

Paper 1, Option 1F: In search of the American Dream: the USA, c1917–96

Knowledge Organisers

Contents	Slide Number
1. The changing political environment 1917-80	2
2. A Quest for Civil Rights 1917-1980	3-5
3. Society and Culture in change 1917-80	6-8
4. The changing quality of life, 1917-80	9-12
5. Reagan's Presidency	13-18

USA Political Context:

- In the US, a two party system emerged (Republicans and Democrats).
- There was a separation of powers made up of the legislative (law-making), executive (carries out the laws) and the judicial (applies and interprets laws) branches.
- Wilson – 1913-21 (democrat)
- Harding – 1921-23 (republican)
- Coolidge- 1923-29 (republican)
- Hoover – 1929-33 (republican)

Rise of Republicanism 1917-33 (factors):

- Patriotism
- There was a large increase in the trade of American goods.
- Harding wanted to make America dependent on themselves and wanted to isolate America.
- Isolation:
- All three republican presidents during this time promoted isolation and wanted to make America more independent and strong.
- This led to some restrictions on immigration.
- There were tariffs on imports preventing Americans from buying foreign goods and switching to domestic.
- Capitalism/ Ideology:
- Capitalism was the main ideology that the republican presidents followed and focused on achieving.
- Harding promoted American goods and increased trade.
- This is significant, as the capitalist ideology was the foundation of many of their policies.
- All the republican presidents wanted to boost the economy after the depression after WW1.
- Power of the President:
- Wilson wanted the president to have the power to be involved in law-making. This would lead to a fusion of the executive and legislative branches which would allow the president to have a lot more power than he should.
- This deeply impacted the popularity of the democrats and contributed to him losing the next election as well as taking America into WW1.
- War:
- Wilson took the US into the war which was an extremely unpopular decision.
- The war had a negative impact on the economy and caused the US to go into a depression.
- However, joining the war did strengthen international relations.
- Economy;
- There was a post-war depression due to Americas involvement in WW1.
- When Harding took over, unemployment rose and there were many protests and riots.
- Improving the economy was the focus of all republican presidents and was therefore the main reason for policies carried out.
- At the time of Coolidge there was a boom in the economy, however due to the laissez faire leadership style, there were many underlying flaws which contributed to the Great Depression of the 30's.
- Hoover had the theory of rugged individualism; the government will not interfere to help those with jobs, homes etc., the isolation of America and the restriction of immigration.

Impact of WW2 1939-1945:

- The war also helped pull the US out of the depression.
- Roosevelt understood that people would have been reluctant to join the war so in his "fireside chats" after the war broke out, he assured that the US would remain neutral (even though he supported the allies).
- Roosevelt geared the USA up for war production to provide for the allies.
- The war led to a significant rise in employment and boosted industry and farming.
- By June 1940, Europe had been overrun and Britain was fighting alone, depending on the US for war supplies.
- The US entered the war 8 December 1941, after the Japanese, bombed the US fleet at Pearl Harbour.
- After this unemployment dropped steeply as men joined the armed force and women stepped in to take their place in industry.
- Within a year of the war, the USA had produced \$47 billion worth of war good.
- The war was very good for economy but there was an extremely large human cost; 400,000 died and nearly 600,000 were wounded or captured.

USA; the changing political environment 1917-80

Franklin D Roosevelt 1933-45:

- 32nd president of the US (democrat).
- He introduced the New Deal; the new deal was very different to the idea of rugged individualism.
- He insisted that the government was responsible for the welfare of the people and help them get back on their feet.
- New deal thinking also stressed the importance of rapid, national action.
- The National Recovery Administration (NRA) set up and enforced codes of practice for businesses, including setting working hours and minimum wage.
- The Agricultural Adjustment Agency (AAA) regulated the major crops e.g. wheat, cotton and milk.
- He introduced the social security system and carried the US away from isolationism by supporting Winston Churchill and the British war effort.
- Roosevelt was confident, charming and persuasive. He knew his own mind and was pragmatic.
- He understood how to manipulate congress.
- Roosevelt was more concerned with general policy rather than detail; and didn't understand the economic theory very well.
- "Fireside Chats"- radio broadcasts that Roosevelt introduced. He explained policies to people as if they were chatting in person.
- He also understood the power of the media; he held "off the record" press meetings with selected reporters at the White House.
- This made the press feel involved and was on his side.
- Wealthy business people disliked his policies; republicans disliked his enlarging the powers of the president as did some democrats.
- Roosevelt died in 1945. His successor was Harry Truman.

Anti-communism 1954-80;

- This was the third anti-communist movement in America that had significant changes to the civil liberties of the public and the political landscape. This was the longest red-scare and included influential events such as the space and arms race, and the Cuban missile crisis. It had a great effect on the lives of American civilians and created a mood of terror within the country
- In the late 1940s and early 1950s, American fears of internal communism increased however approximately less than 50,000 Americans out of a total US population of 150 million were members of the Communist Party. This was because of the growing tension between the two superpowers in the Cold War. The USSR built up a buffer zone of Eastern European satellite states in the late 1940's and also developed the nuclear atom bomb in 1949. This challenged the USA's capitalist system as both competed to be superior.
- The US government put on a facade of a free country although behind the public eye the FBI were tapping into phone calls and bugging homes and offices. This maintained the public fear.

Decline in government confidence 1968-80;

- Social factors;
- Student protests e.g. Washington DC and Howard Uni.
- Race Riots and black protests.
- Assassinations;
- Bobby Kennedy 1968
- Martin Luther King
- They were signs of hope, people looked to them to get their voices heard, this meant that they were not getting enough from their presidents.
- Media;
- Uncovering government deception.
- Reported the war.
- Vietnam;
- The Tet Offensive 1968, the My Lai Massacre were all televised internationally, and there was a loss of faith of the government.
- Scandal;
- Watergate 1972-74; this was a shock to the public and made the public weary of putting faith in their government.

Presidential Styles 1945-74:

- Harry Truman 1945-53 (democrat);
- Personality;** not charismatic, not very confident. He could be overwhelmed by the importance of the job. He made mistakes under pressure.
- Media;** he saw working with the media as important, however he didn't explain enough e.g. Korean War.
- Public;** he didn't instantly appeal and didn't try to connect or explain strategies (Korean war). His speeches were wooden and sometimes made mistakes.
- Organisational ability;** worked well with the White House administration but didn't always choose the right people.
- Congress etc.;** worked less well with congress, despite the fact that there was a republican majority after 1946 (in congress), they blocked many of his reforms. He had fewer contacts and was less able to network and charm.
- Dwight Eisenhower 1953-61 (republican);
- Personality;** deliberately cultivated optimistic, friendly manner.
- Media;** saw working with the media as important; but often minimised the problem (e.g. USSR being first into space).
- Public;** good public manner; accessible, used clear imagery in his speeches e.g. domino theory.
- Organisational Ability;** exceptional organisation; set up regular briefings and long-term planning sessions. He had everyone concerned in to debate a decision.
- Congress etc.;** worked well with congress, good at political bargaining and persuasion.
- John Kennedy 1961-63 (democrat);
- Personality;** from a political family, understood the importance of charm; worked hard on speech-making style and self-presentation.
- Media;** saw working with the media as important (learned names, had personal chats); used the television well.
- Public;** good public manner, accessible, attractive.
- Organisational ability;** poor, advisors competed for attention. Robert Kennedy and Theodore Sorensen did much of the work and reported, abandoned Eisenhower's regular meetings for meetings when needed. He didn't always consult the right people e.g. Bay of Pigs. Less long-term planning.
- Congress etc.;** worked very well with congress, good at political bargaining and persuasion, family connections were a big help.
- Lyndon Johnson 1963-69 (democrat);
- Personality;** had been in politics a while, understood the importance of winning people over, could change his style and opinions to get what he wanted.
- Media;** not a natural with the media, but was careful to keep them informed.
- Public;** patchy, could give good speeches but could also give stiff, awkward ones. He as better with smaller groups.
- Organisational ability;** Kennedy's organisation did not suit him, but he kept it. His own organisation was good.
- Congress etc.;** worked very well with congress, had a political background, really understood how to use connections and persuade. He was good at creative thinking to make things happen e.g. when there was an issue with school funding due to funding religious schools, he had the funding go to the children.
- Richard Nixon 1969-74 (republican);
- Personality;** clever, capable; but he was suspicious and hated people disagreeing with him. He could also make spur-of-the-moment decisions then backtrack.
- Media;** distrusted the media; was very bad at managing it (Watergate).
- Public;** Not good with people. He worked at it but he often seemed awkward and insincere.
- Organisational ability;** reinstated the system of regular meetings and briefings with the White House staff, but he was not good at taking advice.
- Congress etc.;** awkward with congress due to his suspicious nature; did find it easy to manage congress but found it hard to make personal connections and persuade.

First Red Scare 1919-20:

- Caused by Russias fall of Tsardom and rise of Communism. This caused a domino effect in the proletariats (workers) against bourgeoisie (capitalist masters) This resulted in a fear of Communism in USA, particularly when their workers began to strike in large numbers.
- During the First World War the workers in the USA did not go on strike over working conditions however when the war ended and the conditions still had not improved the workers began to strike, at this point the Communist Party of America (CPUSA) was formed and Communist Labour Party of America (CLP.) Anarchists, people against the government, handed out pamphlets urging for a revolution.
- This was important as it was the origins of Communism in America where previously America was strictly Liberal and everyone earning for themselves.
- It seemed possible that America could become communist.
- 3,600 strikes, 1 in 4 workers on strike, 21st January 1919: 35,000 shipyard workers went on strike this escalated in February to a general strike of 60,000.
- 'Red Hunting' began to break out as people started to accuse each other of being Communist. This was so extreme that some businesses sacked employees who they suspected of having left wing views.
- In some parts of the country this turned to violence, for instance the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) who targeted all groups that were considered 'Un-American.' Anti-Communism never went away even though the media and the government began to react to communism in a more balanced way.
- Attorney General Palmer predicated a 'Red Revolution' on the 1st of May 1920 but this failed to happen. What this shows is that Communism was so popular that even the government believed there would be a national revolution in the USA.
- The First Red Scare had the biggest impact on the political landscape of 1917 to 1980 as it was the first sign of Communism and helped shape political parties such as the CPUSA and CLP, not only this but also trade unions which were essential in improving workers rights. However, this caused some negative aspects such as the opposition group KKK and tension between the civilians of America who were hostile towards those considered Communist. Anti-Communism never went away and consequently caused the future red scares.

Impact of Wars on Presidency 1939-75:

- WW1;
- The first world war was very damaging to Wilson and influenced the rise of republicanism.
- It was during this time when anti-communist views arose.
- It led to many economic problems.
- WW2
- Led to US involvement abroad.
- Nuclear bombs had been developed for use (used on Japan) and this created tension.
- Influenced the Cold War.
- It became important for the US to become the leading superpower, and lead the fight against communism.
- The economy recovered during the war.
- Cold War;
- There were many key events during the Cold War.
- Formation of new political alliances/ groups e.g. NATO.
- There was a large impact on civil liberties during this time.
- People were taught to hate communism.
- New technology was forming i.e. the arms race, space race.
- There was a large use of propaganda in the media.
- The economy grew.
- Korean War;
- It was a UN operation, but a majority of the troops were from the US.
- Presidency shifted from domestic policies to international.
- Truman was criticised for the war which led to a rise in republicanism.
- There was a large amount of spending.
- Vietnam;
- Impacted all aspects of US life.
- Presidents became unpopular and were blamed for wrongful involvement in Vietnam.
- In 1967, 75% of the population opposed the war.
- It was the first war that he US had lost which was seen as un-American and lost a lot of faith.
- First televised war.
- Extremely expensive war.
- \$168 billion dollars went into the war.
- There was a low employment rate. It suggested that maybe communism was stronger.

Did life improve for black Americans after 1865:

- Segregation
- Many southern governments passed a series of laws that set up a system of segregation. Jim Crow Laws- laws that segregated all aspects of life e.g. black and white people were to live separately. There were different buses, theatres, hospitals, schools, benches and toilets. Black teachers were paid less.

- Violence was used to enforce the system. 2000 people were lynched in the last 2 decades of the 19th century → they were advertised in news papers and were seen as a normality. Black people were free from slavery however they were still considered inferior and had different rights.

- The racism and segregation reached the top levels of government; president Wilson had no issue with segregation and introduced it in government offices in 1913.

- 1919- 25 anti-black race riots in which hundreds were killed. Worst was the ‘Red Summer’ riots in Chicago.

- Legal
- 1870- black Americans were given; equal civil rights, right to vote, right to sit in juries and become judges, the right to get married and have children without fear. However, racial hatred still remained. Many state governments still chose to persecute black people.

- Freedman’s Bureau
- The Freedman’s Bureau was set up in order to tackle the problems freed slaves may face.

- 4000 free schools which educated 250,000 black students. By 1870, 21% of black people in the South could read. In 1877, many black schools were forced to shut down due to white racists; some schools were burned and students got beaten up.

- Share cropping
- Introduced by Southern landowners because they no longer had slaves to work. Free black people could work on the farms for a share of the crops. Many black share croppers ended up working for their old masters but as free men.

- The Ku Klux Klan
- Terrorist group set up by a secret society. They aimed to ensure that white people controlled society by terrifying black people and ethnic minorities . They used brutal violence, people were beaten, lynched, burned, drowned and shot.
- It was banned in 1872 but continued as it was still popular and judges and policemen were often members . They wore white robes and hoods. By 1925 they had 3-8 million members. This led to children being brought up as white supremacists.

- Booker. T. Washington
- Booker was a famous black American who advocated for accepting segregation. He had a significant following, especially from better off black people. He also had white support; they felt he saw how many Southern Whites feared black people gaining equality.

- Plessy vs Ferguson
- The court had ruled that despite the 14th amendment, segregation was possible if provision was ‘separate but equal’. It was used to support many other cases on segregation.

- When the great depression hit the government focused solely on correcting that and civil rights issues slid even further out of sight.

The impact of migration 1917-1980:

- The Great Migration (1917-32)
- The great migration was a mass movement of about 5 million southern blacks to the north and west. During the initial wave, the majority of migrants moved to northern cities e.g. Chicago and New York.
- The economic motivations for the migration were combination of the desire to escape the oppressive south and the promise of greater prosperity in the north. The northern demand for workers was due to loss of 5 million men who left to serve in the armed forces as well as the restriction on foreign immigration.

- Impact of the migration :
- The population of these cities rose sharply e.g. in New York in 1910, the population was 91,709 but in 1920 it was 152,467.
- Once it became clear, as it did in Chicago in 1919, that the black vote could keep the mayor in power, black people were listened to more and a powerful business-orientated black elite grew that had interest in segregation.

- In cities like New York, where the black population was more evenly distributed, black people did not gain political power and influence.
- Migrants dislodged white workers, especially those who were members of unions and pushing for better conditions. This enabled businesses to put pressure won white workers to leave unions or lose their jobs.

- Impact of the south:
- The labour force shrank and the farming areas of the South, already having economic problems, struggled to get by. The poorest famers suffered the most and most of them were black.
- Southerners tended to assume that those black Americans who remained in the South, accepted the Jim Crow laws.

The Impact of WW2:

- Black Americans did not benefit much from the war-induced boom that began in 1939; white workers were given preference.
- In May 1941, Phillip Randolph, threatened a 100,000 strong all black march on Washington unless Roosevelt banned discrimination in the army and defence factories. Roosevelt’s Executive Order 8802, stopped the march.
- While many complaints were made to the Employment Practices Committee, equality was only patchily implemented.

- As the war went on, the military needed more people, so black Americans could push for equality.
- Summer of 1942- 3% of defence workers were black, in 1944 it was 8%.
- Wartime migration to the North was even higher than the migration of the 20s. This led several towns to set up race relations committees to investigate improvements, because strikes and riots were damaging the war effort.
- The Shortage of workers meant that white skilled workers had to allow black people to be trained in these skills. As black and white people worked together, come whites saw that black people could do skilled work, could think, could be friends.
- This affected their reaction to post war civil rights efforts, however at the send of the war a survey showed that white Americans were still racist supporting housing segregation and that jobs should go to whites before blacks.

The Impact of the New Deal:

- During the 1930s, black voters shifted from mainly voting Republican to voting Democrat. Their vote was a significant part of Roosevelt’s landslide.
- Roosevelt did appoint some black advisers, but he needed the support of many people who were against equal rights – so he did little to advance in the terms of civil rights.
- He did issue Executive order 8802, banning racial discrimination in the defence industry, in order to get people more involved with war work.
- Black farm workers were often sacked in their thousands to make way for white workers, especially during the agricultural reforms. The social security measures of the new deal did not apply to farm workers or those who worked in other peoples homes; many of which were black.
- Black officials protested and advised, sometimes they got results, as when they persuaded the National Recovery Administration, which regulated wages and working conditions, to set minimum wage for black and white people at the same rate. However they were more often ignored.
- Some New Deal measures did help Black Americans due to their situations, 1/3 of the low income housing built had black tenants.

- Protesting the New Deal
- In 1931 the NAACP turned down the case of 9 young black men framed for raping two white girls on a train near Scottsboro, Alabama.
- Sometimes, Black Americans received more support from left-wing and communist groups that supported equality.
- Communists in Northern cities championed the cause of all workers and demanded that relief funds should be allocated equally between blacks and whites. The black press followed these campaigns and often applauded them.
- Black church organisations set up support systems for black citizens during the Depression. E.g. in Harlem Father Divine of the Peace Mission Church set up restaurants and sops that sold food and supplies to black people at a lower cost than white run stores.
- Women’s organisations were set up e.g. The Housewives Leagues that began in Detroit and spread across the country.
- Another depression hit the US in 1937 and it hit the black workers the hardest. The Resettlement Administration was set up by executive order 7027 in May 1935 to resettle low income families in new housing and lend money where needed. It gave black farmers who had lost their homes a fair share of the money available in loans – but it only helped around 3,400 of over 200,000 farmers.

