

6. In *Myers v. Nebraska* (1921), the US Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional a Nebraska law forbidding the teaching of 'foreign languages' (especially German) in the state's public schools.
7. Hence, note the apparent common sense of the 'time-on-task' hypothesis regarding second language learning; see, for instance, Rodriguez (1982) for an eloquent and heartbreaking description of one family's experience of this active process of consenting in the children's language shift. But much research has demonstrated the falsity of the 'time-on-task' hypothesis (e.g. Cummins, 1996).
8. See, again, Tocqueville (1945) for an insightful reflection on American nationalism, and on American social conformity. A long line of subsequent commentators has written on the same subject, but there is not space here to document this assertion.
9. See Huntington (2004) for a good example of this alarm over the implications of Mexican-origin immigration for US national identity.
10. García Bedolla's book (2005) is based on a series of one hundred in-depth interviews with Latinos ranging from teen-age to elderly, both US-born and immigrants, in East Los Angeles and Montebello, California.
11. See Dawson (1994) for an insightful description and deployment of this important analytical concept.

## Chapter 8

# ***Living' and Teachin' la lengua loca:<sup>1</sup> Glocalizing US Spanish Ideologies and Practices***

OFELIA GARCÍA

### Introduction

Spanish has had a continuous presence in the US since the time of settlement (Kloss, 1977). And yet, the language of US Latinos has always been seen as corrupt and *loca*, since it departs from the reality of what is considered 'standard' Spanish and English. A monoglossic language ideology<sup>2</sup> pervades the US, insisting that language is just an autonomous monolithic skill in a 'standard', valuing English monolingualism above all else, and offensively targeting Spanish. In the early 21st century, as globalization has also penetrated the US, a different Spanish language ideology has come onto the scene. This one, constructed not by Anglophones but by Hispanophone elites mostly from Spain insists on the value of 'standard' Spanish for its global utility. Although supporting Spanish, this latter language ideology is every bit as monoglossic as the first one, for it views Spanish without regard to the multiple language practices and identities of US Latinos, what we will call here its 'locality', and yet empowering it in 'globalicity'.

Supported by work on language ideologies, this chapter reviews these two monoglossic constructions that ignore the *loca/l* language practices of speakers. In order to exert power and control over US Latinos, Spanish is constructed as a *minoritized language* in the first ideology [prevalent in the US], and as a *global language* in the second one [prevalent in the Spanish-speaking world and especially in Spain]. But both ideologies exclude the local discourse practices of US bilinguals, what I have called elsewhere their 'bilingualing' (García, 2009). These monoglossic ideologies are then manifested in the ways in which Spanish is taught in the US; that is, in the *teaching of Spanish* (what is commonly called *foreign language, second language, or heritage language*

education), as well as in the use of *Spanish in teaching* (what is generally called *bilingual education*).

The chapter proposes that the two opposing monoglossic ideologies surrounding Spanish in the US, and the ways in which they are manifested in Spanish language education today, make it difficult to develop a US bilingual citizenry that can act on their multiple language-based identities. By giving only monoglossic options of language use and language allegiance, and by rejecting the *locality* of their language practices, US Latinos are prevented from developing the Spanish/English bilingualism and the multiple identities that would facilitate living and working in the local and global communities of the 21st century.

### Linguistic Ideologies and Language Allegiances and Identities

Scholars working within a *linguistic ideology* framework link linguistic practices to broader socio-political systems and show how beliefs about language are enmeshed in social systems of oppression and subordination of groups (see, for example, Gal, 1989; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994; Schieffelin *et al.*, 1998; Irvine & Gal, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Based on Foucault's (1991) concept of '*governmentality*' and Gramsci's (1971) notion of '*hegemony*', linguistic ideologies explain how people acquiesce to the invisible cultural power of a 'standard' unmarked linguistic choice, thus becoming 'regulatory' mechanisms that unconsciously create categories of exclusion for those who manifest 'loca/I' marked ways of using language. In all of this, speakers always have room for *agency and resistance*, although the ways in which groups and individuals are situated in different social, historical and cultural contexts can prevent them from accessing certain linguistic resources or adopting new identities (see Heller, 1982, 1995; Norton & Toohey, 2001; Woolard, 1998).

One of the most popular linguistic ideologies is that there is, or that there has to be, a link between language and identity. But the unidirection between language and identity has been questioned. Liebkind (1999), for example, has shown that there is a reciprocal role between language and identity; that is, language use influences the identity formation of the group, while at the same time, the identity of the group influences the patterns of attitudes and language uses. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 181) show how individual and social identity are mediated by language, with speakers creating speech acts as *acts of projection* in which

'the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behavior so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished'. Pennycook (2003) has introduced the concept of *performativity* which indicates that people do not use language based on their identity; but instead, perform their identities by using language (Pennycook, 2000).

The section that follows analyzes how it is that Spanish in the US has been constructed as a minoritized language<sup>3</sup>, without acknowledging the agency of US Latinos and the multiple linguistic identities that they discursively perform. It questions the propositions contained in the monoglossic construction that makes Spanish the culprit of all the problems experienced by US Latinos. In so doing, it exposes the *linguicist* views<sup>4</sup> about US Latinos based on constructions about their language and its use.

