Welcome to Miami, Bienvenidos a Miami:

Operation Pedro Pan and the Rise of Bilingual Education Reform in Cold War America

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Emily Jean Miller Nostro

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(Happy b-day, Miami)

Author's Note:

This thesis was written in 2010 and feels incredibly relevant fifteen years later. The language we use matters. I would like to add that one most formative experiences in my life has been witnessing Haitians risk their lives to make it safely to America, to freedom. May we build a Miami that welcomes all. Do NOT destroy this city's unique character.

– EMILY NIXTON

Preface

To preface this thesis, my past has greatly contributed to my interest in this topic. In 1957 my grandfather, Gene Miller, was hired as a reporter for *The Miami Herald.* He moved his family from Virginia to Miami and never looked back. He was the first reporter to cover the mass exodus of Cuban children, and dubbed the movement "Operation Pedro Pan." My grandfather witnessed first hand how the three waves of Cuban immigration transformed the city. By the time I was born, Miami was already a Cuban-dominated city. Interestingly enough, the policies supporting Cuban refugees that were implemented during the Cold War had wide-reaching effects

I attended Miami-Dade County public schools from first to twelfth grade. My own experiences with bilingual education started in the second grade when I transferred from my assigned neighborhood elementary school to attend a bilingual magnet program at Sunset Elementary School in Miami, Florida. Sunset Elementary School's magnet program offered students the option of language instruction in one of three languages: German, French, or Spanish. There was a rigorous application process, and qualified students were chosen for a particular language via lottery. There was no language prerequisite for program, and when I was enrolled in the Spanish program I barely knew how to count to ten in Spanish. On top of the regular coursework, students in the program received an extra two and a half hours of instruction in their chosen language. The program strove to incorporate all subjects within the foreign language instruction. I continued bilingual education experience at George Washington Carver Junior High School, where I attended another magnet program for students who had completed the program at Sunset Elementary and were proficient in the Spanish language. Here half of the instruction I received was in the Spanish language, even my math class was conducted entirely in Spanish. By the eighth grade I was deemed fluent in the Spanish language when I took and passed the Advanced Placement Spanish Language exam.

The time I spent in these bilingual schools has greatly impacted my view on how language minority students should be educated. Although the programs I attended were designed for students who both native and non-native speakers, I found that the majority of the students in my programs were Hispanic. As a white non-Hispanic student, I was keenly aware of this fact and I found myself to be a part of the language minority in my Spanish classes. My parents, who had no knowledge of the Spanish language, were not available to assist with my homework. My experience was in no way the same as the

Cuban refugee or Mexican immigrant students, but it has given me a deeper understanding surrounding the struggles associated with and intricacies of learning a foreign language.

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Abstract

This thesis is a historical analysis of bilingual education in the United States. In order to explore the issue as a whole, the investigation begins at the root with the first modern-day bilingual education program in the United States: Coral Way Elementary School in Miami, Florida. The experimental bilingual program began in 1963 and provided a unique educational experience for its students by conducting classes in both English and Spanish. This notable program was inspired the newfound needs of the surrounding South Florida community as the received massive numbers of Cubans seeking political refuge from 1959-1962. The demographics of the local public schools dramatically changed due in part to the thousands of unaccompanied children brought to the United States via the Catholic Church's covert Operation Pedro Pan. From December 1960 to October 1962, the Diocese of South Florida secured student visas or visa waivers for 14,048 Cuban children aged 5 to 18 whose parents wanted to shield them from the new communist regime on the island. The children were granted visas under the agreement that they would be studying in the United States, typically within the public schools in Dade County, Florida. The children were sent to Miami by their parents, where they were either placed with friends or family, or foster homes affiliated with the Catholic Church and enrolled in the public schools. However, the political climate of Cuba and additional Cold War tensions made it impossible for Cuban refugee children to return home. The Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 left these refugees stranded in the United States when air travel between the two countries was banned. As a result, the Dade County public schools faced an interesting dilemma as they struggled to accommodate the thousands of new non-native English speaking students in the classrooms. Many Americans thought it was important for these students to retain their native language since they were only temporary visitors to the United States. Furthermore, Americans also wanted a means for which these children could adjust and communicate in their new surroundings especially since no one was sure of how long these children live in the United States without their immediate family. Although bilingual education had long been practiced in private schools and elsewhere in other countries, these programs had been traditionally disregarded from being a plausible option for immigrant students in the public schools. This thesis claims Miami bilingual educations programs and the subsequent federal education reforms were largely due in part to the unique identity of the Cuban refugee group amidst this Cold War atmosphere. The unique status of the Cuban refugees is highlighted through a comparison with the Mexican-American

immigrants in the southwestern United States. During the 1950s and 1960s, other ethnic groups emigrating in the United States did not receive a positive reception upon their arrival. Mexicans migrated to take the low-paying unskilled jobs and it is clear that these immigrants lacked the economic and political status of the Cuban refugees. Whereas Mexicans' reasons for migration were personal and economic in nature, Cubans who migrated were interacting within the much global ideological conflict, the Cold War. The economic motives for Mexican migration made the group much less sympathetic to the American public.

Throughout this thesis I rely on a number of primary and secondary sources to assert my claims. For my primary sources, I rely heavily on artifacts of the time such as personal accounts and United States government documents. For my secondary sources, I rely on a number of historical accounts of the events, and sociological studies of the groups addressed.

In loving memory of Gene Miller

Introduction

In 1959, the 26th of July Movement overthrew the government of Fulgencio Batista ending the Cuban Revolution. Fidel Castro, a young member of this revolutionary group, emerged as the nation's leader and enforced a new communist regime. Thus began the first wave of Cuban immigration to the United States, which lasted until the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962. Cubans began to flee the island in mass numbers. Some fled the communist regime because they feared persecution, while others disliked the economic sanctions that the new leader had imposed.

It is my claim that the manner in which Cuban refugees presented themselves to their Miami hosts (and how they were perceived by the nation as a whole) led to their assimilation within the South Florida community and helped the group gain great success in reforming bilingual education on both the local and national scale .The formation of immigrant identity of both Cuban refugees and established Cuban-Americans was very different in comparison to the identities adopted by other Spanish-speaking immigrants in the United States. Cuban-Americans were from middle-class backgrounds and held staunch anti-communist beliefs. They were firm in the conviction that the refugees would soon return to Cuba; and helped them fit in with their new American neighbors. An overwhelming majority of the Cuban refugees were of an upper or middle-class background and could thus afford to participate in the traditional American consumer lifestyle. Contributing to their positive reception was their legal immigration status; when Cubans began to flee the island after Castro took power they were granted status as political refugees under the Refugee Escape Act of 1957. This act was originally designed to help Hungarians fleeing from Soviet rule seek political asylum in the United States and was enacted shortly before the first wave of Cuban sought to emigrate there, 1959-1962. This aided Cubans as it kept them safe from communism in the United States while they publicly declared themselves anticommunists. Cuban refugees and their American neighbors could relate to each other through a shared anti communist political ideology. The Cubans' classification as refugees and the relatively unstable political atmosphere of Cuba led everyone (politicians, Cuban refugees, and the American public) to believe that Fidel Castro would not be in power for long. Cuban refugees were seen as temporary visitors who would soon return home, especially during this first wave of immigration.

Not only adults sought political refuge in the United States; children did as well. In chapter one, I specifically examine the child refugee movement, Operation Pedro Pan.

Over 14,000 unaccompanied Cuban children, aged 5 to 16, fled to the United States in 1960 through 1962, making this the largest child refugee movement in the Western world to date. The arrival of young Cuban refugees greatly contributed to the rise of bilingual education in South Florida, particularly in Miami. Cuban children poured into the Dade County public school system, creating an extreme hardship thru the newfound need to educate thousands of nonnative English speakers. As a result, Dade County introduced the first dual language, bilingual elementary school in 1963 and twenty-one local schools followed suit by adopting a bilingual program within next decade.

The second chapter explores the struggles the South Florida community had with providing education for Cuban refugee children, including the thousands of "Pedro Panes." The gracious American hosts provided these children with a free public education; however, the community debated over which language would be more useful to them. The Cuban youth were expected to return to their Spanish-speaking homeland, yet they also needed the skills to communicate in their new environment. Bilingual education was offered as a solution. These educational reforms were meant to help Cuban refugee children adjust to their temporary stay in Miami, not to create a bicultural community within South Florida. The reforms helped cater to the needs of two ethnic groups, the native Anglo-Americans of Miami and the Cuban refugee community, without compromising on quality. The community was so receptive to the formation of a bilingual program because the American public felt morally bound to help the Cuban refugees. The Cuban refugee community, themselves, had little sway in governmental affairs given that they were not citizens and thus, did not vote nor pay taxes. This chapter will attempt to prove that Cuban refugees' perceived status (seen through class, through political beliefs, and as a temporary resident) in the community greatly affected by Cold War politics that was the catalyst for reforming bilingual education in schools nationwide as an attempt to accommodate both native and nonnative English speakers.

To demonstrate the innovative nature of bilingual education programs I will examine the first bilingual education program implemented in Miami and in the nation: Coral Way Elementary School. When the program was constructed in 1963, it was the first of its kind in existence in the United States. The results of the program have greatly affected the direction of federal legislation concerning education.

The third chapter will focus on the federal bilingual education reforms that occurred shortly after Coral Way Elementary School's successful endeavor in bilingual education. The program at Coral Way received attention and funding because it catered to the Cuban refugee community. The unique status of the Cubans is quite evident when they are contrasted with another Spanish-speaking ethnic group in the United States:

Mexican *"Bracero"* immigrants of the southwest. The southwest Mexican immigrant population was perceived differently from the Cuban refugees due to the different circumstances of the two groups' arrival. The quality of the Mexicans' education significantly suffered as the local community did not welcome their arrival. Their identity within the public sphere and the motivations behind their migration, as well as American nativist sentiments, contributed to their inability to assimilate into American society. Through the *Bracero* program of 1942-1964, Mexicans were able to easily migrate to the United States with the promise of employment in labor-intensive industries such as mining and agriculture, often in rural areas. These jobs were often characterized as dirty low-wage work[1] and provided little to no upward mobility within society. As a result, these industries kept the immigrants isolated from the local Anglo community. Although bilingual education was a plausible option for this immigrant group, the lack of Anglo-American support and the Mexicans' lack of social capital in their community meant that it did not even exit within these schools.

However, in 1968 the United States government passed the Bilingual Education Act as a part of title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The nationwide bilingual education reforms were designed with the success of the bilingual education program at Coral Way Elementary School in mind, but it aimed to use these programs to help improve the quality of education for poor immigrant students, like the Mexicans in the southwestern United States. Unfortunately, the actual implementation of bilingual education programs were set back due to legislators' use of ambiguous language and the resulting undefined goal for the new programs. The subsequent problems resulting from the act and the controversial nature of bilingual education is examined in the third chapter.

The main purpose of this thesis is to highlight the Cuban refugees' identity in the United States and their role in contributing to the federal legislation concerning bilingual education. It is my claim that the Cuban refugees possessed a unique status and presence that enabled them to access and utilize societal institutions, and exert a powerful influence over their newfound neighbors. The Cold War atmosphere enabled the Cuban refugees to implement bilingual education programs, an option that was previously restricted to immigrants. The success of the program at Coral Way Elementary school opened the door for national reforms as politicians and social activists believed that the successful assimilation of Cuban refugees was due to the usage of bilingual education programs in their public schools.

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[1] Grebler, Leo, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman. *The Mexican-American People.* 51.

Chapter One
Operation Pedro Pan: The Massive Child Exodus from Cuba, 1960-1962

Chapter one will be devoted to investigating the formation of Operation Pedro Pan, to date the largest child refugee movement in the Western hemisphere, and how the movement operated. Given the communist revolution in Cuba in 1959 and passage of the Refugee Escapee Act of 1957 that ensured Cubans political asylum, the Catholic Church of South Florida was able to facilitate the necessary paperwork (student visas and later visa waivers) for thousands of Cuban children to seek refuge in Miami. Once they arrived in Miami, the children were granted a pardon on behalf of their immigration status, which enabled them to reside in the United States for as long as there remained a communist regime in Cuba. In order to better understand the movement, I will provide the historical background of Cuba and how this presented an opportunity for Fidel Castro to take control over the island. Reforms enacted by Castro significantly changed the nature of Cuban-American relations and radically altered the political atmosphere of the island. Changes such as the new political atmosphere, the emerging social reforms, and the censorship of citizens played a heavy role in encouraging Cuban migration to the United States. Roughly 200,000 Cubans sought political refuge in the United States from January 1, 1959 to October of 1962. 14,048 of these refugees were unaccompanied minors involved in Operation Pedro Pan whose parents sent them to the United States in order to avoid communist indoctrination and in some cases, political persecution.

Historical Background on the Political Climate of Cuba

The Cuban Revolution

On January 1, 1959 Fidel Castro Ruz, the leader of the revolutionary group the 26th of July Movement, seized power on the island. General Fulgencio Batista, the dictator of Cuba, had fled the country the night before. General Batista took control of the island on March 10, 1952 amidst the presidential elections through a coup d'état. Batista was no stranger to the Cuban political scene as he had previously served as president of the country from 1940 thru 1944. At the time of his takeover, he was running for re-

election. However, it quickly became apparent that he lacked the public support that he had once enjoyed and would not win the presidency.[2]

As discontent with Batista's government grew, revolutionary groups began to form. Barely one year after Batista's rise to power the government was threatened by these groups. On July 26, 1953 a revolutionary group led by Fidel Castro, a young lawyer, attempted to overthrow the government by attacking the Cuban army's Moncada Barracks in Santiago. Their efforts in this attack were unsuccessful. But as a young doctor who was a member of the group, Faustino Perez said, " the combatants of Moncada did not achieve their military objectives, but they did achieve their revolutionary objectives."[3] After the attack, the group adopted the name "the 26th of July Movement" in honor of the attacks and retreated to the Sierra Maestra mountains. Here they would stay for the next five years gathering strength for their cause by plotting attacks on the government and recruiting new members.

The movement began to gain popularity among the middle and upper-middle class during this time. These classes were opposed to Batista due to his stifling new policies and his failure to hold general elections. The revolutionary underground gathered strength and notoriety with the public. Castro was so well known and feared by the Batista government that they falsely declared that he was dead after a battle between the movement and government forces.

After heavy fighting, General Batista fled the country on December 31, 1958. Fidel Castro then seized power the following day. Most Cubans on the island that had been riddled with corrupt politicians and unstable governments welcomed Castro's regime. He quickly appointed himself as prime minister and promised to hold democratic elections. In the interim he appointed several people to assume the presidency. Over the span of one year, four different people took the office, two of whom only held office for a day. Manuel Urrutia Lleo was appointed in early January 1959; however he resigned from office less than six months later after Castro announced that he could no longer work with him. Osvaldo Dorticos Torrados was then appointed as president, a title he would hold this office until 1976. Despite the fact that Castro was not president, he held various titles in the government and it was Castro who was seen as the leader of the island.[4]

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[2] Coltman, Leycester. *The Real Fidel Castro.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003. 57-63.
[3] Matthews, Herbert L. *Fidel Castro.* New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969. 63.
[4] Matthews, Herbert L. *Fidel Castro.* 145-173.

The Disillusionment of the Cuban Middle Class

Over the span of a year, the public's feelings towards Castro changed. The middle and upper classes had become disillusioned with the social and agrarian reforms taking place. These reforms signaled to many Cubans that the new government had communist tendencies.

Furthermore, the new government threatened Cuban religious institutions contributing to feelings of disillusionment among many former supporters. Those who attended places of worship were often times harassed. Rafael Ravelo recounts the harassment of Catholics: " I remember being in mass and a group standing up and starting to yell revolutionary slogans in the middle of the ceremony."[5] Many actions by Castro were taken to diminish the Church's influence over the island. "The tirade against religion was gaining speed. This would prove to be one of Castro's most disputed moves in a country that was predominantly Catholic."[6] In order to ensure general support for the new regime, Castro tried to silence the Catholic Church on the island. On January 8, 1961 the government closed the printing press for *La Quincena*, a Catholic magazine circulating in Cuba and "by mid-August of 1961 [...] 939 priests and nuns had been expelled from Cuba to Spain."[7] By silencing the Church, the government achieved social control over the island; however, these actions were not well received by many Cubans.

It soon became clear that Castro was not going to hold the general election nor would he fulfill many other promises. On May 1, 1961 Castro officially declared Cuba to be a socialist state although many people saw it coming through the passage of the social and economic reforms. The middle and upper-middle class people who had fought in the revolutionary underground by providing aid and refuge to revolutionary soldiers were the most displeased with Castro's policies. Once reforms were enacted the former supporters began to create and support counterrevolutionary insurgents in an attempt to oust Fidel from power. Others who were disillusioned decided to seek temporary refuge in the United States till Cuba's government stabilized.

Children and the Decision To Leave the Island

Adults were not the only ones to consider leaving; parents debated whether to send their children away out of fear that young people would be subject to communist

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[5] De Los Angeles Torres, Maria. *The Lost Apple: Operation Pedro Pan, Cuban Children in the U.S., and the Promise of a Better Future*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2003. 118-9.
[6] Conde, Yvonne M. Operation Pedro Pan: The Untold Exodus of 14,048 Cuban Children. New York: Routledge, 1999. 29.
[7] Conde, Yvonne M. *Operation Pedro Pan*. 38.

indoctrination on behalf of the newly imposed Castro regime. Though the majority of immigrants during this time were adults, roughly 7 percent of Cuban refugees were unaccompanied minors. The United States was the most popular destination for the refugees, but some sought refuge in other Spanish-speaking countries or neighboring Caribbean islands. Operation Pedro Pan specifically targeted these children. The social reforms that were enacted by Castro suggested to many parents that their children would no longer be safe on the island. These reforms were representative of the increasing presence of communism on the island. A mix of rumors and actual social and educational reform directed at children circulated throughout the island prompted fear amongst many parents. False stories were of "Castro's plans for government nurseries-dormitories for children age three to ten-where children would be kept separated from their families."[8] Furthermore, many Cuban parents believed that their children were to be sent to the Soviet Union: "Stories told of one thousand Cuban youths sent to Russia to study collective farming methods and about 'youth communes' set up in Cuba where young people from the age of ten would be housed, fed, and educated away from their parents and taught to be farmers."[9] Another rumor that apparently circulated was that children would not be able to leave the island after January 1, 1961.[10] These rumors spurred immediate action by fearful parents.