The Impact of Truman :

- Truman supported civil rights. He proposed anti-lynching, anti-segregation and fair employment laws in 1954, but failed to push them through congress.
- In 1946, Truman set up the President’s Committee on Civil Rights, which called for equal opportunities in work and housing, it also urged strong federal support for civil rights.
- Black Americans wanted to keep their wartime gains and push for greater equality, and Truman was on their side but his Cold War focus meant that he concentrated more on fighting communism.
- Earlier collaboration between blacks and communists meant that at least on black organisation, the National Negro Congress ended up on the government list of suspect organisations.
- In 1948, Truman issued executive orders desegregating the military and all work done by businesses for the government.
- Truman was aware of the value of the Black Vote during the election year, however he was shocked by the outbreaks of racist violence against black soldiers, some even still in uniform in which they had fought for their country.

A Quest for Civil Rights 1917-1980

From Legal challenges to Direct Action 1917-55:

- Black American protestors used non-violent protests, picketing, boycotting and sit-ins to draw public attention to discrimination.
- NAACP- legal rights through non-violent means; were set up in 1910
 - Membership 1917- 9000, 1919- 90,000, 1946- 600,000
- Other organisations include the National Urban League – which was often based around the Church.
- Separatist movement formed- separatists said Black Americans were never going to be equal to whites. They should embrace segregation and fight for equal conditions within it e.g. Marcus Garvey.

- Legal Challenges:
- NAACP began by mounting a campaign against lynching, feeling many people didn’t understand the scale of it. They published pamphlets, held demonstrations, marches and petitioned congress.
- NAACP took cases of segregation to court and provided lawyers e.g. Plessy vs Ferguson. An early tactic was to argue that the separate provision was not equal, so it couldn’t be overruled by the 1896 Supreme Court ruling.
- Success of Legal Challenges:
- NAACP won some cases in the 30s and 40s and every case it fought in the 50s. However, the Supreme Court didn’t enforce its rulings and weakened the force of the rulings by not setting time limits for desegregation.
- Some schools in some places were integrated within a year. States in the deep south took their time. 10 years after the ruling, 1 black child in every 100 in the South was in an integrated school.
- White Citizens Council formed in 1954 to fight desegregation and civil rights for Black Americans.
- NAACP decided to target housing after, having helped to set up the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing in 1950. integrated schools were less helpful if people lived in segregated communities.

Direct Action:

- The NAACP and other organisations took on direct action in the 1940s and 50s as membership grew and they saw that legal rulings were not enough.
- March of over 10,000 black people in New York on the 28th June 1917, in response to both lynching and anti –black riots in the year. Protests happened more often and locally. They were influenced by passive and peaceful protesting of Gandhi. They boycotted and picketed shops that would not serve black people.
- The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) held a series of sit-ins to desegregate public facilities e.g. Baltimore 1952.
- Thousands of black people took it into their hands to be the first to move into all white housing blocks, or business districts, often putting themselves in real danger.
- Some rules that were set up by civil rights organisations e.g. demonstrators dressed well, were not loud or abusive and did not fight back when attacked.

Significant NAACP trials:

- 1926- sweet trial
- 1936- Murray vs Maryland- University of Maryland law school is desegregated
- 1938- Gaines v Canada- Supreme Court orders the University of Missouri to take black students.
- 1946- Morgan v Virginia – Supreme Court overturns a Virginia state law segregating buses and trains that moved from one state to another.
- 1948- Shelley v Kraemer- Bans regulations that bar black people from buying houses in an area in any state.

The Freedom rides:

What Happened: on may 4 1961, a group of African- American and white civil rights activists launched the freedom rides, a series of bus trips through the American south to protest segregation to protest segregation in interstate bus terminals.

- African- American freedom riders tried to use "whites only" toilets and lunch counters and vice versa. They encountered tremendous violence from white protestors along the route.
- This drew international attention to their cause and over the next few months several hundred Freedom riders engaged in similar actions.

Success: In September 1961, the interstate commerce commission issued regulations prohibiting segregation in bus and train stations nationwide.

Significance: This put a great deal of pressure on the federal government to do something (the violent actions of those who opposed the freedom riders were appalling). This inspired African Americans in the south; the bravery of the riders in the face of violence was important in persuading more African Americans to get involved.

Freedom Summer 1964:

- The SNCC decided to push for voter registration, sending large numbers of volunteers to the South. They had some volunteers in the South to start with, to encourage black people to register and train them to pass voter registration tests, but it was slow going.
- They sent 45 volunteers, mostly young, white and able to pay their own way (and afford bail), to Mississippi. The SNCC volunteers teamed up with local organisations for the task; most local volunteers were black.
- On 20 June, the first batch of students set out. The next day, three volunteer disappeared, 2 white, 1 black. They were found dead six weeks later. By the end of the summer, there had been three more murders, 35 shootings and countless incidents. About 17,000 black people tried to register to vote that year, only 1,600 were accepted.

Martin Luther King Jr.:

- MLK became the face of the black American Civil rights. Some people saw this as unfair. He worked hard but so did other civil rights leaders. He spoke well, but so did others. Somehow, he got media attention and they didn't and the more attention he got the more prominent he became. He was very media conscious.
- In 1957, he set up the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). King refined the nonviolent protest rules with an eye to creating the best possible impression in the media.
- It must always be clear who is the oppressor, who the oppressed; never give the media the image of a violent black American.
- Getting arrested as publicly as possible, and going peaceably, is good publicity. Before a protest, campaigners were taught how to go limp if the police tried to move them during sit-ins.
- Accept as many white people as you can on your protests. King was happy to meet with white officials, who might help the civil rights cause, even though some criticised this.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott 1955-56:

- Campaigners had challenged the segregation of buses in Montgomery at regular intervals since a boycott in 1900. black passengers had to sit on the back of the bus, standing if their allocated seats were full, even if there were empty seats in the white part of the bus. They had to give up any seat on the bus for a white person.
- On 1 December, Rosa Parks was arrested for sitting in the front of the bus. The NAACP's lawyers took her case to court. The following day the Montgomery Improvement Organisation (MIA) was formed to organise the boycott and MLK was chosen as leader.
- MIA leafleted and held meetings to publicise the arrest and the boycott. It organised taxis and other transport to get people to get work if they couldn't walk. The boycott began on the 5th December over 75% of bus users were black and 90% of them stayed away from buses. The boycott lasted 380 days.
- King was careful to follow the rules of nonviolent protests and to keep the media informed about the events. On December 21, over a year after the boycott started, black people began riding buses again, desegregated buses. However, it took several years for the violence against bus desegregation to calm down.

The Greensboro Sit-in:

- On 1st February 1960, 4 black students went into a Greensboro department store, bought some supplies, went to the segregated lunch counter and waited to be served. They kept waiting until the store shut. The next day, about 30 students joined them; the day after, nearly all seats were occupied by black students.
- White youths came to heckle and the media filled with images of calm, well-dressed black students waiting to be served while a crowd of white youths yelled at them, blew smoke in their faces or poured food over them. The issue wasn't education, housing or schooling. It was freedom and equality for black Americans in their daily lives.

SNCC- the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee:

- SNCC was set up in Raleigh, North Carolina in 1960. it was a racially integrated organisation of young people. The SNCC believed in non-violent direct action and students all took training sessions in how to cope with abuse and violence from whites during demonstrations. The SNCC sent out 'field secretaries' to live and work in dangerous parts of the South; one of the most important tasks was to encourage voting. They knew black people needed the political power of the vote to get government attention.
- The SNCC took King's ideas a step further- it took non-violent protest into places where there was likely to be violence. CORE was also involved in the protest that followed the Greensboro sit-in; the NAACP followed more slowly, uncertain about the shift in emphasis, but won over by its youth councils. Through all of this, MLK threaded his way, speaking, advising and encouraging.

Birmingham, 1963:

- Birmingham, Alabama was nicknamed 'bombingham' for the regularity with which black homes, businesses and churches were firebombed. In 1963, King and the SCLC led a push to desegregate the whole town. King knew it would provoke violence.
- Campaign began on 3rd April and the protestors' leaflets made specific reference to the American dream. One tactic was to get arrested and fill the jails; by the end of the month the jails were full. Children were trained in protest tactics and, when they marched, the racist chief of police 'Bull' Connor, ordered his men to use high-pressure fire hoses and dogs on them. Shocking images spread worldwide. President Kennedy felt ashamed. He sent in federal troops to restore the calm on 12th May.
- Birmingham and its publicity was a significant factor in Kennedy pressing forward on civil rights legislation. After Birmingham, a poll showed that 42% of people thought that race was the USA's most pressing problem.
- The March on Washington (August 1963) showed the scale of civil rights activism. Hundreds and thousands of people marched and King's "I have a dream" speech became instantly famous.

Little Rock, Arkansas:

- Arkansas had a racist governor, Orval Faubus, but there were integrated schools in some towns. Little Rock itself integrated buses in 1956. In 1957, 9 black children were selected to attend a previously all-white Central High School.
- On September 4th, the first day of school, Faubus sent the National Guard to stop these children going in for 'their safety'. 8 of the children went by car, with the NAACP organiser, the 9th, Elizabeth Eckford, didn't get the message and went on her own. The National Guard turned her away and she was surrounded by a screaming mob, many of them women, shouting 'Lynch her'.
- She bravely walked through them to the bus stop to go home. Photographs of the incident shocked the world. King managed to get a meeting with Eisenhower, in which he pointed out the political damage this was doing to Eisenhower and his administration and urged federal intervention.
- Eisenhower sent federal troops to protect the children going to and from school and in the school corridors. Faubus closed the school for a whole of the following year to 'let things cool off' but the school was eventually integrated for good. There were similar events at all schools and colleges in the South and many were killed in the rioting that accompanied integration.

Black Power; Goals:

Integration

- Racial Integration was at the heart of the campaign groups like the NAACP and SCLC. E.g. aimed to force white schools to accept black students. Initially SNCC and CORE fought for the same cause e.g. Greensboro sit-ins and the Freedom Rides.

Separatism

- In the mid 1960s, Carmichael began to stress the importance of Black control over public services. The Nation of Islam went further. During the 1950s, Malcom X argued that white people would never stop trying to enslave black people. Black freedom was only possible in an all black society.

Riots:

- In 1964, there were major riots in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia, each set off by an instance of police brutality, but with long term problems of city life for blacks as their root cause. It is no coincidence that these riots, and the riots in every year afterwards up to 1971, took place in summer, when tempers in overcrowded areas with poor facilities were at their worst.
- Government intervention to calm the violence became seen as acceptable, whereas violence by state police and guardsmen in the early 1960s had been seen by many as excessive. Media coverage of the riots meant that the image of non-violent black people assaulted by white people was replaced by the image of burning cities and a young black man with a petrol bomb.
- It helped hasten civil rights legislation, but bought a white backlash, not helped when riot-torn areas were given federal government aid.

A Quest for Civil Rights 1917-1980

Black Power; Methods:

Collaboration

- The civil rights movement was split over the question of how far black people should collaborate with white people in the fight against racism. NAACP and SCLC welcomed black and white members, arguing that co-operation would make the movement stronger. Radicals, saw dangers in collaborative working. Black people, they argued, should liberate themselves. SNCC and CORE moved away from mixed membership in the late 1960s.
- 1966- SNCC expelled all white members. 1968- white people were officially excluded from CORE.

Peaceful methods or violent protests?

- Late 1950's and early 1960s, MLK and SCLC proved effectiveness of peaceful direct action as a weapon for challenging segregation. In 1966, the shooting of Black University of Mississippi, student James Meredith prompted SNCC to emphasise its commitment to self-defence.
- SNCC became even more radical in 1968 as Carmichael proposed using revolutionary violence against the US government. CORE also moved away from non-violence during the late 1960s.

Using the law

- There were disagreements regarding the effectiveness of legal change. NAACP, NUL and SCLC all fought for legal change i.e. were committed to work with the US legal system. Northern blacks gained little from the legal action. SNCC and CORE began to focus on the economic and political issues faced by black citizens in Northern ghettos.

Black Power; Personalities:

Malcom X

- Grew up in a disadvantaged home, constantly being terrorised by the KKK. In 1952, he joined the Nation of Islam
- He didn't advocate violence except self-defence and didn't believe that white people should be involved in civil rights. However, a few months before his assassinations in 1965, his radicalism began to soften.

Stokely Carmichael

- Leader of the SNCC.
- Lost faith in the tactic of non-violence, promoting "Black Power" and allying himself with the militant Black Panther Party.
- He founded his own organisation- Lowndes County Freedom Organisation 1965.

he Black Panther Party was a revolutionary black nationalist party.

<p>The Northern Crusade, 1966:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After 1964, King began to focus on the North, visiting the badly provided, overcrowded black ghettos. In the summer of 1966, there were 20 major riots in city slums all over the USA. King announced the a 'Northern Crusade' to improve slums by setting up tenant unions, improving working conditions and teaching young people about non-violent protest. • He began in Chicago where over 800,000 black Americans lived, mainly in ghettos (which Mayor Daley denied existed in 1963). The campaign focused on Chicago as it had with Birmingham. • King claimed significant gains but many others felt it had been a failure because it brought no permanent change. In some ways it was more difficult to get political support for social issues than it was for issues of segregation. • King's relationship with the media was turning sour. He accused them of making non-violent protestors make militant statements like Carmichael, or they wouldn't be reported. • In 1967, he took on issues of poverty in general, beginning to plan a Poor People's Campaign with a march and camp in Washington. As part of his support for the rights of the poor workers, he supported a strike of Memphis sanitation workers. King was assassinated while on this campaign on 4th April 1968. 	<p>Limits to success:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Although some black Americans were able to reach for the American dream, hardly any of them were doing it on an equal level to white Americans. Even the wealthiest of black Americans were made to feel unequal by white people in the same social sphere. The poor were getting poorer and more of them were falling below the poverty line than in 1959. there were more black children in schools, but most of these schools were still in the poorest areas and some were still segregated. • Poor living conditions continued and affected every aspect of the lives of black Americans. Black babies were more likely to die, and schoolchildren were less likely to succeed and more likely to drop out. • Gang culture had begun to dominate the ghettos of the big cities, especially LA; crime rates were higher. In 1980. 75% of black high school drop-outs, aged 25-34 had criminal records. • Affirmative action orders made those black Americans who got jobs feel they were not there on merit. The radicalisation of some parts of the movement combined with the rioting in the cities to make people less sympathetic to the rights of Black Americans. • Quite Unreasonably, the death of King led to people turning away from black civil rights, now that the big spokesman was gone and the war in Vietnam had become more of an issue. 	<p>Native Americans:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Background/ status before 1960 • Tribes ran their own affairs but they were controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). • The Indian Removal Act 1983, moved Natives by force from their homelands. BIA wanted to break up the culture and damage tribal cohesion. The Natives were mistrustful of the BIA, as they believed they didn't have their best interests at heart. <input type="checkbox"/> Aims • Wanted Equal rights to white Americans and education opportunities as there were insufficient funds and racism. They wanted more employment opportunities, better housing, to return to their homelands and escape from poverty. <input type="checkbox"/> Methods • Had many marched and walks. Had the slogan of Red Power. <input type="checkbox"/> Key individuals • National Indian Youth Council led by Mel Thom • American Indian Movement – reached membership of 4500 in 1971. <input type="checkbox"/> Key events • 1972- the Indian Education Act – funding for special bilingual and bicultural programs. • 1978- the longest walk; from San Francisco to Washington to protest about forced removal. <input type="checkbox"/> Successes • They gained the right to vote and more funding for the tribes. • They were supported by Nixon and huge amounts of land was turned back by the government. <input type="checkbox"/> Failures • The BIA was not reformed, and Nixon did not renegotiate sacked sites. Overall, there was no solution to the land issues, it was only sorted by a case by case basis. 	<p style="text-align: center;">A Quest for Civil Rights 1917-1980</p> <p><u>Hispanic Americans:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Background/ status before 1960 • During WW2, Hispanic Americans were needed for cheap labour. In 1953, Operation Wetback was put in place in which 3.8 million Mexicans were deported. They were mostly of Mexican, Cuban and Puerto Rican descent. • More than 900,000 Latinos lived in the US. 1/3 of Mexican American families lived below the poverty line. Latinos faced discrimination in education; schools had less qualified teachers, fewer resources and bad facilities. There were also few bilingual teachers. <input type="checkbox"/> Aims • Mainly wanted educational reforms- having Chicano as a subject. • Land; land issues around New Mexico to be sorted. • Workers rights to be improved; often had appalling working and living conditions. And also an end to discrimination and deportation. <input type="checkbox"/> Methods • Student movements and protests; student walkouts in Denver and East LA. As well as student sit-ins. • Fasts and hunger strikes as well as the boycott of grapes. <input type="checkbox"/> Key individuals • the Chicano Movement (main movement) • Cesar Chavez- non-violent methods to improve farm workers conditions. • Rodolfo Gonzales – fought for race issues using radical methods. • Brown Berets- Militant organisation. <input type="checkbox"/> Key events • 1966-Farmers rights march- 500 miles from Delano to Sacramento. • 1967- national boycott of grapes • 1971- Brown Beret march- 100 miles Calexico to Sacramento to fight police brutality. • 1975- Voting rights act extension- provided language assistance at polling stations. <input type="checkbox"/> Successes • Hispanic were 'equal' citizens. The Supreme Court upheld equal provision of education case against a Texan school. • 1974- Equal Opportunity Act led to more bilingual teaching. <input type="checkbox"/> Failures • The levels of change varied from place to place and so did enforcement. • Land issue was not settled.
<p>Impact of civil rights legislation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two major pieces of Civil Rights legislation were passed between 1955-80; the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. • The legal changes came after decades of struggle and protest. After 1955, it became more and more likely that civil rights campaigners would be arrested, beaten up or even killed. Even if placed were forced to desegregate, it wouldn't mean that black Americans were welcome, or safe. • Civil rights campaigners in the Deep South could almost expect to have their homes, offices and churches firebombed. Black children and adults who were integrated in its schools and colleges had to face hatred and violence and didn't get anything like a normal education. • In 1965, NAACP took the town of Charlotte to court because its schools reorganisation by area meant that, as black people lived in the poorest areas, there was informal segregation. The NAACP pushed for busing black children to schools in other areas, to integrate them. The court turned this down but, in 1971, the Supreme Court upheld the idea of busing. 	<p>Achievements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legally in 1980, black Americans were full citizens. In 1980, there was more pressure for the federal government to make equality actually happen. E.g. since 1961, there have been a series of presidential executive orders to introduce 'affirmative action', giving preference to black interviewees for jobs in government and in businesses. • A black American upper and middle class had developed to a significant extent. Black upper classes tended to be based in cities like New York and Washington and to model themselves on white society. They were proof of the equality of blacks and whites- but many radicals felt that they had sold out by trying to fit into white society. Black professionals had significant access to work in the higher levels of business, education, government, the law etc. there were a significant number of black politicians at local, state and federal level. • Black people featured more on television and in the cinema; there were more of their books in the bookshops and their magazines in paper shops. Homeownership among blacks increased and the number of black graduates went up. • More black Americans voted. 1966- 58.2% of black Americans were registered to vote; in 1980 it was 60%. 	<p>Gay Americans:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Background/ status before 1960 • Gay Americans were not part of a visual racial group and were considered to be invisible to society. This led to mass discrimination. <input type="checkbox"/> Aims • Their main aim was equality; in jobs, education and didn't want to continue facing discrimination. <input type="checkbox"/> Methods • They encouraged people to come out as gay. • Had peaceful protests and marches. <input type="checkbox"/> Key individuals • Harvey Milk- helped stop proposition 6 (would have banned gays and lesbians from working in California's public schools). • Kathy Kozachenko • Anita Bryant- Homophobic spokesperson <input type="checkbox"/> Key events • April 1966- bar refused to serve gays, NY city commission ruled that gays must be served. • June 1969- Stonewall- Gay rights movement began – GLF (Gay Liberation Front). • 1977- Harvey Milk elected in San Francisco. • 1978- Harvey Milk assassinated. <input type="checkbox"/> Successes • 1974- Kozachenko elected- 1st openly gay person elected into office. Michigan City • Congress gave \$2 billion to Act-Up to help AIDS research. <input type="checkbox"/> Failures • Federal support slowed down. • KKK and other hate groups used religion to justify actions. 	