### Spanish as a minoritized language: Anglophone constructions and deconstructions of a monoglossic language ideology

That Spanish has been *minoritized* and constructed as a *problem* — the language of poor people of color, of conquered and colonized people, of immigrants — is brought to light by the characteristics assigned to Spanish speakers by the US Census, and reinforced daily by the linguistic prejudice manifested in the streets, in radio shows, in magazines and newspapers. Perhaps it is the comic Dame Edna who in an advice column that appeared in the magazine *Vanity Fair* expressed this *linguicism* best:

Forget Spanish. There's nothing in that language worth reading except Don Quixote. . . There was a poet named Garcia Lorca, but I'd leave him on the intellectual back burner if I were you. As for everyone's speaking it, what twaddle! Who speaks it that you are really desperate to talk to? The help? Your leaf blower? (*Ask Dame Edna*, 2003).

Spanish speakers are not only characterized as maids, leaf blowers, gardeners, and not worthy of intellectual pursuit, but they're also perceived as having a single language allegiance and a 'foreign' identity which, as the Harvard scholar Samuel P. Huntington has said, 'threatens to divide the United States into two peoples, two cultures, and two languages'. Huntington (2004: 45) continues:

There is no *Americano* dream. There is only the American dream created by an Anglo-Protestant society. Mexican Americans will share in that dream and in that society only if they dream in English.

There is no room in this language ideological construction by Huntington for US Latinos to fall, as they do, on all sides of that divide, with most falling on both. There is no possibility that the dream may be in English and Spanish, and hybrid versions thereof — American/Americano — the essence of being and manifesting linguistically what it is to be a US Latino.

The possibility of having multiple language identities and performances is also silenced by the way in which the US census gathers its data about language and ethnicity, preventing overlaps and excluding the possibilities of multiple discourses and identities. The US census then reinforces the picture of US Spanish as being the language of many foreign, immigrants, poor, and non-white Latinos.

According to the US census, in 2005 there were 41,926,302 Latinos in the US; that is, one out of every seven people (Pew Hispanic Center, 2006). But the picture that emerges from close analysis is a lot more complex than the portrayal of a monolithic Spanish being the language of the too numerous and too similar, too foreign, and too Spanish speaking Latinos. Sixty-four percent of US Latinos were of Mexican origin in 2005 — 26,784,268. But this figure does not tell us about the complexity of language practices and identities in the Mexican origin population — some being newcomers, some longstanding, some workers, some professionals, some English speakers, some not. And this complexity is multiplied in the many national origins of the US Latino population, as displayed in Table 8.1.

This table reveals other complexities that are not addressed in the monolithic construction of US Latinos and their language use. For example, the census attempts to identify the national origin of US Latinos, but there are over 3 million US Latinos who remain unidentified, perhaps because they have multiple national origins, possibly including the US, and the census does not facilitate multiple options. Table 8.1 also includes Spaniards. Although of Spanish speaking origin, these Spaniards are not Latin Americans. Yet, they are now considered US Latinos. It is perhaps this last detail that is most revealing to understand the immutable link that this US monoglossic language ideology constructs between language and identity, for it turns out that Spaniards, as 'possible' Spanish speakers, are also considered US Latinos. There is no way of being a Spanish speaker and not being identified as a

Table 8.1 Origin of the US Latino population\*<sup>1</sup>

Country	Population	Percentage
Mexican	26,784,268	63.9%
Puerto Rican	3,794,776	9.1%
Cuban	1,462,593	3.5%
Salvadorian	1,240,031	3.0%
Dominican	1,135,756	2.7%
Guatemalan	780,191	1.9%
Colombian	723,596	1.7%
Honduran	466,843	1.1%
Ecuadorian	432,068	1.0%
Peruvian	415,342	1.0%
Spaniard	362,424	.9%
Nicaraguan	275,126	.7%
Argentinean	189,303	.5%
Venezuelan	162,762	.4%
Panamanian	141,286	.3%
Costa Rican	111,978	.3%
Chilean	105,141	.3%
Bolivian	68,649	.2%
Uruguayan	51,646	.1%

\*Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2005 American Community Survey, Table 3  
<sup>1</sup>This table excludes those who did not provide a specific Hispanic origin (3,033,648), as well as those Central Americans other than those included in the table (99,422) and South Americans other than those included in the table (89,443).

US Latino. Likewise, there is no way of being a US Latino and not being identified as a Spanish speaker. And yet, many categorized as 'Hispanics' are not Spanish speakers. Table 8.2 deconstructs this monoglossic language ideology.

Almost one fourth of those who consider themselves US Latinos (22%) speak English only at home. They could be English monolinguals,

Table 8.2 US Latinos' language use at home, +5 years of age\*

Language use at home	Number	Percentage
Speak only English at home	8,131,764	22%
Speak Spanish at home	29,073,428	78%

\*Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005 American Community Survey. Table B16006

having experienced complete shift to English, for the language shift of US Latinos continues at an unrelenting pace (e.g. Alba & Nee, 2003; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). They could also have chosen to speak English at home because of family or personal circumstances. Many US Latinos live in language-mixed marriage situations, and thus are unable to exercise the option of speaking Spanish at home, although they may do so in the community and at work.

