

EPILOGUE

ISSUES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY





The War on Terrorism	1100
Iraq: Confronting a Dictatorship	1104
The Debate over Immigration	1106
Crime and Public Safety	1108
Issues in Education	1110
The Communications Revolution	1112
Curing the Health Care System	1114
Breaking the Cycle of Poverty	1116
Tough Choices About Social Security	1118
Women in the Work Force	1120
The Conservation Controversy	1122



The War on Terrorism

How can the United States combat terrorism?

On the morning of September 11, 2001, two airliners crashed into the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York City and a third smashed into a section of the Pentagon near Washington, D.C. A fourth airliner crashed in a field in the Pennsylvania countryside. Nineteen Arab terrorists had hijacked the four planes and used them as missiles in an attempt to destroy predetermined targets. The first three planes hit their targets. In the fourth plane, passengers fought the hijackers and the plane went down short of its target.

Explosions and raging fire severely weakened the twin towers. Within two hours after the attacks, both skyscrapers had crumbled to the ground. One wing of the Pentagon was extensively damaged. About 3,000 people were killed in the attacks. They included all the passengers on the four planes, workers and visitors in the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, and about 300 firefighters and 40 police officers who rushed into the twin towers to rescue people. The attacks of September 11 were the most destructive acts of terrorism in modern history.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Terrorism is the use of violence against people or property to try to force changes in societies or governments. Acts of terrorism are not new. Throughout history, individuals and groups have used terror tactics to achieve political or social goals. In recent decades, however, terrorist groups have carried out



The twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York burn after the September 11 attacks.

increasingly destructive attacks. And terrorist attacks are on the rise. More than 14,000 terrorist attacks have occurred throughout the world since the late 1960s.

The problem of modern international terrorism first gained world attention during the 1972 Summer Olympic Games in Munich, Germany. Members of a Palestinian terrorist group killed two Israeli athletes and took nine others hostage. Five of the terrorists, all the hostages, and a police officer were later killed in a bloody gun battle.

Since then, terrorist activities have occurred across the globe. In Europe, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) used terrorist tactics for

decades against Britain. The IRA has long opposed British control of Northern Ireland. Since 1998, the two sides have been working toward a peaceful solution to their conflict. In South America, a group known as the Shining Path terrorized the residents of Peru throughout the late 20th century. The group sought to overthrow the government and establish a Communist state.

Africa, too, has seen its share of terrorism. Groups belonging to the al-Qaeda terrorist organization operated in many African countries. Indeed, officials have linked several major attacks against U.S. facilities in Africa to al-Qaeda. In 1998, for

example, bombings at the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania left more than 200 dead.

TACTICS AND MOTIVES

Most terrorists work in a similar way: targeting high-profile events or crowded places where people normally feel safe. They include such places as subway stations, bus stops, restaurants, or shopping malls. Terrorists choose these spots carefully in order to gain the most attention and to achieve the highest level of intimidation.

Terrorists use bullets and bombs as their main weapons. In recent years, however, some terrorist groups have used biological and chemical agents in their attacks. These actions involve the release of bacteria or poisonous gas into the air. Gas was the weapon of choice for a radical Japanese religious cult, Aum Shinrikyo. In 1995, cult members released sarin, a deadly nerve gas, in subway stations in Tokyo. Twelve people were killed and more than 5,700 injured. The possibility of this type of terrorism is particularly worrying, because biochemical agents are relatively easy to acquire.

The reasons for terrorist attacks vary. Traditional motives include gaining independence, expelling foreigners, or changing society. These reasons often give rise to domestic terrorism—violence used by people to change the policies of their own government or to overthrow their government.

In the late 20th century, another type of terrorism began to emerge. Terrorists who carried out this type of terrorism wanted to achieve political ends or destroy what they considered to be forces of evil. They attacked targets not just in their own country, but anywhere in the world. These terrorists were willing to use any type of weapon to kill their enemies. They were

The attacks of September 11 dramatically altered the way Americans looked at life.

even willing to die to ensure the success of their attacks.

RESCUE AND REBUILDING

On September 11, the weapons the terrorists used were planes loaded with fuel. The planes became destructive missiles when they crashed into their targets.

Amidst the brutal destruction at the World Trade Center, the courage, selflessness, and noble actions of New York City's firefighters, police officers, and rescue workers stood as a testament. Many of the first firefighters at the scene disappeared into the burning build-

ings to help those inside and never came out again. Entire squads were lost. New York City Fire Department chaplain, Father Mychal Judge, was killed by falling debris just after giving the last rites of the Catholic Church to a firefighter at the scene.

Firefighters worked around the clock trying to find survivors in the wreckage. They had to contend with shifting rubble and smoky, ash-filled air. Medical workers from the area rushed to staff the city's trauma centers. But after the first wave of injured, there were few survivors to treat.

A flood of volunteers assisted rescue workers. Ironworkers helped cut through steel beams, while high school students helped provide water and food for the rescue workers. From around the country, people sent donations of blood, food, and money to New York City.

After the first few days, the work at "ground zero," the World Trade Center disaster site, shifted to recovering bodies and removing the massive amount of debris. The destroyed twin towers accounted for an estimated 2 billion pounds of rubble.



A flag flies over the rubble of the World Trade Center while firefighters and rescue workers search for survivors.

Once the area was cleared, plans to rebuild the site were proposed. In February 2003, a development committee chose a design for a new building complex that would rise taller than the World Trade Center towers. The complex, which officials estimated would take about 10 years to build, would include a memorial, a cultural center, and a 1,776-foot spire.

IMPACT OF 9/11

The attacks of September 11 dramatically altered the way Americans looked at life. People felt that everything had changed—life would never be the same. Before the attacks, many Americans felt secure that terrorism happened only in other countries. After the attacks, many Americans became afraid that terrorism could happen in their own country at any time.

This sense of vulnerability was intensified when another wave of terrorist attacks hit the United States a few days after September 11. Letters containing anthrax spores were sent to people in the news media and to members of Congress in Washington, D.C. When inhaled, these spores could damage the lungs and cause death. Five people died after inhaling the spores in tainted letters. Two were postal workers.

Some investigators believed that the letters were sent by a lone terrorist and not by a terrorist group. No link between the letters and the September 11 attacks was ever found. The anthrax letters increased Americans' fear of terrorism. Many Americans became afraid of an everyday part of life—the mail.

THE UNITED STATES RESPONDS

The first step in the battle against terrorism was to identify who was responsible for the September 11 attacks. After conducting a massive investigation, the U.S. government determined that Osama bin Laden, a Saudi Arabian millionaire, had directed the terrorists. The terrorists were part of the al-Qaeda network. The home base for al-Qaeda was Afghanistan, ruled by a strict Islamic regime called the Taliban. The Taliban supported the terrorist group. In return, bin Laden provided fighters to the Taliban.

The United States, led by President George W. Bush, built an international coalition, or alliance, to fight terrorism and the al-Qaeda network. Great Britain played a prominent role in this coalition. After the Taliban refused to turn over bin Laden, coalition forces led by the United States began military action in Afghanistan.

In October 2001, the United States launched Operation Enduring Freedom. The military began bombing Taliban air defenses, airfields, and command centers, as well as al-Qaeda training camps. Within two months, U.S. special forces and marines and fighters from the Northern Alliance, a coalition of anti-Taliban Afghan troops, drove the Taliban from power. However, the fight to destroy al-Qaeda continued. Bin Laden was not captured, and his fate remained unknown. Meanwhile, the United Nations worked with the Northern Alliance and other Afghan groups to establish an interim government to replace the Taliban.

ANTITERRORIST ACTIONS

To combat terrorism on the home front, the Bush administration created the Department of Homeland Security in 2002, headed by former Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge.



Tom Ridge, the Secretary of the new Department of Homeland Security, introduces the color-coded threat advisory system.

History of Terrorist Attacks Against the United States

1978

Theodore Kaczynski, the Unabomber, uses mail bombs to kill 3 people over 17 years.

1983

Shi'ites explode a truck near U.S. military barracks in Beirut, Lebanon, killing 241 Marines.

1988

Libyan terrorists explode a bomb in an airplane, causing it to crash in Lockerbie, Scotland, killing 270 people.

1993

Suspected al-Qaeda terrorists explode bombs in the World Trade Center in New York City, killing 6 and injuring at least 1,040 (page 1068).

1995

Timothy McVeigh uses a truck to destroy the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, killing 168 people.

