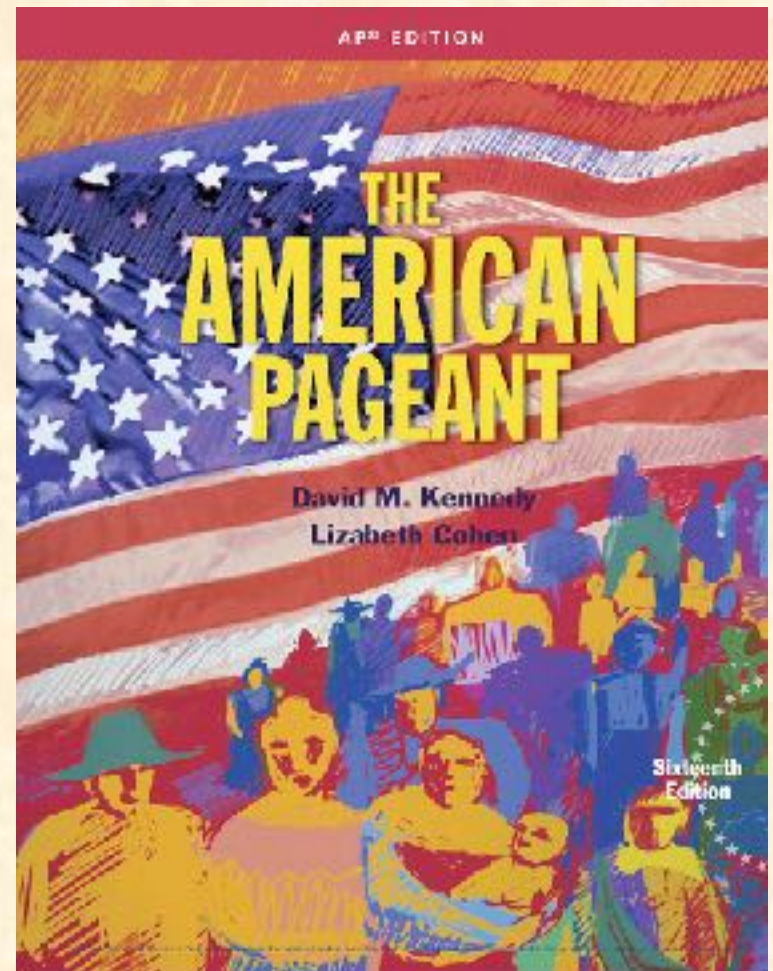


Chapter 40

America Confronts the Post–Cold War Era, 1992–2000



I. Bill Clinton: The First Baby-Boomer President

- 1992 presidential race
 - Democrats:
 - Gov. William Jefferson (“Bill”) Clinton for president
 - Senator Albert Gore for vice-president
 - Clinton claimed to be a “New” Democrat
 - Formed **Democratic Leadership Council (DLC)**:
 - Pushed pro-growth, strong defense, and anticrime policies
 - DLC's ascendance reflected how market-oriented ideas dominated politics by late 1990s

I. Bill Clinton: The First Baby-Boomer President (cont.)

– Republicans:

- Continued to use “social issues” of Reagan era
- Emphasized “family values”
- Nominated George H. W. Bush and Vice President J. Danforth Quayle for second term
- Bush claimed credit for ending Cold War and trumpeted his leadership in Persian Gulf War, but hurt by weak economy

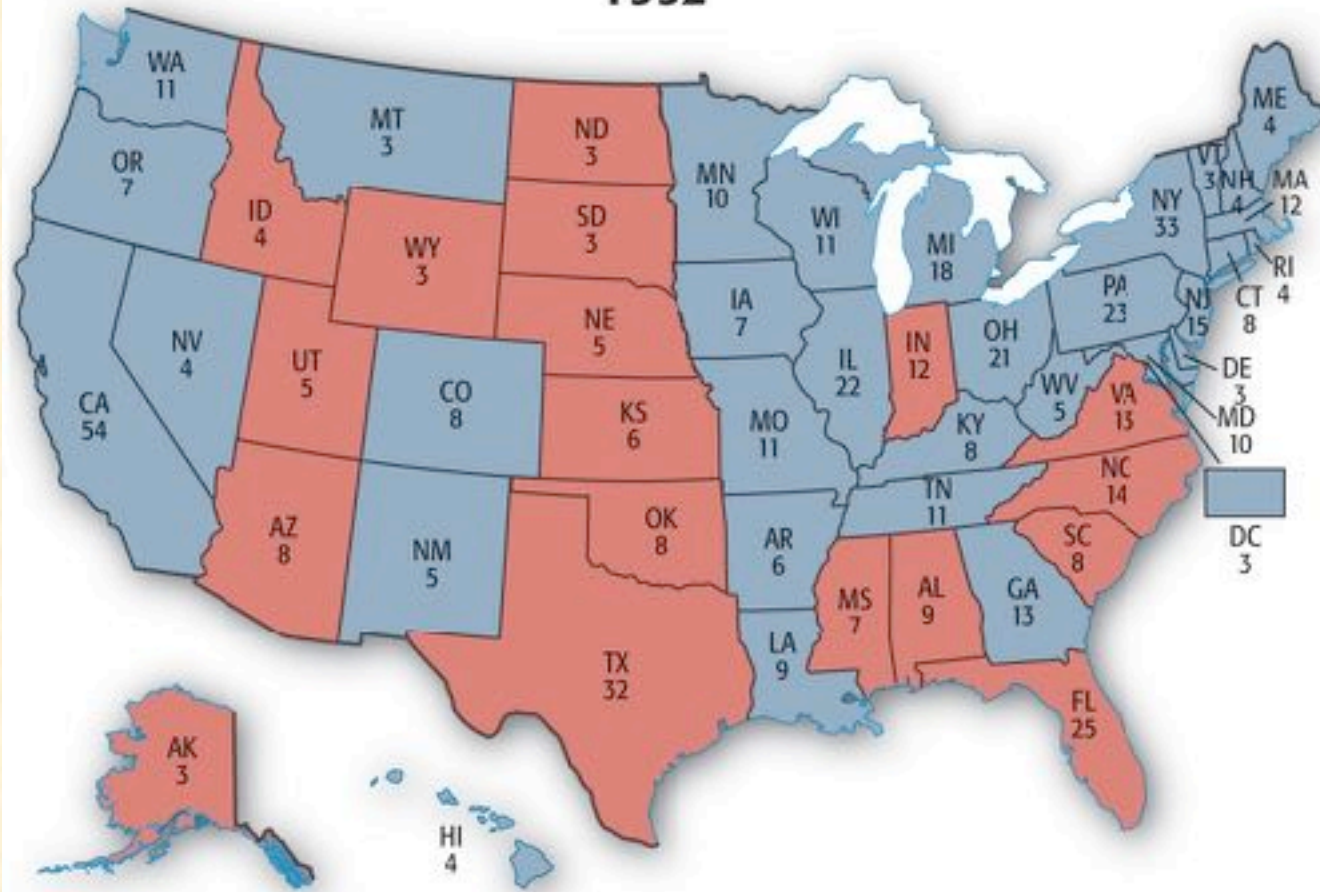
– Election results:

- 19% voted for H. Ross Perot—emphasized deficit
- Clinton popular count 44,909,889; Bush 39,104,545; Perot 19,742,267

