

Chapter 2

Teaching Spanish and Spanish in Teaching in the USA: Integrating Bilingual Perspectives

OFELIA GARCÍA

Introduction

Spanish has been formally taught in the USA since the early part of the 19th century. Since the early 20th century, the public school has made it a subject of study. As we will discuss, however, this tradition of teaching Spanish as a foreign language has rarely admitted the ways of using the Spanish of Spanish speakers in the USA. US schools have had little interest in developing the English-Spanish bilingualism of their Anglophone students.

After the amendments to the Immigration Act of 1965, the increasing number of students from Latin America began challenging traditional programs of teaching Spanish as a foreign language. In the late 1960s, Spanish in teaching started to be used in transitional bilingual education programs for recently arrived Spanish-speaking students. Programs of teaching Spanish for Spanish speakers (also called teaching Spanish as a heritage language) started to crop up as well. Despite the use of Spanish in teaching in bilingual education programs, and the teaching of Spanish as a heritage language, US schools have not shown much interest in maintaining and developing the English-Spanish bilingualism of US Latino students.

In the 21st century, Spanish has increasingly acquired status as a global language. With this new trend, Spanish is seen less and less as the minoritized language of poor, immigrant, brown US Latinos. The 'in' sounds of Ricky Martin, Shakira, Enrique Iglesias, Reggaeton and the 'sexiness' of Penelope Cruz and Salma Hayek have affected the presence of Spanish in US schools. As we will see, a new trend that we might characterize as the teaching of Spanish as a global language can also be evidenced in the USA, this time with Spain spurring the efforts. The interaction between Spanish as a global language on the one hand, and Spanish as the minoritized language of US Latinos, has spurred the development of a more integrated way of using and teaching Spanish in US classrooms.

More than anything else, the blending of local and international interests brought about through globalization has spurred support for an integrated model of bilingual education that has the potential to bridge the gap that has always existed between the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language, the teaching of Spanish as a heritage language and the use of Spanish in bilingual teaching. And yet, despite its potential, the integrated bilingual education model known as two-way bilingual education or two-way dual language education sometimes fails to liberate itself from the monoglossic language ideologies that have always supported language in education policies in the USA.¹

Nevertheless, two-way dual language education can offer a space where students and teachers are forced to work in the gap created by different traditions of language education. Sometimes, with an enlightened teacher, the teaching and the learning advance notions of bilingualism that go beyond the elite ones of foreign language education programs or the minority ones of transitional bilingual education programs.

This chapter reviews the different traditions of teaching Spanish and Spanish in teaching that are present in the USA today – foreign language teaching, heritage language teaching, bilingual education and global language teaching. It then focuses on the potential of two-way dual language bilingual education to bridge the gap between the different language in education policies, attitudes, practices and pedagogies. The chapter ends by examining one specific two-way bilingual education classroom that transcends the limitations of the model by working in the gap, rather than bridging the gap. This is then the story of how schools and teachers unconsciously work against dual language structures that are externally imposed, enabling plurilingual and pluriliteracy practices and the heteroglossia² of children's discourse in the 21st century.

The Teaching of Spanish as a Foreign Language

The territory that is today the USA has had Spanish speakers on its soil from its founding. According to Kloss (1977), Spanish in the USA can be said to have special rights because it was spoken by original settlers. Spanish is also the language of many US citizens. It is the language of Puerto Ricans, US citizens since 1917 through the Jones Act (García *et al.*, 2001). It was the language of the Mexicans who found themselves on the US side of the border after the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (1848) that ended the Mexican–American War. Spanish is also the language of the 42 million plus US Latinos who live in the USA,³ some recently arrived immigrants, others having been in the USA for two, three or even more generations. Despite the great presence of Spanish speakers in the USA

today, Spanish has always been taught in the USA as if it were a foreign language. The teaching of Spanish profession has constructed an ideology of *foreignness* that has been present from its inception and continues to shape the profession even today.

The tradition of teaching Spanish as a foreign language in the USA did not begin formally until 1816 when George Ticknor occupied the first Harvard Professorship of French and Spanish⁴ (For more on this, see Grattan Doyle, 1926; Leavitt, 1961; Nichols, 1945; Spell, 1927). This elite Spanish teaching tradition, focusing on the reading of the literature of Spain, was continued by such well known American *literati* as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, Washington Irving and William Prescott. The teaching of the literature of Spain was restricted to the university, and consisted of reading the literature, while using English for the discussion. Its aim was not bilingualism but merely acquiring literary understandings. The Modern Language Association, founded in 1883, claimed that the aim of modern language study was 'literary culture, philological scholarship and linguistic discipline'. Little attention was paid to Spanish then.

In 1917, the American Association of Teachers of Spanish (now the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese, AATSP) was established, focusing on the teaching of Spanish, especially at the secondary level. But the primary intent of the American Association of Teachers of Spanish was made obvious in its early motto: 'The war will be won by the substitution of Spanish for German'. Its first president, Lawrence Wilkins, promoted the teaching of Spanish, instead of German, at the secondary level but prevented its inclusion in the elementary school curriculum and the hiring of 'foreign' teachers. Spanish was taught at the secondary level in the same ways that it had been previously taught at the university, that is, with an emphasis on reading (García, 1993, 2003).

The first editor of *Hispania*, the journal of the AATSP, Aurelio Espinosa, was of Hispanic descent, but he was also against the hiring of native speakers and the teaching of a Latin American variety of Spanish. In an article entitled, 'Where is the best Spanish spoken?', Espinosa (1923: 244) says: 'The best modern Spanish ... is that spoken by the educated people of Old and New Castile'. In another article, written in 1921, he writes: 'American teachers must do in the future 99 percent of the teaching of Spanish ...' (Espinosa, 1921: 281), showing his aversion to hiring teachers of Latino background. Clearly the model of Spanish to be taught in US high schools and universities had little to do with the Spanish of its citizens.

In 1929 the Modern Foreign Language Study issued national recommendations regarding the teaching of languages other than English. The study recommended that reading be the primary aim of foreign language

study and that it be limited to two years (Coleman, 1929). In 1949, the report 'What the High Schools ought to teach' characterized foreign language study as useless and time consuming. And around the same time, Harvard's 'General Education in a Free Society' report commented that foreign language study was only useful in strengthening students' English (Huebener, 1961).

Despite this monolingual Anglophone ideology of the 'foreignness' of languages other than English, and their usefulness only in improving English skills, Spanish started to be increasingly heard in US discourse. The Radio Age first brought the sounds of Spanish speakers of the American Southwest to all. And shortly afterwards, the Air Age gave evidence of the first airborne diaspora in US history, that of Puerto Ricans (García, 1993, 2003). Nevertheless, the Spanish language profession continued to ignore this population.