Society and Culture in change 1917-80

Women: Impact of WW1:

- Positives
 - Women had a chance to work
- Negatives
 - Once the war ended, most women were fired to give jobs back to the returning soldiers.
 - Women were being paid a lot less than men.

Women: 1920s:

- Positives
 - 18th August 1920- 19th amendment passed giving women the right to vote under the same rules as men.
 - Office jobs increased for women e.g. working in a typing pool.
 - Women's Bureau of labour set up in 1920 to improve working conditions and wider improvement for women. Women in work went up from 8.3% (of the population) to 9.8%.
 - Flappers- had more independence and sexual freedoms.
- Negatives
 - Poorer women did not vote, and if they did they would follow what their husbands told them. Very few black women voted- it was mainly educated white women who felt the change.
 - There was still the idea that women should not take work away from men. Women were obliged to work at very low wages. Some jobs like teaching were banned to married women.
- Other details
 - Flappers shifted public perceptions of women- however it was only a small population and many fell into the traditional role when they married.
 - Economic boom at the time which meant people in general were better off.

Women: 1930s:

- Positives
 - Eleanor Roosevelt wanted to provide similar organisations for jobless young women in forestry- 1933 Camp Tera was set up. By 1936 there were 36 camps taking in around 5000 women.
 - Fannie Peck, a black women, set up a series of Housewives Leagues in Detroit 1930, these organisations encouraged women to shop in black run stores and to organise local help for those in need. This spread to other towns and helped local people on a small scale.
- Negatives
 - After the depression there was high unemployment, falling wages and rising prices for everyone.
 - Restricting hours for women often led to them breaking the rules and getting fired. There was also a lot of competition for badly paid and difficult jobs.
 - Black women were edged out of jobs by desperate whites.
 - For every \$1 a white man earned, a white woman earned 61 cents and a black women earned 23 cents.
- Other details
 - Many women worked in meat packing plants.
 - New Deal's Aid For Families with Dependent Children provided benefits for the poorest families- men came first in the polices on unemployment and working conditions e.g. the Civilian Conservation Corps 1933-42, found work for young men aged 17-23.

Women: 1940s & WW2:

- Positives
 - Women showed that they could do men's work well.
 - 1940- Selective Training and service Act prepared to draft men into the military and train women to fill their places e.g. shipbuilding and aircraft assembly.
 - 1941- Lanham act's childcare provision was extended
 - Percentage of married women working rose from 12 to 23%. Also, the Women's Land Army of America was reformed.
 - The number of black women on nursing courses rose from 1108 in 1939 to 2600 in 1945.
- Negatives
 - Only 16% of married women worked in 1940 due to childcare provisions.
 - Some employers refused black women saying they were bound to have and spread sexual diseases.
 - in a Detroit rubber plant, white women workers refused to share toilets with black workers.
- Other details
 - Poster of Rosie the Riveter 'we can do it'.

Women: 1950s & Post War:

- Positives
 - Female employment rose again for married women between 45-54 years old.
 - Restrictions on jobs like teaching were never reinstated.
 - Black and non-white women who were trained, continued to work after the war, mainly in domestic and farming work.
- Negatives
 - After the war many women were not re-employed. Most returning soldiers wanted their jobs back.
 - Married women left work because child care provisions were stopped in 1946.
 - Women who continued working were still paid considerably lower than men.
 - In the suburbs, if women worked they were often excluded from friendship groups.
- Other details
 - In 1936, 82% of people thought that women shouldn't work, in 1938 it was 78% and in 1942 it was only 13%.
 - Suburban lifestyle was the "American dream for American women". An advert showed a husband returning home to a candle lit dinner, with the slogan: A tempting table for His Highness.

Women: 1970-80:

- Positives
 - In 1970, almost every feminist group (including NOW) took part in a strike on 26th August. They all presented the same three demands; equal opportunity in jobs and education, free childcare, free abortion on demand.
 - NOW's membership rose from 1000 in 1967 to 40,000 in 1974.
 - The movement brought the issue of women's equality into the public eye.
 - From 1970, few states allowed abortion on very tight circumstances.
 - In 1972, the Supreme Court ruled on the *Einstadt v Baird* case, allowing access to contraception to unmarried as well as married women.
 - Abortion was federally legalised on 22nd January 1973.
- Negatives
 - Attracted a lot of opposition, especially among men.
 - Conservatives of all kinds rejected the movement, stressing the "un-Americanness" of the demands and the abandonment of traditional roles.
 - There were splits with the movements as not all women agreed on all policies e.g. not all women agreed on using contraception or abortion.
 - 15 states refused to ratify the Equal Rights Act by 1982, preventing it from ever forming.
 - USA did not sign up to the 1979 United Nations policy of introducing non-discrimination of women in all aspects of life.
 - Employers were much more practised at finding 'acceptable' reasons for discriminating against women.
 - Many working-class and non-white women felt excluded.

Women: 1960s:

- Positives
 - In 1961, President Kennedy set up a Commission of Enquiry on the Status of Women; 1963 it published its results praising the Equal Pay Act (which was passed through congress in 1963) and the wider job opportunities for women in federal government.
 - 1963 Betty Friedan, published a book called *The Feminine Mystique*, which looked at the constraints of Suburban life and the problems white, educated, married women faced.
 - National Organisation of Women (NOW) was set up in 1966 (in response to the book spurring the organising of women) – Freidan was one of the founding members.
 - NOW aimed to work within the political system to get equality and better enforcement of the Civil Rights Act and the Equal Pay Act.
 - 1967- President Johnson extended his executive order calling for action to improve employment conditions for those discriminated against on the grounds of race and colour to cover sexual discrimination as well.
- Negatives
 - The Commission found the Equal Pay Act was greatly needed and needed enforcing as women in the work place were subject to discrimination against training, work and promotion.
 - Minimum wage did not apply to the roles that women worked in.
 - Non-white women were in an even worse position.
 - Many women tried to bring up women's equality in racial civil rights groups, however this was mainly male dominated and they were often sexist themselves.
- Other details
 - National magazine started in March 1968, *Voice of the Women's Liberation Movement*, was run by volunteers and was selling 2000 copies by 1969 (but collapsed soon after because of the workload).

<p><u>Immigration: WW1 :</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There was a traditional view of America being very open/ welcoming of immigrants, represented by the statue of Liberty. The USA operated on an ‘open door’ policy of immigration in which there were no restrictions. However, there were acts implemented that restricted disabled people and Chinese people. • The number of people entering the USA was increasing; at 1907 it was 1.2 million from 650,000 in 1882. Earlier immigration were Northern Europe; later immigrants came from southern and eastern Europe; 13% in 1882 → 81% 1907. Most immigrants went to large cities. ❑ The Dillingham Commission • The commission investigated the impact of immigration on the USA and was published 1911. They felt that immigration was a threat to US society and culture. • There were distinctions between old immigrants from northern Europe (established immigrants; accepted into society) and southern and eastern European immigrants (seen as racially inferior). The Emergency Quota Act 1921 → set limits on the number of immigrants. ❑ Why was legislation implemented • There was anxiety about the number of immigrants. The Immigration Restriction League encouraged people against newer immigrants. It included politicians, senates and house of representatives. There were ‘Undesirable’ Immigrants. • There was post-war isolationism in which the government wanted less contact with the rest of the world. Red scares, unemployment and the Dillingham Commission were all reasons for legislation. 	<p><u>Immigration: Urban life:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The USA was often called a ‘melting pot’ because of the various immigrant nationalities living there. Most urban areas broke down into informally segregated sections. These areas had shops and churches following the religious practices of the ‘old country’; as well as local newspapers reporting local news and news from ‘back home’. • However, as the years passed, foreign-born immigrants had American children. And the ‘old country’ and traditions became less important. In 1914 there were 1,300 foreign language newspapers published in the USA, by the 1960s there were 75. • The percentage of foreign-born immigrants entering the USA was controlled by legislation but their children were also increasing the population and were not listed as foreign born. Many immigrant parents encouraged their children to get an education, work hard and improve their lives. • He newest arrivals tended to end up at the bottom of the heap with the worst jobs, lowest wages and worst living conditions. By 1920 there were examples of Irish politicians, lawyers and policemen in Boston and Italian ones in New York. Contracts were important in getting on. • Immigrants could influence politics, local, state and federal. During the depression, immigrants voted for Roosevelt. Republican laissez-faire politics had his urban areas the hardest which allowed businesses to exploit workers, who were often immigrants. 	<p><u>Immigration: WW2 :</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Americans of Italian (14.2%), German (10.8%) and Japanese (<1%) nationality were classed as enemy aliens. The Japanese were treated most harshly, due to the bombing on Pearl Harbour. About 120,000 Japanese were shut up in internment camps. Fewer than 1% of Italian and German immigrants were interned. • As the war progressed, attitudes towards the enemy immigrants worsened. Business owners who had Italian or German sounding names (even if they were not) had their windows broken and customers decided to shop elsewhere. • Some second generation Japanese men and women were allowed to join the army and served in segregated military units. Young men from other immigrant groups also joined the war effort. Admiral Chester Nimitz (German) commanded the US pacific fleet. 	<p><u>Immigration: Government Policy:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ Removing the quota system • 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act still used quotas. Many people believed the quota system outlined its usefulness and prevented refugees. • During the Cold War, the USA wanted to help refugees from communism. From 1953 onwards, a variety of refugee acts allowed a set number of refugees into the USA outside the quota. The USA opposed Castro (Cuba), and over the next 3 years, 200,000 Cubans fled to the USA. The Cuban Refugees Program was there to deal with the numbers. • Many politicians opposed the open door policy they once had, but many also thought the quota system ought to be replaced by a more sensible system. After 1960s, European immigration to the USA slowed and many people became more accepting of European immigration. • Kennedy wrote a book called the ‘Nation of Immigrants’ outlining how- from the first Europeans to land in 1607, the USA had been a nation of waves after waves of immigrants. When he was assassinated, we was working on a new immigration law which would abolish quotas and had published another book alongside it. President Johnson bought the bill to congress after Kennedy’s death and it became law in 1965. 	<h2>Society and Culture in change 1917-80</h2> <p><u>Illegal Immigrants:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Because they entered the country illegally, there is no exact record of the numbers after the 1976 restrictions. The largest number came from Mexico, averaging over 60,000 a year in the 1970s. Most went to California and Texas, working in agriculture or in factories. In the 1970s, there were about 645,000 jobs created in LA; about 1/3 of them were taken up by Mexicans. • There were attempts to stop the illegal immigration by the INS, however the border measures 3,169 km, making it impossible. In 1980, about 1 million illegal aliens were found, arrested and deported. Many were helped out by employers, happy to have cheap labour, which could be exploited no questions asked. • Tracking illegal immigrants was costly. It became a public issue and made the public feel that illegal immigrants were a significant problem. • Once in the USA immigrants were exposed to exploitation and couldn’t get help, healthcare, education for their children and unemployment benefit. Illegal immigrants also came from other places like the Philippines.
<p><u>Immigration:1920s:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Each new wave of immigration brought more hostility, especially in urban areas. There was a lot of new competition and those who were foreign born or had foreign parents rose from 74% in 1910 to 85% in 1920. • The quota did not apply to South America. Immigration from South America, especially Mexico, increased rapidly in the late 1920s to fill the need for cheap labour. The status of illegal immigrants meant that employers could exploit their fears of deportation, paying them very little and giving them poor living and working conditions. 	<p><u>Asian Immigrants:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigrants from Asia, applied in large numbers to enter the USA. In the first 5 years after the 1965 Act, immigration from Asia (mainly Cambodia and Vietnam) quadrupled- the Vietnam war was responsible for this. • After the fall of Saigon in 1975, the USA took in 130,000 Vietnamese refugees. As communism spread, the USA passed additional refugee legislation to allow more refugees. By 1985 there were around 700,000 of them. 	<p><u>Immigrants from Central and South America:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Immigration laws didn’t apply to people from the Western Hemisphere. Although, in 1954, the Immigration and Neutralisation Service (INS) began to try and control immigration by deporting illegal immigrants from southern and western states – Operation Wetback. • The number of Hispanic immigrants and their families in the country (83% of Hispanic Population in cities), became a matter of serious concern for the government. The introduction of the 20,000 limit of entry to the US in 1976, aimed to slow down immigration. However, it didn’t stop people from coming, they could cross the boarder secretly and illegally. <p><u>Shifting attitudes towards Immigrants:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attitudes tended to shift with government policy. people also had different attitudes depending of different parts of the country and immigration levels in different states. However, as many people became conservative, they began to think, not in terms of immigrants enriching American culture but destroying it. • When the economy was doing badly, people usually turned on blacks and immigrants as they were seen as a drain in the economy. By 1980, peoples attitudes had shifted towards a desire to control immigration both legal and illegal as a form of isolationism. • In Cuba, the government gave permission for people to leave from the port of Mariel and sent boatfuls of refugees to nearby Florida. The boats were packed full be government officials. 14 died when the boat capsized. For many Americans this was the last straw. The Carter administration handled things badly. Officials could not keep refugees out; they kept those who they rounded up in awful conditions in refugee camps and prisons. 		

Popular Music:

- 1920s
- In the 1920s (or also referred to as the Roaring twenties) and 1930s people still listened to old music and songs that had been popular before the war, however the new music that swept through the cities was jazz, which came from the Southern States of the USA, from blues and ragtime (genre of music that hit its peak between 1895 and 1918).
- Jazz dances such as the Charleston and Black Bottom became to emerge and were very sexually suggestive and very common among youths who were tired of the parents' old dances e.g. waltz. Young people had a lot more freedom and smoking and drinking became more popular. Famous black musicians included Louis Armstrong and Bessie Smith.
- Business was booming at the time and many Americans were developing tastes for a new, faster lifestyle. Jazz had been prohibited by a number of cities including Detroit and New York; this led to performances occurring in speakeasies and young people were more likely to rebel.
- The first recordings of country music were also made in the 1920s in a style that was then called "hillbilly music".

- 1930s
- The great depression led to the rise of jazz.
- In 1935, swing music became popular with the public and quickly replaced jazz as the most popular type of music (although there was some resistance to it at first).

- By the end of the 1930s, swing came to be accompanied by a popular dance called the swing dance, which was very popular across the United States, among both white and black audiences, especially youth.
- Like the rest of the culture, the entertainment sector was hit hard by the Great Depression which interrupted life at all levels of culture and in every way imaginable. Massive unemployment meant that few had the financial resources for even the simple joy of buying a jazz record or enjoying an evening at a jazz club. In fact, in 1932, the level of record sales hit a low that had never been seen since that genre of the music business got its start.
- However music during this time showed hope to people and called for better times.