I. Bill Clinton: The First Baby-Boomer President (cont.)

- Electoral count 370 Clinton; 168 Bush; 0 Perot
- Clinton first baby boomer to ascend to White House
- Perot: strongest showing for independent or third party candidate since T. Roosevelt, 1912 (see Map 40.1)
- Democrats won majorities in both houses of Congress
- Near record of new members: 39 African Americans, 19 Hispanic Americans, 7 Asian Americans, one Native American, 48 women (6 of them in Senate)
- Clinton nominated Ruth Bader Ginsburg to Supreme Court in 1993

1992



Candidate (Party)	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote
Clinton (Democrat)	370 68.8%	44,908,233 43.0%
Bush (Republican)	168 31.2%	39,102,282 37.4%
Perot (Independent)	0 0.0%	19,741,048 18.9%

II. A False Start for Reform

- Clinton thought he had mandate for reform
 - Gays and lesbians:
 - Advocated end to ban on service in armed services
 - Settled for **“Don't Ask, Don't Tell”** policy
 - Allowed gays and lesbians to serve in military without officially acknowledging their presence (Congress repealed this discriminatory policy in 2010)
 - Health-care reform:
 - Appointed Hillary Clinton as director of task force charged with redesigning medical-service industry

II. A False Start for Reform (cont.)

- Complicated plan dead on arrival when presented to Congress in October 1993
 - She won election as senator from New York in 2000
 - Became first First lady to hold public office
- Deficit reduction bill, 1993:
- Passed with no Republican support (harbinger of bitter partisan divide)
 - Spending cuts as well as tax increases on wealthy
 - Combined with increasingly buoyant economy by 1996 to shrink deficit
 - Congress argued over how to manage budget *surpluses*

II. A False Start for Reform (cont.)

– 1994 anti-crime bill:

- Most far-reaching anti-crime bill passed by Congress
- Funded 100,000 new police officers as well as construction of more prisons
- Federal ban on some assault weapons (expired in 2004)
- When states also stiffened law enforcement, U.S. incarceration rate became highest in world
 - With 5% of world's population, U.S.A. has 25% of all prison inmates by 2014
- Violent crime rate began substantial decline after 1995

II. A False Start for Reform (cont.)

- Antigovernment mood persisted:
 - **Oklahoma City bombing** of federal building, 1995
 - 168 lives lost
 - In retribution for 1993 standoff in Waco, Texas between federal agents and fundamentalist sect known as Branch Davidians
 - » Ended with compound destroyed and death of many women and children
 - Brought to light secretive underground of paramilitary “militias” ultrasuspicious of all government
 - Reflecting disenchantment with politics and politicians, several states passed term-limit laws for elected officials

III. The Politics of Distrust

- Republicans campaigned on **Contract with America**
 - Led by Georgia Representative Newt Gingrich
 - Promised all-out assault on budget deficit and radical reductions in welfare programs
 - Republicans won: 11 new governorships, 8 seats in Senate, 53 seats in House
 - Republican control of both houses for first time in 40 years
 - Defeat of southern Democrats led to accelerated
 - Ideological and geographical sorting of two parties
 - More partisanship



© AP Images/Al Houser/Photo



AP Images/John Duricka

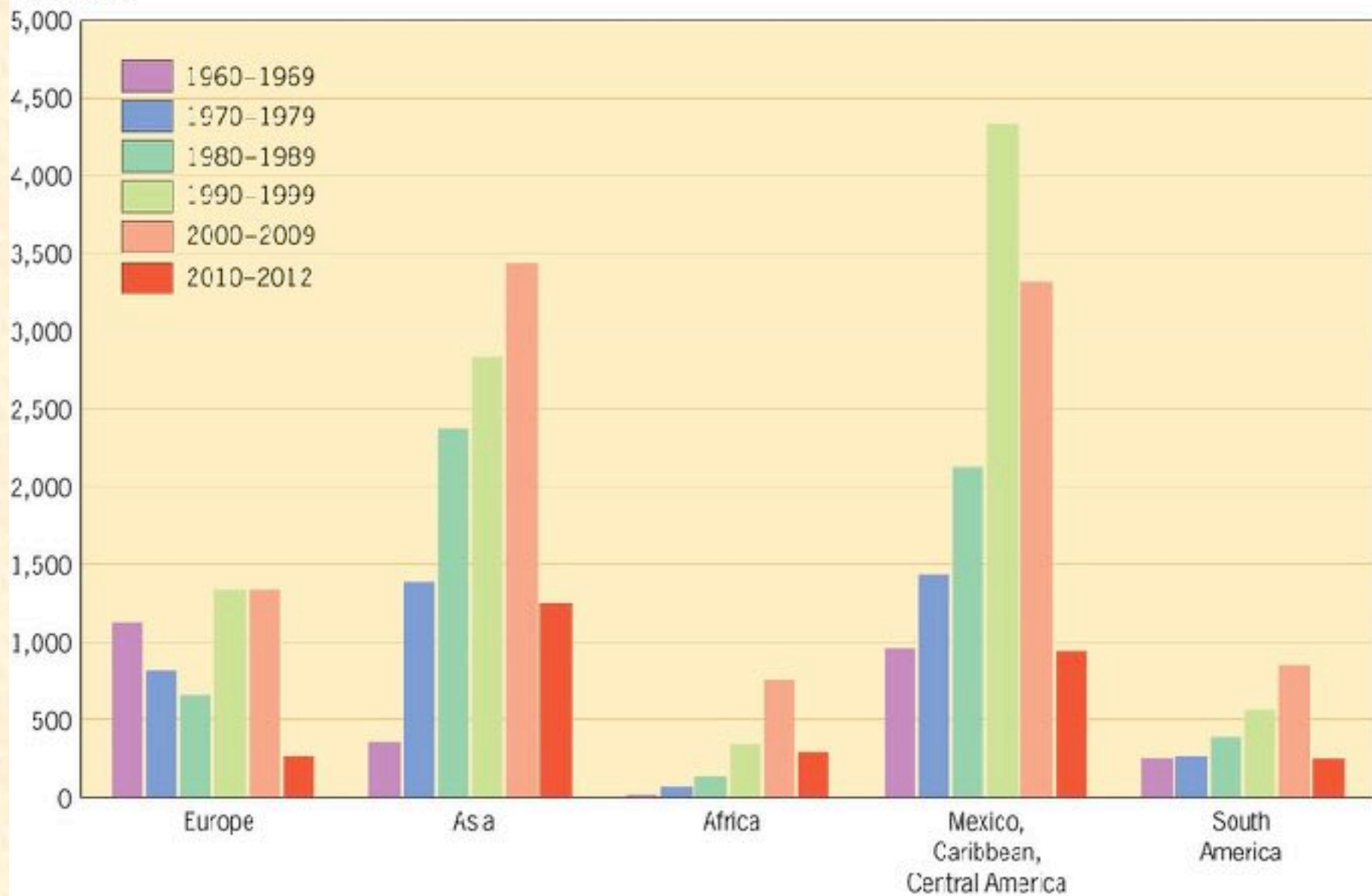
III. The Politics of Distrust (cont.)

