

Title of Research Study: History Textbooks and Political Socialization

Investigators: Matt Nelsen, Graduate Student; Jamie Druckman, PhD

Supported By: Northwestern University's Department of Political Science

Why am I being asked to take part in this research study?

You are being asked to participate in a research study that is focused on history textbooks. There will be approximately 1,000 high school students in this study.

What should I know about a research study?

- Whether or not you take part is up to you.
- You can choose not to take part.
- You can agree to take part and later change your mind.
- Your decision will not be held against you.
- Your grade will not be affected based on your participation in this study.
- There are no physical risks involved in this study.

Who can I talk to?

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, talk to the student investigator, Matt Nelsen (651) 895-2050. You may also talk to the Principal Investigator, Jamie Druckman, at (847) 491-7450.

This research has been reviewed and approved by an Institutional Review Board ("IRB"). You may talk to them at (312) 503-9338 or <mailto:irb@northwestern.edu> if:

- Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.
- You cannot reach the research team.
- You want to talk to someone besides the research team.
- You have questions about your rights as a research participant.
- You want to get information or provide input about this research.

Why is this research being done?

The purpose of the study is to see how different people react to history textbooks.

How long will the research last?

Your participation in this study will last approximately 45 minutes.

What happens if I say "Yes, I want to be in this research"?

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to read an excerpt from a history textbook. We then will ask you to complete a short survey after completing the reading passage. The survey will ask you about information present in the passage as well as how you think about politics.

What happens if I do not want to be in this research?

You can decide not to participate in this research and it will not be held against you in anyway.

What happens if I say "Yes", but I change my mind later?

You can decide not to complete the survey at any time and it will not be held against you in any way. To do so, simply raise your hand and tell the researcher that you no longer wish to participate. Any information already collected will not be saved.

Is there any way being in this study could be bad for me?

Your participation in this study does not involve any physical or academic risks. If you are uncomfortable with some of the questions asked on the survey, you may decide not to answer the questions. You may stay in the study even if you skip some of the questions. You also may withdraw at any time.

What happens to the information collected for the research?

The results of the survey will be stored in the principal investigator's office in a locked file. They also will be stored on a password-protected computer. The stored results will not contain any information that will allow for the identification of a participant. Unless required by law, only the study investigator, members of the investigator's staff, and the Northwestern University Institutional Review Board will have the authority to review the study records. They are required to maintain confidentiality regarding your identity.

Results of this study may be used for research publications or presentations at conferences. If individual results are discussed, identities will be protected by using a study code number rather than a full name or other identifying information.

What else do I need to know?

Each student who completes the survey will be entered into a raffle for a \$50 Amazon gift card for participating in the study. Five to seven gift cards will be awarded from a pool of approximately 400 students. If you are selected as a winner, your teacher and principal will be notified and the gift card will be mailed or delivered to your school. The study number for this study is STU00205224.

Consent

By filling in your full name, and signing below, you are agreeing to participate in the research study described above.

Name

Signature

Date

Name of Researcher Obtaining Consent

Signature

Date

Baseline Survey

Answer each of the questions included below. For questions that provide choices, circle the response that best matches what you think.

1. How old are you? _____
2. What zip code do you live in? _____
3. What is your gender?
 1. Male
 2. Female
 3. Other _____
4. Which race/ethnicity do you consider yourself? Check all that apply.
 - ☐ White or Caucasian
 - ☐ African American or Black
 - ☐ Hispanic or Latino/Latina
 - ☐ Asian or Asian-American
 - ☐ Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
 - ☐ American Indian or Native American
 - ☐ Biracial
5. If you chose only one category in the prior question, please skip this question. If you chose more than one, choose one category that *best* describes your race/ethnicity?
 1. White or Caucasian
 2. African American or Black
 3. Hispanic or Latino/Latina
 4. Asian or Asian-American
 5. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
 6. American Indian or Native American
 7. Biracial
6. In what country were you born? _____
7. In what country was your mother born? _____
8. In what country was your father born? _____
9. What portion of people in your class do you perceive to be the same race as you?
 1. None
 2. Less than half
 3. Half
 4. More than half
 5. All
10. How often do your parents (or the people/person that act as your parents) talk about politics?
 1. Never
 2. Hardly at all
 3. Only now and then
 4. Some of the time
 5. Most of the time

