b> Launched AmeriCorps, which put young people to work on community projects in exchange for financial aid to help pay for college<br><br><b>School-to-Work Opportunities Act (1994)</b> Funded state programs designed to help high school students develop job skills |
| Liberal Values | Create a more liberal Supreme Court                                     | <b>Supreme Court</b> Appointed Stephen Breyer and Ruth Bader Ginsburg, both liberals, to the Supreme Court  |





George W. Bush was the 43rd president, and his father, George H. W. Bush, was the 41st. They are the second father-and-son pair to win the White House. The first was John Adams and John Quincy Adams.

### 3. George W. Bush: Conservatism in Action

To win the presidential election of 2000, Republicans needed a candidate who could unite Republicans while appealing to swing independent voters. That task fell to the governor of Texas, George W. Bush, son of former president George H. W. Bush. He would face Vice President Al Gore, a strong and seasoned campaigner. Gore could point to a soaring economy and years of peace as Democratic achievements. Some thought Bush's chances of beating him seemed slim at first. But as the months passed, Bush's theme of "compassionate conservatism" attracted voters. His promise of a more caring Republican Party became a central issue of his campaign.

**The Supreme Court Decides the 2000 Presidential Election** On election night

in 2000, Americans were stunned to see how close the presidential vote was. Gore led Bush in the popular vote by one half of 1 percent. The all-important Electoral College vote came out similarly close. With 270 votes needed to win, Gore had 266 and Bush 246. Florida's 25 electoral votes would decide the election. But the Florida vote proved too close to call. An initial count had Bush ahead by 1,784 votes. The next week, a recount by machine reduced his lead to just 327 votes.

In some counties, officials raised questions about confusing ballots or ballots that may not have been properly counted by voting machines. It was eventually demanded that those counties recount their votes by hand. To stop the recount, Bush filed a lawsuit known as *Bush v. Gore*. When the Florida Supreme Court ruled against Bush, he appealed its decision to the Supreme Court. On December 12, 2000, the Court voted 5–4 to stop the recount. The majority reasoned that without clear legal standards for evaluating the ballots in question, a hand recount violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. This decision gave Florida's 25 electoral votes to Bush. On January 20, 2001, George W. Bush took the oath of office as the 43rd U.S. president.

The Supreme Court decision cast a cloud of doubt over Bush's **legitimacy**, or right to exercise power, as president. These doubts were largely dispelled when he won reelection in 2004. That year he became the first winning candidate since his father in 1988 to win more than 50 percent of the popular vote.

**Legislative Wins and Losses** For six of Bush's eight years in office, the Republicans had a majority in Congress. With this support, he was able to enact much, but not all, of his domestic agenda. This included passage of an education reform bill known as the **No Child Left Behind Act** (NCLB). Bush outlined the need for such reform in his speech accepting the Republican nomination in 2000:

Too many American children are segregated into schools without standards, shuffled from grade-to-grade because of their age, regardless of their knowledge. This is discrimination, pure and simple—the soft bigotry of low expectations. . . . When a school district receives federal funds to teach poor children, we expect them to learn.

—George W. Bush, speech accepting the nomination for president at the Republican National Convention, 2000



Many Florida voters in 2000 did not punch a tiny rectangle, called a "chad," completely off their ballots. As a result, voting machines may not have counted their ballots. During a March 2001 election, the Palm Beach County supervisor of elections posted this information in polling places throughout the county to help voters avoid hanging chads. Subsequently, most local governments adopted different technology.

NCLB ushered in a new era in which **accountability** would become a key issue in public education. Accountability is based on the principle that individuals or organizations are responsible for their actions and should be able to show how well they are doing at achieving their goals. The next president would also create a federal education program called Race to the Top. While the two programs approached education reform in different ways, both contained provisions stating that it was necessary to make educators and school districts accountable. In practice, this meant testing students on a regular basis to determine their knowledge.

Bush's efforts to reform the Social Security system were less successful. Many political leaders agreed that the system was heading for trouble. With baby boomers moving into retirement, there would soon be too few workers to support the growing number of retirees at the current levels of benefits.

Bush proposed reforming the system by allowing workers to invest part of their Social Security tax payments in retirement accounts. He argued that personal accounts would provide workers with better pensions than the current system. It would also leave them with funds to pass on to their children. Critics complained that Bush's proposal could leave some workers worse off. Also, it would be an expensive approach. His plan never generated widespread support. By the end of 2005, Bush had dropped Social Security reform from his domestic agenda.

**Reviving the Economy with Tax Cuts** Bush had made cutting taxes a key element of his 2000 campaign. His pledge took on new urgency because the dot-com bubble began to burst in 2000. To spur an economic recovery, Bush pushed through Congress a plan that cut income tax rates for most Americans. But the economy received a second shock in 2001. Terrorists attacked the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon on September 11, or what became known as 9/11. Unsure of what would happen next, Americans sharply reduced their spending. By the end of 2003, the U.S. economy had suffered a loss of more than 2 million jobs.



George W. Bush's No Child Left Behind Act increased federal funds to public schools. In exchange for these funds, schools were expected to show that their students were learning basic reading and math skills.

Bush responded by pushing Congress to reduce tax rates on earnings from savings and investments. Lower tax rates would hopefully encourage people to work harder, save more, and invest in new enterprises. His opponents charged that his tax cuts would mainly enrich the wealthy. They predicted that cutting tax rates would reduce tax revenues and create a string of budget deficits.

The federal budget did fall from a surplus of \$128 billion in 2001 to a deficit of \$158 billion in 2002. But the shift from surplus to deficit was not entirely due to the recession and tax cuts. The events of 9/11—which you will read more about in the next lesson—also played a part. In response to the attacks, Bush persuaded Congress to create a new cabinet-level agency, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), to protect the country from terrorists. He also launched a war on terrorism in Afghanistan and, later, in Iraq. As spending to fight terrorism soared, so did budget deficits, surpassing \$400 billion by 2004.

Some sources suggest Bush's the tax cuts helped stimulate an economic recovery, while others disagree. Regardless, as the economy rebounded, tax

revenues rose rapidly. To the surprise of Bush's critics, tax revenues in 2005 were higher than in any year since the peak of the dot-com boom in 2000. In addition, the share of income taxes paid by the wealthiest taxpayers was on the rise.



Large, new housing developments, which generated great wealth during the housing bubble, were especially affected by the downturn in the real estate market. In some areas, such as this development outside Las Vegas, Nevada, multiple homes on each street were repossessed by banks. Some homes were simply abandoned by owners who could no longer afford to pay for them.

**Start of the Great Recession** The economic expansion did not last long, due to a sharp decline in the housing market. For many years, house prices had been



increasing rapidly. From 1985 to 2006, the average sale price of a house rose from \$100,000 to \$300,000, and it was still climbing. A housing bubble had formed. A financial bubble occurs when investors bid up prices to unrealistic levels, often purchasing with borrowed money. In 2006, the bubble burst.

Owning a home has long been part of the American dream. But for many people, that dream turned into a nightmare. The government was partly to blame, and so were builders and bankers. Federal policies encouraged people to buy homes. Construction firms built too many houses. Banks approved too many subprime mortgages. A mortgage is a loan used to finance the purchase of a house. A subprime mortgage is a loan made to someone who may not be able to repay the loan.

Home values first jumped forward and then crashed. Many homeowners now owed more money to their mortgage lender than their house was worth. Foreclosures followed. A foreclosure is the legal process by which a bank can take over a mortgaged property when the borrower cannot pay back the loan.

The housing slump led to a severe economic downturn beginning in December 2007. Shocked by their homes' falling values, homeowners slowed their spending. With sales decreasing, businesses laid off workers. Rising unemployment cut consumption further. The downturn—the nation's worst since the Great Depression—would become known as the Great Recession.

Meanwhile, many big banks and other financial institutions had poured money into what are called mortgage-backed securities. These often included bundles of subprime mortgages. Banks believed that these risky investments would bring great profits in the booming housing market. When the boom went bust, so did their investments. Suddenly, a number of the nation's largest and richest firms were facing bankruptcy. By 2008, the entire financial system was on the brink of collapse.

**Bailouts** The federal government was forced to respond. President Bush and Congress crafted legislation to bail out the banks and other huge investment firms. Financial institutions like banks do business constantly with each other—cashing checks, handling transfers—and are always in debt to each other. Those firms were declared “too big to fail.” If any one of these institutions went bankrupt, it could start a domino effect that would topple even those firms that were financially sound. The rescue package was called the Troubled Asset Relief Program, or TARP. Congress allocated \$700 billion to the program.

The Treasury Department used TARP funds to make loans to banks and also to buy from banks their “toxic assets.” These included mortgage-backed securities and other investments that had lost money and that nobody else was willing to buy. Using TARP funds, the Treasury Department also bought shares in the nation's nine largest banks. The government—and therefore the people of the United States—thus became part owners of those banks.

The federal government also bailed out the American auto industry. Bush approved the use of TARP funds to loan some \$17 billion to auto makers General Motors and Chrysler. Additional funds went to auto parts suppliers and other sectors of the industry.



Hurricane Katrina devastated New Orleans, especially the Ninth Ward section, shown here. The Bush administration took a lot of blame for the slow response to the catastrophe. A House bipartisan committee investigating preparation for and response to the disaster identified failures at all levels of government. It also stated bluntly, “Critical elements of the National Response Plan were executed late, ineffectively, or not at all.”

**Falling Approval Ratings** After 9/11, the nation rallied behind President Bush. His approval rating soared to 90 percent. However, during his second term, Americans' opinions of the president began to plummet. The economic crisis was just one of the factors that contributed to Bush's falling popularity.

Another was the federal government's reaction to Hurricane Katrina in 2005. The hurricane devastated New Orleans and other Gulf Coast towns, resulting in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people from their homes. Yet the response by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) seemed slow and disorganized.

A third factor was the war on terrorism. Some Americans believed that the expansive powers given to the Department of Homeland Security undermined their civil liberties. Probably most importantly, hundreds of Americans were dying each year in wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Those wars were also sapping the Treasury, adding to mounting budget deficits.

During the 2006 midterm elections, many voters used their ballots to express dissatisfaction with Bush's policies. For the first time since 1994, Democrats won control of the House and the Senate. As you will learn in the next section, voters would also elect a Democratic president in 2008.

| George W. Bush's Domestic Agenda |   |   |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| Issue                            | Goals   | Progress and Setbacks   |
| Social Welfare                   | Encourage community and faith-based groups to help the needy  | <b>Office of Faith-Based and Community Initiatives (2001)</b> Assisted religious and community groups seeking federal funds to combat social problems such as homelessness and drug addiction   |
| Immigration                      | Secure borders, create a guest worker program, and provide a path for undocumented immigrants to earn citizenship | <b>Comprehensive Immigration Reform Act</b> Proposed reforms in line with Bush's goals (approved by the House but rejected by the Senate)<br><b>Secure Fence Act of 2006</b> Authorized construction of hundreds of miles of fencing to reduce illegal immigration from Mexico  |
| Health                           | Help elderly pay for drugs and protect the sanctity of life   | <b>Medicare Prescription Drug Benefit (2003)</b> Helped retirees and people with disabilities pay for needed prescription drugs<br><b>Embryonic stem cell research ban</b> Limited federal funding of stem cell research to halt the use of human embryos in medical research   |
| Conservative Values              | Strengthen and support marriage and families<br><br>Create a more conservative Supreme Court                      | <b>"Marriage penalty"</b> Ended income tax provisions, resulting in some married people paying more taxes than if they had remained single<br><b>Federal marriage amendment</b> Defined marriage as "the union of a man and a woman" (not approved by Congress)<br><b>Supreme Court</b> Appointed John Roberts and Samuel Alito, both conservatives, to the Supreme Court |



Many Americans, especially young people and minorities, were inspired by Barack Obama's run for president and his theme of bringing change to the established political system. Obama attracted enthusiastic crowds throughout his campaign. His personal charisma and stirring speeches helped him win the presidency.

## 4. Barack Obama: Working for Change

The election of 2008 pitted a young Democratic senator from Illinois, Barack Obama, against a much more experienced senator from Arizona, John McCain. Obama called for change. He criticized President Bush's tax-cut policies and his pursuit of the war in Iraq. Obama's campaign slogan "Yes, we can!" inspired Americans with aspirations for a greater country.

**Voters Are Drawn to Obama's Vision of Change** In 2008, in the midst of the election campaign, Barack Obama released a book. The book laid out the candidate's plan for restoring the economy and America's leadership position in the world. In it, he said,

We stand at a moment of great challenge and great opportunity. All across America, a chorus of voices is swelling in a demand for

change. The American people want the simple things that—for eight years—Washington hasn't delivered: an economy that honors the efforts of those who work hard, a national security policy that rallies the world to meet our shared threats and makes America safer, a politics that focuses on bringing people together across party lines to work for the common good. It's not too much to ask for. It is the change that the American people deserve.

—Barack Obama, *Change We Can Believe In*, 2008

Voters responded favorably to Obama's ideas. He won the presidency with 365 electoral votes to McCain's 173, becoming the nation's first African American president. This landslide victory gave Obama a mandate to pursue his plan for moving the country in a new direction. Once in office, however, Obama would discover that real change can be difficult to bring about.

**The Great Recession Continues** Polls conducted before and after the election made it clear that the economy was the most important issue in the minds of voters. They had good reason to be concerned. The financial system, centered on investment firms, was still unstable. Home sales—a key indicator of economic health—remained sluggish, and housing prices slipped steadily lower. Companies continued to lay off workers. The recession showed no signs of ending.

Soon after his election, Obama began working with the Democratic leaders of Congress on ways to bring about an economic recovery. One result was an economic stimulus package. A **stimulus** is an attempt by the government to inject money into the economy to encourage growth. With a vote that was overwhelmingly along party lines and supported by only a few Republican lawmakers, the Democrats pushed the package through Congress. The final bill, passed in February 2009, contained \$787 billion in spending and tax cuts. It included money for public works projects and tax credits for middle-class families. In March, Obama announced a second auto bailout to prevent the auto industry from collapsing. The government provided some \$60 billion in aid to General Motors and Chrysler.

The recession officially ended in June 2009, five months after Obama took the oath of office. The economy began to grow again, but very slowly. Some economists credit the TARP bailout, begun under President Bush, with breathing life back into the banking system. They also agree that Obama's economic stimulus and auto bailout saved jobs and gave the economy a needed boost.

By the end of Barack Obama's presidency, his administration had added a total of 11.3 million jobs to the U.S. economy. The unemployment rate had stabilized just below 6 percent for the last three years of his presidency. The job market also saw an increase in the number of Americans doing part-time work or so-called "gig" jobs, like driving for ride-sharing services.

**Health Care Reform** In September 2009, President Obama outlined his plan for overhauling the nation's health care system. Some 40–50 million Americans had no health insurance at the time. Most others worried about the steadily rising cost of health care. Obama's plan sought to lower health costs, secure and stabilize health care for those who already had health insurance, and expand coverage to the millions who had none. A key element of Obama's plan was the "individual mandate"—a requirement that all Americans must buy health insurance.

The president urged Congress—where Democrats held a majority in both houses—to work out the details together, in a bipartisan way. That did not happen. Democrats made a few compromises to try to fashion a bill acceptable to Republicans, who disagreed with the president's approach. But in the end, the Affordable Care Act passed with only a single Republican vote in favor of it. On March 23, 2010, Obama signed the bill into law.

Republicans called the reform law a government takeover of health care. They claimed that its estimated \$930 billion cost over 10 years was too high and that it would add to budget deficits. Referring to the law as "Obamacare," they vowed to repeal it. In 2015, the Supreme Court ruled in a 6–3 decision that tax credits available to those who were enrolled in either federal or state health insurance marketplaces was constitutional. This ruling meant that the Affordable Care Act would continue to function as President Obama intended. But debate about and attempts to repeal the law would continue for years.





House Republican Jim Jordan of Ohio is one of the founding members of the Freedom Caucus. Members of this caucus were often at odds with their moderate Republican colleagues during an unsuccessful attempt to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act in 2017.

**The Tea Party** One of the groups that harshly criticized the Affordable Care Act was a new force on the political scene called the Tea Party. Taking its namesake from the Boston Tea Party of 1773, the group had no official leaders. It was a conservative, populist protest movement that arose in reaction to what it saw as too much government involvement in the economy.

The Tea Party never became an organized, separate political party, but it enjoyed a significant political influence within the Republican Party. In January 2015, nine members of the House formed the Freedom Caucus. Many more Republican members in the House have joined over time. One of the group's main goals is to move Republicans in Congress toward more conservative views on fiscal and social issues. Many in the caucus have ties to the original Tea Party movement.

**Gridlock** During the early part of 2010, President Obama and Congress agreed to raise the **debt ceiling**. The debt ceiling is the maximum amount of debt that the federal government is, by law, allowed to accumulate. In the 2010 midterm elections, Republicans won the House, and Democrats narrowly held onto their majority in the Senate. Soon, the president and lawmakers found themselves engaged in repeated episodes of **gridlock**—the inability to make progress—as they worked to lead and govern the nation.