Although the US census also manifests its monoglossic language ideology by never asking the degree of proficiency that respondents have in Spanish, it does so for English, asking those who claim to speak Spanish at home whether they speak English very well, well, not well or not at all (notice that no such question is asked of those who speak only English at home, although it can be assumed that many would not always rate their English proficiency as 'very well', for they may have no choice but to speak English at home). Forcing the option of the degree of 'correctness' with which one speaks a language obviates the existence of multiple linguistic practices having to do with different contexts, topics and interlocutors, and views language as an autonomous skill devoid of context or of the discursive practices of people, their 'linguaging'.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, even if we take the figures for English language proficiency at face value, a number of problems regarding the construction of US Latinos as Spanish speakers emerges. Table 8.3 displays the results for English language proficiency of US Latinos who speak Spanish at home, and shows that 88% of US Latinos 'language' with English, since they have some proficiency in that language, that is, they speak English somewhat (either very well, well or not well).

Under the most important federal legislation for US education, *No Child Left Behind*, the English language proficiency figures of those 5 to 17 years of age are used to make financial allocations to states. But in constructing the concept of a Limited English Proficient student (LEP) (also called English Language Learner or ELL in the literature), the

**Table 8.3** US Latinos' English language proficiency, +5 years of age\*

English Language Proficiency	Number	Percentage
Speak English 'very well'	14,417,684	50%
Speak English 'well'	5,559,872	19%
Speak English 'not well'	5,616,346	19%
Speak English 'not at all'	3,479,526	12%

\*Source: US Census, American Community Survey, Table B16006

federal government considers all students who speak English less than very well as LEPs. In Table 8.3, that would mean exactly half of all US Latinos, 50%. This is again a way of constructing US Latinos as lacking, limiting, learners, inferior, and assigning their loca/l language practices the blame for economic and educational failure. Looking at the same figures from a heteroglossic angle, and not a monoglossic one, we could celebrate the fact that 88% of them have some degree of bilingualism and able to tap into these multiple language practices and language identities. Elsewhere I have argued that those who the government and educators call Limited English Proficient or English Language Learners would be best considered 'emergent bilinguals', a recognition that as they acquire English they are also becoming bilingual and that that schools would serve them better if they acknowledged this fact (García *et al.*, 2007). The process of English language acquisition for US Latinos involves bilingualism. Ignoring the complex loca/l 'bilingualing' or what I have called 'translanguaging'<sup>6</sup> of US Latinos — their multiple discursive practices — continues to be a way to exclude them from educational and economic opportunities.

A monoglossic language ideology also constructs the idea that foreign-born US Latinos are Spanish-speaking monolinguals. Yet, the figures in Table 8.4 reveal that although the foreign born speak more Spanish at home (96%) than those born in the US (64%), nevertheless 80% of the foreign born also 'language' with English.

In considering language an autonomous category, the US census doesn't give the possibility of tapping into the multiple language practices of all US Latinos; that is, their 'translanguaging'. Speaking of the hybrid language practices and identities of youth of Mexican American descent Bejarano (2005: 28) says:

The experience of living and breathing the geopolitics of the border, the literary, linguistic, and cultural forms and embeddedness of the

**Table 8.4** Place of birth and language use of US Latinos over 5 years of age\*

	Born in the US		Foreign Born	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Speak only English	7,482,190	36%	649,574	4%
Speak Spanish	13,188,897	64%	15,884,531	96%
Speak English Vwell, Well, NW	12,952,162	98%	12,641,740	80%
Speak English 'not at all'	236,735	1%	3,242,791	20%

\*Source: U.S. Census, American Community Survey, Table B160051

border, means understanding the distinct languages that come from this area, the cultural practices and nuances of the region, the social, cultural, and political messages and lessons displayed in art, performances, writings, and languages, and how people live their lives in these spaces. People *en la frontera* (on the border) or people who have had the border experience comprehend the hybrid nature of their existence — their situatedness within representations of *mestizaje*.<sup>7</sup>

The US census simply ignores the linguistic *mestizaje* of US Latinos in the many *fronteras* of the US.

Yet another way in which this monoglossic language ideology is constructed is by *racializing* the Spanish of US Latinos. Urciuoli (1996: 15) explains that 'when groups are seen in racial terms, language differences are ideologically problematic' and typified as the characteristic of those who are 'out of place' and 'unwilling, or unable to do their bit for the nation-state.' US Spanish, having evolved in situations of conquest, colonization, and immigration has been racialized and judged to be 'out of place' in the US, something to be made fun of by Dame Edna, the comic, a *lengua loca*.

US Spanish gets further constructed as a language of poverty by conflating ethnicity and language (García & Mason, 2009).<sup>8</sup> For example, we are told that in 2005 the median income of US Latinos was \$36,000 compared to \$50,000 for white non-Latinos, and the implication is that it is Spanish that is the culprit for this lower income. But if we look only at native-born US Latinos who presumably must be English speakers, we realize that they also are doing much worse than whites. In fact, the median income of native born US Latinos, all English speakers, was \$39,000, higher than foreign-born Latinos (\$34,000) but very much lower than the \$50,000 median income of white non-Latinos (Pew Hispanic Center, 2006). Clearly something else besides language is taking place here. The Swiss economist, François Grin (2003) has explained that if one language is promoted to prominent status, then its native speakers will have social and economic advantages precisely because of the competence in the prestigious language. By constructing Spanish as a language of poverty and 'erasing' the 'translanguaging' of US Latinos, white English monolinguals enjoy privilege while excluding US Latinos.