11. What is the highest level of school that your mother/the person who acts as a mother to you completed?

1. No school
2. Grade school
3. Some high school
4. Completed high school/GED
5. Some college
6. College graduate
7. Professional school/graduate school
8. N/A

12. What is the highest level of school that your father/the person who acts as a father to you completed?

1. No school
2. Grade school
3. Some high school
4. Completed high school/GED
5. Some college
6. College graduate
7. Professional school/graduate school
8. N/A

13. How often do you attend religious services?

1. Never
2. Rarely
3. Only on religious holidays
4. Once or twice per month
5. Once per week
6. Daily or Nearly Daily

14. Are you involved in any extracurricular activities such as a club or sports team?

1. No
2. Yes

6. Do you disapprove or approve of the way the police are doing their job?

1. Completely disapprove
2. Disapprove
3. Neither disapprove or approve
4. Approve
5. Completely approve

7. Do you think the police in the United States are generally tougher on whites than on people of color, tougher on people of color than on whites, or do the police treat them both the same?

1. Tougher on whites
2. Tougher on people of color
3. Treat both the same

17. How often do you pay attention to what's going on in government and politics?

1. Never
2. Some of the time
3. About half the time
4. Most of the time
5. Always

18. Thinking about your *local* community, how often do you follow local community politics?

1. Never
2. Some of the time
3. About half the time
4. Most of the time
5. Always

19. How often do you follow *national* politics?

1. Never
2. Some of the time
3. About half the time
4. Most of the time
5. Always

20. How often did you follow the 2016 presidential campaign?

1. Never
2. Some of the time
3. About half the time
4. Most of the time
5. Always

21. During a typical week, how many days do you watch, read, or listen to news (not including sports)?

1. None
2. One day
3. Two days
4. Three days
5. Four days
6. Five days
7. Six days
8. Seven days

22. Based on what you already know, which of these organizations is most affiliated with the Black Power Movement?

- a. NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People)
- b. Black Panthers
- c. Southern Poverty Law Center
- d. National Urban League

23. When it comes to politics, would you describe yourself as:

1. Very liberal
2. Moderately liberal
3. Somewhat liberal
4. Moderate
5. Somewhat conservative
6. Moderately conservative
7. Very conservative

24. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

- 1 Strong Democrat
- 2 Weak Democrat
- 3 Independent leans Democrat
- 4 Independent
- 5 Independent leans Republican
- 6 Weak Republican
- 7 Strong Republican

INSTRUCTIONS: Proceed through the passages in order. The textbook selection below includes two sections: The Underground Railroad and an additional “Did You Know?” section. **Factual questions will be asked about both sections (i.e., including the “Did You Know?” section) of the text so be sure to read all the information carefully.**

The Underground Railroad

The South of 1850 was relatively well-off. It then enjoyed, as it had from the beginning, more than its share of the nation's leadership. It had seated in the White House the war hero Zachary Taylor, a Virginia-born, slave-owning planter from Louisiana. It boasted a majority in the cabinet and on the Supreme Court. If outnumbered in the House, the South had equality in the Senate where it could at least neutralize northern maneuvers. Its cotton fields were expanding, and cotton prices were profitably high. Few sane people, North or South, believed that slavery was seriously threatened where it existed below the Mason Dixon line. Fifteen slave states could easily veto any proposed constitutional amendments.

Yet the south was deeply worried, as it had been for several decades, by the ever-tipping political balance. There were then fifteen slave states and fifteen free states. The admission of California would destroy the delicate equilibrium in the Senate, perhaps forever. Potential slave territory under the American flag was running short, it had not in fact disappeared. Agitation had already developed in the territories of New Mexico and Utah for admission of non-slave states. The fate of California might well establish a precedent for the rest of the Mexican Cession territory—an area purchased largely with southern blood.

Texas nursed an additional grievance of its own. It claimed a huge area east of the Rio Grande and north to the forty-second parallel, embracing in part about half the territory of present-day New Mexico. The federal government was proposing to detach this prize, while hot-blooded Texans were threatening to descend upon Santa Fe and seize what they regarded as rightfully theirs. The explosive quarrel foreshadowed shooting.

