

# **How Southern Politicians Reformed Textbooks to Resist Civil Rights Demands**

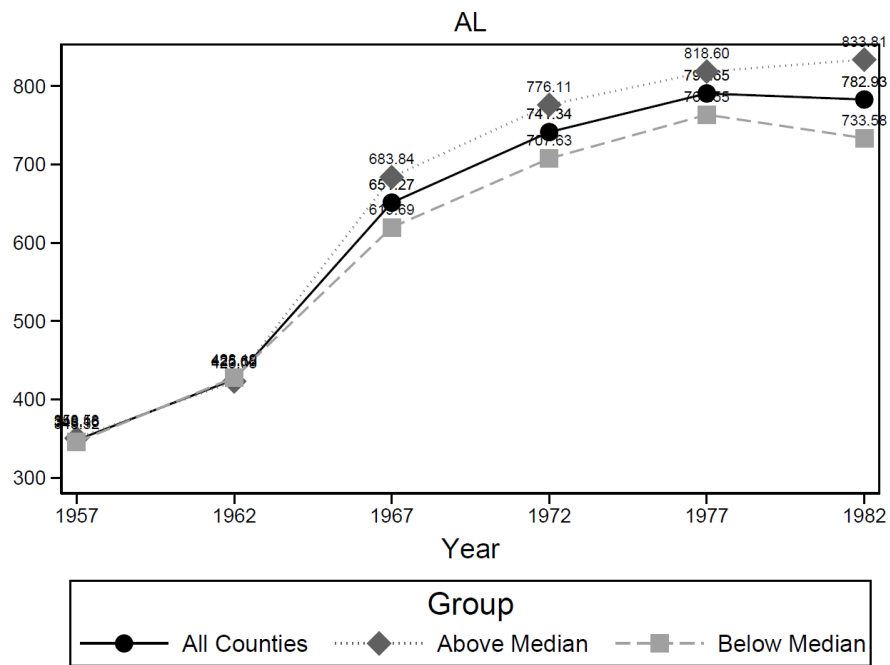
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## **Online Appendix**

- A. Case selection
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## A. Case Selection

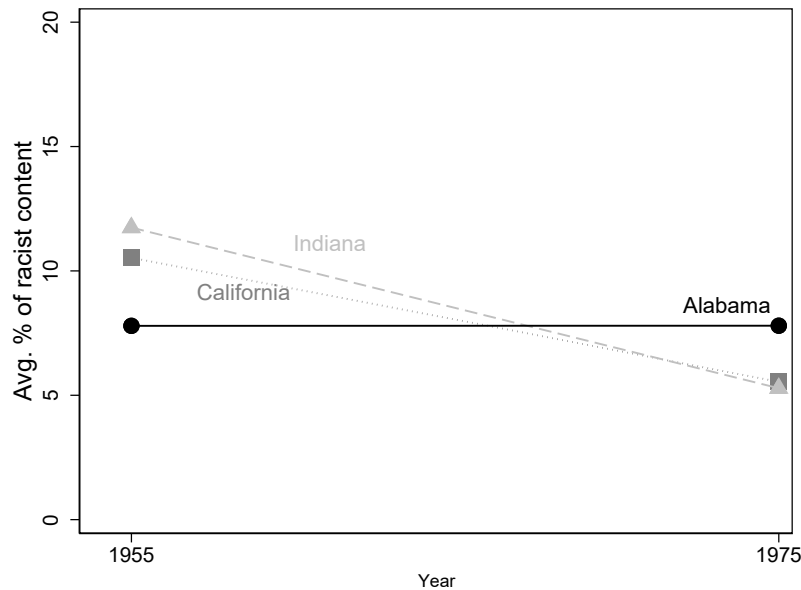
Figure A1. Per-capita education expenditures in Alabama counties with an above- or below-median share of Black residents, 1957-1982



Source: Author based on data from Cascio and Washington (2014)

## B1. Sentence-by-sentence analysis: Additional Figures

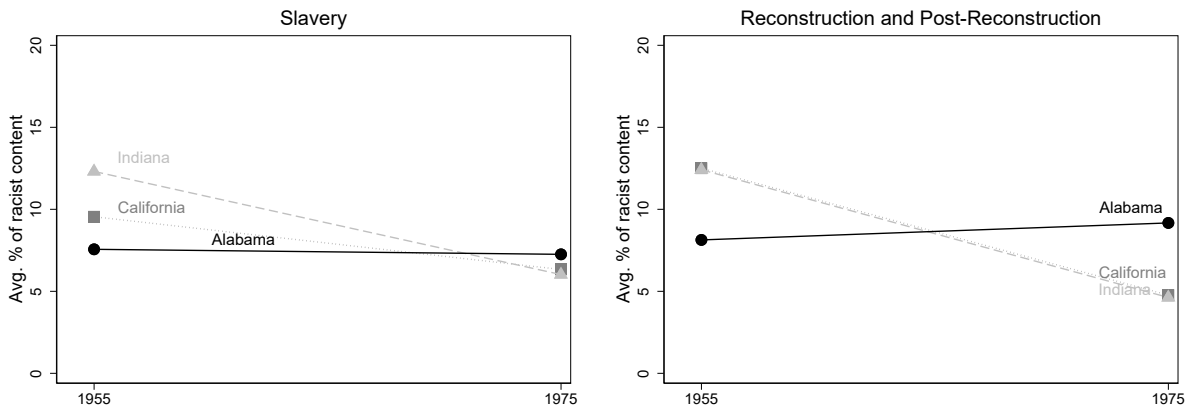
Figure B1.1. Average percentage of racist content in the history textbooks of Alabama, California, and Indiana before and after the Civil Rights Movement



Note: Per the coding scheme, any given sentence can include between 0 and 9 types of racist content. The average percentage of racist content for a given textbook edition will equal 100 if *all* coders of a given textbook edition determine that *all* 9 types of racist content are present in *all* sentences, and will equal 0 if *all* coders determine that there is no type of racist content at all in any of the sentences.

Source: Author's analysis based on the following textbooks: for Alabama, Summersell's *Alabama History for Schools* (1957 and 1975); for Indiana, Wilder, Ludlum, and McCune Brown's *This Is America's Story* (1954 and 1975); for California, Hartman's *America, Land of Freedom* (1956) and Chapin's *Quest for Liberty* (1973). See main text for selection criteria.