In 1958, and as a result of the launching of Sputnik, the National Defense and Education Act gave financial assistance for the teaching of foreign languages as a 'defense' strategy (Harden, 1981). New language teaching methodologies such as the Audio-Lingual approach were developed, books were printed and teachers were hired. For the first time, attention was given not to the reading of the literature of Spain, but to listening and speaking proficiency. 'Castellano' or Castilian, the Spanish variety that had been touted as prestigious for being the variety of the central part of Spain and of Madrid, became enthroned in the nation's secondary schools, taught by Anglo teachers who had spent a short time in Spain and who themselves had limited productive proficiency in Spanish.

The new emphasis on listening and speaking of the Audio-Lingual approach also created the need for teachers who were proficient in Spanish. In 1965, *Hispania* published an article entitled 'The Bilingual Mexican American as a potential teacher of Spanish' (Wonder, 1965). For the first time, it was acknowledged that US Latinos might indeed be an important resource as teachers of Spanish.

Despite the emphasis on *foreign* language programs in teaching Spanish in the USA, the growth of such programs can be directly correlated to the growth of the Spanish-speaking population in the USA. Table 2.1 presents the number of students of Spanish in public secondary

Table 2.1 Number of students of Spanish in public secondary schools in the USA, by year

1915	1948	1958	1968	1978	1990	2000
35,882	442,755	691,024	1,698,034	1,631,375	2,611,367	4,057,608

Source: Draper & Hicks (2002: 5, table 1)

Table 2.2 Region of birth of foreign-born US population: 1910–2000

	1910	1930	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Europe (%)	87.4	83.0	75.0	61.7	39.0	22.9	15.8
Asia (%)	1.4	1.9	5.1	8.9	19.3	26.3	26.4
Africa (%)	–	0.1	0.4	0.9	1.5	1.9	2.8
Oceania (%)	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.5
Latin America (%)	2.1	5.5	9.4	19.4	33.1	44.3	51.7

Source: US Census Bureau, Pop Division No. 29 and Summary File 3

schools in the USA and shows the tremendous increase that has taken place in the last decade. Table 2.2 then shows the region of birth of the foreign-born US population in the 20th century, again showing the rise of immigration from Latin America in the last decade. A comparison of both tables makes evident that as the number of immigrants from Latin America has grown, the number of students of Spanish in public secondary schools has also increased. The interest in studying Spanish in the USA is associated with the greater communicative need of monolingual Anglophones to interact with the growing bilingual Latino population in the USA, as well as with recently arrived monolingual Spanish speakers. It also has much to do with the desire of US Latinos to study Spanish, be educated bilinguals and be able to use Spanish in jobs where such proficiency might be necessary. The growing interest in learning Spanish both by US monolingual Anglophones and bilingual US Latinos is grounded in the growing English–Spanish bilingual reality of the USA – a reality that is often ignored.

That there is great interest in studying Spanish in the USA today is a well known fact. Draper and Hicks (2002: 2) report that in 2000, those who study Spanish represent 68.7% of students in Grades 7–12, while French represents 18.3%, German 4.8%, Latin 2.7% and Italian 1.2%.

And yet, we continue to teach Spanish in the USA as if it were a foreign language, dismissing the possibility of using the Spanish-speaking practices of the US population as a resource in enhancing capacities to understand and speak Spanish. For example, there are few native Spanish language teachers in US schools. Although figures for Spanish teachers *per se* are not available, only 31% of public school teachers, Grades 7–12, are native speakers of the language (Rhodes & Branaman, 1999: 45). US high school textbooks of Spanish most often give instructions and explanations in English, not only because of the children, but also because the teachers need it. The teaching of Spanish in the USA is always mindful of the limited bilingualism of its teachers.

One way in which native Spanish speakers are kept out of the teaching profession is through teacher certification requirements. In New York, teacher candidates must have the equivalent of a major in Spanish in college, excluding anyone who may be a native speaker of Spanish and may have studied in a Latin American or Spanish University anything but Spanish language, literature or philology. Furthermore, becoming certified as a Spanish teacher most often requires passing stringent examinations given in advanced English, whereas the Spanish language level required of the specialization examination is less than demanding. Thus, teacher candidates who are not native speakers of Spanish often have more opportunity to become certified as teachers of Spanish, even though their fluency in Spanish may be limited. As a result of these practices, and despite the growth of the Spanish-speaking population, teachers of Spanish are scarce.

This vision of Spanish acquisition from a monoglossic point of view is also reflected in the final assessments that are supposed to measure Spanish language proficiency. For example, in New York State, the English Regents exam is given after three years of high school study of a language other than English. It is supposed to be the pinnacle of Spanish language attainment. But the Regents Examination cannot be passed by a monolingual Spanish speaker, for it requires English language ability and only limited Spanish language ability. What follows is an example of the Listening Section of an English Regents:

The teacher says while students listen:

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.

The teacher then reads the following question and answer options, with students reading along:

What is unique about this group's music?

- (a) *Their music is played on all the major subways in Europe.*
- (b) *Their music combines old melodies with modern sounds.*
- (c) *Their music features an orchestra.*
- (d) *Their music is only sold in Germany.*

The Spanish Regents also includes a reading and a writing section. In the reading section, the questions and the options are also in English, although the reading selection is in Spanish. In the writing section, the

situation presented and the points to be included are all in English, which the students must then write in Spanish. It is clear that today the teaching of Spanish tradition in the USA continues to see Spanish as a foreign language, denying the existence of the many who are bilingual in the USA. Even in high schools for immigrant newcomer Latino students in New York City, students cannot take the Spanish Regents because they have to learn English first.

The teaching of Spanish as a foreign language continues to be one more monoglossic mechanism that prevents, through its ideology, traditions and pedagogies, the full development of the bilingual potential of all US citizens.

The Teaching of Spanish as a Heritage Language

In 1978, Guadalupe Valdés organized, through the support of the National Endowment for the Humanities, a first seminar to study the teaching of Spanish to Spanish speakers. Language pedagogues began to realize even then that the foreign language education approach simply did not work to teach the many US Latinos who were studying Spanish (see, for example, Gaarder *et al.*, 1972). Valdés, Lozano and García-Moya published the first complete treatment of the subject in 1981.

In the last decade of the 20th century, much scholarly attention has been paid to the teaching of Spanish to bilingual US Latinos (see, for example, AATSP, 2000; Colombi & Alarcón, 1997; Draper & Hicks, 2000; Roca & Colombi, 2005; Valdés, 1997). And yet, as Valdés *et al.* (2006) make evident, theories concerning the teaching of Spanish to US bilinguals remain underdeveloped, while teaching programs themselves, especially at the secondary level, are almost nonexistent. For example, according to Draper and Hicks (2002) programs of Spanish for Spanish speakers only had 141,212 students in fall 2000, making up only 1.9% of secondary school students who are enrolled in Spanish courses. This is a minuscule figure compared to the number of children 5–17 years of age who claim to be Hispanic in the 2000 census – a total of 8,595,305, with 2,590,250 speaking only English at home, and 5,970,217 also speaking Spanish at home. It is clear that the US school system is in no way developing the potential for bilingualism that the sheer number of Latino students would make possible.