Federal areas and lands, like monuments and parks, were closed to the public during the government shutdown in 2013. This image shows an empty National Mall with the Washington Monument in the background.

In 2013, the United States once again reached the nation's debt ceiling. Some conservative Republican lawmakers had blocked the passage of a new federal budget in order to prevent funding for the Affordable Care Act. This gridlock resulted in a shutdown of the federal government that lasted 16 days. Hundreds of thousands of federal employees were **furloughed**—told to take a mandatory leave of absence from their jobs without pay. As the shutdown dragged on and politicians argued, the Treasury Department announced that it would run out of money within days. If that happened, the United States would be unable to pay its debts, which would affect both the nation's economy and the global economy as well.

Faced with such a serious warning, the House and the Senate both agreed to work with the president to develop a package of long-term tax and spending policies that would cover the next decade. The debt ceiling was raised, and the government reopened. This episode exposed that there was not only continuing gridlock and division within the national government, but there also appeared to be gridlock and division within the Republican Party. Conservatives bitterly

conceded that their strategy had failed. Other Republicans expressed frustration that their conservative colleagues had focused on the health care law instead of on larger ideas, such as how the federal government funded programs and borrowed money. One Republican lawmaker lamented "Goose egg, nothing, we got nothing."

**A Sudden Death Ignites a Political Battle** Throughout history, Supreme Court rulings have often led to vigorous division and debate in the United States. In early 2016, however, it was not a Supreme Court ruling that would politically divide Republicans and Democrats, but the very composition of the Court itself.



In a ceremony held in the White House Rose Garden on March 16, 2016, President Obama announced U.S. Court of Appeals judge Merrick Garland as his nomination to succeed Antonin Scalia on the Supreme Court. Although Garland did meet informally with almost 50 senators, several of whom were Republicans, he never received a full Senate hearing on his nomination.

On February 13, Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia died unexpectedly while on vacation. President Reagan had appointed Scalia, who was perhaps the Court's leading conservative. His death created an opening on the Court with under a year remaining in Barack Obama's presidency. According to the Constitution, the president has the authority to nominate candidates for the Supreme Court, but the Senate is responsible for meeting with nominees,

debating their qualifications, and confirming them as Supreme Court justices.

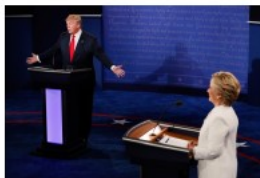
To fill the vacancy, President Obama nominated Merrick Garland, a judge in the U.S. Court of Appeals. Garland was respected by both Democrats and Republicans, and considered to be qualified to serve on the Supreme Court. However, Republicans controlled the Senate, and they hoped a Republican candidate would win the presidency later that year. With the ability to select a nominee for the Supreme Court also now up for grabs along with control of the White House, Republican leaders saw the chance for a major political opportunity.

Mitch McConnell, the Senate Majority Leader, announced that Republicans believed the next president should be the one to nominate the candidate to fill Scalia's position. Therefore, the Senate would not take any formal action on Merrick Garland's status as a Supreme Court nominee. Democratic lawmakers were outraged, and President Obama was also frustrated by the partisan nature of the Senate's decision. In the end, the Republican decision to use this delay action was a successful tactic. The next president would indeed be the one to nominate the next person to serve on the Court.

#### Barack Obama's Domestic Agenda

| Issue                      | Goals   | Progress and Setbacks  |
|----------------------------|---|--|
| Education                  | Provide a high-quality education for all children to enable them to succeed in a global economy | <p><b>"Race to the Top"</b> Offered grants to states and school districts that made notable advances in educational reform and innovation</p> <p><b>"Education to Innovate"</b> Aimed at improving the participation and performance of students in science and technology</p>                                       |
| Energy and the Environment | Reduce dependence on oil, promote energy efficiency, and invest in a clean energy future        | <p><b>Cap and trade</b> Effort to reduce greenhouse gases and thus global warming by setting a cap, or limit, on carbon emissions (approved by the House but rejected by the Senate)</p> <p><b>New national fuel efficiency standards</b> Aimed at raising average fuel economy to 54.5 miles per gallon by 2025</p> |
| Health                     | Find cures to various diseases and conditions   | <b>Embryonic stem cell research</b> Removed barriers that prevented the federal funding of scientific research involving human stem cells  |
| Liberal Values             | Create a more liberal Supreme Court   | <b>Supreme Court</b> Appointed Sonia Sotomayor and Elena Kagan, both liberals, to the Supreme Court  |





Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton debated each other in Las Vegas, Nevada, on October 19, 2016. By this point in the campaign, tensions between the two candidates were so palpable that they did not shake hands before or after this debate.

## 5. Donald Trump: Focusing on America First

With President Obama's second term as president coming to an end, the divide between the two sides of the American political spectrum continued to increase drastically. This division only grew more tangible during the 2016 presidential election. After her victory in the Democratic primary election, the Democratic Party nominated Hillary Clinton as its presidential candidate in 2016. After a primary season where the Republican field briefly numbered as many as 17 candidates, Donald Trump emerged with the Republican nomination for president.

**The 2016 Presidential Candidates** As the Democratic presidential candidate in 2016, Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama's former secretary of state and wife of former President Bill Clinton, was attempting to become the first female president of the United States. Her policies were similar to those of Barack Obama. She supported ideas like maintaining the Affordable Care Act and working together as a nation to create racial and economic equality.

However, Clinton faced challenges during her campaign. She often had difficulties

expressing her vision for the nation and how her potential presidency would be different from President Obama's time in office. In addition, her campaign was challenged by an ongoing federal investigation that was being conducted regarding her use of a private e-mail server instead of a government server to fulfill her duties as secretary of state.

Some compared Donald Trump to Andrew Jackson because Trump had a populist message that sought to shake up the political world and Jackson had challenged the political establishment of his day. Trump supported policies that placed the interests of the United States ahead of international concerns or its relationships with other nations. This included a call to increase security along the country's southern border with Mexico by constructing a physical wall. Additionally, he wanted to replace the Affordable Care Act, vowing to repeal the law and substitute it with legislation that would offer quality health care at a lower cost.



Artist Scott Reeder installed this "Real Fake" sculpture outside of Trump International Hotel and Tower in Chicago, Illinois, as a comment on Trump's dismissal of the media's criticisms as "fake news." Trump's campaign was filled with controversy and sparked people to protest in various ways.

Trump used social media to connect with voters, underscoring the importance of social media during the 2016 presidential election. One expert stated that Donald Trump had used Twitter to his advantage by embracing the immediate moment, using unvarnished expression, and taking risks. Another researcher who also

studied social media and the election found that 62 percent of U.S. adults had relied on various social media platforms as sources for news information.

This intersection of increased social media use and news gave rise to a new term: "fake news." "Fake news" is defined as any type of news that is intentionally designed to mislead and can be verified as false information. Research that was conducted after the election found that "fake news" articles about politics had a significant presence on some social media sites. During the election campaign, experts also saw a decline in the level of trust that some American voters had in the mainstream media. This was particularly true among Republican voters.



During Donald Trump's presidential campaign, supporters rallied around his slogan, "Make America Great Again," which emphasized Trump's "America First" agenda. Other Americans criticized Trump's campaign as a resurgence of nativism, or the policy of favoring the interests of native-born Americans over those of immigrants.

Trump was a controversial candidate. Many who opposed him thought he was undignified and unsuitable to be president. Support for this perspective intensified in early October 2016 when *The Washington Post* released a 2005 interview that Trump participated in. An open, or "hot," microphone had recorded him joking and

making comments about the manner in which he claimed he could treat women. Many believed that his remarks were offensive, inappropriate, and vulgar. Speculation swirled that he might drop out of the presidential race in favor of his vice-presidential candidate, Mike Pence. However, Trump pledged to be "a better man tomorrow," and his campaign, as well as the controversy surrounding it, rolled on.



In his inaugural address, President Trump emphasized the power of the American people.

**Reactions to the Election** Hillary Clinton won the popular vote in the 2016 election, but Donald Trump won more delegates in the Electoral College. In his inaugural address, President Trump spoke of the power that the American people held.

It belongs to everyone gathered here today and everyone watching all across America. This is your day. This is your celebration. And this, the United States of America, is your country. What truly matters is not which party controls our government, but whether our government is controlled by the people. January 20th 2017, will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again.

—Inaugural Address of President Donald J. Trump, January 20, 2017

In their analysis of the 2016 presidential election, some people theorized that Trump's win signaled a strong rejection of U.S. immigration and trade policies at the time, a growing resentment toward globalization, and an increased weariness with the concept of "political correctness," or the need to refrain from using

language that people might consider insensitive due to its references to politics, race, religion, gender, or sexual orientation.

Some researchers declared that social media provided the main vehicle for Trump's political success, but others have urged caution about suggesting such a definite cause-effect relationship.

On January 21, 2017, hundreds of thousands of Americans gathered in Washington, D.C., and in many other U.S. cities. They assembled to support racial and gender equality, as well as women's issues. Known as the Women's March, the event was considered an organized protest against Trump's election.



The day after President Trump's inauguration, hundreds of thousands of women and men participated in the nationwide Women's March. In Washington, D.C., crowds of protesters flooded the

**The Trump Presidency** With legislative power in both the House and the Senate now firmly in their grasp thanks to the 2016 election, Congressional Republicans set out to repeal and replace the Affordable Care Act.

Conservatives wanted any new health care bill to make drastic cuts to Medicaid. Moderates opposed such deep reductions, fearing many Americans would lose their health insurance. Even President Trump called one potential piece of legislation "mean" and urged Republicans to compromise. In a quirk of fate, Senator John McCain, Obama's opponent in the 2008 presidential election, cast the deciding "no" vote during a repeal and replace effort in 2017.

With Donald Trump in office, the Republican Senate's gamble to make the nomination for the Supreme Court had paid off. Neil Gorsuch, a U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals judge known for his conservative views, was confirmed as President Trump's appointment to the Supreme Court.

| Donald Trump's Domestic Agenda        |  |   |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| Issue                                 | Goals  | Progress and Setbacks   |
| <b>Border Security and Travel Ban</b> | Improve the nation's border security and the enforcement of immigration laws                     | <b>Executive Order</b> Signed on January 25, 2017 to direct federal funding for the construction of a wall along the border with Mexico, call for the hiring of more Border Patrol agents, and seek to end the practice of releasing undocumented immigrants awaiting court hearings.<br><br><b>Executive Order</b> Signed on January 22, 2017 to suspend or prohibit the entry of immigrants from seven Muslim-majority countries into the United States. Full implementation of several different versions of the travel ban faced numerous legal challenges. |
| <b>Deregulation</b>                   | Reduce regulation and regulatory costs   | <b>Executive Order</b> Signed on January 30, 2017 to require executive departments and agencies to cut two regulations for every new one that was proposed. Any needed regulatory costs had to be offset with cuts of existing expenses.  |
| <b>Health</b>                         | Study the federal response to combating drug addiction and addressing the national opioid crisis | <b>Executive Order</b> Signed on March 29, 2017 to establish a commission to study the effectiveness of the federal government's response to the issues of drug addiction and the opioid crisis.  |
| <b>Conservative Values</b>            | Create a more conservative Supreme Court   | <b>Supreme Court</b> Appointed Neil Gorsuch, a conservative, to the Supreme Court   |

## Summary

Each U.S. president since 1992 has struggled to meet his domestic policy goals.

**Bill Clinton** As a moderate New Democrat, Clinton breathed new life into the Democratic coalition. One of his main legacies is welfare reform. Clinton failed to enact universal health care, however. In his second term, Clinton was impeached but not removed from office.

**Contract with America** In the 1994 midterm elections, Republicans won control of Congress with their 10-point Contract with America.

**Bush v. Gore** In the 2000 election, Al Gore led George W. Bush in the popular vote by a very thin margin. The Supreme Court decided the outcome of the election, denying Gore's demand for a recount in Florida.

**George W. Bush** As a candidate, Bush reached out to moderates with his compassionate conservatism. One of his main legacies is education reform. However, Bush failed to reform the Social Security system.



**Barack Obama** Faced with a slow-growing economy and high unemployment, Obama pushed an economic stimulus package through Congress. However, his jobs bill faced tough Republican opposition, as did his comprehensive health-care reform law.

**Donald Trump** A populist message that pledged to reduce illegal immigration and government regulation helped Trump score an unlikely political upset.

## ***Shelby County v. Holder, 2013***

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was passed to address state and local laws that prevented African Americans from voting, such as literacy tests, poll taxes, and grandfather clauses. Sections 4 and 5 of the Voting Rights Act required states that had enabled voter suppression in the past to get federal approval for any proposed changes to their voting laws. The formula to determine which states were subject to preclearance was outlined in Section 4(b) of the act, making any state that had voting tests in place in November, 1964, and had less than 50% turnout in the 1964 presidential election. In 2006, Congress voted to extend the Voting Rights Act—including Sections 4 and 5—for another 25 years.

Because of its history of voter suppression, Shelby County, Alabama, was subject to the restrictions placed by Sections 4 and 5 of the Voting Rights Act. Shelby County fought against those restrictions, arguing that these sections of the Voting Rights Act violated Article 4 of the Constitution and the Tenth Amendment. Article 4 guarantees each state the right to self-government. The Tenth Amendment reserves for the states all powers that are not expressly delegated to the federal government. The federal government argued that these sections were within Congress's powers under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. The Fourteenth Amendment guarantees every person's right to due process of law, and the Fifteenth Amendment protects the right to vote regardless of racial background.

Shelby County v. Holder came before the Supreme Court in 2013. The Court ruled 5-4 that Section 4(b) of the Voting Rights Act was unconstitutional, violating Article 4 and the Tenth Amendment. Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. wrote the majority opinion, which you can find below.

### ***Shelby County v. Holder, 2013***

Chief Justice Roberts delivered the opinion of the Court.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 employed extraordinary measures to address an extraordinary problem. Section 5 of the Act required States to obtain federal permission before enacting any law related to voting—a drastic departure from basic principles of federalism. And §4 of the Act applied that requirement only to some States—an equally dramatic departure from the principle that all States enjoy equal sovereignty. This was strong medicine, but Congress determined it was needed to address entrenched racial discrimination in voting, “an insidious and pervasive evil which had been perpetuated in certain parts of our country through unremitting and ingenious defiance of the Constitution.” *South Carolina v. Katzenbach*, 383 U. S. 301, 309 (1966). As we explained in upholding the law, “exceptional conditions can justify legislative measures not otherwise appropriate.” *Id.*, at 334. Reflecting the unprecedented nature of these measures, they were scheduled to expire after five years. See Voting Rights Act of 1965, §4(a), 79Stat. 438.

Nearly 50 years later, they are still in effect; indeed, they have been made more stringent, and are now scheduled to last until 2031. There is no denying, however, that the conditions that originally justified these measures no longer characterize voting in the covered jurisdictions. By 2009, “the racial gap in voter registration and turnout [was] lower in the States originally covered by §5 than it [was] nationwide.” *Northwest Austin Municipal Util. Dist. No. One v. Holder*, 557 U. S. 193–204 (2009). Since that time, Census Bureau data indicate that African-American voter turnout has come to exceed white voter turnout in five of the six States originally covered by §5, with a gap in the sixth State of less than one half of one percent. See Dept. of Commerce, Census Bureau, *Reported Voting and Registration, by Sex, Race and Hispanic Origin, for States* (Nov. 2012) (Table 4b).

At the same time, voting discrimination still exists; no one doubts that. The question is whether the Act’s extraordinary measures, including its disparate treatment of the States, continue to satisfy constitutional requirements. As we put it a short time ago, “the Act imposes current burdens and must be justified by current needs.”

Northwest Austin, 557 U. S., at 203.

I

A

The Fifteenth Amendment was ratified in 1870, in the wake of the Civil War. It provides that “[t]he right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude,” and it gives Congress the “power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”

“The first century of congressional enforcement of the Amendment, however, can only be regarded as a failure.” *Id.*, at 197. In the 1890s, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia began to enact literacy tests for voter registration and to employ other methods designed to prevent African-Americans from voting. Katzenbach, 383 U. S., at 310. Congress passed statutes outlawing some of these practices and facilitating litigation against them, but litigation remained slow and expensive, and the States came up with new ways to discriminate as soon as existing ones were struck down. Voter registration of African-Americans barely improved. *Id.*, at 313–314.

Inspired to action by the civil rights movement, Congress responded in 1965 with the Voting Rights Act. Section 2 was enacted to forbid, in all 50 States, any “standard, practice, or procedure . . . imposed or applied . . . to deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color.” 79Stat. 437. The current version forbids any “standard, practice, or procedure” that “results in a denial or abridgement of the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color.” 42 U. S. C. §1973(a). Both the Federal Government and individuals have sued to enforce §2, see, e.g., *Johnson v. De Grandy*, 512 U. S. 997 (1994), and injunctive relief is available in appropriate cases to block voting laws from going into effect, see 42 U. S. C. §1973(j)(d). Section 2 is permanent, applies nationwide, and is not at issue in this case.