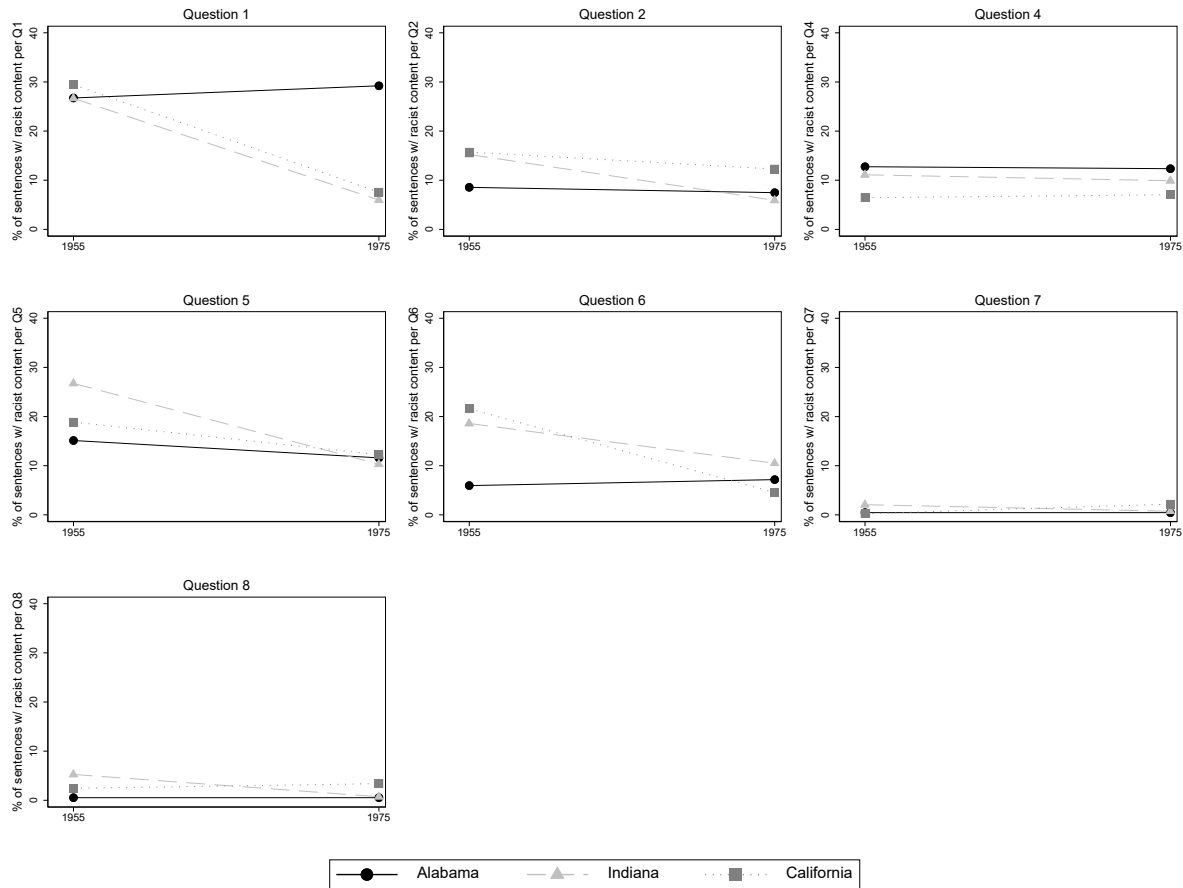
Figure B1.2. Average percentage of racist content about slavery, Reconstruction, or Post-Reconstruction, in the history textbooks of Alabama, California, and Indiana before and after the Civil Rights Movement



Note: Per the coding scheme, any given sentence can include between 0 and 9 types of racist content. The average percentage of racist content for a given textbook edition will equal 100 if *all* coders of a given textbook edition determine that *all* 9 types of racist content are present in *all* sentences, and will equal 0 if *all* coders determine that there is no type of racist content at all in any of the sentences.

Source: Author's analysis based on the following textbooks: for Alabama, Summersell's *Alabama History for Schools* (1957 and 1975); for Indiana, Wilder, Ludlum, and McCune Brown's *This Is America's Story* (1954 and 1975); for California, Hartman's *America, Land of Freedom* (1956) and Chapin's *Quest for Liberty* (1973). See main text for selection criteria.

Figure B1.3. Percentage of sentences in the history textbooks of Alabama, California, and Indiana that contain racist content, by coding scheme question, before and after the Civil Rights Movement



Note: Sentences are coded as containing “racist” content if coders determine that (i) the answer to Question 1 is “Yes”; (ii) the answer to Question 1 is “NO” and the answer to Question 3 is “YES”; (iii) the answer to Question 2 is “Yes”; (iv) the answer to Question 2 is “NO” and the answer to Question 3 is “YES”; (v) the answer to Question 4 is “YES”; (vi) the answer to Question 5 is “NO”; (vii) the answer to Question 6 is “NO”; (viii) the answer to Question 7 is “YES”; or (ix) the answer to Question 8 is “YES.”

Source: Author’s analysis based on the following textbooks: for Alabama, Summersell’s *Alabama History for Schools* (1957 and 1975); for Indiana, Wilder, Ludlum, and McCune Brown’s *This Is America’s Story* (1954 and 1975); for California, Hartman’s *America, Land of Freedom* (1956) and Chapin’s *Quest for Liberty* (1973). See main text for selection criteria.

## B2. Coding Scheme for Sentence-by-Sentence Content Analysis

**Question 1.** Generalizing Benefits/Improvements/Positives: **Does the sentence generalize positive experiences in US political, social, or economic life without distinguishing between the experiences of Black and white Americans?**

**Look out for** sentences that discuss democratic norms of “freedom” and “liberty,” voting rights, access to education and improvements in education, poverty mitigation, etc., and determine whether the sentence implicitly or explicitly assumes that these benefits, improvements, or positive aspects of life apply to everyone without distinguishing (where relevant) between Black and white Americans. Note also that sentences that talk exclusively about Black or exclusively about white Americans should be coded as “NO, ON THE CONTRARY...” because they implicitly distinguish.

Possible answers:

<b>1</b>	YES, it generalizes
<b>-1</b>	NO, ON THE CONTRARY, it distinguishes between Black and white Americans in talking about positive experiences
<b>Leave blank</b>	NOT APPLICABLE, as the sentence does not discuss positive experiences

Examples from the textbooks:

YES, it generalizes: “The freedom of the people was further safeguarded by the Bill of Rights, passed in 1791.”

NO, ON THE CONTRARY, it distinguishes between Black and white Americans in talking about positive experiences: “‘The signers of the Declaration of Independence,’ he said, ‘never dreamed of the Negro when they were writing the Declaration of Independence...’”

NOT APPLICABLE, as the sentence does not discuss positive experiences: “Within ten years there were about twenty thousand Americans living in Texas.”

**Question 2.** Generalizing Costs/Deterioration/Negatives: **Does the sentence generalize negative experiences in US political, social, or economic life without distinguishing between the experiences of Black and white Americans** (i.e., without acknowledging the ways in which such negatives are compounded for Black Americans)?

**Look out for** sentences that discuss the effects of wars, poverty, problems in education, etc. without acknowledging (where relevant) that Black Americans’ experiences with these topics were different (and worse) than white Americans’. Look out for also sentences that talk about

“poor people” or those in “lower classes” without distinguishing between the experiences of white and Black Americans. Again, if the sentence exclusively talks about Black or white Americans, it counts as distinguishing (and should be coded “NO, ON THE CONTRARY...”)

Possible answers:

<b>1</b>	YES, it generalizes
<b>-1</b>	NO, ON THE CONTRARY, it distinguishes between Black and white Americans in talking about negative experiences
<b>Leave blank</b>	NOT APPLICABLE, as the sentence does not discuss negative experiences

Examples from the textbooks:

YES, it generalizes: “The crowding of poor people in certain sections of the rapidly growing cities of the nineteenth century brought misery and widespread suffering.”

