Teaching Justice: Schooling and the Four Waves of U.S. Immigration

Ben Vera
Franklin Elementary School

. . . I know that education is the only valid passport from poverty.
- Lyndon Baines Johnson

INTRODUCTION

My concern over how schools mediate an academic culture extends from my experience as a bilingual teacher in Texas, but is also informed by my personal experience as a student growing up in Texas schools. I was born in San Antonio and, consistent with the predominant values reflected in the educational policies of the time, the public schools I attended followed a submersion model of English language acquisition as they Americanized a significant bilingual and Hispanic minority population. This meant that schools provided no accommodations for speakers of languages other than English. More importantly, the dissonance between the culture of the school and the culture of the community was irrelevant and the use of Spanish at any time, and under any circumstances, was punished. By the time that I graduated high school at 17, my English skills were sufficient to argue effectively with my parents the reasons why I was not "college material."

Americanization refers to the socialization of immigrant populations to the norms of the existing culture and has origins in colonial America. By the end of the First World War, Americanization referred to policies and methodologies aimed at indoctrinating the children of immigrants into American society. However, when the movement toward achieving justice in society became part of the national agenda, and significant funds became earmarked specifically for the schooling of immigrants, the debate over immigrant schooling greatly intensified. The 1968 Bilingual Education Act presented schools with new challenges and opportunities for mediating an academic culture of inclusion (Stewart 10-12).

As immigration continues, schools will undoubtedly continue in the tradition of mediating an American identity to an increasingly diverse student body. My hope is that today's schools will promote an academic culture of inclusion to a fair, or "Great Society" – one that empowers communities to become, at once, unified and diverse.

A CHARACTER EDUCATION CURRICULUM

Students will study the four waves of U.S. immigration to learn that justice is a central theme in history. Integrated into the content of a school year, students will be expected to value justice in conflict resolution and to value history as the interpretive lens for making fair decisions. As they undertake a critical inquiry into how dominant values and norms

were transmitted in schools, students will compare their personal experiences and learn how schools have conformed to diversity over time and pressure.

Language has historically been perceived as a problem in American society. Students will learn how attitudes toward languages have affected public policy, particularly schools. This narrative presents the history of the common school movement in relation to immigration and supports my instruction of the American identity as a multicultural ideal – as implied in the words of the Pledge of Allegiance.

Houston and the New Americans

On July 3, 2004, the Houston Chronicle informed its readers of 24 children and one adult who took their citizenship "Oath of Allegiance." Phuong Tang, the adult, had come to Houston from Vietnam. The children were from Argentina, Belize, Canada, China, Cuba, El Salvador, England, France, Germany, Ghana, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Iran, Lebanon, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, and the Philippines.

They published a photo of the new citizens. In front of the children stood Phuong Tang, a 24-year-old immigrant from Vietnam. Phuong Tang, on military stand-by and in naval uniform, raised his right hand and led the children saying:

> I hereby declare, on oath, that I absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, state, or sovereignty, of whom or which I have heretofore been a subject or citizen; that I will support and defend the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear arms on behalf of the United States when required by law; that I will perform work of national importance under civilian direction when required by law; and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; so help me God. (Martinez)

Linking Academic Culture to the American Identity

The pervasive attitudes that have blamed immigrant populations in the past have intensified the plight of the poor, and have denied both economic and educational opportunities to minority and immigrant alike. Nevertheless, as a fourth wave of U.S. immigration brings record numbers of new Americans into public schools, a conservative movement is pressuring for educational reforms aimed at eliminating educational services to immigrants. History, however, does not support the movement's perceptions of a *static* "Western Civ" culture collapsing beneath foreign multicultural norms (Levine 160).

Recently, the "right" has used a neo-historical lens as a means of interpreting the present and has tended to either convolute or ignore history as attacks on the integrity of

education in America. Although genuine historical scholarship easily discredits erroneous and inflammatory historical perspectives, the clamor of this movement compels educators to take a position on the propositions for educational reforms that are being sought in response to the demands of schooling an increasingly diverse population. This narrative presents reasons for schools to teach that *culture is dynamic*.

Additionally, because schools are society's cultural transmitters of the values and skills that promise continued success particularly within their institutions, students should learn that certain behaviors—reading, for instance—are related to school success and should be observable in the classroom. Ultimately, this curriculum encourages students toward an appreciation of the attitudes that govern classroom comportment as a model for participation in a democratic republic, including reading as a skill and a duty.

The Emphasis on Values

Prepared for an alternative classroom in Houston's "inner city," this curriculum unit integrates character education with a historical survey of the four waves of U.S. immigration that sociologists have identified since the middle 1800s. Although the students will be studying American history, the instructional approach of critical pedagogy sets the protocol for a curriculum to teach about the role of the individual in the American democratic society.

Students should be taught that the American identity is multicultural and constantly changing, and that the struggle to achieve justice in American society is historic and perpetual. The narrative below explains how today's neo-conservative movement can be understood as part of the historic debate over the purposes of schooling and is intended to help teachers lead critical discussions in their classrooms, particularly during film presentations as explained in the lesson plans below.

As students gain a historical perspective of schooling they will be expected to appreciate how the cultural capital that they acquire in school is related to their continued success. This unit is intended to support students in their acquisition of these values and skills by directing them in a data-gathering project that encourages historical accuracy and communicative competence. Students will have many opportunities to develop their level of competence as they interview and survey participants, analyze the data that they gather, and prepare several classroom presentations in composition, graph, and speech in English and their native language.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF EDUCATION

The recent movement to the right in mainstream thought is more a response to the diversity of the population than any other factor. For example, the once homogeneous university has become a place marker in the history of the academy. Forever transformed, the university is becoming increasingly representative of the nation's

population. Yet while languages other than English are becoming the norm on American University campuses, this movement revisits a historic debate in asserting that English should dominate the curriculum. The narrative below examines the debate over values in America and questions the equity of certain proposals for school reform.