Table 2.3 details the number of students that were reported to be in classes of Spanish for Spanish speakers by state, as well as the number of Spanish speakers in the state. It is instructive to realize that there is little relationship between the number of Spanish speakers in a state and the number of students in Spanish for Spanish speakers classes. In fact, the number 2 and number 4 states in terms of Spanish speakers (California

Table 2.3 Number of students in Spanish 7–12, and Spanish for native speakers, and number of Spanish speakers by state^a

<i>State</i>	<i>Spanish classes</i>	<i>SNS classes</i>	<i>Number Spanish speakers</i>
Alabama	27,918	0	89,729
Alaska	12,925	0	16,674
Arizona	88,151	2,609	927,395
Arkansas	40,119	0	82,465
California	547,993	58,321	8,105,505
Colorado	71,520	2,113	421,670
Connecticut	54,734	0	268,044
Delaware	12,537	0	34,690
D.C.	5,651	167	49,461
Florida	158,576	24,163	2,476,528
Georgia	135,727	4,000	426,115
Hawai'i	6,500	0	18,820
Idaho	26,802	796	80,241
Illinois	200,373	5,932	1,253,676
Indiana	86,403	0	185,576
Iowa	71,872	98	79,491
Kansas	50,498	1,497	137,247
Kentucky	66,078	1,957	70,061
Louisiana	43,819	0	105,189
Maine	20,428	0	9,611
Maryland	92,101	2,713	230,829
Massachusetts	94,653	2,794	370,011
Missouri	161,612	4,776	246,688
Minnesota	101,758	3,036	132,066
Mississippi	27,627	0	50,515
Missouri	132,084	3,981	110,752
Montana	11,789	0	12,953

Table 2.3 (Continued)

<i>State</i>	<i>Spanish classes</i>	<i>SNS classes</i>	<i>Number Spanish speakers</i>
Nebraska	54,676	0	77,655
Nevada	30,827	908	299,947
New Hampshire	21,448	632	18,647
New Jersey	112,365	3,308	967,741
New Mexico	17,284	4,579	485,681
New York	446,299	0	2,416,126
North Carolina	120,073	0	378,942
North Dakota	13,171	392	8,263
Ohio	177,838	0	213,147
Oklahoma	61,162	0	141,060
Oregon	58,427	1,732	217,614
Pennsylvania	226,184	525	356,754
Rhode Island	15,253	450	79,443
South Carolina	66,224	1,953	110,030
South Dakota	14,186	421	10,052
Tennessee	68,102	0	133,931
Texas	456,384	0	5,195,182
Utah	45,043	0	150,244
Vermont	9,068	0	5,791
Virginia	116,782	3,454	316,274
Washington	106,465	3,167	321,490
West Virginia	17,054	0	17,652
Wisconsin	142,129	104	168,778
Wyoming	10,684	317	18,606
Total	4,757,373	140,897	28,101,052

^aThe number of students in Spanish 7–12 and Spanish for native speakers is derived from Draper & Hicks (2002). The number of Spanish speakers by state is from US Census Bureau, 2000, Summary File 3

and New York) do not even report the number of students in such classes, making evident that such classes do not truly count.

Valdés *et al.* (2006) show that even in California, where the number of Latino students makes up an important part of secondary school students, there is little interest in the teaching of Spanish to US Latino students, efforts are not organized and a theory of teaching Spanish to Spanish speakers has yet to be developed.

In the last decade, and under the restrictions imposed by the No Child Left Behind Act (2001), US schools have increasingly paid attention to English literacy and Math, leaving behind other school subjects and paying little attention to Spanish (see, for example, Dillon, 2006: 1). In New York City, for instance, Latino high school students follow structured academic programs that leave no room in the student's program to take Spanish. It has been reported, for example, that in 2004 Latino students at the High School for the Humanities were taking a special academic intensive program, *Ramp Up*, that left no time in their programs to study Spanish (Prozzo, personal communication, 2004).

There has also been a recent shift in referring to this activity not as 'Spanish for Spanish speakers' or as 'Spanish for Native Speakers' but as 'Spanish for heritage language speakers'. The use of 'heritage' language has been used in Canada since 1977, the beginning of the Ontario Heritage Languages Programs (Cummins, 2005; Cummins & Danesi, 1990). The term was not embraced in the USA until the Center for Applied Linguistics and the National Foreign Language Center organized the First Heritage Languages in America conference at the University of California at Los Angeles in 1999 (Cummins, 2005). Cummins (2005: 586) suggests some reasons for the change:

[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. Heritage language advocates perceive, correctly I believe, that there is little likelihood of any reduction in the volatility of the bilingual education debate.

I have suggested elsewhere that this shift in naming points to an unfortunate silencing of Spanish itself (García, 2005). From a position of existence and presence, Spanish has been relegated to a position of heritage, something not relevant, something past. And in so doing, this turn of events contributes to the silencing of an approach that has used Spanish in teaching US Latinos – bilingual education, the subject of our next section.

Spanish in Teaching: Bilingual Education

Traditionally, foreign language education programs in the USA have started in the seventh grade, although full attention is not paid until the secondary level in the ninth grade. Thus, although the teaching of Spanish is primarily a secondary level phenomenon,⁵ Spanish is used in teaching mostly in bilingual education programs at the elementary level where the greatest number of recently arrived immigrant children are found.

The use of languages other than English in bilingual education programs is not limited to the 20th century. Throughout the 19th century German was used to teach in many schools in cities such as St. Louis, Milwaukee and Cincinnati, as well as in the rural areas of the Mid-West (Daniels, 1991; Dicker, 1996). Likewise, in places like New Mexico, Spanish has been used to teach from the time it became a territory at the end of the Mexican–American war, and even after being granted statehood in 1912 (for more on this history, see Hernández-Chávez, 1995). But clearly the second half of the 20th century saw renewed activity in using Spanish in various ways to educate US Latinos.

In 1968, the Bilingual Education Act, also known as Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, for the first time provided federal funds to school systems that organized and implemented bilingual education programs to teach the nation's failing Spanish-speaking students. These students were mostly Mexican–Americans in the Southwest and Puerto Ricans in the Northeast.⁶ The bilingual education programs that were organized in these early years adopted a *developmental* model that had been used successfully by elites all over the world, mostly teaching half the day in English and half the day in Spanish. This was also the kind of program implemented at the Coral Way Elementary School in Dade County, established by recently arrived Cuban refugees who wanted to ensure that their children maintained and developed their Spanish language abilities, while learning English. Programs for US Latinos which used Spanish in teaching became known as maintenance bilingual education. As bilingual education programs grew, and the nation's Spanish-speaking population increased, bilingual education programs became limited to transitional bilingual education models, using Spanish only as a tool to learn English and for only a limited period of time – generally three years.