Many Southerners were also angered by the nagging agitation in the North for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. They looked with alarm on the prospect of a ten-mile-square oasis of free soil thrust between slaveholding Maryland and slaveholding Virginia.

Even more disagreeable to the South was the loss of runaway slaves, many of whom were assisted north by the Underground Railroad. This virtual freedom train consisted of an informal chain of “stations” (antislavery homes), through which scores of “passengers” (runaway slaves) were spirited by “conductors” (usually white and black abolitionists) from slave states to the free-soil sanctuary of Canada.



The most amazing of these “conductors” was an illiterate runaway slave from Maryland, fearless Harriet Tubman. During nineteen forays into the South, she rescued more than three hundred slaves, including her aged parents, and deservedly earned the title “Moses.” John Brown called her “General Tubman” for her effective work in helping slaves escape to Canada on the Underground Railroad. During the Civil War, Tubman also served as a Union spy behind Confederate lines. She worked after the war to bring education to the freed slaves in North Carolina. Lively imaginations later exaggerated the reach of the Underground Railroad and its “stationmasters,” but its importance was undisputed.

By 1850 southerners were demanding a new and more stringent fugitive-slave law. The old one, passed by congress in 1793, had proved inadequate to cope with runaways, especially since unfriendly state authorities failed to provide needed cooperation. Unlike cattle thieves, the abolitionists who ran the Underground Railroad did not personally gain from their lawlessness. But to the slave owners, the loss was infuriating, whatever the motives. The moral judgements of the abolitionists seemed, in some ways, more galling than outright theft. They reflected not only a holier-than-thou attitude but a refusal to obey laws solemnly passed by Congress.

Estimates indicate that the South in 1850 was losing perhaps 1,000 runaways a year out of its total of some 4 million slaves. In fact, more blacks probably gained their freedom by self-purchase or voluntary emancipation than ever escaped. But the principle weighed heavily with the slave masters. They rested their argument on the Constitution, which protected slavery, and on the Laws of Congress, which provided for slave-catching. “Although the loss of property is felt,” said a southern senator, “the loss of honor is felt still more.”



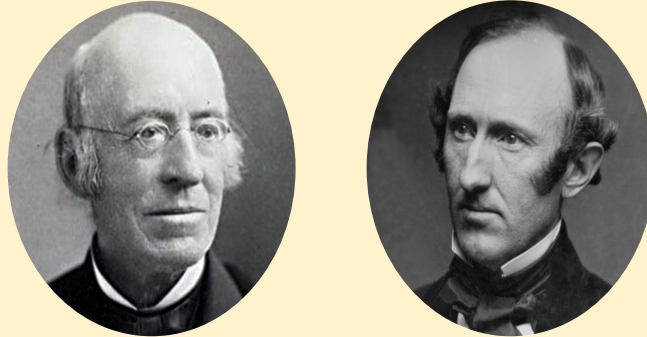
Did you know?

On New Year's Day, 1831, a shattering abolitionist blast came from the bugle of William Lloyd Garrison, a mild-looking reformer of twenty-six. The emotionally high-strung son of a drunken father and a spiritual child of the Second Great Awakening, Garrison published in Boston the first issue of his militantly anti-slavery newspaper, *The Liberator*. With his mighty paper broadside, Garrison triggered a thirty-year war of words and in a sense fired one of the opening barrages of the Civil War.

Stern and uncompromising, Garrison nailed his colors to the masthead of his weekly. He proclaimed in strident tones that under no circumstances would he tolerate the poisonous weed of slavery, but would stamp it out at once, root and branch:

I will be harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice...I am in earnest-I will not equivocate-I will not excuse-I will not retreat a single inch-and I WILL BE HEARD!

Other dedicated abolitionists rallied to Garrison's standard, and in 1833 they founded the American Anti-Slavery Society. Prominent among them was Wendell Phillips, a Boston patrician known as "abolition's gold trumpet." A man of strict principle, he would eat no cane sugar and wear no cotton cloth, since both were produced by southern slaves.



The greatest of the black abolitionists was Frederick Douglass. Escaping from Bondage in 1838 at the age of twenty-one, he was "discovered" by abolitionists in 1841 when he gave a stunning impromptu speech at an antislavery meeting in Massachusetts. Thereafter he lectured widely for the cause, despite frequent beatings and threats against his life. In 1845, he published his classic autobiography, *Narrative Life of Frederick Douglass*. It depicted his remarkable origins as the son of a black slave woman and a white father, his struggle to learn to read and write, and his eventual escape to the North.