- 1996: major conservative victory with **Welfare Reform Bill**:
 - Made deep cuts in welfare grants
 - Required able-bodied welfare recipients to find employment
 - Signed by reluctant Clinton
 - Liberal Democrats howled at president's action
 - Clinton saw it as shrewd strategy of accommodating electorate's conservative mood by moving to right

III. The Politics of Distrust (cont.)

- Welfare Reform Bill reflected growing anti-immigrant sentiment as number of immigrants grew
- Clinton denounced provisions that restricted benefits for both legal and illegal immigrants
- Increased immigration especially affected Southwest because of big increase in Mexican migrants (see Figure 40.1)
 - Mexicans = largest contingent of modern immigrants
- Republican anti-immigrant policies galvanized many voters, but alienated growing Latino population (See Makers of America)

In thousands



(Source: Yearbook of Immigration Statistics, 2012, Department of Homeland Security.)

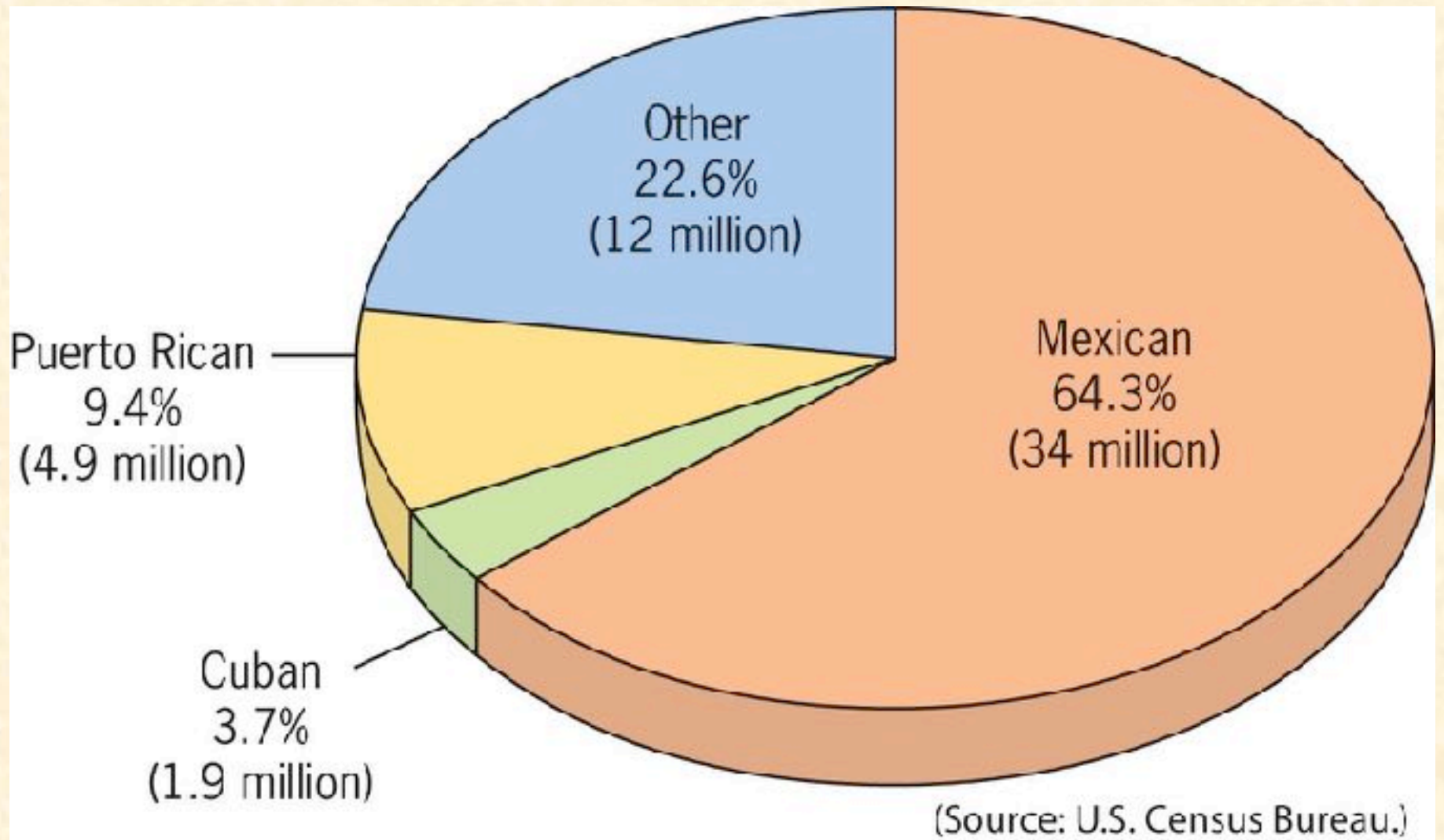
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J. Em. lic Flores/CORBIS







III. The Politics of Distrust (cont.)

- If Clinton overplayed mandate for reform after 1992, Republicans after 1994 “Republican Revolution” overplayed mandate for retrenchment
- Republicans wanted cuts in Medicare and education
- Disagreement between Republican Congress and Clinton forced government to shut down for 27 days in late 1995 and early 1996
- Caused backlash against GOP
- Helped Clinton to rebound from earlier defeats

IV. Clinton Comes Back

– 1996 election campaign:

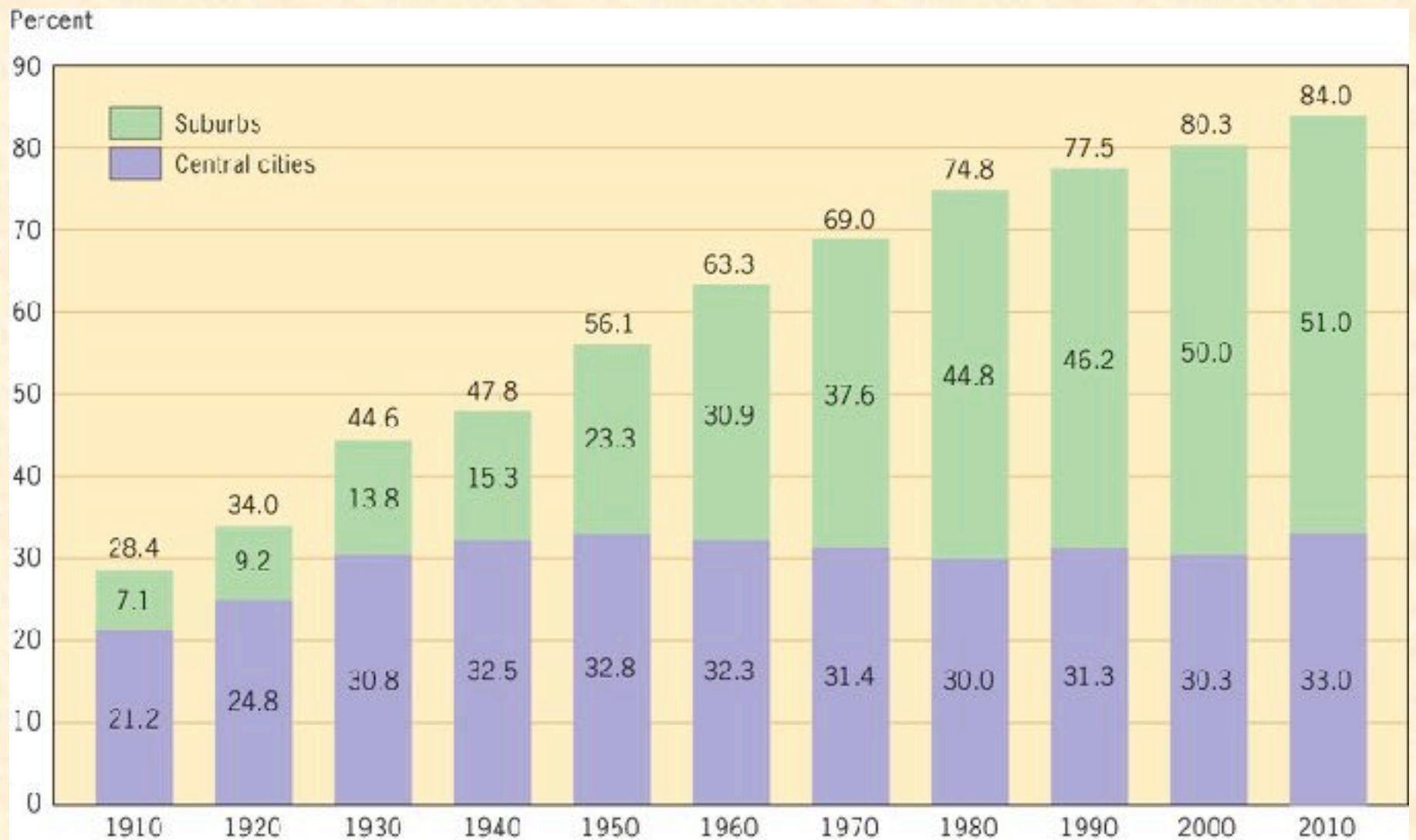
- Republicans choose Robert Dole as candidate
- Clinton was Democratic candidate
- Both appealed to swing voters, especially middle-class female suburbanites (see Figure 40.3)
- Rebounding economy helped Clinton
- Results: Clinton's popular count 47,401,898 to Dole's 39,198,482 (see Map 40.2)
- Clinton won 379 electoral votes; Dole only 159
- Republicans kept control of Congress
- Perot picked up less than half his votes of 1992