The growth of transitional bilingual education programs promoted publication of learning material in Spanish. Spanish language publishers such as Santillana expanded their operations to include the USA. Children's books and high school textbooks were translated into Spanish as well.

Despite the attention to Spanish that bilingual education promoted, the field and practice of bilingual education had little to do with that of foreign language teaching. The professionals associated with the National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) remained distant from those in the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese (AATSP) or even the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL). In philosophy and orientation, the bilingual education profession never saw Spanish in isolation from English, whereas the foreign language profession focused on Spanish only. Whereas bilingual educators positioned themselves in a *heteroglossic* context, giving attention to the multiplicity of discourses that the children brought and that they were acquiring, foreign language educators adopted a *monoglossic* ideology with Spanish positioned as the focus of attention. However, in actual classroom practice, more Spanish could be heard in bilingual education classrooms where students with limited English proficiency learned English, than in foreign language classrooms where students and teachers learned Spanish.

Bilingual education in the USA started to come under attack in the 1980s, as the English-Only movement gathered force (for more on this, see Crawford, 1992). Today, political pressures have significantly restricted opportunities for bilingual education. California, Massachusetts and Arizona have declared bilingual education illegal. Changes in federal education laws also make it difficult to use Spanish in teaching. 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). E. 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.

Table 2.4 displays the changes in naming of offices and laws that have occurred in the last five years. The silencing of the word 'bilingual' from US discourse is noticeable.

In an era of globalization, when supranational and transnational structures have started to replace the national, and when there is multidirectional flows of goods, services, money, people, information and culture across borders, and going faster and further than ever before (Held *et al.*, 1999; Mittelman, 1996), the USA is showing less interest than ever in developing the bilingualism of its citizens. Wright (2004: 163–165) referred to this by saying:

Table 2.4 Changes in naming and silencing of the word 'bilingual'

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

Some of the most robust resistance to globalisation comes from within the United States itself. As the remaining and only superpower, the United States dominates in a number of key areas but is not reciprocally dominated. The U.S. government is able to guard its sovereignty and autonomy in the classic manner of the nation state. The national group exerts pressure on its members to be patriotic in a way that has become increasingly more difficult in many other Western states ... [W]e appear to be witnessing asymmetric developments within globalisation: loss of economic autonomy and political sovereignty for many states; continuing economic autonomy and political sovereignty together with the survival of some elements of traditional 'one nation, one territory, one language nationalism for the United States'.

At present, only one model of bilingual education seems to have gained limited public support in some parts of the USA – two-way dual language programs.⁷ The contemporary two-way dual language model integrates students with different linguistic profiles, incorporating children who are learning English, those who are bilingual, and those who are learning a language other than English (Cloud *et al.*, 2000; García, 2006; Lindholm-Leary, 2001; Torres-Guzmán, 2002; Valdés, 1997). The idea of dual language programs is that these diverse students attend classes together. Instruction is rigidly split between the two languages, mostly following a 50–50 approach, with half of the time spent in English and the other half in Spanish. Dual language programs predominate at the elementary level. The integrated nature of the two-way dual language model makes it difficult to implement at the high school level, as the more specialized, academic register of a second language required for secondary subject instruction is remarkably difficult to achieve within

the short four-year period of a US high school education.⁸ We will consider these two-way dual language bilingual programs as a model that holds the promise to integrate attitudes, practices and pedagogies on the teaching of Spanish and Spanish in teaching, and on elite bilingualism (seen as the acquisition of Spanish by Anglophones) and folk bilingualism (seen as the acquisition of English by recent newcomers and immigrants). First, it is important that we consider one more trend in the teaching of Spanish that may greatly affect the potential of two-way dual language education programs in the USA in the future, Spanish as a global language.

The Teaching of Spanish as a Global Language

In the last decade, US Spanish, spurred by the globalization of Spanish, has shifted position. As a matter of fact, some say that Spanish has become 'fashionable'. For example, Álvarez Martínez (2001) says:

Quando afirmamos, pues, que el español está de moda, lo que estamos diciendo es que ahora nuestra lengua, lengua oficial de veintiún países, es el centro de atención de gran parte del mundo.

When we say then that Spanish is fashionable, what we're saying is that now our language, an official language of 21 countries, is the center of attention of a great part of the world.

Recently, when I posed the question of whether Spanish was fashionable or not to my graduate students, most referred to the increasing global influence of Spanish. For example, one pointed to the recognition that Spanish architects such as Calatrava have achieved, as well as the success of films with Spanish-speaking actors such as *Y tu mamá también* and *Mala Educación*, both featuring Gael García Bernal of Mexico (Turchinsky, personal communication, 23.3.06). Another student mentioned the role of the media in promoting not only chic, good-looking and interesting Spanish speaking actors and singers (Penelope Cruz, Salma Hayek, Pedro Almodóvar, Jimmy Smits, Alejandro González, Gael García and Cecilia Roth), but also writers such as Gabriel García-Márquez and Isabel Allende (Valdivieso, personal communication, 23.3.06). But another student warned that the status of Spanish in the USA has more to do with economic and social realities than with fashion, which generally implies a passing trend (Bucuvalas, personal communication, 23.3.06).

Spain has capitalized on the global influence of Spanish, and its economic potential, to launch a program to teach Spanish as a global language. On 11 May 1990, the Instituto Cervantes was established to 'Agrupar y potenciar los esfuerzos en la defensa y promoción del español en el extranjero.' [Group and potentialize the efforts in the defense and

promotion of Spanish abroad.] (Sánchez, 1992). In a decade, the Instituto Cervantes has opened 34 centers in the world, including three in the USA – in Albuquerque, New Mexico, Chicago and New York City.

The Instituto Cervantes offers classes in Spanish. It also has its own virtual classroom – AVE (*Aula Virtual de Español*). Its activities include the teaching of Spanish to children as demonstrated by the virtual program *Mi Mundo en Palabras* [My World in Words], which offers Spanish language teaching material designed for 7–9 year olds. In addition, the Instituto Cervantes offers an Exam for an Official Diploma of Spanish as a Foreign Language (DELE) and a program to prepare teachers of Spanish (for more information, see <http://www.cervantes.es>).

With regards to the teaching of Spanish to Spanish speakers, however, the language-in-education policies of the Instituto Cervantes mirror those of the USA. Despite the interest in teaching Spanish, the Instituto Cervantes has shown little interest in teaching Spanish to Spanish speakers. For example, in New York City during the fall of 2005, the Instituto Cervantes offered 95 sections of Spanish. Only one section was for Spanish for Spanish speakers (García, 2007).