NO, ON THE CONTRARY, it distinguishes between Black and white Americans in talking about negative experiences: “*New Left* movements such as the Students for a Democratic Society and the Black Panthers, charged that the American economic and political system was run by industrial and military interests and that the individual, especially if he was nonwhite or poor, was exploited by the vast, corrupt system.”

NOT APPLICABLE, as the sentence does not discuss negative experiences: “It happened that Maine also applied for admission as a state at that time.”

*If you answered “NO, ON THE CONTRARY” for Question 1 and/or Question 2, answer Question 3. Otherwise, leave Question 3 blank and move on to Question 4.*

**Question 3.** Distinguish with Caveat: **If the sentence does distinguish between Black and white Americans’ experiences (i.e. if you answered “NO, ON THE CONTRARY” to Q1 and/or Q2), does it minimize the hardships endured by Black Americans or exaggerate their positive experiences?**

**Look out for** sentences that that minimize the cruelty of slavery, or that equate the experiences of Black Americans with those of poor whites.

Possible answers:

<b>1</b>	YES, it minimizes hardships or exaggerates positive experiences of Black Americans
<b>-1</b>	NO, ON THE CONTRARY, it does not minimize hardships or exaggerate positive experiences of Black Americans

<b>Leave blank</b>	NOT APPLICABLE (if neither of your responses to Q1 or Q2 was “NO”)
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Examples from the textbooks:

YES, it minimizes hardships or exaggerates positive experiences of Black Americans: “In one respect the slave was supposedly better off than free laborers, white or black, of the same period.”

NO, ON THE CONTRARY, it does not minimize hardships or exaggerate positive experiences of Black Americans: “Everyone would rather be free than to live in slavery even under “good” conditions.”

NOT APPLICABLE (if neither of your responses to Q1 or Q2 was “YES”): “The state of Texas was paid \$10,000,000 for part of its western land, which was added to New Mexico.”

**Question 4. Stereotypes: Does the sentence implicitly or explicitly reinforce stereotypes of Black people being inferior human beings?**

**Look out for** uses of “violent,” “lazy,” or “inferior” and related synonyms/words/phrases that imply such stereotypes, as well as sentences that de-humanize or commodify Black people by referring to them as “labor,” “commodities,” “owned” or other words that fail to acknowledge the humanity of Black people, particularly in the context of slavery. Use of “master,” “owner,” and “slavetrader” also reinforces the inhumanity and inferiority of Black Americans and falls under this criterion as well.

Possible answers:

<b>1</b>	YES, it reinforces stereotypes
<b>-1</b>	NO, ON THE CONTRARY, it talks about Black People without conveying stereotypes
<b>Leave blank</b>	NOT APPLICABLE, it does not talk about Black people

Examples from the textbooks:

YES, it reinforces stereotypes: “The principal reasons given by slaves for running away were these: to avoid threatened punishment, to avoid hard work, to be free to go up North, to work on a steamboat, to follow the ideas of a slave stealer or an abolitionist.”

NO, ON THE CONTRARY, it talks about Black people without conveying stereotypes: “Conditions for both black and white passengers crossing the North Atlantic were very poor according to our present-day health standards.”



NOT APPLICABLE, it does not talk about Black people: “At the Philadelphia Convention, the great men of America were trying to build a firm government based on consent of the governed.”

**Question 5.** Acknowledge Discriminatory Policies/Institutions: **Does the sentence acknowledge that policies and/or institutions promote and/or perpetuate the disadvantage of Black Americans? Does it recognize that policies/ institutions disfavor Black Americans specifically?**

**Look out for** discussions of policies/ institutions related to voting barriers, education barriers, poverty, migration patterns, etc. Note that slavery and the slave trade should also be considered discriminatory institutions.

Possible answers:

<b>1</b>	YES, it acknowledges that discriminatory policies and/or institutions disfavor Black Americans
<b>-1</b>	NO, it discusses discriminatory policies and/or institutions without acknowledging that they disfavor Black Americans
<b>Leave blank</b>	NOT APPLICABLE, as it does not talk about discriminatory policies and/or institutions

Examples from the textbooks:

YES, it acknowledges that discriminatory policies and/or institutions disfavor Black Americans: “They have had difficulty in getting the education necessary to prepare them for more desirable jobs.”

NO, it discusses discriminatory policies and/or institutions without acknowledging that they disfavor Black Americans: “Counties and school districts could levy special taxes to improve their schools.”

NOT APPLICABLE, as it does not talk about discriminatory policies and/or institutions: “Free Negroes and white abolitionists in the North furnished hiding places and transportation for the runaways.”

**Question 6.** Acknowledge Racial Justice Policies/Institutions: **Does the sentence acknowledge policies and/or institutions that seek to promote greater social, political, or economic equality by addressing problems specifically experienced by Black Americans? Does it describe policies/institutions that seek to promote greater equality by mitigating or compensating for the historical disadvantages experienced by Black Americans?**

**Look out for** discussions of elimination of suffrage restrictions, policies to reduce poverty, education reform, prison reform, etc.

Possible answers:

<b>1</b>	YES, it acknowledges policies and/or institutions that seek to promote greater equality by addressing problems specifically experienced by Black Americans
<b>-1</b>	NO, it discusses policies and/or institutions that seek to promote greater equality without saying anything about their goal to specifically help Black Americans
<b>Leave blank</b>	NOT APPLICABLE, as it does not talk about policies/institutions that seek to promote greater equality

Examples from the textbooks:

YES, it acknowledges racial justice policies and/or institutions that seek to solve problems specifically experienced by Black Americans: “Since this had long been a device used to bar blacks from voting, the Twenty-Fourth Amendment was a great help in the cause of Negro voting rights.”

NO, it discusses policies and/or institutions that seek to solve problems without saying anything about their goal to specifically help Black Americans: “Although the work done by individuals and organizations in the nineteenth century immensely improved the condition and eased the burdens of many poor people, it did not solve the problem of poverty. That problem could be solved only when people were able to earn enough money to improve their condition and take care of their needs.”

NOT APPLICABLE, as it does not talk about policies and/or institutions that seek to solve problems: “The deep sectional division could not be healed.”

**Question 7.** Racism as an Individual Problem: **Does the sentence discuss racism as an issue of prejudiced individuals?**

**Look out for** depictions of “masters” during slavery times and depictions of segregation/discrimination during the Jim Crow era.

Possible answers:

<b>1</b>	YES, it describes racism as stemming from prejudiced individuals
<b>-1</b>	NO, it describes racism as stemming from systems/ structures/ policies/ institutions
<b>Leave blank</b>	NOT APPLICABLE, as it does not talk about the causes of racism

Examples from the textbooks:

YES, it describes racism as stemming from prejudiced individuals: “While the Negro was badly treated as a rule in the foreign slave trade, he was generally well treated by Alabama farmers.”

NO, it describes racism as stemming from systems/ structures/ policies/ institutions: “He regarded slaveowners as well as slaves as victims of a terribly sick institution.”

NOT APPLICABLE, as it does not talk about the causes of racism: “Shortly after 1800, Southern planters with their slaves moved to the land along the Gulf of Mexico, where the soil was rich, the climate warm, and the rainfall plentiful.”