Other sections targeted only some parts of the country. At the time

of the Act's passage, these “covered” jurisdictions were those States or political subdivisions that had maintained a test or device as a prerequisite to voting as of November 1, 1964, and had less than 50 percent voter registration or turnout in the 1964 Presidential election. §4(b), 79Stat. 438. Such tests or devices included literacy and knowledge tests, good moral character requirements, the need for vouchers from registered voters, and the like. §4(c), *id.*, at 438–439. A covered jurisdiction could “bail out” of coverage if it had not used a test or device in the preceding five years “for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color.” §4(a), *id.*, at 438. In 1965, the covered States included Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia. The additional covered subdivisions included 39 counties in North Carolina and one in Arizona. See 28 CFR pt. 51, App. (2012).

In those jurisdictions, §4 of the Act banned all such tests or devices. §4(a), 79Stat. 438. Section 5 provided that no change in voting procedures could take effect until it was approved by federal authorities in Washington, D. C.—either the Attorney General or a court of three judges. *Id.*, at 439. A jurisdiction could obtain such “preclearance” only by proving that the change had neither “the purpose [nor] the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color.” *Ibid.*

Sections 4 and 5 were intended to be temporary; they were set to expire after five years. See §4(a), *id.*, at 438; *Northwest Austin*, *supra*, at 199. In *South Carolina v. Katzenbach*, we upheld the 1965 Act against constitutional challenge, explaining that it was justified to address “voting discrimination where it persists on a pervasive scale.” 383 U. S., at 308.

In 1970, Congress reauthorized the Act for another five years, and extended the coverage formula in §4(b) to jurisdictions that had a voting test and less than 50 percent voter registration or turnout as of 1968. Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1970, §§3–4, 84Stat. 315. That swept in several counties in California, New Hampshire, and New York. See 28 CFR pt. 51, App. Congress also extended the ban in §4(a) on tests and devices nationwide. §6, 84Stat. 315.



In 1975, Congress reauthorized the Act for seven more years, and extended its coverage to jurisdictions that had a voting test and less than 50 percent voter registration or turnout as of 1972. Voting Rights Act Amendments of 1975, §§101, 202, 89Stat. 400, 401. Congress also amended the definition of "test or device" to include the practice of providing English-only voting materials in places where over five percent of voting-age citizens spoke a single language other than English. §203, id., at 401–402. As a result of these amendments, the States of Alaska, Arizona, and Texas, as well as several counties in California, Florida, Michigan, New York, North Carolina, and South Dakota, became covered jurisdictions. See 28 CFR pt. 51, App. Congress correspondingly amended sections 2 and 5 to forbid voting discrimination on the basis of membership in a language minority group, in addition to discrimination on the basis of race or color. §§203, 206, 89Stat. 401, 402. Finally, Congress made the nationwide ban on tests and devices permanent. §102, id., at 400.

In 1982, Congress reauthorized the Act for 25 years, but did not alter its coverage formula. See Voting Rights Act Amendments, 96Stat. 131. Congress did, however, amend the bailout provisions, allowing political subdivisions of covered jurisdictions to bail out. Among other prerequisites for bailout, jurisdictions and their subdivisions must not have used a forbidden test or device, failed to receive preclearance, or lost a §2 suit, in the ten years prior to seeking bailout. §2, id., at 131–133.

We upheld each of these reauthorizations against constitutional challenge. See *Georgia v. United States*, 411 U. S. 526 (1973); *City of Rome v. United States*, 446 U. S. 156 (1980); *Lopez v. Monterey County*, 525 U. S. 266 (1999).

In 2006, Congress again reauthorized the Voting Rights Act for 25 years, again without change to its coverage formula. Fannie Lou Hamer, Rosa Parks, and Coretta Scott King Voting Rights Act Reauthorization and [Amendments] Act, 120Stat. 577. Congress also amended §5 to prohibit more conduct than before. §5, id., at 580–581; see *Reno v. Bossier Parish School Bd.*, 528 U. S. 320, 341 (2000) (*Bossier II*); *Georgia v. Ashcroft*, 539 U. S. 461, 479 (2003). Section 5 now forbids voting changes with "any

discriminatory purpose" as well as voting changes that diminish the ability of citizens, on account of race, color, or language minority status, "to elect their preferred candidates of choice." 42 U. S. C. §§1973c(b)–(d).

Shortly after this reauthorization, a Texas utility district brought suit, seeking to bail out from the Act's [coverage] and, in the alternative, challenging the Act's constitutionality. See *Northwest Austin*, 557 U. S., at 200–201. A three-judge District Court explained that only a State or political subdivision was eligible to seek bailout under the statute, and concluded that the utility district was not a political subdivision, a term that encompassed only "counties, parishes, and voter-registering subunits." *Northwest Austin Municipal Util. Dist. No. One v. Mukasey*, 573 F. Supp. 2d 221, 232 (DC 2008). The District Court also rejected the constitutional challenge. Id., at 283.

We reversed. We explained that "normally the Court will not decide a constitutional question if there is some other ground upon which to dispose of the case." *Northwest Austin*, supra, at 205 (quoting *Escambia County v. Millan*, 466 U. S. 48, 51 (1984) (per curiam)). Concluding that "underlying constitutional concerns," among other things, "compel[ed] a broader reading of the bailout provision," we construed the statute to allow the utility district to seek bailout. *Northwest Austin*, 557 U. S., at 207. In doing so we expressed serious doubts about the Act's [continued] constitutionality.

We explained that §5 "imposes substantial federalism costs" and "differentiates between the States, despite our [historic] tradition that all the States enjoy equal sovereignty." Id., at 202, 203 (internal quotation marks omitted). We also noted that "[t]hings have changed in the South. Voter turnout and registration rates now approach parity. Blatantly discriminatory evasions of federal decrees are rare. And minority candidates hold office at [unprecedented] levels." Id., at 202. Finally, we questioned whether the problems that §5 meant to address were still "concentrated in the jurisdictions singled out for preclearance." Id., at 203.

Eight Members of the Court subscribed to these views, and the remaining Member would have held the Act unconstitutional.



Ultimately, however, the Court's construction of the bailout provision left the constitutional issues for another day.

## B

Shelby County is located in Alabama, a covered jurisdiction. It has not sought bailout, as the Attorney General has recently objected to voting changes proposed from within the county. See App. 87a–92a. Instead, in 2010, the county sued the Attorney General in Federal District Court in Washington, D. C., seeking a declaratory judgment that sections 4(b) and 5 of the Voting Rights Act are facially unconstitutional, as well as a permanent injunction against their enforcement. The District Court ruled against the county and upheld the Act. 811 F. Supp. 2d 424, 508 (2011). The court found that the evidence before Congress in 2006 was sufficient to justify reauthorizing §5 and continuing the §4(b) coverage formula.

The Court of Appeals for the D. C. Circuit affirmed. In assessing §5, the D. C. Circuit considered six primary categories of evidence: Attorney General objections to voting changes, Attorney General requests for more information regarding voting changes, successful §2 suits in covered jurisdictions, the dispatching of federal observers to monitor elections in covered jurisdictions, §5 preclearance suits involving covered jurisdictions, and the deterrent effect of §5. See 679 F. 3d 848, 862–863 (2012). After extensive analysis of the record, the court accepted Congress's conclusion that §2 litigation remained inadequate in the covered jurisdictions to protect the rights of minority voters, and that §5 was therefore still necessary. *Id.*, at 873.

Turning to §4, the D. C. Circuit noted that the evidence for singling out the covered jurisdictions was “less robust” and that the issue presented “a close question.” *Id.*, at 879. But the court looked to data comparing the number of successful §2 suits in the different parts of the country. Coupling that evidence with the deterrent effect of §5, the court concluded that the statute continued “to single out the jurisdictions in which discrimination is concentrated,” and thus held that the coverage formula passed constitutional muster. *Id.*, at 883.

Judge Williams dissented. He found “no positive [correlation] between inclusion in §4(b)'s coverage formula and low black registration or turnout.” *Id.*, at 891. Rather, to the extent there was any correlation, it actually went the other way: “condemnation under §4(b) is a marker of higher black registration and turnout.” *Ibid.*... Judge Williams also found that “[c]overed jurisdictions have far more black officeholders as a proportion of the black population than do uncovered ones.” *Id.*, at 892. As to the evidence of successful §2 suits, Judge Williams disaggregated the reported cases by State, and concluded that “[t]he five worst uncovered jurisdictions . . . have worse records than eight of the covered jurisdictions.” *Id.*, at 897. He also noted that two covered jurisdictions—Arizona and Alaska—had not had any successful reported §2 suit brought against them during the entire 24 years covered by the data. *Ibid.* Judge Williams would have held the coverage formula of §4(b) “irrational” and unconstitutional. *Id.*, at 885.

We granted certiorari. 568 U. S. \_\_\_\_ (2012).

## II

In *Northwest Austin*, we stated that “the Act imposes current burdens and must be justified by current needs.” 557 U. S., at 203. And we concluded that “a departure from the fundamental principle of equal sovereignty requires a showing that a statute’s disparate geographic coverage is sufficiently related to the problem that it targets.” *Ibid.* These basic principles guide our review of the question before us. [ 1 ]

## A

The Constitution and laws of the United States are “the supreme Law of the Land.” U. S. Const., Art. VI, cl. 2. State legislation may not contravene federal law. The Federal Government does not, however, have a general right to review and veto state enactments before they go into effect. A proposal to grant such authority to “negative” state laws was considered at the Constitutional Convention, but rejected in favor of allowing state laws to take effect, subject to later challenge under the Supremacy Clause. See 1 Records of the Federal Convention of 1787, pp. 21, 164–168 (M.

Farrand ed. 1911); 2 *Id.*, at 27–29, 390–392.

Outside the strictures of the Supremacy Clause, States retain broad autonomy in structuring their governments and pursuing legislative objectives. Indeed, the Constitution provides that all powers not specifically granted to the Federal Government are reserved to the States or citizens. Amdt. 10. This “allocation of powers in our federal system preserves the integrity, dignity, and residual sovereignty of the States.” *Bond v. United States*, 564 U. S. \_\_\_, \_\_\_ (2011) (slip op., at 9). But the federal balance “is not just an end in itself: Rather, federalism secures to citizens the liberties that derive from the diffusion of sovereign power.” *Ibid.* (internal quotation marks omitted).

More specifically, “the Framers of the Constitution intended the States to keep for themselves, as provided in the Tenth Amendment, the power to regulate elections.” *Gregory v. Ashcroft*, 501 U. S. 452–462 (1991) (quoting *Sugarman v. Douglass*, 413 U. S. 634, 647 (1973); some internal quotation marks omitted). Of course, the Federal Government retains significant control over federal elections. For instance, the Constitution authorizes Congress to establish the time and manner for electing Senators and Representatives. Art. I, §4, cl. 1; see also *Arizona v. Inter Tribal Council of Ariz., Inc.*, ante, at 4–6. But States have “broad powers to determine the conditions under which the right of suffrage may be exercised.” *Carrington v. Rash*, 380 U. S. 89, 91 (1965) (internal quotation marks omitted); see also *Arizona*, ante, at 13–15. And “[e]ach State has the power to prescribe the qualifications of its officers and the manner in which they shall be chosen.” *Boyd v. Nebraska ex rel. Thayer*, 143 U. S. 135, 161 (1892). Drawing lines for congressional districts is likewise “primarily the duty and responsibility of the State.” *Perry v. Perez*, 565 U. S. \_\_\_, \_\_\_ (2012) (per curiam) (slip op., at 3) (internal quotation marks omitted).

Not only do States retain sovereignty under the Constitution, there is also a “fundamental principle of equal sovereignty” among the States. *Northwest Austin*, supra, at 203 (citing *United States v. Louisiana*, 363 U. S. 1, 16 (1960); *Lessee of Pollard v. Hagan*, 3 How. 212, 223 (1845); and *Texas v. White*, 7 Wall. 700, 725–726

(1869); emphasis added). Over a hundred years ago, this Court explained that our Nation “was and is a union of States, equal in power, dignity and authority.” *Coyle v. Smith*, 221 U. S. 559, 567 (1911). Indeed, “the constitutional equality of the States is essential to the harmonious operation of the scheme upon which the Republic was organized.” *Id.*, at 580. Coyle concerned the admission of new States, and Katzenbach rejected the notion that the principle operated as a bar on differential treatment outside that context. 383 U. S., at 328–329. At the same time, as we made clear in *Northwest Austin*, the fundamental principle of equal sovereignty remains highly pertinent in assessing subsequent disparate treatment of States. 557 U. S., at 203.

The Voting Rights Act sharply departs from these basic principles. It suspends “all changes to state election law—however innocuous—until they have been precleared by federal authorities in Washington, D. C.” *Id.*, at 202. States must beseech the Federal Government for permission to implement laws that they would otherwise have the right to enact and execute on their own, subject of course to any injunction in a §2 action. The Attorney General has 60 days to object to a preclearance request, longer if he requests more information. See 28 CFR §§51.9, 51.37. If a State seeks preclearance from a three-judge court, the process can take years.

And despite the tradition of equal sovereignty, the Act applies to only nine States (and several additional counties). While one State waits months or years and expends funds to implement a validly enacted law, its neighbor can typically put the same law into effect immediately, through the normal legislative process. Even if a noncovered jurisdiction is sued, there are important differences between those proceedings and preclearance proceedings; the preclearance proceeding “not only switches the burden of proof to the supplicant jurisdiction, but also applies substantive standards quite different from those governing the rest of the nation.” 679 F. 3d, at 884 (Williams, J., dissenting) (case below).

All this explains why, when we first upheld the Act in 1966, we described it as “stringent” and “potent.” *Katzenbach*, 383 U. S., at 308, 315, 337. We recognized that it “may have been an uncommon exercise of congressional power,” but concluded that “legislative



measures not otherwise appropriate" could be justified by "exceptional conditions." *Id.*, at 334. We have since noted that the Act "authorizes federal intrusion into sensitive areas of state and local policymaking," *Lopez*, 525 U. S., at 282, and represents an "extraordinary departure from the traditional course of relations between the States and the Federal Government," *Presley v. Etowah County Comm'n*, 502 U. S. 491–501 (1992). As we reiterated in *Northwest Austin*, the Act constitutes "extraordinary legislation otherwise unfamiliar to our federal system." 557 U. S., at 211.

## B

In 1966, we found these departures from the basic features of our system of government justified. The "blight of racial discrimination in voting" had "infected the electoral process in parts of our country for nearly a century." *Katzenbach*, 383 U. S., at 308. Several States had enacted a variety of requirements and tests "specifically designed to prevent" African-Americans from voting. *Id.*, at 310. Case-by-case litigation had proved inadequate to prevent such racial discrimination in voting, in part because States "merely switched to discriminatory devices not covered by the federal decrees," "enacted difficult new tests," or simply "defied and evaded court orders." *Id.*, at 314. Shortly before enactment of the Voting Rights Act, only 19.4 percent of African-Americans of voting age were registered to vote in Alabama, only 31.8 percent in Louisiana, and only 6.4 percent in Mississippi. *Id.*, at 313. Those figures were roughly 50 percentage points or more below the figures for whites. *Ibid.*

In short, we concluded that "[u]nder the compulsion of these unique circumstances, Congress responded in a permissibly decisive manner." *Id.*, at 334, 335. We also noted then and have emphasized since that this extra-ordinary legislation was intended to be temporary, set to expire after five years. *Id.*, at 333; *Northwest Austin*, *supra*, at 199.

At the time, the coverage formula—the means of linking the exercise of the unprecedented authority with the problem that warranted it—made sense. We found that "Congress chose to limit

its attention to the geographic areas where immediate action seemed necessary." *Katzenbach*, 383 U. S., at 328. The areas where Congress found "evidence of actual voting discrimination" shared two characteristics: "the use of tests and devices for voter registration, and a voting rate in the 1964 presidential election at least 12 points below the national average." *Id.*, at 330. We explained that "[t]ests and devices are relevant to voting discrimination because of their long history as a tool for perpetrating the evil; a low voting rate is pertinent for the obvious reason that widespread disenfranchisement must inevitably affect the number of actual voters." *Ibid.* We therefore concluded that "the coverage formula [was] rational in both practice and theory." *Ibid.* It accurately reflected those jurisdictions uniquely characterized by voting discrimination "on a pervasive scale," linking coverage to the devices used to effectuate discrimination and to the resulting disenfranchisement. *Id.*, at 308. The formula ensured that the "stringent remedies [were] aimed at areas where voting discrimination ha[d] been most flagrant." *Id.*, at 315.