Higher Education and the Multicultural Imperative

In a scholarly and comprehensive review of the most serious cultural and ideological conflicts that have occurred since the initiation of higher education in America, Lawrence W. Levine, Professor of History at George Mason University and the University of California at Berkeley, argues that historians should proceed from a broadened, multicultural perspective:

> At its core, then, multiculturalism as a historical approach means that to understand American culture it is not enough to understand only one of its components. [It] is crucial to study and understand as many of the contributing cultures and their interactions with one another . . . as a simple matter of understanding the nature and complexities of American culture and the processes by which it came, and continues to come, into being. (Levine 160)

The Yale Report of 1828

Professor Levine has noted that the most significant challenge to the traditional university curriculum occurred during the late 1800s and early 1900s over the inclusion of modern languages and the abolition of the ancient language requirement. When a committee at Yale was appointed to study the question, the subsequent *Yale Report of 1828* flatly rejected the suggestion. Levine explains that this evidence suggests an overwhelming concern for "preservation and nurturing (rather) than discovery and advancement" (39).

The *Yale Report* helped to sustain the classic language requirements throughout the rest of the 1800s, despite the efforts of Harvard's president to move to a flexible, elective system as early as1869. Although demands for reform eventually led Columbia College to abolish Latin as a requirement for admission in 1916, it also led to the abolition of the Bachelor of Science degree on the assumption that the Bachelor of Arts degree, with its more rigorous classic language requirement, would retain its prestige and desirability. History and Political Science were also resisted for inclusion into the 'canon' – a homogenous curriculum (Levine 39). The narrative below suggests underlying forces behind these decisions.

GLOBALIZATION AND CAPITALISM

For the last twenty years, English-speaking academics from a wide range of disciplines have expressed increasing concern over "globalization," or understanding social relations on a global scale. Popular "information age" discourse resonates of this theory. For

instance, a recent television commercial employed child actors from around the world to ask Internet consumers, “Are you ready?”

Unfortunately, what could have become a national agenda for exporting the virtues of democracy seems to have become a capitalist glut meriting a reexamination of the American identity. Where does America stand in relation to the ideals of tolerance, freedom, and equality that are promulgated within its institutions of learning? These are the types of questions that students should be attempting to answer in American schools.

Media

The power of media to transmit and shape ideology is inestimable, as is the impact that media has upon the global economy and immigration. If students are to understand justice, they must receive instruction on the reasons and methods for critically viewing media and provide practice for students to become sensitive to the relationship between ideology and culture. For example, students will learn how California’s anti-immigrant movement used alarmist media and large financial expenditures to maintain power and hegemonic control over schools in areas of greatest need.

Rooted in the discipline of cultural studies, ideological analysis of media is based upon the following assumptions: 1) inequitable distribution of power in society means that it is possible to detect race, gender, and class profiles, 2) Forces of domination and subordination are central in our social studies, 3) Ideology is repeated in a variety of texts and audience’s cumulative texts reinforce the dominant ideology (Silverblatt, 3).

This unit directs students in a critical analysis of media. Students will learn that propaganda is an intentional distortion of events for the purpose of advancing a particular agenda, and will be challenged to expose implicit messages or agendas in various forms of media including travel literature, magazine and newspaper advertisements, and film.

Power and Global Markets

Anthropologists suggest that a “white ethniclass” has historically held dominant power in the United States. This elite group has traditionally possessed overwhelming power and influence over American manners, culture, and law. The power of this group to manipulate expressions of American sentiment and convert multicultural positions into opposition has been demonstrated in both immigration and educational agendas for “reform.” For example, although the proposals to use vouchers to force schools into a competitive market informed by high stakes testing are popular, their success is tremendously profitable for an elite group of entrepreneurs (Spindler and Spindler 353-360; Oliver 169; Apple 2).

Similarly, global and multinational flexible corporations have tended to exploit new markets for capitalism and perpetuate self-serving multicultural politics. Although staged

multiculturalism may reduce suspicions of private interest power brokers behind the scenes, the consequences of market forces in education and government dismantling remain uncertain – particularly for minorities and immigrants (Matustik 108).

National Identity and Cultural Tension

Obviously, how America is perceived by the world profoundly affects its immigration. Students ought to learn how these perceptions have been packaged for exchange on the world market to increase the wealth of private investors, as well as how they inform the national identity.

For many developing countries, the markets that promote specific aspects of their culture to the world are also defining their national identities. The use of culture as a commodity for these countries has yielded some obvious positive effects and some subtle negative effects. The examples below show two ways that national identity is resolved and underscores the complex relationships between people, government, and the market.

Thailand

In Thailand, previously unrecognized land value has improved its world status and has added stability to the Southeast Asia region. To some extent, tourism and the tastes and interests of international tourists is helping redefine what it is to be Thai. Since announcing "The Year of the Tourist" in 1986, the campaign to attract families interested in Thailand's cultural traditions (as opposed to solo male travelers attracted to the sex industry) has had remarkable success. Today, tourism has replaced rice as the country's principal GNP and plays a vital role in Thailand's continuing process of nationalization and increased prestige.

Thailand has also become a paradox of cultural conservation. While drawing international attention to the country's environmental resources and native traditions, the success of the industry now threatens those resources and traditions. The original intent of 1986 planners was to draw visitors to Bangkok but the overflow has stressed areas far less prepared to host international commerce and created a tourist "frontier." Massive foreign investors, displaced and marginalized ethnic groups, and ecological detriment have been the undesirable consequences of rapid globalization (Chambers 99-101).

