



HS Social Studies

(Oklahoma History/Government)

Distance Learning Activities



TULSA PUBLIC SCHOOLS

EQUITY CHARACTER EXCELLENCE TEAM JOY

Dear families,

These learning packets are filled with grade level activities to keep students engaged in learning at home. We are following the learning routines with language of instruction that students would be engaged in within the classroom setting. We have an amazing diverse language community with over 65 different languages represented across our students and families.

If you need assistance in understanding the learning activities or instructions, we recommend using these phone and computer apps listed below.



Google Translate

- Free language translation app for Android and iPhone
- Supports text translations in 103 languages and speech translation (or conversation translations) in 32 languages
- Capable of doing camera translation in 38 languages and photo/image translations in 50 languages
- Performs translations across apps



Microsoft Translator

- Free language translation app for iPhone and Android
- Supports text translations in 64 languages and speech translation in 21 languages
- Supports camera and image translation
- Allows translation sharing between apps

DESTINATION EXCELLENCE

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Queridas familias:

Estos paquetes de aprendizaje tienen actividades a nivel de grado para mantener a los estudiantes comprometidos con la educación en casa. Estamos siguiendo las rutinas de aprendizaje con las palabras que se utilizan en el salón de clases.

Tenemos una increíble y diversa comunidad de idiomas con más de 65 idiomas diferentes representados en nuestros estudiantes y familias.

Si necesita ayuda para entender las actividades o instrucciones de aprendizaje, le recomendamos que utilice estas aplicaciones de teléfono y computadora que se enlistan a continuación:



Google Translate

- Aplicación de traducción de idiomas para Android y iPhone (gratis)
- Traducciones de texto en 103 idiomas y traducción de voz (o traducciones de conversación) en 32 idiomas
- Traducción a través de cámara en 38 idiomas y traducciones de fotos / imágenes en 50 idiomas
- Realiza traducciones entre aplicaciones



Microsoft Translator

- Aplicación de traducción para iPhone y Android (gratis)
- Traducciones de texto en 64 idiomas y traducción de voz en 21 idiomas
- Traducción a través de la cámara y traducción de imágenes
- Permite compartir la traducción entre aplicaciones

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Directions for the Week of April 20-April 24th

Monday	Read <u>Democratic Storms</u> background information and write a paragraph with evidence from the text to describe an occasion when the decisions of Democrats caused turmoil for people of the state of Oklahoma.
Tuesday	Read the information and answer questions using evidence from the textbook excerpt: <u>Senate Bill 1 & the literacy test</u> .
Wednesday	Read the article <u>All-Black Towns</u> . Then answer the question- how did the establishment of Senate Bill 1 lead to the growth of all-Black towns?
Thursday & Friday	Read the information and answer questions using evidence from the textbook excerpt: <u>KKK questions</u> . Then, write a paragraph describing the reasons for the rise and the fall of the Ku Klux Klan in Oklahoma in the 1920s. Why the resurgence of KKK at that time in history?

Directions for the Week of April 27th-May 1st

Monday	<p>Readings and Clips: Read the <u>Tulsa Race Massacre documents</u> and analyze where lynchings occurred. Next, (if possible) students watch the <u>Henry Smith profile clip</u>. Students read and annotate the "Introduction" section of the Lynching in America digital report (pp. 3-5 of <u>PDF</u>) and listen (if possible) to the <u>Thomas Miles audio</u> story.</p> <p>Henry Smith Profile Clip: https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/explore/texas/henry-smith</p> <p>Thomas Miles Audio Clip: https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/listen/dedman-myles</p> <p>Journaling: Students journal in response to any or all of following questions: What is lynching? What impact did they have on minority communities? Why might we study the history of lynching today? Why has there been an absence to discuss or address lynching?</p>
Tuesday	<p>Reading and Clips: To memorialize means, the way we remember. People memorialize with art, poetry, writing, gatherings, songs, etc. By the end of the week, students will be designing a way to memorialize the Tulsa Race Massacre. I</p> <p>Students will read article and answer questions from Khan Academy: <u>The reemergence of the KKK (article & questions)</u> and answer the question "Why was there a rise in racial violence during the 1920s?" Finally, students will watch <u>The Tulsa Race Massacre; Then and now</u>.video (if possible).</p> <p>Tulsa Race Massacre Video</p>

	<p>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GhoAGJUDEvc&feature=youtu.be</p> <p>Journaling: Students journal to answer the questions: “How do we memorialize history? Whose perspective is used? What were the causes of the Tulsa Race Massacre? How do we help the Greenwood community, and Tulsa as a whole, heal?”</p>
Wednesday	<p>Reading and Clips: Students read and annotate an <u>excerpt</u> from the textbook chapter 20, The Reality of Race.</p> <p>Journaling: “What kind of place was Greenwood before the riot? Why do you think that the riot happened? What happened after the riot was over?”</p> <p>Start on Memorialization Project: Begin to design a way to memorialize the history of June 1, 1921 in Tulsa. This memorialization can be anything to give honor to those who lost their lives. For example: write a poem, design a sculpture, create a song or rap, write an opinion piece to the Tulsa World, etc.</p>
Thursday	<p>Reading: Read Newsela.com article: <u>Tulsa's Black Wall Street Tells What Was, and What's Coming</u> and answer questions.</p> <p>Journal: Why is the Tulsa Race Massacre important for us to remember? How do we memorialize this event?</p> <p>Work on Project</p>
Friday	<p>Student journal choose one: Have a discussion with a parent, or someone else, and then write about what race means to you. What is racism?</p> <p>Scholars used the accounts of witnesses and ground-piercing radar to locate a potential mass grave just outside Tulsa’s Oaklawn Cemetery, suggesting the death toll may be much higher than the original records indicate. Why do you think this is true? What action should Tulsa take now about the possibility of mass graves?</p> <p>Students share their final product with the teacher through a picture, video, phone call or other means. As an extension they could write a letter to the mayor of Tulsa and/or your city council member to suggest a way to memorialize the Tulsa Race Massacre.</p>

Senate Bill 1 & the literacy test

Read the passage and answer the questions.

As soon as statehood was achieved, they passed a law (Senate Bill 1) forcing black and white railroad passengers to sit in separate waiting areas in depots and to ride in separate sections of coaches. Such Jim Crow laws were already common in other southern states, where most blacks had already been denied the right to vote by various laws and subterfuges. In Oklahoma, black citizens could vote—and they did. In the elections of 1908, black Oklahomans returned to the polls to support the party of Lincoln and emancipation. When their votes were counted, they had voted out quite a few Democratic legislators. Blacks provided enough votes to put Republicans in three of the state's five seats in the U.S. Congress. The official response was not long in coming. In 1910, the state's Democratic officials amended the constitution to eliminate most of the black vote in Oklahoma. A harsh literacy test (test of ability to read and write) was their chosen method. Its purpose was clear: it applied only to black Oklahomans. Along with a voter registration law of 1915, it effectively denied the right to vote to most blacks—and, of course, to the percentage of Republican voters who were black. These actions long remained a stain on the state. At the time, however, they testified to a resolve to hold political power without regard to fairness. But even these tactics could not secure the Democrats' power.

*pg 295 from *The Story of Oklahoma* textbook found at http://www.storyofoklahoma.com/teachers/downloads/Chapter_18.pdf

1. Describe Senate Bill 1, passed by the Oklahoma legislature.
2. Explain what Jim Crow Laws were and how they affected blacks in the southern states.
3. Why did legislators pass the act establishing a literacy test?



SENATE BILL ONE.

African Americans

Approved on December 18, 1907, Senate Bill One, also known as the coach law and to most as the state's first Jim Crow law, easily sailed through Oklahoma's first legislature. The bill provided that "every railway company, urban or suburban car company, street car or interurban car or railway company . . . shall provide separate coaches or compartments as hereinafter provided for the accommodation of the white and negro races, which separate coaches or cars shall be equal in all points of comfort and convenience." Another section of the legislation similarly stated that each railroad depot must have separate, adequately signed waiting rooms for each race. The penalty for disobeying ranged from one hundred to one thousand dollars for any company failing to provide separate facilities and from five to twenty-five dollars for any individual who, after being warned by the conductor, occupied any coach or compartment (including waiting rooms) not designated for his/her race. The bill authorized railroad officials to refuse service or eject violators. All fines were to go to the common school fund.

The Oklahoma Senate passed the bill on December 6, thirty-seven votes to two. The two dissenters were Republicans representing Kingfisher/Blaine and Logan counties. Republican Sen. H. E. P. Stanford refused to vote, stating that he stood for the law but objected to the measure as an emergency bill; he further objected to the clause allowing African American nurses and attendants in white coaches and to the provision mandating separate waiting rooms at all stations. The House of Representatives approved the bill ninety-one votes to fourteen. All fourteen of the votes against the bill came from Republicans representing the north-central and northwestern counties of the state, except for Republican Rep. William McAdoo of Okmulgee County.

Only one House Republican, Curtis Cay from Oklahoma County, and one Senate Republican, R. S. Curd representing Alfalfa and Major Counties, voted for the measure. In general, support for the bill came from the Democratic Party in the south and east, and opposition came from the Republican Party in the north-central and west.

African Americans protested the passage of Senate Bill One, with some demonstrations turning violent in Taft and Red Bird, All-Black towns. E. P. McCabe organized a legal battle, but the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the law's constitutionality in November 1914. In 1952 the U.S. Supreme Court declared segregation on interstate railways unconstitutional. In 1965 the Oklahoma Legislature repealed all segregation statutes for public transportation.

Larry O'Dell

See also: AFRICAN AMERICANS, ALL-BLACK TOWNS, CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS, JUDICIARY, EDWARD P. McCABE, NAACP, SEGREGATION

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Citation

The following (as per *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 17th edition) is the preferred citation for articles:

Larry O'Dell, "Senate Bill One," *The Encyclopedia of Oklahoma History and Culture*, <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=SE017>.

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ALL-BLACK TOWNS.

The All-Black towns of Oklahoma represent a unique chapter in American history. Nowhere else, neither in the Deep South nor in the Far West, did so many African American men and women come together to create, occupy, and govern their own communities. From 1865 to 1920 African Americans created more than fifty identifiable towns and settlements, some of short duration and some still existing at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

All-Black towns grew in Indian Territory after the Civil War when the former slaves of the Five Tribes settled together for mutual protection and economic security. When the United States government forced American Indians to accept individual land allotments, most Indian "freedmen" chose land next to other African Americans. They created cohesive, prosperous farming communities that could support businesses, schools, and churches, eventually forming towns. Entrepreneurs in these communities started every imaginable kind of business, including newspapers, and advertised throughout the South for settlers. Many African Americans migrated to Oklahoma, considering it a kind of "promise land."

When the Land Run of 1889 opened yet more "free" land to non-Indian settlement, African Americans from the Old South rushed to newly created Oklahoma. E. P. McCabe, a former state auditor of Kansas, helped found Langston and encouraged African Americans to settle in that All-Black town. To further his cause, McCabe established the *Langston City Herald* and circulated it, often by means of traveling agents, throughout the South. McCabe hoped that his tactics would create an African American political power block in Oklahoma Territory. Other African American leaders had a vision of an All-Black state. Although this dream was never realized, many All-Black communities sprouted and flourished in the rich topsoil of the new territory and, after 1907, the new state.

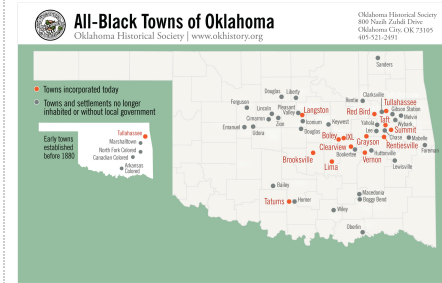
In those towns African Americans lived free from the prejudices and brutality found in other racially mixed communities of the Midwest and the South. African Americans in Oklahoma and Indian Territories would create their own communities for many reasons. Escape from discrimination and abuse would be a driving factor. All-Black settlements offered the advantage of being able to depend on neighbors for financial assistance and of having open markets for crops. Arthur Tolson, a pioneering historian of blacks in Oklahoma, asserts that many African Americans turned to "ideologies of economic advancement, self-help, and racial solidarity."

Marshalltown, North Fork Colored, Canadian Colored, and Arkansas Colored existed as early as the 1860s in Indian Territory. Other Indian Territory towns that no longer exist include Sanders, Mabelle, Wiley, Homer, Huttonville, Lee, and Rentie. Among the Oklahoma Territory towns no longer in existence are Lincoln, Cimarron City, Bailey, Zion, Emanuel, Udora, and Douglas. Towns that still survive are Boley, Brooksville, Clearview, Grayson, Langston, Lima, Red Bird, Rentiesville, Summit, Taft, Tatum, Tullahassee, and Vernon. The largest and most renowned of these was Boley. Booker T. Washington, nationally prominent African American educator, visited Boley twice and even submitted a positive article on the town to *Outlook Magazine* in 1908.

The passage of many Jim Crow laws by the Oklahoma Legislature immediately after statehood caused some African Americans to become disillusioned with the infant state. During this time Canada promoted settlement and, although the campaign focused on whites, a large contingent of African Americans relocated to that nation's western plains, forming colonies at Amber Valley, Alberta, and Maidstone, Saskatchewan. Another exodus from Oklahoma occurred with the "Back to Africa" movements of the early twentieth century. A large group of Oklahomans joined the ill-fated Chief Sam expedition to Africa. A number of other African Americans migrated to colonies in Mexico.

White distrust also limited the growth of these All-Black towns. As early as 1911 whites in Okfuskee County attempted to block further immigration and to force African Americans into mixed but racially segregated communities incapable of self-support. Several of these white farmers signed oaths pledging to "never rent, lease, or sell land in Okfuskee County to any person of Negro blood, or agent of theirs; unless the land be located more than one mile from a white or Indian resident." To further stem the black migration to eastern Oklahoma a similar oath was developed to prevent the hiring of "Negro labor."

Events of the 1920s and 1930s spelled the end for most black communities. The All-Black towns in Oklahoma were, for the most part, small agricultural centers that gave nearby African American farmers a market. Prosperity generally depended on cotton and other crops. The Great Depression devastated these towns, forcing residents to go west and north in search of jobs. These flights from Oklahoma caused a huge population decrease in black towns.



