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The United States is home to the second largest number of Spanish speakers in the world. This is due in part to the fact that Spanish is the original language of a fraction of the U.S. population, but more significantly, to the comprehensive and growing diaspora of Latin American migrants that have arrived to the country.

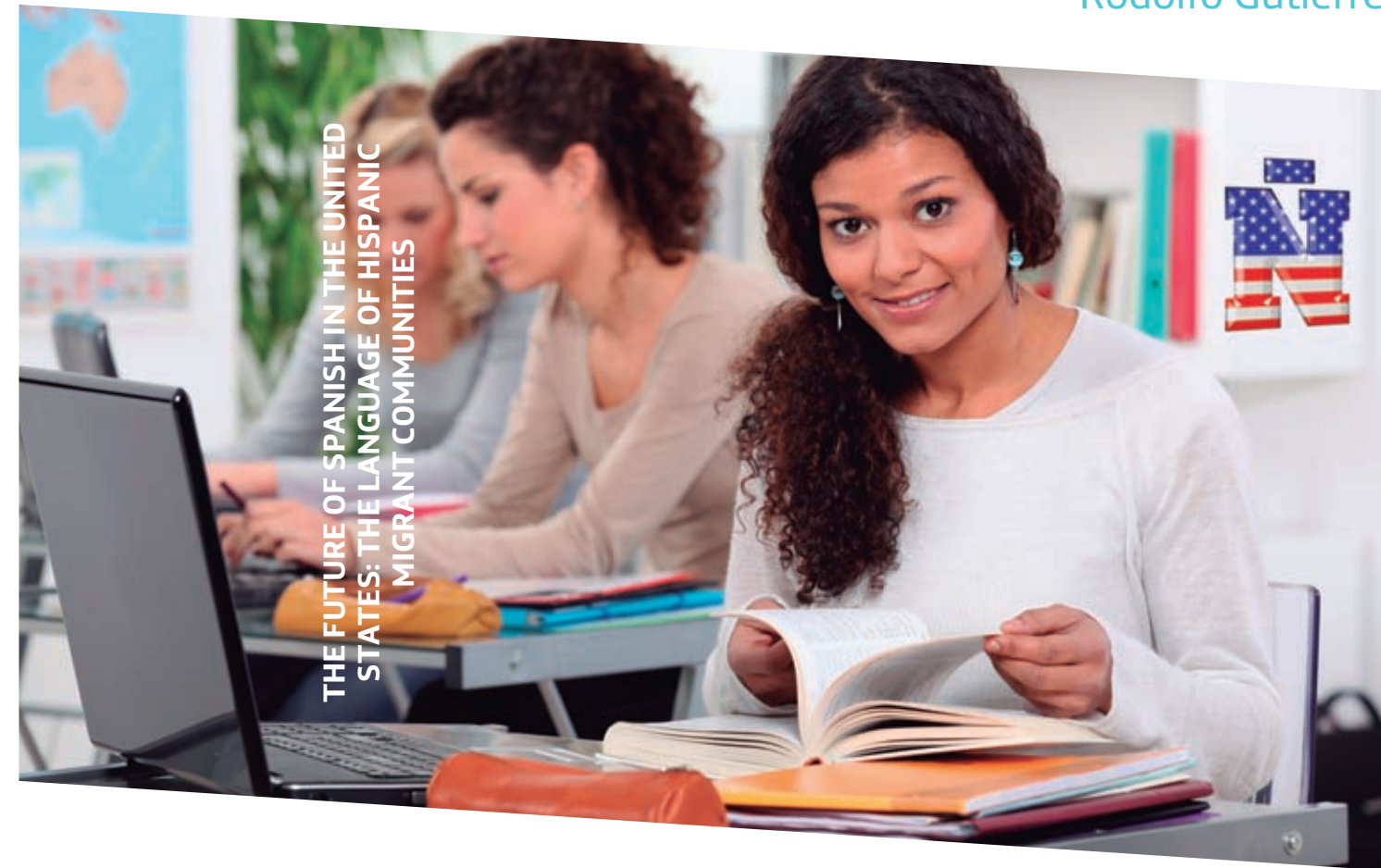
U.S. leadership will be a strong factor in the persistence of Spanish in its midst as a living language will be a powerful factor in the strengthening of the language on the international stage. In this volume, a number of specialists, all professors of Latino origins currently working in U.S. universities, analyze a variety of factors, from different perspectives, that play a role in the present and future vitality of Spanish as a second language in the U.S. The result is a rich and complex work surrounding a crucial issue that will influence the future of Spanish as an international language.

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## THE FUTURE OF SPANISH IN THE UNITED STATES: THE LANGUAGE OF HISPANIC MIGRANT COMMUNITIES

José Antonio Alonso  
Jorge Durand  
Rodolfo Gutiérrez



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*The Economic Value of Spanish:  
A Multinational Business*

Research conducted by  
José Luis García Delgado,  
José Antonio Alonso  
and Juan Carlos Jiménez

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## PREFACE

Spanish demographics unequivocally reveal that the United States is home to the second largest number of Spanish speakers in the world after Mexico. This is due in part to the number of inhabitants who were incorporated into the United States from the Spanish colonies during the second half of the 19th century, but more significantly to the migration of more than 50 million people from Latin American countries to the United States over the last fifty years. As a result, the Spanish language occupies a visible role in the daily communication of a significant part of the population in numerous cities and counties throughout the United States. Spanish is the language of social and familiar use among these groups, but is also used in professional and public fields, albeit on a much smaller scale.

Despite the size of the Spanish speaking population, the future of Spanish in the United States has its fair share of contradictions. On the more promising side, you have the demographic dynamism of a growing Hispanic migrant group—a dynamism that has led to the upward social mobility for some of its members, their increasing economic weight and political influence, and an attractive sense of their cultural expressions, particularly in the music world. In comparison to other languages that have influenced the American landscape in past XIV The future of Spanish in the United States years,

these elements add a unique touch to the role of Spanish in the United States. On the other hand, however, there are also factors at play that are not as optimistic. For example, the progressive loss of Spanish proficiency among second and third-generation immigrants, the homogenous tone of the cultural norms imposed by a consumer society, and U.S. linguistic and education policy that, in many ways, reflects the country's growing hostility to bilingualism, and more recently, to immigration.

The existence of contradictory factors does not provide a clear outlook regarding the future of Spanish in the U.S. However, two perspectives surrounding the issue appear to have considerable support. First, in order for Spanish to survive as more than simply a language of first-generation immigrants, it depends crucially on the value placed on those who are capable of demonstrating linguistic competence — not only by society, but also by the economic market. If society and the market provide a benefit to those, who in addition to mastering English are able to express themselves properly in Spanish, the future of the native language will be thus preserved. The benefit of mastering both English and Spanish can serve as an economic resource, provide for career advancement, and also improve the reputation associated with linguistic competence in both languages. Whatever the reason, the most important thing is that society appreciates the supposed advantage of mastering a language that is considered useful. This linguistic dividend, albeit tenuous and quite recent, has been seen as advantageous in certain sectors of the American labor market in the last few years.

The second perspective alludes to the future of Spanish as an international language, the decisive role being what hap-

pens in the United States. Given the country's leadership in economic, scientific, political, and cultural life, the persistence of Spanish as a living language—a language learned by many citizens and the native language of many others—will play a vital role in buttressing the language on the international scene.

Taking into account the following perspectives, it is not surprising that one of the studies in the Telefónica Foundation's project, *The Economic Value of Spanish*, has been dedicated to the study and discussion of the future of Spanish in the United States. The project compels us to analyze the configuration and behavior of Hispanic migrant communities in the United States, from various perspectives, by studying their cultural, economic, and political uses of the language, and discussing the role of the Spanish in all of this.

José Antonio Alonso, Jorge Durand and Rodolfo Gutiérrez took upon themselves the task of coordinating an extensive list of specialists, all professors of Hispanic or Latino origin, from various universities throughout the United States. The participants are professors from across the disciplines, all concerned with the study of the new social realities that have emerged in the U.S. as a consequence of Latin American migration.

The perspectives that the reader will find throughout the chapters are diverse, as are the authors' opinions regarding the vitality and possible persistence of Spanish as a living language in the United States in coming decades. Given the different views that analysts and stakeholders set forth regarding the benefits involved in the development and mastery of the first language, one could expect nothing less.



This is a rich and complex work, one that helps to understand a crucial area that will influence the future of Spanish as an international language.

José Luis García Delgado  
José Antonio Alonso  
and Juan Carlos Jiménez  
co-directors of the project:  
«The Economic Value of Spanish»

## CHAPTER 1

# THE PERSISTENCE OF SPANISH AMONG HISPANIC GROUPS IN THE UNITED STATES: AN INTRODUCTION

*José Antonio Alonso, Jorge Durand and Rodolfo Gutiérrez*

### 1. Introduction

Few collective identity models are as resistant and long-lived as maternal language. A person, almost irrevocably, belongs to the linguistic community in which they were raised and educated—the language community where they formed their first affective universe, and where they displayed their earliest cognitive abilities. Of course, there are cases of language displacement—whether deliberate or assumed—regarding one’s original language community. Among these examples are such notable cases as Conrad and Nabokov, who deliberately left their native language to embark on a creative adventure within a new language. However, it must be pointed out that these cases are rather exceptional. In most cases, one articulates his last will in the same language in which he managed to utter his first words. However, more often, as a person’s linguistic competence increases with time, we are learning to use new languages alongside

our own. In an increasingly interconnected world, language learning is becoming more common. However, regardless of the level of competency you reached in the second language, your mother tongue always remains your own. Your first language is the language you use to express your feelings and ideas, and the language of your affective and symbolic universe. It is the language you consider yourself to be a part of.

In today's world, however, there are increasingly more people that have to work, and on occasions, live in a language that is not their own. Communicative interconnection and international labor mobility feed this trend, which is fueled by a variety of factors, such as intellectual curiosity and cosmopolitan desire. This does not necessarily imply the full replacement of the linguistic community to which one is attached—where a person would leave a language to assume another—but rather, it often refers to belonging to two different language environments simultaneously. Language skills accumulate over time, designating spaces and functions for their use. Using different languages can be a source of tension that is usually influenced, among other factors, by the conflicts that characterize the environments in which each language operates (public and family domain) or by the elements of identity and status associated with each language. At times, these tensions manifest themselves in the form of dyslexia, asymmetric bilingualism, language regression (predominantly, in the language reserved for the private domain, and protected from public scrutiny), or the use of mixed language formulas and creative hybrids, as described by Ilan Stavans in this volume in his chapter on *Spanglish*.

Perhaps, the most telling example of forced linguistic expatriation is illustrated by experience of the immigrant, who, in search of opportunities, moves to countries outside of their

language community. In such cases, a forced tension exists between the required acquisition of the local language to facilitate integration and social mobility, and the preservation of one's identity. Among first generation immigrants, in the best-case scenario, this tension results in asymmetrical bilingualism. The native language is used at home and socially, while the language of the host country, sometimes only partially acquired, is used in professional tasks and public activities where its use is unavoidable. Asymmetric bilingualism is passed down to the next generation, the children and grandchildren of first-generation immigrants, who are, in some cases, already citizens of the host state and educated in the local language. Among second-generation immigrants, language asymmetry is reversed in favor of the local language, designating the first language to the family realm, social events, and celebrations, while the local language dominates public and professional life. Among third and subsequent generations, the mother tongue is usually used less and less, until it is completely extinct. This is in part due to acculturation processes and, in many cases, the social integration necessary for permanent immigration.

This has been the case with the majority of linguistic communities who have migrated to the United States—the largest recipient of immigrants in the world—including the Nordic peoples, Germans, Poles, Italians, Chinese... In all these cases, communities were originally established where the mother tongue remained alive for a short period of time, eventually giving way to various degrees of bilingualism and diverse morphologies. However, in all cases, the mother tongue eventually lost out to English as the language of communication, and the first language gradually died out. Therefore, it is not surprising that the United States is commonly referred to as a graveyard for languages. Rodolfo de la Garza, citing Rumbaut (2009), reminds us of this in the present volume. Will the same thing

happen to the Spanish-speaking immigrants that have arrived to the United States in the last six decades?

There are many who think that, in the case of Spanish, the signs of resistance to first language loss are stronger than in other migrant communities. This is due in part to a variety of factors, including predominance of the extended family, maintenance of transnational family ties, the strength of symbolic identity referents, the power of nationalistic ties, and frequent visits to the home country. It is also influenced by the strong presence of the Spanish mass media in the U.S., and ascending social mobility among certain Hispanic groups (particularly, among Cubans) that have continued to use Spanish as a public language (and not just a family language). Finally, the Spanish language expansion on a global scale also comes into play. All of these factors have played a pivotal role in the persistence of Spanish. However, the most decisive factor has been the consistent flow of Latin American migrant communities to the U.S. over the last five decades, continuously adding new contingents of first-generation immigrants to the group.

However, this migratory flow will not sustain itself indefinitely, particularly if you take into account the demographic stability, social deficit reduction, and vigorous economic growth in Latin American countries. All of these factors suggest that the current migratory flow, however persistent, will slow down over time. In fact, this can already be seen in the first decade of the new century. Under these conditions, will Spanish last as a second language among Hispanic groups in the United States? Will the current situation lead to balanced bilingualism among Hispanic groups in the U.S. population? Will it result in the extinction of language practices that are increasingly relegated to the family environment and to the less educated, and older populations? The chapters of this book

are dedicated to answering these questions although not necessarily from coinciding perspectives.

As can be expected, the preservation of Spanish is also influenced by U.S. public policy, particularly in the fields of education and public services —two fields that define citizens' rights and their relationships to public institutions. In this respect, the U.S. government's position has changed over time, and in recent years has transitioned from an opening towards cultural diversity to the defense of national uniformity. Carlos G. Vélez-Ibáñez describes this shift in his chapter.

In any case, it is quite the controversial topic. Everyone appears to have an opinion on the subject, and confrontational positions emerge throughout American society as a whole (including among Spanish-speaking immigrant groups). Based on an arguably questionable empirical framework, some analysts (the most notorious of which, Huntington, 2004) argue that the persistence of Spanish among Hispanic groups in the U.S. is due to their supposed resistance to learn English, perceiving this as a serious risk to the nation's social order. Conservative and nationalistic sectors take this argument even further, rejecting public norms of language coexistence and demanding the eradication of programs in support of bilingual education in schools. «English-only» campaigns are a part of this growing trend. Disguised in the English-only movement, with the occasional racist and xenophobic undertone, there also appears to be a growing sense of aggressiveness towards immigration.

In response, there are also those who see the validity of Spanish as a living language, a language that was a part of the original territory that is now the United States, and spoken by more than 450 million people worldwide. They see this langua-

ge, a language that is the official language in the majority of countries on the American continent, some of growing economic strength, as more than just a threat, but as an opportunity. In his chapter, Carlos Ovando sheds light on this perspective, detailing the bilingual education movement in the United States between 1970 and 1990 as remarkably successful, despite its limitations. The perspectives highlighted in this chapter argue that the first language should be included in the learning processes of people that are not from Anglo backgrounds to provide for greater development of their cognitive skills. Among them are those who argue that immigration, if properly regulated, adds a sense of complexity to public policy, but also serves as a source of economic and cultural wealth for the host society.

U.S. public authorities operate in this environment, full of contradictory opinions. As to where the scale will tip, it depends a lot on the beliefs held by authorities regarding the concept of citizenship and the regulatory framework typical of an open society at the beginning of the twenty-first century. However, it will also be influenced by the idea of the value that can be derived from a concentrated public effort to create a partially bilingual society, with groups fluent not only in English, but also in Spanish. In other words, it will depend on their perspectives regarding the *economic value of Spanish*.

## 2. The Value of Language

Discussing the economic value of a language is no simple task. Measurement, in this case, refers to a commodity whose nature is very different from that of economic goods, those on which the market puts a price. Language is an intangible asset, far removed from any possibility of exclusive possession. Its value

is derived from its collective ownership and increases in proportion to the number of those who share it. It is a commodity that does not require production; although you can invest in its dissemination as it never runs out. Quite the contrary, it only becomes more valuable with use and the only cost required is learning it (Alonso, 2006). It is composed of traits that are quite different from those that characterize an economic good or commodity.

However, it is clear that having a language of a given international rank that is shared by various countries, provides for certain economic advantages. Among them are the savings associated with communicating with social agents from other countries. It allows for the establishment of a sense of identity and cohesion that is quite useful in a fragmented and competitive international environment, provides large markets their own creative production, and transmits a sense of value to the reputation associated with the language. To sum up, although it is difficult to measure, and it is not the only valuable feature of a language, a widely used international language provides undoubted economic advantages.

Stressing this fact is less necessary when there are clear examples of countries, such as Ireland or India, that have taken advantage of the value of English in order to establish remarkably successful strategies in international investment; when Spanish companies have capitalized on Latin American markets and a shared language to implement the first stages of an international experience, facilitating the creation of brands with global reach; when countries like Malta, Ireland or the United Kingdom, among others, have converted the teaching of English as a second language into a thriving international industry; or finally, when Colombia, Spain, or Mexico benefit from a large Hispanic market for television series and soap



operas, and other cultural industries. We will say it again: although it would be difficult to lock in an unmistakable figure, having an international language is a potential source of economic value.

Finding ways to measure the exact economic contribution of language was a challenge faced by *The Economic Value of Spanish* project. Possibly the only way to confront this challenge was as follows: addressing the measure from a variety of partial, yet complementary, perspectives, identifying those areas in which the existence of a common language was important, and analyzing the derived economic implications. To apply it to the case of Spanish, we studied the weight of cultural industries on the economy, those industries that utilize Spanish as a primary resource, and those dedicated to the teaching of Spanish as a foreign language. We examined the impact that a language shared between countries has on international economic transactions; trade, investment, and migratory flows; and we estimated the weight that GDP and employment had on those activities where language is a relevant component in production processes; finally, we analyzed the presence of Spanish on the Internet and new communication technologies. All of this effort resulted in ten publications, and allowed for an approximation, albeit imperfect, of the economic effects associated with the possession of an international language. A summary of these results, in addition to a framework for the design of language promotion policies, can be found in *The Economic Value of Spanish. A Multinational Company*, José Luis García Delgado, José Antonio Alonso and Juan Carlos Jiménez, lead researchers of the *The Economic Value of Spanish* project.

Some figures approach the magnitude of these economic effects, in this case, referred to the Spanish language. The presence of a shared linguistic market on an international scale has

allowed for cultural industries that depend on language—that is, only a percentage of cultural industries—to contribute nearly 3 percent of the GDP in Spain, and according to studies put forth in the Andrés Bello Agreement, corresponding numbers from Latin American countries are not far off. Industries, as a whole, where language is an important component of operations and production, contribute a notable share of GDP and employment, in both cases, nearly 16 percent. The effect of the language community on international economic flow is even more surprising. Leaving everything else unchanged, a common language increases commercial transactions by four, investment flows by seven, and the ability to attract migratory currents by three.

If we look solely at the United States, the potential of the Hispanic market reinforces what was suggested in the previous data. According to the annual report —*The Multicultural Economy*— by the Selig Center for Economic Growth at the University of Georgia, since 2007, the buying power of Hispanics is the highest among all minority groups in the United States. This group exceeds African Americans, elevating this segment of the population to virtually the status of the tenth economy in the world (and second, after Spain, within the Spanish language group). Moreover, the purchasing power of these groups grows significantly (more than any other large ethnic group in the country), and it is estimated to reach a trillion dollars. This would represent more than 9 percent of all purchasing power (total purchasing power) in the country in 2010. It is also estimated that it will exceed 1.3 billion in 2014 (more than 10 percent of the nation's total) (García Delgado, Alonso y Jiménez, 2012).

Through its Hispanic population, the United States could benefit significantly from the revenue associated with the Spanish language. This would contribute to the persistence of Spa-

nish, encouraging sectors of the population to maintain a simultaneous native command of both international languages, English and Spanish. Two languages that are extremely relevant, as demonstrated by their use and progress on the international stage. Keep in mind that Spanish is spoken by 7 percent of the world population, and is responsible for more than 9 percent of the aggregated GDP on the planet. This data set should inspire U.S. public authorities to have more active policies in support of bilingualism in schools, particularly in relevant states and counties.

However, these policies are useless if its own speakers fail to see Spanish as a valuable resource for career advancement and upward social mobility, and also as a relevant factor in the shaping of identity, beyond the mere emotional bond that they share with their ancestors. So Spanish also has to have value among the immigrant population in order to cultivate it as a living language, other than English. This is also combined with the effect that mastery of this language has on labor markets and processes of social integration (we will return to this later on).

Here the role of the private sector also comes into play, along with the proper assessment of the potential value of the Spanish market, both within the United States and throughout the community of Spanish-speaking countries. This would necessarily lead to estimating Spanish proficiency as an asset for both managers and employees, as well as its projection in the markets. The growing economic capacity is the springboard that facilitates this process. It is not a future project, but a reality that is already in operation. This is demonstrated by the existence of business projects that attempt to capitalize on the demand of this group. Something that is clearly represented in the case of the Spanish media, as studied by Tomás López Pumarejo in his chapter in this volume.

Finally, there is also a role reserved for institutions like the Instituto Cervantes, and the consulates and embassies of Spanish speaking countries that strive to disseminate the Spanish language. These Spanish outreach activities also bring a sense of collective identity to those who share the language, while helping to improve language status.

The future of Spanish in the United States will depend, therefore, on a complex set of factors. There are reasons to be optimistic, given the vitality of Spanish in this country. However, there are also a number of challenges that need to be taken into consideration. Let's start by considering the factors that are behind the vitality of this language in English-speaking countries.

### 3. The Unique Persistence of Spanish and the Composition of Hispanic Groups in the United States

The overwhelming and expansive force of the English language on the global scene has met its match on its own territory. The use of Spanish has not died out, nor is it dying in the United States. Instead, it grows steadily and spreads by the day with the arrival of new Latin American migrants. As noted, unlike Italian, Polish, or German, which virtually disappeared from the scene among second-generation immigrants, the Spanish language has had a different fate. First-generation immigrants hardly learned English, the second hardly lost their mother tongue, and the third-generation has begun to recover the language.

The United States territorial expansion at the time of «Manifest Destiny» stormed and conquered the four corners of the land. First, it was the southwest, in the war with Mexico in the

mid-nineteenth century, where the U.S. managed to annex large territories along with the Hispanic-Mexican populations that inhabited those lands. Subsequently, they expanded towards the north and bought Alaska from the Russians in 1876, a cold and desolate territory with little more than 1.5 million square kilometers (approximately 1 million square miles), and inhabited by indigenous peoples. Then, in 1898, the Americans went to war against Spain and expanded eastward, taking control of Puerto Rico in the Caribbean and later conquering the Philippines and Guam. In Puerto Rico, the introduction of English as an official language failed entirely, but the situation was different in the Philippines and Guam, where English is now the *lingua franca*. On the way to the Philippines, the Americans annexed the Hawaiian Islands and dismissed the reigning monarchy. There, the official languages are English and Hawaiian, but the latter is only spoken by 2,000 people, 0.1 percent of the population.

In short, the American colonial system managed to impose the English language on all of its colonies and annexed territories, except those of Hispanic origin, i.e. the southwestern United States and Puerto Rico, traditional Spanish strongholds. Since the mid-nineteenth century, in the U.S. continental territory, the Spanish language has been conserved in New Mexico, due to its isolation and traditionalism; in California and Texas, as they continue to resist the English-speaking onslaught in the strongholds of Los Angeles and San Antonio; and in all of the border cities.

It is said that after the annexation of territories in 1848, the future of the nation's identity was discussed among the settlers in Laredo, Texas. There were 17 families who decided to go to the other side of the river and there founded Nuevo Laredo. They even carried the bodies of their relatives that had been

laid to rest in the cemetery in order to bury them on native soil. However, those who stayed on the American side were Mexicans all the same, and for many decades were free to travel between one city and the other. The history of the two Laredos is very similar to that of the twin cities and namesakes of Mexicali-Calexico, Tecate, San Luis Rio Colorado, Nogales, Naco, Palomas-Columbus, or El Paso-Ciudad Juarez, formerly known as Paso del Norte (the border crossing).

Meanwhile, in Puerto Rico, language and cultural resistance acquired political overtones and Spanish became a crucial element of identity in the ambiguous context that goes along with being a «commonwealth» of the United States. A portion of the commonwealth argues for definitive status (to become another state of the Union), another portion defends the status quo (to remain a commonwealth), and finally, the minority, no more than 5 percent, argues for independence. However, all are in favor of Spanish, not only as an official language, but also as the language of ordinary and everyday use.

A multitude of more than 50 million Hispanics that speak or understand Spanish, is the driving force behind a language that grows in size daily, reinvigorating the claim to the right of linguistic self-determination. According to the Pew Hispanic Center, only 23 percent of first generation Hispanic migrants can hold a conversation in English «very well.» In the second generation of adults, the proportion is 88 percent, and the third, 94 percent (Hakimzadeh and Cohn, 2007). The same study points out that more than half of Hispanics born outside of the United States (52 percent) only speak Spanish at home. However, young children prefer to speak English among themselves, and only 11 percent speak Spanish. Meanwhile, in the case of families with parents born in the country, only 6 percent speak Spanish at home.

In fact, many times, the tendency to conserve Spanish depends on «family policies» with respect to speaking Spanish. In some cases, parents insist on speaking only Spanish with their children. In others, parents speak in Spanish and the children speak in English. Among some sections of the population, first-generation immigrant parents prefer to speak with their children in English so they can practice and improve their English level.

After the great deportation of Mexicans during the Great Depression in 1929, the immigrants who remained in the U.S. chose assimilation. The best way they found to accomplish this was to speak English at home and prohibit the use of Spanish among their children. This was the case of the mayor of Los Angeles, California, Antonio Villaraigosa, who forgot the Spanish he had learned as a child, and later had to learn it again because it was vital to win the Hispanic electorate.

Later, in the 1940's, the Bracero Guest Worker Program was signed between Mexico and the United States and lasted for 22 long years (1942-1964). The program led to the mass migration of Mexicans to the Southwestern states and to the state of Illinois. Subsequently, the Caribbean Hispanics arrived, the Puerto Ricans, after the Second World War (1946), and they settled in the state of New York; the Cubans arrived after the 1959 Revolution, and settled in Miami; later the Dominicans arrived after the 1965 military intervention and converged in New York and New Jersey. In the sixties, as they did not require a Visa for entry, the South Americans, particularly the Andeans began to arrive: Colombians, Ecuadoreans and Peruvians settled in the New York and New Jersey area, and the Bolivians settled in the state of Virginia. Finally, in the eighties, as a result of the last throes of the Cold War

in Latin America, the Central Americans arrived. First middle and upper class Nicaraguans, who settled in Miami; later the Salvadorans, who went to Washington D.C. and California; the Guatemalans, who dispersed throughout California, New Jersey and Florida, and the Hondurans, who first came to southern states like Alabama and Georgia (see Table 1.1).

During the last three decades of the twentieth century, Latin American migration to the United States nearly doubled every 10 years. However, the trend began to reverse in the first decade of the twenty-first century. In all of the cases reviewed, the growth rate has decreased, except in the case of Honduras. It was the last country to join the Latin American migration flow following the devastating impact of Hurricane Mitch, in 1998, with a top wind speed of 290 km/hour (approximately 180 m/hour). The country received support from the United States in the form of work visas.

**Table 1.1**  
*Major Latin American Countries that Sent Migrants to the United States in the 1960–2010 Period*

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Mexico	575,902	759,711	2,199,221	4,298,014	9,177,487	11,746,539
Dominican Republic	11,833	61,228	169,147	347,858	687,677	879,884
Cuba	79,150	439,048	607,814	736,971	872,716	1,112,064
Guatemala	5,381	17,356	63,073	225,739	480,665	797,262
El Salvador	6,310	15,717	94,447	465,433	817,336	1,207,128
Honduras	6,503	19,118	39,154	108,923	282,852	518,438
Nicaragua	9,474	16,125	44,166	168,659	220,335	246,687
Colombia	12,582	63,538	143,508	286,124	509,872	648,348
Ecuador	7,670	36,663	86,128	143,314	298,626	454,921
Peru	7,102	21,663	55,496	144,199	278,186	430,665
Bolivia	2,168	6,872	14,468	31,303	53,278	76,893
TOTAL	724,075	1,457,039	3,516,622	6,956,537	13,679,030	18,118,829

2000 Source: <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0081/twps0081.pdf>

2010 Source: [http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2012/02/PHC-2010-FB-Profile-Final\\_APR-3.pdf](http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2012/02/PHC-2010-FB-Profile-Final_APR-3.pdf)



In short, Latin American migration to the United States during the late twentieth century, aside from being massive (between 1960 and 2010 more than 18 million people arrived), was also well dispersed throughout the United States. Nevertheless, there are Spanish strongholds where everyday Spanish is used on a large scale in cities like Los Angeles, New York, and Miami. In these places, in addition to the traditional groups that have been there for decades, Latinos have now arrived from all over Latin America to join and permeate what historically have been national sanctuaries for specific migrant groups. The famous Puerto Rican barrio of East Harlem, or Manhattan's Spanish Harlem, is currently home to a growing number of Mexicans. In Miami and the famous Calle 8 (8th Street), Cubans now share the space with Peruvian, Colombian and Venezuelan restaurants and businesses.

On the other hand, the differences in English proficiency and, consequently, the prevalence of the use of the Spanish language, have to do with class origins or country or region of origin. For example, according to research conducted by the Pew Hispanic Center, among Mexican migrants with little more than a primary level education, only 71 percent state that they know «a little» English. In the case of South Americans, the percentage is much lower (44 percent). However, it is important to point out that this group, in general, has higher levels of education, that of middle school or junior high. Among Puerto Ricans on the other hand, only 35 percent speak a little English, as most Puerto Ricans are more exposed to the English language on a daily basis or have traveled to the United States (Hakimzadeh and Cohn, 2007).

Obviously, the workplace environment particularly influences these cases. As Spanish is the *lengua franca* among agricultural workers in the United States, there are limited op-

portunities to practice English, even among stewards and contractors. In contrast, workers in restaurants have greater exposure to the public, and work with colleagues from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, thus making English the language most used in the workplace. This also happens in construction, where technical English words are used. Depending on the crews, workers in construction tend to speak a specific language on a daily basis, although in general, two languages usually prevail: English or Spanish.

Another relevant factor is education level, which is critical for English language learning and proficiency, particularly among college students. Among those with a college degree, 64 percent report that they handle the language «very well,» while the percentage of those who have only a secondary level of education is 34 percent, and students who did not complete an elementary education is 11 percent (Hakimzadeh and Cohn, 2007). Low English language proficiency levels among Hispanics plays a role in the prevalence of Spanish, and *Spanglish*, among these groups.

Education is a key factor in English language learning, but the fact that there are also different types of schools in the United States must be taken into consideration. Among the immigrant population, most students go to neighborhood schools in working class areas, where educational resources are scarce. In U.S. public schools, resources depend on the property taxes paid in the area. Residential segregation tends to be both race and class-based, and negatively affects the quality of education.

In fact, the use of Spanish in a national Anglo context also has serious negative implications. For example, the process of integration into a host country becomes quite difficult.

You encounter a significant amount of roadblocks in the job market that limit social mobility, and you are exposed to discriminatory processes that typically manifest themselves through language. Moreover, several studies report that the school performance of Hispanic children in the U.S. is one of the lowest in the country, and is associated with speaking Spanish at home. Additionally, a strong bias exists among teachers who systematically discriminate against students who do not speak English well, and even against those who are bilingual. In a previous study, an ongoing complaint among the Cuban-American population, proud of their bilingualism, was that their children were always put at level B for not being monolingual (Tienda and Mitchell, 2006).

There are many campaigns and protests against the use of Spanish as a common, everyday language in the United States. However, a few decades ago, the ice broke, and people started speaking Spanish in the streets, restaurants, and plazas. This is due, largely, to the massive Latin American migration that has occurred throughout the course of the past four decades.

However, there has also been widespread cultural change. Members of the Spanish-speaking population in the U.S. (above all second and third-generation immigrants) are no longer scared to speak Spanish in public. This change has to do with the strength that has come from the Chicano movement in the Southwest, the political presence of the Hispanic community in New York, and the economic, political, and social strength of the Cuban population in Miami. An essential complement to this process has been the surge of multiple Hispanic media sources (television, radio, and the press) that disseminate messages, news, and programs day in day out, vindicating the public use of the Spanish language.

Another factor to take into account is the slow but persistent process of rupturing monolingualism among «white»

Americans. The preeminence of English on the global scale made learning other languages unnecessary. However, this has been changing slowly, and knowing another language is not only demanded but also appreciated in higher education, trade and industry. Spanish is one of the most preferred foreign languages among Americans as they find it more useful in their environment and globally than other languages like French or German that have lost their foothold.

Either way, exclusive use of English as an official language, a campaign that is committed to the «English-only» movement, persists throughout the country. However, in more than twenty states in the U.S., English has not yet been defined as an official language, and a number of attempts to achieve this have failed. For example, in Miami-Dade County in Florida, an order was issued in 1980 that stipulated the prohibition of the use of a language other than English (*The ordinance prohibited the county from «utilizing any language other than English, or promoting any culture other than that of the United States»*). They attempted to use language prohibition as an instrument to detain Cuban political advancement in the county government, and they were right. In 1993, a new government with several Cuban representatives repealed the order on the grounds that it was offensive and exclusionary in a nation of immigrants (*New York Times*, May 19, 1993). This topic is quite controversial in the United States. On one hand, you have groups that defend English through ideological and supremacist schemes. On the other hand, you have the promotion of multicultural dynamism at the local level, particularly in areas with very high concentrations of Hispanic migrants.

Another noteworthy case is that of El Cenizo County, Texas, on the Mexican border. Given that the majority of the

population (7,800 residents) spoke Spanish, and did not understand English, the Mayor and the council decided, in 1999, that Spanish would be the official language. The move to make Spanish the official language made national news and many considered it to be an offensive and daring initiative. However, Mayor Rafael Rodriguez held his ground and stated that he did not want trouble with the federal government, as they already had enough trouble of their own, but it was the community's right to define the language in which they wanted to communicate (*The Boston Globe*, August 28, 1999).

The future of Spanish in the United States is rooted in the centuries-old tradition of various Latin American communities living separately. This gave rise, for example, to the Chicano movement, which excluded other Latino groups, and led to the present day situation in which Latin Americans have dispersed throughout the Hispanic-Latino community in the United States, less affected by their native country identity, and exerting a growing influence in the social, political, and cultural environment of the U.S.

#### 4. Language and Civilization

As suggested, the debate and concerns surrounding the survival of a language are difficult to separate from ideological influences. The preservation or extinction of a language, and its competition with others, is a fundamental issue in the destiny of political communities and their cultural identities. The proximity of these ideologies comes as no surprise. As suggested by Patricia Fernández-Kelly in her chapter in this volume, the struggle to maintain or develop the use of English and/or Spanish in the United States, also represents

a symbolic struggle for political power and the construction of cultural identity.

One of the most widespread ideological frameworks is the belief that the contemporary world is basically composed of political units, or nation states, whose limitations predominantly coincide with ethno-cultural unions, or nations, and with communities that share the same language. As has been skillfully argued by Lamo de Espinosa (2006), the similarities between nation states, nations, and languages are far from describing the reality of contemporary society. In regard to the similarity between nation states and nations, through the use of ethno-cultural world records, Lamo de Espinosa found that the vast majority of nation states are composed of more than one ethnic or national category, and are in effect plurinational states. In fact, towards the end of the last century, out of 189 observed nation states, 150 were made up of four or more ethnic groups.

The complexity of the states and languages comparison is even greater. The 2013 edition of *Ethnologue* (Lewis, Simmons and Fenig, 2013) reports even greater linguistic diversity, with more than seven thousand living languages in the world averaging less than one million speakers per language, and 30 languages within each nation state (Table 1.2). Only Europe, with an average of 6 languages per state, comes close to this alleged parity between state and language. The next continent in the descending order of linguistic dispersal, America, that ratio is as high as 20.

The averages in this case are certainly even more misleading than usual. The distribution of speakers by language is widely dispersed. Only 8 languages, 0.1 percent of the total, add up to more than 2,500 million speakers, 40 percent of the world po-

pulation; 77 other languages only comprise 1.1 percent of the total, adding up to nearly 2,400 million speakers and adding another 38 percent of the total speakers in the world. Around six thousand languages in the world have less than 100,000 speakers. Language status is also very unequal among this large set of languages. According to the scale provided by *Ethnologue*, only 6 languages reach international language status and another 94 achieve the status of national language. To qualify as a national language in this sense, the language must be commonly used in education, work, mass media, and politics in the nation state. The vast majority of the languages are not even widely used in regional or local contexts.

In any case, the belief in the predominance of monolingual nation states is very poorly founded. According to *Ethnologue*, the only two states in the world where one language is spoken are North Korea and the British Indian Ocean Territory, the archipelago that includes the island of Diego García (with only 3,500 habitants). All other countries in the world are multilingual to some degree, although the extent of some languages is very small, and have nearly extinct language status. You may find it interesting to remember the almost universal rule: the more developed the country, the more probability that the number of languages brought by immigrants (although a good part have fewer speakers), is greater than the number of indigenous languages (in total number of languages spoken in the country).

