



Contents

| | |
|-------------------|------|
| Preface | iv |
| Correlation Guide | xvi |
| Topic Guide | xx |
| Introduction | xxii |

UNIT 1 CULTURE AND VALUES 1

Issue 1. Does the Media Have a Liberal Bias? 2

YES: Fred Barnes, from “Is the Mainstream Media Fair and Balanced?” *Imprimis* (August 2006) 5

NO: Robert F. Kennedy Jr., from “The Disinformation Society,” *Crimes Against Nature* (Harper Perennial, 2005) 11

Fred Barnes, journalist, executive editor of *The Weekly Standard* and TV commentator, argues that the mainstream media has a pronounced liberal bias. They do not hire conservatives, and an analysis of specific news stories shows their bias. Robert F. Kennedy Jr., environmentalist and political activist, agrees with Barnes that the media is biased but believes that it has a conservative bias. Surveys show that most Americans have many false beliefs that are fed to them by conservative talk radio shows and other conservative media outlets. Many media owners are very conservative and stifle investigative reporting.

Issue 2. Is Third World Immigration a Threat to America’s Way of Life? 22

YES: Mark Krikorian, from *The New Case Against Immigration* (Sentinel, 2008) 25

NO: Jason L. Riley, from *Let Them In: The Case for Open Borders* (Gotham, 2008) 32

Mark Krikorian, the executive director of the Center for Immigration Studies, presents the case against immigration. He emphasizes the changes in America that make immigration less beneficial for America. The current immigrants are not much different than immigrants in the past century, but they do not fit the new America as well as the past immigrants fit the old America. One part of the story is that the new America will not assimilate immigrants well. Jason L. Riley, an editor of the *Wall Street Journal*, applauds immigration because it will propel, not impede, economic growth. America has a flexible labor market, where both employers and employees can change the work situation as they need or desire. “In the end, employers, workers, and consumers are all better off.” America has a labor shortage that immigrants help fill without taking jobs in the aggregate from Americans. Riley also argues that new immigrants assimilate much like the old immigrants did.

**UNIT 2 SEX ROLES, GENDER, AND
THE FAMILY 43****Issue 3. Does Divorce Have Long-Term Damaging Effects
on Children? 44**

YES: Elizabeth Marquardt, from "The Bad Divorce," *First Things* (February 2005) 46

NO: Constance Ahrons, from "No Easy Answers: Why the Popular View of Divorce Is Wrong," *We're Still Family: What Grown Children Have to Say about Their Parents' Divorce* (HarperCollins, 2004) 51

Elizabeth Marquardt, director of the Center for Marriage and Families, defends the common belief that divorce has devastating impacts on children and attacks Constance Ahrons's counter-thesis. Constance Ahrons, co-chair of the Council on Contemporary Families, found in her research on the children of divorced parents that they do quite well in later life, and most think that they were not harmed by the divorce.

**Issue 4. Are Professional Women "Opting Out" of Work
by Choice? 61**

YES: Linda Hirshman, from "Homeward Bound," *The American Prospect Online* (November 21, 2005) 64

NO: Pamela Stone, from "The Rhetoric and Reality of 'Opting Out,'" *Contexts* (Fall 2007) 72

Feminist scholar Linda Hirshman finds that successful and well-qualified women are "opting out" of work outside the home when their husbands' income is adequate for a rich lifestyle. Prioritizing parenthood over work is an affront to Hirshman's feminist values. Sociologist Pamela Stone reports on her survey research and finds a number of women who sacrificed careers for parenthood and thought it was their free choice. Her analysis, however, notes that they were tightly constrained by traditional gender roles and inflexible workplaces.

**Issue 5. Should Same-Sex Marriages Be Legally
Recognized? 83**

YES: Human Rights Campaign, from "Answers to Questions about Marriage Equality," *Human Rights Campaign Report* (Human Rights Campaign, 2009) 86

NO: Peter Sprigg, from "Questions and Answers: What's Wrong with Letting Same-Sex Couples 'Marry'?" *Family Research Council* (2004) 94

America's largest lesbian and gay organization, the Human Rights Campaign, presents many arguments for why same-sex couples should be able to marry. The main argument is fairness. Marriage confers many benefits that same-sex couples are deprived of. Researcher Peter Sprigg presents many arguments for why same-sex couples should not be able to marry. The main argument is that the state has the right and duty to specify who a person, whether straight or gay, can marry, so no rights are violated.