This executive department was designed to analyze threats, guard the nation's borders and airports, and coordinate the country's response to attacks. To help share information about the risk of terrorist attacks with the American people, the department created the Homeland Security Advisory System. This system used a set of "Threat Conditions" to advise the public about the level of terrorist threats and provided guidelines for response during a period of heightened alert.

The Department of Homeland Security also searched for terrorists in the United States. The government soon discovered that the al-Qaeda network had used "sleepers" to carry out its terrorist attacks. Sleepers are agents who enter a country, blend into a community, and when called upon, secretly prepare for and commit terrorist acts. An intensive search began for any al-Qaeda terrorists, including sleepers, that remained in the United States. U.S. officials detained and questioned Arabs and other Muslims who behaved suspiciously or who violated immigration regulations.

USA PATRIOT ACT

Critics claimed that detaining these people violated their civil rights. The government argued that limiting civil liberties during wartime to protect national security was not unusual. U.S. officials used the same argument to try some terrorist suspects in military tribunals rather than in criminal courts.

To give the government the power to conduct search and surveillance of suspected terrorists, the USA Patriot Act was signed into law on October 26, 2001. This law allowed the government to:



An airport security official inspects a traveler's shoe at a security checkpoint.

- detain foreigners suspected of terrorism for seven days without charging them with a crime.
- tap all phones used by suspects and monitor their e-mail and Internet use.
- make search warrants valid across states.
- order U.S. banks to investigate sources of large foreign accounts.
- prosecute terrorist crimes without any time restrictions or limitations.

People who opposed the law feared that it would allow the government to invade the privacy of ordinary citizens and threaten their basic rights.

AVIATION SECURITY

The federal government's role in aviation security also increased. National Guard troops began patrolling airports, and sky marshals were assigned to airplanes. In addition, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) had bars installed on cockpit doors to prevent hijackers from entering cockpits and gaining control of airplanes.

In November 2001, President Bush signed into law the Aviation and Transportation Security Act, which made airport security the responsibility of the federal government. Previously, individual airports had been responsible for their own security. Because of this law, a federal security force was assigned to inspect airline passengers and carry-on bags. The law also required checked baggage to be screened.

These measures created several major concerns, including long delays at airports and possible invasion of passengers' privacy. As the United States fought terrorism and tried to balance national security with civil rights, the public debate over security measures imposed by the government continued.

PREDICTING EFFECTS

How effective do you think the antiterrorist measures taken by the Bush administration will be in preventing or dealing with future terrorist attacks?



RESEARCH LINKS

CLASSZONE.COM Visit the links for the Epilogue to find out more about War on Terrorism.

1996

The Islamic militant group Hezbollah explodes a truck bomb in Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 American servicemen.

1998

Al-Qaeda explodes bombs near two U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, killing 224.

2000

The bombing of the USS Cole in Aden, Yemen, is linked to Osama bin Laden and kills 17 American sailors.

2001

Arab terrorists crash planes into the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and a Pennsylvania field, killing about 3,000.

Iraq: Confronting a Dictatorship

How should the United States deal with dangerous dictators?

Since 1979, Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq had brutally repressed opposition. The Iraqi dictator had ruled without regard for the welfare of his people or for world opinion. During his State of the Union address in January 2003, President George W. Bush declared Hussein too great a threat to ignore in an age of increased terrorism. Reminding Americans of the September 11 attacks, Bush stated: "Imagine those 19 hijackers with other weapons and other plans—this time armed by Saddam Hussein. It would take one vial, one canister, one crate slipped into this country to bring a day of horror like none we have ever known. We will do everything in our power to make sure that day never comes." Hussein's past behavior had proved to the American President that he posed a real danger.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In August 1990, the Iraqi army had invaded Kuwait, a small country that shares Iraq's southwestern border and has access to the sea. Saddam Hussein wanted Kuwait's huge oil reserves. Many countries asked Hussein to withdraw his troops, but he refused. The United Nations (UN) condemned the occupation and approved the use of force to end it.

“By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger.”

PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH

On January 16, 1991, the Persian Gulf War began. Coalition forces led by the United States drove Iraq's army out of Kuwait within six weeks. A cease-fire agreement between Iraq and the UN ended the conflict. This agreement prohibited Iraq from producing chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons.

The United Nations periodically sent arms inspectors to Iraq to make sure Hussein was complying with the cease-fire agreement. However, the Iraqi dictator refused to cooperate fully with the inspectors. Because of this, the United States and Great Britain declared in 1998 that they supported the removal of Hussein from his office and the end-

ing of his regime. In response, Hussein barred arms inspectors from entering his country.

STEPS TOWARD WAR

After the attacks on September 11, 2001, President George W. Bush feared that Hussein was providing terrorists with weapons of mass destruction (WMD). The United States called for a renewal of the arms inspections in Iraq. In November 2002, the UN Security Council passed a resolution designed to force Iraq to give up all WMD. Iraq agreed to this resolution, and arms inspections resumed.

However, Hussein again refused to cooperate fully with these inspections. As a result, the United States and Great Britain declared an end to diplomatic relations with Iraq.

In early February 2003, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell gave a presentation to the UN Security Council, maintaining that Iraq was hiding WMD. Powell used audiotapes, satellite photos, and anecdotal evidence to support his claims. Soon thereafter, the United States and Great Britain pressed the UN to pass a resolution that authorized the use of military force against Iraq. France and Russia threatened to veto such a resolution. As an alternative, France, Germany, and Russia presented a plan that called for intensifying the inspections.

History of Saddam Hussein's Regime

1979

Saddam Hussein seizes power in Iraq.

1980

Iraq invades Iran's oil fields, triggering the Iran-Iraq War, which continues until 1988.

1988

The Iraqi Air Force releases poisonous gases over the Kurdish town of Halabja, Iraq, killing about 5,000 people.

1990

Iraq invades Kuwait in an attempt to seize that nation's oil revenues.



In Baghdad, Iraqis pull down a statue of Saddam Hussein after the dictator's regime is overthrown.

The United States and Great Britain countered by claiming that a new UN resolution was not necessary since Iraq was in violation of the old agreement. According to the United States and Great Britain, this violation justified the use of military force to overturn Hussein's regime.

Meanwhile, protests against a possible war in Iraq increased worldwide. Crowds of antiwar protesters participated in more than 600 rallies around the globe on a single day in February. An estimated 750,000 protesters turned out in London, making it the largest demonstration ever in the British capital. Most of the demonstrations were peaceful.

WAR IN IRAQ

On March 17, 2003, President Bush gave Hussein 48 hours to leave Iraq. After the dictator refused, the United States and Great Britain launched Operation Iraqi Freedom.

The war began with massive air raids; sections of Baghdad were the primary targets. U.S. ground troops then raced toward the Iraqi capital. By April 2, U.S. forces had reached the outskirts of the city. Within a week, Baghdad had fallen to the U.S. military. Some evidence indicated that Hussein survived the attack and went into hiding. Meanwhile, British troops seized the city of Basra. Coalition troops had taken control of most of Iraq by April 14.

The United States hosted a meeting with Iraqi representatives to determine the future government of Iraq. The representatives adopted a 13-point statement, stating that Iraq would respect diversity and rule by law. However, one of the country's main Shi'a groups, the Iranian-based Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, objected to U.S. involvement and refused to attend.

SEARCH FOR WMD

Much of the case for going to war against Iraq was based on the belief that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction. Once major combat ended on May 1, U.S. forces began an extensive search for these weapons. Movable biological laboratories containing sophisticated equipment were located. However, by mid-2003, chemical or biological weaponry had not been found.

NORTH KOREA AND IRAN

According to the U.S. government, Iraq was not the only country attempting to develop nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. In his State of the Union address in 2002, President Bush named three countries that constituted a dangerous "axis of evil": Iraq, North Korea, and Iran. He stated: "By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger."

North Korea, led by Kim Jong Il, clashed with the United States over nuclear weapons development. In 1985, North Korea had signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. In 2003, however, North Korea pulled out of this agreement and reactivated its nuclear power facilities. Amid signs of Kim's renewed military buildup, the United States continued to watch North Korea uneasily.

Iran also started to pursue a nuclear program. Iranian authorities claimed it was doing so for peaceful reasons. The U.S. government rejected this claim and viewed Iran as a threat.

PREDICTING EFFECTS

Do you think the U.S.-led strike against Iraq will result in similar wars against other dangerous regimes?



RESEARCH LINKS

CLASSZONE.COM Visit the links for the Epilogue to find out more about Iraq: Confronting a Dictatorship.