The children were not solely sent to the United States due to these rumors. Very real reforms were taking place within the Cuban schools. The National Literacy Campaign of 1960 required all teenagers to move to the countryside in order to teach residents how to read. Parents correctly feared that their children would be subjected to communist indoctrination during their compulsory time in the countryside. This also disturbed many Cubans on moral and cultural grounds as it meant parents would no longer have legal custody of their children. Their lack of "Patria Potesdad" incited panic among parents who feared children would lose the traditional morals they had so carefully cultivated. Teenage girls would be sent to the countryside without supervision. It was custom for a girl to be chaperoned in the presence of men until her marriage. With the lapse of adult guidance, parents feared that their children would engage in immoral behavior. These fears were not unfounded. Historian Maria de los Angeles Torres has cited personal accounts of clandestine abortion clinics in Havana catering to the young girls who had returned from the countryside pregnant. Unwed teenage mothers were

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[8] Gay, Kathlyn. *Leaving Cuba: Operation Pedro Pan to Elian.* Brookfield, CT: Twenty-First Century Books, 2000.16.
[9] Gay, Kathlyn. *Leaving Cuba*. 16.
[10] Walsh, Monsignor Bryan O. "Cuban Refugee Children." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs.* 13.3/4 (1971): 378-415. 397.

frowned upon in Cuban society and sex outside of marriage was not acceptable for women in this traditionally Catholic country.[11]

Perhaps one of the most influential events in contributing to migration was the closure of all private schools in Cuba. The majority of middle-class and upper-class families sent their children to private schools, which were primarily run by the Catholic Church. On May 1, 1961 all private schools were closed as the Cuban government took full control over education on the island. Without the freedom to choose a private school, many parents believed that their children would be subject to communist indoctrination within the public schools. Public schools taught children how to identify members of the counterrevolutionary party and mandated that students report such people, regardless of family ties. Furthermore, there was no longer the freedom to attend schools that instilled religious beliefs that the family deemed important. Students recall being taught to ask God for a favor or treat and then to ask Fidel for the same favor. Students were rewarded when they asked Fidel first.[12] The exercise was to show students that God was not real and only Fidel would help them. Many parents disagreed with these activities as it placed strain on the family's religious beliefs. Other parents who were active in the counterrevolutionary movement worried that their children would alert their teachers and government officials about their illegal participation in the underground.

Parents who were involved with counterrevolutionary groups also feared for the safety of their children. Some children (especially teenage boys) began to get involved in counterrevolutionary groups. Many of these groups that were labeled as counterrevolutionary were Catholic student groups, such as Juventud Catolica (Catholic Youth) and Juventud Obrera Catolica (Catholic Workers Youth). As the Catholic Church became subject to persecution under Castro, it also became a hotbed for counterrevolutionary activities. Seemingly harmless Catholic student groups were responsible for organizing illegal counterrevolutionary activities. Many parents feared that their child's counterrevolutionary activities would jeopardize the safety of the family. Historians have since documented cases where Cuban boys committed counterrevolutionary acts and were promptly shipped off to the United States to avoid persecution. The involvement of Cuban youth in counterrevolutionary groups would serve as one of the main impetus for creating Operation Pedro Pan and ensuring its success. [13] The increasing presence of communism on the island coupled with the disillusionment of many middle- and upper-class families with the Castro government led

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[11] De Los Angeles Torres, Maria. *The Lost Apple.* 115-121.
[12] De Los Angeles Torres, Maria. *The Lost Apple.* 108-9.
[13] De Los Angeles Torres, Maria. *The Lost Apple.*. 120-1.

to parents to strongly consider whether their own child should continue to be raised in Cuba.

Many believed that Fidel Castro would not be in power for long like former leaders, still the communist government was not capable of providing a safe environment for children. Thus, children were sent to the United States alone. Due to financial and familial obligations, many parents could not afford to leave the island with their children:

> Many parents stayed behind because they still owned some property or businesses and they feared that upon their emigration their holdings would be lost. Most believed that the regime's days were numbered and it was unnecessary for them to emigrate, Yet, they wanted to protect their children by sending them to Miami at least temporarily. In addition, some parents had close relatives in political prisons or infirm parents that they could not leave behind.[14]

The parents who sent their children alone to the United States in an effort to shield them from what they believed to be an oppressive communist regime would be participants in Operation Pedro Pan.

Cuban-American Relations

Along with the growing discontent amongst Cuban citizens, American politicians were also becoming upset with Castro's policies. Cuban-American relations were greatly affected by reforms enacted under the new leadership of the island. Like many of the Cuban revolutionary supporters, the United States was initially optimistic about the new leadership and supported Castro's new government. The geographic proximity of Cuba made the island a potential strategic resource for the United States. American politicians believed that Castro's reign would be beneficial to the country; "the Eisenhower administration initially was optimistic about post-Batista Cuba's prospects. It recognized that the island needed major economic and social reforms, and Castro appeared serious about carrying them out."[15] However, the United States soon began to question Castro's motives and over the subsequent years the previously friendly relationship between the two countries began to deteriorate.

Once Fidel Castro was in power, United States ties were weakened by a series of reforms on the island that stripped the U.S. of its influence. The agrarian reform policies of 1959-1960 were the first of many policies to aggravate Cuban-American relations. At the time of the agrarian reforms the United States' controlled much of the commercial

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[14] Triay, Victor Andres. *The Flight From Never-Never Land: A History of Operation Pedro Pan and the Cuban Children's Program.* Diss. The Florida State University, 1995. Tallahassee, 1995. 28.
[15] Bon Tempo, Carl. *Americans At the Gate: The United States and Refugees during the Cold War.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008. 108.

land in Cuba that was being cultivated: "82 percent of Cuba's land surface was suitable for agriculture, but [...] only 22 percent was actually in use, and 75 percent of that was controlled by US producers."[16] The agrarian reforms limited the amount of land an individual could own and prohibited foreign companies from owning land, which severed economic ties between the two countries. Castro and the United States entered into their first public disagreement in which the State Department issued a note of concern about the reforms.[17] Eisenhower issued statements in 1960 calling Castro's view of America as "unwarranted" in an effort to restore relations with Cuba.[18]

The two countries began to engage in actions intended to undermine the other's policies. A breakdown in communication between the two countries led to Castro publicly denouncing the United States. Relations were further strained as the United States began to notice the communist tendencies of the Cuban revolutionary government. On January 3, 1961, the United States closed its embassy on the island after Cuba had ordered it to reduce its staff.[19] The closure of the embassy was an extremely significant event in Cuban-American relations as the two countries publicly displayed that they were no longer willing to cooperate with one another.

Starting in January 1959, Cubans began to seek refuge in the United States. Cuban immigration from 1959 to October 1962 would become the first wave of three major waves of Cuba immigration in the 20th century.[20] Americans' reaction to this first wave of Cuban émigrés shows how Cuba initially was perceived. The first Cubans to seek refuge in America were accepted under the 1957 Refugee-Escapee Act. The act " defined a refugee as any alien who, because of political persecution or fear of persecution on account of race, religion, or political opinion, has fled or shall flee from a communist country or area and cannot return." [21] This status of refugee had no limitations for age; which allowed Cuban parents and youth to apply.

Say a bit more about the political refugees and the Cold War.

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[16] Skierka, Volker. *Fidel Castro: A Biography.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000. 81.
[17] Skierka, Volker. *Fidel Castro.* 83.
[18] Langley, Lester. *The Cuban Policy of the United States: A Brief History*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1968. 33.
[19] Bon Tempo, Carl. *Americans At the Gate.* 108-9.
[20] The second wave of immigration, popularly known as the "Freedom Flight Era" lasted from 1965-1968. The third wave of immigration, the Mariel Boat Lift, occurred in 1980.
[21] Bon Tempo, Carl. *Americans At the Gate.* 112.

Cold War Ideology

Americans' Commitment to Anti-Communism and Their Reception of Cuban Refugees

In the ideological battle between the Soviet Union and the United States, most Americans embraced democracy and rejected communism. Communism threatened American way of life, and anti-communists rallied around defense of private property, Capitalism, the nuclear family and religion. Politicians bombarded Americans with anti-communist rhetoric. This political ideology was so prevalent and powerful that it trickled down to nearly every facet of American life. Citizens were easily manipulated by anti-communist rhetoric because it played upon their fears that their lifestyles were threatened by Marxist ideology. One can cite many examples where the American public was manipulated by this rhetoric out of promises that it would further the country. America's fear of communism led to many social reforms across the nation.

Before delving into the logistics of how the child refugee movement was created and operated, it is important to understand why the Cubans sought refuge in the United States. The long history of a close relationship between Cuba and the United States fostered the creation of a unique response to refugees. These refugees received an enormous amount of support from the U.S. government for a variety of reasons. The Cuban refugees of 1959 to1961 had very different experience from members of other refugee movements, past and present.

Cubans who were able to secure a visa or visa waiver were allowed into America. Under the Refugee Escapee Act, Cubans who outstayed their visa were granted "parole" status. This ensured that they would be allowed to safely stay in the United States. Cubans were granted parole until the conditions of the island improved; Cubans could legally stay for as long as Fidel Castro held power.

Although the United States had long served as the refuge for immigrants fleeing from political persecution, this wave of Cuban immigration (January 1959- October 1962) marked the first time in modern history where the United States bore the brunt of receiving the majority of an immigrant group seeking political refuge.[22] This would become the first of three major waves of Cuban immigration; later waves would occur from 1965-1972, known as the Freedom Flights and the Mariel Boatlift of 1980. Cubans chose to settle in the United States because of its democratic government. The relative ease of attaining a visa to the United States as well as the geographical distance further

[22] Even with the creation of the Refugee-Escapee Act, Hungarians fleeing Soviet rule were more likely to seek refuge elsewhere in Europe.

encouraged Cubans. At their closest points of Key West, the two countries are merely 90 miles apart (Miami and Havana are 228 miles apart).

Given the political atmosphere of the Cold War, it was no surprise that Cuban refugees were able to enter the United States with relative ease. Cuban immigrants were considered political refugees, and their departure from the island was seen as a rejection of communism and classified as such by the United States government. Today many scholars disagree about the validity of Cuban immigrants status as political refugees; those who this status maintain that many emigrated for economic rather than political reasons:

> Each Cuban did flee a communist country, and large numbers left Cuba because they disagreed with the Revolution's political course or because they did not want to live under a communist government. But the vast majority of Cubans were not fleeing a particular act of persecution or fear of a particular act of persecution. [...] Moreover, equally large numbers of Cubans fled because of Castro's economic policies and because they believed better economic opportunities lay in the United States."[23]

At the time, Cuban refugees were mainly seen as victims of communism. This greatly influenced how Cuban immigrants were treated in Miami, and they received a warm public welcome. Many Americans felt it was their duty as the citizens of a democratic nation to provide a comfortable safe haven for the Cubans fleeing an oppressive communist government. Their characterization as victims led to an unprecedented outpouring of both public and private aid and other resources to accommodate them in a new country.

By aiding refugees, the United States could boast its superiority over communist countries. The fact that the refugees were fleeing from communism and embracing democracy was the ultimate ammunition for the Americans in the Cold War. The United States had to welcome these refugees accordingly. If refugees were not treated well, it would reflect poorly on the United States. The testimonials of these refugees were solid evidence for Americans to assert itself as the lead power of the free world.

The context in which Cubans were received was also heavily influenced by the widespread view that Fidel Castro would not hold power for long. Given the political instability of the island, both Cubans and Americans believed that the immigration would be temporary. As a result, Cuban immigrants were considered to be in exile. That exile would only last as long as Castro held power. The United States believed these Cuban refugees would help weaken Castro's government and prevent communist governments

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[23] Bon Tempo, Carl. *Americans At the Gate.* 112.

from infiltrating the western hemisphere. In order to preserve a united western hemisphere's democratic front, the United States believed it must combat the threat of communism to prevent it from invading the rest of Latin America. Ergo, the United States actively tried to quash the revolutionary government in Cuba and needed Cuban immigrants in order to do so. The United States saw the Cuban refugees as a valuable asset in ousting Castro, the supposed root of the communist practices on the island. This is best exemplified through the United States recruitment of Cuban exiles to participate in the Bay of Pigs Invasion.[24]

Furthermore, high-ranking government officials were confident that Castro would be overthrown by Cuban exiles during the Bay of Pigs Invasion. The special accommodations Cuban immigrants received were influenced by the widespread belief that they would not settle as permanent residents. Furthermore, by ensuring that refugees enjoyed their stay in South Florida the United States hoped that their efforts would be rewarded. Prior to Castro's reign, Cuba and the United States enjoyed a close economic relationship and the United States government did not wish to jeopardize alienating a future Cuban government in the event that Fidel would be overthrown.

Meanwhile in the United States, there was political pressure on President Eisenhower to aid Cuban refugees. American business and civic leaders meeting with State Department representatives expressed their feelings that the government should not only act on humanitarian grounds when it came to the refugees but remember the political consequences of giving them a poor welcome. Business leaders feared that if the refugees had a difficult time in the United States, they would return to Cuba with great bitterness in their hearts towards this country.[25] Hence, many Americans assisted the refugees in hopes of regaining a friendly relationship with the island after Castro left power.

Due to their perceived status as victims of communism who were temporarily residing in the United States, Cuban refugees were given a unique and untraditional reception. Therefore, when compared with other large refugee groups fleeing communist countries during the Cold War, it is obvious that Cubans received far more governmental aid than these other groups such as the Hungarians.[26]

Nearly all of the Cuban refugees arrived to the United States by travelling to Miami due to its close proximity. Miami had been popular destination for Cuban tourists, which meant that commercial flights from Havana occurred often. The vast majority of

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[24] Langley, Lester. *The Cuban Policy of the United States: A Brief History.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1968. 177.
[25] De Los Angeles Torres, Maria. *The Lost Apple.* 59.
[26] Bon Tempo, Carl. *Americans At the Gate.* 106.

refugees in this wave came to Miami via airplane. Subsequent waves of immigration increasingly travelled by boat due to the later restrictions on air travel. Their familiarity with the city made many desire to stay there. Furthermore, since the many refugees did not expect to spend a long time in the United States, they chose to settle in Miami due to its proximity. Refugees typically settled in areas where other Cubans lived. As a result, many chose to settle in the South Central area of Miami giving the neighborhood the nickname "Little Havana." As more refugees came, the Cuban exile community grew stronger which only encouraged refugees to stay in Miami.

Furthermore, a sociological study conducted on the early wave of Cuban immigration assert that "the demographic data [...] indicate the great preponderance of the refugees are drawn from the wealthier, the better educated, the more urban, and the higher occupational sectors."[27] Thus, Cuban refugees were also a very unique immigrant group because of their financial backgrounds that enabled them to quickly adapt to South Florida. Unlike most ethnic groups that emigrated to America many Cuban refugees had enjoyed a comfortable middle or upper middle class lifestyle in their home country. Those who fled immediately following the Cuban Revolution were able to bring cash with them, but those who fled later were carefully inspected by government officials and were not permitted to bring valuables of any sort.[28]

Cuban refugees faced less discrimination than other groups of immigrant groups due to their ability to quickly solidify their status as members of the American middle class. Many Cuban refugees of the early 1960s were financially stable; a shared middle class background that allowed Americans and Cubans identify with one another. Their financial resources allowed Cubans to form a unique and powerful immigrant community. Native Miamians did not see Cubans as a threat to their community as they did the Haitian community.

Members of other immigrant groups such as Mexican and Mexican-Americans in the southwestern United States often faced extreme prejudices because their context of reception was more negative given their much longer and more contested history of migration. [29] Immigrants in different parts of the United States did not have the same desirable political and economic backgrounds that the Cubans possessed. Shared political behavior and thought helped ease tensions similarly. Cubans and Americans bonded over

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[27] Brody, Richard; Richard Fagen and Thomas O'Leary. *Cubans in exile: disaffection and the revolution.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968. 23.

[28] Triay, Victor Andres. *Fleeing Castro: Operation Pedro Pan and the Cuban Children's Program.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. 73.

[29] This will be discussed at length in chapter three.

shared anti- communist beliefs. Cubans, therefore, did not encounter such nationalist prejudices as others and rather a sense of camaraderie was felt between the two ethnic groups.

Because of the Cuban refugees' perceived identity, their context of reception was very positive. Through the American's positive feelings towards these immigrants, they were the beneficiaries of special assistance. Charitable agencies were driven to help refugees by their desire to help victims of communism.

The Battle Between the Catholic Church and Communism

Throughout the Cold War, Catholic Church and Communist leaders were in conflict with one another. To begin with, the Catholic clergy believed (and still believes) that the main principles of communism are in direct conflict with their doctrine. The Catholic Church took a strong anti- communist stance. In 1937, Pope Pius XI issued a decree on Communism. In it he states that " Communism is intrinsically evil and no one who would save Christian civilization may cooperate with it in any manner whatsoever."[30]

The aim of communism was to create an egalitarian society and Marx believed that religion was unnecessary in achieving this goal. Marxist doctrine asserts that religion is a useful tool for people to cope with the inequalities and subsequent suffering in the world; however, under communism people would not have these concerns rendering religion useless.

During the Cuban Revolution its leaders never publicly announced their communist leanings. As a result, Catholic Church leaders, like many on the island, initially supported the Castro.[31] However, it soon became clear that Castro's policies were Marxist and tension grew between the state and the church. Devout Cubans were often subject to harassment by the government. The Catholic Church's rejection of the communist doctrine made them subject to state persecution, as the communist leaders feared the Church was a hotbed for counterrevolutionary activity. Although Castro's government never banned religious activity on the island, harassment ultimately drove religious leaders and laypeople underground. "The general discrimination and marginalization directed at the Church and its active members put an end to virtually any public religious practice, as even a profession of belief in the Church was enough to

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[30] De Los Angeles Torres, Maria. *The Lost Apple.* 34.
[31] Kirk, John M. *Between God and the Party: Religion and Politics in Revolutionary Cuba.* Tampa: University of South Florida Press, 1989. 66.

arouse the suspicion of the authorities."[32] Pope John XXIII excommunicated Fidel Castro on January 3, 1962 because of his communist actions on the island. The Church's decree on anti-communism was used to justify the excommunication.