Another point of inquiry that accompanies the survival of Spanish among immigrants, has to do with the fact that they belong to one of the contemporary world's present civilizations, the hegemonic civilization of their region of origin. Therefore, Latin American civilization potentially differs from the civilization found at their destination country. This

Table 1.2  
*Distribution of the World's Living Languages by Continent*

CONTINENTS	STATES	LIVING LANGUAGES		NUMBER OF SPEAKERS			AVERAGE STATE LANGUAGES BY QTY	
		Mean	%	Mean	%	Mean	Median	
Africa	57	2,146	30.2	789,138,977	12.7	367,726	27,000	37.6
America	53	1,060	14.9	51,109,910	0.8	48,217	1,170	20.0
Asia	52	2,304	32.4	3,742,996,641	60.0	1,624,565	12,000	44.3
Europe	46	284	4.0	1,646,624,761	26.4	5,797,975	63,100	6.2
Pacific	25	1,311	18.5	6,551,278	0.1	4,997	950	52.4
<i>Total</i>	233	7,105	100.0	6,236,421,567	100.0	877,751	7,000	30.5

Source: Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig (eds.), 2013. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, 17th ed. Dallas, Texas, SIL International. Web Version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>



belief that the most defining sociocultural trait of a human group is the civilization, lends itself to the idea of a high propensity of a clash of civilizations, whether on the scale of re-making the global order (Huntington, 1996) or as a great challenge within a society (Huntington, 2004). In that vein, the Latin American region could represent a sub-civilization of Western civilization. In this case, civilization is understood as the wider cultural entity in which humans are grouped by components of subjective identity and common traits, including history, language, religion, customs, and institutions. The Spanish language could represent one of the basic components of this concept of civilization, and the driving force behind migration to destination societies—with members of the Latin American civilization taking their cultural heritage with them.

This conception of civilization and cultural diversity in the contemporary world has received serious criticism. However, this is not the place to review its critiques in great detail. Although not very popular in the field of science, this conception is quite widespread among the populations of receiving societies, and often finds its way into immigration policy. Without directly entering into the clash of civilizations debate, we briefly review the validity of this concept of civilization and in particular, the validity of the idea of a Latin American civilization.

Research on civilizations in the social sciences is carried out in three directions, which involve very different views surrounding this phenomenon (Giner, 2008). However, these perspectives should not be interchanged or confused with common beliefs and ideological frameworks. The first perspective refers to *the civilizing process*, a version that identifies with a social state, and that results in certain evolutionary

processes in which obedience to certain rules and rituals of coexistence allow for a «civilized» life. The civilizing process is understood as a historical trend of «refinement», and is present in various human societies. This process improves coexistence, and that drives the creation of a common culture.

The *structural* version of civilization is based on the recognition of a diverse group of societies, vast and complex, identifiable in human history after the Neolithic Period. The Sumerian, Egyptian, Greco-Roman, Chinese, Mayan, Aztec and modern European civilizations are the most well-known. They are composed of complex societies and tied to a system of beliefs and values by a political control center and by a set of specific institutions.

The third version of civilization focuses exclusively on the concept of *modernity*, dominant in today's contemporary society. From this perspective, modernity represents a *sui generis* civilization, that radically distances itself from all previous civilizations, and with different levels of deployment in contemporary societies. This is also probably the most controversial version, due to its Euro-centric and conservative bias. However, it still has an explanatory capacity, which is successfully demonstrated in research linked to the *World Values Survey*<sup>1</sup>, and its explanations of diversity and the dynamics of cultural change in the contemporary world (Diez Nicolas and Inglehart, 1994; Inglehart and Wenzel, 2005).

The existence of the Latin American culture variant in contemporary society is supported in the *World Values Survey*, which collected data for over thirty years in nearly one hun-

1. This study can be viewed at <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>. Spanish version: <http://www.jdsurvey.net/jds/jdsurvey.jsp>

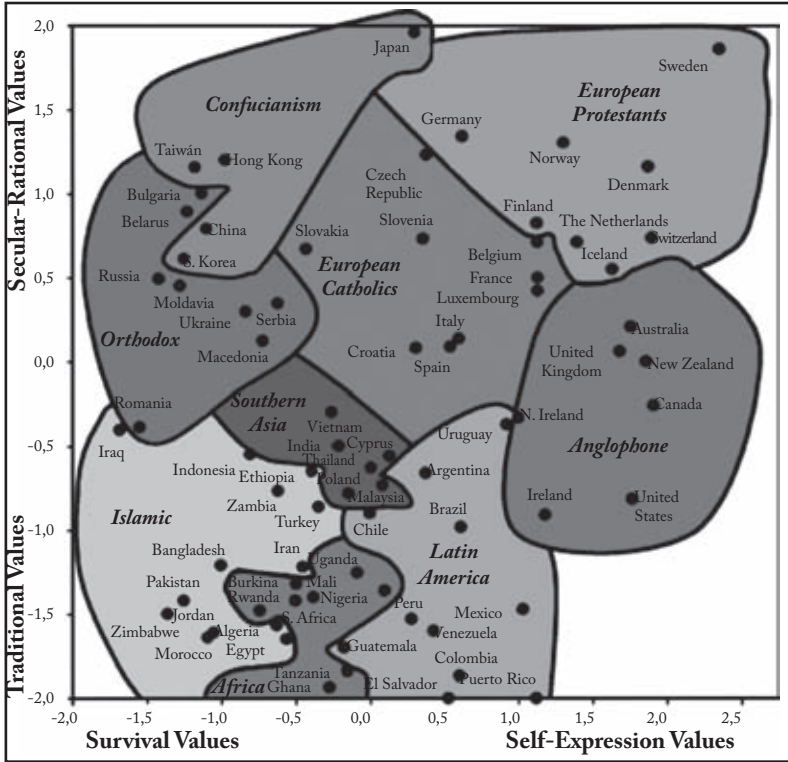
dred countries. A Latin American *cluster* appears on the world map of values. This *cluster* is composed of the majority of countries in the region connected by the Spanish language, perhaps not as a universal language, but as a dominant, hegemonic language (Figure 1.1).

However, the existence of this variation on a cultural map does not provide the evidence necessary to speak to the existence of a Latin American culture as a stable and homogeneous entity that embodies all the cultural dynamics associated with the linguistic behavior of migrants from this region. First, this is due to the fact that such calculations are the result of ordering all cultural variety around a focal point; traditional values against rational values, and survival values against values of self-expression. These calculations are inevitably simplified and should always be accepted as relative. Second, taking into account the relative value of the map, the proximity between some groups in the Latin American *cluster* and groups within the *cluster* of English speaking countries is evident; for example, there is a greater proximity between Mexico and the United States, than for example, Argentina and Colombia, two countries within the same *cluster*.

Third, because the map is not fixed or permanent. The *clusters* change over time, as can be seen in the comparison between this map and the previous wave of the study (1999-2004). The map serves as more of an approximation between Latin American and English cultural worlds.

At any rate, the most valuable insight that can be taken from these versions of civilizations is the inherent complexity of the phenomenon in itself. It is an error to simplify the concept of civilization down to one version or dimension. In

Figure 1.1  
*Cultural Map of the World According to the World Values Survey*



Source: Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, "Changing Mass Priorities: The Link Between Modernization and Democracy", *Perspectives on Politics*, June 2010, p. 554.

order to understand the relationships between groups belonging to different civilizations, you have to consider the fact that these relationships are not limited to possible competition or collision between themselves, nor to other processes that are unique to contact between civilizations in the structural sense, as in the case of acculturation or cultural mixing. There may also be dynamics that respond more or less to the

logic behind civilizing, in the sense of the construction of new forms of citizenship. As can be seen, there simultaneously exist dynamics of global dissemination or the globalizing of values and standards of modernity that are unique to Western civilization.

There is another argument that can be made. People who live together and are subject to these possible cultural dynamics, are not their own civilizations or cultural entities, but rather individuals and concrete social groups. It is they who act individually and collectively. They do so through their values and beliefs, and through their relative capacity to act. They are not objects that bear the burden of representing cultures, rather subjects that intend to maintain and construct multiple individual and collective identities. The loss, preservation, and even transformation of the mother tongue among the migration population, is not the result of the relationships between cultures, but rather the efforts of these groups to find better opportunities and give meaning to their lives in certain contexts. The chapters by Patricia Fernández-Kelly, Jorge Duany and Guillermo Grenier in this volume demonstrate how the same language can serve different strategies among Hispanic migration groups of different origins: Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban, respectively.

The works presented in this volume provide rich evidence of how these processes are effectively carried out. In no event will the idea of a clash of civilizations or cultures based on language be supported. Rather, the studies reveal that the preservation and transformation of a language is a complex phenomenon, with varying degrees of success for different groups of immigrants in a variety of locations. These results do not depend on the strength or integrity of the Latin American civili-

zation, but rather on a variety of factors. Among these factors are country of origin, historical context, quality of reception from the receiving society (how they are received by the host country), maintenance of transnational ties, and the value associated with integration into the destination society. They prove, for example, that monolingualism, the ultimate test of complete acculturation, as an individual or collective rule, is not in itself superior to bilingualism.

## 5. The Value of Language Skills for Immigrants

Let's return to the value of bilingualism. Linguistic competencies are influenced by personal experience in at least three different moments during the migration experience: in the selection of the target country, in the process of social integration into the host country, and in access to the job market in the new country. If considering the value that Spanish can have for the Latin American population is the objective, then the most interesting of the three is the third aspect.

However, first, let's review the first two points briefly. Regarding the first point, language of the host country constitutes one of the main criteria considered by the migrant before deciding his fate. A simple approximation of the migration decision suggests that this is the result of a balance between the net benefits—present and future—associated with displacement costs assumed by the migrant and his family. The migration decision becomes more probable when expected returns are higher, and costs of migration are lower (not only in regard to economic costs). Knowledge of the language of the host country is a factor that lowers the risks and reduces the costs associated with integration into the target market. International studies tend to confirm this assumption, by attribu-

ting higher migratory rates (with everything else unchanged) to the issuing countries that share the language of the host country. For example, in the case of the United States, belonging to an English-speaking country, disregarding everything else, doubled the U.S. immigration quota. (Hutton and Williamson, 2005). The case of Spain is not far from this. In line with one of the previous research studies on the subject, conclusions confirmed that the mastery of Spanish is one of the factors with the most weight in migratory flows to Spain, explaining the predominance of Latin Americans (Alonso and Gutierrez, 2010). Obviously, the language community is not the only element that should be taken into consideration when selecting a destination country. Other factors like the cost of access to the country, employment opportunities, integration possibilities, or prospects of upward social mobility are also part of the decision-making process. This explains the diversity of linguistic communities that contribute to migratory flows to the same country (again, the United States can be an example of this). However, the above reasoning is useful because it suggests that the existence of large groups of Spanish speakers in the United States serves as an incentive for new Latin American migrants in search of a common language environment to join this collective, adding a cumulative dynamic to the process (Massey et al. 1994).

The basis of the discussion in the preceding paragraph has implications for the field of immigration policy. If the language community increases the immigration rate, it is because mastery of the country's target language reduces the costs that immigrants face in their installation in the new environment. Similarly, it can also be presumed that the costs of social integration to the host country will be lower for those migrants who know and speak the language of the country. This relationship has been proven in empirical studies. Some countries even incorpo-

rate mastery of their own language as a criterion for immigration. Others have implemented publicly-funded training programs to encourage language proficiency among immigrants in order to facilitate the integration process. The case of Spain confirms this relationship, revealing that, to some degree, integration is higher for those who have mastery of the Spanish language (Alonso and Gutiérrez, 2010). However, the relationship is not very strong, and is more evident in the case of immigrants that do not speak Spanish as a first language, but have learned Spanish and speak it well. The positive influence of Spanish language ability on labor achievements is more visible (employment and salary) than for social integration, particularly in the early immigration stage. This stage in the immigration process is characterized by high levels of occupational segregation and scarce opportunities for upward labor mobility. This clearly shows that the influence of common linguistic capital is reflected more in labor integration than in other dimensions of social integration, and that, together, they reflect the predominance of an assimilation pattern.

Finally, mastery of the local language also has an effect on access and economic return in the labor market of the host country. The majority of this literature has focused on the immigrant population in the United States and their knowledge of English. A widely remarked work is that by Bloom and Grenier (1996), documenting the difference in income between Spanish speakers and English speakers in the U.S. These differences are attributable in part to language, and also due to formative training gaps. Recently, Mora and Dávila (2006a) suggested that this «penalty» for not knowing English—technically for *limited use* of the language—among male Hispanic immigrants in the United States, has declined over time, between 1980 and 2000. The differences are less clear is when they take into account the experience of women, and distinguish by



country of origin (Mora and Dávila, 2006b). In any case, the literature reveals, in a particularly consistent way, that since the early 1970's, the «penalty» among immigrants in the United States for not knowing English, rarely falls below a 15% differential in wages. The «penalties» also appear to depend on country of origin (higher for Hispanics), language proficiency, and personal characteristics like education level or gender (Gutiérrez, 2007).

This relationship does not only exist in the United States. Leslie and Lindley (2001), and Dustmann and Fabbri (2003) examined wage differentials according to language among the immigrant population in the United Kingdom. Dustmann (1994) undertook a similar study in Germany; Chiswick and Miller (2003) in Canada; and, finally, Chiswick and Miller (2005) undertook a composite immigration study of four countries (Australia, United States, Canada and Israel). Almost without exception—only a few studies in Norway and Japan—there was a direct correlation between linguistic knowledge and salary and employment. «With all other factors equal, it can be said that immigrants who are able to express themselves, who are capable of writing and understanding the language of the host country, will receive a salary at least 10 percent higher than those who lack these skills» (OECD, 2003). This does not mean that other differences do not come into play, for example, gender, education level, or country of origin. The case in Spain is not much different. Comparisons of average monthly income among the immigrant population show that differences can reach up to 30 percent more favorable for those who speak Spanish well (Alonso and Gutiérrez, 2010). Overall, the results obtained allow us to conclude that mastery of the Spanish language, in addition to other components of human capital, constitutes a significant resource in the labor market for immigrants in Spain.

Keeping the strength of this relationship in mind, it does not seem reasonable to defend the native language by limiting exposure to the language of the host country. A strategy like this would not only be ineffective, but also highly expensive. Ineffective, because immigrants require the local language for work relationships, in addition to their adequate socialization in the host country. Pressure brought to bear by the media, and the social and work environment will end up imposing the usefulness of having a reasonable mastery of the host language. Delaying this process will only result in increased costs for the migrant community, in terms of lost employment opportunities, lower income, and greater difficulty for professional promotion and social mobility.

Therefore, the most useful recommendation that can be made for the Hispanic immigrant community in the United States is to learn English as soon as possible, facilitating their transition into the social and labor market in the best possible conditions. Now, if only this could be possible without the progressive loss of the native language for the immigrant and their descendants. In the end, the immigrant suffers two central occurrences that have been reproduced for many years in the history of language extinction: a change in his/her relationship to the language community of their country of origin, and an interruption of intergenerational language transmission, in both the school and the family (Monteagudo, 2009). The first experience is a consequence of abandoning their country of origin for an environment where the dominant language is different from their own. The second, is the result of the formal and informal education of their children and subsequent generations in the language of the host country.

There are two circumstances that can mitigate the effects of both processes. In the first place, when the social environment

of the host country appreciates and rewards the immigrant's native language linguistic skills; and second place, when the immigrant maintains communication and interaction with his home community, as well as with fellow immigrants living in the host country. In the first case, when value is given to the first language, its preservation is promoted; in the second case, it produces an expansion of those areas or communicative contexts where the language is operational or functional, giving value, therefore, to its preservation. Both situations warrant further discussion.

The first is produced when the market of the host country appreciates the immigrant's bilingualism—their simultaneous mastery of the language of origin and the language of the host country. Full mastery of both languages—in the case of Hispanic groups in the United States, Spanish and English—often results in easier access to work prospects and a higher salary. For this to happen, communications in Spanish are usually relevant to business. For example: if a company has subsidiaries in Spanish-speaking countries, when part of its workforce speaks Spanish, when its production is aimed at the Hispanic market, or when they make business transactions with companies in Spanish-speaking markets.

The study presented by de la Garza, Cortina and Pinto in the Telefónica Foundation Project (Alonso and Gutierrez, 2010: 229-286), explores this aspect more precisely, analyzing the economic benefits of bilingualism among Hispanics in the United States. Taken from the year 2000 census data, their results confirm that in the sample as a whole, bilingualism—understood as the full simultaneous mastery of Spanish and English—is rewarded with higher incomes. However, the effect is relatively small. In addition, they found that bilingualism is not necessarily rewarded in all occupational categories

in the labor market. For example, the results point to a negative correlation between bilingualism and salary for workers in supervisory roles in the industrial sector, and also for those who work in the public sector.

The edge provided to companies for hiring bilingual workers, fluent in English and Spanish, should be, in itself, of sufficient value to compensate language status if it is negative. For example, since the year 2000, studies of the Hispanic labor market in the United States have revealed that knowledge of Spanish (in addition to English), is far from regarded as an asset. On the contrary, it resulted in lower wages. That is, the potential benefits of hiring bilingual employees for businesses was so small that it did not compensate for the negative status associated with the Spanish language, in addition to the status typically associated with the Hispanic immigrant (in terms of training, labor discipline, and social integration, among others). It is important to note that, since then, this is beginning to change. Knowledge of Spanish (in addition to English) is increasingly becoming associated with premium wages in a number of sectors (Alonso and Gutiérrez, 2010).

What has motivated this change? There is no clear answer. However, there are two variables that may have led to this result. Specifically, it is very possible that firms in the United States have taken a greater interest in the Latin American market. This takes into account the progress experienced by Latin American economies in the last three decades and the emergence of Latin American firms with international projection, all translating into an increase in the profitability of bilingualism. It is also quite probable that the status associated with the Spanish language has also improved, primarily as the result of the economic and social progress of Hispanic professionals in the United States and their growing influence in public life.

In short, in order to preserve the use of Spanish among the Latin American immigrant community in the United States, one sure way to do this is by ensuring that the U.S. labor market appreciates these language skills. This in turn, provides easier access to jobs. To achieve this result, in the first place, you will need to activate an economic relationship between the host country and the country of origin, and also promote the growth of the Hispanic market within the United States. Again, the advancement of Hispanic groups and the economic projection of Spanish-speaking countries will be the best guarantee that these relationships are solidified, and through them, they will encourage an appreciation of the mastery of Spanish. However, improving the status of the language can also influence this result. This is achieved not only by the social progress of the immigrant community, but also by their projected image to society.

It has been pointed out that a way to bolster the preservation of a language is if the labor market of the destination country values bilingualism. Another way, not necessarily compatible with the previous suggestion, is if the immigrant community's vitality and capacity of projection expands the social and communicative contexts that require the use of Spanish, bringing with it a rise in the value associated with its use. This sense of value depends crucially on the role that Spanish has in the immigrants' communicative interactions and on its function as a status and identity marker. Both aspects are relevant. The usefulness of Spanish increases, first, if the immigrant community maintains extensive communication both among themselves, and among members of their country of origin. For example, this possibility increases if they have access to Spanish media in the host country (radios, television, or newspapers). As presented by Tomás López-Pumarejo in his chapter in this volume, in the case of Hispanic immigrants in

the United States, the existence of Spanish mass media (particularly radio and television) is a significant factor in the preservation of the language. This is also encouraged through the promotion of their own organizational structures, social gatherings, common support services, and celebration of cultural events. The strength of the extended family among Hispanic immigrant communities, and loyalty to certain cultural traditions, also promotes these forms of socialization in Spanish in the host country. This objective can be reached by maintaining a relationship between the diaspora community and the home country either by frequent visits home or by maintaining ongoing ties with family members. In this case, Hispanic immigrants in the United States have an advantage because of the physical proximity between countries, and the comprehensive communicative networks among them.

In fact, ties between the home country and the diaspora community are powerful forms of transnational social capital. Through them, the immigrant community maintains permanent access to communication processes, largely conducted in Spanish. These processes are also markedly stimulated by new communication means, lower travel fares and the creation of all kinds of business enterprises (in the areas of communication, transportation, nostalgic trade, remittance transfers, etc.) associated with the bonds between the community of origin and the destination country.

In second place, another means of preserving the use of Spanish is to strengthen its role as an identity marker, or as a marker of status, allowing for a sense of identity and self-assertion into the diaspora community. This is bound to encourage relationships between members of the diaspora group, preferably through shared cultural manifestations, and the dissemination of community achievements attained by its most outstan-

ding members or by the home countries. In this regard, the progress of Latin American community members in the United States, reaching high State offices, senior positions in major companies, or renown in the arts, is an excellent way to advance the language. Spanish will be transmitted in this way if it provides not only a sense of identity, but also a positive reputation. Again, this idea cannot be separated from the content presented in preceding paragraphs: the value of a society's language depends heavily on its economic, political, scientific, and cultural vitality.

## 6. Structure of the Book

This book studies and discusses the main dynamics in the preservation of Spanish as a living language among the Hispanic community residing in the United States. To reiterate, it is a complex issue, influenced by multiple conditioning factors and divided by contradictory opinions and perspectives, even among those who are affected by it. The book takes shape in the following manner: the chapters adopt a variety of perspectives and nuances that enrich the overall result. In this volume, strict judgments should not be expected, nor should clear prescriptions. All the participating authors acknowledge that the potential bilingualism of the Hispanic communities is indeed an asset, and that a lack of awareness of such potential poses a definite threat to this possibility.

In the chapter following this introduction, Carlos G. Vélez-Ibáñez, starts by vindicating Spanish as an original language of a fraction of the U.S. population and of the territories that now constitute the United States. Focusing his work on the southwestern United States, he places Spanish within a historical framework, documenting the vitality of Spanish in

affected states, particularly in New Mexico and Arizona. The future prospects of the Spanish language are, in turn, framed within contradictory trends: one highly refractory, fueled by more or less express racist premises; and another, more integrating trend, that seems to be gaining ground, albeit in an sketchy manner, in current American society.

In Chapter 3, Carlos Ovando focuses on the role of bilingual programs in the United States, and the reasons behind their most recent suppression. With extensive research, the chapter reveals that, although they could be improved, the defenders of these programs were essentially correct in the claim that education should draw from the cultural wealth of the Hispanic population. The debate surrounding bilingualism allows him to examine the multilingual nature of American society, the current situation of Spanish in the world and in the United States, the effects of intense Latin American migration processes and their alleged impact on the hegemony of English and the Anglo-Saxon way of life in the country.

In Chapter 4, Patricia Fernández-Kelly completes a comprehensive analysis of the migratory processes of Hispanics in the United States. The chapter goes into an in-depth analysis of the diverse and dynamic processes of social integration among second and third-generation immigrants, including the use of the native language, Spanish, as a significant resource that comes into play in strategies of social interaction. Although the chapter speaks to the Hispanic world as a whole, it particularly focuses on the study of Mexican migrants.

In Chapter 5, Jorge Duany studies the role of Spanish among Puerto Ricans in the commonwealth, in addition to those that live in other areas of the United States. Puerto Rico provides a clear case of Spanish preservation, where the lan-



guage is a stronghold of the collective identity. The future of the language seems to resist the progressive rise of English on the island quite well, but there are also worrisome trends that should be taken into consideration by those in power if they want to preserve this linguistic asset. The situation of Spanish among Puerto Rican immigrants in the United States is, however, more complex. Age and educational level are key elements to linguistic segmentation in this group.

As analyzed by Guillermo Grenier in Chapter 6, Spanish still clearly forms a part of the collective culture—in this case, enclave culture—of Cuban immigrants. This chapter examines exile ideology, like the one built by the Cuban enclave in Miami-Dade, and discusses the role of Spanish in this environment. In the enclave context, which has also facilitated upward social mobility, Spanish has been consistently preserved as the language of social interaction (and not just private). However, the public success of some members of this group, who have simultaneously mastered English and Spanish, is a reference of interest for the improvement of the Spanish language status beyond the confines of the enclave.

In Chapter 7, Rodolfo de la Garza weighs the possibilities of preserving Spanish, through an analysis of the language skills of successive generations of Hispanic immigrants. The author considers the consistency of migratory flows as key in the persistence of Spanish in the past, and associates the challenge of the language's future sustainability with getting Spanish to become more than just a language of immigrants with little formal education.

One of the most significant effects of the cultural and social vitality of Hispanic groups in the United States has been the rise of *Spanglish*, a language of mixed origin that has trans-

cended both colloquial spaces and creative literature. In Chapter 8, Ilan Stavans makes a case for the potential that lies within this linguistic creation, placing it in a context of changing and complex integration processes among immigrants on American soil.

Finally, the book concludes with Tomás López Pumarejo's chapter dedicated to the role of the Spanish media in the survival of not only the language, but also the Hispanic community's identity in the United States. The presence and diffusion of Spanish mass media provides a unique and valuable factor to Hispanic identity, among which language is very prominent.

The issues addressed in this book do not exhaust the possibilities for analysis regarding the persistence of Spanish in the United States. However, they are a clear indication of the unique character, analytical wealth, and interest of this volume. This issue is undoubtedly of extraordinary importance, not only for Hispanic groups in the United States, but also for the future of Spanish as an international language.

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## CHAPTER 2

# SPANISH LITERACY AND LANGUAGE IN THE SOUTHWEST UNITED STATES: HEGEMONIC LANGUAGE POLITICS FROM THE COLONIAL PERIOD TO THE PRESENT

*Carlos G. Vélez-Ibáñez*

### 1. Introduction

The Southwest United States is in reality a part of a much larger region of Southwest North America including the Northern Mexican area.<sup>1</sup> This area covers politically the five U.S. states and six northern Mexican states, shares a common ecology of deserts, valleys, rivers, mountain ranges, and flora and fauna, an interdependent albeit asymmetrical political economy, cultural populations including indigenous populations as well as the offspring of European populations variously known as *Españoles Mexicanos* during the colonial area and Mexicanos during the national era

1. Southwest North America excludes Mesoamerica which is roughly central Mexico and parts of Central America south from southern Sinaloa west to Leon, Guanajuato and including Tampico, Tampaluipas. Therefore Southwest North America would include the northern Mexican states and southwestern United States including southern California.

and to the present depending on which side of the border is being referred to. These commonalities, however, are markedly differentiated by national border demarcations created by war and treaty with new designations on the U.S. side such as Mexican Americans post Mexican Revolution, Chicanos during and after the civil rights movement in the U.S., and various sundry other categories, and Mexican-origin which is the preference used here of those either born in Mexico or the U.S.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, these labels do not explain the manner in which language policy emerged in relation to post Mexican American War generations.

Crucial historical events must be explored in order to understand the long struggle of Mexican-origin populations to maintain language and literacy in Spanish in light of a constant process of linguistic repression by an entering national state and the manner in which this process evolved with both contradictions and adaptations by the subject population. This is the central theme of this work. While the imposition of language and culture by conquering nations and empires is the mode in the Americas from the Spanish and British empires forward, in the United States this imposition has had and continues to have ramifications that extend to the present among Mexican-origin populations from the progeny of the early Spanish and Mexican periods to those that today cross the present U.S. Mexican border.

## 2. Historical Junctures of Empires and National States

Both the Spanish and English empires in different ways but almost simultaneously entered what became the continental

2. See Carlos Velez-Ibanez (1996) *Border Visions: the Cultures of Mexicans of the Southwest United States*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, especially the Introduction, pp 5-9.

United States. Without a long historical rendition suffice it to state that the Spanish Empire after a period of intense explorations expanded from south to north: i.e. from both the island of Cuba and from Mesoamerica into Florida in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and secondly, from newly conquered central Mexico to New Mexico founding San Gabriel, New Mexico in 1598 and Santa Fe in 1609. Almost simultaneously, to the eastern shores of the continental United States, surrogates of the British Empire in the form of chartered corporations as well as religious groups founded one of the first: Jamestown, Virginia in 1607 by the Virginia Company of London.<sup>3</sup>

The central point to be made is that there are two early histories of exploration, expansion, settlement, and political hegemony established by two empires: one from south to north and the other from east to west and thus their constituent populations represent different cultural and linguistic populations. So that for some two hundred years both empires established their cultural, linguistic, political, social, economic, and imperial mega-scripts over the territories and people they conquered and claimed.<sup>4</sup> In both empires, literacy and language came to be one of the hegemonic forms of reporting and for the Spanish empire

3. See, «Greater Southwest North America: A Region of Historical Integration, Disjunction, and Imposition,» Carlos G. Vélez-Ibáñez with Dirk Hoerder, *Migrants and Migration in Modern North America: Cross-Border Lives, Labor Markets, and Politics in Canada, the Caribbean, Mexico, and the United States*, Dirk Hoerder and Nora Faires (eds), Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

4. See Carlos G. Velez-Ibanez (2010) *An Impossible Living in a Transborder World: Culture, Confianza, and Economy of Mexican-Origin Populations*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press. See specially Chapter 3 which defines megascripts as broad cultural dictums promulgated and defined by national and supranational institutions of such rationales and behaviors like «the melting pot,» «citizenship,» «achievement,» «success,» «loyalty,» «nationhood,» and others that are reinforced by celebratory rituals like the 20<sup>th</sup> of September in Mexico and the 4<sup>th</sup> of July in the United States.



proselytizing religious ideology, communicating, and establishing rationalized political dominance, and economic control over native persons. Many times using religious scripts of various sorts including biblical, sacramental, and dogmatic treatises to justify their imposition and to various degrees «save» indigenous people for Roman Catholicism —the Spanish empire's central means of linguistically and culturally affecting native populations was the mission and its multiple educational means together with military and civil expansion.<sup>5</sup> In fact the cross, the gun, and the pen became the central means of Spanish expansion leading to colonization and «cultural bumping.»<sup>6</sup>

For the British Empire, religion was not the central means of expansion but rather its almost autonomous colonies came to control native spaces through a combination of aggressive land speculation and agricultural expansion leading to such schemes as plantation economies supported by African slavery. In this manner, even the British Imperial regime had difficulties controlling their voracious colonists entering Native lands and even created a proclamation that specifically forbade such expansion establishing colonial boundaries through the Royal Proclamation of 1763.<sup>7</sup> Thirteen years later these same expansionist colonialists broke out of these constraints by revolution. Thus from the beginning of the establishment of the colonial regime and soon after in the American national period, spatial expansion was characterized by chains of broken treaties and intrusive trade which were the central mechanisms of linguistic and cultural hegemony over native peoples.

5. Edward H. Spicer (1962) *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest: 1533-1960*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

6. Carlos Velez-Ibanez (1996 5-9).

7. *The Royal Proclamation of 1763*, <http://www.edu-blocks.com/doi/lesson/royalproc.asp>

### 3. Spanish Literacy and Language Development in the Southwest North American Region

Spanish Literacy to the Southwest North American Region of course follows the expansion of the Spanish empire into the region from 1540 through 1821 and during the Mexican period on the U.S. portion of the region to 1853 and thereafter carried by the movement of populations crossing the newly established border— all from south to north.

Written Spanish during the colonial empire had myriad functions not the least of which was the central means of transatlantic communication to the crown relating civic, religious, and military information as to the status of its various regions, political units, missions, and military forces. Literally thousands of letters, journals, reports, complaints, and accounts were written during the colonial and later during the Mexican period. The Documentary Relations of the Southwest holdings of the Arizona State Museum of the University of Arizona number over 100,000 Spanish and Mexican colonial documents largely in microfilm gleaned from multiple sources and collections.<sup>8</sup>

#### 3.1. Literacy Levels

These materials provide invaluable clues as to the state of literacy for the colonial period but not by the usual measures of the availability of educational institutions that would have provided the means by which literate Spanish could be learned but rather by mostly indirect and in part directly by such means as

8. Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, S.J., (1986: i-iii), *The Presidio and Militia on the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1570-1700*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

published journals, diaries, autobiographies, travel narratives, epic poetry and religious tracts. These will be discussed briefly but also by an indirect method of analyzing documents signed by a universe of persons who consistently had to confirm their official status such as the mustering rolls of presidial soldiers. This can be very useful in determining how literacy was distributed consistently since such rolls indicate who was able to sign and those who used surrogates to confirm their status. This method provides some validity to levels of literacy and is supported by a number of recent works and especially so in such uncertain colonial conditions such as in the Southwest North American region.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, for example for the new Spanish presidio of Cerro-gordo, Chihuahua in 1646, the recruitment and enlistment rolls show that 1/3 of those enlisting were able to sign their enlistment papers while 2/3 were evidently illiterate who could not and marked their agreement by a cross or had the enlistment officer sign for him such as in the following example.<sup>10</sup>

«In the Pueblo of Tizonazo on August 19, 1646, Pedro Raymundo enlisted. He was the son of Pedro Raymundo, a native of Santiago, twenty years of age, slender, black-haired, and tall. He did not sign as he did not know how. Witnesses are the above mentioned which I swear.

Don Luis de Valdes. Juan de Herrera, sargento mayor of the guard.»<sup>11</sup>

9. Bernardo P. Gallegos, (1992) *Literacy, Education and Society in New Mexico: 1693-1821*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

10. Thomas H. Naylor and Charles W. Polzer, S.J., (1986: 354-361).

11. Naylor and Polzer, 356.

As well, there were those who were impressed rather than recruited and who were literate as well as the following entry shows.

«In the mining camp of San Juan de Inde on October 17, 1646, Julian de Samudio, a native of San Sebastian, appeared before me, the governor, for the crime of murder. He had been sentenced to three years of personal service without pay in the presidio. His lordship accepted him as a recruit and commuted the sentence of banishment and service without pay to only one year from this date, and he signed his name.»

Thus using this common measure of literacy through the analysis of signatures or their absence in colonial periods where few educational resources were available has been fruitfully used in the work of Gallegos (1992). He analyzed 424 men between 1732 and 1820 who enlisted in military service in New Mexico and found 1/3 were literate and 2/3 were not which seem to match the work by Naylor and Polzer of their analysis of the Cerrogrado enlistees.<sup>12</sup>

However, as Gallegos (51-53) shows there is also the high probability that the 1/3 literacy rate was also overrepresented by certain occupations and places of residence so that in the New Mexico case, artisans who made up 16.2 percent of the enlistees only 27.3 per cent were literate while 36.9 percent of agricultural workers were literate. As well, those enlistees from outside of New Mexico had the highest rates of literacy of 78.9 percent while those from Santa Fe which were the largest number in this sample (76%) had a literacy rate of 36.4 percent and those from the rural areas of only 15.6 per-

12. Gallegos 1992: 51-53.

cent. Thus the relationship between those literate from other than New Mexico is indicative of the paucity of educational institutions in New Mexico while a similar relationships may be assumed between Santa Fe and the rural areas of New Mexico.

As Gallegos (53) points out, if there «was not a consistent drive for schooling throughout the period, the rate of literacy is not remarkably low.» Thus if a comparison is made between the eastern English colonial context rates of literacy are strongly skewed in favor of English literacy according to Kenneth Lockridge's work *Literacy in Colonial New England* and showed «that among white New England men, about 60 percent of the population was literate between 1650 and 1670, 85 percent between 1758 and 1762, and to 90 percent between 1787 and 1795. In cities such as Boston, the rate had come close to 100 percent by century's end.»<sup>13</sup>

However, this is somewhat misleading since in fact the differences between New England with its English bible, liturgical publications, and schooling did not have the Spanish disadvantage of using Latin in all liturgical rituals with the bible not being an especially important reference for study. As well, the differences between New England with its strong commercial institutions in the hands of tradesmen and businesses and those of the rural south where plantation agriculture reigned with its system of slavery which was not conducive in the creation of schools except for the «white» population and the differences in literacy between the New England region and the South were quite different with the latter approaching literacy rates of those of Spanish Mexican

13. Jack Lynch, (2011) «Every Man Ready to Read: Literacy in Colonial America,» *CW Journal : Winter* <http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/winter11/literacy.cfm#content>

North America. Thus in the colony of Virginia approximately 40% of the population were slaves so that claims of high literacy rates in reality were those of white men. At the same time, girls and women although having a higher literacy rate than their counterparts in the Spanish colonial regions, the literacy rates of New England for women in the early to middle 17<sup>th</sup> century have to be tempered at least to 31 percent.<sup>14</sup> The statistics of literacy among women in the Spanish colonies is uncertain but the best estimate for literacy among women at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Spain was 13.46 mostly learned in convent settings.<sup>15</sup> Given the paucity of convents especially in the Southwest North American region the percentage of literacy of colonial women in the region might have been considerably less in the same time period.