Mexico

In Mexico, probably more than any other Latin American country, the use of English evokes a wide range of postures reflecting profound sociolinguistic and cultural conflicts. Patterns of shifting loyalties are indicated in the relationships between national identity, ethnic identity, economics, and language. Ambivalence seems to best describe the disparity of attitudes exhibited toward English and English speakers. The disparity is broadened with the belief in the privileged status of English in a global economy.

Students should become aware of the forces that help explain how Thailand's language can be considered a commodity while Mexico's language is considered a liability. Also, students and teachers should become aware of their own attitudes about language and question whether similar disparate attitudes about English are evident in the classroom or school community. If so, what might be the appropriate interventions? Should English be considered a metaphor for American? What symbols, rituals, and cultural artifacts make up the academic culture of American schools? Is bilingual education good or bad? What culture does America export and what is the world's reaction? Students who consider these kinds of questions are developing a critical social consciousness guided by justice.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Multicultural Education employs a theoretical framework to help explain the legacy of power and cultural conflict in American society. Educational history supplements this framework and provides the perspective by which students can understand the American culture as an amalgam of interactive cultures. As students learn the history of immigration and schooling in America they will be presented with opportunities to question assumptions about society and propose alternate solutions to problems.

This unit teaches that the conflict over multiculturalism was among the most important debates that foreshadowed the Common School Movement of the 1830s and 1840s. The founders of the new United States were preeminently concerned with how the new nation would create loyalty, patriotism, and nationalist attitudes among its citizens, how it would control freedom though citizenship and moral education, and how it would use moral education to eliminate crime and poverty.

In response to these concerns, and amid America's first wave of immigration, the Common School Movement centered upon the dispute over how to turn a multicultural society into "common culture" dominated by Anglo-American values (Spring, *The American School* 86). How these group-shared values became a means of involving people in their own oppression, or hegemony, is the subject of this unit.

FORCED MIGRATIONS

The first Black slaves came to Virginia on a Dutch ship in 1619. Subsequently, institutionalized cultural superiority became a persistent and pervasive practice that was also observed in the subjugation of America's indigenous populations. For example, as a consequence for refusing to sell their tribal lands, the Indian Removal Act of 1830 authorized the Jackson administration to force the removal of Native American nations to points across the Mississippi. Often referred to as the "Trail of Tears," President Andrew Jackson argued the racial superiority of white settlers as the justification for this action (Stewart 3; Spring, *The American School* 23).

Students should distinguish between voluntary and involuntary migrations as an introduction to this unit, and be encouraged to respect the democratic process as a means toward empowerment. The lesson plans below elaborate on how students will compare forced immigration with voluntary immigration and appreciate the implications of both.

The Ideology of the Common School

In general, the perceptions of the dominant majority toward the voluntary newcomers differed fundamentally from its perceptions of the Black and Native American populations for whom integration into American society was not prescribed. For instance, the enactment of the Civilization Act of 1819 subsidized protestant missionaries intended to "civilize" the Indian "heathen." Essentially, the approach the missionaries used involved a combination of Christian conversion and English literacy instruction. Thereafter, the notion that schools could have a *transformational* effect upon society and also control diverse populations became the prevailing ideology of the Common School Movement that emerged with the first wave of immigration.

Although the immigrant population increased the numeric predominance of "White" Americans, the Catholic Irish posed a threat to Protestant cultural dominance. The tension and conflict over values in America gave rise to the Common School Movement that began to reassert dominant values and cultural identity through school policies and practices. This history of schools informs today's students of why they should be expected to become skilled communicators and experienced decision-makers regardless of their cultural heritage.

THE FIRST WAVE OF IMMIGRATION: 1840 TO 1880 (+10 Million)

The pattern of cultural domination had been well established by the time that some 10 million Irish and Germans came to the United States after a massive crop failure threatened starvation. Although these newcomers were not as ethnically distinct as the Native Americans or Black Americans, their arrival was generally met with ambivalence or hostility, except during the Civil War when citizenship was awarded to Irish and German immigrants who were willing to serve the Union effort (Bischoff 4).

Often considered the defining moment for the American identity, the Civil War is an excellent point of reference for students to conceptualize the first wave of immigration. In my experience, students with a good understanding of this conflict have made significant changes to their thinking about diversity, seem more tolerant toward their peers, and have a deeper appreciation of justice.

The topics for critical classroom discussions include *Slavery, Jacksonian Democracy,* and the *Common School Movement.* With each discussion, students are expected to become more informed of the relationship between ideology and culture and more appreciative of certain assumptions about freedom and diversity. Above all, students will

value education as a means of personal and community empowerment. The narrative below supports these critical discussions.

Anti-Immigrant Sentiment

In periods of stress, perceived scarce resources have often been accompanied by an increased voicing of anti-immigrant sentiment. Immigrant populations typically neglected in periods of prosperity have been singled out in periods of hardship and blamed for declining property values, job markets, and test scores.

Since a discussion about the immigrant's experience in schools cannot be isolated from the history of racism in America, students should learn how Americans have been excluded from full participation in schools and society because of their cultural heritage and linguistic differences. This unit teaches that English may be considered a language of prestige that can transcend racist and segregationist agendas.

The first wave of voluntary immigrants arrived into a society that was splitting across ideological and racial lines and giving rise to anti-immigrant political agendas. For example, in 1845 the anti-immigrant Native American Party held its first national convention (Bischoff xxii). Ten years later the popular anti-immigrant Know Nothing Party reached its height of power.

Schooling reflected the deculturalization policies that had been enacted by the Andrew Jackson administration. *Deculturalization* refers to the stripping away of a people's culture and replacing it with a new culture. In his first address to the congress, Andrew Jackson argued for the removal of Indians from the land that he believed was destined to belong to the white man. Following the Indian removal across the "trail of tears," Americanization programs aimed at winning the loyalty of the Native Americans became the favored approach toward their education (Spring, *Deculturalization and the Struggle for Equality* 1).