1991

The Persian Gulf War begins in January and ends six weeks later. The UN prohibits Iraq from producing WMD.

1998

Iraq's refusal to cooperate with UN arms inspectors leads to a four-day strike by the United States and Great Britain.

2003

In March, the United States and Great Britain launch Operation Iraqi Freedom. Major combat ends in May, and Hussein is overthrown.

The Debate over Immigration

Should new laws restrict or expand immigration?

Briam Saiti left war-torn Bosnia and arrived in New York City, where he worked to save money to send for his brother and parents. But his family may never be able to join him.

For hundreds of years, immigrants working for their dreams have shaped the United States. Latino ranchers developed many of the tools and skills of the American cowboy. Chinese laborers laid the tracks of the transcontinental railroad. African Americans, though not voluntary immigrants, labored to develop the agriculture of the South and the industry of the North. Farmers and workers of every origin and ethnicity built the nation we know today.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

But immigration has been argued throughout American history. In the 1700s, Benjamin Franklin worried about the number of Germans immigrating to Pennsylvania. Anti-immigration sentiment spurred the nativist movement that developed in the 1830s and the “America First” campaign of the 1920s.

Americans today are divided on the issue. Some agree with New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani that immigrants “challenge us with new ideas and new perspectives.” Others side with Dan Stein of the Federation for American Immigration Reform, who has said

“The U.S. has this terrible problem.

. . . The smartest people in the world want to come here.”

JENNIFER HUNT, ECONOMIST

that “large-scale immigration is not serving the needs and interests of the country.”

RISING NUMBERS

From 1900 into the 1940s, economic troubles and rapid population growth spurred more than 16 million Europeans to move to the United States. The same pressures have recently hit Asia and Latin America, with the same effect on the United States. Between 1970 and 1998, the immigrant population of the United States nearly tripled, soaring to over 26 million.

ILLEGAL ENTRY

Complicating the debate has been the issue of illegal immigrants. By

1996, some 5 million people had entered the country illegally. Most undocumented immigrants have jobs but usually receive low pay and no benefits. Although these people do not pay taxes, they also often receive government-funded services.

Pete Wilson, the former governor of California, echoed his constituents when he said, “There’s a right way to come to America and a wrong way.” In 1994, California’s voters approved Proposition 187, denying illegal immigrants access to public education and state-funded health care. A federal court later ruled that law unconstitutional. In 1996, Congress passed a law that toughened measures to bar illegal entry into the United States.

ECONOMIC DEBATE

Those who favor limits claim that immigrants take jobs from Americans. However, data suggest that immigration has not hurt the economy and may have helped fuel its growth. At the same time that millions of immigrant workers—including undocumented workers—were joining the work force, unemployment fell from 7.1 percent in 1980 to 4.3 percent in March 2001, the lowest rate in 30 years.

Another economic argument focuses on wages. Economists agree that immigrants tend to work for lower wages than native-born workers.

History of Immigration in the United States

1751

Benjamin Franklin denounces German immigrants.

1853

Nativists form Know-Nothing Party to protest increase in immigration (page 319).

1882

Chinese Exclusion Act severely restricts immigration from China (page 460).

1896

President Cleveland vetoes bill requiring immigrants to pass literacy test.

1921

Emergency Quota Act begins era of limits on immigration (page 621).



Members of the Latin American community in Los Angeles raise their hands to bless fruit baskets as a sign of immigrants' daily work in California's fields. The sign reads "This fruit is the product of immigrants' labor."

A team of Harvard University economists estimated that one-third of the gap between low-paid and high-paid workers results from higher numbers of immigrants. But they also reported that other factors—foreign trade, declining union membership, and new technology—play a greater role in lowering wages.

At the other end of the spectrum, immigrants fill skilled, high-paying jobs as well. Current law allows 195,000 highly skilled immigrants to enter the country each year. Businesses have lobbied hard for Congress to increase this number. Yale University economist Jennifer Hunt sees the irony in this issue: "The U.S. has this terrible problem. . . . The smartest people in the world want to come here."

CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBILITY

Some people are concerned that many immigrants never become citizens and so fail to completely

participate in American life. Statistics show that the percentage of immigrants gaining citizenship declined from 64 percent in 1970 to 35 percent in 1997, the lowest rate in the past century. Experts attribute the sharp drop to a variety of factors, including rising numbers of illegal immigrants, a backlog of applications, and a presumed lack of interest among many immigrants. The oath of U.S. citizenship carries with it such responsibilities as voting, serving on juries, and, in some cases, military service.

CULTURAL CONCERNS

The diversity of population in the United States has raised concerns that America has no common culture. Some say that at 10 percent of the population, foreigners are too numerous in America. Historian David Kennedy points out that in 1910 the percentage was much higher—14.7 percent.

Those who favor limits claim that new immigrants do not mix with other groups, forming ethnic neighborhoods that divide society. Others believe that immigrants enrich American life with diverse music, arts, and ideas.

MORAL ISSUES

The issue of asylum—providing a safe place for people fleeing an oppressive government—has been the toughest of all. While immigration is allowed for political asylum, those who flee famine or poverty are turned away. Are such choices fair? In the words of social scientist Nathan Glazer, "Poorly paid officials must make decisions that would stump a professor of ethics."

Some rules allow relatives of immigrants to enter the country. Representative Lamar Smith of Texas believes that these rules admit immigrants who "have no marketable skills and end up on welfare." As Glazer notes, concern about the number of immigrants conflicts with sympathy for those "trying to bring in wives, children, parents, brothers, and sisters."

Alan Simpson, a former U.S. senator, believes that there are simply too many immigrants. Slow immigration for five years, he proposed, to gain "breathing space." But Americans remain divided. In Gallup polls conducted at the turn of this century, 43 percent of those answering favored the Simpson idea, while 54 percent agreed that immigration should either be kept at its present level or increased.

PREDICTING EFFECTS

How might the measures restricting illegal immigrants affect future laws that regulate legal immigration?



RESEARCH LINKS

CLASSZONE.COM Visit the links for the Epilogue to find out more about The Debate over Immigration.

1965

Immigration Act loosens restrictions in place since 1921 (page 897).

1994

California passes Proposition 187, excluding benefits to illegal immigrants (page 1092).

1996

Congress passes laws that limit benefits to illegal immigrants.

2000

Census Bureau estimates nation's foreign-born at 28.4 million, or 1 in 10 residents (page 1092).

Crime and Public Safety

Will tougher gun control laws reduce the incidence of crime?

On an early March day in 2001, Alicia Zimmer, a student at Santana High School outside San Diego, found herself in the middle of gunfire in the hallways. A 15-year-old boy had brought a gun to school and had begun firing at his fellow students. “I was probably about 10 feet away from some of the victims,” Zimmer said, adding that she saw “a boy laying on the floor with his face down,” and a girl with “blood all over her arm.” Before the shooter was apprehended, two people were killed and 13 were injured. School shootings have become more common in the United States and are just one reason why, despite an overall decrease in crime during the 1990s, Americans continue to express concerns over public safety.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In 1968, opinion polls reported that for the first time, Americans called crime the nation’s single worst problem. Since then, crime has remained high on the list of national problems.

Crime rates generally increased during the 1970s, due in part to rising unemployment and inflation, increased drug use, civil unrest, and protests against the Vietnam War. But in the 1980s, the spread of crack cocaine abuse fueled a major jump in crime. From 1986 to the early 1990s, the rates of violent



School students at John Bartram High School in Philadelphia go through metal detectors as they enter the school one day after a school shooting.

crimes and car thefts increased by more than 20 percent.

Beginning in 1992, however, these rates began to drop and continued declining throughout the decade. The FBI announced that in 1999 overall crime had declined 16 percent since 1995 and 20 percent since 1990. What’s more, the 1999 violent crime rate had dipped to a 20-year low, while the murder rate had dropped to 6 per 100,000, the lowest figure since 1966.

RECENT SUCCESS

Experts have identified a few causes for falling crime rates:

- There are fewer males aged 15 to 29, the group most likely to commit crimes.
- The trade in crack cocaine slowed.
- The unemployment rate gradually decreased throughout the 1990s. Generally, when more people have jobs, crime rates fall.

Perhaps the biggest factor has been new policing efforts. Police departments have taken officers out of patrol cars and put them back on the streets. Police have also taken a more active role in their neighborhoods. Crime prevention methods now focus on an intense effort to

History of Crime and Public Safety in the United States

1791

Second Amendment, protecting right to bear arms, is ratified (page 149).

