

American Nation, Paul Boyer, TX: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 2005.

[1032-1033]

Life in the 1970s

A Changing Population

American society evolved during the 1970s, both on the national level and within people's homes. Immigration from abroad and migration within the nation's borders changed the makeup and distribution of the population. Americans also experimented with new ways to raise families.

Immigration. During the 1970s the U.S. population was greatly affected by continued immigration, mostly from Asia and Latin America. Most Latin American immigrants came from Mexico, but many others came from the Caribbean. In 1980, for example, nearly 120,000 Cubans fled their communist nation for the United States, settling mainly in the Miami area.

Having opened the way for emigration after President Nixon's visit, China supplied some of the new Asian population in the United States. Many of these Chinese immigrants were highly skilled and well-educated professionals fleeing political persecution. Despite their backgrounds, many found that discrimination and their difficulty speaking English prevented them from getting jobs that paid well. The experiences of Wei-Chi Poon, a biology professor from China, and her husband, a skilled architect, were typical. Neither knew any English when they immigrated to the United States. As a result, she had to work in a laundry factory for \$1.85 per hour, while he took on two low-paying jobs. "We were so busy working and so tired," she recalled. "We had no time and energy to study English."

Congress passed two new laws designed to aid such immigrants. The Voting Rights Act of 1975 required states and communities with a large number of non-English-speaking residents to print voting materials in various foreign languages. The Bilingual Education Act of 1974 increased funding for public schools to provide instruction to students in their primary languages while they learned English. Some critics opposed bilingual education, which they claimed slowed the adjustment of immigrants to American life. Yet there was little question that the United States was becoming an increasingly multicultural society. Coping with new immigrants remained an important challenge for the country.

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A New Wave of Immigration

Many people in other countries continued to see the United States as a land of opportunity. The 1990 census revealed that more immigrants had come to the United States in the 1980s than in any decade since 1910. More than 80 percent of these immigrants came from Asia, the Caribbean, and Latin America. By the 1990s many native-born Americans had grown alarmed by the wave of immigrants. Many blamed immigrants for taking jobs from native-born residents.

Supporters of immigration argued that immigrants created new businesses that revitalized urban areas and helped the economy. They also noted that many recent immigrants, in particular those from China, India, Korea, and the Philippines, had on average more schooling than native-born Americans or European immigrants. Asian immigrants, they pointed out, made up about one third of the engineers in Silicon Valley, California's center of computer technology, located near San Jose.

President George Bush had recognized these benefits when he signed the Immigration Act of 1990. The new law set a permanent limit of 675,000 immigrants per year after 1994. It also doubled the number of skilled workers allowed into the United States each year. The act authorized special visas for overseas investors interested in establishing businesses in economically depressed areas of the country.

In the mid-1990s, however, Congress acted to curb new immigration. In 1996

Congress passed an immigration law that strengthened control of U.S. borders in an effort to halt illegal immigration. The law attempted to keep new immigrants off welfare. For example, sponsors of immigrants were required to have incomes at least 125 percent above the poverty level. It also prevented legal immigrants who were not U.S. citizens from receiving most forms of welfare benefits.

The Religious Spirit

GROWING RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY

The increase in the number of Asian immigrants led to a growing religious diversity in the United States. By the end of the 1990s Christianity was still by far the most common religion, representing about 84 percent of the U.S. population. However, membership in traditionally Eastern religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam was growing. In 1998 Islam had some 5 to 6 million followers in the United States. By 2010 it is expected to overtake Judaism as the nation's second-most-practiced religion.

As these religions grew in prominence, so did the number of non-Asian converts. By 1998 more than 80,000 American Muslims were of Western European descent. Buddhism also attracted many non-Asian converts. In many places, American Buddhism evolved into a distinct faith. It moved away from Asian Buddhism's traditional focus on the intense spiritual training of monks and nuns. American Buddhism tends to emphasize the personal spiritual growth of lay members. Some followers argue that such an approach is in keeping with the American democratic traditions. "What [American Buddhists] are doing," noted one observer in 1997, "is taking a path of enlightenment in a lay culture without priests and temples and structures, and moving it right into daily practice in everyday life."

***The American Nation*, Paul Boyer, FL: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1998.**

[922-923]

A CHANGING POPULATION

Another key factor in America's evolution during this period was continued immigration, mostly from Asia and Latin America. Most Latin American immigrants came from Mexico, but a sizable number also came from the Caribbean. In 1980, for example, nearly 120,000 Cubans fled the Communist island for the United States, settling mainly in the Miami area. Economically successful, Cuban Americans became an important interest group in American politics.

Of the 1.6 million immigrants from Asia in the 1970s, most came from the Philippines and South Korea. China, which opened the way for emigration after President Nixon's visit, supplied some of the new Asian population as well. Many of these Chinese immigrants were highly skilled and well-educated professionals fleeing political persecution. Despite their backgrounds, however, some of these immigrants found when they arrived that their inability to speak English, as well as discrimination, kept them from obtaining well-paying jobs. The experiences of Wei-Chi Poon, a biology professor from China, and her husband, a skilled architect, were not unique. Neither knew any English when they immigrated to the United States. As a result, she worked in a laundry for \$1.85 an hour, while he took on two low-paying jobs.

Congress tried to aid such immigrants by passing two new laws. The Voting Rights Act of 1975 required states and communities with large numbers of non-English speakers to print voting materials in various foreign languages. The Bilingual Education Act of 1974 encouraged public schools to provide instruction to students in their primary languages while they learned English. Although some critics opposed bilingual education—charging that it slowed the assimilation of immigrants into American life—there was little question that the United States was becoming an increasingly multicultural society. Coping with new immigrants, both legal and illegal, would remain an important issue for America.

■ Large-scale Asian and Latin American immigration during the 1970s prompted support for bilingual education.

[945-947]

AMERICA IN THE 1990s

A NEW WAVE OF IMMIGRATION

In November 1991, U.S. Coast Guard vessels intercepted boatloads of Haitians bound for the United States. A military coup had ousted Haiti's first democratically elected president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide. As political and economic chaos spread, thousands of Haitians sailed to the United States.

However, bound by a 1981 agreement with Haiti and facing economic troubles of its own, the United States began to return the Haitians to their home country. Many politicians criticized the government's policy. "Returning Vietnamese, Russian Jews, Cubans, Nicaraguans and others back to the repressive countries from which they were fleeing would have been unthinkable," declared Senator Connie Mack of Florida. "How can we justify it for Haitians?"

The Haitian issue underscored the continuing debate within the United States over immigration. The 1990 census revealed that more immigrants had come to the United States in the 1980s than in any decade since 1910, and more than 80 percent of them came from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean. This influx of immigrants alarmed many native-born Americans. Many blamed immigrants for taking jobs from native-born residents. Some also argued that the presence of large numbers of immigrants willing to work for lower wages served to keep wages down for all workers.

Supporters of immigration offered a different view. They argued that immigrants created new businesses that revitalized urban areas and helped the economy. In

addition, supporters of immigration noted that many recent immigrants, most notably those from India, the Philippines, China, and Korea, on average had more schooling than either native-born Americans or European immigrants. Asian immigrants, they pointed out, made up about one third of all engineers in California's center of computer technology, the Silicon Valley.

■ Opposition to immigration increased in the 1990s, although immigrants made many contributions to U.S. businesses and industries.

President Bush recognized these benefits and signed the Immigration Act of 1990. The new law changed U.S. immigration policy by increasing the number of immigrants and doubling the number of skilled workers allowed into the United States each year. The act also authorized special visas for foreign investors interested in establishing businesses in economically depressed areas of the country.

In 1996 during Clinton's first term, Congress passed an immigration bill to fight the continuing problem of illegal immigration by strengthening control of the borders. Much of the Immigration and Naturalization Service's increased control efforts focus on the area around San Diego, California—a point where almost half of all illegal immigrants enter the United States.

The 1996 immigration bill also contained provisions aimed at keeping new immigrants off welfare rolls. For example, sponsors of immigrants must have incomes at least 125 percent above the poverty level. The bill also prevents legal immigrants who are not U.S. citizens from receiving most forms of welfare benefits. Many believe this provision will encourage immigrants to become citizens. Already the number of naturalizations has increased from some 500,000 in 1994 to 1,000,000 in 1995.

If current trends hold, the United States will witness increased immigration in the coming years. Thus, Americans will continue to grapple with the question of whether to welcome immigrants.

CITIES OF DIVERSITY

Conflicts experienced by immigrants included the riots that erupted in April 1992 in south central Los Angeles. The area exploded in violence after the acquittal of four white police officers accused of beating Rodney King, an African American. Most of the violence affected neighborhood residents and businesses as many people were beaten and robbed. Some looters specifically targeted Korean-owned businesses.

The riots disheartened people who had worked to improve relations among African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Asian Americans in Los Angeles. Sylvia Castillo, a Mexican American community activist who was a target of the violence, noted, "I was outraged by the verdict and had always struggled against racism. All I could think was: 'Why are they [rioters] doing this to me?'" Rodney King himself urged people to "try to work it out" peacefully, asking, "Can we all get along?" Most residents in south central Los Angeles did not take part in the riots, and many people braved the violence to rescue victims.

Miami, Florida, deemed the "new Ellis Island" by psychologist Marvin Dunn, also experienced increased immigration and racial tensions. In 1992 Miami had more foreign-born residents including Cubans, Haitians, Nicaraguans, and Peruvians than any other city in the United States. Boosted by a thriving tourist industry, the city's economy had boomed in recent years, but it had also seen three riots since 1980.

Tension in Miami was particularly strong between Cuban Americans and African Americans. In 1990, black leaders began a national boycott of Miami's convention facilities after Cuban American city officials snubbed South African leader Nelson Mandela. Mandela had made favorable remarks about Fidel Castro, Cuba's Communist leader whose regime many Cuban Americans had fled. After Hispanic American businesspeople agreed to hire more African Americans and patronize black-owned businesses, black leaders ordered an end to the boycott.

Economic problems compounded many urban problems. Some analysts argued that

bad economic conditions contributed to the Los Angeles riots. Once home to major companies such as Bethlehem Steel and Goodyear, Los Angeles lost over 200,000 jobs in 1991 alone. Such loss of inner-city jobs was repeated across the country. Many of the companies that left the inner cities relocated to the suburbs, changing the faces of both the cities and the suburbs. Many suburban areas now contain more office space than midtown Manhattan. While this development means more jobs for suburban areas, inner-city residents despair of again attracting the industries that could reduce unemployment in their communities.

■ Inner cities experienced racial conflicts and lost jobs to the suburbs in the 1980s and 1990s.

***The American Nation*, James West Davidson and Michael B. Stoff, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2005.**

[894-895]

New Challenges for the Nation

Setting the Scene In an auditorium in Austin, Texas, a woman from India stood clutching a small American flag. Nearby stood another woman from Jordan. Karolyn Mora, who had come from Costa Rica five years earlier, was also there. She confessed: "When I first came, I felt like a stranger, but now I feel like I am part of America. That's all I wanted – the American dream." – Karolyn Mora, Interview, April 6, 2001

These women were among 473 immigrants from 73 countries who had just become American citizens. Officials at the ceremony in the spring of 2001 had never seen so many nations represented before.

Immigrants from every corner of the globe flock to the United States, pursuing their dreams and adding to the nation's diversity.

Increasing diversity has brought new challenges as groups have struggled to protect their rights. But diversity has added strengths, among them an uncommon ability to cope with difference in a shrinking world.

The New Immigrants

In 1965, Congress ended the old quota system that favored Europeans. New laws made it easier for non-Europeans to enter the country. Since then, immigrants have been arriving at a rate faster than at any time since the early 1900s. Most recent immigrants have come from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia.

Changing Patterns Asian Americans are the nation's fastest growing ethnic group. Wars and famines pushed many Asians into other parts of the world. After the Vietnam War, "boat people" from Southeast Asia sought refuge in the United States. Many immigrants from the Philippines, India, and Korea sought economic opportunity.

Many Latin American immigrants were refugees from civil wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala during the 1980s. Refugees are people who flee their homelands to seek safety elsewhere. Others fled harsh governments in Cuba and Chile or poverty in Mexico and other nations. By 2001, Latin Americans and their descendants were the largest ethnic group in the country.

Hundreds of thousands of immigrants have also come from islands of the Caribbean. These people bring a rich mixture of African, European, Native American, and other backgrounds.

New immigration patterns have fueled a debate over what it means to be American. Many new citizens are eager to adopt American ways. At the same time, they do not want to abandon their old traditions.

New Policies New immigrants must apply for admission. Those with relatives in the United States or with valuable job skills are most likely to be accepted. Thousands of others are turned down. Those entering without permission are illegal aliens.

To reduce illegal immigration, Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act in 1986. It allowed people who arrived illegally before 1982 to stay and apply for citizenship. But the act tried to discourage future illegal immigration by imposing fines on employers who hired undocumented, or illegal, workers.

Rising costs of medical care, education, and other services for illegal immigrants strained the resources of several states. In 1994, California adopted a controversial law that banned schooling and most health services for illegal aliens. Two years later, Congress passed a new law allowing local police to arrest illegal immigrants.

The Struggle for Equal Rights Continues

As you read, in the 1960s, the struggle for equal rights expanded from African Americans to other groups. While these Americans achieved significant successes, challenges remained.

African Americans African Americans made notable advances in government. In 1989, Douglas Wilder of Virginia became the first black elected governor of a state. That same year, General Colin Powell was named chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Later, as Secretary of State, Powell was a key figure in the campaign against terrorism.

The civil rights movement had opened new jobs and educational opportunities. By 1998, 92 percent of African Americans seeking jobs found employment, compared with 87 percent in 1980. The black middle class grew steadily. More African Americans were attending college than ever before, and fewer lived below the poverty level.

Despite such successes, many African Americans continued to battle economic hardship. The wages of African Americans lagged behind those of whites. Unemployment for blacks was over twice that for whites. Poverty and lack of education trapped many African Americans in urban slums. In 2000, African Americans still remained less well educated and owned less property than whites.

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Americans are torn between two approaches to fighting illegal drugs. Some see drug abuse as a social problem. They favor using treatment centers to help drug users. To others, drug abuse is a criminal problem. They want stiffer penalties for drug dealers and users. The United States has spent billions of dollars pursuing drug smugglers and dealers. Yet, drug abuse remains widespread.

Meeting Challenges Anew The United States faces complex issues and great dangers in the new century. Yet, Americans have met such challenges before. In 1776, the problems were so great that many believed the new nation would not survive. Instead, it grew into a superpower and a model for democracies everywhere.

From the beginning, the motto of the United States has been *E pluribus unum*—"Out of many, one." The motto reflects the unity of the nation's many regions and people. Together with democracy, diversity lies at the source of the nation's strength.

President John F. Kennedy struck those themes as he took the oath of office in 1961. He called on his "fellow Americans" to serve their democratic republic: "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country." Less remembered is the challenge he issued to a divided world in his next breath:

"My fellow citizens of the world, ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man." — John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address, January 20, 1961

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, America again beckons the world to join the common cause of freedom. Only by overcoming our differences and relying on one another's strengths can Americans and their "fellow citizens of the world" succeed.

***The American Nation*, James West Davidson and Michael B. Stoff, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1998.**

[873-875]

New Immigrants

Since the 1970s, immigrants have been arriving in the United States at a faster rate than at any time since the start of the twentieth century. More than 7 million immigrants arrived in the 1980s. Even more will have come by the end of the 1990s. As in the past, the new arrivals are helping to reshape the nation.

From the 1920s to the 1960s, a quota system set limits on the number of people who could come from each nation. (See page 700.) The quota system favored immigrants from Europe. In 1965, Congress ended the quota system. New immigration laws made it easier for non-Europeans to enter the country. Today, most new Americans come from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean.

From Asia and the Pacific Islands. Wars and famines in Asia have pushed many people to seek new homes in other parts of the world. As you have read, "boat people" from Vietnam, Cambodia, and other Asian countries sought refuge in the United States. (See page 813.) Other immigrants came from such places as the Philippines, Bangladesh, and Thailand.

In the 1980s, the Asian American community doubled in size. Today, Asian Americans are the fastest-growing ethnic group. The United States has more than 7 million people of Asian heritage.

Author Amy Tan has written novels that portray the Chinese American experience. In *The Joy Luck Club*, the author has captured the mixed emotions that many immigrants feel. They are eager to adapt to American ways of life yet do not want to abandon the more familiar traditions of their homeland.

From Latin America and the Caribbean. Latinos have lived in what is now the United States since the days when Spain ruled Florida and the Southwest. In more recent years, new generations of Latinos have been arriving. Some of them fled civil wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala during the 1980s. Others fled harsh governments in such places as Cuba and Chile. Still others came to escape rural poverty in Mexico, Brazil, and other nations.

There are more than 22 million Latinos in the United States. They are the nation's second largest ethnic minority, after African Americans. The number of Latinos continues to grow. By the year 2000, Latinos are expected to outnumber African Americans in the United States.

Hundreds of thousands of immigrants have also come from the islands of the Caribbean. They have come from such places as Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti. The people are a rich mixture of African, Latino, and other backgrounds.

New immigration policy. People who want to immigrate to the United States must apply for admission. Those with relatives in the United States or with valuable job skills are usually accepted. Thousands of others, however, are turned down. In addition many people become illegal immigrants, entering the nation without permission.

In 1986, Congress tried to reduce illegal immigration by passing the Immigration Reform and Control Act. The act allowed people who had arrived illegally before 1982 to remain and apply for citizenship. To discourage further illegal immigration, the act imposed stiff fines on employers who hire illegal immigrants.

During the 1990s, states with large immigrant populations found it increasingly expensive to provide education, medical care, and other services to illegal immigrants. In 1994, California adopted a law that banned schooling and most health services for illegal immigrants. Two years later, Congress passed a new law aimed at further reducing illegal immigration. The law nearly doubled the number of officials who patrol the borders where immigrants try to enter illegally. It also allowed local police to arrest

illegal immigrants who do manage to enter the country.

The American Pageant: A History of the Republic, 13th Ed., Advanced Placement Ed., David M. Kennedy, Lizabeth Cohen, and Thomas A. Bailey, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006.

[1022-1023]

The New Immigration

Newcomers continued to flow into modern America. They washed ashore in waves that numbered nearly 1 million persons per year from the 1980s into the early twenty-first century—the largest inflow of immigrants in America's experience. In striking contrast to the historic pattern of immigration, Europe contributed far fewer people than did Asia and Latin America. And unlike their predecessors, many of the new immigrants settled not only in traditional ethnic enclaves in cities and towns but also in the sprawling suburbs of places like Los Angeles, Dallas, and Atlanta, where many of the new jobs were to be found.

What prompted this new migration to America? The truth is that the newest immigrants came for many of the same reasons as the old. They typically left countries where populations were growing rapidly and where agricultural and industrial revolutions were shaking people loose from old habits of life-conditions almost identical to those in nineteenth-century Europe. And they came to America, as previous immigrants had done, in search of jobs and economic opportunity. Some came with skills and even professional degrees, from India or Taiwan or the former Soviet Union, and they found their way into middle-class jobs. But most came with fewer skills and less education, seeking work as janitors, nannies, farm laborers, lawn cutters, or restaurant workers.

The Southwest, from Texas to California, felt the immigrant impact especially sharply, as Mexican migrants—by far the largest contingent of modern immigrants—concentrated heavily in that region. By the turn of the century, Latinos made up nearly one-third of the population in Texas, Arizona, and California, and 40 percent in New Mexico—amounting to a demographic reconquista of the lands lost by Mexico in the war of 1846.

The size and geographic concentration of the Latino population in the Southwest had few precedents in the history of American immigration. Most previous groups had been so thinly scattered across the land that they had little choice but to learn English and make their way in the larger American society, however much they might have longed to preserve their native language and customs. But it seemed possible that Mexican Americans might succeed in creating a truly bicultural zone in the booming southwestern states, especially since their mother culture lay accessible just next door.

Some old-stock Americans worried about the capacity of the modern United States to absorb these new immigrants. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 attempted to choke off illegal entry by penalizing employers of undocumented aliens and by granting amnesty to many of those already here. Anti-immigrant sentiment flared especially sharply in California in the wake of an economic recession in the early 1990s. California voters approved a ballot initiative that attempted to deny benefits, including education, to illegal immigrants, though it was later struck down by the courts. The state then passed another measure in 1998 to end bilingual education in California schools.

