

***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.

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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?

## Abolition and the Power of Black Resistance

Enslaved Africans resisted, or rebelled, against their position as slaves in many different ways. Each expression of resistance by enslaved individuals or groups counted as acts of rebellion against the system of slavery. The many instances of resistance show that slaves were not victims of slavery who accepted their situation. Instead they proved their strength and determination in fighting for their freedom. Uprising, or rebellion, was the most dramatic and bloody way that slaves could resist their enslavement. Less obvious methods of resistance occurred on the plantations. For example, slaves could steal from their owner, robbing him of his property and profit. They could damage machinery, so that it was put out of action and needed either lengthy repairs or costly replacement. The slaves could avoid work, by working as slowly as they dared, or by pretending to be sick. All these acts of resistance carried the threat of punishment if they were found out.

Ten years after Nat Turner's rebellion, there was no sign of black insurrection in the South. But that year, 1841, one incident took place which kept alive the idea of rebellion. Slaves being transported on a ship, the *Creole*, overpowered the crew, killed one of them, and sailed into the British West Indies (where slavery had been abolished in 1833). England refused to return the slaves (there was much agitation in England against American slavery), and this led to angry talk in Congress of war with England, encouraged by Secretary of State Daniel Webster.

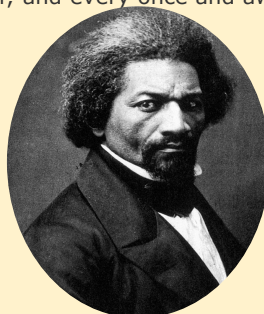
Running away was much more realistic than armed insurrection. During the 1850s about a thousand slaves a year escaped into the North, Canada, and Mexico. Thousands ran away for short periods. And this despite the terror facing the runaway. The dogs used in tracking fugitives "bit, tore, mutilated, and if not pulled off in time, killed their prey."

There were tactical differences between black abolitionists such as Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison, white abolitionist and editor of *The Liberator*. Blacks were more willing to engage in armed insurrection, but also more ready to use existing political devices-the ballot box, the Constitution-anything to further their cause. They were not as morally absolute in their tactics. Moral pressure would not do it alone, the blacks knew; it would take all sorts of tactics, from elections to rebellion.

Blacks had to struggle constantly with the unconscious racism of white abolitionists. They also had to insist on their own independent voice...In 1854, a conference of Negroes declared: "... it is emphatically our battle; no one else can fight it for us...Our relations to the Anti-Slavery movement must be and are changed. Instead of depending upon it we must lead it."

Certain black women faced the triple hurdle-of being abolitionists in a slave society, of being black among white reformers, and of being women in a reform movement dominated by men. When Sojourner Truth rose to speak in 1853 in New York City at the Fourth National Woman's Rights Convention, it all came together. There was a hostile mob in the hall shouting, jeering, threatening. She said:

I know that it feels a kind o' hiss'n' and ticklin' like to see a colored woman get up and tell you about things, and Woman's Rights. We have all been thrown down so low that nobody thought we'd ever get up again; but ... we will come up again, and now I'm here... we'll have our rights; see if we don't; and you can't stop us from them; see if you can. You may hiss as much as you like, but it is comin'. ... I am sittin' among you to watch; and every once and awhile I will come out and tell you what time of night it is...



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?

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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

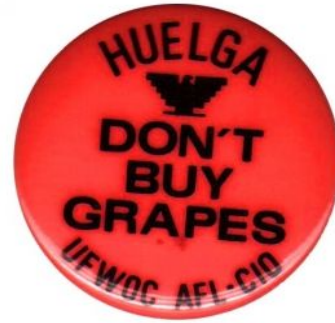
**INSTRUCTIONS:** The textbook selection below includes two sections: "Cesar Chavez and Latino Political Power" and an additional "Did You Know" section. Factual questions will be asked about both sections (i.e., including the "Did You Know?" section) of the text so be sure to read all the information 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

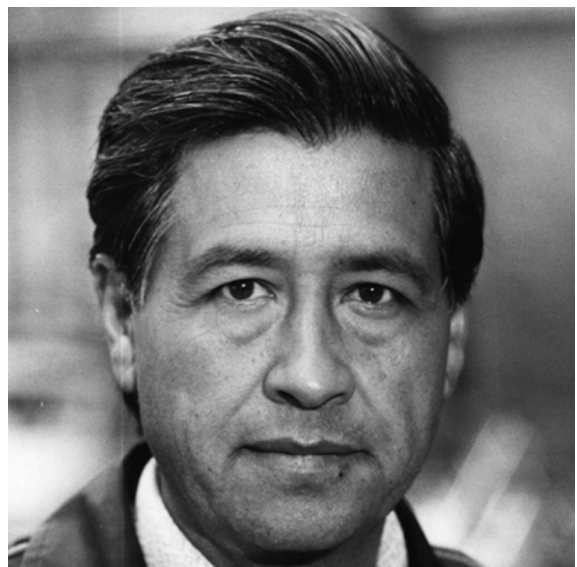
Thanks to both continued immigration and to their own high birthrate, Latinos became an increasingly important minority. The United States by 2003 was home to about 39 million of them. They included some 26 million Chicanos, or Mexican Americans, mostly in the Southwest, as well as 3 million Puerto Ricans, 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?***

### ***The Latino Labor Movement Fights to Improve the Lives of Workers***

In the 1960s, Chicano farm workers, people of Mexican descent who came to work and live mostly in California and the Southwestern states, rebelled against their feudal working conditions. They went out on strike and organized a national boycott of grapes, under the leadership of Cesar Chavez. Soon farmworkers were organizing in other parts of the country.