Yet most recently, Madrid (2012: 54) states that «literacy was of major concern to both civil and religious authorities. . .» and that religious instructional doctrine led the formation of school curriculum for both the indigenous and Spanish Mexican populations. In addition tradesmen were required to be literate and its apprenticeship system including blacksmiths required literacy as a condition of training. Nevertheless as Madrid correctly points out that «Historians document the paucity of books, as well as the caution exercised by owners of books, given the presence of the Office of Inquisition» (55). Yet there is one other intervening variable of complication and that is that «conversos» or judiziantes who were either forced converts from Judaism or continued believers despite the Inquisition, themselves were highly literate and in the seven-

14. Ibid.

15. Jaques Soubeyroux (1993:167) *Lieux dits : recherches sur l'espace dans les textes ibériques, XVIe-XXe siècles*, Saint-Etienne: Publication de l'Université de Saint-Etienne.

teenth century, all of the male conversos were literate and half of the women as well.<sup>16</sup>

### 3.2. Early Spanish and Mexican Letters

Nevertheless, despite the lack of educational institutions for the general populace in the Spanish colonial empire as Meléndez and Lomeli (2012:i) shows «letters, memoirs, accounts, pamphlets, diaries, folklore, *coloquios* (dramatic skits) *corridos* (ballads) *canciones* (songs), *relaciones* (narrations), and chronicles» were in the thousands so that it illustrates a «literary tradition worthy of serious consideration.»<sup>17</sup> They point out that among these colonial works a number stand out that range from remarkable memoirs to literary epic poems. Among the first is Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca's, *Relaciones* (1542) which is the memoir and travel narrative of his and his companion's trek on foot between 1528 and 1536 through Southwest North American and then followed by Gaspar Perez de Villagra's *Historia de la Nueva Mexicana* (1610) epic poem which relates the bloody and awful conquest of the Acoma in 1599 and antedates John Smith's *History of Virginia*. Among the early chronicles that Meléndez and Lomeli (2012: iii) point out include Pedro de Castañeda's *Relación de la jornada de Cibola, poblados, ritos y costumbres* (1596), Padre Gerónimo de Zarate Salmerón *Relaciones de todas las cosas en el Nuevo México se han visto y sabido de 1538 hasta 1626 [1638]*. Many others would also include chronicles, letters, and journals such as the «Reconquista» materials by Diego de Vargas between 1675 and 1706 and collected in the two vol-

16. Nathan Wachtel, (2007) *La Fe del Recuerdo: Laberintos marranos*, Translated by Sandra Garzonio, Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Economica: 22-23.

17. A. Gabriel Meléndez and Francisco Lomeli, (2012) *The Writings of Eusebio Chacon*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

ume works by Kessell and others.<sup>18</sup> When literally thousands of exploratory reports, annual inspections, letters, and church documents are added to these early works, then Spanish written production in the colonial period served as the major means of communications for most matters civil, political, economic, social, cultural and literary.

#### 4. Changing and New Clashing Regimes: The Mexican and American Republics

Into the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries both empires gave up their control and turned over their territories to their respective national independent movements: one American and the other Mexican but 48 years apart, 1783 and 1821. The new U.S. and Mexican republics continued the colonial pattern of expansion and control from east to west by the U.S. and the Mexico from south to north.

Without delving into the various territorial exchanges, purchases, and conquests, suffice it to say that the national periods ushered in great expansion by the newly founded United States and periods of continued self-protection against American encroachment by the Spanish colonial government for thirty-eight years until Mexican Independence in 1821. In this manner, the United States continued the same pattern and mechanisms of expansion used by former colonies from east to west, and for the Republic of Mexico continued attempts at

18. John L. Kessell, Rick Hendricks, Meredith D. Dodge, Larry D. Miller, and Eleanor B. Adams, (1989) eds., *Remote beyond Compare: Letters of don Diego de Vargas to His Family from New Spain and New Mexico, 1675–1706*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press ; and John L. Kessell and Rick Hendricks, (1992) eds; *By Force of Arms: The Journals of don Diego de Vargas, New Mexico, 1691–93*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico,.



peopling former Spanish territories gained by Mexican independence in order to protect its territories from U.S. encroachment from south to north except for those American colonists that were invited by the Mexican government. These were recruited to colonize Texas with explicit conditions in which they were required to become Mexican citizens, convert to Catholicism, and forbade the importation of slaves —requirements— mostly ignored.<sup>19</sup> Thus the first illegal aliens in Texas were unconverted Protestants, U.S. citizens, and an increasing number of slave holders.<sup>20</sup>

Only fourteen years after the Mexican Independence in 1821, the successful secession of Texas in 1835 was fostered by and largely supported by the new American nation, slavers, and Anglo settlers who led the revolt and considered themselves American rather than Mexican colonists as reflected by their refusal to abide by Mexican laws. Ten years after this revolt Texas was incorporated as a slave state into the American Republic in 1845. This became the genesis of what came to be known as the «War of Intervention» by Mexicans and the «Mexican War» by Americans which then resulted in the loss of the rest of the southwestern Mexican territory and its populations by 1847. Except for a small strip of southern Arizona

19. Spanish colonial government provided very limited colonists rights to those from the U.S. while Mexico encouraged American colonists with certain restrictions: acquiring Mexican citizenship, converting to Roman Catholicism, and forbidding slavery. These were more followed in the breach than in reality and most remained English-speaking, protestant, and in the eastern part of Texas, establishing plantation economies based on African slaves.

20. By 1850, 58,000 were enslaved, and by 1860, 182,000—30 percent of the Texas population according to W. Marvin Dulaney, «AFRICAN AMERICANS,» *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/pkaan>), accessed July 04, 2012. Published by the Texas State Historical Association. By 1865, 34 percent of the Texas population were African slaves. See Andrew J. Torget (2007-2008) *The Texas Slavery Project*, <http://www.texasslaveryproject.org/about/>.

and New Mexico which was purchased at the point of a gun in 1853,<sup>21</sup> half of the Mexican nation and its population became forcibly inserted into the United States through revolt and war.

However, such political changes did not prevent Mexican cross border movement from south to north and with it their linguistic and cultural skills and practices. These continued migrations were in fact stimulated by newly organized industrial methods of production in mining, agriculture, ranching, construction, and the important expansion of the railroad to eastern markets. So therefore Mexican migration due to labor needs became a structural feature of regional production and with it the continued and periodic expansion of Spanish through the 19<sup>th</sup> century and for the next 162 years. As well, political events such as the French Intervention in 1862 drove thousands of Mexicans north and between 1900 and 1930 over a million also fled as well due to revolution, economic changes in agricultural production in Mexico, and economic depression and with it these processes so too expanded Spanish literacy and language the former as will be seen especially through newspapers.

## 5. Political Process and the Naturalization of English: the case of Arizona and New Mexico<sup>22</sup>

After 1848 and the loss of Mexican territory, English language dominance north of the new border now dividing the Republic

21. Velez-Ibanez (1996:287-288). See Note 53 which provides the explanation of the manner in which a new war would be declared by the United States unless Mexico accepted its terms and which forced the so-called Gadsden Purchase of the southern parts of New Mexico and Arizona in 1853.

22. David V. Holtby (2008), Center for Regional Studies, University of New Mexico University Libraries, Albuquerque. <http://hdl.handle.net/1928/6711>.

of Mexico and the United States was established incrementally in some cases and forcefully in others. Yet, once the border region is established two contending dynamic processes became established: the first the practice of establishing English as the hegemonic language without any legal precedent in the 19<sup>th</sup> century; and second, the continued movement of Mexicans to former Mexican territories due to changes in the structure of economy of the Southwest Border Region as well as intensive networks of relations that crisscrossed the border: economic and kinship.

While newly imposed political control required that those Mexicans remaining in conquered territory were afforded the same protections as citizens, there is no provision in any treaty that such a choice required neither the erasure of Spanish nor the learning of the English language. Yet, except for New Mexico, all conquered or annexed territories eventually either under state or territorial control demanded that all of its residents learn to read and speak English to the detriment of local cultural and linguistic capital. Thus, English became naturalized as the only means of acceptable communication in the newly acquired territories so anyone crossing the newly imposed border also came under the aegis of mostly one language preferences. Although to different degrees even Anglos became Mexicanized especially in the work place where they learned Spanish or married Mexican women, the advent of the railroad in 1880 transported Anglo women from the Midwest and east coast so that intermarriage between mostly Mexican women and Anglo men decreased by more than fifty percent and afterwards English became sealed as the hegemonic language through Anglo-only marriages.<sup>23</sup>

23. Velez-Ibanez (1996: 68) Between 1870-1890, 23 percent of all marriages were Anglo-Mexican which dropped to 9.1 percent 1900-1910. See Thomas R. Sheridan (1986) *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854-1942*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press for the original source.

As examples, Arizona and New Mexico provide the specific ways by which this was accomplished. First, public schools for example, in Arizona emphasized English to the detriment of Spanish in all forms. English instruction became the single most important means by which both native indigenous peoples and Spanish speaking Mexicans in this new political regime were made to «Americanize» i.e. to accept the eastern educational prism appropriate for immigrants migrating from Europe to the eastern seaboard. This prism includes a kind of meta-script based on the notion of «founding fathers» who espoused a variety of political positions based on the enlightenment but which excluded slaves, conquered indigenous populations, and to a lesser degree, Mexican populations of the new country. This meta-script espousing equality did not extend to language and culture even though no treaty with either native persons or Mexicans excluded their right to maintain their own language or even demanded by treaty that English would be the only means of legitimate communication. Thus no such requirement is postulated or demanded in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) or the Treaty of the Mesilla (1853) and these in fact guarantee the same constitutional rights as American citizens who came to inhabit the region.

As well, Arizona was founded on the premise that the New Mexico territory of which it was a part until statehood in 1912 was demographically and culturally «unbalanced» in favor of New Mexicans. When the U.S. Congress sought to give statehood status to the New Mexico Territory which included the Territory of Arizona a protest by the Arizona Territorial Legislature in 1906 stated that this «would subject us to the domination of another commonwealth of different traditions, customs, and aspirations» as if English and their newly arrived Anglo denizens had been perpetually present within their re-

spective territories.<sup>24</sup> Similarly the Arizona Territorial Teachers Association decided that Arizona schools would teach all classes in English while New Mexico schools used interpreters. Finally it warned that the union of New Mexico and Arizona would disrupt the Arizona school system.<sup>25</sup>

«The Protest Against Union of Arizona with New Mexico,» a territorial pressure group, presented to the United States Congress on February 12, 1906, the following:

The decided racial difference between the people of New Mexico, who are not only different in race and largely in language, but have entirely different customs, laws and ideals and would have but little prospect of successful amalgamation ... [and] the objection of the people of Arizona, 95 percent of whom are Americans, to the probability of the control of public affairs by people of a different race, many of whom do not speak the English language, and who outnumber the people of Arizona two to one.<sup>26</sup>

«The Protest» prophesied that New Mexico would control the constitutional convention and impose her dual language conditions on Arizona. Joint statehood won in New Mexico, 26,195 to 14,735. It lost in Arizona, 16,265 to 3,141.<sup>27</sup> Thus Arizona's Mexican population became subject to the new

24. *Language Rights and New Mexico Statehood the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights The Excluded Student: Educational Practices Affecting Mexican Americans in the Southwest, Mexican American Education Study*, (1972:76-82) Report III, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, (U.S. Senate Document 216, 59th Cong., 1st Sess. (Feb. 12, 1906), pp. 1-2). ([http://www.nmhcpl.org/uploads/what\\_the\\_N\\_M\\_Constitution\\_says.pdf](http://www.nmhcpl.org/uploads/what_the_N_M_Constitution_says.pdf)).

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Velez-Ibanez, (1996:63-69).

state's language policy and it is interesting to note that New Mexico followed a slightly divergent route.

In fact, the practices of the individual states rather than dictums by the new American Republic's presence prevailed as the central means of eliminating Spanish literacy and language reduction or its retention. For example, New Mexico's constitution provided for a bilingual instructional approach as stipulated in Article XII of the New Mexican constitution adopted in 1911, but there is also a contradictory section in another section. For the former it states that:

Education, Section 8 (Teachers to learn English and Spanish): «The legislature shall provide for the training of teachers in the normal schools (*schools that prepare teachers*) or otherwise so that they may become proficient in both the English and Spanish languages, to qualify them to teach Spanish-speaking pupils and students in the public schools and educational institutions of the state, and shall provide proper means and methods to facilitate the teaching of the English language and other branches of learning to such pupils and students» (Language Rights, 1972: 1-2).

Yet for the latter, Article XII, Section 8 in the Constitution as specified in Compact with the United States, Section 4 (Public Schools) states that:

«Provision shall be made for the establishment and maintenance of a system of public schools which shall be open to all the children of the state and free from sectarian control, and said schools shall always be conducted in English» (Language Rights, 1972: 1-2).

The second however partially prevailed after 1943 even though bilingualism became a very important aspect of New Mexican instruction throughout the state including Navajo and Spanish. By the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, all other states established English as the hegemonic language of instruction so that early on «English only» had its antecedents in instructional practice as early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the weakening of Spanish literacy and language use by Mexican origin students. Nevertheless, no state for that period in the Southwest North American region in fact established English only on a constitutional basis and New Mexico bilingualism was established constitutionally only for a twenty year period according to its own constitution.<sup>28</sup>

Yet even in New Mexico which established bilingualism as more the practice than the norm was often caught in the linguistic and culturally racialized politics of the time. David V. Holtby (2008) provides a sterling example of the manner in which Anglo sentiment for that period leading to statehood was expressed in *The Carlsbad Current* and English newspaper of Eddy County. Not only did it seek to prevent New Mexicans the right to vote but characterized the rationale according to Holtby (3) by stating that «there is but one race on the earth qualified by its nature to manage and govern man's destiny—the pure Anglo-Saxon.» But its linguistic point of view was well expressed when it stated that it would be impossible for *nuevomexicans* to be citizens in a country «whose language they did not know?» On the other hand, as Holtby shows, its Spanish language counterpart, *La Voz del Pueblo* countered by stating that «Can one imagine a greater crime that merits disqualification of the citizen than having preserved intact the cherished language of our fathers during three centuries of isolation?» The response was the sound of one hand clapping.

28. *Language Rights* 1972.

Nevertheless, the relationship between English, citizenship, and eastern seaboard Anglo culture became embossed as the natural state of things without question so that educational institutions, means of communication, public aspirations, and the only means of «achievement» economically were morphed into the «natural state of things» and like religious ideology became and was accepted as the *raison d'être* beyond question. In this manner an entirely ahistorical rendering of the Mexican origin population became the narrative of much of North American history simply because that history was so ingrained with ideological premises that either dismissed, avoided, or simply ignorantly excluded Mexican origin populations from what in reality is the double tale of two empires expanding and meeting and their national independent versions locked in a war in which the loser and its populations became regulated to «foreignness» and stereotypes as only «cheap labor» and thus commoditized and as will be developed a highly naturalized «White racism» became embedded in discourses of Mexican origin populations as postulated by Jane Hill (n.d). The consequences historically is that only when Bolton (1921) the prominent American historian wrote his primer — *The Spanish Borderlands* (New Haven: Yale University Press) was a Spanish and Mexican dimension begin to be added to the «Anglo-centric history of the United States» (Weber 2005:1).<sup>29</sup>

In the midst of all these cultural and hegemonic politics, as the late David Weber eloquently stated, «Mexicans became foreigners in their own land» in Arizona as they did in Texas, New Mexico, and California, and Colorado. (Weber 1973).

29. David Weber, 2000, «The Spanish Borderlands, Historiography Redux,» *The History Teacher*, [www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht39.1/weber.html](http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht39.1/weber.html).



## 6. The Preservation of Spanish in the Region

### 6.1. Continued Movement of Mexican Populations to the New North and the Expansion of Spanish Literacy and Practices

That said an opposite dynamic also continued to unfold was {and is} the movement of Mexicans to former Mexican territories due to changes in the structure of economy of the Southwest Border Region as well as changing political conditions in Mexico and continued to invigorate literary and language Spanish use. As well, extensive commercial and kin relations augmented the crisscross pattern of transborder populations that in fact continued strongly up to the immigration hysteria period of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and less so in the present. However, the large scale changes in industrial forms of production in mining, agriculture, ranching, construction, increasing urbanization, and the introduction of the railroad in the region created the dynamic need for the importation of skilled and unskilled labor from what had become south of the border. Thus between from mid-nineteenth century Mexican —origin populations moved in small— and large-scale migrations to California's gold and agricultural fields, the developing cattle ranching and marketing in Texas, the mines and cotton farms of Arizona, the founding of numerous Homestead Act-based ranches and farms in central and southern Arizona, and the emerging and intensifying trade and commercial activities in Albuquerque, Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Antonio, and Tucson and all along the border cities facing each other. Emulating their earlier migrating kin, these 19<sup>th</sup>- and 20<sup>th</sup> century men and women moved throughout the region, border or not westward, northward, and eastward.<sup>30</sup>

30. Velez-Ibanez (1996).

Mexican anthropologist, Manuel Gamio, in the 1920s, documented their origins across Mexico and their spread across the United States. While the majority stayed in the U.S. states adjoining the border, El Paso's railroad node connected them to all of the United States. They were enlisted or attracted by farming, mining, and railroad by recruiting agents to the Midwest such as the packing plants of Chicago and the automobile factories of Michigan as well as the agricultural fields of New Jersey, Florida, and Indiana. Or they were pushed out of Mexico by one-sided development strategies of absentee U.S. investors, by the lack of the Mexican elite's willingness to build a viable modernizing economy, by depressions, natural calamities, and political instability as much as the labor-exploiting stability of the Porfiriato, the migration of political refugees during the French Intervention as well as by the displacement during the Mexican Revolution. Thus a series of new *entradas* from the south to the north and, often, back again became part of the «normal» dynamic of an increasingly integrated political and economic region. In this manner, in part, for the Southwest North American region from Texas to California, Spanish literacy and language practices expanded and increased as well.<sup>31</sup> It must be said, however, that this period was preceded by systematic recruitments of Mexican labor as early as 1857 to work in silver mines in Arizona and New Mexico.

Thus in the following graph, migration from south to north has not abated since 1850 after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 and it illustrates the formative and developmental economic and structural processes of an integrated regional economy.<sup>32</sup> As well, the 40 percent increase by

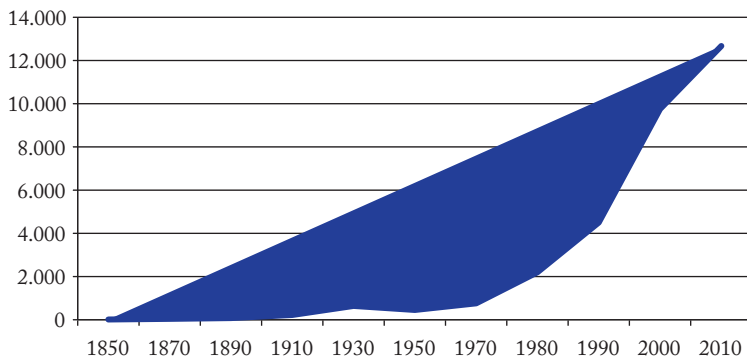
31. Velez-Ibanez with Holder( 2011).

32. Original Slide presentation by Douglas Massey for the Distinguished Wells Fargo Lecture, 2006, School of Transborder Studies. Arizona State University.

1870 was partially due to the exodus of parts of the Mexican intelligentsia during the French intervention and the 1910 diaspora tripled the numbers of persons in part fleeing the Mexican Revolution.

### Graph 2.1

*Mexican-Born Population in the United States, 1850–2008*  
(thousands)



*Source:* 1850–1990 – Gibson, Cambell and Kay Jung. «Historical Census Statistics on the Foreign-Born Population of the United States: 1850–2000.» U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division, Working Paper No. 81, 2006; 1995–2008 – Pew Hispanic Center tabulations from augmented March Current Population Survwys adjusted for undercount.

## 6.2. The Explosion of Spanish Literacy and Language

Even though in 1808, *El Misisipi* became the first Spanish-language newspaper in the United States published in New Orleans, a tradition of Hispanic American periodicals spread across the country and especially so in the Southwest North American region. We can illustrate from one period alone of the middle 19th century and early 20<sup>th</sup> how migrating Mexican populations developed numerous literacy practices that led to the formation of hundreds of Spanish language

newspapers. As such newspapers may serve as a rough gauge of literacy in a language since there are no data bases by which to determine levels or distribution of Spanish literacy for these periods due to the fact that Mexican origin populations were not asked for their literacy preferences in any U.S. census nor were they separated from other «white» populations beginning in the 1860 census through 1880 in California, Texas, and the New Mexico territory which included Arizona as a county.

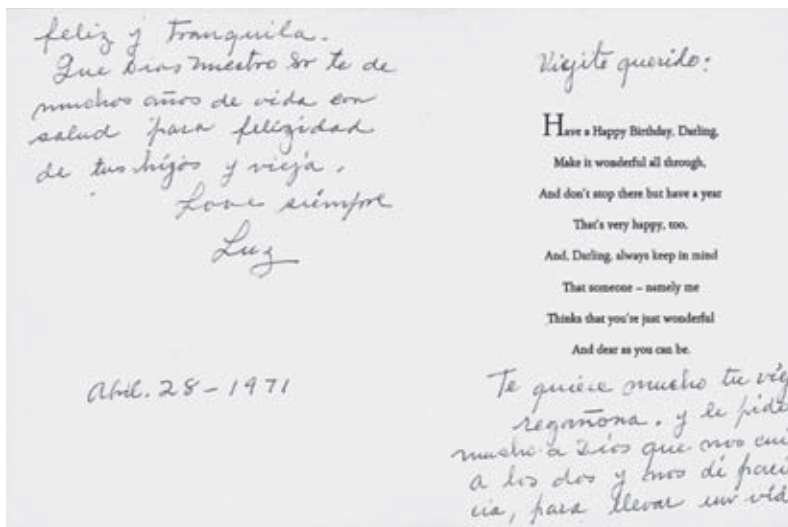
Shortly after the French Intervention in Mexico hundreds of Mexicans moved across the new border in 1865 fleeing French political oppression and with them came a plethora of intellectuals to Tucson, Arizona and El Paso, Texas with their literary interests and combined with residents already present to develop numerous newspapers and journals. Later, the Mexican revolution and continued migration created even more audiences for literary works in the form of newspapers and cultural productions in theater.

In Tucson, following the literary migration theme is that the Mexican community was largely literate and fairly well read in Mexican and Latin American literary classics. The people enjoyed reciting poetry, participating in declamation, and writing prose. Between about 1877 and 1921, literary works—including essays, poetry, short stories, and morality tales—were published in 32 Spanish-language newspapers and magazines in Tucson (Sheridan 1986). As well, the state of Arizona enjoyed the presence of 92 Spanish language or bilingual newspapers and periodicals between 1877 and to the middle of the twentieth century.<sup>33</sup> So that in fact «With few

33. Nicolas Kanellos and Helvitia Martell, (2000:281-283), *Hispanic Periodicals in the United States, Origins to 1960, A Brief History and Comprehensive Bibliography*, Houston, Texas: Arte Publico Press.

## Figure 2.1

*Birthday Card by Luz de Vélez Ibáñez to her husband, Adalberto<sup>34</sup>*



34. In Spanish: «Viejito Querido: Te quiero mucho tu vieja regañona. Y le pide (sic) mucho a Dios que nos cuide a los dos y nos de paciencia, para llevar una vida feliz y tranquila. Que Dios Nuestro Sr te de muchos años de vida con salud para felicidad de tus hijos y vieja.

Love siempre»  
Abril.28-1971

But there are other important elements on this card: the written language of the card is English given that it was not until the 1980s decade that greeting cards were easily purchased in Spanish. This forced the writer to interject Spanish at two levels: first to integrate the written Spanish within the format of the message in English and then to unconsciously create the original phrase: «Love siempre» as an ending platform in two languages one by the writer and the other by the card maker. This is not Spanglish which is an oral expression but rather the written language in English forced the writer to accommodate the document's written boundaries and structure but only to a point of comfort which is largely unconscious and not deliberate. The English version of this would be «Love always» and this version if it were Spanish would be «amor siempre» but in fact it is highly likely that the normative phrase would be «siempre con amor» (always with love in its literal translation).

exceptions, all the journals in those days (1870s) were written either in Spanish alone, or half in Spanish and half in English. . . .»<sup>35</sup> Early writers included Francisco Dávila, Amado Cota-Robles, Carmen Celia Beltrán, and Ramón Soto, with Beltrán publishing through the 1940s. As well, many persons of this generation continued writing in Spanish while the context was Anglo as shown in this original example written in 1971 and represented in Figure 2.1 (Birthday Card by Luz de Vélez Ibáñez to her husband, Adalberto).

As well, dramatic arts which intertwined the necessity of literate practices and oral skills were exemplified in two theaters, Teatro Cervantes and Teatro Americano which appeared in Tucson in the 1870s. They hosted traveling troupes like the Compañía Dramática Española, whose director, Pedro C. de Pellon, founded the first group of amateur actors in the town—the Teatro Recreo—in 1878. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, other theaters included El Principal, El Clifton, El Lírico, and El Royal, which was an important venue for La Nacional Dramatic Company. However, Carmen Soto Vásquez built Tucson's first theater explicitly for Spanish-language performances, Teatro Carmen. The Sonoran-mission-style building was designed by renowned architect, Manuel Flores. The inaugural performance of *Cerebro y Corazon* (Brains and Heart) was on May 20, 1915. Until 1923, Teatro Carmen performed Spanish-language literary productions, operas, musicals, and melodramas (Sheridan 1986).<sup>36</sup>

35. See John G. Bourke (1891, 2010: 92), *On the Border with Crook*, Originally published in 1891 by Charles Scribner and Sons, Latest edition, Lincoln: Bison Press, 2010.

36. See Carlos Velez-Ibanez et al, «The Arts,» *State of Latino Arizona*, Arizona Board of Regents, (2009: 77).

In New Mexico, Arturo Fernandez-Gilbert (n.d) writes that « Nuevomexicanos managed to produce and sustain a booming Spanish-language press during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century.» He supports his contention by stating that,

In the 1880s thirteen papers were published exclusively in Spanish, and in 1890 alone, forty four followed suit (Meyer 1996: 8). Some of the most significant were: *La revista católica* of Las Vegas (1875-1918), moved to El Paso in 1918 (to 1962), *El tiempo of Las Cruces* (1882-1911), *El boletín popular* of Santa Fe (1885-1908), *La voz del pueblo* (1888-1927), founded in Santa Fe and moved to Las Vegas in 1890, *El nuevo mexicano* of Santa Fe (1890-1958), *El independiente* of Las Vegas (1894-1928), and *La bandera americana* of Albuquerque (1895-c. 1938), to name only a few (Stratton 1969: 36-37; Meléndez 1997: 249-250).<sup>37</sup>

Between 1844 and 1960, New Mexico had founded 357 Spanish Only and Bilingual newspapers with many concentrated in Albuquerque, Las Cruces, Las Vegas, Santa Fe, and Taos and with a very large concentration in the 1880s.<sup>38</sup>

Similarly in Texas, Conchita Hassell Winn (2012) enumerates the Spanish-language newspapers in Texas which «numbered 150 in the nineteenth century and more than 300 in the twentieth.» She traces the earliest to 1813, when the Gutiérrez-McGee expedition attempted to remove the province of Texas from Spain. The expedition evidently had a propaganda bulletin entitled the *Gaceta de Texas*. She states that as well,

37. Arturo Fernández-Gilbert, (n.d) «The Politics of Spanish and English in Territorial New Mexico,» XXIII Congreso del Español en los Estados Unidos, Sacramento, CA, March 17, 2012.

38. Kanellos and Martell, (2000:289-295).

The earliest newspaper known with certainty to have been published in Texas was *Nacogdoches Mexican Advocate* (1829). One side of this publication was printed in Spanish, the other in English. From the end of the Mexican War (1848) until well into Reconstruction (1866–77), English-language journalists founding papers in South Texas employed the bilingual format employed during the Mexican campaign. Continuous Spanish-language news coverage in the state dates from this period. *La Estrella de Corpus Christi*, or the *Corpus Christi Star* (1848–49), began the postwar trend. The *Brownsville El Centinela* (1849) became the *bilingual Centinela del Río Grande*, or *Río Grande Sentinel*, within two months of its founding. *La Bandera Americana* (the American Flag), *El Río Bravo* (the Rio Bravo), and *La Bandera* (the Fort Brown Flag) followed.<sup>39</sup>

Similarly, California had a spectacular growth in newspapers beginning with *el Clamor Público* in Los Angeles in 1855 through the middle of the twentieth century with no less than 84 in Los Angeles alone with strong increases for the 1880s with the establishment of the railroad and the 1920's as the aftermath of the Mexican revolution. For California alone 192 Spanish language newspapers were established during these important migratory periods.<sup>40</sup>

Thus the tradition of Spanish literacy had been established from the colonial through the Mexican periods including and especially so after the U.S. Mexican War and the Treaty of the Mesilla establishing the U.S. Mexican border. It is a fact and

39. Conchita Hassell Winn, «Spanish-Language Newspapers,» *Handbook of Texas Online* (<http://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/ees18>), accessed June 18, 2012. Published by the Texas State Historical Association

40. Nicolas Kanellos and Helvitia Martell, (2000:281-283).



supreme irony that Spanish literacy and language became much more prevalent than prior to the war and treaty in the 19<sup>th</sup> century because of the immense structural changes visited on the entire Southwest North American region and its insatiable diet requiring skilled and unskilled Mexican workers as the new industrial formations in mining, agriculture, construction, and ranching took root.

To the present, these early developments fully blossomed into the late 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries and created an integrated political economy encompassing two nations, a common ecology, transborder productive production chains, and chains of labor and with it a constant replenishing of Spanish speaking populations and their literary and linguistic capacities.<sup>41</sup>

41. Carlos G. Velez-Ibanez (2011: 25) in «Política Y Economía Transfronteriza: Migración, Contradicciones Y Consecuencias Por Una Prisma Experiencial Y Regiones De Refugio Como Estructuras De Desigualdad» *Economía, política y cultura transfronteriza: 5 Ensayos*, Roberto Sanchez Benitez, editor, *Economía, política y cultura transfronterizas: 5 ensayos*, Nuevo Leon: Consejo Estatal de Ciencia y Tecnología de Nuevo León.

Velez-Ibanez states,

Cuando se combina las cifras de pasaje de las grandes cadenas de peatones, carros, camiones, y trenes entonces apenas comenzamos a ver lo complejo de esta región. Es decir, reconociendo simplemente el efecto de NAFA vemos lo siguiente: en 2007 el comercio de NAFTA en ambos lados vale 797 billones o 797 mil millones y en 2010, 830 billones. Además el 60 por ciento de los 500 millones de visitantes que cruzan la frontera hacia los estados unidos entran por la frontera México-Estacionodense así como los 90 millones de carros y 4.3 millones de camiones anualmente. Este tráfico ambulante y mecánico contribuye 638 millones de dólares en la frontera con México todos los días! Cuando estas cifras se añaden a casi los 200 billones de importes a los estados unidos de México y casi 137 billones de los estados unidos a México entonces se puede explicar fácilmente dos elementos cruciales: que se ha desarrollado por mucho tiempo una economía regional económica y el uso de poblaciones como fuerza laboral para esta economía de ambos lados de la frontera en una dinámica transfronteriza.

## 7. The Present: Spanish Literacy and Language, Bilingual Education, and the Rise of English Only

### 7.1. The Present

In order to understand the present state of Spanish literacy and language, we need to examine the formation of three contending processes: first, the continuing maintenance of some Spanish proficiency through the fourth generation in part explained by a twenty year span of bilingual education; secondly, continued expansion of Spanish literacy through entering generations due to migration and immigration, and the counteraction of the «English-only» paradigm in response to demographic increases of Mexican-origin populations.

According to Fraga, et al. (2006) *Redefining America: Findings from the 2006 Latino National Survey*, the following illustrate the continuing maintenance of Spanish through the fourth generation. This work shows that their sample respondents had «strong English dominance and nearly universal English proficiency among the first-generation of US born and generally strong Spanish retention, aided by refreshed populations of Spanish-speakers.<sup>42</sup> More specifically this 2006 study showed that 91.3 percent of the fourth generation Hispanic answered in English and 7.7 percent in Spanish; however, 60.5 percent retained proficiency in Spanish.<sup>43</sup>

42. Luis Fraga, John A. Garcia, Rodney E. Hero, Michael Jones-Correa, Valerie Martinez-Ebers, and Gary M. Segura *Redefining America: Findings from the 2006 Latino National Survey*, Presentation for the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Powerpoint, (presented December 8th, 2006, updated February 2, 2007). <http://depts.washington.edu/uwiser/LNS.shtml>.

43. Fraga et.al.

Earlier works indicated that the replacement of Spanish oral or written was inevitable:

With respect to immigrant children, 70 percent of those 5 to 9 years of age, after a stay of about 9 months, speak English on a regular basis. After 4 years, nearly all speak English regularly, and about 30 percent prefer English to Spanish. After 9 years, 60 percent have shifted to English; after 14 years—as young adults—70 percent have abandoned the use of Spanish as a daily language. By the time they have spent 15 years in the United States, some 75 percent of all Hispanic immigrants are using English every day (Veltman, 1988, p. 44).<sup>44</sup> (Veltman, C. (1988). *The Future of the Spanish Language in the United States*. Washington, DC: Hispanic Policy Development Project. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 295 485)

However the question for both studies is not how much of the language is used on a daily basis per se but rather how literate are those populations in the ensuing generations in Spanish and thus indicate a level of proficiency in which communication in the language intersects with a field of use that goes beyond the familial circle. There is no doubt that the dominant language use within households greatly influences oral skills through generations and mother's language in any household is a strong determinant of the use of language by progeny. As well, and for the most part, the dominant literate language used in most Mexican origin communities in the school is English where children spend at least a majority of their day in

44. Stina Santiestevan (1991:) *Use of the Spanish Language in the United States: Trends, Challenges, and Opportunities*. ERIC Digest, ERIC Identifier, ED335176 , 1991-05-00 : ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools Charleston WV.

literate English practice and none or little in Spanish. While newspapers, media, advertisements in Spanish are common where a predominant population is either immigrant or first generation these are not the major institutional avenues for literacy practice in Spanish. While there are banks, stores, churches, and other means of literate communications in Spanish these are not systematic and continuing means of learning literate Spanish. It is in the schools where the erosion of literate and oral Spanish is almost guaranteed even where children may have parents who read and write in Spanish. The exception to this process is the establishment of exceptional bilingual education programs that arise under great public stress, ignorance, and worse antipathies toward the population based on the changing demographics of the Southwest North American region.

## 7.2. Bilingual Education

For a period of twenty years between 1970 and 1990 as a result of the Elementary and Secondary Act (ESEA) Title VII Bilingual Education Act of 1968, the federal government was very much the initiator and designer of bilingual education since the Act's formation. These programs had intellectual, empirical, political, and cultural justifications some of which operated with great success while others floundered because of lack of institutional maturation, poor funding, inadequate instructional resources including ill-trained teachers, and worse poorly thought-out models of instruction with varying objectives and goals.

Nevertheless its incipient format was in fact one in which the «heritage» language was used as a cultural buttress for identity and a very much needed method of expanding the intellectual and cultural capital of the Spanish speaking stu-

dent. These were the «Spanish for Nativos» programs of the 1960's which were first introduced in the high schools in Tucson, Arizona and specifically Pueblo High School under the impetus of educators Adalberto Guerrero, Maria Urquides, Rosita Cota, and Henry Oyama who were longtime residents of Tucson.<sup>45</sup> Strongly influenced by Joshua Fishman's 1966 treatise, *Language loyalty in the United States; the maintenance and perpetuation of non-English mother tongues by American ethnic and religious groups* (The Hague: Mouton), the genesis of Spanish for Nativos came as the result of their conviction that the intellectual and literacy skills of native speakers could not be met with the traditional approach of the learning of Spanish as a foreign language but rather as an enhanced curriculum that included the reading of Cervantes, Unamuno, Azuela and a plethora of others and the writing of university level essays and poetry. They fought against the idea that Spanish was responsible for the lack of achievement by students and instead flipped the idea and supported a program of instruction in which Spanish taught first and within the complexity of literacy including prominent Spanish language authors were the basis for intellectual development so that intellectual development in Spanish was a necessary condition to the intellectual development in English leading to complex literacy and the reading of Shakespeare, Henry James, John Steinbeck and many others. Guerrero and the others were crucial in developing the report, *The Invisible Minority*, which led to congressional hearings the aftermath of

45. The author was an observer of the program as a high school English teacher in this period who interacted with many of the students of the program and although my conclusions were not developed as a formal analysis, the author was constantly amazed at the breadth and depth of the literary skills of these students that carried over to their English classes and who were among the best of the author's honors English classes. In fact, the author was introduced to Fishman by those who developed the Spanish for Nativos program.

which was the development of the Bilingual Education Act in 1968.<sup>46</sup>

Thus for the next twenty years, bilingual programs of varying quality spread throughout the United States but were especially concentrated in the U.S. Southwest. The literature from 1965 to the present has shown and supported the theoretical basis of this method and fact, according to Ramirez (2000), the empirical literature is sound in supporting the conclusion that «the best entry into literacy is through the use of a child's native language» (Clay, 1993; Snow, Burns, and Griffin, 1998). Further according to Ramirez,

Literacy in a child's home language provides knowledge, concept and skills bases that transfer to reading in a second language (L2), e.g., English (Collier and Thomas, 1992; Cummins, 1989; Escamilla, 1987; Modiano, 1968; Rodríguez, 1988; Carter and Chatfield, 1986). This is supported by research showing that proficiency in L1 e.g. Spanish literacy skills is highly correlated with the development of literacy skills in L2 (Collier and Thomas, 1995; Greene, 1998; Krashen and Biber, 1987; Leshere-Madrid, and García, 1985; Ramírez, Yuen, and Ramey, 1991).