**Question 8.** Passive/Active voice: **Does the sentence use passive voice to describe an act of violence committed against Black people?** Does it shift blame away from perpetrators by using passive grammar? For a review of Passive/Active voice, see [here](#).

Note: While we consider slavery a form of violence, not all sentences that refer to slaves or slavery will be coded as active/ passive voice. For a sentence on slavery to be coded as such, slaves/ Black people must be the object/ subject of the sentence.

Possible answers:

<b>1</b>	YES, it uses passive voice to describe acts of violence against Black people
<b>-1</b>	NO, ON THE CONTRARY, it uses active voice to describe acts of violence against Black people
<b>Leave blank</b>	NOT APPLICABLE, as it does not describe acts of violence against Black people

Examples from the textbooks:

YES, it uses passive voice to describe acts of violence against Black people: “Cruel things were done by the Ku-Klux Klan during its reign of terror.”

NO, ON THE CONTRARY, it uses active voice to describe acts of violence against Black people: “Some, like the Ku Klux Klan, resort to violence.”

NOT APPLICABLE, as it does not describe acts of violence against Black people: “Many New England fortunes were made from this triangular trade.” *Although the triangular trade refers to the slave trade, which could be considered by some as a form of violence against Black people, this sentence must be coded as “NOT APPLICABLE” because Black people are not the subject/object of the sentence.*

### **B3. Rules Used to Code Sentence Content as “Racist”**

In the analysis, a sentence is coded as containing “racist” content if any of the following conditions are met:

1. The answer to Question 1 is “YES, it generalizes”
2. The answer to Question 2 is “YES, it generalizes”
3. The answer to Question 1 is “NO, ON THE CONTRARY” and the answer to Question 3 is “YES, it minimizes hardships or exaggerates positive experiences of Black Americans”
4. The answer to Question 2 is “NO, ON THE CONTRARY” and the answer to Question 3 is “YES, it minimizes hardships or exaggerates positive experiences of Black Americans”
5. The answer to Question 4 is “YES, it reinforces stereotypes”
6. The answer to Question 5 is “NO, it discusses discriminatory policies and/or institutions without acknowledging that they disfavor Black Americans”
7. The answer to Question 6 is “NO, it discusses policies and/or institutions that seek to promote greater equality without saying anything about their goal to specifically help Black Americans”
8. The answer to Question 7 is “YES, it describes racism as stemming from prejudiced individuals”
9. The answer to Question 8 is “YES, it uses passive voice to describe acts of violence against Black people”

Note that an implication of this coding is that any given sentence may in principle contain up to 9 types of “racist” content (i.e., if the sentence meets all the conditions listed above).

## **C. Notebook LM Analysis**

### **C1. Twenty-One Benchmarks Proposed by the CIBC**

The Council on Interracial Books for Children (1977) proposes that history textbooks be evaluated based on the 21 benchmarks below. According to the CIBC, a textbook's performance relative to each benchmark should be rated using the following scale: "Incorrect Information," "No Information," "Omits This Period," "Limited Information," or "Full Information."

1. African, as well as European, culture forms an integral part of the U.S. heritage.
2. Africans were in the Americas prior to 1619.
3. The North American slave trade created enormous profits, became the most brutal system of slavery known, and disrupted African civilization.
4. The significance of the Revolution, to Blacks, goes beyond participation in combat.
5. The Constitution was a pro-slavery document and remained so for 78 years.
6. Slavery was inherently cruel and inhuman.
7. Rebellion and slavery went hand in hand.
8. While there were differences in the institution between North and South, slavery was never a regional issue.
9. Blacks initiated anti-slavery activity and were central to the abolition leadership.
10. The life of the free African American was often only a slight improvement over the life of a slave.
11. Blacks who participated in the take-over of the West were also oppressed by white society.
12. The lack of land redistribution was the fundamental failure of Reconstruction.
13. When freed people had land, they displayed incentive and skill, establishing productive lives.
14. Sharecropping resulted in the economic re-enslavement of Black people.
15. The Reconstruction governments were more progressive and democratic than later southern governments.
16. Post-reconstruction brought a rigidly segregated society, with full Federal support.
17. The racism of organized labor has harmed Black people and disrupted the potential for working-class unity.
18. Wilson's "progressive" policies were meant "for whites only."
19. Discrimination faced by European immigrants was different from the racism faced by Blacks.
20. Institutional racism, not merely individual prejudice, causes and perpetuates racial inequality.
21. The myth of "progress" obscures the existing reality of the majority of Black people."

## C2. Prompt for NotebookLM

To assess a textbook's performance relative to these benchmarks, I uploaded all textbooks to NotebookLM and, for each textbook, I entered the following prompt:

"These two sources are part 1 and part 2 of the same book. Analyze the book as a whole.

Below is a list of 21 benchmarks that, according to the Council on Interracial Books for Children, should be included in all history textbooks. For each benchmark, tell me whether the text provides "Incorrect Information," "No Information," "Omits This Period," "Limited Information," or "Full Information." Note that a text may include full information about a given benchmark without necessarily using the exact same language below. Likewise, a text may include a sentence that is very similar to one of the benchmarks, suggesting that the text provides "full information" for that benchmark, but the same text may also include other sentences that contradict or caveat that benchmark, in which case the ideal benchmark would not be fully met. Your determination of whether the text provides "Incorrect Information," "No Information," "Omits This Period," "Limited Information," or "Full Information" about a given benchmark should be based on a holistic analysis of all relevant sentences.

The 21 benchmarks are:

22. African, as well as European, culture forms an integral part of the U.S. heritage.
23. Africans were in the Americas prior to 1619.
24. The North American slave trade created enormous profits, became the most brutal system of slavery known, and disrupted African civilization.
25. The significance of the Revolution, to Blacks, goes beyond participation in combat.
26. The Constitution was a pro-slavery document and remained so for 78 years.
27. Slavery was inherently cruel and inhuman.
28. Rebellion and slavery went hand in hand.
29. While there were differences in the institution between North and South, slavery was never a regional issue.
30. Blacks initiated anti-slavery activity and were central to the abolition leadership.
31. The life of the free African American was often only a slight improvement over the life of a slave.
32. Blacks who participated in the take-over of the West were also oppressed by white society.
33. The lack of land redistribution was the fundamental failure of Reconstruction.
34. When freed people had land, they displayed incentive and skill, establishing productive lives.
35. Sharecropping resulted in the economic re-enslavement of Black people.

36. The Reconstruction governments were more progressive and democratic than later southern governments.
37. Post-reconstruction brought a rigidly segregated society, with full Federal support.
38. The racism of organized labor has harmed Black people and disrupted the potential for working-class unity.
39. Wilson's "progressive" policies were meant "for whites only."
40. Discrimination faced by European immigrants was different from the racism faced by Blacks.
41. Institutional racism, not merely individual prejudice, causes and perpetuates racial inequality.
42. The myth of "progress" obscures the existing reality of the majority of Black people."

### C3. Output from NotebookLM

Below is NotebookLM's analysis and output for each textbook.