- 1940s
- Much of 1940's music was built around jazz. However, a lot of music reflected the pain felt during the war. The 1940's was a time of many break through artists like Bing Crosby, one of the best selling male pop artists, as well as Frank Sinatra.
- After the rise of Swing, during the 1940s jazz became a lot more popular again, including the artists Billy Holiday and Louis Armstrong,
- Country music also became a lot more popular and were mostly used in cowboy/ western movies. During the 1940's, the first eclectic guitar was designed and built by Les Paul.

Radio:

- In the 1920s and 30s, radio ownership grew rapidly. The first commercial radio station aired in 1920, on election day, and broadcasted the results before the newspapers. By 1924 there were 600 commercial stations.
- At first radio stations were independent, but however to earn money they began advertising; first one in 1922 in New York. So many radio stations started up that the airwaves became jammed and the federal government had to pass the Radio Act of 1927 to set up federal licensing.
- Politicians and religious leaders used Radio to get their messages across e.g. Roosevelt and the Fireside Talks.
- Mass production made radios cheaper and hire purchase made them more affordable. People felt part of a mass culture all listening together.
- Radio also allowed for the popular music to reach all parts of the country as it was free compared to records that became a luxury during the great depression and people were unable to afford it.

Influence of Movie Stars:

- Movie stars were tied to particular studios and had to make a lot of movies. Stars were expected to behave according to their screen images e.g. handsome bachelors were not to marrying.
- Not all stars obeyed the studio policy (drinking, drugs & casual sex) → this would be reported in gossip magazines.
- Big stars earned a fortune e.g. Shirley Temple -\$5,000 a week. Ordinary actors - \$2,000 a year
- If anyone in the industry was backlisted (during the red scares and WW2) it would be impossible for them to work anywhere else.

Regulating the Movies:

- Not everyone saw the impact of stars as positive. Many complaints were made about the movie industry in 1920. Female stars were too scantily dressed and they drank and smoked all the time. Gangsters made crime look attractive.
- Scandals with the stars meant that movies studios has to act before the government; which wasn't liked.
- Motion Picture Production Code – 1929-30. 1930-66 All movies conformed to the code to improve society by morally improving films. Studios began to build "morality clauses" into contracts.

Film and Cinema:

- 1920s:
 - Movies were the biggest entertainment source in the USA. Only silent movies existed until 1920; there were pianists/ orchestras playing during films. There was a decline in live entertainment in the 1920s.
 - In 1927 the first ever talking film was released called 'The Jazz Singer' in New York. It shook the entertainment business. It is now seemed to controversial as the director used blackface. There was little dialogue however; only 350 words were spoken. The audience were amazed by the film. Many companies were reluctant to switch to talkies because of the cost.
- 1930s:
 - Very high employment rates in the peak of the depression (25% in 1933).
 - 1930= 23,000 movie theatres
 - 1935 = 15,000 movie theatres
 - However, 60-70 million Americans went to the cinema a week.
- 1940s:
 - There was a significant impact on film during WW2. The messages portrayed through films during this time had a profound impact on peoples opinions on the war; main themes included the war time struggle, heroic figures, shortages in consumer goods. Almost ½ of the population attended movies each week. Movies provided people with an understanding of war as well as an escape of the harsh reality.

Social impact of TV from the 1950s:

- TV was sponsored just like radios. It's advertisements and programmes created a 'nation culture'. The advertisements were targeted for the growing number of children (due to the post-war baby boom) and began to sell their goods using special offers e.g. Lone Ranger.
- Political parties quickly saw that they could use television too and bought air time for their politicians. Eisenhower used it in his 1952 campaign and Kennedy consciously exploited it as well. This meant that the public could see their politicians in action. It worked well for Kennedy as he was good looking and a persuasive speaker. It didn't work as well for Nixon who was uncomfortable on air and showed it.
- Kennedy- Nixon debate 1960
- In 1960, CBS aired a series of debates between the two candidates, Nixon and Kennedy. There were a total of 4 debates and the first one reached a record of 70 million people. Kennedy won the first debate and some say it was because of the television debate that he won the election.

Expansion of TV:

- Television developed very rapidly. Recording techniques improved, as did sets and special effects, so programmes seemed more 'real'. Broadcasts aired for longer each day. there were more channels as well, which meant more shows. Also many shows were pre-recorded.
- In 1953, 80% of TV was recorded live, by 1960 it was only 36%. By 1970, news and sports were almost the only programmes recorded live.
- Standards on commercial television were criticised in the late 1960s, especially by conservative and religious groups, who dislikes the way many series glorified violence and crime. There was also criticism of programmes being manipulated. Quiz shows were accused of telling the contestants the answers beforehand. The public wanted programmes to be straight with them.

Non commercial TV:

- The 1967 Public broadcasting Act set up the government funded Corporation for Broadcasting (CPB), which set up the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) in 1969. PBS was a national station, made up of groups of local stations, mostly not run for profit but with education as their main aim. Educational TV took off with PBS, as well as educational programmes on the main channels. The biggest success in children's TV was the PBS programme Sesame Street (1969- present, which all through the 70s taught children about racial tolerance and sharing as well as counting and reading. In 1981, on the conservative backswing, government funding was withdrawn.
- More serious documentaries began to be made in the 1960s. This meant that people were more informed about major issues. The danger was that they would accept the slant given to the issues by the programme makers.
- In the 1970s, real life began to seep into entertainment e.g. M*A*S*H was a drama series set in the Korean war, which actually considered issues of the war in Vietnam. This was deliberate and made it a discussion point for people. It also contributed to the popular feelings against the war. Some series started to reflect black family life. They were mainly comedy shows, which were just as unrepresentative as white comedy shows. But it showed black families in their homes and it was better than presenting black people as servants or criminals. Some white people had little or no contact with black people, and they came to see black people as normal Americans not exotic, foreign and dangerous.
- Political satire became popular. Rowan and Martin's laugh-in (1968-73) was one of the first sketch shows openly to make fun of and criticised politicians, making fun of politicians in this way reached more people that criticism in serious newspaper, radio and TV debate. This meant that people began to look at politicians in a different light. They were less respectful and on the look out for mistakes. Books, films and TV programmes began to focus on government conspiracies and cover ups in the 1960s & 70s e.g. Assassination of Kennedy, alien landings etc.

Broadcast news: Watergate 1973:

- Watergate scandal, interlocking political scandals of the administration of U.S. Pres. Richard M. Nixon that were revealed following the arrest of five burglars at Democratic National Committee (DNC) headquarters in the Watergate office-apartment-hotel complex in Washington, D.C., on June 17, 1972. On August 9, 1974, facing likely impeachment for his role in covering up the scandal, Nixon became the only U.S. president to resign.
- The coverage of the hearings in the Senate was vital in the change of public opinion about presidency and government. Public television played all 250 hours of the hearings. It was important as it showed government officials testifying that Nixon knew about the robbery and that there were tapes to prove it.

Broadcast news: WW2:

- During ww2. correspondents spent a good deal of time with the troops, close to and sometimes on the front lines.
- Vivid radio broadcasts brought the war in to the Nation's living rooms as families regularly gathered around to hear.
- Motion picture newsreels included dramatic footage of combat, uplifting stories about the war effort and segments featuring politicians and generals with the latest development and strategies.
- Propaganda was the main part in media during ww2.,The war was romanticised as defeats and major losses were censored. This was done to keep the public fighting and working hard.
- The main purpose of media during WW2 was for propaganda, which was used to recruit men into the army and raising money and war effort. It was vital in controlling the populations opinion and boosting morale of the people. The media distinguished who were the "bad guys" and who were the "good guys".
- At this time the media portrayed the US government in a good light as the main aim was to get encouragement and raise morale of the people. Although the public was slightly more aware of the awful life of war, the US was still portrayed as heroes and therefore the media was quite positive of the government.

Broadcast news: The Red Scare:

- The red scare campaigns of the Western world were presented on every applicable media source. Print with emotive images helped to redefine national identity. Media distributed extreme propagandist slogans "better dead than red". Media of the red scare extended to every aspect of western life e.g. radio, film and television. "Red nightmare" - it was taught in schools-media manipulation to create mass fear and paranoia.

Broadcast news: Carter Brothers IRS Scandal and Iranian Hostage Crisis 1979:

- The media relationship between Jimmy Carter influenced public opinion. In this early presidency he had a lot of support, however the media and the public realised he was badly managing congress and policy making. His brother had various scandals and reflected badly on Carter.
- Carter was represented as weak by the media many times; he was seen collapsing in a marathon and portrayed him as mentally and physically ill and lost he re-election. Another time, Carter went fishing and was "attacked" by a rabbit. It captured a symbol of weakness.
- In November, 52 US diplomats and citizens were held hostage in the US embassy in Tehran. Carter was unable to deal with the situation and this meant that he had no chance of winning the re-election. They were held hostage for 444 days and were released minutes after the newly elected President Reagan took his oath.

Society and Culture in change 1917-80

Broadcast News: WW1:

- Official newsreels and films not the only forms of cinematic propaganda. Production companies in the various fighter nations made their own efforts to exploit the surge in patriotism and war-mindedness that accompanied entry into the war with a number of productions.
- The Kaiser, the Beast of Berlin was a 1918 American silent war propaganda melodrama film written by, directed by, and starring Rupert Julian. The Germanophobic film contains a propagandist view of the First World War, showing the political greed of the German Kaiser Wilhelm II, the resistance of some of his own soldiers,.
- There were mixed opinions about the US government at the time as many people wanted the US to remain neutral and not join the war and when congress declared it, many people were angry. However the media was used by the government to encourage people to volunteer for the army or buy war bonds. Therefore, as a lot of propaganda was being used at the time, many opinions of the government were kept positive (due the amount of control the government had on the media).

Broadcast News: The New Deal:

- Depression hit America hard and what gave people hope at this point was president Roosevelts fireside chats on the radio.
- Radio was used at this time to help support American citizens and get the American Dream back. He used the radio to discuss different topics including the New Deal; in his first fireside chat 60 million listened. He did this to inform people of ongoing issues, conflicts and struggles in America, and to help promote measures that Roosevelt wanted passed. It created awareness. He used the radio to get in touch with his audience and get the message across.
- The popularity of radio boomed in the 1930's; 28 million households owned a radio. Fireside chats made Roosevelt and the government look good because they were useful in informing the public and were portrayed positively. This was because he government was making an effort to pull America out of a depression. FDR had a different approach in which the media responded well to.

Broadcast news Vietnam War:

- During the Vietnam War, the government was portrayed very badly by the media. It was the first televised war and although it wasn't the first time that reporters were on the front line, it was the first time that American soldiers were reported in a bad light e.g. the zippo raids and My Lai massacre.
- News anchors were seen as 'teacher' figures and had a large influence on peoples opinions. Walter Cronkite had a large impact on opinions as when he publicly criticised American involvement in Vietnam, many people became against it. The government looked even worse when there was trouble on their own soil i.e. the Kent State University shootings.

Post-War Depression:

- ☐ Farming:
 - During the war, farmers were urged to produce more wheat and were given subsidies to do so. Some took out loans to buy farmland and machinery.
 - During the war wheat farmers made a profit, however after the war, they produced too much and prices fell. Some farmers had to sack workers and some went bankrupt.
 - Farmers who grew cotton did not escape trouble due to the Boll weevil (a beetle that eats young cotton plants). They caused a 34% drop in production by 1921.
- ☐ Industry:
 - There were many strikes in 1919 and 1920. Most failed to get better working conditions and some caused businesses to fail, causing unemployment.
 - Older industries were declining. The coal industry lost out to other fuels, including water power and electricity. In 1900 coal had produced almost 90% of energy supplies in the USA but by 1930 it was down to 60%.
- ☐ Government Reaction:
 - The republican government believed in laissez- faire policies and did not try to stop the depression. However, the isolationist tariffs put on foreign goods led to other countries doing the same causing US exports to fall.
 - Tariffs encouraged Americans to buy US goods, but not always the same goods as had lost exports.
 - The government felt that the depression would soon right itself. The economy did adjust and this had a significant impact on government thinking in 1929.

Boom:

- ☐ Mass production:
 - The mass production technique of breaking manufacturing down into a series of steps and making one worker responsible for one step was developed before the war.
 - Mass-produced goods were produced more quickly and cheaply so that they could be sold at a lower prices and this made them more affordable.
 - In 1917, there were 4,727,468 passenger cars registered in the USA and by 1929 it was 23,060,421. E.G. Ford; Ford introduced the production line. He also brought the prices down of his cars (\$260) by keeping the cars black as well as banning trade unions and keeping his workers more under control.
 - However the boom was driven by consumer spending . Once everyone had a good, demand dropped.
- ☐ New Management techniques:
 - Ford among others began to attempt making production as efficient as possible. This meant that each task was broken down into a series of movements and the workers stayed at the factory; so scientific management advised good wages and good working conditions.
- ☐ Federal Policies:
 - The government generally avoided intervention however, they kept some wartime subsidies to farmers and cut taxes for businesses to encourage “buying American”.
- ☐ Hire Purchase and Loans:
 - In the 1920s, companies pushed hire purchase as a practical way to buy. Companies like Sears, sent out huge catalogues promising ‘easy payments’.
 - A sense of prosperity rose and more people bought homes and farms on mortgages that banks were willing to lend. Between 1920 and 29 consumer debt rose from \$3.3 billion to \$7.6 billion.
- ☐ Changing Industry:
 - New industries were more efficient and used a higher level of mechanisation. Older industries, like textile manufacture, became less important than newer industries that produced consumer goods. Many of the newer industries ran on electricity.
 - In 1917, there were 7,889,000 homes and businesses wired for electricity; in 1930 there were 24,555,732.

The Stock Market :

- As share prices began to rise so rapidly, the media began to point out that it was possible to make money if you bought a few shares and sold them a short time later. Suddenly ordinary people began to buy and sell shares. People bought shares, they went up in price and then people sold them, and made a profit. The demand for shares ensured that prices rose because people wanted to get in on this ‘sure thing’.
- People began to buy on the margin (buying shares with borrowed money to sell quickly at a profit). They felt comfortable with borrowing money because they expected to make a profit selling shares, and they would be able to repay their land.
- Banks became affected by the bull market (this is when share prices rise and people expect this to continue), and they began to use customers’ investments to trade in shares.
- ☐ Bust:
 - In 1929, the boom cycle went bust when the Wall Street stock market collapsed. Signs of the end of the boom: Most people who could afford consumer goods had bought them, so demand began to fall. Companies did not cut production enough, so goods piled up in warehouses. By 1927, unemployment was rising; in 1926 unemployment was at 1.8% and in 1927, it was at 3.3%. As it did so, employers cut wages and working hours. The Republican government, still in favour of laissez-faire, did nothing. They argued that the economy would sort out itself like it did in 1919.
 - Unlike the earlier depression, many more people, businesses and banks were in debt and the stock market was dangerously over heated. The Federal Reserve Board’s earlier attempts to control the boom by tightening the money supply which made the depression worse.
 - In September 1929, some investors felt that share prices were dangerously high, sold and kept the profit. Stock prices began to fall as more investors sold. The media began to talk of a crash and too many began to fear losing their money and they rushed to sell.
 - On 29 October, the stock exchange closed. Prices kept falling until 13 November, by the time in which small investors had lost everything. Banks had gambled with their customers’ money and went bankrupt’ about 1/3 of all banks in operation before the crash were bankrupt in 1933.
- ☐ The Great Depression:
 - The wall street crash significantly worsened the depression as businesses and banks went bankrupt, unemployment shot up, unemployment was at 24.9% in 1933. Many people lost their jobs and those who could not keep up payments on mortgages, lost their homes too. As people stopped buying, prices dropped and more businesses closed.
 - The outcome was homelessness and poverty for many people, and at first the government did nothing. When president Hoover tried to push for federal action, the mainly republican congress was unwilling to agree, and although some measures were implemented, it was not enough. Hoover lost the 1932 election to Roosevelt and his New Deal promises.
- ☐ Recovery:
 - Roosevelt’s first action as President was to close all the banks, have FED officials inspect them and then only reopen the ‘healthy’ ones. This, and using the federal agencies to create employment and help those in trouble with loans, began to re-establish confidence. Natural disasters hampered recovery e.g. the Dust Bowl. Roosevelt ran up huge government debts funding the New Deal. Recovery was slow and bumpy, with a small decline in 1938-39.
 - In 1937, the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act set up the Federal Housing Association to oversee slum clearance and the building of housing for low-income families. The second Agriculture Adjustment Act , provided subsidies for farmers to produce less.
 - By 1940, recovery still wasn’t certain. There were still unemployed 14.9%, homeless, white and non-white people the agencies could help. But in 1939, the USA moved to war production to provide for the allies in the second world war, and later joined the war in 1941, creating employment in factories and the military.