More recent «meta-analysis» has shown similar results and Rolstad et al. (2005) concluded that programs utilizing the student's native language and English had much more positive

46. Georgia Cole Brousseau, 1993, «Bridging Three Centuries: One of the most progressive and advanced systems in the United States.» Tucson: Tucson Unified School District, History. <http://tusd1.org/contents/distinfo/history/history9305.asp>. The original reference for «The Invisible Minority,» was *The Invisible Minority: Report of The NEA-Tucson Survey On the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking*, Washington, D.C.: Department of Rural Education, National Education Association, 1966.

learning and developmental results than only English instruction for non-native English speakers. Their work in fact found what the original developers of Spanish for Nativos and bilingual education had long known that a well-planned and developed longitudinal program in both languages created the conditions for greater academic student success but dependent as well on the availability of first-rate teachers able to offer the curriculum.<sup>47</sup>

The question arises then why have not these findings been incorporated as part of a national policy of curriculum development and language instruction which not only lead to the development of even greater linguistic and educational capital and resource of Mexican-origin populations and other Spanish speakers? The answer lies in the continuation at least in the Southwest of historical prejudices, the reliance on a single linguistic and cultural prism of acculturation, the reinforcement of ahistorical ignorance especially in regards to Mexican-origin populations, the changing political demography of the region since 1970 forward, and the appropriation of Spanish by those espousing largely «natural» and pervasive «White» neo-liberal theories. Last, but not least as will be concluded in the last section of this work, there have never been any longitudinal studies of the impact of these programs on the development of adult literacy or language maintenance or their impact on following generations. This might have mitigated the more onerous effects of English Only projects.

47. See Alma Dolores Rodríguez, «Prospective Bilingual Teachers' Perceptions of the Importance of their Heritage Language,» *Heritage Language Journal*, Volume 5, Number 1, Summer 2007: Special Issue on TESOL and Heritage Language Education, On Line Journal (peer-reviewed), <http://www.international.ucla.edu/languages/heritagelanguages/journal/volume5-1.asp>. As well, see Eugene E. Garcia, 2005, *Teaching and Learning in Two Languages: Bilingualism and Schooling in the United States*, New York: Teachers College who strongly advocates the «Dual Language» approach who reviews this model extensively and supports the efficacy of the approach.

## 8. The English Only Movement: Responses in the Present to Immigration and the Rearticulation of an «American» Cultural Prism through «White» Neo-liberal Theories

If we are to understand the very complex situation of Spanish literacy and language in the United States, there are also conflicting and contradictory pressures that are both historical and contemporary.

The English only movement is partially a function of historical state formations, attitudes carried over from different contexts, and the articulation of racialized scripts as a consequence of major changes in the political demography of the Southwest U.S.<sup>48</sup> The various measures promulgated since the founding of «English Only» as have already been discussed, have long historical antecedents in the early twentieth century and initiated largely in the Southwest North American region especially in the states of California, Arizona, and New Mexico. However, these cannot be understood apart from the entire question of legal and unauthorized immigration from 1970 to 2011 when in this last period the undocumented growth of Mexican-origin populations fell to zero. In the present, the basis of most of the English only programs have been very importantly linked to those most concerned with the increase in the demography of this population and partially based on racialists premises.

### 8.1. «White Racism»

While it would be simple to reduce English-only propositions and measures to the revival of nativism and only to demo-

48. Terry M. Ao, Staff and Stephanie Lai (2003: 4) *The Politics of Language Your Handbook to English-Only Laws and Policies 2nd Edition*, Los Angeles: Asian Law Caucus Asian Pacific American Legal Center of Southern California.



graphic changes, then this would not explain how «reasonable» persons can join such propositions without reference either to history or deeply held «individual» racist positions.

Jane Hill (n.d) has eloquently iterated that in part this is due to the phenomena which she has termed «White racist Neo-liberal theories of language and culture» which transcend political positions and adds further depth to understand the «state» of Spanish literacy and language.<sup>49</sup>

She terms «White racism» as a cultural project in the United States in which most if not all «White» people and probably many minorities participate at one point or another and the method used to ascertain participation in this project is through the systems of communication or «discourse» in which people participate.<sup>50</sup> As she shows in the work in her discourse analysis of one of the major figures in the anti-ethnic studies measures in the State of Arizona, this figure has developed, the rhetoric is not one of impassioned racist adjectives but rather one consisting of entirely rational commentaries in which «good faith» is the mechanism of discussion and entirely «reasonable» but whose premises are imbued with what have been termed «mega-scripts» —masked, hidden, and grey (see Note 4).<sup>51</sup> These include in the case in which she analyzed profoundly attached essentialist and reductionist arguments in which the relationships between language and culture are simplified and simple «American» connections between language and

49. Jane Hill (n.d.) «Tom Horn is Studying Spanish: Neo-liberal Theories of Language and Culture and the Struggle for Symbolic Resources,» To appear in Spanish in *Condiciones y Contradiciones de Leyes Contramigrantes: Vistas de Halla y de Aquí*, Roberto Sanchez and Carlos G. Velez-Ibanez, eds., Mexico D.F.: Porrua.

50. Ibid

51. Velez-Ibanez, 2010.

economic opportunities. Such argumentations seep through many discourses on a daily basis and include academic, civil, economic, political, and certainly cultural systems of communication and behaviors. Among the many intended and unintended consequences of such discourse are the reemphasizes of the great American cultural prisms of acculturation couched as the «melting pot,» language replacement, cultural references and accepted ritual and national symbols of representation.

Thus from the present work's point of view, the understanding between the retention, elimination or expansion of Spanish even by academics is often imbued with both «White racism» whose characteristics for learning the English language learning is reduced to opportunity and «achievement» and Spanish is subtly but consistently induced as the underlying causative factor of especially studies that accentuate the connection between Spanish speaking children and their «failure» in achievement tests and low socioeconomic standing. This discourse is too often repeated as a mantra of causation or correlation.

## 8.2. Political Demography and English Only

Seeping in to the «White Racism» construct is the actuality of the growth of Mexican-origin populations on the northern side of the U.S. Mexican border since 1960 which seems to have been remarkable. From child births, legal and unauthorized migration, the Mexican origin population has increased substantially. In 1960, the total Mexican origin population was 2.9 million and according to the 2010 Census, it counted «50.5 million Hispanics in the United States, making up 16.3% of the total population. The nation's Hispanic population, which was 35.3 million in 2000, grew 43% over the decade. The Hispanic population also accounted for most of the nation's

growth —56%— from 2000 to 2010.»<sup>52</sup> From this total, 34.7 million were of Mexican-origin and included U.S. born, legal residents, and 6.2 million unauthorized persons.<sup>53</sup> Importantly, «Among children ages 17 and younger, there were 17.1 million Latinos in 2010, or 23.1% of this age group, according to an analysis by the Pew Hispanic Center of which the majority are U.S. citizens. The number of Latino children grew 39% over the decade. In 2000, there were 12.3 million Hispanic children, who were 17.1% of the population under age 18.»<sup>54</sup>

Thus in the state of Arizona which has been at the center of anti-immigrant policies and English only measures, the impact of demographic growth on school districts seems to have been dramatic with Mexican-origin enrollment between 1998 and 2008 increasing from 268,098 to 416,705, accounting for 86% of the total student population growth in the state of Arizona shown in Graph 2.2: K-12 Enrollment Trends by Ethnicity and Net Gain/Loss (1998-2008) and developed by Garcia et al (2012).<sup>55</sup>

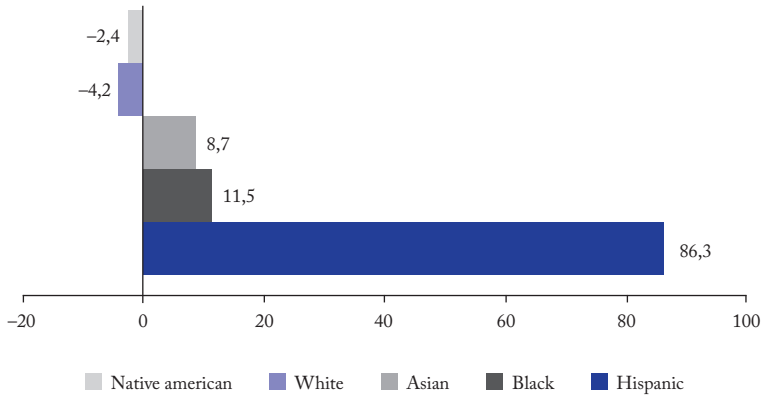
52. Jeffrey S. Passel, D'Vera Cohn, and Mark Hugo Lopez (March 24, 2011), «Census 2010: 50 Million Latinos Hispanics Account for More Than Half of Nation's Growth in Past Decade,» Washington, D.C.: Pew Hispanic Research Center. [www.pewhispanic.org](http://www.pewhispanic.org).

53. Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, (April 14, 2009), *A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States: A Report*, Washington, D.C.: Pew Hispanic Research Center. [www.pewhispanic.org](http://www.pewhispanic.org).

54. Passel et al, March 24, 2011.

55. Eugene E. García, Mehmet Dali Öztürk and J. Luke Wood (March 1, 2012) *The Critical Condition of Latino Education in Arizona*, Power Point Presentation, Conference on the Critical Condition of Latino Education in Arizona, Tempe, Arizona State University.

**Graph 2.2**  
*K-12 Enrollment Trends by Ethnicity  
and Net Gain/Loss (1998-2008)*



Source: Arizona Department of Education 1999, 2008

From such growth patterns which were larger in other states such as California, Texas, and New Mexico and noticeable in states in the Midwest and the traditional south, anti-immigrant and English only measures were pushed whose rationales included the increased costs of education including intensive English programs and ELL (English language learners), use of social services, increase in penal populations, and alleged disease increases which combined with nativist and racialized discourses, and importantly, the alleged destructive impact of job displacement on citizens. All of these rationales seep into the discourse concerning the Spanish language in one way or the other and under pin the rationality of «White Racism» discourses.

However, these rationales were based largely on the premise of the growth and impact of unauthorized Mexican-origin populations with total disregard to legal immigration, the natural child birth patterns of documented, resident, and U.S.

Table 2.1  
*Us Hispanic population by origin*

	1970*	1980*	1990*	2000*	2010*
Mexican	4,532,435	8,678,632	13,495,938	20,640,711	32,915,983
Puerto Rican	1,429,396	2,004,961	2,727,754	3,406,178	4,682,531
Cuban	54,4600	806,223	1,043,932	1,241,685	1,883,599
Other Hispanic	n/a	3,113,867	5,086,435	1,001,724	1,567,169

\*Source: US Decennial Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010

born Mexican origin citizens. This discourse avoided the fact that the Mexican origin population since the 19<sup>th</sup> century has been much younger than the general population due to early marriage, more children who in turn have more children, and youthful immigration both documented and unauthorized. Thus en toto the tally of this population in 2010 including all other Spanish-speaking populations can be seen in Table 2.1: US Hispanic Population by Origin.<sup>56</sup>

Table 2.2  
*Us hispanic population growth rates by origin*

	1970-1980*	1980-1990*	1990-2000*	2000-2010*
Mexican	91.50 %	55.50 %	52.90 %	54.10 %
Puerto Rican	40.30 %	36.10 %	24.90 %	35.70 %
Cuban	48.00 %	29.50 %	18.90 %	43.80 %
Other Hispanic	n/a	63.30 %	96.90 %	22.50 %

\*Source: US Decennial Census 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010

Thus it would have been impossible for a total of 6.2 million Mexican unauthorized persons in 2010 to account for

56. James Crawford (2008:17) Monolingual and Proud of It, Originally in *The Guardian* (UK), March 8, 2001, Reprinted in *Advocating for English Learners, Selected Essays*, Toronto: Multilingual Matters LTD.

such growth so that the following percentage growth is entirely misleading and too often misused as rationales for the legislative measures of English-only and anti-immigrant policies and legislation as shown in Table 2.2 and migrate into discourses of Hill's concept of «White racism.»

### 8.3. English Only Rationales, Fears, and its Totemic Founders and Relations

Therefore in the present what can be observed is that the total Mexican origin population in the United States is made up of those born, migrated, and residents of which 20 percent are unauthorized. This growth for many sectors in the United States represents a radical demographic change in which the traditional eastern prisms are threatened by being foreign populations so different culturally and linguistically and not «natural.» When combined to fragile economic circumstances nationally, hysterical fevers, anxiety, and ethnocentric reactions give life to draconian immigration laws and regulations in many states and there is no greater illustration than the «English Only» movements as exemplars.<sup>57</sup>

In an editorial column for *The Guardian* (UK), March 8, 2001, James Crawford—a longtime critic of a monolingual United States—wrote that much of the English-only movement arose «because Americans who came of age before the 1970s had little experience of linguistic diversity. Growing up in a period of tight immigration quotas, they seldom encountered anyone speaking a language other than English except foreign tourists, who were usually white and European.»<sup>58</sup>

57. Velez-Ibanez (2011: 27).

58. Crawford (2008:18).

Yet the percentage of «foreign» language, non-English speaking Spanish speakers in the region does not reflect the overwhelming public perceptions of most Americans as the following shows in Table 2.3 in this article cited.<sup>59</sup>

**Table 2.3**  
*Percentage of non-English-speaking persons\**

	1899	1990	2000
Arizona	28.2	1.1	2.3
California	8.3	2.9	3.6
New Mexico	65.1	0.1	1.6
Texas	5.9	1.5	2.7

*Source:* Census Office 1897; 1990 Census of population, 2000 Census of population; Aged 10 and older in 1890;

\*aged 5 and older in 1990; aged 5 and older in 2000.

On the other hand Crawford states that regardless of these language demographics that there is an often stated stereotype that

‘If you live in America, you need to speak English.’ According to a Los Angeles Times Poll (1998a), that was how three out of four voters explained their support for Proposition 227, the ballot initiative that dismantled most bilingual education programs in California. Many Arizonans cited the same reason for passing a similar measure (Proposition 203, 2000).

59. Source: James Crawford, *Census 2000: A Guide for the Perplexed*, 2002, <http://www.languagepolicy.net/articles/census02.htm>; and Compilation from U.S. Census, 2000 by the author.

Known as the Unz Initiative in California, Proposition 227 in 1998, it required «that all students be taught exclusively in English and in structured English Immersion for immigrant students» without reference to either parental or student rights to decide to maintain, expand, or retain their native language and reduced language resources to just something to be removed.<sup>60</sup> Even though the 2003 Arizona measure was held unconstitutional, the state introduces a similar measure every year and only by the slightest of margins, these were not approved even though «The most draconian official-English laws at the state level, in Alaska and Arizona, were struck down under the First and Fourteenth amendments. State and federal courts ruled that, while advancing no compelling public interest, these measures violated free-speech and equal-protection guarantees.»<sup>61</sup> Thus while Crawford's is an appreciated hypothesis the genesis of English Only emerges from the premises of the «rational» discourses just described but also lies in deeper nativists positions connected to extreme right wing opponents to Mexican-origin immigration and the possible loss of political influence and power due to the probability of these populations eventually becoming citizens and voting for non-right wing candidates and this fear has spread to most states that have increased Mexican-origin populations and some for whom this is not even a possibility.<sup>62</sup>

60. Salvador Gabaldon and Carlos Ovando (n.d.) Restrictive English-Only Policies in a Globalizing World: The Conflictive Case of Arizona Orchestrated by a Conservative Political Agenda.

61. James Crawford, Official English Legislation: Bad For Civil Rights, Bad For America's Interests, And Even Bad For English, Testimony before the House Subcommittee on Education Reform, July 26, 2006, [http://www.elladvocates.org/documents/englishonly/Crawford\\_Official\\_English\\_testimony.pdf](http://www.elladvocates.org/documents/englishonly/Crawford_Official_English_testimony.pdf) and Reprinted in *Advocating for English Learners, Selected Essays*, Toronto: Multilingual Matters LTD.

62. Neither Banned or Allowed: Mexican American Studies in limbo, <http://latino.foxnews.com/latino/news/2012/04/19/neither-banned-nor-allowed-mexican-american-studies-in-limbo-in-arizona/>



It may be suggested that the initial fearful resistance that founded the state of Arizona to becoming part of New Mexico as has already been described is equivalent to the fear in the 21<sup>st</sup> century that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century expressed that Mexican-origin populations »would subject us to the domination of another commonwealth of different traditions, customs, and aspiration.« Certainly the seeming demise of Mexican American studies in Tucson<sup>63</sup> is part and parcel of the continuing support of the ahistoricism mentioned and the Arizona legislature is very much a part of this enterprise and the fear of demographic replacement also holds true of losing one myth in exchange for other more accurate mythic explanations but very much associated with «rational» discourses of a much larger scope. The Arizona legislature has led the nation in promulgating English Only and anti-immigrant measures so therefore it is important to understand the Arizona push for such measures.

A simple scan can be rendered of the lineage of these various versions of anti-Mexican behavior by linking the lineages and clans of the past to the present and between English only, anti-immigration, and racialism. Former senator Russell Pierce of Arizona led and developed HR 1070 and English Only through a network of personalities that tie the opposition to immigration and unauthorized immigrants with English Only. Although he has been removed from office through a recall procedure by the Mormon community and others which will be described shortly he is prominent in the Republican Party. As well, included in Endnote 10 a reference to a much more elaborated diagrammatic representation of the myriad links between various extremist and the developers of HB 1070 and English Only de-

63. Ibid.

signed by the *Mother Jones* periodical which those interested can find.<sup>64</sup>

#### 8.4. Totemic Founder

First, Dr. John Tanton an ophthalmologist is one of the apical ancestors whose totemic lodge is the source of funding for much of the early English-only and anti-immigration initiatives and especially what is of note is his joining the board of Population-Environment Balance in 1973, founding and funding the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) and in 1979 the Center for Immigration Studies CIS, in 1985 and a number of English Only associations such as U.S. Inc. founded and funded 1982 and U.S. English founded and funded in 1983. These organizations include at least thirteen other such organizations with some tied to neo Nazis.<sup>65</sup>

64. See Ian Gordon (2012) *The Immigration Hardliner Family Tree: A guide to the funders, think tanks, lawyers, and politicians behind harsh Arizona-style legislation.*

March/April 2012 Issue <http://m.motherjones.com/politics/2012/03/johntanton-anti-immigration-laws>.

65. See this web for a portrait and the listing provided below:

American Immigration Control Foundation AICF, 1983, funded

\*American Patrol/Voice of Citizens Together 1992, funded

\*California Coalition for Immigration Reform CCIR, 1994, funded

Californians for Population Stabilization 1996, funded (founded separately in 1986)

Center for Immigration Studies CIS, 1985, founded and funded

\*Federation for American Immigration Reform FAIR, 1979, founded and funded

Numbers USA 1996, founded and funded

Population-Environment Balance 1973, joined board in 1980

Pro English 1994, founded and funded

Project USA 1999, funded

\*The Social Contract Press 1990, founded and funded

U.S. English 1983, founded and funded

U.S. Inc. 1982, founded and funded

The inspiration for Dr. Tanton's ideological foundations is the *The Camp of the Saints* (*Le Camp des saints*), a 1973 French novel by Jean Raspail that imagines Third World hordes destroying European civilization by their brown invasion.

It is important to note that these organizational connections are in fact the structural and ideological foundations for English Only and SB 1070 one of whose sections was upheld by the United States Supreme court in 2012, and as importantly for the funding of state legislative and executive offices. Kris Kobach who is General Counsel to Tanton's FAIR was supported by Sheriff Joe Arpaio of Arizona the notorious Arizona Sheriff who has honed anti-Mexican sweeps to a fine art and found to have violated the civil rights of Mexican-origin populations. This support arose during Kobach's run for Secretary of State of Kansas which he won. Kobach had been hired as a legal consultant by Russell Pearce who developed SB 1070 and other such measures throughout the United States. While Russell Pearce disavowed any connections to neo-Nazis he in fact appeared in fund raising activities for J.T. Ready whom he sponsored to the Mormon Church in Mesa, Arizona. Ready, expelled from the Marine Corps with a bad conduct discharge is the founder of an extremist organization of «America First» and a neo-Nazi who on May 2, 2012 murdered his girlfriend, her mother, a small child and also killed himself.

Finally the last of the list of characters is the former Superintendent of Schools Tom Horne who initiated the legal and legislative restrictions on Mexican American Studies and was

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[http://www.google.com/imgres?q=dr+john+tanton&hl=en&sa=X&biw=991&bih=410&tbm=isch&prmd=imvns0&tbnid=jf1o012w5KZdOM:&imgrefurl=http://imagine2050.newcomm.org/2010/11/05/us-immigration-reform-pac-and-realignment-of-the-tanton-network/&docid=a8p671bdGq5cVM&imgurl=http://imagine2050.newcomm.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/john\\_tanton](http://www.google.com/imgres?q=dr+john+tanton&hl=en&sa=X&biw=991&bih=410&tbm=isch&prmd=imvns0&tbnid=jf1o012w5KZdOM:&imgrefurl=http://imagine2050.newcomm.org/2010/11/05/us-immigration-reform-pac-and-realignment-of-the-tanton-network/&docid=a8p671bdGq5cVM&imgurl=http://imagine2050.newcomm.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/john_tanton)

an ardent devotee of Russell Pearce and strongly supported for office by Sherriff Joe Arpaio. Horne ran and won as Attorney General of Arizona in 2010 with their support.<sup>66</sup>

Many of these relationships then resulted in the passing of HB 1070 even though three parts have been declared unconstitutional and are directly linked to the Arizona English Only measures as well throughout the United States.

However, since this, a new wind has been felt throughout the state in the form of coalitions between organizations like Arizona Promise in Action which is a largely Chicano group, moderate Republicans and especially business and various churches among the most important is the Mormon Church who supported Pearce's Recall and ran basically the candidate in opposition to Pearce. What is of note is that between 2000 and 2006, the number of Spanish-speaking Mormon congregations grew from 389 to 639 in the United States and the number of Mexican origin congregations grew from 5 in 2002 to 13 in 2010 in Mesa where Pearce resides in the present and the church itself estimates that 60 to 70 percent of their congregations are undocumented.<sup>67</sup>

But Pearce ran in a newly created state-level legislative district which however was contested since once again the Mormon church ran another Mormon candidate against Pearce (Bob Worsely founder of Skymall—an airline e-bay firm). Pearce once again was defeated on August 29, 2012 by strong Mormon support and even his brother who is of the same po-

66. The 2010 state elections for office featured roadside signs emphasizing Horne's strong support by Pearce and Arpaio and especially in removing Mexican unauthorized migrants (examples upon request provided).

67. See Sarah N. Lynch, «Hispanics change face of Mormon faith,» *East Valley Tribune*, Arizona/May 30, 2007. <http://www.rickcross.com/reference/mormon/mormon394.html>.

litical stripe was himself defeated simultaneously but for another office. There are however many others including those mentioned here not the least of whom is Sheriff Arpaio who is still to be dealt with as well as many of the Republican legislators who represent equivalent ideological convictions. But even Arpaio's term in office seems to be limited given various issues that have arisen not the least are the Federal Government's suits against him for profiling Mexican-origin populations.<sup>68</sup>

### 8.5. The Future of Spanish Literacy and Language: the Rise of Bilingualism

Yet there is also one overwhelming linguistic process that has been overlooked in most discussions of the future of Spanish literacy and language in spite of the many legislative, attitudinal, and racialized measures and designed to remove Spanish as either a cultural aspect of identity or its functionality as a cultural resource, and that is the very important rise of bilingualism. However, there is no longitudinal study of the effects of childhood bilingual programs on adulthood Spanish literacy and language retention or expansion. Most of the literature emphasizes bilingual elementary school programs, assessment and developmental techniques, and some attention to the teaching «Heritage» students and the various methods and approaches used.<sup>69</sup> Yet there is no long term research that speaks to the manner in which early bilingual programs which em-

68. See Sari Horwitz, «Justice sues Ariz. sheriff Joe Arpaio, saying he violated Hispanics' rights,» *Washington Post*, May 1, 2011.

69. J. David Ramírez, 'A Research Symposium on High Standards in Reading for Students From Diverse Language Groups: Research, Bilingualism and Literacy: Problem or Opportunity?' A Synthesis of Reading Research on Bilingual Students: Practice & Policy, PROCEEDINGS, April 19-20, 2000 · Washington, DC, U.S. Department of Education · Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBE-MLA).0, 2012.

phasize the expansion of the literary and linguistic capacities of both Spanish and English have functioned through adulthood that could provide the general public of indications of their efficacy and/or functions in adulthood. In fact, in a comprehensive analysis by Ramirez (2000:28), «There are few studies on young children who are bilingual and beginning to develop literacy in one or both languages, and *none* documenting the development of bilingualism over time.»<sup>70</sup> (My Italics). Finally there are no longitudinal studies which analyze the impact of bilingually trained persons on their children which might have given a much longer term developmental gauge of Spanish language use and literacy practices.

Most of what can be stated is anecdotal at best but there are indications of such growth in the 2000 U.S. Census according to the work of James Crawford.<sup>71</sup> He states that «The number of minority language speakers who also speak English «very well» increased at comparable rates: 44 percent in the 1990s, versus 39 percent in the 1980s. In other words, over the past 20 years, the population of fluent bilinguals has been increasing at about the same rate as the population that speaks languages other than English at home.» On the other hand, there are no empirical studies to gauge the level of fluency, literacy, or functionality of that bilingualism among adults or children.

## 9. Conclusions

The road of Spanish literacy and language in the Southwest North American region is one that begins in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and to varying degrees has expanded and constricted according

70. Ramirez, 2000:28.

71. James Crawford, «Census 2000: A Guide for the Perplexed.»

to the political regimes in power, the functionality of the language institutionally, the presence of educational institutions supporting the language's learning, the repression of the language through war and conquest, the flow of Mexican-origin populations and most recently, Central American populations but not the subject of this discourse, and the legislative and administrative measures such as bilingual programs or English-Only programs that supported or restricted the use of Spanish literacy and language practices. The ebb and flow of literacy as reflected by the presence of newspapers and other literary practices are and continue to be a function of entering Spanish-speaking populations. From 1970 through 2012 the growth of these populations from Mexico have been impressive and also the objects of restrictive, racist, and institutional measures that seek to reduce its political impact on non-Mexican populations. These have a lineage of less than savory progenitors and activists. But also importantly coupled to these phenomena are the rationalizations and reasonable argumentations and studies that eventually make correlational or causative associations between poverty and the Spanish language, Mexican culture, and lack of educational achievement.

On the other hand, there are fresh winds of change in some parts of the country which may lead to a reconsideration of the manner in which not only English is taught but how Spanish is a means of cognitive, linguistic, and academic development that leads to the highest levels of literary and linguistic achievement in both languages. Yet there are two important conditions that may increase the likelihood of Spanish literacy and language: first, is the recognition that in a globalizing economy, the Southwest North American region is one of transborder populations, economy, polity, culture, and social relations. The integration of the transborder economy since the 19<sup>th</sup> century has given rise to myriad transborder initiatives, programs, associations and con-

nectivities in which bilingualism is a multifaceted resource for multiple levels of communication and culture with national origin of secondary importance.<sup>72</sup> Secondly, the academic literature on the mastery of multiple languages by bilingual development has reached a level of complexity and achievement, that it will be highly likely that the English-Only paradigm will be replaced something more akin to diverse, functionally developed bilingual programs which all students are given the opportunity to become multiply educated and continuing that development through adulthood that fulfill economic, cultural, social, and political needs of the transborder region and a continuing global economy. On the other hand, these winds of change still must face the subtle, but always present discourses and metascripts that accentuate national acculturation, assimilation, regional ignorance, and essentialist single cultural identities based on less than adequate understandings of the complexity and situationality of cultures and languages, of the south to north movements, of the changing political regimes, and of the integrated economic and ecological relations of the region.

Herein lies the fact that since the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the present myriad transborder connectivities have been created including cross-border relations, visitations, kinship networks, educational stays, and hundreds of other rationales for transborder sorties

72. For example, the School of Transborder Studies of Arizona State University founded in 2011 and directed by the author, has a central educational function of providing doctoral, masters, and undergraduate curricula focusing on Transborder Health and Community Development, Immigration and Urban Policy, Media and Expressive Culture, and Culture, Language, and Learning and demands levels of functionality in both languages in written and oral communication. As a School it also houses other units devoted to the maintenance and development of widespread transborder institutional networks as well as a program devoted exclusively devoted to comparative border study and production in addition to community based applied research and educational programs emphasizing language and learning research –all of which demand well developed mastery of literate and oral Spanish.



including purchasing goods in one side and the other, working on one side and living in the other, and going to primary and secondary schools on one side while residing on the other. Many sought and in the present seek medical care on one side less expensive than on the other with communicating links constantly reinforced through correspondence, and telephone. In the present the use of many electronic communication internet mediums like Twitter, Netscape, Google, Yahoo, thousands of blogs, and phone texts multiply daily and many in Spanish with networks in both English and Spanish. This has created and continues to create a very intensive transborder linguistic and cultural field of action, history, remembrance, and maintenance that belies easy political solutions or a national prism of identity which harkens back to the origins of the British colonies and maintained as the central mythic reference in schools and in almost every possible means of human communication and highly ritualized by national celebrations.

Yet the regional economy and its production need for skilled and unskilled labor continues to this day so that demographically, Spanish ebbs and flows according to the state of what is in reality a Southwest North American transborder economy and region and from which corresponding conflicts ensue over language, culture, identity, social relations, and political policies.

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## CHAPTER 3

# THE CONFLICTED ORIGINS AND FUTURE OF SPANISH IN THE UNITED STATES

*Carlos J. Ovando*

*«If the King's English was good enough for Jesus Christ, it's good enough for the children of Texas!»<sup>1</sup>*

### 1. Abstract

This chapter examines the conflicted origins and future of the Spanish language in the United States in connection with the changing, interdependent globalized system. In so doing, it examines the multilingual nature of U.S. society, the current status of Spanish in the world and the U.S., its links to English First/U.S. English, unrestrained immigration from Latin America, and its alleged impact on the hegemony of English and the Anglo-Saxon way of life. The chapter ends by examining the future of Spanish in the United States: Is that future certain, uncertain, guarded, or promising? Will the Spanish language survive with or with-

1. This quote is attributed to Miriam Amanda «Ma» Ferguson, the first female Governor of Texas, in 1924. She supposedly held a Bible in her hands as she expressed «her reasons for opposing teaching Spanish in schools». [http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Miriam\\_A.\\_Ferguson](http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Miriam_A._Ferguson)

out continued migration from Latin America given the prevalent patterns of language shift, with Spanish tending to be surrendered to English by the third or fourth generation? If there is a chance that Spanish will end up in the U.S. English «graveyard» at some point in the future, what needs to be done to make sure that it remains vital in an amicable coexistence with English and other languages? Does the U.S. need explicit language policies? What roles can or should Spanish-speaking parents and communities play to make sure that future generations of Spanish speakers pass on their heritage language to upcoming generations?

The chapter draws from the research literature on the value of heritage languages, language futures, the politics of English-only, demographics (the 2010 U.S. Census), bilingual education, ethno-linguistic identity, migration, speakers of Spanish in the United States, and language shift.

## 2. Conflicted Beginnings

Contrary to the myth that the United States has historically been an English-only society dominated by White Anglo-Saxon traditions and practices, the nation's dreams and realities have always been filtered through a polyglot prism, which includes Spanish and myriad indigenous languages that have struggled for survival (Ovando, 2003, p. 1; Ovando, 1990 Crawford, 2004; Macías, 2000; Ovando & Wiley, 2003; Wiley & de Klerk, 2010). In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when Europeans «discovered» the Americas, it is estimated that between 250 and 1,000 American Indian languages were present in North America. If Mexico and Central and South America are included, the linguistic landscape becomes even richer and more

complex (Ovando, 2003; Sherzer, 1992; Grosjean, 1982). Some 175 languages have survived the assimilative forces of English in the United States, and about 35 languages have persisted in Canada (Krauss, 1995; Ovando, 1990; 2003). Brought to the United States by Spanish colonizers, the Spanish language initially took root and flourished in various regions of the country, but it later struggled to survive under English colonizers in the Southwest (see Vélez-Ibáñez, this volume; Hernández-Chávez, Cohen, & Beltramo, 1975).

The Spanish explorer Ponce de León is credited with having introduced the Spanish language in 1513 to the territory we now call the United States. In 1528, the Spanish explorer Cabeza de Vaca traveled to the Gulf of Mexico from Florida. Francisco Coronado explored New Mexico and other parts of the U.S. Southwest between 1540 and 1542. San Agustín, Florida—the oldest uninterruptedly occupied city and port in the continental United States—was founded in 1565 by the Spanish explorer Admiral Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. And in 1598, Juan de Oñate established the settlement of San Juan de Nuevo México. Soon thereafter, settlements were also established in present-day New Mexico, southern Colorado, Arizona, and Texas. By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, there were an estimated 100,000 Spanish speakers in these northern territories. This historical legacy shows up in place names throughout the U.S.: Alcatraz, California, Las Vegas, Los Angeles, Montana, Nevada, Puerto Rico, Santa Fe, Toledo.<sup>2</sup> Language contact has also led to non-standard varieties of Spanish such as Chicano Spanish and Spanglish, which—their critics notwithstanding—have added to the country's linguistic wealth (Ovando, 2001; Peyton, Ranard, &

2. «Why Study Spanish?» American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese website, [http://www.aatsp.org?page=adv\\_why/](http://www.aatsp.org?page=adv_why/).

McGinnis, 2001; Hernández-Chávez, Cohen, & Beltramo, 1975; Stavans, 2003).<sup>3</sup>

Thus, by the time English-speaking colonizers came west, a well-established and rich linguistic tradition of Spanish was already in place (Hernández-Chávez, Cohen, & Beltramo, 1975, p. v). Driven by the expansionist doctrine of Manifest Destiny, however, the Mexican-American War (1846-1848) resulted in vast swaths of what is now the U.S. Southwest being ceded to the United States by the government of Mexico.<sup>4</sup> The landscape for the residents of that territory changed drastically in more ways than one.

... after the military conquest of Mexico by the United States, the Mexicans of the Southwest suddenly became a subjugated people, foreigners in their own homeland. Now they and those who were to follow them were relegated to the status of immigrants, even though for the Mexicans who went back and forth across the newly established political border, it was nothing more than an artificial barrier at best, for in the Southwest they encountered a people like themselves and a culture hardly distinguishable from their own. . . . with the social, political, and economic dominance of the Anglo, Spanish was no longer the respected language of a proud and independent people, but the despised tongue of a stubborn foreign minority who refused to accept English graciously and the full-fledged Americanism that presumably came with it (Hernández-Chávez, Cohen, & Beltramo, 1975, p. v).

3. For an extended discussion of language variety in the United States, including Gullah, Louisiana French Creole, Hawaiian Creole, and Black English Vernacular, see Ovando (2001), pp. 273-279.

4. See Ovando (2012a), p. 226.

As a consequence of the U.S. victory, Spanish had become subordinate to English. It is a prejudice that continues to linger more than 150 years later.

Despite the long-standing presence of Spanish in what would become the United States, the nation's founders envisioned «a country with a unified history, with unified traditions, and with a common language» (Hechinger, 1978, p. 130)—and by «a common language» they meant English, which was spoken by the majority of the population even though it was not the only language in use at the time. Thus the «symbolic politics of language and ethnic identity» was in play from the moment of the nation's birth (Ovando, 2003, p. 2). English is not specified as the nation's official language in either the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution (Ovando, 2012a, p. 226). Nor did the founders establish any kind of «government-sanctioned body to regulate speech» (Crawford, 1999, p. 22). But this does not mean that the issue was not discussed. In fact, «Dennis Baron reports that after the Revolution there was even some idle talk about getting rid of English in favor of German, French, Greek, or Hebrew as the national tongue» (Crawford, 1992b, p. 10). Spolsky (2011) adds: «During and after the war of independence, the issue of a national language did come up but was left without any formal decision» (p. 1).

In light of the United States' long history of linguistic pluralism, there has always been a relative tolerance of other languages. The U.S. government has never required the media to use English. Religious institutions have always been free to use their heritage languages in their worship services and materials. But there has also been a certain degree of intolerance. Issues of linguistic inclusion or exclusion have often been used as a veil, concealing «racist, classist, and religious prejudices»

(Ovando, 2003, p. 2). The first English word that many Indian children learned in boarding schools during the 1800s was *soap* because they were punished by their teachers for speaking their native language by having their mouths washed out with soap (Ovando, 2012a, p. 226). Similarly, Spanish-speaking children were sometimes punished for speaking Spanish on school grounds (see Ovando & Combs, 2012). Less well known is the fact «that Black slaves were denied their right to maintain their ancestral languages to discourage rebellion and conflicts» (Ovando, 2012a, p. 226).