Ethnocentric Schooling and Bilingual Education

The Germans, on the other hand, arrived with more resources and skills than the Irish and included many Protestants, as well as Jews and Catholics. Their language and customs, including drinking on the Sabbath, identified Germans who settled in cities. Germans who preferred the rural enclaves, however, were more likely to take the liberty of using German as the language of instruction in their schools (Bischoff xxi, 4).

Nevertheless, the many language programs of the German immigrants settling in America between 1830 and 1890 attest to their concern over the preservation of the German language. Rural public schools in Wisconsin, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Missouri, Minnesota, and the Dakotas served many German communities in their native language, eventually stimulating state legislation requiring English to be the exclusive language of

instruction. However, in places where English was not spoken, and only German teachers were available, the movement persisted despite restrictive legislation. School officials often looked the other way fearing the Germans would pull out of the newly created public schools and opt for the already established religious schools.

Indianapolis and Cincinnati designated some schools German-English schools and used a half-day-English, half-day-German model for students through grade six. Although Cincinnati received national attention, it was an exception to the rule of English submersion. The Cincinnati program outlasted Indianapolis and served the German speaking community from 1840 to WWI. Until this event, western school reformers – including Mann and Barnard – lauded the German and Prussian schools for their progressive reform and the German language enjoyed prestige status. Nevertheless, policy reflected the prevailing ideology of English as metaphor for nationalism (Bischoff 154).

"Language Barrier" as a Rationale for Segregation

In periods of war or economic depression, English has been perceived as a symbol of American identity and allegiance. Immigration at these times has tended to heighten racist tendencies in government policy and ethnic tensions in society, as evidenced in the decision of *Plessy v. Ferguson* that followed the Civil War.

The U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* advanced the doctrine of "separate but equal" thereby setting the precedent for school exclusion of non-white populations. The 1890 Louisiana statute decreed separate railway carriages for white and colored persons and stated that "no person or persons, shall be admitted to occupy seats in coaches, other than, the ones, assigned, to them on account of the race they belong to."

Consequently, policies conformed to segregationist expectations and the formulation of segregationist language policy was a visible and contentious process. For example, America's participation in WWI turned public opinion against German language programs. While some German-American schools survived because of isolation and ethnic homogeneity, urban settings were far more restrictive. The observation suggests that bilingual education in the U.S. is a discrepancy between policy and social practice (Brown 64-76).

Leadership of the Common School Movement

Noah Webster's preeminent concern was the creation of a national language that might halt the drift toward a multicultural society. Considered the "Schoolmaster of America," Webster successfully distinguished Anglo-American protestant culture from its British predecessor by standardizing American English in his dictionary, speller, and Bible. The texts reached wide circulation as the perception grew that immigrant, along with the African and Native American populations, were a threat to a unified national culture.

Like Webster, most of the common school reformers were native-born American Protestants who pressed for government action to create schools that centered upon Protestantism, republicanism, and capitalism (Spring, *Deculturalization* 4).

THE SECOND WAVE OF IMMIGRATION: 1880 to 1920 (+27 Million)

The introduction of steamships and railroads greatly facilitated the second wave of immigration. Immigrants continued to come from Germany, Ireland, Scandinavia, and The Netherlands, but the majority came from Eastern and Southern Europe. Many came from southern Italy and Sicily. There were Catholics, Orthodox Christians, and Jews who came from Poland, Russia, Austria, Hungary, the Baltic and Balkan regions, and Greece. Immigrants were also coming from Armenia, Lebanon, Syria, Spain, Portugal, the Caribbean, Japan, Korea, and the West Indies.

Restrictive Immigration and Deportation

The first naturalization law, signed into law by George Washington, specified that only white immigrants could become citizens. Thereafter, the only legislation regarding immigrants was the requirement for the captain to record the names of all newcomers. Around 1870, however, the patterns of the second wave of immigration began to emerge and major ports in New York, Louisiana, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania began to greet some newcomers but would turn away others. In 1891 the Bureau of Immigration was created to enforce immigration law. The Bureau built immigration stations, like the one at New York's Ellis Island, to screen for undesirables.

Principally screened were the Chinese – along with criminals, prostitutes, contract laborers, and persons with physical or mental impairments. The resistance to Chinese immigration was greatest in the newly annexed state of California. There the growth of the Chinese immigrant population had steadily risen following the 1849 gold rush. In particular, the Irish and labor unions opposed the entrance of Chinese and incidents of violence were documented amidst claims that the Chinese undermined wages and competed unfairly for work. Eventually, the hostile treatment and discriminatory state legislation led to the first federal exclusion legislation targeting Chinese laborers in 1882.

Despite the rise of advocacy groups and increased demands for cheap labor, restrictive legislation broadened to exclude anarchists, epileptics, the feeble-minded, tuberculosis patients, and children under the age of sixteen from gaining entrance into the United States. While policies discouraged immigration from Asia, legislation favored immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe.

In 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt negotiated a Gentleman's Agreement with Japan in which Japan would withhold its passports to the U.S. In return, the U.S. agreed not to enact restrictive legislation that would humiliate the Japanese people. However,

the 1924 Oriental Exclusion act prohibiting immigration from Asia ignored the Gentleman's agreement with Japan and had lasting negative consequences.

The "Great Depression" and the "Red Scare" added to the already heightened anxiety about immigration and the 1930s became the only decade where more people left the United States than were admitted. In addition to increased restrictions and the establishment of quotas, the 1930s were marked with mass deportations and about 400,000 Mexican immigrants were deported during this time (Bischoff 2-11).

Language Policy

European Jews, Poles, Italians, and French immigrating from 1880 to 1920 found no accommodations for language learners in American schools and language maintenance policies were consistently rejected. Despite being bastions of language and culture to immigrants, private schools were state regulated and followed the course of public schools by excluding all languages of instruction other than English.