1844

New York City organizes first full-time, salaried police force (page 471).

1920s

Organized crime thrives during Prohibition (page 643).

1966

Miranda v. Arizona: police must inform suspects of their legal rights (pages 896, 900).

1980s

Increased drug abuse contributes to rising crime.

1993

Brady Act aims to reduce the spread of handguns.

intervene with troubled youth before they commit a crime.

CONTINUING EFFORTS

Despite what appears to be a safer nation, however, many Americans continue to worry about crime. For one thing, gun violence is on the rise. According to the FBI, guns were used in 70 percent of all homicides in 1999, up from 60 percent the year before. In addition, some social scientists contend that with a slumping economy a new crime wave is just over the horizon. Even though the overall murder rate has declined since 1990, crime continues to command public attention. Experts are split over two issues related to reducing crime further: gun control and tougher sentencing.

GUN CONTROL

In 1993, President Bill Clinton signed the Brady Act, which called for states to place a five-day waiting period on the sale of handguns. During that period, police check the potential buyer's background. If they find a criminal record, a gun permit is denied. However, four years later, in June 1997, the Brady Act was substantially weakened when the Supreme Court ruled that the federal government could not force state or local officials to run background checks on potential buyers of handguns.

At the center of the gun-control issue lies a long-standing constitutional debate. The Second Amendment to the Constitution states this: "A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." The National Rifle Association

As the 21st century begins, Americans find themselves grappling with new forms of violent crime.

(NRA), which is opposed to tougher gun-control laws, argues that gun-control laws violate this right to bear arms. Others contend that the amendment was not intended to guarantee a right to personal weapons. Rather, its purpose is to protect the state's right to maintain military units.

TOUGHER SENTENCES

In addition to looking at hand gun laws, Americans have sought to battle crime by putting more people in prison. The federal government and many states recently passed "three strikes" laws. Under these laws, any person found guilty of two previous crimes receives a stiff sentence of twenty to thirty years after conviction for a third.

While many applaud this get-tough policy, others claim that it suffers from a serious problem: racial bias. Blacks represent just 12 percent of the U.S. population and about 13 percent of those who reported using illegal drugs on a

monthly basis. Yet three-quarters of all prison sentences for possession of drugs involve African Americans. Many civil rights groups say that such differential treatment must end.

NEW CHALLENGES

As the 21st century begins, Americans face a number of new challenges. Deadly school shootings have brought attention to the issue of youth violence, and violent crime in America's cities remains a national concern. But the greatest challenge to public safety may be the renewed threat of terrorism. During the mid-1990s, a series of bombings signaled a disturbing new era of terrorism in America. The bombing of the World Trade Center in 1993, the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, and the bombing at Atlanta's Centennial Park in 1996 all contributed to a growing sense of public vulnerability.

Following the events of September 11, 2001, in October President Bush signed into law new anti-terrorism measures. These laws greatly increased the authority of local, state, and federal law enforcement agencies to obtain and to share information about anyone living in the United States, but drew severe criticism for intruding on personal privacy.

It now appears that Americans will be struggling to balance the need for domestic security against its costs—in terms of privacy, convenience, and dollars—well into the 21st century.

PREDICTING EFFECTS

What methods do you think the nation will employ to more effectively prevent terrorist attacks?



RESEARCH LINKS

CLASSZONE.COM Visit the links for the Epilogue to find out more about Crime and Public Safety.

1994

Republicans include tougher crime laws in their Contract with America (page 1070).

1997

Supreme Court rules that certain provisions of the Brady Act are unconstitutional.

1999

2 students kill 13 and then themselves at Columbine High School in Colorado (page 1068).

2001

On September 11, terrorist attacks in New York and at the Pentagon kill thousands.

Issues in Education

How can a country guarantee equal education for all?

In the winter of 2001, Paul Vallas, former head of the Chicago public school system, received some discouraging news. A three-year study found “little significant change” in the city’s ailing public high schools—despite six years of intense reform efforts. “The issue is that the problem is tougher than we thought it was,” the study reported, “and we have to find more intense ways of improving what we’ve been doing.” In response to the study, Vallas echoed those sentiments. “We still have a long way to go,” he said. The plight of Chicago’s public schools highlights the nation’s ongoing struggle to improve education.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

From the earliest days of the nation, American leaders have stressed the importance of education. In the 19th century, reformers helped establish a system of government-supported public schools. By 1900, almost three-quarters of all eight- to fourteen-year-olds attended school. Even with these advances, some groups suffered. Public secondary education failed to reach most African Americans in the early 20th century. Not until 1954, with the Supreme Court decision *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, did federal court decisions call for an end to separate—and usually inferior—schools for African Americans.

By the 1960s, the nation’s schools wrestled with the problem of a rising discrepancy between

suburban schools and inner-city schools. Many students in inner cities attended schools that were housed in decaying buildings and that had dated instructional materials. On the other hand, students in the suburbs enjoyed new facilities and equipment. In both the inner city and the suburbs, violence and drugs have raised issues of safety.

KEY ISSUES

The debate over public education has focused on three key issues. First is the question of how to change schools to improve the

From the earliest days of the nation, American leaders have stressed the importance of education.

quality of education. Second is the issue of school financing. Should different school systems in a state receive equal funding? The third issue has to do with affirmative action—programs intended to remedy past discrimination.

IMPROVING QUALITY

People have offered many ideas on how to improve schools. Some critics say that lack of discipline is a major problem. Others point to the disparity in technology between wealthy and poor schools. During his presidency, Bill Clinton called for all schools in the country to be connected to the Internet and its vast supply of information.

Another reform receiving support is the creation of charter schools. In this plan, certain schools receive a charter, or contract, from a local school district, a state education department, or a university. Charter schools promise innovations in education. In return for freedom to operate as they choose, charter schools promise to increase students’ achievement levels. By the end of the 1990s, about 1,600 such schools were in place in approximately 34 states.

Some school reformers favor the voucher system, in which states issue a certificate to parents, who then use it to pay for their child’s education at a school of their choice. The school exchanges the voucher for payment from the government. Supporters of the voucher system believe that parents will seek schools that provide higher-quality education. Public schools will then be forced to compete with private and parochial schools, and with one another. The competition should increase the overall quality

History of Education in the United States

1821

Emma Willard opens Troy Female Seminary, an academic school for girls (page 256).

1837

Horace Mann begins the push to spread public education (page 488).

1865

African Americans who had been slaves begin to create and attend schools (pages 388, 490–491).

1954

Brown v. Board of Education finds segregated schools unconstitutional (pages 914–915).

1965

Federal government begins providing aid to public schools (page 895).

of education, supporters argue. During his run for office in 2000, President George W. Bush voiced support for vouchers. “I don’t know whether or not the voucher system is a panacea,” he said, “but I’m willing to give it a shot to determine whether it makes sense.”

FINANCING EDUCATION

In most states, school funding relies on local property taxes—taxes paid on the value of real estate in a town or city. When schools are funded primarily by property taxes, however, schools in poorer areas receive less money than those in wealthier communities. According to the magazine *Washington Monthly*, one New Jersey town spends \$13,394 per pupil on schooling. Another town just five miles away spends only \$7,889. Court cases have raised legal challenges to unequal school funding in more than 20 states.

In 1993, Michigan voters approved a plan that abandoned reliance on local property taxes as the basis of school funding. Now schools get their money from a smaller state-controlled property tax, an increased sales tax on consumer purchases, and increased taxes on purchases of such items as cigarettes and alcohol. Because the state sets property tax rates and monitors its school systems’ budgets, it can even out inequalities.



Jessica Riley, a hearing-impaired volunteer teacher, helps a hearing-impaired second grader with his reading.

to admit Bakke—but also said that institutions could use race as one factor among others in determining admission to a college. In 1996, voters in California passed an initiative that banned race or gender preferences in college admissions.

On January 3, 2001, a lower federal court issued a new ruling that expanded upon the *Bakke* decision. In *Hopwood v. Texas*, a federal judge ruled that a university

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

could not legally have separate admissions tracks for white and minority candidates. The court said that such a plan discriminates against nonminority students.

Most recently, President George W. Bush has made a commitment that no child will be left behind. A cornerstone of his education program is accountability for student performance with national annual reading and math assessments in grades 3 through 8. Clearly the issue of how to reform public education will continue to be the subject of debate as President Bush pushes his agenda for education reform.

