11 Monoglossic Ideologies and Language Policies in the Education of U.S. Latinas/os

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Introduction

Language is perhaps the most important tool in education because language is needed to communicate ideas and negotiate understandings. When we narrowly consider only the education that takes place in school, then language becomes paramount for three reasons: (a) schooling often takes place in the language of power in a nation-state—different, at times, from that used by students; (b) language is the medium through which instruction takes places; and (c) it is an important school subject.

The United States is a highly multilingual country. Notwithstanding its multilingualism, the country has constructed for itself an identity as an English-only[1] speaking country. Despite the presence and advances of bilingual education in the United States,[2] the language of schooling is, and has been, English. Spanish, the language used by approximately 30 million Latinas/os in the United States,[3] is only considered a "foreign" language, and taught as such.[4] It is English that is used as the medium of instruction, and it is English literacy and language arts that are emphasized and assessed. Thus, when addressing the education of Latinas/os in the United States, much emphasis is placed on two issues that U.S. mainstream discourse perceives as Latinas/os' problems: (a) their English language proficiency, sometimes not considered appropriate; and (b) their use of Spanish, a "foreign" language, and yet spoken by Latinas/os in the United States.

As we will see, U.S. Latino students have different linguistic profiles—some use Spanish all the time, some may not use and/or know Spanish at all; some are quite fluent in English, some may not need to use English at all; and some may engage in a combination of English and Spanish as it may represent a sort of language "currency" in their respective communities.[5] This chapter will start out by reviewing the linguistic profile of U.S. Latinas/os, thereby demonstrating the complexity of their language use.

U.S. Latinas/os are expected to fit within schools that value English only, and where Spanish is appreciated only as a foreign language subject. Thus, language policies in education (LPiE) for the education of Latinas/os in the United States have focused on trying to make their *English fit "native" standards*, and their *Spanish fit "foreign" standards*. It is precisely because the education of U.S. Latinas/os is framed within a *monoglossic ideology*, which values only monolingualism and ignores bilingualism, that much Latino educational failure occurs. A monoglossic language ideology sees language as an autonomous skill that functions independently from the context in which it is used.[6] U.S. schools ignore how English and Spanish are used by U.S. Latinos. Thus, the academic failure rate of U.S. Latinas/os is high, regardless of whether instruction is in English only or with some use of Spanish.

This chapter reviews the language policies that have been used in the education of U.S. Latinas/os. It then analyzes the construction of monoglossic language ideology and debunks the notion of English as a native language and Spanish as a foreign language in educating U.S. Latinas/os. This chapter also reconstitutes the notion of bilingualism for U.S. Latinas/os in the 21st

century, and discusses the current "miseducation" of many Latino students today as a result of a monoglossic language ideology and limited understandings of the complexity of bilingualism.

This chapter is divided into three sections:

- The varying linguistic profiles of U.S. Latinas/os;
- The Language Policies in Education (LPiE) that have impacted the education of U.S. Latinas/os; and
- A U.S. monoglossic language ideology and its impact on the education of Latinas/os.

The Varying Linguistic Profiles of U.S Latinas/os: The Entire Linguistic Elephant

The literature on the education of Latinas/os most often focuses on those who are "Limited English Proficient," or "English Language Learners."[7] As García, Kleifgen, and Falchi (2008) have pointed out, it is the reluctance to recognize these students as "Emergent Bilinguals" who are developing English proficiency and thus becoming bilingual that results in much of their miseducation.

But as García (2006) has also indicated, this emphasis on "English Language Learners" ignores "the elephant in the room"—the fact that most U.S. Latinas/os have good English language proficiency. Thus, much attention is being paid to the tail of the animal while ignoring the elephant—those who are fluent in English and bilingual, and yet, continue to fail in the nation's schools.