The political and ideological shift toward or away from non-English languages has usually been a response to demographic dynamics, ideological positions, international conflicts, economic conditions, and immigration policies (Ovando, 2003; Ovando & Wiley, 2003; Tollefson, 2013). Through a set of intersecting periods —labeled Permissive, Restrictive, Opportunist, and Dismissive (Baker & Jones, 1998)— we can conceptualize and examine the ups and downs of the bilingual tradition in the United States.<sup>5</sup>

### 2.1. The Permissive Period (1700s-1880s)

Responses to language diversity in the United States during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries tended to be shaped not by ideas about language itself but by «localized political, social, cultural, and economic forces» (Ovando, 2003, p. 4). The period from the 1700s to the 1880s was one of relevant tolerance toward and mild neglect of the many languages represented in the society, especially those of northern European origin (Fishman, in Hakuta 1986; Ovando & Wiley, 2003). Because languages served as a marker of identity, many new immigrant communities

5. See Ovando (2003, pp. 1-4) for an expanded discussion of these periods.

maintained their primary languages for religious services, in private and public schools for their children, and to read community newspapers to keep themselves informed (Kloss, 1977/1998; Ovando, 2003). The sociologist Robert Havighurst (1978) uses the term «defensive pluralism» in reference to the period of time during the 19<sup>th</sup> century when many immigrant communities formed strong and vibrant linguistic, religious, and cultural enclaves. They saw no conflict in preserving their ancestral languages and cultures while at the same time participating in the nation's public life. Several states authorized bilingual schooling during this period. According to Kloss (1977), by 1880, when other immigrant groups from Eastern Europe began to arrive in large numbers in the United States (p. 1), many private and public schools offered some form of bilingual or non-English instruction —German in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Nebraska, Colorado, and Oregon; Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish in Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Washington; Dutch in Michigan; Polish and Italian in Wisconsin; Czech in Texas; French in Louisiana; and Spanish in the Southwest see Kloss, 1977; Ovando, 2012, p. 226). It is estimated that in the 1850s some 600,000 students (4 percent of the primary school population in the U.S.) received some or all of their schooling in German (Kloss, 1977).

## 2.2. The Restrictive Period (1880s-1960s)

The late 1800s brought a U-turn in linguistic and immigration restrictions. It was during this period that many repressive policies were implemented. There were efforts to «civilize» Indians and keep them on reservations; missionary leaders wanting to school Indian children in their heritage language were unsuccessful in challenging the assimilationist English-only policies supported by the Federal Indian Office; and anti-German sen-



timent increased, rooted largely in anti-Catholic anxiety (Ovando, 2003).

The 1890s saw the creation of the Immigration Restriction League as well as advocacy for «a literacy test that would require any immigrant wishing to settle in the United States to have the ability to read 40 words in any language» (Ovando, 2003; Higham, 1988). Increasing anxiety about the infiltration of foreign ideologies into the United States led to a call for assimilation, with all foreign-born immigrants to be stirred together in a single cultural and linguistic stew via the so-called melting pot. The Naturalization Act of 1906 specified that immigrants must speak English in order to become naturalized citizens of the United States. Fearing the threat of linguistic, cultural, and ideological competition posed by the large numbers of immigrants arriving from central, eastern, and southern Europe, established settlers clamored to take control of the public schools (Ovando, 2003).

After the United States entered World War I, anti-German anger brought a push for monolingualism and amalgamation, including a prohibition on teaching German in the public schools. According to Higham (1992), from 1918 to 1920, the U.S. Bureau of Naturalization and the Bureau of Education sponsored bills that «provided for substantial federal aid to states, on a dollar-matching basis, to finance the teaching of English to aliens and native illiterates» (p. 82). In 1923, 34 state legislatures mandated English-only instruction in public and private elementary schools (Kloss, 1977/1998; Ovando, 2003). Disregarding the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the immigrants, the school curriculum content and process promoted a sink-or-swim approach to language learning. It was also during this period that the continuing debate over the role of heritage language instruc-

tion was taken up by the Supreme Court in *Meyer v. Nebraska* (1923), with the result that Nebraska's prohibition against teaching German in the primary schools was ruled unconstitutional on the basis of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment. While affirming immigrants' right to maintain their ancestral languages in private schools, «this case actually had little or no effect in arresting the demise of bilingual instruction during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century» (Kloss, 1977/1998, p. 73). According to James Crawford (2004), the Restrictive Period was marked by «instrumental and symbolic politics.» «Were proponents pushing a policy to teach immigrant children English as effectively as possible? Or to insist that immigrants show proper deference to the language of their adopted country? Distinguishing between instrumental and symbolic politics can be problematic. Throughout U.S. history, proposals to provide bilingual accommodation have prompted a seemingly practical objection: If we do it for one group, we will have to do it for all» (Ovando, 2003, p. 6).

### 2.3. The Opportunist Period (1960s-1980s)

World War II sounded the alarm regarding the inadequacies of foreign language instruction in the United States. Catalyzed by the Cold War and the launching of *Sputnik* by the Soviet Union on October 4, 1957, the federal government moved to emphasize mathematics, science, and foreign languages. A key objective of the 1958 National Defense Education Act (NDEA) was to raise the bar in the teaching of foreign languages through generous fellowships (Ovando, 2003, p. 7). Ironically, foreign language instruction for monolingual English speakers was being promoted at great cost and with great inefficiency while the government was simultaneously working to erase «the linguistic gifts that children from non-English-language backgrounds bring to our schools» (Ovando, 2003, p. 7).

Reacting to the government's failure to promote linguistic diversity in the larger society, the Civil Rights Movement and the 1964 Civil Rights Act spurred the development of pro-multilingual policies and practices, which ultimately led to the creation of the Office for Civil Rights. Non-English-language instruction was also restored as a result of changes in immigration legislation. When the 1965 Immigration Act was passed, replacing the Naturalization Act of 1906, it brought an end to the 1923 quota system based on national origin. As greater numbers of immigrants from Asia and Latin America began to enter the country, the increasing number of language-minority students in U.S. classrooms underlined the need for bilingual instruction (Molesky, 1988; Ovando, 2003, p. 7).

The development of bilingual instruction was also aided by the Cuban Revolution of 1959. Thinking that their stay in the United States was going to be short-lived, many of the Cuban expatriates who settled in Florida wanted their children to retain their fluency in Spanish and their Cuban cultural patterns in order to ease their re-entry into Cuban society after Fidel Castro was overthrown. Therefore, a highly successful two-way bilingual education program was established at the Coral Way Elementary School in Dade County, Florida (Ovando, 2003, p. 7; González, 1975), which catalyzed other school districts in the nation to experiment with bilingual education. Like bilingual programs in other languages that surfaced before the Bilingual Education Act was passed in 1968, Spanish-English programs tended to be locally established and funded (see Luz Reyes & Halcón, 2008, p. 233).

Enacted in 1968 as part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty, the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act) was designed to provide assistance to marginalized language-minority students,

especially Spanish-speaking children. Lacking precise policy guidelines as to whether school districts should offer transitional or maintenance bilingual schooling, the act was open to various interpretations. Originally, federal funds were to be used «to support educational programs, to train teachers and aides, to develop and disseminate instructional materials, and to encourage parental involvement» (Crawford, 1999, p. 40). Yet school districts were able to use the funds to offer English-only instruction instead of using the students' heritage languages. Addressing the ambiguity of the act, Crawford (2000) writes: «Enacted at the apex of the Great Society, the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) of 1968 passed Congress without a single voice raised in dissent. Americans have spent the past thirty years debating what the law was meant to accomplish» (p. 84).

Its lack of clarity notwithstanding, the BEA offered an alternative to the Darwinian «sink-or-swim» schooling practices that were common for language minorities between the 1880s and the 1960s:

For the first time in American educational history, the federal government embarked on an educational experiment that sought to build upon students' home cultures, languages, and prior experiences in such a way that they could start learning without first being proficient in English. As a result of the Bilingual Education Act, community activism, and litigation by Spanish-speaking parents in the Southwest, many elementary and some secondary bilingual and [English as a Second Language] programs were implemented throughout the United States (Ovando, 2003, p. 8).

Although it was guided mostly by intuition rather than evidence-based research, the BEA brought the issue of bilingual education to the national forefront. Nevertheless, Noel Epstein

(1977), an early critic of bilingual schooling, viewed it as a threat to the country's future, believing that it promoted the maintenance of «ethno-linguistic enclaves that someday would threaten the unity of the United States» (Ovando, 2003, p. 8).

Next in importance to the revival of bilingual schooling in the United States was the 1974 Supreme Court case *Lau v. Nichols* (414 U.S. 5637), a class action suit involving 1,800 Chinese students who had alleged discrimination on the grounds that they were unable to succeed in school because they could not understand what their English-speaking teachers were saying (Ovando, 2003, p. 9). Citing the 1964 Civil Rights Act, «the justices concluded that equal treatment of English-speaking and non-English-speaking students did not constitute equal educational opportunity and, therefore, violated non-English-speaking students' civil rights» (Ovando, 2003, p. 9). Chief Justice Douglas declared:

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. . . . We know that those who do not understand English are certain to find their classroom experiences wholly incomprehensible and in no way meaningful (*Lau v. Nichols*, 1974).

As with the BEA, *Lau* was open to various interpretations regarding the best way to restore the civil rights of language-minority students. Schools, for example, could promote programs based on a variety of philosophies—from «assimilation as quickly as possible» to «separatism without discrimination» (desegregation notwithstanding)—and still adhere to the spirit of the law (Ovando, 2003, p. 9).

Despite the ambiguous nature of the *Lau* decision, Teitelbaum and Hiller (1977) argue that it «legitimized and gave impetus to the movement for equal educational opportunity for students who do not speak English» by making it clear that dual language instruction was needed, encouraging federal legislation, and energizing federal enforcement efforts (p. 139). As a result of the verdict, the Equal Educational Opportunities Act was passed in August 1974. With this act, Congress affirmed the *Lau* decision and expanded its jurisdiction «to apply to all public school districts, not just those receiving federal financial assistance» (Ovando, 2003, p. 9). § 1703 of the Act stipulates that

No State shall deny equal educational opportunity to an individual on account of his or her race, color, sex, or national origin, by . . . the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs.

To ensure that school districts serving language-minority students were in compliance with *Lau*, the Office for Civil Rights issued the *Lau Remedies*, a series of policy guidelines to help school districts identify language-minority students and assess their proficiency in English (Ovando, 2003, p. 10). The *Lau Remedies* outlined specific pedagogical strategies, emphasized the importance of moving English language learners into regular classrooms, and established professional standards for bilingual teachers. In addition, they stipulated that school districts with at least 20 English language learners should implement bilingual schooling. These students were to receive academic content in their heritage language while also taking classes in English as a second language (ESL) to improve their proficiency and enable them to compete favorably

with their English-dominant classmates. School districts were now required to provide evidence that they had effective programs in place to meet the academic, linguistic, and sociocultural needs of language-minority students. Those that were not in compliance with the guidelines could end up forfeiting federal funds (Ovando & Combs, 2012; Teitelbaum & Hiller, 1977).

To help school districts determine whether they were taking appropriate action to protect the civil rights of language-minority students, *Castañeda v. Pickard* (648 F.2d 989—Court of Appeals, 5th Circuit, 1981) provided a blueprint containing three guidelines: 1) «The school program must be anchored in sound educational theory»; 2) «Adequate resources and personnel must be evident in the school program»; and 3) «The school program must reflect sound practices and results, not only in language but also in such content areas as math, science, social studies, and language arts» (Crawford, 2004; Ovando & Collier, 1998). Indicative of its importance, the *Castañeda* test has been used in other court cases, and the Office for Civil Rights has used it as a template for compliance with the *Lau* decision (Ovando & Combs, 2012).

Court decisions have undeniably been the engine driving bilingual schooling initiatives in the United States. However, the types of programs that have been developed and implemented have varied «as to how much, if any, non-English-language instructions teachers use. They also vary as to how many years of instruction students receive in their first language, and whether there is an effort to maintain the first language after the student has become fluent in English. In addition, the programs vary in their approach to inclusion of monolingual English speakers in bilingual programs» (Ovando, 2003, p. 11). These programs fall into several classifications:

- Structured immersion programs: Students are given specialized ESL instruction in accordance with their level of English proficiency, with no use of the heritage language.
- Partial immersion programs: Non-English-language students are moved to English as rapidly as possible, through the provision of ESL instruction plus an hour or so of instruction daily in the native language.
- Transitional bilingual programs: English language learners are transitioned to English within a specified amount of time. In early-exit programs, students receive support in their heritage language and with ESL support are transitioned to mainstream classroom in two to three years. In late-exit programs, the transition is delayed until the fifth or sixth grade. Not all programs follow these procedures.
- Developmental or maintenance bilingual education: Permanency is added to the heritage language via instructional use of the maternal language, both until and after the student has achieved proficiency in English.
- Two-way immersion programs: Language-minority and language-majority student populations «are placed together in a bilingual classroom to learn each other's language and to work academically in both languages. . . . For example, the English-speaking child learns Spanish while the Spanish-speaking child learns English within the same classroom» (Ovando, 2003, p. 11).

Through federal legislation and court cases, community grassroots efforts, and support from educational researchers, the



Opportunist Period fostered the development of wide-ranging bilingual education programs, thus protecting the civil rights of language-minority students (Ovando, 2003, p. 12). Yet, despite this growth and the optimism of the times —based largely on data showing that «research-based program models have proven their effectiveness in the classroom, even in high-poverty schools where failure was once the norm» (Crawford, 2004, p. xv)— critics continued to blame bilingual schooling for the low achievement and high dropout rates of Hispanic students. Those who favored bilingual education, on the other hand, argued that only a small fraction of the English language learners in the nation were enrolled in effective dual language programs, and thus the poor academic performance of Hispanic students should not be blamed solely on the track record of bilingual education. .

#### 2.4. The Dismissive Period (1980s–Present)

Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), which transformed the way language-minority children are taught in the United States —promoting equal access to the curriculum, training a generation of educators, and fostering achievement among students— expired quietly on January 8 [ , 2002]. The law was 34 years old.

—JAMES CRAWFORD<sup>6</sup>

6. «The Bilingual Education Act, 1968–2002: An Obituary,» policy brief for the Language Policy Research Unit, Arizona State University, March 2002; reprinted in Crawford (2008), pp. 124–127. Crawford adds: «Its death was not unexpected, following years of attacks by enemies and desertions by allies in Congress. Title VII, also known as the Bilingual Education Act, was eliminated as part of a larger ‘school reform’ measure known as No Child Left Behind (2002), the latest incarnation of ESEA, which was proposed by the Bush administration and passed with broad bipartisan support. Indeed, the lack of controversy was striking. Conservative Republicans dropped an attempt to mandate

The Dismissive Period has proved to be quite damaging to the health of the bilingual education field. Between the 1960s and the 1980s, the Bilingual Education Act had led to the development of successful dual language programs buttressed by qualitative and quantitative research evidence in the United States. But the path to the ultimate demise of bilingual education was set during the administrations of Ronald Reagan (1981-1989) and George H. W. Bush (1989-1993). Coming out strongly against dual language instruction, in 1981 President Reagan declared: «It 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» (quoted in Crawford, 1999, p. 53). Subsequent legislation eased the restrictions on English-only instructional programs and led to a shift in funding away from heritage language programs (Ovando, 2003, p. 12).

Addressing the National Federation of Republican Women in Washington, D.C., on March 31, 2007, Newt Gingrich said: «We should replace bilingual education with immersion in English so people learn the common language of the country and so they learn the language of prosperity, not the language of living in a ghetto.» This notion that bilingual education is not good for the nation has inspired a number of anti-bilingual education ini-

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English-only schooling, while liberal Democrats made little effort to block the transformation of the Bilingual Education Act into the English Language Acquisition Act. Not a single member of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, once a stalwart Ally of Title VII, voted against the legislation. . . . This marks a 180-degree reversal in language policy. 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 English Language Acquisition Act stresses skills in English only. . . . Federally supported programs, whether for classroom instruction or professional development, must be grounded in ‘scientifically-based» research.’»

tiatives over the years, backed by self-proclaimed U.S. English activists who feel that the English language is threatened by the increasing presence and use of Spanish in schools and society. In 1994, for example, California voters decisively approved Proposition 187, a ballot measure that was designed to crack down on illegal immigration. The new law required public schools to report to law enforcement agencies and the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the U.S. Department of Justice all persons—including children and their parents—who were not able to prove their legal immigration or national status in the United States (see Macias, 1994; and Ovando & Combs, 2012). On the basis of the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Plyer v. Doe* (1982), which guarantees unauthorized children the right to public schooling, Judge Mariana Pfaelzer struck down Proposition 187, arguing that «immigration is a federal responsibility and that the U.S. Constitution does not permit a state to establish its own system» (see Schnaiberg, 1995, p. 13; Ovando & Combs, 2012, pp. 82-83).

In 1998, emboldened by the federal anti-bilingual and anti-immigrant policies of the 1980s, Ron Unz, a wealthy Silicon Valley entrepreneur who aspired to the governorship of California, sponsored another anti-bilingual initiative. Titled Proposition 227: English for the Children, it was again easily approved by California voters. Proposition 227 severely damaged bilingual education in the state. Nevertheless, despite the demonstrated positive value of dual language instruction in addressing the nation's changing demographics, other states with large numbers of English language learners and immigrant populations, including Arizona and Massachusetts, subsequently passed similar measures of their own, thereby disregarding the «multilingual realities of global societies» and the proven value of bilingual education when it is effectively implemented (Ovando, 2012, p. 227).

## 2.5. The Growing Presence of Spanish in the World

Spanish is the heritage language of some 400 to 500 million persons, meaning that only Mandarin Chinese is spoken by more people around the world. According to statistics compiled by the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese, Spanish is used in 44 countries and is the official language in 21 of them. Some 15 to 16 million students are currently studying the Spanish language in high schools and universities across the globe.<sup>7</sup> The Internet had some 164,968,742 Spanish-speaking users as of May 2011, making it the third most commonly used online language.<sup>8</sup> In the United States, Spanish is spoken by approximately 10 percent of the population, ranking the U.S. fourth in the world in the number of Spanish speakers. It is also more widely taught in the U.S. than any other international language.<sup>9</sup> As these statistics show, the Spanish language has an impressive world-wide presence. But it is an equally important source of cultural enrichment, not only for those who speak it but also for those who come in contact with them.

## 3. Spanish and English in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century USA: Friends or Foes?

At the time of the 2010 Census, the population of the United States was estimated at 308.7 million. That included some 50.5 million Latinos and Hispanics. The census figures also

7. «Estimated Number of Students Studying Spanish Worldwide: 15 to 16 Million,» <http://www.pagef30.com/2010/07/estimated-number-of-students-studying.html>.

8. «Internet World Users by Language,» <http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.htm>.

9. «Why Study Spanish?» [http://www.aatsp.org/?page=adv\\_why](http://www.aatsp.org/?page=adv_why).

show that between 2000 and 2010, Latinos and Hispanics accounted for 56 percent of total population growth in the United States, and demographers predict that by 2050 they will constitute more than 30 percent of the U.S. population. Increasing numbers of Latinos and Hispanics are moving into public life at all levels in the U.S., and they have become an important presence on the national political stage. In addition, speakers of Spanish exert a considerable influence on the U.S. economy, with their calculated purchasing power expected to reach \$1.8 trillion by 2017.<sup>10</sup> In Arizona alone, the Hispanic community has a buying power of \$40 trillion and owns 65,000 businesses; by 2015, Hispanics' buying power in Arizona is projected to reach \$50 trillion.<sup>11</sup>

While this seems to present an «upbeat» scenario for Spanish speakers in the United States, there are important questions that need to be asked. What does the 2010 Census data tell us about foreign-born Spanish speakers? Where do they come from? Are the children of foreign-born Spanish-speaking parents in the United States leaving their heritage language behind and surrendering to English? Does Spanish or English tend to be used in the homes of the foreign-born? How is the U.S. educational system responding to the growing numbers of English language learners? Do these students quickly and willingly learn English and assimilate to U.S. society? In general, is the future of the Spanish language in the United States certain, uncertain, guarded, or promising?

10. «Global Insight: The Hispanic Market Monitor»(2007), quoted at [http://www.usamp.com/hispanicPanel/?utm\\_source=Google&utm\\_medium=cpc&utm\\_cam](http://www.usamp.com/hispanicPanel/?utm_source=Google&utm_medium=cpc&utm_cam).

11. Arizona Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, «We Speak the Language,» <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KXXp1RDDrww>.

### 3.1. Foreign-Born Hispanic Immigrants

In the 2010 American Community Survey Report, the number of people living in the United States who were not U.S. citizens at birth was estimated at around 40 million, or 13 percent of the total population. That was an increase of 3 million from the previous year. More than half of the foreign-born (21,224,000, or 53.1 percent) were from Latin America and the Caribbean. Of that 53.1 percent, 11,711,000, or 29.3 percent, were of Mexican birth. Children younger than 18 were more likely to live in foreign-born households (62 percent) than in native-born households (47 percent), and the median income for the foreign-born was more likely to be lower (\$46,224) than that for the native-born (\$50,541). In households in which at least one of the heads was born in Latin America, the median income was even lower (\$38,238, falling to \$35,254 when at least one householder was of Mexican birth). The foreign-born from Latin America also had the highest poverty rate.<sup>12</sup>

Not surprisingly, second-generation immigrants tend to be better off educationally and financially than the foreign-born. They are more likely to have a high school degree and to have completed at least some college, and their incomes tend to be higher. In summing up the data from the 2009 edition of the survey, Elizabeth M. Grieco, chief of the Census Bureau's Foreign-Born Population Branch, said: «What the data show is that, generally speaking, income and other measures of achievement, such as education, increase between first and second generation. This suggests that the children of immigrants

12. «The Foreign-Born Population in the United States: 2010,» <http://www.census.gov/prod/2012pubs/acs-19.pdf>; «Nation's Foreign-Born Population Nears 37 Million,» [http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/foreign-born\\_population/cb10-159.html](http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/foreign-born_population/cb10-159.html).

are continuing to assimilate over time as they have in past generations.»<sup>13</sup>

### 3.2. Spanish-English Language Shift

There have been Spanish-speaking communities in the United States since before the nation's founding. Yet while there is strength in numbers, some people worry that the Spanish language in the U.S. will not survive the assimilative pressure of English. They fear that unless there is continuing immigration from Latin countries, and unless parents who speak Spanish can ensure its successful transmission to their children and thereby slow the pace of language shift to English, Spanish speakers in the U.S. will eventually surrender their heritage language. Crawford and Krashen (2007) cite other variables that contribute to language loss: «integration into the wider society; geographic mobility, especially from rural to urban areas; economic and educational advancement; exposure to mass culture in the majority tongue; intermarriage with other ethnic groups; and increased identification with the nation, at the expense of identification with another country or tribal heritage» (p. 38). At the personal level, they identify three reasons why language-minority students tend not to become competent in their ancestral tongue: «if parents speak the mother tongue at home, children are more likely to acquire it. But if children hear the language only from their parents, there are likely to be limits on how far they can progress» (p. 38). In addition, two psychological obstacles may also promote language shift: «*ethnic ambivalence*, a stage some children go through in which they are reluctant or ashamed to use the heritage language, and a phenomenon known as *language shyness*» (p. 38), which is the reaction by

13. «Nation's Foreign-Born Population Nears 37 Million.»

recent immigrants to having their language criticized by fluent speakers of a dominant language.

The statistics from the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese cited above present a more optimistic picture of the future of Spanish. There is no doubt, however, that English enjoys a high level of prestige around the world. «Despite the boom in Spanish,» writes Max Castro, «no one questions the continuing dominance of English in the United States and internationally. English is the lingua franca in the world today. Its status is ensured by its use in cutting-edge areas such as science, aviation, and computers. Checking out the Internet's World Wide Web? About 83 percent of home pages are in English. No language in human history has ever had the global standing English currently enjoys.»<sup>14</sup>

Joshua A. Fishman (1991, 2000) is a strong advocate of reversing language shift worldwide. He argues that it is up to parents and the members of heritage language communities to resist the pressure of dominant languages and work aggressively to transmit their ancestral languages to their children. To change the course of language shift in the United States, however, will require understanding the values, attitudes, and practices of native- and foreign-born Spanish-speaking parents regarding the retention of Spanish in their children's lives. There are numerous examples of U.S. Spanish speakers who have been ostracized and punished for using Spanish in school and even in the larger society (Ovando & Combs, 2012). In response to their own negative experience, many parents have

14. Max J. Castro, «The Future of Spanish in the United States,» <http://www.languagepolicy.net/archives/Castro1.htm>.



instructed their children to give up Spanish for English.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, the prevalent tendency for native— and foreign-born Spanish speakers has been to acculturate to U.S. society rather than assimilate into it.<sup>16</sup> Acculturation implies not surrendering the Spanish language and Latino cultural patterns to English but rather becoming bilingual and bicultural.<sup>17</sup>

Less is known about Spanish speakers' ability to read and write in Spanish. Referring to Veltman's (1988) research on language shift, Aguilar (2008) suggests that «Children of Hispanic immigrants . . . tend to lose their ability to read and write their parents' mother tongue, which may happen at a different pace from their ability to speak it; this leads to the deterioration of literacy skills. Once this happens, the remaining spoken fluency weakens over time and the prospects for bilingualism vanish» (p. 772).

So now that immigration from Mexico —allegedly a lifeline for the continued growth and vitality of the Spanish language in the United States— has slowed to a virtual standstill, what is

15. So significant is the need to teach Spanish to Spanish speakers in K-12 and higher education that the Center for Applied Linguistics now has a resource guide online: <http://www.cal.org/resources/archive/rgos/sns.html>

16. Acculturation: A process whereby an individual or group incorporates one or more cultural traits of another group, resulting in a blend of cultural patterns. Cultural change and accommodation through acculturation do necessarily mean loss of the original cultural identity (Ovando & Combs, 2010, p. G1). Assimilation: A process in which an individual or group completely takes on the traits of another culture, leaving behind the ancestral culture and language (Ovando & Combs, 2010, G2).

17. Valdés (2008, p. 773), citing the work of Portes, Rumbaut, and Tienda and Mitchell, states: «Research on language use in Latino communities conducted over time, however, has made clear that, despite the influx of monolinguals into Latino communities, the shift toward English among Latinos is unmistakable. Among Latino professionals, the shift is even more rapid; it appears to take place by the second generation, as indicated in the survey conducted by Guadalupe Valdés, Fishman, Rebecca Chavez, and William Pérez.»

going to happen to Spanish? Some demographers contend that in the future the Latino population will increase primarily through births, not immigration. However, barring the passage of additional draconian immigration policies such as SB1070 in Arizona, and assuming that the U.S. economy improves, documented and undocumented immigrants from Mexico and Central and South America will continue to come to the United States.<sup>18</sup> Also, given the existing free trade agreements between the United States and Mexico, Central America, and South America, Spanish will have an essential role to play.

If, as the 2010 Census predicts, the demographic face of the United States becomes increasingly browner and the nation more culturally and linguistically diverse, it is likely that Spanish will continue to evolve in response to the «dominant attitudes and beliefs about language diversity» of the times (Wiley & de Klerk, 2010; Ovando & Wiley, 2003). Nevertheless, language shift and language maintenance will probably remain part of the landscape. If historical immigration patterns of assimilation, enculturation, socialization, and acculturation can illuminate language adjustment patterns, it seems unlikely that Spanish will be buried in the U.S. «language graveyard» any time soon (see Rumbaut, 2009). Language, like culture, is learned and shared, and it is constantly changing. Spanish will make the adjustments it needs to survive alongside English in the United States. It will continue to coexist with English because the Hispanic-origin population affirms its importance in their lives. «The United States will continue to be a linguistically diverse nation in the coming years», report Hyon B. Shin and Jennifer M. Ortman of the U.S. Census Bu-

18. The U.N. Human Settlements Program (U.N. Habitat), in a study titled «State of the Cities of Latin America,» states that «Despite some progress recorded over the past decade, 124 million people live in poverty in Latin America and the Caribbean» (Ticotimes.net; posted Friday, August 24, 2012).

reau. «English is expected to continue to be the only language spoken by a substantial majority of all U.S. residents 5 years and older. The population speaking Spanish . . . [is] projected to increase. Spanish is projected to remain the most commonly spoken non-English language.»<sup>19</sup>

### 3.3. Impact of the Foreign-Born in U.S. Schools

As the U.S. population has become more diverse, schools have had to accommodate an increasing number of students whose primary language is Spanish and who are thus labeled English language learners (ELLs). According to a report in *Education Week*, «from the 1997-98 school year to the 2008 school year, the number of English-language learners enrolled in public schools increased from 3.5 million to 5.3 million, or by 51 percent (National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition, 2011). During the same period, the general population of students grew by 7.2 percent, to 49.5 million. These burgeoning numbers of English-language learners pose unique challenges for educators striving to ensure that such students get access to the core curriculum in schools and acquire academic knowledge, as well as English-language skills.»<sup>20</sup> However, «most educational discourse and learning environments to date have continued to reflect the discourse practices of mainstream society, with often unfortunate results for nonmainstream students, including Spanish speaking students» (Ovando & Combs, 2012, p. 13). The nation is not prepared for this demographic shift, as is evident from the dearth of qualified

19. Hyon B. Shin and Jennifer M. Ortman, «Language Projections: 2010 to 2020,» paper presented at the Federal Forecasters Conference, Washington, D.C., April 21, 2011, [http://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/language/data/acs/Shin\\_Ortman\\_FFC2011\\_paper.pdf](http://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/language/data/acs/Shin_Ortman_FFC2011_paper.pdf).

20. «English-Language Learners,» *Education Week*, June 16, 2011, <http://www.edweek.org/ew/issues/english-language-learners/>.

bilingual and ESL teachers who can produce high achievement levels while affirming the Spanish language and culture in the process. There is also evidence that English language learners continue to lag behind their English-dominant classmates in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics.

### 3.4. The Myth of Latino Resistance

It is widely believed that, unlike earlier European immigrants, Latino immigrants are unwilling to learn English. Increased migration from Latin America in the past decades, along with the persistent use of Spanish in U.S. society, has provoked fear and anxiety in some circles, giving rise to what James Crawford calls «self-appointed guardians of English» (1992b, p. 171). These self-styled «protectors» of the English language formed a Washington lobby in 1983 complete with a political action committee and an \$18 million budget to «defend our common language» (1992b, p. 171). Concerned that Hispanics are not «melting» into U.S. English and cultural traditions, they view the use of Spanish «as a threat to the continued dominance of English,» fearing that «an increase in Latino immigration and natality may lead to a bilingual society and to drastic changes in American culture» (Aguilar, 2008, p. 770).

However, the United States has never been an English-only society dominated entirely by White Anglo-Saxon traditions. It has always been a democracy, home to an impressive mix of languages and cultures. Over its history, support for languages other than English has fluctuated, ranging from tolerance to outright dismissal, reflecting beliefs and convictions that influence policy and performance (Wiley & de Klerk, 2010). It is a myth that Hispanics in the United States do not want to acquire listening, speaking, reading, and writing skills in English at a level that will allow them to function at a level

of communicative competence in a *de facto* English-dominant society. Contrary to the common perception, they do not regard «assimilation» as a dirty word. «The assumptions of the national media, reflecting the belief of many Americans that Hispanics are reluctant to learn English or to acknowledge its central place in our economy, are unwarranted and unfounded. Hispanics accept English as the primary language of the nation and recognize that its acquisition is of critical importance to their success in the United States» (Nicolau & Valdivieso, 1998, p. 317). It is simply not an easy process to absorb the traits of another culture and language, leaving one's heritage language and cultural identity behind. Nor can it be accomplished quickly.

Assimilation is conventionally viewed as a rational and unfettered process involving a painless transition from the language, culture, and religious values of Culture A to those of Culture B. «The canonical statement of immigration as a one-way street was set forth by Milton Gordon in his classic *Assimilation in American Life* (1964),» write Douglas S. Massey and Magaly Sánchez R. in their book *Brokered Boundaries: Creating Immigrant Identity in Anti-Immigrant Times* (2010).

He argued that assimilation involves an orderly passage through a series of three basic stages: acculturation, in which immigrants adopt the language and values of the host society; structural assimilation, wherein immigrants and their children enter into personal networks and social organizations dominated by natives; and finally marital assimilation, wherein the descendants of immigrants intermarry freely with native-born members of the host society. This scenario sees assimilation as an orderly, linear process, and for this reason it has sometimes as «straight-line assimilation.» The process

of assimilation may be faster in some groups than others, but in the end it is inevitable and always follows the same linear progression (p. 2).

Gordon used demographic data from the 1960 U.S. Census to support his argument for the linear model. Massey and Sánchez R., however, argue that by 1960 the United States was no longer «an immigrant society.» It had become a «nation of immigrants,» with most having been born in the U.S. to families that had already assimilated successfully.

Whereas millions of immigrants arrived in the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, over the next four decades immigration slowed to a comparative trickle, with the inflow dropping from an annual average of around 600,000 between 1880 and 1930 to just 185,000 annually between 1930 and 1970 (pp. 2-3; Massey, 1995). As a result, by the time of the 1960 census, which Gordon used to support his arguments, some 80 percent of all Americans were descended from Europeans and only 5 percent had actually been born abroad, with 11 percent being Black; and the 4 percent Hispanic, Asian, or American Indian. Thus, for the vast majority of Americans looking back on the experience of their ancestors from the viewpoint of the 1960s, the canonical expression of assimilation rang true (pp. 2-3).

Massey and Sánchez R. conclude that Gordon's model is too simplistic and idealized, and that it fails to recognize the frequent bumps and detours that immigrants have to negotiate when they leave behind their loved ones and familiar environments to venture into an unknown future. For Massey and Sánchez R., therefore, assimilation must be viewed «not as a

one-way process of immigrant accommodation, but as a two-way process of boundary negotiation carried out by immigrants and natives» (Alba & Nee, 2003; Massey & Sánchez R, 2010, pp. 12-13).

Instead of surrendering their heritage language and cultural traditions, many Latino immigrants to the United States choose to negotiate two languages and two cultures (or even more, as is true of immigrants representing indigenous languages such as Náhuatl from Mexico or Mayan-derived languages from Guatemala). That being the case, Spanish speakers in the United States should not be viewed as a threat to the hegemony of English or the stability of U.S. society. They should not evoke distrust, anxiety, or a fear of cataclysmic change (see Buchanan 2002). Rather, they should be welcomed as an important resource that adds a layer of richness to humanity. Competency in both Spanish and English should be regarded as a national asset. Hispanics, both native- and foreign-born, do want to learn English, as is demonstrated by the large numbers who enroll in ESL courses, many of whom are turned away because there are not enough classes to accommodate them all (see Wiley & de Klerk, 2010). Immigrants of Hispanic origin may not all be part of the «melting pot,» but they are an important ingredient in the multicultural and multilingual salad bowl that constitutes the United States.

#### 4. The Future of Spanish in the United States: Certain, Uncertain, or Guarded?

The conflict over bilingual education and our path as a nation . . . are deeply grounded in the very nature of language itself. If language were nothing more than a set of

words, a grammar, and sounds, there would probably be much less discord over our nation language education policies. However, language is so very much more than words, grammar, and sounds. It is, as folklorist Cratis Williams writes, «culture expressing itself in sound.» It gives individuals and groups their identity and . . . enables members of society to transmit and exchange values, attitudes, skills, and aspirations as culture-bearers and culture-makers (Ovando, 1990, p. 341).

Policies related to bilingual education have had an uneven history in the United States, changing with the ideological and political winds of the times regarding immigrant languages and cultures, military conflicts in the world, and threats to our national security (see Spolsky, 2011). Given the anti-immigrant politics and restrictive language education policies so far in the 21st century (see Gabaldón & Ovando, 2011; Gándara & Hopkins, 2010), it will not be easy to convince the public that the Bilingual Education Act should be resuscitated. Foreign language and international programs linked with the national security of the United States are, however, receiving financial support from the federal government because section 601 of Title VI of the Higher Education Act stipulates that «The security, stability, and economic vitality of the United States in a complex global era depend upon American experts in and citizens knowledgeable about world regions, foreign languages, and international affairs, as well as upon a strong research base in these areas» (Spolsky, 2011, p. 3). That being the case, one would think that a heritage language like Spanish would be strongly supported.

The well-known scholar and linguist Bernard Spolsky (2011) asks: «Does the United States Need a Language Policy?» Guided by four interrelated principles, he then proceeds



to answer his own question with a «yes.» The guiding principles are:

- 1) The development of policies to ensure that there is no linguistic discrimination—that languages and speakers of specific languages are not ignored in the provision of civic services.
- 2) The provision of adequate programs for teaching English to all, native-born or immigrant, old or young.
- 3) The development of respect both for multilingual capacity . . . and for diverse individual languages [, leading to] approaches that enhance the status and enrich the knowledge of heritage and community languages.
- 4) A multi-branched language-capacity program that strengthens and integrates a variety of language education programs, connects heritage programs with advanced training programs, builds on heritage and immersion and overseas-experience approaches to constantly replenish a cadre of efficient multilingual citizens capable of professional work using their multilingual skills, and provides rich and satisfying language instruction that leads to a multilingual population with knowledge of and respect for other languages and cultures (p. 5).

So how are sound ideas and conceptual language policy frameworks regarding fair and inclusive language policies that respect all languages and cultures to become a reality? And do they really make a difference as to whether languages thrive or die on the vine? The founders of the United States were not overly concerned about the primacy of the English language as

part of the democratic vision or mission of the country. Beginning in the 1980s, however, increased immigration from Latin America to the United States, and the concomitant pressure on society to provide bilingual schooling and to help Latinos «melt» into the mainstream, provoked swift anti-immigrant and anti-Spanish sentiments, prominently articulated by self-appointed «guardians» of the English language with support from the U.S. English organization.

It is an unfortunate reality that not all languages and cultures are valued equally by the dominant sectors of U.S. society. The United States has not been a friendly and welcoming space for other languages to flourish. For that and other reasons, heritage languages are often gradually surrendered to English.