Since the Catholic Church had long been embroiled in conflict with communist governments, it became a lead crusader in the battle against communism throughout the Cold War.

> One of the strongest allies of the U.S. government's fight against communism became the Catholic Church. [...] The Catholic Church had never quite been accepted as truly "American." It was viewed as a church of immigrants and an institution controlled by a foreign power, Rome. [...] Through its anti- communist stance the Catholic Church could show how American it truly was. [...] And through many of its charitable organizations, the church began to dedicate its energies to saving refugees of communist countries.[33]

The Church felt particularly victimized by communism and became a vocal proponent of anti- communist ideology. They aided refugees fleeing communist governments. Their Catholic charitable organizations along with exiled Cuban clergy members and the Diocese of South Florida became the primary organizers of the largest child refugee movement in United States history: Operation Pedro Pan.

Operation Pedro Pan

The Origins of the Organization of the Cuban Child Refugee Movement; 1959-1960

In 1960, South Florida Catholic Churches organized "Operation Pedro Pan" at the request of Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh who headed the undertaking. They aimed to bring children from Cuba to the United States to safeguard them from the evils of communism. The program was to provide these unaccompanied children with temporary refuge while Castro was in power. Although the Catholic Church organized the actual operation, the private organization relied heavily upon services provided by local public institutions (especially the public schools), as well as federal funding to provide for the refugee children once they arrived in the United States. While some historians have claimed that the United States Central Intelligence Agency also helped with the operation, relevant C.I.A. documents on Cuban immigration during the Cold War remain classified. [34]

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[32] Skierka, Volker. *Fidel Castro.* 344.
[33] De Los Angeles Torres, Maria. *The Lost Apple.* 36.
[34]Walsh, Monsignor Bryan O. "Cuban Refugee Children."386.

Even before Pedro Pan, Cuban immigration to South Florida in 1959 and 1960 had begun to make an impact on the community. Monsignor Walsh, who had recently been assigned to the Catholic Welfare Bureau in the South Florida diocese, encountered a teenage boy who had recently emigrated to the United States from Cuba. Walsh recounted that the boy, Pedro, was homeless because the relatives that he had been sent to live with could not afford to take him in.[35] Walsh immediately recognized that unaccompanied children such as Pedro might soon not be a unique phenomenon if South Florida continued to be the main destination of Cuban refugees. Middle class Cuban families believed that children were at a higher risk of either endangering themselves by participating in counterrevolutionary activities or identifying with the communist government. In both cases, parents believed that their families had been placed in danger. Parents, thus, sent their children to live in America in the hope that it would ensure their children with the capability to lead successful lives, as the children would no longer feel threatened under a communist regime.

Walsh contacted many agencies that were involved in providing social services to young people. President Eisenhower was already aware of the mass influx of Cubans in Miami. In response, he allocated $1,000,000.00 for emergency aid and sent Tracy Vorhees, the previous coordinator of the Hungarian Refugee Program in 1956-1957, to survey the situation in Miami. Walsh then asked the U.S. government to allocate some emergency aid for the Catholic Welfare Bureau, the Children's Service Bureau and the Jewish Family and Children's Service in order to fund operations to provide care for unaccompanied Cuban child refugees. These services agreed to take care of children who shared their religious heritage; the Catholic Welfare Bureau would take substantially more children since most Cubans identified as Catholics. The children who identified with the Protestant faith were sent to the Children's Service Bureau and those of Jewish faith were sent to the Jewish Family and Children's Service.[36] No proof of religion was required by the agencies for participation. The children were often correctly assigned to the facilities because it was often religious leaders from whom parents had first learned of this opportunity. Walsh laid the groundwork for the creation of the Cuban Children's Program, which would care for the children the Church brought over through Operation Pedro Pan.

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[35] Walsh, Monsignor Bryan O. "Cuban Refugee Children." 387.
[36] Walsh, Monsignor Bryan O. "Cuban Refugee Children." 386- 388.

How Operation Pedro Pan Functioned

Operation Pedro Pan was also due to Jim Baker. In December 1960, Walsh met Jim Baker, an American living in Cuba who was deeply invested in issue of the welfare of Cuban children due to his background as educator in Cuba. He had become aware that many parents did not want their children to be subject to the communist reforms of the Castro regime. Like middle-class Cubans, Baker "was completely discontented by the new leader's dictorial manner and his appointment of communists to key positions in government."[37] As the principal of the Ruston Academy in Havana and an American citizen, and disillusioned with the regime, many parents began to seek his advice on how to send children to the United States.[38] The two devised a plan with the financial assistance of the United States government that would enable Cuban children to temporarily migrate to the United States. Walsh later published excerpts from his personal diary narrating his tasks in implementing Operation Pedro Pan, which help provide details for how the program was run.[39]

In order for the children to leave Cuba they needed visas stating that they would be attending school in the United States. Baker and Walsh networked in order to gain the necessary connections in Cuba and in the United States to help parents attain visas for their children. The two utilized contacts in the Dade County public school system and the United States Embassy in Cuba in order to help provide desperate parents with visas for their children. Through this network children were given U.S. Immigration I-20 forms signed by a contact at Coral Gables High School in order to secure their visa from the United States embassy. Baker supplied the names of the children who received visas and Walsh and other clergy met them at the airport.[40]

However, the closure of the U.S. embassy in Cuba on January 3, 1961 presented an unforeseen problem: children had no place to apply for student visas. Walsh and Baker worked with the State Department to get forms that waived the visa requirements, which were only granted on an emergency basis. The United States government determined Cuban children were in danger of being subject to communist brainwashing, which constituted an emergency worthy of visa waivers. Walsh received permission to sign the visa waivers, as he would be responsible for the children because he was in charge of the Catholic Welfare Bureau.[41]

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[37] Triay, Victor Andres. *The Flight From Never-Never Land.* 14.
[38] Walsh, Monsignor Bryan O. "Cuban Refugee Children." 389.
[39] Walsh, Monsignor Bryan O. "Cuban Refugee Children." 378-415.
[40] De Los Angeles Torres, Maria. *The Lost Apple.* 66-7.
[41] De Los Angeles Torres, Maria. *The Lost Apple.* 75.

The Fate of the Child Refugees

On December 26, 1960, the first Cuban children arrived to the United States as a part of Operation Pedro Pan.[42]. From 1960 to 1962 more than 14,000 children emigrated from Cuba to the United States without their parents as a part of Operation Pedro Pan and "6,486 of them received foster care in the Cuban Children's program either on their arrival or shortly thereafter."[43]

Once in America, children were supposed to be released to friends or families. However since roughly half of the children did not have relatives or acquaintances in Miami, the majority of these children would eventually be placed under the care of Catholic Welfare Bureau's Cuban Children Program. The Cuban Children's Program provided foster care for Cuban refugee children who found themselves in the United States without the care or protection of their parents.[44] Children under the care of the Cuban Children's Program lived in camps with other Cuban refugee children until the bureau was able to place them in foster homes or boarding schools.

Operation Pedro Pan was shrouded in secrecy because many of the contacts aiding Baker and Walsh still lived in Cuba. Cubans could be punished for their roles in the operation. Operation Pedro Pan was carried out covertly; Monsignor Walsh asked the local media outlets not to cover the issue out of concern for the safety of the children's' parents who remained in Cuba. Parents feared they would be prosecuted if the Cuban government were alerted to the true nature of their child's whereabouts. Nevertheless, the Cuban Children's Program was a public endeavor receiving federal funding as a part of the all-encompassing Cuban Refugee Program.

> The operation to bring the children to the United States would be conducted in secrecy in both countries, although the Cuban Children's Program, the component of the plan that would take care of the children in the United States, would be conducted overtly once the Department of Health, Education and Welfare began to fund it.[45]

Nearly two years passed without any media coverage on the Cuban children refugees. However, in March 1962 the Cuban Welfare Bureau's role in caring for unaccompanied minors was publicized, but journalists were careful not to implicate the Catholic Church in aiding the children's departure from Cuba, and only reported on the children in the Catholic Bureau's care. In 1962, the second article was published about the plight of these children; "Gene Miller, then a reporter for the *Miami Herald*, would

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[42] Walsh, Monsignor Bryan O. "Cuban Refugee Children." 378.
[43] Walsh, Monsignor Bryan O. "Cuban Refugee Children." 379.
[44] Walsh, Monsignor Bryan O. "Cuban Refugee Children." 379.
[45] De Los Angeles Torres, Maria. *The Lost Apple.* 66.

call it [the mass exodus of Cuban children to Miami] Operation Pedro Pan, a Hispanic version of the James M. Barrie novel published in 1904 about a boy who could fly."[46] In 1953 Walt Disney Studios had produced and released the animated movie based on the novel. As a result, Peter Pan or "Pedro Pan" to Spanish-speaking audiences had become a familiar character. The children were sent to a different country without their parents; greatly resembled the children in the fable of Peter Pan. Both the media and the children who identified with the supporting characters of the tale quickly adopted the name.

The children of Operation Pedro Pan greatly benefitted from their status as political refugees. The widespread anti- communist beliefs in America contributed to the successful funding and other aid to Cuban children. By presenting the children as innocent victims of communism, they were able to enter the United States with ease. Furthermore, the Catholic Church relied heavily on Americans' desire to combat communism in finding suitable foster homes for the Cuban children. The Catholic Church used anti- communist rhetoric in advertisements seeking foster families. For example, one ad encouraged Americans to take a personal role in combating communism:

> Many U.S. citizens traveling through Latin America have received the gracious Spanish welcome "Está usted en su casa." Now several hundred American families can return the hospitality each month, saying to Cuban children bereft of parents, "Make yourself at home!".... We can think of few better ways to fight communism" than to care for children who flee from it.[47]

Such publicity emphasized that American families could fight communism domestically by presenting the children as victims of communism. The majority of the children stayed in South Florida; however, roughly a third were resettled out of the area with foster families or placed in boarding schools.

The End of the First Wave of Cuban Immigration

The Cuban Missile Crisis: October 1962

The Cuban Missile Crisis was the resulting conflict that occurred when the United States found Soviet missiles in Cuba while conducting surveillance in October 1962. It had given Castro an opportunity to solidify his status as a communist leader and for the first time showcased the Soviet Union's support for Cuba. With the U.S.S.R. as an ally, it

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[46] Conde, Yvonne M. *Operation Pedro Pan.*. 47.
[47] Gay, Kathlyn. *Leaving Cuba.* 33-4.

appeared as though Castro was more powerful than previously anticipated. Over the following two weeks, the U.S. and U.S.S.R negotiated a deal where the Soviets would remove the missiles from the island.

The Cuban Missile Crisis had serious consequences for the future Cuban-American relations. Any hope that Castro would be overthrown in the near future were destroyed as he began to solidify power as the leader of Cuba. In one of his moves after the Missile Crisis, Castro banned commercial flights to and from United States abruptly stopping Cuban migration to the United States. Operation Pedro Pan's abrupt end in October of 1962 left many children stranded in the United States without their families. Although the operation was conducted in secrecy, the Cuban government would later announce their knowledge of the mass exodus of children from the island.[48] The United States immigration law had not changed. As Cubans were still granted political refuge, it became increasingly difficult to leave the island under Castro's new policies concerning air travel. On October 10, 1965, Cuban immigration resumed after Castro announced that he would let Cubans leave if they wished to enter the United States. Priority was given to Cubans who had relatives in the United States, defined as "immediate family members, which included parents of children under twenty-one, and brothers and sisters under the age of twenty-one."[49] The Cuban government also refused to let men of military age (15 to 26 years of age) leave the island. This official acknowledgement that unaccompanied Cuban children were living in the United States was Cuba's first public recognition that there had been a massive exodus of children from the island.[50]

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[48] In 1999, Fidel Castro would announce his knowledge of the mass exodus, stating that "Over 14,000 Cuban children were virtually kidnapped by the United States when counterrevolutionary groups, organized from the very beginning by U.S. intelligence agencies, surreptitiously published and distributed false government bills to spread the criminal lie that children's custody would be taken away from the parents. Panic was sown among middle-class families, who were frightened into sending their children away secretly without visas of any kind on the same legal and regular airlines that flew directly to the United States. These children separated from their parents were met there and sent to orphanages or even detention centers for minors."
Main statement made by Fidel Castro in Matanzas. 2 August 1999, on the subject of "Illegal Migration from Cuba to the U.S.," Press Release of the Cuban Mission to the United States in De Los Angeles Torres, Maria. *The Lost Apple: Operation Pedro Pan, Cuban Children in the U.S., and the Promise of a Better Future.* 227.

[49] De Los Angeles Torres, Maria. *The Lost Apple.* 209.

[50] Conde, Yvonne M. *Operation Pedro Pan.* 176-192.; De Los Angeles Torres, Maria. *The Lost Apple: Operation Pedro Pan,* 206-227.

Laying the Groundwork for Bilingual Education Reform

The unexpected end of the Cuban immigration in 1962 left many unaccompanied minors stranded in a foreign country without their parents. Furthermore, the ban on air travel to Cuba for both United States and Cuban citizens negated the notion that the Cuban refugees would only be temporary residents of South Florida; it was now unclear if they would ever be able to return. Castro's role in the Cuban Missile Crisis reconfirmed his loyalty to Marxist ideology and his public alliance with the Soviet Union suggested to American politicians that he was more powerful than they anticipated. The missile crisis highlighted Cuba's material support from the Soviet Union as it showed that Cuba was capable of obtaining nuclear arms. It became obvious that Fidel Castro was committed to ruling Cuba and the United States could not easily overthrow him. Given Castro's new allies, the United States could not attempt to launch another invasion of Cuba, like the Bay of Pigs, mor organize future covert assassination plots out of fear further escalating the Cold War. The Cuban Missile Crisis had brought the two nations to the brink of a nuclear war; neither country was willing to risk another conflict out of a desire to calm the concerns of their citizens.

As a result, the South Florida community, already burdened with receiving the majority of Cuban refugees, was faced with the realization that these temporary exiles would now become permanent residents of their city. Cuban exiles realized that the current Cuban-American relations would keep them in the United States for years to come. As a result, these refugees began to seek out stable employment to sustain their lives in America. Cubans were able to establish themselves in the community by starting businesses. Luckily, native South Florida residents were still welcoming of the refugees despite the fact that their residency status had changed; "[...] Residents of the area realized that the Cuban refugees were not merely temporary guests. Rather than resenting an 'intrusion', many [Miamians] found that the Cubans were industrious, capable, and affable. [...] There was little resentment against these hard workers who had sacrificed so much to escape from Communism."[51] The refugees' middle class status in Cuba enabled them to easily gain employment in white-collar job sector; their skills were valuable to the growing South Florida labor market.

As Cubans were forced to adapt to their new surroundings due to unforeseen circumstances, Dade County provided numerous resources to help "Americanize" the refugees. Language was a key problem since thousands of the new permanent residents

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[51] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community: Miami's Adaptation to the Cuban Refugees.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers, 1977. 21.

were not native English speakers. Five years after the start of the first wave of Cuban immigration, roughly 1 out of every 7 residents was fluent in Spanish: "in 1959, a little less than 5 percent of the approximately 900,000 residents of Dade County were Spanish-speakers, and one-half of these were Cuban. In 1966, 15 percent of the residents were Spanish-speakers and approximately 13 of every 15 Spanish-speakers were of Cuban origin."[52] Although Cuban refugees had been greeted with a positive reception by their new neighbors, Miami soon struggled over how to assimilate the Cubans into their predominantly English-speaking society.

Cold War Cuban refugees made apparent the city's need for quality English language instruction for non-native speakers for both adults and children. Hence Dade County would soon be placed in the midst of the national debate centered on language. Due to the rapid pace of Cuban immigration and the large number of child refugees due to Operation Pedro Pan, Dade County Public Schools found its classrooms flooded with non-native English speakers. "Between the beginning of the school year in September, 1961, and the beginning of the school year in 1962, [...] the number of Cuban refugee students increased 109.7 percent from 8,708 to 18,260 pupils."[53] Many schools were ill equipped to deal with both the needs of native English speaking students and non-native English speaking students.

One school adopted a dual-way bilingual education program seemed to solve the problem of providing quality education to native and non-native English speakers simultaneously. This program was the first of its kind and its success would eventually lead to the adoption of similar bilingual education programs throughout the county. Dade County Public School System would soon find itself as the nation's leader in bilingual education reform.

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[52] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community.* 28.
[53] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community.* 46.

Chapter Two
Bilingual Education in South Florida, 1962-1967

Chapter two will explore how Operation Pedro Pan affected education in Miami, Florida by prompting the introduction of bilingual education programs within the public school systems. The shifting dynamics and changing demographics of the South Florida region, and the student population of the Dade County public schools, gave rise to the community's willingness to implement the first bilingual education program in the United States at that time. The unprecedented success of Cuban refugees in South Florida led education leaders to consider reforming English instruction, which forever impacted the manner immigrants receive education in the public schools.

South Florida and the Cuban Refugee Community

As a result of the mass migration of Cuban refugees discussed in the previous chapter, the South Florida community struggled to adjust to and accommodate its newfound neighbors. The majority of Cuban refugees sought asylum in South Florida, particularly Miami. The unexpected twist of events in migration caused by the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 stranded many refugees in the United States even though they had only planned to reside there temporarily. In the following years, the refugee community began to spread its roots throughout the city while holding on to the belief that they would soon be able to return to Cuba.