Research on language and income for US Latinos focuses on English-language ability or on Spanish monolingualism, without considering the impact of their bilingualism. All studies reiterate that there is an income differentials between Spanish monolinguals and English-speaking

Latinos (NCEP, 1982; Bloom & Grenier, 1996). The disparities in income supported when comparing Spanish monolinguals with those who speak English as if there are two opposing categories, promote the gradual construction of English as the language of economic opportunity and Spanish as one of limited opportunity and poverty. But most importantly, it makes Spanish-English bilingualism nonexistent as a category of analysis.

When scholars have considered bilingualism as a valid variable in studying the question of the relationship between language and income, their findings have been different from those identified above. In a 1990 study, García found that English monolingualism had no effect whatsoever on income, especially for Cuban Americans in Miami-Dade County where Spanish had negotiated for itself a role not only for communication, but also for economic value (García, 1995). These findings were confirmed by Boswell in 2000 who claimed that for both Florida and Miami-Dade County: 'Hispanics who speak English very well and speak Spanish have higher incomes, lower poverty rates, higher educational attainment, and better-paying jobs than Hispanics who only speak English. The differential in mean income is especially apparent' (p. 422). In Miami-Dade County, and other such US cities, Spanish-English bilingualism has begun to emerge as a valuable economic resource.

Linton (2003: 24) has also found that there is a 'positive relationship between upward mobility and bilingualism'. The development of this positive relationship is explained through Portes and Rumbaut's (1996, 2001) model of *selective acculturation*. The selective acculturation model allows a person to adapt to the majority culture while still holding on to elements of the other one. Selective acculturation explains that when ethnic networks and strong communities (such as that of the Cuban American population in Miami-Dade County) support children to deal with prejudice, navigate the education system, and find a place in the labor market for the ethnic language, bilingualism can bring equal, if not greater, benefits. Affirming the value of Spanish-English bilingualism, Massey (1995: 648) has said: 'Increasingly the economic benefits and prospects for mobility will accrue to those able to speak both languages and move in both worlds.'

### Spanish as a global language: Hispanophone constructions and deconstructions of a monoglossic language ideology

Spurred by Spain's economic growth in the last decade, Spanish has recently begun to be marketed as a global language, a language that is

'fashionable' (Álvarez-Martínez, 2001; Guareschi, 2001), a *lengua 'loca'* in the Ricky Martin sense of chic 'Latinidad' (Mar-Molinero, 2008), trendy fashions and promising financial returns. The government of Spain has been at the center of this activity through what Hamel (2004) has called a 'Hispanofonía' that constructs unity:

*basado en una política de diversidad piramidal. [Español ya no intenta exportar, como en sus primeros años, el español con la 'zeta'. Admite la diversidad del español.*

[Based on politics of pyramidal diversity. [Spain] doesn't try to export, as it did during its first years, Spanish with the 'zed'. It allows the diversity of Spanish.]

This construction attempts to include the *lengua loca* of US Spanish speakers, but always with peninsular Castilian at the top of the pyramid (Fernández Rodríguez, 2005). The reality is even more rigid and starker.

What are the reasons for this apparent flexibility when 'standard' Castilian Spanish had been promoted as the sole 'legitimate' language since in 1492 Elio Antonio de Nebrija in his *Gramática* declared it to be 'compañera del imperio' (companion to the Empire). In 1713 the *Real Academia Española* had further linked the Spanish identity to Castilian, under its motto, '*Limpia, fija y da esplendor*' [cleans, sets and brightens]. The sociolinguist Louis-Jean Calvet (1999) provides an answer by explaining that without Latin America — and we can add, the Spanish speakers of the US — Spanish would be considered only a regional language in Spain, as is Catalan and Basque (Euskara). Although Spanish is spoken today by between 322 and 358 million people as a native language, only 28 million, that is 9%, live in Spain itself (Gordon, 2005). This last figure might be even lower since it was gathered in 1986, before the enormous language consciousness uprising that is now present in the autonomous regions in Spain.

A global language is characterized not only by demographics, but also by its economic, political and cultural power (Ammon, 2003). Spanish has clearly a strong demographic presence. With over 350 million people who speak it natively, Spanish holds third place in the world. According to the *Anuario del Instituto Cervantes* and *Ethnologue* (15th edition) (Gordon, 2005), Spanish has between 358 and 420 million speakers worldwide. This puts Spanish in third place, after Chinese and Hindi/Urdu, and before English! Spanish is also spoken in 20 countries. Only English, French and Arabic are spoken in more states than Spanish.

Table 8.5 Number of Spanish native speakers in millions\*

Language	Native speakers (in millions)	Speakers (other) (in millions)	Total speakers (in millions)
1. Mandarin	873	178	1,051
2. Hindi/Urdu	366	120	486
3. Spanish	358	70	428
4. English	341	169	510

\*Source: Ethnologue, 2005

But in this construction of Spanish as a powerful language demographically there are also limitations. The concept of a 'native language' or a 'mother tongue' has been questioned by many (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981, 2000, 2008; García, 2009). Many Latin Americans in officially monolingual Spanish speaking countries, as well as US Latinos, do not speak Spanish as their home language. Again, the construct of a language as a standard autonomous skill without reference to the social practices of its speakers and the context in which it is used is flawed. But if the majority of these 'Spanish' speakers come from countries where poverty is rampant, does Spanish hold any economic power? According to Graddol (1997: 29), international business in English accounts for \$2338 billion dollars, whereas Spanish accounts for \$610 billion, putting Spanish in sixth place in the global order — after Japanese, German, Russian and French, in that order.