The challenges of maintaining minority languages are well known and documented. In most contexts all over the world, extra social languages are abandoned by their speakers in three to four generations. . . . For Latinos, the pattern of transitional bilingualism leading to language shift has been masked by the continuing arrival of new, monolingual, Spanish-speaking immigrants into bilingual communities. Research on language use in Latino communities conducted over time, however, has made clear that, despite the influx of monolinguals into Latino communities, the shift toward English among Latinos is unmistakable (Valdés, 2008, p. 773).

While some fear that language shift in the United States will mean the eventual disappearance of Spanish, others are equally concerned about the many indigenous languages with a small number of speakers that either have already disap-

peared or are in danger of doing so in the near future. Once such languages reach a minimal threshold, it is virtually impossible to reverse the process (see Fishman, 1991; Krashen, Tse & McQuillan, 1998).

It will be an arduous undertaking to move the use of Spanish in the United States away from the dismissive language policies of the early 21<sup>st</sup> century and onto an affirming path (see Gándara & Hopkins, 2010; Ovando, 1990). It will require language policies that support K-12 dual language programs so that students can leave school as linguistically and academically competent global citizens. Human and material resources will be needed to meet the growing need to teach Spanish to Spanish speakers (see Valdés, 2008). Equally important, Spanish-speaking parents will have to muster the willpower and enthusiasm to create cultural and linguistic islands in the United States where they can maintain and transmit their heritage language to their children, as my own parents did for me as we moved from Nicaragua via Guatemala and Mexico to Texas, Ohio, and Illinois.

If we had a crystal ball, what would the future of the Spanish language in the United States look like? While English is not the constitutionally official language of the United States, it is indisputably the *de facto* national language. Yet, with a calculated population of 35 million Spanish speakers, Spanish is now unofficially the nation's second mother tongue. The Spanish language is now in frequent use in the United States by the local and regional media in reporting on Latin American news and entertainment. With respect to U.S. politics, the Democratic and Republican parties both now find it essential to court the Latino vote for presidential elections, and during campaign season, prominent Hispanic political figures and analysts are in high demand on the national news and political talk shows.

Josué González (2008) believes that «As Spanish-speaking Americans become more engaged with the political processes of the country and their levels of education rise, they may find unique ways to demand higher recognition of Spanish, their first language» (p. 780). For Spanish to gain respect and acceptance in the larger U.S. society, however, it will have to lose its association with low educational attainment and unskilled labor. That is not likely to happen until there is an infrastructure in place that will support the academic achievement and intellectual development of both native-born and foreign-born Hispanics in the United States and thereby lead to the professionalization of the labor force. This means that pre-K-12 and higher education must become increasingly accessible to the Hispanic population, especially in high-demand areas such as science, technology, engineering, and mathematics.

At the end of the day, the main focus of the United States' educational and immigration policies should be to promote not just language diversity but also interdisciplinary academic excellence for all students. There is no reason why students of Spanish origin cannot excel in science, technology, engineering, mathematics, art, music, and other languages. For that to happen, however, the educational system must provide a culturally and linguistically sensitive environment that respects the lived experience of every student. There is empirical research to suggest that this is the most effective approach (see Ovando & Combs, 2012; Crawford & Krashen, 2007).

Despite the highly publicized anti-immigration sentiments in much of the country and the stringent policies that have been implemented as a result, I am optimistic that things are beginning to change, and that the interconnectedness of the

increasingly digital and multilingual «global village» (*la aldea global*) in which we live will continue to reinforce the importance of the coexistence of Spanish and English in the United States. For one thing, people have begun to recognize the value of bilingualism and biliteracy in today's highly competitive business environment. «Every job that I've had was because I learned Spanish,» said Paula Cortés, a language acquisition specialist for the Tucson School District, at a Dual Language Programs Meeting in Mesa, Arizona, that was attended by researchers, scholars, practitioners, community activists, teachers, and school administrators (Mesa Community College, April 19, 2013). Beyond its proven economic benefits, dual language education has been shown to promote cognitive development, and it is unquestionably an important contributor to multicultural understanding (see García, 2005; García & Nájuez, Sr., 2002; Collier & Thomas, 2009; Thomas & Collier, 2012; Ovando, 2012a). So effective is this educational approach, in fact, that there are long waiting lists of parents eager to enroll their children in two-way bilingual programs in San Francisco, Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and North Carolina (the Puente de Hozho Bilingual Magnet School in Flagstaff, Arizona, is a highly successful example; see <http://www.fusd1.org/Domain/477>).

I see promising signs both nationally and regionally that Spanish/English bilingual education is making a comeback—even in my own politically conservative state of Arizona, whose draconian immigration legislation has been headline news across the nation and the world (see Ovando & Combs, 2012; Quesada Sanders, 2013). This resurgence of interest in dual language education can be attributed to a number of factors. It has been catalyzed by activism on the part of Latino parents and communities; advocacy by teachers and school administrators serving the Latino communities; sup-

port from federal grants for the promotion of dual language or two-way bilingual programs, including a bilingual grant to further promising research-based teaching and learning practices for language minority students studying science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM); advocacy by the National Council of La Raza, the Pew Hispanic Center, the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO), and the Tomás Rivera Policy Institute; and strong support and advocacy by the National Association for Bilingual Education, which is now promoting the creation and distribution of «Seals of Biliteracy» in elementary and secondary schools nationwide for meritorious students.

At the time of this writing, the U.S. Congress appears to be making progress on a bipartisan immigration reform bill. The direction of that debate gives me great hope that the 11 million or so currently unauthorized immigrants in the country (many of whom are Spanish-dominant) will soon be offered a path to citizenship, assuming that they can pass certain tests and meet specific criteria, and that they can afford to pay a hefty application fee. Once these individuals come out of the shadows of the legal system, they most likely will find social, cultural, work, and schooling spaces in which to construct hybrid identities that promote Spanish and English bilingualism. Looking beyond 2013, therefore, I see reason for optimism.

In 1650, the dominant languages in what we now know as the continental United States were dialects of the Algonquin and Siouan linguistic families. Only 150 years later, in 1800, the most commonly used languages in the U.S. were English and German. By 1950 there had been another shift, with Spanish having replaced German as the nation's second language

(Campbell, 1997; Adams, 1993; López Morales, 2011). Historically speaking, that is a stunningly fast change. As we move toward the midpoint of the subsequent 150-year span, one might wonder which languages will rank in the top two in the U.S. in the year 2100. Will we have experienced yet another dramatic shift? Or will Spanish remain the nation's second most common language? The Spanish-speaking population in the United States, currently estimated at 50 million plus, may well continue to maintain their heritage language and its associated cultural and bicultural patterns. Some scholars, however, have a more guarded view of what the Spanish speaker of the 21<sup>st</sup> century will look like. Andrew Lynch (2013, pp. 77-78), for example, sees the future of the Spanish language in the United States as dependent upon a myriad of variables, including the country's relationships with Spanish-speaking nations; the political and economic conditions in the U.S. and those Spanish-speaking countries; the future of immigration policies; the establishment of formal schooling in Spanish; and especially the convictions of the Spanish-speaking community that it is worth keeping their language alive via their children, alongside English. At the end of the day, however, the larger role may fall to the global economy and popular culture, especially music and social communication media. It may well prove to be the case that Twitter, Facebook, email, YouTube, Skype, et al. will shape the future linguistic landscape of the U.S.

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## CHAPTER 4

# SPANISH AS A VEHICLE OF ADAPTATION BETWEEN FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

*Patricia Fernández-Kelly*

### 1. Introduction

In ancient biblical texts, the spoken word not only referred to the creation of symbols and social interactions, but also to that of physical objects. When God says «let there be light» He does something more than simply emit a series of coherent sounds. Here, language denotes the ability of the omnipotent being to generate space, order and continuity in the concrete world. Such is the case in the opening of Genesis, the first book of the Torah, and the Gospel of Saint John. All three texts begin with the powerful statement, «In the beginning was the Word and the Word was with God, and the Word was God, whose meaning is clear and absolute». The enunciation of sounds attached to a discernible meaning represent a critical source of knowledge, both immanent and transcendent. This Biblical reference points to the deep meaning of language in the definition of the human experience. I will keep this in mind as I recount the relatively modern story of the relation-

ship between language and immigration. I pay special attention to Spanish as a means of communication in the Western Hemisphere, and also as a hallmark of race and ethnicity in the United States.

This chapter is a synthesis of the existing knowledge base that surrounds the role of language—both oral and written—in the assimilation processes of first and second-generation immigrants in the United States. This theme is both relevant and significant, given the world's current migratory landscape. Only a small percentage of the world population crosses international borders with the intention of residing in a foreign country—3% of the total number of human beings on the planet (World Bank, 2005, table 6.13)—but the concentration of immigrants in the metropolitan areas of both advanced and developing countries is considerable; it gives shape to urban life in cities like La Paz, Beijing and Kinshasa, but also in such places as Los Angeles, New York, Paris and Brussels. As globalization and other processes of economic integration advance, new migratory flows emerge, connecting points in developing nations with those in advanced countries. Upon arrival to the receiving countries, the immigrant must display the skills and abilities necessary to survive and become integrated in societies that are not only new and strange, but that also, quite frequently, hostile to foreigners. Language—both the native language and the language acquired in the new context—is essential in this process of social adaptation.

In the United States, the vast majority of migrants come from Latin America, with the highest percentage arriving from the neighboring nation of Mexico, which shares a border almost 3,200 km [approximately 2,000 miles] with the U.S. (Massey, Durand and Malone, 2003). For this reason, my analysis focuses mainly on two languages—English and Span-

ish— used by Hispanic immigrants in the U.S. However, their experience still serves as a reflection of the overall migrant experience from other nationalities and in other parts of the world (Alonso, 2004;) De Swaan, 2001; Dustman y Fabri, 2003; Gutiérrez, 2007; Zimmermann, 2005). In other words, my analysis may be generalized to multiple geographical and cultural environments.

This chapter is divided into four parts. The first addresses the importance of language as a cultural tool whose political, social and economic dimensions have defined the fate of populations, regions and nations almost since the beginning of time. My objective, in this sense, is to remind us of the meaning behind the spoken and written word in the creation of concepts and ideas that shape the reality of individuals and groups in social areas. Historical changes in language also reflect structural changes in human relations (Kerswill, 2006), as confirmed, for example, by the emergence of the Romance languages, specifically Spanish, after the Roman occupation of the Iberian Peninsula, and the subsequent Arab conquest of the same territory. Similar to these cases, is the influence of English at both the hemispheric and global level that has been passed down, to some extent, to Spanish. Equally significant is the fact that Spanish speakers have become quite a powerful force, altering the cultural patterns present in the United States, and its dominant language. Thus contemporary migration, in a context of globalization and economic integration, has had a profound effect on the way that individuals and social groups communicate through language. All of this has great social and cultural significance for both first and subsequent generations of immigrants in this country.

The second and third parts of this work summarize the debates surrounding language use in the United States, and de-

scribe the use of the Spanish among the Hispanic population. Since North America is in itself, the result of continuous migratory flows, there have been numerous studies regarding the advantages and disadvantages of bilingualism since the late 19th century. These struggles reflect conceptions of and conflicts about racial divisions and social class. In this regard, the use of language has been a source of collective anxiety and a central theme in public discussions. My summary shows how these debates have been addressed.

Finally, the fourth section of this chapter looks into language use among age groups, particularly among members of new generations of immigrants whose approximation to the spoken and written word is highly flexible and aesthetic. Mixing the language of the country of origin with that of the host country—in this case, English—is deriving into the creation of, if not a new language, the approximation of a distinguishable dialect whose characteristics are best perceived through new artistic trends. *Hip-hop* culture—which includes both rap music and graffiti—and what is known in the United States as *fusion music*, represents a vibrant cultural repertoire of great significance when it comes to understanding contemporary North America. Far from being a violation of idiomatic integrity, *Spanglish*, used by singers from Cuba, Mexico, and Central America in the United States, represents an attempt to reconcile the word with the realities of the immigrant experience, especially among the descendants of new generations.

Beginning by placing language within a historical framework, this endeavor's objective is to emphasize the durability of language as a tool of social adaptation and experiential creativity.

## 2. Language as a Social Product in a Historical Context

There is no certainty or physical evidence regarding the moment hominids began using the spoken word, but it is argued that such an event occurred approximately 200,000 years ago (Donald, 1993; Killam, 2001; Pinker, 2007). Spoken language appears indeed to have already existed for approximately fifty thousand years (McLarnon and Hewitt, 1999). Many linguists assume that access to coherent language provided human beings with important advantages to their survival capacity. Archaeological finds in the Middle East and Europe dating back to the Paleolithic Period, pertaining to the evolution of the larynx, and torsos have served as evidence in this school of thought. Bickerton (2009) concludes that the first traces of primitive language coincide with demands derived from activities like the construction of shelters and the collection of foodstuffs, necessary for the survival of *Homo habilis* nearly two million years ago.

Although the details of the evolutionary processes that led to language use have been lost over time, there is a consensus affirming that the spoken word was used in the early stages of human existence to interact with hostile environments and other members of the same species (Tobias, 1998). Frederick Engels, among others, noted the interactive nature of human organs with the environment. In his *Dialectics of Nature* (1883) he states: «Necessity created the organ. The undeveloped larynx of the ape was slowly but surely transformed ... while the organs of the mouth gradually learned to pronounce one articulate sound after another» (Engles, 1876). The same way that the human body slowly changed as it adapted to new climatic conditions and technological inventions, language also underwent refinement processes related to society's growing complexity.

We know, for example, that approximately eight to ten thousand years ago, the emergence of cities as centers of commercial exchange coincided with the coming together of human groups, already distinguishable in terms of culture and language (Andersson and Thelander, 1994). Referred to in the Old Testament, the Tower of Babel can be interpreted as a metaphor reflecting the presence of various linguistic groups in cities like Ur and Uruk in Mesopotamia, important centers of commercial and cultural exchange. It was during the same time that the first written texts appeared, already pointing to the importance of the market. Religious narratives also began to emerge, aiming to explain the origin of natural phenomena and the meaning of human life. The famous Hammurabi Code, created in 1760 BC, highlighted the presence of mature legal concepts and ethical systems, whose principles continue to regulate contemporary life. Such fruits of language provide evidence of mental, biological and social progress. They also illustrate the extensive use of language as a source of knowledge, and as a vehicle of adaptation among increasingly complex circumstances.

The origin of Spanish dates back to approximately 218 BC (Santoyo, 2009). The expansion of the Roman Empire led to the spread of Latin as a means of communication, not only throughout Europe, but also in parts of the Middle East and North Africa. Military conquest forced those who remained in subordinated populations to learn the dominant language. Even in this case, so far removed from present conditions, Latin underwent a process of division corresponding to social class: the educated forms of the language served as elements of distinction between wealthy and dominant groups, while common Latin was disseminated among the masses. This eventually gave rise to new languages or Romance languages, including Spanish. Spanish appears as an

independent language dating back to 950 AD, a date that corresponds to the glosses [religious texts] found in San Millán de la Cogolla (Gómez Redondo, 1998). It was Alfonso X, the first monarch, who sanctioned Spanish as an autonomous language after the foundation of the Toledo School of Translators in the 12th century.

711 AD marked the beginning of the Arab occupation, which would lead to the conquest of most of Spain in just seven years. Isolated, Latin lost its sense of linguistic hegemony. It was not until 1492, a key date that also marked the arrival of Christopher Columbus to the Caribbean coast, that the Muslims were expelled from Granada, their last stronghold. Nearly eight centuries of coexistence between the Spanish and the Arabs resulted in intense linguistic cross-fertilization. Today, Spanish possesses roughly four thousand words —almost a fourth of its lexicon— of Arabic origin (Dworkin, 2012). Among such terms is the word *Guadalupe* that, in popular imagination, is no longer associated with the ancient Muslim occupation, but rather the religious traditions of countries like Mexico. The Virgin of Guadalupe was not only the fundamental element of Mexican national identity from the sixteenth century on, but also a political standard in a number of Latin American countries and even, more recently, in the United States. César Chávez, one of the major leaders of the Chicano movement in North America, used the image of the Virgin of Guadalupe as a symbol for his labor union efforts with Mexican farmworkers during the 1960s. The same image was used in 2006 and 2008 by thousands of undocumented workers in protests in cities like Chicago and Los Angeles. A single word, *Guadalupe*, represents more than simply years of continuity and linguistic changes. It is also a reflection of fluctuating historical conditions in a broad geographical spectrum.



The use of a single word over time reflects the typical trajectory of a language's origin and evolution. In the first case, political and economic changes (the expansion of the Roman Empire, and later the Arab occupation) transformed original language codes dramatically and lastingly. Languages generated this way become systems susceptible to constant transformation. As addressed later in this work, the same process of adaptation and innovation continues today. With the rise of the United States as a world power, English has become a *lingua franca* with similar effects, although less spectacular than those of Latin. In other words, the extension of economic and political power affects the character and use of language both in ancient times and in the present.

Spanish is now one of the most spoken languages in the world, following Mandarin and preceding English. It is estimated that 14 percent of the world population (935 million individuals) speak Mandarin, while nearly 6 percent (387 million) speak Spanish. Roughly 5 percent (365 million) of the world population speaks English (Ethnologue, 2009). These figures refer to populations where this language is the primary language learned in the country of origin during childhood. However, Spanish also has great significance among groups with advanced technical and intellectual skills. Throughout the world, there are a billion and a half individuals who use the Internet. Among this population, English is the most widespread language, with 427 million users. Mandarin comes in second, with 233 million users, and in third, Spanish with 122 million (Internet World Stats, 2007). This demonstrates that Spanish represents a linguistic resource of enormous importance on the global stage. If you only take into account the Western Hemisphere, the relevance of Spanish is even greater, as it is the dominant means of communicating in nineteen Latin American countries, in addition to Spain.

Finally, another point should be taken into consideration when referring to the significance of Spanish. The Spanish language has the largest number of both first and second-generation immigrants in the United States, coming from Mexico, Central America, and in lesser numbers, South America. Spanish is a language on the rise in the United States, a reality that is made obvious when you take into account the linguistic and cultural changes happening throughout the country. The words *adios, salsa, fiesta, sierra, piñata, chorizo, peón* and *plaza*, among many others, have already been included in English dictionaries. Also, it only takes a short visit to any American city to witness the widespread use of Spanish on signs and billboards, in addition to government documents, telephone messages, and ATM machines. The increasing visibility of Hispanics in the United States foreshadows the growing significance of Spanish in the American context, so much that the slogan of Barack Obama's presidential campaign in 2008 (*Yes we can!*) is a direct translation of *¡Sí se puede!*, a slogan made famous by César Chávez, the famous Mexican activist, and used in trade union struggles among agricultural workers nearly five decades ago.

The dissemination of Spanish as a language on the rise, represents the final chapter in the history of the U.S. as a country capable of absorbing immigrants from multiple cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

### 3. Immigration in the United States

Even the beginning of the colonial period in North America is related to migratory flows, in this case, coming from Europe. The arrival of English settlers to the coast of Virginia in 1607 resulted in the founding of Jamestown, whose name honored King James I of England. It is also true that, during the long

period of English rule, a variety of groups arrived to the United States not only from Europe but also from the Middle East and Asia (Foner and Frederickson, 2005). Colonial New York saw the arrival of Muslim and Jewish groups. Also, small groups from China and Thailand found routes to the coast of California. The establishment of slavery, which resulted in the displacement of hundreds of thousands of people from Western Africa to Southern plantations, also represented a form of migration, albeit unwilling. Thus, the demographic transit of country of origin to the United States has taken place since the beginning of the country's history.

Even before a small group of insurgents, born in colonized lands, began the American Revolution in 1776, migration had already been viewed as a social and political problem in the United States. It is interesting to know that Benjamin Franklin, a man who signed the Declaration of Independence and whose scientific genius is still a great source of inspiration, watched on with resentment and suspicion as German immigrants arrived to the colonies. The German arrivals were not only severely censured, but also openly repudiated by Franklin. In a letter written in 1753, Franklin refers to the Germans with these words: «... those who come hither are generally the most ignorant stupid sort of their own nation...» In the same letter, he adds that «few of their children in the country learn English. The signs in our streets have inscriptions in both languages ... Should their migration go unchecked ... they will soon so outnumber us... that we will not be able to preserve our language; and even our government will become precarious» ((Lack, 1919;) Seavey, 1999). So, even before the emergence of the United States as a sovereign country, immigration emerges as an issue of public debate. Franklin's words represent the beginning of a living contradiction that is still present in the U.S. context: the tense coexistence between immigration (caused largely by the demands of

the labor market) and the hostile reactions of citizens and residents. Descendants of the German immigrants who were vilified by politicians of rank, like Franklin, now constitute the largest population in the United States. The majority, do not even remember their ancestral roots, and all speak English as a primary language (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006). Among them, are many who now share opinions similar to Franklin's in respect to immigrants in the United States, especially those coming from Mexico and Central America.

While immigration is an essential thread in the American historical landscape tapestry, both its qualitative and quantitative importance increased significantly during the second half of the nineteenth century, due in part to a sustained period of industrial growth. The United States has stood out as an industrial power ever since. During this time, cities like New York, Detroit, Pittsburgh and Baltimore arose as great industrial centers. Industry grew in proportion to the manufacturing of capital goods, including large machinery in the steel, metal and oil industries, as well as in the production of perishables such as foodstuffs, clothing and myriad items needed for the growing middle classes of the time. Oil drilling and the exploitation of mineral resources, and domestic and international trade, increased the demand for labor. However, around the mid-nineteenth century, the United States was a growing country of vast territories, some yet to be subjugated. That's why the new manufacturing and trade firms began to recruit workers from Europe that was facing political division and social class conflicts. Immigration -especially immigration derived from the organized recruitment of workers abroad by manufacturing and trade firms- offered the European working classes (Polish, Russian, German, Bohemians, Italians and Irish) an opportunity to break with the past and imagine a future of prosperity in the nascent country.

In other words, immigration to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century was the result of labor supply and demand. Most of those who emigrated to the United States during this period came from vulnerable social classes, in search of both a new life and greater economic opportunities. They were almost always greeted with hostility and prejudice. However, it is also true that the prospect of democracy, the predominance of a highly competitive market, and strong legal institutions, provided immigrant groups with a means of upward social mobility and cultural assimilation (Fernández-Kelly, 2013). The coexistence of discrimination and opportunity represents the American national project's main contradiction, as painful as it is prosperous.

Perhaps the most evident illustration of this process was the incident at Haymarket Square in Chicago in 1886. In May of that year, led by a small group of intellectuals and journalists, industrial workers (many of German origin) organized a public protest demonstration. It is important to note that the event was announced bilingually on picket signs and pamphlets -in both Spanish and German-, evidence of the participating workers recent arrival. During the protest, a bomb went off killing several police officers. The protesters were reprimanded, and their leaders imprisoned (Avrich, 1986). This event is the reason behind the concept of Labor Day, and also the reason why Labor Day is celebrated on the first of May almost everywhere in the world. It is ironic that the event that led to this date, dedicated to honor the global workforce, took place in the United States. This example serves as a reminder of U.S. significance in the struggle for workers' rights. Equally important to note is that this key event combined crucial elements in terms of migration, language and social class (Fernández-Kelly, 2013). Many of those who protested against the exploitation of workers, low wages and poor labor conditions spoke a lan-

guage different from English. This event is a representation of the many battles that workers have initiated in both the U.S. and throughout the world in modern history.

The above example highlights the remarkable continuity of migration to the United States, reflecting both the strength of market forces and the political intervention of workers interacting with employers and state agents. Indeed, the U.S. burst onto the scene in the late nineteenth century as an arbitrator in worker-employer relations (Chalmers, 1999). Federal and state bureaucracies drafted legislation that organized the market, protected capitalist interests, and provided growing economic and political benefits to the immigrant workforce. In a context of ethnic and racial pluralism, there have been a number of significant achievements in the so-called «American Dream,» including the consolidation of the unions, the creation of a physical infrastructure that sustains both urban and rural life, and a sense of renewed civic engagement. By the mid-twentieth century, with a strong industrial foundation and increasing global domination, the United States consolidated an exemplary social contract, characterized by a growing balance between workers and capitalists mediated by the state.

#### 4. Bilingualism, Discrimination and Assimilation in the United States

The social, economic and political success of the American experiment has, in many ways, resulted from the interaction between social assimilation and ethnic and racial discrimination. Significantly, this process has focused on language use. By the early twentieth century, the intense debate surrounding language legitimacy and the dangers of bilingualism acquired new dimensions. This was due in part to a number of research stud-

ies whose conclusions differed considerably (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006, Chapter 7). In contrast to previous years, in this moment in history, science did not focus on the alleged relationship between lack of English proficiency and low levels of intelligence, but rather on the causal relationships between both factors. Experts at the time, wondered if the inability to learn English was due to low intellect among the immigrant population, or vice versa. H. H. Goddard (1917), for example, legitimized the eugenic perspectives surrounding immigration in a study where he administered language tests to thirty Jewish immigrants at Ellis Island (the point of arrival for those in search of opportunities). He concluded that twenty-five of the thirty subjects examined in his study were mentally challenged. Like Benjamin Franklin, nearly two centuries before, Goddard categorically stated that new immigrants were not only the poorest, but also the least intelligent in their countries of origin. Given that such studies were carried out in the name of science, this study contributed greatly to the reinforcement of public prejudice against recent arrivals.

During World War II, Goddard's studies were implemented among members of the armed forces, with similar conclusions. However, the most influential author in this period was Carl Brigham, whose study on American intelligence, published in 1923, stated that «the representatives of the Alpine and Mediterranean races in our immigration are intellectually inferior to the representatives of the Nordic race» (Conroy, 1992:176). The terms *Alpine* and *Mediterranean*, were derived from anthropological eugenic perspectives, whose central thesis believed in the existence of racial hierarchies. Among its objectives, such theoretical approaches aimed to improve or maintain the hereditary genetic reserves of the masses. Hence, his great interest in immigrant groups, whom he perceived as a possible source of contamination.

In the second decade of the twenty-first century, it is easy to view this type of research as obvious manifestations of racial prejudice. However, at the time, studies like those mentioned above represented a source of widely published information. People like Goddard and Brigham would have found it quite difficult to understand the true reasons behind the lack of English language proficiency among groups from other countries. The exams administered to those from poor and vulnerable groups, were not a reflection of intelligence, but rather of social position as well as their limited knowledge of their new country. Similar studies and conclusions prevailed among social psychologists and educators during the first decades of the twentieth century. Many of them gave special attention to bilingualism as a factor that supposedly slowed down the English acquisition process, which in turn, also limited social assimilation. Perhaps the most influential study in this regard was carried out by Madorah Smith (1933), who focused his analysis on the use of language by Chinese, Philippine, Hawaiian, Japanese, Korean, and Portuguese children in Hawaii. Smith concluded that an attempt to use two languages simultaneously delayed English proficiency. This, among other studies, validated the popular idea that bilingualism served as a disadvantage, and that monolingualism was the only acceptable route to acquire membership in American society. In other words, such studies legitimized the idea of social assimilation as a linear process, which required the abandonment of both the cultural and linguistic heritage of their country of origin.

Such statements may be construed as a reflection of collective anxiety regarding the possible loss of cultural integrity, and purity, as a result of immigration. As new groups arrived on American soil, new fears arose regarding the national identity. Zvetan Todorov (2008) places this into perspective



by referencing, for example, the barbarians in the imagination of ancient Romans. Contrasting the dialectic between civilization and barbarism, Todorov notes that the barbarian is a person who speaks a foreign language, and therefore has no law or morality, and is capable of any atrocity. The demonization of the immigrant has been a common response from dominant society throughout the course of history, fearful of cultural contamination, and the arrival of foreigners. In any case, however, facts and social and economic realities eventually reveal the limited scientific legitimacy of studies whose underlying agenda has been to reinforce the inequality of the class structures, based on the discrimination of immigrant groups.

In the United States, until the beginning of the 1960s, negative perceptions of bilingualism prevailed. Almost without exception, these studies failed to consider the influence of social class (Hakuta, 1986). This, among other methodological problems, reduced the reliability of findings related to the alleged relationship between low intelligence, bilingualism, and limited social and economic achievement. In their language study, social psychologists Peal and Lambert (1962) introduced for the first time, methodological controls with respect to social class and other demographic variables. As a result, they concluded that the simultaneous learning of two languages facilitates—not impedes—cognitive capacity and the development of analytical skills.

Another important comparative research study was conducted in San Diego, California. San Diego ranks eighth among U.S. public school districts and has one of the highest concentrations of Hispanics in the country (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006: 213).

Table 4.1

*Average scores of two student groups in high schools in San Diego, ethnic affiliation and use of language*

Score		Score*	Score	Score	
Language Group	Academic Year	Limited English	Fluent English	English Only	Total
Asian	1987	2.83	3.05	2.38	2.62
	1990	2.86	3.02	2.58	2.78
Chinese	1987	2.94	3.40	–	3.21
	1990	2.5	3.26	–	3.19
Korean	1987	2.76	3.00	–	2.90
	1990	2.90	2.81	–	2.84
Japanese	1997	2.56	2.70	–	2.67
	1990	2.69	2.80	–	2.79
Southeast Asian	1987	2.30	2.88	2.66	2.47
	1990	2.35	2.94	2.72	2.62
Vietnamese	1987	2.38	2.96	–	2.60
	1990	2.47	3.02	–	2.78
Hmong	1987	2.27	2.66	–	2.37
	1990	2.42	2.84	–	2.60
Laos	1987	2.18	2.63	–	2.26
	1990	2.26	2.72	–	2.41
Cambodian	1987	2.30	2.77	–	2.34
	1990	2.21	2.82	–	2.35
Philippine	1987	2.02	2.53	2.33	2.39
	1990	1.94	2.49	2.38	2.41
Latino	1987	1.71	1.85	1.81	1.79
	1990	1.74	1.91	2.01	1.90
Total	1987	2.00	2.21	2.03	2.09
	1990	2.06	2.27	2.23	2.21

Source: Rumbaut (1995); Portes and Rumbaut (2006).

\* Scores represent grades achieved by students in academic subjects from the 9th grade in the following scale: A = 4, B = 3, C = 2, D = 1 and F = 0.

This study collected empirical data on eighty thousand students in high schools between 1986-1987 and 1989-1990. A third of the students included in the study were Hispanic, predominantly Mexican immigrants or of Mexican descent. The sample also included European Americans and Asian students, especially of Chinese origin. As noted in Table 4.1, this research proved that, in terms of objective measures, bilingual students generally obtained higher scores in Math and English language usage. This is particularly noticeable among Chinese students. However, it is also clear among students who speak Spanish as a first language. The results of this study, coupled with recent studies along the same line of inquiry, confirm Peal and Lambert's findings: bilingualism does not impede academic progress. On the contrary, balanced and fluent knowledge of two or more languages positively reinforces school achievement. This is important because it decisively discredits the idea that socioeconomic assimilation requires the abandonment of the first language and the exclusive use of the dominant language, in this case English (Alba, 2004; Hakuta and Diaz, 1985; Hirschman, 1983).

In the increasingly pluralistic context that prevails in current American society, such a conclusion is highly significant, relating to what Portes and Rumbaut (2006) call «selective acculturation.» This term refers to the processes deliberately retained by children of immigrants from their cultural heritage as a form of successful adaptation in the host country. Contrary to previous assumptions, the most efficient way to achieve social and economic integration requires the maintenance of the country of origin's cultural heritage, including the maternal language (Portes and Zhou 1993, Portes and Rivas, 2011).

In addition to the conservation of cultural and cognitive schemas from the country of origin, learning English is also

related to patterns of upward or descending mobility. For example, Table 4.2 illustrates findings regarding school dropouts in the U.S. context. Young people who do not speak English, or who speak little English, are more likely to drop out of school, while those who speak the language fluently have low dropout rates. As mentioned previously, other studies have shown even higher advantages among those who speak both the language of the home country and the destination country with similar ability, like English Spanish.

Table 4.2

*\* Dropout rates among students enrolled in San Diego high schools, ethnic affiliation and language use 1989–1990*

Group Language	Group	Limited English	Fluent English	English Only	Total
Asian	1.050	10,7	2,2	5,3	4,7
Chinese	248	5,7	1,0	–	2,0
Korean	88	17,2	1,7	–	6,8
Japanese	156	15,0	3,7	–	5,1
Philippine	3.311	15,14	4,5	5,5	5,6
Southeast Asian	3.102	11,0	3,5	7,0	7,6
Vietnamese	1.618	10,7	3,4	–	6,6
Hmong	170	5,2	5,5	–	5,3
Cambodian	415	14,9	5,4	–	12,8
Laos	728	9,9	2,5	–	7,4
Latino / Hispanic	8.193	17,9	10,9	9,9	12,1
Totales	15.656	14,4	7,7	7,8	9,3

Source: Rumbaut (1995); Portes and Rumbaut (2006).

\* Percentage of students in grade 10-12 who dropped out of school in the course of one year

Especially among impoverished groups, the dropout rate often results in what Portes and Rivas (2010) call «downward mobility.» The most spectacular case in this sense is among young immigrants whose knowledge of both English and Spanish is limited (Fernández-Kelly and Konczal, 2007, Alba, 2002). Such groups are faced with enormous obstacles both in schools and at work. Often, they tend to represent a subclass, whose members, paradoxically experience strong assimilation to the lowest levels of American society and, simultaneously, a kind of amnesia regarding their cultural roots (Feliciano, 2008; Lutz, 2006). Indeed, this has been the case among young African Americans in low-income residential areas. For a number of generations, such groups have lacked alternative cultural repertoires to confront dominant cultural prejudices. However, as will be explained in the following section, language and art associated with a modified use of the language have become a suitable means of expression and vindication (Fernández-Kelly and Konczal, 2007).

In regards to Spanish, it is important to note that more than fifty million Hispanics currently reside in the United States. This figure represents more than 13 percent of the total population. Since 2002, the Hispanic population has outnumbered African Americans, who until then, had been the largest minority group in the United States (Massey, Durand and Malone, 2002). Also, the Hispanic population is not homogeneous. It includes descendants from Spain and Mexicans in the Southwest, who have resided here for many generations. The population is also comprised of recent arrivals, mainly from Mexico and other nations in Latin America and the Caribbean. Furthermore, the Hispanic population in the United States is highly distinguishable, in terms of race and ethnicity, social class, education, type of employment and legal residence. The most Hispanics are citizens by birth, but a tenth were born

outside of the U.S. and have obtained citizenship through naturalization. Nearly a quarter of Hispanic legal residents are not entitled to vote or receive other privileges associated with actual citizenship. Approximately twelve million undocumented residents face a myriad of difficult circumstances given their lack of legitimate membership to American society (Massey, Durand and Malone, 2002; Kasinitz et al. 2008; Alba and Nee, 2003).

Most alarming are the two million young people who have spent nearly their whole lives in the United States, but arrived as children with undocumented parents. Although many are just as American as those born in the country, they are treated very differently, particularly as they are technically candidates for deportation. Although they have lived in the U.S. for most of their lives, they do possess a social security number or other official documents. For the same reason, they are not able to obtain drivers licenses, and in many cases, financial aid to study at the university level and obtain a legitimate job. Therefore, they languish on the margins of American society (Massey, 1998).

Table 4.3 summarizes English language proficiency data among immigrants from countries where English is not the primary language. Contrary to the opinions of those who think that immigrants are reluctant to speak English, most of them are actively seeking to improve their ability to communicate in the language. The longer the period of residence in the United States, the greater the probability that immigrants will speak English very well. Those who have difficulty in using the language, or are isolated in monolingual communities, often become victims of imperfect assimilation. This has serious repercussions in terms of achievement in school and the workplace. On the other hand, English language usage spreads rapidly

Table 4.3

*English proficiency among immigrants from countries where English is not the primary language*

Characteristics		If you speak another language, What is your level of English?			
		English Only at Home %	Very Well %	Not Well %	Isolated %
Total		10	38	36	33
Age of arrival to United States	35 or older	7	20	58	41
	13-34	8	35	37	34
	Under 13	17	64	13	23
Decade of arrival to United States	2000-2010	8	27	48	46*
	1990-2000	7	31	44	44
	1980-1989	7	39	33	30
	Before 1980	16	48	25	18
Education level **	Less than High School	7	15	61	43
	High School	11	42	26	27
	University or higher	12	64	11	18

Source: Official Census of the United States, 2000 (Public Use Microdata Sample)

\* Estimated figures.

\*\* Individuals 25 or older.

across the generations. As noted in Table 4.4, even young members of the 1.5-generation (those who came to the United States before the age of twelve) prefer to speak English at home. Young people from second, third and fourth-genera-

**Table 4.4**  
*Use of local languages, English proficiency and preference by generation, Los Angeles, California 2004*

Generational Cohort	Growing up, speaking a language other than English at Home %	Speak a language other than English very well %	Prefer to speak English at Home %	N
1.0 (arrived at age 13 years or older)	97.4	86.9	17.7	256
1.5 (0-12)	92.9	46.6	60.7	1,491
2.0 (both parents born in the country of origin)	83.5	36.1	73.4	1,390
2.5 (father or mother born in the country of origin)	46.5	17.3	92.5	428
3.0 (3-4 grandparents born in country of origin)	34.3	11.9	37.0	67
3.5 (1-2 grandparents born in country of origin)	18.7	3.1	98.3	289
4.0 + (0 grandparents born in country of origin)	10.4	2	99.0	959
Total	65.8	31.5	70.8	4,780

*Source:* Survey on Immigration and Intergenerational Mobility in the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area (IMMLA). Rumbaut et al (2005).



tions, barely remember the language of their countries of origin. In other words, and contrary to xenophobic perspectives and populist ideologues in the United States, the danger does not reside in the deterioration of English language proficiency, but rather in the rapid loss of the language of origin among young immigrants. It is quite ironic, that years later, children of Mexican and Guatemalan immigrants take courses at American universities and colleges, seeking to recover the language of their parents.