#### CALIFORNIA 1956

**Benchmark 1:** African, as well as European, culture forms an integral part of the U.S. heritage. *Limited Information:* The text mentions that the American culture is richer because so many stocks contributed to it. It also refers to blending the special abilities and cultural heritage of many peoples of the earth into one people in the country. However, the text doesn't explicitly detail the contributions of African culture. It notes Negro music, especially spirituals, has become a part of American musical inheritance.

**Benchmark 2:** Africans were in the Americas prior to 1619. *No Information:* The text does not provide specific information about the presence of Africans in the Americas prior to 1619.

**Benchmark 3:** The North American slave trade created enormous profits, became the most brutal system of slavery known, and disrupted African civilization. *Limited Information:* The textbook mentions the slave trade, describing how New England merchants traded rum for slaves in Africa and then sold them in the West Indies. It acknowledges slavery as a moral and political evil. However, it does not go into detail about the enormous profits, the brutality of the system compared to others, or the disruption of African civilization.

**Benchmark 4:** The significance of the Revolution, to Blacks, goes beyond participation in combat. *No Information:* The text primarily focuses on the Revolution from the perspective of colonists seeking freedom and self-government. It only mentions that many people saw the inconsistency of promoting equality while holding some men in bondage.

**Benchmark 5:** The Constitution was a pro-slavery document and remained so for 78 years. Limited Information: The text mentions the Constitution corrected the faults of the Articles of Confederation. It also notes the debates around representation and the counting of slaves, and that the Constitution allowed the importation of slaves until 1808. However, it doesn't explicitly state that the Constitution was a pro-slavery document.

**Benchmark 6:** Slavery was inherently cruel and inhuman. Limited Information: The text acknowledges slavery as a moral and political evil. It also refers to slaves having no freedom and being obliged to work for their masters. However, it doesn't provide extensive details on the inherent cruelty and inhumanity of the system.

**Benchmark 7:** Rebellion and slavery went hand in hand. No Information: This specific aspect of the relationship between rebellion and slavery is not addressed in the provided text.

**Benchmark 8:** While there were differences in the institution between North and South, slavery was never a regional issue. Incorrect Information: The text suggests slavery was a regional issue, as it discusses the differences between the North and South and how slavery gradually disappeared in the northeastern states because slaves could not be usefully employed in factories.

**Benchmark 9:** Blacks initiated anti-slavery activity and were central to the abolition leadership. Limited Information: The text mentions the Abolitionist movement and William Lloyd Garrison's role. It focuses on white leaders in the movement, without explicitly detailing the role of Black people in initiating anti-slavery activity and abolition leadership.

**Benchmark 10:** The life of the free African American was often only a slight improvement over the life of a slave. No Information: The text does not contain information directly addressing the life of free African Americans and comparing it to the life of a slave.

**Benchmark 11:** Blacks who participated in the take-over of the West were also oppressed by white society. No Information: The textbook does not address the experiences of Black people who participated in the westward expansion and whether they were oppressed by white society.

**Benchmark 12:** The lack of land redistribution was the fundamental failure of Reconstruction. No Information: While the text discusses the difficulties faced by freedmen after the Civil War, it doesn't specifically identify the lack of land redistribution as the fundamental failure of Reconstruction.

**Benchmark 13:** When freed people had land, they displayed incentive and skill, establishing productive lives. No Information: The text does not provide specific information about the success or productivity of freed people when they owned land.



**Benchmark 14:** Sharecropping resulted in the economic re-enslavement of Black people. No Information: The text does not discuss sharecropping or its impact on the economic status of Black people.

**Benchmark 15:** The Reconstruction governments were more progressive and democratic than later southern governments. No Information: The textbook refers to the South being wrecked by the war and the difficult task of providing for the newly freed slaves. It also mentions unprincipled men pouring into the South and the Ku-Klux Klan. However, it doesn't explicitly compare the progressiveness and democratic nature of Reconstruction governments to later Southern governments.

**Benchmark 16:** Post-reconstruction brought a rigidly segregated society, with full Federal support. Limited Information: The text mentions the restoration of fairly peaceful conditions in the South by 1877 and the subsequent development of agriculture, textile mills, and manufacturing centers. It also acknowledges the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments intended to protect the right to vote, but notes that ways were found to circumvent these amendments and limit Black people's political power. It does not explicitly state whether this segregation had full Federal support.

**Benchmark 17:** The racism of organized labor has harmed Black people and disrupted the potential for working-class unity. No Information: The text includes general information about the growth of trade union membership, but it does not specifically discuss the racism of organized labor or its impact on Black people.

**Benchmark 18:** Wilson's "progressive" policies were meant "for whites only." No Information: While the text mentions Woodrow Wilson and his efforts towards social justice, it doesn't provide information about whether his policies were discriminatory towards Black people.

**Benchmark 19:** Discrimination faced by European immigrants was different from the racism faced by Blacks. No Information: The text discusses the experiences of European immigrants and the obstacles faced by Black people, but it doesn't directly compare the discrimination faced by these two groups.

**Benchmark 20:** Institutional racism, not merely individual prejudice, causes and perpetuates racial inequality. No Information: The text does not explicitly discuss the concept of institutional racism.

**Benchmark 21:** The myth of "progress" obscures the existing reality of the majority of Black people. No Information: This benchmark is not addressed in the provided text.

## CALIFORNIA 1973

Based on the excerpts from "CA1973(Textv2)\_part1.pdf" and "CA1973(Textv2)\_part2.pdf," here's an evaluation of how the textbook addresses each of the 21 benchmarks:

**Benchmark 1:** African culture is an integral part of the U.S. heritage - Limited Information. The textbook acknowledges African cultural contributions but focuses on their suppression in colonial America1....

**Benchmark 2:** Africans were in the Americas prior to 1619 - Limited Information. The textbook mentions the possibility of Africans as early explorers, including a navigator on Columbus's ship1....

**Benchmark 3:** The North American slave trade created enormous profits and disrupted African civilization - Full Information. The textbook details the rapid increase of the slave trade after 1700, the brutal conditions, and the resulting cultural changes in Africa1....

**Benchmark 4:** The significance of the Revolution to Blacks goes beyond participation in combat - Limited Information. The textbook mentions the role of Black people in the American Revolution and the rise of antislavery sentiments1....

**Benchmark 5:** The Constitution was a pro-slavery document for 78 years - Full Information. The textbook discusses the debates during the Philadelphia Convention, the continuation of the slave trade for twenty years, and the three-fifths compromise1....

**Benchmark 6:** Slavery was inherently cruel and inhuman - Full Information. The textbook describes the harsh realities of slavery, including hard work, poor housing, loss of dignity, family instability, lack of education, and slave codes1....

**Benchmark 7:** Rebellion and slavery went hand in hand - Full Information. The textbook notes numerous slave revolts, particularly in Virginia and South Carolina, and the fear of plantation owners, referencing Nat Turner's rebellion1....

**Benchmark 8:** Slavery was never a regional issue - Full Information. The textbook states that slavery became a permanent institution in the South, but slaves were also held in the middle and New England colonies1....

**Benchmark 9:** Blacks initiated anti-slavery activity and were central to the abolition leadership - Full Information. The textbook credits Benjamin Franklin and Alexander Hamilton with forming abolitionist societies and identifies Frederick Douglass as a key leader1....