The changing quality of life, 1917-80 (1917-41)

- Standard of Living: 1917-1941
- ☐ Home ownership
 - In a 1920 consensus 6,700,000 people owned their homes, while about 12,900,000 rented. In a 1940 consensus, about 19,600,000 rented homes and 15,200,000 owned homes. (info below from 1940 consensus).
 - **Running water, bathrooms and toilets;** only 2.6% had no toilet of any kind, while 59.7% had indoor flushing toilets.69.9% of these homes had running water and 56.2% has a bath or shower. Non-white people in rented housing in cities most likely had shared facilities with plumbing in need of work.
 - **Lighting;** 78.7% of homes had electric light, while 20.2% still relied on oil lamps. The rest used gas, candles or nothing at all.
 - **Cooking:** 48.8% of homes cooked by gas and only 5.4% had electricity. There were still 0.4% with no way of cooking at all.
 - **Heating:**4.2% of homes had central heating, for those wit out it the most common way of heating is through a stove, although 11.3% had no heating at all.
 - **Refrigeration;**44.1% of homes had electric fridges while 27.4% didn’t even have an icebox to keep food cool in.
 - **Radios:** 82.8% of people said they owned a radio.
- ☐ Spending money
 - As the 1920’s went on, more and more people began shopping in chains rather than small local stores. By 1929, retail chains were selling 21.9% of all goods sold in the USA.
 - Early chains had one or two stores in one state and then moved into several states. Some chains such as J.C. Penny spread to all states. There were chains selling clothing, furnishing, household goods (like JC Penny). There were chains selling car and tractors, which also grew, and there were restaurant and food chains.
 - They all helped to create an ‘American’ culture that made people at home in any state. There was also a decline of ‘mom and pop’ shops; which were family run businesses which could not give the same discounted prices as the big chains.
- ☐ Food:
 - The 1930’s consensus → people spent 23.9% of their income on food. 13.4% of this was on eating out. In 1933, during the great depression, 25.9% of income was spent on food but only 12.9% on eating out. By 1940, standard of living had increased, 21.1% of their income was spent on food, but 15.1% of it was spent eating out, which was more expensive.
- ☐ Household appliances:
 - The household appliance market boomed in the 1920’s and 1930’s. Most of these appliances ran on electricity. Roosevelt set up the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) in 1935, to get electricity (and his radio show) to rural areas. In 1939 alone the REA ran over 100,000 miles of new power lines.
 - By 1940, newly electrified homes were buying as many electrical appliances as more long-established ones. In 1940, 80% of all homes with electricity had an iron and a radio and over 5% has a washing machine, fridge and toaster.
- ☐ Health:
 - The nations health was improving. The death rates for diphtheria, smallpox, tuberculosis, whooping cough and polio all dropped steadily (with the exception of a rise in the early 1930’s, when people couldn’t afford to pay medical bills).
 - The government invested more in providing free healthcare for those who could not afford it- making them ore likely to go to the doctor.
 - 1917→ \$3,100,000 was spent on healthcare, 1930→ spending was at \$11 million, and 1940→ it was \$32,700,00.
- ☐ Education:
 - In 1917, 27.1% of all children aged 14-17, were going to school. By 1929, it was 51.5% and by 1940 it was 73%. By 1940, many more children were being sent to school than out to work as soon as possible to contribute to the family income.
 - In 1920, 8.5% of all children under 15 were working. Labour legislation in 1938 included stopping children under 14 working in most non-agricultural jobs.
- ☐ Life at the bottom
 - A farm worker would earn \$298.32 a year, with only very basic food and board provision. This was significantly less than an average wage of a non-white person for the same year, and about ¼ of the average earnings of a white man.

Post-War Affluence 1941-69

Suburbs:

- One reason for the growth of the suburbs was because people moved to leave inner cities because they saw it as increasingly dangerous and slum-ridden. The government funded the building of roads and homes (1956 Highways Act allowed for 41,000 miles of interstate highways).
- Due to the boom, builders were willing to invest in the suburbs. The Levitt company specialised in mass-produced, prefabricated houses. E.g. a development on Long Island had 17,000 homes for 82,000 residents, the cheapest of which was just under \$7000 (and it included a washing machine).
- As suburbs grew businesses moved into the new areas. Large shopping centres containing a variety of shops changed consumer patterns. The number of these centres increased from around 8 at the end of WW2 to 3,840 in 1960.

Television:

- To begin with, televisions were expensive (\$200), had small screens and could only get reception in the New York area. 1950 – 9% of homes had a TV, in 1955- 65% and in 1960- 85%. This was because most homes by 1950 had electricity and installation wasn't complicated.
- Televisions did need reception and broadcasting stations grew. In 1948 there were 16 and by 1954 there were 354. Many buyers lived in the suburbs. Staying in saved finding a baby sitter and travelling to the movies. As more people stayed home for dinner, pre-cooked 'TV Dinners' that could just be heated and eaten in front of the TV was developed.

Industry Changes:

- By the end of the 1950s, the USA began losing its place as the country of technological innovation. E.g. Americans designed the first transistor radio, but didn't improve or miniaturise it unlike the Japanese.
- There was a shift in industry from the North and East to the South and West. The move because of land, goods and services were cheaper. After the war, military factories remained and began producing war time goods. The development of air conditioning made the area more attractive for retirement etc., as a sizable population moved towards these areas.

Health and Nutrition:

- After the war, people ate and drank more than ever before, as they craved the foods that they were deprived of during the war e.g. fat, sugar and meat. However, they ate a lot more synthetic food (e.g. artificial sweeteners).
- Coca Cola made \$55.7 million before tax in 1950 and \$71.1 million in 1959. Many people also began smoking more (many got into the habit during the war). In the 1960's there were reports about the health effects of smoking and cholesterol.
- Women were much more likely to feed their babies formula milk which contained vitamins and it made it easier to share the care of the babies.

Classes and Race:

- Some farmers managed to do well, thanks to the continued subsidies and the demand for farm produce at home and abroad. However, gains in productivity led to agricultural consolidation making it very hard for family farms to compete.
- Levitt refused to sell to black Americans, as did some other developers. This led to the building of Black suburbs: yet another example of Northern segregation.
- The economic boom made more people feel like they were part of the middle class as they could now afford much more.

War:

- The second world war incredibly boosted the economy, as the US move to war production and the war had the effect of creating employment in factories and the military.
- During the war, consumer spending dropped as everything went to the war effort. However, once the war ended, industry returned rapidly to the production of peacetime goods. The American Way was back on track. The post-war boom that led to the consumerism made the consumerism in the 1920's look insignificant.

The Baby Boom:

- The Baby Boom of the 50's was fuelled by the men returning home from the war, fewer women working and a buoyant economy. By 1955, the number of babies that were being born reached the 4 million mark.
- This meant a growing demand for child-centred goods. Toy manufacturers made \$1.6 billion in 1959.
- More babies meant more toddlers and teenagers to come. This would create a need for more schools and colleges, and would become consumers themselves.

Growth of Consumerism 1941-60

- ## President:
- The government and President Truman came down hard on strikes. The coal miners went on strike and Truman took control of the mines. When the rail way workers went on strike he asked congress if he could draft them into the army. Strikes stopped after that.
 - 'Fair Deal' Policies- he supported the military by providing health care and loans. Introduced the 1946 Employment (set the goal for full employment).

Economy and Inflation:

- Farmers and businesses wanted to exploit the demand for goods and food. Prices jumped by 25% in 2 weeks. Prices were rising and sometimes even faster than wages.
- The government was careful to keep taxes low and the fact that buying on credit meant that inflation didn't damp down spending in the 1950's. The Fed put controls on the money supply to control inflation. The government wanted to keep interest rates low so increased the money supply from \$169.7 billion in 1952 to \$215.8 billion in 1960.
- Consumerism was positively patriotic (helped oppose communism), however it didn't steady economic growth. Sometimes both inflation and unemployment increased sharply for a year or so. Consumer confidence was vital to the growth of the economy, and it hid many of the economic problems. GNP- 1940 = \$200 thousand million, 1950= \$300 thousand million and 1960= \$500 thousand million.

Consumers:

- Manufacturers understood that updating their goods often would increase demand.
- Manufacturers became increasingly specific in targeting the consumers. Products aimed at children were advertised around children's programmes on TV and radio; targeting children with their "pester-power" with their parents, e.g. Davy Crockett outfits.
- Women were also targeted for their 'pester-power' in major purchases (e.g. washing machines and kitchen units) whereas men were targeted with cars. Women especially with 'labour-saving' products
- Pre-prepared meals were also a time-saver e.g. ready-mix cakes. Providers like Betty Crocker provided the American Dream for women to feed her family in a quick, reliable way.

Teenagers:

- Teenagers were significant consumers in the 1950's. a survey in 1959 showed that they spent about \$10 billion a year on:
- Transport (38%): in 1959, there were 1.5 million teenage car owners.
- Clothing and Sports (24%): Teenage girls consumed more on clothing and cosmetics than (\$20 million on lipsticks alone), but boys spent more on sporting equipment and sporting events.
- Food and Drink (22%)- teenagers ate and drank more outside. Teenagers ate 20% more than adults, and they ate lots of ice-cream and drank a lot of milk giving a boost to the dairy industry, as well as eating a lot of fast food.
- Entertainment(16%): teenagers spent about \$75 million on records.

<p>Different policies, different aims:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ Nixon: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> By the end of the 1960's, there was growing criticisms that 'Great Society' programmes were not helping people out of poverty but made them only want to remain on welfare. Those against the idea of the CAPs pointed out that all CAPs were set up by and for non-whites; which is not surprising as they had the most problems. In 1969, Nixon shifted the focus of federal aid (help from the central government) to the working poor, children and people with disabilities. In his first year, Nixon focused on taking apart the Office of Economic Opportunity. This took a long time as many programmes were being funded and once their funding finished, many local groups could not find enough support to keep going. Nixon did pass legislation like enlarging the food-stamp* programme and making the federal government administer it; it made the process more efficient and became a real benefit to those relying on food stamps. To encourage the poor to find work, Nixon emphasised 'workfare' not 'welfare'. However, his Earned Income Tax Credit only helped those who could find work and gave the working poor with children up to \$400 a year, which those who couldn't find work would not receive and this was a problem for many. The Nixon administration (his circle of advisors) set up family planning advice and resources for the poor; however this would only benefit those who wanted small families. Nixon cut welfare benefits while seeming not to. This meant that those claiming benefits lost out e.g. Family Assistance Plan 1970. There was a growing public support for reducing benefits and Nixon had focused more on encouraging a work-focused welfare programme which may have even been seen as too much to some people. □ Carter: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Carter was elected in 1976 and planned to help both the working and the non-working poor. He planned to do this all without raising the budget costs. This of course was not possible and even with a reduced idea it couldn't get through congress. In 1978 The National Consumer Cooperative Bank was set up and was allowed to give low interest loans. It lent money to small local groups who otherwise would struggle to raise the money to start businesses or to buy homes. This helped the working poor however didn't help the poorest. The bank began work in 1980 with a \$184 million budget. The Rural Development Loan Fund was set up before Carters defeat. It extended forms of help available to farmers by giving low interest loans to rural communities. One helped the working poor. In the last two years of administration Carter tried a different tactic. He introduced tax cuts in the hope that this would be more successful than trying to manipulate the money supply. His new methods may have worked however the public had begun to lose confidence in him. He was honest which was a relief after Nixon. Despite his initial popularity with the public in Congress he was unpopular. This fact was exploited by his opponent in the 1980 election were Ronald Reagan who had a lot of political experience as governor of California. He was very popular with many American people including politicians and businessmen. Reagan offered change at a time when it was desperately needed just as Roosevelt had in 1932. 	<p>Federal Government anti-poverty policies:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Johnson introduced his 'Great society' policies to fight the war on poverty. He set up an independent agency with 130 staff and budget of \$960 million that reported directly to him and run the policies. ○ He stressed that poverty was the enemy not the poor. Congress did not pass all the bills that promoted the well-being of people but programmes were extended to cover more people and pay out benefits. ○ The Community Action Programs (CAPs) could make a big difference. The organisers of these projects were women. They collected data on the biggest local problems and presented projects to solve them. ○ E.g. in Memphis one project focused on high child death rate and worked with medical professionals to set up free clinics to provide care and advice before and after birth. ○ This scheme was used all over the county. The competition to gain funding for these projects created racial tension and even violence. <p>Stagflation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stagflation means when business stops expanding and reaches a stand still, while inflation (rising prices) increases. • In early 20th century -> USA led the world in technological development. • By 1950, other countries like Japan, UK, Germany over took the USA. • 1953, USA's share of the world's exports (goods and services from the USA), manufactured goods was 29%. By 1973, it was 13%. • Prices of raw materials increased. • Less money for businesses to invest in new technology. 	<p>Problems facing non-white Americans:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Throughout the 1960's and 1970s non-white Americans found it harder to find a job and those who had jobs were paid much less than a white person doing the same job: in 1960 an average white family would earn around \$5,835 whereas an average black family would earn around \$3,280. ○ Many non-white Americans found any actions by the government unhelpful. ○ The Black middle-class made up 27% of all black workers in 1970. ○ The biggest non-white suburbs were the black American suburbs at around 4%. Hispanic groups were moving into the inner cities and the Native Americans stayed in the areas provided to them by the government e.g. Pico Boulevard, LA. ○ In 1966, a family of four living on \$3,000 a year was the reality for 12% of white Americans and 41% on non-white Americans. ○ The situation in inner cities were bad. Housing was divided up and rented out and some landlords began to fail to repair their properties as rents fell, some even burned them down to claim insurance. Between 1960 and 1974, the number of deliberate fires tripled. ○ The Housing Commissioner (the person in charge of housing in an area), Roger Starr set out a policy of 'Planned Shrinkage'. This caused subway stations, police stations, fire stations, hospitals and schools in these areas were closed, leaving people even worse off. ○ Some residents began to feel angry and helpless at their situation and turned to crime, drugs or both. This was seen in areas like the South Bronx in New York, which was largely populated with Hispanics. 	<p>The changing quality of life, 1917-80 (1961-80)</p> <p>Industrial effects of Car-owning culture:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Car factories expanded and employed more people . • Factories also began producing spare parts. Increased production from companies who produced the raw materials for the car production • The need for workers pushed wages up and Car prices down. Therefore, demand increased as they became better value. <p>Associated supplies of Car-owning culture:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cars required petrol to run and mechanics to fix them • 1929, there were 121,500 filling stations making \$1,800 million on petrol that year. 1967, there were 216,000 filling stations making \$22,709 million on petrol that year. • Car mechanics' workshops and car dealerships sprang up along the roads. <p>Roads; Car-owning culture:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roads improved and expanded • 1917, the US had 2,925,000 miles of road • 1980, 3,860,000 miles of road • In 1960 21.5% of people in the census had a car, whereas in 1980, it was at 12.1% <p>Shopping; Car-owning culture:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People could travel more widely with growing car ownership and new roads. Diners and Motel began opening on the road sides. 1958 there were about 56,000 motels and they made \$850 million a year. • National travel was possible before with trains but trains didn't take people to exactly where they wanted to go. Cars helped people travel further, faster and cheaper. • Travelling salesman increased and allowed manufactures to reach more customers and make door-to-door deliveries. <p>Mobility; Car-owning culture:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People could travel more widely with growing car ownership and new roads. Diners and Motel began opening on the road sides. • 1958 there were about 56,000 motels and they made \$850 million a year. • National travel was possible before with trains but trains didn't take people to exactly where they wanted to go. Cars helped people travel further, faster and cheaper. • Travelling salesman increased and allowed manufactures to reach more customers and make door-to-door deliveries. 	
<p>Government Action:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the 1970s, the government struggled to face the economic crises. • Government spending was high, there was rising food and fuel prices. • The end of the Vietnam war saved money but the soldiers that came home added to the unemployment. • The government was worried about public reactions. • Connecting wages, pensions and benefits to inflation helped, but put the government in greater debt. • Many couldn't keep their homes and became homeless. • 1979 the money supply was contained by the Feds (not the government). 	<p>Confidence Crisis:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High fuel prices led to increasing inflation and a depression. • In 1978, unemployment was at 5.8% and 7.1% in 1979. • There was low business confidence. □ President Carter 1979: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One of the biggest crises the nation faced. • Tried to reproduce Roosevelt's 'fireside chats' (radio show created by Roosevelt to connect with the public). • Couldn't inspire the public like Roosevelt. • There was little confidence among the people and business. • Living standards ↓, homelessness ↑, unemployment ↑ - this reminded people of the Great Depression. • This led to the election of Reagan in 1980. 	<p>The Fuel Crises:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> □ 1973: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • During the Arab- Israeli war, the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) supported the Arabs. • The OPEC increased fuel prices by 70% and put a trade ban on oil to the US and countries supporting Israel. • Prices never returned → they were 4x higher. • This led to; long fuel queues, speeds limit of 55 mph and rationing. □ 1979: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The fuel shortage took place between May and June. • Unlike 1973, there were no dual rations, despite the shortage being just as bad. • The shortage was bad for car-dependent America. • There were also high levels of unhappiness among the public as the government was failing to deal with the crisis. • People began to buy smaller cars from Japan or Europe that took up less petrol rather than American cars. 	<p>Entertainment ; Car-owning culture:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1950's and 1960s- growing number of drive-in restaurant chains and fast food chains. Drive-ins catered to families as they didn't have to dress up like they did for a traditional restaurant. Example: some people took their children in their pyjamas and put them to sleep in the back of the car. • There were often play areas to cater for children. Drive-in movie theatres also became popular. By 1954; 3,800 drive-ins making 16% of all cinema box office receipts. Drive in movie theatres did well even though the industry was losing out to television Weekly cinema attendance fell from 40 million in 1960 to 19.7 million in 1980. Drive-ins mostly thrived in places that were warm like California. 	<p>Tourism ; Car-owning culture:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The car was vital to the development of the tourism industry. Could make trips to major cities, attractions and national parks e.g. Disneyland • Following this was the growth of hotels, motels and restaurant chains. People began to look for their favourite chain of motels and diners e.g. Dennys.