The U.S. Census asks whether respondents speak English or Spanish at home. In 2005, 22% of those who identified themselves as "Hispanics"[8] and who were over 5 years of age spoke English at home (see Table 11.1, next to last column).[9] The U.S. Census also asks those who speak Spanish at home about their English Language proficiency.[10] Statistics show that more than two thirds of these Hispanics (69%) speak English very well or well, with only a third (31%) speaking English less than well or not well. In fact, only 12% of Hispanics who speak Spanish at home do so because they do not speak English well (see Table 11.1, last column).

If we then consider Latinas/os who speak English Only at home, and those who speak Spanish at home but who also speak English Very Well and Well, the percentage of U.S. Latinas/os who are English proficient is around 75%. That is, unlike the portrayal of U.S. Latinas/os as lacking English proficiency, three fourths of them speak English more than well (See Table 11.2, last column).[11] Even for immigrants, learning English is a necessity, not a luxury, so there is high motivation to learn English and they learn it well, despite the high academic failure (Valdés, 1997; Tse, 2001). It might help readers who are not familiar with the literature on bilingualism to have a quick overview in this section on bilingualism, especially as it functions in real life.

Table 11.1 Language Choice of U.S. Latinas/os Over 5 Years of Age

Eng. or Spa. at home	*Eng. Ability Spa. Spkrs.*	*Totals*	*% Eng. or Spa. at home*	*% Eng. Ability Spa. Spkrs.*
Speak Eng. Only		8,131,764	22%	
Speak Spanish		29, 073,428	78%	
	Spk. Eng. Very Well	14,417,687		50%
	Spk. Eng. Well	5,559,872		19%
	Spk. Eng. Less th. Well	5,616,346		19%
	Spk. Eng. Not Well	3,479,526		12%
TOTAL Latinas/os		**37,346,131**		

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

Table 11.2 English Proficiency of U.S. Latinas/os Over 5 Years of Age

Lang. Spkn. at Home & Eng. Proficiency	*Totals*	*%*	*% Eng. Proficiency*
Speak Eng. Only	8,131,764	22%	
Spk. Spa., Eng. Very Well	14,417,687	39%	
Spk. Spa., Eng. Well	5,559,872	15%	
English Proficiency More than Well	28,109,323		75%
Spk. Spa., Eng. Less thanWell	*5,616,346*	*15%*	
Spk. Spa., Eng. Not Well	3,479,526	9%	
English Proficiency Less than Well	9,095,872		25%
TOTAL Latinas/os	**37,346,131**	**100%**	**100%**

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

Underscoring its multifunctions establishes that bilinguals use both languages in their lives in different ways and equally underscores that it does *not* (for the most part) constitute the reason for low test scores.

U.S. Latinas/os are also categorized as Spanish speakers, but not all Latinas/os speak Spanish. Almost one fourth of U.S. Latinas/os are not using Spanish even in the privacy of their home (see Table 11.1, next to the last column). However, we cannot be sure of their Spanish language proficiency since the U.S. Census does not pose that question. The fact that three fourths of U.S. Latinas/os speak Spanish in their homes, even when they are fully bilingual, is most important, for it makes clear that the language situation of U.S. Latinas/os cannot be understood as one of English on the one hand, and Spanish on the other. The language situation of Latinas/os must be understood in terms of the complex interactions of their bilingualism.

Bilingual Latinos in the United States are often perceived as being two monolinguals in one, capable of using English or Spanish interchangeably. But the use of two languages by bilinguals is not simply like having two balanced wheels in a bicycle. Instead, bilinguals use their two languages as an all-terrain-vehicle, adjusting the unbalanced wheels to the ridges and craters of the communicative act. Their complex bilingual interactions, what García (2009) has called their "translanguaging," characterize their language practices in bilingual communities, as they interact with others and make sense of the linguistic and cultural context. These complex language practices are important resources for bilingual communities and for bilingual children, regardless of the inability of schools to acknowledge them.