Many Americans support the idea of programs that give women and minorities greater educational and workplace opportunities. At the same time, a large majority disapprove of quotas, the setting aside of a certain number of jobs or college admissions for members of these groups.

This point became the focus of a court case challenging affirmative action. In the 1970s, Allan Bakke had twice been rejected by the medical school at the University of California, Davis, which instead admitted a number of minority students who had lower grades and test scores. Bakke argued that his rights had been denied. The Supreme Court, in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978), ruled that the school had

could not legally have separate admissions tracks for white and minority candidates. The court said that such a plan discriminates against nonminority students.

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PREDICTING EFFECTS

What do you think will be the most important education issue the country will face in the coming years? Why?



RESEARCH LINKS

CLASSZONE.COM Visit the links for the Epilogue to find out more about Issues in Education.

1983

A federal commission report *A Nation at Risk* severely criticizes public education (page 1047).

1989

Education summit issues Goals 2000.

1996

California voters ban affirmative action in education and other areas.

2000

Number of charter schools in America reaches roughly 1,600.

The Communications Revolution

Can information on the Internet be both reliable and accessible?

On a spring day in 1997, 12-year-old Sean Redden had just logged onto the Internet in his home in Denton, Texas, when he encountered a startling message: “Would someone help me?” The plea turned out to be a distress call from an Internet user nearly 7,000 miles away in Finland. The person had suffered an asthmatic attack that left her barely able to breathe. After obtaining more information from the woman, Redden contacted his local police. They in turn alerted Finnish authorities, who located the woman and rushed her to medical care at a nearby hospital. This digital rescue is just one example of the power and reach of the Internet, which has dramatically changed American society like nothing else in recent history.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In the 1940s, when computers first came into use, they took up huge rooms and required fans or elaborate air-conditioning systems to cool the parts that provided them with power. In the years since, the parts that power computers have become miniaturized and have been made much more powerful. Today, not only can personal computers perform more operations more quickly than the first giant computers did, but they are also affordable for many people. The development

Many observers credit computer technology with driving the nation’s astonishing economic growth during the 1990s.

of inexpensive personal computers has made it possible for ordinary families to use the latest technology.

THE INTERNET

A very important component of computer use today is the Internet, a worldwide computer network. In the 1960s, the Department of Defense began to network its computers in order to protect its ability to launch nuclear missiles following a feared Soviet attack. Then in the late 1980s, the National Science Foundation created its own network, NSFNET, and allowed anyone to access it. However, only a small group of

computer-science graduates and professors used the system.

At about this time a digital revolution arose as thousands of industries across the country began using computers to run their businesses, and millions of Americans bought personal computers for their homes. With so many computers suddenly in use, NSFNET steadily grew into the large and crowded Internet, which includes the World Wide Web.

THE COMPUTER REVOLUTION

The numbers alone demonstrate the influence of computer technology on modern life. By mid-1999, more than 80 million Americans were logging onto the Internet either at home or at work. In 2000, about 60 percent of U.S. households owned at least one personal computer. What’s more, nearly every business in the nation, from hospitals to accounting firms and airports, has implemented computer systems to handle many of its daily operations.

Many observers credit computer technology with driving the nation’s astonishing economic growth during the 1990s. With computers allowing employees in nearly every field to perform their jobs more quickly and easily, worker productivity and output increased—a major reason for the decade-long boom.

History of the Communications Revolution

1969

U.S. Department of Defense creates ARPANET.

1991

First browser, or software for accessing the World Wide Web, developed.

1994

Three million people worldwide use the Internet.

EVERYDAY USES

Computer technology not only has improved how Americans work, but also has dramatically altered how they live. Millions of citizens now buy everything from flowers to books to stock on-line. In 1999, the nation spent \$18.2 billion in electronic transactions, also known as e-commerce, and analysts predict that amount will soar to \$108 billion by 2003.

While Americans once communicated strictly by phone or letter, they now talk to each other more and more through their computers. Computers have also affected the way Americans learn. In 2000, 77 percent of public school classrooms had Internet access, up 13 percent from 1999. A growing number of universities offer classes and even complete degree programs wholly over the Internet.

HIGH-TECH CHALLENGES

For all the benefits and opportunities it has brought, computer technology also has created its own set of challenges. There are few laws and regulations governing the Internet. Thus, while it is a treasure trove of useful information, the World Wide Web also has become a center for the dissemination of pornographic and hate material.

The growth of computers also has led to the growth of “cyber-crime.” Computer vandals, known commonly as hackers, engage in everything from the theft of social security numbers and other vital personal information to the disabling of entire computer systems. The Federal Bureau of Investigation estimates that cybercrime costs Americans more than \$10 billion a



College senior Demetress Roberts uses a computer program to teach Latino Outreach student Angel Leonardo about fractions.

year. What concerns officials even more is the growing possibility of “cyberterrorism”—hackers stealing or altering vital military information such as nuclear missile codes.

Meanwhile, a large number of Americans worry about the growing “digital divide,” the notion that computer technology remains out of reach for many of the nation’s poor. According to recent statistics, nearly 80 percent of households earning \$75,000 or more owned a computer, compared with only about 20 percent of households earning between \$15,000 and \$25,000. Many fear that poor families unable to purchase computers are falling even further behind in a country where computer skills are fast becoming a necessity.

CLOSING THE GAP

Actually, the nation is working to close the gap. In San José, California, for example, officials were able to invest \$90,000 in a program to teach computer skills to welfare

recipients and homeless people. In LaGrange, Georgia, the mayor helped the local cable company by endorsing a deal to give free Internet access for one year to all the town’s residents who sign up for basic cable. Meanwhile, libraries, schools, and senior centers provide free access. A number of proposals to provide people with greater access to computers and training are working their way through the federal and various state governments.

THE FUTURE

As the 21st century begins, the computer revolution shows no sign of slowing. The digital technology that has so transformed the nation continues to improve. As the computer age rolls on, Americans and the rest of the world most likely will face exciting new opportunities.

PREDICTING EFFECTS

What do you think will be a new breakthrough and a new challenge for Americans in the next decade of the Computer Age?



RESEARCH LINKS

CLASSZONE.COM Visit the links for the Epilogue to find out more about The Communications Revolution.

1996

Congress passes Telecommunications Act, allowing companies to engage in a variety of communications endeavors (page 1084).

2001

Over 200 million people around the world use the Internet.

Curing the Health Care System

How should medical coverage for the uninsured be funded?

To pay for the medicine she needs, 79-year-old Winifred Skinner walks the streets of Des Moines every day collecting cans. “I don’t want to ask for hand-outs. I want to earn it,” she insists. The soaring cost of prescription drugs—especially among the elderly—is just one of the key issues facing American health care today.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

National health insurance for Americans was first proposed by President Harry S. Truman in 1949, but Congress failed to approve it. It took the legislative skill of President Lyndon B. Johnson to enact Medicare in 1965. The program covered most of the cost of medical care for people age 65 and above.

By the 1990s, Medicare was taking an increasing share of federal spending. In hopes of controlling costs and providing universal coverage, President Clinton proposed a complex plan. However, lobbying by doctors and private insurers and the public’s mistrust of big government caused Congress to defeat Clinton’s plan in 1994.

Meanwhile, many Americans were afraid they would be denied health insurance because of pre-existing conditions—medical conditions that are present when a person applies for coverage. The Health Insurance Portability and Account-



Irene Holmes holds her son while technician Roberta Montoya takes a blood sample at the Sandia Health Center.

ability Act, passed in 1996, removed that concern. It required insurers to provide coverage to all new employees who had had health insurance before changing jobs.

HEALTH CARE REFORM

Health care continued to be a hot topic during the 2000 presidential campaign and beyond. One of the issues up for debate was the need for prescription-drug coverage for the elderly, a reform many thought should be addressed as part of an overhaul of the Medicare system. Also high on the agenda were the

need to protect patients’ rights and the need to expand health coverage to the ranks of the uninsured.

SOARING DRUG COSTS

When Medicare began in 1965, the cost of prescription drugs was small compared with that of hospital stays and doctors’ visits. But with the development of new medicines and treatments for heart disease, arthritis, and other chronic conditions, drugs have become the fastest-growing component of health-care spending. About 40 percent of people on Medicare don’t

History of Health Care in the United States

1949

Truman introduces a bill for national health insurance that is ultimately rejected by Congress (page 845).

1953

Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is established.

1965

President Johnson and Congress enact Medicare and Medicaid into law (page 896).

1970s

President Nixon increases funding for Medicare and Medicaid (pages 1001–1002).