Problems; Car-owning culture:

- As cars got cheaper, the poorest Americans who could not afford even the cheapest cars, were the ones who suffered. Life for someone without a car got increasingly difficult as the non-car transport infrastructure shrank.
- Getting somewhere rural, even on trains could be time consuming and difficult. The car was significantly cheaper than the train and more convenient.
- Buses carried people to more places. Bigger companies e.g. Greyhound Buses carried millions of passengers every year.
- Buses however, were overcrowded and slow and filled with non-drivers or those who could not afford a car. This increased the divide between the poorest Americans (many non-white) and the rest.
- By the 1970's, cities had too many cars. Driving was much slower, pollution was rising and so were the protests against it.
- The fuel crises of the 1970s (in 1973 & 79) led to fuel rationing, rising prices, long queues and fights at the pumps.
- Prices never went back down to their old levels. This meant that the poorest car owners were pushed out and had to go back to public transport.

The beginning of Air Travel:

- Plane Safety was not a big factor – many cabins were under pressured so they banned flying higher than 10,000 feet as it caused health risks like fainting.
- Smoking was allowed – causing fires and accidents so many did not want to fly until after the war.
- In 1928, there were only 0.1 million passengers, however by 1955 there were 62.3 million
- People began to travel more regularly due to the use of the 1925 Kelly Act where there were national routes for mail delivery by plane, passengers could use these at a low cost.
- Causing a rise in the number of air routes and passengers.
- Mobility around the whole of America was easier, however this was limited to those who could afford it.

Air Travel- WW2:

- After the second world war the jet engine had been invented. This added with a new radar system allowed pilots to fly longer and they could fly through bad weather conditions. Money gained from the cold war allowed the government to invest more in flying due to competition with the soviets. Overall speed and passenger limit increased.
- However, there were disadvantages with this increased technology as there was a increase in collisions and safety hazards. The federal Aviation Administration was set up in 1958, this was to reduce the hazards and manage the needs of airlines.

Who benefitted from Air Travel:

- There was a huge increase in air traffic and falling prices allowed middle class professionals to fly consistently. Air travel was mainly for the wealthy. Planes allowed for jobs abroad and jobs further away from home.
- Tourism increased for the US. Americans usually explored the rest of America instead of traveling internationally for holidays etc.
- 1970 :5.26 million Americans went abroad . There was 2.288 million international visitors. 1980 : 8.163 million Americans went abroad . 8.2 million international visitors

Deregulation of Air Travel:

- The 1975 Airline Deregulation Act ran down the Civil Aeronautics Board – therefore ending federal government control over various airlines, therefore making it a commercial business through control of pricing, routes served.
- Competition already existed previously however only through the form of service given (quality of food). Deregulation allowed for airlines being able to lower prices and cut their services, suiting their company needs as necessary.
- By the 1970's many aero planes were flying half full so that they could offer more flights per day
- New 'low-cost' airlines could set up competition with already existing airlines, helping pull ticket prices down after the 1980's.
- Some of the benefits felt by the 1980's election were used by Reagan as an example of how removing governments controls were beneficial.

Reasons and impacts of increase in Leisure time:

- 1938 Fair Labour Standards Act created a maximum of 40 hours a week and set a minimum wage and overtime rules. This allowed more people to have increased wages to allow more spending on leisure activities.
- Fast food chains became more popular which meant that more people could eat out and this was seen as a leisure activity.
- In 1960 there were more job opportunities. 35 million white collar workers and 32 blue collar workers meant that many had higher wages and increased car ownership and leisure items.
- After WW2 women had more opportunities. By 1930, 40% of married women were employed increasing household income which meant many more families were going out.
- A 40 hour week was regulated. People had more time and money to go to sports games. In 1970s there was an attendance of 330 million to a major league baseball game.
- The increase in leisure spending meant that more shops were being built which increased popularity.
- There was more spare time due to work regulations and this led to decrease in book sales; 1929- \$117 and 1939- \$74 million, which showed other leisure activities were more available.
- However, WW2 restricted leisure time. Women took over men's role in industry and sports teams were only kept going to keep morale high. The New York Yankees stadium in 1923 had 53,000 people attend.
- After the war, there was more time and more money, people had paid holidays. There were more labour saving devices due to advancement in technology e.g. washing machines. There was also a change in manufacturing.
- The baby boom led to more family activities e.g. theme parks. Disneyland opened in 1955 and the number of theme parks increased. Cinema increased however at different stages in different states. New York had hundreds of cinemas whereas in North Carolina, cities only had 3 theatres. It is possible that the faster increase in population led to a faster increase in the leisure industry.

Spectator sports:

- Sports coverage were in newspapers and as that increased it became clear that sport sold papers. Even before 1917, cigarette manufacturers were producing cigarette cards of famous baseball teams for fans to collect. As more people had more leisure time, the number of spectators for all kinds of sport grow. E.g. the American Football, Rose Ball stadium built in 1922 to hold 76,000.
- Baseball was the most popular spectator sport and radio broadcasts of the game made more people want to go and watch it. Most major league baseball stadiums held about 35,000 people in the 1920s. But the New York Yankees stadium was rebuilt in 1923 to hold 53,000. The Yankees were the most popular team, due to the star player Babe Ruth. In 1917, attendance at Yankees games was just over 330,000 for the whole year. In 1920, it was just over 1,290,000.

Spectator sports; sports stars:

- Babe Ruth the Yankees baseball player, was such a draw that his salary rose from \$20,000 a year in 1920, to \$80,000 a year in 1930. this showed the success sports could bring to individuals. Ruth's family background meant that without his baseball success he could not have hoped to earn 1/10 as much a year as his lowest income in baseball.
- Most sportsmen came from working- class families. Gene Tunney was the son of an Irish immigrant dock worker. Jack Dempsey came from a farming family.

Spectator sports; WW2:

- During the war, leisure time came second to the war effort. There were significant restrictions on leisure time due to war conditions. E.g. Night time baseball was cancelled to save electricity.
- National football and baseball teams were told by Roosevelt to carry on playing to keep up morale, as long as their players joined the military if they were called up.
- The quality of games suffered during the war as many players went off to fight. Travelling to games became difficult due to restrictions. An all American Girls professional Baseball league played from 1943 to 54 and drew audiences of about 1,600 a game.

The changing quality of life, 1917-80 (1961-80)

Spectator sports; New audiences:

- Football and Baseball leagues which had begun in the North and East had begun to move to the South and West. New stadiums were built for larger audience.
- TV companies spent a lot of money on the rights to televised sport. In the late 1940s, baseball tv nights were selling for about \$1,000 a game. By 1980, a vast range of sports was televised.
- This brought a significance drop in sports attendance. Television meant that people could be spectators in their own homes. Sponsors' efforts worked. Major baseball leagues attendance rose from just under 330 million in the 1970s to just over 460 million in the 1980s.

Spectator sports; Black baseball:

- Black Americans were not allowed to play in white baseball teams until the 1940s. They had their own leagues e.g. Leland Giants in Chicago. In 1920, the Texan black American baseball star Rube Foster, set up the National Negro Baseball League; the first professional baseball league for black Americans.

Spectator sports; radios:

- Radio coverage sold sport and sport sold radios. In 1926, there was a world heavy weight boxing match between Jack Dempsey and Gene Tunney. There was a unanimous decision over Tunney winning. Rumours that the game was fixed because Al Capone placed a large bet on it. A rematch was agreed the following year and it was broadcasted on the radio. In the week before the match, just one New York department store sold over \$90,000- worth of radios.

Was Reagan different from republican governments of the 1920s:

- He was very similar to the governments of the 1920s. He wanted to return to the laissez-faire policies used by the old republicans.
- Both Reagan and older republicans were hard-line anti-unionists; he sacked 13000 air traffic controllers who were on strike. Under both administrations union memberships fell.
- Both allowed for the creation of big business corporations which could monopolise areas of industry. Under these administrations, new industries tended to flourish (e.g. car industry and computing) while farming and mining suffered.
- They both believed in significant tax reductions and created economies where the wealth was concentrated at the top. They also encouraged financial speculation and had stock market crashes as a result of this.
- 'Rugged Individualism' was a key feature for both governments and created an economy where such people could flourish.

Reagans Aims:

- Revive the Economy by decreasing taxes which would encourage people to work harder and buy more.
- Reduce the size and role of the government by cutting public spending and minimising the welfare state.
- Deregulate the state to allow capitalism and liberate business.
- To strengthen the nation defence.

Background on Reagan and his presidency:

- Reagan himself
- Was extremely charismatic and optimistic. He was an actor in mainly western films which helped with his public personality. He was president of the Screen Actors Guild from 1947-52, and through this he was an FBI informant where he gave the names of those he believed were communist sympathizers.
- Beliefs
- He was a committed Christian. He gained a lot of support from the more conservative Christians who believed in traditional family values and compulsory prayers (which he believed in too). He was also anti-abortion. However, he made it clear that all of these beliefs were his personal ones.
- He gave jobs in the White House to members of religious right.
- He also tried to pass a law severely restricting access to abortion. However, the opposition of congress meant that his government was not as conservative as many of the religious right who had supported him would have hoped.
- Political situation
- A 1979 public opinion poll showed that for the first time, a majority of Americans thought their children's lives could be worse than their own.
- This showed that people not only doubted the government but had severe doubts of the future as well.
- Carter's outlook and speeches were pessimistic a she appealed for austerity and pulling together t fix the problem.
- Reagan stressed that the USA had achieved before and it could achieve again.
- Reagan coalition
- Included the 'new right', southerners, blue-collar workers, union members, the poor, some unemployed, Jews, Catholics etc.

Components of Reaganomics:

- *Cutting the Federal Deficit:* the budget bill claimed to reduce the federal deficit from 22% of GNP in 1981 to 19% in 1986. he put this together hastily and tended to make mistakes.
- *Personal and business tax reductions*
- *Deregulation*
- *Planned control of the money supply:* to keep inflation down when expanding the economy.
- ❖ There was a republican majority in the Senate and almost a republican majority in the House of Representatives. The white House only had to win the support of 26 democrats in the House to pass legislation.

ORA:

- **The Omnibus Reconciliation Act 1981**
- To reduce the federal deficit. This proposed variety of tax cuts that would take \$35 billion out of federal spending. The initial bill presented in the White House proposed \$45 billion worth of cuts.

Did policies increase personal wealth?:

- Most historians agree Reagans tax cuts made many people wealthier. Some historians argue that Reagans economic policies greatly benefited the personal wealth of both the poor and rich although others believe the rich were favoured. E.g. in the book "the American Dream: From Reconstruction to Reagan", the author highlights the fact that the number of billionaires and millionaires increased during Reagans presidency.
- "the number of billionaires according to Forbes magazine went from a handful in 1981, to 26 in 1986 and 49 in 1987. as of late 1988, Forbes put that years number of billionaires to 52".
- However, other historians argue tax cuts hurt the rich more than the poor, and therefore did not increase their personal wealth.
- In the book "Side-supply economics" author, Paul Craig, wrote "between 1981 and 1986, the share of federal income taxes paid by the rich rose from 18.1 to 26.1%... While taxes paid by the bottom50% fell from 7.5% to 6.4%.

ERTA:

- **Economic Recovery Tax Act 1981**
- Cut the marginal income tax by 23% over 3 years and linked the tax bands to inflation. *The Highest income tax band rate fell from 70%-50% and the lowest fell from 14%-11%.*
- ERTA also allowed working tax payers to set up untaxed Independent Retirement Accounts (IRAs).
- Business tax rates were cut and businesses could revise their depreciation costs. Business tax rates were reduced and various tax breaks were offered, skewed in favour of small innovative businesses.

Inflation and unemployment:

- Ronald Reagan had inherited a bad economy . Unemployment was around 7% compared to 4.1% in the 1960s.
- Inflation had reached double digits. Reagan created the programme for economic recovery (ERTA & ORA). This attempted to create low inflation. The economic policy passed in two acts in 1981.
- Real GNP grew by 11% by the end of 1984. Unemployment rate was back down around 5.5 percent by the end of his presidency. Inflation was down to around 5% by the end of his presidency.
- Reagan put pressure on the federal reserve board to put tighter restrictions on the money supply. Reagan did not ask these restrictions to be lifted when employment rose.
- However the percentage of people in part time or temporary work had risen in the same period. These people were employed but not earning at their full capacity, businesses were reorganising to pay out as little as possible. Temporary or part time people were not paid on yearly salary rates and other extra payments for them were lower.
- Also, the number of people not included in the unemployment figures, even they had no job, the were not counted in the workforce as they were considered unemployable was 34.5% of the population in 1988.
- ❖ Legacy:
- Reagan left the US with marked economic weaknesses: enormous sums owed to foreign investors, massive budget deficit and national debt, which was due to defence spending.
- When Reagan took office, inflation was what most concerned the public. In Carters last year, inflation was 13.5%, in Reagans it was 4.7%.
- In 1980 unemployment was 7%, in 1988 it was 5.2%. 7 million jobs were created. After the recession, the US experienced its longest ever period of economic growth.

Trade:

- In 1986 Reagan said, "Our trade policy rests firmly on the foundation of free and open markets. I recognize. . . the inescapable conclusion that all of history has taught: the freer the flow of world trade, the stronger the tides of human progress and peace among nations."
- He advocated protectionism early in his 1980 campaign. When he imposed a 100% tariff on selected Japanese electronic products for allegedly "dumping" computer memory chips, he said he did it "to enforce the principles of free and fair trade.". Imposed a 45% duty on Japanese motorcycles for the benefit of Harley Davidson, which admitted that superior Japanese management was the cause of its problems

Reagan's Presidency – Economic policy & Big government 1980-1989

Assassination attempt:

- His popularity was given a big boost by the assassination attempt in March 1981. a man called John Hinckly Jr shot at President Reagan as he was leaving a meeting in Washington Hotel. Reagans press secretary was killed and Reagan was hit in the Chest by a bullet ricochet as he was pushed into the car by secret service agents.
- He was driven to hospital. He made a quick recovery and his cheerful demeanour throughout impressed many people. Reagan showed himself to be tough and determined and won himself more support.

Reducing the Federal Deficit:

- To prevent a major budget deficit, he introduced the Omnibus Reconciliation Act which aimed to cut federal spending in over 300 programs. It was calculated that spending would be cut by \$963 billion between 1981 and 1987. The Conservatives wanted a balanced budget, which was arguably their solution to every economic problem.
- 1980, Deficit at \$59 billion, and paying it off cost 9% of federal spending. 1983, Deficit at \$208 billion which was 14% of federal spending in loan interest spending. This was increasingly funded by borrowing abroad.
- Reagans determination to cut taxes was partially the reason for failure. It soon became clear that supply side policy could not work. Federal Departments resisted cuts. Congress toned down many welfare cuts planned by the administration
- Defence spending
 - Worst of all was the increased defence budget. Reagan always believed that increasing the defence budget was necessary. Through the 60's and 70's Governments reduced spending on defence and increased on human resources. 1980, human resources took 28% of government spending. By 1987, human resources took 22% of spending. At the same time defence spending rose from 23% to 28%.
- Taxes
 - A big problem with reducing the deficit for Reagan was that his tax policies didn't add up and failed to account for his administration's spending.
 - In 1980, middle income families with children paid 8.2% in income tax and 9.5% in payroll taxes. By 1988, their income tax was down to 6.6%, but payroll was up to 11.8%. Reagan pushed through Social Security tax increase of \$165 billion over 7 years
- Black Monday
 - The successful stock market in the USA came to a stop on 19th October 1987. The Dow Jones Stock Index fell 508 points.
 - Almost \$500 billion in the paper value (value of privately held shares that is not directly tradable at an exchange) of American companies was wiped out. This was around 20% of the stock value of the USA.
 - However, the economy was barely affected and growth actually increased throughout 1987 and 1988. This was perhaps due to the fact that Fed's response to Black Monday allowed for more investor confidence in the central bank's ability to calm severe market downturns.
- Successful?
 - The deficit of America is seen to be one of the main failures of Reagan during his presidency. Instead of reducing the deficit he increased in in his first term from \$59 billion to \$208 billion. This was due to his want for more spending on defence which had previously been reduced in the 60's and 70's. Taxes didn't add up.

Productivity:

- This was measured through both the output per worker per hour and the GDP growth. Through 1982, both figures were negative however in 1983 output per worker was 4.5% and GDP Growth was 7.3%- this could suggest that supply-side economics.
- The Reagan economy produced the highest manufacturing productivity growth in the post war period. Averaging 4.6% since recovery began, compared to 2% in the 1950s. Deregulation meant that there were less rules for businesses- about 29%.
- Save and invest:
 - The cut down in the government through deregulation, the removal of federal restrictions like the minimum wage, meant more competition would begin in areas like savings and investment.
 - This meant that that many investors begun to take risks with the money being put in this area. So people investing were in an unsafe environment – which later resulted in the Stock Market Crash 1987. Gross Private Domestic Investment grew by 77% during the Reagan years.
- Savings and loans collapse:
 - 1983, when banking restrictions were lifted bank could offer high interest rates on saving. Good for savers, however bad for struggling businesses and people with long term loans . When banks began to compete it caused greater problems as they made more risky investments, lent at very low rates and offered high rates of savings. All three of these led to the ineffectiveness of the banks. The federal government was forced to the Competitive Equality Banking Act 1987. Providing money for what was lost, however what was given was not enough.
 - 1989, Bush had to sign the Financial Institution Reform, Recovery and Enforcement Act (FIRREA) therefore bailing out failing organisations, closing others and set up new federal regulators – costing \$150 billion.
- Impact on individuals:
 - In 1988, 1.3 million individuals were millionaires by assets, this suggests that the policies benefited the business owners.
 - Lower and middle class did not benefit as much, due to the fact that their wages were considerably the same- lowest tax band only fell by 3%.
 - Unemployment rate fell however this might not have been in wealthy or full-time jobs.
- Impact on the country:
 - Due to deregulation, businesses could compete more and increase productivity as there was no minimum wage.
 - The Stock Market Crash, although severe was dealt with efficiently which showed Reagan's presidency was more effective with dealing with crisis.