**Benchmark 10:** The life of the free African American was often only a slight improvement over the life of a slave - Full Information. The textbook indicates that free Negroes in the North felt the

Declaration of Independence did not apply to them and celebrated Independence Day on July 5th1....

**Benchmark 11:** Blacks who participated in the take-over of the West were also oppressed by white society - *Limited Information*. The textbook mentions black miners in California but lacks details on their treatment1....

**Benchmark 12:** The lack of land redistribution was the fundamental failure of Reconstruction - *Limited Information*. The textbook states that the South faced economic problems and the need for freed Negroes to find new economic roles1....

**Benchmark 13:** When freed people had land, they displayed incentive and skill, establishing productive lives - *Limited Information*. The textbook indicates that the Freedman's Bureau helped former slaves secure farms and provided training1....

**Benchmark 14:** Sharecropping resulted in the economic re-enslavement of Black people - *Limited Information*. The textbook mentions the South's reliance on crops like tobacco, which was tended by black sharecroppers1....

**Benchmark 15:** The Reconstruction governments were more progressive and democratic than later southern governments - *Full Information*. The textbook says that Negroes were elected to Congress in reconstructed states and new governments established public school systems, built roads, and improved tax systems1....

**Benchmark 16:** Post-reconstruction brought a rigidly segregated society, with full Federal support - *Full Information*. The textbook mentions black codes, intimidation by groups like the Klan, and the rise of segregation1....

**Benchmark 17:** The racism of organized labor has harmed Black people and disrupted the potential for working-class unity - *Limited Information*. The textbook indicates that black workers believed they'd have better bargaining power by joining a union1....

**Benchmark 18:** Wilson's "progressive" policies were meant "for whites only." - *No Information*. There is no relevant information in the provided sources.

**Benchmark 19:** Discrimination faced by European immigrants was different from the racism faced by Blacks - *Full Information*. According to the textbook, unlike older immigrant groups, blacks often had to remain in poor neighborhoods1....

**Benchmark 20:** Institutional racism, not merely individual prejudice, causes and perpetuates racial inequality - *Limited Information*. The textbook mentions that KKK actions succeeded in frightening thousands of Negroes into not voting1....

**Benchmark 21:** The myth of "progress" obscures the existing reality of the majority of Black people - Limited Information. The textbook describes the civil rights movement, the struggle for equality, slow progress, and riots in Negro ghettos<sup>1</sup>....

### ALABAMA 1957

Based on the excerpts from "AL1957(OCR)\_part1.pdf" and "AL1957(OCR)\_part2.pdf", here's an analysis of how the book addresses the 21 benchmarks, as described, from the Council on Interracial Books for Children:

**Benchmark 1:** African, as well as European, culture forms an integral part of the U.S. heritage. Limited Information. The text refers to Africans brought as slaves<sup>1</sup>. The degree to which the book integrates African culture into the broader U.S. heritage is not clear from the excerpts.

**Benchmark 2:** Africans were in the Americas prior to 1619. Full Information. The book states that the first Negroes in Alabama came with the Spaniards long before the time of the French<sup>2</sup>.

**Benchmark 3:** The North American slave trade created enormous profits, became the most brutal system of slavery known, and disrupted African civilization. Limited Information. The book mentions that the slave trade was a big operation<sup>3</sup>. The Africaine lost 104 slaves on the middle passage<sup>3</sup>. The book refers to Africans seized from their homes or taken as prisoners of war by other African tribes and sold to the slave traders who imprisoned them in stockades (called slave factories) until a slave ship came to pick them up<sup>4</sup>.

**Benchmark 4:** The significance of the Revolution, to Blacks, goes beyond participation in combat. No Information. The excerpts do not provide information about the significance of the Revolution to Blacks beyond participation in combat.

**Benchmark 5:** The Constitution was a pro-slavery document and remained so for 78 years. No Information. The excerpts do not contain information about whether the original Constitution was a pro-slavery document.

**Benchmark 6:** Slavery was inherently cruel and inhuman. Limited Information. The book mentions the Black Code set forth rights and privileges of slaves and provided severe punishment for runaway slaves<sup>5</sup>. The book also notes the legal rights of a slave were fewer than those of a free man, but the slave had some rights<sup>6</sup>. The slave could compel a witness to come to court and testify<sup>6</sup>. Many laws protected slaves from cruel punishments<sup>6</sup>.

**Benchmark 7:** Rebellion and slavery went hand in hand. No Information. The excerpts do not explicitly address the connection between rebellion and slavery.

**Benchmark 8:** While there were differences in the institution between North and South, slavery was never a regional issue. No Information. While the text details slavery in Alabama, it does not directly engage with the idea of whether slavery was a regional issue.

**Benchmark 9:** Blacks initiated anti-slavery activity and were central to the abolition leadership. No Information. The excerpts do not provide information about the role of Blacks in initiating anti-slavery activity.

**Benchmark 10:** The life of the free African American was often only a slight improvement over the life of a slave. Limited Information. The book notes that from early colonial times there were certain Negroes who were occupied in various trades as free men, although free Negroes were never numerous<sup>7</sup>.... The number of free Negroes increased as a result<sup>9</sup>.

**Benchmark 11:** Blacks who participated in the take-over of the West were also oppressed by white society. No Information. The excerpts do not discuss Black participation in the "take-over" of the West.

**Benchmark 12:** The lack of land redistribution was the fundamental failure of Reconstruction. No Information. The excerpts do not discuss land redistribution as a part of Reconstruction.

**Benchmark 13:** When freed people had land, they displayed incentive and skill, establishing productive lives. No Information. The excerpts do not provide information about the success of freed people with land.

**Benchmark 14:** Sharecropping resulted in the economic re-enslavement of Black people. Limited Information. What grew to replace the old labor system was farm tenancy<sup>10</sup>. The new farm tenancy was the chief labor system in some counties<sup>10</sup>.

**Benchmark 15:** The Reconstruction governments were more progressive and democratic than later southern governments. No Information. While the book describes the corruption and upheaval during Reconstruction, it does not make a comparative value judgment about Reconstruction governments versus later southern governments.

**Benchmark 16:** Post-reconstruction brought a rigidly segregated society, with full Federal support. No Information. The text notes, Gradually there was less demand in the North to keep Federal troops in the South to interfere with local government<sup>11</sup>.

**Benchmark 17:** The racism of organized labor has harmed Black people and disrupted the potential for working-class unity. No Information. The book does not discuss the relationship between organized labor and Black people.

**Benchmark 18:** Wilson's "progressive" policies were meant "for whites only." No Information. The book does not discuss Wilson's policies in relation to race.

**Benchmark 19:** Discrimination faced by European immigrants was different from the racism faced by Blacks. No Information. The excerpts do not offer a comparison of the discrimination faced by European immigrants and Black people.

**Benchmark 20:** Institutional racism, not merely individual prejudice, causes and perpetuates racial inequality. No Information. The excerpts do not discuss the concepts of institutional racism versus individual prejudice.

**Benchmark 21:** The myth of "progress" obscures the existing reality of the majority of Black people. No Information. The excerpts do not discuss the concept of progress in relation to the reality of Black people.