Attempts at Integrating Perspectives: Two-way Dual Language Classrooms

When I posed the question to my graduate students of whether Spanish was fashionable, a Mexican–American student replied:

I believe White people perceive Spanish as fashionable when they speak it, even cute, but dirty when Latinos speak Spanish ... As a bilingual person, my Spanish has never been considered fashionable. As a matter of fact, I have often been told to stop speaking Spanish. (Armenta, personal communication 23.3.06)

It is precisely the ability to build on the 'fashionable' appeal of Spanish for all, at the same time that it may offer US Latino students the possibility of developing their bilingualism, that makes two-way dual language education programs promising. Despite the limitations of the two-way dual language education model (see, for example, García, 2006; Valdés, 1997), the programs, as instituted in practice, have the potential to integrate attitudes, practices and pedagogies concerning bilingualism that have traditionally been looked at separately.

In one sixth-grade dual language classroom in NYC in which I have spent some time,⁹ there are 17 eleven-year olds, all showing the linguistic and cultural complexity that characterizes urban societies in the 21st century. Three of the children have arrived this academic year, but seven are considered English Language Learners. Two of them are not of Latino ancestry. One is a second generation Pakistani who has lived in this

Spanish-speaking neighborhood of Washington Heights her whole life. Her mother says that everyone in the neighborhood in which the school is located always speaks Spanish to her, and that she would want her daughter to be able to understand and reply. The other is African-American. Her mother is of mixed Puerto Rican ancestry, although far removed. Eleven of the children were born in the USA, although many have been back and forth to many Spanish-speaking countries. For example, R. was born in New York, but left for the Dominican Republic at the age of two. He then lived in New York from five to seven, returning to the Dominican Republic once more at seven. At the age of 11, he has now recently arrived in New York.

The children also have mixed origin parenting. For example, P. was born in the USA. Although his father is a first generation Puerto Rican, his mother was born in the USA of mixed Puerto Rican and Dominican parentage. P., however, lived in Puerto Rico for seven years.

Although most of the children in this classroom are Dominicans – the dominant group in this predominantly Spanish-speaking neighborhood – there are also first and second generation Latino children of Salvadorean, Colombian, Ecuadorian, Puerto Rican and Mexican ancestry. It is important to note that over 25% of the New York City population is Latino, and in the 2000 US census, Latinos constituted close to 2 million people. Although Puerto Ricans are still the most numerous group, the NYC Latino population has diverse national origins, as shown in Table 2.5. Many of the US born children in this classroom have parents who have been born in different Latin American countries. At least one of the US born children has an African-American mother and a father of Latino background who doesn't live with her.

The heterogeneity of the children, combined with the commitment to the importance of Spanish in this school, allows this classroom to function as a space that bridges the gap created by the different attitudes towards Spanish in the USA. At the same time, these classrooms make use of pedagogies that provide multiple entry points to the teaching of Spanish and the teaching in Spanish (as well as English), working precisely in the gap that has always existed between these two approaches (and languages). Before we look at pedagogies, it is important to study the differences in attitudes toward Spanish that this more integrated approach develops in children. As we will see, the children in this sixth grade dual language classroom feel very differently about Spanish than do many adult Latino students who have not experienced dual language bilingual education.

Integrating attitudes: Spanish to get along

All the children in this sixth grade classroom seem to hold Spanish in high regard, and despite the fact that Spanish and English are separated

Table 2.5 Latinos in New York City^a

	2000	%Latino2000
Puerto Rican	789,172	36.5
Dominicans	406,806	18.8
Mexican	186,872	8.6
Ecuadorian	101,005	4.7
Colombian	77,154	3.6
Cuban	41,123	1.9
Honduran	25,600	1.2
Salvadoran	24,516	1.1
Peruvian	23,567	1.1
Panamanian	16,847	0.8
Guatemalan	15,212	0.7
Argentinean	9,578	0.4
Venezuelan	6,713	0.3
Nicaraguan	6,451	0.3
Chilean	5,014	0.2
Costa Rican	4,939	0.2
Bolivian	2,942	0.1
Paraguayan	1,658	0.1
Uruguayan	1,907	0.1

^aThese figures are derived from US Census 2000, Summary File 3. An underestimation of all Latino groups except Cubans, Mexicans and Puerto Ricans may have occurred in 2000 because the 'other Hispanic' category was open-ended. In NYC between 1990 and 2000, the Other Hispanic category jumped from 100,644 to 401,108

for instruction, both languages have been integrated in ways that define who the children are. As one boy told me, 'Even though Spanish runs through my heart, English rules my veins.'

Latino children here understand the importance of Spanish, in their homes, their lives, their neighborhood. Spanish here is not simply an instrument to communicate today with their Spanish-speaking parents or in their Spanish-speaking neighborhoods. It is impressive how many of these students refer to language as an instrument to 'get along'. A boy who came to the USA when he was a kindergartner tells me:

I was born with Spanish, and I would never leave the Spanish. I'll keep Spanish. Spanish was born into my life because anywhere I go I see somebody or a friend and that person might know Spanish, and in the future I might know Spanish, and we might be able to get along. (my emphasis)

For these children both English and Spanish are important to get along. A boy tells me, 'In the Heights, you see a lot of Latinos and stuff, and Latinos are everywhere, and Americans are everywhere. Everywhere you go you bump into a Latino or an American' And another girl says: 'There are a lot of Latinos out there, and Americans, and a lot of Americans that don't know Spanish and a lot of Latinos that don't know English. It would be better for both of them to know both languages.' It is evident to me that these children have learned the importance of language to get along, as they have negotiated with classmates who do not speak the language of instruction, whether English or Spanish.

To these children, Spanish is not a barrier. Rather, it is one more way of communicating with the many who speak it and are learning it. As one of them told me, 'Most of the people around here in Washington Heights speak Spanish. There are families in my block that speak Spanish. The Russians are learning Spanish. The French are learning Spanish.' The Pakistani girl remarked with incredible naturalness about the presence of Spanish in her neighborhood. Talking about her trip to Pakistan, she said with superiority: 'I went to Pakistan. What's different is they speak Urdu, and they don't know how to speak Spanish, and over here, we speak only English and Spanish.' The ubiquitousness of Spanish in this community was driven home for me when one of the children started talking about how important English was for her. She said: 'English is special for me because let's say you go to England, or Brooklyn. There people speak English. It's very special; it's like a privilege.' It turns out that in this girl's eye, one has to go to England or Brooklyn to speak English only!