Yet the fact was that foreign-born people accounted for only about 11.5 percent of the American population in 2002, a far smaller proportion than the historical high point of nearly 15 percent recorded in the census of 1910, but evidence nonetheless that American society continued to welcome — and need — newcomers. Somewhat inconsistently, critics charged both that immigrants robbed citizens of jobs and that they dumped themselves on the welfare rolls at the taxpayers' expense. But studies showed that immigrants took jobs scorned by Americans and that they paid more

dollars in taxes (withholding and Social Security taxes, as well as sales taxes) than they claimed for welfare payments. The infusion of young immigrants and their offspring was just what the country needed when faced with the challenges of an aging population. A more urgent worry was that unscrupulous employers might take cruel advantage of alien workers, who often had scant knowledge of their legal rights.

[1024-1025]

MAKERS OF AMERICA

The Latinos

Today Mexican food is handed through fast-food drive-up windows in all fifty states, Spanish-language broadcasts fill the airwaves, and the Latino community has its own telephone book, the Spanish Yellow Pages. Latinos send representatives to Congress and mayors to city hall, record hit songs, paint murals, and teach history. Latinos, among the fastest-growing segments of the U.S. population, include Puerto Ricans, frequent voyagers between their native island and northeastern cities; Cubans, many of them refugees from the communist dictatorship of Fidel Castro, concentrated in Miami and southern Florida; and Central Americans, fleeing the ravages of civil war in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

But the most populous group of Latinos derives from Mexico. The first significant numbers of Mexicans began heading for El Norte ("the North") around 1910, when the upheavals of the Mexican Revolution stirred and shuffled the Mexican population into more or less constant flux. Their northward passage was briefly interrupted during the Great Depression, when thousands of Mexican nationals were deported. But immigration resumed during World War II, and since then a steady flow of legal immigrants has passed through border checkpoints, joined by countless millions of their undocumented countrymen and countrywomen stealing across the frontier on moonless nights.

For the most part, these Mexicans came to work in the fields, following the ripening crops northward to Canada through the summer and autumn months. In winter many headed back to Mexico, but some gathered instead in the cities of the Southwest—El Paso, Los Angeles, Houston, and San Bernardino. There they found regular work, even if lack of skills and racial discrimination often confined them to manual labor. City jobs might pay less than farm labor, but the work was steady and offered the prospect of a stable home. Houses may have been shabby in the barrios, but these Mexican neighborhoods provided a sense of togetherness, a place to raise a family, and the chance to join a mutual aid society. Such societies, or *Mutualistas*, sponsored baseball leagues, helped the sick and disabled, and defended their members against discrimination.

Mexican immigrants lived so close to the border that their native country acted like a powerful magnet, drawing them back time and time again. Mexicans frequently returned to see relatives or visit the homes of their youth, and relatively few became U.S. citizens. Indeed, in many Mexican American communities, it was a badge of dishonor to apply for U.S. citizenship.

The Mexican government, likewise influenced by the proximity of the two countries, intervened in the daily lives of its nationals in America, further discouraging them from becoming citizens of their adopted country. As Anglo reformers attempted to Americanize the immigrants in the 1910s and 1920s, the Mexican consulate in Los Angeles launched a Mexicanization program. The consulate sponsored parades on Cinco de Mayo ("Fifth of May"), celebrating Mexico's defeat of a French army at the Battle of Puebla in 1892, and opened special Spanish-language schools for children. Since World War II, the American-born generation has carried on the fight for political representation, economic opportunity, and cultural preservation.

Fresh arrivals from Mexico and from the other Latin American nations daily swell the Latino communities across America. The census of 2000 revealed that Latinos are now the largest minority group in the United States, surpassing African Americans. As

the United States moves through the twenty-first century, it is taking on a pronounced Spanish accent, although Latinos' reticence to vote in elections has retarded their influence on American politics.

[1028-1030]

Minority America

Racial and ethnic tensions also exacerbated the problems of American cities. These stresses were especially evident in Los Angeles, which, like New York a century earlier, was a magnet for minorities, especially immigrants from Asia and Latin America. When in 1992 a mostly white jury exonerated white Los Angeles police officers who had been videotaped ferociously beating a black suspect, the minority neighborhoods of South Central Los Angeles erupted in rage. Arson and looting laid waste entire city blocks, and scores of people were killed. In a sobering demonstration of the complexity of modern American racial rivalries, many black rioters vented their anger at the white police and the judicial system by attacking Asian shopkeepers, who in turn formed armed patrols to protect their property. A decade later many a burned-out lot remained abandoned and weed-choked in neighborhoods still plagued by gang violence and the demoralizing effects of grinding poverty.

The Los Angeles riots vividly testified to black skepticism about the American system of justice. Just three years later, again in Los Angeles, the televised spectacle of former football star O. J. Simpson's murder trial fed white disillusionment with the state of race relations. After months of testimony that seemed to point to Simpson's guilt, the jury acquitted him, presumably because certain Los Angeles police officers involved in the case had been shown to harbor racist sentiments. In a later civil trial, another jury unanimously found Simpson liable for the "wrongful deaths" of his former wife and another victim. The reaction to the Simpson verdicts revealed the yawning chasm that separated white and black America, as most whites continued to believe Simpson guilty, while a majority of African Americans told pollsters that the original not-guilty verdict was justified. Similarly, complaints by African Americans that they had been unlawfully kept from the polls during the 2000 presidential election in Florida reflected the conviction of many blacks that they were still facing a Jim Crow South of systematic racial disfranchisement.

American cities have always held an astonishing variety of ethnic and racial groups, but by the late twentieth century, minorities made up a majority of the population of many American cities, as whites fled to the suburbs. In 2002, 52 percent of all blacks lived in central cities within metropolitan areas, compared with only 21 percent of whites. The most desperate black ghettos, housing a hapless "underclass" in the inner core of the old industrial cities, were especially problematic. Successful blacks who had benefited from the civil rights revolution of the 1950s and 1960s followed whites to the suburbs, leaving a residue of the poorest poor in the old ghettos. Without a middle class to sustain community institutions like schools and small businesses, the inner cities, plagued by unemployment and drug addiction, seemed bereft of leadership, cohesion, resources, and hope.

Single women headed about 43 percent of black families in 2002, more than three times the rate for whites. Many African American women, husbandless and jobless, necessarily depended on welfare to feed their children. As social scientists increasingly emphasized the importance of the home environment for success in school, it became clear that many fatherless, impoverished African American children seemed consigned to suffer from educational handicaps that were difficult to overcome.

Some segments of the African American community did prosper in the wake of the civil rights gains of the 1950s and 1960s, although they still had a long hill to climb before reaching full equality. By 2002, 33 percent of all black families (compared to 57 percent of all white families) had incomes of at least \$50,000, qualifying them as middle-class. Blacks continued to make headway in political life. The number of black

elected officials had risen above the nine thousand mark, including more than three dozen members of Congress and the mayors of several large cities. Voting tallies demonstrated that successful black politicians were moving beyond isolated racial constituencies and into the political mainstream by appealing to a wide variety of voters. In 1989 Virginians, only 15 percent of whom were black, chose L. Douglas Wilder as the first African American elected to serve as a state governor. In 1994 voters in Illinois made Carol Moseley-Braun the first African American woman elected to the U.S. Senate. In 2001 President George W. Bush appointed Colin Powell and Condoleezza Rice to top cabinet-level posts in his administration, as secretary of state and national security adviser respectively. (Rice succeeded Powell as secretary of state in the second Bush administration.)

By the early twenty-first century, blacks also dramatically advanced into higher education, though the educational gap between blacks and whites remained. In 2002, 17 percent of blacks over age twenty-five had a bachelor's degree, compared to 29 percent of whites. The political assault against affirmative action in California and elsewhere in the 1990s only compounded the obstacles to advanced training for many young African Americans. But defenders of affirmative action chalked up a major victory in 2003 when the Supreme Court in a key case involving the University of Michigan affirmed that achieving racial diversity on college campuses was a legitimate means to secure a more equitable society. The court preserved affirmative action in university admissions as long as schools avoided using quotas, point systems, or other mechanistic ways of diversifying their student bodies.

E Pluribus Plures

Controversial issues of color and culture also pervaded the realm of ideas in the late twentieth century. Echoing early-twentieth-century "cultural pluralists" like Horace Kallen and Randolph Bourne, many intellectuals after 1970 embraced the creed of "multiculturalism." The new mantra stressed the need to preserve and promote, rather than squash, a variety of distinct ethnic and racial cultures in the United States.

The trajectory between the two epochs was far from straight. In the middle third of the century, thinkers tended to emphasize race-blind tolerance and universal qualities of the human species that transcend distinctions of nationality, color, or creed. In this view, farmers in Peoria differ little from their counterparts in Peru.

In the 1970s and 1980s, however, ethnic pride became the catchword, and universalistic assumptions lost their luster. Frustrated black leaders reconsidered earlier integrationist goals, "white ethnics" mounted a backlash against race-based affirmative action, and new immigrants from Asia and Latin America streamed into the country, eager to succeed without forfeiting their cultural inheritance. Multiculturalists replaced the aging symbol of the "melting pot" with the colorful complexity of the "salad bowl."

The nation's classrooms became battlegrounds for the debate over America's commitment to pluralism. Multiculturalists attacked the traditional curriculum as "Eurocentric" and advocated greater focus on the achievements of African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans. In response, critics charged that too much stress on ethnic difference would come at the expense of national cohesion and an appreciation of common American values.

The Census Bureau further enlivened the debate when in 2000 it allowed respondents to identify themselves with more than one of the six standard racial categories (black, white, Latino, American Indian, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander). Signifying a mounting revolution in attitudes toward race, nearly 7 million Americans chose to describe themselves as biracial or multiracial. As recently as the 1960s, interracial marriage was still illegal in sixteen states. But by the early twenty-first century, many Americans, including such celebrities as golfer Tiger Woods and singer Marian Carey, were proclaiming their mixed heritage as a point of pride.

***The American Pageant: A History of the Republic*, 11th Ed., Thomas A. Bailey, David M. Kennedy, and Lizabeth Cohen, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998.**

[1032-1033]

The New Immigration

Newcomers flooded into modern America. They washed ashore in waves that numbered nearly one million persons per year in the 1980s and 1990s—the heaviest inflow of immigrants in America's experience. In striking contrast to the historic pattern of immigration, Europe contributed far fewer people than did the teeming countries of Asia and Latin America, especially Mexico.

What prompted this new migration to America? The truth is that the newest immigrants came for many of the same reasons as the old. They typically left countries where populations were growing rapidly and where agricultural and industrial revolutions were shaking people loose from old habits of life — conditions almost identical to those in nineteenth-century Europe. And they came to America, as previous immigrants had done, in search of jobs and economic opportunity.

The Southwest, from Texas to California, felt the immigrant impact especially sharply, as Mexican migrants — by far the largest contingent of modern immigrants — concentrated heavily in that region. By the turn of the century Latinos would make up nearly one-third of the population in Texas, Arizona, and California, and almost half in New Mexico — a population shift that amounted to a demographic reconquista of the lands lost by Mexico in the war of 1846.

The size and geographic concentration of the Hispanic population in the Southwest had few precedents in the history of American immigration. Most previous groups had been so thinly scattered across the land that they had little choice but to learn English and make their way in the larger American society, however much they might have longed to preserve their native language and customs. But Mexican-Americans might succeed in creating a truly bicultural zone in the booming southwestern states, especially since their mother culture lay just next door and was easily accessible—another factor that differentiated this modern immigrant community from its nineteenth-century European and Asian antecedents.

Some old-stock Americans worried about the capacity of the modern United States to absorb these new immigrants. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 attempted to choke off illegal entry by penalizing employers of undocumented aliens and by granting amnesty to many of those already here. Anti-immigrant sentiment flared especially sharply in California in the wake of an economic recession in the early 1990s. California voters approved a ballot initiative that attempted to deny benefits, including education, to illegal immigrants, and Congress in 1996 tried to restrict access to welfare even for legal immigrants.

Yet the fact was that foreign-born people accounted for less than 9 percent of the American population in the 1990s — a far smaller proportion than the historical high point of nearly 15 percent recorded in the census of 1910 — and a number that suggested the society's ability to take in newcomers was far from exhausted. Somewhat inconsistently, critics charged both that immigrants robbed citizens of jobs and that they dumped themselves on the welfare rolls at the taxpayers' expense. But studies showed that immigrants took jobs scorned by Americans and that they paid more dollars in taxes (withholding and Social Security taxes, as well as sales taxes) than they claimed for welfare payments. A more urgent worry was that unscrupulous employers might take cruel advantage of alien workers, who often had scant knowledge of their legal rights.

[1034-1035]

MAKERS OF AMERICA

The Latinos

Today Mexican food is handed through fast-food drive-up windows in all fifty states, Spanish-language broadcasts fill the airwaves, and the Latino community has its own telephone book, the Spanish Yellow Pages. Latinos send representatives to Congress and mayors to city hall, record hit songs, paint murals, and teach history. Hispanic-Americans, among the fastest-growing segments of the U.S. population, include Puerto Ricans, frequent voyagers between their native island and northeastern cities; Cubans, many of them refugees from the communist dictatorship of Fidel Castro, concentrated in Miami and southern Florida; and Central Americans, fleeing the ravages of civil war in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

But the most populous group of Latinos derives from Mexico. The first significant numbers of Mexicans began heading for El Norte ("the North") around 1910, when the upheavals of the Mexican Revolution stirred and shuffled the Mexican population into more or less constant flux. Their northward passage was briefly interrupted during the Great Depression, when thousands of Mexican nationals were deported. But immigration resumed during World War II, and since then a steady flow of legal immigrants has passed through border checkpoints, joined by countless millions of their undocumented countrymen and countrywomen stealing across the frontier on moonless nights.

For the most part, these Mexicans came to work in the fields, following the ripening crops northward to Canada through the summer and autumn months. In winter many headed back to Mexico, but some gathered instead in the cities of the Southwest—El Paso, Los Angeles, Houston, and San Bernardino. There they found regular work, even if lack of skills and racial discrimination often confined them to manual labor. City jobs might pay less than farm labor, but the work was steady and offered the prospect of a stable home. Houses may have been shabby in the barrios, but these Mexican neighborhoods provided a sense of togetherness, a place to raise a family, and the chance to join a mutual-aid society. Such societies, or *Mutualistas*, sponsored baseball leagues, helped the sick and disabled, and defended their members against discrimination.

Mexican immigrants lived so close to the border that their native country acted like a powerful magnet, drawing them back time and time again. Mexicans frequently returned to see relatives or visit the homes of their youth, and relatively few became U.S. citizens. Indeed, in many Mexican-American communities, it was a badge of dishonor to apply for U.S. citizenship.

The Mexican government, likewise influenced by the proximity of the two countries, intervened in the daily lives of its nationals in America, further discouraging them from becoming citizens of their adopted country. As Anglo reformers attempted to Americanize the immigrants in the 1910s and 1920s, the Mexican consulate in Los Angeles launched a Mexicanization program. The consulate sponsored parades on Cinco de Mayo ("Fifth of May"), celebrating Mexico's defeat of a French Army at the Battle of Puebla in 1892, and opened special Spanish-language schools for children. Since World War II, the American-born generation has carried on the fight for political representation, economic opportunity, and cultural preservation.

Fresh arrivals from Mexico and from the other Latin American nations daily swell the Hispanic communities across America. As the United States heads toward the twenty-first century, it is taking on a pronounced Spanish accent.

[1037-1039]

Minority America

Racial and ethnic tensions exacerbated the problems of American cities. These stresses were especially evident in Los Angeles, which, like New York a century earlier, was a magnet for minorities, especially immigrants from Asia and Latin America. When in 1992 a mostly white jury exonerated white Los Angeles police officers who had been video-taped ferociously beating a black suspect, the minority neighborhoods of South Central Los Angeles erupted in rage. Arson and looting laid waste entire city blocks,

and scores of people were killed. In a sobering demonstration of the complexity of modern American racial rivalries, many black rioters vented their anger at the white police and the judicial system by attacking Asian shopkeepers, who in turn formed armed patrols to protect their property.

The Los Angeles riots vividly testified to black skepticism about the American system of justice. Just three years later, again in Los Angeles, the gaudy televised spectacle of former football star O.J. Simpson's murder trial fed white disillusionment with the state of race relations. After months of testimony that seemed to point to Simpson's guilt, the jury acquitted Simpson, presumably because certain Los Angeles police officers involved in the case had been shown to harbor racist sentiments. In a later civil trial, another jury unanimously found Simpson liable for the "wrong deaths" of his former wife and another victim. The reaction to the Simpson verdicts revealed the yawning chasm that separated white and black America, as most whites continued to believe Simpson guilty, while majorities of African-Americans told pollsters that the original not-guilty verdict was justified.

American cities have always held an astonishing variety of ethnic and racial groups, but in the late twentieth century, minorities made up a majority of the population of many American cities, as whites fled to the suburbs. More than three-quarters of African-Americans lived in cities by the 1990s, whereas only about one-quarter of whites did. The most desperate black ghettos, housing a hapless "underclass" in the inner core of the old industrial cities, were especially problematic. Successful blacks who had benefited from the civil rights revolution of the 1950s and 1960s followed whites to the suburbs, leaving a residue in the old ghetto of the poorest poor. Without a middle class to sustain community institutions like schools and small businesses, the inner cities, plagued by unemployment and drug addiction, seemed bereft of leadership, cohesion, resources, and hope.

The friendless underclass, heavily composed of blacks and other minorities, represented a sorry – and dangerous – social failure that eluded any known remedy. But other segments of the African-American community had clearly prospered in the wake of the civil rights gains of the 1950s and 1960s, though they still had a long hill to climb before reaching full equality. By the 1990s, about 40 percent of blacks were counted in the middle class (defined as enjoying family income greater than \$25,000 per year). The number of black elected officials had risen above the seven thousand mark, including more than a thousand in the Old South, some two dozen members of Congress, and the mayors of several large cities. Voting tallies demonstrated that successful black politicians were moving beyond isolated racial constituencies and into the political mainstream by appealing to a wide variety of voters. In 1989 Virginians, only 15 percent of whom were black, chose L. Douglas Wilder as the first African-American elected to serve as a state governor. In 1994 voters in Illinois made Carol Mosely-Braun the first African-American woman elected to the United States Senate.

Single women headed over half of black families, almost three times the rate for whites. Many of those African-American women, husbandless and jobless, necessarily depended on welfare to feed their children. As social scientists increasingly emphasized the importance of the home environment for success in school, it became clear that many fatherless, impoverished African-American children seemed consigned to suffer from educational handicaps that were difficult to overcome. Black youths in the 1990s still had about one year less schooling than whites of the same age and were less than half as likely to earn college degrees. Yet Congress, responding to persistent national exasperation with the welfare system, legislated a major overhaul of welfare programs in 1996. The new law restricted access to social services and required able-bodied welfare recipients to find work – where, nobody seemed to know – within two years.

The 1996 welfare reform bill was a bold stroke, but also something of a shot in the dark. Many critics warned that the proposed changes threatened to replace "welfare as

we know it” with “welfare as we don’t know it.” In the state of California, meanwhile, voters in 1996 approved Proposition 209, the “California Civil Rights Initiative,” which required an end to all affirmative-action programs in the state. This ringing victory for the foes of affirmative action reflected smoldering resentment against liberal “social engineering” programs and mounting impatience with American society’s apparent inability to resolve its racial problems. The action in California, so often a bellwether state, instigated a growing national effort to repeal the affirmative-action programs that had done so much since the 1960s to accelerate the growth of the black middle class and to advance the status of women.

***The Americans*, Gerald A. Danzer, J. Jorge Klor de Alva, Larry S. Krieger, Louis E. Wilson, and Nancy Woloch, IL: McDougal Littell, 2005.**

[1091-1093]

The Shifting Population

In addition to becoming increasingly suburban and elderly, the population of the United States has also been transformed by immigration. Between 1970 and 2000, the country's population swelled from 204 million to more than 284 million. Immigration accounted for much of that growth. As the nation's newest residents yearned for U.S. citizenship, however, other Americans debated the effects of immigration on American life.