Language Policies in Educating U.S. Latinas/os

Although the United States, as a nation of immigrants, has always been multilingual, English monolingualism has been constructed as the only acceptable language use of loyal and true United States citizens. Almost a century ago, Theodore Roosevelt said, "it would not be merely a misfortune but a crime to perpetuate differences of language in this country" (Castellanos, 1983, p. 40). In 1915, he declared:

> [t]here is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism…. [the foreign born] must talk the language of its native-born fellow-citizens…we have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, of American nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house. (cited in Edwards, 1994, p. 166)

And in 1917, Theodore Roosevelt added:

> We must have but one flag. We must also have but one language. That language must be the language of the Declaration of Independence, of Washington's Farewell address, of Lincoln's Gettysburg speech and second inaugural.... We call upon all loyal and unadulterated Americans to man the trenches against the enemy within our gates. (cited in Crawford, 1992, p. 19)

Throughout the first half of the 20th century, this monolingual ideology predominated in schools—English Only was the language of loyal and unadulterated Americans and U.S. Latinas/os who spoke Spanish were enemies within our gates.

Despite the fact that the Spanish language could be considered to have special rights because it was spoken by original settlers (Kloss, 1977) and is not only a language of immigrants, its presence in U.S. schools to educate U.S. Latinas/os has always been short-lived and controversial (for more on this, see Castellanos, 1983; Del Valle, 2003; García, 2009). There is, however, an elite tradition of teaching Spanish as a foreign language in the United States, focusing on the reading of the literature of Spain, a tradition that was initiated at Harvard in 1813[12] (for more on this, see García, 1997, 2003). During World War I, the teaching of German at the secondary level was substituted by Spanish. But it was Castilian Spanish, meaning the language of Spain,[13] that became the preferred variety to be taught to Anglos, while the Spanish of the new U.S. territories was relegated to an inferior position and restricted in *all* educational enterprises. Only Spanish as a foreign language was accepted, and U.S. Latinas/os were excluded from this educational opportunity also.

In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education* that segregated schools were unconstitutional, ushering in a new era in U.S. Civil Rights that has had a profound impact in the education of U.S. Latinas/os. (For more on this entire history, see Crawford, 2004; E. Garcia, 2005; and http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/policy/1_history.htm.) In 1964, *Title VI of the Civil Rights Act* was passed by Congress, prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin.

The educational situation of U.S. Latinas/os around this time was dire. In 1960 of all Puerto Ricans 25 years of age and older in the United States, 87% had dropped out without graduating from high school, and the dropout rate in Grade 8 was 53% (Castellanos, 1983). In the Southwest, the average Chicano child had only a seventh grade education. In Texas, the high school dropout rate for Chicanos was 89%. And in California, less than a half of 1% of college students at the University of California campuses were Chicanos (Mackey & Beebe, 1977).

In the words of Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas who sponsored *Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act—the Bilingual Education Act*—bilingual education was a way of making U.S. Latino children fully literate in English (Crawford, 2004). But when the Bilingual Education Act was first reauthorized in 1974, its limitation as a transitional temporary measure to educate only those who did not speak English fluently was codified. The law stated:

> It [bilingual education] is instruction given in, and study of, English and (to the extent necessary to allow a child to progress effectively through the education system) the native language of the children of limited English speaking ability. (cited in Castellanos, 1983, p. 120)

The use of transitional bilingual education in educating those with limited English proficiency was also supported in the *Lau v. Nichols* U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1974. In providing relief to the Chinese plaintiffs, the court ruled that "There is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers and

curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education."

In an important judicial case (*Castañeda v. Pickard,* 1981), the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals for the Southern District of Texas substantiated the holding of Lau that schools must take "appropriate action" when educating emergent bilinguals and that such action must be based on sound educational theory, produce results, and provide adequate resources, including qualified teachers, and appropriate materials, equipment and facilities. The case, however, did not mandate a specific program such as bilingual education or ESL support.