Despite heterogeneity among groups, Hispanics currently constitute a population whose members share significant socioeconomic and political characteristics. Most live in modest conditions with the exception of Cubans (highly concentrated in the state of Florida) whose average employment, business participation and income are higher than immigrants from Europe. However, Mexicans, who make up the highest proportion of Hispanics, face very different circumstances. As demonstrated by Edward Telles and Vilma Ortiz (2008) in their extraordinary empirical research study of two generations of Mexicans, this population has experienced considerable social and economic stagnation. Their social ascent has been slow, due in part to the fact that most come from highly vulnerable working class backgrounds and also because they have faced considerable hostility and prejudice from the dominant society (Jiménez, 2008).

Discrimination and exploitation of the Mexican labor force in the agricultural sector since the early decades of the twentieth-century, has been well documented (Cárdenas, 2010; Massey, Durand and Malone, 2002). The first mass deportations and abuses against Mexican workers during the 1940s and 1950s, have played a major role in the historical trajectory of Mexicans in the United States. Important to

note, the implementation of the Immigration Reform and Control Act in 1986 (IRCA), which granted amnesty to more than four million workers, mainly Mexicans, also took place within this context of hostility. However, harassment against Mexicans has increased significantly since then, reaching its climax after the September 11 tragedy in 2001. This event triggered the creation of the Department of Homeland Security, whose mission was to redefine immigration, not as a problem related to the labor market (the majority of immigrants in the United States are poor workers simply in search of opportunity), but rather as a threat to national security.

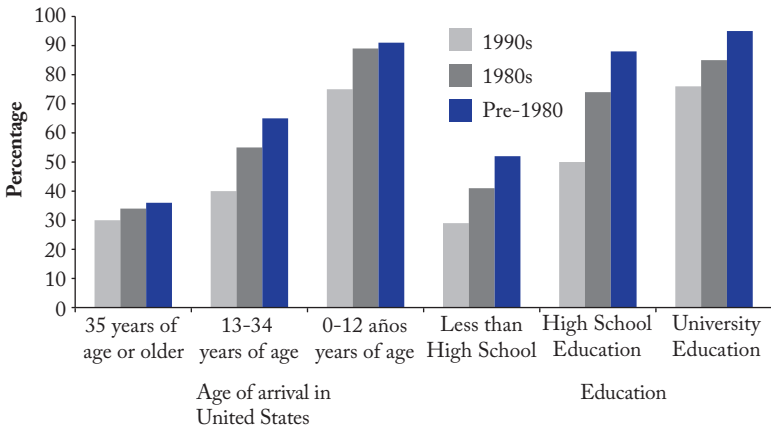
The focus on terrorism has resulted in a number of unforeseen consequences. Although there is no case of Latin American immigrants involved in terrorist acts, they have felt the greatest effects of policies designed to protect American society from international terrorism. Such measures involve the criminalization of undocumented immigrants, a phenomenon unprecedented in the American context. Ironically, it was during the Obama administration (whose perspectives in favor of humanitarian immigration reform are well known) when the greatest number of deportations occurred -approximately four hundred thousand in 2011 and 2012. Although there is hope for the implementation of a less hostile immigration policy in 2013, these circumstances represent the latest chapter in a history of consistent antagonism against Mexican immigrants in a number of U.S. sectors. Despite the difficulties, Hispanic migration to the U.S. has led to the formation of a modest but stable labor force. In this context, there exists great variability. As has been noted above, Cubans are an exception in terms of economic, social and political achievements, in part because of the facilities provided by the American government to Cuban exiles during the early stages of the Cuban Revolution started by Fidel Castro. Such

advantages, which included citizenship and government loans to help with self-employment and business participation, have not been provided to other Hispanic groups. The comparison between Cubans and Mexicans in the United States is useful because it shows the importance of what Portes calls «context of reception» in immigration outcomes (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006). When the American government has responded to the arrival of new immigrants with humanitarian policies, incentives both in education and in the acquisition of material goods, and the granting of citizens' rights, immigrants have experienced upward social, political and economic mobility. Such is the case with Cubans. The opposite happens in the absence of such incentives. Therefore, there is a clear correlation between successful assimilation and the context of reception. Greater prejudice and hostility, combined with the absence of state-provided incentives, often lead to disastrous consequences, including the formation of subclasses, and the triggering of social issues like premature motherhood, dropping out of school, unemployment and high incarceration levels.

Although the Hispanic population in the United States has not experienced the obstacles faced by African Americans, there are exceptions, many Dominican, Mexican, Guatemalan and Puerto Rican youths display alarming characteristics (Feliciano, 2008; Menjivar, 2008; Portes, Fernández-Kelly and Haller, 2009). For example, among Cubans who were greeted favorably in the United States, crime and imprisonment rates are less than 5 percent. Among Dominicans who have been faced with poverty and racial discrimination, these figures are close to 20 percent. Also, like Puerto Ricans, they have a greater probability of losing language fluency in both English and Spanish (Lutz, 2004).

Although there is consensus regarding the benefits of bilingualism (and multilingualism), resistance still exists in the United States. Since the 1970s, there have been numerous attempts by prominent politicians to establish English as the official language under the premise that it is under threat by other languages, particularly Spanish (Huntington, 2004a, 2004b; Jacobson, 1999). Such claims are not based on fact, as 80 percent of the population in the United States speaks English, including many first-generation immigrants (Perreira, Harris and Lee, 2008; Portes and Rumbaut, 2006; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2007).

**Graph 4.1**  
*English proficiency among Hispanics born in the United States and abroad (2000)*



*Source:* Official United States Census, 2000; Public Use Microdata Survey.

As shown in Graph 4.1, among foreign-born Hispanics in the U.S., the use of English is widespread. It is even more prevalent among people with high levels of education and those who have lived in the country for longer periods of time. In the transition from Spanish to English among first and third gen-

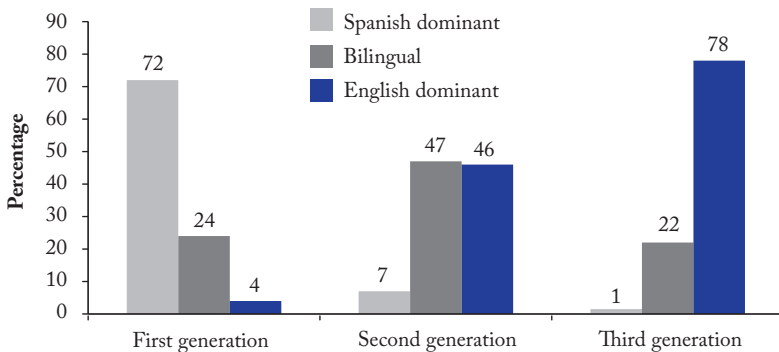
erations, Graph 4.2 demonstrates the same. Understandably, among first-generation immigrants, Spanish represents the dominant language. However, nearly a quarter are bilingual. By the third-generation, the language of the country of origin has disappeared almost entirely; 78 percent speak only English, and less than a quarter are bilingual. For this reason, a number of comedians claim that being American, is almost always being monolingual.

The evidence in this sense is overwhelming: the perception that the dominant language is on the path to extinction, a view also shared by Benjamin Franklin in the eighteenth century, is not tied to empirical facts, but rather to emotional reactions and collective fear. A famous broadcaster whose program is heard by more than six million Americans each week synthesizes this sense of misinformation in his program «Borders, Language and Culture.» The concern about bilingualism is, therefore, part of a broader ideological framework in which the language represents a symbolic terrain where there is a struggle for political power and cultural integrity (Portes and Hao, 2002). On the other hand, although English continues to be the most spoken language in the United States, it is true that an increasing number of residents in the country speak other languages. Among these, Spanish is the most widely used among immigrant groups of first-generation immigrants and their descendants, but also among individuals of other nationalities. The best data source regarding the use of language in the United States is the United States Census Bureau, which regularly investigates the subject (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2007). According to these studies, in 2000, 47 million people, i.e. 18 percent of the population age five or older, spoke a language other than English at home. These figures represent an increase of 14 percent compared to 1990. Also, this growth serves as evidence of the increasing use of alternative languages in the U.S. The counties with the largest

number of individuals whose only language is not English, are those where there is a high concentration of immigrants: mainly along the border in Texas and California, and in cities like Chicago, Miami and New York. However, when taking into account that there are 3,141 counties in the United States, the average percentage of the population that speaks another language besides English in the family environment is less than 5 percent. This means that in half of the U.S. counties, more than 95 percent of residents speak only English. There is, therefore, not even the slightest probability that the dominant language will be abandoned in the immediate or distant future, although there is a progressive increase in the number of people who speak other languages.

Graph 4.2

*First to third-generation language change (Spanish to English) among Latino adults in the United States (2002)*



Source: Pew Hispanic Center (2004).

In this regard, it is important to highlight the growing significance of Spanish, since more than half of the almost fifty million residents of the United States who speak another language besides English are Spanish-speakers. It is thus a highly significant population whose number exceeds 30 million, a fig-

ure much higher than the two and a half million people that speak Mandarin, the language that occupies second place, after Spanish, in numerical terms. The rest of the bilingual population communicates in many other languages, including French, Creole, German, Italian, Tagalog, Vietnamese, Korean, Russian, Polish, Arabic and Portuguese, in addition to other languages among small groups that barely register statistically.

As expected, recent arrivals to the United States speak the language of the country of origin with more intensity and frequency than their descendants (Li, 1994;) Tumnsuy, 2004; Gutiérrez, 2007). Such is the case between both immigrants with high levels of education and income, and those coming from more vulnerable social strata. However, there is evidence that immigrants with college degrees learn English faster and more easily.

In any case, the longer the period of residence in the United States, the greater the probability of transition to the dominant language.

It is also important to note how quickly the children of first generation immigrants transition completely to English (Tran, 2010). Despite the unjustifiable fear that some experience regarding the possible loss of the English language, the fact is just the opposite. According to the U.S. census figures, 64 percent of children under thirteen years of age speak English fluently. As a point of comparison, only 35 percent of children of immigrants between thirteen and thirty-five years of age, and less than 20 percent of those older speak English well. Thus, the age at the time of arrival to the United States, the time of residence in that country and the level of education are variables of greater predictive power in terms of the use of English (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006, Chapter 7).

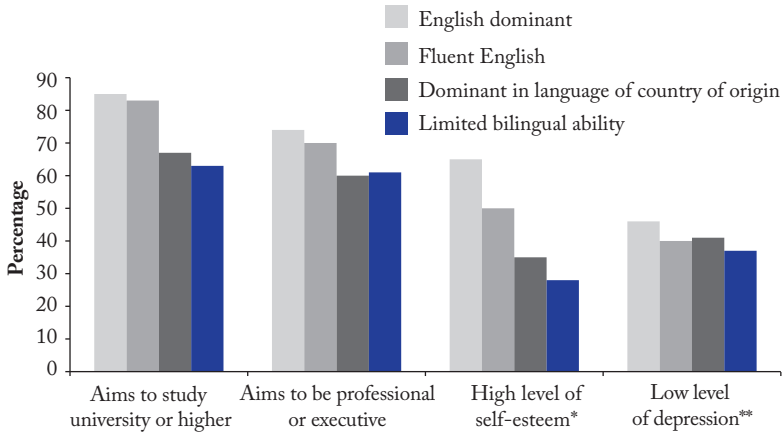
In regards to the language of the country of origin, children of immigrants who arrive in the United States during adolescence or later are the ones with a greater tendency to use their parents' language. The earlier the age of arrival, the lower the likelihood of conserving the maternal language (Alonso, 2004; Rumbaut, 2004). It is in language use where the strength of cultural assimilation is more clearly visible between first and second-generation immigrants.

Until recently there were no reliable studies regarding the use of Spanish across the generations. David López (1999) has conducted important research on this issue among Mexican groups in Los Angeles. The first study was a survey carried out in Los Angeles in 1973, and in subsequent years, with more than one thousand individuals of Mexican origin. His findings confirm the patterns outlined above. López found, for example, that among first generation females, 84 percent spoke Spanish at home, only 14 percent used both English and Spanish, and only 2 percent communicated exclusively in English. For the third generation, it is just the opposite: only 4 percent of women speak Spanish at home, 12 percent used both languages, and 84 percent have transitioned completely to English. Lopez identified similar, but even more pronounced patterns among men.

Graph 4.3 condenses findings regarding linguistic adaptation and the corresponding psychological condition. It should be noted that English proficiency and bilingualism are associated with high aspirations in education, high self-esteem and low levels of depression. Limited bilingual ability demonstrates precisely the opposite: more likely to experience depression, lower self-esteem and fewer aspirations or lower ambition.



Graph 4.3

*Types of linguistic adaptation and psychological correlations*

Source: Portes and Rumbaut (2006): 237

High level of self-esteem \*\* defined as the average 3.5 or higher on the Rosenberg scale.

Low level of \*\* depression defined as the average of 1.5 or less on the Center for Epidemiologic Studies (Center for Epidemiological Studies) subscale.

The preservation of Spanish as a primary language among the second and third generation, although rare, is evidence of social stagnation and limited upward mobility (Bailey, 2000).

Furthermore, the durability of Spanish in certain regions of the United States has a lot to do with the persistence of migratory flows from Latin America, primarily from Mexico. Mexicans are indeed the migratory group with the greatest durability in the history of the United States. Their continuous migration to the U.S. gives new life to the use of Spanish in high concentration areas, like California and Texas.

Other studies that confirm this line of research are those conducted by Richard Alba et al. (2002) from the 2000 Cen-

sus; a nationwide survey of Hispanic adults conducted by the Pew Hispanic Center (2012), a renowned organization; and an investigation into generational patterns carried out in Los Angeles in 2004 (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006: 219). Despite their methodological differences, the three projects come to the same conclusions: a) many first-generation immigrants that arrived to the United States during childhood speak English with some fluency; b) bilingualism is prevalent among second-generation youths that have grown up in homes where Spanish is spoken, but who also speak English well; c) reversion and complete transition to English dominates among the third generation; d) the persistence of Spanish among the third generation is common in border areas, mainly in Texas, that maintain ancestral ties and physical proximity to Mexico, and also among groups, such as the Dominicans in New York and the Cubans in Miami.

A topic worth further consideration concerns the use of language in relation to academic achievement and the meaning of this connection within theoretical frameworks whose purpose is to better understand assimilation as a social phenomenon (Gutiérrez, 2007; Shin and Alba, 2009). As noted earlier, many early studies regarding language use in the United States focused on the attempt to demonstrate the intellectual inferiority of immigrants in comparison to the dominant group. Such was the basis of the criticism surrounding bilingualism. However, recent research suggests that the preservation of the mother tongue among young immigrants, including Spanish, has significant advantages, under the right circumstances. For example, use of Spanish among young Cubans in South Florida appears to be associated with strong indicators of academic success and positive self-identification (Fernández-Kelly, 2008). In spite of the objections and criticism surrounding the use of Spanish in South Florida, given

the many achievements of the Cuban community, speaking Spanish is a demonstration of pride. However, it is important to remember that most Cubans also speak English very well. Therefore, their language ability is a trademark of success, not a symptom of lagging behind, and a clear example of selective acculturation (Portes and Rumbaut, 2006).

However, it is not only among Cubans that Spanish use can represent advantages. Various ethnographic studies indicate that the use of Spanish among second and third generation Mexicans, coupled with adequate support in education, is related to high academic achievement (Fernandez-Kelly, 2008). This finding is significant because, as previously mentioned, Mexicans in the United States have experienced limited social and economic mobility. However, those who manage to overcome typical education and employment statistics, tend to share with Cubans an interest in the language of their ancestors and the desire to maintain, even selectively, cultural elements from their country of origin.

Among impoverished groups with little access to quality education and gainful employment, the trends are very different. In segregated residential areas, whether in Hialeah in Miami County, the Nuyorican Bronx, or in the poor barrios of San Diego and Los Angeles, language use is a reflection of socioeconomic and generational inequalities. In a research study conducted among low-income mothers in Hialeah (Miami) and Barrio Logan (San Diego), findings demonstrated the dramatic character of language use (Fernández-Kelly and Konczal, 2007). Working-class mothers, Cuban and Mexican alike, responded vividly and with great emotion when asked if they spoke English. Why? Because their children, particularly teenagers, use English to connect more effectively with their peers, while distancing themselves from

their parents, especially their mothers, who view their children's use of English as a rejection of their authority. Since this study was conducted among mothers with scarce economic resources, this represents another source of humiliation experienced by poor immigrants. It is difficult for mothers to represent their children in the public domain, including schools, given their limited knowledge of the dominant language.

It is not a rare to have parents turn to their children as translators when they need to interact with employees or teachers. This role reversal of the adult-child relationship can have disastrous results. The young and inexperienced, interested in the approval of their friends and peers, are often embarrassed of their elders (Bailey, 2000; Feliciano, 2008). In addition, these circumstances prevent young people to utilize their cultural legacy to defend themselves from prejudice or marginalization. For this reason, the survival of Spanish in impoverished neighborhoods could have positive consequences among young people, particularly in reference to the barriers they face in the dominant society. This possibility is even more important when considering the fact that, among working class groups, linear assimilation, including the abandonment of first language, can contribute to descending social mobility.

Paradoxically, it is among the most vulnerable groups where you encounter the most vivid and eloquent linguistic manifestations in which young children of immigrants combine English and Spanish to give rise to new forms of racial and ethnic identity. Such expressions transform the language into an instrument of political insurgency and a means of aesthetic expression. This is discussed in more detail in the following section.

## 5. New Voices of Spanish in the United States

The conditions that nearly 12 million undocumented workers have faced in the United States since the last decade of the twentieth century are unparalleled in American history. Although the United States has always welcomed immigrants with hostility and prejudice, it has rarely seen discrimination combined with legislative measures whose objective is to vilify and isolate the immigrant. Such has been the case, however, for first generation Hispanics, especially those without legal residency status in the United States in recent years (Massey, Durand and Malone, 2002). The hostile climate only escalated after the implementation of IIRIRA (Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act) in 1996, which included fines and legal penalties for employers of undocumented workers, in addition to severe penalties to the immigrants themselves. Even legal residents were stripped of their right to receive benefits that they had previously held, including access to unemployment and social welfare benefits. These circumstances only worsened after the attacks on New York and Washington in September of 2001. Public opinion rapidly turned against immigrants of all backgrounds. The formation of the Department of Homeland Security absorbed the former immigrant service, transforming it into an instrument to curb the infiltration of terrorists. Although they had nothing to do with the problem, Mexicans and Central Americans experienced firsthand the effects of poorly designed political measures against terrorism. Thousands of families have been separated as a result of humiliating arrests, detainments, and mass deportations of parents lacking legal status. Through radio and television, many voices, such as the infamous Lou Dobbs, have fueled anti-immigrant sentiment, especially among popular sectors whose members frequently perceive foreigners as a possible threat to job security. The general climate of hostility and

bitterness has also led to several murders, committed by individuals guided by hatred and ignorance.

Such circumstances, almost without historical precedent, have led to recent vindication efforts. New organizations have emerged, to protect the rights of immigrants and spread knowledge about the difficulties that many face. Among such groups, perhaps the most significant has been the creation of «Dreamers,» (making reference to the DREAM Act) formed by undocumented youths with long-term residence in the United States. The bill was presented to the American Congress for the first time in 2001, and its objective is the naturalization of more than two million undocumented young people. Although this law has not been implemented, it has gained increasing popularity and is expected to be enforced in the near future.

The poor conditions many immigrants have faced in recent years have led to a revitalization of musical and artistic expression around the country. In Maricopa County (Texas), for example, Mayor Joe Arpaio, whose draconian measures against immigrants have gained nationwide notoriety, has become a favored topic in new Mexican corridos [ballads] that combine English and Spanish to articulate protests (Menjivar, 2010). They include musical forms related to traditional Mexican narrative, but are new in respect to their content. According to studies by Cecilia Menjivar, this type of musical expression has enabled immigrants across two generations to understand their suffering as a part of a larger drama, where a possibility for redemption justifies the current difficulties.

Menjivar (2010) describes the case of a poor Salvadoran woman, whose life in the U.S. is like a rose surrounded by thorns. Like the flower, representing the profits gained from

residence, America is beautiful. However, the many obstacles are like thorns, preventing access. Like many, the woman uses Spanish to voice her aspirations and her sense of disillusion. After long days of poorly compensated work, many immigrants turn to art to express their collective feelings (for example, writing stories and poems). This is particularly true among those confined in detainment centers prior to deportation. While waiting in cells to be sent back to their home country, they kill time writing and creating art, detailing their humiliating situation. Language and art serve as a source of comfort, a wealth of collective memory, and a source of personal strength (Fernandez-Kelly, 2010).

It is also through language and art that Hispanic musical groups in the United States utilize artistic resources as a means to give voice to those who usually do not have one. In this case, language serves to help transform or translate pan-ethnic identities that reflect a sense of growing solidarity among various national groups. For example, the popular group, *Los Tigres del Norte* [Tigers of the North], originally formed by Mexicans, composed the song called «*El centroamericano*» to describe the history of Guatemalan and Salvadoran immigrants mimicking the Mexican accent to dilute their national identity and improve their opportunities in the United States (Menjivar, 2010). Since immigrants from countries like Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua have faced a great deal of discrimination, passing for Mexicans has some advantages. This includes the imitation of Spanish spoken by Mexicans. In the case of deportation, it won't be to their distant countries of origin, but to the neighboring country of Mexico, from where they can more easily return to the United States. In other cases, the singers use Spanish to give testimony to personal and collective suffering. The Salvadoran, Mr. Snoopy, employs combinations of English and Spanish in his songs, some of which

relate to the disastrous consequences associated with juvenile disorientation. Incarcerated for the murder of a rival gang member, Mr. Snoopy describes life as a poor immigrant and his transition to a life of crime. Leyda Garcia, also known as Alma Chapina, writes in both languages to detail the existential dilemma experienced by Central Americans. Chapina and other celebrities exemplify a new use of the language, in English and Spanish, to describe the realities unknown to most Americans. Both poetic and everyday language are part of the cultural flows that young immigrants use to reconcile their complex identities and life trajectories.

The use of Spanish is also associated with new forms of artistic expression laced with political and religious content. Pierrette Hondagneu-Sotelo (2008), for example, describes outdoor theatrical dramatizations in border areas in California based on Mexican «posadas.» In its original concept, and since the sixteenth century, the «posadas» were part of a nine-day religious ceremony to pay tribute to the pilgrimage of Mary and Joseph in search of shelter for the Christ child. From door to door, the couple was rejected until they finally found rest in the stable of Bethlehem. In the traditional «posada,» the journey was reenacted in songs performed by singers who played roles as Mary and Joseph and other figures present in the Bible story. In the case related by Hondagneu-Sotelo, those who live south of the Mexican border represent the Holy Family, and the rude innkeepers are those who live just a few steps north in American territory. The songs equate the United States with inaccessible shelter, and the immigrants with pilgrims in search of asylum. It is through these elements that a touching religious tradition is turned into an instrument of protest against injustice. In these outdoor representations, both in Tijuana/San Diego and El Paso/Ciudad Juarez and other border cities, the mixture of Spanish and English becomes a vehicle to ex-



press solidarity in spite of ethnic and national differences. It is also through this mixture that Spanish acquires epic dimensions as a language that demands social justice for those whose first language is not English. Through art, the most marginalized groups are given a voice to express their suffering and invoke the compassion of the American society.

Such demonstrations have multiple historical precedents in the American context. In an article detailing the trajectory of Mexicans in the United States, Cárdenas (2010) noted the importance of artistic expression in political advocacy efforts in the first decades of the twentieth century when Mexican farmworkers used pamphlets and newspapers in Spanish as part of their struggle for civil rights. The labor union efforts of the famous Cesar Chavez also used Spanish to generate social cohesion and ethnic pride.

Moreover, since the implementation of the Family Unification Act in 1965, increasing ethnic and racial pluralism in the United States, has had important effects in subsequent years, as it has allowed immigrants to legally sponsor the arrival of other relatives, especially parents and children (Massey, Durand and Malone, 2002). This phenomenon has resulted in the increasing visibility of Asian and Latin American groups, especially Chinese and Mexicans. Over the past three decades, demographic diversity has given rise to new perspectives, among them multiculturalism has had the greatest impact. In the American context, this social philosophy is characterized by a growing acceptance of the ways of life and languages from other countries (Alonso, 2004). A crucial element concerning multiculturalism among members of second-generation immigrants connects traditional cultural forms with new linguistic and artistic genres, in addition to the development of forms of hybrid expression that reinterpret traditional elements to

express new realities in the host country (Dimaggio and Fernandez-Kelly, 2010). During a large part of the twentieth century, the conventional norm was to view assimilation in terms of loss: loss of language, customs, and traditions in exchange for adopting the alternatives in the recipient country. Now, however, a different perspective prevails that does not emphasize abandonment of the past or historical amnesia, but rather its transformation. Such a process involves not replacing, but adding. The descendants of first generation immigrants strive to maintain ties with the past and use elements of their ancient culture to create new forms of identity, as clearly illustrated in the use of language. Both Mexicans and Cubans utilize Spanish as an instrument denoting membership in close-knit circles (among family and friends), while English is used as a medium of public communication. In a research study carried out in 2006 among second-generation Cuban immigrants, one member summarized the phenomenon rather well by saying:

Being Cuban has a lot to do with my affection for my parents and my grandmother; with art and music; my Catholicism and with Cuban food, which is delicious ... but I was born in the United States, and this will be the home of my children, so my American identity has to do with political participation and economic prosperity. Spanish defines my Cuban identity and English, my American identity (Fernández-Kelly and Konczal, 2007).

Li (1994) finds the same among young Chinese, who use English to escalate disagreements with their parents and Mandarin to neutralize them. In other words, language, like art, is used by new generations of immigrants to establish and negotiate personal and collective identity boundaries, and also to include or separate themselves from various groups. In this respect, language is presented as a hybrid and flexible system.

One factor that contributes to the transformation of language, both in English and Spanish, is the existence of new racial and ethnic categories in the host country (Rumbaut, 1994). Most newly arrived immigrants perceive themselves in terms of national identity: Mexicans, Guatemalans, Dominicans, Cubans, etc. However, in the United States, such terms are often subsumed into categories like «Hispanic,» «Latino,» «Asian,» «African American or «Caucasian.» Such pan-ethnic labels present new challenges, as they dilute nationality and force decisions that have both real and symbolic effects. For example, among children of Dominican immigrants, chances are they identify with multiple identities and are required to negotiate them in a variety of contexts and situations. In some cases, they define themselves, or are defined by others, as Black or African American, in addition to the term Hispanic. However, at home, they view themselves simply as Dominicans. The acceptance and use of racial nomenclatures can result in both acceptance and discrimination in various contexts. Therefore, identity, coupled strongly with the use of language, carries with it very real consequences in political, economic and social areas.

Thus, a sense of conflict, both internally and publicly, is part of the postmodern condition faced by new generations of immigrants in host countries. Fragmented identity results in a number of tensions where an individual may feel pulled in opposite directions. For example, to remain loyal to parental demands or to succumb to the expectations of others. Many young immigrants resolve this conflict through cultural acculturation between their cultural heritage and the dominant lifestyle of the wider society. Some use the language of their parents to identify between different groups, and others do the opposite, rejecting the paternal language to acquire greater acceptance in alternative spaces.

Many elements mentioned in this chapter are necessary to understand the situation facing the children of Guatemalan, Honduran and Nicaraguan immigrants, although processes of self-identification function differently among the groups. Social class and country of origin are the main criteria that determine classification. For many Nicaraguans who live in South Florida, especially those with aspirations to assimilate into the dominant society, there is a tendency to describe themselves as «Hispanic,» as being Hispanic in Miami means being Cuban, and therefore, respected. This is especially important, provided that Nicaraguans have faced severe discrimination at the local level. Those who have legal residency or citizenship and high education and career aspirations, tend to have a strong temptation to reject or hide their nationality. They seek to remove the stigma imposed on their group. Many even adopt the linguistic style of Cubans, thus demonstrating a clear desire to blend in and not be noticed as a denigrated minority. Context often determines language preferences. When conversing with other Nicaraguans, young Nicaraguans maintain the linguistic style of their country, but when interacting with people from other groups, they frequently opt for neutral ways of expression. They deliberately attempt to disguise their Nicaraguan origin and prefer to describe themselves as Hispanic. However, the Nicaraguans self-identification tendency is not universal in South Florida. Some view the efforts of Nicaraguans pretending to be Cuban with disdain. «I don't mask my Spanish accent. It is one hundred percent Nicaraguan.» says a Nicaraguan woman interviewed in 2006. «People distort their origins to blend in with the Cuban majority in Miami and this makes me furious ... they are hypocrites who dishonor their roots.» Thus, a number of Nicaraguans can't stand the lack of cultural authenticity among their people and seek to reclaim their collective image. They go to the countries their parents left behind to rebuild

memories and pay tribute to their history. They celebrate religious festivals with pride, like *La Purísima*, or reconstruct traditions learned from their elders. Their efforts contain dialectical elements that over time, will generate new ways of life and esthetic manifestations.

One form of artistic expression that has the greatest sense of vigor and originality is called *hip-hop*. This artistic phenomenon emerged in the 1960s among poor black neighborhoods in the Bronx, New York to give voice to racial and social protest (Alim, 2003). It consists of colloquialisms and expressions invented on the street, and was subsequently accepted by mainstream society, like other elements of popular culture. Among young immigrants from diverse nationalities, *hip-hop* represents a new body of declarations to define identity. Whether among young Arabs, Mexicans, Cubans and Chinese, *hip-hop* operates as an instrument of cohesion and solidarity and shared existential voice (DiMaggio and Fernandez-Kelly, 2010). Deborah Wong (2010), for example, describes the use of *hip-hop* to develop pan-ethnic categories among young Asians in the United States. By combining elements of English and Mandarin in their music, the young affirm their reality as both Asians and Americans. Singers like the rapper Jin, swear in Mandarin as a form of protest against the abuses that the Chinese working class have suffered in the United States. Similarly, mainstream personalities like the millionaire Cuban singer, Pit Bull, use both English and Spanish to express feelings of rebellion and social vindication among neglected Hispanic groups, including young Cubans from working class neighborhoods like Hialeah. Pit Bull's art combines *jazz* with Salsa music and his work belongs to a new art form where the merger of styles is essential to embody existential realities.

Interestingly, *hip-hop* music and fusion music now define international popular culture. Singers like Pit Bull are echoed both in Europe and in Mexico, in addition to other Latin American countries. It thus leads to the creation of a circuit that begins in developing countries, continues through the immigration process to receiving countries, and finally makes its way back to the point of origin. Among other effects, these new art forms allow young immigrants to achieve personal and collective independence from previous generations.

In the United States, the racial and ethnic experience is woven deep into the fabric of society (Bailey, 2000). Economic and political subordination results in anxieties regarding self-value and self-worth among both Blacks and Hispanics. For example, feelings of social frustration are common among working-class Cubans in Hialeah (Fernández-Kelly and Konczal, 2007). Given the South Florida Cubans' economic success, poverty represents an enormous emotional burden. Young Cubans in Hialeah, a working class suburb, feel discriminated against by Cubans who have achieved greater education and wealth. How do you recover dignity if you do not have a voice or the economic means? The answer to this dilemma involves the use of language, and as in other cases, artistic expression.

Danny Gonzalez, interviewed in 2006, emphasizes authenticity as a form of social demand. He and his friends rebel against the stigma that society imposes on them and use expressive language to highlight their resistance. For Danny, Tupac Shakur, the iconic rap figure, is a heroic example. Danny says:

[Tupac] is someone who dresses anyway he wants, and yet, he triumphs; He is my role model. Are appearances important? No. You don't have to wear a suit and tie to get a good job. I want to be like him, keep my own culture, help my people,

make them respect us ... in my neighborhood *hip-hop* and graffiti are a part of Cuban culture. We have Cuban graffiti artists, Cuban MCs, and Cuban *break-dancers*. The baddest *break-dancer* is Speedy Legs (Richard Hernández), who was born in Cuba and grew up in Hialeah.

In other words, to ease the pain of contempt and redefine local ways of life are the main goals of Danny Gonzalez, and other children like him. They view themselves as forgotten and neglected victims in the slums of the city. «If I don't honor my neighborhood and my culture, then who will?», Danny asks rhetorically. The answer is obvious: he and those like him will rebuild the identity of the Cuban working class.

The case of Danny Gonzalez provides key elements that will unravel the processes of racial and ethnic formation that have long interested researchers. In a widely cited article, Matute Bianchi (1986) describes how immigrant youths from a senior high school in California classify themselves. This type of classification or self-identification depends, in part, on the time their families have lived in the United States. The range consists of Mexican newcomers, Mexicans who were raised in the United States, and Mexican-Americans. Recent arrivals are expected to be diligent and optimistic, despite academic limitations. In contrast, second and third generation Mexicans distrust the education system and tend to assume rebellious attitudes. Similarly, Ogbu (1992) explained the differences in school performance, distinguishing between immigrant minorities that left their country of origin without being forced, and involuntary minorities whose ancestors were enslaved, colonized or conquered. He points out that this historical trajectory plays a role in present points of view. Young immigrants take an enthusiastic vision of their future, while African Americans and Hispanics of

new generations embrace narratives of opposition, and thus redefine marginality as an option of vindication.

When asked about the reasons that explain success or failure, some young people certainly seem defiant, but the reasons for these attitudes are often surprising. «To hell with attitudes of opposition!», exclaims Danny Gonzalez when asked if those who make money through illegal activity deliberately reject education and employment. In his opinion, the objective is not to break away from dominant ethical expectations. In contrast, they are the result of a necessity: «Sometimes you can't go to school when you are fighting for your life», he affirms with conviction (Fernández-Kelly and Konczal, 2007). From this perspective, insolence and insubordination are secondary effects of marginalization, not its causes. Young people living in poverty discover that success through education is unattainable or useless, given the poor quality of the schools they attend. Therefore, they direct their attention to less uncertain goals.

This is why young people from Hialeah like Danny Gonzalez reject in their search the rich heritage of their ancestors in favor of Cuban *hip-hop*. Such aesthetic preference has a number of repercussions that constitute a rejection of dominant Cuban culture and its controlling tendency and its superiority based on social class. These artistic expressions also denote solidarity with urban Blacks, viewed as an iconic group of suffering and oppression. *Hip-hop* offers young immigrants like Danny a new means of self-expression that combines their experiences with that of other disenfranchised groups. To the extent that it has become an international phenomenon, *hip-hop* also finds a home among networks of young people that transcend political borders. Most of what Danny Gonzalez knows about this musical genre did not come from a dialogue with



African Americans, but rather from the Internet. In other words, by adopting genres invented by the most marginalized groups, and therefore, the most heroic of American society, the Hispanic working class finds a sense of collective status with the «wretched of the Earth» and at the same time, forges its own identity.

Finally, connecting with *hip-hop* culture allows Hispanic youths to view themselves as a part of a larger community without having to sell themselves to the highest bidder. Their goal is not to reject dominant norms and values, but to implement them without forfeiting authenticity. As a part of the working class, and with lower levels of education, these young people have few options in the era of globalization -laborers or members of the low-wage service sector. Music and art, with its new use of English and Spanish, present alternative routes to fame and prosperity. For this reason, young people like Danny opt for what Fernández-Kelly and Konczal (2007) refer to as *expressive entrepreneurship*. Their source of inspiration are the great name in the art world who have achieved celebrity status and fortune without having to change the way they speak and dress. It is in this sense that they seek to «murder the alphabet,» therefore recreating the language in the image of its own living reality.

## 6. Conclusion

This chapter summarizes several issues needed to understand the rising vitality of Spanish as a language in the United States. The increased visibility of Spanish in the American context is largely the result of continuous migratory flows from Latin America. My analysis began with a historical sketch revealing Spanish as an ancestral language that reflects

social, political and economic changes over time. Rising from Latin as an imperial language, Spanish was vigorously transformed after eight years of Arab occupation of the Iberian peninsula. It emerges as an independent language in the thirteenth century, and since then, has undergone changes related with the formation of new nations, and more recently, sustained migratory flows to the United States. Like Latin in ancient times, English has exercised powerful influence on Spanish on a global scale. However, Spanish also modifies linguistic expression in English. These changes reflect a sense of progressive ethnic and racial pluralism in the United States.

The second part of the chapter is a summary of the debates surrounding bilingualism from the onset of American history, stressing studies carried out in the first decades of the twentieth century and how they reinforced collective fear and problematic eugenic perspectives in defining immigration and bilingualism as threats both to national identity and to social integrity. Although these theoretical frameworks have not disappeared entirely, investigations of greater methodological rigor have confirmed the contrary: under the right conditions, speaking two or more languages has many advantages in cognitive and academic terms and work performance. Contrary to what linear assimilation advocates contend, bilingual knowledge is part of a selective acculturation process that provides a means of rapid ascending social and economic mobility. At the same time, monolingualism, while predominant in American society, is not a sign of superior intelligence or economic prosperity. Although rare, in the United States, the persistence of Spanish monolingualism among some groups across two or three generations is a clear indicator of social stagnation and marginalization in the work and labor market.