IV. Clinton Comes Back (cont.)

- Clinton = First Democrat since FDR to be reelected
- Facing Republican Congress, Clinton proposed modest legislative goals for second term
- Yet Clinton often put Republicans on defensive by claiming political middle ground
 - E.g., embraced Welfare Reform Bill of 1996

V. Racial Progress and Perils

- Affirmative action: Clinton pledged to “mend it, not end it”
- California passed Proposition 209 in 1996:
 - Prohibited affirmative-action preferences in government and higher education
 - With it, minority enrollments temporarily dropped
 - Federal court decision *Hopwood v. Texas* had similar effect
- Clinton criticized these assaults on affirmative action, but did not try to reverse them



(Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Decennial Census of Population, 1910 to 2000, compiled in *Demographic Trends in the 20th Century*, no. 2002; Population Reference Bureau, *Reports on America: First Results from the 2010 Census*.)

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V. Racial Progress and Perils (cont.)

- Racial divisions loomed large in culture and politics
- Stresses especially evident in Los Angeles (1992)
 - Magnet for minorities, especially immigrants from Asia and Latin America
 - LA riots testified to black skepticism about justice system and anger at Asian merchants
 - O. J. Simpson's murder trial (1995) fed white disillusionment with state of race relations
 - Debate over verdict reflected yawning chasm that separated white and black Americans

V. Racial Progress and Perils (cont.)

- Increasingly segmented residential landscapes reflected racial divide
- By late 1900s, minorities = majority population of many cities, as whites dominate suburbs
- When white gentrification of cities caused real estate prices to soar, minorities concentrated in inner cores of old industrial cities
- Residential map a checkerboard of racial difference as well as vivid contrasts of prosperity and poverty

V. Racial Progress and Perils (cont.)

- Blacks gained politically in wake of civil rights revolution of 1950s and 1960s
 - more than 9,000 black elected officials by 2000
 - Included some three dozen members of Congress
 - Mayors of several large cities
- By 2000, blacks had advanced in higher education
 - Educational gap between blacks and whites persisted
 - Assaults on affirmative action compounded obstacles for many young blacks
 - 2000: 16.6% of blacks over age of 25 with at least a bachelor's degree compared with 26.1% of whites

V. Racial Progress and Perils (cont.)

- Racial divisions also shape politics
- Blacks very pro-Clinton in 1992 and 1996
- Racial minorities become increasingly key components of Democratic electoral base