UNIT 3 STRATIFICATION AND INEQUALITY 103

Issue 6. Is Increasing Economic Inequality a Serious Problem? 104

YES: James Kurth, from “The Rich Get Richer,” *The American Conservative* (September 25, 2006) 107

NO: Gary S. Becker and Kevin M. Murphy, from “The Upside of Income Inequality,” *The American* (May/June 2007) 115

James Kurth, Claude Smith Professor of Political Science at Swarthmore College, warns of very negative consequences for America of the growing income inequality from a conservative perspective. He also mentions the liberal criticisms of inequality but downplays their importance, because America has institutions that mitigate them. Gary S. Becker and Kevin M. Murphy, both economists teaching at the University of Chicago and senior fellows at the Hoover Institution, swim upstream on this issue by pointing out the positive consequences of the growing income inequality. The main reason for the increasing inequality is the increasing returns to education, which, in turn, inspire greater efforts by young people to increase their social capital.

Issue 7. Is America Close to Being a Post-Racial Society? 122

YES: Alvin Poussaint, from “Obama, Cosby, King and the Mountaintop,” *CNN.com* (November 13, 2008) 125

NO: Lawrence D. Bobo, from “Somewhere Between Jim Crow and Post-Racialism: Reflections on the Racial Divide in America Today,” *Daedalus* (Spring 2011) 129

Alvin Poussaint is a professor of psychiatry at the Harvard Medical School, with a focus on child psychiatry. He argues that the election of Barack Obama may indicate that America is approaching the mountaintop that King preached about. Lawrence D. Bobo, the W.E.B. Du Bois Professor of the Social Sciences at Harvard University, provides a scholarly analysis of racial inequalities. He explains how inequalities in America are constantly being recreated. Change occurs and is much celebrated, but change is successfully resisted in many subtle ways.

Issue 8. Has Feminism Benefited American Society? 141

YES: Barbara Epstein, from “The Successes and Failures of Feminism,” *Journal of Women’s History* (Summer 2002) 144

NO: Kate O’Beirne, from *Women Who Make the World Worse* (Sentinel, 2006) 151

History Professor Barbara Epstein argues that the feminist movement has been highly successful in changing the consciousness of Americans to “an awareness of the inequality of women and a determination to resist it.” She explains how feminists succeeded at the consciousness level but have declined as a movement for social change. Journalist Kate O’Beirne argues that feminism is unpopular with women and is pushing an agenda that most women do not support. She claims that most women have concluded “that the feminist movement is both socially destructive and personally disappointing.”

Issue 9. Is the Gender Wage Gap Justified? 164

YES: **J. R. Shackleton**, from “Explaining the Overall Pay Gap” in *Should We Mind the Gap? Gender Pay Differentials and Public Policy* (Institute of Economic Affairs, 2008) 166

NO: **Hilary M. Lips**, from “The Gender Wage Gap: Debunking the Rationalizations” and “Blaming Women’s Choices for the Gender Pay Gap,” *Expert Advice for Working Women*, www.womensmedia.com (2009) 173

J. R. Shackleton, a professor of economics and dean of the Royal Docks Business School at the University of East London, argues that the gender wage gap is not largely due to discrimination. It is largely due to the differential value of male and female workers in the employment market. Employers want profits, so they pay differently for different skills, commitment, and performance, and women choose less profitable training and limit their commitment. Hilary M. Lips, professor and chair of psychology and director of the Center for Gender Studies at Radford University, documents the continuing gender gap in wages and blames it largely on discrimination based on stereotypes and prejudice.

UNIT 4 POLITICAL ECONOMY AND INSTITUTIONS 183

Issue 10. Is Government Dominated by Big Business? 184

YES: **G. William Domhoff**, from *Who Rules America? Power, Politics, and Social Change*, 5th ed. (McGraw-Hill, 2006) 187

NO: **Sheldon Kamieniecki**, from *Corporate America and Environmental Policy: How Often Does Business Get Its Way?* (Stanford Law and Politics 2006) 194

Political sociologist G. William Domhoff argues that the “owners and top-level managers in large income-producing properties are far and away the dominant power figures in the United States” and that they have inordinate influence in the federal government. Political scientist Sheldon Kamieniecki’s research finds that business interests do not participate at a high rate in policy issues that affect them, “and when they do, they have mixed success in influencing policy outcomes.” In fact, environmental and other groups often have considerable influence vis-à-vis business interests.