The Shifting Dynamics and Demographics of the Miami Community

Many Cubans who sought refuge in the United States during the early 1960s had belonged to Cuba's upper and upper-middle class. However, it is important to not that this had not been their first interaction with Miami; many had vacationed in the city and were responsible for encouraging and sustaining the area's thriving tourism industry. [54] This was among one of the many factors that contributed the persistence of the positive reception that the Cubans had first received. First, the community welcomed the victims of communism, well aware of their active role in the city's economy. However, it was the

[54] Portes, Alejandro and Alex Stepick. *City on the Edge: Transformation of Miami.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. 102. " The first two years of the Cuban Revolution thus saw the gradual return to Miami-in the guise of political exiles- of the very groups who had known the city as a playground: first, the privileged for whom Miami was a day trip, and then those who could afford to come every summer. Approximately 135,000 Cubans arrived during this early period- between January 1959 and April 1961."

manner in which Cubans conducted themselves in this new city that was responsible for the preservation of these friendly relations between the two groups.

It is important to note that even after the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 both the residents of Miami and the Cuban refugees still considered their time in Miami to be temporary. Chief Walter Headley, the police chief for the city of Miami at the time, remarked, "The reason for the present attitude is because all this is considered temporary. Once it becomes permanent, that'll be something else." [55] The prevailing attitude amongst native South Floridians was that the Cuban refugees were a group to be helped.

> The Cuban refugees had created little animosity or resentment among the established residents of Dade County. The majority of refugees, especially during the early sixties, were well-educated, industrious Caucasians who spoke some English. They were polite in their encounters with the English-speaking population, yet they made no attempt to force their way into local social or political activities. Community leaders discovered that the Cubans were excellent credit risks, that very few requested public assistance, and that a strikingly small percentage were associated with any criminal activities.[56]

The positive reception Cuban refugees had first received lingered on as they proved themselves to be valuable assets of the community. As a whole, the refugee community was first welcomed as innocent victims of communism. Even after the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962, the refugees did not wear out this warm welcome as they began to settle down in the community. They were not seen as a threat, economically or physically, to the native residents. By finding stable employment and not participating in deviant behavior, the Cubans continued to be treated with compassion by the community. Americans remained sympathetic to the plight of the Cubans.

To begin with, the majority of Cubans did not engage in deviant behavior, as they were not associated with crime and drug use. In 1980, anthropologists studying the rates of drug abuse amongst Latino groups noted "Cubans have been so underrepresented in Dade County's statistics on drug abuse."[57] This helped fuel South Florida's positive perception of these refugees.[58] These refugees capitalized on this as they attempted to achieve a comfortable middle class status during their stay in Miami.

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[55] Shell-Weiss, Melanie. *Coming to Miami: A Social History.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009. 174.
[56] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community.*
[57] Page, J. Bryan "Streetside Drug Use among Cuban Drug Users in Miami." *Drugs in Hispanic Communities.* New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990. 167 192. 167.
[58] The Mariel Boat Lift, the third major wave of Cuban migration in the 1980s, changed many people's perceptions of the group.

Furthermore, the refugees formed a strong ethnic enclave within the city. After the Cuban Missile Crisis, refugees found employment that could temporarily provide stability for their families as they waited in Miami. As a result, "most exiles did take jobs that were significantly different from those they previously held. Men who had worked as teachers, lawyers, and physicians in Cuba were employed as cab drivers, janitors, stevedores, maintenance men, and a limited number of mostly low-paying jobs in the needle trades in Miami."[59] The refugees were perceived as hardworking and industrious individuals. Nevertheless, the jobs they sought during the initial phase of their resettlement within the United States limited their contact with Anglo residents.

Some refugees who started businesses did so in areas that were predominantly occupied by other Cubans. These business ventures were typically successful if the Cubans had easy access to monetary aid such as the massive amounts of assistance that was provided to them. As noted in chapter one, the Cuban refugees in Miami were the beneficiaries of an astonishing and unprecedented aid. From the federal government to small private charities, money dedicated to assisting these refugees adjust to poured in from all levels. The sheer amount of financial support coupled with the services provided by Dade County and the Catholic charities of South Florida helped the refugees find stability in their new surroundings. [60]

The refugees' business activities helped stimulate Miami's economy. Given the city's geographic location and its newfound residents, many saw a chance to expand their businesses and strengthen their relationships with Latin America.

> The large number of former Cuban professionals and white-collar workers, who of course spoke fluent Spanish, began to attract the attention of companies operating in Latin America. Executives of North American companies that had had branches in Cuba pointed out to their employers the advantages of establishing their Latin headquarters in Miami. [61]

Considering the refugees' previous occupations and activities in their native land, many American saw opportunity in the experience and desired to capitalize off the changing demographics in the city. Businessmen were not the only group trying to profit from the episode of immigration. Labor unions also sought help to Cuban refugees as they wished to portray them as victims of communism.[62]As Americans stood to benefit from hosting the Cubans, the refugees profited in return by easily adapting to life in the United States.

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[59] Shell-Weiss, Melanie. *Coming to Miami.* 176.
[60] Stepick, Alex; Grenier, Guillermo; Castro, Max and Marvin Dunn. *This Land Is Our Land: Immigrants and Power in Miami.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. 38-9.
[61] Portes, Alejandro and Alex Stepick. *City on the Edge.* 128.
[62] Shell-Weiss, Melanie. *Coming to Miami.* 179.

By the end of the decade, many Cuban refugees abandoned hope of returning to their homeland. "After the 1962 Missile Crisis, the Cuban exile community resigned itself to a long period of waiting before a return to Cuba would be possible. By the end of the decade, many had become convinced that their 'temporary' move had turned permanent."[63] At this time it became clear to these refugees that Fidel Castro had found himself and the Communist Party a permanent spot in Cuba's government. However, thanks to the warm extended welcome the refugees received, they found themselves as established members of community. This reception would later be attributed to the group's dominating influence in the city's main industries and government throughout the late twentieth century.

The Need For Bilingual Education in South Florida

Upon arrival many Cuban refugees attempted to replicate traditional Cuban institutions in the United States in an effort to help uphold traditional Cuban values and provide a sense of normalcy during their temporary stay in Miami. Schools that had previously existed in Cuba opened up campuses in South Florida; " [...]Cuban military academies and parochial schools were founded throughout Dade County. Many of the private schools already had a waiting list of applicants on opening day."[64] Although one would assume that the majority of Cuban refugee children attended these schools, many refugee children were unable to access these institutions. Space in the classes was limited despite the increase in Cuban children seeking refuge in the United States.

Furthermore, these Cuban schools were privately owned and operated meaning that children who wanted attend such schools needed to pay tuition. The children of Operation Pedro Pan were completely financially dependent on the Catholic Church or their foster family. Those who were still in the care of the Catholic Welfare Bureau had the opportunity to attend private Catholic parochial schools, such as Archbishop Curly, LaSalle and the Cuban school Belen Jesuit.[65] Children placed with friends, family or in local foster programs educational options were dependent on the financial means of their caretakers. As their stay in Miami grew longer, many Cuban refugees realized that they did not have adequate financial resources to cover the cost of tuition to send their child (biological or foster) to these schools.

> Although the early refugees continued to help their newly arriving friends and relatives, they eventually began to run out of money, and their hopes for an early return to Cuba began to wane. Some

[63] Portes, Alejandro and Alex Stepick. *City on the Edge.* 106.
[64] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community.* 41.
[65] Conde, Yvonne M. *Operation Pedro Pan: The Untold Exodus of 14,048 Cuban Children.* 87.

> refugees decided to go into business for themselves and bought or started such modest enterprises as food stores, appliance stores, and small hotels. For many Cuban parents, it became an economic necessity to enroll their children in one of the area's (Dade County) public schools.[66]

As a result, massive amounts of Cuban refugee children began to enroll in Dade County public schools. As noted in the previous chapter, the Dade County public school system was in a state of crisis. In 1962, the number of Cuban refugee students in the Dade County public schools increased from 8,708 to 18,260 pupils.[67] Although there is no record of how many children who attended Dade County public schools were members of Operation Pedro Pan, by June of 1962 a total 11,142 of the 14, 048 Operation Pedro Pan children were placed in the care of friends, family or foster families in the Miami area.[68] The overwhelming increase of Cuban students posed a problem for many classrooms: how could a school provide quality education to students who cannot speak English?

Many of the factors that contributed to the prolonged positive reception of Cuban refugees also helped gather support for the introduction of a bilingual education program in the Dade County public school district. Given the lack of implementation of any current bilingual education programs, the supporters of this program were faced with a series of challenges. At first, education leaders encountered problems as Cuban refugees were considered temporary residents and no legal obligation to state funded education. The community did feel a moral obligation to provide education for these children. Given the large amount of Cuban children who enrolled in the public schools, the implications for not providing education to these students could prove disastrous.

The Cuban refugee children, especially those participating in Operation Pedro Pan, were characterized as being very well behaved and determined to succeed academically. "Some children especially felt the need to excel while separated from their parents to prove themselves to their parents and the Americans. They said that they had not only tried to do well in all of their activities but had also behaved better than they would have in Cuba."[69] Furthermore, The children were innocent victims of communism, with no ties to America. Their parents had entrusted the United States with care of their children. These children, who had little to no knowledge of the English language, needed to attend school in order to help provide stability to their chaotic lives. The community

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[66] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community: Miami's Adaptation to the Cuban Refugees.* 19.
[67] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community.* 46.
[68] Oettinger, Katherine B. "Services to Unaccompanied Cuban Refugee Children in the United States." *The Social Service Review.* Vol. 36 No. 4. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962. 377-384. 380.
[69] Triay, Victor Andres. Fleeing Castro: Operation Pedro Pan and the Cuban Children's Program. 91.

felt as though these children had been robbed of the essential aspects of childhood; school was a way in which these students could achieve some sense of normalcy. As evidenced earlier with the extraordinary amount of aid given to Cuban refugees, the United States felt a moral obligation to ease the refugees' transition to American society, no matter how temporary. Given the children's circumstances, their status, and their behavior, they indeed were a sympathetic group.

The Cuban students posed a unique problem for schools as there was much debate over what language they should receive instruction in. Surely the Cuban youth would soon return to their homeland, where they needed to be in fluent in Spanish. Cubans and Americans recognized the importance for the refugees to retain their native language skills and rejected the traditional, assimilation approach in which immigrant students were instructed to use English only.

Although it was quite evident that the Cuban students had different needs than American students, segregating Cubans was also not a popular option. At first, the Cuban refugee children were placed in the same classrooms as native-English speakers in an effort to hasten their acquisition of the English language.[70] However, they struggled with age-appropriate coursework given their lack of proficiency in the English language. Dade County public schools struggled to find a way to accommodate native and non-native English speakers in the same classrooms. In order to provide the best educational experience for all students, "[The Dade County School] Board was [...] asked to [construct] bilingual programs to prevent Cuban students from becoming retarded in major subject areas, because language problems had caused significant numbers of Cuban children to 'cop out' by vegetating in the classroom and eventually 'drop out' of school."[71]

Education reformers Pauline Rojas and Paul Bell were contracted by the school board to propose a plan that would change the curriculum by providing English instruction for non-native speakers through the creation and practice of a two-way bilingual program.[72] The two-way bilingual education model provided a solution to accommodate all students. By providing courses in both English and Spanish, the playing field was to be leveled for all students by introducing a new language to both groups. Although it had not been widely practiced in the United States, education leaders believed Miami's crisis warranted a new and different approach to education. The school board sought funding from the Ford Foundation and received $350,000 for the first year

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[70] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community.* 56.
[71] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community.* 48.
[72] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community.*56.

of the a pilot program that was to be enacted at Coral Way Elementary School in the 1963-4 school year, in order to help the school cope with the massive number of new Cuban students entering the classrooms. [73] Although the program was an experiment and the only one of its kind in existence, both educators and the community felt it necessary in order for all students to thrive academically.

An Overview of Bilingual Education

Bilingual education has taken many different shapes and forms in schools across the world. This is in part due to the broad definition of this concept as it is defined to be any "educational program that involves the use of two languages of instruction at some point in a student's school career."[74] This definition encompasses a large variety of programs that utilize the instruction of a foreign language resulting in many different types of bilingual education models. [75]

The many types of programs are differentiated by the methods they employ, who they cater to, and the goals for the students are; some programs cater to students who are deemed non-native speakers, whereas others introduce a foreign language solely to enrich a child's educational experience. The bilingual program enacted at Coral Way Elementary and the model that this thesis is focused on is the two-way bilingual program. This model is considered to be the "traditional" bilingual educational model. The two-way bilingual program model necessitates a classroom that has an equal amount of native and non-native speakers of a particular language; preferably the non-native speakers share the same native language. The time in the classroom is then divided into two; in the mornings the native language is taught and in the afternoons the "foreign" language is taught. As a result, the two groups develop their skills in both languages and become bilingual.

Many of the most successful bilingual education programs are designed around the student population's specific needs. As a result, community involvement has been attributed to the success of many bilingual programs. These programs are distinctive because their main goal is to have students master a foreign language as well as developing their native language. The merits and success of a program depends heavily on how it addresses the students. The majority of the models cater to one or two unique

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[73] Stein, Colman Brez Jr. *Sink or Swim: The Politics of Bilingual Education.* New York: Praeger, 1986. 21.
[74] Nieto, 1992. P. 156 in Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education: From Compensatory to Quality Schooling*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Publishers, 1998. 13.
[75] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education: From Compensatory to Quality Schooling*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Publishers, 1998. 13.

ethnic groups; as a result, the programs have a unique opportunity to include or exclude the students' cultural background.

A Brief History of Bilingual Education in the United States

Bilingual education has a very long and tangled history in the United States. This nation started off as a nation of immigrants, which meant that the country was founded with very strong bilingual roots. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century, bilingual schools were very common throughout the country. Most notably, schools in German community often followed a bilingual curriculum offering students instruction in both German and English. Other immigrant groups also had schools that offered bilingual programs. These schools were often located in communities with a large immigrant population.[76] In fact, "the presence of many languages in U.S. schools was an accepted reality until the 1870s."[77] The people wanted to have a common language that would be universally accepted, which would especially facilitate the ability to conduct government affairs.

Nativist sentiments rapidly grew in the late nineteenth century, which significantly began to impact education. From the late nineteenth century till 1963, there were no bilingual education classes offered in the public schools. Some school districts even outlawed the practice. "Schoolteachers and administrators often set about removing the ethnic child's legacy of language and culture and substituting the Anglo-American world view."[78]Classrooms instead adopted a sink or swim attitude for students. The instruction was solely in English, and any student who could not demonstrate knowledge of the course material was held back regardless of the student's native language. No instruction of any kind was to be given to non-native English speakers, and schools prohibited the use of foreign languages in the school building, including activities that pertained to outside the classroom such as recess, the cafeteria, and hallways.[79] The lack of any specialized curriculum or additional help, immigrant children often struggled in this unwelcoming classroom environment.

> Special programs such as English as a Second Language (ESL) served only adults. The assumption was that children learn languages easily and nothing special needed to be done. Most students were merely put back a grade or two and often retained until they knew enough English to manage. Teachers punished students who

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[76] Hochschild, Jennifer and Nathan Scovronick. *The American Dream and the Public Schools*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. 150.
[77] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education*. 5.
[78] Stein, Colman Brez Jr. Sink or Swim. 7.
[79] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education*. 7.

> conversed in languages other than English. This imposition of English created educational difficulties for speakers of other languages in the public school retarding academic progress. A 1911 survey of 30 U.S. cities found that 28% of American-born students and 27% of foreign-born English speakers were behind grade level but 43% of foreign-born non-English speakers were behind grade level."[80]

Furthermore, the lack of any assistance in the classroom often hindered a student's academic progress. A student who was not fluent was much more likely to be behind grade level. The immigrant students who struggled in these classrooms due to poor English skills were faced with social ramifications of being held back a grade multiple times, whereas the immigrant students who mastered the English language would risk the underdevelopment of their home language and become alienated from their family and ethnic enclave. In the same 1911 study, results indicate that in some cities the gap between English speaker and non-native English speaker's academic achievement was especially wide." In Boston, nearly 70% of white students overall reached high school, whereas only 38% of the students whose home language was not English achieved that goal. In Chicago the rates were 42% and 18%, in New York 32% and 13%, in Philadelphia 27% and 13%."[81] The sink or swim approach was obviously not effective for all students, yet this was adopted by the public schools due to the rapidly growing and overwhelming powerful nativist, anti-immigrant groups in the United States.

This is further evidenced by the cessation of bilingual education programs in predominantly German areas by World War I. These areas once boasted the most successful bilingual programs. Previously, nativist sentiments hindered the progress of new bilingual education programs. However the emerging anti-German attitude adopted by many Americans after the United States entered World War I quickly put an end to the few German bilingual schools that remained. Furthermore, German was now considered to be the enemy's perverse language. Its presence in the United States public schools quickly disappeared despite its history as widely taught foreign language. It was not until a 1958 Act of Congress that encouraged and funded science education that the United States resumed funding for schools interested in teaching a foreign language.[82]

Cold War Attitudes Towards Education

Prior to 1963, many academic scholars did not see bilingualism as an asset for students. They argued that students who were bilingual were not as well-adjusted as

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[80] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* 7.
[81] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* 7.
[82] US Congress. Senate. Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. 1958. *The National Defense Education Act of 1958.* 85th Congress, Second Session, September 5, 1958.

students who were monolingual. Bilingualism was credited for harming a child's mental capabilities, rather than enriching them:

> Academic studies in the fields of education and psychology [conducted in the early twentieth century] argued that bilingualism created failure, mental confusion, and damaged the psychological wellbeing of immigrant children. [...] It was not until 1962 that these views were convincingly disproved by a methodologically sound study of the effects of bilingualism on cognitive ability.[83]

The studies that were conducted in 1962, recognized the importance of bilingual education. The negative side effects were disproved by these studies. Armed with this new information, education leaders could begin to consider bilingual education as a helpful option for schools that had large immigrant student population.

Separation and inclusion was also a huge issue at the time affecting the public schools. In 1954, the United States Supreme Court had ruled segregation in public schools was unconstitutional in *Brown v. Board of Education.* Almost a decade after the ruling most public schools were still effectively segregated since *Brown* allowed schools to determine their own pace for desegregation. Still school districts were compelled by the ruling to provide each and every child with quality education. This event greatly impacted all aspects of education, including bilingual education. The manner in which the school board officials provided specialized education to immigrant students now had to be comparable to the type of education Anglo students received. Nevertheless, the ruling the school district was discouraged from segregating the Cuban students despite their special needs. Yet the Civil Rights movement had created an environment where the American public might consider bilingual education as necessary educational program.