Douglass was as flexibly practical as Garrison was stubbornly principled. Garrison often appeared to be more interested in his own righteousness than in the substance of the slavery evil itself. He repeatedly demanded that the "virtuous" North secede from the "wicked" South. Yet he did not explain how the creation of the independent slave republic would bring an end to the "damning crime" of slavery. Renouncing politics, on the Fourth of July, 1854, he publicly burned a copy of the Constitution. Critics, including some of his former supporters, charged that Garrison was cruelly probing the moral wound in America's underbelly but offering no acceptable balm to ease the pain.

High-minded and courageous, the abolitionists were men and women of goodwill and various colors who faced the cruel choice that people in many ages have had thrust upon them: when is evil so enormous that it must be denounced, even at the risk of precipitating bloodshed and butchery?

After reading both selections, answer the questions included below:

1. According to the passage, how many slave states existed in the United States in 1850?
 - a. 9
 - b. 15
 - c. 20
 - d. 50
2. According to the passage, who was the most amazing of the conductors on the Underground Railroad?
 - a. Zachary Taylor
 - b. John Brown
 - c. Harriet Tubman
 - d. William Lloyd Garrison
3. Based on the information in the passage, it is reasonable to conclude that most enslaved black people:
 - a. Escaped on the Underground Railroad
 - b. Escaped in large groups of 1,000 or more
 - c. Were located in Maryland and Virginia
 - d. Gained their freedom in ways other than escaping

4. Which response best summarizes the main idea of the **"Did You Know?"** section of the text?
- Black people fought against the system of slavery using a number of strategies
 - Abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison played an important role in creating the tension that led to the Civil War
 - Frederick Douglas is undeniably the most important abolitionist from the period
 - The majority of abolitionist activity took place in the northern states rather than the southern states
5. Based on the information presented in the **"Did You Know?"** section, which response best summarizes the relationship between white and black abolitionists?
- Other than Frederick Douglas, there were very few abolitionists of color
 - Black abolitionists had to struggle against the unconscious racism of white abolitionists
 - Both black and white abolitionists were people of goodwill who faced many difficult decisions
 - Both black and white abolitionists worked together to start the American Anti-Slavery Society
6. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? It is important for me to take an active role in helping black Americans fight for their rights.
- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Neither disagree nor agree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
7. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? The information included in the passage matters a great deal for people like me.
- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Neither disagree nor agree
 - Agree
 - Strongly agree
8. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? The information included in the passage matters a great deal for my classmates.
- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Neither disagree nor agree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
9. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? The information presented in the passage is similar to information I would learn in class.
- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Neither disagree nor agree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree
10. To what extent do you disagree or agree with the following statement? Black Americans took an active role to fight for a better position within American society.
- Strongly Disagree
 - Disagree
 - Neither disagree nor agree
 - Agree
 - Strongly Agree

11. Imagine an organization wants to hold a protest in your community advocating for more government policies that help black Americans. On a scale from very unlikely to very likely, how likely would you be to attend this protest?

1. Very unlikely
2. Unlikely
3. Neither unlikely nor likely
4. Likely
5. Very likely

12. Imagine an organization wants to block traffic in order to hold a march to advocate for more government policies that help black Americans. On a scale from very unlikely to very likely, how likely would you be to attend this march?

1. Very unlikely
2. Unlikely
3. Neither unlikely nor likely
4. Likely
5. Very likely

13. Suppose an organization wants to boycott a company that uses language that could be viewed as racist to black people. On a scale from very unlikely to very likely, how likely would you be to boycott this company?

1. Very unlikely
2. Unlikely
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4. Likely
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14. Imagine that a local business is donating half of its daily proceeds to an organization that advocates for policies that help black Americans. On a scale from very unlikely to very likely, how likely would you be to spend your money at this business?