Issue 11. Does Capitalism Undermine Democracy? 204

YES: **Robert B. Reich**, from “How Capitalism Is Killing Democracy,” *Foreign Policy* (September/October 2007) 206

NO: **Anthony B. Kim**, from “Economic Freedom Underpins Human Rights and Democratic Governance,” *Heritage Foundation Web Memo* (March 18, 2008) 211

Robert B. Reich, professor of public policy at the University of California, Berkeley, and former U.S. Secretary of Labor, accuses capitalism of undermining democratic governments’ ability to serve the public good and

advance the general welfare. The political power of the corporations exceeds that of the people, so many nations with democratic elections do not function as democracies. Anthony B. Kim, a policy analyst at the Heritage Foundation's Center for International Trade and Economics, contends that economic progress through advancing economic freedom has allowed more people to discuss and adopt different views more candidly, ultimately leading societies to be more open, inclusive, and democratic.

Issue 12. Should Government Intervene in a Capitalist Economy? 219

YES: **Joseph E. Stiglitz**, from "Government Failure vs. Market Failure: Principles of Regulation," paper prepared for the conference "Government and Markets: Toward a New Theory of Regulation," February 1–3, 2008, Yulee, Florida (2009) 222

NO: **Walter Williams**, from "Future Prospects for Economic Liberty," *Imprimis* (September 2009) 228

Joseph E. Stiglitz, University Professor at Columbia University, argues that the government plays an essential role in enabling the market to work properly. Capitalism runs amok if it is not regulated to protect against abuse and ensure fairness. Walter Williams, professor of economics at George Mason University, argues that the founders defined a small role for government in the Constitution and protected the freedom of individuals. Now the role of government is increasing and individual freedoms are declining. The free market has achieved great prosperity for America and the intervention of government has had net negative impacts.

Issue 13. Was the Welfare Reform the Right Approach to Poverty? 235

YES: **David Coates**, from "Cutting 'Welfare' to Help the Poor," *A Liberal Toolkit: Progressive Responses to Conservative Arguments* (Praeger, 2007) 238

NO: **Stephanie Mencimer**, from "Brave New Welfare," *Mother Jones* (January/February, 2009) 245

David Coates presents the argument for welfare reform, which is that most poverty is self-induced; the previous welfare program created poverty and many other problems; and the reform reduces poverty, improves the lives of the people who left welfare, and solves other problems. Stephanie Mencimer, staff reporter for *Mother Jones*, does not denigrate the current welfare law but documents the horrible way welfare is administered in many states. Many welfare workers deny many benefits to many people who qualify for welfare. Thus, many welfare benefits do not reach the poor.

Issue 14. Is No Child Left Behind Irretrievably Flawed? 255

YES: **Sharon L. Nichols and David C. Berliner**, from "Testing the Joy Out of Learning," *Educational Leadership* (March 2008) 258

NO: **Dianne Piché**, from "Basically a Good Model," *Education Next* (Fall 2007) 264

Education professors Sharon Nichols and David Berliner provide evidence that the test-dominated schooling of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) has negative effects. Dianne Piché, executive director of the Citizens' Commission on Civil Rights, supports NCLB, contending that the annual testing for progress will measure and reward improvements. The poor and minorities have a lot to gain in this system.

Issue 15. Should Biotechnology Be Used to Alter and Enhance Humans? 270

YES: **President's Council on Bioethics**, from *Beyond Therapy: Biotechnology and the Pursuit of Happiness* (October 2003) 273

NO: **Michael J. Sandel**, from "The Case Against Perfection: Ethics in the Age of Genetic Engineering," *The Atlantic Monthly* (April 2004) 283

The President's Council on Bioethics was commissioned by George Bush to report to him their findings about the ethical issues involved in the uses of biotechnology. Included in this selection are the expected positive benefits from the biotechnologies that are on the horizon. Political science professor Michael J. Sandel was on the President's Council on Bioethics but presents his private view in this selection, which is very cautionary on the use of biotechnology to alter and enhance humans. Many other uses of biotechnology he praises, but he condemns using biotechnology to alter and enhance humans. In these activities, humans play God and attempt inappropriate remaking of nature.