1981

AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) is first identified (page 1046).

have prescription-drug coverage. Many elderly citizens will pay well over \$1,000 a year out of pocket for medicine—or else do without.

During the 2000 campaign, the Democrats proposed a drug benefit through Medicare, while Republicans wanted to give seniors the option to choose their own insurance plans, subsidized by the federal government. An even bigger controversy was looming, however: whether the drug-benefit issue should be tackled on its own or whether the government should first deal with the bigger problem of reforming Medicare as a whole.

THE FATE OF MEDICARE

The outlook on Medicare is simple. If nothing changes, Medicare will start running out of money by 2010 and is expected to go bankrupt in 2025. The reasons are rising costs and demographic changes.

Americans are living longer now than they were in 1965—about seven years longer on average. As a result, seniors form a greater proportion of the population than before. While rising numbers of elderly drive up the cost of Medicare, the revenues targeted to pay for it are expected to go down. As the population ages, fewer people will work and pay the taxes that fund Medicare.

Today, four workers pay taxes for every person who receives Medicare, while in 2035, only two workers will be available to do the job. Workers' taxes will go up—especially if health costs rise.

What is to be done? This is one of the toughest questions facing policymakers in the early 21st century. Among the approaches that

“Health care is too important for any modern society to permit many of its citizens to go without it.”

HENRY J. AARON, FORMER DIRECTOR,
BROOKINGS ECONOMIC STUDIES PROGRAM

have been proposed are placing more restrictions on Medicare benefits, raising the age of eligibility, or increasing the share to be paid by the elderly. Michael Tanner of the Cato Institute favors raising the age rather than the premium: “premiums already represent a significant burden for many elderly Americans. . . . Any major increase . . . risk[s] pushing many of the elderly into poverty.”

PROTECTING PATIENTS' RIGHTS

Another priority issue of the 2000 campaign was a bill that would make it easier for privately insured Americans to resolve disputes with their health maintenance organizations (HMOs) or other insurance providers. The bill, called the Patient Protection Act, would allow the insured to seek emergency care without receiving prior approval and to visit pediatricians, gynecologists, and other specialists more freely. It also granted them the right

to have any denial of care by a health insurer be reviewed by outside medical experts. Patients who were not satisfied with the outcome of their review would have the right to take their health-insurance providers to court. Members of the Bush administration have opposed the last part of the bill, saying they want to put a cap on damages and restrict suits to federal courts, which are often less generous to the plaintiff than state courts.

THE UNINSURED MILLIONS

The number of people without health insurance continues to be extensive, totaling 15.5 percent of Americans at the turn of this century. Late in 2000, leading advocates of consumers, the insurance industry, and hospitals—groups that had once been adversaries—jointly proposed a costly new plan to extend health insurance to more than half of the uninsured population.

Some 11 million of the uninsured are children. In 1997, the federal government developed the Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) to provide funding to states so that they could offer health coverage to children of low-income people who earn too much to qualify for Medicaid (which covers the cost of medical care for the poor). By the end of 2000, more than 3 million children had benefited from the program, and a federal initiative was in place to reach millions more.

PREDICTING EFFECTS

Do you think that more or fewer Americans will receive health care coverage ten years from now? Explain why you think so.



RESEARCH LINKS

CLASSZONE.COM Visit the links for the Epilogue to find out more about Curing the Health Care System.

1996

Congress passes Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA).

1997

The Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) is enacted.

2001

Congress extends the Medical Savings Accounts pilot program through 2002 as "Archer MSAs."

Breaking the Cycle of Poverty

Who has the responsibility for helping the poor?

Jim, a 55-year-old painter by trade, retreats each night to a Boston homeless shelter. He spends his days engaging in any work he can find—but it's never enough to provide him with a roof over his head. Too many of the jobs available, he says, "pay only the minimum wage or a bit higher, and they cannot cover the rent and other bills." Jim, who says his dream is to "get a steady job, find an apartment, and settle down," insists that he never imagined he would find himself homeless. "I never thought it could happen to me," he says. Jim is just one of more than 32 million citizens considered poor in a nation that continues to cope with the challenge of eradicating poverty.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Some part of the American population has faced poverty since the "starving time" at Jamestown during the winter of 1609–1610. In the 20th century, poverty was most widespread during the Great Depression of the 1930s. That economic disaster led to several new government programs such as the 1935 Social Security Act, which created a pension fund for retired people over age 65 and offered government aid to poor people for the first time.

Though the Depression ended with World War II, postwar prosper-

Many of those Americans who live in poverty are employed.

ity did not last. In the 1960s, President Lyndon B. Johnson declared "unconditional war on poverty" as his administration expanded education, training, and financial aid for the poor. The proportion of people living below the poverty level—the minimum income necessary to provide basic living standards—fell from 20 percent in 1962 to only 11 percent in 1973. However, economic hard times reappeared in the early 1980s and the poverty rate began to rise. In 1999, 32.3 million Americans lived below the poverty line—which that year was marked by an annual income of \$17,029 or less for a family of four.

AMERICANS IN POVERTY

Many Americans who live in poverty are employed. Known as the working poor, they hold low-wage jobs with few benefits and almost never any health insurance. Children also account for a major

share of the poor, and their numbers are growing rapidly for many ethnic groups. The poverty rate among children in the United States is higher than that in any other Western industrialized nation.

Like Jim in Boston, many of the poor are homeless. During the 1980s, cuts in welfare and food stamp benefits brought the problem of homelessness to national attention. According to the National Alliance to End Homelessness (NAEH), about 750,000 Americans are without shelter on any given night.

Many experts on the homeless believe that the lack of housing is simply a symptom of larger problems. These include unemployment, low-wage jobs, and high housing costs, and in some cases, personal problems such as substance abuse or mental illness.

SOME CAUSES OF POVERTY

Experts agree that there are numerous causes of poverty. Lack of skills keeps many welfare recipients from finding or keeping jobs. They need more than job training, many observers insist, they also need training in work habits.

Another factor that holds back increased employment is limited access to child care. Economist David Gordon related the results of a study of mothers who received

History of the Cycle of Poverty in the United States

1894

High unemployment in the wake of the panic of 1893 leaves thousands homeless (pages 427–428).

1935

Social Security Act is passed; government gives aid to poor for first time (pages 698, 707).

1962

Michael Harrington's *The Other America* shocks the nation by revealing extent of poverty (page 888).

1964

President Johnson announces War on Poverty (page 894).



Amherst College freshmen in Massachusetts hoe a field for a farm run by a local food bank in a school outreach community-service project.

welfare. They could eke out a living, he found, by combining paid work and some outside support with welfare payments and food stamps. But, Gordon asked, suppose one of these mothers left welfare and took a full-time minimum-wage job. “[If] she cannot find free child care and has to pay the going rate, her standard of living . . . would decline by 20 percent.” To help meet the need for child care, a 1996 federal welfare law included \$3.5 billion in funding for day care.

For millions of Americans, the U.S. public education system has failed to provide the tools necessary for climbing out of poverty. Anne Lewis, an education writer, points out that “three-fourths of all welfare/food stamp recipients perform at the lowest levels of literacy.” In turn, she notes, low levels of literacy generally lead to low employment rates and lower wages.

Another factor contributing to poverty has been discrimination against racial minorities. Current statistics highlight how much more prevalent poverty is among minorities. In 1999, the poverty rate among whites was 7.7 percent, while among Hispanics and African Americans it was 22.8 percent and 23.6 percent, respectively.

FEDERAL WELFARE REFORM

As the nation continued to struggle with poverty and homelessness, the cry for welfare reform grew louder. Critics of the system argued that providing financial aid to the poor gave them little incentive to better their lives and thus helped to create a culture of poverty. In 1996, the Republican Congress and President Clinton signed a bill—the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act—that cut more than \$55 billion in welfare spending over six years and put a

five-year limit on how long people could receive welfare payments. In addition, the bill cut benefits to recipients who had not found a job within two years.

Supporters cheered the reforms, claiming that they transformed a system from one that fosters dependence to one that encourages self-reliance. Opponents of the law accused the federal government of turning its back on the poor—especially children.

Both proponents and critics of the bill agreed on one thing: the law’s success depended on putting welfare recipients to work. The federal government offered three incentives to encourage businesses to hire people from the welfare rolls: tax credits for employers who hire welfare recipients, wage subsidies, and establishment of enterprise zones, which provide tax breaks to companies that locate in economically depressed areas.