The Engco model, developed by the British Council (Graddol, 1997) considers not only the demographics of a language and its economic power, but also the fact that its speakers participate in social networks beyond local ones. Thus, it combines three factors: (1) demographic ones, including the number of speakers, their age and their rate of urbanization; (2) economic ones, such as the Gross National Product and the opening to international business; and, (3) the UN Development Index which combines a quality of life index with literacy and education. Using this Global Influence Index, and using 100 for English in order to compare the strength of the other languages, Graddol has determined that Spanish ranks fifth, after English, German, French and Japanese.

But Spanish would not be in any way capable of gaining global standing if it were not for Latin America and the Spanish speaking market in the US. The Spanish-speaking Latin American market is huge — consisting of over 324 million 'possible' speakers. It has grown exponentially, from \$40 million in 2005 to \$168 million in 2006. And Spain's investment

in these Latin American markets has been swift, growing since 1986 by 40 times, and surpassing those of the US, especially in the areas of banking, finance, telecommunications, mines and agriculture (Casilda Béjar, 2001).

The US Latino market cannot be ignored in this newly held economic power of Spanish, for it represents more than three times the consumer power of the rest of the Spanish speaking world (Carreira, 2002). In 2003, the US Latino population controlled \$653 billion in consumer power, and this is expected to reach 1 trillion in 2008 (Selig Center for Economic Growth, 2003). The US Latino market is growing eight times more rapidly than the rest of the US market (Villa, 2000). From 1990 to 2002, the consumer power of the US Latino population doubled (Carreira, 2002). Total advertising spending for Spanish-language media reached \$5.6 billion in 2006 — a 14.4% increase from 2005 (Hispanic Market Weekly, 2007). And from 1990 to 2002, the earnings from Spanish language ads increased more than seven times — from \$14.3 million in 1970 to \$111 million in 1990, to \$786 million in 2002 (Eric García, personal communication). Univisión, the largest Spanish language television network in the US, ranks fifth in viewers after the four big ones that transmit in English — ABC, NBC, CBS and Fox. The economic power of Spanish in the US cannot be ignored. Marcos-Marín (2006) remarks that the economic volume produced by Spanish in US television, radio, movies, newspapers, magazines and schools is superior to that of any other Spanish-speaking country in the world. Despite Spain's campaign for the expansion of a globalized Spanish, its economic value rests — to a large extent — on the language of US Latinos.

The language practices of US Latino communities, even in the media, have little to do with a global image of Spanish. Listen to a supposedly Spanish language radio call-in program, and you will soon understand that Spanish varieties and English varieties coexist, often within the discourse of a single caller. This bilingualing reflects the linguistic *mestizaje* of US Latinos that we pointed out before, living in the many *fronteras* or *borderlands* where there is constant penetration of languages and discourses. But in the global context mediated by technology in which local varieties of US Spanish are projected today, its locality interacts with its new globalicity, resulting in the 'glocalization'<sup>9</sup> of Spanish — its *g/loca/l/icity*. It is this 'g/loca/l/icity' that has started to spur the agency of US Latinos, insisting that more heteroglossic language ideologies be considered. Schools, as the most important agent in the 'transmission' of language practices, play an important role in upholding and promoting language ideologies. The next section looks at how monoglossic language

ideologies are reflected in Spanish language education in the US, and how they have been, and continue to be, contested.

### Teaching *la lengua loca*: The Teaching of Spanish and Spanish in Teaching

Spanish has been officially present in US schools since the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ceded half of Mexico's territory to the US. For example, in 1874, in the Territory of New Mexico, 70% of the schools were in Spanish, 33% were bilingual, and only 5% were in English only (Del Valle, 2003). Although teaching in Spanish has continued to this very day, it has always been contested. It exists today in the form of *bilingual education* and, although calling itself 'bilingual', suffers from the monoglossic language ideologies identified above and the tensions between local and global varieties.

But nowhere is this tension and contestation between local and global varieties of Spanish more prevalent than in the *teaching of Spanish* itself. In the next section, we consider three manifestations of the teaching of Spanish in the US: the so-called '*foreign*' language education, what has become known as '*heritage*' language education, and what we might call *global language education*.

### Teaching Spanish as a 'foreign' language

The official history of teaching Spanish in the US starts at Harvard in the early 19th century, in the hands of such well-known literati as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Washington Irving (for a more complete history, see García, 1997). The first professional association for the teaching of Spanish, the American Association for the Teaching of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP) was founded around World War I, as German was substituted by Spanish in secondary schools. Lawrence Wilkins, the first AATSP president, insisted that Spanish should never be taught in elementary schools and never be taught by native Spanish speakers, thus making local varieties of Spanish illegitimate (García, 1997). Aurelio Espinosa, himself of Hispanic background and the first editor of its journal, *Hispania*, declared that 'The best modern Spanish... is that spoken by the educated people of Old and New Castile' (1923: 244) and that 'American teachers must do in the future 99% of the teaching of Spanish...' (1925: 281).