## C

Nearly 50 years later, things have changed [dramatically]. *Shelby County* contends that the preclearance [requirement], even without regard to its disparate coverage, is now unconstitutional. Its arguments have a good deal of force. In the covered jurisdictions, "[v]oter turnout and registration rates now approach parity. Blatantly discriminatory evasions of federal decrees are rare. And minority candidates hold office at unprecedented levels." *Northwest Austin*, 557 U. S., at 202. The tests and devices that blocked access to the ballot have been forbidden nationwide for over 40 years. See §6, 84Stat. 315; §102, 89Stat. 400.

Those conclusions are not ours alone. Congress said the same when it reauthorized the Act in 2006, writing that "[s]ignificant progress has been made in eliminating first generation barriers experienced by minority voters, including increased numbers of registered minority voters, minority voter turnout, and minority representation in Congress, State legislatures, and local elected offices." §2(b)(1), 120Stat. 577. The House Report elaborated that "the number of African-Americans who are registered and who turn



out to cast ballots has increased significantly over the last 40 years, particularly since 1982," and noted that "[i]n some circumstances, minorities register to vote and cast ballots at levels that surpass those of white voters." H. R. Rep. No. 109-478, p. 12 (2006). That Report also explained that there have been "significant increases in the number of African-Americans serving in elected offices"; more specifically, there has been approximately a 1,000 percent increase since 1965 in the number of African-American elected officials in the six States originally covered by the Voting Rights Act. Id., at 18.

The following chart, compiled from the Senate and House Reports, compares voter registration numbers from 1965 to those from 2004 in the six originally covered States. These are the numbers that were before Congress when it reauthorized the Act in 2006:

| Voter Registration Numbers |       |       |      |       |       |      |
|----------------------------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|------|
|                            | 1965  |       |      | 2004  |       |      |
|                            | White | Black | Gap  | White | Black | Gap  |
| Alabama                    | 69.2  | 19.3  | 49.9 | 73.8  | 72.9  | 0.9  |
| Georgia                    | 62.6  | 27.4  | 35.2 | 63.5  | 64.2  | -0.7 |
| Louisiana                  | 80.5  | 31.6  | 48.9 | 75.1  | 71.7  | 4.0  |
| Mississippi                | 69.9  | 6.7   | 63.2 | 72.3  | 76.1  | -3.8 |
| South Carolina             | 75.7  | 37.3  | 38.4 | 74.4  | 74.4  | 3.3  |
| Virginia                   | 61.1  | 38.3  | 22.8 | 68.2  | 68.2  | 10.8 |

See S. Rep. No. 109-295, p. 11 (2006); H. R. Rep. No. 109-478, at 12. The 2004 figures come from the Census Bureau. Census Bureau data from the most recent election indicate that African-American voter turnout exceeded white voter turnout in five of the six States originally covered by §5, with a gap in the sixth State of less than one half of one percent. See Dept. of Commerce, Census Bureau, Reported Voting and Registration, by Sex, Race and Hispanic Origin, for States (Table 4b). The preclearance statistics are also illuminating. In the first decade after enactment of §5, the

Attorney General objected to 14.2 percent of proposed voting changes. H. R. Rep. No. 109-478, at 22. In the last decade before reenactment, the Attorney General objected to a mere 0.16 percent. S. Rep. No. 109-295, at 13.

There is no doubt that these improvements are in large part because of the Voting Rights Act. The Act has proved immensely successful at redressing racial discrimination and integrating the voting process. See §2(b)(1), 120Stat. 577. During the "Freedom Summer" of 1964, in Philadelphia, Mississippi, three men were murdered while working in the area to register African-American voters. See *United States v. Price*, 383 U. S. 787, 790 (1966). On "Bloody Sunday" in 1965, in Selma, Alabama, police beat and used tear gas against hundreds marching in [support] of African-American enfranchisement. See *Northwest Austin*, supra, at 220, n. 3 (Thomas, J., concurring in judgment in part and dissenting in part). Today both of those towns are governed by African-American mayors. Problems remain in these States and others, but there is no denying that, due to the Voting Rights Act, our Nation has made great strides.

Yet the Act has not eased the restrictions in §5 or narrowed the scope of the coverage formula in §4(b) along the way. Those extraordinary and unprecedented features were reauthorized—as if nothing had changed. In fact, the Act's unusual remedies have grown even stronger. When Congress reauthorized the Act in 2006, it did so for another 25 years on top of the previous 40—a far cry from the initial five-year period. See 42 U. S. C. §1973b(a)(8). Congress also expanded the prohibitions in §5. We had previously interpreted §5 to prohibit only those redistricting plans that would have the purpose or effect of worsening the position of minority groups. See *Bossier II*, 528 U. S., at 324, 335–336. In 2006, Congress amended §5 to prohibit laws that could have favored such groups but did not do so because of a discriminatory purpose, see 42 U. S. C. §1973c(c), even though we had stated that such broadening of §5 coverage would "exacerbate the substantial federalism costs that the preclearance procedure already exacts, perhaps to the extent of raising concerns about §5's constitutionality," *Bossier II*, supra, at 336 (citation and internal quotation marks omitted). In addition, Congress expanded §5 to

prohibit any voting law “that has the purpose of or will have the effect of diminishing the ability of any citizens of the United States,” on account of race, color, or language minority status, “to elect their preferred candidates of choice.” §1973c(b). In light of those two amendments, the bar that covered jurisdictions must clear has been raised even as the conditions justifying that requirement have dramatically improved.

We have also previously highlighted the concern that “the preclearance requirements in one State [might] be unconstitutional in another.” *Northwest Austin*, 557 U. S., at 203; see *Georgia v. Ashcroft*, 539 U. S., at 491 (Kennedy, J., concurring) (“considerations of race that would doom a redistricting plan under the Fourteenth Amendment or §2 [of the Voting Rights Act] seem to be what save it under §5”). Nothing has happened since to alleviate this troubling concern about the current application of §5.

Respondents do not deny that there have been improvements on the ground, but argue that much of this can be attributed to the deterrent effect of §5, which dissuades covered jurisdictions from engaging in discrimination that they would resume should §5 be struck down. Under this theory, however, §5 would be effectively immune from scrutiny; no matter how “clean” the record of covered jurisdictions, the argument could always be made that it was deterrence that accounted for the good behavior.

The provisions of §5 apply only to those jurisdictions singled out by §4. We now consider whether that coverage formula is constitutional in light of current conditions.

III

A

When upholding the constitutionality of the coverage formula in 1966, we concluded that it was “rational in both practice and theory.” *Katzenbach*, 383 U. S., at 330. The formula looked to cause (discriminatory tests) and [effect] (low voter registration and turnout), and tailored the remedy (preclearance) to those jurisdictions exhibiting both.

By 2009, however, we concluded that the “coverage formula raise[d] serious constitutional questions.” *Northwest Austin*, 557 U. S., at 204. As we explained, a statute’s “current burdens” must be justified by “current needs,” and any “disparate geographic coverage” must be “sufficiently related to the problem that it targets.” *Id.*, at 203. The coverage formula met that test in 1965, but no longer does so.

Coverage today is based on decades-old data and eradicated practices. The formula captures States by reference to literacy tests and low voter registration and turnout in the 1960s and early 1970s. But such tests have been banned nationwide for over 40 years. §6, 84Stat. 315; §102, 89Stat. 400. And voter registration and turnout numbers in the covered States have risen dramatically in the years since. H. R. Rep. No. 109–478, at 12. Racial disparity in those numbers was compelling evidence justifying the preclearance remedy and the coverage formula. See, e.g., *Katzenbach*, *supra*, at 313, 329–330. There is no longer such a disparity.

In 1965, the States could be divided into two groups: those with a recent history of voting tests and low voter registration and turnout, and those without those characteristics. Congress based its coverage formula on that distinction. Today the Nation is no longer divided along those lines, yet the Voting Rights Act continues to treat it as if it were.

B

The Government’s defense of the formula is limited. First, the Government contends that the formula is “reverse-engineered”: Congress identified the jurisdictions to be covered and then came up with criteria to describe them. Brief for Federal Respondent 48–49. Under that reasoning, there need not be any logical relationship [between] the criteria in the formula and the reason for coverage; all that is necessary is that the formula happen to capture the jurisdictions Congress wanted to single out.

The Government suggests that *Katzenbach* sanctioned such an approach, but the analysis in *Katzenbach* was quite different. *Katzenbach* reasoned that the coverage formula was rational because the “formula . . . was relevant to the problem”: “Tests and



devices are relevant to voting discrimination because of their long history as a tool for perpetrating the evil; a low voting rate is pertinent for the obvious reason that widespread disenfranchisement must inevitably affect the number of actual voters." 383 U. S., at 329, 330.

Here, by contrast, the Government's [reverse-engineering] argument does not even attempt to demonstrate the continued relevance of the formula to the problem it targets. And in the context of a decision as significant as this one—subjecting a disfavored subset of States to "extraordinary legislation otherwise unfamiliar to our federal system," *Northwest Austin*, supra, at 211—that failure to establish even relevance is fatal.

The Government falls back to the argument that because the formula was relevant in 1965, its continued use is permissible so long as any discrimination remains in the States Congress identified back then—regardless of how that discrimination compares to discrimination in States unburdened by coverage. Brief for Federal Respondent 49–50. This argument does not look to "current political conditions," *Northwest Austin*, supra, at 203, but instead relies on a comparison between the States in 1965. That comparison reflected the different histories of the North and South. It was in the South that slavery was upheld by law until uprooted by the Civil War, that the reign of Jim Crow denied African-Americans the most basic freedoms, and that state and local governments worked tirelessly to disenfranchise citizens on the basis of race. The Court invoked that history—rightly so—in sustaining the disparate coverage of the Voting Rights Act in 1966. See *Katzenbach*, supra, at 308 ("The constitutional propriety of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 must be judged with reference to the historical experience which it reflects.").

But history did not end in 1965. By the time the Act was reauthorized in 2006, there had been 40 more years of it. In assessing the "current need[ ]" for a preclearance system that treats States differently from one another today, that history cannot be ignored. During that time, largely because of the Voting Rights Act, voting tests were abolished, disparities in voter registration and turnout due to race were erased, and African-Americans attained political office in record numbers. And yet the coverage formula that

Congress reauthorized in 2006 ignores these developments, keeping the focus on decades-old data relevant to decades-old problems, rather than current data reflecting current needs.

The Fifteenth Amendment commands that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race or color, and it gives Congress the power to enforce that command. The Amendment is not designed to punish for the past; its purpose is to ensure a better future. See *Rice v. Cayetano*, 528 U. S. 495, 512 (2000) ("Consistent with the design of the Constitution, the [Fifteenth] Amendment is cast in fundamental terms, terms transcending the particular controversy which was the immediate impetus for its enactment."). To serve that purpose, Congress—if it is to divide the States—must identify those jurisdictions to be singled out on a basis that makes sense in light of current conditions. It cannot rely simply on the past. We made that clear in *Northwest Austin*, and we make it clear again today.

C

In defending the coverage formula, the Government, the intervenors, and the dissent also rely heavily on data from the record that they claim justify disparate coverage. Congress compiled thousands of pages of evidence before reauthorizing the Voting Rights Act. The court below and the parties have debated what that record shows—they have gone back and forth about whether to compare covered to noncovered jurisdictions as blocks, how to disaggregate the data State by State, how to weigh §2 cases as evidence of ongoing discrimination, and whether to consider evidence not before Congress, among other issues. Compare, e.g., 679 F. 3d, at 873–883 (case below), with *id.*, at 889–902 (*Williams*, J., dissenting). Regardless of how to look at the record, however, no one can fairly say that it shows anything approaching the "pervasive," "flagrant," "widespread," and "rampant" discrimination that faced Congress in 1965, and that clearly distinguished the covered jurisdictions from the rest of the Nation at that time. *Katzenbach*, supra, at 308, 315, 331; *Northwest Austin*, 557 U. S., at 201.

But a more fundamental problem remains: Congress did not use the



record it compiled to shape a coverage formula grounded in current conditions. It instead reenacted a formula based on 40-year-old facts having no logical relation to the present day. The dissent relies on "second-generation barriers," which are not impediments to the casting of ballots, but rather electoral arrangements that affect the weight of minority votes. That does not cure the problem. Viewing the preclearance requirements as targeting such efforts simply highlights the irrationality of continued reliance on the §4 coverage formula, which is based on voting tests and access to the ballot, not vote dilution. We cannot pretend that we are reviewing an updated statute, or try our hand at updating the statute ourselves, based on the new record compiled by Congress. Contrary to the dissent's contention, see post, at 23, we are not ignoring the record; we are simply recognizing that it played no role in shaping the statutory formula before us today.

The dissent also turns to the record to argue that, in light of voting discrimination in Shelby County, the county cannot complain about the provisions that subject it to preclearance. Post, at 23–30. But that is like saying that a driver pulled over pursuant to a policy of stopping all redheads cannot complain about that policy, if it turns out his license has expired. Shelby County's claim is that the coverage formula here is unconstitutional in all its applications, because of how it selects the jurisdictions [subjected] to preclearance. The county was selected based on that formula, and may challenge it in court.

D

The dissent proceeds from a flawed premise. It quotes the famous sentence from *McCulloch v. Maryland*, 4 Wheat. 316, 421 (1819), with the following emphasis: "Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the letter and spirit of the constitution, are constitutional." Post, at 9 (emphasis in dissent). But this case is about a part of the sentence that the dissent does not emphasize—the part that asks whether a legislative means is "consist[ent] with the letter and spirit of the constitution." The dissent states that "[i]t cannot tenably be maintained" that this is an issue with regard to the

Voting Rights Act, post, at 9, but four years ago, in an opinion joined by two of today's dissenters, the Court expressly stated that "[t]he Act's preclearance requirement and its coverage formula raise serious constitutional questions." *Northwest Austin*, supra, at 204. The dissent does not explain how those "serious constitutional questions" became untenable in four short years.

The dissent treats the Act as if it were just like any other piece of legislation, but this Court has made clear from the beginning that the Voting Rights Act is far from ordinary. At the risk of repetition, Katzenbach indicated that the Act was "uncommon" and "not otherwise appropriate," but was justified by "exceptional" and "unique" conditions. 383 U. S., at 334, 335. Multiple decisions since have reaffirmed the Act's "extraordinary" nature. See, e.g., *Northwest Austin*, supra, at 211. Yet the dissent goes so far as to suggest instead that the preclearance requirement and disparate treatment of the States should be upheld into the future "unless there [is] no or almost no evidence of unconstitutional action by States." Post, at 33.

In other ways as well, the dissent analyzes the [question] presented as if our decision in *Northwest Austin* never happened. For example, the dissent refuses to [consider] the principle of equal sovereignty, despite *Northwest Austin*'s emphasis on its significance. *Northwest Austin* also emphasized the "dramatic" progress since 1965, 557 U. S., at 201, but the dissent describes current levels of discrimination as "flagrant," "widespread," and "pervasive," post, at 7, 17 (internal quotation marks omitted). Despite the fact that *Northwest Austin* requires an Act's "disparate geographic coverage" to be "sufficiently related" to its targeted problems, 557 U. S., at 203, the dissent maintains that an Act's limited coverage actually eases Congress's burdens, and suggests that a fortuitous relationship should suffice. Although *Northwest Austin* stated definitively that "current burdens" must be justified by "current needs," *ibid.*, the dissent argues that the coverage formula can be justified by history, and that the required showing can be weaker on reenactment than when the law was first passed.

There is no valid reason to insulate the coverage [formula] from review merely because it was previously enacted 40 years ago. If

Congress had started from scratch in 2006, it plainly could not have enacted the present coverage formula. It would have been irrational for Congress to distinguish between States in such a fundamental way based on 40-year-old data, when today's statistics tell an entirely different story. And it would have been irrational to base coverage on the use of voting tests 40 years ago, when such tests have been illegal since that time. But that is exactly what Congress has done.

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Striking down an Act of Congress "is the gravest and most delicate duty that this Court is called on to perform." *Blodgett v. Holden*, 275 U. S. 142, 148 (1927) (Holmes, J., concurring). We do not do so lightly. That is why, in 2009, we took care to avoid ruling on the constitutionality of the Voting Rights Act when asked to do so, and instead resolved the case then before us on statutory grounds. But in issuing that decision, we expressed our broader concerns about the constitutionality of the Act. Congress could have updated the coverage formula at that time, but did not do so. Its failure to act leaves us today with no choice but to declare §4(b) unconstitutional. The formula in that section can no longer be used as a basis for subjecting jurisdictions to preclearance.

Our decision in no way affects the permanent, nationwide ban on racial discrimination in voting found in §2. We issue no holding on §5 itself, only on the coverage formula. Congress may draft another formula based on current conditions. Such a formula is an initial prerequisite to a determination that exceptional conditions still exist justifying such an "extraordinary departure from the traditional course of relations between the States and the Federal Government." *Presley*, 502 U. S., at 500–501. Our country has changed, and while any racial discrimination in voting is too much, Congress must ensure that the legislation it passes to remedy that problem speaks to current conditions.

The judgment of the Court of Appeals is reversed.

It is so ordered.