1. Very unlikely
2. Unlikely
3. Neither unlikely nor likely
4. Likely
5. Very likely

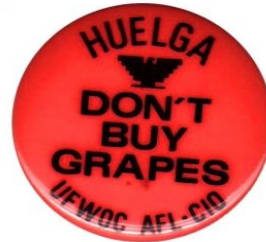
INSTRUCTIONS: The textbook selection below includes two sections: "Cesar Chavez and Latino Political Power" and an additional "Did You Know" section. Factual questions will be asked about both sections (i.e., including the "Did You Know?" section) of the text so be sure to read all the information carefully. **While this passage is about Mexican Americans, it speaks to Latino/a Americans as a whole. While Latino/a Americans groups have a range of differences in their demographic characteristics, beliefs, and perceptions of life in the United States, they also share much in common.**

Cesar Chavez and Latino Political Power

Thanks to both continued immigration and to their own high birthrate, Latinos became an increasingly important minority. The United States by 2003 was home to about 39 million of them. They included some 26 million Chicanos, or Mexican Americans, mostly in the Southwest, as well as 3 million Puerto Ricans, chiefly in the Northeast, and more than 1 million Cubans in Florida (where it was jokingly said that Miami had become the most "Anglo" city in Latin America).

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

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



Flexing their political muscles, Latinos elected mayors of Miami, Denver, and San Antonio. After years of struggle, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC), headed by the soft-spoken César Chávez, succeeded in improving working conditions for the mostly Chicano "stoop laborers" who followed the cycle of planting and harvesting across the American West. Latino influence seemed likely to grow, as suggested by the increasing presence of Spanish-language ballots and television broadcasts. Latinos, newly confident and organized, became the nation's largest ethnic minority, outnumbering even African Americans, in 2003. Indeed, by the early twenty-first century, the Chicano population of America's largest state, California, led the Anglo population, making the state a patchwork of minorities with no single ethnic majority. In 2003 most newborns in California were Latino, a powerful harbinger of the state's demographic future.



Did you know?

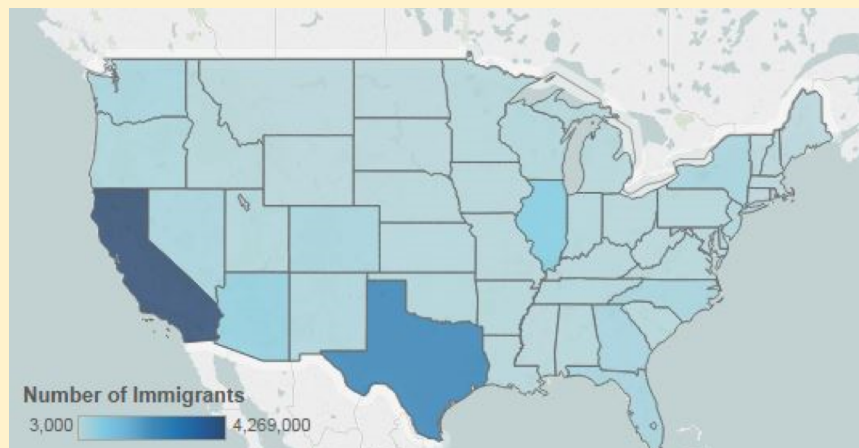
Today Mexican food is handed through fast-food drive-up windows in all fifty states, Spanish-language broadcasts fill the airwaves, and the Latino community has its own telephone book, the *Spanish Yellow Pages*. Latinos send representatives to Congress and mayors to city hall, record hit songs, paint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

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

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

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

Fresh arrivals from Mexico and from other Latin American nations daily swell the Latino communities across America. As the United States moves through the twenty-first century, it is taking on a pronounced Spanish accent, although Latinos' reticence to vote in elections has retarded their influence on American politics.



After reading both selections, answer the questions included below. Remember, while this passage is about Mexican Americans, it speaks to Latino/a Americans as a whole. While Latino/a Americans groups have a range of differences in their demographic characteristics, beliefs, and perceptions of life in the United States, they also share much in common.