These children have learned that Spanish is spoken and heard beyond the home. Sure, there are some that tell me that their parents do not speak Spanish. A girl says: 'I speak Spanish in my home because my mom doesn't know that much English. It really helps.' But there is another one who points to all the people with power that he has heard speaking Spanish:

My friends from my neighborhood speak Spanish. And in school, the principal, the Assistant Principal, most of the teachers. Bush speaks a little bit of Spanish. In a speech of the campaign he started saying some Spanish.

Spanish not only has reality beyond the neighborhood. Students see it as an economic resource for their own futures, and for those who are presently monolingual English speakers. Speaking about the African-American girl in this classroom, a Latino boy tells me: 'We're lucky to learn Spanish when we're trying to get a job. She's even luckier because she's black.' This same boy expressed how sorry he felt for monolinguals, and with extreme confidence said to me: 'Spanish is everywhere for them. They could face Spanish in the future, so why not learn it now?'

It is in the attitude expressed towards how students learn both languages that the pedagogies and language uses of this dual language school are made evident. Students seem to enjoy learning and using both languages in this way. One Latino boy tells me: 'This is where I learned my English, and practicing my English and Spanish.' This school is not only the place where Latino students learn English, but where they rehearse using both their languages. And speaking of the African-American girl who has learned Spanish in this school, another boy tells me:

I really like this program in this school. Like A., she came into this school, not learning Spanish, and A., she learned Spanish with people helping her. You get other students to help in Spanish and English, yes.

As we will see, the collaborative nature of the pedagogy used in this school reflects in methodology the idea that language must be used to 'get along', and so, children help each other as the other language is acquired and developed.

The use of Spanish in instruction is non-controversial in this setting. A recently arrived boy told me: 'Spanish is as good as English, and if you don't know in English, you need to learn it in Spanish, because some people can understand what you're saying.' And so, the use of Spanish in education is not questioned, it is simply natural, it is a gift, a collaborative venture of 'getting along', important for peaceful living, as well as effective learning.

Integrating pedagogies: Spanish to learn along

What two-way dual language bilingual education programs have in common is a philosophy of developing the bilingualism of children. To do so, they separate the use of language. Sometimes, this is done by having side-by-side classrooms, with two teachers who teach in only one language switching children every day, every half day or even every week. Other times, one teacher assigns a different language to either days or times or subjects or activities. For example, at a recent visit to a New York City school, M. wears a red apron for Spanish days and a blue apron for English days. These are also the colors which are used to write the two different languages throughout dual language education programs

in the city. Our sixth grade teacher simply changes the 'channels' of a make-believe television that she has on the blackboard. She regularly says: 'Y ahora voy a cambiar el canal y we're going to speak in English because we're in New York 1!' [We're now going to change the channel and we're going to speak English because we're in New York 1!]

New York City has adopted a 'Balanced Literacy' model to teach reading and writing. For dual language bilingual classrooms, this has the advantage that both English and Spanish are taught as mother tongues using the Reading and Writing Workshop Model (for more on the workshop model, see Au, 2006; Au & Carroll, 1997; Calkins, 1994; O'Neill & Velasco, forthcoming). The Literacy Workshop model builds on collaborative groups or pairs working on literacy activities, individual independent reading and writing, and explicit whole-group instruction done during a mini-lesson. It is in the collaborative nature of instruction that the workshop model introduces the 'Trojan Horse' to the language separation of the model. For it turns out that even though the teacher separates languages strictly and children are expected to work in a specific language, the collaborative nature of the literacy activities, coupled with the heterogeneous levels of language proficiency that children hold in Spanish and English, makes the actual language practices of children in these two-way dual language classrooms much more fluid than expected.

Spanish in dual language classrooms is used not only to get along, but also to learn along – with Spanish native speakers, with second and third generation US Latinos for whom Spanish is a passive or non-existent 'heritage' language, with foreign language speakers – integrating perspectives, building multiple entry points for learning, and scaffolding instruction for the increasing bilingual and bidialectal US students. Children themselves constantly negotiate language to learn alongside their peers who might have different linguistic and cultural profiles.

The pedagogy of dual language bilingual education classrooms do not fit within an ESL model or a sheltered English model. Neither does it fit within a Spanish as a Foreign Language (SFL) or a Spanish as a Second Language (SSL) or even a Spanish for Spanish speakers (SSP) or a Spanish as a heritage language (SHL) model. In its own way, two-way dual language bilingual education pedagogy is all of this and much more. It builds on the children's collaborative spirit to learn, play and imagine, and in so doing, and despite the language separation which reflects a respect for the two languages, it integrates the children's bilingual practices and their attitudes toward their own bilingualism, precisely by working in the gap that US society continues to artificially maintain.

Integrating languages to learn along and get along

Despite the teacher's language separation, the children themselves provide much evidence of an integrative discourse which, despite trying to respect the space for the language being used in instruction, goes beyond what we might expect. In collaborative groups and pairs, children often use one language or the other, going back and forth as they negotiate their emotional and intellectual connections with students who might have different linguistic profiles.

For instance, during a Book Club period observed last spring in the same sixth grade class described above, five students were reading the same novel in Spanish independently. They were told to put post-it notes on a specific page to write out personal connections to a text or pose a question. I notice that one US born girl writes:

Yo tiene miedo en la noche. Porque un dia in second grade my father took me to the movies to watch the Exorcist and in the night I can't sleep.

I'm afraid at night. Because one day ...

One language is not just sufficient for this girl (it is written here exactly as it appears), and thus, even though she starts in Spanish, the language of the lesson, she continues in English, possibly the private language in which she expresses connections and fears.

When the dialogue for this group starts, one boy reads one of his questions in a post-it, and a second child engages him in dialogue:

Child 1: *¿Por qué el niño le tiene miedo al lobo?* [Why is the boy afraid of the wolf?]

Child 2: The what?

Child 1: The *lobo*. You know, wolf.

Child 2: No, *pero* he's still scared.

Child 1: But they're not going to get any help.

The conversation started in Spanish, the language of instruction, but Child 2 asked for clarification of the word 'lobo' in English and eventually Child 1 ends this short exchange in English. The next child, however, then asked another question in Spanish.

Children also are capable of using language to improve their possibilities of getting along. During another Spanish language period, the teacher asks students to read independently in silence.

Teacher: Ok. *Trabajo independiente por favor, en silencio.* [Work independently, please, in silence]

Child 1: Ms. X, I want the other one. It's better than my own.

Child 2: She has it! *Mira, ella lo tiene.* [Look, she has it.]

Although bilingual, this particular teacher is an Anglo, and thus Child 1 capitalizes on his fluency in English and uses English to try to get the teacher's attention to get a newer copy of the book they're reading. But Child 2, comfortable in both languages, responds first in English, and then repeats it in Spanish, making sure that the entire class pays attention to what he's saying and that everyone, no matter their proficiency, is engaged with him.