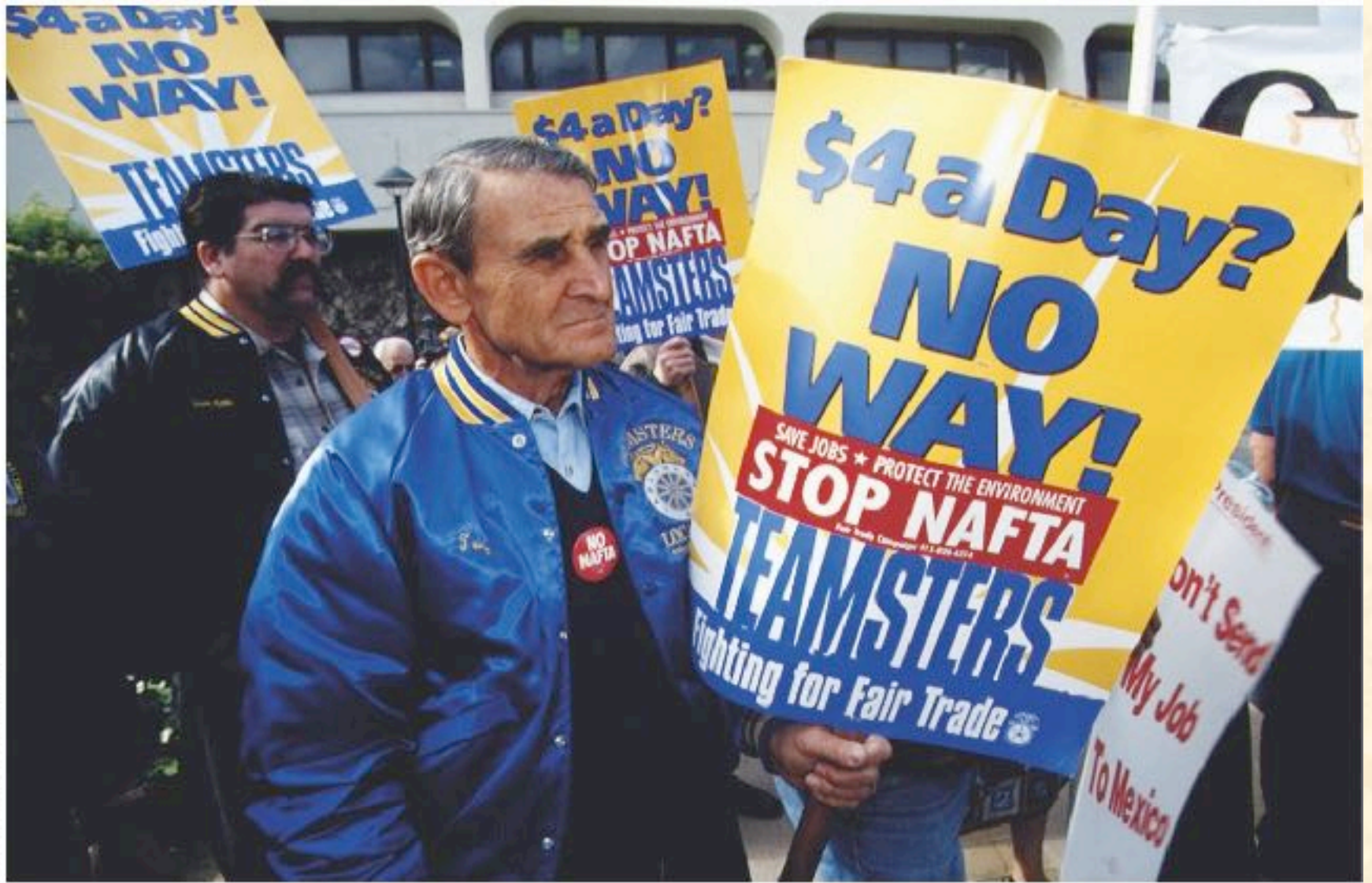
TIM SLOAN/APP/Getty Images

VI. Globalization and Its Discontents

- Clinton's major political advantage was economy— longest sustained period of growth by 2000
- Federal Reserve's low interest, easy money policies along with Internet boom cut unemployment to 4%
 - Inflation remained low
- In such a positive economy, Clinton and Republican Congress deregulated financial sector
 - Loosened rules on new instruments called “derivatives”
 - Repealed Glass-Steagall Act of 1930s that barred commercial banks from dealing in securities

VI. Globalization and Its Discontents (cont.)

- Clinton signed **North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)** in 1993:
 - Created free-trade zone of Mexico, Canada, and U.S.A.
 - Bucked his own party's protectionists, especially labor leaders
- 1994: further supported global free-trade when he promoted creation of **World Trade Organization (WTO)**:
 - Successor to General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
 - Simmering discontent over trade policy boiled over in 1999 when Clinton hosted WTO meeting in Seattle
 - Protesters railed against human and environmental costs of economic globalization



VI. Globalization and Its Discontents (cont.)

- Clinton a big advocate of trade expansion
- As China boomed, he soft-pedaled earlier criticism of Beijing on human rights and sought improved trade
- By 2000, he pushed controversial China trade bill that Congress passed in May 2000:
 - Made Asian giant full-fledged trading partner of U.S.A.
- Another step in globalization

VI. Globalization and Its Discontents (cont.)

- Communications technology accelerated globalization
- Computers key to productivity gains and economic growth in late 1900s
- Microsoft led transformation to fast-paced “information age” as storing, organizing, and processing data became industry
- Internet heralded communications revolution

VI. Globalization and Its Discontents (cont.)

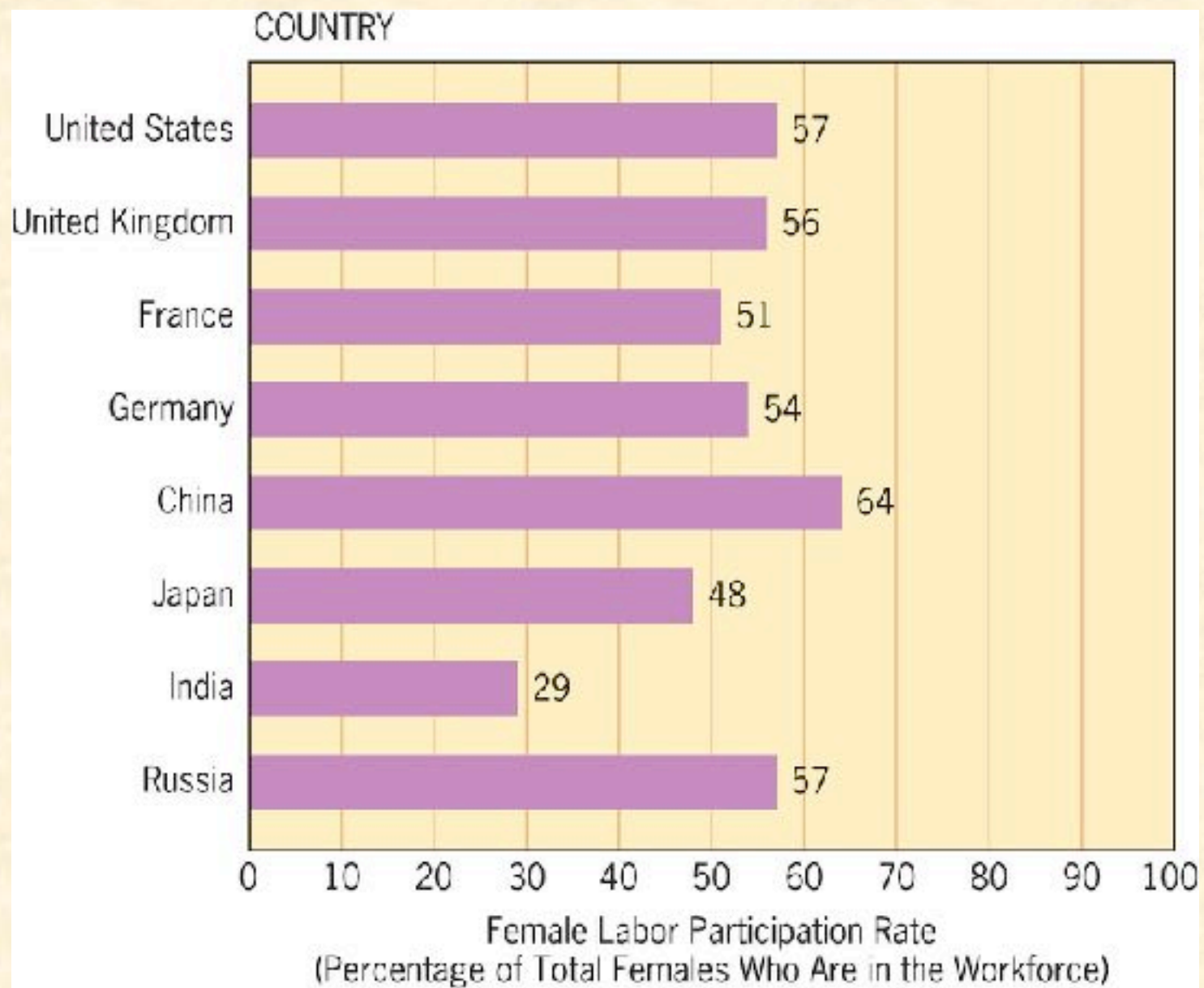
- Networked people formed electronic global village of instantaneous communication
 - Speed and efficiency of e-communications threatened to wipe out entire occupations (postal carriers, etc.)
 - Certain jobs could be “outsourced” to other countries (e.g., Ireland or India)
-
- Related forces of computer revolution and economic globalization defined opportunities and challenges at dawn of new millennium



VII. The Feminist Revolution

– Women in workplace:

- 1900: women about 20% of workforce
- Presence in workplace steadily increased over next five decades
- 1950s, women's entry accelerated dramatically
- By 1990s, nearly half of all workers women, and majority of working-age women held jobs (see Figure 40.4)
- Most astonishing was upsurge in employment of mothers
- 1950s, most mothers with children stayed home
- 1990s, majority of women with children as young as one year old were wage earners (see Table 40.1)



(Source: The World Bank, *World Development Indicators*.)