The atmosphere of the Cold War and America's commitment to anti-communism led to tremendous reforms within the American public school system. Throughout history education has been used as a means of controlling social thought. Whereas children in Cuba were subjected to communist indoctrination within the public schools, similarly in America children enrolled in public schools were taught that democracy was the only worthwhile type of government. In order to ensure a future successful government, public schools promoted the nation's strength in order to form national unity amongst future generations. "Education [in America], then, was the key to building a democratic nation. In contrast to Europe, the American nationality would not be based on blood lineage or by the intermingling of nationalities, but on unity of institutions, social habits, and ideals. Children's education would be the most important step in achieving

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[83] Portes, Alejandro and Richard Schauffler. "Language and the Second Generation: Bilingualism Yesterday and Today." *The New Second Generation.* Edited by Alejandro Portes. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1996.

Table 2.3 Cuban Enrollment in Dade County Schools (1961-1969) (Cuban Refugee Children in Grades 1-12)

From Conception to Implementation: How Coral Way Elementary's Bilingual Program Functioned

The Construction of the Bilingual Education Program

Since there were no other bilingual education programs in existence in the United States public schools to use as a model, Bell and Rojas had to design the program on their own. This gave them free control over what should and shouldn't be added to the curriculum. Bell and Rojas took full advantage of resources found within in the community, and specifically designed a curriculum that catered to the students of this neighborhood. Every aspect of the curriculum, from the resources, to the actual funding of the program was a radical departure from the traditional educational programs offered by the nation's public school. The program was carefully designed around the community, in hopes that the residents would feel connected to it and encourage its growth.

It has already been established that the plight of the Cuban refugees garnered sympathy and as a result, there were enormous federal funds solely dedicated to helping the group adjust. Funds used for the program was specifically allocated for activities of a scientific, educational and charitable nature that promote the public's welfare. As a result, the school board readily took advantage of these funds.

> In 1962, the Dade County School Board, which had no Latino members at the time, approved the first contemporary experiment in bilingual education. Federal funds made the choice relatively easy. It did not cost the school board anything, and the Miami Cuban community contained many trained professionals who could implement the bilingual program. Nevertheless, the bilingual program distinguished Miami from many cities and towns in the southwest United States that had bilingual education funds available and still resisted implementing such programs.[90]

[90] Stepick, Alex; Grenier, Guillermo; Castro, Max and Marvin Dunn. *This Land Is Our Land.* 39.

The city's overall positive view of the Cubans greatly contributed to the usage of these funds. Unlike other Hispanic immigrant groups, such as the Mexicans in the southwest, the Cubans' plight, their social status, and values helped encourage more hospitable treatment by the community. Their unique status was responsible for the implementation of progressive educational reforms.

Miami also was able to easily implement the program thanks to the resources within the Cuban refugee community. For instance, the experimental program required teachers who were fluent in both Spanish and English. There was no shortage of bilingual teachers in South Florida due to the number of qualified Cuban refugees.[91] These bilingual individuals were able to quickly gain their teaching certification. Furthermore, the growing number of native Spanish speakers enabled many to easily find employment in Dade County schools due to the growing demand for bilingual teachers.

For the program, teachers needed to be bilingual and bicultural, good team members, have a strong background in linguistics, creative, and confident. [92] These teachers had more responsibilities than did normal classroom teachers since the program ventured into unchartered territory. The teachers were responsible for designing their lesson plans and producing a number of visual aids. Since the program was experimental the school drew frequent visitors. Thus, these teachers needed to be extremely confident while teaching and be able to effectively communicate with others about the mission of the program.

These teachers were a valuable resource since they could help create the bicultural and bilingual atmosphere that school officials desired. Due to the Cuban background of many of the teachers, they were integral in designing the curriculum. They were called on to incorporate Cuban with American culture in the curriculum. Many scholars cite that this helpful for many students "because it makes learning meaningful, helps them cope with cultural conflict, and it makes them capable of functioning in both their ethnic community and the larger community."[93] This curriculum helped foster respect for the foreign culture amongst the students while also pursuing the goal of creating a welcoming bicultural school community.

The Dade County school district gathered materials that they believed would be helpful for the students in the program and elsewhere throughout the county. Many of the Spanish language resources were acquired through Cuban refugee assistance programs and through school supply companies in Spain. Often times, teachers were

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[91] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community.*78.
[92] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community.* 72.
[93] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* 111.

responsible for producing their own visual aids. Quality materials are considered to be beneficial since it is believed that they help facilitate instruction and engage the students.[94]

The Classroom Environment

The experimental program was only available to the students who were eligible to attend Coral Way Elementary. Thus, each student had to live in the surrounding neighborhood. Furthermore, the program was not mandatory for students but was presented as merely an option. Bilingual education was well received by the students and their guardians regardless of their home language. Native Spanish-speaking residents saw this program as necessary since it would be able to help their child adjust to life in America while retaining his native language and culture. On the other hand, native-English speaking parents thought of the program as a nice luxury that could benefit their child's educational experience.[95]

Despite the two culture's differing views on why their child should participate in the program, the experimental program was very well attended. People from both ethnic groups saw bilingualism as a valuable asset for their children. Since the family is the most stable unit in the child's life, the school encouraged households to take an active interest in their child's coursework. Furthermore, studies showed parental participation in their child's education is integral to successful education and would be even more important now that the students were participating in the experimental program.[96] These students must actively want to participate within the program in order for it to be successful, and reformers hoped that the parents would help foster this willing attitude in their children. This parental or caretaker support was also needed to help foster a bilingual atmosphere in the school, which reformers had deemed to be very critical to the success of the experiment.

The experimental program meant that students would be receiving more instruction than those in normal classrooms. The students were expected to take the courses in the fundamental subjects as well as intensive courses in the foreign language. Therefore, the bilingual program had to be structured differently than the normal classroom. The child would be first assigned to a classroom where they would speak native language. The school day consisted of two halves. The student would receive instruction in their native language during the first half of the day and the second half of

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[94] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education*. 122.
[95] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community*. 134-5.
[96] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education*. 96.

the day would be devoted to foreign language instruction. The students would still take fundamental courses such as language arts, mathematics, social studies, and science.

The students were grouped by skill level when they were to receive instruction in the foreign language. There were three separate classes during the foreign language component. The three classrooms represented students who were deemed fluent in the foreign language, students who had an intermediate knowledge of the foreign language, and students who had a very little knowledge of the foreign language;

> *Independent pupils*, those who communicate in the second language almost as well as native speakers, although they still have some traces of difficulty.
>
> *Intermediate pupils*, those who understand a large portion of the second language, but who still need special attention.
>
> *Non-independent pupils*, those seriously handicapped in their command of the second language.[97]

Language instruction was maximized by this segregation. By grouping these students by skill level, it enabled teachers to design a curriculum that would cater to these students' specific needs. Students received specialized instruction in the foreign language in order to help spend more time on the areas that were identified as needing extra assistance.

The program strove to make students bilingual, but also to make students appreciate each other's language and culture.[98] In a drastic departure from traditional schools, Coral Way Elementary encouraged the students to use their foreign language outside of the classroom in an effort to create a bilingual atmosphere within the school. [99] Native Spanish speaking students had many opportunities to converse with non-native Spanish speaking students and vice-versa. The students' development of both the Spanish and English languages was supported with equal fervor. This was a great departure from the "sink or swim"[100] method that had been widely deployed throughout the United States. Unlike the immigrant students at other schools, the children at Coral Way Elementary were encouraged to speak their foreign language at recess, lunch, and whenever the opportunity presented itself around the school. Reformers hoped by placing equal value on using both languages students would become more confident speaking a foreign language which would help them further develop their skills. Since other programs such as English as a Second Language (ESL) did not have the same goals of developing both languages, this program was considered to be unique. Although the

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[97] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community*. 74.
[98] Adamson, H.D. *Language Minority Students in American Schools: An Education in English.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2005. 212.
[99] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community.* 77.
[100] Sink or swim method is defined as language assimilation and acquisition through total immersion.

children were still segregated by their native language in the classroom, the school's bilingual environment helped unite the elementary school students. All would be able to gain the ability to converse freely with their peers.

Was The Program Successful?

Since the bilingual program at Coral Way Elementary was an experiment, the school would need to prove that this method of learning was effective for all students in order to receive more funding. Furthermore, school officials would have to also prove that this program was directly responsible for the students' academic achievement. If the school could not prove that the program was vital for the academic achievement of the students, especially the non-native English speaking students, the program would not be able to receive additional funding. These students were placed under a microscope, as school officials tried to determine whether this program would be able to be replicated at other schools. In order to determine whether the program was successful, the students were often assessed on standardized tests.

> By the late 1960's, there were several indications that the bilingual school program at Coral Way Elementary had been successful. One such indication was the determination by teachers at the upper grade levels that learning had become equally effective through either English or Spanish for a number of students. This discovery resulted in the introduction of bilingual classes where both languages were used interchangeably for instruction. Another indication was the result on successive administrations of the Cooperative Inter-American Tests. The students' performance on the equated forms in English and Spanish revealed that their learning curves were beginning to coincide in both languages. In addition, Bell reported in 1969 that the students at Coral Way Elementary were learning to operate effectively in two languages and in two cultures. They were broadening their understanding of other people and they were being

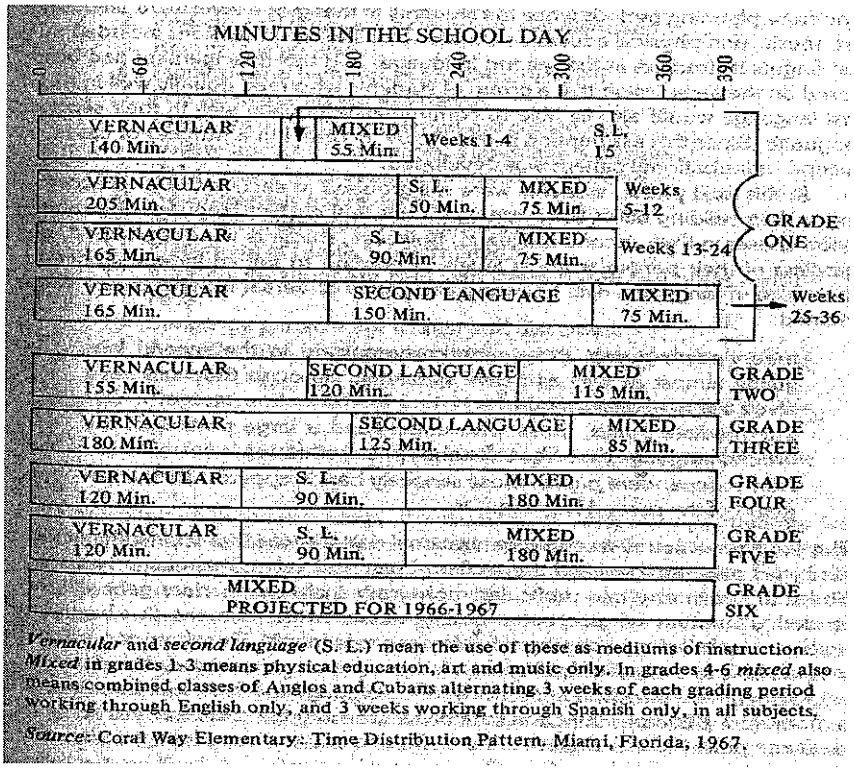

Table 2.4 Coral Way Time Distribution Pattern: 1967[101]

LASSES tudent groups)	FIRST LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION (Mornings, one hour each)		SECOND LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION (Afternoons, one hour each)	
Native ENGLISH-SPEAKING	English Language Arts (ELA)	Curriculum Content in English (CCE-E)	Spanish as a Second Language (Spanish-SL)	Curriculum Content in Spanish (CCS-E)
Native SPANISH-SPEAKING	Spanish for Spanish-Speakers (Spanish-S)	Curriculum Content in Spanish (CCS-S)	English as a Second Language (ESL)	Curriculum Content in English (CCE-S)

IOTES

he shaded squares represent the additional components for bilingual education at Coral Way lementary.

nglish as a Second Language (ESL) classes were presented by regular classroom teachers for he large majority of non-native English-speaking students. In addition, a special orientation rogram in English as a Second Language was provided for newly enrolled students. As soon s these students were able to perform effectively in the English language portion of the nstructional program, they were transferred to an English as a Second Language class under regular classroom teacher.

Table 2.5 The First Model of Elementary Bilingual Schooling[102]

[101] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community*. 73.
[102] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community*. 76.

> prepared to live satisfying lives and to contribute to their bicultural community and their country.[103]

Test results showed that the non-native English-speaking students had benefitted from the program. Furthermore, it was also shown that bilingual education had not hurt the academic progress of the native English speakers. "In English reading, both language groups did as well as or better than their counterparts in monolingual English schools, and the Cuban children achieved equivalent levels in Spanish."[104]

These results proved that the program was a successful way to integrate the refugees into the American schools while they retained their native language and cultural heritage. These students were far more successful academically than the students who had partook in the "sink or swim" approach. The students were shown to be on target for their grade level, albeit more advanced since they now had knowledge of another language. Furthermore, others saw benefits of the students developing bilingualism without sacrificing academic success in their native language. The program was a milestone achievement in bilingual education and became a model for schools all across the country.

After Coral Way Elementary's successful endeavor into bilingual education, other schools around the county and the country adopted bilingual programs to accommodate their immigrant student population. Programs were begun in Arizona, New Mexico, Texas and New Jersey.[105] These programs also delivered promising results that showed bilingual education as a successful way to integrate Spanish-speaking immigrant children into the United States. Congress soon took an interest in these programs.

The overall environment of the United States during the 1960s helped foster support for bilingual education. The civil rights movement brought attention to the plight of immigrant students in the American public schools. After Coral Way Elementary showed that non-native English speaking students could thrive academically under the right circumstances, there was a push to reform the nation's policies on bilingual education. It was clear that immigrant students attending United States public schools were not able to receive the same quality education as their American-born peers did. Despite the fact that both groups received the same taxpayer-funded education, it was clear that the non native-English speakers were placed at a disadvantage since they did not understand the language in which instruction was given. Thanks to its specialized

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[103] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community:* 81.
[104] Crawford, James. *Bilingual Education: History, Politics, Theory, and Practice.* Trenton: Crane Publishing Company, 1989. 28.
[105] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* 8.

program, Coral Way Elementary negated the notion that immigrant students were academically inferior.

Furthermore, the experimental program had also successfully integrated the Cuban refugees into American culture. Many thought that providing some form of bilingual education to immigrant students would end the cycle of poverty in immigrant communities. It was believed that if students quickly assimilated to American life, it would ensure their success in the future. Lawmakers classified bilingual education as program to combat poverty.[106]

National reform of bilingual education soon followed with the Federal Bilingual Act in 1968. This ensured that children who were not fluent in the English language could be taught in their native tongue. However, the expressed goal was not to preserve the student's native tongue and culture, but rather to hasten their acquisition of the English language. Unfortunately, the act was surrounded by controversy of whether federal funds should be available to non-English instruction. Bilingual education would be become a highly politicized issue. Congress justified the act when it was passed in 1968 citing that every child should have the opportunity to receive an education in which they can understand.

> The Congress hereby finds that one of the most acute educational problems in the United States is that which involves millions of children of limited English-speaking ability because they come from environments where the dominant language is other than English; additional efforts should be made to supplement present attempts to find adequate and constructive solutions to this unique and perplexing educational situation; and that the urgent need is for comprehensive and cooperative action now on the local, State and Federal levels to develop forward looking approaches to meet the serious learning difficulties faced by this substantial segment of the Nation's school age population.[107]

However, the act was riddled with weaknesses. Its mission was to help students overcome their "language handicap" not to provide bilingual education, whereas programs in Miami genuinely believed in their mission to create bilingual students. These successful programs helped create the bicultural community of present day Miami because of their tailored curriculum for a specific group of children with very specific needs. In contrast, the national bilingual education reform was not focused on addressing a community's specific needs. Instead its aim was to help students become proficient English speakers.

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[106] Crawford, James. *Bilingual Education.* 29-33.

[107] "Congressional Findings," Section 701, P.L.90-247, Title VII, ESEA in *Living and Learning in Two Languages* by Francis Willard von Maltitz 8

A student's native language was viewed as a hindrance to their success in the public schools. The act would facilitate the acquisition of the English language and therefore, politicians believed, help ensure academic achievement for immigrants. "The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 permitted federal funds to be used to help educate children who were both poor and 'educationally disadvantaged because of their inability to speak English,' but it did not require schooling in any particular language."[108] However, the act's inability to adequately define bilingual education meant that there were no specific requirements for funding. They act provided no instruction to the public schools on how to create and implement bilingual programs. The lack of clear and defined guidelines led to the production of many different types of programs. Many cities struggled with implementing effective bilingual education programs. The act's language could not ensure that every city had a successful bilingual program such as Coral Way Elementary. Furthermore, the act failed to enact any sort of system monitored a school's progress. If a program proved ineffective, the government would have no responsibility of remedying it.

The act's misguided mission, failure to properly assess the student's community, and lack of any definitive guidelines were its main weaknesses. Although the reform provided funding for many worthwhile bilingual programs, it did not always implement the right solution for school districts that were inundated with non-native English speakers. The next chapter will address how the national bilingual education reform was responsible for the implementation of both effective and ineffective bilingual education programs throughout the United States.

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[108] Hochschild, Jennifer and Nathan Scovronick. *The American Dream and the Public Schools*. 150-1.