Despite the very limited use of Spanish in the nation's schools, sporadically utilized to teach those U.S. Latinas/os who were yet to develop English proficiency, bilingual education has always been contested. In 1980 then President Ronald Reagan echoed Theodore Roosevelt's English Only ideology when, opposing bilingual education, he said:

> [I]t is absolutely wrong and against American concepts to have a bilingual education program that is now openly, admittedly dedicated to preserving their native language and never getting them adequate in English so they can go out into the job market and participate. (cited in Crawford, 2004, p. 120)

This English Only ideology has persisted even after the world has been enmeshed in the movements of peoples, products, and communication that characterize globalization in the 21st century. Wright (2004, pp. 163, 165) warns that despite the fact that the United States has been the promoter of globalization in the world,

> [s]ome of the most robust resistance to globalization comes from within the United States itself.... The US government is able to guard its sovereignty and autonomy in the classic manner of the nation states.... [W]e appear to be witnessing asymmetric developments within globalization: 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.* [italics added]

In the 1990s, the use of Spanish to support learning came under siege. The most effective attack against bilingual education was spearheaded by Ron Unz, a Silicon Valley software millionaire. In 1998, Proposition 227 (California Education Code, Section 305-306) prohibited the use of Spanish in teaching U.S Latinas/os. It mandated the use of Sheltered English Immersion programs (also known as Structured English Immersion) for a period not to exceed 1 year.

In 2000, Arizona voters approved Proposition 203 (Arizona Revised Statutes 15-751-755) which banned bilingual education and limited school services for those who were yet to become bilingual to a 1-year English-Only structured immersion program. In 2002, the proposition in Massachusetts (Question 2, G.L. c. 71A) did the same.

As many have remarked, the word "bilingual" (what Crawford has called "the B-Word") has been progressively silenced (Crawford, 2005; García, 2003; García, 2006; Hornberger, 2006; Wiley & Wright, 2004). García (2009) portrays this silencing of the word bilingual in the change of names of official bureaus and laws, as in Table 11.3.

The use of Spanish as a medium in the bilingual schooling of U.S. Latinos in elementary and secondary schools has had a different trajectory from that of the teaching of the Spanish language in secondary schools and universities to U.S. Latinos. In the early 1980s, Spanish-language educators had started clamoring for the recognition that Spanish was much more than a foreign language. Pioneer scholars, especially Guadalupe Valdés, called attention to the inadequacies of teaching Spanish as a foreign language to the growing number of U.S. bilinguals.

Table 11.3 Silencing of Bilingualism

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*

Spanish language educators focusing on what was then known as "Spanish for Spanish speakers" joined rank with bilingual educators to improve the Spanish-language education of U.S. Latinos, recognizing their bilingualism.

Recently, and in the wake of the bilingual education controversy, some Spanish language professionals have taken refuge in a monoglossic vision of the Spanish of U.S. Latinas/os, claiming Spanish as a "heritage" language, and distancing themselves from bilingual education. Although the use of heritage language has been used in Canada since 1977, the term was not embraced in the United States until the First Heritage Languages in America conference was held at the University of California at Los Angeles in 1999 (Cummins, 2005). Cummins 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. (p. 586)

García (2005) has suggested that this shift in naming Spanish a heritage language points to an unfortunate silencing of U.S. Spanish itself. Spanish has been relegated to a position of heritage, something not relevant, something of the past. And in so doing, bilingualism in education as a viable and equitable approach to teach U.S. Latinas/os is dismissed. Valdés, Fishman, Chávez, and Pérez (2006) claim that theories concerning the teaching of Spanish to U.S. bilinguals remain underdeveloped, while teaching programs themselves, especially at the secondary level, are too few.

In 2002, the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII) was repealed. The new legislation, known as No Child Left Behind (NCLB) contains Title III (Public Law 107-110)—"Language Instruction for Limited English Proficient and Immigrant Students." NCLB expects that by the 2013–2014 school year, all students achieve the level of "proficient" in state assessment systems (U.S. Department of Education, 2001). NCLB has forced schools to pay attention to ensuring that all U.S. Latinas/os meet educational standards. But as many have remarked (Crawford, 2004; García, Kleifgen & Falchi, 2008; Hornberger, 2006; Wiley and Wright, 2004), the present emphasis on assessment strictly in English denies the bilingual condition of U.S. Latinas/os. Without recognition of the bilingualism of U.S. Latinas/os both in teaching and in assessment, there is little hope that the educational playing field will ever become equal. Indeed, the teaching of Spanish to U.S. Latinos continues to suffer losses, as English Only is emphasized.