### ALABAMA 1975

Based on the excerpts from "AL1975(OCR)\_part1.pdf" and "AL1975(OCR)\_part2.pdf" and our conversation history, here's an analysis of how the book addresses the 21 benchmarks, as described, from the Council on Interracial Books for Children:

**Benchmark 1:** African, as well as European, culture forms an integral part of the U.S. heritage. No information. The sources do not contain direct information about the integration of African culture into U.S. heritage.

**Benchmark 2:** Africans were in the Americas prior to 1619. Limited Information. The book indicates that black people were in Alabama with the Spanish<sup>1</sup>.

**Benchmark 3:** The North American slave trade created enormous profits, became the most brutal system of slavery known, and disrupted African civilization. Limited information. The slave trade is described as a brutal business making high profits out of human suffering<sup>2</sup>.... There were high casualties on the middle passage<sup>2</sup>.

**Benchmark 4:** The significance of the Revolution, to Blacks, goes beyond participation in combat. No information. The sources do not discuss the significance of the Revolution for Black people.

**Benchmark 5:** The Constitution was a pro-slavery document and remained so for 78 years. No information. The sources do not address the stance of the Constitution on slavery.

**Benchmark 6:** Slavery was inherently cruel and inhuman. Limited Information. The text refers to laws protecting slaves from cruel punishments, but notes they were not always enforced<sup>4</sup>. The sources note moral indignation aroused by the study of the slave trade<sup>2</sup>....

**Benchmark 7:** Rebellion and slavery went hand in hand. No information. The sources do not discuss the relationship between rebellion and slavery.

**Benchmark 8:** While there were differences in the institution between North and South, slavery was never a regional issue. No Information. The sources do not address whether slavery was a regional issue.

**Benchmark 9:** Blacks initiated anti-slavery activity and were central to the abolition leadership. No information. The sources do not provide information about Black people initiating anti-slavery activity.

**Benchmark 10:** The life of the free African American was often only a slight improvement over the life of a slave. Limited Information. There were free blacks occupied in various trades from early colonial times, though they were never numerous<sup>5</sup>. Free Black people lived in towns to enjoy their freedom more and find better paying jobs<sup>6</sup>.

**Benchmark 11:** Blacks who participated in the take-over of the West were also oppressed by white society. No information. The sources do not discuss Black participation in the West.

**Benchmark 12:** The lack of land redistribution was the fundamental failure of Reconstruction. No information. The sources do not discuss land redistribution during Reconstruction.

**Benchmark 13:** When freed people had land, they displayed incentive and skill, establishing productive lives. No Information. The sources do not provide information about the success of freed people with land.

**Benchmark 14:** Sharecropping resulted in the economic re-enslavement of Black people. Incorrect Information. The sources mention farm tenancy replaced the old labor system<sup>7</sup>. The book states that "Farm tenancy was one of the gravest problems during the quarter century, 1875-1900. The best thing which could be said for farm tenancy was that, in the economy of the time, it was a necessary evil. The basic ingredients which created farm tenancy were, on the one hand, the abundance of unskilled labor and, on the other hand, the scarcity of money and credit. Tenants became sharecroppers because they knew no other way to make a living. Landlords took on sharecroppers because they wished to see their land in production and did not know how else to find workers, since the owner of the land usually had little or no money to pay the workers. Landlord and tenant pulled together in the harness of the same debt. If neither liked the harness, they did not know how to get out of it. Nor did they often escape from their loads during the quarter century under discussion." (p. 435)

**Benchmark 15:** The Reconstruction governments were more progressive and democratic than later southern governments. No Information. The book mentions Reconstruction was a time of scandal<sup>8</sup>.

**Benchmark 16:** Post-reconstruction brought a rigidly segregated society, with full Federal support. No Information. The sources do not address the level of Federal support for the segregated society after Reconstruction.

**Benchmark 17:** The racism of organized labor has harmed Black people and disrupted the potential for working-class unity. No Information. The sources do not discuss the relationship between organized labor and Black people.

**Benchmark 18:** Wilson's "progressive" policies were meant "for whites only." No Information. The sources do not discuss Wilson's policies in relation to race.

**Benchmark 19:** Discrimination faced by European immigrants was different from the racism faced by Blacks. No Information. The sources do not offer a comparison of the discrimination faced by European immigrants and Black people.

**Benchmark 20:** Institutional racism, not merely individual prejudice, causes and perpetuates racial inequality. No Information. The sources do not discuss institutional racism.

**Benchmark 21:** The myth of "progress" obscures the existing reality of the majority of Black people. No Information. The sources do not discuss the concept of progress in relation to the reality of Black people.

## INDIANA 1954

Here's an analysis of how the sources address each of the 21 benchmarks, using the categories "Incorrect Information," "No Information," "Omits This Period," "Limited Information," or "Full Information":

**Benchmark 1:** African, as well as European, culture forms an integral part of the U.S. heritage. Limited Information: The text acknowledges contributions from various immigrant groups<sup>1</sup>, but provides limited specific information on the integration of African culture into the U.S. heritage.

**Benchmark 2:** Africans were in the Americas prior to 1619. No Information: The sources do not contain information about Africans being in the Americas prior to 1619.

**Benchmark 3:** The North American slave trade created enormous profits, became the most brutal system of slavery known, and disrupted African civilization. Limited Information: The text refers to slavery and the slave trade, but does not delve into the specifics of its brutality, profits, or disruption of African civilization in detail.



**Benchmark 4:** The significance of the Revolution, to Blacks, goes beyond participation in combat. No Information: The text does not contain information about significance of the Revolution, to Blacks, going beyond participation in combat.

**Benchmark 5:** The Constitution was a pro-slavery document and remained so for 78 years. Limited Information: The text mentions the Constitution<sup>2</sup>... and its amendments<sup>5</sup>, but does not explicitly state that it was a pro-slavery document or discuss the duration of its pro-slavery nature.

**Benchmark 6:** Slavery was inherently cruel and inhuman. Limited Information: The text refers to slavery, but does not explicitly describe its inherent cruelty and inhumanity.

**Benchmark 7:** Rebellion and slavery went hand in hand. No Information: The text does not contain information about rebellion and slavery going hand in hand.

**Benchmark 8:** While there were differences in the institution between North and South, slavery was never a regional issue. Limited Information: The text mentions slavery in the context of the North and South<sup>6</sup>..., but doesn't explicitly discuss whether it was solely a regional issue.

**Benchmark 9:** Blacks initiated anti-slavery activity and were central to the abolition leadership. No Information: The text does not contain information about Blacks initiating anti-slavery activity and being central to the abolition leadership.

**Benchmark 10:** The life of the free African American was often only a slight improvement over the life of a slave. No Information: The text does not contain information about the life of the free African American and how it compared to the life of a slave.

**Benchmark 11:** Blacks who participated in the take-over of the West were also oppressed by white society. No Information: The text does not contain information about Blacks participating in the take-over of the West and about them being oppressed by white society.

**Benchmark 12:** The lack of land redistribution was the fundamental failure of Reconstruction. No Information: The text does not contain information about land redistribution and if it was a failure of the Reconstruction.