A CHANGING IMMIGRANT POPULATION The most recent immigrants to the United States differ from immigrants of earlier years. The large numbers of immigrants who entered the country before and just after 1900 came from Europe. In contrast, about 45 percent of immigrants since the 1960s have come from the Western Hemisphere, primarily Mexico, and 30 percent from Asia.

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

This search for a better opportunity continues today as thousands of immigrants and refugees-more than 2,000 legal and 4,000-10,000 illegal-arrive each day. About 4,000 of those who enter illegally are deported to Mexico shortly after crossing the U.S.-Mexico border. To help those seeking more opportunity in America, in July 2001, President Bush's administration proposed a temporary guest worker program for the 3 million Mexicans residing illegally in the United States.

Based on the 2000 census, it was reported that patterns of immigration are changing the country's ethnic and racial makeup. By 2001, for example, California had become a majority minority state, with Asian Americans, Latinos, African Americans, and Native Americans making up more than half its population. The 2000 census indicated that if current trends continue, by the year 2050 Latinos will become the nation's largest minority community overall.

DEBATES OVER IMMIGRATION POLICY The presence of such a large number of immigrants has also added to the continuing debate over U.S. immigration policies. Many Americans believe that their country can't absorb more immigrants. By the early 1990s, an estimated 3.2 million illegal immigrants from Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Haiti had made their way to the United States. Many illegal immigrants also arrived from Canada, Poland, China, and Ireland. They took jobs many Americans turned down, as farm workers and domestic servants-often receiving the minimum wage or less and no benefits. By 2001, between 5 and 6 million illegal immigrants resided in the United States.

Hostility toward illegal immigration peaked in California and Florida, two states with high percentages of immigrants. In 1994, Florida Governor Lawton Chiles filed suit against the U.S. government for "its continuing failure to enforce or rationally administer its own immigration laws." That same year, California passed Proposition 187, which cut all education and nonemergency health benefits to illegal immigrants. By March 1998, Proposition 187 was ruled unconstitutional. Although never implemented, the law inspired political participation among Hispanic voters, who saw themselves as targets.

As more immigrants make their way to the U.S. and the nation's ethnic composition changes, debates about immigration will continue. Those who favor tighter restrictions argue that immigrants take desired jobs. Others, however, point to America's historical diversity and the new ideas and energy immigrants bring.

NATIVE AMERICANS CONTINUE LEGAL BATTLES As the nation debated its immigrant policies, the ancestors of America's original inhabitants continued to struggle. The end of the 20th century found most members of this minority enduring extremely difficult lives. In 2001, about 32 percent of Native Americans lived below the poverty line, more than three times the poverty rate for white Americans. Furthermore, Native Americans endured a suicide rate that was 72 percent higher than that of the general population and an alcoholism rate seven times greater.

In the face of such hardships, Native Americans strived to improve their lives. Throughout the 1990s, dozens of tribes attained greater economic independence by establishing thriving gaming resorts. Although controversial for promoting gambling, reservation gaming—a nearly \$ 10 billion a year industry by 2000—provided Native Americans with much-needed money for jobs, education, social services, and infrastructure. Over the past decades, Native Americans have used the courts to attain greater recognition of their tribal ancestry and land rights. In 1999, for example, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota retained fishing and hunting rights on some 13 million acres of land that were guaranteed to them in an 1837 treaty. Across the nation, a number of other tribes have had similar land rights affirmed.

[1094, 1095]

TRACING THEMES

Immigration and Migration

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

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

1970-2000

IN SEARCH OF A NEW LIFE

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

The men and women who made this long and arduous journey from Vietnam are part of the changing face of U.S. immigration. Beginning in the 1970s, Asians and Latin Americans replaced Europeans as the two largest immigrant groups in the United States. Between 1970 and 1990, about 1.5 million Europeans journeyed to America's shores. During that same period, roughly 5.6 million Latin Americans and 3.5 million Asians arrived. This trend continued into the 1990s, as the largest immigrant groups in the United States in 1995 hailed from Mexico, the Philippines, Vietnam, and China. These most recent arrivals to America have come for largely the same reasons—greater freedom and economic opportunity and the chance to begin a new life.

[1106-1107]

The Debate over Immigration

Should new laws restrict or expand immigration?

“The U.S. has this terrible problem.... The smartest people in the world want to come here.” JENNIFER HUNT, ECONOMIST

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 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. 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.

The Americans, Gerald A. Danzer, J. Jorge Klor de Alva, Larry S. Krieger, Louis E. Wilson, and Nancy Woloch, IL: McDougal Littell, 2000.

[1027-1028]

Immigration in the 1990s

In addition to becoming increasingly suburban and elderly, the population of the United States has also been transformed by immigration. Between 1970 and 1995, the country's population swelled from 204 million to more than 260 million. Immigration accounted for much of that growth. As the nation's newest residents yearned for U.S. citizenship, however, other Americans debated the effects of immigration on American life.

A CHANGING IMMIGRANT POPULATION The most recent immigrants to the United States differed from immigrants of earlier years. The large numbers of immigrants who entered the country before and just after 1900 came from Europe. In contrast, about 45 percent of immigrants since the 1960s have come from the Western Hemisphere, primarily Mexico, and 30 percent from Asia.

Most immigrants left their homelands because of economic problems, though some fled oppressive governments or political turmoil. The chief lure of the United States was the opportunity it gave immigrants to earn a better living than they could in their home countries.

In Mexico, for example, between November 1994 and February 1995 millions of people fell into deeper poverty when the government decreased the value of the peso by 73 percent-making it harder to buy things because the peso was worth much less than before. As a result of this devaluation, almost a million Mexicans lost their jobs. The persistent lack of jobs motivated a portion of Mexico's young population-more than half its 100 million people are under age 25-to head north of the border in search of jobs.

Experts speculated that patterns of immigration in the early 21st century would result in changes in the ethnic and racial makeup of the United States. In 1996, 74 percent of the U.S. population consisted of non-Latino whites. The Census Bureau has predicted that by 2050, that figure will drop to 53 percent. The bureau estimates that the Latino population will climb from 10 percent in 1996 to 25 percent in 2050, Asians from 3 percent to 8 percent of the total population, and African Americans from 12 percent to 14 percent. Such predictions added to the continuing debate over U.S. immigration policies.

DEBATES OVER IMMIGRATION POLICY Public opinion polls in 1994 revealed that only 6 percent of Americans believed immigration should be increased, while almost two-thirds (63 percent) wanted to cut back immigration.

Americans who opposed immigration argued that immigrants took jobs from other Americans or reduced wages because of competition, but many economists disagreed with that view.

Opponents of immigration found a strong spokesperson in Patrick Buchanan, a former speechwriter for President Nixon, who ran unsuccessfully for the Republican presidential nomination in 1992 and in 1996. Buchanan argued that the United States should erect a fence along the Mexican border to keep out illegal immigrants. In addition, he strongly opposed NAFTA, which he viewed as pitting working Americans against "Mexican folks who work for a buck an hour."

By the early 1990s, an estimated 3.2 million illegal immigrants had made their way to the United States. Most of these people had come from Mexico, but others had traveled north from El Salvador, Guatemala, and Haiti. Many illegal immigrants also arrived from Canada, Poland, China, and Ireland. Most of these illegal immigrants took jobs many Americans turned down as sweatshop workers and domestic servants-often receiving the minimum wage or less and no benefits.

Hostility toward illegal immigration peaked in California and Florida, two states

with high percentages of immigrants. In 1994, California passed Proposition 187, which cut off all education and nonemergency health benefits to illegal immigrants. That same year, California governor Pete Wilson demanded that the U.S. government reimburse the state for the \$2.4 billion it was spending each year on undocumented aliens. In Florida, Governor Lawton Chiles filed suit in a Miami federal court against the U.S. government for "its continuing failure to enforce or rationally administer its own immigration laws."

[1030, 1031]

TRACING THEMES

CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Sharing Cultures

Even before the first Europeans arrived in the Americas, a variety of cultural groups-coastal fishing societies, desert farmers, plains and woodland hunters-inhabited the North American continent. With the arrival of Europeans and Africans, the cultural mix grew even more diverse.

Although the diversity has often produced tension, such diversity has also been beneficial for the United States. As different groups learned from one another about agriculture, technology, and social customs, American culture became a rich blend of cultures from around the world.

As these examples demonstrate, the United States has, throughout its history, been a place where cultures came together. As the nation moves into the 21st century, it will have to find ways to use its cultural diversity to help solve the problems of the future.

1960s

CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS

During the civil rights movement's Freedom Summer in 1964, white and African-American volunteers worked together to register African Americans to vote in the South. To identify with the sharecroppers and tenant farmers they were trying to reach, some white student volunteers emulated the styles of speech and dress of Southern laborers. SNCC member Cleveland Sellers recalled volunteers rushing to buy bib overalls like the SNCC workers. Similarly, one volunteer remembers that "everyone... got into talking like the SNCC staff... 'diggin' this and 'messin, with' that."

2000s

STUDENTS AND DIVERSITY

Many school districts across the United States provide a glimpse of the nation's future-in which diversity will increase to the point that there is no longer a majority group. The students pictured here are part of an advisory group helping the principal to address school problems in Los Angeles. As students such as these move into adulthood, the richness of their varied backgrounds and perspectives will help them make valuable contributions to America's economic and cultural life.

***American Odyssey: The 20th Century and Beyond*, Gary B. Nash, NY: Glencore, 2004 [915-917]**

Immigration

And Still They Come

When the immigrants at Monticello took their oaths of citizenship, they joined about 375,000 immigrants who had already become citizens that year. They arrived at a time when the nation's foreign-born population -- nearly 26 million people -- was the largest in United States history. Their arrival made a diverse nation even more diverse.

Easing Immigration Requirements

The large-scale arrival of immigrants helped shape the closing decades of the 20th century. Between 1970 and 1997, the nation's foreign-born population jumped by 168 percent. The rapid increase resulted in large part from passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, which reopened the doors to the United States after 40 years of restricted immigration. The act, wrote one observer, created "a stampede, almost an invasion" of people "who hungered to enter." It also ended the government bias against newcomers from Asia and Latin America.

Changes in Immigration Law

Amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act in 1990 increased the number of immigrants allowed into the United States. The annual ceiling was raised to 700,000 immigrants for the years 1992 to 1994 and to 675,000 beginning in 1995. The amendments placed no limit on the immigration of immediate family members of U.S. citizens and strengthened preferences for skilled workers. "America has revived one of its greatest traditions: that of being a nation of immigrants," remarked the director of the National Immigration Forum.

During the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, poverty and political conflicts in several parts of the world drew people to the United States. Devastating wars in Southeast Asia, for example, created waves of political refugees, 500,000 of whom entered the United States. By 1997, 10 percent of the population was foreign born, the highest percentage since 1930.

The opportunities for economic success and political freedom that attracted legal immigrants also attracted undocumented immigrants-people living in the United States without the proper visas. In 1986, Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act. The law offered undocumented immigrants who had lived in the United States since 1981 a chance to become legal residents. More than a million immigrants took advantage of the law during its first year in effect.

Settlement Patterns

In the nation's greatest sustained era of immigration, from 1880 to 1914, immigrants spread out all over the United States, often becoming farmers, craftworkers, or small business owners in villages or rural areas. But in the era of immigration from 1970 to 2000, three quarters of all the new arrivals concentrated geographically in six states: California, Texas, New York, Illinois, New Jersey, and Florida. By 2000, for example, white Californians had become a "minority," with the state's Hispanic population standing at 30 percent, Asian Pacific Islanders at 12 percent, and African Americans at 8 percent. New Mexico and Hawaii also have a minority of white Americans, with Texas and Florida fast approaching the tipping point.

Even more striking, immigrants have chosen coastal ports of entry-San Francisco, Los Angeles, Houston, New Orleans, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Miami-as -a place to find the American Dream. Chicago is the one city in the American heartland that stands out as a magnet for immigrants.

Equality for Minorities

Race and Gender Issues

The population changes added new twists in a long-standing debate over affirmative

action -- programs created through a series of executive orders and laws designed to aid racial minorities and women in their quest for equality. Many people argued that these programs unfairly discriminated against whites, who in several states like California were becoming a minority themselves.

Origins of Affirmative Action

Affirmative action programs had their roots in the 1960s when President Kennedy encouraged government contractors to "take affirmative action" to treat all job applicants without discrimination based on their race, gender, ethnicity, or religion. After Kennedy's death, President Johnson issued an executive order that required employers to search aggressively for minority job applicants by such methods as placing ads in minority newspapers or advertising jobs in minority neighborhoods.

President Nixon built on this precedent by ordering craft unions to admit members of racial minorities so that they could receive training. In a groundbreaking action, he tightened hiring rules by requiring federal contractors to show evidence of "affirmative action" to meet the goal of increased minority employment. This plan, known as the Philadelphia Plan, set the stage for subsequent regulations and court rulings that expanded the scope of the original version to include not only racial minorities but women as well.

Affirmative action, as defined by these regulations and court cases, entailed creating outreach programs, preparing minority high school students for college admissions, and in some cases establishing quotas that defined how many female or minority openings were available in schools or companies. By the 1990s, the effects of affirmative action, coupled with other civil rights legislation, were beginning to be felt.

Gains in Equality

African Americans profited, but slowly, after affirmative action was implemented. In November 1999 Hugh Price, the president of the National Urban League, summed up the situation facing African Americans. "There are two headlines," said Price. "Things have never been better," he explained, pointing to a growing African American middle class and historic lows in the unemployment and poverty rates for African Americans. He then added, "But, on the downside, there are gaps that persist," citing inequalities in academic achievement, income, and financial assets.

Women also experienced progress. By 1999 women all but matched men in terms of educational attainment, with 23.1 percent of women completing 4 or more years of college compared to 27.5 percent for men. In the 1990s, women accounted for nearly 50 percent of the labor force, with expanded employment opportunities in occupations predominated by men, such as corporate management and the military. The number of women in high-paying managerial and professional jobs, such as law or medicine, rose from 11 million in 1985 to 16.5 million in 1995. Close to 6.5 million owned businesses, which collectively employed more people than all the Fortune 500 companies combined. Despite these gains, women's pay still lagged behind that of men, though the "income gap" narrowed somewhat in the 1990s.

The Future of Affirmative Action

As the United States entered the 2000s, many people questioned the success-and even the legality-of affirmative action. Proponents of affirmative action said that these policies broadened the pool for jobs and college admissions to include a wide range of qualified people. Opponents argued that affirmative action policies favored less-qualified women and minority applicants over better-qualified white males. Both proponents and opponents, however, seemed to be united on one point: They felt that establishing quotas was unfair.

The debate over affirmative action took place in individual states. In 1995 California's state university system voted to stop considering race and gender in student admissions. The following year Californians voted in favor of the California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI), also known as Proposition 209, which ended affirmative

action policies in all of the state's public agencies. Two years later, Washington followed California's example and passed Initiative 200. In February 2000, Florida Governor Jeb Bush and the state's independently elected cabinet voted to voluntarily ban affirmative action in both college admissions and state contracts.

The United States Supreme Court moved to narrow the scope of many affirmative action programs by declaring that they must "serve a compelling government interest... and be narrowly tailored to their goals." In 1996 the Supreme Court ruling in *Texas et al. v. Hopwood et al.* limited affirmative action when it agreed to let stand a lower-court decision that barred the University of Texas from considering race in its admission policies.

American Odyssey: The United States in the Twentieth Century, Gary B. Nash, NY: Glencore, 1997

[918-920]

The New Immigration

Easing Immigration Requirements

Like women, ethnic groups continue to seek a greater voice and greater political power. The increasing ethnic diversity of the United States dates back to 1965. At that time President Johnson and Congress reopened the gates to immigrants and ended the bias against newcomers from Asian and Hispanic countries. The Immigration Act of 1965, wrote one observer, created "a stampede, almost an invasion" of people "who hungered to enter."

Changes in Immigration Law

In 1990 amendments to the Immigration and Nationality Act increased the number of immigrants allowed into the United States. The amendments fixed the ceiling at 700,000 persons per year for the years 1992 through 1994 and at 675,000 persons per year beginning in 1995. The amendments placed no limit on the immigration of immediate family members of United States citizens. They did give preference, however, to people from nations that have sent few immigrants to the United States in recent years, including many European and African nations. The amendments also strengthened preferences for skilled workers.

During the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s poverty and political conflicts in several parts of the world drove people toward the United States. Devastating wars in Southeast Asia created waves of political refugees, and the United States accepted more than 500,000 Asian refugees between 1975 and 1990. Even more entered the United States from the Philippines, China, Taiwan, South Korea, India, and Pakistan.

The chance for economic success that attracted legal immigrants also attracted undocumented immigrants-people living in the United States without proper visas. In 1986 Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act. The law offered undocumented immigrants who had lived in the United States since 1981 a chance to become legal residents. More than 1 million immigrants took advantage of the law during its first year. As one Mexican-born housekeeper said:

I am so happy. I prayed and prayed the INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service] wouldn't find me. I never knew what the next month would bring. Now I'll be able to make plans for the future. I already feel like it's my country. -- Yolanda Perezin "Out of the Shadows," Time, May 4, 1987

The Effects of Immigration

The effects of such extensive immigration concerned many Americans. Some state governors complained that immigrants were competing with unemployed United States citizens for the limited number of available jobs. In 1981, however, a congressional committee reported that immigrants "work hard, save and invest, and create more jobs than they take." Other critics, forgetting America's immigrant past, wondered how so many new people, with their different customs, foods, and languages, would fit into American culture.

Despite these concerns, most observers predict that the United States will be as enriched and stimulated by its modern immigrants as it has been throughout its history. Cultural and ethnic differences conceived as problems in earlier times have usually come to be treasured for adding richness and diversity to American culture.

Race and Gender Issues Equality for Minorities

At the beginning of the 1990s, African Americans found they had gained scant political power, and their lives had changed little during the preceding 10 years. Many African Americans lived in middle-class areas, but far more continued to live in inner city neighborhoods, where many remained trapped by drugs, crime, gangs, high

unemployment, widespread poverty, and substandard schools. One such area erupted in riots in the spring of 1992 as residents of depressed South Central Los Angeles took to the streets to vent their anger.

The riot began in reaction to a not-guilty verdict in the widely publicized trial of four white police officers who were videotaped savagely beating a speeding African American motorist. African Americans focused on the trial as a way to redress the police brutality that many believed plagued their community. After the riots, community residents, people from other neighborhoods, and business owners came together to rebuild. In doing so African Americans took an active part in addressing long-standing issues, such as getting a fair share of building contracts and access to loan money and property insurance.

Affirmative Action

A series of executive orders and laws aimed at making sure racial minorities received help in their quest for equality had been in place since the 1960s. The original order, issued by President Lyndon Johnson, required employers to search aggressively for minority job applicants by such methods as placing ads in minority newspapers or advertising jobs in minority neighborhoods. Even more significant was President Nixon's order to admit members of minority groups into craft unions, where they would receive training. Secretary of Labor George Shultz pointed out to Nixon that of the 3.3 million construction workers in the United States, only 106,000 were African American, and 80 percent of those were in the lowest-paying jobs.

In a groundbreaking action, Nixon required federal contractors to show evidence of "affirmative action" taken to meet the goal of increased minority employment. This plan, known as the Philadelphia Plan, set the stage for subsequent regulations and court rulings that expanded the scope of the original vision to include women and various other minorities in addition to African Americans. Affirmative action entailed creating outreach programs, preparing minority high school students for college admissions, and in some cases establishing quotas that defined how many female or minority places were available in schools or companies. Thirty years later the effects of these programs, collectively grouped under the label affirmative action, were beginning to make themselves felt.

The Federal Glass Ceiling Commission report, released in the spring of 1995, said that few women had managed to win top posts in major corporations. Yet in the rest of the economy, female workers seemed to be thriving. Nationwide in 1994, 43 percent of managers were women, leading experts to believe that many women were on their way up the corporate ladder. Close to 6.5 million women owned businesses, which collectively employed more people than all of the Fortune 500 companies combined. Another study showed that in nearly half of United States households in which both husband and wife worked, the women earned half or more than half of the total household income.

African Americans and Hispanic Americans profited, but slowly, in the years after affirmative action was implemented. The percentage of African Americans in professional and technical jobs had increased to 6.6 percent by 1995. In 1960, 1.3 percent of lawyers were African American. In 1995 that figure stood at 2.7 percent.