Monoglossic Language Ideologies and Practices: Bilingualism Misunderstood

In U.S. education, and especially in assessment, the notion of a "native" speaker of English is reified. But in the context of globalization, and as bilingualism has become commonplace around the world, the notion of a native speaker of English has become highly contested.

English has been increasingly appropriated by speakers all over the world, especially in Asia and Africa. Brutt-Griffler (2004) refers to this process as "macroaquisition," that is, second language acquisition as a social process involving an entire speech community. Canagarajah (1999), Mazrui (2004), Pennycook (1994), Phillipson (1992), and others have made us well aware that the teaching and learning of English has to take into account the sociolinguistic and sociohistorical context of the language community involved and to resist, in Canagarajah's (1999) words, the linguistic imperialism in English teaching. García and Bartlett (2007), in their study of a successful bilingual high school, also allude to the relevance of envisioning language acquisition as a social process of the speech community, not only as an individual psycholinguistic process.

The traditional individual models of second language acquisition have ignored three factors that have been shown to be most important in learning and using an additional language:

1. the role that *communities of practice* (Lave & Wenger, 1991)[14] play in providing positions for participants' second language practices;
2. the complex ways in which learning and speaking a second language engages speakers' *social identities* (Norton, 2000; Norton Peirce, 1995); and
3. the way *power relations* influence linguistic interaction (Bourdieu, 1991).

English language education in the United States is categorized as "English as a second language" or "native," leaving little room for the English of Latinas/os, fluent and yet rich in Spanish language influences. Little room is made for acknowledging the fact that in the segregated residential communities in which U.S. Latinas/os often live, English is often the language of choice, especially for young people, but is practiced in bilingual communities which show distinct sociolinguistic characteristics from monolingual communities. The different power relationship of English and Spanish in U.S. society also impacts the sociolinguistic identities of U.S. Latinas/os. Thus, English-speaking Latinas/os often mark English as their own—with phonological characteristics, loanwords, and code-switching (García & Menken, 2006). Although most accepted in the community and perfect for communication, this Latino English is often stigmatized in school where teachers demand that U.S. Latinas/os shed all traces of their bilingualism in speaking English.

The tradition of teaching Spanish in the United States has become more inclusive in the last 20 years as more U.S. Latinas/os have become students of Spanish. Yet, Spanish teaching at the secondary and tertiary level continues to uphold a "monolingual" standard which often does not take into consideration the bilingualism of U.S. Latino Spanish speakers, their practices within a bilingual community, and their social identities as Spanish speakers. As with English, although most accepted in the community and perfect for communication, U.S. Latino Spanish is often stigmatized in schools and society where it is labeled as "Spanglish," a debased and mixed contact variety (Stavans, 2003). The words of Dame Edna, in an advice column, reflect this linguistic prejudice or what Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) terms "linguicism":

> Forget Spanish. There's nothing in that language worth reading except Don Quixote.... There was a poet named García 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? (p. 116)

Thus, in schools Spanish-language teachers demand that U.S. Latinas/os shed all traces of their bilingualism in speaking Spanish.

Even when bilingualism has been accepted in U.S. education, schools have continued to exert their monoglossic ideologies, insisting that bilingualism is about one language and then the other. For example, transitional bilingual education uses Spanish until academic English profi-

$$L1 \rightarrow + L2 - L1 \rightarrow L2$$

Figure 11.1 Subtractive bilingualism.

$$L1 + L2 = L1 + L2$$

Figure 11.2 Additive bilingualism.

ciency is developed. But each language is seen as separate and following each other. The so called "dual language education" programs use the two languages throughout the child's education. But one of its principles is that the two languages be strictly separated and that the two languages not be used in the same context.[15]

The model of bilingualism that is followed in transitional bilingual education programs is subtractive as shown in Figure 11.1.