1. According to the passage, about how many Chicano Americans lived in the United States by 2003?
 - a. 39 million
 - b. 26 million
 - c. 3 million
 - d. 1 million
2. Based on the information provided in the passage, the Latinos in the United States:
 - a. Elected mayors in every state
 - b. Represent the largest minority community in the United States
 - c. Represent the second-largest minority after African Americans
 - d. Only found political success in California
3. According to the passage, it is reasonable to infer that which state has the largest Chicano population?
 - a. California
 - b. New Mexico
 - c. Texas
 - d. Florida
4. Based on the information provided in the **"Did You know?"** section, what can the reader conclude about Latino political power?
 - a. Latinos participated in a variety of political activities to fight for their rights
 - b. While Latinos represent a powerful minority group, their influence is weakened by low voter turnout
 - c. Though Latinos are active in politics, their small numbers prevent them from making more of an impact on politics
 - d. The political influence of Latinos is felt most strongly in northern states along the Canadian border
5. According to the **"Did You Know?"** section, Latinos...
 - a. Are not active participants in American politics
 - b. Fought to improve the lives of laborers through protests, boycotts, and hunger strikes
 - c. Are the fastest-growing minority population in the United States
 - d. Are *least* concentrated in the southwestern portion of the United States
6. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? It is important for me to take an active role in helping Latinos/Latinas fight for their rights.
 1. Strongly Disagree
 2. Disagree
 3. Neither disagree nor agree
 4. Agree
 5. Strongly Agree
7. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? The information included in the passage matters a great deal for people like me.
 1. Strongly Disagree
 2. Disagree
 3. Neither disagree nor agree
 4. Agree
 5. Strongly Agree

8. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? The information included in the passage matters a great deal for my classmates.

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neither disagree nor agree
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

9. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? The information presented in the passage is similar to information I would learn in class.

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neither disagree nor agree
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

10. To what extent do you disagree or agree with the following statement? Latinos/Latinas took an active role to fight for a better position within American society.

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neither disagree nor agree
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

11. Imagine an organization wants to hold a protest in your community advocating for more government policies that help Latinos/Latinas. On a scale from very unlikely to very likely, how likely would you be to attend this protest?

1. Very unlikely
2. Unlikely
3. Neither unlikely nor likely
4. Likely
5. Very likely

12. Imagine an organization wants to block traffic in order to hold a march to advocate for more government policies that help Latinos/Latinas. On a scale from very unlikely to very likely, how likely would you be to attend this march?

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14. Imagine that a local business is donating half of its daily proceeds to an organization that advocates for policies that help Latinos/Latinas. On a scale from very unlikely to very likely, how likely would you be to spend your money at this business?

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2. Unlikely
3. Neither unlikely nor likely
4. Likely
5. Very likely

INSTRUCTIONS: The textbook selection below includes two sections: "Chinese Exclusion" and an additional "Did You Know?" section. Factual questions will be asked about both sections (i.e., including the "Did You Know?" section) of the text so be sure to read all the information carefully. **While this passage is about Chinese Americans, it speaks to Asian Americans as a whole. While Asian Americans groups have a range of differences in their demographic characteristics, beliefs, and perceptions of life in the United States, they also share much in common.**

Chinese Exclusion

In the late nineteenth century, the burgeoning industries and booming frontier towns of the United States Pacific Coast hungered for laborers to wrench minerals from stubborn rock, to lay down railroad track through untamed wastelands, and to transform dry expanses into fertile fields of fruit and vegetables. In faraway Asia, the Chinese answered the call. Contributing their muscle to the building of the west, they dug in the gold mines and helped lay the transcontinental railroad that stitched together the American nation.

The first Chinese had arrived in Spanish America as early as 1565. But few followed those earliest pioneers until the 1848 discovery of gold in California attracted people from all over the world to America's Pacific coast. Among them were many fortune-hungry Chinese who sailed into San Francisco, which Chinese immigrants named the "golden mountain." A treaty negotiated with China in 1868 by the American diplomat Anson Burlingame guaranteed important civil rights to Chinese immigrants.

Faced with economic hardship and political turmoil, more than 2 million Chinese left their homeland between 1850 and 1900, for destinations as diverse as Southeast Asia, Peru, Hawaii, and Cuba, with more than 300,000 entering the United States. Although their numbers included a few merchants and artisans, most were unskilled country folk. In some cases families pooled their money to send out a son, but most travelers, desperately poor, obtained their passage through Chinese middlemen, who advanced them ship fare in return for the emigrants' promise to work off their debts after they landed.

The Chinese America of the late-nineteenth century West was overwhelmingly a bachelor society. Women of good repute rarely made the passage. Of the very few Chinese women who ventured to California at this time, most became prostitutes. Many of them had been deceived by the false promise of honest jobs.