All-Black Towns of Oklahoma

(Created by the Oklahoma Historical Society, OHS).

African Americans

As people left, the tax base withered, putting the towns in financial jeopardy. In the 1930s many railroads failed, isolating small towns in Oklahoma from regional and national markets. As a result, many of the black towns could not survive. During lean years whites would not extend credit to African Americans, creating an almost impossible situation for black farmers and businessmen to overcome. Even one of the most successful towns, Boley, declared bankruptcy in 1939. Today, only thirteen historical All-Black towns still survive, but their legacy of economic and political freedom is well remembered. A fourteenth town, IXL, is new, incorporated in 2001.

Larry O'Dell

See also: [AFRICAN AMERICANS](#), [BOLEY](#), [BROOKSVILLE](#), [CLEARVIEW](#), [FREEDMEN](#), [LANGSTON](#), [LINCOLN CITY](#), [EDWARD P. McCABE](#), [RED BIRD](#), [RENTIESVILLE](#), [SEGREGATION](#), [SETTLEMENT PATTERNS](#), [SUMMIT](#), [TAFT](#), [TATUMS](#), [TULLAHASSEE](#), [VERNON](#)

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**On a separate piece of paper, answer this writing prompt:
How did the establishment of Senate Bill 1 lead to the growth
of all-Black towns?**

Read “Promiscuous Joy-Rides after Dark’: A Klan Manifesto” and the text under the heading “Hooded Terror.” (pgs 302-304 in *The Story of Oklahoma* textbook). More information about the KKK can be found here: [KKK](#). Then answer the questions with evidence from the text.

1. What values and goals did the KKK stand for?
2. What sorts of people were attracted to it?
3. Describe an occasion when Governor Jack Walton declared martial law.
4. Why did the Klan lose membership in the late 1920s?

“Promiscuous Joy-Rides after Dark”: A Klan Manifesto

Oklahoma’s Ku Klux Klan attracted many members who were otherwise considered to be upstanding citizens, but that didn’t make the Klan any less bigoted. Many of its members originally saw it as a civic-minded organization that would uphold public order and defend traditional values. That tone of moral vigilantism (self-appointed justice) ran through the message that the Klan’s “Department of Propagation” published in the *Cherokee Republican*:

PROCLAMATION

Cherokee, Oklahoma
January Twelfth

To the City and County Officials and Citizens
of Cherokee, Alfalfa County, Okla.

Greetings:

This organization, composed of native-born Americans, who accepted the tenets of the Christian religion, proposes to uphold the dignity and authority of the law. No innocent person of any color, creed or lineage has any just cause to fear or condemn this body of men.

To the City and County Officials, we wish to

assure you that we are not here to break down constituted authority by any act, word, or deed, but, on the contrary, will uphold the hands of every good officer and citizen in the enforcement of law and order; we expect, however, that every official, elective and appointive, to [sic] discharge the duties of his office, without fear or favor, and to this end, we pledge you our undivided support.

To the fathers and mothers, we suggest that you keep a closer watch over your boys and girls in the future than you have in the past; especially in regards to the promiscuous joy-rides after dark.

To the gamblers, highjackers [sic], bootleggers, dope-peddlers, and other [sic] who are constantly violating the laws of God and man, 500 determined men have their eyes on you—be sure that your sin will find you out.

Cherokee Klan
Realm of Oklahoma
Knights of the Ku Klux Klan



This Lone Wolf chapter of the Ku Klux Klan had no difficulty in attracting members to its self-defined crusade for Protestant Christian morality and patriotic Americanism.

Hooded Terror

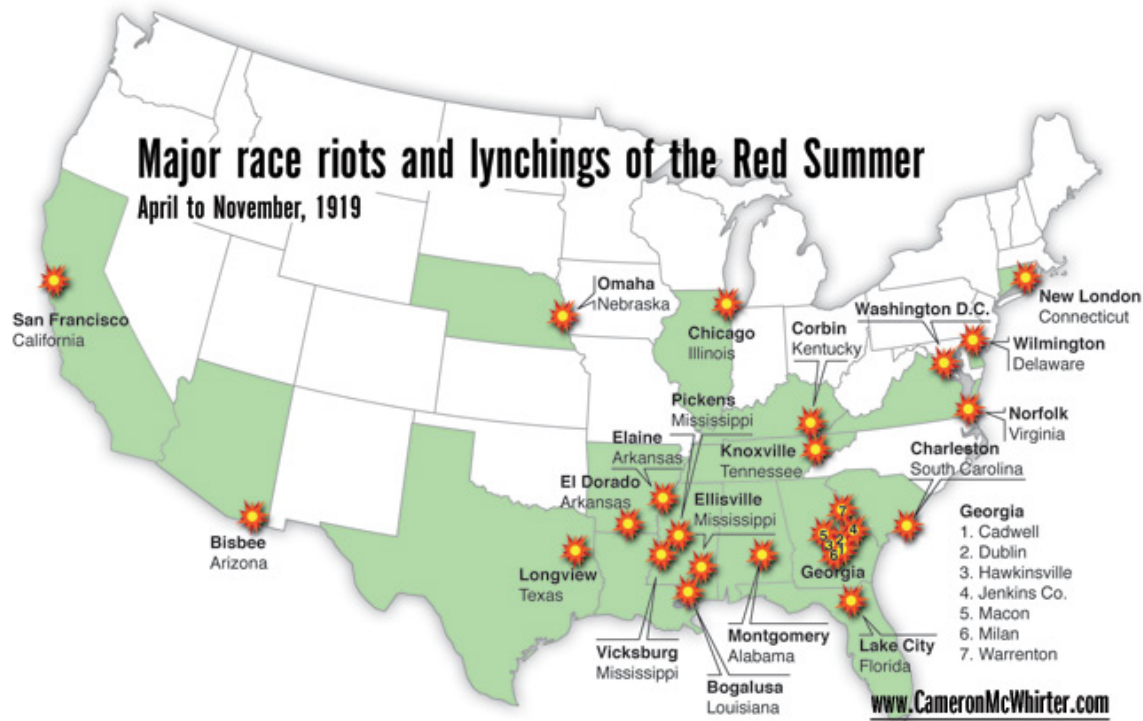
Across America, a reborn Ku Klux Klan rose to great influence after World War I. Like the original Klansmen in the post–Civil War South, followers of this Ku Klux Klan masqueraded in hoods and robes that did not conceal their anti-black racism. And they added Jews, Catholics, immigrants, and assorted radicals to their intended victims. Soon, burning crosses, whippings, and tarrings swept across the entire nation, Oklahoma included. Perverse in its attitudes and behavior, the Sooner Ku Klux Klan was not to be taken lightly. Within its ranks were prominent ministers, school leaders, and ambitious politicians, including perhaps a majority of the legislature elected with Governor Walton in 1922. In taking on the Ku Klux Klan, the governor was fighting for his political life. Though short-lived, the fight between Jack Walton and the Klan was unusually bitter and sometimes bloody. In response to Klan outrages—mutilations in Tulsa, whippings in Okmulgee County, and so on—Walton began to issue declarations of **martial law** (law enforcement by the military). The state militia suspended civilian governments and set up military courts to end the Klan's looting. The governor followed with more declarations that went even further. When the Tulsa Tribune published editorials against Walton's takeover of city and county government, the governor imposed martial law on the newspaper and prevented its publication—an open violation of federal and state guarantees of a free press. The attempt to convene a grand jury in Oklahoma City to investigate Walton met a similar fate. Declaring martial law on the Oklahoma County Courthouse, Walton used troops to prevent the grand jury from meeting there. Such extreme actions aroused Oklahoma's Klansmen and most of the state's other citizens as well. Unsure of their options, a group of legislators tried to meet at the state capitol to plan a strategy. They were greeted with barbed wire, machine guns, and armed militiamen. Walton had declared martial law on the capitol to prevent their meeting. The governor's opponents wasted no time in mounting a counterattack. The legislature was not scheduled to meet again until 1925, so Walton's foes prepared to amend the state constitution so that the legislature could summon itself into a special session immediately. Knowing the purpose of such an assembly—to impeach him and remove him from office—Governor Walton tried to prevent a public election on the amendment by ordering the militia to close the polls. Except for a few cases, the militiamen ignored the governor, and the election took place, with an unsurprising outcome. Oklahomans voted overwhelmingly to allow the legislature to meet immediately. Moving quickly to prevent the governor's threat to retaliate by pardoning all convicts and freeing them from prison, the House of Representatives formally impeached Walton for 22 offenses and suspended him from office. After a more thorough trial by the state senate, he was convicted on 11 counts and removed from office. Besides ridding the state of an incredibly incompetent governor, Walton's impeachment had other consequences. One of them was a fatal blow delivered to the Ku Klux Klan. With the governor safely out of power, Oklahomans began to come to their senses. Walton's "war" on the Klan, after all, had given publicity to its very worst features: the terror and violence that came easily to men hiding behind hoods. The legislature

passed a law forbidding people to publicly hide behind masks or hoods. Oklahoma thus became the first state to “unmask” the Ku Klux Klan. Soon, Klan numbers dropped to nearly nothing, and former Klansmen tried to hide their embarrassment about having paraded around in silly garb beneath fiery crosses. Another ironic result of Walton’s impeachment was that it did not mark the end of Our Jack’s political career. Running along with many other candidates for the Democratic nomination to the U.S. Senate in 1924, Walton gained the most votes in the primary election. Although he received far fewer than half of the votes, Walton was able to win the nomination, since at the time the candidate with the largest number of votes (a plurality) in the primary was the legal winner. Incensed by Walton’s unrepentant return, the voters elected a Republican, William B. Pine, to the Senate. With Pine serving during the final two years of Senator Harreld’s term, Oklahoma had two Republican U.S. senators for the first time in its history.

*excerpt taken from: http://www.storyofoklahoma.com/teachers/downloads/Chapter_18.pdf

Tulsa Race Massacre Documents

Source: Cameron McWhirter is a Wall Street Journal reporter and author of “Red Summer: The Summer of 1919.” **Note:** In 1919, conflicts broke out between black and white Americans in cities all over the United States. The highest death rate was in rural Elaine, Arkansas where 100-240 African Americans and 5 white people were killed.



Document Analysis

1. What do the flash symbols on the map represent?
2. According to this map, how many race riots and lynchings occurred in the United States between the spring and fall of 1919?
3. Can you use the map to make a generalization about where racial violence in the United States was most severe? Explain your reasoning.
4. Using what you learned from the Background Essay, what might explain why Oklahoma did not have an incidence of major racial violence in 1919?
5. How might the violent racial conflicts in 1919 have helped cause the violence in Tulsa on June 1, 1921?

Source: Equal Justice Initiative, “Lynching in America: Targeting Black Veterans.” 2017.
<https://eji.org/reports/targeting-black-veterans/>

The enslavement of black people in the United States for more than 200 years, built wealth, opportunity, and prosperity for millions of white Americans. At the same time, American slavery assigned to black people a lifelong status of bondage and servitude based on race, and created a myth of racial inferiority to justify the racial hierarchy. Under this racist belief system, whites were hard working, smart, and morally advanced, while black people were dumb, lazy, childlike, and uncivilized.

The idea that black people were naturally and permanently inferior to white people became deeply rooted in individual’s minds, state and federal laws, and national institutions. This ideology grew so strong that it survived the abolition of slavery and evolved into new systems of racial inequality and abuse. In the period from 1877 to 1950, it took the form of lynching and racial terror.

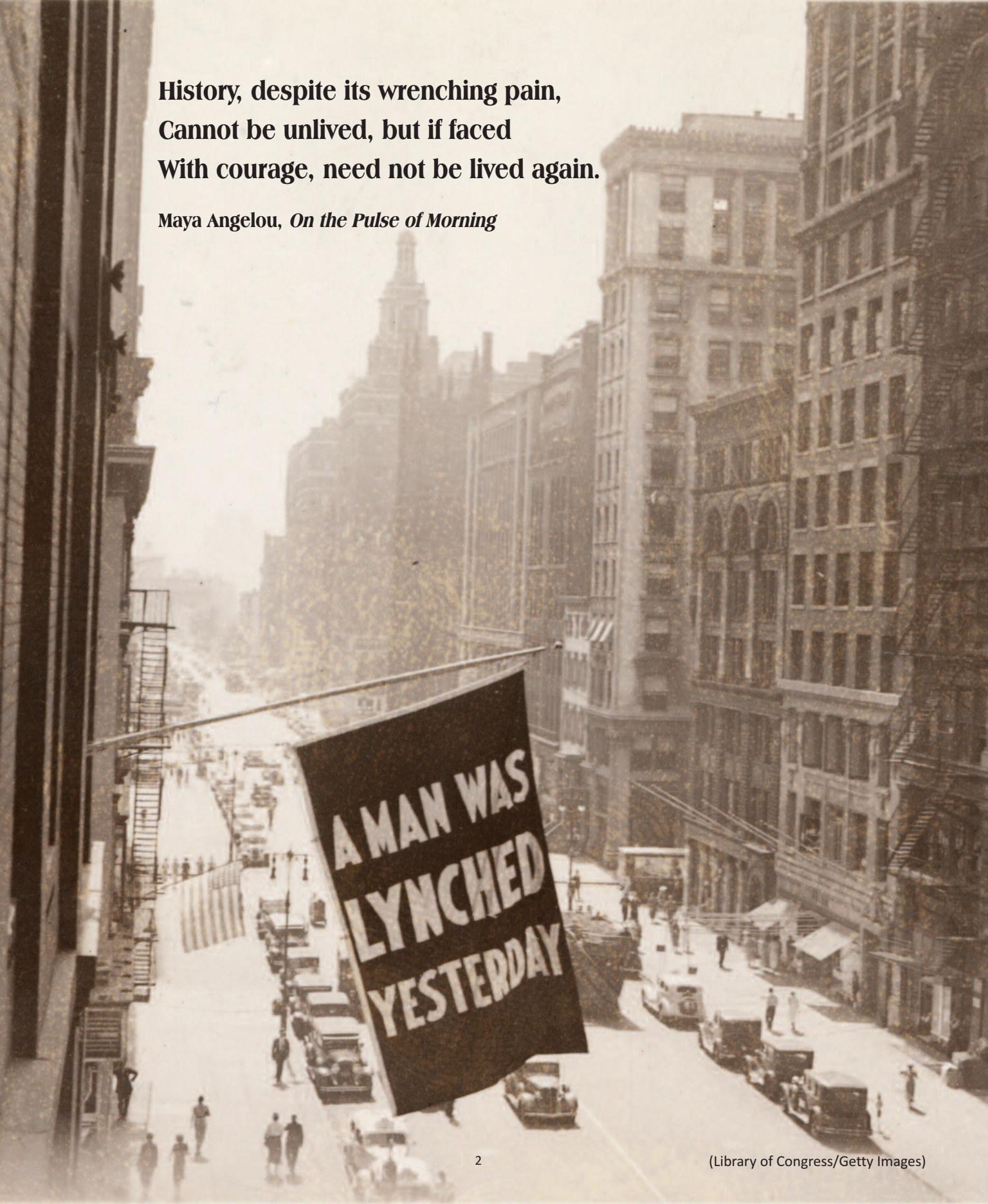
For a century after emancipation, African American servicemen and the black community at large “staked much of their claims to freedom and equality on their military service

Document Analysis:

1. How did the 200-yearlong system of race-based slavery in the United States help white Americans?
2. According to this document, what is the “myth of racial inferiority” that developed when slavery was legal?
3. How did the idea that black people were inferior to white people become institutionalized even after it became illegal to enslave African Americans?
4. In the 100 years after slavery was abolished, what was the attitude of African Americans toward the military?
5. According to the document, how did the belief in white superiority change after the slavery was abolished?
6. How could you use this document to help explain the underlying causes of the Tulsa Race “Riot”?