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Reuters/Corbis

VII. The Feminist Revolution (cont.)

- Women brought home the bacon and then cooked it because most men did not take on greater share of domestic chores
- Greater burdens of parenthood help explain occupational segregation and pay disparities
- Women far more likely than men to interrupt careers or choose less demanding career paths to permit parenthood
- Women continued to receive lower wages
- Tended to concentrate in low-prestige, low-paying occupations (“pink-collar ghetto”)
- As late as 2012, women made 77 cents on dollar compared to men

VII. The Feminist Revolution (cont.)

- Accounting for more than ½ the population in 2010, women were:
 - 33% of lawyers and judges (up from 5% in 1970)
 - 32% of physicians (up from 10% in 1970)
- Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993:
 - Job protection for working fathers and mothers who need time off from work for family-related reasons
- Some employers provided paternity leave in addition to maternity leave, both usually unpaid
- Family practices and structures change as more and more women work

VII. The Feminist Revolution (cont.)

- Traditional nuclear family changed:
 - By 1990s, one out of every two marriages ended in divorce
 - 1960s, 5% of all births were to unmarried women
 - 1990s, 1 out of 4 white babies, 1 out of 3 Latino babies, and 2 out of 3 African American babies born to single mothers
 - If *traditional* family increasingly rare, family remained bedrock of society
 - Families now assumed variety of forms:
 - Household led by single parent, stepparent, or grandparent
 - Children with gay and lesbian parents
 - Teenage pregnancy and divorce rates decline, mid-1990s

TABLE 40.1 Working Women: Labor Force Participation Rates for Wives and Mothers, 1950–2011*

Year	Married	Married, with Children	Married, with Children Ages 6–17	Married, with Children Under Age 6
1950	23.8%	NA	28.3%	11.9%
1960	30.5	NA	39.0	18.6
1970	40.8	39.7	49.2	30.3
1980	50.1	54.1	61.7	45.1
1990	58.2	66.3	73.6	58.9
2000	62.0	70.6	77.2	62.8
2007	61.6	69.3	76.2	61.5
2011	60.2	69.1	74.9	62.3

*Percentage of women in each specific category in the labor force.

(Source: *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, relevant years.)

VIII. Searching for a Post-Cold War Foreign Policy

- Clinton looked for formula to replace anticommunism as basic premise of U.S. diplomacy
- Absorbed by domestic issues, Clinton uncertain at first
 - After Somali rebels killed more than a dozen Americans, Clinton withdrew U.S. units in 1994
 - Burned by Somalia, U.S.A. stood by when ethnic violence in Rwanda in 1994 resulted in death of half a million people
- Tormented Balkans in southeastern Europe:
 - Vicious ethnic conflict raged in Bosnia

VIII. Searching for a Post-Cold War Foreign Policy (cont.)

- U.S.A. dithered until deciding to commit troops to NATO peacekeeping contingent in 1995
- NATO's presence failed to pacify Balkans completely
- Serbian president Slobodan Milosevi'c (1999) unleashed new round of “ethnic cleansing” against ethnic Albanians in Kosovo
- U.S.-led NATO forces launched air war against Serbia
- Bombing forced Milosevi'c to accept NATO peacekeeping force in Kosovo
 - Milosevic arrested in 2001 and put on trial before International Criminal Court in the Hague, where he died in 2006 before trial completed

VIII. Searching for a Post-Cold War Foreign Policy (cont.)

- Middle East remained a major focus of U.S. diplomacy
- 1993: Clinton presided over historic meeting between Israeli premier Yitzhak Rabin and PLO leader Yasir Arafat
- Agreed on withdrawal of Israeli forces from West Bank and Gaza Strip and political self-rule for Palestinians there
- Two years later, Rabin killed by assassin's bullet
- Clinton and Madeleine Albright spent rest of 1990s trying in vain to find solution to Israeli-Palestinian problem



Fula Ha awani/Sygnia/Corbis

VIII. Searching for a Post-Cold War Foreign Policy (cont.)

- Middle East also source of another key problem for U.S.A.
- Growth of radical, anti-American Islamist terrorism
- Most effective transnational network was Al Qaeda
- Bombed U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, 1998
- Bombed U.S.S. *Cole*, 2000
- Saudi-born leader of Al Qaeda, Osama bin Laden:
 - Declared war on all Americans and their allies in 1998 *fatwa*
 - Denounced U.S. military presence in region, especially Saudi Arabia
 - As well as U.S. support for Israel in dispute with Palestinians

VIII. Searching for a Post-Cold War Foreign Policy (cont.)

- Clinton stepped up efforts to leave legacy as international peacemaker
 - Along with work in Middle East, he helped bring peace to Northern Ireland in 1998
 - Diplomacy in Korean peninsula as well as in India and Pakistan aimed to reduce nuclear tensions in Asia
- Guiding principles of U.S. foreign policy in post-Cold War era remained ill-defined and elusive

IX. Scandal and Impeachment

- Scandal dogged Clinton from start of presidency
 - Critics charged him with everything from philandering to illegal financial transactions:
 - Allegations of corrupt real estate deal (**Whitewater**) while he was governor of Arkansas triggered investigation by special prosecutor
 - No indictment ever materialized
 - Mobilized conservative movement with its own media amplified each accusation

IX. Scandal and Impeachment (cont.)

– **Lewinsky affair:**

- Jan. 1998: revelation that Clinton engaged in sexual affair with young White House intern, Monica Lewinsky
- Lied under oath about affair in another woman's civil suit accusing him sexual harassment
- Sept. 1998: Whitewater special prosecutor submitted to House report outlining eleven possible grounds for impeachment, all related to lying about Lewinsky
- Dec. 1998: Republican-controlled House passed two articles of impeachment:
 - Perjury before grand jury
 - Obstruction of justice

IX. Scandal and Impeachment (cont.)

- Democratic minority charged that:
 - However deplorable Clinton's personal misconduct,
 - Sexual transgressions did not rise to level of “high crimes and misdemeanors” prescribed in Constitution (see Art. II, Sec. IV in the Appendix)
 - House Republicans replied that perjury and obstruction were grave issues and that “rule of law” at stake

IX. Scandal and Impeachment (cont.)

- Most Americans leaned toward view of Clinton's actions as low follies, not high crimes
 - 1998 midterm elections, voters reduced Republican majority in House:
 - Gingrich then resigned
 - Regarding Clinton, most Americans:
 - Disapproved of his personal morals
 - Liked most of his political and economic policies
 - Wanted him to stay in office

The Clinton/Star Legacy

SOMETIME IN THE NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE ...

NEW WHITE HOUSE SECURITY MEASURES



HERE ARE THE PAPERS YOU WANTED, MR. PRESIDENT.

THANK YOU, MISS SMITH.

GROWING INTEREST IN HISTORY AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE



CHECK OUT PAGE 624 OF THE AMERICAN PAGEANT!

IN PUBLIC LIFE, A CURIOUS MIX OF SEXUAL FRANKNESS AND PRUDERY



WHILE I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN FAITHFUL TO MY WIFE, ONCE, ON MY 43RD BIRTHDAY WE ENGAGED IN ACTS THAT COULD BE CONSIDERED AS ILLEGAL IN ELEVEN STATES—ALTHOUGH NOT IN PUERTO RICO, WHERE WE WERE VACATIONING AT THE TIME.