In the exchange that follows, a student is reading a Spanish essay. When the others start to laugh at him, he immediately switches to English, hoping to save face and engage with all his classmates:

Mi hermano me tiro una bola de nieve y yo me puse bravo. Cogi y [laughter from children] But! he threw it at my face!!!!!!! Cogi y lo tire a mi hermano

My brother threw a snowball at me and I got mad. I took ... [laughter from the children] But! he threw it at my face!!!!!!! I took it and threw it at my brother.

The integrative use of language by children in this two-way dual language bilingual education program certainly fills the gap in Spanish in education that we have noticed. Rather than bridge the distance between teaching Spanish, and using Spanish to teach; or teaching Spanish to US Latinos and US Anglos, or seeing Spanish as a resource or a problem, or seeing bilingualism as an elite optional venture or a folk needed venture, this particular classroom is a good counterexample to the current silence surrounding bilingual education and even foreign language education in Spanish.¹⁰ Children's natural voices, name and shape, perhaps, a more integrated bilingual future.

Conclusion

This examination of the various traditions of teaching Spanish and Spanish in teaching reveals the potential of two-way dual language bilingual education programs to fill the separations and inadequacies which have characterized language education programs in the USA. In working in the gap, these programs are capable of overcoming what Wright (2004) has pointed out to be the 'one nation, one territory, one language nationalism' ideology which works against the globalization processes that the USA has championed in the rest of the world. We have seen how this is successfully done in one particular sixth grade classroom where students and teachers unconsciously work against dual language structures externally imposed, enabling not only plurilingual and pluriliteracy practices, but also constructing a heteroglossic discourse that is integrative because it reflects and respects our language and cultural differences.

The reality is that the two-way dual language education movement in the USA has been slow to develop; and the community, political and professional support has been less than desirable. The accountability measures of the new NCLB Act, and the emphasis on English-only assessments, have made schools cautious to introduce educational programs that take away time from English-only instruction. Parents have also felt this pressure. Concomitantly, the different language education professions in the United States have shown very little interest in this model.

To develop and grow, this more integrated bilingual model called two-way dual language education must continue to seek the support of language majority parents.¹¹ Beyond the parents, this model must be supported by language professionals other than bilingual educators. In particular, the Spanish language profession could lend support to this bilingual model, yet Spanish language professionals, steeped in a monoglossic ideology, often have more in common with English language professionals, including ESL professionals, than with bilingual professionals.

The alienation of Spanish language educators, often international teachers, and the bilingual education educators, mostly US-based, is also reinforced by philosophy, as well as where these programs are found in the academy. Bilingual educators focus on language education only as an aspect of a child's holistic education, whereas Spanish language educators are only concerned with language itself. Furthermore, Spanish language programs are mostly housed in Arts and Sciences divisions alongside English, whereas bilingual education programs are in Schools of Education. At the college level, Spanish language professionals teach the language, in much the same way as ESL professionals teach English to international and immigrant college students. Bilingual professionals, however, are involved in the education, as well as the teaching of languages, only at the school level. At the college level, their only role is teacher education. Thus, there is little collaboration among professionals concerned about the future of Spanish in the USA.

To advance the position and the potential of two-way dual language bilingual education models in the future would require that professionals and adults collaborate in the same ways as the children in the sixth grade class described. That would require the ability to work in the gap, to hold a heteroglossic view of how language is negotiated – aspects that adult professionals in the education business in the USA have rarely learned to navigate. The potential for integrating bilingual perspectives through two-way dual language bilingual education is great. The reality, however, is difficult to expand beyond the few programs with enlightened and courageous principals, teachers, parents

and students, willing to fill in, at least temporarily, and in a specific space, the space between policy and reality of the increasingly multilingual discourse of the USA.

Acknowledgements

I want to thank Cambria Russell for the help given me in the preparation of this paper. I'm grateful to Leah Mason for her help in putting together Table 2.3.

Notes

1. We use monoglossic in the same sense used by Del Valle (2000, 2006) and used in an earlier paper (García, 2007).
2. We use heteroglossia in the ways given to us by Bakhtin (1981), with competing discourses coexisting and languages hybridised in a certain discursive dialogic space.
3. This is the figure given in the 2005 American Community Survey. There are also many undocumented who were not counted.
4. Some of the early history provided in this paper is based on my paper, García (1993).
5. The teaching of foreign languages in the elementary school has always been much more common in private schools. Rhodes and Branaman (1999: 12) state that in 1997, 24% of public elementary schools reported teaching foreign languages.
6. For more on the history of bilingual education, see especially Crawford (2004) and García (2005).
7. We will adopt here the label that is most often used to describe these programs – two-way dual language or simply dual language. The reader is warned, however, that this use of dual language in opposition to bilingual education is another manifestation of the silencing of the word bilingual. In effect, dual language programs are a kind of bilingual education program, a two-way bilingual education. Although dual language education models are favored in public discourse and many US school systems are developing such programs, in reality there are few such programs. For more on this in New York City, see Torres-Guzmán (2002).
8. This has also been noted in the case of English immersion high schools in Hong Kong by Marsh *et al.* (2000).
9. I am grateful to Dana Erickson from Amistad School and to her sixth graders for opening up their class to me. I am also grateful to the principal, Miriam Pedraja, who provided me with access. The interviews were carried out during the spring of 2005.
10. The emphasis by US government officials is on teaching the 'critical' languages – Arabic, Chinese, Russian, Hindi and Farsi – according to the National Security Language Initiative. Spanish is not considered critical.
11. In New York City, for example, except for Gifted and Talented programs where few Latino children are found because of the inadequacies of the gifted tests given in English only, most dual language education classrooms have Latino children with different linguistic profiles.