History, despite its wrenching pain,
Cannot be unlived, but if faced
With courage, need not be lived again.

Maya Angelou, *On the Pulse of Morning*



Introduction

During the period between the Civil War and World War II, thousands of African Americans were lynched in the United States. Lynchings were violent and public acts of torture that traumatized black people throughout the country and were largely tolerated by state and federal officials. These lynchings were terrorism. “Terror lynchings” peaked between 1880 and 1940 and claimed the lives of African American men, women, and children who were forced to endure the fear, humiliation, and barbarity of this widespread phenomenon unaided.

Lynching profoundly impacted race relations in this country and shaped the geographic, political, social, and economic conditions of African Americans in ways that are still evident today. Terror lynchings fueled the mass migration of millions of black people from the South into urban ghettos in the North and West throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Lynching created a fearful environment where racial subordination and segregation was maintained with limited resistance for decades. Most critically, lynching reinforced a legacy of racial inequality that has never been adequately addressed in America. The administration of criminal justice in particular is tangled with the history of lynching in profound and important ways that continue to contaminate the integrity and fairness of the justice system.

This report begins a necessary conversation to confront the injustice, inequality, anguish, and suffering that racial terror and violence created. The history of terror lynching complicates contemporary issues of race, punishment, crime, and justice. Mass incarceration, excessive penal punishment, disproportionate sentencing of racial minorities, and police abuse of people of color reveal problems in American society that were framed in the terror era. The narrative of racial difference that lynching dramatized continues to haunt us. Avoiding honest conversation about this history has undermined our ability to build a nation where racial justice can be achieved.

In America, there is a legacy of racial inequality shaped by the enslavement of millions of black people. The era of slavery was followed by decades of terrorism and racial subordination most dramatically evidenced by lynching. The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s challenged the legality of many of the most racist practices and structures that sustained racial subordination but the movement was not followed by a continued commitment to truth and reconciliation. Consequently, this legacy of racial inequality has persisted, leaving us vulnerable to a range of problems that continue to reveal racial disparities and injustice. EJI believes it is essential that we begin to discuss our history of racial injustice more soberly and to understand the implications of our past in addressing the challenges of the present.

Lynching in America is the second in a series of reports that examines the trajectory of American history from slavery to mass incarceration. In 2013, EJI published *Slavery in America*, which documents the slavery era and its continuing legacy, and erected three public markers in Montgomery, Alabama, to change the visual landscape of a city and state that has romanticized the mid-nineteenth century and ignored the devastation and horror created by racialized slavery and the slave trade.

Over the past six years, EJI staff have spent thousands of hours researching and documenting terror lynchings in the twelve most active lynching states in America:

Alabama
Arkansas
Florida
Georgia
Kentucky
Louisiana

Mississippi
North Carolina
South Carolina
Tennessee
Texas
Virginia

We have more recently supplemented our research by documenting terror lynchings in other states, and found these acts of violence were most common in eight states: **Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Missouri, Ohio, Oklahoma, and West Virginia.**

We distinguish *racial terror lynchings*—the subject of this report—from hangings and mob violence that followed some criminal trial process or that were committed against non-minorities without the threat of terror. Those deaths were a crude form of punishment that did not have the features of *terror lynchings* directed at racial minorities who were being threatened and menaced in multiple ways.

We also distinguish *terror lynchings* from racial violence and hate crimes that were prosecuted as criminal acts. Although criminal prosecution for hate crimes was rare during the period we examine, such prosecutions ameliorated those acts of violence and racial animus. The lynchings we document were acts of terrorism because these murders were carried out with impunity, sometimes in broad daylight, often “on the courthouse lawn.”ⁱ These lynchings were not “frontier justice,” because they generally took place in communities where there was a functioning criminal justice system that was deemed too good for African Americans. Terror lynchings were horrific acts of violence whose perpetrators were never held accountable. Indeed, some *public spectacle lynchings* were attended by the entire white community and conducted as celebratory acts of racial control and domination.

Key Findings

1 Racial terror lynching was much more prevalent than previously reported. EJI researchers have documented several hundred more lynchings than the number identified in the most comprehensive work done on lynching to date. The extraordinary work of E.M. Beck and Stewart E. Tolnay provided an invaluable resource, as did the research collected at Tuskegee University in

Tuskegee, Alabama. These sources are widely viewed as the most comprehensive collection of research data on the subject of lynching in America. EJI conducted extensive analysis of these data as well as supplemental research and investigation of lynchings in each of the subject states. We reviewed local newspapers, historical archives, and court records; conducted interviews with local historians, survivors, and victims’ descendants; and exhaustively examined contemporaneously published reports in African American newspapers. EJI has documented 4084 racial terror lynchings in twelve Southern states between the end of Reconstruction in 1877 and 1950, which is at least 800 more lynchings in these states than previously reported. EJI has also documented more than 300 racial terror lynchings in other states during this time period.

2 Some states and counties were particularly terrifying places for African Americans and had dramatically higher rates of lynching than other states and counties we reviewed. Mississippi, Florida, Arkansas, and Louisiana had the highest statewide rates of lynching in the United States. Mississippi, Georgia, and Louisiana had the highest number of lynchings. Lafayette, Hernando, Taylor, and Baker counties in Florida; Early County, Georgia; Fulton County, Kentucky; and Lake and Moore counties in Tennessee had the highest rates of terror lynchings in America. Phillips County, Arkansas; Lafourche and Tensas parishes in Louisiana; Leflore and Carroll counties in Mississippi; and New Hanover County, North Carolina, were sites of mass killings of African Americans in single-incident violence that mark them as notorious places in the history of racial terror violence. The largest numbers of lynchings were found in Jefferson County, Alabama; Orange, Columbia, and Polk counties in Florida; Fulton, Early, and Brooks counties in Georgia; Fulton County, Kentucky; Caddo, Ouachita, Bossier, Iberia, and Tangipahoa parishes in Louisiana; Hinds County, Mississippi; Shelby County, Tennessee; and Anderson County, Texas.

3 Racial terror lynching was a tool used to enforce Jim Crow laws and racial segregation—a tactic for maintaining racial control by victimizing the entire African American community, not merely punishment of an alleged perpetrator for a crime. Our research confirms that many victims of terror lynchings were murdered without being accused of any crime; they were killed for minor social transgressions or for demanding basic rights and fair treatment.

4 Our conversations with survivors of lynchings show that terror lynching played a key role in the forced migration of millions of black Americans out of the South. Thousands of people fled to the North and West out of fear of being lynched. Parents and spouses sent away loved ones who suddenly found themselves at risk of being lynched for a minor social transgression; they characterized these frantic, desperate escapes as surviving *near-lynchings*.

5 In all of the subject states, we observed that there is an astonishing absence of any effort to acknowledge, discuss, or address lynching. Many of the communities where lynchings took place have gone to great lengths to erect markers and monuments that memorialize the Civil War, the Confederacy, and historical events during which local power was violently reclaimed by white Southerners. These communities celebrate and honor the architects of racial subordination and political leaders known for their belief in white supremacy. There are very few monuments or memorials that address the history and legacy of lynching in particular or the struggle for racial equality more generally. Most communities do not actively or visibly recognize how their race relations were shaped by terror lynching.

6 We found that most terror lynchings can best be understood as having the features of one or more of the following:

- (1) lynchings that resulted from a wildly distorted fear of interracial sex;
- (2) lynchings in response to casual social transgressions;
- (3) lynchings based on allegations of serious violent crime;
- (4) public spectacle lynchings;
- (5) lynchings that escalated into large-scale violence targeting the entire African American community; and
- (6) lynchings of sharecroppers, ministers, and community leaders who resisted mistreatment, which were most common between 1915 and 1940.

7 The decline of lynching in the studied states relied heavily on the increased use of capital punishment imposed by court order following an often accelerated trial. That the death penalty’s roots are sunk deep in the legacy of lynching is evidenced by the fact that public executions to mollify the mob continued after the practice was legally banned.

The Equal Justice Initiative believes that our nation must fully address our history of racial terror and the legacy of racial inequality it has created. This report explores the power of *truth and reconciliation* or transitional justice to address oppressive histories by urging communities to honestly and soberly recognize the pain of the past. As has been powerfully detailed in Sherrilyn A. Ifill’s extraordinary work on lynchingⁱ, there is an urgent need to challenge the absence of recognition in the public space on the subject of lynching. Only when we concretize the experience through discourse, memorials, monuments, and other acts of reconciliation can we overcome the shadows cast by these grievous events. We hope you will join our effort to help towns, cities, and states confront and recover from tragic histories of racial violence and terrorism and to improve the health of our communities by creating an environment where there can truly be equal justice for all.

Khan Academy KKK Article and Questions

- The **Ku Klux Klan** first arose in the South during the Reconstruction Era, but experienced a resurgence in the period immediately following the end of the **First World War**.
- The KKK was a viciously racist organization that employed violence and acts of terror in order to assert white supremacy and maintain a strict racial hierarchy.
- Although most of the KKK's savagery was aimed at African Americans, their hatred extended to immigrants, Catholics, Jews, liberals, and progressives.
- The revival of the KKK in the 1920s was demonstrative of a society coping with the effects of industrialization, urbanization, and immigration.

A brief history of the KKK

The **Ku Klux Klan** was a viciously racist white supremacist organization that [first arose](#) in the South after the end of the [Civil War](#). Its members opposed the dismantling of slavery and sought to keep African Americans in a permanent state of subjugation to whites. During Reconstruction, the Klan employed violence and terror in the hopes of overthrowing Republican state governments in the South and maintaining the antebellum racial hierarchy.¹

The first **Ku Klux Klan** declined in the 1870s, partly due to the passage of federal legislation aimed at prosecuting the crimes of Klansmen, though some local cells continued to operate. The institutionalization of [Jim Crow segregation](#) in the South, moreover, meant that the KKK's desire to maintain the antebellum racial hierarchy had been fulfilled.

The revival of the KKK

Although the KKK had reemerged in the South in 1915, it wasn't until after the end of [World War I](#) that the organization experienced a national resurgence. Membership in the KKK skyrocketed from a few thousand to over 100,000 in a mere ten months.² Local chapters of the KKK sprang up all over the country, and by the 1920s, it had become a truly national organization, with a formidable presence not just in the South, but in New England, the Midwest, and all across the northern United States.³

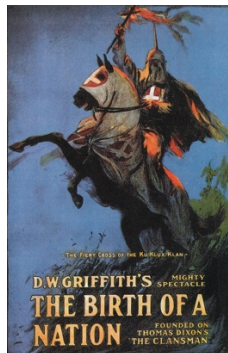
The members of the Ku Klux Klan were mostly white Protestant middle-class men, and they framed their crusade in moral and religious terms.⁴⁴ They saw themselves as vigilantes restoring justice, and they used intimidation, threats of violence, and actual violence to prevent African Americans, immigrants, Catholics, Jews, liberals, and progressives from attaining wealth, social status, and political power.

KKK members wore elaborate costumes with distinctive white hoods to mask their identities, and held nocturnal rallies to plot acts of terror and foment hatred against people deemed not “truly” American—basically, anyone who was not white and Protestant. The activities of Klansmen ranged from issuing threats and burning crosses to outright violence and atrocities such as tarring and feathering, beating, lynching, and assassination.

The revival of the KKK in the early twentieth century reflected a society struggling with the effects of industrialization, urbanization, and immigration. Klan chapters in major urban areas expanded as many white Americans became bitter and resentful about immigration from Asia and Eastern Europe. Klansmen complained that these immigrants were taking jobs away from whites and diluting the imagined “racial purity” of American society. Given that the country had been populated by immigrants from the beginning, such ideas of racial purity were complete myths.

Propaganda and protest

D.W. Griffith’s film *Birth of a Nation*, released in 1915, was a sympathetic portrayal of the Klan, and was hugely popular with American audiences. President Woodrow Wilson even arranged for a private screening of the film at the White House. The film both reflected and boosted the popularity of the Ku Klux Klan.



Movie poster for *The Birth of a Nation*, featuring a hooded man riding a horse and carrying a burning cross.

The film *Birth of a Nation* portrayed the KKK as a heroic organization and led to a resurgence in membership. [Image](#) courtesy Wikimedia Commons.

Many influential people and organizations came out in opposition to the KKK. Religious and civic groups launched campaigns to educate American society about the crimes and atrocities committed by Klansmen. Protestant ministers, Catholic priests, and Jewish rabbis stepped forward to condemn the organization in no uncertain terms. The **National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)** was at the forefront of efforts to educate the public about the threat posed by the KKK. Such anti-Klan activism was highly effective, and the organization's membership declined dramatically in the late 1920s.⁵⁵

The Ku Klux Klan would experience another revival in the South during the [Civil Rights Movement](#) of the 1950s and 1960s.