JUDY, THE KIDS AND I ALL AGREE THAT IF ELECTED, I WILL DEMONSTRATE MY FULL COMMITMENT TO DOING THE PEOPLE'S WORK BY IMPROVING MYSELF CHEMICALLY NEUTERED FOR THE LENGTH OF MY TERM.

TALK, TALK, TALK. I THINK MY RECORD SPEAKS FOR ITSELF.

ENDLESS FUEL FOR CONSPIRACY THEORISTS



THERE! WHERE HIS EYES BLINKE OUT WHEN THEY FIRST MENTION THE CIGAR! THE REAL CLINTON WOULD HAVE SQUINTED.

IT'S CLEARLY A DOUBLE.

THEN TECHNICALLY HE WASN'T LYING!

A LINGERING SENSE OF NATIONAL SELF-LOATHING



WOW, YOU REMEMBER MONICA-GATE?

SHHHHHH! BRUNDAVA DOESN'T LIKE TO TALK ABOUT THAT.

IT WAS LIKE A STRANGE, ENDLESS DREAM, LIKE EVERYTHING WAS HAPPENING IN SLOW MOTION.

I WANTED TO LOOK AWAY BUT

CHOKES

I COULDN'T...

Michael Douglas

IX. Scandal and Impeachment (cont.)

- In early 1999 for first time in 130 years, impeachment proceeding in U.S. Senate
- Facts widely known
- Political positions of two parties locked in
- Results of trial:
 - Obstruction of justice—5 northeastern Republicans joined all 45 Democratic senators in voting not guilty
 - 50 votes for conviction fell far short of constitutionally required two-third majority
 - Vote on perjury charge was 45 guilty, 55 not guilty



X. Clinton's Legacy and the 2000 Election

- Clinton's legacy mixed:
 - Economic policies encouraged growth and trade in rapidly globalizing post-Cold War world
 - As centrist “New Democrat”, he consolidated Reagan-Bush revolution against New Deal liberalism
 - Setting low standard in personal conduct, he replenished public cynicism about politics
 - In 2000, Democrats stayed on political course set by Clinton by nominating V.P. Albert Gore for president

X. Clinton's Legacy and the 2000 Election (cont.)

- Gore picked as running mate Senator Joseph Lieberman, outspoken critic of Clinton's behavior
 - Lieberman first Jew nominated to major national ticket
- Republican challenger was George W. Bush:
 - Surrounded himself with Washington insiders
 - Including vice-presidential nominee Richard Cheney
 - In clear jab at Clinton, promised to “restore dignity to the White House”
 - Estimates that federal budget would produce surplus of \$2 trillion in coming decade set stage for presidential contest

X. Clinton's Legacy and the 2000 Election (cont.)

- Candidates' economic views
 - Bush:
 - Return surplus to “the people” through massive tax cuts
 - Promote private sector programs, such as school vouchers and reliance on “faith-based” institutions to help poor
 - Gore:
 - Proposed small tax cuts
 - Targeted at middle and lower class people
 - Strengthen Social Security
 - Foreign policy hardly figured in campaign

X. Clinton's Legacy and the 2000 Election (cont.)

- Election results:
 - Country nearly split evenly between two candidates
 - Florida's electoral votes would determine winner
 - 5-week standoff over how to count votes in Florida
 - Democrats argued some ballots confusing or had been misread by machines; asked for recounts by hand in several counties
 - Republicans claimed recounts would be “changing the rules in the middle of the game” and thus thwart rule of law

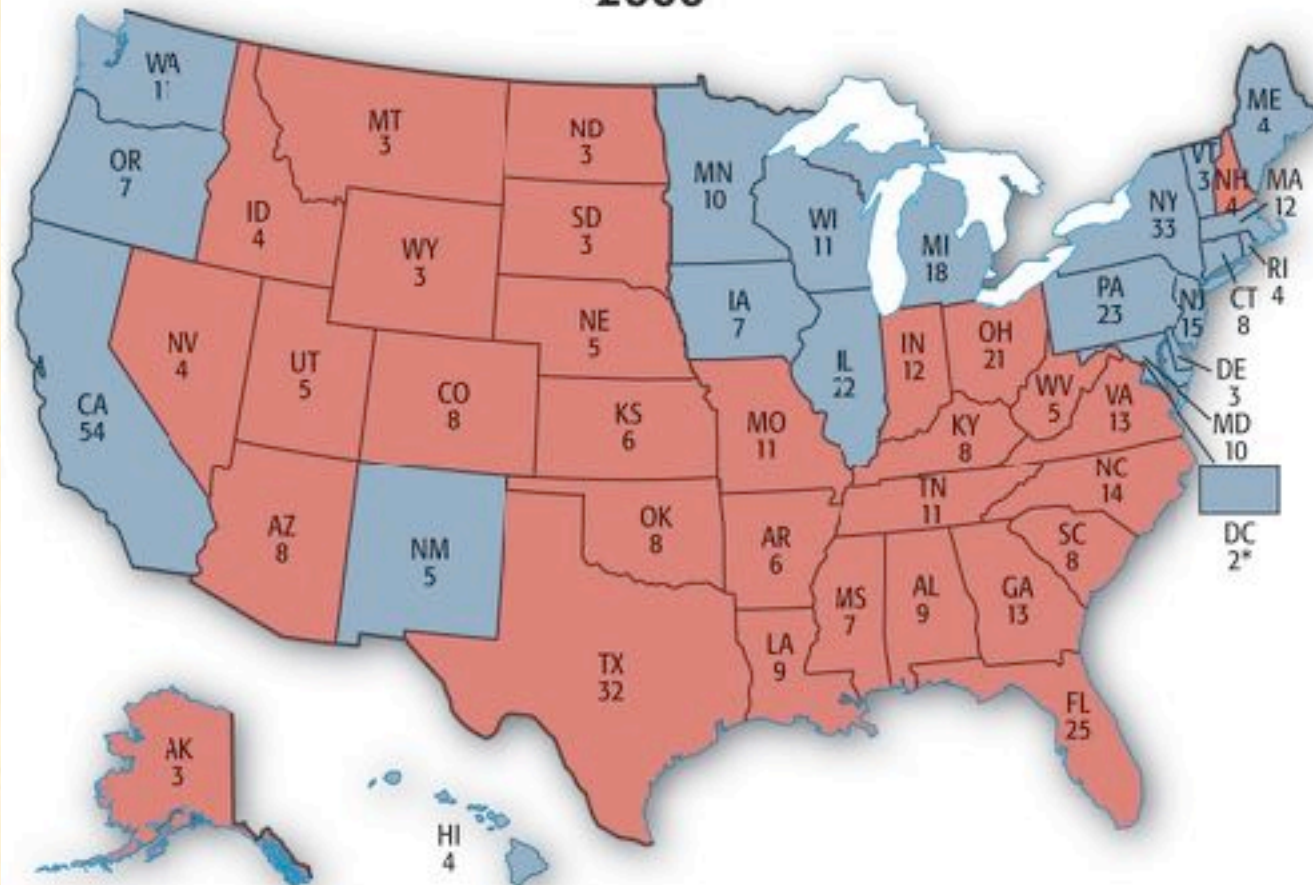
X. Clinton's Legacy and the 2000 Election (cont.)