In some, mostly blue-collar, fields affirmative action has had a more significant impact. For example, the number of African American police officers rose from 24,000 in 1960 to 46,000 in 1990, out of a total of 457,000 police officers nationwide, and the number of African American electricians during this same period rose from 14,000 to 36,000, out of 619,000 electricians nationwide. While affirmative action programs have neither eliminated all barriers for all people, nor resolved the special problems of inner-city youth, many observers feel that overall affirmative action has helped many deserving applicants gain access to education and jobs.

As Donald Clark, an African American longshoreman in Los Angeles who works to

help African Americans advance within his union, said, "No, we have not arrived and we're not where we want to be, but thank God we're not where we used to be, either."

The Future of Affirmative Action

As the United States moved toward the twenty-first century, many people questioned affirmative action programs. Proponents of affirmative action said that these policies broaden the pool for jobs and college admissions to encompass a wide range of qualified people. Opponents argued that affirmative action policies leapfrog less-qualified women or minority applicants over better-qualified white males. Both proponents and opponents of affirmative action, however, seemed to be united over one issue: they both felt that establishing quotas is unfair.

The United States Supreme Court moved to narrow the scope of many affirmative action programs by declaring that they must "serve a compelling government interest... and be narrowly tailored to their goals." Meanwhile President Clinton, in a major address delivered in 1995, came out squarely in support of affirmative action. His message was, "Mend it, don't end it."

A History of the United States, Daniel J. Boorstin and Brooks Mather Kelley, NJ: Peason-Prentice Hall, 2005

[868-869]

New waves of immigration

In the 1970s and 1980s, immigration continued. Refugees from war, revolution, persecution, poverty, and tens of thousands simply seeking a better life—all flocked to what they considered the New-World promised land. They, too, sought equality and freedom. They enriched the nation with their hopes and their efforts, but they added problems. In the 1990s, the United States sometimes decided to reduce the flow.

Asians from many nations. The fall of South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia to the Communists in 1975 set off a massive emigration by land, sea, and air. Refugees fled to Thailand, Malaysia, Hong Kong, the Philippines, and China. Many hoped to come to the United States. To help those who had aided the United States during the Vietnam War, 125,000 Vietnamese were allowed to enter the country right away. It seemed that this was enough relief at the time.

But thousands more continued to flee. They filled the refugee camps in Southeast Asia and overflowed to the United States and other nations. By 1985, 728,000 of them had come to the United States. These new immigrants from distant lands did well. They were eager to become Americans. They worked hard and added a delightful new Asian spice to the life (and food) of the United States. Many Asian young people overcame the language handicap and did exceedingly well in school. President Reagan, in his State of the Union message to Congress in 1985, pointed to Jean Nguyen, who was seated in the balcony beside Mrs. Reagan. Just ten years before she had fled Vietnam with her family, and now she was about to graduate from the United States Military Academy at West Point. In 1988, in New York City, eleven of the fourteen finalists in a nationwide science competition were Asians.

From other parts of Asia—from India, Taiwan, Korea, and the Philippines—they came by the tens of thousands. In the 1980s Asian Americans were the nation's fastest-growing minority, and the visible success of so many Asian Americans led some observers to call them "the model minority." In fact, many Asian Americans, particularly South East Asian Americans, experienced severe economic hardship in America, with low incomes and high rates of dependence on welfare for survival.

Refugees from Latin America and the Caribbean. Another wave of unhappy people arrived from troubled Central America, and from strife-torn Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. Many came in haste and terror without passports or visas. A third wave came from the poverty-stricken and turbulent islands of the Caribbean. From Haiti, they were fleeing the brutal dictatorship of the Duvaliers, "Papa Doc" and his son "Baby Doc." Half the people had no jobs on that island of hunger. Even after the long Duvalier rule (1957-1986) ended, they still came. To check the flow, the government began to send back those who came without permits. Other refugees were detained in prisons and camps while courts decided whether they should be granted political asylum.

After the Haitian military overthrew President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in 1991, the exodus increased so dramatically that President Bush ordered the immediate return of thousands of people fleeing by boat. In 1993 and 1994, President Clinton continued that policy, while working with the United Nations to impose a trade embargo that he hoped would force the military to reinstate President Aristide. The military responded to international pressure with repression, and more Haitians, with no sure destination, left that troubled country's shores.

In 1994, a new flood of refugees left Cuba for Florida. Cuba's economy was in tatters, and since the breakup of the Soviet Union (p. 930), Cuban President Castro had no strong ally. By creating a refugee crisis, Castro hoped to pressure the United States to end the trade embargo on Cuba. But President Clinton refused to end the embargo, or

allow Cuban refugees to enter the United States, until Castro reformed his Communist dictatorship.

Immigration reform. Immigrants came from trouble-spots on all continents—from Afghanistan, South Africa, the Soviet Union, Ethiopia, and Ireland. They came for a job and for a better life. Even if they had entered illegally they often found work. They were willing to take jobs that other Americans shunned, and they worked hard. Their children who were born here were citizens of the United States, according to the Constitution. And if they became legal residents, their relatives would be admitted to join them.

But illegal immigration became an item of increasing national concern. By 1986 there were millions of illegal aliens in the United States. More came from Mexico every day. Many Americans felt that illegal aliens, many of whom received government assistance, took too great a toll on the nation's resources. Others disagreed, pointing out that the United States had been built by those seeking asylum from poverty and tyranny. How were we to maintain our tradition of welcoming those in need while responding to genuine concerns about the costs of illegal immigration?

Congress responded with the Immigration Reform and Control Act. Illegal immigrants who could prove that they had been in the country since January 1, 1982, were allowed to become legal residents. About 1.4 million illegal aliens became legal residents under this law.

In 1990, Congress enacted the greatest reform of immigration laws in a generation. The Immigration Act of 1990 increased the number of immigrants allowed into the United States each year. It also created more openings for immigrants from Europe, and the number of skilled and wealthy immigrants allowed to enter the country.

In 1996, Congress further modified immigration law, largely in response to public concern over illegal immigration. New laws doubled the number of border patrol agents and made it more difficult for illegal aliens to get jobs. To discourage immigration further, Congress restricted even legal immigrants' access to many government social programs.

[873-847]

The United or disunited States of America? Never before had a nation tried so strenuously to give all of its people equality and pride in themselves. But by the 1990s, with so many groups of people going out of their way to distinguish themselves and to seek power by virtue of their racial and ethnic differences, many people worried that the United States of America was becoming disunited; that we were losing sight of what we have in common—the ideals and the heritage that we shared.

Consider, for example, the debate about bilingual education. In Europe, Asia, and Africa, people had fought wars and killed each other to determine what language they would use in school. But the United States had always tried to be a nation of nations. Here people from everywhere found that they could all learn to speak the same language. Immigrant parents who knew only German or Polish or Italian learned English from their children who went to American public schools.

Gradually one language helped to make one nation. The languages from the old country lived on at home, in churches, in clubs, and in special newspapers and magazines. But English was the language of the public schools. The English language took on a wonderful new life here.

In the 1970s and 1980s, in the new quest for equality and pride, some groups began to demand that their children should use their own home language as well as English in the public schools. Bilingual education, they said, would make the Spanish-speaking, the Indians, and other Americans proud of their heritage. Of course, it was important that Americans of all groups should know their heritage and not forget the language of their parents. This approach would enrich the whole nation. Still, there was a danger. If all Americans were not required also to learn and speak the English language well, they

might lose their opportunity to compete for the best jobs. The one nation might be broken into small groups that could not speak to one another, could not read the same books, or understand the same TV programs.

And there were other problems, too. In the crusade for equality some people objected to all examinations. They argued that it was unfair to give tests for entrance to colleges or to find the most qualified people for jobs. They wanted "open-admissions"-which meant admission for all whether or not they could pass a test. Others, who followed the tradition of Thomas Jefferson, continued to believe in a "natural aristocracy." They argued that all Americans must be given the opportunity to become prepared. Then the examinations would find those who could benefit most from the education or could do the job best. Equal opportunity had to begin with equal kindergartens and elementary schools and high schools for all. In the long run everybody would profit if all Americans could show their true abilities, could be tested impartially, and compete fairly.

Equality among nations. Abroad, too, in the community of nations, Americans faced the challenge of equality. President Kennedy noted "a worldwide declaration of independence," which within 30 years had broken up a few old empires into 90 new nations. Each became a member of the United Nations. There in the General Assembly they would have an equal vote and an equal voice. This group had become a strange community of unequals. A few of these nations had populations of more than 200 million people spread across continents. Many others were tiny islands with populations of less than 100,000. Half the nations who are members of the United Nations have a smaller population than the single state of North Carolina, And four out of every five states in the United States have a larger territory than 30 of these newly independent countries.

By 1998, there were 185 member nations in the United Nations, and new nations were being created with dizzying speed. This situation would make new problems for the community of nations. International law declared that all nations of the earth were entitled to equal treatment. That meant one thing when the community of nations was dominated by a few big nations. These nations usually had languages of their own, and long and separate histories. In those times the voices of the smallest nations were hardly heard.

Now a small nation with an atomic bomb was the equal in terror to any other. Large nations would have to show a new self-restraint. Small nations, too, would have to learn the ways of the world and show new respect for others.

A History of the United States, Daniel J. Boorstin and Brooks Mather Kelley, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992

[865-867]

New waves of immigration

The United States was still the land of opportunity for oppressed people from everywhere in the late twentieth century. Refugees from war, revolution, persecution, and poverty, and tens of thousands simply seeking a better life -- all flocked to what they considered the New World promised land. They, too, sought equality and freedom. They enriched the nation with their hopes and their efforts, but they added problems.

Asians from many nations. The fall of South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia to the Communists in 1975 set off a massive emigration by land, sea, and air. Refugees fled to Thailand, Malaysia, Hong Kong, the Philippines, and China. Many hoped to come to the United States. To help those who had aided the United States during the Vietnam War, 125,000 Vietnamese were allowed to enter the country right away. It seemed that this was enough relief at the time.

But more thousands continued to flee. They filled the refugee camps in Southeast Asia and overflowed to the United States and other nations. By 1985, 728,000 of them had come to the United States. These new immigrants from distant lands did well. They were eager to become Americans. They worked hard and added a delightful new Asian spice to the life (and food) of the United States. Many Asian young people overcame the language handicap and did exceedingly well in school. President Reagan in his State of the Union message to Congress in 1985 pointed to Jean Nguyen, who was seated in the balcony beside Mrs. Reagan. Just ten years before she had fled Vietnam with her family, and now she was about to graduate from the United States Military Academy at West Point. In 1988, in New York City, eleven of the fourteen finalists in a nationwide science competition were Asians.

From other parts of Asia—from India, Taiwan, Korea, and the Philippines—they came by the tens of thousands. In the 1980s Asian Americans were the nation's fastest growing minority.

Refugees from the Caribbean and Latin America. The poverty-stricken and turbulent islands of the Caribbean sent another wave of immigrants. From Haiti, they were fleeing the brutal dictatorship of the Duvaliers, "Papa Doc" and his son, "Baby Doc." Half the people had no jobs in that island of hunger. Even after the long Duvalier rule (1957-1986) ended, they still came.

A third wave of unhappy people arrived from troubled Central America, from strife-torn Guatemala, Nicaragua, and El Salvador. Many came in haste and terror without passports or visas. How were we to help these people without flooding our border cities with a new wave of the unemployed? To check the flow from Haiti, the government in the 1980s began to return those who came without permits. Other refugees were detained in prisons and camps while the courts decided whether they should be granted political asylum. Still the government found ways to admit many refugees from the centers of poverty and violence around the world.

Immigration reform. Immigrants came from trouble-spots on all continents—from Afghanistan, South Africa, the Soviet Union, Ethiopia, and Ireland. They came for a job and for a better life. Even if they had entered illegally they often found work. They were willing to take jobs that other Americans shunned, and they worked hard. Their children born here were citizens of the United States, according to the Constitution. And if they became legal residents, their relatives would be admitted to join them.

President Carter proposed a law in 1977 to make legal all the illegal aliens who had been here since 1970. After that, employers would be fined for hiring illegal aliens. President Reagan asked for a similar law. But Congress refused to act. By 1986 the whole nation was troubled. The United States had been built by those seeking asylum

from poverty and tyranny. How were we to adjust this tradition to the late twentieth century? In 1986 there were millions of illegal aliens in the United States. And more were entering every day. Unemployment and inflation in neighboring Mexico drove thousands across our southern border. In late 1986, the Immigration and Naturalization Service reported that in just one year it had caught a record 1.8 million people, most from Mexico, who were trying to slip in. Thousands of others never became statistics.

Finally Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act in 1986. Illegal aliens who could prove that they had been in the United States since January 1, 1982, were allowed to become legal residents. For the first time, any one hiring illegal immigrants would be fined. And our borders were to be more closely patrolled.

Not everyone was happy with the law, but it was generally welcome. Until then there really was no clear policy. Laws on the books were sometimes enforced, sometimes ignored. Hispanics, especially those here for a long time, were glad. They no longer lived in the shadow of uncertainty.

The United States had not opened the door wide to all comers. But it had not slammed its door. For many, this nation of immigrants remained a haven.

[873-874]

How many languages? Never before had a nation tried so strenuously to give all its people equality and pride in themselves. In Europe, Asia, and Africa, people had fought wars and killed each other over what language they would use in school. But the United States was a nation of nations. Here people from everywhere found that they could all learn to speak the same language. They would not lose their dignity but actually would be drawn closer to all people. Immigrant parents who knew only German or Polish or Italian learned English from their children who went to American public schools.

Gradually one language helped to make one nation. The languages from the old country lived on, at home, in churches, in clubs, and in special newspapers and magazines. But English was the language of the public schools. The English language took on a wonderful new life here.

In the new quest for equality some groups began to demand that their children should use their own home language as well as English in the public schools. Bilingual education, they said, would make the Spanish-speaking, the Indians, and other Americans proud of their heritage. Of course, it was important that Americans of all groups should know their heritage and not forget the language of their parents. This would enrich the whole nation. Still, there was a danger. If all Americans were not required also to learn and speak the English language well, they might lose their equal opportunity to compete for the best jobs. The one nation might be broken into small groups that could not speak to one another, could not read the same books, or understand the same TV programs.

And there were other problems, too. In the crusade for equality some people objected to all examinations. They argued that it was unfair to give tests for entrance to colleges or to find the most qualified people for jobs. They wanted "open-admissions"-which meant admission for all whether or not they could pass a test. Others, who followed the tradition of Thomas Jefferson, continued to believe in a "natural aristocracy." They argued that all Americans must be given the opportunity to become prepared. Then the examinations would find those who could benefit most from the education or could do the job best. Equal opportunity had to begin with equal kindergartens and elementary schools and high schools for all. In the long run everybody would profit if all Americans could show their true abilities, could be tested impartially, and compete fairly.

Equality among nations: ministates and microstates. Abroad, too, in the community of nations, Americans faced the challenge of equality. President Kennedy noted "a worldwide declaration of independence," which within 30 years had broken up a few old empires into 90 new nations. Each became a member of the United Nations. There in

the Assembly they would have an equal vote and an equal voice. This had become a strange community of unequals. A few of these nations had populations of more than 200 million people spread across continents. Many others were tiny islands with populations of less than 100,000. Half the nations who are members of the United Nations have less population than the single state of North Carolina. And four out of every five states in the United States have a larger territory than 30 of these newly independent countries.

By the mid-1980s, there were 159 member nations in the United Nations. The United States Department of State expected that there soon might be created another 50 nations. Nearly every one of the new nations would have a population of less than 100,000.

This would make new problems for the community of nations. International law declared that all nations of the earth were entitled to equal treatment. That meant one thing when the community of nations was dominated by a few big nations. These nations usually had languages of their own, and long and separate histories. In those times the voices of the smallest nations were hardly heard.

Now nations were being created with dizzying speed. It was hard even to remember how many there were. A small nation with an atomic bomb was the equal in terror to any other. Now large nations had to show a new self-restraint. Small nations, too, would have to learn the ways of the world and show new respect for others.

Making America: A History of the United States, 4th Ed., Carol Berkin, Christopher L. Miller, Robert W. Cherny, and James L. Gormly, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2006 [970-971]

New Immigrants

As American society became less tolerant and government less supportive of social programs, a new wave of immigrants started to arrive in the United States. The 1965 Immigration Act ended the national quota system for immigration and opened access to the United States from areas other than Europe. In 1960, three of every four immigrants had come from Europe, but that quickly changed as increasing numbers arrived from Mexico, Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia. Within two decades, more than half of all immigrants arrived from Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central and South America. In the border city of Laredo, Texas, the Latino population exceeded 95 percent, compared with 63 percent in Miami, Florida, and 40 percent in Los Angeles.

They came to the United States mostly for the traditional reasons: jobs and security. As one immigrant stated simply: "It was better in America." Many immigrants were uneducated and unskilled, especially those who were refugees or from Latin America. But because immigration law favored professionals, many others were highly educated and skilled. Whether skilled or not, new immigrants fit nicely into the structure of the postindustrial economy. Those with few skills found jobs in the service and agriculture sectors, whereas the skilled newcomers filled the ranks of professionals and technicians.

Changes in immigration laws also allowed the Asian population to grow rapidly. In 1960, half a million Asians came to the United States, twenty years later the number had risen to more than 2.5 million, and by 2000, Asian immigrants became the second-largest immigration group-5 million-surpassing those arriving from Europe. Most came as families and clustered in ethnic communities in major urban areas, especially along the Pacific Coast. Those who were well educated and had marketable skills found economic success as medical professionals, engineers, and owners of small businesses. This was especially true of those from Japan, China, Korea, and India. Many considered these populations the "model minority."

This view ignored the very different experiences of many other Asians, particularly those from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Coming as refugees, they arrived with few possessions, little education, and few skills. Mired in poverty and having difficulty assimilating into American society, they faced growing intolerance and hostility. The slowing economy contributed to the problem along the Gulf Coast, where whites, objecting to the employment competition, attacked Vietnamese fishermen.

Tensions also rose in inner cities between Asians and other minorities when they competed for jobs, housing, public resources, and political influence. This was the case in South Central Los Angeles as it became a multiracial area with significant African American, Hispanic, and Asian populations. When a riot swept through the community in 1992, many of the rioters targeted Asians, especially Koreans. Latino and African American rioters justified their attacks by claiming Asian landlords and shop owners discriminated against and exploited them. "We hate [the Koreans]," one rioter explained. "Everyone does." If some Asians were regarded as model immigrants, the opposite was true concerning most immigrants from Mexico, Latin America, and the Caribbean. Coming as both legal and illegal immigrants, Hispanics represented the largest number of the new immigrants. Like Franklin Chang-Diaz, most came for new and better opportunities while speaking little or no English. Franklin Chang-Diaz fulfilled his dream of becoming an astronaut, but for most Hispanic immigrants the outcome was vastly different. Arriving with few skills and little education, most immigrants from the Caribbean, Mexico, and Latin America found themselves taking one or more low-paying jobs just to survive. Even with two jobs, stated one Mexican American activist, the social and economic "ladder isn't there" for most Latino immigrants.

Illegal immigration, primarily from Mexico, added to the growing hostility toward Hispanics and calls for immigration limits. Attempting to stem the flood of "illegals" into the United States, Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act in 1986. It provided amnesty to illegal aliens who had been in the United States before 1982 and made them eligible for citizenship. It also provided criminal punishment for those who hired illegal aliens and strengthened controls to prevent illegal entry into the United States. The crackdown did not work: the flow of immigrants entering the country illegally was unaffected. As the 1980s ended, demands for immigration restrictions increased—in a 1991 poll, 69 percent of those asked believed there were too many Latinos in the country.

[1986-1987]

Individual Voices

Examining a Primary Source

Diameng Pa Tells His Story

The patterns of immigration that began with the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act continued throughout the 1990s, with increasing numbers of Asians and Latin Americans migrating to the United States. Amid growing calls for limitations on immigration, a Senate subcommittee heard testimony on Ellis Island, New York, from those supporting the idea that America should remain a nation of immigrants. Among those presenting their views before the Senate Judicial Committee's Subcommittee on Immigration were New York City mayor Rudolph Giuliani and New York State governor George Pataki, both of whom pointed out that their families too were once immigrants. On August 11, 1997, Cambodian refugee Diameng Pa, a senior from Wakefield High School in Arlington, Virginia, described before the subcommittee the hope and opportunity afforded him as an immigrant in America.