In this model, the student speaks Spanish at home, English is added in school, while Spanish is subtracted. The result is a Latino child who speaks English only.

The model of bilingualism that is followed in *dual language education* is additive as in Figure 11.2, with both English added and Spanish maintained.

Despite the benefits of additive bilingualism, bilingualism here is still seen from the perspective of monolingualism as the norm; that is, it reveals a monoglossic ideology. Bilingualism in this view is simply double monolingualism, a category different from monolingualism, but with bilingual individuals expected to be and do with each of their languages the same thing as monolinguals. Therefore, one can assess each of these languages separately and students are expected to achieve as monolinguals in each of their languages.

But bilingualism in the 21st century must reflect a language competence that shifts and bounces, that is not linear but dynamic, drawing from the different contexts in which bilingualism develops and functions. In the linguistic complexity of the 21st century, bilingualism for U.S. Latinas/os involves a much more dynamic cycle where language use is multiple, recursive, coming and going without end poles, but rather adjusting to the multilingual multimodal terrain of the communicative act, as shown in Figure 11.3.

With language interaction taking place in different planes that include multimodalities, that is, different modes of language (visuals as well as print, sound as well as text, etc.) as well as multilingualism, it is possible for individuals to engage in multiple complex communicative acts that do not in any way respond to the linear models of bilingualism proposed earlier (for more on this, see García, 2009).

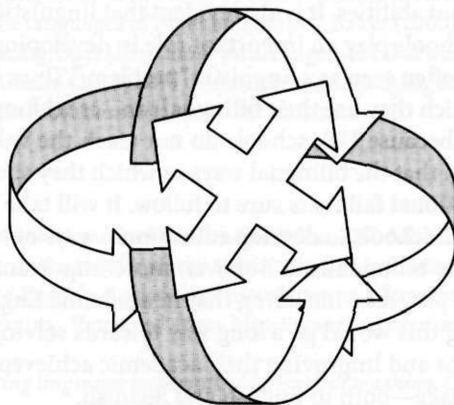

Figure 11.3 Dynamic bilingualism in the 21st century.

Dynamic bilingualism has much to do with how the Language Policy Division of the Council of Europe (2000) has defined the concept of plurilingualism as "the ability to use several languages to varying degrees and for distinct purposes," as well as "an educational value that is the basis of linguistic tolerance." And schools throughout the European Union are working on making their children fluent in "Mother Tongue + 2." In the 21st century, we need to reconstitute our concept of bilingualism and bilingual individuals in order to fit the communicative exigencies of "languaging," that is, the language as action needed in today's interdependent and technologically-enriched world (for more on languaging, see Swain, 2006). We need to shed our concept of balanced bilingualism adopting instead a contextualized sense that values bilinguals' use of languages to varying degrees, as in the definition of plurilingualism given by the Council of Europe.

It turns out that in the United States, a country with a monoglossic ideology, even the bilingual profession has sold itself short—settling for the use of two languages sequentially (as in transitional bilingual education) or separately (as in the "so called" dual language education programs), without acknowledging the dynamic plurilingualism of U.S. Latinos. As a result, U.S. Latinos' use of their two languages and literacies are always assessed separately, without regard to how their complex and rich sociolinguistic context impacts on their ability to "language."

It is this focus on monolingual assessment, important more than ever today in the era of No Child Left Behind, that creates the inequities in the education of U.S. Latinos. It is difficult for bilingual Latinos to compete with monolinguals in assessments that ignore linguistic diversity. This poor performance of bilingual Latinos on monolingual assessments in turn leads to remediation and placement in compensatory programs. The cycle never ends. Poor performance on monolingual assessments by bilingual Latinos leads to placement in English Only remedial programs where their bilingualism is made to go underground. But being made invisible in school is not the same as not existing. Ignoring the bilingualism of U.S. Latinos is costing all of us dearly. It is the cause for educational failure, which could be avoided with deeper understandings of how bilingualism works.