- After weeks of legal bickering, Supreme Court intervened:
 - By five-to-four vote along partisan lines
 - Court reasoned that since neither Florida's legislature nor courts had established uniform standard for evaluating disputed ballots, hand counts amounted to unconstitutional breach of Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause
 - Ruling gave Bush the White House but cast shadow of illegitimacy over his presidency
 - Bush officially won Florida by 537 votes out of 6 million cast

X. Clinton's Legacy and the 2000 Election (cont.)

- Bush's electoral count 271 to Gore's 266 (see Map 40.2)
- National popular vote went decisively to Gore:
 - Gore: 50,999,897 to 50,456,002 for Bush
- For first time since 1888, candidate won White House with fewer popular votes than his opponent
- Deepening racial polarization of party politics:
 - African Americans voted for Gore over Bush by ratio of 10 to 1
 - Black Floridians claimed election officials interfered with their votes

2000



Candidate (Party)	Electoral Vote	Popular Vote
 Bush (Republican)	271 50.4%	50,456,169 47.88%
 Gore (Democrat)	266 49.4%	50,996,116 48.39%
Nader (Green)	0 0.0%	2,783,728 2.72%

* One elector from the District of Columbia abstained.

XI. E Pluribus Plures

- Controversial issues of color and culture pervaded realm of ideas
 - Creed of “multiculturalism” start in 1970s
 - Built on “cultural pluralists” like Horace Kallen and Randolph Bourne of early 1900s
 - Celebrated diversity for its own sake
 - Stressed need to preserve and promote, rather than squash, variety of ethnic and racial cultures in U.S.A.

XI. E Pluribus Plures (cont.)

- Nation's classrooms became battlegrounds for debate over America's commitment to pluralism
- Multiculturalists attacked traditional curriculum as “Eurocentric”
 - Advocated greater focus on achievements of African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, and Native Americans
- Critics argued that:
 - Too much stress on ethnic difference would come at expense of national cohesion
 - And appreciation of common American values

XI. E Pluribus Plures (cont.)

- Census Bureau enlivened debate in 2000 when it allowed respondents to identify themselves with more than one of six standard racial categories:
 - Black, white, Latino, American Indian, Asian, and Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- As nearly seven million described themselves as biracial or multiracial, reflected revolution in attitudes toward race
 - As of 1960s, interracial marriage still illegal in 16 states
- By early 21st century, many proclaimed pride in mixed racial heritage
 - Golfer Tiger Woods
 - Actress Rosario Dawson

XII. The Postmodern Mind

- Growing comfort with multiplicity energized cultural and intellectual output
- Era often referred to as “postmodern” but lots of disagreement on exact definition
- Condition of fragmented perspectives, multiple truths, and constructed identities
- Rejected rational, totalizing descriptions of self or world

XII. The Postmodern Mind (cont.)

- Replaced modernism's faith in certainty, objectivity, and unity with eclectic celebration of diverse and overlapping outlooks
- Postmodern architecture made most visible footprint
 - Robert Venturi and Michael Graves revived decorative details of earlier historical styles
 - Celebrated mix of architectural elements
 - Frank Gehry used undulating sheets of metallic skin—
 - Guggenheim Museum (1997) in Bilbao, Spain
 - Walt Disney Concert Hall (2003) in Los Angeles



Atlanta: Photobrew/Corbis

XII. The Postmodern Mind (cont.)

- Postmodern sensibility shaped other art forms
 - Classical music composers John Adams and John Zorn:
 - Broke down boundaries between “high” and “low” styles
 - Blended diverse genres and traditions in experimental mix
 - Choreographers Steve Paxton and Twyla Tharp:
 - Paired everyday movements with classical techniques and gave dancers license to improvise
 - Visual artists also felt eclectic urge:
 - Cindy Sherman, Jenny Holzer, Kara Walker combined old and new media to confront, confound, and even offend viewer
 - Jeff Koons and Shepard Fairey borrowed industrial materials and pop culture imagery to blur distinction between highbrow and lowbrow cultures



Jason Kempin/Getty Images Entertainment/Getty Images

XII. The Postmodern Mind (cont.)

- Postmodern literature, like art, had deep roots in post-WWII era
 - After WWII, William S. Burroughs, Kurt Vonnegut, Thomas Pynchon:
 - Pioneered use of non-linear narratives, pastiche forms, parody, and paradox
 - Michael Chabon, Jeffrey Eugenides, and Zadie Smith:
 - Adapted techniques for contemporary audiences
 - David Foster Wallace, *Infinite Jest* (1996)
 - Colson Whitehead, *The Intuitionist* (1999)
 - Many postmodern authors female and/or persons of color



Nick Driken/UpperCut Images/Getty Images

XII. The Postmodern Mind (cont.)

- Toni Morrison:
 - Bewitching portrait of maternal affection amidst horrors of slavery in *Beloved* (1987)
 - In 1993 became first African American woman to win Nobel Prize for literature
- E. Annie Proulx:
 - Comical yet tender portrayal of struggling family in *The Shipping News* (1993)
- James Welch, Leslie Marmon Silko, Joy Harjo, and Sherman Alexie:
 - Contributed to Native American literary renaissance that sought to recover tribal past while reimagining its present

XII. The Postmodern Mind (cont.)

– Immigrant writers:

- Playwright David Hwang, novelist Amy Tan
- Novelist Ha Jin, *Waiting* (1999) and *War Trash* (2004)
- Jhumpa Lahiri explored painful relationship between immigrant Indian parents and American-born children
- Latino writers:
 - Junot Diaz's Pulitzer Prize-winning *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao* (2007) bridged Dominican Republic and New Jersey

XII. The Postmodern Mind (cont.)

– On stage, political themes and social commentary predominated

- Tony Kushner, *Angels in America* (1991) inspired by AIDS epidemic
- As was Jonathan Larson's Tony Award-winning musical *Rent* (1996)
- Eve Ensler used comic intimacy to espouse feminist empowerment and end to violence against women in *Vagina Monologues* (1996)

XIII. Niche Nation

- Postmodern sensibilities greatly shaped popular arts of music, film, and television
 - New communications technology and media markets enabled artists to mix disparate elements
 - While commercial pop culture became microtargeted and niche-oriented
 - Hip hop artists from Public Enemy to Jay-Z “sampled” beats and overlaid them with complex “rapping” schemes
 - “Mash-up” artists
 - Fused fragments from songs of different musical genres
 - Remixed one song's vocal track over another song's instrumentals

XIII. Niche Nation (cont.)

- Communications tech fragmented consuming public and allowed new voices to be heard
- Independent film movement changed cinema
 - Quentin Tarantino's *Pulp Fiction* (1994) used nonlinear storyline
- Cable TV produced high-quality dramas for smaller audiences; e.g., *The Sopranos* (1999-2007)
- Compared to earlier, fewer national experiences
- Pop culture matched society at large as U.S.A. became more pluralist, hybridized, and diverse

CHRONOLOGY

1992 Clinton defeats Bush and Perot for presidency

1993 NAFTA signed

1994 Republicans win majorities in both houses of Congress

1996 Welfare Reform Bill becomes law
Clinton defeats Dole for presidency

1998 Clinton-Lewinsky scandal
Al Qaeda bombing of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania
House of Representatives impeaches Clinton

1999 Senate acquits Clinton on impeachment charges

Kosovo crisis; NATO warfare with Serbia
Protest in Seattle against World Trade Organization

2000 U.S. normalizes trade relations with China
George W. Bush wins presidency in Electoral College; Albert Gore takes popular vote