## The Murrah Federal Building Bombing



On April 19, 1996, a truck filled with explosives detonated outside of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 people, 19 of whom were children, and injuring hundreds more. More than 300 buildings nearby were damaged or destroyed. At the time, it was the largest terrorist attack to occur in the United States. Investigations began immediately. More than 28,000 interviews were conducted, and nearly three-and-a-half tons of evidence were collected. On April 21, an eyewitness account led authorities to arrest and charge anti-government and former U.S. Army soldier Timothy McVeigh.

Timothy McVeigh had grown suspicious of the U.S. federal government as the military began to downsize following the Cold War. McVeigh, and his accomplice, Terry Nichols, were additionally radicalized by the Waco siege in April 1993, where members of the Branch Davidian religious sect perished. It was the two year anniversary of the Waco siege when McVeigh parked the explosive truck outside of the Murrah Building.

McVeigh was convicted on June 2, 1997. On August 14 of that year, the death penalty was imposed, and, four years later, McVeigh was put to death. After the bombing, the Murrah Building was demolished. In its place was built the Oklahoma City National Memorial Museum, which honors the victims, survivors, rescuers, and all who were affected by the bombing.

## Ongoing Issues in Domestic Politics

As you read, President Barack Obama overhauled the United States healthcare system during his time in office. Obama's new health care plan aimed to lower health care costs and expand health care coverage nationwide. This new health care plan became known as the Affordable Care Act.

Under the Obama administration, large immigration reforms also occurred. Established in 2012, DACA, or the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals, allows individuals living illegally in the United States after being brought into the country as children to receive a renewable two-year period in which they are protected from deportation. These individuals also have the ability to apply for a work permit in the United States. DACA was created after the recognition that "DREAMers," or undocumented child immigrants, have been raised almost fully in the United States and should thus have an opportunity to become citizens. The first attempts at a program similar to DACA occurred in 2001 with the DREAM Act. This act would have provided a path to permanent residency for illegal immigrants in the United States. However, the DREAM Act and various subsequent versions of the bill failed to pass Congress. This failure was seen as a driving force behind the push for DACA. In 2014 following the implementation of DACA, Obama proposed a further expansion of DACA to additional illegal immigrants. However, 26 states sued the U.S. District Court in Texas, asking the court to prohibit the DACA expansion. An injunction was then issued, which prevented the expansion of DACA. Meanwhile, the lawsuit turned Supreme Court case, *Texas v. United States*, was heard in the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court left the injunction in place, thus blocking the planned DACA expansion.

As of August 2018, more than 699,350 individuals living in the United States under DACA. However, DACA was recently rescinded by the Trump Administration in 2017, though some state courts still continue to recognize the program. It is unknown how political changes under the current administration and future administration will affect the repeal of the program.

Current changes under the new administration include a reevaluation and subsequent lowering of tax rates. In 2017, President Trump signed the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act. The goal of this act was to decrease individual income tax rates, as well as eliminate personal exemptions. The result of this would be an increased tax deduction for taxpayers. The act would also lower the corporate tax rate. However, there continues to be controversy over Trump's tax policy, with some arguing that the policy instead protects the upper-class and large corporations. It is unclear the lasting effects of the current tax policy.



**World History**  
**Packet for April 20<sup>th</sup>- May 1<sup>st</sup>**

Week of April 20<sup>th</sup>- April 24<sup>th</sup>

For this week, students should answer the questions in the interactive student notebook under Section 1, Section 2, Section 3, and Section 4 using the chapter on the New Geopolitics.

Week of April 27<sup>th</sup>- May 1<sup>st</sup>

For this week, students should answer all of the vocabulary in the Chapter on the Impact of Globalization. All terms can be found at the beginning of the lesson and all the definitions can be found within the text. After reading the text, students should also make a chart outlining the costs and benefits of globalization. Once the chart is complete, students should write a 3-paragraph essay arguing whether or not globalization is good for society.

## The New Geopolitics

### *How did the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, affect global politics?*

#### PREVIEW

Study the image and read the Introduction in the Student Text. Then, answer the following questions.

1. What were the four locations in which the hijacked planes crashed?
2. What is the estimated number of casualties as a result of 9/11?
3. How do you think the terrorist attack on 9/11 affected Americans' sense of security?

#### READING NOTES

#### **Vocabulary Terms**

As you complete the Reading Notes, use these terms in your answers.

|                   |                                   |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| war on terror     | weapons of mass destruction (WMD) |
| national building | Arab Spring                       |

#### **Section 1**

1. What was the goal of the terrorist network al Qaeda and its leader, Osama bin Laden?
2. What was bin Laden's goal for the attacks on the Twin Towers?
3. In what ways did the United States react to 9/11?
4. Why was the invasion of Iraq in search of WMDs controversial?

#### **Section 2**

1. What is nation building?
2. Why was Pakistan angered by United States drone strikes?
3. Where was bin Laden captured and killed? Why did this strain the relationship between the United States and Pakistan?

**Section 3**

1. Why did Bouazizi set himself on fire? What effect did his actions have?
2. What was the "Day of Rage"?
3. What was the importance of social media during the Arab Spring?

**Section 4**

1. What are some examples of "America First" policies?
2. What is one consequence of these "America First" policies?
3. How was Russia involved in the 2016 Presidential election?

**P R O C E S S I N G**

Write a newspaper article about the events of 9/11 from the perspective of a news reporter at Ground Zero. Your newspaper article must

- include visual, auditory, and olfactory details
- be accurate to events from September 11, 2001
- describe three resulting actions taken by the U.S. government in response to the terrorist attacks

Design and write your newspaper article to simulate a real news article. Be sure to check for spelling and grammar.

**The New Geopolitics**

How did the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, affect global politics?

**Vocabulary**

Glossary Vocabulary Cards

war on terror

weapons of mass destruction (WMD)

nation building

Arab Spring

**Introduction**



An annual "Tribute in Light" memorializes the victims at Ground Zero, the site of the 9/11 terrorist attacks in New York City.

On the morning of September 11, 2001, a series of delays made Richard Moller late to work. His office was on the 100th floor of the North Tower of the World Trade Center in New York City. Before Moller reached his office, an airplane hijacked by terrorists smashed into the North Tower. Moller realized that the delays that morning had saved his life. "If I had gotten in an elevator just a few minutes earlier," he recalled, "I would be dead."

Most Americans can recall exactly where they were when they heard the news. Many people turned on their televisions just in time to see a second passenger plane slam into the South Tower 17 minutes after the first. As fire began consuming the upper floors of both buildings, most people in the towers managed to escape down stairwells. But many did not. Shock turned to horror as the Twin Towers collapsed. The South Tower was the first to fall at 9:59 a.m. The North Tower collapsed at 10:28 a.m. Less than an hour before, a third hijacked passenger jet had crashed into the Pentagon building near Washington, D.C. Soon after

came news that a fourth hijacked plane had crashed in Pennsylvania.

As Americans watched the tragedy unfold, they reacted with emotions ranging from bewilderment and dismay to anger and outrage. Most sensed that life had suddenly changed. The deaths provoked both an outpouring of grief and tremendous anxiety as Americans all around the country asked one another, "Are you all right?" In just two hours, nearly 3,000 people lost their lives.

In this lesson, you will learn about how the terrorist attacks of 9/11 had shattered the sense of security Americans had built after the Cold War. You will also discover how the hopes for a more peaceful world were displaced by a resurgence of international conflict.

## 1. The Immediate Impact of 9/11

With the most powerful military in the world, most Americans had believed that the United States was secure from outside threats. But after 9/11, there was a mixture of stunned disbelief and fear. No one knew how many terrorists might still be in the country. Muslim Americans faced harsh and racist attacks by people who wrongly believed that al Qaeda was supported by Islam and the majority of Muslims. The fear of possible future attacks affected U.S. policy at home and abroad. These changes spread across the world, inciting fear in other Western countries, such as the UK, and shaping a new geopolitical age.

**The Start of the War on Terror** Americans quickly learned that the international terrorist network al Qaeda had carried out the 9/11 attacks. The organization's leader was Osama bin Laden, a wealthy Saudi Arabian and Muslim extremist. Al Qaeda sought to rid Muslim countries of Western influence and establish a "pan-Islamic caliphate." Bin Laden believed that all Muslims had a duty "to kill the Americans and their allies—civilian or military." While the vast majority of Muslims rejected bin Laden's words and believed terrorism was counter to Islamic values, some felt that the United States did not respect Islam or threatened Muslim interests. Bin Laden used those bitter feelings to promote his cause and to recruit terrorists throughout the world.

Bin Laden's goal for the 9/11 attacks was to provoke the United States into a costly war that would destabilize the world and "hemorrhage" the U.S. economy. He believed that a global, ongoing war between the



West and the Islamic world would allow him to seize power and establish the pan-Islamic caliphate.

The United States reacted strongly to 9/11. It created the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC), and Transportation Security Administration (TSA) to protect the United States at home. President Bush also declared a **war on terror**. In a speech to Congress, Bush explained that the war would be waged not only against the terrorists themselves, but also against any governments that sponsored them.

**Confronting the Taliban in Afghanistan** The war on terror began in Afghanistan. At the time, a radical group called the Taliban controlled the nation. These ultraconservative Muslims were known for their harsh punishments and their rules barring women from working, receiving an education, or enjoying other basic rights. The Taliban also permitted al Qaeda to operate terrorist training camps on Afghan soil.



After 9/11, airports increased security to try to prevent future terrorist acts. Security officials carried out more rigorous searches and began to use full-body scanners. Other measures included banning containers of liquid larger than 3.4 ounces, requiring the removal of shoes, and scanning all baggage.



U.S. soldiers and Iraqi civilians toppled this statue of Saddam Hussein after he was overthrown. In 2006, Hussein was executed.

President Bush asked the Taliban to turn Osama bin Laden over to the United States after 9/11, but the Afghan leaders refused. The United States then formed an international coalition, which included anti-Taliban Afghan militias, to overthrow the Taliban and capture bin Laden. By mid-November 2001, Afghanistan's capital, Kabul, and other major cities had fallen, and Taliban rule in Afghanistan ended. U.S. forces then began to hunt for bin Laden and his followers, who had gone into hiding.

**Fighting the Iraqi Regime** After 9/11, President Bush urged that Iraq be included in the war on terror, even though the Arab nation had taken no direct action against the United States. Since taking power in 1979, Iraq's dictator Saddam Hussein, a Sunni Muslim, had murdered many thousands of Shi'ites and other Iraqis. The Sunni and Shi'a branches of Islam have a long-standing conflict in the Muslim world. Hussein had also used chemical weapons against the Kurds, an ethnic group in northern Iraq. After the Persian Gulf War, Hussein had gone back on promises to allow UN inspectors to search for **weapons of mass destruction** (WMD) in Iraq. WMD include chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, which the coalition forces had banned.

Bush was ready to act unilaterally without the approval of U.S. allies or the UN. Normally, the UN would be responsible for inspecting and policing issues regarding weapons of mass destruction. This foreign policy of taking action to head off trouble became known as the Bush Doctrine. In October 2002, persuaded by Bush's arguments, Congress authorized the president to send troops to Iraq if necessary. In March 2003, the United States launched an invasion of Iraq supported by

some three dozen nations who pledged to also send troops. But several European allies, including France and Germany, opposed the invasion, and the UN failed to approve it.

Coalition forces toppled the Iraqi government within a month. Hussein escaped, but was later captured, tried in an Iraqi court, and executed. U.S. inspection teams searched for banned weapons but discovered, to their surprise, that Iraq had no significant weapons of mass destruction.

Since this discovery, many have questioned whether the United States was justified in the initial invasion of Iraq and raise doubts about Bush's motives for pushing war. David Kay, who led the U.S. search for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, called for an investigation of the flawed intelligence regarding Iraq's weapons. In 2005, the Commission on the Intelligence Capabilities of the United States concluded that "the Intelligence Community was dead wrong in almost all of its pre-war judgements about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction . . . What the intelligence professionals told you about Saddam Hussein's programs was what they believed. They were simply wrong."

## 2. The War Continues

The United States' vision for a short conflict that would resolve the issues and fears of terrorism in Afghanistan and Iraq turned into decade long conflicts. The longer the United States remained involved, the more complex the situations became and the harder it was to withdraw U.S. troops from the area. In toppling the current regimes, the United States left these areas with a large amount of political instability. U.S. leaders believed that the continued presence of U.S. troops would help stabilize the governments.



U.S. soldiers operated checkpoints throughout Iraq. This checkpoint in Makhmur, in northern Iraq, was at the site of a refugee camp.

**Rebuilding Iraq** Although most Iraqis welcomed the end of Hussein's regime, some resented having foreign troops in their country. After the invasion and short period of intense warfare that overthrew the Iraqi government, many major cities experienced a period of severe violence and looting. Some saw the U.S. overthrow of the Iraqi government as a new type of imperialism, especially as the occupation of Iraq stretched from months into years. Others believed that Iraq was better without the brutality of Hussein's government. Many religious leaders who had been persecuted by Hussein's regime were able to return to Iraq and the holy cities that they had been barred from entering.

The removal of Hussein's regime, however, did not lead to a stable Iraq. An armed resistance, including insurgent forces from both inside and outside of Iraq, soon rose up to battle the coalition forces. Meanwhile, armed conflicts between rival Sunni and Shi'a militias increased, especially in Baghdad. Many analysts began calling the conflict in Iraq a civil war. Civilian casualties from violence grew into the tens of thousands.

The United States and Iraq began the difficult task of **nation**

**building**—the construction of political institutions and a stable government within a country. The United States helped create transitional governments. In 2005, as political violence increased, Iraqi citizens around the world elected Jalal Talabani as the president of Iraq. The political violence finally began to decrease in 2007, and in 2010, President Obama announced that all U.S. troops would leave Iraq by the end of the following year. The withdrawal went as scheduled, and U.S. troops formally left the Arab nation in December 2011.

**The War in Afghanistan Continues** The Taliban, aided by advisors from al Qaeda, resurfaced in Afghanistan and were able to take back territory that they had lost earlier. In late 2009, Obama sent about 30,000 U.S. troops to help NATO forces and the Afghan army thwart the Taliban assaults. Despite this increase, the Taliban and al Qaeda were able to remain operational by hiding across the border in Pakistan. NATO began the process of transferring military and security responsibilities to the Afghan forces in 2011.



New technology, like the Predator B unmanned aircraft, have drastically changed the landscape of war. However, the increase in drone strikes has led to an increased number of civilian casualties.

Meanwhile, the U.S. military also launched a campaign of drone attacks against al Qaeda, killing a number of al Qaeda officials in Pakistan. The drone strikes carried out by the United States grew in frequency and caused an increasing number of civilian casualties. Public outrage over these deaths caused the Pakistani government to protest that the United States was violating its sovereignty. Pakistan reacted even more strongly in May 2011, when a U.S. assault force on the ground finally located and killed Osama bin Laden in Pakistan. Pakistan had claimed that bin Laden was not in Pakistan. However, his location in a compound near the Pakistan Military Academy brought these claims into question. This strained the already fragile relationship between the United States and Pakistan.

With bin Laden dead and the Taliban apparently in retreat, Obama



decided to begin reducing the number of U.S. soldiers in the region. However, some U.S. forces stayed past Obama's 2014 withdraw date, mainly to train more Afghan forces in counterterrorist and insurgent operations.

**The Rise of Cyber-Terrorism** Cyber-terrorists use digital technology to disrupt business, affect services, or block access to needed information. Some nations use cyber-terrorism as a weapon. There is widespread belief that groups with ties to North Korea, as well as agents of the North Korean government, are responsible for launching global attacks of cyber-terrorism. These often include strikes against targets like financial institutions, subway systems, and networks that hold military information. Experts also warn that terrorist groups like ISIS are developing similar capabilities.

### 3. The Arab Spring

Mohamed Bouazizi was a Tunisian street vendor who was constantly harassed by corrupt Tunisian officials. On December 17, 2010, Bouazizi was beaten, his property was confiscated. When he went to complain to the governor of his unfair treatment, he was denied a meeting. That afternoon, Bouazizi set himself on fire outside of the governor's office. His actions highlighted the public's feelings toward ongoing corruption, underemployment, and authoritarianism both in Tunisia and across the Middle East and North Africa. A wave of protests broke out in Tunisia and spread throughout the region. Bouazizi became the catalyst for the Arab Spring.

**Days of Rage** Bouazizi died on January 4, 2011 as protests continued throughout Tunisia. Protesters called for the removal of Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali, the president of Tunisia, and an end to the corruption and authoritarianism of the Tunisian government. Attempts made by the Tunisian government to suppress the protesters were met with harsh international criticism. Within one month of Bouazizi's act of self-immolation, Ben Ali resigned and left Tunisia.



During the Arab Spring, protests in Cairo were held in Tahrir Square. Between January 25 and February 11, 2011, when the first wave of protests occurred, an estimated 2 million people attended protests there.