I would like to thank the Committee on Immigration for giving me this opportunity to tell... my strong belief that America should continue to be a nation of immigrants. This institution is hope for those still seeking a new beginning similar to the one I received.

I was born in Batdambang, Cambodia, on November 23, 1978... a rural village... several miles from the Thai border... This period produced a Cambodian Communist faction known as the Khmer Rouge, who killed more than 400,000 Cambodians and forced many more to flee to refugee camps in Thailand, including my family.

To acquire a better life for their family, my parents fled to a refugee camp in Thailand, fortunately able to escape from the constant threat of guerrilla attacks by the Khmer Rouge... and then to escape to the United States... By coming to the United States of America, we were traveling to a land that was foreign to us and whose language we did not speak. However, it would be a place that we would receive new identities and a new chance of a better life. It is a land that would take time to adapt to, however, it is a land of opportunity.

My family initially settled in a minority neighborhood of South Arlington, Virginia, not far from Strayer College where my father, Mong Pa, pursued a degree in business administration. However, unfortunately, he abandoned his goals to support the family. My father would also mention the importance of education and its correlation with success. Though quite young, I realized that my father sacrificed his opportunity to pursue his business degree so that the family was financially stable. He encouraged me to reach out and to appreciate one of the many precious gifts that America offered -- formal education.

Two years after I started school, I settled into the language thanks to my teachers and the miracle of TV. I remember adopting a few phrases here and there and soon enough I became accustomed to the English language and American culture. Bugs Bunny's "What's up, Doc" was my most favorite phrase during that time.

... [W]hile attending Thomas Jefferson Middle School... I accelerated in my studies

and took the most demanding courses possible... I developed an interest in science activities.

As a sophomore at Wake field High School I was privileged to be the first student in Wake field history to attend the international Science and Engineer Fair in... Canada and to win second place in the category of environmental science.

As an immigrant, valedictorian of my senior class and now a proud American citizen, I realize that becoming an American took time. I feel that pursuing a dream takes dedication and will to strive and succeed. Only in America are you given this generous privilege. A world-renowned... researcher by the name of David Da-i Ho states, "Success is a result of immigrant drive. People get in this new world, they want to carve out their place in it... You always retain a bit of underdog mentality. And if they work assiduously and lie low long enough, even underdogs will have their day."

[998]

Concerns about retirement were not in the minds of the more than 15 percent of the population who lived below the official poverty line of \$14,335 (for a family of four) in 1995. Among the poorest were those living in the inner city. They included minorities, immigrants, those with little education and few skills, and single female heads of households. As in the 1980s, throughout the 1990s and into the new millennium the number of legal immigrants continued to rise (see Figure 31.3). One of the chief causes was the Immigration Act of 1990, which increased the number of immigrants who could come to the United States each year to nearly 700,000.

Making America: A History of the United States, 2nd Ed., Carol Berkin, Christopher L. Miller, Robert W. Cherny, and James L. Gormly, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999 [1022-1023]

New Immigrants

As American society became less tolerant and government less supportive of social programs, a new wave of immigrants from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean arrived. The 1965 Immigration Act had ended the national quota system for immigration, allowing non-Europeans to legally enter the United States in sizable numbers. To the surprise of U.S. policymakers, the nation's Asian population had quickly grown. In 1960, Asians represented half of 1 percent of the population. By 1990, the figure had grown to 3 percent, and Asians were nearly half of all immigrants coming to America. Most came as families and tended to cluster in ethnic communities in major urban areas, especially in Hawai'i and the Pacific coast region. Some were highly educated, had marketable skills, and found economic success as engineers, medical professionals, and owners of small businesses. Chang-Lin Tien experienced such a success. Born in China, he became a professor of mechanical engineering and eventually chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley in 1990.

The success of so many Asian Americans -- they are among the nation's most prosperous and best educated minority -- has caused them to be considered a "model minority." But this stereotype ignores many variables, including levels of education, dates of arrival, and ethnicity. Although immigrants from India and Japan have higher high school graduation rates than whites, those from China, the Philippines, and Indochina have lower ones. Many immigrants from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia arrived with few possessions, little education, and few skills. Mired in poverty, they frequently had difficulty assimilating into American society and faced racial hostility. Along the Gulf coast, whites fearing economic competition attacked Vietnamese shrimpers.

Many Asian Americans believe that a number of universities, under pressure from whites and from non-Asian minority groups, established quotas to limit the admission of Asians to professional and graduate programs. The consequence of growing numbers and anti-Asian prejudice convinced many to become more active in local, state, and national politics and to adopt the term Asian American to stress inclusiveness rather than ethnic diversity. Still, as one Asian American commented, "no one can claim to know what Asian-American ethnicity is or what it will become." Despite Asians' success and assimilation into American society, concluded one Asian-American activist, "there is a stereotype that Asians are foreigners even though they've been here for many generations."

Immigrants from Latin America, the Caribbean, and Mexico faced more negative stereotypes as they entered the country. A 1991 Gallup poll found that 64 percent of Americans favored limits on immigration and 69 percent believed that there were too many Latinos in the country. Another public opinion poll indicated that old stereotypes of Latinos as "lazy" and "unpatriotic" were still held by the non-Latino population. Prejudice and the lack of unskilled jobs keep Latino immigrants at the bottom of the economic and social ladder. "There is a growing schism between poor Latinos, on the one hand, and middle-class Latinos on the other," noted one Latino leader. Despite families working two and three jobs, he concluded, "the ladder isn't there" for newer immigrants and other poor Latinos.

Adding to the overall rate of poverty and hostility faced by Latinos is the issue of illegal immigration, primarily from Mexico. In 1986, trying to stem the flow of illegal immigrants into the United States, the Immigration Reform and Control Act outlawed the hiring of illegal aliens and strengthened controls to prevent illegal entry into the United States. The act also offered amnesty to illegal aliens who could provide

documented proof that they had been in the United States before January 1, 1982. The law, however, did little to reduce the number of Mexicans and other Latin Americans trying to enter the United States, most of them seeking work.

Nation of Nations: A Narrative History of the American Republic, 5th Ed., James West Davidson, William E. Gienapp, Christine Leigh Heyrman, Mark H. Lytle, and Michael B. Stoff, NY: McGraw-Hill, 2005

[1102-1105]

NATION OF NATIONS IN A GLOBAL COMMUNITY

1980-2000

preview A renewed wave of immigration in the fast decades of the century was only one way in which global ties increased both diversity in the United States and the nation's interdependence with the rest of the world. The rise of the Internet signaled a revolution in global communications and commerce as well. Amid the decade's robust economic expansion, the Clinton administration sparred with Republicans over how best to define the multicultural contours of a nation of nations.

Juan Chanax had never been far from San Cristobal, a small village in the Guatemalan highlands. In that region, some two thousand years earlier, his Mayan ancestors had created one of the world's great civilizations. During the twentieth century, San Cristobal had escaped the political upheavals that disrupted much of Guatemala. Still, by the 1970s Chanax, a weaver, struggled to support his young family. Work at a nearby American textile factory brought steady wages, but scarcely enough to survive on. The coming of the factory alerted him to a larger world outside his mountain village. In 1978 he decided that the only way he could help his sick son and improve himself -- to "superarme," as he put it -- was to go north. He told his wife "the United States was a place where people could work and make their own lives." So began a journey that changed the destiny of Juan Chanax, San Cristobal, and the multicultural community in America.

Reaching his destination was not easy. Several times Chanax was robbed. Twice border guards turned him away. On his third attempt he successfully eluded the border patrol and made his way to Houston, Texas, with little more than a letter introducing him to several Guatemalans. Through them he learned of a maintenance job at a Randall's supermarket.

In the late 1970s, high oil prices had brought a boom to Houston. And as the city grew, Randall's expanded with it. That expansion meant plenty of low wage jobs for people like Chanax, even though he had almost no education and had entered the United States illegally. Randall's did not want just any low-wage workers. The chain specialized in high-priced goods in fancy suburban stores. Its upscale customers received valet parking, hassle-free shopping, and service from uniformed employees. Shortly before Chanax began working at Randall's, one of its managers had a falling out with several African American employees. When the manager criticized their work, they argued heatedly, until one employee finally threw a mop at the manager and quit.

That incident proved to be Chanax's opportunity. Unlike the worker who stormed out, Chanax was happy to do any job without complaint. The minimum wage was more than twice what he earned in Guatemala. Within several weeks he began to wire money home to his family. And when the manager said Randall's would soon need more workers, Chanax arranged for his brother-in-law and an uncle to come north. Over time Randall's began to hire Guatemalans exclusively. Shortly before a new store opened, the managers would tell Chanax how many maintenance people they needed. He would then recruit more Mayans from San Cristobal.

As the newcomers arrived, Chanax and the experienced Mayans prepared them for the job. Preparation meant more than learning to clean and stack. The recruits were also told to arrive on time, work hard, disrespect no one, and use proper manners. If a problem arose, they were to go not to a Randall's manager but to another Guatemalan. "That way," as Chanax observed, "if there was any problem, if a man was sick or had to leave work early or anything, we would solve it ourselves." As each store opened, the

Guatemalans would have the entire maintenance department staffed and ready to work 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

Within five years after Chanax reached Houston, over a thousand Mayans from San Cristobal were working at Randall's. A single person had created what scholars call a migration chain. Through Chanax, Randall's had found access to a minimum wage workforce who would perform willingly in the company's words as "cheerful servants." The Mayans, in turn, found opportunities unavailable in Guatemala. In the process Chanax and other early immigrants had become department managers and supervising assistants. Many of their wives worked as maids and servants in the homes of Houston's rapidly growing upper-income communities.

In many ways, Juan Chanax and his fellow Guatemalans mirrored the classic tale of immigrants realizing the American dream. In suburban Houston they formed their own community in an area that came to be known as Las Americas. There, various Central American immigrant groups established churches and social clubs amid some 90 apartment complexes that a decade or two earlier had housed mostly young, single office workers. On weekends and evenings rival soccer teams played in the nearby park. (Juan, also the soccer league's president, helped new teams fill out the forms required by the parks department to use its fields.) The growth of Las Americas in the late twentieth century echoed the pattern of immigrants who had come to the United States at the century's opening.

Yet those patterns had changed in important ways, too. Although cities remained the mecca of most immigrants, Juan and many newcomers of the 1980s and 1990s settled in suburban areas, particularly in the West and Southwest. Industrial factories provided the lion's share of work in the 1890s, but a century later the service industries—grocery stores, fast-food chains, janitorial companies absorbed many more of the new arrivals. Even the faces had changed, as European immigrants found themselves outnumbered by Latinos from Mexico and Central America as well as by Asians from the Philippines, China, Korea, Southeast Asia, and the Indian subcontinent, not to mention increasing numbers of Arabs from the Middle East and Africans. This broad geographic range reflected perhaps the most important shift in immigration: its truly global character. Transportation and communications networks tied immigrants to their home countries more strongly than in the past, allowing immigrants like Juan to keep regularly in touch with their former neighbors and relatives by phone as well as mail. Immigrants continued to participate in home-country politics more easily; they could wire money instantly to relatives and even build homes thousands of miles away where one day they planned to retire.

The global nature of immigration was only one aspect of an American society more tightly linked to the world community. For half a century the cold war had shaped American responses to the wider world. With the fall of the Soviet Union, attention shifted toward the need to manage regional conflicts. International economic ties linked the United States with the rest of the world in equally important ways, because the effects of a recession or financial collapse in Russia or Thailand could spread to other countries in a matter of weeks or months. Finally, the 1990s witnessed a communications revolution as the Internet tied together correspondents, consumers, manufacturers, and information systems. In short, the movement of people, financial capital, and data around the globe forced a nation of nations to adapt itself to an increasingly global community.

The New Immigration

The Immigration Act of 1965 (page 995) altered the face of American life -- perhaps more significantly than any piece of legislation among Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs. The lawmakers who passed the act did not expect such far-reaching changes, for they assumed that Europeans would continue to predominate among newcomers. Yet reform of the old quota system opened the way for a wave of immigrants unequalled

since the beginning of the century.

Turmoil abroad pushed many immigrants toward the United States, beginning in the 1960s with Fidel Castro's revolution in Cuba and unrest in the Dominican Republic. The war in Vietnam and its aftermath produced more than 500,000 refugees in the 15 years after 1975. Revolutionary conflicts in Central America during the 1980s launched new streams. Yet economic factors played as great a role as the terror; of war. Although some Filipinos fled the repressive regime of Ferdinand Marcos, many more came to the United States in a more straightforward search for economic prosperity. When Mexico suffered an economic downturn in the 1980s, emigration there rose sharply.

In all, about 7 million immigrants, both legal and illegal, arrived in the United States between 1975 and 1995. The nation's foreign-born population rose to 9 percent, the highest proportion since World War II. The tide rose even more sharply in the 1990s, with the Latino population increasing by over 35 percent to about 30.3 million by 1999. The Asian American population grew at an even faster rate, to about 10.8 million. Through the decade a steadily expanding economy made immigrants a welcome source of new labor. Prosperity, in turn, reduced—though it did not eliminate conflict among long-standing residents, new immigrants, and people on the margin of the labor market.

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The New Look of America -- Latinos

Like Asian Americans, Latinos in the United States constituted a diverse mosaic, reflecting dozens of immigrant streams. Although the groups shared a language, they usually settled in distinct urban and suburban barrios across the United States. Such enclave communities provided support to newcomers and an economic foothold for newly established businesses. Money circulated within a community; the workers and owners of an ethnic grocery, for example, spent their wages at neighboring stores, whose profits fueled other immigrant businesses in a chain reaction.

Washington Heights, at the northern tip of New York City, followed that path as nearly a quarter of a million Dominicans settled there during the 1970s and 1980s.

A hundred blocks to the south, Manhattan's downtown skyscrapers seemed distant; shopkeepers' stereos along the major thoroughfares boomed music of trumpets and congas, while peddlers pushed heavily loaded shopping carts through busy streets, crying "A peso! A peso!" ("For a dollar!"). In addition, Dominican social clubs planned dances or hosted political discussions. Sports clubs competed actively. Similarly, in Miami and elsewhere in South Florida, Cuban Americans created their own self-sustaining enclaves. A large professional class and strong community leadership brought them prosperity and political influence.

Along the West Coast, Los Angeles was the urban magnet for many Latino (and Asian) immigrants. Mexican immigrants had long flocked to East Los Angeles, which in the 1990s remained convenient to the jobs in factories, warehouses, and railroad yards across the river. Many Mexican Americans now owned their own businesses and homes, whose neatly kept backyards were filled with blooming bougainvillea. But beginning in the mid-1980s and 1990s the neighborhood of MacArthur Park became the focal point for the newest immigrants from Mexico and Central America. MacArthur Park was less developed as a community, and many of its residents were transient, passing quickly to other neighborhoods or jobs. Vendors of pirated audiocassettes competed with the occasional evangelist preacher, while hand-lettered signs in windows offered services to parents working long hours: "SE CUIDAN BEBES" (babysitting).

As more factories and service industries became decentralized, locating themselves beyond urban downtowns, the barrios followed as well. Las Americas near Houston, where Juan Chanax lived, was one example; but suburban barrios could be found dotted all across the nation, from Rockville, Maryland, to Pacoima, California, near Burbank. Pacoima's well-kept bungalows housed working-class Mexican Americans who had lived

in California for decades. But the front lawns of many residences were often paved over to hold the cars of additional workers or families, and the garages were converted to dormitories with a sink and toilet, where four or five newcomers from Central America could rent a spot to lay a bedroll on the cement floor.

Illegal Immigration

Because Mexico and the United States share such a long common border -- and an equally long history of intermingling of peoples and cultures -- many Mexicans entered the United States illegally. But the number of illegal immigrants increased during the 1980s as Central Americans joined the northward flow, along with Mexicans escaping a sharp economic downturn in their own country. By 1985, the number of illegal immigrants in the United States was estimated at anywhere from 2 to 12 million.

Congress attempted to stem that flow by passing the Immigration and Control Act of 1986. Tightened border security was coupled with a new requirement that American employers bear the responsibility of certifying their workers as legal residents of the United States. At the same time, those illegal immigrants who had arrived before 1986 were granted amnesty and allowed to become legal residents. In the end, however, the terms of the law failed to create the clean slate Congress had hoped for. California's fruit and vegetable growers, who worried that they would not have enough laborers under the new rules, lobbied for exceptions to the rules, which allowed over 1.7 additional illegal immigrants to gain amnesty. Furthermore, the many immigrants who suddenly became legal under the terms of the law quickly sought to reunite their families, bringing in wives and children illegally. Reluctantly, the federal government decided it could not break up these families, and it allowed them to live illegally in the United States while they applied for visas. By 1995 the backlog in applications had soared to over 800,000 new submissions.

Thus by 1996, the illegal population of Latinos in the United States stood at about 5 million people--about the same number as in 1986, when the immigration reform act was passed. Thus legal immigrants continued to be intertwined with illegals in a host of different ways: as relatives helping loved ones make the transition to living in the United States, as landlords boarding newcomers until they could get on their feet, as links with communities in the home country--just as Juan Chanax continued to be after he received amnesty from the act in 1986.

Links with the Home Country

Because systems of communication and transportation drew the world closer, the new immigrants found it easier to maintain links with their points of origin. Chanax, we have seen, regularly wired money back to relatives in Guatemala, and he was hardly alone in the practice. Pacoima, the suburban barrio outside Burbank, California, boasted only a small town center. But along that half-mile stretch of Van Nuys Boulevard, 13 different currency exchanges were open for business to handle immigrant funds. By 1992, the amount of funds sent worldwide was so great that it was surpassed in volume only by the currency flows of the global oil trade.

And not just money traveled these routes. An immigrant entering La Curasao, a furniture store in Los Angeles's MacArthur Park, could sign up to buy a bedroom suite on the installment plan. When the payments were completed, the furniture was released--not in Los Angeles but at a branch warehouse in El Salvador, where relatives could pick up the purchase. Cultural ties remained strong as well. Young Mexican immigrants flocked on Saturday night to popular dance halls like the Lido in Los Angeles to hear a variety of music known as banda. Women wore tight tank tops and jeans or skirts, while the men's cowboy outfits were distinguished by their *cuarta*, a small riding whip at the belt, and by a kerchief hanging from the right hip pocket, with the name of the wearer's native Mexican state embroidered proudly for all to see. State by state, the band leader would call out a welcome to "nuestros amigos" ("our friends") from the various states, such as Sinaloa or Jalisco. In return, each region's group of

immigrants would cheer and stomp their approval.

Religious Diversity

The global nature of the new immigration also reshaped the religious faiths of America. During the 1950s, most Americans' sense of religious diversity encompassed the mainline Protestant churches, Roman Catholicism, and Judaism. But immigrants brought with them not only their own brands of Christianity and Judaism but also Buddhist, Hindu, and Islamic beliefs. By 1999 there were perhaps 5 to 6 million Muslims in the United States. Many had emigrated from Arab states, but adherents from South Asia made up an even greater number. Buddhists and Hindus numbered about a million each.

Mainline Protestants and Catholics changed as well. The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) increased its Korean-speaking congregations from about 20 in 1970 to over 350. In New York City, Episcopalian services were held in 14 different languages. And Catholic churches increasingly found themselves celebrating mass in both English and Spanish. Such arrangements took place not only in urban congregations such as the Church of the Nativity in South Central Los Angeles (where Latinos alternated services with African Americans) but increasingly even in rural areas like Columbus Junction, Iowa, whose Catholic church was energized by Mexican Americans working in a nearby meat-processing plant.

The religious and cultural diversity of the new immigrant streams broadened the ties between the United States and the rest of the world. Despite the end of the cold war, the future of that world remained as uncertain as ever. Regional conflict in Vietnam, the Middle East, the former Yugoslavia, and elsewhere became an increasing source of unrest. Such political unrest had driven many immigrants to America. Economic pressures around the world had encouraged many more to come. The nation's newest immigrants often linked the United States to the conflicts that presented the greatest challenge to American leadership in the post-cold war world.