Subsequent annexations of territory followed an exclusionary language policy except in the case of New Mexico, where conditions once again turned on ethnic group demography and relationships. The numeric predominance of Spanish speakers allowed instruction in Spanish and English. But as twentieth century migration brought more non-white populations to America, schools rationalized segregation and hostile treatment of Spanish, French, or Native American language speakers. The long-term consequences of this policy have not been measurable except as observations of low school attendance, high poverty and low status attainment in these groups.

Schools and Americanization

The National Americanization Committee led the campaign to transform immigrants and had a tremendous impact upon both the public and private sectors. Schools and big business took up the agenda of cultural transformation, and the pressure for immigrants to learn English and abandon their native customs was intense and supported with public policy. For example, in 1917, Congress overrode the third presidential veto of legislation requiring that immigrants pass a literacy test. Literacy and loyalty became the agenda for American schools that were intended to embrace the idealism of a free market (Bischoff 155).

School Choice and the Factory Model

By the end of the second wave of immigration, the academic culture of schools supported the ideology of the individual submerged within the organization. In schools, identity was to be determined by an individual's role in the collective endeavor. Students will learn how this agenda became institutionalized in accordance with the ideology of an elite group of influential activists.

Before and after World War I, discontent with the industrial domination of schools led to the search for alternative schools – a trend that continues today. For example, social critics of the day argued that industrial technology had created a rift between the worker and his labor, and educators became concerned over the control of school boards by the business sector. The creation of *labor union schools* was one social response borne of resentment. Many felt that schools had become big business and that teachers had to adhere to a prescriptive curriculum and a conservative ideology intended to reproduce an established social order. At present, similar arguments are made in support of school privatization as an appropriate "reform" (Spring, *Education and the Rise of the Corporate State* 13-16).

THE THIRD WAVE OF IMMIGRATION 1960 – 1995 (+25 Million)

The Cold War

Cold War politics had shaped U.S. immigration policy prominently by the time that the third wave of immigration began to unfold. For example, Congress defeated a 1939 bill that would have allowed the entrance of 20,000 children over the quota from Nazi Germany before America's involvement in WWII changed its previous isolationist stance. Subsequently, the Displaced Persons Act permitted the entrance of some 400,000 refugees, primarily from Eastern and Central Europe, between 1948 and 1950.

Some changes in policy had unintended outcomes. For instance, the 1942 "Bracero" program met immediate demands for increased production during the war years but established lasting migration patterns, particularly from Mexico, that were resented. Also, racist tendencies in U.S. policy were responsible for the forced evacuation of about 110,000 Japanese Americans from the West Coast to isolated detention camps. Nevertheless, American immigration policy was moving toward becoming more equitable.

Although the quota system came under increased pressure for change under the Truman administration and by the National Committee on Immigration Policy, the 1952 immigration laws reflected few changes besides the provision to exclude communists. However, as the Soviet Union's power upon global affairs expanded so did America's concern for the containment of communism. Admitting refugees from Communist regimes became one form of Cold War combat (Bischoff 54, 243).

The Immigration Act of 1965

Initiated during the movement toward the "Great Society," the Immigration Act of 1965 is considered part of the most significant domestic legislation since Franklin Delano Roosevelt's "New Deal." The Immigration Act of 1965 eliminated the national origins quota system. It set an annual ceiling of 170,000 for immigrants from the Eastern Hemisphere, with a 20,000 per country limit. An annual ceiling of 120,000 was set for

immigrants from the Western Hemisphere regardless of their country of origin. Also, the act established preferences for family reunification, persons with desirable work skills, resident aliens, and refugees.

President Kennedy explained to the American people how detrimental the quota system had been to foreign policy and called for its repeal. Following his assassination, however, it was President Johnson's leadership that accelerated the post-war trends toward greater social justice.

In 1964, the new president informed the graduating class of the University of Michigan of the "opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society." Aided by the most democratic congress since 1938 and the energetic lobbying efforts of labor unions and interest groups, including the National Education Association, the Johnson administration led the push for legislation that would guarantee individual "rights," and improve the quality of life for all Americans (Bischoff 13; Patterson 563).

Lyndon Baines Johnson, Civil Rights, and Bilingual Education

LBJ frankly referenced the oppression he had observed in his lifetime. As a Texas senator he expressed his commitment to "stand up for the Negroes and the Mexicans," and persuaded the U.S. Housing Authority to select Austin as the recipient of recently approved funding for the construction of low-income housing. Days following the assassination of John F. Kennedy, Johnson indicated his intention of working toward the passage of the bill that the former president had introduced.

Today, the 1964 Civil Rights Act passed under the Johnson administration is considered the most important legislation in the history of American race relations, particularly since the Supreme Court has upheld the laws and clarified its position in a number of cases. Among the most important of these cases was the challenge made to the Title VI section of the 1964 Civil Rights Act – the section that prohibited discrimination and created the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Patterson 563).

1974 Lau v. Nichols

In 1968, the DHEW issued Title VI guidelines regarding school system responsibility for an equitable education. Then, in 1970, a memorandum from the director of OCR underscored the compensatory nature of the guidelines in districts whose national-origin minority group enrollments exceeded 5 percent. Subsequently, a class action suit was filed in San Francisco by the parents of 3,000 Chinese students alleging Fourteenth Amendment and Civil Rights violations. The suit alleged that only one third of the students had received supplemental English instruction and the other two thirds had received no special instruction at all.

The *1974 Lau v. Nichols* case remains the Supreme Court's first and only substantive decision concerning the legal responsibilities of schools serving LEP students. As a result of *Lau v. Nichols*, the Supreme Court set out measures to be taken to ensure equal education for speakers of languages other than English. The court ruled that instructing in a language that children do not understand constitutes a denial of their right to an equal educational opportunity (Stewart 40-43).