Chapter Three
The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and the Bilingual Reform Movement in the United States, 1967-1990

Bilingual education has proved to be a very controversial issue for many communities since many individuals have differing ideas on what role a school should play. Some supporters of bilingual education lament "the paradox of bilingual education is that when it is employed in private schools for the children of elites throughout the world it is accepted as educationally valid. However, when public schools implemented bilingual education for language minority students over the past 50 years, bilingual education became highly controversial."[109] In order to best understand how this issue became controversial, we must broaden our horizons and examine how previous attempts by various ethnic minorities to implement bilingual education programs in the public schools throughout the United States were received. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s there was massive enrollment of Mexican-American students in public schools in the southwestern United States; however, they were largely ineffective in gaining bilingual educations programs until the passage of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968. By contrasting the school experience of Cuban refugee students with that of Mexican immigrant students, I hope to shed light how the implementation of programs relied heavily on both the ethnic group's status in the community and the existing community's perceptions on what role a school plays in the community. Furthermore, I plan to show how these aforementioned factors affected the creation and implementation of the bilingual education reform in the United States public schools and how they continue to impact an individual's personal stance on bilingual education.

Other Factors Contributing to Nationwide Bilingual Education Reform

Although the implementation of the national bilingual education reform is widely attributed to the success of the pilot program at Coral Way Elementary School, it must be noted that many other factors helped ensure its passage. To begin with, language minority students enrolled in public schools was not unique to Dade County; the public schools in the Southwestern United States were swamped with Mexican-American immigrants who lacked fluency in the English language. However, these immigrants were not as powerful in their community and lacked the ability to voice their concerns about the quality of

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[109] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* 1.

education. The 1960s and the civil rights movement helped garner attention and support for programs to assist language minority students in the public schools, and brought to light the plight of Mexican-Americans in the southwestern United States. The rise of the Chicano rights movement also helped Mexican-Americans define a platform to address the discrimination they faced within the basic institutions of American society.

> A series of southwestern protests erupted, challenging the traditional pattern of Hispanic subordination. Part of this protest movement paralleled the black civil rights movement; some of it was unique to the conditions of the Southwest. Cesar Chavez's campaign to unionize farmworkers was the first round in this protest movement. Then came Reyes Tijerna's struggle for land grant rights, Corky Gonzalez's Crusade for Justice, and the La Raza Unida Party. [...] Chicano nationalists put forth demands for community control of social and educational policy. A series of blowouts hit the high schools in the region. These were walkouts demanding an end to the "no Spanish" rule, better facilities, bilingual education, more sensitive teachers and counselors, and the study of Chicano history and culture.[110]

The Mexican-Americans' plea for bilingual education was enabled by the fact that the successful bilingual education programs catering to a Hispanic community were already in place within United States public schools. The success of the program at Coral Way Elementary only validated their claims that these programs were necessary for Mexican-American students to thrive academically. Since the pilot program was unique to American public schools in the 1960s,[111] Coral Way Elementary School's impact on the creation of national bilingual education reform was tremendous.

The program was such a notable achievement that it was even cited as evidence for a successful bilingual program at the Congressional hearings on the passage of Bilingual Education Act.[112] With a proven effective bilingual education program, Mexicans newfound voice in the political sphere advocated for education reform and their communities clearly demonstrated the need for such programs

As mentioned earlier, the problem of educating language minority students was not solely one that pertained to Dade County schools, as Mexican-American students had long attended public schools, especially in the southwestern United States. These schools were inundated with non-native English speakers just as Dade County public schools. However, these schools had previously not found it necessary to implement a bilingual

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[110] Stein, Colman Brez Jr. *Sink or Swim.* 27.

[111] Lessow-Hurley, Judith. *The Foundation of Dual Language Instruction.* Boston: Pearson, 2000. 8.

[112] United States Ninetieth Congress. Hearings Before the Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. United States Senates. First Session on S. 428. Part1. May 1967. Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1967.

curriculum despite the fact that its methods for teaching the immigrant community often proved ineffective. In order to better understand the lack of bilingual education programs in areas that so clearly demonstrated the need, it is important to examine the Mexican-American community as a whole. The Mexican-Americans' previous lack of influence and power in their communities help elucidate how Coral Way Elementary School's pilot program was essential for the enactment of nationwide reforms for language instruction in public schools.

Mexican Immigrants in the Southwestern United States During the 1950s and 1960s

The Mexican immigrants residing in the southwest United States in the 1950s and 1960s were not as well received as the Cuban refugees were; although the two groups are similar in a number of ways: both groups sought a better future in the United States and were native Spanish speakers. Despite these similarities, the American public did not view the Mexican immigrants as favorably as the Cuban refugees. Mexican's history of migration to United States combined with their perceived social status were both hindrances to their successful integration into American society.

Mexicans, unlike Cubans, have had a long history of migrating to the United States, dating back to United States' acquisition of its southwestern region from Mexico. Many Mexicans were living in this land; and as more Anglo-Saxons moved in, the culture and economic practice of the region changed drastically. As Americans began to develop the land, they often exploited the indigenous Mexican population for labor. As a result, the region's economy relied on Mexicans for completing unskilled jobs, which required little to no educational background. Thus, this long and embattled history further fueled their negative context of reception.[113] I will be specifically examining the wave of Mexican immigration that occurred in the 1940s to 1960s, by focusing on the Mexican participants in the migrant program set up by the *Bracero Accords*.

The *Bracero Accords* was established in 1942 and lasted until 1964 and established a temporary worker arrangement between the two countries. Prior to the *Bracero* program, the majority of Mexicans who migrated to the United States were well-educated and financially stable in their native country.[114] The year 1885 was a turning point for Mexican immigration as the railroads made the United States more accessible.

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[113] Grebler, Leo, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman. *The Mexican-American People: The nation's second largest minority.* New York: The Free Press, 1970. 55.

[114] Massey, Douglas et.al. *Return to Aztlan: The Social Process of International Migration from Western Mexico.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987. 51.

"Given the increasing demand for labor in the southwestern United States and the growing mass of poor landless workers just across the border, migration was inevitable, and the catalyst that made it happen were the railroads."[115] However it was the United States' entry into World War II that Mexicans began migrating in massive numbers thanks to the increased demand for labor in the already sparsely populated areas in the southwest. The *Bracero* program was introduced at this time in order to help allievate the demand for labor by introducing the Mexican people as temporary solution. The program was responsible drastically increasing the numbers of Mexicans who sought to migrate to the United States as it offered steady employment for the migrants. Over 4.5 million Mexicans migrated to the United States as a part of this program, which included 400,000 migrants a year at the program's height.[116]

The contracts were undesirable to Americans as they were short and the jobs, themselves, did not pay well; however, due to the economic troubles in Mexico many Mexicans found the *Bracero* program as a great opportunity. [117] Through the *Bracero* program, Mexican immigrants were able to easily find employment in labor-intensive industries such as mining and agriculture, often in rural areas. These jobs were often characterized as dirty low-wage workand provided little to no upward mobility within society. [118] As a result, these industries kept the immigrants isolated from the local Anglo community. Agriculture and mining industries were often located in remote locations; and migratory farming also provided little geographic stability for the immigrants. Even Mexican-Americans living in urban areas could only find employment in brickyards, which were often located at the edge of a city.[119] This isolation placed many immigrants at a disadvantage, as they were not able to establish themselves within traditional American society. Many scholars believe that "interaction and involvement with institutions of the host society are important steps toward assimilation and acculturation."[120]

Unlike the Cubans, Mexicans were classified as economic immigrants, which significantly changed the context in which the group was received. Whereas many Cubans also took low-paying jobs upon their arrival to Miami, the urban landscape forced them to interact with the established institutions, which ultimately helped the refugees seek out opportunities to raise their socioeconomic status; Mexicans were not able easily

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[115] Massey, Douglas et.al. *Return to Aztlan*. 41.
[116] Massey, Douglas et.al. *Return to Aztlan*. 43.
[117] Massey, Douglas et.al. *Return to Aztlan*. 55.
[118] Grebler, Leo, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman. *The Mexican-American People*. 51.
[119] Grebler, Leo, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman. *The Mexican-American People*. 89.
[120] Grebler, Leo, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman. *The Mexican-American People*. 84.

access to these institutions due to their economically imposed isolation from American society contributing to their inability to quickly or fully assimilate.

When the *Bracero* program ended in 1964, Mexican migration to the United States continued as the ethnic group was able to establish migrant networks in America. "The institutionalization of these migrant networks during the *Bracero* era considerably reduced the costs and risks associated with U.S. migration and made it accessible to everyone, young and old, male and female, poor and rich."[121] Both Cubans and Mexicans tended to migrate to one geographical region where they built an extensive and tight-knit ethnic enclave. Around the 1950s, the Mexican-American population was heavily concentrated in parts of five states located within the southwestern region of the United States: California, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado. In 1960, over 10 percent of the people residing in the southwestern region of the United States indentified as Mexican or Mexican-American.[122] Mexicans often immigrated to rural areas that were, by nature, very different from the urban Miami landscape where Cubans sought refuge. The geographical location played a large role in what type of status these immigrants received as the areas often restricted the types of employment they could seek out.

Consequently, the inability for immigrants to fully integrate led to the continued discrimination of subsequent generations despite their ability to identify as Mexican-Americans. As evidenced by the statistics shown in Tables 3-1, and 3-2, there was a tremendous gap in income and education between the Mexican-American and Anglo residents of the Southwest. These factors, along with existing prejudices, significantly impacted the southwestern community's perceptions on what type of education was suitable for Mexican-Americans. Whereas the Cuban refugees were very well-educated, the Mexican immigrants were not. The Bracero Accords program was a means for any Mexican to migrate to the United States granted that they were capable and willing to perform menial labor. Mexican immigrants, like Cuban refugees, were also viewed as temporary migrants; however the economic basis for their migration made the group much less sympathetic to the American public. It was commonly believed throughout the region that Mexicans were only in the United States temporarily to take jobs that no one else wanted. Although both groups came the United States in search of a better life, Americans felt more sympathy for the Cubans since they were forced to flee their native land.

[121] Masse
[122] Greble

Table 2–1. Major Population Characteristics, Southwest, 1960

Item	Anglo[a]	Spanish-surname	Non-white	Reference[b]
Percent of total population	79	12	9	Table 6–1
Population growth 1950–60, percent	37	51	49	Chart 6–1
Percent in urban areas	81	79	80	Table 6–6
Median age	30	20	24	Chart 6–6
Percent of children under 15	30	42	37	Chapter 6
Dependency ratio[c]				Chart 6–8
Total dependent	85	121	98	
Dependent young	68	112	87	
Dependent aged	17	9	11	
Incidence of broken families				
Percent other than husband-wife[d]	10	16	22	Table 6–10

Table 3.1 Major Population Characteristics, Southwest, 1960[123]

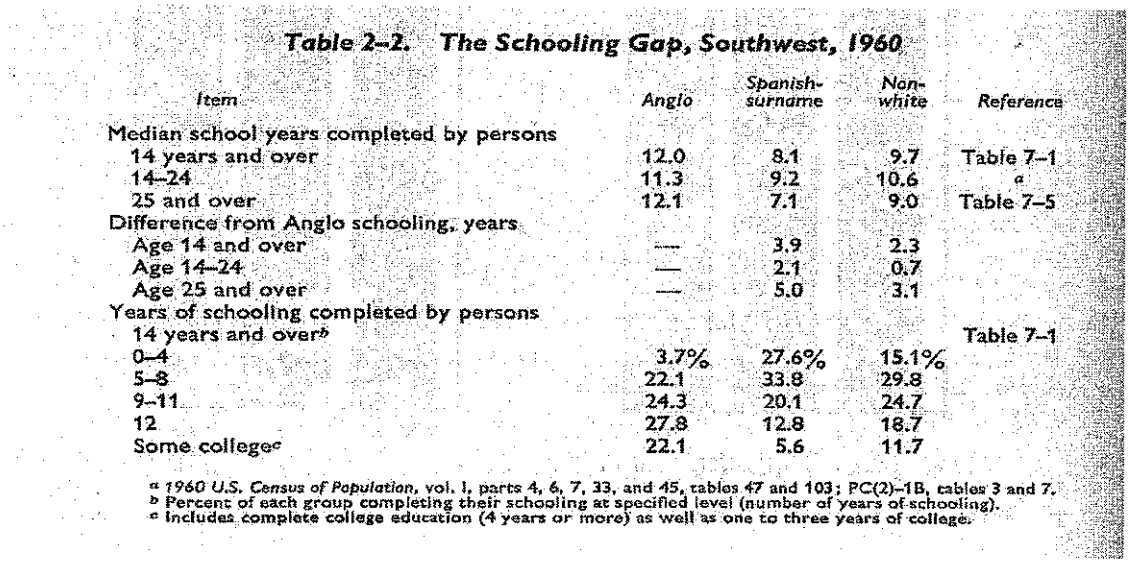

Table 2–2. The Schooling Gap, Southwest, 1960

Item	Anglo	Spanish-surname	Nonwhite	Reference
Median school years completed by persons				
14 years and over	12.0	8.1	9.7	Table 7–1
14–24	11.3	9.2	10.6	[a]
25 and over	12.1	7.1	9.0	Table 7–5
Difference from Anglo schooling, years				
Age 14 and over	—	3.9	2.3	
Age 14–24	—	2.1	0.7	
Age 25 and over	—	5.0	3.1	
Years of schooling completed by persons				
14 years and over[b]				Table 7–1
0–4	3.7%	27.6%	15.1%	
5–8	22.1	33.8	29.8	
9–11	24.3	20.1	24.7	
12	27.8	12.8	18.7	
Some college[c]	22.1	5.6	11.7	

[a] *1960 U.S. Census of Population*, vol. I, parts 4, 6, 7, 33, and 45, tables 47 and 103; PC(2)–1B, tables 3 and 7.
[b] Percent of each group completing their schooling at specified level (number of years of schooling).
[c] Includes complete college education (4 years or more) as well as one to three years of college.

Table 3.2 The Schooling Gap, Southwest, 1960[124]

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[123] Grebler, Leo, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman. *The Mexican-American People: The nation's second largest minority.* New York: The Free Press, 1970. 16.
[124] Grebler, Leo, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman. *The Mexican-American People.* 18.

Index numbers (Anglo = 100)				
Median family income				Table 8–1
Southwest	100	65	56	
Urban Southwest	100	66	59	
Median income per person in family, Southwest	100	47	51	Table 8–3
Median income of males[a]				Table 8–4
Southwest	100	57	51[b]	
Urban Southwest	100	61	53[b]	
Median income adjusted for schooling				Table 8–9
Males in California[a]	100	88	72	
Males in Texas[a]	100	72	56	
Labor-force participation rate, urban,[c] percent				Table 9–1
Males in Southwest	80.0%	78.0%	78.0%	
Females in Southwest	36.0	31.0	46.0	
Unemployment rate, urban, percent				Chapter 9
Males in Southwest	4.5	8.5	9.1	
Females in Southwest	5.0	9.5	8.1	
Occupational structure of males, urban Southwest				
Percent white collar	47.0	19.0	18.0	Table 9–3
Percent low-skill manual	26.0	57.0	60.0	Table 9–4
Overall occupational position (index: Anglo = 100)	100	84	82	Chapter 9
Housing condition in metropolitan areas				
Percent overcrowded units	8%	35%	22%	Chart 11–1
Percent substandard units[d]	7	30	27	Table 11–2

[a] Adjusted for age differentials among the three population groups. All income figures pertain to 1959.
[b] Negro.
[c] Percent of persons 14 years and older in labor force.
[d] Deteriorating and dilapidated units.

Table 3.3 The Economic Gap, 1960[125]

The Schooling of Mexican Students in the Southwestern United States

There are many factors that contributed the wide gap between the two ethnic groups; however, it stems mostly from the quality of education Mexican-Americans had access to. Since the Mexican-American community was generally characterized by their low economic and political status, the majority of these immigrant children only had access to education was in the public schools. The school's geographical area, and school administrators' belief of what type of education immigrant students should receive played significant role in creating the aforesaid disparity.

To begin with, the educational standards of the southwestern rural areas differed greatly from those of eastern urban areas. Schools in rural areas often do not have access to the same types of resources that schools in urban areas do. Students whose families worked in the agriculture industry were also not as likely to receive the same education as students whose parents were employed in white-collar jobs. [126] However, the large educational disparities between native white students and students of Mexican descent cannot be solely attributed to the geographical location of these students. A particular

[125] Grebler, Leo, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman. *The Mexican-American People.* 19.
[126] Perlman, Joel. *Italians Then, Mexicans Now.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2005. 65.

student's socioeconomic class was used to determine whether the student was capable of academic success.

The data from the preceding tables clearly show how Mexican-Americans lagged far behind their Anglo neighbors in attaining education. The gap between Mexican-American and Anglo students was significantly large.

> The education of the Mexican-Americans is, by and large, very low. For example, in 1960 their median education for men and women 25 years old and over was 7.1 years of completed schooling, as compared with 12.1 for the Anglo population. While Anglos have at least 22 percent with one year or more of college education, Chicanos have only 6 percent reaching that level of education.[127]

Typically, the parents of the Mexican immigrant children who attended public schools were not as well-educated as the parents of their Anglo peers.[128] The negative context of reception of these Mexicans helped shape the education of Mexican children. This negative perception of these immigrants led to the belief that this culture was inferior to American culture. While schools adopted an assimilation approach, the schools did not have the same educational standards for Anglo students and Mexican students. Mexican students, especially those who were unable to fully assimilate, were considered to be inferior. Whereas the school functioned as a means to temporarily accommodate Cuban refugee children, Mexican and Mexican-American students attended schools that encouraged full assimilation into American society because being Mexican was not a highly valued characteristic in society.

Throughout the first half of the 20th Century in the southwestern states, it was widely believed that a school's function was to transform children into productive Americans. School officials were keenly aware that these students' native tongue was not English. Although some public schools provided special accommodations for these students to become fluent English speakers, these programs often proved to be unsuccessful. Given the United States public schools' long history of implementing segregated classrooms and schools as evidenced by the treatment of American Indians and blacks, segregating these Mexican students was often a popular method that the public schools used in trying to achieve its mission. Through segregation, schools attempted to indoctrinate the students with American values.

> "Public school officials wanted Mexican children in schools but segregated so that they could be controlled and indoctrinated so that

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[127] Trueba, Henry T. "Bilingual-Bicultural Education for Chicanos in the Southwest." *Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 5.3, 1974:8-15.http://www.jstor.org/stable3195066 (accessed on 2 Feb 2010). 9.