[1126]

Multiculturalism and Contested American Identity

No state more fully represented the multicultural and global complexion of late twentieth-century America than California. More of the nation's recently arrived immigrants from Asia, Central America, and Mexico settled there than in any other state. By 1990, fully 33 percent of the residents of Los Angeles County were foreign-born, a figure rivaling the high-water mark of 40 percent set by New York City in 1910. Predictably, then, it was California that so often led the national debate over multiculturalism. Californians put forth election propositions challenging the policies of affirmative action, proposed to make English an official language, and sought to restrict welfare, education, and other social benefits for immigrants and aliens. A recession there sharpened the debate in the early 1990s, as did several explosive legal cases raising the issue of racism. The battles over race, immigration, and multiculturalism suggest that in an era of internationally linked economies and global migrations, the United States remains a nation of nations seeking to accommodate distinctive identities along lines of race, ethnicity, and national origin.

African Americans and the Persistence of the Racial Divide

In the 1990s the highest-paid celebrity in the world was an African American -- Michael Jordan. Oprah Winfrey, also an African American, was the highest-paid woman in America. Both political parties eyed former general Colin Powell as a

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Global Pressures in a Multicultural America

Clearly the enormous changes wrought by immigration and the new global economy affected not just the immigrant enclaves but American culture as a whole. Salsa rhythms became part of the pop culture mainstream, and Latino foods competed with Indian curries, Japanese sushi, and Thai takeout for the loyalties of two-career families

whose parents lacked the time to cook. In 1999 the first baseball player ever to hit over 60 home runs in two seasons was Sammy Sosa, a Dominican and only one of many Latino stars in the game.

But the mix of cultures was not always benign. Throughout the course of American history, when immigration flows increased, members of the dominant culture often reacted defensively. The Know-Nothings of the 1850s took as their slogan "Americans should rule America," and nativists of the early twentieth century succeeded in sharply restricting immigration. During the 1990s the debate continued over how diverse the United States could become without losing its central identity.

Restriction again became a goal of those citizens worried about American identity. In 1916 Madison Grant had written *The Passing of the Great Race* to warn that unrestricted immigration might lead to racial suicide. In 1990 Lawrence Auster published *The Path to National Suicide*, in which he complained of the "browning of America." The new restrictionists in Congress proposed the Immigration and Stabilization Act of 1993, but neither the Democrats, who controlled Congress, nor President Clinton supported major changes in immigration policy. The following year, restrictionists used a different strategy in California. Their Proposition 187 ballot initiative denied health, education, and welfare benefits to illegal aliens. Despite the opposition of most major religious, ethnic, and educational organizations, the measure passed with a lopsided 59 percent of the vote. In the end, though, the proposition was not put into effect because a federal judge ruled unconstitutional the provision denying education to children of illegal aliens.

A movement to make English the official language of the United States received broader support. As early as 1981 California senator S. I. Hayakawa had urged Congress to adopt an English language amendment to the Constitution. The proposal forbade the use of foreign languages in government documents and sought to eliminate bilingual education from public schools. Speaking a native tongue in the privacy of the home was acceptable, one English-only supporter granted, but "English is the 'glue' that helps keep American culture vibrant and dynamic."

Unable to move Congress to act, Hayakawa lent his support to a voter initiative to make English California's official language. There, state forms were often printed in Spanish, and San Francisco printed ballots in three languages-Chinese, Spanish, and English. Asian and Latino organizations, along with the Democratic party and many state officials, opposed the proposition. They saw it as an attack on a liberal immigration policy and an effort to eliminate bilingual education. Nonetheless, in 1986 73 percent of Californians voted for the measure. Similarly, as a new wave of Cuban immigrants flooded southern Florida during the 1980s, voters of Dade County adopted an initiative making English the county's official language. Cubans resented the initiative as an attempt to restrict their culture and in 1993 they pressured county officials into repealing it. The same year, however, Florida voters approved an English-only referendum for the state. By 1996 23 states had adopted either resolutions or laws declaring English their official language.

Traditionally, nativist conflicts pit the dominant majority culture against the minority cultures of more recent arrivals. But in a multicultural society, such polar opposites often break down. In 1998 yet another ballot initiative passed in California (Proposition 227), mandating that schools phase out all their bilingual education programs. Students would be granted only one year of English-language immersion courses before receiving all instruction in English. In this instance both white and Latino voters approved the proposition by nearly the same margin, within one or two points of 62 percent. And the measure itself had been proposed after a group of Spanish-speaking parents boycotted their elementary school until it agreed to teach their children to read and write in English.

The pressures of global migration also increased tensions between minorities, as the

Los Angeles riots of 1992 demonstrated. As recently as 1980 blacks and Latinos seldom competed directly in California's economy. African Americans had made gains in older industries and in the public sector. Latinos were more likely to work in agriculture or the low-wage service sector. But those economic boundaries were always changing. In the 1980s, for example, a great many of the janitors working in the downtown office buildings of Los Angeles were African American. As union members, their wages and benefits came to more than \$12.00 an hour. By 1990 most had been replaced by nonunion Latino immigrants, usually illegals, working for only about \$5.00 an hour with no contract, no benefits or health insurance, and no vacation time. That same dynamic had caused Juan Chanax and his fellow villagers from Guatemala to replace African Americans at Randall's supermarkets in Houston.

For the time being, the prosperity of the late 1990s muted the tensions arising from such conflicts. High employment meant ample work for both blacks and Latinos, though often in low-paid and unskilled jobs. And even after the heavy influx of immigrants, foreign-born residents accounted for less than 10 percent of the total U.S. population. If prosperity continued to be fueled by the productivity sparked by the computer revolution and the interconnections of the Web, the benefits of the two-tier economy might spread.

Yet the long-term trend remains unchanged. Since the peoples of Europe, Africa, and Asia made contact with the Americas half a millennium ago, the cultures and economies of the world have been drawn ever more tightly together. With the arrival of an information superhighway and the acceleration of international migrations, the United States will necessarily remain what it has always been: a nation of nations whose political system continues to evolve new ways of democratically encompassing a diversity that now reflects the world.

November 1999: Outside the Food Emporium on New York City's West Side, Lillian Winston, a woman in her eighties, emerged with four grocery bags. A young man approached promptly, dressed in a crisp white shirt, tie, and brightly polished shoes—one of the store's delivery workers. He was not Guatemalan, like Juan Chanax. He came from the continent that, during the first three centuries after the arrival of Columbus in the Americas, supplied four times as many immigrants as any other land. His name was Gasel Lii and he hailed from the Congo. The number of sub-Saharan Africans such as Lii living in New York City had almost doubled, from 44,000 in 1990 to about 84,000 in 1999. Like earlier immigrants from Europe, Asia, and Latin America, these newcomers arrived willing to work for a better life. Lii was putting in 12 hours a day, six days a week, for pay that averaged out to \$2.50 an hour, or \$107 a week. He supported a wife and children who still lived in Africa. "We thought life in America was going to be easier," commented one of his fellow workers, from Gabon, who added sardonically, "Maybe we watched too much Dynasty." Gasel Lii picked up the grocery bags, two in each hand, and headed down the street.

Nation of Nations: A Narrative History of the American Republic, 3rd Ed., James West Davidson, William E. Gienapp, Christine Leigh Heyrman, Mark H. Lytle, and Michael B. Stoff, MA: McGraw-Hill, 1998

[1199-1202]

A NATION OF NATIONS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

When George Washington took the oath of office in 1789, he understood all too well the odds against the survival of the United States. History had demonstrated that few republics ever endured for long. Certainly none had endured with a population of 4 million people spread across a million square miles of territory. As the United States approaches the twenty-first century, its population has risen to more than 250 million, with territory exceeding 3.6 million square miles. Such size and diversity would have astonished Washington. Given the present state of the world, in which so many nations and empires have fallen prey to ethnic, religious, and nationalist rivalries, the survival of the American republic should perhaps astonish us as well.

How well it has dealt with the conflicts among its diverse citizenry has depended on the ability of different groups to participate equally and openly in the political system. The republic's most dramatic failure came with the Civil War. That breakdown occurred, it might be argued, because enslaved African Americans were forbidden any participation in the system. Indeed, they were treated as the property of other Americans who could and did exercise political power. Many pivotal moments in American history have turned on the attempts of new groups to be heard and to exercise effective political power—whether western Populists or eastern immigrants, militant suffragettes or concerned evangelicals, civil rights workers or overtaxed middle-class voters.

In a nation where more than half the population changed addresses between 1985 and 1995 and where immigration during the decade reached new highs, diversity and mobility remain hallmarks of American society. Inevitably, the debate over equal participation will continue.

The New Immigration

During the 1980s, more than 7 million immigrants entered the country legally more than in any decade in American history except 1901-1910. Adding another 300,000 to 500,000 illegal immigrants each year, the total was even greater than the 8.8 million arriving in the first decade of the century. The percentage of the population that was foreign-born jumped from a low of 4.8 in 1970 to 8.7 in 1994.

Latin American immigrants accounted for as much as 40 percent of the yearly influx, as they had since the 1960s. But now, in addition to Mexicans, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans, the Latino population included communities of Dominicans and Central Americans. Most moved to the Sunbelt states of Florida, Texas, and California, as well as to Illinois and New York. Like immigrants at the turn of the century, established Latino families provided housing for newer immigrants, who were often single. The newcomers hoped to save money from their weekly paychecks to send to relatives in Mexico or Central America. However, in an economy increasingly divided between skilled jobs in the service sectors and low-paying unskilled jobs, Latinos lagged behind Anglos and blacks in education. Often, the lack of adequate English-language skills discouraged success, especially among older Latino immigrants. On the other hand, one study of immigrants to Southern California showed that younger Latino immigrants generally learned English (about 70 percent) and had a lower poverty rate than older immigrants.

The political climate of the 1990s led many Hispanic Americans to worry about their own future. The welfare reform bill passed in 1996 prohibited legal immigrants who had not become citizens from receiving most federal welfare benefits. Furthermore, pressures to restrict immigration were rising, especially in California. In response,

applications by legal immigrants to become U.S. citizens rose sharply: from about 446,000 in 1995 to 1.2 million in 1996. "I'm afraid they're trying to take everything away from us," one legal immigrant explained. "I pay my taxes all the time. I've been very straight with the government here. So why are they coming after us?" In October 1996 Latinos from all over the country gathered in Washington for the Latino and Immigrants' Rights March, to protest welfare and immigration legislation.

After the Immigration Act of 1965 eliminated the national origins quota system, immigration from Asia increased heavily. By 1990 about 7.3 million Asian Americans lived in the United States. Like earlier immigrants from Europe, those from the Pacific rim came in waves. Some, like the Vietnamese "boat people" of the late 1970s, were driven from their homes by economic or political turmoil. Others were drawn to reunite families or realize greater opportunities in the Western Hemisphere. "My brother-in-law left his wife in Taiwan and came here as a student to get a Ph.D. in engineering," explained Subi Lin Felipe. "After he received his degree, he got a job in San Jose. Then he brought in a sister and his wife, who brought over one of her brothers and me. And my brother's wife then came." Professional Asian Indians emigrated in search of better jobs. Doctors and nurses constituted a large percentage of the early Korean immigrants. But letters home soon attracted a more 'diverse population, which concentrated in small businesses. By the mid-1980s Indians owned more than 50 percent of the nonchain motels in the United States, and Koreans often replaced Jews and Italians as owners of small inner-city delicatessens and produce stores.

The presence of other Asian Americans and an international atmosphere drew many Asians to New York City, but climate made Hawaii and California particularly popular destinations. In 1977 alone some 40,000 Filipinos migrated to Honolulu, many eager to escape from the corrupt regime of dictator Ferdinand Marcos. Of more than 800,000 Korean Americans, about a quarter lived around Los Angeles in 1990. So, too, the 1.4 million Japanese Americans settled primarily in California and Hawaii. By contrast, the federal government attempted to disperse nearly half a million Vietnamese (as well as Cambodians and Laotians) who fled after the American withdrawal from Southeast Asia.

Even successful new immigrants encountered subtle forms of discrimination. "Many Asian Americans hoping to climb the corporate ladder face an arduous ascent," reported the Wall Street Journal. "Ironically, the same companies that pursue them for technical jobs often shun them when filling managerial and executive positions." Hard work has overcome some, though by no means all, of these prejudices. Many immigrant families have brought business and educational experience to America, as well as a powerful work ethic. Japanese American wages are 10 percent above white wages and 50 percent higher than African American and Hispanic wages.

Such success led the media to stereotype Asians as a "model minority," yet the experience of Asian immigrants remains widely diverse, encompassing high-income Filipino-American doctors and low-income agricultural laborers, Japanese Americans who are poor and elderly as well as those who are younger, upwardly mobile technicians. Ethnic tensions, made worse by job losses and an American trade deficit with Asian countries, gave rise to scattered acts of violence. During the 1992 Los Angeles riots, Korean shops were often the targets of looters and arsonists.

Equality Still Denied

Fear of immigration had economic as well as ethnic and racial sources. During the 1990s economic inequality continued to worsen. Those workers with advanced technical skills and financial resources saw their wages and personal assets grow at an astonishing rate. A sustained boom in the stock market accounted for many of their gains. Where once they might have put money aside in a savings account, bonds, or other secure investments, in the 1990s they put it into mutual funds investing in stocks. As the market rose, so did the fortunes of upper-income Americans.

Much of the rise in stock prices reflected higher corporate profits. During the 1980s American businesses vastly improved their competitive position in world markets, in part through improved production efficiencies. Sometimes that meant shifting jobs to lower-cost labor markets in Asia or Latin America. But it also meant downsizing, the strategy of doing more business with fewer workers. Almost every week the news reported that a major company had eliminated tens of thousands of jobs. Thus, even as the economy expanded and the number of jobs grew, middle- and lower-class Americans felt considerable economic insecurity.

The prognosis was not rosy for a nation which believes in economic opportunity for all. "There is little doubt," one economist concluded: "Permanent inequality is going up." American wage earners from the middle 50th to the bottom 10th percentile all lost ground in the 1990s. More disturbing was the decline in economic mobility. In 1980 high school graduates with six years on the job stood a 17 percent chance of moving from the bottom to the second fifth of income earners. By 1990 they had only a 10 percent chance.

The American People: Creating a Nation and a Society, Brief 5th Ed., Gary B. Nash and Julie Roy Jeffrey, NY: Pearson-Longman, 2006

[913-917, 920-921]

The Post-Cold War World

1991-2004

AMERICAN STORIES

An Immigrant Family Struggles as the Economy Improves

In 1997, Marlene Garrett bundled up her three sleepy children-aged four, three, and one-and took them to the babysitter's home every morning at 5 A.M. "Mama has to go to work so she can buy you shoes," she told them as she left for a job behind the counter at a bagel cafe in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, that began at 6 A.M. This was a new position and she did not want to be late.

Garrett had come to the United States from Jamaica eight years earlier. She and her husband, Rod, had high hopes for a better life in the United States, and they were fortunate enough to be employed. But both of them held entry-level jobs and had to struggle to make ends meet. He worked in a factory making hospital curtains and brought home about \$250 a week. She had just left a \$5.25 an hour job selling sneakers for her \$6 an hour job at the bagel cafe. It was a small improvement, but the \$200 she earned made it possible to pay the monthly rent of \$400 and buy groceries. With luck, they could repair or replace the car, which had recently died, and perhaps begin to pay off their \$5,000 debt from medical bills. They had no health insurance and could only hope that no one got sick.

Garrett was not happy about her babysitting arrangements. Her real preference was to stay at home. "Who's a better caretaker than mom?" she asked. But remaining at home was out of the question. Welfare might have been a possibility in the past, but the United States was in the process of cutting back drastically on its welfare rolls, and, in any event, Garrett was not comfortable with that alternative. "I don't want to plant that seed in my children/" she said. "I want to work."

Garrett had few day-care options. She would have liked to have taken Scherrod, Angelique, and Hasia to the Holy Temple Christian Academy-her church's day-care center and preschool-but it cost \$ 180 a week for three children and was beyond reach. Several months before, when she had been earning \$8 an hour as a home health aide for the elderly, she had thought she could afford the church center and had even put money down for school uniforms for the kids. Then her car gave out and made it impossible to continue that job.

Instead of the Holy Temple Christian Academy, Garrett took the children to the home of Vivienne, a woman from the Bahamas who worked nights at the self-service laundry where she did her wash. Vivienne's apartment was simple and clean but had no toys or books anywhere in sight. Most days, the children watched television during the 10 hours that Garrett was away.

The Garretts knew how important it was to stimulate their children. Reflecting longingly on the church center and what it offered, Marlene Garrett said, "The children play games. They go on field trips. They teach them, they train them. My children are bright. You would be amazed at what they would acquire in a year." But instead of a stimulating center, the Garretts had to settle for a place that was simply safe.

At a time when the administration of Bill Clinton was trying to reconfigure the welfare system, people like the Garretts found themselves left out. Florida, like many states, budgeted most of its child-care money for families moving off of welfare to jobs. People who had never been on welfare received nothing. As the executive director of a Florida child-care referral agency observed, "Many of these parents have no choice but to leave their children in substandard arrangements that are rotting their brains, and jeopardizing their futures."

Garrett refused to give up hope. Her children were on a waiting list for help from the state that might make the Holy Temple Christian Academy accessible. Meanwhile, she took a second job working nights at the local Marriott Hotel. She had to pay Vivienne more money for the extra hours, and she worried even more about the additional time away from the children, but felt she had no choice. "It is temporary," she said. "I am doing what I have to do."

Marlene and Rod Garrett were like millions of poor Americans who found themselves left out of the prosperity that returned to the United States in the mid-1990s. Despite rosy economic indicators, more than 35 million Americans still lived below the federally defined poverty line. Life was hardly easy for the Garretts or for other families who found themselves on the bottom side of the line. Then, soon after George W. Bush succeeded Bill Clinton as president in 2001, the economy faltered. Now even more Americans found themselves in the same straits as the Garretts.

* * * *

The Garretts' struggle to care for their children-and for themselves-unfolded against the backdrop of the longest period of economic growth in American history. As a deep recession in the early 1990s lifted, the economy went on a tear. American corporations, increasingly operating in a multinational context, dominated the global economy. Though some countries, like Japan, experienced a slowdown in economic growth and became mired in a long-lasting recession, the United States prospered. Taking advantage of remarkable advances in communication technology, corporations found it easy to do business in a world smaller than ever before. With inflation low in the United States, the Federal Reserve Board kept interest rates down, and the easy availability of money encouraged middle- and upper-class Americans to invest in the stock market and mutual funds, often enabling them to realize large gains, at least on paper. The troubling budget deficit that had soared in the Reagan administration disappeared as the government, guided by Democratic president Bill Clinton, ran a surplus for the first time in years. The unemployment level dropped, yet for Americans at the bottom of the economic ladder, many of the jobs now available as a result of the relentless shift toward a service economy paid little more than the minimum wage, and people like the Garretts still found themselves struggling to survive. Conditions became even more difficult when the Democratic party cut back and reconfigured the welfare system to preempt the issue for its own political ends. The loss of that safety net became even more problematical after a tax cut promoted by Republican President George W. Bush cut government income as a troubling recession refused to go away. Corporate fraud shattered investor confidence, and the stock market, which had risen for much of the decade, dropped dramatically.

Meanwhile, the foreign policy scene shifted abruptly. The cataclysmic events in Europe that ended nearly a half century of Cold War required the United States to redefine its international role. This led to substantial debate, as both Republicans, who controlled Congress for most of the 1990s, and Democrats, who controlled the White House for the same period, voiced reservations about playing an activist, and potentially expensive, role abroad. Then, as the new decade began, the United States confronted the menace of terrorism on a scale never known before. The attacks that destroyed the World Trade Center towers in New York City and left a gaping hole in the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., led to a war on terrorism and a fundamental reconfiguration of American foreign policy.

This chapter describes demographic shifts, reflected in the census of 2000, that changed the face of the American people. It highlights the revival of the economy that brought unprecedented prosperity for many but still failed to accommodate the needs of less fortunate Americans like the Garretts, and then records the even greater suffering as the economy fell apart. It examines the political struggle between Democrats and Republicans that brought the second presidential impeachment in American history. It

notes the bitterly contested national election of 2000 and its conservative aftermath. Finally, it explores the continuing effort to define the American role in the turbulent and terrorist-dominated post-Cold War world.