Citizens of countries across the Middle East and North Africa were inspired by the events happening in Tunisia. In early 2011, protests and revolts erupted in this largely Arab Muslim region. This series of revolts became known as the **Arab Spring**.

Some of the largest protests of the Arab Spring took place in February 2011. These large protests were called a "Day of Rage." Tens of thousands of protesters across the Middle East and North Africa took part in a Day of Rage. In Egypt, activists chanted, "Revolution until victory." In Amman, the capital of Jordan, protesters cried, "The people want to reform the regime" and "We want a fair electoral law." Protesters in Bahrain waved the flag and shouted, "For Bahrain's future, we are not afraid to be killed."

In many of these protests, social media played a key role. Activists used Facebook and Twitter posts to help organize and spread information about the uprisings. Demonstrations took place in Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Bahrain, Algeria, Iraq, Libya, Yemen, Lebanon, Iran, Syria, and elsewhere. The level of violence during these protests varied.

**The People Overthrow Authoritarians** The demonstrations that took place during the Arab Spring left a lasting impact on the region. Massive, largely peaceful protests in the capital city of Cairo led to a dismantling of the government and the arrest of Egypt's president, Hosni Mubarak. In Libya, anti-government actions took the form of an

armed rebellion. With the help of NATO air strikes, the rebel army managed to gain control of the country in August and oust the Libyan dictator, Muammar al-Gaddafi. He was killed by the opposition shortly after his capture.



This picture shows empty tear gas containers used by police officers during the Bahrain protests. These protests took place in February 2011 as a part of the Arab Spring.

Syria's dictatorship government, led by Bashar al-Assad, responded to antigovernment unrest with military force. Although the United States, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom called on Assad to step down, Assad's crackdown continued. By early 2012, more than 7,000 Syrians had died.

At least ten governments underwent changes as a result of the Arab Spring. Some governments were completely overthrown, while others underwent reforms. However, overthrowing authoritarian rule is not easy. Neither is replacing it with a democratic government. Many countries were thrown into crisis. In Syria, the protests quickly turned into a civil war which has continued through 2019.

Countries in transition to democracy, however, do not need to go it alone. Just as NATO supported Libyan freedom fighters, other global

organizations stand ready to help in the transition to democratic rule. The United Nations made clear its intention to promote justice, human rights, and political security in the region. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) promised aid as a way of encouraging economic security and stability. Even with this support, the future of democratizing countries is uncertain.

## 4. Historical Tensions Reemerge

The end of the Cold War brought an era of relative peace to the United States. Many hoped that the fear they experienced during that time was over, and that the peace that they enjoyed would last. Since 9/11, however, the world has seen a resurgence of violence and tension. International relationships have become strained and hostile, and old resentments have resurfaced.



Protesters gathered near Washington, D.C., to call for an investigation into Trump's involvement with the Russian interference in the 2016 elections. Protests were held across the country demanding that an impartial investigation take place.

**A Strained Relationship Between the United States and Europe** After World War I, the United States became a global power and influential force for democracy. It overtook Europe as the leader of the Western world.

After 9/11, countering terrorism became the priority of U.S. foreign



policy. The war on terror worked to eliminate potential threats against the United States, something that was suddenly at the forefront of the public's minds. However, the war on terror came with heavy costs that many in the West did not agree with. For example, many European countries, as well as the UN, did not agree with the U.S. invasion of Iraq.

The United States has further parted ways with its traditional allies on other matters. For example, in 2017, President Trump announced his intention to withdraw the United States from the Paris Agreement, an international agreement aimed at slowing down rapid climate change. He took an "America First" approach, claiming that the efforts to improve our global environment would be harmful to the U.S. economy. Many European leaders were outraged by this decision, as the issues of climate change affect the entire world. Policies like this strained the United States' relationship with Europe.

Because of these policies, the United States has slowly been stepping away from its place as an international leader. As a result, several European countries have taken the lead.

**Tensions Between Cold War Rivals Grow** Tensions have also grown between Russia and the United States and its European allies. As the Cold War came to a close, the United States, as well as U.S. allies in Europe, felt relief. The threat of nuclear war fell as peace talks occurred and treaties were signed. But the United States and Russia still have a precarious relationship. Clashing ideals and struggles for political and economic influence have shaped U.S.-Russia relations for decades.

During the 2016 presidential election, fears arose that the Russian government had interfered with the election. Through a series of multiagency investigations, it was revealed that the Russian government was involved in hacking efforts against the Democratic Party. The Office of the Director of National Intelligence reported that "Russian President Vladimir Putin ordered an influence campaign in 2016 aimed at the US presidential election. Russia's goals were to undermine public faith in the US democratic process, denigrate Secretary Clinton, and harm her electability and potential presidency . . . We have high confidence in these judgments." Despite the initial apparent friendship between President Trump and President Putin, other government officials have continued to point out the ongoing issues between the United States and Russia. Former House Speaker Paul Ryan stated that the Russian government "remains hostile to our most basic values and ideals." With the information that Russia actively worked toward undermining democracy in the United States, tensions between the two countries increased.

In another echo of the Cold War era, the United States and North Korea also have a strained relationship and a threat of nuclear war. Since the Korean War, North Korea has viewed the United States as an active enemy. It worked with the Soviet Union in the 1980s to develop nuclear power and, after failed attempts at disarmament agreements, tested its first nuclear weapon in 2006. Throughout the next ten years, relations between North Korea and the United States became more strained. Many fear that the ideological differences between these nations, combined with North Korea's advancement in nuclear technology, could lead to a new Cold War.

## Summary

In this lesson, you read about how the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, changed U.S. foreign policy. This policy shift affected global politics, and started conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq. U.S. relations with Europe, Russia, and North Korea have weakened or become strained.

**Cultural Interaction** After the 9/11 terrorist attacks, clashes between ideals have increased. Throughout North Africa and the Middle East, protests have pushed against authoritarianism and toward democracy. As U.S. foreign policy has changed, tensions between the United States and Russia have reemerged, while tensions have grown between the United States and Europe.

**Economic Structures** Economic inequality, marked by underemployment and corruption, has been prevalent in authoritarian regimes throughout North Africa and the Middle East. It was one of the factors that led to the Arab Spring.

**Social Structures** Conflicts between religious sects and ethnic groups destabilized areas and helped lead to the formation of terrorist organizations. In the Middle East and North Africa, authoritarian regimes have created divisions in society between the rulers and citizens of these nations.



## The Impact of Globalization

What have been the costs and benefits of globalization?

### Vocabulary

Glossary Vocabulary Cards

globalization

nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)

cultural imperialism

climate change

### Introduction



Cargo ships bring in goods to the United States from all over the world.

Apple is an American company headquartered in California that prides itself on designing its products in the United States. Although most of its products are labeled “Designed by Apple in California,” Apple manufactures most components for its products, including those for the iPhone, in other countries.

So, where does the iPhone actually come from? Two hundred suppliers from around the world provide Apple with the materials, manufacturing, and assembly for all of its products. The components for a specific iPhone model may come from dozens of manufacturers in several countries. For instance, to create the iPhone 7, Apple required 34 different components made by two dozen companies in the United States, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Germany, China, Taiwan, Japan, and South Korea. These suppliers must also obtain resources, including natural resources, to make the components for the iPhone. Some of these components are mined. The phone itself then needs to be assembled. The majority of Apple’s iPhones are assembled in China.

With such a complicated supply chain, wouldn't it be more cost-effective for Apple to produce iPhones differently or in one country? Not necessarily. Samsung, the largest smartphone maker, manufactures a greater percentage of its parts than Apple, and does so in around six countries. Despite this, some of Samsung's models cost more to produce than comparable iPhones. Therefore, Apple's production model enables it to minimize costs.

In this lesson, you will explore the growth of economic interdependence. You will then consider how certain economic relationships, such as the international manufacture of the iPhone, have influenced cultural change in the developed and developing world. Finally, you will examine how global economic activity affects different groups in society.

## 1. Economic Interdependence

Global economic interaction is not a new phenomenon. By 1600, European states were carrying on a brisk trade with lands all over the world. However, modern countries depend on one another more than they have previously. They do not just trade—they form trading partnerships. They rely on the same communications and transportation systems. They are served by the same corporations. Their economies are, in effect, intertwined.

The process of increasing the interdependence of the world's economies is called **globalization**. In a fully globalized world, goods and services, money, and information would flow freely across national boundaries. Today, corporations buy and sell goods whose parts often come from several different countries. Information travels across borders via the internet and other high-speed communications networks. This enables companies to control the production of goods from afar. It also enables multinational banks to make international financial transactions entirely online.



The British Nationality Act allowed people from the former British colonies to move to the United Kingdom. This ship, filled with people from the West Indies, docks in England following the signing of the act.

**Creating New International Connections** Although many associate globalization with the movement of things—goods, money, and information—the movement of people has played a significant role as well, creating new connections between different parts of the world. After World War II, people who had been displaced by the war, as well as those who were fleeing communism in Eastern Europe, sought better economic opportunities abroad.

Additionally, post-war legal changes in several countries helped increase immigration. For example, both the United States and Australia removed racial and nationality barriers to immigration. From the late 1940s until 1973, Australia ended its White Australia policy. The United States passed the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which created a preference system for immigrants that favored professionals and people with specialized skills.

The British Nationality Act of 1948 granted citizens of British colonies the right to settle and work in the United Kingdom, enabling immigration from the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia. Although the act aimed to settle issues related to citizenship in the British Commonwealth, it also helped relieve post-war labor shortages.



New technologies, such as larger, more powerful jet engines, have made the transport of goods over long distances easier, cheaper, and faster than ever before.

In other regions, the need for labor drove changes to immigration law. West Germany and countries in northern Europe established “guest worker” programs to recruit workers from places with high unemployment, such as North Africa and Turkey. Initially, workers were meant to stay for only a limited time. Eventually, however, this changed because of the costs of hiring and training new workers. In the 1960s and 1970s, around 400,000 Turks immigrated to West Germany and remained in the country. Middle Eastern countries, such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, sought labor to build infrastructure with the oil wealth they had gained in the 1970s. They turned to South Asia to find workers for oil and construction jobs and to meet the growing demand for domestic workers. These countries remain reliant on imported labor. Today, around 90 percent of the Emirates’ population is foreign.

In the same period that these major changes to immigration law occurred, developments in transportation began to better facilitate the movement of goods around the world. One of these major developments was the introduction of the jet engine in airplanes in the 1950s. In contrast to earlier engines, jet engines are faster and more reliable. Jet engines also reduced the cost to ship goods. In 1955,

shipment costs were \$3.87 per ton-kilometer shipped, but by 2004, the cost was only \$0.30 per ton-kilometer.

Large standardized shipping containers have been essential to maritime shipping’s dominance. They can accommodate large products and high volumes of goods. Since businesses began regularly using these containers in the late 1960s, the containers have also prompted significant changes to the transportation industry. Standardized containers were designed for use with multiple modes of transportation: trucks, trains, and ships. This eliminates the need to unload and reload goods. When a ship arrives in port, a container remains loaded and moves to its next transport vehicle. Using containers cuts the amount of time ships remain idle in port and reduces storage and loading costs.

#### **Governments Work to Improve Economic Interactions**

Decreases in transportation costs were not only the result of new technologies. **Deregulation**, or the removal or reduction of government regulations, helped reduce costs as well. In the 1970s and 1980s, industrialized nations began to deregulate industries. This movement started in the United States. By eliminating and simplifying regulations, governments aimed to increase competition, productivity, and efficiency while lowering prices. The market, they hoped, would then regulate itself.

Supporters of deregulation argue that it increases competitiveness by reducing **barriers to entry**, making it easier for new businesses to enter the market. Deregulation has occurred around the world in industries such as agriculture, utilities, communications, transportation, and finance.





These union members are protesting against the North American Free Trade Agreement. Many unions feared that the creation of this common market would lead to jobs being moved to Mexico, especially, and Canada.

Deregulation of finance has allowed new firms to enter foreign markets as well. Companies now compete for clients on an international level. For example, the European Union permits banks and financial institutions to operate across member nations. This expansion has been further facilitated by the internet. Not only does the internet enable firms to serve clients regardless of location, it has reduced the cost of doing so.

In addition to reducing barriers to entry through deregulation, many governments have sought to limit barriers to international trade, such as tariffs. In doing so, they have embraced **free trade**, the unrestricted movement of goods and services across borders. This quest for free trade has served as one of the main drivers of globalization.

After World War II, the United States and many European nations came to believe that free and open trade would benefit world economies and help prevent future conflicts among nations. In 1947, the first trade agreement to involve a large number of countries, the General

Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), was signed. Initially adopted by 23 countries, GATT lowered tariffs on tens of thousands of goods when it came into effect in 1948.

The United States promoted free trade as a strategy to help European economies recover from the war and to keep nations out of the Soviet Union's sphere of influence. In 1951, six countries in Europe formed the European Coal and Steel Community to create a **common market** for those two products. A common market is a grouping of countries that promotes lower trade barriers among its members.

European success at stimulating trade sparked other moves toward free trade. In 1994, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) went into effect. Under NAFTA, the United States, Canada, and Mexico agreed to create their own common market. Their purpose was to get rid of trade barriers, especially tariffs, on goods and services traveling from one of the three countries to another. The United States has since negotiated free trade agreements with more than a dozen other countries.

Similar agreements have blossomed among countries all over the globe, often with the help of the World Trade Organization (WTO). Founded in 1995 to replace GATT, the WTO is an international organization run by more than 150 member-nations. Its main goal is to reduce trade barriers throughout the world. It does so by offering a forum for countries to negotiate trade agreements and by providing a set of rules to guide international trade. If a trade dispute arises, the WTO will help settle it.

Trade agreements tie countries together in a dependent relationship. A key requirement for such an agreement is that all participants must be able to profit from that relationship.

**The Role of International Financial Institutions** Toward the end of World War II, the Allies, led by the British and Americans, established two international organizations, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to develop the post-war monetary management system. The World Bank was founded to provide loans for post-war reconstruction in Europe, whereas the IMF initially worked to rebuild the world's battered international banking system. Although these institutions laid the foundations for the post-war recovery effort, their aims were also long term. They sought to promote economic cooperation by restoring and sustaining the benefits of global integration. Over time, their mandates focused less on recovery and more on development and support.

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Today, the World Bank works to end extreme poverty and foster income growth by funding infrastructure development, supporting institution-building, and addressing social and environmental issues. The IMF continues to monitor and stabilize the international banking system, and it offers advice and technical assistance to countries seeking to modernize their economy. Additionally, it provides loans to countries experiencing a financial crisis, particularly related to the inability to repay a foreign debt.

Both institutions face criticism for imposing Western-style capitalism and one-size-fits-all solutions on developing nations without dealing with the negative social, environmental, and economic effects. Critics argue that the IMF, in particular, tries to dictate policy based on unrealistic assumptions about an economy with little regard for a country's sovereignty. Despite this, around 190 countries are World Bank and IMF members.



After World War II, large parts of France and other parts of Europe were left in ruins. The World Bank was initially created to provide loans to these countries to help them rebuild.

**The Role of Transnational Organizations** Some organizations work outside of government and across nations to affect change and influence government policy. **Nongovernmental organizations** (NGOs) are one type of such organization. NGOs are nonprofit organizations that often focus on issues related to antipoverty, education, health care, public policy, the environment, and human

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rights. These organizations function and provide assistance at local, national, and international levels. Funding for NGOs typically comes from both member contributions and grants from private foundations.



Greenpeace is an NGO that works to conserve the environment. The organization investigates and confronts environmental abuses committed by governments and corporations around the world.

The number of NGOs began growing in the second half of the 20th century, particularly from the 1970s on, and many address transnational issues related to globalization. For example, some NGOs, such as the Sierra Club and Greenpeace, are concerned about the effects of global trade on the environment. Other NGOs, such as Amnesty International, Oxfam International, CARE, the Global Fund for Women, and Save the Children, speak out on social issues associated with globalization, including poverty and human rights.

However, some governments want to curb the growth and influence of NGOs, accusing them of being undemocratic and unaccountable to the public. Moreover, some countries have restricted the operations of NGOs that are critical of the government or that promote alternatives to government policy. For example, in Russia, NGOs that receive foreign funding and attempt to influence public policy must register as "foreign agents," leading the public to view them as spies or traitors.

Despite government attempts to limit the work of NGOs, new ones continue to emerge. In recent decades, the growth of NGOs has been



bolstered by improved communications technology, which can link groups and people around the world, as well as the spread of democracy, which has enabled NGOs to operate more freely.

In contrast to NGOs, **multinational corporations**, also known as transnational corporations, are companies that have a home base in one country and operations in other countries. Multinational corporations are both central players in the globalization process and prime targets of globalization critics. These large companies promote globalization by moving goods, capital, information, and people across national borders to do business.