[128] As shown in Table 3.1, the average time spent in school for those with Spanish surnames in the southwest was 9 years that many of this sample did not have a high school diploma.

> they could be "Americanized," learn English, and rid themselves of their native language and customs, which the officials deemed detrimental to assimilation and to the maintenance of a unified nation."[129]

Segregation was necessary because the students' native tongue and culture was viewed as problematic. Their language and culture was not considered to be valuable to a student's future success as an American citizen; these traits could potentially destroy the integrity and unity of the country. Therefore, the students were segregated not only to promote assimilation, but also to protect the language skills and culture of the native Anglo students.

Some immigrant students found success through these methods, but these cases were often times rare. Richard Rodriguez's autobiography, a Mexican-American who attended public schools in Sacramento, California in the 1950s that only offered instruction in English, depicts the negative consequences of these programs. He, like the school officials, fully believed that his education, and thus his acquisition of the English language, would enable him to anything. Rodriguez went on to study at the prestigious universities such as Stanford and Columbia and was able to become a member of the middle class. In his 1982 memoir Rodriguez writes that although his education and fluency in English enabled to successfully socially assimilate to American life, his abandonment of his native tongue and culture alienated him from his family and ethnic community. He laments that education has divided his family. Despite his success, Rodriguez struggled with his personal ethnic and class identity.[130] This method's ultimate goal of assimilating students often does not take into account the psychological trauma caused by forcing a student to choose between economic success and personal relationships.

The school's mission of "Americanizing" the immigrant students often times had other unintended consequences; Mexican-Americans' native language often made them victims of educational discrimination. School officials deemed their inability to speak English as a "language handicap" and their ethnic background made them "culturally deprived." These classifications further encouraged disparities in educational quality amongst ethnic groups within the public schools since these classifications suggested to many educators that immigrant children were intellectually inferior. Vocational tracking was often offered to students in public schools based on their social class and ethnicity. Mexican students were dissuaded from academics by their teachers in favor for

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[129] Moll, Luis C. and Richard Ruiz. "The Schooling of Latino Children." *Latinos: Remaking America.* Edited by Marcelo Suarez- Orozco and Mariela Paz. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. 364.
[130] Rodriguez, Richard. Hunger of Memory: The Education of Richard Rodriguez. New York: Bantam Books, 1982.

preparation for manufacturing and agricultural jobs. They were regarded as destined for undesirable blue-collar jobs based upon their inability to speak English. In other schools, teachers lowered their expectations for immigrant students since they believed their lack of culture prevented them from grasping anything beyond basic skills. Without assistance or motivation from teachers, these students were unable to progress academically. Consequently, this pattern justified the substandard education since teachers continually saw the poor academic performance of immigrants as evidence these students were not capable of understanding anything beyond the basic skills.[131]

There were, however, some programs in place to assist non-native English speakers. Programs such as English as a Second Language (ESL), designed to improve the English language skills of non-native speakers, were taught in some public schools. Unfortunately, the lack of standardized instruction of the immigrant children meant that most Mexican-American students did not have access to these programs. "In a Civil Rights Commission survey, only 5.5 percent of Mexican American children in California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas were enrolled in ESL classes in 1968-9."[132] However, ESL programs often used segregation techniques, which created further problems as it retarded the student's progression on the traditional and standardized educational track.[133] In the time in which it took for a student to successfully learn English meant that they were behind grade level. As a result, these students had to repeat grades and were again stigmatized for being intellectually inferior.[134]

However, due to the widespread exclusion of the Spanish language from the curriculum and the lack of assistance provided, non-native English speaking students often struggled to grasp the intricacies of the English language. Many students failed to properly receive a quality education because of the lack of supportive school environment. By failing to develop their English language skills, the schools had failed in their mission to "Americanize" students and thus, these students lacked the educational resources to socially advance in their society.[135] At this time, Mexican-Americans had much higher rates of high school dropout than white and black students.[136] Many economists note that, "Elevated high school dropout rates are a serious warning sign that upward mobility in future years may well be restricted for [a] group."[137] The schools

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[131] Stein, Colman Brez Jr. *Sink or Swim.* 15-17.
[132] Crawford, James. *Bilingual Education: History, Politics, Theory, and Practice.* Trenton: Crane Publishing Company, 1989. 27.
[133] Grebler, Leo, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman. *The Mexican-American People.* 156.
[134] Stein, Colman Brez Jr. *Sink or Swim.*14.
[135] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* 7.
[136] Perlman, Joel. *Italians Then, Mexicans Now.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2005. 77.
[137] Perlman, Joel. Italians Then, Mexicans Now. 82.

employed methods that only perpetuated Mexican-Americans' long history of being unable to raise advance economically and socially leaving them isolated from American society since their education only provided them skills that qualified for low-wage jobs keeping the group confined to life in the lower class. Moreover, the discrimination felt by Mexican-Americans in the schools combined with their poor academic progress encouraged ethnic segregation. The schools' approach led many students to reject American culture and values, and seek comfort within their own ethnic group. [138] Overall, students like Richard Rodriguez were hard to come by in these schools that fostered environments where generations of Mexican-Americans were doomed to be subjected to segregation and intense discrimination.

The stereotypes regarding Mexican-Americans were consistently reproduced; and unlike the Cuban refugees, the consistent stream of Mexican immigration further encouraged complacency with these educational practices. Thus, through exclusion and segregation were able to replicate circumstances to perpetuate the social status of the immigrants and subsequent generations. "The schools used [...] social control, [...] intended to preserve the status quo by denying the Mexican population the knowledge necessary to protect its political and economic rights and to advance economically in society.[139]Accordingly, these discriminatory methods were hardly contested by Mexican-Americans. Furthermore, the demand for labor in the southwestern region continued to provide an incentive for Mexicans to immigrate to the United States. First and subsequent generations of Mexican immigrants were repeatedly subjected to this substandard education.

Bilingual Education and Public Schools in the Southwest

Bilingual education was not seen as a plausible or helpful option for the school officials in the southwestern United States. As previously addressed, these communities saw education as a means to help Mexican students assimilate into American culture. Many believed bilingual education programs would only impede the academic and economic success of these students since these programs devoted lots of time to develop a child's native language, which was considered to be useless in America. Furthermore, school officials believed that child's English language skills rather than their native language to ensure success academically. Since immigrant student would rarely have the opportunity to seek out higher education in their native tongue, it was deemed imperative

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[138] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* 59.
[139] Moll, Luis C. and Richard Ruiz. "The Schooling of Latino Children." *Latinos: Remaking America.* 364.

for Mexican-American children to fully develop their English skills in order to advance academically.

> It is inevitable that any considerations of the education of Mexican-American children should begin with a consideration of the roles of English and Spanish in their academic life in the United States. For the Mexican-American child to compete favorably with his Anglo peers, it seem to me that it is obligatory that he gain a proficiency in English equivalent to that of his Anglo peers. This is true as long as his ultimate success in high school and college depends on his ability to comprehend and manipulate concrete and abstract concepts presented to him in English. However attractive it might appear, it would be folly to think that Mexican American children in this country will ever have the opportunity to choose the language of instruction, either English or Spanish, for his higher education. Realistically, we must assume that his eventual academic and professional success is closely correlated to his ability to function in English much the same as a native speaker of English does.[140]

Thus, the decision to implement curricula that did not nurture the student's native language skills was imperative for the student to seek out further education, which would in turn, provide the student with the means to advance their position within society and further assimilate to American life.

In contrast, Cuban students' retention of the Spanish language was seen as an asset in Miami, since they were expected to return to their homeland, Mexicans immigrants were considered to be permanent members of American society and their native tongue was not expected or wanted utilized in future endeavors. In the Southwest, bilingualism was not seen as asset. Educators rejected the notion of devoting time and resources to retaining and perfecting Mexican-Americans' Spanish skills since it would further slow the students' acquisition of English. This heavy focus on assimilation, led to the total rejection of the Spanish language. As a result of their narrow lens, education leaders hardly considered to incorporate the student's native language as means to facilitate their development of English.

The Nationwide Bilingual Education Reforms In Action

The successful implementation of Coral Way's bilingual education program and the growing demand for such programs led to the proposal of the Bilingual Education Act. These nationwide bilingual education reforms ushered in a new era where immigrant students could choose to receive an education in their native language.

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[140] Campbell, Russell N. "Bilingual Education for Mexican-American Children in California" in *Bilingualism in the Southwest.* (pages 29-37) Edited by Paul R. Turner. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1973. 31.

The Creation of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968

The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 was proposed, by Senator Ralph Yarborough (D-TX), as an amendment to the wide reaching education reform Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965. The act is also known as Title VII of the ESEA.[141] Senator Yarborough was passionate about this act, as he felt this affected would personally benefit his constituents. On the floor of the Senate, he described the plight of Spanish-speaking children who attend Texas public schools and claimed that the exclusion of the Spanish language in these schools could be psychologically damaging.[142]

Eventually, Congress was persuaded that these programs were very beneficial for immigrants and the federal Bilingual Education Act was enacted in 1968. This ensured that children who were not fluent in the English language had the right to be receive instruction in their native tongue. Congress justified the act by declaring that every child should have the opportunity to receive an education in a language they understood.

> The Congress hereby finds that one of the most acute educational problems in the United States is that which involves millions of children of limited English-speaking ability because they come from environments where the dominant language is other than English; additional efforts should be made to supplement present attempts to find adequate and constructive solutions to this unique and perplexing educational situation; and that the urgent need is for comprehensive and cooperative action now on the local, State and Federal levels to develop forward looking approaches to meet the serious learning difficulties faced by this substantial segment of the Nation's school age population.[143]

Congress found that these non-English speaking students deserved and necessitated special education programs. It was widely understood that these programs would help further the education of immigrant children. President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the act into law with the words, "Thousands of children of Latin descent, young Indians, and others will get a better start- a better chance- in school."[144] The success of the dual-way bilingual program at Coral Way demonstrated to Congress that this program could help immigrant students learn English while not compromising a rigorous academic experience.

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[141] United States Ninetienth Congress. *Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education*, 90th Congress, 1st Session (1967), hearing on S428; reprinted by Arno Press (New York: 1978)

[142] United States Ninetienth Congress. *Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education* May 18, 1967. 1.

[143] "Congressional Findings," Section 701, P.L.90-247, Title VII, ESEA in Von Maltitz, Francis Willard, *Living and Learning in Two Languages.* New York: McGraw-Hill. 8

[144] Andersson, Theodore. "Bilingual Education: The American Experience." *The Modern Language Journal,* Vol. 55, No. 7 (Nov., 1971), pp. 427-440. Blackwell Publishing, 1970. 429.

Although Congress had been persuaded that this act was beneficial, the American public had a harder time accepting bilingual education programs in the public schools. The act generated controversy largely in part due to its biased language, its ambiguous mission, the limited number of recipients of the expected benefits, and its lack of any definitive guidelines for implementing bilingual education. Furthermore, the act simply stated that certain children had the right to bilingual education; it did not explicitly require or enforce school districts to adopt programs.

The Reform's Target Recipients: Disadvantaged Minority Students

Given that Dade County residents had supported bilingual programs in the public schools and the Cuban population of South Florida had been shown to greatly benefit from them, bilingual education supporters tried to draw connections between the programs and overall economic and social success of the refugee in America in effort to lend credibility to the reforms. Supporters of the bill suggested that that bilingual education programs could be replicated throughout the United States to help other immigrant groups find similar success in America. Consequently, President Johnson and the 90th Congress classified these programs as a part of its "poverty program." Bilingual education programs were to be used to help encourage immigrant students' true academic potential.

> From its outset, federal aid to bilingual education was regarded as a 'poverty program,' rather than an innovative approach to language instruction. This decision would shape the development of bilingual programs, and the heated ideological battles surrounding them, over the next two decades."[145]

However, the classification of this program as a poverty program meant that the politicians were uninterested in the many functions of bilingual education. Despite its importance in the creation of the act, the dual aspect of the Coral Way program was disregarded since politicians failed to acknowledge the benefits Anglo students acquisition of a second language.

The act established that only poor language minority speakers had the right to such programs. Students must not be able to speak English and their families must have an income of less than $3,000 a year in order to be considered for participation.[146] Politicians had ignored the benefits of bilingualism for all students because the act had been marketed as a means to help immigrant students. Furthermore, the federal reforms

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[145] Crawford, James. *Bilingual Education.* 29.
[146] Lessow-Hurley, Judith. *The Foundation of Dual Language Instruction.* Boston: Pearson, 2000. 142.

were specifically stated to cater to disadvantaged youth. Since scholars note that a disadvantaged group is a group that "society at large has acted by omission or commission to hinder a disproportionate number of its members in the development of their individual abilities", the federal government essentially publicly acknowledged the widespread biases and prejudicial treatment of immigrant communities in the United States through its label of language minority students as disadvantaged. [147]

Although Coral Way's success was the catalyst that sparked interest in and gave credibility to bilingual education, the Civil Rights movement was widely responsible for the creation and passage of the act. Bilingual education was not seen as helpful program for all school children, but rather as a means to provide fair and equal education to all students. Therefore, the mission of this reform was not to create a nation of bilingual citizens, but rather to help eliminate the bigoted policies present in the public schools.

The Ambiguous Mission of the Bilingual Education Act of 1968

The act's language influenced what types of programs could be implemented and in which areas the programs would be beneficial. Regardless of the sponsors' desire to create tolerant classrooms by providing equal education for all students, the act was framed in the same biased language that had been previously used in the discriminatory public school policies against Mexican-Americans. Politicians had acknowledged that immigrant children were robbed of a quality education because of their ethnic background, their fluency in their native language. This is most visible by declaring a child's inability to speak English as a handicap. "[The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 was] a remedial effort designed to help 'disadvantaged' children overcome the 'handicap' of not speaking English." [148] The use of "language handicap" further perpetuated the myth that immigrant students are intellectually inferior to their native-born peers. Those who resisted the reforms cited these labels as evidence that these programs would not be profitable endeavor for American society.

Although Congress targeted specific students who needed bilingual education, they failed to clarify what the main mission of these programs was. While arguing for the passage of this act, republican Senator Paul Fannin of Arizona reminded his fellow congressmen that:

> It would be a mistake [...] for us to impose our notions of bilingual education on school officials, state or local. We are politicians, not educators. [...] It is a tribute to most of the bills we are here to consider that they do in fact recognize the right of, indeed the need

[147] Grebler, Leo, Joan W. Moore, and Ralph C. Guzman. *The Mexican-American People.* 24.
[148] Crawford, James. *Bilingual Education.* 29.

> for, local school districts to experiment with these and various other pedagogical concepts, accepting those that work, rejecting those that do not. For the most part, the various bills take into account the fact that a variety of techniques can best produce a uniformity of excellence, no less for the Spanish-speaking child than for American students generally.[149]

The act, thus, failed to address which of the many different types of bilingual educational programs should be implemented. Although politicians gave the educators the freedom to choose a program that best suited their needs, the politicians failed to acknowledge that the goals of programs that can be classified as bilingual education vary greatly in regards to the full extent of a student's acquisition of the two languages.

The Different Models of Bilingual Education and Their Varying Goals

Many education officials who looked to act for guidance found that "a key question[...]-whether the act was to speed the transition to English or to promote bilingualism- was left unresolved."[150] The wide variety of bilingual education models means there is a range of approaches to the subject matter, but nearly all of the models can be placed within two distinct categories based off the goals of the program: the pluralistic approach and the assimilation approach. The models that follow the pluralistic approach tend to serve native speakers and non-native speakers and strive to create bilingual students in the classroom. On the one hand, programs that take an assimilation approach always serve non-native, language minority students, as these programs' ultimate goal is to develop proficiency in the English language.

Assimilation Approach

The assimilation approach includes types of bilingual education programs that are found within the majority of public school in the United States.[151] These models include transitional, integrated transitional bilingual education, submersion with native language support, bilingual immersion, structured immersion, and ESL (English as a second language). These models focus solely on developing a student's English language skills. In fact, although both ESL and structured immersion programs offer instruction only in the English language were able receive funding under the BEA Act because it facilitated "the teaching of English as a foreign language."[152] These programs often times use the

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[149] United States Ninetienth Congress. *Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education* May 18, 1967. 15.
[150] Crawford, James. *Bilingual Education.* 32.
[151] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* 22.
[152] United States Ninetienth Congress. *Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education* May 18, 1967. 7.

student's native language to help facilitate the instruction of the English language; however, unlike the pluralistic models, these programs to not strive to create bilingual students. The programs aim to make students fluent in the English language so they can enter "mainstream" classrooms, where English is the sole language of instruction. It is up to the student and his family to preserve their native language, as bilingualism is not seen as an asset in these programs.

Assimilation approach programs design their curriculum to facilitate the development of the students' English language. These programs are viewed by some as advantageous because they help immigrant students ease themselves into the transition that of becoming American. The program's goals is for all students to become fluent in the English language and be able to join the "mainstream" classroom, where they receive the same education as native-born students. These programs are often very successful at assimilating students into the American public school system.

Many supporters claim that these students need to be fluent in the English in order to strengthen their American identity and unite the nation.[153]By teaching them English, students gain a sense of American identity and find success through applying American values. With all students fluent in English, it can be assured that all students have an equal opportunity within the nation's public schools. These programs' crowning achievement was to provide the basis for all immigrant students to have access to the same classrooms as native-born students. As a result, these programs do not focus on a students' native language but rather only use this students' native language to help teach English. Under this approach it is not the role of the public schools to develop and preserve students' native language, and this type of approach has its potentital disadvantages for students on a cultural level.

Many critics claim that these programs have very negative side effects for the students. As students are not able to develop their native language, they often become isolated from their families and their ethnic community, as many of the older immigrants are only fluent in their native language. The critics claim that the assimilation approach forces students to choose between two cultures.

> Students emerge from compensatory programs with varying degrees of English ability and academic achievement. Many lose their ties with their families and ethnic communities in their effort to learn English. They see assimilation to American culture as a precondition to acquire English as well as academic and socioeconomic success. Others reject American culture because it threatens their basic

[153] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* xviii.