References

- Álvarez Martínez, M.A. (2001) El español como lengua extranjera en las universidades españolas. Centro Virtual Cervantes. II Congreso de la Lengua Española. On WWW at http://www.congresosdelalengua.es/valladolid/ponencias/activo_del_espanol/1_la_industria_del_espanol/alvarez_m.htm. Accessed 1.08.
- AATSP (American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese) (2000) *Spanish for Native Speakers: AATSP Professional Development Series Handbook for Teachers K 12. A Handbook for Teachers* (Vol. 1). Fort Worth, TX: Hartcourt College Publishers.
- Au, K.H. (2006) *Multicultural Issues and Literacy Achievement*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Au, K.H. and Carroll, J.H. (1997) Improving literacy achievement through a constructivist approach: The KEEP Demonstration Classroom Project. *Elementary School Journal* 97, 203–221.
- Bakhtin, M.M. (1981) *The Dialogical Imagination*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Calkins, L.M. (1994) *The Art of Teaching Writing*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Cloud, N., Genesee, F. and Hamayan, E. (2000) *Dual Language Instruction. A Handbook for Enriched Education*. Boston, MA: Heinle and Heinle.
- Coleman, A. (1929) The teaching of modern foreign languages in the United States. *Publications of the American and Canadian Committees on Modern Languages, Volume 12*. New York: Macmillan.
- Colombi, M.C. and Alarcón, F.X. (eds) (1997) *La Enseñanza del Español a Hispanohablantes: Praxis y Teoría*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Crawford, J. (ed.) (1992) *Language Loyalties: A Source Book on the Official English Controversy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Crawford, J. (2004) *Educating English Learners: Language Diversity in the Classroom* (5th edn). (formerly Bilingual Education: History, Politics, Theory, and Practice). Los Angeles: Bilingual Educational Services.
- Cummins, J. (2005) A proposal for action: Strategies for recognizing heritage language competence as a learning resource within the mainstream classroom. *The Modern Language Journal* 89, 585–592.
- Cummins, J. and Danesi, M. (1990) *Heritage Languages: The Development and Denial of Canada's Linguistic Resources*. Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves and Garamond Press.
- Daniels, R. (1991) *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life*. New York: Harper Perennial.
- Del Valle, J. (2000) Monoglossic policies for a heteroglossic culture: Misinterpreted multilingualism in modern Galicia. *Language and Communication* 20, 105–132.
- Del Valle, J. (2006) U.S. Latinos, *la hispanofonía*, and the language ideologies of high modernity. In C. Mar-Molinero and M. Stewart (eds) *Globalisation and the Spanish-speaking World* (pp. 27–46). London and New York: Palgrave.
- Dicker, S. (1996) *Languages in America*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Dillon, S. (2006) Schools cut back subjects to push reading and math. *The New York Times* 26 March, Sunday Late Edition – Final Section 1; Column 5; National Desk, p. 1.
- Draper, J.B. and Hicks, J.H. (2000) Where we've been; What we've learned. In J.B. Webb and B.L. Miller (eds) *Teaching Heritage Language Learners: Voices from the Classroom* (pp. 15–35). Yonkers, NY: American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.

- Draper, J.B. and Hicks, J.H. (2002) *Foreign Language Enrollments in Public Secondary Schools, Fall 2000*. Yonkers, NY: American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.
- Espinosa, A. (1921) On the teaching of Spanish. *Hispania* 4, 269–284.
- Espinosa, A. (1923) Where is the best Spanish spoken? *Hispania* 6, 244–246.
- Gardner, A.B., Walsh, D., Barker, M.E., Cantero, H., Guerrero, A., La Fontaine, H., Munoz, M.O., Olstad, C. and Perales, A.M. (1972) Teaching Spanish in school and college to native speakers. *Hispania* 55, 619–631.
- García, E. (2005) *Teaching and Learning in Two Languages*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- García, O. (1993) From Goya portraits to Goya beans: Elite traditions and popular streams in U.S. Spanish language policy. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 12, 69–86.
- García, O. (2003) La enseñanza del español a los latinos de los EEUU. Contra el viento del olvido y la marea del inglés. *Ínsula* julio–agosto, 679–680.
- García, O. (2005) Positioning heritage languages in the United States. *Modern Language Journal* 89 (4), 601–605.
- García, O. (2006) Lost in transculturation: The case of bilingual education in New York City. In M. Putz, J.A. Fishman and J. Neff-Van Aertsele (eds) *Along the Routes to Power: Exploration of the Empowerment through Language* (pp. 157–178). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- García, O. (2007) Lenguas e identidades en mundos hispanohablantes. Desde una posición plurilingüe y minoritaria. In M. Lacorte (ed.) *Lingüística Aplicada del Español* (pp. 377–400). Madrid: Arco.
- García, O., Morín, J.L. and Rivera, K. (2001) How threatened is the Spanish of New York Puerto Ricans? Language shift with vaivén. In J.A. Fishman (ed.) *Can Threatened Languages be Saved? Reversing Language Shift Revisited* (pp. 44–73). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Grattan Doyle, H. (1926) *Spanish Studies in the United States*. Washington: Government Printing Office.
- Harden, T.K. (1981) The National Defense Education Act: A turning point in federal aid. Eric Document 212084.
- Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D. and Perraton, J. (1999) *Global Transformations*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hernández-Chávez, E. (1995) Language policy in the United States: A history of cultural genocide. In T. Skutnabb-Kangas and R. Phillipson (eds) *Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination* (pp. 141–158). Berlin: Mouton.
- Huebener, T. (1961) *Why Johnny Should Learn Foreign Languages*. Philadelphia: Chilton.
- Instituto Cervantes. <http://www.cervantes.es/>. Accessed 1.4.06.
- Kloss, H. (1977) *The American Bilingual Tradition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Leavitt, S.E. (1961) The teaching of Spanish in the United States. *Hispania* 44, 591–625.
- Lindholm-Leary, K. (2001) *Dual Language Education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Marsh, H.W., Hau, K.T., Kong, C-K. (2000) Late immersion and language of instruction in Hong Kong high schools: Achievement growth in language and nonlanguage subjects. *Harvard Educational Review* 70 (3), 302–347.
- Mittleman, J. (1996) *Globalization: Critical Reflections*. Boulder: Lynne Reiner.
- Nichols, M.W. (1945) The history of Spanish and Portuguese teaching in the United States. In H. Grattan-Doyle (ed.) *A Handbook on the Teaching of Spanish*

- and Portuguese with Special Reference to Latin America (pp. 99–146). Boston: D.C. Heath.
- O'Neill, J. and Velasco, P. (forthcoming) Understanding the power of scaffolds. Unpublished manuscript.
- Rhodes, N. and Branaman, L.E. (1999) *Foreign Language Instruction in the United States: A National Survey of Elementary and Secondary Schools*. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Roca, A. and Colombi, M.C. (eds) (2003) *Spanish as a Heritage Language in the United States. Research and Practice*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Sánchez, A. (1992) Spanish language spread policy. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 95, 51–69.
- Spell, J.R. (1927) Spanish teaching in the United States. *Hispania* 10, 141–159.
- Torres-Guzmán, M.E. (2002) Dual language programs: Key features and results. *Directions in Language and Education* 14, 1–16.
- Valdés, G. (1997) Dual-language immersion programs: A cautionary note concerning the education of language-minority students. *Harvard Educational Review* 67, 391–429.
- Valdés, G., Lozano, A.G. and García-Moya, R. (eds) (1981) *Teaching Spanish to the Hispanic Bilingual. Issues, Aims, and Methods*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Valdés, G., Fishman, J.A., Chavez, R. and Perez, W. (2006) *Developing Minority Language Resources. The Case of Spanish in California*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Wonder, J.P. (1965) The bilingual Mexican–American as a potential teacher of Spanish. *Hispania* 48, 97–99.
- Wright, S. (2004) *Language Policy and Language Planning. From Nationalism to Globalization*. Hampshire and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.