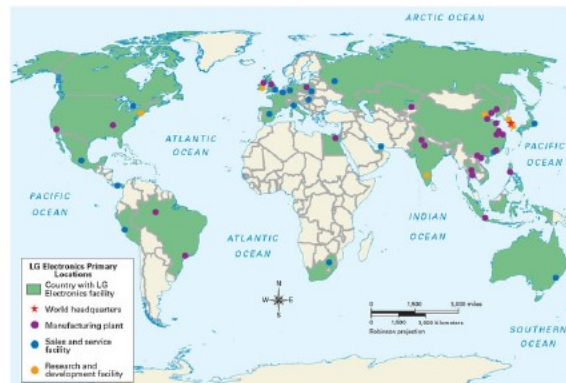
Multinational corporations are not a new concept. In the early 1600s, the English and the Dutch each formed an East India Company to carry out long-distance trade with Asia. Like these early multinationals, modern multinationals are often headquartered in one or two countries but operate in countries around the globe. However, modern corporations often conduct business by establishing subsidiaries, or companies they control, or by partnering with existing companies in foreign countries. Rather than focusing primarily on trade, corporations license their products for local production, open manufacturing facilities, and make investments to support their subsidiaries' growth. General Motors, for example, has subsidiaries and joint ventures with local car companies around the globe. It produces and sells cars in Canada, Brazil, and South Korea, and does so with local partners in Egypt, China, and Russia.

Critics fear that multinationals have become too economically powerful in too many parts of the world. These critics worry that in their search for profits, multinationals will move their operations to countries that are unable to protect their workers or the environment from abuse.

Supporters of globalization counter that multinational corporations generate trade, investments, jobs, and other economic benefits in countries where they do business. They also train workers in new technologies and business methods, increasing the host country's human capital.

In the 1970s, for example, Daewoo, a South Korean multinational, decided to expand its garment-making business to Bangladesh. The company invited 130 Bangladeshi workers to Korea to learn how to make shirts. Over time, 115 of those workers left Daewoo and used what they had learned to set up their own garment companies. Clothing soon became Bangladesh's leading export.

### Locations of a Multinational Cooperation ▼



Although most multinational corporations are based in Western Europe or the United States, Asia has its share as well. LG Electronics is a large company based in South Korea. It makes televisions, computers, and other products, and began to expand overseas in the 1970s. The countries shown in color on this map all have LG Electronics facilities today.

## 2. The Globalization of Culture

Globalization extends beyond financial transactions and the exchange of goods. In many ways, globalization has led to the emergence of a global culture, one that often makes the world seem smaller. **Cultural diffusion**, or the sharing of ideas and knowledge across cultures, has always occurred, but in recent decades, communications technology has helped increase this process. As countries build and improve advanced communications systems, they connect themselves more effectively with the world—and the products, ideas, and values that it offers.





Nike can be found in countries all around the world, like this Nike store in Beijing, China. Its success comes in part from the universal messages in the branding.

**Changing Tastes and Expectations** Through cultural diffusion, consumers' tastes and expectations have changed. Exposure to the same television programs, music, movies, and websites has driven some of these changes. However, changes have also been driven by multinational corporations and their marketing efforts, especially branding, or differentiating a product based on its brand.

In communities all around the world, a brand aims to create an emotional connection with consumers. Nike launched its "Just Do It" campaign in 1988 with this vision of a brand in mind. As the company itself has noted, the idea is "both universal and intensely personal . . . It invited dreams. It was a call to action, a refusal to hear excuses, and a license to be eccentric, courageous, and exceptional." Around the world, consumers connected with this message and, thus, Nike and its products. Given that consumers have seemingly infinite choices, this type of connection is essential for global brands to reach and sustain a worldwide audience.

**Concerns About Cultural Diffusion** Although many appreciate the

interconnectedness that globalization offers, some worry that cultural diffusion occurs primarily from developed countries to developing countries. The developed world dominates global commerce as well as the mass media—television, radio, movies, and the internet. Through these channels, goods, as well as ideas and values, can flow. They can alter local cultures, changing the foods people eat, the way people dress, and even the way people think. With globalization, some cultural shift is inevitable, but globalization's long-term effects on cultures in developing countries, particularly on traditional cultures, remain a concern.

Critics specifically point to the rapid extinction of languages as one major cost of this form of globalization. As languages such as English spread across the world alongside Western cultural influences, many smaller, local languages are dying out. Language experts predict that more than half of the world's 7,000 languages will disappear by the end of the century.

Language is an important vehicle for the preservation of culture. This is especially true for native peoples in the developing world who may not have a written language. When a language dies, it takes with it a wealth of human knowledge, especially about the natural world. "Most of what we know about species and ecosystems is not written down anywhere," observed linguistics professor David Harrison. "It's only in people's heads. We are seeing in front of our eyes the erosion of the human knowledge base."

Along with the loss of language, many peoples are seeing their own traditions crowded out by cultural imports. In many villages, for example, people have swapped their traditional clothing for jeans and T-shirts. Teenagers are more interested in television shows and popular music from abroad than traditional folklore and music. They choose hamburgers and pizza over traditional foods.

Unease about cultural diffusion is not unique to the developing world. For decades, one source of cultural diffusion has frustrated both developed and developing countries: the United States. Many critics view globalization as synonymous with Americanization—the spread of American customs and culture to other countries.

Since the 1920s, Hollywood films have dominated the world's media markets, and from the 1950s and 1960s, American rock and pop music reached listeners around the world. However, with the end of the Cold War and the advent of the internet, American fads, foods, and fashions have spread even more rapidly around the world.

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Many argue that the growth of shops from American brands, as well as from brands elsewhere in the developed world, have a homogenizing effect. In other words, because cities across the world have many of the same shops and restaurants, they have lost their individuality. They are no longer diverse.

Commercial interests are not the only force driving the spread of American culture. Language also plays a part. English is one of the most widely spoken languages in the world, used by as much as one-fifth of the world's population. Nevertheless, the spread of American culture concerns many critics of globalization. Some see it as a form of **cultural imperialism**, or the imposing of one country's culture or language on another country.



Starbucks, a company that originates in the United States, has spread throughout the world, including to this location in Mumbai, India. The spread of American stores to other countries has often drawn criticism out of fears that they will dilute the traditional culture of an area.

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The different types of food available in the United States, such as Ethiopian food, are one example of how globalization affects our communities.

**The Benefits of Globalization for Local Cultures** Supporters of globalization see a different result from the interaction of world cultures. They contend that globalization enriches local cultures by exposing people to new ways of doing things. Rather than a homogenized culture, they say, the result is a "global village," where cultures share ideas and customs but retain their distinct identities.

"Critics of cultural imperialism charge that rich cultures dominate poor ones," wrote economist Tyler Cowen. However, he goes on to explain that "local culture commands loyalty." In India, for example, domestic recordings dominate the music market. "Western culture often creates its own rivals," Cowen observed, "by bringing creative technologies like the recording studio or the printing press to foreign lands."

Although globalization is often seen as a one-way flow—from rich to poor nations—it goes the other way, too. Customs and traditions from developing nations also influence the developed world. Restaurants in the United States that serve food from Thailand or Ethiopia are one sign of globalization. So is the fact that Americans watch Bollywood movies from India, listen to Afro-pop music from Nigeria, and furnish their homes with crafts from Indonesia.

Artists and artisans in developing countries benefit from the chance to sell their products in the developed world. By gaining a larger market for their work, many are able to preserve their art, music, and traditional crafts.

The idea that cultures should be protected from change is



wrongheaded, say supporters of globalization. "China has become more open partly because of the demands of ordinary people," observed James L. Watson, an anthropologist. "They want to become part of the world."

In Nepal, the people who live near Mount Everest have adopted new customs through contact with foreign tourists. Mountain climber Jon Krakauer sees some of these changes as negative, but he also says that local people have benefited from global contact. Money from tourism and grants from international organizations have funded new schools, medical clinics, and many other improvements. Krakauer wrote,

*Most of the people who live in this rugged country seem to have no desire to be severed from the modern world or the untidy flow of human progress. The last thing [they] want is to be preserved as specimens in an anthropological museum.*

—Jon Krakauer, *Into Thin Air*, 1997

### 3. Globalization's Effects on Society

Over the last century, capital and goods have moved relatively freely between different parts of the world, particularly across the Atlantic. So has labor. While minimal laws restrict the movement of capital and goods, modern immigration laws prevent the free movement of workers.

**Globalization and Standards of Living** Most economists believe that by increasing trade and investment across borders, modern globalization has helped countries make economic progress and raise their standards of living. It has also lifted millions of people out of poverty.

Economic progress and higher standards of living have brought improvements in social welfare, including better nutrition, health care, and education. Greater interconnectedness and modern communications technology have enabled scientific knowledge, medical advances, and new technology to pass easily across borders. In turn, these innovations have helped improve health and longevity worldwide.

Innovations have helped increase access to essential resources. In the 1950s and 1960s, the Green Revolution bolstered food security around

the world by greatly increasing agricultural production. The Green Revolution is often associated with Norman Borlaug, an American scientist who selectively bred grains to create high-yield varieties. He crossbred grains based on their desirable characteristics, such as fungus resistance and ability to withstand extreme weather. The growth of these high-yield varieties was aided by irrigation, pesticides, and chemical fertilizers, which were not widely used in the developing world. The support of governments and nonprofit organizations changed this, however.



New developments, such as solar panels, have made electricity more cost effective in rural places around the world. These solar panels power a health clinic in western Tanzania.

In recent years, new developments have helped provide access to electricity and water, which can improve health, education, and income. Many people in the developing world have generally lacked electricity due to cost or to living too far from the power grid. Although some countries have extended their electrical infrastructure, others have turned to low-cost, efficient renewable energy options to get electricity to more people. Electricity may be generated by solar power, biofuels derived from plants and wastes, or micro-hydropower systems.

Although it can be collected from rain, fog, and the air, water cannot be created. As such, innovations have focused on improving collection, safe storage, and purification methods. This is especially important because hundreds of millions of people walk for miles every day to get water for their household, and that water is not always from a clean source. Efforts to ensure that people have clean water have been supported by international aid organizations, governments, and



intergovernmental organizations. These groups also promote related public health initiatives on sanitation and hygiene, which aim to reduce illness and death.

**Globalization and Inequality** Although globalization has improved the lives of many, its benefits have not been spread uniformly among the world's more than 7.7 billion people. Many argue that globalization has increased income inequality. In this way, today's globalization contrasts with the globalization that began in the 19th century.

Globalization in the 19th century was characterized by the mobility of labor, particularly from Europe. Restricted by few immigration controls, Europeans were able to emigrate to the Americas and Australia. With land and jobs scarce in Europe, the movement of people helped improve opportunities for those who remained. Income inequality between rich and poor countries in Europe and the Americas declined. However, inequality between these regions and the rest of the world grew.

Modern immigration policies limit the ability of workers to move to a new country. Instead, jobs now move to workers. To reduce costs, companies move the production of goods to and invest their resources in low-wage countries. This has resulted in economic growth in many parts of the developing world and increased income equality between nations. However, it has also resulted in growing income inequality within both developed and developing nations.

In developed countries, income inequality is at its highest level in 50 years, with the richest 10 percent earning around nine times that of the poorest 10 percent. In the United States in 2015, the top 1 percent of families earned more than 26 times what the bottom 99 percent did. Even as millions emerge from poverty in the developing world, the same patterns of income inequality are occurring there as well. For example, in China, around 1 percent of citizens own one-third of the country's wealth.

This inequality is reflected in the growth of slums in the developing world. With few jobs in rural areas, especially as agricultural productivity increased, people moved to cities to find work. Frequently, only unskilled, low-wage jobs without any legal protections were available. Low pay and insufficient affordable housing made slums migrants' primary housing option. Slums are often characterized by poor-quality housing, overcrowding, and a lack of basic services such as electricity, water, and sanitation.



The rapid growth of many urban areas has led to the rise of slums, even in otherwise wealthy areas. These slums in Mumbai, India, can be found on the outskirts of the city center.

Income inequality also affects the quality of health care that many people receive. In low-income areas of the world, such as Africa and some parts of Asia, health care remains inaccessible to many. These regions often lack skilled professionals, as well as the resources and technology to educate new workers. Additionally, most health care research focuses on preventing and curing diseases in the developed world. However, people in the developing world are more likely to have unclean water, poor sanitation conditions, and a high risk of contracting infectious diseases.



In the textile industry, multinational corporations often establish their own factories abroad or hire local manufacturers. Countries with these textile factories, such as China, may have laws that attract multinationals as well as unenforced regulations.

While the developing world struggles with scarcity, the developed world now struggles with overabundance. As people have developed sedentary lifestyles and consume more processed foods, conditions such as obesity, diabetes, and heart disease have become more common.

**The Social Costs of Globalization** One of the impacts of globalization is the export of jobs to low-wage countries in the developing world. However, some argue that this is necessary to keep costs down to ensure that products are affordable. Regardless, as developed countries focus increasingly on the service economy instead of manufacturing, many people are left behind. Workers may lack the skills or education necessary to find jobs in growing economic sectors, particularly jobs that pay enough to support a family. Alternatively, workers may have to move long distances for jobs that match their skills.

In the developing world, critics contend that countries often focus on

the needs of multinational corporations while ignoring the needs of citizens. Some argue that employment practices, particularly those used by multinational corporations' suppliers, are exploitative because of low pay. For example, starting pay at Foxconn, one of the manufacturers of iPhones in China, is \$300 per month. Established workers who do overtime can earn as much as \$785. Although Chinese law places monthly limits on overtime, reports suggest that this is disregarded, especially during peak production. Often in the developing world, labor laws may not exist or be enforced.



Child labor has been a major issue related to rapid urbanization caused by globalization. Many countries fail to enforce laws that prevent companies from hiring children to work in dangerous conditions.

Child labor is illegal in most countries, but it continues to occur in the poorest parts of the world, where families may depend on that income. Suppliers to global automotive, tech, and textile companies in developed nations have been found to employ children. Other suppliers sometimes subcontract work to outside companies without their clients' knowledge.

In several developing countries, the textile industry relies on women who often have few protections and work in unsafe conditions. Although poor conditions in certain countries, such as Bangladesh and Guatemala, are known, production for large corporations continues. Additionally, women in the garment industry, as well as foreign domestic workers in wealthier countries, face physical or sexual abuse at the hands of employers.



**Globalization and the Environment** Economic development is hard on the environment as well. As countries and multinational corporations develop industries to promote economic growth, they also may cause pollution, destroy landscapes, and endanger wild species.

Almost all human activity has some impact on the environment. When farmers clear forests and grasslands to plant crops, they are also destroying the habitats of plants and animals. As developing countries shift from agriculture to industry, their environmental problems multiply. If left unregulated, factories spew smoke into the air and pour toxic waste into waterways.

The latest environmental challenge confronting the world is **climate change**. This term refers to variations in Earth's overall climate over time, ranging from decades to millions of years. Historically, climate change was caused by natural processes. Such processes include volcanic eruptions and variations in the intensity of sunlight reaching the planet's surface.

Many scientists now believe that human activity is causing the global climate to become warmer. The main culprit is the burning of fossil fuels in power plants, factories, and vehicles—all of which have increased with globalization. When coal, oil, and natural gas are burned, they release carbon dioxide and other gases. These gases act like a greenhouse in the atmosphere, trapping energy from the sun near Earth's surface. Alone, moving people and goods around the globe by air and sea produces more than 6 percent of the world's carbon emissions.

If nothing is done to reduce these emissions, environmentalists warn that the effect on the environment could be devastating. "In this century, human activity could trigger an irreversible melting of the Greenland ice sheet and Antarctic glaciers," wrote Fred Pearce, an environmental writer. "This would condemn the world to a rise in sea level of six metres—enough to flood land occupied by billions of people."

Environmentalists do not blame all of these problems on global trade, but they worry about the effects of rapid economic growth on the environment. Moreover, they do not oppose economic development, but they believe development should be sustainable over time.

**Sustainable development** is designed to meet people's present needs without having a negative impact on future generations' ability to meet their needs. For example, a lumber company that plants as many trees as it cuts down each year is practicing sustainable

development. Unfortunately, say environmentalists, most current development is not sustainable.



This logging operation replants trees after it has cut down others. This makes the logging in this region sustainable.

Supporters of globalization recognize that development has environmental costs. They argue, however, that the best way to address those costs is not by slowing economic growth, but to speed it up. They contend that when incomes start to increase, people become more interested in raising their living standards than in controlling pollution. However, this attitude begins to change as they grow wealthier. People become concerned about dirty air and waterways, and demand that their governments do something about it.

The wealthier that people become, the more resources they seem willing to devote to improving the environment. The city of London, for example, had far worse air pollution a century ago than it does today. Lake Erie was pronounced "dead" in the 1960s. Today, the lake has one of the world's largest freshwater fisheries. And in 2008, China's government announced that it was shifting from growth at the expense of the environment to "putting equal emphasis on both," which has led to reductions of air pollution and greenhouse gas emissions.