THE FOURTH WAVE OF IMMIGRATION

As the fourth wave of immigration brings even more immigrants from Asia and Latin America than the third, and unparalleled numbers of immigrants from around the world, a global perspective is informing the study of migration. Although immigration policy continues to be a point of contention in the U.S., it does not sufficiently explain forces of migration that can be observed worldwide. Rather, the term "transnational" is being applied to describe the global forces that underlie the current patterns, and identifies a new kind of migrating population that construct common social fields – familial, economic, social, organization, religious, and political – that span borders. Beginning with the understanding that the world is currently bound together by a global capitalist system, the framework provides a different way of understanding society and culture (Schiller 213 - 218).

It may be time to reconsider the Common School ideology of schools as *transformational* institutions. Since the first wave of immigration, the notion that a common culture could control diverse populations has resulted in prescriptions for fixing the immigrant. However, the recognition that a growing population operates in two societies perpetually may ease the anxiety that a dominant culture incurs when immigrant populations become visible. Rather than impose colonial standards, an academic culture that conforms to the vision of the Great Society is one that empowers school children with an American identity that guarantees justice and, with that, the freedom to dream.

CONCLUSION

Considering the classroom an idealized, microcosmic model of a democracy is one way of bridging social practice and schooling. As proposed by John Dewey in 1916, such a model might provide the greatest personal development by providing the widest range of experiences and opportunities to experiment with individual capacities as well as become integrated into a critical community. Acknowledging the power of the right to produce and circulate new ways of understanding our identities, Dewey complained that "the term 'Americanization' has been seized upon by certain groups as a means of forcing their own conceptions of American life upon other people" (Dewey 25; Apple 9; Stewart 12).

A look at the historical context of contemporary U.S. schooling helps explain the relationship between immigration and the resistance to multiple languages in social settings. Most recently in 1994, California voters approved Proposition 187 that aimed at

denying education and health care to undocumented aliens. Although a federal judge enjoined the measure and kept it from becoming law, the power of the anti-immigrant movement in California was clearly demonstrated. The agenda also targeted minority populations and California's Proposition 209 ended affirmative action that year. Finally, in 1998, California voters approved Proposition 227 and effectively ended bilingual education – reversing the Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act or, Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (Bischoff 325).

Despite the tendency to use English as a marker of an American identity, bilingual individuals seem to have always been able to distinguish between English as a linguistic entity and English as an ideological vehicle. Nevertheless, California's Proposition 227 left about 1.4 million English language learners marginalized and without the benefit of a democratic socialization.

The Future of Bilingual Education

Bilingual Education is a recent political alternative to "sink or swim" institutional practices of earlier hyper-nationalism. As a movement toward a "Great Society," bilingual education is idealism tempered by historical pragmatism and informed by the realities of globalization, demographics, research, and experience. As an academic culture, bilingual education creates a setting where language carries symbolic meaning of increased prestige.

Public education in the U.S. has been and continues to be shaped by the adoptions and constraints of social, economic, and political agendas. Schooling in the traditional sense follows the linear function of transforming natural resources -- children -- into cooperative, specialized individuals who conform well to the corporate image of their institution and are adequately prepared to enter their respective social niche (Spring, *Education* 13).

This unit instructs that embracing a tradition of democracy training is a desirable alternative to social reproduction. One hopeful outcome of a nationalistic movement characterized by an interest in public schooling is the framing of an American identity that is free from the oppression that capitalist agendas inevitably create. Students who are free to learn that America is a multicultural society are empowered by a government that can guarantee them an equal opportunity to learn. If the global market will determine standards, then the preparation of multilingual, multicultural individuals must be considered nothing less than a prudent investment toward global peace and environmental preservation, affording the next generation the opportunity to resolve their conflicts democratically.

Leadership and the "New Houston"

Considered a gateway city, the "New Houston" is a multicultural community that looks to its informed leaders for direction, and teachers like Phuong Tang (see "Houston and the

New Americans") for examples of citizenship. Likewise, my hope is that this curriculum informs the academic culture of schools to help them transmit cultural knowledge and expectations that are consistent with a Great Society. Personally, I will always be grateful for the legislation that empowered me with a Title VII grant for bilingual educators, and the opportunity to serve "my fellow Americans."

LESSON PLANS

Lesson One

These plans outline how the concept of justice will be integrated with history in support of the skills related to the perpetuation of a democracy, and my interest in reducing the dissonance between the academic culture and the community.

Objective: Critically Analyzing Media
Students will view multiple print images and consider the agendas behind each.

Materials
The materials for this lesson will be gathered by way of a parent letter soliciting donations of any consumable print materials in students' homes, including magazines and religious tracts.

Procedure
This lesson will be introduced with an anti-drug poster that the class will evaluate. Next, the students will investigate the materials that the classroom has generated. They will identify and compare contradictory agendas in the advertisements that they find. The teacher will lead a classroom discussion that calls attention to the disparity between the images that support a drug-free lifestyle and those that do not. Students will determine the reasons for the disparity.

Evaluation
Cooperative groups will be challenged to create classroom posters that reflect shared values. Posters will be displayed in the school library.

Extending the lesson to American History
Students will read Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* and learn how the pamphlet, as propaganda, became a turning point in the English colony's movement to independence. Forced migrations will be discussed in subsequent lessons with examples of historical media for students to evaluate.

Lesson Two

Objective: Collect and Analyze Data
Students will collect biographical statements and oral histories.

Materials
Tape recorder(s), paper, and pencils

Procedure
The lesson will be introduced with my personal biographical account, including a tape of interviews with my mother and father. The students will be asked to follow my example. The students will compare and contrast their experience in school with their parents, and the teacher will instruct them in how to prepare a Venn diagram to represent their data.