C



Although a stream of workers returned to their homeland, many Chinese stayed. "Chinatowns" sprang up wherever economic opportunities presented themselves—in railroad towns, farming villages, and cities. Chinese in these settlements spoke their own language, enjoyed fellowship of their own compatriots, and sought safety from prejudice and violence, never rare in American society. Caucasian workers, seething with economic anxiety and ethnic prejudice, savagely mistreated the Chinese in California in the 1870s.

Many immigrant clubs, American adaptations of Chinese traditions of loyalty to clan or region, were established in these communities. Rivaling such clubs and associations were the secret societies known as tongs. The word *tong*—literally, "meeting hall"—acquired a sinister reputation among non-Chinese, for the tongs counted the poorest and shadiest immigrants among their members. These were people without ties to a clan, those individuals most alienated from traditional Chinese organizations and from American society as well.

Mounting anti-Chinese agitation forced the repudiation of the Burlingame Treaty in 1880, and in 1882 the Chinese Exclusion Act barred nearly all Chinese from the United States for six decades. Some exclusionists even tried to strip native-born Chinese Americans of their citizenship, but the Supreme court ruled in *U.S. v. Wong Kim Ark* in 1898 that the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed citizenship to all persons born in the United States. This doctrine of "birthright citizenship," provided important protections to Chinese Americans as well as to other immigrant communities.

Many of the bachelors who had made the long journey to America died or returned home. Slowly, however, those men and the few women who remained raised families and reared a new generation of Chinese Americans. But this second generation still suffered from discrimination, eking out their living in jobs despised by Caucasian laborers or taking daunting risks in small entrepreneurial ventures. Yet many hard-working Chinese did manage to open their own restaurants, laundries, and other small businesses. Their enterprises formed a solid economic foundation for their small community and remain a source of livelihood for many Chinese Americans even today.

Did you know?

The year 1877 marked more than the end of Reconstruction. As the curtains officially closed on regional warfare, they opened on scenes of class warfare. The explosive atmosphere was largely a by-product of the long years of depression and deflation following the panic of 1873. Railroad workers faced particularly hard times. When the presidents of the nation's four largest railroads collectively decided in 1877 to cut employees' wages by 10 percent, the workers struck back. President Hayes's decision to call in federal troops to quell the unrest brought the striking laborers an outpouring of working-class support. Work stoppages spread like wildfire in cities from Baltimore to St. Louis. When the battling between soldiers and workers ended after several weeks, over one hundred people were dead.

The failure of the great railroad strike exposed the weaknesses of the labor movement. Racial and ethnic fissures among workers everywhere fractured labor unity and were particularly acute between the Irish and Chinese in California. In San Francisco, Irish-born demagogue Denis Kearney incited his followers to violent abuse of the helpless Chinese. The Kearneyites, many of whom were recently arrived immigrants from Europe, hotly resented the competition for labor from the still more recently arrived Chinese. The beef-eater, they claimed, had no chance against the rice-eater in a life-and-death struggle for jobs and wages. The present tens of thousands of Chinese "coolies" were regarded as a menace, the prospective millions as a calamity. Taking the streets, gangs of Kearneyites terrorized the Chinese by shearing off their precious pigtails. Some victims were murdered outright.

In *The First Blow at the Chinese Question, 1877* (below), Caucasian workers, seething with economic anxiety and ethnic prejudice, savagely mistreated the Chinese in California in the 1870s.



After reading both selections, answer the questions included below. Remember, while this passage is about Chinese Americans, it speaks to Asian Americans as a whole. While Asian Americans groups have a range of differences in their demographic characteristics, beliefs, and perceptions of life in the United States, they also share much in common.