What do you think?

What were the goals of the Ku Klux Klan? What sorts of tactics did they use to achieve those goals?

Why do you think the KKK experienced a resurgence in the 1920s?

How do you explain the rise and fall of the Klan in different periods of US history?

The Reality of Race*

Race—like gender and class—shaped Oklahomans' lives. In the oil fields, race meant more, better-paying, and more-comfortable jobs for whites. Race also meant fewer, lower-paying, and more-unpleasant jobs for blacks. Many Oklahoma blacks looked elsewhere for work. Some, in fact, looked outside the United States. Just as earlier blacks had come to territorial Oklahoma to establish communities, others left the state of Oklahoma, again in groups, to do the same thing.

Tulsa

The former Creek trading post nestled in an elbow of the Arkansas River was well on its way to earning its self-description as “the Oil Capital of the World.” Located amid dozens of booming oil fields, the city saw its population triple between 1910 and 1920, to roughly 100,000. Slightly more than 10,000 of those were black. Like new white Tulsans, they tended to be migrants fleeing Oklahoma’s cotton fields and declining villages. They headed for the state’s newest “Promised Land.” To some degree, they found it. It was true that Tulsa was no paradise. Usually denied voting rights and rarely well paid, black Tulsans knew just where the wall of segregation ran—along Archer Street, not far from Beno Hall, the headquarters of the city’s sizable Ku Klux Klan.

Nonetheless, Tulsa blacks managed to carve out their own space within the Jim Crow city. Black-owned businesses, black-published newspapers, black-built churches—all of these testified to the determination of Oklahoma’s African Americans to build a community that nurtured independence and dignity. Its geographical center ran along Greenwood Avenue. Derided by many white Tulsans as the main thoroughfare of “Little Africa,” Tulsa’s Greenwood was known as something else to blacks everywhere: “the Negro Wall Street of America.”

Race Riot in Tulsa

Greenwood Avenue is still there, and at its intersection with Archer a dim reflection of its former glory can be seen. What will probably strike today’s visitor is something else. Nearly every building that stands has, somewhere on its exterior walls, a stone bearing the date of its construction. Every stone has the same year: “1921.” Behind those cold, chiseled stones stands Tulsa’s—and Oklahoma’s—most disgraceful episode.



Tulsa's brand-new Mount Zion Baptist Church was destroyed the night of the Tulsa Race Riot in 1921. The congregation rebuilt it, and today the building sits near a museum and memorial to the incident.

On the last day of May 1921, two crowds gathered outside Tulsa's county courthouse, which sat several blocks south and west of Greenwood and Archer, across the railroad tracks. Stirred up by grossly irresponsible reporting (mostly by the *Tulsa Tribune*), one crowd of white Tulsans was there to assure that Dick Rowland was justly punished. A young black man, Rowland shined shoes for a living, and he had just been arrested and jailed. According to an unlikely story in the afternoon newspaper, Rowland had tried to rape Sarah Page in broad daylight in an elevator in an office building downtown. The other crowd at the courthouse was black, and they also were there to see that justice was done. That hot afternoon had been filled with talk (some of it printed in the papers) of lynching Dick Rowland.

Soon, hostile looks gave way to ugly words. Words became gunshots. And a full-blown racial war resulted. Two days later, almost every building near Greenwood and Archer, and within a 36-block area north of it, was a smoking ruin. Property losses reached millions of dollars. The number of deaths—most of them blacks—was officially determined to be 36, but persistent rumors put it in the hundreds. Even now, nobody knows.

In fact, there are many things about the Tulsa Race Riot that investigators still do not know and likely never will. *Why* don't we know the numbers of casualties? *Why* was

damage done only to the north side? *Why* were nearby white neighborhoods untouched? To say, as some have, that north-side residents "endured and survived" is not enough.

Among the photographs that document Oklahoma's social history are several taken during the riot and its aftermath. A very famous one shows the burning of Mount Zion Baptist Church. Smoke billows through the roof and the windows of the building that Tulsa's black Baptists had completed just a few weeks earlier. All that was left was a shattered frame, an ugly hole—and an \$84,000 loan that had to be repaid. The church's insurance policy did not cover loss by rioting.

As much as that photograph shows, it does not reveal the most important part of this story. In an amazing display of courage, persistence, and will, Mount Zion's congregation proceeded to rebuild their church. While doing that, they also paid off the loan on the original building, the one they had to replace. It took them years to do it—to be exact, 21 years, just like the numbers on the new church building's cornerstone.

Let that be the point. Those anonymous black Oklahomans suffered, and they triumphed. Like others—nameless roustabouts, oil millionaires, tired housewives, a famous newspaperwoman, and even Tulsa's white rioters—their lives were the stuff of history, full of events to be preserved and remembered forever.

Tulsa's Black Wall Street tells what was, and what's coming

By DeNeen L. Brown, Washington Post on 09.27.19

Word Count **1,838**

Level **MAX**



Image 1. People check out a mural painted on the side of Interstate 244 in Tulsa, Oklahoma. The freeway cut the predominantly African-American Greenwood district in two when it was built in the 1970s. Photo by: Shane Bevel/The Washington Post

TULSA, Oklahoma — The black city council member driving a black SUV came to a dead stop along a gravel road.

Vanessa Hall-Harper pointed to a grassy knoll in the potter's field section of Oaklawn Cemetery. "This is where the mass graves are," Hall-Harper declared.

She and others think bodies were dumped here after one of the worst episodes of racial violence in U.S. history: the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre.

For decades, few talked about what happened in this city when a white mob descended on Greenwood Avenue, a black business district so prosperous it was dubbed "the Negro Wall Street" by Booker T. Washington.

For two days beginning May 31, 1921, the mob set fire to hundreds of black-owned businesses and homes in Greenwood. More than 300 black people were killed. More than 10,000 black people

were left homeless, and 40 blocks were left smoldering. Survivors recounted black bodies loaded on trains and dumped off bridges into the Arkansas River and, most frequently, tossed into mass graves.

Now, as Tulsa prepares to commemorate the massacre's centennial in 2021, a community still haunted by its history is being transformed by a wave of new development in and around Greenwood.

There's a minor-league baseball stadium and plans for a BMX motocross headquarters. There's an arts district marketed to millennials, and a hip shopping complex constructed out of empty shipping containers. There's a high-end apartment complex with a yoga studio and pub.

While almost two-thirds of the neighborhood's residents are African-American, the gentrification has surfaced tensions between the present and the past, once again raising questions about the rampage. Even the description of the violence is a point of contention, with some calling it the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921 and others referring to it as a massacre.

"Before my grandmother died, I asked her what happened," said Hall-Harper, whose council district includes Greenwood. "She began to whisper. She said, 'They was killing black people and running them out of the city.' I didn't even know about the massacre until I was an adult. And I was raised here. It wasn't taught about in the schools. It was taboo to speak about it."

Though Tulsa officials decided years ago not to excavate the site of the alleged mass grave, arguing that the evidence isn't strong enough, Hall-Harper plans to ask the city to reconsider.

"In honor of the centennial," she said, "I think we, as a city, should look into that and ensure those individuals are laid to rest properly."

A century ago, Tulsa was racially segregated and reeling from a recent lynching when Dick Rowland, a 19-year-old shoeshiner, walked to the Drexel Building, which had the only toilet downtown available to black people. Rowland stepped into an elevator. Sarah Page, a white elevator operator, began to shriek.

"While it is still uncertain as to precisely what happened in the Drexel Building on May 30, 1921, the most common explanation is that Rowland stepped on Page's foot as he entered the elevator, causing her to scream," the Oklahoma Historical Society reported.

The Tulsa Tribune published a news story with the headline "Nab Negro for Attacking Girl in Elevator" and ran an ominous editorial: "To Lynch Negro Tonight."

Soon, a white mob gathered outside the Tulsa courthouse, where Rowland was taken after his arrest. They were confronted by black men, including World War I veterans, who wanted to protect Rowland.

A struggle ensued. A shot was fired. Then hundreds of white people marched on Greenwood in a murderous rage.



"They tried to kill all the black folks they could see," a survivor, George Monroe, recalled in the 1999 documentary "The Night Tulsa Burned."

There were reports that white men flew airplanes above Greenwood, dropping kerosene bombs. "Tulsa was likely the first city" in the United States "to be bombed from the air," according to a 2001 report by the Oklahoma Commission to Study the Tulsa Race Riot of 1921.

B.C. Franklin, a Greenwood lawyer and the father of famed historian John Hope Franklin, wrote a rare firsthand account of the massacre later donated to the National Museum of African American History and Culture: "The sidewalk was literally covered with burning turpentine balls."

On June 1, 1921, martial law was declared. Troops rounded up black men, women and children and detained them for days.

Olivia Hooker, now 103, is one of the last survivors of the massacre. Hooker was 6 when the violence erupted.

Her mother hid her and three of her siblings under their dining room table. "She said, 'Keep quiet, and they won't know you are under here.'"

From beneath the oak table, she and her siblings watched in horror.

"They took everything they thought was valuable. They smashed everything they couldn't take," Hooker said. "My mother had these [Enrico] Caruso records she loved. They smashed the Caruso records."

Hooker, who later became one of the first black women to join the Coast Guard, has always lived with her memories of that racial terrorism.

"You don't forget something like that," said Hooker, who lives in New York. "I was a child who didn't know about bias and prejudice. ... It was quite a trauma to find out people hated you for your color. It took me a long time to get over my nightmares."

It wasn't until 77 years after the massacre that authorities began investigating the claims of mass graves. Investigators used electromagnetic induction and ground-penetrating radar to search for evidence at Newblock Park, which operated as a dump in 1921, Booker T. Washington Cemetery and Oaklawn Cemetery.

At each site, they found anomalies "that merited further investigation," according to the commission's report.

Then in 1999, a white man named Clyde Eddy, who was 10 at the time of the massacre, came forward and told officials he was playing in Oaklawn Cemetery in 1921 when he spotted white men digging a trench. When the men left, Eddy said, he peeked inside the wooden crates and saw corpses of black people.

Based on Eddy's story, state archaeologists began investigating the section of the cemetery Eddy cited. The effort was led by Clyde Snow, one of the world's foremost forensic anthropologists who had helped identify Nazi war criminals and had determined that more than 200 victims found in a mass grave in Yugoslavia had been killed in an execution style of ethnic cleansing.

Using ground-penetrating radar, they made a dramatic discovery: an anomaly bearing "all the characteristics of a dug pit or trench with vertical walls and an undefined object within the approximate center of the feature," the commission concluded. "With Mr. Eddy's testimony, this trench-like feature takes on the properties of a mass grave."

The commission, created by the Oklahoma legislature in 1997 to establish a historical record of the massacre, recommended "a limited physical investigation of the feature be undertaken to clarify whether it indeed represents a mass grave."

It never happened.

Susan Savage, who was mayor of Tulsa at the time of the proposed excavation, said in a recent interview that she had numerous discussions with officials and raised concerns about the excavation.

"Oaklawn Cemetery is a public lot," Savage recalled. "I asked, 'How do we do that without disturbing graves of family buried there?' I wanted to know how we [could] protect and preserve the dignity of people there."

Bob Blackburn, who is white and served on the commission, said he agreed with the decision not to dig at Oaklawn.

"Based on all the evidence Clyde Snow looked at, we never could pinpoint something," he said. "In my mind that is not an unresolved issue. In terms of proving there was a mass grave, there will always be people thinking one way or the other."

The refusal to excavate was a blow, Hall-Harper said, along with the city's decision to ignore a recommendation for reparations to survivors and descendants of survivors.

She worries that the gentrification under way does not include efforts to resolve lingering questions about the violence.

"This is sacred ground," Hall-Harper said. "As developers are making decisions about the Greenwood district, the history is being ignored, and I think it is intentional. They want to forget about it and move on."

At Greenwood and Archer, in the heart of Negro Wall Street, sit 14 red brick buildings that were reconstructed soon after the 1921 massacre. They are all that's left of the original Greenwood.

On a hot summer afternoon, David Francis pushes open the door at Wanda J's Cafe, a soul-food restaurant where black and white residents mingle.

Francis, 32, lives nearby and loves Wanda J's chicken-fried steak and green beans. A white man born and raised in Tulsa, he said he first heard about the massacre when he was in high school.

"It's unbelievable to think the genuine atrocity took place right here," said Francis, looking outside the restaurant window onto Greenwood Avenue. "A white woman told me she remembered seeing bodies dumped into the Arkansas River off a bridge."

The African-American diners at Wanda J's fear the changes in Greenwood, including OneOK Field, the minor-league ballpark that opened in 2010, and the luxury GreenArch apartment

complex, which features a yoga and indoor cycling studio. The BMX headquarters and track are set to open next year on the edge of the historic district at Archer and Lansing.

Bobby Eaton Sr., 83, orders a cup of coffee and calls the influx of white businesses and residents "a tragedy."

"I'm not in accord with it because this is Black Wall Street," said Eaton, who was born and raised in Tulsa. "Since it's Black Wall Street, all the retail on the street should be black."

Junior Williams, 56, said gentrification is driven by the same forces that fueled the white mob nearly 100 years ago. "There was economic jealousy that caused them to destroy Greenwood."

At Lefty's on Greenwood, where the crowd is overwhelmingly white, Nicci Atchoey said she moved into the GreenArch apartments because of its history. But Atochey, a 39-year-old white realtor who grew up in Tulsa, learned the details of the massacre only six years ago.

"It is really not something taught in schools," said Atchoey, adding that many white people move to Greenwood oblivious about the history.

"I think that is unacceptable. People come to the area and go to the bars and ballgame," she said. "The stadium is like building a Whole Foods at the site of the Oklahoma City bombing."

As evening falls, the crowds heading to the baseball game walk over the plaques in the sidewalk dedicated to businesses destroyed in the massacre.

Near the stadium's entrance, under Interstate 244, a mural is signed "Tulsa Race Riot 1921." Someone has crossed out "riot" and written "massacre." Someone else has crossed out "massacre" and left a scribble of black spray paint.