UNIT 5 CRIME AND SOCIAL CONTROL 297

Issue 16. Is Street Crime More Harmful Than White-Collar Crime? 298

YES: **David A. Anderson**, from "The Aggregate Burden of Crime," *Journal of Law and Economics* (vol. XLII, no. 2, October 1999) 301

NO: **Jeffrey Reiman**, from *The Rich Get Richer and the Poor Get Prison: Ideology, Class, and Criminal Justice*, 5th ed. (Allyn & Bacon, 1998) 309

David A. Anderson estimates the total annual cost of crime including law enforcement and security services. The costs exceed \$1 trillion, with fraud (mostly white-collar crime) causing about one-fifth of the total. His calculations of the full costs of the loss of life and injury comes to about half of the total costs. It is right, therefore, to view personal and violent crimes as the big crime problem. Professor of philosophy Jeffrey Reiman argues that the dangers posed by negligent corporations and white-collar criminals are a greater menace to society than are the activities of typical street criminals.

Issue 17. Should Laws Against Drug Use Remain Restrictive? 320

YES: **Herbert Kleber and Joseph A. Califano Jr.**, from "Legalization: Panacea or Pandora's Box?" *The National Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University* (January 2006) 323

NO: Peter Gorman, from “Veteran Cops Against the Drug War,”
The World & I Online (January 2006) 340

Herbert Kleber, the executive vice president of the Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse (CASA), and Joseph Califano, founder of CASA, maintain that drug laws should remain restrictive because legalization would result in increased use, especially by children. Kleber and Califano contend that drug legalization would not eliminate drug-related violence and harm caused by drugs. Author Peter Gorman states that restrictive drug laws have been ineffective. He notes that drug use and drug addiction have increased since drug laws became more stringent. Despite the crackdown on drug use, the availability of drugs has increased while the cost of drugs has decreased. In addition, restrictive drug laws, says Gorman, are racist and endanger civil liberties.

Issue 18. Are We Headed Toward a Nuclear 9/11? 354

YES: Brian Michael Jenkins, from “Terrorists Can Think Strategically: Lessons Learned from the Mumbai Attacks,”
Testimony Series (Rand Corporation, January 2009) 357

NO: Graham Allison, from “Time to Bury a Dangerous Legacy—
Part I,” *YaleGlobal Online* (March 14, 2008) 361

Brian Michael Jenkins, senior advisor to the president of the Rand Corporation, in testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, posited that a team of terrorists could be inserted into the United States and carry out a Mumbai-style attack, as terrorism has “increasingly become an effective strategic weapon.” Graham Allison, Harvard professor and director of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, affirms that we are not likely to experience a nuclear 9/11 because “nuclear terrorism is preventable by a feasible, affordable agenda of actions that . . . would shrink the risk of nuclear terrorism to nearly zero.”

Issue 19. Is Torture Ever Justified? 366

YES: Mirko Bagaric and Julie Clarke, from “Not Enough Official Torture in the World? The Circumstances in Which Torture Is Morally Justifiable,” *University of San Francisco Law Review* (Spring 2005) 369

NO: Philip E. Devine, from “What’s Wrong with Torture?”
International Philosophical Quarterly (vol. 49, September 2009) 376

Bagaric and Clarke remind us, first of all, that torture, although prohibited by international law, is nevertheless widely practiced. A rational examination of torture and a consideration of hypothetical (but realistic) cases show that torture is justifiable in order to prevent great harm. Torture should be regulated and carefully practiced as an information-gathering technique in extreme cases. Philosopher Philip E. Devine argues for an absolute (or virtually absolute) position against torture. Devine suggests that the wrongness of torture and the repugnance that we feel toward it ultimately go beyond any moral theory. In addition, the examination of extreme cases should not inform our general thought about these and other matters.