Throughout 2001, President George W. Bush called for \$8 billion to help religious and other volunteer organizations to assume more responsibility for the needy. He supports time limits on welfare benefits and calls for able-bodied welfare recipients to get jobs, attend school, or train for work. It may be years before anyone can say whether or not the president’s or other proposed welfare reforms break the cycle of poverty.

PREDICTING EFFECTS

What can be done to provide affordable child care to help the working poor?



RESEARCH LINKS

CLASSZONE.COM Visit the links for the Epilogue to find out more about Breaking the Cycle of Poverty.

1970

Nixon’s welfare reform bill—the Family Assistance Plan—dies in the Senate (page 1001).

1980s

Welfare benefits and food stamps are cut under President Reagan (page 1041).

1996

Congress passes Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (page 1068).

2001

President Bush pushes for Charitable Choice Act, passed in the House in July.

Tough Choices About Social Security

How can Social Security be reformed so that it will have enough money to pay retirees?

Economist Lester Thurow gives new meaning to the term *generation gap*. “In the years ahead, class warfare is apt to be redefined as the young against the old, rather than the poor against the rich,” he warns. Economics may become a major issue dividing generations, as young workers shoulder the costs of Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid—the three major entitlement programs funded by the federal government.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In the 1935 Social Security Act, the government promised to pay a pension to older Americans, funded by a tax on workers and employers. At that time, President Franklin D. Roosevelt said that Social Security was not intended to provide an individual’s retirement income, but it was a base on which workers would build with private pension funds.

In 1965, new laws extended Social Security support. In addition, the government assumed most health care costs for the elderly through the Medicare program and for the poor through Medicaid. These programs are called entitlements because their benefits are established by law rather than by specific appropriations by Congress. Thus, the recipients are entitled by law to the benefits.



Citizens in favor of protecting Social Security rally on the U.S. Capitol grounds.

Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid have received a lot of attention because the United States population is aging. This aging population will put a severe financial strain on these programs.

SOCIAL SECURITY FUNDING

The threat to Social Security can be attributed to a few important factors. First, when the baby boomers (those born between 1946 and 1964) retire, their huge numbers—about 70 million by the year 2020—may overburden the entitlement programs.

Second, Americans now live longer, so an individual’s share of benefits from the program is greater than in the past. Third, the number of workers paying into Social Security per beneficiary will drop dramatically when the boomers start retiring.

Currently, Social Security collects more in taxes than it pays in benefits. The extra goes into a “trust fund” that is invested. However, experts warn that if changes aren’t made, by about the year 2015 the program will begin paying out more to beneficiaries than it takes in from

History of Entitlements in the United States

1935

President Roosevelt signs Social Security Act (page 707).

1961

Changes to Social Security allow reduced benefits at early retirement—age 62.

1965

President Johnson signs Medicare and Medicaid into law (page 896).

1970s

President Nixon increases Social Security payments (pages 901–902).

1975

Congress includes cost-of-living adjustments for Social Security benefits.

the payroll tax. The program will begin to rely on the Social Security trust fund to pay retirees. If that trend continues, after the year 2036, the fund will run out of sufficient funds to pay retirees the full benefits due to them.

Some experts predict disaster, and Americans have listened. One poll found that 81 percent of Americans under 40 believe that the Social Security program needs to be changed to guarantee its financial stability. Strengthening Social Security has consistently ranked among the top issues Americans want Congress and the president to address.

OPTIONS FOR CHANGE

A number of plans for reforming Social Security have been proposed. These different views have become the main options being debated in Congress and around the country.

- **Raise Social Security Taxes** Some people have suggested small tax hikes, arguing that since people's incomes are expected to rise, they will be able to afford an increase.
- **Cut Benefits** Some argue that benefits should be reduced by ending automatic cost-of-living adjustments or lowering payments made to retirees who earn over a certain amount of money each year. These wealthier people, they say, do not need to receive higher payments.
- **Raise the Retirement Age** Because people can now work productively later in life than they used to, some propose raising the retirement age. That will reduce the payments made and increase tax receipts.

Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid have received much attention because the U.S. population is aging.

- **Invest Funds in the Stock Market** Some people suggest that the government should invest some of Social Security money in the stock market. They assume that stocks will rise, making the system healthier.
- **Allow Individual Investing** Others agree with allowing the funds to be invested but want individuals to control where their own funds are invested.

THE FUTURE OF THE FUNDS

During the 2000 presidential election, exit polls found that some 57 percent of Americans supported the "privatization" approach outlined by President Bush during his campaign: allow workers to divert a portion of their Social Security taxes into individual stock-market accounts. But the details of that plan had yet to be worked out.

Meanwhile, the proposal drew its share of critics. Among them

were advocates for disabled workers and their families—a group that in 1999 made up 17 percent of all Social Security beneficiaries. According to a report from the General Accounting Office, under President Bush's plan a worker who becomes disabled and retires at age 45, for example, would receive 4 percent to 18 percent less in benefits.

Some women's groups also opposed privatization. They said that it would jeopardize the guarantee of lifetime, inflation-adjusted benefits that the current Social Security system provides. Because women earn less than men, they would have less to invest, and their returns would be lower.

Still others were concerned about the risk involved in relying on a volatile stock market. They questioned whether the funds in which people would invest their Social Security taxes would be secure.

The funds seemed at risk even in federal hands. Although Republicans and Democrats pledged during the 2000 elections not to touch the Social Security surplus (funds paid each year toward future pensions), the 2001 budget fell short of expectations. Democrats blamed President Bush's tax cut, while Republicans accused Democrats of overspending. The Congressional Budget Office announced that the government would likely tap Social Security funds in 2003. Bush maintained that this would only happen in the case of a war, recession, or national emergency. By Sept. 11, 2001, America experienced all three.

1983

Social Security is reformed to provide financial stability for many years.

1994

President Clinton appoints Advisory Council on Social Security to report on system's financial health.

2000

President-Elect Bush proposes a plan to divert a portion of Social Security tax into individual stock-market accounts.

PREDICTING EFFECTS

How would the economy be both helped and hurt if Social Security benefits were cut?



RESEARCH LINKS

CLASSZONE.COM Visit the links for the Epilogue to find out more about Tough Choices About Social Security.

Women in the Work Force

Will the American workplace grant men and women equal opportunities?

Thirty-two years after entering a management training program at Boston's Federal Reserve Bank, Cathy Minehan—now the bank's president—is one of a select group of female executives who hold 3.3 percent of the nation's highest-paying jobs. "A critical element in making it to the top is being in the pipeline to do so, . . ." says Minehan. "Aside from . . . [that,] they have to believe they can make it. . . . It is hard for women or minorities to believe they can progress if they cannot look up and see faces like their own at the top."

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In 1961, President John F. Kennedy named a commission to study the status of women in the workplace. Its report revealed that employers paid women less than men for equal work. The report also said that women were rarely promoted to top positions in their fields.

Almost 40 years later, the U.S. Census Bureau found that more women than ever before worked outside the home—about 60 percent. Women made up 47 percent of the American work force. Yet they held only 12.5 percent of the most senior jobs in a sampling of the Fortune 500, the nation's 500 largest companies.

Women are still making less than their male counterparts—averaging only 72 cents for every dollar.

Some women who choose to pursue careers in business, government, or other organizations feel that a glass ceiling limits their career progress. It is said to be glass because it is an invisible barrier that keeps women and minorities from attaining promotion above a certain level. Its invisibility makes it difficult to combat.

POSITIVE TRENDS

Women have made great strides in recent decades. In 1997, they filled almost half of all jobs in managerial and professional specialty areas. Women have also been entering new fields, including construction

work and blue-collar jobs such as equipment repair.

In the academic world, women are better represented than ever before. In 1997, women received a record number—nearly 41 percent—of all doctorate degrees issued by universities. More degrees were given in the life sciences, the field in which women were most strongly represented.

For many women, job success involved getting the right credentials and targeting a growth industry. A 2000 survey by the women's advocacy group Catalyst found that 91 percent of women with MBA degrees working in information technology reported high satisfaction with their current jobs, compared with only 82 percent of their male counterparts. "This translates into opportunity for women in this growing industry," said Sheila Wellington, president of Catalyst. "They're essentially telling us, 'This is the place to be.'"

MONEY AND UPWARD MOBILITY

Despite these positive signs, the key issues of unequal pay and unequal representation remain. Women are still making less than their male counterparts—averaging only 72 cents for every dollar earned by men. According to the National

History of Women at Work in the United States

1834

Women working in Lowell, Massachusetts, textile mills strike (pages 213, 450–451).