Reagans first term in office 1980-84 (overview):

- When he took office there was an economic recession e.g. high unemployment, high inflation, homelessness increased and businesses went bust.
- 1982- the economy picked up.
- Had a laissez-faire approach and supply-side economics.
- ORA & ERTA
- Spend less except on the military.
- Deregulation
- Used his power of appointing staff to make decisions in favour of business e.g. 'The Occupational Safety and Health Administration'.
- He didn't reduce expenditure of certain areas like Social Security and Medicare.
- He was a pragmatist.
- Prosperity 1982-84 (was it because of his policies?):
 - YES- Reagan's supporters would agree e.g. the effects of ORA and ERTA in lowering income tax, budget cuts and higher defence spending in order to defeat communism – some see it as a 'Reagan Revolution'.
 - NO- those against would say it was because of the control of the money put in place by his predecessor Jimmy Carter. Other factors include discovery of new oil reserves which lowered prices and jobs coming from increased expenditure.

Reagans economic legacy; Bush:

- Bush inherited a huge deficit from Reagan which affected and limited his ability to make economic policies.
- The deficit worsened under Bush- the Gulf War in 1991, recession between 1990-1992, reduced tax revenues and congress (dominated by the Democrats) opposed further welfare cuts.
- In the election Bush promised not to raise taxes, "read my lips- no new taxes", but due to the deficit he was forced to raise them in 1990. The raise in taxes and major cuts to military and domestic expenditure had little effect on the recession.
- Budget deficit
 - Inherited a deficit
 - National debt
 - Inherited a huge deficit
 - Lower taxes
 - Didn't want to raise taxes but had to in 1990 and this contributed to his defeat in 1992.
 - Unemployment
 - Rose between 1990 and 1992 to 7.2% by 1991. huge job losses at General Motors (74,00), Pan Am and Eastern Airlines (48,00).
 - Trade
 - Negotiated a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) to get rid of tariff barriers with Canada and Mexico.
 - Expenditure
 - Forced to make cuts in the military and domestic programmes of \$492 billion.
 - Congress did pass some laws to increase expenditure e.g. Head Start programme for the least well off children and gave workers 12 weeks unpaid leave for family emergencies. He vetoes family and medical leave acts.
 - He faced big problems in the first Iraq War in 1991.
 - Cuts in welfare
 - Democratically controlled congress.
 - Aid programmes
 - Because thee was not a Republican majority in both houses, he could not pass all this legislation.
 - Deregulation
 - Bush has a rescue plan of \$50 billion but had to increase it to \$325 billion in 1990 in the Savings and Loans crisis.
 - Overall
 - Seen as a failure by many on the economy.
 - 19 states were technically in depression under Bush.

Reagan's Presidency – Economic policy & Big government 1980-1989

What did he not do?

- He did not cut the welfare state e.g. Social Security and Medicare- this would have been political suicide – a pragmatic response from Reagan- some conservatives wanted him to do this.
- His budgets after the first one in 1981 were not as significant, as congress re-wrote part of them.
- He had to accept some tax rises.
- Congress disagreed with him over busing, abortion and prayer in public schools.
- Congress did not support some of his more radical attempts to reduce the size of the federal government.

Reagans economic legacy; Clinton:

- Got elected as a “new democrat” but then returned to being a traditional democrat.
- Inherited a massive deficit (bigger than the one Bush inherited).
- However the economy recovered and did really well in Clintons 2 terms.
- To combat the deficit Clinton raised taxes, put controls n the budget and reformed welfare.
- Poverty and unemployment decreased
- Income increased, especially for high earners but also for low earners.
- ❑ Budget deficit
- Also aimed to reduce the deficit. Raised taxes on wealthy individuals and corporations to start cutting the deficit.
- ❑ National debt
- Clinton’s 1993 budget aimed at reducing the federal debt and sparked an economic recovery.
- ❑ Lower taxes
- Significant impact of Reagans legacy of low taxes on the public. He wanted to lower middle class taxes but because of the deficit didn’t do it immediately. He did lower taxes in his first year for 15 million poorer families.
- ❑ Unemployment
- Aimed for high employment.
- ❑ Inflation
- Like Reagan, aimed for low inflation
- ❑ Personal wealth
- Raised taxed on the wealthy.
- ❑ Trade
- Supported NAFTA, as he believed it would increase American white collar jobs, most Democrats thought blue collar jobs would disappear and oppose it.
- ❑ Expenditure
- As a ‘New Democrat’ he didn’t believe as Democrats used to in ‘tax and spend’ policies. However, because of the deficit, he had to put the cap, like Bush, on all domestic programmes except Medicare and Social Security. Seen as moving back to being an ‘old democrat’.
- ❑ Cuts in welfare
- Tried to set up a National Healthcare system but was unsuccessful, partly because of the Ragan legacy of suspicion of federal government, 1994 Republicans took control of Congress. Clinton did prune welfare to some extent, not on Medicare or Social Security. He got some welfare reform through congress e.g. help to single mothers and encouraged them into the world of work and removed the disincentive to marriage.
- ❑ Aid programmes
- A Republican majority in Congress in 1994.
- ❑ Deregulation
- Clinton wanted to revolutionise healthcare but the plan involved large numbers of complicated new rules and regulations – failed to get his healthcare through congress.
- ❑ Overall
- Some suggest that his first term was chaotic but Clinton did manage to get his budgets through a hostile congress, abortion was brought back in federally funded clinics, two successful Supreme Court negotiations. The economy was doing a lot better.

Reagan did Big government:

- ❑ Inaugural Speech: he aimed to reduce big government and enhance the rights of citizens. States were more important than the federal government.
- ❑ Anti-new deal philosophy: he halted the process towards a welfare state, e.g. halted interventions.
- ❑ New Federalism- decreasing the size and scope of government and giving the power to regulate to the individual states not the federal government.
- He reduced the staff in the Education Department by 25% and cut its programmes.
- He decreased the education grants to schools.
- He took out 23,000 pages from the Federal Register
- He cut federal regulations in half
- Set up a Federal Strike Force to reduce waste and fraud, saved \$2 billion in 6 months.
- Reduced aid to Families with Dependent Children.
- ❑ Banking deregulation- he deregulated the Savings and Loans institutions (like a building society). This was good for savers as they could get better interest.
- ❑ Deregulation-
- Through the cost of petrol and heating was brought down.
- Reagan passed many laws to promote deregulation, e.g. March 1984, The Shipping Act loosened regulations on US and foreign shipping.
- Lightened the burden of regulation on industry and business by cutting back staff by 29%. He cut back staff in the Consumer Product Safety Commission by 38%.
- 50% fall in the prosecutions for illegal disposal of hazardous waste.
- ❑ He slashed agencies in the area of the environment e.g. opened federal land to be exploited by coal and timber companies, he wouldn’t protect the wilderness areas and allowed oil companies to drill offshore more easily. James Watt was his Interior Minister (forced to resign).

Reagan reduce Big government (alternative view point):

- ❑ Some anti-big government conservatives were very unhappy.
- ❑ Was a ‘great communicator’ and put a spin on his efforts to reduce ‘Big Government’.
- ❑ Spoke as though he started deregulation but actually Carter started it before him e.g. airlines.
- ❑ Federal expenditure rose from \$699.1 billion in 1980 to \$859.3 billion in 1987.
- Civilian employment in federal government rose by 3% and higher in the military.
- Huge budget deficit.
- ❑ Banking deregulation- bad for struggling businesses and long-term loans because of high interest e.g. farmers struggled. Many savings and loans institutions collapsed. By 1988, they had lost \$10 billion. Bush had to find \$150 billion to bail out savers who had lost money.
- ❑ Deregulation- brought lower prices in the short term but in the long term, big businesses fixed the price structure- businesses set lower standards than government e.g. on safety.
- Smaller companies suffered because they couldn’t compete as well.
- ❑ Conglomerates developed, where big businesses monopolised different industries. Services were often cut by big businesses and this adversely affected some, e.g. cutting rural services.
- ❑ Imports- under Reagan, foreign imports rose and US businesses suffered, e.g. the textile industry. Japanese companies invested particularly in areas of the country that he government did not invest in e.g. Ohio. They chose carefully where they invested. Reagan supporters said more imports was a good thing and brought money to the USA.
- Did not reduce spending on Social Security and Medicare, nor on school lunches, veterans’ benefits or HeadStart (to help for lunches for the least-well off children.
- Fiasco over ketchup and pickle in the Department of Agriculture- the government wanted to replace part of the vegetables, in school subsidised lunches, with ketchup and pickle as it was cheaper- he was ridiculed for it.
- Environment- congress blocked his plans to remove regulations on the environment/ pollution or working conditions in nuclear power stations.

Big government legacy; Bush:

- People were less keen on deregulation and Federal withdrawal from society – so a somewhat negative legacy from Reagan.
- Many deregulated businesses were only interested in profit and not the good of the consumer, e.g. the airline industry. By 1989, prices were higher and they flew to fewer places and planes were very full.
- The federal withdrawal from the state and local programmes meant that they often collapsed through lack of funding e.g. poor rural areas found themselves at the back of the queue for communication installations.
- Bush had promised not to raise taxes and to curb domestic expenditure. He aimed to balance the budget in 5 years.
- He did cap the expenditure on domestic programmes, except for Medicare and Social Security.
- 1990, Bush forced to raise taxation- some conservative republicans were very unhappy e.g. Newt Gringrich.
- By 1992 election, the economy was in trouble- a lot of this was because of Reagan’s Legacy of debt, savings and loans bailout, trade imbalance and the lack of industrial policy.
- He vetoed a bill which would have given the unemployed excessive benefits.
- He shut down 31 big military bases with a loss of 70,000 jobs.
- Bush lost the 1992 election to Clinton because the economy was in recession, he had to ‘clean up’ the Savings and Loans crisis with extra funding, the right-wing conservative dissatisfaction and Clinton was a good campaigner.

Reagan’s Presidency – Economic policy & Big government 1980-1989

Big government legacy; Clinton:

- Cut taxes for 15 million of the least well- off and raised them on wealthy corporations and individuals.
- Did raise taxes but took care of the deficit.
- He tried to get healthcare insurance reform through but failed. He wanted to help the 35 million Americans that had no medical insurance and 20 million had inadequate insurance- mostly poor and unemployed. Hillary Clinton was in charge of the plan and she suggested universal coverage for everyone – this would have meant all employers would have to contribute to health care. Republicans and small businessmen hated the proposal. Her plan involved huge amounts of new rules and regulations which was complicated. This failed and contributed to the Republicans gaining control of both houses of congress in the 1994 congressional elections.
- Clinton disagreed with the Republicans who wanted cuts in social programmes.
- Welfare reform:
 - Most US voters resented welfare costs and Clinton’s welfare reform bill to end ‘Aid for Families with Dependent Children’ (cash to mainly single mothers). It ended the lifetime guarantee of government support for poor mothers.
 - Denied immigrants who weren’t citizens, limited eligibility for Medicaid and food stamps for people who did not find work.
 - Some felt these reforms worked well, e.g. a single mother who left welfare in 1999 earned a lot more than in 1986 and kept her benefits. It removed the disincentive to marry by not just giving the benefit to single mothers.
- 1996 election- economy was booming, inflation low, interest rates were low and unemployment low.

<p>Rich and Poor:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Between 1981 and 1999, the situation of the poorest American Families worsened considerably. Reagan made it clear that he saw a difference between the 'deserving poor' and the 'welfare scroungers' the scroungers he said weren't willing to work, they thought the government owed them a living. 	<p>The effect of Reagan's policies on welfare provision; homelessness:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Homelessness was a growing problem. 1987- congress passed a bill giving some federal help to projects for homelessness. 1984- federal funding available was \$300 million; 1988 it was \$1.6 billion. 1987- McKinney Act- set up Federal Emergency Management Food and Shelter programme run by FEMA. FEMA matched state grants to local homelessness projects. State/local gov funding could be raised through taxes, charities and donations. FEMA set up a federal housing project for transitional housing. Special emphasis on the elderly, disabled, veterans, families with children and Native Americans. Gave emergency medical care to the homeless and provided education for homeless children and job training that favoured homeless veterans. 	<p>Changing production:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> During the 1980s there was a shift in what the USA produced. Old manufacturing industries, such as car and textiles industries, were doing badly against foreign imports and exports dropped with the change in value of the dollar. The Reagan administration would not impose tariffs on foreign imports. Towns and cities such as Detroit, where car manufacturing was their main employer, were badly hit. In Baltimore and Cleveland, well over 20% of the population was living under the poverty line, and unemployment and poverty was hitting all workers, white and non-white. It also had an effect on industries that supplied raw materials, as the demand for these raw materials dropped. This pattern was repeated in the textiles industry. New industries were doing well. The Reagan administration increased spending on defence which meant that the defence industry, and all services that supplied a growing military, did well. So did the new technologies, such as the computer industry. These technologies were based in different parts of the country and had a significant effect on population and migration within the USA, following the work opportunities in the new industries. Manufacturing and the provision of raw materials may have been in decline, but service industries were expanding. Everything from estate agencies to coffee shop chains and computer goods stores did well. 	<p>Reagan's Presidency – Social Policy 1980-1989</p> <p><u>Impacts on different classes:</u></p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Positive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Change in occupational structure >> 1940 32% of employed US workers held white collar jobs, 68% blue collar >> by 2006, white collar workers doubled to 60% Number of manual workers declined from 36% to 23% >> thus, less 'working class' 1987 – McKinney Act >> set up Federal Emergency Management Food and Shelter program 1984 – Federal Funding for homelessness increased from 300 million to 1.6 billion Income after taxes rose over 300% for America's richest In regards as 'class' as a whole – the richest Americans were able to make Social progress Rich at the top of the 'trickle down' economy – first to gain <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Negatives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Living standards decreased >> living in urban wastelands Hunger, homelessness, decline in employment + educational opportunities >> led to new form of social devastation, trafficking of illegal drugs (crack, cocaine) Violence in (black) working class communities increased significantly Signs of desperation >> families in need of increasing living standards forced to rely on 'predatory lenders' (outrageously high interest rates on borrowed money) Many restaurants, barber shops, beauty salons, funeral homes largely disappeared Inner cities 1990s >> 30-43% of neighbourhood's total adult population no longer in paid labour force >> survived off the informal economy e.g. braiding hair, childcare, collecting and selling recyclable cans, catering foods, auto-repair, moving, producing and selling crafts Some fast food restaurants in ghettos refused to hire locals in fear of them giving away food to unemployed and low-income relatives Number of Americans living below federal gov's poverty line increased by over 2 million in a single year 1982 – over 30% of total black labour force = jobless 1982 – Congress reduced federal assistance programmes by 20% and cut federal assistance Evidently, gap between rich and poor widened Fewer people eligible for welfare programmes Welfare to Workfare >> required 1 working parent before claiming benefits >> many single parents couldn't find childcare thus, did not qualify >> harder qualifications = tougher on working class Social Housing >> 1983, 3.7 million low-income families qualified for social housing >> not enough houses to support all >> rise in homelessness >> difficult for US to accept socially >> weakened image of US Percentage of workers in unions declined by 19.1% in 1984 to 13.6% in 2000 During Reagan presidency, the poorest one-fifth endured an income decline of 24% During 1980's, total federal taxation rate for poorest one fifth of American families increased by over 16% Mid 1992, unemployment reached 7.8%, highest level since 1984 >> Reagans legacy? High unemployment during and after presidency Between 1981 and 1996, situation of poorest families worsened >> the gap widened in all, but a handful of states and economic growth was not shared evenly between classes Changes in federal and state tax policies hit the poor the hardest Technology revolution/Computer production >> increased demand for skilled workers >> impacted manufacturing workers Income decreased for those with less than a high school education Income after taxes rose over 300% for America's richest while lowest classes income decreased >> widened gap Trickle down economy didn't work because money failed to trickle down
<p>The effect of Reagan's policies on welfare provision; workfare:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Claiming benefits was undesirable. Welfare became workfare (Reagans view) Workfare- before you were eligible for benefits you need 1 working parent. Single parents found it very difficult to find childcare and therefore couldn't work. ORA- tightened previous legislation that provided work projects linked to benefits. 	<p>Changing businesses:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> His policies favoured big businesses even though his administration said it would encourage small ones. Big businesses profited from the reduced federal regulation on wages, working hours and working conditions. Deregulation meant that they could buy up or merge with other businesses. In 1983, in a radio broadcast during small business week, Reagan said his administration was helping small businesses with tax breaks, such as allowing them to pay personal not corporate tax. He did admit that many small business had gone under in the 1981-82 recession but said over 500,000 new small businesses had been set up in each of those years. He avoided the issue of the rising interest rates on long-term loans that many small businesses held: a key reason many of them went under. 	<p>Changing farms:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Farming was also affected badly by high interest rates and federal-intervention. In the 1970s, the USA had supplied wheat to the USSR and encouraged farmers to expand (often with bigger and bigger loans) and grow wheat (with wheat-growing subsidies). When the USSR invaded Afghanistan in 1979, the USA stopped exporting wheat in protest. At the same time interest rates rose as money supply tightened. Things got worse in the 1980s, which wasn't helped by a drought. Many smaller farms were bought out by agri-businesses, or companies that didn't farm at all. So in 1980, 17% of farmers were getting 60% of the subsidy fund. The National Save the Family Farm Coalition was set up in 1986 by farmers themselves. It organised demonstrations and campaigns to highlight the plight of family farms, using tactics such as traffic-slowing tractorcades (deliberately slow tractors). Iowa was hit particularly hard. In 1983, about 500 farms were sold every month. Farmers were committing suicide at 4 times the rate of any other workers, and there were also incidents of farmers shooting the lenders who called in loans. 	<p>Impacts Black Americans:</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Positive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1982- Bryant Gumbel becomes the first African-American to be an anchor on a major network when he joins The Today Show. 1982- Recording artist Michael Jackson releases Thriller. The album will ultimately be considered the bestselling album in music history when it sells 45 million copies worldwide. 1983- Harold Washington is elected mayor of Chicago, becoming the first African-American to hold the position. 1983- Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday becomes a federal holiday when Ronald Reagan signs a bill. 1986- The Oprah Winfrey show becomes a nationally syndicated talk show. <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Negative:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> During Reagans last year in office the African American poverty rate stood at 31.6%, as opposed to 10.1% By 1990, the median income for black families was £21,423, 42% below white households Federal spending cuts disproportionately affected AFDC, Medicaid, food stamps, Highest recorded black unemployment average of 19.5% was under the Reagan era compared to white unemployment which was at 8.4% New Right threatened the legal principles and federal policies of the rights revolution and the Great Society In 1982 the National Urban League's annual 'state of black America' report concluded that 'never since the first report in 1976 has the state of black America been more vulnerable. Never in that time have black economic rights been under such powerful attack Homicide was the leading cause of death for black males between 15 and 24 – occurring at six times higher rate than for other Americans Between 1980 and 2015 the number of people incarcerated increased from 500,000 to over 2.2 million Reagan outraged African Americans by relating to apartheid South Africa as a friend and ally. Rodney King is beaten by three officers. The brutality is captured on videotape and three officers are tried for their actions. Led to riots around LA. African-American men exploited through the Tuskegee Syphilis Study receive a formal apology by President Bill Clinton. The purpose of this study was to observe the natural progression of untreated syphilis in rural African-American men in Alabama under the guise of receiving free health care from the United States government. Researchers knowingly failed to treat patients appropriately after the 1940s validation of penicillin was found as an effective cure for the disease that they were studying.
<p>The effect of Reagan's policies on welfare provision; social housing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1985- 3.7 million families qualified for low income housing, but the government didn't have enough housing to support them. 1978- \$32.2 billion 1988- \$9.2 billion Reagan slashed funding for low income housing. Rise in homeless people and families. Difficult for the USA to accept socially. 	<p>The bi-coastal boom:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The industries that did well in the 1980s created more employment. As a result, people were eager to move to the areas of the country where these industries were located. This resulted in a population shift from the North and the East to the South and the West, especially to the coastal states. Those families that could afford to make this move, for example from Chicago to San Diego, fuelled a growth of the suburbs in these areas. Here were places where people felt their lives were improving and people in these places were consistently more likely to vote for Reagan. For them the policies of the Reagan administration had worked. In 1987, California and the states on the East coast had 5.6% unemployment compared to the 7.8% of the rest of the country. These areas had almost 75% of all new businesses and about 60% of new jobs. The part of the country that stayed worst off was the central Great Plains area, which had always been a predominantly farming area. 	<p>Impacts Black Americans:</p> <p><input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Positive:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1982- Bryant Gumbel becomes the first African-American to be an anchor on a major network when he joins The Today Show. 1982- Recording artist Michael Jackson releases Thriller. 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Researchers knowingly failed to treat patients appropriately after the 1940s validation of penicillin was found as an effective cure for the disease that they were studying.
<p>The impact on living and working conditions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Working families no on welfare or entitled to some allowances benefitted from low taxes. They were also hit by rising interest rates that pushed up housing prices, mortgages and rents. Between 1980 and 1987, the average mortgage debt increased by 30% and the rate of foreclosure quadrupled. The removal of many federal regulations on working conditions. Many had to work long hours and so had less leisure time. In 1973, workers had an average, 26 hours of leisure time a week, by 1987 it was 16 hours. 	<p>The bi-coastal boom:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The industries that did well in the 1980s created more employment. As a result, people were eager to move to the areas of the country where these industries were located. This resulted in a population shift from the North and the East to the South and the West, especially to the coastal states. 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Reagan's Presidency – Social Policy 1980- 1989