Given this history, some economists describe a clean environment as a luxury good. However, they also note that the relationship between



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income and environmental protection is strongest for visible pollution, such as smoggy skies and sewage-choked rivers. The relationship is weaker for problems that people do not see every day, such as carbon emissions and loss of forests. According to economics writer Andrew Leonard, "The quick and dirty rule seems to be that if you can't see it or smell it in your local urban neighborhood, then, no matter how rich you are, you aren't going to do much about it."



The Walmart Corporation made over \$500 billion in 2018. Each year, it makes more than almost every nation in the world.

**The Implications of Globalization on the Nation-State** The modern nation-state developed in the 19th and 20th centuries in response to societal changes. Once established, nation-states expanded their power as they created laws and policies to address industrialization, class conflict, and economic changes. Over time, they assumed greater responsibility for the well-being of their citizens and economic stability.

Today, leaders in many nation-states believe multinational corporations provide necessary economic benefits, regardless of the costs. This was not always the case. In the past, the traditional multinational

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corporation was based in one country—mainly in the United States, Western Europe, or Japan. It did business in other countries through subsidiaries. Government policies in a base country often helped corporations, but also restricted their business practices. These policies generally encouraged corporations to keep jobs in their home country.

The 1990s and early 2000s saw a rise in mergers between companies based in different countries. The resulting global corporations essentially decoupled themselves from any one nation's resources—and their often restrictive government policies. Global corporations made business decisions based on their own priorities, thus increasing their economic power and geographic reach.

The economic assets of some multinationals now dwarf those of many nations. In 2016, the world's top-100 economies, as measured by GDP and total revenue, consisted of 29 countries and 71 corporations. For example, the economic output of Walmart, which came in at number 10, was slightly larger than that of Spain and Australia, nearly double that of Sweden at number 19, and around five times that of Greece at number 98.

The economic power of these giant corporations concerns critics of globalization. Critics argue that governments give up some of their sovereignty to powerful multinational corporations, which make economic decisions that can have a huge impact on a country. Moreover, multinationals might become a law unto themselves, wielding power with little restraint from national governments. In many ways, globalization today favors multinational corporations over governments, as well as over individuals.

## Summary

In this lesson, you learned about globalization and its economic, cultural, and social effects around the world. Globalization has helped raise the standard of living for millions of people worldwide, but at the same time, it has eroded local cultures, increased economic inequality, and harmed the environment.

**Cultural Interaction** Globalization has exposed people throughout the world to different cultures. Although cultural diffusion often seems to flow primarily from developed to developing nations, it flows the other direction as well.

**Political Structures** Governments view multinational corporations

as providing important economic benefits to their countries. Many worry that as the economic power of these corporations grow, they could undermine governments' power.

**Economic Structures** Globalization has increased the movement of goods and capital around the world. It has created economic interdependence, with companies manufacturing, buying, and selling goods across multiple nations as well.

**Social Structures** Although globalization has increased income equality between nations, it has increased inequality within nations as well.

## The Role of Non-governmental Organizations in Managing Resources

An NGO (non-governmental organization) is a group formed by private individuals in order to provide a service or pursue a public policy. Most of them, like the Red Cross, Doctors Without Borders, and CARE, are nonprofits. They are funded by charitable foundations, corporations, and governments and by donations from individuals. More than 6,000 NGOs operate internationally, and many thousands more exist at the national and local level. Their tasks vary greatly, from supplying food and medicine to disaster victims to fighting for human rights.

A country's water, soil, minerals, plants, animals, and other natural resources are precious. Sometimes, governments do not manage those resources effectively. When the need arises for better management of a natural resource, a non-governmental organization might step in to help. NGOs which concentrate on resource protection work to educate local populations about the resource. When needed, they put pressure on governments to develop policies to safeguard that resource. Three such NGOs are the Lewa Wildlife Conservancy, the Waterkeeper Alliance, and the Rainforest Alliance.

A number of NGOs devote themselves to protecting populations of wild animals. One of them, the Lewa Wildlife Conservancy in Kenya, focuses on rare and endangered species. These include the black rhino (often killed for its horn, which traditional healers use as medicine), Grevy's zebra, and a variety of birds and other African wildlife. Its stated mission is to "work as a catalyst for the conservation of wildlife and its

habitat."

The Lewa Wildlife Conservancy (or Lewa) is located on more than 60,000 acres of land in central Kenya. Some of the land is part of a national forest, but most is privately owned. Lewa also promotes wildlife conservation elsewhere in Kenya. It helped to create community-owned conservation areas that cover close to 2 million acres to the north. Those lands are connected physically to Lewa, which allows animals to migrate throughout their natural range. Lewa continues to help communities manage this natural resource.

Lewa's work extends beyond the borders of its land and into the surrounding communities. Lewa supports a dozen schools where children are offered a basic education, including instruction in wildlife protection issues. It maintains and staffs three community health clinics. It gives local farmers hands-on training in managing their land. Lewa has also undertaken water development projects that provide clean water to thousands of people and their domestic animals.

The Waterkeeper Alliance calls itself "the voice for rivers, streams, wetlands, and coastlines." It focuses on water management and conservation. The Alliance's work began with the cleanup of the Hudson River in New York, and many of its clean-water campaigns have taken place in the United States. But its goal is to establish and maintain fishable, swimmable, and drinkable waterways around the world. To move toward that goal, this NGO supports more than 200 Waterkeeper organizations on six continents. Individual Waterkeeper groups go by many different names, including Baykeeper, Canalkeeper, Deltakeeper, and Riverkeeper. The job of each one is to protect its community's right to clean water. That may call for tracking down polluters, publicly promoting strong environmental laws, and teaching young people about water conservation.

A Waterkeeper group in northern India, for example, led a campaign to clean up the Yamuna River. This major river carries freshwater south out of the Himalayas. But as it passes Delhi, India's second largest city, its waters turn foul. In 2010, Delhi discharged nearly a billion gallons of sewage directly into the river every day. To clean up the Yamuna, the Waterkeepers made plans to monitor the pollution level and work to persuade Delhi's residents of the value of a safe, clean river. They also began a program to educate the community's schoolchildren about their environment. As one Waterkeeper said, "Our river's survival depends on this generation of young people. They must turn what seemed impossible into the possible."



Forests are an important source of oxygen, fuel, food, clean water, and shelter. With this in mind, the Rainforest Alliance works to protect all forests, not just tropical rainforests. One of its guiding principles is sustainable development. This is an approach to achieving economic growth while at the same time preserving the environment for future generations. The Rainforest Alliance encourages the sustainable development of forests. It works with loggers, local communities, and the forest industry to develop responsible forestry practices that protect ecosystems. But its program for forest conservation also involves the agricultural and tourism industries.

The expansion of farmland is the major cause of deforestation—the permanent clearing of large swaths of forest. The Rainforest Alliance fights to reduce deforestation. It also encourages farmers to grow crops in a way that limits soil erosion, water pollution, and the destruction of wildlife habitat. Tourism, too, can lead to deforestation and pollution, as well as the inefficient consumption of energy. The Rainforest Alliance offers the tourism industry tools for running their businesses in a sustainable manner. Ultimately, this NGO aims to show that preserving healthy forests is profitable for the tourist industry and other businesses.

The consensus of the scientific community is that healthy forests play a role in stabilizing the climate by storing carbon. The burning of forests releases carbon dioxide, a greenhouse gas, into the atmosphere. By reducing deforestation and by encouraging the planting of trees, the Rainforest Alliance hopes to combat climate change.

## The State of Agriculture in the Modern World

The purpose of agriculture is to produce food. Farmers all over the world achieve that goal largely through a process of tilling the soil, planting seeds, and harvesting crops. They also tend orchards and raise animals. Farmers have been doing all this for around 10,000 years. Today, agriculture faces many challenges. As the population of the world soars, so does the demand for food. Arable land, or land that is or can be successfully cultivated, is decreasing. Soils are being degraded. Water in many regions is becoming scarce. Yet in most parts of the world, agricultural productivity continues to rise.

Science and technology have helped farmers continue to increase their food production. In the late 1960s, Western nations began introducing

chemical fertilizers and pesticides, along with high-yielding varieties of plants, to the less developed countries of the world. These advances, which included improvements in irrigation, led to amazing growth in agriculture—a “Green Revolution.” Asia, Latin America, and, to a lesser extent, Africa benefited from these new ways of increasing the production of food. The Green Revolution continues today. Industrialized countries invest heavily in agricultural research and development. Their farmers drive efficient combine harvesters, machines that can perform multiple harvest-related operations. They use sophisticated satellite technology to monitor their fields. Some have also turned to biotechnology.

Farmers in the United States, Argentina, Brazil, and elsewhere have begun planting genetically modified crops. These crops have had their genetic makeup artificially altered to give them a new property, such as disease resistance or greater nutritional value. Corn, soybeans, and cotton, for example, have been bioengineered so that their seeds are capable of producing their own pesticide. The cultivation of genetically modified food, animal feed, and fiber crops is spreading throughout the world. This scientific advance promises to increase the availability of food for growing populations, especially in developing countries. However, genetic modification of crops is controversial. Several European governments have banned the sale or use of genetically modified products, fearing that they may be harmful to humans or the environment.

As the global population rises, humans are consuming more and more food. Providing enough food is not as straightforward as growing more corn or more wheat or more rice. The issue is not just quantity but also quality. In developing countries, where populations are growing most rapidly, many people are still malnourished. But average incomes are also slowly on the rise. As people move out of poverty and into the middle class, they demand improved diets. They want to eat fewer simple grains and more meat, which is more expensive than grain. Meat comes from livestock which is raised to be eaten. Cattle, pigs, chickens, and other livestock are often fed grains such as corn to improve the quality of the meat. A given amount of grain, if eaten directly, can feed a lot more people than the same amount of grain fed to animals to produce meat. As meat-eating increases, the amount of grain produced will have to increase as well.

In the United States, corn is a popular food for both humans and animals. Humans eat what is called sweet corn. Animals eat field corn. In 2020, American farmers grew field corn on more than 99 percent of the land planted with corn. Of that field corn, more than a third went to



feed livestock. Nearly a third was either exported or used in a variety of food or industrial products. But the remaining third was consumed neither by humans nor by animals. It was processed into ethanol—a renewable “biofuel” for automobiles that is often mixed with gasoline.

Some people question whether so much of the corn crop should go to producing livestock feed and ethanol rather than food for a hungry world. Others see ethanol as a home-grown fuel that can help wean the United States off imported oil. The ethanol question is just one of many agricultural issues subject to debate in the modern world.

Many people are also concerned about the depletion of groundwater (water under the ground) and surface water. More than three quarters of the fresh water that humans use goes to agricultural production. Yet water is a scarce resource in many places. That can lead to conflict over how to distribute limited supplies of water. Industry, consumers, and others all want their share. Pollution is another worrisome issue. Irrigation water and rain can wash nitrogen-rich fertilizers into waterways, making them unfit for aquatic life. Toxic pesticides sprayed on fields are a major poisoning hazard for farmers and field workers. Pesticides can also pollute drinking water, and some pesticide can remain on fruits and vegetables that humans consume. Chemical fertilizers and pesticides allow farmers to produce more on the same amount of land. An alternative to pesticides is to cultivate more land, but expansion often calls for the cutting and burning of forests. Such deforestation is a global problem. By removing habitat, it reduces the Earth's biodiversity—its variety of animals and plants. Also, when trees burn, they release carbon dioxide—a greenhouse gas—into the atmosphere. Deforestation thus adds to the potential for climate change.

Climatic factors, especially drought, can lead to desertification, or the spread of a desert environment into neighboring areas. Drought lessens the amount of groundwater available to plants. If a drought lasts long enough, the land may no longer be able to support vegetation. Poor agricultural practices in dry regions can hasten this process. Problematic practices include allowing livestock to overgraze, irrigating in a way that causes soil erosion, and exhausting the soil through overuse.

Degrading natural resources in these ways threatens the future of the global food supply. This potential problem has led to a movement for sustainable agriculture. Sustainability, in general, calls for meeting present needs without undermining the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The goal of sustainable agriculture is to establish

farming practices that satisfy humankind's food, feed, and fiber needs while keeping the environment healthy. Sustainable practices would conserve soil fertility, limit erosion, protect water resources, and maintain biodiversity. With such a system in place, agriculture could sustain itself far into the future.

## The Globalization of the Sneaker

The first sneakers—footwear with canvas tops and rubber soles—appeared in the mid-1800s. People engaging in leisure activities and athletics wore them instead of bulky leather shoes. By 1917, companies such as Keds and Converse had begun mass-producing sneakers. They also designed sneakers for specific sports, such as tennis and basketball.

Until the late 1960s, sneakers were relatively simple shoes. Some had high tops. Others were cut low. But all had the standard canvas upper and rubber sole. Today they are far from simple. Modern sneakers are designed for a wide variety of purposes. Serious athletes still wear them, of course, but so does just about everyone else. Consumers all over the world buy sneakers for jogging, for rock climbing, for boating, for bicycling, for dancing, for skateboarding—and even for just walking around.

To compete in the global marketplace, multinational makers of athletic shoes have come up with innovative designs for their sneakers. These have resulted in improvements in performance and comfort. Some sneakers now have air pockets, gel pads, or memory foam for cushioning. Others have technologically advanced lacing systems or Velcro fasteners. The visual design of sneakers has also become more elaborate. Some come bearing stripes or stars or tassels or the company's logo. Others come in a mix of wild colors or equipped with flashing lights. The focus on style and color has given sneakers more fashion appeal. To increase that appeal, shoe companies often hire popular athletes and musicians to promote their sneakers to a global audience of consumers. For example, in 1985, U.S. shoe company Nike released the Air Jordan 1 as part of a contract with, at the time, upcoming basketball superstar, Michael Jordan. These shoes quickly became one of the most financially successful sneaker lines ever as the Air Jordan 1 sneakers evolved into a cultural icon. People were enamored with the product as its association with the NBA phenomenon, leading it to become a national and global sensation.

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Sneaker companies today also make use of a variety of materials. Some of them are found in only a few places in the world. All of the materials come together at factories, mainly in Asia. Workers in those factories create a shoe with three main parts: the upper, the midsole, and the outer sole.

The upper is the top part of a sneaker. Some uppers are made of natural materials, such as cotton or leather. The cotton comes mainly from farms in the United States, India, Uzbekistan, and Australia. The leather comes from the hides of cattle that are raised in Texas, Argentina, and other livestock centers. Other uppers are made of synthetic, or human-made, materials such as nylon. Nylon fabric is light and dries easily. The midsole is the part of the shoe that cushions the bottom of the wearer's foot. The typical midsole consists of shock-absorbing plastic and foam padding. Factories in South Korea, China, and elsewhere use chemicals derived from petroleum (petrochemicals) to produce the midsoles. The petroleum itself comes from Saudi Arabia, Russia, and other oil-rich countries. The outer sole, or tread, of a sneaker needs to be tough but also flexible enough to put a spring in the wearer's step. Sneakers used to be manufactured with natural rubber soles. The rubber came from the sap of rubber trees grown in such tropical countries as Brazil, Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia. Today most soles are formed from synthetic rubber, which is made mainly from petrochemicals. Taiwan is a major producer of the synthetic rubber used in sneaker production.

Globalization has also changed where sneakers are manufactured. Most sneakers used to be made in the countries in which they were sold. In the 1960s, simple canvas and rubber sneakers were still being produced in the United States, Britain, and Germany. As styles of sneakers multiplied and designs became more complex, so did the cost of labor needed to produce them. Eventually, most makers of athletic shoes decided that it was too expensive to make sneakers in high-wage countries. They moved their production offshore, mainly to Asia. By offshoring, or outsourcing, production to low-wage countries such as South Korea and, later, China, Indonesia, and Vietnam, these companies were able to reduce production costs. This made it possible for them to sell sneakers for lower prices and still make a profit.

In 1990s, a ship carrying sneakers from South Korea to the United States was hit by a fierce storm. Eighty thousand pairs of shoes spilled into the Pacific Ocean. A year later, the shoes were still washing up on American shores. Normally, though, sneakers have a smoother journey from Asia. Companies use several methods of transportation to move their shoes from the factory to the store.

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Typically, sneakers are transported by container ship from Asia. This is the least expensive way to move goods over long distances. The trip to the United States takes about two weeks. The sneakers make this journey in freight containers, which are large, weatherproof steel boxes that are easy to stack on the deck of a ship. Huge container ships can accommodate 8,000 of these boxes.

When a ship arrives on the west coast of the United States, the containers are unloaded onto trains or trucks. In some ports, train tracks run right up to the docks to make unloading easier. Train or truck transport across the United States can take a week or longer. Most of the sneakers end up in Memphis, Tennessee, which is a major distribution center, where rail lines and highways meet. The sneakers are stored in warehouses in Memphis and then delivered by truck to retail stores around the country. A truck leaving Memphis in the morning can reach approximately 75 percent of the nation's population by the following day. Sneakers are distributed to approximately 18,000 stores throughout the United States. By the time a pair of sneakers makes the trek from an Asian factory to an American consumer's feet, it may have traveled more than 7,000 miles.