Despite the insistence that only Castilian Spanish be used, disregarding the local varieties of US Latinos, the teaching of Spanish in the US has grown in direct proportion to the growth of the US Latino

population. For example, in 1960 the US census counted 6.9 million US Latinos compared to 42 million in 2005, accounting for a 500% growth. Likewise, the number of students of Spanish in public secondary schools has increased from 691,024 in 1958 to 4,057,608 in 2000, indicative of a 487 percent growth (Draper & Hicks, 2002). Clearly the interest in learning Spanish is directly proportional to the US population that speaks Spanish. Although many in the profession continue to emphasize the 'foreignness' of Spanish, it is its 'locality' as a language in the US that makes its learning important.

Despite the enormous growth of US Latinos, the teaching of Spanish remains in the hands of Anglophones and targets English monolingual students, ignoring the many who sit in classes where their Spanish is silenced. Spanish language textbooks, for example, are written for English speaking teachers without sufficient Spanish language proficiency in Spanish to be able to follow complex explanations and instructions. And Spanish language lessons are delivered mostly in English and reject the local varieties spoken by the US Latinos in the same classes. An indication of this monoglossic ideology which privileges English even in the teaching of Spanish, is New York State's *English Regents High School* examination. The Regents test, given to assess the culmination of Spanish language learning in high school, is written for the benefit of Anglophone students and to the detriment of those who know Spanish best — Latino newcomers. An example from the Listening Section of the test serves to exemplify this. After reading the directions in English, the students listen to the following text, read by the teacher:

- *You are listening to the radio in Spain and you hear:*
  - *Subway to Sally es un grupo musical que se ha apoderado de las listas de popularidad en gran parte de Europa. Y no es para menos, pues estos siete alemanes han podido hacer una mezcla de lo más extraño, ya que combinan melodías de la Edad Media con música típica europea y sonidos de metal moderno. Así que si eres una de las personas que le gusta escuchar cosas nuevas en la escena musical, este disco es para ti.*
- *What is unique about this group's music?*
  - *Their music is played on all the major subways in Europe.*
  - *Their music combines old melodies with modern sounds.*
  - *Their music features an orchestra.*
  - *Their music is only sold in Germany.*

Despite supposedly assessing Spanish language proficiency, it is English language proficiency that is required to answer this question, since

English is the language of directions, contextualization, and especially of the question and the options for answers. In fact, High School Latino newcomers do poorly in the Spanish language Regents because, despite being Spanish monolingual students, they do not have sufficient English language ability to be able to select the right options. Both the reading and the writing sections of the Spanish language Regents privilege English knowledge. In the reading section, the questions and options are in English. In the writing section, the situation presented and the points to be included are all in English. Those who construct the test hold on to a tight monoglossic language ideology that privileges English above all else, even when the purpose of teaching has been precisely to develop Spanish language proficiency. Becoming proficient in Spanish is not a serious goal even in Spanish language teaching. And local varieties of Spanish and ways of speaking of bilingual Latinos are excluded from classrooms.

### Teaching Spanish as a 'heritage' language

Understanding the inappropriateness of Spanish as a 'foreign' language for US Latinos, Guadalupe Valdés held a National Endowment for the Humanities Institute in 1978 to encourage thinking about this topic. Classes for *Spanish for Native Speakers* or *Spanish for Spanish Speakers* started to grow in the 1980s at both the secondary and tertiary levels (Valdés, 1997b). Since then, attention to this field has increased, although its growth has been slow and insufficient (for more on this see Valdés *et al.*, 2006). In the year 2000, only 41,212, that is, 1.9% of secondary school students who take Spanish, were in classes for Spanish speakers (Draper & Hicks, 2002). This number is minute if we compare it to the 8,595,305 school-aged students (5 to 17) who were classified as Latinos in 2000, or even to the 928,765 US Latinos who were then 15 to 17 years of age.

Recognizing that not all US Latinos are native speakers, or even Spanish speakers, Valdés, Lozano & García-Moya (1981) spoke of 'teaching Spanish to the Hispanic bilingual'. But in the last decade, the term 'bilingual' has taken negative connotations in the US (more on this below), leading Spanish language educators to distance themselves from the bilingual education profession. The term 'Hispanic bilingual' has been slowly substituted for 'speaker of Spanish as a "heritage" language'. Cummins (2005) explains the change in terminology:

[R]ecent academic initiatives in relation to heritage languages can be seen as an attempt to establish an independent sphere of discourse



where heritage language support can be debated on its own merits rather than viewed through the lens of preexisting polarized attitudes towards bilingual education and immigration. (p. 586)

Despite the good intentions of these educators, the term 'heritage language' is in some ways indicative of the retreat — retreat from Spanish, from bilingualism, backwards towards something old, something that doesn't quite belong in the present and that is out of place in schools where only English is valued (García, 2005). A monoglossic language ideology prevails ignoring the bilingualing of these speakers. And despite the intention of the Spanish as 'heritage' language profession to honor the local Spanish varieties of the Latino students, these continue to be put in their backward place behind a more global Spanish 'standard', and especially behind English, the true language of globalization and future.

### Teaching Spanish as a global language

Very recently, Spain has started to export its language education industry to the US, claiming that Spanish is global, chic, and fashionable. The arm of this education enterprise has been the *Instituto Cervantes*, established on May 11, 1990 with a clear purpose — '*agrupar y potenciar los esfuerzos en la defensa y promoción del español en el extranjero*' [to group and potentialize the efforts in the defense and promotion of Spanish outside of Spain] (Sánchez, 1992). To accomplish this goal, 66 centers have been established to date, four of them in the US — in Albuquerque, Chicago, Seattle and New York. Among the most important activities of these centers is the teaching of Spanish as a global language, the preparation of teachers for such an enterprise, and the certification of Spanish language professionals through its DELE (*Diploma de español como lengua extranjera*).