THE CHANGING FACE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

The United States changed dramatically in the 1990s, as the continuing influx of new immigrants reshaped demographic patterns. The overall population, as reported in the census of 2000, grew more rapidly than it had in the past several decades and reflected the steady increase in the number of non-white Americans.

The New Pilgrims

The second great wave of immigrants in the twentieth century changed the face of America. The number of immigrants to the United States in the 20-year period from 1981 to 2000 was approximately 17.5 million, making it the most voluminous period of immigration in American history. In the decade of the 1990s, close to 10 million immigrants were counted, just less than the 10.1 million immigrants recorded in the 10 years from 1905 to 1914, which stands as the all-time record for that span of time.

Patterns of immigrant settlement changed. Whereas most immigrants around the turn of the preceding century remained near the East Coast, or in contiguous states, in 2000, 39.9 percent of the foreign-born settled in western states, with only 22.6 percent of the foreign-born living in the Northeast. The shift was a result of larger demographic shifts in the United States. As the twentieth century began, the Northeast still dominated the economic and cultural life of the nation. A hundred years later, the West was increasingly dominant. California had surpassed New York as the most populous state, and Los Angeles International Airport, known as LAX, had replaced Ellis Island as the port of entry for many immigrants.

The sources of recent immigration were similar to those of the 1970s and 1980s. In 2000, just over one-third of all immigrants-legal and illegal-came from Central America, while just over one-quarter came from Asia. Faltering economies in many countries in Latin America led people living on the fringe to look toward the United States, where a better life might be possible. Inhabitants of African nations, equally poor and faced with deteriorating living conditions, likewise saw hope for a brighter future in America.

The American influx was spurred by the Immigration Act of 1965 (see Chapter 28). Part of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program, this act authorized the impartial acceptance of immigrants from all parts of the world and was directly responsible for the greater numbers of Asians and Latin Americans. In 1986, Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act, aimed at curbing illegal immigration while offering amnesty to aliens living in the United States. The Immigration Act of 1990 opened the doors wider, raising immigration quotas while cutting back on restrictions that had limited entry in the past. It also provided for swift deportation of aliens who committed crimes. Two other measures in 1992 expanded eligibility slightly. In 2001, the United States and Mexico began to talk about how to ease the plight of Mexican immigrants and permit illegal arrivals to stay.

The rise in the number of immigrants fueled anti-immigrant feeling in the United States like similar resistance in Europe. In the 1970s and 1980s, America's efforts to help immigrants coincided with still-intact social-assistance programs of the liberal welfare state, and multiculturalism, stressing the different values that made up a larger American identity, became a dominant theme. Yet efforts to assist brought increasing opposition from Americans facing a scarcity of good jobs. There was also a cultural backlash, as opponents of immigration worried about the challenge to America's character posed by new arrivals with their own social patterns.

That opposition, which echoed the anti-immigrant feeling of the past, included strenuous efforts to restrict illegal immigration. Resistance came to a head in California in 1994, where voters passed Proposition 187, denying illegal aliens access to public education and medical clinics. A federal judge issued an injunction to prevent

implementation of the ballot measure, yet Proposition 187 provided a model and caught the attention of congressional members, especially Republicans, who gained control of Congress in 1994. Two years later, Congress passed legislation barring legal immigrants (who were not yet citizens) from receiving food stamps and disability assistance from the federal government. Toward the end of the decade, California ended its support for bilingual education.

Economic improvement, and the move toward full employment in the latter part of the 1990s, brought a political shift in the immigration debate. In 2000, pressure mounted to admit more high-tech workers for businesses and more unskilled workers for the service sector where there were unfilled jobs. Political considerations also played a part in the shift as both Democrats and Republicans recognized in particular the voting power of Latinos.

Immigration issues became headline news at the end of the 1990s in the highly publicized case of six-year-old Elian Gonzales. In November 1999, he was miraculously rescued near Florida when a group of Cuban boat people trying to reach the United States drowned. His father, still back in Cuba, had not given permission for the boy to leave and wanted him back. The Miami Cuban community, which hated Fidel Castro and his Communist regime, wanted the boy to stay in the United States. In the end, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) seized Elian and returned him to Cuba.

The INS, already unpopular, attracted fierce criticism in the face of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. It had allowed into the country immigrants from Saudi Arabia and elsewhere who had orchestrated the airplane hijackings that shocked the world. Now Americans began to look askance at Arabs or Muslims throughout the country and to condemn the INS for its laxity in screening out potential terrorists.

The Census of 2000

The 2000 census reported a 13 percent increase in the nation's population, as the United States gained 32.7 million people in the 1990s for a total of 281.4 million inhabitants. This expansion surpassed the previous 10-year record of 28 million people in the 1950s, in the midst of the baby boom after World War II. The rate of growth, which had slowed down over the past three decades, now accelerated in the 1990s as it reflected increased immigration and longer life expectancy. While every state had a net increase in population, growth was greatest in the West, increasingly important in the economic and cultural life of the nation. Altogether, the West as a whole gained 10.4 million people and expanded by 19 percent.

The United States remained about 69 percent white, with a 12 percent African American and 11 percent Latino population. Latinos continued to flock to southern California, the Texas border region, and the south of Florida, and they also began to congregate in increasing numbers in places such as Chicago and Denver. Overall, their numbers increased by 38.8 percent. African Americans maintained their dominance in older northern cities such as Detroit and Washington, D.C., while continuing to move into metropolitan suburbs.

Nationally, the Asian and Pacific Islander population increased by 43 percent. In California, Asians showed the largest increase of any group. They now comprised nearly 13 percent of the state population and maintained their position as the third largest population group, after whites and Latinos. Much of the Asian population growth occurred in the suburbs, where the more affluent moved, though large pockets of poverty remained in places such as Chinatown in Los Angeles and Little Phnom Penh in Long Beach.

The new census revealed that the combination of Latinos, African Americans, and Asians now outnumbered whites in California. This was the first time since 1860, when California began to provide accurate census data, that whites did not have a majority. State politics already began to reflect the shift. In 1998, Cruz Bustamante became the first Latino elected to statewide office in California since 1871, when he became

lieutenant governor. The United States, founded as a white man's country, had now developed into a nation where people of color were increasingly numerous and influential.

One new feature of the 2000 census revealed the desire of large numbers of Americans to identify themselves as part of more than one racial or ethnic group. Nationwide, 2.4 percent of the American people identified themselves as multiracial. In Hawaii, 21 percent of all residents traced their heritage to two or more racial or ethnic groups.

[926-929]

Minorities and Women Face the Twenty-First Century

Americans fighting for equality made gains in the 1990s. For African Americans, home ownership and employment figures rose. The numbers of murders and other violent crimes that involved blacks dropped. A record 40 percent of African Americans attended college in 1997, up from 32 percent in 1991. Yet incremental improvements often failed to erode racist ideas that still permeated American society. Incidents like the beating of black motorist Rodney King in Los Angeles in 1991 and the rioting that occurred the next year (see Chapter 30) made many people wonder just how much progress the civil rights movement had made.

Affirmative action was one area where blacks faced a backlash. Energized by their political victories in 1994, conservatives launched a powerful attack on the policy of giving preferential treatment to groups that had suffered discrimination in the past, pushing ballot initiatives and pressuring public agencies to bring the practice to an end. The most visible effort was Proposition 209 in California, approved by voters in the election of 1996, which prohibited the use of gender or race in awarding state government contracts or admitting students to state colleges and universities. The increasingly conservative Supreme Court waded into the controversy in 1995 by affirming a lower court ruling prohibiting colleges and universities from awarding special scholarships to African Americans or other minorities. Meanwhile, other cases moved through the legal system. At the end of 2003, the Supreme Court rejected the University of Michigan's explicit policy of paying attention to race in undergraduate admissions decisions, but accepted the same institution's law school policy that was more vague. Race could still be a factor, but not an overriding one.

The booming job market in the late 1990s helped foster better race relations. It provided new opportunities for people who had been unable to find jobs. A survey in 1999 reported that young black men in particular were moving back into the economic mainstream at a faster rate than their white counterparts, and crime levels were falling in areas where joblessness was declining. The jobless rate for young black men was still twice that for young white men, but the improvement was encouraging.

Even so, tensions that had existed throughout the twentieth century persisted. Issues stemming from continuing discrimination in finding jobs and persistent antagonism by the police erupted in the spring of 2001 in Cincinnati, Ohio, when a white policeman killed an unarmed black youth. Confrontations around the city provided a bitter reminder of riots in the past.

In early 2002, African-American television correspondent Ed Bradley pointed to changes he had seen in the course of his career. "When asked about progress," he said, "I'm often reminded of the old lady sitting in the church who says, 'It ain't what it ought to be, but thank God it ain't what it used to be.'" Bradley was right, but many African Americans wondered when further change would come.

Women likewise made steady progress in the 1990s. They were increasingly involved in academic programs and professions that had been closed to them several decades earlier. In 2001, for example, women made up 49.4 percent of all first-year law students, compared to 10 percent in 1970; that pattern was reflected in other segments of society as well. At the same time, there was still continuing resistance to inclusion at the top.

Women started to become the heads of major firms as the glass ceiling, preventing women from rising to the top of the corporate ladder, began to crack in the 1990s, yet most leaders were still men.

Abortion remained a polarizing issue, particularly as antiabortion activists sought to disrupt abortion clinics. Physicians performing abortions found their lives at risk, and Barnett Slepian, a Buffalo doctor, was killed in 1998 in his own home by a sniper shooting through a window. Abortion opponents also took aim at a seldom used, late-term procedure they called "partial birth abortion." Congress passed a measure banning the procedure, but President Clinton vetoed it. In 2000, when the Food and Drug Administration finally approved a drug known as RU-486, the so-called abortion pill, abortion opponents jumped into the controversy and sought unsuccessfully to attach conditions that would effectively eliminate its use. Abortion remained one of the issues dividing the American people.

The abortion debate was just one measure that created a backlash against the feminist label, even as men and women both accepted the changes brought by the women's movement. Women hesitated to be associated with what they still considered a radical fringe, and that affected how they identified themselves. In 1998, only 26 percent of working women said, "To me, a career is as important as being a wife and mother," down from 36 percent in 1979. While young women took for granted the gains fought for and won by their mothers and grandmothers, fewer wanted to call themselves feminists. Yet the feminist movement persisted and brought continued improvements in the lives of women.

Latinos likewise pushed for greater equality and had demographic change on their side. The 2000 census and subsequent studies based on the data provided noted that the Latino population spread farther and faster than any previous immigrant wave, even exceeding the influx of eastern Europeans in the early twentieth century. The Latino population increase of 38 percent since 1990 dwarfed the national rise. In 2000, 46 percent of all Latinos owned their own homes, compared to 42 percent a decade before, though that figure still lagged behind the national number of 66 percent.

The emergence of a sturdy middle class gave Latinos a greater voice in social and political affairs. In 1993, Henry Cisneros became secretary of housing and urban development, and Federico Pena became secretary of transportation in Bill Clinton's administration. At the end of the decade, with Latinos projected to become the nation's largest minority by 2005, Latino political figures became even more numerous and visible. In California, for example, both the lieutenant governor and the speaker of the assembly were Chicano, as was the mayor of San Jose. Democrat Loretta Sanchez, who defeated eight-term congressman Robert Dornan in Orange County, served in the U.S. House of Representatives.

As the nation's overall unemployment rate dropped in the mid-1990s, the rate for the 12 million Latino workers likewise fell—from 9.8 percent in 1992 to 7.3 percent in 1997. Despite that drop, the rate remained higher than the rate for white workers. Meanwhile, median Latino household income fell, even as it rose for every other ethnic and racial group.

Latinos nevertheless had a growing impact on American culture. Merengue music could often be heard in music stores or on the radio. Argentine steakhouses could be found in many cities. Use of the Spanish language became more common around the country. President George W. Bush himself used Spanish in appealing to this important electoral bloc.

Native Americans found they had less influence, in part because of their smaller numbers. In the 2000 census, only 4.1 million people, or 1.5 percent of the population, identified themselves as American Indian or Alaska Native. Yet Indians still managed to keep the causes that concerned them before the public.

Indians continued their legal efforts to regain lost land. In 1999, the federal

government joined the Oneida Indians in a lawsuit arguing that state and local governments in central New York had illegally acquired 270,000 acres of land from them in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and wanted restitution. In early 2000, the federal government returned 84,000 acres in northern Utah that it had taken from the Ute in 1916 when it sought to secure the rights to valuable reserves of oil shale. "We're trying to do the right thing, returning land to its rightful owners," Energy Secretary Bill Richardson declared.

Indians also pressed successfully for the return of Indian skeletal remains, removed by white scientists and museum officials over the course of the last century. Ever since passage of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990, skeletons and sacred objects flowed back to the tribes where they belonged. In 1997, Harvard's Peabody Museum sent back the bones of nearly 2,000 Pueblo Indians in the largest single return of these remains.

Native-American women became increasingly active in the reform effort. Ada Deer, who had successfully fought the government's termination policy in the 1970s (see Chapter 29), served as Assistant Secretary of the Interior in the 1990s.

Winona LaDuke, an environmental activist, directed the Honor the Earth Fund and the White Earth Land Recovery Project, fought needless hydroelectric development, and was singled out by Time magazine as one of the nation's 50 most promising leaders under 40 years of age. In 2000, she served as Ralph Nader's vice presidential running mate on the small Green Party ticket.

A symbolic gesture occurred in the last months of the Clinton administration. As the Bureau of Indian Affairs celebrated its 175th anniversary, Kevin Cover, head of the agency, reversed the pattern that had been so predominant in the past when he apologized for the nation's repressive treatment of Native Americans.

"In truth, this is no occasion for celebration," he said. It was, rather, a time "for sorrowful truths to be spoken, a time for contrition." He spoke of "the decimation of the mighty bison herds, the use of the poison alcohol to destroy minds and body, and the cowardly killing of women and children." The suffering inflicted on the Indians "made for tragedy on a scale so ghastly that it cannot be dismissed as merely the inevitable consequence of the clash of competing cultures."

Asian Americans enjoyed real success in the 1990s. With about 11 million people—approximately 4 percent of the national population—of Asian descent in the United States in 2000, there was a now critical mass. They came from a variety of cultures, to be sure, and Filipinos often had different experiences than Chinese or Koreans or Japanese, yet together they had an increasingly important impact on American society. Many of the children enjoyed remarkable educational achievements, making up a disproportionate share of the students at the most prestigious universities. In 2000, President Clinton appointed Norman Y. Mineta as secretary of commerce, making him the first Asian American to hold a cabinet position.

Yet Asian Americans in the 1990s found themselves in an ambiguous position. While they had higher median incomes than whites, due in part to a dedicated work ethic, newcomers faced serious economic problems. Old assumptions also persisted. A report in 2000 observed that many Americans still saw Asian Americans as secretive and inscrutable. "Too many people in this country continue to see us in simple stereotypes," complained Paul M. Ong, a social policy professor at the University of California at Los Angeles.

The struggle for gay rights also continued, and slowly gays began to achieve their demands. In a major change in 2000, the Big Three automakers—General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler—announced health care benefits for partners of gay employees, a move that covered 465,000 workers. That same year, Vermont recognized same-sex relationships through civil unions, though stopped short of permitting gay marriages, and in 2004, Massachusetts recognized the right of gays to marry. Meanwhile, the American

Academy of Pediatricians announced its support of the right of gay men and women to adopt the children of their partners.

Still, there was continuing resistance to gays playing a more visible role in American society. In 1998, 21-year-old University of Wyoming student Matthew Shepherd died after being brutally beaten and tortured by two men troubled by his lifestyle. While most American cities had thriving gay communities, in some quarters there was still deep-seated resistance to gays living openly.

The American People: Creating a Nation and a Society, 4th Ed., Gary B. Nash and Julie Roy Jeffrey, NY: Pearson-Longman, 1998

[1093-1097]

The New Pilgrims

The second great wave of immigrants in the twentieth century brought about another demographic shift. The number of immigrants has risen dramatically in the past 30 years. In the 1970s, the number averaged 450,000 a year, far higher than in the decade before. In the 1980s, it averaged 730,000. In 1990, as the chart here shows, more people arrived than in any single year in this century. Altogether, a fifth of the population growth in the 1980s stemmed from immigration.

The influx was spurred by the Immigration Act of 1965 (see Chapter 28). Part of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program, this act authorized the acceptance of immigrants impartially from all parts of the world. The result in the 1980s, as in the 1970s, was far greater numbers of Asians and Latin Americans. In this latter decade, 37 percent came from Asia, and 47 percent came from Mexico, the Caribbean, and Latin America. Always a nation of immigrants, the United States was once again receiving new, and very different, ethnic infusions.

As has long been true, the desire for jobs fostered immigration. But foreign crises also fueled the influx. After 1975, the United States accepted more than a half million Vietnamese refugees, uprooted by the war that had finally come to an end. In 1980, more than 160,000 arrived. That same year, the nation admitted 125,000 Cubans and Haitians to southern Florida, as they fled persecution in their own lands.

Millions more arrived illegally. As the populations of Latin American nations soared and as economic conditions deteriorated, more and more people looked to the United States for relief. In the mid-1970s, Leonard Chapman, commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, estimated that there might be 12 million foreigners in the nation illegally. While official estimates were lower, Attorney General William French Smith declared in 1983, "Simply put, we've lost control of our own borders."

Several legislative measures sought to rationalize the immigration process. In 1986, Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act, aimed at curbing illegal immigration while offering amnesty to aliens who had lived in the United States since 1982. As the mid-1988 deadline approached, 50,000 per week applied to stay. The Immigration Act of 1990 revised the level and preference system for admission of immigrants to the United States and refined administrative procedures for naturalization. Raising immigration quotas by 40 percent per year, the act cut back on restrictions based on ideology or sexual orientation that had been used to deny entry in the past. It also set aside a substantial number of visas for large investors and provided for swift deportation of aliens who committed crimes. "This act recognizes the fundamental importance and historic contributions of immigrants to our country," President Bush said in signing the measure.

The more than 10 million immigrants who arrived between 1976 and 1990 belonged to two very different economic classes. In the 1970s and early 1980s, as the chart here shows, about 25 percent were professionals, and more than 40 percent were white-collar employees. Many of these immigrants brought skills, funds, and family support networks that could assist in business ventures in America. At the same time, the United States absorbed a large group of less skilled workers. In this decade and a half, about 46 percent of all employed immigrants were laborers, service sector workers, and semiskilled employees. The flow of this group increased in the 1980s and 1990s.

This new wave of immigration changed the complexion of the United States, just as it had in decades past. Once again, as had been the case before 1924, the nation was a refuge for people from very different parts of the world. The Sun Belt in particular from Florida to California, felt the impact of the new Asians and Hispanics. In Los Angeles,

Samoans, Taiwanese, Koreans, Vietnamese, Filipinos, and Cambodians competed for jobs and apartments with Mexicans, African Americans, and Anglos, just as newcomers from different countries had contended with one another in New York City a century before. Throughout the country, in Miami, in Houston, in Brooklyn, the languages heard in the schools and on the streets changed.

These groups left a new imprint on the United States. As African Americans and Hispanics became major figures in the urban equation, the number of Asians in the country doubled in the 1980s, and they made up nearly half of all immigrants by the end of the decade. Immigrants from India, the Philippines, China, and Korea often brought skills and professional expertise. Southeast Asian refugees were frequently less well off when they arrived. Many of these unskilled immigrants provided the labor for the rapidly expanding West Coast electronics industry. The Asian immigrants, following a pattern established decades before, sought better and better opportunities for their children, and in California they became the largest group of entering students at a number of college campuses.

Sometimes the media highlighted the successes of Asian immigrants, particularly in contrast to the problems encountered by other groups. In 1986, U.S. News & World Report noted Asian American advances in a cover story, while Newsweek ran a lead article on "Asian Americans: A 'Model Minority,'" and Fortune called them "America's Super Minority." Asian Americans were proud of the exposure but pointed out that many members of the working class still struggled for a foothold. In the Chinatowns of San Francisco and Los Angeles, 40 to 50 percent of the workers were employed in the ill-paid service sector or garment industry; in New York's Chinatown the figure was close to 70 percent. Chinese immigrant women, in particular, often had little choice but to work as seamstresses, just as women from other nationalities had earlier in the century.