**Benchmark 13:** When freed people had land, they displayed incentive and skill, establishing productive lives. No Information: The text does not contain information about freed people having land and displaying incentive and skill, establishing productive lives.

**Benchmark 14:** Sharecropping resulted in the economic re-enslavement of Black people. No Information: The text does not contain information about sharecropping and how it resulted in the economic re-enslavement of Black people.

**Benchmark 15:** The Reconstruction governments were more progressive and democratic than later southern governments. No Information: The text does not contain information about the Reconstruction governments and if they were more progressive and democratic than later southern governments.

**Benchmark 16:** Post-reconstruction brought a rigidly segregated society, with full Federal support. No Information: The text does not contain information about post-reconstruction and about a rigidly segregated society, with full Federal support.

**Benchmark 17:** The racism of organized labor has harmed Black people and disrupted the potential for working-class unity. No Information: The text does not contain information about the racism of organized labor and about harming Black people and disrupting the potential for working-class unity.

**Benchmark 18:** Wilson's "progressive" policies were meant "for whites only." No Information: The text does not contain information about Wilson's "progressive" policies and them being meant "for whites only."

**Benchmark 19:** Discrimination faced by European immigrants was different from the racism faced by Blacks. No Information: The text does not contain information about discrimination faced by European immigrants and if it was different from the racism faced by Blacks.

**Benchmark 20:** Institutional racism, not merely individual prejudice, causes and perpetuates racial inequality. No Information: The text does not contain information about institutional racism and if it causes and perpetuates racial inequality.

**Benchmark 21:** The myth of "progress" obscures the existing reality of the majority of Black people. No Information: The text does not contain information about the myth of "progress" and if it obscures the existing reality of the majority of Black people.

## INDIANA 1978

Here's an analysis of "This Is America's Story" (Fourth Edition, 1978) against the 21 benchmarks provided, incorporating information from the sources:

**Benchmark 1:** African, as well as European, culture forms an integral part of the U.S. heritage. No Information: The provided excerpts do not offer details about African cultural contributions to the U.S. While African Americans are mentioned, their cultural impact isn't explored.

**Benchmark 2:** Africans were in the Americas prior to 1619. No Information: The text does not explicitly mention the presence of Africans in the Americas before 1619.

**Benchmark 3:** The North American slave trade created enormous profits, became the most brutal system of slavery known, and disrupted African civilization. Limited Information: The textbook acknowledges the profitability of slave labor for Southern planters<sup>1</sup>. It refers to the brutal treatment of slaves by overseers<sup>1</sup>. However, it is unclear whether it explicitly states that North American slavery was the *most* brutal or details the disruption of African civilization.

**Benchmark 4:** The significance of the Revolution, to Blacks, goes beyond participation in combat. Limited Information: The text mentions black minutemen and soldiers like Peter Salem<sup>2</sup>. It does not provide further information on the broader significance of the Revolution for Black individuals beyond military service.

**Benchmark 5:** The Constitution was a pro-slavery document and remained so for 78 years. No Information: The excerpts do not discuss the Constitution's initial stance on slavery.

**Benchmark 6:** Slavery was inherently cruel and inhuman. Full Information: The text notes that slavery was "de-basing for both slaves and master"<sup>1</sup>. It mentions cruel treatment and the fear of family separation<sup>3</sup>.

**Benchmark 7:** Rebellion and slavery went hand in hand. Full Information: The textbook details several slave rebellions, including those led by Gabriel Prosser, Denmark Vesey, and Madison Washington<sup>4</sup>.

**Benchmark 8:** While there were differences in the institution between North and South, slavery was never a regional issue. Limited Information: The textbook acknowledges the distinct economic systems of the North and South, with the South's economy dependent on slavery<sup>5</sup>.... It explains how slavery disappeared in the North because it wasn't suited to the Northern economy<sup>5</sup>. However, the text does not explicitly state that slavery was never a regional issue.

**Benchmark 9:** Blacks initiated anti-slavery activity and were central to the abolition leadership. Full Information: The text references Frederick Douglass, an escaped slave, who became a well-known abolitionist leader<sup>7</sup>.

**Benchmark 10:** The life of the free African American was often only a slight improvement over the life of a slave. No Information: This is not directly addressed in the provided excerpts.

**Benchmark 11:** Blacks who participated in the take-over of the West were also oppressed by white society. No Information: There is no discussion of Black participation in the West or their experiences with oppression in that context in the excerpts.

**Benchmark 12:** The lack of land redistribution was the fundamental failure of Reconstruction. No Information: This specific analysis of Reconstruction is absent from the excerpts.

**Benchmark 13:** When freed people had land, they displayed incentive and skill, establishing productive lives. No Information: While the source mentions that many freed blacks did not wish to remain on plantations and toil for wages<sup>8</sup>, it does not provide information on the success of freed people with land ownership.

**Benchmark 14:** Sharecropping resulted in the economic re-enslavement of Black people. No Information: While the source mentions that large numbers of Negroes in the South were sharecroppers who lived in poverty<sup>9</sup>, it does not explicitly state whether sharecropping resulted in economic re-enslavement.

**Benchmark 15:** The Reconstruction governments were more progressive and democratic than later southern governments. No Information: While the source mentions that people in the South found it hard to forgive Congress for the suffering they had endured under reconstruction<sup>10</sup>, it does not compare the progressive nature of the reconstruction governments to later southern governments.

**Benchmark 16:** Post-reconstruction brought a rigidly segregated society, with full Federal support. Limited Information: The text mentions the rise of Jim Crow laws and segregation<sup>11</sup>. It does not explicitly state whether such segregation had full Federal support.

**Benchmark 17:** The racism of organized labor has harmed Black people and disrupted the potential for working-class unity. No Information: This topic is not addressed in the provided excerpts.

**Benchmark 18:** Wilson's "progressive" policies were meant "for whites only." No Information: There is no discussion of Wilson's policies or their impact on Black people in the excerpts.

**Benchmark 19:** Discrimination faced by European immigrants was different from the racism faced by Blacks. No Information: This distinction is not made in the provided excerpts.

**Benchmark 20:** Institutional racism, not merely individual prejudice, causes and perpetuates racial inequality. No Information: This concept is not explicitly discussed in the excerpts.

**Benchmark 21:** The myth of "progress" obscures the existing reality of the majority of Black people. No Information: This perspective is not present in the excerpts.

## **D. Application of Lucy et.al.'s (2018) NPL Analysis**

I apply Lucy et.al.'s (2020) Natural Language Processing (NPL) analysis of recent Texas history textbooks to the 1950s and 1970s history textbooks of Alabama, Indiana, and California. The analysis classifies what the verbs and adjectives used to describe Black individuals convey about their power (strong vs. weak), valence (positive vs. negative), and agency (active vs. passive).

The NPL analysis suggests, between roughly 1955 and 1975, the verbs and adjectives used to describe Black individuals deteriorated more in Alabama textbooks than in Indiana and California textbooks. Specifically, (1) in Alabama, the power associated with Black individuals remained unchanged between 1955 and 1975, but the valence associated with them became more negative and the agency became more passive; (2) in Indiana, there was no temporal change in the valence, power, or agency associated with Black individuals; and (3) in California, there was no change in valence, a worsening in power, and an improvement in agency.