Quiz

- 1 Which of the following people quoted in the article would be MOST LIKELY to agree with the idea that Oaklawn Cemetery should be excavated?
- (A) Vanessa Hall-Harper
 - (B) George Monroe
 - (C) Clyde Eddy
 - (D) Susan Savage
- 2 Which of the following answer choices would BEST describe Nicci Atchoey's reaction to learning about the Tulsa Race Massacre?
- (A) She thinks that it is a horrifying stain on Tulsa's history, but as a Realtor, she doesn't think it should stop bars and stadiums from being built.
 - (B) She thinks it is disappointing that more people do not know about it and she plans to join the efforts to make sure that it isn't forgotten.
 - (C) She thinks that it is a sad event that happened in Tulsa but she firmly believes that the term "riot" is more appropriate than the term "massacre."
 - (D) She thinks it is terrible that the Tulsa Race Massacre is not taught and that it is appalling that buildings are built right where the massacre occurred.
- 3 Which piece of evidence from the article conflicts with Vanessa Hall-Harper's point of view?
- (A) "In honor of the centennial," she said, "I think we, as a city, should look into that and ensure those individuals are laid to rest properly."
 - (B) "While it is still uncertain as to precisely what happened in the Drexel Building on May 30, 1921, the most common explanation is that Rowland stepped on Page's foot as he entered the elevator, causing her to scream," the Oklahoma Historical Society reported.
 - (C) "Based on all the evidence Clyde Snow looked at, we never could pinpoint something," he said. "In my mind that is not an unresolved issue. In terms of proving there was a mass grave, there will always be people thinking one way or the other."
 - (D) "It's unbelievable to think the genuine atrocity took place right here," said Francis, looking outside the restaurant window onto Greenwood Avenue.
- 4 Why does the author include the opinions of Bobby Eaton Sr. and Junior Williams?
- (A) to provide the perspectives of people who used to have businesses on Black Wall Street years ago
 - (B) to provide the perspectives of people who survived the Tulsa Race Massacre and are traumatized by it
 - (C) to provide the perspectives of people who are outraged by the fact that the Oaklawn Cemetery is not being excavated
 - (D) to provide the perspectives of people who are troubled by the gentrification happening in Greenwood

Answer Key

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- (A) "In honor of the centennial," she said, "I think we, as a city, should look into that and ensure those individuals are laid to rest properly."
 - (B) "While it is still uncertain as to precisely what happened in the Drexel Building on May 30, 1921, the most common explanation is that Rowland stepped on Page's foot as he entered the elevator, causing her to scream," the Oklahoma Historical Society reported.
 - (C) **"Based on all the evidence Clyde Snow looked at, we never could pinpoint something," he said. "In my mind that is not an unresolved issue. In terms of proving there was a mass grave, there will always be people thinking one way or the other."**
 - (D) "It's unbelievable to think the genuine atrocity took place right here," said Francis, looking outside the restaurant window onto Greenwood Avenue.
- 4 Why does the author include the opinions of Bobby Eaton Sr. and Junior Williams?
- (A) to provide the perspectives of people who used to have businesses on Black Wall Street years ago
 - (B) to provide the perspectives of people who survived the Tulsa Race Massacre and are traumatized by it
 - (C) to provide the perspectives of people who are outraged by the fact that the Oaklawn Cemetery is not being excavated
 - (D) **to provide the perspectives of people who are troubled by the gentrification happening in Greenwood**

Government Packet

Week of April 20th-April 24th

- While reading the Citizen Participation in a Democracy Reading, complete Sections 1-4 and the Processing activity of the student notebook. Handout A on Forms of Citizen Participation will help you complete the Processing activity.

Week of April 27th- May 1st

- Complete Handout A the Political Parties Survey and the preview portion of the student notebook. While reading the introduction, Sections 1 and 2 complete the notebook.

Citizen Participation in a Democracy

How can you make a difference in a democracy?

Vocabulary Terms

As you complete the Reading Notes, use these terms in your answers:

citizenship	naturalization
lawful permanent resident	ideology
undocumented immigrant	liberalism
	conservatism
	civil society

PREVIEW

Analyze the photograph below of a lunch counter sit-in. Then, answer these questions in your notebook:

- What interesting details do you see?
- What actions do these people appear to be taking?
- What problem or problems do you think these people are trying to address?
- What do you think the results of their actions were?



READING NOTES

Section 1

Create a T-chart with the headings "Civic Rights" and "Civic Responsibilities." As you read, record the rights and responsibilities that come with U.S. citizenship.

Section 2

Create a how-to flyer for becoming a naturalized U.S. citizen. Your flyer must include information on or an explanation of the following:

- requirements for becoming a citizen
- application for naturalization
- interview with an immigration official
- citizenship ceremony
- rights that new citizens gain

Organize the information in an attractive, easy-to-read format that would help people understand the naturalization process. Include at least one illustration.

Section 3

Answer these questions in your notebook:

1. Which shared political value do you feel is most important to the American way of life, and why?
2. Create a visual representation of the U.S. political landscape for each of these ideologies: liberalism, conservatism, socialism, libertarianism, environmentalism, and centrism. Follow these steps:
 - Create a simple illustration to represent the ideology.
 - Write a short definition or explanation of the ideology.
 - Rate the ideology on a scale of 1 ("I identify most closely with this ideology") to 6 ("I do not identify with this ideology").

Section 4

Answer these questions:

1. What is social capital, and do you think it is important? Why or why not?
2. Of the four categories of civic engagement, which best describes you (or will best describe you once you can vote), and why?

PROCESSING

Think about the problems facing your community, your country, or the world. Then choose one issue or problem that you feel strongly about. Write a short paragraph explaining why this is a problem. Back up your argument with at least one or two facts.

Now develop a plan of action to address the issue. Include in your plan of action at least two of the forms of civic participation you learned about.

Form of Civic Participation

Form of Civic Participation	How and When to Use It Effectively
1 Writing a press release	Prepare a notice about an event or issue for distribution to local newspapers, radio and television stations, or Web sites. Use to publicize an event or to make people aware of an issue.
2 Writing a letter to the editor	Draft a short letter to send to a newspaper or magazine expressing a view about a recent article or calling attention to an issue you would like to see covered. Use to express a personal view on the article or issue and to encourage others to share your point of view.
3 Communicating with a public official	Visit, call, e-mail, or write to a public official about an issue or question. Use to share ideas or concerns or to encourage a public official to take a particular action on your issue.
4 Organizing a letter-writing campaign	Convince a large number of people to write letters or e-mails to their elected representatives in support of a specific action item. Use to put pressure on elected officials to pay attention to those issues.
5 Testifying before a public body	Write a short speech about your concerns and deliver it to public officials. Use to voice ideas and concerns in a public forum directly to the people elected or appointed to deal with those issues.
6 Creating an issue ad or Web site	Create an ad, Web site, or social media profile about an issue. Use to inform people about the issue, to gain support for your position, or to point out a problem with the way the issue is being handled.
7 Giving an interview or a speech	Write and deliver a speech to a group of people. Use to inform people about the issue, to encourage others to support your position, or to propose a method of addressing the issue.
8 Writing and circulating a petition	Create a petition that explains how you would like an issue addressed. Gather signatures from supporters in person or online, and present the petition to people in a position to take action. Use to demonstrate support for your plan to address the issue and to encourage implementation of your plan.
9 Creating and conducting an opinion survey	Write a survey and collect the results in person or by phone, mail, or e-mail. Use to gather opinions or information about an issue or to raise awareness of the issue. This is a good starting point if you need to test support for your issue or want data to show that people agree with your position.
10 Joining a campaign or an interest group	Join a group of people who already support a candidate or an issue. Use when groups already exist that are effectively dealing with your issue.
11 Organizing a fundraiser	Organize a fundraising event to ask for donations, seek business sponsorships, or apply for grants from the government, corporations, or foundations to raise money for a cause you believe in. Use when your issue would benefit from additional financial support.
12 Sponsoring a ballot initiative or referendum	Collect the required number of signatures on a formal petition and submit it to the legislature for consideration or to the people for a direct vote. (Not all states offer ballot initiatives or referendums.) Use when you want to create or change a law that pertains to your issue.
13 Organizing a protest or boycott	Organize others in a collective refusal to buy certain goods or use certain services, or plan a protest to draw attention to an issue. Use as a last resort, in an effort to get others to listen to your concerns.
14 Running for public office	Gather support for your candidacy, get yourself on the ballot, and campaign for election. For most local and state offices, you must be 18 to run for office. Use if you are really committed to having an impact on your community.
15 Starting an interest group	Join with others who share your views on an issue to call attention to the issue and, possibly, to back legislation or candidates who support your position. Use when there are no other groups effectively advocating for your issue.

Citizen Participation in a Democracy

How can you make a difference in a democracy?

Vocabulary

Glossary Vocabulary
Cards

citizenship

lawful permanent resident

undocumented immigrant

naturalization

ideology

liberalism

conservatism

civil society

Introduction



When you volunteer, you are participating in civic engagement.

In 1831, a young French aristocrat, Alexis de Tocqueville, began a nine-month tour of the United States to learn about American democracy. As he toured the country, he was struck by the vitality of the American people and their engagement in public life.

When he returned home, Tocqueville published a book about American political life called *Democracy in America*. In this book, he wrote that “Americans . . . constantly form associations” to get things done. They formed groups to build hospitals, schools, and churches and to carry out many other civic projects. He argued that this collective action taught Americans political skills and helped to strengthen democracy.

Many years later, in the 1990s, political scientist Robert D. Putnam considered the role of associations in modern American life. He described quite a different country from the one Tocqueville had visited a century and a half earlier. Far fewer Americans, he found, were taking part in the kind of cooperative efforts that Tocqueville had admired.

Putnam asserted that although Americans still joined organizations, they did so mainly as “checkbox” participants. They gave money, but not time or energy, to civic causes. “We remain . . . reasonably well-informed spectators of public affairs,” Putnam wrote, “but many fewer

of us actually partake in the game.”

In 2000, Putnam summarized his findings in the book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. The title underscored his concern that the United States was becoming a nation of disengaged citizens. He pointed to a sharp decline in bowling-league membership as a symbol of this change. Increasingly, Americans were choosing not to join bowling leagues, or any other group, but instead went “bowling alone.” Putnam feared the impact this lack of social engagement might have on democracy and civic life.

Are Putnam’s fears justified? Are we becoming spectators rather than players in public affairs? Or are our interests and interactions simply shifting with the times? Keep these questions in mind as you read about the rights and responsibilities of **citizenship** and the ways that Americans today engage in the civic and political life of their communities.

1. Citizenship, Civic Rights, Civic Responsibilities

Although the U.S. Constitution made reference to citizens and listed some of their rights, it did not say how citizenship was to be determined. At the time the Constitution was adopted, state citizens became U.S. citizens. It was also assumed that a person born in the United States was a citizen. However, this did not include the millions of enslaved Africans who were born in the United States. In the 1857 case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, the Supreme Court held that Dred Scott, an enslaved African American born in Virginia, was not a citizen and therefore could not sue for his freedom in federal court. Chief Justice Roger Taney argued that the framers never meant to include slaves under the protections of the Constitution. What did the *Dred Scott* decision mean for the rights of African Americans?

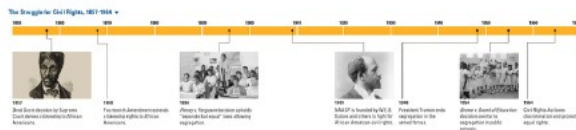
The Fourteenth Amendment Defines Citizenship The Fourteenth Amendment was adopted in part to reverse the *Dred Scott* decision. Ratified in 1868, just three years after the Civil War, this amendment clarified who was a citizen under the Constitution:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside.

—Fourteenth Amendment, 1868

The amendment clearly states that all persons born on American soil are to be considered U.S. citizens and that states cannot discriminate against them.

African Americans’ Long Struggle for Civil Rights Although the Fourteenth Amendment was designed to extend the rights of citizenship to African Americans, its immediate effects were limited. In the late 1800s, southern states passed laws, known as **Jim Crow laws**, that enforced segregation and denied legal equality to blacks. It would take many decades for the courts and Congress to overturn these laws and protect the civil rights of African Americans. The timeline below shows several key events in this long struggle.



L: Library of Congress R: Library of Congress L: Library of Congress R: Library of Congress

An early setback in the struggle for equal rights occurred when the Supreme Court heard *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896. The case centered on Homer Plessy, a black man who had been arrested in Louisiana for sitting in a whites-only railroad car. Plessy challenged his arrest in court. He argued that Jim Crow laws that segregated blacks from whites violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Court decided against Plessy, holding that separate facilities for blacks and whites were legal as long as they were equal. This “separate but equal” doctrine was soon applied to almost every aspect of life in southern states. In most cases, however, the facilities provided for black Americans were far inferior to those enjoyed by whites.

Despite this Court decision, African Americans continued to fight for equal rights. They formed organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Urban League, and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in order to protest racial discrimination in its many forms.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATIO...

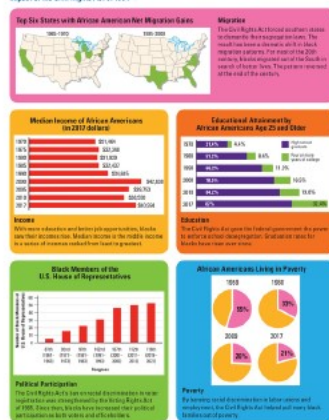
In 1954, the NAACP won a major victory in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. The case focused on the rights of a young African American, Linda Brown, who was prohibited from attending a white school near her home in Topeka, Kansas. In its decision, the Supreme Court concluded that "separate but equal" facilities were by their very nature unequal. This decision paved the way for the desegregation of public schools and the launching of the modern civil rights movement.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the civil rights struggle touched all aspects of American life. The most prominent leader of the movement, Martin Luther King Jr., helped to make Americans aware of the great injustices imposed on people of color. In 1963, King responded to those who argued that blacks should be more patient in their demand for equal rights by writing his famous "Letter from a Birmingham Jail."