> values. Yet others, most unfortunately reject both cultures and as consequence often drop out, join gangs, or lead troubled lives.[154]

The consequences of forcing young people to choose between two cultures, seriously affects a student life beyond the classroom. Not developing a student's native language risks alienating that student from his own family. If the student rejects the American culture in favor for their native language and ethnic roots, they do not have the same opportunities to advance in the public schools that English-speaking students have. The immigrant student is only entitled to education that is provided in English, a foreign language, after they complete their assimilation approach styled bilingual education program. If the student feels alienated in both the classroom and their community, they will be more likely to reject both worlds and engage in deviant behavior.[155]

Pluralistic Approach

On the other hand, the pluralistic approach encompasses five widely-practiced and revered models of bilingual education, which include: dual language, Canadian immersion, two-way, two-way immersion, and maintenance programs. The overall goal of these models is to demonstrate bilingualism in the classroom.

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[154] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* xviii-xix.
[155] Moll, Luis C. and Richard Ruiz. "The Schooling of Latino Children." *Latinos: Remaking America.* 365.

Models

Models	*Goals*	*Target Population*	*Language Literacy*	*Distribution Subject Matter*
English-only Instruction Models				
ESL	ELD	Minority	In English	Content-based ESL (some programs)
Structured immersion	ELD	Minority	In English (some limited L1)	Sheltered English for all subjects
Bilingual Education Models				
Dual language	Bilingualism	Majority, international	L1 and L2 or L2 and L3	All in L1 and L2; or all in one, and some in the other
Canadian immersion	Bilingualism	Majority	L2 first, English later (early)	All subjects in L2 for 2 years; in English and L2 remainder of schooling
Two-way	Bilingualism	Majority, minority	L1 first for each group or L1 and L2 for both	All subjects in L1 and L2 distributed equally over the grades
Two-way Immersion	Bilingualism	Majority, minority	First in minority's L1 then in English	All subjects in minority's L1 first, increasing use of English over the grades until it reaches 50%
Maintenance	Bilingualism	Minority	L1 literacy first, then in English	All subjects either in both languages or some subjects in native language others in English
Transitional	ELD	Minority	L1 literacy first, then in English	Most subjects in L1 with ESL instruction; gradually to all subjects in English
Submersion with L1 support	ELD	Minority	English literacy, limited L1 literacy	All subjects in English with tutoring in L1
Bilingual immersion	ELD	Minority	L1 and English literacy from the beginning	Concept development in L1; sheltered English for all subjects
Integrated TBE	Partial bilingualism, ELD	Minority with majority participation	L1 literacy first, exposure to English from the beginning	All subjects in L1 and in English, but assignment by student suited to language needs, and particular program structure

Note. E.L.D. English language development L1 = native language; L2 = second language; L3 = third language.

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Table 3.4 Models [of Bilingual Education][156]

[156] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* 25.

These programs introduce a foreign language, but also strive for the student to retain proficiency in their native language. These programs offer spots for both ethnic and non-ethnic students and are designed to last for at least one school year.[157]

Some believe that bilingualism is not an asset, and is not the responsibility of the public school system to create bilingual students. Some believe that bilingual education is a waste of time and federal money, especially when it is only offered to a select group of students.[158] These people firmly believe that English is the only language that should be taught in public schools and are critics of the pluralistic approach to bilingual education. By devoting this time to focus on the students' native language, they believe these programs rob students of valuable time that could be building up their English skills, the language that they are expected to communicate in. The history of bilingual education has shaped many Americans' views of these programs. "Opponents refer to their own personal history, claiming that they or their ancestors managed without it. Therefore they see no reason why recent immigrants deserve, would benefit from, or even need such a program."[159] These critics cite these programs as frivolous and unnecessary. Furthermore, some critics believe that these programs foster environments were students are segregated by their ethnicity, and that segregation only fuels discrimination.

These programs are advantageous to some groups as they incorporate the students' native language in facilitating their development of the English language, as do the assimilation approach models. However, these models also help develop the student's native language. This helps the students retain their relationship with their family and their ethnic community, as well as establishing a strong relationship with their American peers.

> "[Through this approach] Bilingual learners access knowledge not only through English but through their native languages. Their cultural experience determines their views and assumptions. Quality education for language minority students combines concerns for language development and cultural awareness in a constant quest for good education. Expected outcomes of quality schools include academic success; individuals who can function within their families, communities, and the larger American society; and a good command of the English language. Native language proficiency will vary depending on the amount of instruction, support for language use in the community, and students' individual characteristics. The

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[157] Kjolseth, Rolf. " Bilingual Education Programs in the United States: For Assimilation or Pluralism?" *Bilingualism in the Southwest.* Edited by Paul R. Turner. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1973. 9.
[158] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* 30.
[159] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* 29.

> key factor is the acceptance by schools, families, and students of bilingualism as a resource."[160]

These programs seem to offer the best of both worlds, by providing English and native language instruction.

It is very clear that these programs rely heavily on the community's involvement in the public schools. There have been documented cases where these models failed when educators attempted to implement them in the schools. Brisk mentions a pluralistic approach bilingual program where "Spanish was devalued and Spanish-speaking students who were not fluent in English were ostracized in English-language arts class."[161] It is most important to note that the actual implementation of these models of bilingual education greatly varies in each school. In studies on bilingual education, analysts often point out that "specific characteristics of a school rather than the model they employed, made a program more or less effective."[162]Both the assimilation approach and the pluralistic approaches can be effective in the classroom, but both have to known fail in the classrooms.

How Bilingual Education Once Again Became a Controversial, Divisive Political Issue: 1968-1973

Bilingual education typically was and remains a very divisive political issue in the United States. In fact, "the only consensus in the United States between proponents and opponents of bilingual education is that it can benefit English speakers who want to become proficient in another language."[163] It can be argued that this is only fact because of the amount of community support for these programs. These programs are considered to be elective for native-English speakers. Therefore, these students are self-motivated to learn another language and participate in this unique program. As a result, these students receive support from their own families and community as they are supportive of their children's education and wish to encourage bilingualism. This is quite similar to the conditions in which the Coral Way Elementary program was created; the community supported the program and the students were motivated to learn a foreign language that would help them communicate with another.

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[160] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* xix.
[161] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* 27.
[162] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* 27.
[163] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* 28.

Advocates of bilingual education firmly believe that a program can only be successful if the program is designed around the community's wants and desires. In essence, each program depends on the community's support in order to achieve its goals.

> In addition to these broad distinctions among models, actual implementation of a specific model greatly varies from school to school. Community support, school leadership, teacher beliefs, parental pressures, and students needs contribute to the creation of very different programs. Careful examination of studies comparing implementation of models shows that there can be as much difference between what happens within schools using the same model as between schools using different models. Specific characteristics of a school, rather than the model they employed, made program more or less effective.[164]

Since community involvement plays such a vital role in the success of a bilingual education program, it is important to explore the history of bilingual education in the United States. This will help answer questions on how certain bilingual education models are created and designed and then how are they selected by a school. Furthermore, this will help explain individual's perceptions of bilingual education and what encourages the selection of a model for certain schools.

The ambiguous mission of these programs in turn created much confusion amongst educators, whose trouble navigating the expansive, unfamiliar types of bilingual education frequently led to the implementation of ineffective programs. Despite the politicians' hope, in these cases the specific needs of the community were ignored while educators selected programs. Other times, the task choosing a method was so daunting that schools abandoned their plans for implementing a bilingual program all together.

Ultimately, it was Title VII's classification of bilingual education as a part of program to help combat poverty, which caused the most controversy. Therefore, and as noted above, these programs were designated to assist poor immigrant children. This classification negates the idea that these reforms would benefit all students; thus, many disapproved of this act because it used federal funding for assisting such a limited number of children.

The overall vagueness of the act armed those who opposed bilingual education with a multitude of grounds on which to object. Labels such a "language handicapped" suggested to some xenophobic Americans that these programs were a waste of time, money, and energy because the language minority students' mental capabilities prevented the programs from working. Other opponents of bilingual education claimed that it detracted from the school's role in assimilating students. One protester wrote that, "the

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[164] Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* 27.

initial objective to teach English to Spanish speakers for one or two years was perverted into an effort to Hispanicize, not Americanize, Spanish speakers. The federal program insists that 75 percent of education tax dollars be spent on bilingual education."[165] Although the statistic the author cites was unfounded, it does help convey many Americans' belief that the federal government pledged far too much money on programs that only benefit a small percentage of the public school students. This is further complicated by xenophobia in some communities; this ideology convinced many Americans that these programs compromised their very way of life through the promotion and normalization of an untraditionally American language and its corresponding culture.

This controversy proved to seriously harm the reform's efforts as many individuals resented these programs. Each state's government was given almost full control of creating and implementing their own bilingual programs since the Bilingual Education Act supported the state's initiation of such programs, but did not mandate them. States debated over the merits of the reform and were confused as to which program to implement.

The states were responsible for creating guidelines for their own bilingual education programs. However, the ambiguous nature of the reform perplexed educators and divided politicians who were ultimately in control of establishing programs. As a result, states were slow to pass acts that would enable the development for such programs. Even in Florida, the home to Coral Way Elementary School, the state government proposal of Florida Bilingual Education Act of 1973 failed to pass. It would have required school districts with 400 or more non-English speaking students enrolled "to teach basic subjects such as mathematics and history in the native language of the students, until the students learn to speak English; to accelerate the program of instruction in English as a Second Language; to provide continuing education in the native language of the student, in grammar and in the history of the mother country."[166] This act's failure was the result of the political controversy that surrounded the issue.[167] When bilingual education was examined as possible option for students outside of Miami schools, the reforms were much more controversial. The Miami community welcomed the reforms because it was their duty to educate the young victims of communism. When bilingual education reforms were proposed at the state level as a means for other communities to

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[165] Duigan, Peter. " Bilingual Education is Detrimental to Everyone." *Bilingual Education.* Edited by Janel D Ginn. Detroit: Greenhaven Press, 2008. 18.
[166] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community.* 139.
[167] Mackey, William Frances and Von Nieda Beebe. *Bilingual Schools for a Bicultural Community.* 139.

help their own immigrant populations; however, often times these towns did not have such a positive impression of the immigrants in the area. The key difference between the Cuban refugees' swift success in implementing a program and the difficulties other immigrants faced while attempting to implement reforms, was due to the Cubans' circumstances of arrival. The Cubans were victims of communism, and it was the duty of the Americans to properly care for them while they temporarily resided in the United States, and thus adjust their educational practices accordingly.

Fixing the Problems Within the Reforms: 1970s

The controversy surrounding bilingual education hindered the progress of these reforms and it took three years after the federal Bilingual Education Act was enacted for a state, Massachusetts, to enact a law that promoted bilingual education in 1971.[168] Although the act encouraged the development and practice of bilingual education programs, there was no federal legislation that demanded that all school districts should do so. The BEA Act failed to set up any system of accountability regarding the actual implementation of bilingual programs. Since Congress's omission of clear guidelines for programs, the federal government was unable to ensure that the states enforced the reforms. This lack of accountability combined with states' sluggish and somewhat indifferent response resulted in many non-English speaking students without access to such programs in spite of their legal right to bilingual education.

> In 1969-1970 there were only 76 such programs which cost the government $7.5 million, in 1972-1973 there were 213 bilingual programs which received $35 million. [...] It is also significant that the programs for Spanish-speaking children represent 85 percent of the total number of programs in existence.[169]

While over 5 million children nationwide were non-native English speakers, there were very few bilingual education programs in existence throughout the United States due to many states' failure to endorse legislation that would have required school districts to implement these programs.[170]

The act's classification as a poverty program was meant to specifically target Hispanic students, and the majority of these students in these programs were. was another point of contention. Many non-Hispanic immigrants quickly noticed that their own children were not receiving specialized language instruction in the public schools. Empowered by their newfound civil right, immigrants sought additional governmental

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[168] Crawford, James. *Bilingual Education.* 33.
[169] Trueba, Henry T. "Bilingual-Bicultural Education for Chicanos in the Southwest." 10.
[170] Trueba, Henry T. "Bilingual-Bicultural Education for Chicanos in the Southwest." 10.

assistance in order to guarantee that schools provided their children with quality education that act had promised. Hence, bilingual education reforms were brought back into the spotlight through the American court system.

Lau v. Nichols

The controversial nature of the reforms had impeded the progress of improving education for many immigrants. The need for such programs was substantiated, and many immigrants wanted to receive the advantages that reforms had entailed. These groups felt as though public education was not providing adequate resources that they were entitled to. The United States federal government once again addressed the question of whether schools should provide bilingual education for non-English speaking students when groups of ethnic minorities brought their concerns to court. This issue was now to be addressed by a different branch of government that was expected to remain impartial. The complainants hoped that their efforts would clear up the misconceptions regarding the reforms and help institute real changes in American public education.

In 1974, the U.S. Supreme Court first heard a landmark case regarding the necessity of bilingual education. Lau, a Chinese-speaking student, filed a class-action lawsuit against Superintendent Nichols of the San Francisco Unified School District. The complainant alleged that the school did not provide him with an adequate education by not offering any type of specialized language instruction. Furthermore, he had received his high school diploma as a result of being socially promoted throughout the grades, but alleged he had been robbed of receiving a proper education. He argued he was denied his Fourteenth Amendment eight that ensured citizens were not deprived of property without due process since he claimed that education constituted a type of property.[171]
The Supreme Court found these arguments to be convincing, and "ruled that children were being denied equal access to, participation in, and benefit from education when they could not understand the language of the classroom."[172]

This decision prompted many school districts to implement bilingual education programs. Although the court provided no guidance for how to do so and ordered school districts "to apply its expertise to the problem and rectify the solution."[173] The following

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[171] Adamson, H.D. *Language Minority Students in American Schools: An Education in English.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2005. 217.
[172] Faltis, Christian. "Bilingual Education in the United States." *Encyclopedia of Language and Education. Volume 5 Bilingual Education.* Edited by Jim Cummins and David Corson. Dodrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1997. (pages 189-197). 190.
[173] *Lau v. Nichols*, 414 U.S. 563 (1974) quoted in Brisk, Maria Estela. *Bilingual Education.* 9.

year the federal Office of Civil Rights implemented the "Lau Remedies", which instituted rules concerning for the execution of bilingual programs for public schools.

> "[The Office of Civil Rights] enforced the Office of Education's Lau Remedies by sending out letters to 333 local school districts in 1975 and more in succeeding years. The letters suggested that the districts might be out of compliance with the Lau Decision as interpreted by the Lau Remedies due to the absence or inadequacy of bilingual education programs. A suggested timetable for submitting and implementing compliance plans was attached. The potential threat of federal funds cutoff for noncompliance underlay the enforcement effort."[174]

It is important to note that the Lau Remedies were not federal regulations, and were not included in or later amended to the original legislation. Regardless, the Office of Civil Rights attempted to strictly enforce the remedies and the federal government supported their efforts.[175] The Lau Remedies only targeted schools with substantial populations of non-English speaking students, but all of these students had to share the same native language.

Furthermore, when Congress reauthorized the act in 1974, they broadened the definition of students who could participate by getting rid of the income requirement and opening the programs to students who were only had limited English skills.[176] As a result, more students began to have access to such bilingual programs. The Lau Remedies helped facilitate real changes; however, it did not guarantee that every language minority student had the access to such programs nor did it guarantee the effectiveness of all programs.

Continuing the Controversy: The 1980s and 1990s

Different people, different groups, and different eras have different ideals concerning bilingual education, which has continued the controversy surrounding these reforms. Founded in 1980, the English-Only Movement began to gain supporters who wanted to make English the official (and only) language of the United States, in an effort to unite the American people. Members of this movement believe that the country has always been a monolingual country, the English language is integral to American identity, and bilingualism will destroy the powerfulness and usefulness of the English language.[177] The vocal group sought to end bilingual education with the installment of a

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[174] Stein, Colman Brez Jr. *Sink or Swim.* 53.
[175] Crawford, James. *Bilingual Education.* 37.
[176] Lessow-Hurley, Judith. *The Foundation of Dual Language Instruction.* 142.
[177] May, Stephen. Language and Minority Rights: Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Politics of Language. Harlow, England: Pearson Educational Limited, 2001. 210.

high numbers of immigrant children. The plight of the Cuban refugee children renewed interest in the schooling of non-native English speakers, and ultimately paved the way for federal education reforms that supported bilingual in the public schools. It was only with the success of Coral Way were politicians able to cite conclusive and legitimate evidence of non-native English speakers assimilation into American society because of the bilingual curriculum.

The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 was enacted greatly due to the renewed interest in bilingual education as a means to help immigrant children assimilate faster in schools. The act, unlike the program, had a very broad definition of what constituted bilingual education. Furthermore, federal legislation did not require school districts to have these programs. The states were in charge of implementing the reforms; however bilingual education was a much more controversial issue outside of Miami public schools. The Miami community welcomed the reforms since they felt it was their moral duty as Americans to properly care for them while they temporarily resided in the United States. In this effort to welcome these victims of communism, they adjusted their educational practices accordingly. When bilingual education reforms were proposed at the state level as a means for other communities to help their own immigrant populations; however, often times these towns did not have such a positive impression of the immigrants in the area. The context in which citizens viewed their immigrant neighbors determined the value they placed on bilingual education and Americans began to debate whether public schools should provide their specialized instruction for these children. The key difference between the Cuban refugees' swift success in implementing a program and the difficulties other immigrants faced while attempting to implement reforms, was due to the Cubans' circumstances of arrival.

Despite the reform's ambiguous terminology and the surrounding tensions over its implementation, it was successful as it provided more non-native English speakers with educational opportunities that were designed with their own linguistic capabilities in mind. Politicians and lobbyists cited the Miami based programs as examples of how immigrant children should be taught by exploiting the specific case of the education of Cuban refugees, but often fail to realize that it was this Cold War atmosphere that easily convinced the community that bilingual education. Through the creation of the bilingual program at Coral Way Elementary School, Cuban refugee children reignited the question of whether students have the right to education that would help them retain their native language and culture. Thru these reforms, bilingual education has taken on different meanings (given its variety of forms and goals) as the issue gained national attention, and

education experiment and trigger interest in providing equal educational opportunities for all immigrant minorities.

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