The *Instituto* has developed a virtual Spanish language classroom (the *AVE* or *Aula Virtual de español*) that especially targets children between the ages of seven to nine years old, and offers Spanish language classes. But the activities of the *Instituto* reflect a clearly monoglossic language ideology, focusing on the global, without any concern of the local. Speaking about the *AVE*, the website says:

*La variedad principal del AVE y norma del corpus que se propone al alumno como modelo de lengua para su reproducción es el español peninsular central. ... La selección de esta variedad como principal está fundamentada en que el español peninsular central tiene suficiente importancia demográfica*

*y proyección hacia el conjunto de la comunidad hispanohablante a través de manifestaciones culturales y medios de comunicación...* (www.cervantes.es)

[The principal variety of the AVE and the corpus norm offered to the student as the language model for reproduction is central peninsular Spanish. ... The selection of this variety as the major one rests in that peninsular Spanish has much demographic importance and projection towards the many Spanish-speaking communities through cultural manifestations and the communication media]

This manifests an ideology of language domination that clearly puts peninsular Spanish at the top. This monoglossic language ideology is reflected in the fact that, for example, during the spring of 2005, the Instituto Cervantes offered 95 sections of Spanish as a foreign language classes, although only one section was specifically for Spanish speakers. Seen now from a Hispanophone perspective, the Spanish of US Latinos is also ostracized, debased, stigmatized. Attention is only paid to the more powerful variety, the one that is official, the one that has the army and the economy (Villa, 2000), and that wants to keep for itself global advantages. In Spain, the Spanish teaching industry produces 4 billion dollars annually, establishing that it can teach Spanish without incorporating US, or even Latin American, language practices, and keeping for itself this new business niche.

### Bilingual education and the erasure of Spanish

US schools have been the battleground in which the struggle for control over language, and the resources it can accrue, is settled, and where the *lengua loca* is tamed. By establishing a clear linguistic hierarchy with English on top, Spanish at the bottom, and bilingualism as non-existent, US educational policy ensures that educational privilege continues to be in the hands of English monolinguals. And yet, as we have said, bilingual education has always had a place in US schools. Its 'official' controversial story, however, starts in 1968 with the passage of the *Bilingual Education Act*, also known as *Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act*. Originally, federal funds were used for school systems to organize and implement bilingual education programs to teach the nation's failing bilingual students — mostly Mexican Americans in the southwest and Puerto Ricans in the northeast.<sup>10</sup> But these programs turned quickly from being 'educational alternatives' into 'linguistic programs' to teach English. The *transitional bilingual education* programs that resulted, used Spanish only as a tool to learn English,

subjugating Spanish, although giving entry, perhaps, to local varieties of Spanish. Despite the attention to Spanish that bilingual education promoted, bilingual education professionals had little to do with Spanish language professionals. The differences had much to do with the emphasis of bilingual educators on using Spanish as an instrument of education, and not as a linguistic goal in itself.

In the 1980s, bilingual education in the US started to come under attack, as the English Only movement gathered force (e.g. Crawford, 2004; Del Valle, this volume; Ricento, this volume; Schmidt, this volume). Today, political pressures have significantly restricted opportunities for bilingual education. California, Massachusetts and Arizona have declared bilingual education illegal. In 2001, Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (the Bilingual Education Act) was eliminated as part of the authorization of *No Child Left Behind* (NCLB) (Crawford, 2004). Eugene Garcia (2005: 98) describes these changes:

Whereas the 1994 version of the Bilingual Education Act included among its goals 'developing the English skills...and to the extent possible, the native-language skills' of LEP students, the new law stresses skills in English only. The word *bilingual* has been completely eliminated from the law.

The silencing of the word 'bilingual' from US discourse is noticeable. The chart below displays some of these changes in wording to erase what Crawford (2004) calls 'the B-Word'.

Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA) →	Office of English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement and Academic Achievement for LEP students (OELA)
National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE) →	National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition and Language Instruction Educational Programs (NCELA)
Title VII of Elementary and Secondary Education Act: The Bilingual Education Act →	Title III of No Child Left Behind, Public Law 107-110: Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students, 2001

The high accountability measures of NCLB require mandatory, high stakes tests in English for all children (Menken, 2008; Wiley & Wright, 2004). As Crawford (2004: 332) has said:

In the name of 'accountability', it created new carrots and sticks that may ultimately prove more powerful than Unz's initiatives in pressuring schools to adopt all English instruction.

Especially since the passage of NCLB, bilingual education has taken a different linguistic path. Instead of honoring and using the children's different loca/l ways of translanguaging, it insists on 'dual languages', with English duly separated from Spanish and positioning itself way above Spanish. The two-way bilingual classrooms that have grown in the last decade mix children with different linguistic profiles, and although there is renewed potential in this arrangement, there is also danger (for more on this, see García, 2006; Valdés, 1997a). When high-stakes assessment takes place in English only, and children are linguistically mixed, it is easy for English to overcome Spanish. This happens especially because the Spanish of the classroom has been 'sanitized', gaining distance from a community that is no longer welcomed in school. A global standard Spanish is reified as the one with value and potential in the global market.