1. According to the passage, about how many Chinese entered the United States between 1850 and 1900?
 - a. 2,000,000
 - b. 3,000,000
 - c. 6,000,000
 - d. 300,000
2. Which of the following declared that the Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed citizenship to all persons born in the United States?
 - a. Burlingame Treaty
 - b. Tongs
 - c. *U.S. v. Wong Kim Ark*
 - d. The Chinese Exclusion Act
3. Based on the information provided in the passage, Chinese society in nineteenth century America can best be described as:
 - a. A bachelor society
 - b. Defined by a strong female presence
 - c. Limited to San Francisco
 - d. Lacking in organization
4. Based on the information provided in the **"Did You know?"** section, what can the reader conclude about Asian American political power?
 - a. Asian Americans did not actively fight against their oppression
 - b. Asian Americans had more political power than Irish Americans
 - c. Asian Americans found ingenious ways to fight against discrimination
 - d. Asian Americans only cared about employment issues
5. According to the **"Did You Know?"** section, Asian Americans...
 - a. Frequently fought with Irish Kearneyites
 - b. Did not work on the Underground Railroad
 - c. Challenged discrimination by participating in strikes, filing lawsuits in the legal system, and creating community organizations.
 - d. Were fewer in number than Irish immigrants
6. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? It is important for me to take an active role in helping Asian Americans fight for their rights.
 1. Strongly Disagree
 2. Disagree
 3. Neither disagree nor agree
 4. Agree
 5. Strongly Agree
7. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? The information included in the passage matters a great deal for people like me.
 1. Strongly Disagree
 2. Disagree
 3. Neither disagree nor agree
 4. Agree
 5. Strongly Agree
8. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? The information included in the passage matters a great deal for my classmates.
 1. Strongly Disagree
 2. Disagree
 3. Neither disagree nor agree
 4. Agree
 5. Strongly Agree

9. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? The information presented in the passage is similar to information I would learn in class.

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neither disagree nor agree
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

10. To what extent do you disagree or agree with the following statement? Asian Americans took an active role to fight for a better position within American society.

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neither disagree nor agree
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

11. Imagine an organization wants to hold a protest in your community advocating for more government policies that help Asian Americans. On a scale from very unlikely to very likely, how likely would you be to attend this protest?

1. Very unlikely
2. Unlikely
3. Neither unlikely nor likely
4. Likely
5. Very likely

12. Imagine an organization wants to block traffic in order to hold a march to advocate for more government policies that help Asian Americans. On a scale from very unlikely to very likely, how likely would you be to attend this march?

1. Very unlikely
2. Unlikely
3. Neither unlikely nor likely
4. Likely
5. Very likely

13. Suppose an organization wants to boycott a company that uses language that could be viewed as racist to Asian Americans. On a scale from very unlikely to very likely, how likely would you be to boycott this company?

1. Very unlikely
2. Unlikely
3. Neither unlikely nor likely
4. Likely
5. Very likely

14. Imagine that a local business is donating half of its daily proceeds to an organization that advocates for policies that help Asian Americans. On a scale from very unlikely to very likely, how likely would you be to spend your money at this business?

1. Very unlikely
2. Unlikely
3. Neither unlikely nor likely
4. Likely
5. Very likely

Post Survey

Before handing in your survey, I would like to ask you a series of questions about how you feel about the government and your role in politics.

1. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? My own well-being is tied to the well-being of people who share my race/ethnicity.

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neither Disagree nor Agree
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

2. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? I believe that the government responds to the demands and concerns of people like me. Do you...

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neither Disagree nor Agree
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

3. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? I have the knowledge and skills to participate in politics. Do you...

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neither Disagree nor Agree
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

4. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? The leaders in government care very little about people like me. Do you...

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neither Disagree nor Agree
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

5. How much do you disagree or agree with the following statement? The government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves and their friends. Would you say you...

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neither Disagree nor Agree
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

6. How often do you feel you can trust the police?

1. Never
2. Rarely
3. Sometimes
4. Most of the time
5. Always

7. How likely are you to participate in the following political activities within the next 12 months?

	Very Unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Neither unlikely nor likely	Likely to participate	Certain to participate
Contact a Public official/Agency					
Sign a paper or online petition					
Attend a protest, demonstration, or march					
Participate in a boycott					
Buy from a store or company that shares your political views					
Join a political group					
Write a blog or email about a political issue, party, or candidate					
Share a post about a political issue, candidate, or political party on a social media platform such as Facebook, Instagram, or Twitter					
Give money to a political issue, party, or candidate					
Work on a campaign for a political issue, party, or candidate					
Talk to family or friends about a political issue, party or candidate					
Work with people in your community to solve a political problem					
Write a blog or letter to the editor about a political issue					
Vote in a local or national election if you are to turn 18 in the next 12 months					