Just over a year later, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law. This landmark legislation banned discrimination in most areas of American life on the basis of race, sex, religion, or national origin. It also committed the U.S. government to protecting the rights of all Americans, regardless of skin color or country of birth.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATIO...

Impact of the Civil Rights Act of 1964



Rights and Responsibilities Since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the United States has experienced a huge increase in immigration, both legal and illegal. Once in this country, **lawful permanent residents** enjoy most of the same rights as those born in the United States. These include the rights listed in the Bill of Rights, from freedom of speech to freedom from cruel and unusual punishment.

American citizens, whether born in or naturalized by the United States, enjoy additional rights. Some of the most important are the right to vote, to hold public office, and to claim certain social and economic benefits. Some forms of welfare payments, for example, are available only to citizens. Most jobs in the federal government are limited to citizens only.

Similarly, all people living in the United States have certain legal responsibilities. They are required to obey laws, pay taxes, and cooperate with public officials. All men who are 18, whether they are citizens, lawful permanent residents, or **undocumented immigrants**, must register for military service. This is true even though the United States currently has an all-volunteer army.



Personal responsibilities and civic responsibilities are not mutually exclusive. Some actions, such as voting in local elections, can be classified in both categories because they benefit both a person individually and their community or government.

Everyone has personal responsibilities, or duties that relate to an individual's private life, such as taking care of one's own health. Personal responsibilities apply to helping one's family and friends, too. Comforting an upset friend and caring for a sick parent are examples of personal responsibility.

Citizens also have civic responsibilities. They are expected to be informed about and participate in public affairs. Volunteering to serve the public good is another civic responsibility. Sometimes the obligation of citizenship requires that personal desires be subordinated to the public good. For example, someone might have to miss work to attend jury duty, or they may feel obligated to wait over an hour to vote in an election even though they would prefer spending time with friends.

Political engagement is a choice, not a legal requirement. However, democracies function best when citizens choose good leaders and pay close attention to what those leaders do once elected. As Tocqueville observed almost two centuries ago, "The greatness of America lies not in being more enlightened than any other nation, but rather in her ability to repair her faults." It is up to all citizens to make sure such repairs are made when needed.

2. Becoming an American Citizen

By 2017, around 44 million Americans, or about 13.7 percent of the U.S. population, were foreign born. Every year, hundreds of thousands of immigrants become U.S. citizens. They usually receive their citizenship at a large ceremony, along with many other new citizens. For most of these new citizens, the occasion is filled with emotion.

For Alberto Olivarez, the citizenship ceremony was a bit different, although no less emotional. Olivarez, a Mexican-born teacher at an elementary school in Brighton, Colorado, took his oath of citizenship alone, standing before an audience of students and their parents in his school gymnasium. Like Olivarez, many in the audience were immigrants or children of immigrants.

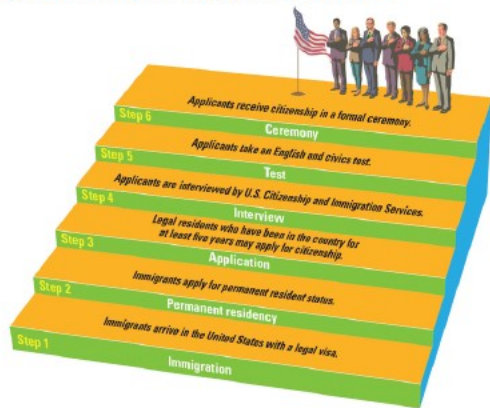
Olivarez's wife and three children sat on the stage with him as he pledged to "support and defend the Constitution of the United States." With this oath, Olivarez became a U.S. citizen, just as he had expected. What came next, however, surprised him. The school principal explained to the audience that Olivarez's citizenship automatically made his three young sons American citizens as well. Upon hearing this news, Olivarez burst into tears. It was a benefit of citizenship he had never imagined.

American Citizens: Native Born and Naturalized There are two ways to become a U.S. citizen. The most common way is by birth. Most Americans are born in the United States, although some are born in another country to parents who are U.S. citizens. Either way, citizens by birth automatically enjoy all of the rights, privileges, and protections of citizenship.

The other way to become a citizen is through **naturalization**. This is the path that Alberto Olivarez and other citizens have taken. Naturalization is a multistep legal process that, when completed, gives the applicant virtually all of the rights and responsibilities of a native-born citizen.

In 2017, over 750,000 people became U.S. citizens through naturalization. The largest group of new citizens came from Mexico, but tens of thousands also came from India, the Philippines, China, Columbia, Cuba, and other countries.

Steps to Citizenship: The Naturalization Process ▼



Immigrants must complete various steps to become naturalized U.S. citizens. For most immigrants, this process takes six months or more.



Senator Mazie Hirono (D-Hawaii) is one of several members of Congress who are naturalized citizens. While she can run for most public offices, she cannot run for the positions either of vice president or president.

Immigrants must meet several requirements to be eligible for naturalization. They must be at least 18 years old and be lawful permanent residents of the United States. In most cases, such immigrants, also known as **resident aliens**, must have lived in this country for at least five years to be eligible for the naturalization process.

After meeting those requirements, the next step is to complete an application for naturalization. If the application is approved, the applicant has an interview with an immigration official. At this meeting, applicants are tested on their ability to speak, read, and write English. They also take a civics test to show basic knowledge of American history and government.

The final step in the naturalization process is the citizenship ceremony. Here, applicants answer a few more questions. Then they take the oath of allegiance to the United States and receive a certificate of naturalization.

Naturalization gives new citizens the right to vote and run for any public office except that of vice president or president. The Constitution says that only native-born citizens can hold these offices. Critics of this rule argue that it is no longer necessary or fair because it excludes qualified foreign-born officials. However, supporters of the clause highlight its importance in preventing foreign influence over the U.S. government.

The Status of Lawful Permanent Residents Immigrants do not need to become citizens to stay in the United States legally, however. They may remain here indefinitely as lawful permanent residents. In 2017, the U.S. government granted permanent residency to more than 1 million people.

Immigrants seeking permanent resident status also go through an application process with the Bureau of Citizenship and Immigration Services. Preference is given to immigrants whose job skills are needed by U.S. businesses or who are related by birth or marriage to a U.S. citizen. Those who successfully complete the application process receive an identification card known as a **green card**. A green card provides proof that its holder has a legal right to live and work in the United States.

Resident aliens enjoy most of the rights of citizens. These include the right to travel freely outside the country. However, if resident aliens plan to be away for more than a year, they must apply for a reentry permit. Without this permit, they may be refused reentry to the United States. Resident aliens may also lose their permanent resident status and be deported from the United States if they are convicted of any crimes.



One way that Americans express their interest in civic duty is by volunteering with a voter registration drive.

3. Political Culture in the United States

Citizens and residents of the United States operate within a **political**

culture. A political culture is a society's framework of shared values, beliefs, and attitudes concerning politics and government. It is the political environment in which Americans exercise their rights and responsibilities.

Political culture can take many forms and be expressed in many ways. The strong surge of patriotism after the 9/11 terrorist attacks of 2001 was an expression of American political culture. At the time, many Americans flew the flag to show their love of country. In quite a different way, the civil rights protests of the 1950s and 1960s were also an expression of American political culture. The millions of Americans who supported the civil rights movement shared the belief that all citizens should enjoy equal rights and opportunities.

Americans' Shared Political Values Although Americans often disagree on specific issues, most share a number of core beliefs and values. These beliefs, some of which are listed below, shape our political culture. Keep in mind that individuals may vary in terms of their attachment to these core values.

Liberty. The value of liberty is the belief that Americans are entitled to the greatest amount of personal freedom possible as long as it does no harm to others. Citizens should be able to express their views openly and, have the option to practice any religion, without fear of punishment by the government.

Equality. The value of equality focuses on equal access to opportunity, without regard to race, religion, or gender. Citizens should enjoy equal rights to vote, to receive an education, to have a job, and to succeed in life.

Democracy. In a democracy, political authority comes from the people, who believe that public officials should be accountable to the voters. The importance of majority rule and the protection of minority rights are important related beliefs.

Individualism. The value of individualism combines personal freedom and personal responsibility. As a general rule, this means that every citizen is responsible for their own actions and well-being. This contrasts with collectivism, where greater emphasis is placed on society and the government's role in meeting people's needs.

Free enterprise. The value of free enterprise promotes capitalism and a free-market economy in which private businesses compete with relatively limited regulation by government. In this system, there are

winners and losers in terms of wealth and economic status.

Justice and the rule of law. The value of justice is a belief that society should be governed by a system of laws that are fairly and equally applied. Citizens should follow the law; however, the rights of ordinary citizens should also not be arbitrarily restricted or infringed upon by the government.

Patriotism. Patriotism is a feeling of great pride and loyalty toward your country. Many believe that the United States is one of the greatest nations in the world and take pride in the values of American democracy.

Optimism. The value of optimism is a belief that circumstances in life will improve. Optimistic people see themselves as “can-do” people. They tend to believe that their lives and society in general will be better in the future.

Civic duty. People who value civic duty believe that citizens must vote and participate in civic and political affairs in order for democracy to flourish. Many also see volunteering for military service or giving back to their communities through volunteer activities as an aspect of civic duty.

Two Widely Held Ideologies: Liberalism and Conservatism

Although Americans share a common political culture, they do not all hold to the same **ideology**, or basic political beliefs. For example, they often disagree on the role government should play with respect to economic policy and moral values. Americans who define themselves as liberals or conservatives represent the most widely held ideologies in U.S. politics today.

Liberalism is an ideology that favors an active role of the government in protecting people's freedoms. Liberals generally support government efforts to regulate business and the economy. They support policies designed to reduce economic inequality and to help the poor. They also favor the use of government regulation to protect the environment and to improve the health care system.

As their name suggests, liberals strongly defend liberty and believe the government should protect these liberties, including in situations where the government may limit certain things for the benefit of all. On a political spectrum, with moderates in the middle, liberals are said to be “left of center.” They tend to associate themselves with the modern Democratic Party.

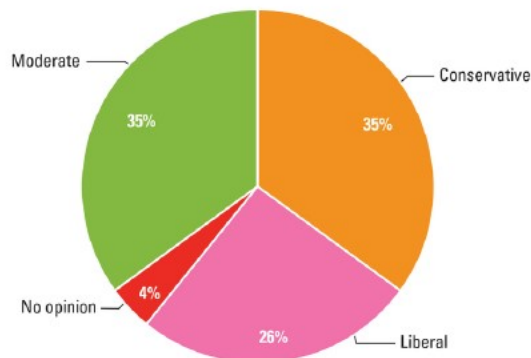
Conservatism, on the other hand, is an ideology that calls for governments to follow established rules and traditions. Conservatives generally oppose using the government as a force for societal change. Most want to limit the size of government, reduce taxes, and cut back on government programs. Instead, they look to private initiative, or efforts by nongovernmental groups such as religious congregations, charities, service organizations, and businesses, to deal with many of society's problems.

In contrast to liberals, conservatives are more likely to support government action only to protect existing traditions. Conservatives are said to be “right of center” on the political spectrum. They generally associate themselves with the modern Republican Party.

In the news, liberals tend to be associated with coastal states—like California and New York—and urban areas. Conservatives are often associated with rural areas and states like Utah and Alabama in what is called “Middle America.” However, liberals, conservatives, and moderates can be found all over the country.

Where Americans Lie on the Political Spectrum ▼

Liberal and Conservative Self-Identification, 2017



The political spectrum ranges from the liberal left to the conservative right. This pie chart shows the percentages of Americans who identified as liberal, conservative, or moderate in 2017.



Although liberalism and conservatism help define the Democratic and Republican parties, respectively, there are further factions within these parties. For example, politician Bernie Sanders ran for U.S. president in 2016 as a Democrat, although he self-identified as a democratic socialist and has historically been politically independent.

Three Other Ideologies: Socialism, Libertarianism, and Environmentalism Three other ideologies—socialism, libertarianism, and environmentalism—also play a role in American politics. Although these ideologies have fewer followers than liberalism and conservatism, they have inspired and motivated many people over the years.

Socialism. The oldest of these ideologies is socialism. The main goal of socialism is to reduce economic inequality by ensuring a fair distribution of wealth. In a socialist system, the government owns or controls most of the economic resources needed for the production of goods and services. In theory, a socialist government manages the economy in a way that benefits the majority of citizens.

In 1901, reformers and workers who believed in socialism formed the Socialist Party of America. The party's greatest electoral success came in 1912 when its presidential candidate, Eugene V. Debs, won nearly a million votes. That was just 6 percent of the total votes cast, but it was a substantial showing for a socialist candidate. After World War I, however, membership in the Socialist Party declined.

Socialism never became as popular in the United States as it did in other countries, in part because it conflicted with America's political culture. A strong faith in capitalism and the free enterprise system made most Americans leery of socialists' call for government control of economic resources.

Most American socialists today support what is known as **democratic socialism**. This is an ideology that advocates socialism as a basis for the economy and democracy as a governing principle. In countries that have adopted this democratic socialism, elected leaders supervise a "mixed economy" of public and private industry.

Libertarianism. Modern libertarianism is an ideology based on a strong belief in personal freedom. A 2018 statement of libertarian principles began with these words:

As Libertarians, we seek a world of liberty: a world in which all individuals are sovereign over their own lives and are not forced to sacrifice their values for the benefit of others.

—National Platform of the Libertarian Party, 2018

Libertarians tend to be conservative on economic issues and liberal on social issues. For example, they favor lower taxes and a free-market economy, while often opposing bans on abortion or same-sex marriage. Libertarians want a small government and resist government regulation of any kind.

Formed in 1971, the Libertarian Party has attracted a small but loyal following. According to Pew Research Center, 11 percent of Americans had libertarian beliefs in 2014. Libertarian candidates regularly run for office in local, state, and national elections. So far, their success has been mostly limited to the local level, where they have won election to such positions as mayor, city council member, and sheriff.

Environmentalism. This last ideology unites Americans who are deeply concerned about conservation and protection of the environment. Environmentalists advocate policies designed to reduce pollution and preserve natural resources. In contrast to libertarians, they support government regulation of industry and the economy to achieve those ends.



Liberals are considered left of center, while conservatives are on the right. But there are other positions along the political spectrum, and many Americans are not quite sure where they fit.