1860

1 out of 10 single white women works outside the home, earning half the pay of men (pages 442, 450).

1899

Average pay for women workers is \$269 a year, compared with \$498 for men.

1900

One out of five women works outside the home (pages 519–520).

1920s

Women enter new professions but battle unequal wages (page 648).



U.S. Appeals Court judge Rosemary Barkett (center) delivers the keynote address during a special session of Florida's high court honoring the state's first 150 female lawyers on June 15, 2000, in Tallahassee, Florida.

Committee on Pay Equity, there are a variety of reasons for this discrepancy: women are often socialized to aim toward lower-paying jobs, often have limited expectations about their leadership potential, and may have conflicts between the demands of work and family life.

In the nation's most top-level jobs, women continue to be vastly outnumbered by men. As of 2001, women headed only two Fortune 500 corporations. Ninety of the Fortune 500 companies had no women among the ranks of their corporate officers. Of all line officers—positions with profit-and-loss responsibility—7.3 percent were held by women, while men held an overwhelming 92.7 percent of these positions.

Why are women underrepresented in the top jobs? In one Catalyst poll of women executives, blame was placed on three factors: male stereotyping and preconceptions of women, women's exclusion from informal networks of communication, and women's lack of significant management experience.

On the other hand, the respondents suggested some approaches that had helped them succeed in the corporate world: consistently exceed expectations, develop a style with which managers are comfortable, seek out difficult assignments, and have an influential mentor.

STRIKING OUT ON THEIR OWN

Many women who are frustrated by the corporate environment at their

existing companies are choosing to start their own business. As of 2000, according to the National Foundation for Women Business Owners, the number of women-owned businesses had doubled in the last 13 years—totaling more than 9.1 million firms—and constituted the fastest-growing sector of the U.S. economy. Notes Dixie Junk, owner of Junk Architects in Kansas City, "It's more than having a business—you get to create the culture you want."

IT PAYS TO BE FLEXIBLE

Another area of change affecting women in the work force has been an increasing number of options for flexible work arrangements, such as part-time work and telecommuting opportunities. In 1996, 60 percent of companies surveyed had formal policies or guidelines for some type of flexible work arrangement.

One Catalyst study tracking 24 women who first used flexible work arrangements more than a decade ago found that all of the women now held mid- and senior-level positions, and more than half had earned promotions in the last 10 years. Says Marcia Brumit Kropf, vice-president of research and information services, "Findings from this report suggest that even though working mothers may reduce career involvement for a period of time—with the support of the right company—career advancement does not have to get sidelined."

PREDICTING EFFECTS

What can be done to afford women the same opportunities as men?



RESEARCH LINKS

CLASSZONE.COM Visit the links for the Epilogue to find out more about Women in the Work Force.

1961

Presidential Commission on the Status of Women reports: women are paid less than men (page 983).

1989

20 states begin adjusting pay scales to equalize pay (page 1049).

1998

Women earn 76 cents for every dollar a man earns.

2001

Women-owned businesses are the fastest-growing sector of the U.S. economy.

The Conservation Controversy

Can the nation balance conservation with economic progress?

In 1990, Oregon logger Bill Haire hung a new ornament on the mirror of his truck: a tiny owl with an arrow through its head. The trinket represented the spotted owl as well as Haire's feelings about the federal government's decision to declare millions of acres of forest off limits to the logging industry in order to protect this endangered species of bird.

"If it comes down to my family or that bird," said Haire, "that bird's going to suffer." The battle between loggers and environmentalists over the fate of the spotted owl is just one example of the nation's ongoing struggle to balance conservation with industrial progress.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Conservation, the management and protection of the earth's resources, began as a national movement in the United States during the early 1900s. In the wake of the country's industrial revolution, the federal government enacted numerous measures to protect the nation's natural surroundings. President Theodore Roosevelt expressed a particular interest in preserving America's forestlands. "Like other men who had thought about the national future at all," he once remarked, "I had been growing more and more concerned over the destruction of the forests."



Hikers stand on a rock outcropping above the Jago River at the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in the Brooks Range of Alaska.

Roosevelt established the first wildlife refuge in Florida and added more than 150 million acres to the nation's forest preserves.

The 1960s and 1970s witnessed a resurgence of the conservation movement. In 1962, marine biologist Rachel Carson published *Silent Spring*, which warned of the destructive effects of pesticides. The book awakened Americans to the damage they were inflicting on the environment. In the two decades that fol-

lowed, Congress created the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and enacted such measures as the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, and the Endangered Species Act—all in an effort to restore the health of the country's natural resources.

THE MOVEMENT CONTINUES

By the 1990s, Americans had done much to improve the environment. About two-thirds of the nation's

History of Conservation in the United States

1903

President Theodore Roosevelt establishes the first federal wildlife refuge (page 529).

1933

President Franklin Roosevelt creates the Civilian Conservation Corps (page 697).

1962

Rachel Carson publishes *Silent Spring* (page 897).

1970

Congress establishes the Environmental Protection Agency; Congress passes Clean Air Act (page 1028).

1973

Congress passes the Endangered Species Act (page 1028).

waters are today considered safe for swimming and fishing, up from only one-third in 1972. And between 1970 and 1997, for example, the nation's yearly production of lead emissions plummeted from nearly 221 million tons to just 4 million tons. During those same years, the country nearly tripled the size of its national park space.

In addition, a number of states have made independent efforts. California, for instance, has some of the nation's strictest air-pollution control laws, and these have helped to provide the Golden State with much cleaner air. Other states are playing their part as well in the nation's ongoing conservation effort.

Not all action has been through government. Private groups such as the Nature Conservancy and numerous local land trusts have raised money to purchase forest and watershed lands and keep them pristine. In Texas several entrepreneurs created the Fossil Rim Wildlife Center, a 2,700-acre wildlife sanctuary that helps to nurture more than 30 animal species.

ONGOING CHALLENGES AND DEBATES

Despite the strides Americans have made in protecting their natural resources over the past half century, environmental problems still exist, and the nation still struggles to strike a balance between conservation and economic growth. Such a struggle is clearly visible in the greenhouse effect. The greenhouse effect is the rise in temperature that Earth experiences because certain gases in the atmosphere trap energy from the sun. Without these gases,

As the 21st century begins, the nation faces the challenge of balancing energy needs with environmental concerns.

heat would escape back into space and Earth's average temperature would be about 60°F colder.

Some greenhouse gases, such as carbon dioxide, methane, and nitrous oxide, occur naturally in the air. But the burning of fossil fuels and other human activities add to the levels of these naturally occurring gases, causing global warming. Many scientists and public officials believe that global warming could prompt a range of environmental calamities, from severe flooding in some parts of the world to drought in others.

Despite such dire warnings, the United States—the world's largest producer of greenhouse gas emissions—has done little to scale back its output of such gases. Many of the nation's business leaders insist that measures to “cool down” the atmosphere are too costly and thus would hurt the nation's economy.

An issue of greater concern to Americans today—and one that also is stirring debate between environmentalists and industrialists—is the nation's growing appetite for energy. The United States consumes 25 percent of the world's energy, nearly all of it in the form of fossil fuels such as oil, coal, and natural gas. Much of the fuel America uses comes from overseas—in places such as the oil-rich Middle East. The reliance on foreign sources has left the United States vulnerable to price increases and fuel shortages.

In May 2001, President George W. Bush revealed his energy plan. In the plan, he proposed loosening regulations on oil and gas exploration, a review of gas mileage standards, and a \$4 billion tax credit for the use of “hybrid” cars that use a combination of gas and battery power. The plan also stressed the president's commitment to drill for oil in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR). “I campaigned hard on the notion of having environmentally sensitive exploration at (ANWR),” Bush has said. “And I think we can do so.” Environmentalists strongly oppose this plan, claiming that such drilling will destroy a fragile ecosystem.

As the 21st century begins, the nation faces the challenge of balancing energy needs with environmental concerns. It is an issue that Americans will grapple with for years.

PREDICTING EFFECTS

Do you think the United States eventually will engage in greater domestic exploration of its natural resources to solve its growing energy needs? Why or why not?



RESEARCH LINKS

CLASSZONE.COM Visit the links for the Epilogue to find out more about The Conservation Controversy.

1977

Congress passes Clean Water Act.

1990

Congress amends Clean Air Act to address new environmental problems, including acid rain and ozone depletion.

2001

Nations agree to a revised Kyoto Protocol, which requires industrial nations to preserve “environmental integrity.”