Impacts on Women:

Positive:

- He relied a lot on his wife (Nancy Reagan), which suggests he valued the role of women, especially in the family.
- In 1994, the Violence Against Women Act provided legal protection, as well as funds and services, for rape victims and victims of domestic violence.
- Clinton appointed a number of women and minorities to top government posts, including Janet Reno, the first female U.S. attorney general, and Madeleine Albright, the first female U.S. secretary of state.
- The Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 (FMLA), intended "to balance the demands of the workplace with the needs of families." The Act allows eligible employees to take up to 12 work weeks of unpaid leave during any 12-month period to attend to the serious health condition of the employee, parent, spouse or child, or for pregnancy or care of a new born child, or for adoption or foster care of a child.
- On the 4th day of the Clinton presidency, Jan. 23, the 20th anniversary of Roe v. Wade, Bill Clinton signed, in a televised Oval Office ceremony, a series of executive orders undoing the draconian policies of the Reagan-Bush era relating to abortion, contraception, and family planning.
- 1993, newly-elected President Bill Clinton signed the Family and Medical Leave Act, for the first time requiring employers to offer some accommodation to workers' need to meet family responsibilities as well as those of the workplace.
- By 1994, the figure had risen to 38 percent. In dentistry, one percent of the total number of degrees in 1972 were awarded to women. In 1994, the figure was 38 percent. Comparable figures in law show that seven percent of the degrees awarded in 1972 and 43 percent in 1994 went to women.
- the change in women's status in the decades since World War II has been dramatic. The right of a married woman to work outside the home is no longer in question, especially because most families with two parents depend on a second income.
- Some 60 percent of wives now work for wages. With her own income, the American woman today is in the position to exercise more authority within her home or to end an unhappy marriage.
- The average score of females on the mathematics section of the nationwide Scholastic Aptitude Test increased 19 points between 1982 and 1996

Negative:

- Two out of three older Americans living in poverty are women. The poverty rate of families headed by women is triple that of other families.
- Legal aid all but disappeared under George H.W. Bush.
- Sexual harassment allegations for Clinton and Bush
- discomfort in accepting women as peers. Started to notice that there were no professional women on Bush's staff who held positions comparable to the men. "All the women were either secretaries or gofer," recalled one-woman journalist.
- Women reporters also observed there were no women in the Bush family who pursued a career or even held a professional job. As Barbara Bush told reporters: "We're all very happy being kept by our husbands."
- Clinton had affairs; lack of respect for women
- Reagan's conservative agenda was not particularly helpful to black Americans and women. The Reagan administration opposed abortion and, as mentioned previously, cut many programs to assist mothers, children, and minorities.
- The Reagan "vision" for America, with its disproportionately negative impact on the female half, has become the centrepiece of Republican belief and not a small part of national law.
- He envisioned a world where women would never be granted equality in the U.S. Constitution, where abortion was illegal and equal employment laws a thing of the past.
- Reagan backed a Human Life Amendment that would ban abortion and even some types of birth control.
- The government would turn a blind eye to pay gaps and sexual harassment now that employers had a friend in the White House.
- Reagan also publicly insulted single mothers raising children with the help of federal assistance by calling them "welfare queens," thus setting the stage for the dramatic retrenchment of aid to families headed by women.
- More women and their children in poverty, more women holding two low-paying jobs to make ends meet and less food on the table, period. Well, all except ketchup, which Reagan tried to have declared a vegetable as he cut school lunch programs.
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Impacts on other minorities:

Positive:

- Gay Minority:
- In 1982, Reagan provided funding for AIDS research after his friend and actor Rock Hudson died. This was hugely supporting of the gay minority as
- 'the Briggs initiative' Reagan forcefully blocked proposition 6 in California (which stopped gay people from working in public schools)
- The civil rights act of 1888 (compensated Japanese families that were put in internment camps during ww2)
- Hispanic minority:
- 1980s Fidel Castro's regime in Cuba meant USA were more lenient to Hispanics. The number of Hispanic-Americans increased from 8.8% in 1980 to 12.9% in 1988.
- 1981 The Cuban American national association: organised pressure on Cuban foreign policy. Henry Cisneros: first Latino mayor of San Antonio, Texas
- 1980 refugee Act, immigration reform act and 1986 control act gave Hispanics the chance to become true American citizen's and started to equally represent their growth
- Native American minority:
- Changes in federal law provided economic development on tribal lands.
- United States v. Sioux Nation of Indians gave money to the native Americans people for stolen land and damages.

Negative:

- Reagans promises of reducing big government meant he was unwilling to extend civil rights legislation.
- Minorities hit hard by cuts to social programs such as food stamps-often the poorest in society
- Native Americans: Large resentment towards Reagan-he cut the budget hugely for the Indian Health Service and other native social programs. When one tribe requested stolen land back, congress planned to give \$900,000 compensation, but Reagan suggest it should be \$8,091(the original value of the land)
- This was seen as a step backward as progress had been made with Nixon-land was being returned and rights were being extended
- Increase in the number of studies on health profiles of adults and the disparity between American majorities and minorities
- Studies reveal serious African and American disadvantages in terms of healthy ageing
- Although there have been major advancements in medical science, minority groups are often among the poorest so cannot access treatment- inadequate health care coverage leads to a higher chance of dying from cancer.
- Poverty and health disadvantages correlate
- Institutional racism leads to poverty and lower healthcare services
- Many immigrants arrive with no savings and poor health. There is no immediate help and very few jobs offer health insurance
- Gay rights movement
- "Hated" by LGBT community
- To slow to react to AIDS crisis-first mentioned it in a 1985 press conference.
- Seemed to deny the epidemic
- Said the "AIDS problem" was a moral issue rather than social so there was nothing the government could do
- Funding was not enough, too little too late
- As of December 31, 2000, 774,467 persons had been reported with AIDS in the United States; 448,060 of these had died; 3542 persons had unknown vital status. The number of persons living with AIDS (322,865) is the highest ever reported. Of these, 79% were men, 61% were black or Hispanic, and 41% were infected through male-to-male sex. Of the AIDS cases, approximately one third were reported during 1981--1992, 1993--1995, and 1996--2000
- Cuts in social programs
- Stopped busing children into schools-particularly affected Black and Hispanic Americans as these two groups often lived in the poorest areas. This therefore essentially guaranteed segregation
- Cut funding for bilingual education by 40%
- As well as what happened, appearance and opinion was also key. When Reagan did provide funding for the AIDS crisis, it was seen that he only did it because his friend had recently died, not to help the gay community
- Everything came together to form a resentment between many minority groups and Reagan.

<p><u>The Presidency:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> By the time Reagan came to power, many Americans didn't trust any part of government. Many felt helpless, as if it didn't matter whom they voted for, as things would carry on declining regardless. Reagan promised to bring change. Began to do so. First few years set the image that people retained of him. The fact that he did less than he and his conservative followers had hoped was less noticeable. The slowdown in change was hidden by the way he projected a presidential image and his foreign affairs successes. Bush didn't get re-elected for a second term despite having a higher approval rating than Reagan, 61 to 52 (however Reagan started with an approval rating of 68 compared to Carter's 28). Clinton had an approval rate of 55.

<p><u>Presidential involvement in legislation:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reagan's initial success with Congress was not repeated. Some of the legislation he wanted to introduce based on religious right were blocked by congress. E.g. laws to cut back on busing children from poorer areas to integrated schools. Reagan was also advised against some legislation and was prepared to listen to this advice and be pragmatic and flexible about policy. E.g. believed daily prayer should have been introduced into schools, but he was advised that it would never get past Congress. Bush was less Pragmatic and flexible. He was a poor communicator and was less able to charm the public or Congress, or present them with a with a clear vision of his policies. He had less support in congress; had 45 Republicans in the Senate (Reagan has 54 in first term) and 175 in the House (Reagan had 189). He promised to continue Reagans most popular policies, keeping taxes low, and defence spending up, but had to give in on demands of congress and raise taxes. Clinton also struggled to get legislation passed after his first big healthcare legislation package failed; increased presidential involvement in legislation didn't last long.

<p><u>Public Image and Iran-Contra Affair:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reagan looked and played the part of a president that Americans had thought they lost. Spoke of the American dream, family values and of confidence of the future. The public felt Reagan may not have doesn't everything right, but he was sincere and capable. Feeling was shocked with the uncovering of the Iran-Contra affair 1986. White House officials had supplied arms to Iran in order to free several US hostages. The officials had used the money from the arms sales to Iran (along with money raised from private sources) to support Contra rebels in Nicaragua, who were fighting the existing government. The White House had also supplied the rebels with weapons. This was all done not just without the agreement of Congress, but against policies of neutrality in the Iran-Iraq war and of not supplying the Contras with weapons laid down by Congress. Like Watergate, the President lied to Congress and the public by saying, first, that these things had not been done, and then, that he had not known about it. The officials involved destroyed documents and other evidence in an attempt to cover it up. People were doubting the president who ordered this then lied, or a president who was unable to control his officials. Reagans involvement, when it became known damaged the presidency. Reagan himself did better than Nixon. He was more popular at the start and so many people told themselves that, because he had had an operation when he gave the orders, he could have been confused. Also they felt he was doing it to save the hostages not his own neck.
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<p><u>US Politics:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reagan presidency did affect the political environment, but didn't create long republican control. Control of congress shifted to and fro, bringing in more political competition. By 1988, the democrats had a majority in the House and the Senate, although they lost this in the 1996 elections where the Republicans gained control of both.

<p><u>'New Right' Thinking:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> This rejected many assumptions in place since the new deal about how involved in society, how liberal, government should be. Reagans 1st term- united significant number of politicians Republican and Democrat, under a conservative coalition banner. Enabled him to push through early legislation. Coalition was reacting against the political climate of the 1970s as they saw it. Objected to the increase of 'lazy' and 'welfare dependent' poor; the rising number of strikes and demonstrations; the increasing lack of 'law and order'; the support given by the government to issues like gay rights, women's liberation, affirmative action and abortion. There was a split; in public mind and in the reaction of the politicians, between support of these general terms and accepting Reagan's more extreme policies. People thought the welfare system was being exploited, but also thought the poor needed more help. Congress and states managed to block legislation put forward by the Reagan administration on 'social' issues and 'big government' handovers of control e.g. moving funding for road building to state control.

<p><u>Revitalised politicians:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Could be argued that Reagan administration did not change Republican politics enough. Republicans saw their victories as a sensible swing to their way of thinking, rather than a temporary reaction to Democrat mistakes, did not feel like they needed to change their thinking. More Americans in 1980s and 1990s cared about liberal ideals than republicans thought. People wanted a fair society; even if it wasn't equal, one closer to the American Dream than Republican big business would ever want. The fact that Reagan could swing enough Democrats in the House to get his 1981 legislation passed was seen as a danger sign by the democrats. However they were a divided party and were even split about candidates. Jesse Jackson, a civil rights activist and Baptist minister, ran to be chosen as their candidate in 1984; he wasn't chosen and he lost. Jackson ran again in 1988 and lost; the democrat that did win lost heavily to Bush. After defeat in 1984, democrats formed the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) to revitalise the party. The 'old' liberal ORDER OF Kennedy and Johnson was tarnished. A 'New Democrat' ideology was born, promoted by the chairman of the Council in 1990: Bill Clinton. New ideology accepted the need for low taxes and low federal intervention. Shifted democrats to more conservative thinking. However, stressed the need for the provision of social welfare. As 'welfare' became increasingly synonymous with 'supporting the lazy' the democrats evolved a new take on it and said they would abolish welfare and provide support. Clinton campaigned on this promise in 1992. he offered a 'New Covenant' to the people. He would bring change and replace policies that weren't working, the same offer Reagan made in 1984.

<p><u>Revitalisation of US Presidency</u></p> <p><u>Other changes to the political environment:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reagan brought business back into government. Businesses were bigger and money was no longer something to be shy about having. From sponsorship in sport to influence in politics through huge campaign contributions, businesses made their mark on the USA far more strongly than they had done for decades. Candidates with more funding could buy air time and can run slicker and more appealing campaigns. This would give them a more competitive edge and has nothing to do with their political ideas and skills. The Christian right became more outspoken and involved in the political issues under Reagan. It became more outspoken about issues like abortion, teenage pregnancy and what should be taught in schools. Reagans view bought him a lot of votes. However, Reagan was advised against any actual legislation and was careful to make it clear that he was expressing personal opinion. He was a successful president because of his willingness to adapt. He might not have changed his opinions, but he wasn't trying to force legislation through that would make him unpopular and wouldn't get through congress anyway.
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<p><u>Public interest and involvement:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> If US Politics was revitalised this would have been shown in the public interest. Didn't happen up to 1996. The first televised presidential debate in 1960 drew 70 million viewers. Television ownership grew after that, but viewing figures for the debates dropped, even though they were seen as the events that most affected public voting. Viewing figures were around 60 million in 1960s. However, the Reagan-Carter debate broke through this with about 80.6 million viewers. The 1984 debates drew 67.5 million, 1988 debates 65.1 million; the 1992 debates 69.9 million and in 1996 only 36.3 million, the lowest in debate history. Reagan was a popular president and changed the view of the public, media and political parties on the role of government, even if he didn't make sweeping changes with legislation. He made the presidency look as if it was a proper political role again, becoming the leader who could affect policy and guide the nation. He made people feel as if the system of government was basically sound; it just needed the right people to be in the government to make it work.
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