Copper miners in Arizona, mostly Mexican, went on strike against the Phelps-Dodge company after it cut wages, benefits, and safety measures in 1983. They were attacked by National Guardsmen and state troopers, by tear gas and helicopters, but held out for three years until a combination of governmental and corporate power finally defeated them.

There were victories too. In 1985, 1700 cannery workers, most of them Mexican women, went on strike in Watsonville, California, and won a union contract with medical benefits. In 1990 workers who had been laid off from the Levi Strauss company in San Antonio because the company was moving to Costa Rica called a boycott, organized a hunger strike, and won concessions. In Los Angeles, Latino janitors went on strike in 1990 and despite police attacks, won recognition of their union, a pay raise, and sick benefits.

Latino and Latina activists (not necessarily Chicano, which refers to those of Mexican ancestry), through the eighties and early nineties, campaigned for better labor conditions, for representation in local government, for tenants' rights, for bilingual education in the schools. Kept out of the media, they organized a bilingual radio movement, and by 1991 had fourteen Latino stations in the country, twelve of them bilingual.

In New Mexico, Latinos fought for land and water rights against real estate developers who tried to throw them off land they had lived on for decades. In 1988 there was a confrontation, and the people organized an armed occupation, built bunkers for protection against attack, and won support from other communities in the Southwest; finally, a court ruled in their favor.

Abnormal rates of cancer for farmworkers in California aroused the Chicano community. Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers fasted for thirty-five days in 1988 to call attention to these conditions. There were now United Farm Workers unions in Texas, Arizona, and other states.

The importation of Mexican workers for low wages, under terrible conditions, spread from the Southwest to other parts of the country. By 1991, 80,000 Latinos lived in North Carolina, 30,000 in north Georgia. The Farm Labor Organizing Committee, which had won a difficult strike in the Ohio tomato fields in 1979, the largest agricultural strike ever in the Midwest, brought thousands of farmworkers together in several Midwest states.



**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
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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
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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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**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.

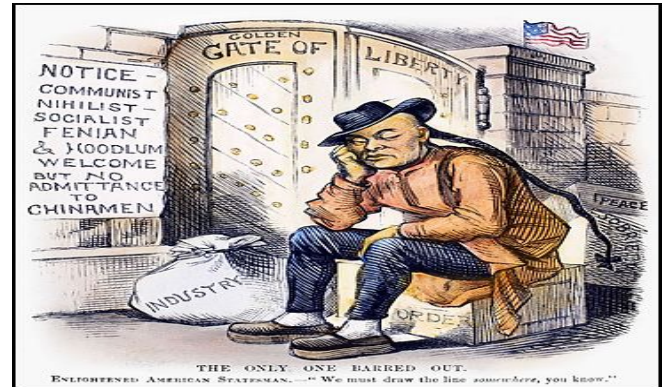
The first Chinese had arrived in Spanish America as early as 1565. But few followed those earliest pioneers until the 1848 discovery of gold in California attracted people from all over the world to America's Pacific coast. Among them were many fortune-hungry Chinese who sailed into San Francisco, which 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.



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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.

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## ***Did you Know?***

### ***Asian Americans Successfully Fight Against Exclusion***

The Chinese sought to challenge the discrimination that they faced by going on strike and filing lawsuits in the American legal system. Another avenue of resistance open to the Chinese was print journalism. By adopting the same rhetorical tactics as their critics-writing in English and publishing in the same periodicals, such as the *North American Review* and *the Overland Monthly*-Chinese elites in America attempted to gain some control over the images of the Chinese that were being presented to the American public. By offering alternative representations of themselves and by answering some of the charges levied against them, these writers hoped that attacks against the Chinese would lessen, that immigration legislation would be liberalized, and that the Chinese would eventually find acceptance in the American polity.

In response to exclusion, community organizations in Chinatown provided services to immigrants who weren't protected by the benefits of American citizenship. In San Francisco's Chinatown, for example, The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association provided legal representation, organized a private watchmen patrol for the neighborhood, and offered health services. Furthermore, Chinese immigrants found ingenious ways to get around immigration hurdles: They would pool their money to start luxury "chop suey palaces," then each investor would take turns running the joint for a year or 18 months. Once they'd earned merchant status, the investors would use it to bring their relatives over to work in the restaurant.

These behaviors allowed Chinese Americans to challenge what white Americans termed the "Oriental Problem," the idea that Asian immigrants were not quite American and a perception that the American Chinese and Japanese, as well as American Filipinos and Koreans, were to be categorized together as "Orientals."



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