Many members of conservation organizations such as the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth identify themselves as environmentalists. So do members of the Green Party of the United States. "Greens" are committed to what they call "ecological and economic sustainability." They want to meet the needs of the world's people today without damaging the ability of future generations to provide for themselves. Their party platform includes this statement:

We support a sustainable society that utilizes resources in such a way that future generations will benefit and not suffer from the practices of our generation. To this end we must practice agriculture that replenishes the soil, move to an energy-efficient economy, and live in ways that respect the integrity of natural systems.

—Green Party of the United States Platform, 2016

Like the Libertarian Party, the Green Party has been most successful in electing candidates at the local level. The party is stronger in Europe, however, and has won national offices in a number of countries.

The Americans in the Middle: Centrism Many Americans don't fit

neatly into any ideological camp. They consider themselves moderates, or middle- of-the-road. These are people who sit at the center of the political spectrum, between the ideologies of left and right.

In recent years, U.S. politics have become more polarized, meaning that political parties have adopted more extreme policies. The Republican Party has grown more conservative, and the Democratic Party more liberal. This polarization is especially evident in the current Congress, which remains divided on a number of issues.

These strong divisions often push toward **centrism**. Many surveys show that moderates, along with people who describe themselves as slightly conservative or slightly liberal, make up a large part of the U.S. population.

In contrast to people with a strong liberal or conservative point of view, centrists may hold a mix of liberal, conservative, and perhaps environmental views. Centrism is not an ideology with its own political party. As a result, during election time, centrists often cross party lines, depending on the candidates and issues of the day.

4. How Americans Engage in Civic Life

For most Americans, voting is the first thing that comes to mind when they hear the words “civic duty.” In a democracy, voting is one of the most basic and important ways to engage in civic life.

There are many other ways to be an active citizen, however. You can read articles online or watch the news on television to stay informed about current events. You can talk to friends about political issues, put a political bumper sticker on your car to demonstrate your support, or express your views on social media. You can become a volunteer with a community group or follow a political figure on Twitter. By doing any of these things, you are engaging in civic life.

Civil Society: The “Social Capital” of Democracy At the start of this lesson, you read about Robert D. Putnam’s work on civic engagement. Putnam concluded that Americans today are less likely to participate in civic associations than they were in the past. He further believes that such participation is crucial to democracy.

Putnam argues that social clubs and civic organizations are building

blocks of what political scientists call **civil society**. This term refers to a middle layer of voluntary associations and institutions that exists between government on the one hand and individuals and families on the other.

Many political scientists argue that a strong civil society is essential to a democracy. The organizations that make up civil society, they point out, are nourished by citizen involvement. Citizen involvement, in turn, helps to expand a society’s **social capital**. Putnam defines social capital as “connections among individuals” that are forged through their participation in voluntary associations. Building a community through volunteering is one way someone can build their social capital.

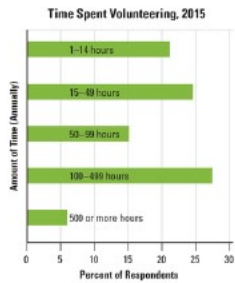
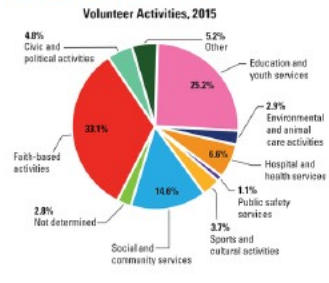
To understand how social capital works, consider this simple example. In many communities, parents of school-age children join the local Parent Teacher Association. As members of their PTA, parents work together to improve their children’s schools.

While working on PTA projects, parents form new social networks and exchange information about their community. Through these networks, they may create new groups to work on other local issues. In this way, the connections forged within the PTA help to generate new energy and ideas that benefit the larger community. By volunteering their time and working together, the PTA is able to create positive change within a school and a community. This is social capital in action.

Of course, the PTA is only one of thousands of volunteer organizations in the United States that Americans might choose to join. As the graphs in this section show, Americans get involved in many types of volunteer activities, for varying amounts of time. All of these efforts help to strengthen civil society and build social capital.

CITIZEN PARTICIPATIO...

Volunteering in the United States ▼



Americans who volunteer their time do so by participating in various types of activities. Over 30 percent of volunteers devote 100 hours or more a year to volunteer activities.

Forms of Civic Engagement ▼

Civic engagement takes many forms, from writing letters to organizing protests. These photographs illustrate some of the ways citizens can make their voices heard.

<p>Attend a Public Meeting</p> <p>Find out what's going on in your community by attending a public meeting. You might be surprised to discover how many decisions affecting your life are made close to that table.</p>	<p>Volunteer in a Political Campaign</p> <p>Get involved in a political campaign. Share the excitement of election night celebrations with the voters you've courted.</p>	<p>Cooperate a Petition</p> <p>Take part in a petition drive for a cause you care about. Sometimes, you can sign a petition online.</p>
<p>Organize a Fundraiser</p> <p>Raise money for a worthy cause. The challenge is to help people understand about fundraising for donations and giving time.</p>	<p>Organize a Demonstration</p> <p>Put your passions to work by organizing a demonstration. Sometimes actions really do speak louder than words.</p>	<p>Get Involved in a Service Project</p> <p>Find a way to give back in your community. You will feel good about yourself when making a difference.</p>

CITIZEN PARTICIPATIO...

Putting Social Capital to Work in Michigan Social capital promotes civic engagement not only in local communities, but also in state and national affairs. Such was the case in Michigan in 2014, after the city of Flint changed its water source to save money.

In the 1980s, General Motors moved jobs away from the city to other locations. This led to severe economic issues. At the time of the decision to switch water lines, the city's population was majority African American, with about 40 percent of residents living below the federal poverty level. Michigan governor Rick Snyder had appointed an emergency manager to improve the city's finances. One of the steps they took was to find a more affordable source of water for the city.

They decided to use the Flint River as a temporary source of affordable water. However, when they made the change, officials did not ensure that the water's pipes were properly treated against corrosion. Corrosion is when metals are gradually destroyed by the environment; in this case, by water. When metals are destroyed, particles can enter the water stream, causing health problems for people who use the water. Still, officials claimed that the water was safe for public consumption.

Soon after the change, Flint residents complained that the water smelled like sewage and looked murky and brown. Many also reported health issues such as rashes and headaches. Michigan officials, however, said that the water met all quality standards, and insisted it was safe.

In addition to Flint residents, local organizations also raised concerns about the water. General Motors took its local engine plant off city water after determining that the water was affecting engine parts. Researchers at a nearby hospital found that the water caused elevated levels of lead in the blood of children, while the University of Michigan-Flint detected high levels of lead in the drinking water on campus. Virginia Tech also conducted research and found similar results in the city.



During the height of the Flint water crisis, Flint residents used social media to organize donation drives and call for volunteers to help distribute donations.

While the city disputed the findings of these studies, the city's citizens continued to work. Civic activists sent emails and letters to local newspapers and officials and organized marches and protests to demand clean water. They contacted state and federal government agencies and attended city council meetings to discuss the negative effects of the water. They also used social media to discuss the problem, which brought the crisis to national attention and attracted volunteers who donated and helped distribute bottled water.

The organized efforts of Flint residents had an impact. In 2016, almost two years after the Flint water crisis began, city officials began a plan to replace the city's water pipes, which had been damaged by the improperly treated water. A state investigation found that "deeply embedded institutional, systemic and historical racism," given the racial makeup of the citizens, was at the center of the crisis, leading officials to ignore concerns from Flint residents. Over a dozen state and local officials faced criminal charges for their roles. Still, many residents find it difficult to trust the water in Flint.

Four Categories of Civic Engagement: Which One Fits You? As the Flint, Michigan, story illustrates, civic engagement can have a real impact, especially when people work together toward common goals. But just how engaged are most Americans?

To answer that question, political scientists regularly survey Americans about their civic and political activities. Using those data, scholars at the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and

Engagement (CIRCLE) have determined that most people fall into one of four broad categories of civic engagement.

Electoral specialists. This category includes those whose main engagement is through the election process. People in this group vote, volunteer in political campaigns, and try to persuade others to vote as well.

Civic specialists. People in this group focus on improving communities and helping others. They join local civic groups, support nonprofit organizations, and take part in fundraising activities for worthy causes.

Dual activists. This category is made up of people who engage in both electoral and civic activities. They may be found passing out leaflets in a political campaign one day and volunteering in a homeless shelter the next.

The disengaged. This group is made up of people who are not significantly engaged in civic life. They don't vote or pay attention to civic affairs.

Which category best matches your level of civic engagement? Are you satisfied with your answer?

Summary

Civic participation is essential in a democracy. Citizens who get involved in civic and community groups help to strengthen civil society. At the same time, they tend to become more engaged in the political process.

Rights and responsibilities of Americans U.S. citizens have many rights. Over time, many of these rights have been extended to lawful permanent residents. Both groups also share many responsibilities, including obeying the law, paying taxes, and, for men, registering for military service.

Becoming a citizen There are two types of U.S. citizens: native born and naturalized. Naturalization is a process that takes many months. Naturalized citizens receive almost all the benefits enjoyed by native-born U.S. citizens.

Political culture Most Americans share a common set of beliefs and

values about politics and government. This political culture helps to unite Americans, even when they differ over ideology. The two most prominent political ideologies in this country are liberalism and conservatism.

Civic engagement Citizens can engage in civic life in many ways. When they do so, they help to build a stronger civil society.

U.S. Supreme Court Cases: Case 4: United States v. Virginia, 1996 - You Make the Call

Does a male-only policy at a state-run military academy violate the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee of "equal protection of the laws"?

The Story Behind the Case

In 1990, a female Virginia high school senior applies to the Virginia Military Institute (VMI). The all-male, state-funded school rejects her application. The student files a complaint with the Justice Department. She charges that VMI's male-only admission policy violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Justice Department files a sex-discrimination lawsuit against the state and VMI.

At trial, the U.S. district court examines the history of VMI. The college was founded by the Virginia legislature in 1839. Its mission is to produce "citizen soldiers" suited for leadership in times of war and peace. The school uses what VMI calls an "adversative" method to produce such citizen soldiers. This training method "emphasizes physical rigor, mental stress, absolute equality of treatment, absence of privacy, minute regulation of behavior, and indoctrination of values . . . [in] a hostile, spartan environment." VMI argues that admitting women would force it to abandon that method. The district court judge agrees with this argument and rejects the Equal Protection challenge.

The Justice Department appeals the case to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit in 1992. That court reverses the lower court ruling. It finds that VMI's male-only policy does violate the Fourteenth Amendment. However, the appellate court allows the state to explore

solutions other than admitting women to VMI to satisfy the Equal Protection Clause. Virginia decides to create a parallel military training program for women. It is called the Virginia Women's Institute for Leadership (VWIL).

In 1994, the district court holds that the new VWIL meets the requirements of the Equal Protection Clause. A divided appellate court affirms the district court's judgment. The Justice Department then appeals this decision to the Supreme Court.

Relevant Cases

Sweatt v. Painter, 1950 Herman Marion Sweatt, an African American man, was denied admission to the University of Texas Law School in 1946 because of his race. Sweatt sued for admission. In response, Texas set up a separate law school for black students. The Supreme Court held that the education provided by the new law school for blacks was not equal to the one provided by the school for whites. Thus Sweatt was being denied the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Miss. Univ. for Women v. Hogan, 1982 Joe Hogan applied for admission to the nursing program at the Mississippi University for Women (MUW), but was rejected because he was male. Hogan sued. He claimed that the school's single-sex policy violated the Fourteenth Amendment. The state claimed that the policy provided affirmative action for women. The Supreme Court rejected that claim. "Rather than compensating for discriminatory barriers faced by women," wrote Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, "MUW's policy tends to perpetuate the stereotyped view of nursing as an exclusively woman's job." The female-only policy was declared unconstitutional.

Arguments for the Appellant: The United States

- VMI's admissions policy violates the Equal Protection Clause. It is based on gender stereotypes, not real differences between men and women.
- VWIL is not an adequate alternative to VMI. It does not even meet the *Plessy v. Ferguson* standard of "separate but equal."
- Admitting women to VMI need not change the fundamental nature of the college's "adversative" training program.

Arguments for the Appellee: Virginia

- Single-sex schools offer educational benefits to both sexes. They promote educational diversity and recognize that there are differences in the learning styles and developmental needs of males and females.
- VWIL is an adequate alternative to VMI. It offers the same sorts of benefits to its female students as VMI offers to its male students.
- VMI's "adversative" training program is essential to preparing young men to be "civilian soldiers." This program will have to be radically changed if women are admitted to VMI.

Does VMI's male-only policy violate the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause? You make the call.

U.S. Supreme Court Cases: Case 4: United States v. Virginia, 1996 - The Decision of the Court

Does a male-only policy at a staterun military academy violate the Fourteenth Amendment's guarantee of "equal protection of the laws"?

The Decision (7-1)

The Court held that excluding women from VMI violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Writing for the majority, Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg found that VMI provided "a unique educational benefit only to males. However well this plan serves Virginia's sons, it makes no provision whatever for her daughters."

Ginsburg addressed the fear that admitting women would destroy VMI's training program. "Women's successful entry into the federal military academies, and their participation in the Nation's military forces," she wrote, "indicate that Virginia's fears for VMI's future may not be solidly grounded."

Finally, Ginsburg rejected the claim that the Virginia Women's Institute for Leadership could substitute for VMI. "VWIL does not qualify as VMI's equal," she argued. "The VWIL program is a pale shadow of VMI in terms of the range of curricular choices and faculty stature, funding, prestige, alumni support and influence."

Political Issues Survey

Next to each statement, write the number that best describes how you feel about that statement. Answer as honestly as possible. Your responses will determine where you fall along a political spectrum.