Evaluation
Students will present their data to the class and to their parents.

Extending the Lesson to American History
Students will learn that history is the story of people's lived experiences. They will be encouraged to appreciate cultural differences of diverse groups from different parts of the world and their experiences in America.

Lesson Three

Objective: Determine features of Multicultural Literature
Students will listen to selected readings from both books.

Materials
A copy of *The Road to Tumazunchale* by Ron Arias
A copy of *Cuerpos y Ofrendas* by Carlos Fuentes

Procedure
This lesson will be introduced with images of neighboring cemeteries and a discussion about ancestry. Students will respond to questions about family traditions, specifically the celebration of the Day of the Dead (Dia de los Muertos) and the presence of home altars (altares). Students will observe the similar themes of death in English and Spanish and make observations.

Evaluation
Student will write about any anecdotal experiences that relate to the literary discussion and determine how the readings are the same.

Extending the lesson to American History
Students will learn how literature reflects core group values, and appreciate literacy in more than one language. Subsequent lessons will compare literature by American authors that have traditionally been read in American schools and discuss the implicit values within the text.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Works Cited

Apple, Michael W. *Educating the "Right" Way; Markets, Standards, God, and Inequality.* New York: Routledge Falmer, 2001.
Michael Apple analyzes the shift to the right that American schools have undergone in recent years and its implications for the education of immigrant and minority students.

Bischoff, Henry. *Immigration Issues.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2002.
This collection of essays articulates the public opinions that constitute cultural conflict over immigration and have shaped public policy. The timeline of legislative and sociological events documenting the conflict is particularly useful in helping students understand the implications of this conflict.

Brown, Mr. Justice. "Plessy v. Ferguson." In *Civil Rights: Leading Cases.* Ed. Derrick A. Bell. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1980. 64-76.
Separate site newcomer schools are operating in California. The review of this case, including the arguments for and against segregation, is background to the debate over how to school the immigrant.

Chambers, Erve. "Thailand's Tourism Paradox: Identity and Nationalism as Factors in Tourist Development." In *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage*. Ed. Mary Huford, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997.
The author discusses the relationship between tourism and national identity from the perspective of social anthropology.

Dewey, John. "The Democratic Conception in Education." In *Struggles over the Purposes of Schooling in a Democratic State: Selected Readings on the History of American Education.* Eds. R. G. Lyons, J.C. Rodriguez, J. Catallozzi, and N. Benson. Lanham, MD: UP of America, 1998.
This book contains position statements by historically influential educators such as William Harris as well as recent researchers. In this essay, philosopher John Dewey contributes to the debate over how to school the American immigrant.

Levine, Lawrence W. *The Opening of the American Mind; Canons, Culture, and History.* Boston: Beacon Press, 2001.
History professor Lawrence Levine provides a historical survey of the academy and a theoretical framework for exposing propagandist rhetoric in society. This text helps teachers understand how a critical pedagogy can evaluate perceptions, and informs about the implications of curriculum.

Martinez, Nancy. "Immigrants Begin American Dream." The Houston Chronicle. 03 July 2004, A33.
This is an example of a media event and supports my rationale for this unit.

Matustik, Martin J. Beck. "Ludic, Corporate, and Imperial Multiculturalism: Imposters of Democracy and Cartographers of the New World Order." In *Theorizing Multiculturalism: A Guide to the Current Debate.* Ed. Cynthia Willet C. Malden. MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998. 100-117.
Matuskik uses examples of corporate staging of multicultural messages that mask for-profit agendas.

Oliver, Kelly. "Identity, Difference, and Abjection." In *Theorizing Multiculturalism: A Guide to the Current Debate.* Ed. Cynthia Willet C. Malden. MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998. 169-186.
Oliver argues that identity does not necessarily have to be defined by "the other" and proposes rethinking "identification that is not opposed to differentiation."

Patterson, James T. *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1974.* New York: Oxford UP, 1996.
This historical account of the United States following World War II weaves the major political, cultural, and economic events, including a comprehensive account of the Civil Rights movement.

Schiller, N. G., L. Basch, and C. Blanc-Szanton. "Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration." *In Migration, Globalization, and Ethnic Relations: An Interdisciplinary Approach.* Eds. Moshen M. Mobasher and Mahmoud Sadri. NJ: Pearson-Prentice Hall, 2004.
Authors discuss transnationalism as applied to immigrants that maintain social relationships across borders and participate in two societies.

Silverblatt, Art, Jane Ferry, and Barbara Finan. *Approaches to Media Literacy: A Handbook.* Armonk, M.E. Sharpe, 1999.
Provides a theoretical framework and examples of classroom teaching methods for media literacy.

Spindler, George and Louise Spindler. "Cultural Politics of the White Ethniclass in the Mid-90's." In *Fifty Years of Anthropology and Education: 1950-2000.* Eds. George and Louise Spindler. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2000. 349-360.
These recognized anthropologists use a broad socio-cultural perspective to examine group behavior and identify a reaffirmation movement among a "white ethniclass."

Spring, Joel. *The American School.* 5th ed. Boston: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2001.
In its fifth edition, this critical history of the American school explains why cultural domination is a central theme of American educational history.

______. *Deculturalization and the Struggle for Equality.* 2d ed. Boston: Beacon Press, 1997.
In this small but indispensable volume, Professor Spring explains the problems in multicultural education and why they are cause for concern.

______. *Education and the Rise of the Corporate State.* Boston: Beacon Press, 1972.
This book examines the ideological origins of labor markets in American education and discusses how the ideology of a political agenda became institutionalized.

Stewart, David W. *Immigration and Education: The Crisis and the Opportunities.* New York: Lexington Books, 1993.
This text informs the reader about significant court cases regarding immigration and presents high school graduation rates among U.S. immigrants. In 1988, 76.1% of Mexican immigrants did not graduate.