**UNIT 6 THE FUTURE: POPULATION/
ENVIRONMENT/SOCIETY 387****Issue 20. Does Immigration Benefit the Economy? 388**

YES: George W. Bush White House, from "Immigration's Economic Impact," *White House Release* (June 20, 2007) 391

NO: Steven A. Camarota, from "Testimony Before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Immigration, Citizenship, Refugees, Border Security and International Law" (U.S. House of Representatives, September 30, 2010) 396

The George W. Bush White House surveys the professional literature and assesses immigration's economic impact and concludes that immigration has a positive effect on the American economy as a whole and even on the income of native-born American workers. Steven A. Camarota, director of research at the Center for Immigration Studies, argues that immigration's benefit to the economy is so tiny that it should be ignored. On the other hand, immigration reduces the income of the poor with whom many immigrants compete for jobs.

**Issue 21. Is Humankind Dangerously Harming the
Environment? 405**

YES: Lester R. Brown, from "On the Edge," *World on the Edge: How to Prevent Environmental and Economic Collapse* (Earth Policy Institute, 2011) 408

NO: Bjorn Lomborg, from "The Truth about the Environment," *The Economist* (August 4, 2001) 415

Lester R. Brown, founder of the Worldwatch Institute and now president of the Earth Policy Institute, argues that population growth and economic development are placing increasingly harmful demands on the environment for resources and to grow food for improving diets. Bjorn Lomborg, a statistician at the University of Aarhus, Denmark, presents evidence that population growth is slowing down; natural resources are not running out; species are disappearing very slowly; the environment is improving in some ways; and assertions about environmental decline are exaggerated.

**Issue 22. Is Economic Globalization Good for Both Rich
and Poor? 425**

YES: IMF Staff, from "Globalization: A Brief Overview," *International Monetary Fund* (May 2008) 428

NO: Ravinder Rena, from "Globalization Still Hurting Poor Nations," *Africa Economic Analysis* (January 2008) 436

IMF (International Monetary Fund) Staff examine both positive and negative effects of globalization and conclude that economic globalization contributes greatly to world prosperity. Ravinder Rena, an associate professor of economics at the Eritrea Institute of Technology, argues that globalization produces many benefits but also produces many negative impacts. The poor and poorer countries are the most harmed by globalization.

UNIT 7 BONUS ISSUES—SPECIAL TOPICS FOR TODAY 443

Issue 23. Is Stimulus the Best Way to Get the American Economy Back on Its Feet? 444

YES: **Joshua Holland**, from “Paul Krugman: We Could End This Depression Right Now,” *Alternet* (May 24, 2012) 447

NO: **Dwight R. Lee**, from “The Keynesian Path to Fiscal Irresponsibility,” *Cato Journal* (vol. 32, no. 3, Fall 2012) 453

Freelance writer Joshua Holland and Paul Krugman, Nobel laureate economist and professor of economics and international affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University, argue that while unemployment is high, the government must stimulate the economy to produce many more jobs and thus more earnings, which will increase spending, which will stimulate more business and jobs and more spending, and so on. When the economy has recovered, the government should institute policies to reduce the debt. Dwight R. Lee, the O’Neil Professor of Global Markets and Freedom in the Cox School of Business at Southern Methodist University, argues that the Keynesian approach of Paul Krugman and others will have disastrous results for America. The Keynesian prescriptions are reasonable in the abstract, but when filtered through the political system controlled by special interests, the results are some short-run benefits but long-run costs including relative economic stagnation.

Issue 24. Does Social Media Have Largely Positive Impacts on Its Users? 462

YES: **Aaron Smith**, from “Why Americans Use Social Media,” *Pew Research Center Report* (November 14, 2011) 465

NO: **Janna Quitney Anderson and Lee Rainie**, from “Millennials Will Benefit and Suffer Due to Their Hyperconnected Lives,” *Pew Research Center’s Internet and American Life Project* (February 29, 2012) 470

Aaron Smith, senior research specialist of the Pew Research Center, presents the findings of his research project based on interviews in 2011 of 1,015 networking site users who reported on how they used social media. Their major use was for keeping in touch with family and current friends, and 87 percent also used it to connect with out-of-touch old friends. Janna Quitney Anderson of Elon University and Lee Rainie, research specialist of the Pew Research Center’s Internet and American Life Project, report the findings of an opt-in online survey in 2011 of a diverse but nonrandom sample of 2021 technology stakeholders and critics who report their expert opinion on the impacts of social media on the users. They report many positive and negative impacts.

Contributors 481