4 = Completely agree

3 = Somewhat agree

2 = Agree or disagree, depending on the situation

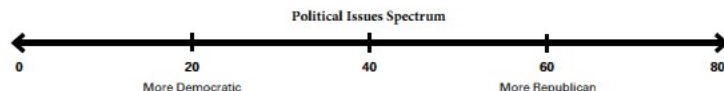
1 = Somewhat disagree

0 = Completely disagree

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> The government should promote business interests over environmental interests. | <input type="checkbox"/> The government should allow businesses to set their own minimum wage. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> It is not the government's role to regulate businesses. | <input type="checkbox"/> A person should not have to pay higher taxes for making more money than another person. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Marriage should be defined only as the union of one man and one woman. | <input type="checkbox"/> It is not the government's responsibility to protect the rights of minority groups whose beliefs conflict with the majority's views. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Providing social welfare programs—such as Medicare, the National School Lunch Program, and Temporary Aid to Needy Families—is not the responsibility of the federal government. | <input type="checkbox"/> Judges should apply mandatory minimum sentences for serious crimes. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> It is appropriate for the government to make laws based on moral beliefs. | <input type="checkbox"/> Capital punishment should be an option for convicts of the most serious crimes. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> State governments—rather than the federal government—should make laws for their citizens, such as setting speed limits. | <input type="checkbox"/> The United States should build fences around the U.S. border to prevent illegal immigration. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> The government should not restrict the ownership of guns by law-abiding citizens. | <input type="checkbox"/> Convicted prisoners should not be allowed to vote while in prison. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Abortion should be illegal no matter the circumstances. | <input type="checkbox"/> The United States should use force to overthrow unfriendly foreign governments that directly threaten U.S. interests. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Voluntary prayer should be allowed in public schools. | <input type="checkbox"/> The United States needs to act in its own national interest, regardless of the opinion of organizations like the United Nations. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> The current level of defense spending should be increased. | |

Total score: _____

Mark the spectrum below according to your total score.



Parties, Interest Groups, and Public Policy

Political parties and interest groups: How do they influence our political decisions?

Vocabulary Terms

As you complete the Reading Notes, use these terms in your answers:

political party	political action committee (PAC)
interest group	lobbying
platform	public policy
two-party system	pluralism

PREVIEW

If you were to register for a political party right now, which would you choose?

- Democrat
- Republican
- independent (no party affiliation)
- third party (Green Party, Libertarian, or the like)

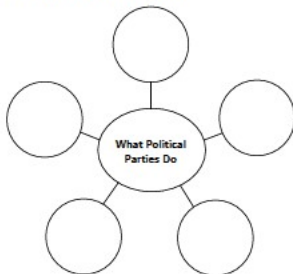
What are some of the reasons for your choice?

READING NOTES

Section 1

Read the section, and then do the following:

1. Create a spoke diagram outlining what political parties do in a democracy. Off each spoke, write one function of political parties. Your diagram must have at least four spokes.



2. What was the major dividing factor between the two first political parties, the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans?
3. Create a T-chart with the headings "Democrats" and "Republicans." List at least four beliefs held by each party.
4. What function do third parties serve in American politics?
5. Create a simple symbol or illustration to represent independent voters. Then write one sentence describing independents.

Section 2

Create a T-chart titled "Opinions on Special Interests" with the headings "Good for Democracy" and "Bad for Democracy." Record at least eight examples of how interest groups are good or bad for democracy.

Section 3

A mnemonic is a memory device used to recall a variety of things, including a list of items or the steps required to complete a task. For example, Please Excuse My Dear Aunt Sally (Parenthesis Exponents Multiplication Division Addition Subtraction) is used to help remember the order in which to complete mathematical operations.

Create a mnemonic for the six steps of the policy-making process. Then, explain which step in the process you think is the most important and which is the least important.

PROCESSING

Now that you have looked more closely at political parties and their function in government, choose the political party that you would like to be affiliated with. If you haven't already registered to vote, obtain a voter registration form (or a pre-registration form, if you are not yet 18) from your local town or city hall.

Once you have selected a party or chosen to register as an independent with no party affiliation, answer these questions:

- Why did you choose your particular affiliation?
- Why are parties important in government?
- What can parties do for you? For society?

Citizen Participation in a Democracy

How can you make a difference in a democracy?

Vocabulary

Glossary Vocabulary
Cards

citizenship

lawful permanent resident

undocumented immigrant

naturalization

ideology

liberalism

conservatism

civil society

Introduction



When you volunteer, you are participating in civic engagement.

In 1831, a young French aristocrat, Alexis de Tocqueville, began a nine-month tour of the United States to learn about American democracy. As he toured the country, he was struck by the vitality of the American people and their engagement in public life.

When he returned home, Tocqueville published a book about American political life called *Democracy in America*. In this book, he wrote that “Americans . . . constantly form associations” to get things done. They formed groups to build hospitals, schools, and churches and to carry out many other civic projects. He argued that this collective action taught Americans political skills and helped to strengthen democracy.

Many years later, in the 1990s, political scientist Robert D. Putnam considered the role of associations in modern American life. He described quite a different country from the one Tocqueville had visited a century and a half earlier. Far fewer Americans, he found, were taking part in the kind of cooperative efforts that Tocqueville had admired.

Putnam asserted that although Americans still joined organizations, they did so mainly as “checkbook” participants. They gave money, but not time or energy, to civic causes. “We remain . . . reasonably well-informed spectators of public affairs,” Putnam wrote, “but many fewer

of us actually partake in the game.”

In 2000, Putnam summarized his findings in the book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. The title underscored his concern that the United States was becoming a nation of disengaged citizens. He pointed to a sharp decline in bowling-league membership as a symbol of this change. Increasingly, Americans were choosing not to join bowling leagues, or any other group, but instead went “bowling alone.” Putnam feared the impact this lack of social engagement might have on democracy and civic life.

Are Putnam’s fears justified? Are we becoming spectators rather than players in public affairs? Or are our interests and interactions simply shifting with the times? Keep these questions in mind as you read about the rights and responsibilities of **citizenship** and the ways that Americans today engage in the civic and political life of their communities.

1. Citizenship, Civic Rights, Civic Responsibilities

Although the U.S. Constitution made reference to citizens and listed some of their rights, it did not say how citizenship was to be determined. At the time the Constitution was adopted, state citizens became U.S. citizens. It was also assumed that a person born in the United States was a citizen. However, this did not include the millions of enslaved Africans who were born in the United States. In the 1857 case of *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, the Supreme Court held that Dred Scott, an enslaved African American born in Virginia, was not a citizen and therefore could not sue for his freedom in federal court. Chief Justice Roger Taney argued that the framers never meant to include slaves under the protections of the Constitution. What did the Dred Scott decision mean for the rights of African Americans?

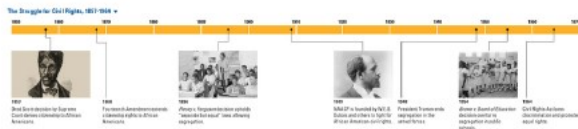
The Fourteenth Amendment Defines Citizenship The Fourteenth Amendment was adopted in part to reverse the Dred Scott decision. Ratified in 1868, just three years after the Civil War, this amendment clarified who was a citizen under the Constitution:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside.

—Fourteenth Amendment, 1868

The amendment clearly states that all persons born on American soil are to be considered U.S. citizens and that states cannot discriminate against them.

African Americans’ Long Struggle for Civil Rights Although the Fourteenth Amendment was designed to extend the rights of citizenship to African Americans, its immediate effects were limited. In the late 1800s, southern states passed laws, known as **Jim Crow laws**, that enforced segregation and denied legal equality to blacks. It would take many decades for the courts and Congress to overturn these laws and protect the civil rights of African Americans. The timeline below shows several key events in this long struggle.



L: Library of Congress R: Library of Congress L: Library of Congress R: Library of Congress

An early setback in the struggle for equal rights occurred when the Supreme Court heard *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896. The case centered on Homer Plessy, a black man who had been arrested in Louisiana for sitting in a whites-only railroad car. Plessy challenged his arrest in court. He argued that Jim Crow laws that segregated blacks from whites violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Court decided against Plessy, holding that separate facilities for blacks and whites were legal as long as they were equal. This “separate but equal” doctrine was soon applied to almost every aspect of life in southern states. In most cases, however, the facilities provided for black Americans were far inferior to those enjoyed by whites.

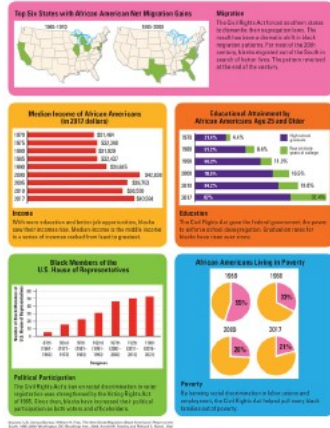
Despite this Court decision, African Americans continued to fight for equal rights. They formed organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Urban League, and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in order to protest racial discrimination in its many forms.

In 1954, the NAACP won a major victory in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. The case focused on the rights of a young African American, Linda Brown, who was prohibited from attending a white school near her home in Topeka, Kansas. In its decision, the Supreme Court concluded that "separate but equal" facilities were by their very nature unequal. This decision paved the way for the desegregation of public schools and the launching of the modern civil rights movement.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the civil rights struggle touched all aspects of American life. The most prominent leader of the movement, Martin Luther King Jr., helped to make Americans aware of the great injustices imposed on people of color. In 1963, King responded to those who argued that blacks should be more patient in their demand for equal rights by writing his famous "Letter from a Birmingham Jail."

Just over a year later, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law. This landmark legislation banned discrimination in most areas of American life on the basis of race, sex, religion, or national origin. It also committed the U.S. government to protecting the rights of all Americans, regardless of skin color or country of birth.

Impact of the Civil Rights Act of 1964



Rights and Responsibilities Since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the United States has experienced a huge increase in immigration, both legal and illegal. Once in this country, **lawful permanent residents** enjoy most of the same rights as those born in the United States. These include the rights listed in the Bill of Rights, from freedom of speech to freedom from cruel and unusual punishment.

American citizens, whether born in or naturalized by the United States, enjoy additional rights. Some of the most important are the right to vote, to hold public office, and to claim certain social and economic benefits. Some forms of welfare payments, for example, are available only to citizens. Most jobs in the federal government are limited to citizens only.

Similarly, all people living in the United States have certain legal responsibilities. They are required to obey laws, pay taxes, and cooperate with public officials. All men who are 18, whether they are citizens, lawful permanent residents, or **undocumented immigrants**, must register for military service. This is true even though the United States currently has an all-volunteer army.



Personal responsibilities and civic responsibilities are not mutually exclusive. Some actions, such as voting in local elections, can be classified in both categories because they benefit both a person individually and their community or government.

Everyone has personal responsibilities, or duties that relate to an individual's private life, such as taking care of one's own health. Personal responsibilities apply to helping one's family and friends, too. Comforting an upset friend and caring for a sick parent are examples of personal responsibility.

Citizens also have civic responsibilities. They are expected to be informed about and participate in public affairs. Volunteering to serve the public good is another civic responsibility. Sometimes the obligation of citizenship requires that personal desires be subordinated to the public good. For example, someone might have to miss work to attend jury duty, or they may feel obligated to wait over an hour to vote in an election even though they would prefer spending time with friends.

Political engagement is a choice, not a legal requirement. However, democracies function best when citizens choose good leaders and pay close attention to what those leaders do once elected. As Tocqueville observed almost two centuries ago, "The greatness of America lies not in being more enlightened than any other nation, but rather in her ability to repair her faults." It is up to all citizens to make sure such repairs are made when needed.

2. Becoming an American Citizen

By 2017, around 44 million Americans, or about 13.7 percent of the U.S. population, were foreign born. Every year, hundreds of thousands of immigrants become U.S. citizens. They usually receive their citizenship at a large ceremony, along with many other new citizens. For most of these new citizens, the occasion is filled with emotion.

For Alberto Olivarez, the citizenship ceremony was a bit different, although no less emotional. Olivarez, a Mexican-born teacher at an elementary school in Brighton, Colorado, took his oath of citizenship alone, standing before an audience of students and their parents in his school gymnasium. Like Olivarez, many in the audience were immigrants or children of immigrants.

Olivarez's wife and three children sat on the stage with him as he pledged to "support and defend the Constitution of the United States." With this oath, Olivarez became a U.S. citizen, just as he had expected. What came next, however, surprised him. The school principal explained to the audience that Olivarez's citizenship automatically made his three young sons American citizens as well. Upon hearing this news, Olivarez burst into tears. It was a benefit of citizenship he had never imagined.

American Citizens: Native Born and Naturalized There are two ways to become a U.S. citizen. The most common way is by birth. Most Americans are born in the United States, although some are born in another country to parents who are U.S. citizens. Either way, citizens by birth automatically enjoy all of the rights, privileges, and protections of citizenship.

The other way to become a citizen is through **naturalization**. This is the path that Alberto Olivarez and other citizens have taken. Naturalization is a multistep legal process that, when completed, gives the applicant virtually all of the rights and responsibilities of a native-born citizen.

In 2017, over 750,000 people became U.S. citizens through naturalization. The largest group of new citizens came from Mexico, but tens of thousands also came from India, the Philippines, China, Columbia, Cuba, and other countries.

Steps to Citizenship: The Naturalization Process ▼



Immigrants must complete various steps to become naturalized U.S. citizens. For most immigrants, this process takes six months or more.



Senator Mazie Hirono (D-Hawaii) is one of several members of Congress who are naturalized citizens. While she can run for most public offices, she cannot run for the positions either of vice president or president.

Immigrants must meet several requirements to be eligible for naturalization. They must be at least 18 years old and be lawful permanent residents of the United States. In most cases, such immigrants, also known as **resident aliens**, must have lived in this country for at least five years to be eligible for the naturalization process.

After meeting those requirements, the next step is to complete an application for naturalization. If the application is approved, the applicant has an interview with an immigration official. At this meeting, applicants are tested on their ability to speak, read, and write English. They also take a civics test to show basic knowledge of American history and government.

The final step in the naturalization process is the citizenship ceremony. Here, applicants answer a few more questions. Then they take the oath of allegiance to the United States and receive a certificate of naturalization.

Naturalization gives new citizens the right to vote and run for any public office except that of vice president or president. The Constitution says that only native-born citizens can hold these offices. Critics of this rule argue that it is no longer necessary or fair because it excludes qualified foreign-born officials. However, supporters of the clause highlight its importance in preventing foreign influence over the U.S. government.