Each group, each family, had its own story. Nguyen Ninh and Nguyen Viet, two brothers who remained in Vietnam after the victory of the North Vietnamese in 1975, were among the many who finally fled their war-torn country by boat. The boat sank, but they were rescued, only to be shuttled to Kuwait, then Greece, and finally to the United States, where another brother had arrived a few years before. Though they spoke no English, they immediately began to look for work. One became a carpenter's helper; the other, an attendant at a valet parking firm. With the money they earned, they helped other members of their family emigrate. Slowly they learned English, obtained better jobs, and saved enough money to purchase a home.

Professionals often had a hard time. Frequently, training in their country of birth had little bearing in the United States. One Vietnamese physician who resettled in Oklahoma noted, "When I come here, I am told that I must be a beginner again and serve like an apprentice for two years. I have no choice, so I will do it, but I have been wronged to be asked to do this."

In the 1970s and 1980s, America's efforts to help immigrants coincided with still-intact social assistance programs of the liberal welfare state. Affirmative action programs, in particular, provided aid for both legal and illegal arrivals. Bilingual classrooms became more common, and multiculturalism, stressing the different values that made up a larger American identity, became a dominant theme in many schools.

Yet those efforts brought increasing resistance from Americans already here, particularly as the structure of the economy changed and good jobs became more scarce. That opposition, which echoed anti-immigrant feeling of the past, included strenuous efforts to restrict illegal immigration and a move to lower annual quotas for new arrivals. Resistance came to a head in California, in the midterm elections of 1994. Proposition 187 required teachers and clinic doctors to deny assistance to illegal aliens and to report them to police. While its constitutionality is still being weighed by the courts, it provided a model for other states to follow, and caught the attention of

national legislators as the Republicans took control.

A People and a Nation: A History of the United States, 7th Ed., Mary Beth Norton, David M. Katzman, David W. Blight, Howard P. Chudacoff, Fredrik Logevall, Beth Bailey, Thomas G. Paterson, and William M. Tuttle, Jr., MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005 [882-883]

DIVERSITY

The racial-justice and identity movements of the late 1960s and 1970s made all Americans more aware of differences among the nation's peoples an awareness made stronger by the great influx of new immigrants, not from Europe but from Latin America and Asia following changes in immigration law during the mid-1960s. It was a challenge, however, to figure out how to acknowledge the new importance of "difference" in public policy. The solution developed in the 1970s was the idea of "diversity." Difference was not a problem but a strength; the nation should not seek policies to diminish differences among its peoples but should instead seek to foster the "diversity" of its schools, workplaces, and public culture.

One major move in this direction came in the 1978 Supreme Court decision *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*. Allan Bakke, a thirty-three-year-old white man with a strong academic record, had been denied admission to the medical school of the University of California at Davis. Bakke sued, charging that he had been denied "equal protection" of the law because the medical school's affirmative-action program reserved 16 percent of its slots for racial-minority candidates, who were held to lower standards than other applicants. The case set off furious debates nationwide over the legitimacy of affirmative action. In 1978 the Supreme Court, in a split decision, decided in favor of Bakke. Four justices argued that any race-based decision violated the Civil Rights Act of 1964; four saw affirmative-action programs as constitutionally acceptable remedies for past discrimination. The deciding vote, though for Bakke, contained an important qualification. A "diverse student body," Justice Lewis Powell wrote, is "a constitutionally permissible goal for an institution of higher education." To achieve the positive quality of "diversity," educational institutions could take race into account when making decisions about admissions.

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“CULTURE WARS”

Though the New Right often found an ally in the Reagan White House, many other Americans vigorously opposed a movement they saw as preaching a doctrine of intolerance and threatening basic freedoms -- including the freedom of religion for those whose beliefs did not accord with the conservative Christianity of the New Right. In 1982, the politically progressive television producer Norman Lear, influential former congresswoman Barbara Jordan, and other prominent figures from the fields of business, religion, politics, and entertainment founded People for the American Way to support American civil liberties and freedoms, the separation of church and state, and the values of tolerance and diversity. The struggle between the religious right and their opponents for the future of the nation came to be known as the "culture wars."

It was not only organized groups, however, that opposed the agenda of the religious right. Many beliefs of Christian fundamentalists ran counter to the ways most Americans lived-especially when it came to women's roles. The women's movement, like the civil rights movement, had brought about significant changes in American society. By the 1980s, a generation of girls had grown up expecting freedoms and opportunities their mothers never had. Legislation such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title IX (see pages 837 and 865) had opened both academic and athletic programs to girls and women. In 1960, there were thirty-eight male lawyers for every female lawyer in the United States; by 1983, the ratio was 5.5 to 1. By 1985, more than half of married women with children under three worked outside the home. The religious right's insistence that women's place was in the home, subordinated to her husband,

contradicted not only the gains made toward sexual equality in American society but also the reality of many women's lives.

[908-910]

NEW IMMIGRANTS FROM ASIA

The polarizing forces affecting American society in the 1980s were complicated by the arrival of large numbers of new immigrants who did not fit cleanly into old racial categories. Between 1970 and 1990 the United States absorbed more than 13 million new arrivals, most from Latin America and Asia. Before the immigration act reforms of 1965, Americans of Asian ancestry made up less than 1 percent of the nation's total population; that percentage more than tripled, to almost 3 percent, by 1990.

The composition of this small slice of America's population also changed dramatically. Before 1965, the majority of Asian Americans were of Japanese ancestry (about 52 percent in 1960), followed by Chinese and Filipino. In contrast, in the 1960s and 1970s, the highest rates of immigration were from nations not previously represented in the U.S. population. There were only 603 Vietnamese residents of the United States in 1964. By 1990, the United States had absorbed almost 800,000 refugees from Indochina -- people like Nguyet Thu Ha -- casualties of the war in Vietnam and surrounding nations. Immigrants flooded in from South Korea, Thailand, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Singapore, Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam. Japanese Americans became a much smaller portion of the Asian American population, at 15 percent surpassed by Chinese and Filipino Americans and rivaled by the Vietnamese.

Immigrants from Asia tended to be either highly skilled or unskilled. Unsettled conditions in the Philippines in the 1970s and 1980s created an exodus of well educated Filipino men and women to the United States. India's economy was not able to support its abundance of well-trained physicians and healthcare workers, who increasingly found employment in the United States and elsewhere. Korea, Taiwan, and China also lost skilled and educated workers to the United States. Other immigrants from China, however, had few job skills and spoke little or no English. Large numbers of new immigrants crowded into neighborhoods like New York's Chinatown, where women worked long hours under terrible conditions in the city's nonunion garment industry. Immigrants from Southeast Asia were the most likely to be unskilled and to live in poverty in the United States, though some, like Nguyet Thu Ha, found opportunities for success.

But even highly educated immigrants often found their options limited. A 1983 study found that Korean immigrants or Korean Americans owned three-quarters of the approximately twelve hundred greengroceries in New York City. Though often cited as a great immigrant success story, Korean greengrocers usually had descended the professional ladder: 78 percent of them had college or professional degrees.

THE GROWING LATINO POPULATION

Though immigration from Asia was high, unprecedented rates of immigration coupled with a high birth rate made Latinos the fastest-growing group of Americans. New immigrants from Mexico joined Mexican Americans and other Spanish-surnamed Americans, many of whose families had lived in the United States for generations. In 1970, Latinos comprised 4.5 percent of the nation's population; that percentage jumped to 9 percent by 1990, when one out of three Los Angelenos and Miamians were Hispanic, as were 48 percent of the population of San Antonio and 70 percent of El Paso. Mexican Americans, concentrated in California and the Southwest, made up the majority of this population, but Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Dominicans, and other immigrants from the Caribbean also lived in the United States, clustered principally in East Coast cities.

During the 1980s, people from Guatemala and El Salvador fled civil war and government violence, and many found their way to the United States. Though the U.S. government commonly refused to grant them political asylum (about 113,000 Cubans

received political refugee status during the 1980s, compared with fewer than 1,400 El Salvadorans), a national "sanctuary movement" of Christian churches defied the law to protect refugees from deportation back to places where they risked violence or death. Economic troubles in Mexico and throughout Central and South America also produced a flood of a different sort of refugee, undocumented workers who crossed the poorly guarded 2,000-mile border between the United States and Mexico, seeking economic opportunities. Some were sojourners, who moved back and forth across the border. A majority meant to stay. These new Americans created a new hybrid culture that became an important part of the American mosaic. "We want to be here," explained Daniel Villanueva, a TV executive in Los Angeles, "but without losing our language and our culture. They are a richness, a treasure that we don't care to lose."

The incorporation of so many newcomers into American society was not always easy, especially during economic hard times. Many Americans believed new arrivals threatened their jobs and economic security, and nativist violence and simple bigotry increased during the 1980s. In 1982, twenty-seven-year-old Vincent Chin was beaten to death in Detroit by an unemployed auto worker and his uncle. American auto plants were losing in competition with Japanese imports, and the two men seemingly mistook the Chinese-American Chin for Japanese, reportedly shouting at him: "It's because of you little [expletive deleted] that we're out of work." In New York, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles, inner-city African Americans boycotted Korean groceries. Riots broke out in Los Angeles schools between black students and newly arrived Mexicans. In Dade County, Florida, voters passed an "antibilingual" measure that led to the removal of Spanish-language signs on public transportation, while at the state and national level people debated initiatives declaring English the "official" language of the United States. Public school classrooms, however, struggled with practical issues: in 1992, more than one thousand school districts in the United States enrolled students from at least eight different language groups.

Concerned about the flow of illegal aliens into the United States, Congress passed Immigration Reform and Control (Simpson-Rodino) Act in 1986. The act's purpose was to discourage illegal immigration by imposing sanctions on employers who hired undocumented workers, but it also provided amnesty to millions who had immigrated illegally before 1982. As immigration continued at a high rate into the 1990s, however, it would further transform the face of America, offering the richness of diverse cultures and the potential for continued social conflict.

[940-942]

Americans in the New Millennium

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the United States is a nation of extraordinary diversity. For much of the twentieth century, however, it had seemed that the United States was moving in the opposite direction. Immigration quotas had been very low from the 1920s through 1965. New technologies such as radio and television had a homogenizing effect at first, for these mass media were dependent on reaching the broadest possible audience—a mass market. Though local and ethnic traditions persisted, more and more Americans participated in a shared mass culture.

During the last third of the twentieth century, however, those homogenizing trends were reversed. Immigration reform in the mid-1960s opened American borders to large numbers of people from a wider variety of nations than ever before. New technologies -- the Internet, and cable and satellite television with their proliferation of channels--replaced mass markets with niche markets. Everything from television shows to cosmetics to cars could be targeted at specific groups defined by age, ethnicity, class, gender, or lifestyle choices. These changes did not simply make American society more fragmented. Instead, they helped to make Americans' understandings of identity more fluid and more complex.

RACE AND ETHNICITY IN RECENT AMERICA

In the 2000 U.S. government census, for the first time, Americans were allowed to identify themselves as belonging to more than one race. New census categories recognized that notions of biological "race" were problematic. Why could a white woman bear a "black" child when a black woman could not bear a white child? The change also acknowledged the growing number of Americans born to parents of different racial backgrounds. Critics, however, worried that because census data are used to gather information about social conditions in the United States and as a basis for allocating resources, the new "multiracial" option would reduce the visibility and clout of minority groups. Thus the federal government counted those who identified both as white and as members of a racial or ethnic minority as belonging to the minority group. Under this system, the official population of some groups increased: more Americans than ever before, for example, identified themselves as at least partly Native American. Others rejected racial and ethnic categories altogether: 20 million people identified themselves simply as "American," up more than 50 percent since 1990.

During the 1990s, the population of people of color grew twelve times as fast as the white population, fueled by immigration and birth rates. The Latino population alone more than doubled. By 2003, Latinos moved past African Americans to become the second largest ethnic or racial group in the nation (after non-Hispanic whites), making the United States the fifth largest "Latino" country in world (see Figure 33.3). Immigration from Asia also remained high, and in 2000 people of Asian ancestry made up 3.6 percent of the U.S. population.

These rapid demographic changes have altered the face of America. At a Dairy Queen in the far southern suburbs of Atlanta, 6 miles from the "Gone with the Wind Historical District," teenage children of immigrants from India and Pakistan serve Blizzards and Mister Mistys. In the small town of Ligonier, Indiana, the formerly empty main street now boasts three Mexican restaurants and a Mexican western-wear shop; Mexican immigrants drawn by plentiful industrial jobs in the 1990s cross paths with the newest immigrants, Yemenis, some in traditional dress, and with Amish families riding horse-drawn buggies. Still, more than half of American counties were still at least 85 percent white in 2000 – and more than half of all Latinos lived in just eight metropolitan areas (see Map 33.3).

A MORE DIVERSE CULTURE

American popular culture embraced the influences of this new multiethnic population. Economics were important: the buying power of the growing Latino population exceeded \$561 billion in 2000, and average income for Asian American households topped all other groups. But American audiences also crossed racial and ethnic lines. Superstar Jennifer Lopez (of Puerto Rican descent) was the most "bankable" musician/actress in the nation; black basketball great Michael Jordan had more commercial endorsements than any other celebrity in America's history. Latin dancing styles swept the club scene; white teens in the nation's suburbs took up urban rap and hip-hop culture. Golfer Tiger Woods became a symbol of this new, hybrid, multiethnic nation: of African, European, Native American, Thai, and Chinese descent, he calls himself "Cablinasian" (CAucasian-BLack-INDian-ASIAN).

A People and a Nation: A History of the United States, Brief 4th Ed., Mary Beth Norton, David M. Katzman, Paul D. Escott, Howard P. Chudacoff, Thomas G. Paterson, William M. Tuttle, Jr., and William J. Brophy, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1996

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New Influx of Immigrants

During the 1970s and 1980s, people of color immigrated to the United States in record numbers from Indochina, Mexico, Central and South America, and the Caribbean. Refugees of the Vietnam War arrived, other immigrants came from the Philippines, Korea, Taiwan, India, the Dominican Republic, and Jamaica, and boat people poured in from the islands of Cuba and Haiti. Between 1970 and 1980, the United States absorbed more than 4 million immigrants and refugees and perhaps twice that number of illegal aliens. High as these figures were, they doubled again during the next decade. With 9 million new arrivals, the 1980s surpassed the historic high mark set by the 8.7 million immigrants who had reached American shores between 1901 and 1910. The new immigrants consisted largely of families. Among the varied peoples who were seeking opportunity in a new land, Asian-Americans were by far the most successful.

Immigration Reform

The arrival of so many newcomers put pressure on Congress to curtail the flow and perhaps offer amnesty to aliens already living illegally in the United States. In 1978, Congress authorized a comprehensive reexamination of America's immigration policy. The immigration commission completed its study in 1981, but legislative solutions were delayed until 1986, when Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control (Simpson-Rodino) Act. The act provided amnesty to undocumented workers who had arrived before 1982. The act's purpose was to discourage illegal immigration by imposing sanctions on employers who hired undocumented workers, but it failed to stem the flow of people fleeing Mexico's economic woes. In 1988, the number of new immigrants from Mexico approached the record numbers reached just before the reform law went into effect.

[678-679]

America and a Multipolar World

Although Clinton's first priority was domestic polity, he and his secretary of state, the veteran diplomat Warren Christopher, could not ignore the highly volatile multipolar world of the post-Cold War era. Iraq continued to cross Washington; in June 1993, Clinton ordered a Tomahawk cruise-missile attack against Baghdad in retaliation for an alleged Iraqi plot to assassinate former President Bush. Terrorism remained a constant danger; in early 1993, Islamic extremists bombed the World Trade Center in New York City. Russia needed vast amounts of foreign aid to stave off economic collapse and preserve steps toward democracy. At the Vancouver, Canada, summit meeting in April 1993 with Russian leader Boris Yeltsin, Clinton pledged American assistance.

Two problems-ethnic warfare and nuclear proliferation-seemed to dwarf other global issues. Ethnic hostilities were especially alarming, because they bespoke a future of instability in which the nation-state seemed less able to maintain order. Between January 1991 and June 1994, perhaps as many as a half million people were killed in ethnic rivalries. In what had once been Yugoslavia, there were at least 250,000 deaths from warfare among Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims. And in a matter of a few months in 1994, an estimated 200,000 men, women, and children were slaughtered in Rwanda's war between Hutu government soldiers and militiamen and Tutsis fighting for the Rwandan Patriotic Front. Tens of thousands more died in overcrowded refugee camps. The former Soviet Union, with literally scores of ethnic groups, also suffered bloodshed. The United States offered relief aid in many cases, but the needs remained

too large.

In 1994, the nuclear proliferation issue focused on North Korea, where spent fuel rods from a nuclear reactor yielded enough plutonium to produce perhaps four or five nuclear weapons. After North Korea consistently refused to allow full inspection of its nuclear facilities by United Nations personnel, as required by the nonproliferation treaty of 1969, the Clinton administration pushed for international economic sanctions. Japan and the Peoples Republic of China, however, favored less stringent action than the United States. Meanwhile, some talked of war, and the South Korean government began conducting air raid drills for its people. The death of North Korea's long-time leader Kim II Sung in mid-1994 further clouded the issue.

An October agreement between the Clinton administration and North Korea eased tensions. Under the agreement, the United States would help North Korea build light-water reactors from which it is more difficult to extract weapons-grade plutonium. In return North Korea would abandon its graphite-moderated reactors. Until the new reactors were on line, the United States would provide fuel oil for North Korea's power plants.

In parts of the world, tensions relaxed some. Elections were held in South Africa in 1994, and for the first time blacks and other people of color, as well as whites, were allowed to vote. Nelson Mandela—once an imprisoned freedom fighter and head of the African National Congress—was elected president of a new black-majority government. Even before he took office, Mandela, in a gesture of national reconciliation, reached out to his white and black opponents.

Also in 1994, a modest but significant change occurred in the Middle East. The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), in accordance with an agreement signed earlier at the White House, became the authority in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank town of Jericho. The agreement provided for a less than fully independent Palestinian state. The PLO had only limited legislative powers, Israel maintained responsibility for external security, and four thousand Jewish settlers—with Israeli protection—were allowed to remain in Gaza. Still, the arrangement represented Israel's most significant concession in the occupied territories since the return of the Sinai to Egypt in 1979. In mid-1994, moreover, Jordan and Israel signed a peace accord. The peace process was, however, marred by violence. In Gaza, fundamentalist Muslims battled the PLO, and there, as elsewhere, acts of terrorism continued.

In Haiti a diplomatic team comprised of former president Jimmy Carter, retired General Colin Powell, and Senator Sam Nunn headed off a probable American invasion. At the last minute, as President Clinton was preparing to recall the diplomatic team and launch the invasion, Carter secured an agreement. The generals agreed to step down, paving the way for the October 1994 return of Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Approximately twenty thousand American troops occupied Haiti at the time of his return. They remained there until early 1995 when a United Nations force replaced them.

For the United States, the central questions in public debate on foreign policy were simple, but the answers were not: should or could the United States play the expensive role of global police officer while undertaking the expensive task of economic renewal at home? What mix of retrenchment and international activism, of unilateralism and multilateralism, lay ahead? Which foreign disturbances threatened vital U.S. interests and which did not?

Throughout American history, the closing decade of a century has been a time of turbulence and transformation. In the 1690s, as the colonists struggled to adjust to the Navigation Acts that governed their membership in the far-flung British mercantile empire, King William's War pitted the French and their Indian allies against British-Americans. Accusations of witchcraft in Massachusetts revealed political disorder and a society in stress. In the 1790s, a new republic with a new constitution

confronted the Whiskey Rebellion, the Alien and Sedition Acts, the rise of partisan political parties, and entanglement in Europe's wars. The 1890s witnessed devastating depression, agrarian revolt, burgeoning cities, bloody labor strikes, the emergence of corporate giants, the onset of a major reform movement, and a new empire abroad that anti-imperialists considered a violation of U.S. principles.

As the twenty-first century beckoned, the 1990s too promised turmoil and adjustment for Americans. In charting their nation's nature in a turbulent present, their many different memories of the past would guide them. In his 1993 inaugural address, President Clinton invoked Thomas Jefferson's prediction that "to preserve the very foundations of our nation we would need dramatic change from time to time." In the poem she read at the inauguration, Maya Angelou also spoke of the tenacious link between past and future:

History, despite its wrenching pain,
Cannot be unlived, but if faced
With courage, need not be lived again.