Conclusion

As long as the United States does not recognize the potential of bilingualism that U.S. Latinos hold for the future of our country, schools will continue to demand rigid monolingual standards that do not acknowledge languaging skills that will be needed in the future. It is clear, for example, that to continue to compete in a world of multilingual and multimodal communication systems, workers will have to be able to work across languages, with translanguaging[16] and translating as most important abilities. It is also evident that linguistic tolerance will be increasingly important and that schools play an important role in developing this value.

U.S. Latino students are often seen as a linguistic "problem." Thus, their defining characteristic—the complex way in which they use their bilingualism—is seldom tapped as a cognitive and educational resource. And because U.S. schools do not teach the value of linguistic tolerance, U.S. Latinos are made to feel that the bilingual ways in which they speak at home are not appropriate or "standard." Educational failure is sure to follow. It will take breaking the monoglossic ideology that permeates U.S. schools to develop educational ways of building on the strength of U.S. Latinos—their dynamic bilingualism. But even more important would be to design ways of assessing their academic progress, including that in academic English, in ways that tap their bilingual abilities. Ensuring this would go a long way towards solving the present inequities in the education of U.S. Latinos and improving their academic achievement, as well as developing their academic use of language—both in English and Spanish.

Notes

1. "English only," with a small "o," will be used here to denote a broader understanding of English as *the only* language for all communicative exchange, whereas "English-Only" with a capital "O" will be used to denote language policy campaigns and/or movements, which aim at making English the official U.S. national language.
2. As we will outline below, bilingual education has waxed and waned. For a more complete history of the presence of languages other than English in U.S. education, see Castellanos 1983; Crawford, 2004; García, 2009, chapter 8; Wiley & Wright, 2004.
3. This is according to the 2005 American Community Survey (U.S. Census). Readers are reminded that it is estimated there are approximately 10 million undocumented Latinas/os and that the actual figure is probably much higher.
4. There are some exceptions to this. See, for example, the work of Valdés et al., 2006.
5. We use "currency" here in the Bourdieunian sense of seeing language as capital, an asset of quantifiable value (for more on this, see Bourdieu, 1991).
6. For more on this, see Del Valle, 2006.
7. Limited English Proficient (LEP) is the term used by the U.S. Department of Education and other official government documents. Most of the literature refers to English Language Learners.
8. The U.S. census uses the term "Hispanics" instead of "Latinas/os."
9. We cannot presume that these Latinas/os are English monolinguals, for the census only asks what language they speak at home.
10. The U.S. Census does not ask about the level of Spanish proficiency.
11. We use as a cut-off point of fluent English proficiency the Speak English Well category. We note that this differs from the way in which the U.S. Department of Education calculates the number of English Language Learners for they also include the Well category. We have made this decision based on our understandings of bilingualism, much of which will be discussed in the section below.
12. George Ticknor was the first professor at Harvard, and this chair was occupied by well-known American literati such as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, and Washington Irving.
13. We're reporting here what was meant in the context as Castilian Spanish and not what it is.
14. According to Lave and Wenger (1991), communities of practice are groups who interact and communicate regularly and have shared ways of communicating, including the use of two languages.
15. Much confusion exists regarding this label. Most of the time the label is used in conjunction with two-way bilingual programs in which two linguistic groups participate but in which instruction in one language and the other is strictly separated. Other times the label is used to refer to what are otherwise known as "developmental" bilingual education program. The choice of the term "dual language" is a way of avoiding the term "bilingual," which has become controversial in the United States. But it is also a way of signaling that both languages are developed separately at all times.
16. The term "translanguaging" is used in Wales by Cen Williams to refer to a bilingual teaching methodology that changes the languages of input and output. Baker (2003) clarifies that translanguaging is not about code-switching, but rather about an arrangement that normalizes bilingualism without functional separation. García (2009) uses the term translanguaging to refer to the dynamic plurilingual practices of bilingual communities and their children.

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