Two-way bilingual classrooms have much potential, but only if they rid themselves of the monoglossic language ideologies in which they exist, and allow the forces of globalization to support local US Spanish varieties, that is, only if glocalization is achieved. In the fluid linguistic *fronteras* in which US Latinos live, there can be no language separation, even if mandated by educational policy. Children in two-way bilingual classrooms violate this language separation all the time. And teachers do also. Encouraging these more hybrid language practices of US schoolchildren, both US Latinos and non-Latinos, would do much to break the stronghold of English monoglossic language practices. It would also support translanguaging as the 'glocalized' result of the *entrecruces* in which US Spanish lives.

## Conclusion

Although monoglossic language ideologies concerning Spanish and US Latinos persist in the 21st century, there is a new possibility for US Spanish as it 'glocalizes'. Spanish in the US has left the 'barrio' extending itself to fancy movie theatres and going 'mainstream'. The Colombian telenovela *Yo soy Betty la Fea* was acquired by the Mexican actress, Salma Hayek, herself an Academy Award nominee for her role in the movie *Frida Kahlo*. Hayek is now the executive producer of *Ugly Betty* airing in ABC and starring, in English, America Ferrera as Betty Suárez, the daughter of an immigrant family from Queens whose father is undocumented. Alfonso Cuarón, born in Mexico, directed the third film of the Harry Potter series and became a household word with his Academy Award nomination for *Children of Men*. Teenagers rap Raggaeón music

with its mix of English and Spanish. Schoolchildren are heard in the streets to repeat Ricky Martin's *Livin' la vida loca*, and Shakira's *Baila en la calle de noche, baila en la calle de día*. Disney's huge hit among young adolescents, *High School Musical*, stars a Hispanic female character, Gabriella Montez, who is dating the white Anglo blonde basketball star. The name of the character is not Gabriela, but Gabriella, already signaling the hybridity in identity and languages that characterizes much of US culture, and US Latinos. Likewise, very young children who in the 1980s and 1990s watched as Luis and Maria interacted from 'the margins' with the muppets in *Sesame Street*, are now following the bilingual *Dora the Explorer*, the protagonist of a show that entices them to 'Come on, vámonos' and who embodies the growing hybridization of US culture. Spanish and Spanish-English bilingualism, and especially the multiple identities that 'cross-over' singers and movie and television stars project today, make it difficult to keep US Spanish and Latinos in the corner. Globalization offers opportunities to revise and reconstitute the US outdated monoglossic language ideologies, as well as the language education practices that it produces.

Perhaps the words of the most successful 'cross-over' singer, the Colombian Shakira, may do us well to understand this linguistic interpenetration, this hybrid heteroglossia that characterizes the US Latino community and that is here to stay. The option is not being Latino or being American, or speaking Spanish or not, the problem is that Spanish and English, as Shakira sings:

Whenever, wherever  
We're meant to be together.  
I'll be there and you'll be near  
and that's the deal, my dear.

So, that's the deal — that the history of US conquest, colonization and invasions of Latin America have brought Latinos to 'language' also with English. And that the current globalization and technology revolution has brought a new dimension to those language practices that include Spanish, as well as English. And that no matter how hard US schools try, these language practices are products of sociopolitical conditions that speakers will continue to use as acts of projection. And that even if the US federal government refuses to accept that nationhood in a globalized world is much more than one language, one identity; many North Americans, including US Latinos, claim languages and identities in other ways. The concept of 'glocalization' offers the possibility to break the immutable link between language and identity that has equated

English with US identity unequivocally, acknowledging that particularizing and universalizing tendencies are simultaneously copresent in languages practices, language allegiances and identities. Spanish and English local and global varieties, and the multiple identities that these produce in their unending combinations, are meant to be and work together for the common good of all.

### Notes

1. *Livin' and teachin' la lengua loca* reflects Ricky Martin's (the Puerto Rican singer) popular song, *Livin' la vida loca*. Although Spanish has made its way into popular mainstream music in the US, it often names realities that are outside of the ordinary. *Loca*, besides connoting craziness and disorganization, points to the *local* nature of US Spanish, even as it is popularized globally in music.
2. For an extensive discussion of monoglossic language ideologies, see Del Valle (2000).
3. We use 'minoritized' here to indicate that power has been exerted to keep Spanish in check. Others have used this term as well (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas & McCarty, 2008).
4. Skutnabb-Kangas (1988: 13) defines linguisticism as 'ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate, regulate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language'.
5. We use 'languaging' here in the sense given to us by Yngve (1996) who uses the term to differentiate between the discursive practices of people, their ways of using language, from the construction of 'language' outside of human beings. Swain (2006) has also used the term 'languaging' to indicate language as action to make meaning for ourselves and others.
6. For more on this concept of 'translanguaging', see García (2009).
7. *Mestizaje* is a Spanish word to refer to the fusion of cultures and races that is common in Latin America.
8. The next four paragraphs have been adapted from García and Mason (2009).
9. The term 'glocalization', coined by Japanese economists was popularized by Roland Robertson who describe it as the simultaneity, the co-presence, of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies. We have used the term in the title of our co-authored book (García *et al.*, 2007).
10. For more on the history of bilingual education, see especially Crawford (2004) and E. García (2005).