Supplemental Resources

Arias, Ron. *The Road to Tumazunchale.* Reno: West Coast Poetry Review, 1975.
Considered Chicano literature, this story transmits cultural values that have been identified with a specific population.

Burchard, Peter. *Lincoln and Slavery.* New York: Atheneum Books for Young Readers, 1999.
This explains Lincoln's position on slavery and supports instruction on the causes of the Civil War.

Cole, Michael D. *People to Know: John F. Kennedy, President of the New Frontier.* Springfield, NJ: Enslow Publishers, Inc., 1996.
This biography of JFK supports instruction on the Cold War, the Space Race, and the Civil Rights Movement.

Condra-Peters, Amy. *Vietnam: Countries of the World.* Milwaukee: Garth Stevens Publishing, 2002.
This text includes many pictures and maps of post-war Vietnam and support instruction in Vietnam immigration and refugees.

Cwiklik, Robert. *Sequoyah and the Cherokee Alphabet.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Silver Burdett Press, 1989.

This text supports instruction on the relationship between literacy and empowerment, and the "Trail of Tears."

Foster, Leila M. *Iraq.* New York: Children's Press, 1998.
This is a history of Iraq and supports instruction on oppression, dictatorships, and the privileged class.

Fuentes, Carlos. *Cuerpos y Ofrendas.* Spain: Alianza Editorial, 1981.
In Spanish, this book is a collection of short stories that identify with the values of "hispanoamericanos."

Heinrichs, Ann. *Japan: Enchantment of the World.* New York: Children's Press, 1998.
This text su pports instruction in Japanese immigration, internment, Pearl Harbor and WWII, and reconstruction.

Hew, Shirley, Ed. *Germany: Cultures of the World.* New York: Marshall Cavendish Corporation, 1993.
This text supports instruction on German immigration, nationalism, and WWI & WWII.

Jermyn, Leslie. *Countries of the World: Mexico.* Milwaukee, WI: Garth Stevens Publishing, 2002.
This text supports instruction on Mexican immigration and the concepts of documented and undocumented.

Krull, Kathleen. *Havesting Hope: The Story of Cesar Chavez.* San Diego: Hartcourt Inc., 2003.
This is a colorfully illustrated biography of Cesar Chavez and supports instruction in labor movements, exploitation, and empowerment.

Loyd, Dana. *World Leaders Past and Present: Ho Chi Minh.* New York: Chelsea House Publishing, 1986.
This is a biography of Ho Chi Minh and supports instruction on the role of Communism and leadership in Southeast Asia during the Johnson administration.

Lynch, Dudley. *The President from Texas: Lyndon Baines Johnson.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1975.
This biography of LBJ is background to his positions on Civil Rights, education, and poverty.

Marin, Albert. *Commander in Chief; Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War.* New York: Dutton's Children's Books, 1997.
This biography discusses Lincoln's leadership during the Civil War and supports instruction on cultural change.

Palacios, Argentinia. *Viva Mexico: A Story of Benito Juarez and Cinco de Mayo.* Austin, TX: Raintree Steck-Vaughn Publishers, 1993.
This story explains the significance of Mexican patriotism and supports instruction on transnationalism.

Potts, Steve. *Andrew Jackson: A Photo Illustrated Biography.* Mankato, MN: Bridgestone Books, 1996.
This text supports instruction on the concept of the "Trail of Tears" and Jacksonian Democracy.

______. *Theodore Roosevelt: A Photo Illustrated Biography.* Mankato, MN: Bridgestone Books, 1996.
This text supports instruction on federal regulation of big business and cultural conservation.

______. *Franklin D. Roosevelt: A Photo Illustrated Biography.* Mankato, MN: Bridgestone Books, 1996.
This text supports instruction on the concept of The Great Depression.

Rogers, Barbara and D. Stillman. *Zimbabwe: Enchantment of the World.* New York: Children's Press, 2002.
This text supports instruction on the concepts of Zimbabwean immigration, and forced immigration in contrast to voluntary immigration

Samora, Julian. *Los Mojados; The Wetback Story.* IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971.
This was a study produced thorough the U.S.-Mexico Border Studies project at the University of Notre Dame. Although this is written for academics, the volume includes photos of undocumented workers being smuggled into the country and supports the children's understanding of migration.

Simonds, Christopher. *Samuel Slater's Mill and the Industrial Revolution.* Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Silver Burdett Press, 1990.
This is the story of English immigrant, Samuel Slater, and the construction of the first mill. The text supports instruction on the purposes of schooling.

Wills, Karen. *Modern Nations of the World: Vietnam.* San Diego: Lucent Books, 2000.
This text discusses the history of Vietnam and supports instruction on Vietnamese immigration and national reconstruction.

FILMOGRAPHY

The King of Masks (Mandarin with English Subtitles). 101 min. Dir. Wu Tianming. Producers: Mona Fong and Ho Titus. Perf. Zhu Xu, Zhou Ren-ying, and Zhao Zhigang. China, 1996.

Set in 1930s China (anticipating the Communist Revolution), The King of Masks is a locally renowned street performer whose magical ability to instantaneously switch between various facial coverings makes him a crowd favorite. A famous opera singer is so impressed with the King's show that he asks to learn the old man's tricks and suggests he pass his art to an heir – a son. The King goes to a slave market where he buys "Doggie," an 8-year old child. At first, the King is delighted until he learns he has been deceived and the "boy" he purchased is actually a girl.

I have shown this film to several young audiences and led critical discussions of several key themes, including the differences and similarities between boys and girls. In my experience, students who view this film with me seem to have a greater respect for others and understand how the classroom is a good place to learn about equality and difference. This film is rated PG-13 for its theme and "mild profanity," however the English subtitles make screening these few instances a simple task and minor concern.