Subsequent sections of this work outlined the relationship between language use, social class and race and ethnicity. Also noted is how Spanish is utilized by Mexican and Central American immigrants to give voice to a sense of shared suffering in a context compounded by the threat of incarceration and deportation post the September 11 terrorist attacks. In this context, Spanish emerges as a language of vindication and also an advocacy tool. I have also provided details based on ethnographic research that demonstrates the intimate relationship between the use of language by ethnic and racial minorities, particularly among Hispanics, and new forms of artistic expression, particularly *hip-hop*. The fundamental point of this discussion is the following: through the novel use of Spanish and its equally innovative fusion with English, new generations of young immigrants define their personal and collective identity within a multicultural environment.

In addition to being a versatile language, Spanish in the United States is a language that has led to the increasing visibility of Hispanics. In 2008, the election of Barack Obama as the first African American president in the history of the most powerful country in the world opened a new stage in race relations nationwide. Even more significant was his reelection in 2012, largely due to the Latino vote. Combined, African Americans and Hispanics accounted for nearly 40 percent of the vote that led to Obama's victory. Even more impressive was the fact that Hispanics alone represented 24 percent of this total. This means, that without the ratification of the Hispanic vote, the results in the last presidential election would have been different. Unarguably, the fifty million Latinos living in the United States have become an unstoppable political and cultural force.

For this reason, it was not surprising that during the inaugural celebration, both English and Spanish were present in

prayers, speeches, and forms of artistic expression. The events were also marked by the inclusion of Anglo-Saxon, Black, and Latin American traditions. At the official ceremony, Vice President Joe Biden, a third-generation Irish-American, was sworn in by Sonia Sotomayor, the first Hispanic woman on the Supreme Court. Richard White, a second-generation Cuban, read the inaugural poem, and the Episcopal Priest, Luis León, a first-generation Cuban immigrant, gave the final blessing, with excerpts in both English and Spanish. Among the bands that participated in the inaugural parade were ¡Seguro que Sí! a group of high school students from Florida who combined elements of Salsa music and *jazz*. Young Mexicans in traditional dress also participated in the inaugural parade.

Thus, the aesthetic tastes of this beautiful group provided a glimpse into the future of the United States as a pluralistic field of inclusion.

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## CHAPTER 5

# BILINGUAL ILLITERATES? THE LINGUISTIC PRACTICES OF PUERTO RICANS OF THE ISLAND AND IN THE DIASPORA

*Jorge Duany*

### 1. Introduction

Probably no other subject has tortured Puerto Rican intellectuals in the 20th and 21st century as much as the defense of Spanish against English. As one of the last Hispanic colonies in the Americas, Puerto Rico had one majority language from 1493 until 1898: Spanish. In that final year, U.S. troops invaded Puerto Rico as part of the Spanish–Cuban–American War, and have maintained a strong presence on the island to this day. Military control was accompanied by numerous colonial practices in the legal, political, economic, cultural, and linguistic fields.<sup>1</sup>

1 In 1910, the United States Supreme Court paradoxically defined the island as «foreign in a domestic sense,» as it was neither a state of the American Union nor an independent country. The court also declared that Puerto Rico was an «unincorporated territory» «that belongs to but is not part of the United States.» Three years later, the court declared that the Puerto Rican population was not «foreign» for immigration purposes and could not be denied entry to the United States. Although the Jones Law in 1917 conferred American citizenship to those born on the island, it did not recognize all their constitutional rights and duties, such as having voting delegates in Congress or paying federal income taxes.

In July 1899, the military governor of Puerto Rico, General George W. Davis, named economist Victor S. Clark president of the Insular Board of Education. In his report to the United States Senate in April 1900, Clark made some inflammatory statements about Spanish on the island:

There does not seem to be among the masses the same devotion to their native tongue or to any national ideal that animate the Frenchman, for instance, in Canada or the Rhine provinces. Another important fact that must not be overlooked is that a majority of the people of this island do not speak pure Spanish – their language is a patois almost unintelligible to the natives of Barcelona and Madrid. It possesses no literature and little value as an intellectual medium. There is a bare possibility that it will be nearly as easy to educate the people out of their patois into English as it will be to educate them into the elegant tongue of Castile. (U.S. Senate 1900: 60).

The Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico passed a law in 1902 authorizing the insular government to use English and Spanish interchangeably. From then on, politicians, intellectuals and other citizens have debated which should be the official language of instruction at schools and colleges in the country.

The American colonial regime promoted English as part of the island's Americanization, between 1898 and 1948. According to educator Charles Beirne (1976), the Americanization campaign sought to make Puerto Ricans identify with American interests and acquire their culture, particularly through the teaching of English and the abandonment of Puerto Rican history and customs. This campaign implied that the dominant language, culture, and religion of the United States were morally superior to those of Spain.

Consequently, Spanish became one of the points of convergence for mobilizing the island population and resisting Americanization. This resistance brought together broad sectors of the public, including teachers, students, and intellectuals. Linguistic nationalism Hispanic in nature gradually became the ruling ideology on the island (Torres González, 2002). For decades now, leaders of the main political parties in Puerto Rico have agreed that Spanish is non-negotiable under any political formula (DuBord, 2007; Morris, 1995; Shenk, 2012; Vélez, 2000).

However, many Puerto Ricans have developed some degree of bilingualism as a result of the close relationship and mass migration between Puerto Rico and the United States. This is a topic that has generated long-standing controversy among academics, particularly when evaluating the linguistic practices of the Puerto Rican diaspora. One of the first professional anthropologists on the island, Eugenio Fernández Méndez (1959: 151), warned that «Puerto Rico is a Hispanic community, a nationality, but it may cease to be so as a result of the immediate effects of immigration.» Another prominent anthropologist, Eduardo Seda Bonilla, dismissed the idea that *Nuyoricans*—the neologism used to describe Puerto Rican descendants abroad—who did not speak Spanish were still Puerto Ricans. For Seda Bonilla (1972: 459), «the *Niuyorrican* is nowadays the archetypical man without a homeland.» The renowned political scientist, Manuel Maldonado Denis (1984: 134), in turn, concluded that «our Puerto Rican brothers in the United States in particular more recent generations lack basic proficiency in both Spanish and English... Perhaps they would be better described as ‘no-linguals’ instead of bilingual or monolingual.»

A strong current within nationalist discourse on the island has contested the «Puerto Rican-ness» of second and



third generation migrants for basically linguistic reasons. It would seem that the figure of the *Nuyorican* embodies a dangerous, marginal hybrid, contaminated by the English language and American culture (Pérez, 1996:192). The children and grandchildren of migrants returning to the island are frequently referred to as *americanos*, *gringos*, and *asimilados* [assimilated] (Lorenzo-Hernández, 1999; Reyes, 2000). Many of the disparaging terms used to describe linguistic ambivalence in Puerto Rico have spread throughout the diaspora, among them «Spanglish» and «Inglañol» (Tió, 1991: 27, 105), *nulingüismo* (null-lingualism) and «intellectual stammering in both languages» (Castro Pereda, 1993: 118-119), «semi-lingual in two languages» (Muñoz Marín, 1985: 108) and «bilingual illiterates» (Torres González, 2002: 284). Against this backdrop of damning prejudice, not well documented with field research, several studies carried out over the last four decades have looked at the colloquial speech of Puerto Rican emigration from a more balanced perspective (see, among others, Álvarez Nazario, 1991; Fishman et al., 1971; Flores et al., 1981; García et al., 2001; Language Policy Task Force, 1978; Lipski, 2008; Otheguy and Zentella, 2012; Pousada and Poplack, 1982; Torres 1997, 2007; Urciuoli, 1996; Zentella 1997).

The commonplace use of English among Puerto Ricans living abroad has serious consequences for reconsidering whether «being Puerto Rican is not an issue of language,» as was proclaimed by the propaganda campaign of the English-language newspaper *The San Juan Star* in the late 1980s.

According to the literary critic Carmen Centeno Añeses (2007: 37), «In the debate on language and its relationship to identity, we have side-stepped the issue of the growth in the Puerto Rican population in the United States, many of whose

members reaffirm their nationality while speaking in alternating codes, mixing Spanish and English, or even with English as their first language.» Furthermore, as linguist Gloria Prosper-Sánchez (2007: 194 n. 32) points out, Spanish language supremacy as part of national identity is questionable, considering that most of the current island population claims to know English.<sup>2</sup> In essence, the controversy surrounds the conventional link between language and nationality.

The rest of this chapter considers the language issue as contested terrain for the national and transnational identity of Puerto Ricans on the island and in the diaspora. On the one hand, population censuses show noteworthy changes in the use of Spanish and English on the island since the beginning of the 20th century. Although the proportion of English speakers in Puerto Rico has increased notably, the majority of people still speak Spanish and are not fluent in English. On the other hand, census data on Puerto Ricans living in the United States show that Spanish persists even among second— and third— generation of immigrants. At the same time, the descendants of Puerto Ricans living abroad tend to substitute Spanish for English as their main language.

## 2. The Language Issue in Puerto Rico

The Spanish spoken on the island has a distinctive pronunciation, intonation and vocabulary. Anthropologist J. Alden Mason carried out a pioneering field study between 1914 and 1915 on the rural Puerto Rican dialect, although he never published his

2 For a critique of the idea of the Spanish language as a founding principle of Puerto Rican nationality—often classified as *hispanofilia*— see Pabón (1992), particularly pages 89–103.

findings (Duany, 2002: 76-77). The classic study of the island's vernacular, by linguist Tomás Navarro Tomás (1999, first published in 1948), was based on material collected in 1927-1928. As Mason and Navarro Tomás point out, many Puerto Ricans, as is the case with most Latin Americans, aspirate the /s/ and pronounce the /r/ like an /l/ at the end of a syllable. Also, the intervocalic /d/ is usually elided in colloquial speech on the island. Puerto Rico is the only Spanish-speaking country where the velar /r/ is pronounced as a «collective linguistic habit» (Navarro Tomás, 1999: 94). So, the place name «Puerto Rico» will be pronounced more like «Puelto Jrico,» and the demonym «puertorriqueño» becomes «puelto-jriqueño» to foreign ears.

Moreover, native Spanish speakers can easily detect the characteristic Puerto Rican intonation. Among other traits, the tendency to lengthen the final stressed vowel in a sentence results in very fast elocution in informal speech. Additionally, Puerto Rican Spanish usually employs a higher tone than other Spanish dialects such as that of Castile (López Morales, 1992: 130). Furthermore, the insular dialect contains numerous local words and idiomatic expressions, many of which have their origin in the Canary Islands, Taíno, or African languages, which are not as commonplace in other Spanish-speaking countries (Álvarez Nazario, 1991). Popular expressions such as ¡*Ay Virgen!* and ¡*Ay bendito!* distinguish *boricuas* (Puerto Ricans) wherever they are. The all-purpose verb *bregar* has been the subject of intense academic study (Díaz Quiñones, 2000). Apart from such phonetic and lexical differences, popular Puerto Rican speech does not differ substantially from other varieties of Spanish around the world.

The linguistic practices of the island elite reproduce educated Caribbean Spanish, particularly that of urban Cuba and the Dominican Republic (López Morales, 1992; Morales

2000). People from the countryside are easily identified by their accent, and a certain stigma is attached to being called *jíbaro* (peasant). This modern-day loss of prestige is in stark contrast to the traditional defense of rural speech on the island, beginning with the publication of the traditional *romancero* [a collection of ballads] *El jíbaro* by Manuel Alonso in 1849. As expressed by civil engineer Teófilo Marxuach (1903: 17), «In the language of the *jíbaros* there are few invented or misused words; instead there are actual transformations of Castilian words and a large number of words derived from the primitive language spoken by our Indians.»

Some peculiarities of Boricua Spanish are due to influences from English, especially in terms of vocabulary. Academics have documented the abundance of Anglicisms in Puerto Rico, particularly amongst the middle —and upper— class professional sectors (Morales, 2001). Some specialists have cast doubt on the claim that such lexical and syntactic calques have «corrupted» the island vernacular (Del Rosario, 1985; Lipski, 2008; Mohr, 1998). However, the majority insists that «interference» from English constitutes a serious threat to the development of Spanish-language communication skills (De Grandá, 1980; López Laguerre, 1997; Senado de Puerto Rico, 2004; Tió, 1991). Those critical of English interference in Boricua Spanish often allude to its «impoverishment,» «deterioration,» «degradation» or «degeneration.»

After more than a century of U.S. hegemony, Spanish remains the basic means of communication in Puerto Rico. Efforts by the colonial State to impose English over the first half of the 20th century failed dramatically. For many local academics, this linguistic policy was part of an «American cultural assault on Puerto Rico» (Méndez, 1980). As educator Aida Negrón de Montilla (1990) posited, the Department of Public

Education was the main vehicle in suppressing Spanish and implanting English. However, this imposition generated popular resistance to English as the official language for education (Vélez, 2000). One of the main groups opposed to said linguistic policy was the *Asociación de Maestros de Puerto Rico* [Puerto Rican Teachers' Association], founded in 1911. From the outset, the association demanded the use of the island vernacular in the education system.

Since 1949, public education in primary and secondary schools, as well as colleges, has mostly been in Spanish. With the establishment of the Commonwealth (or Associated Free State, in Spanish) in 1952, Spanish consolidated itself as the main language of island government and in particular of the public education system.<sup>3</sup> That same year, the first elected governor of Puerto Rico, Luis Muñoz Marín, laid out his position regarding language with an anecdote in a memorable speech to the *Asociación de Maestros de Puerto Rico*:

In one of the island's villages I saw a bar called «Agapito's Bar» [in English]: Why would you do that, Agapito? No one who speaks English ever comes down this village street. Do you feel better saying it in a language that isn't your own? Don't you think that by looking down on your language, to some extent you're looking down on yourself? And what will happen if this attitude spreads to thousands and thousands of people like it did subconsciously in the case of Agapito? Where are we going to get the strength of

3 In 1952, Puerto Rico became an Associated Free State of the United States (officially translated into English as a Commonwealth) with limited autonomy over local affairs, such as taxes, education, health, housing, culture, and language. The United States federal government retained jurisdiction over most State affairs, including citizenship, immigration, border control, defense, currency, transport, communications, foreign trade, and diplomacy.

spirit to continue to contribute a worthy culture to our own people, to the United States, to America, and to the western world? (Muñoz Marín 1985: 106).

After stating that «language is the breath of the spirit,» Muñoz Marín objected to the «partial substitution of the vernacular by a second language» while supporting «intensive English teaching» (107). This linguistic policy has prevailed to this day, with ups and downs depending on the government in office. In 1991, the Puerto Rican Legislative Assembly passed a law that declared Spanish the only official language of the island, but this law was repealed in 1993. It was then established that Spanish and English would both be the official languages of Puerto Rican government.<sup>4</sup> However, there is currently a general consensus that Spanish is the island's mother tongue and English is its second language (López Laguerre 1997: 40-41; also see Shenk, 2012). Bilingualism is limited to a small minority, mainly composed of the middle and upper classes, returning migrants and their descendants, and U.S. immigrants, often known as *continentales* (Barreto, 2001; Pousada, 2008).

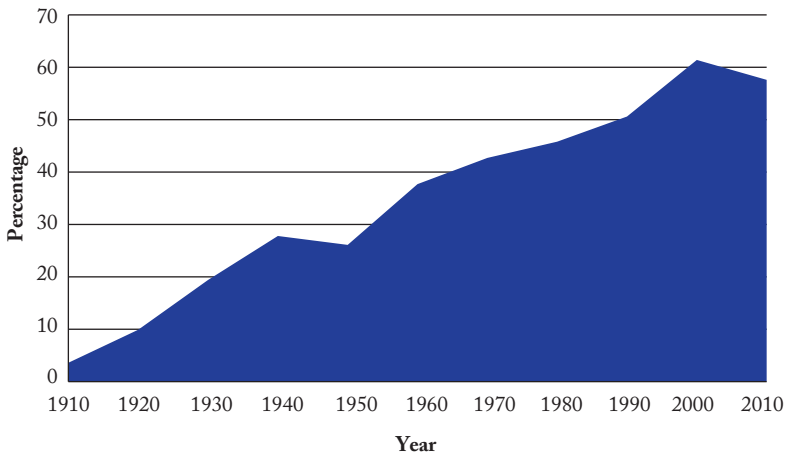
At this point, we should review historical census data on Puerto Rican linguistic data. Although these data are not completely reliable —given that they depend on the self-evaluation of the people surveyed— they reveal that the English-speaking population of Puerto Rico has grown considerably since the beginning of the 20th century (Figure 5.1). In 1910, barely 3.6

4. Luis Ortiz-López (2000) has traced the historical background of Puerto Rican linguistic policy, including the ill-fated «Project to Create Bilingual Citizens,» launched by the Pedro Rosselló government in 1997. For a review of the project, see Academia Puertorriqueña de la Lengua Española (1998). The debate on bilingualism resurfaced in 2012 with Governor Luis Fortuño's proposal to teach various subjects in English in the country's public schools.

percent of Puerto Ricans over the age of 10 spoke English; by 1960, this proportion had risen to 37.7 percent and, in 2010, 57.6 claimed to be able to speak English. Although this last figure might seem an over-estimate, it confirms that most Puerto Ricans are exposed to English, especially through the mass media. Other factors promoting English in Puerto Rico are emigration to the United States and return migration; the large number of students going to college in the United States; the participation of thousands of Puerto Ricans in the U.S. armed forces; the proliferation of English-language cable television; growing access to the Internet; and the rise in bilingual private schools and predominantly U.S. tourism (Senado de Puerto Rico, 2004).

Nevertheless, Puerto Rico remains a mostly Spanish-speaking society, with a high degree of linguistic uniformity,

**Figure 5.1**  
*Puerto Rican Population that Speaks English,  
People Aged 10 or Over*



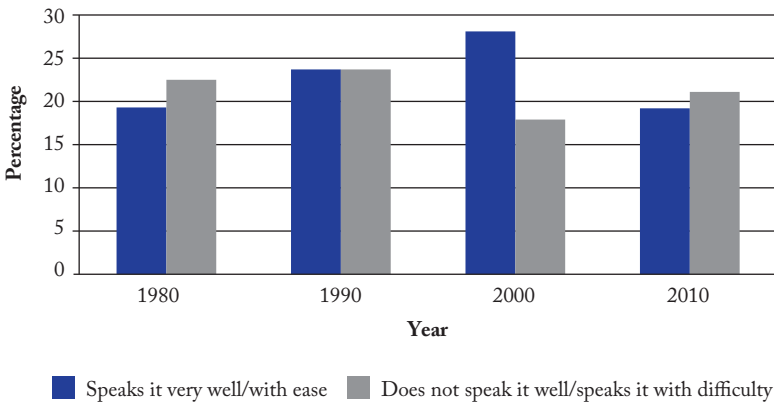
Source: Ruggles et al., 2012; United States Census Bureau, 2012a, 2012b.

despite some regional and class differences (Senado de Puerto Rico, 2004; Vélez, 2000). In 2010, 95.7 percent of the island population spoke Spanish at home, while barely 4.1 percent spoke only English. Moreover, 66.4 percent admitted to speaking no or little English (United States Census Bureau, 2012a). According to the census, between 2000 and 2010, the number of people age five or over who could speak English dropped by almost 9 percentage points, possibly as a result of emigration to the United States (Figure 5.2). The vast majority of the island’s inhabitants communicate regularly in Spanish, both at home, at work, and at school, and resort to English only occasionally for professional, commercial, or educational purposes.

English proficiency on the island is strongly related to educational level. In 2010, 58.7 percent of college graduates claimed to speak English well or very well, compared to only 13.5 percent of people with less than 9 years of schooling

Figure 5.2

*English Speaking Ability in Puerto Rico, People Aged 5 or Over*

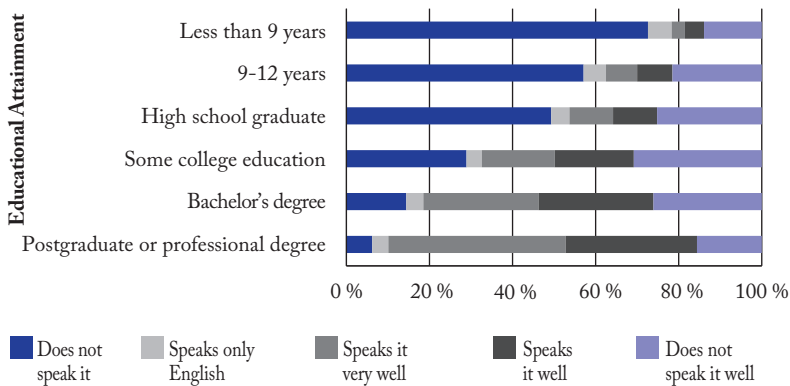


Source: Ruggles et al., 2012; United States Census Bureau, 2012a, 2012b.



(Figure 5.3). This linguistic discrepancy is linked to more well-to-do classes preferring private schools where students are taught largely in English. On the other hand, less well-off families generally send their children to public schools, with poorer results in English learning.

Figure 5.3  
*English Speaking Ability According to Educational Attainment in Puerto Rico, People Aged 25 or Over, 2010*



Source: Ruggles et al., 2012.

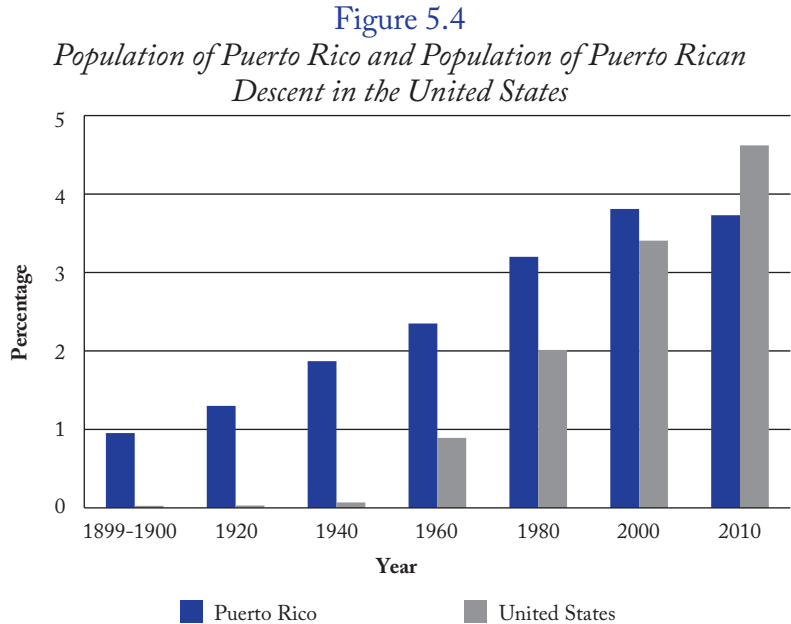
In conclusion, English is still «difficult» for thousands of Puerto Ricans on the island. Bilingualism is an ideal that many aspire to, but few ever reach. Why didn't the majority of Puerto Ricans learn to speak English during the first five decades of the 20th century when it was the preferred language of public education? Firstly, U.S. immigration has been very limited both numerically and in its linguistic and cultural influence over the local population. Secondly, the prevalence of Spanish on the island renders English unnecessary in the daily lives of most of the population. Thirdly, the refusal to give up one's mother tongue and replace it with a foreign one has made Spanish a defining symbol of «Puerto Rican-ness.» Lastly, the approach to teaching English

as if it were the vernacular language of the island has been a total failure. As linguist María López Laguerre (1997: 199) summarizes, «In Puerto Rico it is difficult to sustain a truly bilingual situation as daily circumstances do not offer chances to communicate and practice English, which is how one really attains fluency in a language.»

English is clearly a minority language in Puerto Rico, even though many can understand it and read it (but not necessarily speak it or write it with ease). This fact would suggest that Spanish will continue to be the favored medium on the island, with or without official approval. The great challenge is to reconcile the cultivation of Puerto Rico's first language, Spanish, with the acquisition of a second, English, which is now prevalent throughout the world and descendants of Puerto Ricans in the United States.

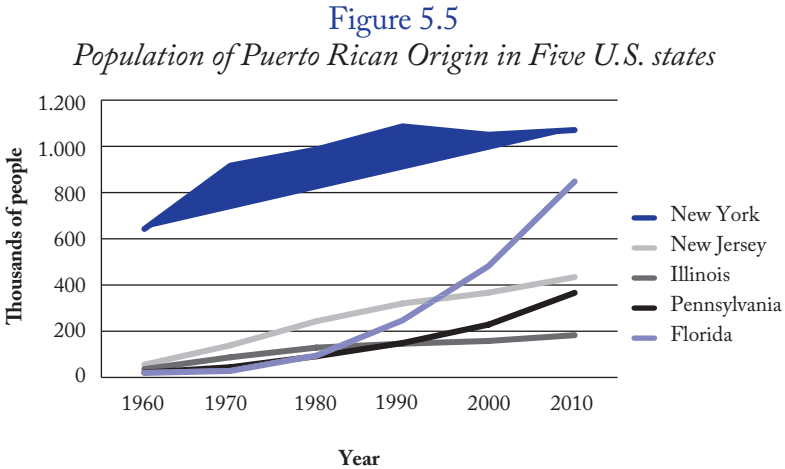
### 3. The Puerto Rican Diaspora

Census data confirm the spectacular growth of the Puerto Rican exodus since World War II (Figure 5.4). The number of Puerto Ricans residing in the United States was relatively small until 1940, when it began to increase rapidly. During the 1950s, the figure almost tripled, from 301,375 to 892,513 people. The population of Puerto Rican descent abroad grew at a slower pace since 1960, but at a faster rate than on the island. According to the census, the number of Puerto Ricans in the United States surpassed the island population for the first time in 2006. In 2010, 55.4 percent of all people of Puerto Rican origin lived away from the island—4.6 million in the United States, compared to 3.7 million in Puerto Rico. Few countries in recent times have experienced such massive and sustained population displacement.



Sources: United States Census Bureau, 2012a, 2012b.

Until the mid-20th century, the Puerto Rican exodus was mainly oriented to New York City and other metropolitan areas in Northeast and Midwest of the United States, especially Philadelphia and Chicago. Migrants began to spread out more widely during the 1960s. After 1980, they tended to move to Florida, in particular the metropolitan area of Orlando. The population of Puerto Rican origin in the state of New York fell for the first time during the 1990s (Figure 5.5). Census data document the growing dispersal of Puerto Ricans outside the New York nucleus over the last five decades. This dispersal has exposed immigrants to a wider variety of Spanish dialects, such as Mexican in the Southwest and Cuban in the Southeast of the country. In turn, this scattering has reduced the linguistic enclaves where Boricua Spanish was spoken in the United States.



Source: United States Census Bureau, 2012a, 2012b.

Although several generations of Puerto Rican immigrants still speak Spanish, an increasing number of their descendants have adopted English as their first language. Decades ago, the Language Policy Task Force (1978: 12) of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies in New York warned that «a new phenomenon seems to be developing among Puerto Ricans, both in the United States and Puerto Rico: Puerto Rican culture is being expressed in Spanish and English.» As with other ethnic groups, immigrant vernacular language has given way to English in the second and third generation. As linguist Manuel Álvarez Nazario (1991: 731) concluded, in the early 1980s, «Spanish became a language on a steady decline among *neorriqueños*, relegated largely to the family circle.» However, thousands of Puerto Ricans in the United States still favor Spanish and others mix it with English. Therefore, Puerto Ricans on the island and abroad show a wide repertoire of linguistic practices—from monolingualism in Spanish (mainly on the island) to monolingualism in English (mainly abroad), including varying degrees of bilingualism in both places.

The mix of Spanish and English, known pejoratively as *Spanglish*, is increasingly common in the United States. Many academics initially argued that this practice undermined and contaminated both languages. For example, Álvarez Nazario (1991: 741) dismissed Spanglish as an «impoverished oral manifestation which alternates between the two languages without clearly taking the form of either one.» A growing amount of research has re-evaluated how, when, and why Puerto Ricans and other Latinos alternate between Spanish and English in their daily lives (Fishman et al., 1971; Flores et al., 1981; García et al., 2001; Torres, 1997; Urciuoli, 1996; Zentella, 1997, 2002). Nowadays, many experts agree that so-called *code switching* (alternation between linguistic codes) shows competence in more than one language and not a lack of ability in either of them.

In their literary texts, many writers of Puerto Rican origin alternate linguistic codes to reconstruct the cultural atmosphere of Latino neighborhoods in the United States. That is one of the defining traits of a large part of the Puerto Rican diaspora's literature since the 1970s. Among the authors of linguistically hybrid texts, are such esteemed poets as Pedro Pietri, Sandra María Esteves, Víctor Hernández Cruz, Tato Laviera, Willie Perdomo, and María Teresa («Mariposa») Fernández. According to literary critics José L. Torres-Padilla and Carmen Haydée Rivera (2008: 15), diaspora literature illustrates how «the process of migration and the relationships between Puerto Rico and the United States complicate the interpretation of hegemonic notions of cultural and national identity as writers confront their bilingual, bicultural, and transnational realities.»

More than an intellectual or linguistic deficit, Spanglish can be considered a valuable cultural resource, especially for second

generation immigrants, who have to communicate in both English and Spanish. As shown by anthropologist Ana Celia Zentella (2002: 328), «It is precisely this ability to use English and Spanish in the same sentence and situation that identifies the most effective bilingual people.» For linguists Ofelia García, José Luis Morín, and Klaudia Rivera (2001), Puerto Ricans in New York City are characterized by a constant linguistic «to-and-fro», marked by English with multiple Hispanic traits.

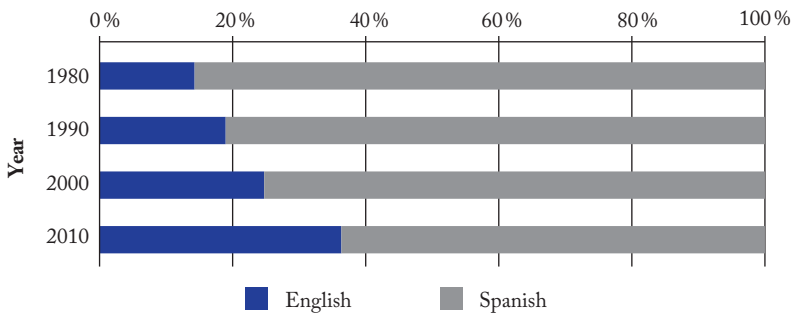
So far, Zentella (1997) offers the most comprehensive study of linguistic practices of Puerto Ricans in the United States. Based on a longitudinal field study in the Puerto Rican East Harlem neighborhood in New York, Zentella demonstrates that the linguistic repertoire of her respondents included at least seven variations: 1) popular Puerto Rican Spanish; 2) standard Puerto Rican Spanish; 3) Spanish spoken by people whose main language is English; 4) Puerto Rican English; 5) African-American Vernacular English; 6) Hispanicized English and 7) standard New York English. Younger residents in the neighborhood tended to shift from Spanish to English and *Spanglish* in their everyday conversations. However, they still considered themselves Puerto Ricans, dispensing with the requirement to speak fluent Spanish and stressing their ties to the island as proof of their cultural authenticity. According to Zentella (1997: 285), Puerto Ricans in New York «resolve the conflict [of cultural identity] by accepting a rudimentary knowledge of Spanish as a sufficient linguistic link to culture and ultimately by redefining Puerto Rican identity as based on a family's birthplace and cultural traditions instead of on language.»

Figure 5.6 shows the advancement of English among Puerto Ricans in the United States. Between 1980 and 2010, the proportion of English-speaking Puerto Rican households in the diaspora increased from 14.2 to 36.2 percent, while the

proportion of Spanish-speaking households decreased from 85.2 to 63.4 percent. These data confirm that, over time, English often replaces other languages spoken by immigrants and their descendants in the United States. This process of «linguistic assimilation» usually takes three generations. In the case of Puerto Ricans, it confirms the gradual loss of the immigrants' native language, although Spanish may survive longer than other languages in the United States (Torres 2007: 95).

Figure 5.6

*Language Spoken at Home by the Population of Puerto Rican Origin in the United States, People Aged 5 Years or Over*



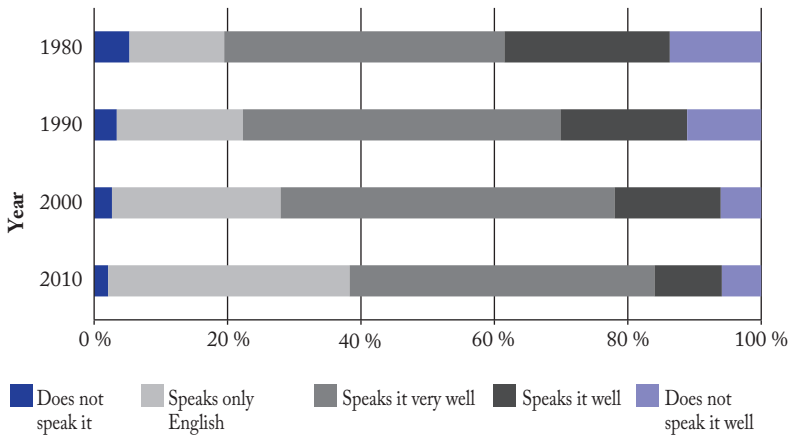
Source: Ruggles et al., 2012.

A convergent pattern emerges when examining the census data on ability to speak English among Puerto Rican people in the United States (Figure 5.7). Between 1980 and 2010, the proportion of Puerto Ricans in the country over the age of 5 who spoke only English increased from 14.2 to 36.2 percent, while the proportion who did not speak it fell from 5.3 to 2.1 percent. Furthermore, the percentage of people who spoke English very well rose from 42 to 45.7, while the percentage that did not speak it well fell from 13.7 to 5.9 percent. These results indicate that English acquisition has intensified in the Puerto Rican diaspora over the last three decades.

Even so, in 2010, two thirds of people of Puerto Rican origin in the United States spoke Spanish. This linguistic persistence is more pronounced among first-generation immigrants. In 2010, 31.6 percent of the population of Puerto Rican origin in the United States had been born on the island (Census Bureau United States, 2012a).

Those born in Puerto Rico are less likely to speak English at home (9.9 percent) than those born overseas (50.8 percent) (Ruggles et al., 2012). Therefore, the constant arrival of people from the island reinforces the use of Spanish in the diaspora.

**Figure 5.7**  
*English Speaking Ability of the Population of Puerto Rican Origin in the United States, People Aged 5 Years or Over*



Source: Ruggles et al., 2012.

Another factor related to the perseverance of Spanish among Puerto Ricans in the United States is their level of education. In general, the more educated sectors of the population are more likely to speak Spanish than the less educated. For example, in 2010, only 52.9 percent of people who had not

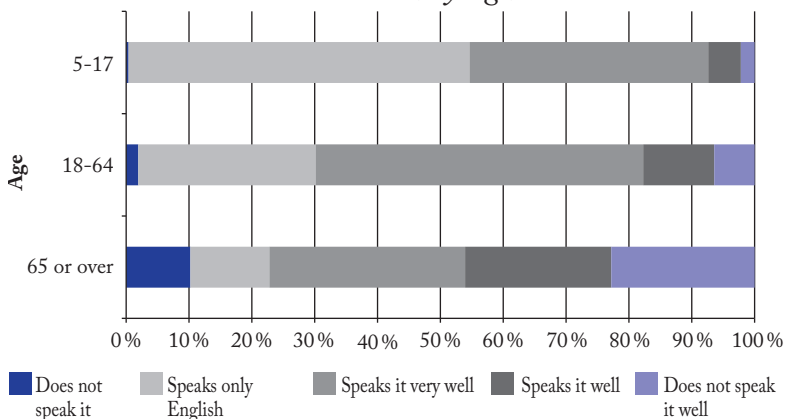


reached ninth grade spoke Spanish, compared with 69.2 percent of high school graduates (Ruggles et al., 2012). These data suggest that better educated immigrants are more likely to retain their mother tongue than the less educated, and often pass on proficiency in the language to their descendants.

One final element to consider is that the descendants of Puerto Ricans are usually younger than first-generation immigrants. Figure 5.8 shows the close relationship between age and English proficiency among Puerto Ricans in the United States. In 2010, people between the ages of 5 and 17 spoke English more fluently than people between the ages of 18 and 64 and the over-65. People who spoke Spanish and English accounted for 73 percent of those over 18 years of age; people who only spoke English represented 54 percent of children under 18 years of age. These data point to a language gap between various generations of Puerto Rican immigrants, as has happened with other ethnic groups in the United States.

Figure 5.8

*English Proficiency of the Population of Puerto Rican Origin in the United States, by Age, 2010*



Source: United States Census Bureau, 2012a.

## 4. Conclusion

Since the U.S. occupation of Puerto Rico in 1898, the issue of language has aroused bitter controversy. This linguistic dilemma on the island is rooted in the colonial policy of eradicating Spanish and replacing it with English as part of the Americanization project.

U.S. colonial authorities imposed English as the language of instruction in the country's public schools during the first half of the 20th century. However, Puerto Rican society remained predominantly Spanish-speaking. Nowadays, most of the island's population retain their native language, Spanish, but have also taken on English as a second language. Despite popular support for bilingualism, the teaching of English continues to generate public debates in Puerto Rico.

Following World War II, the Puerto Rican exodus to the United States experienced unprecedented growth and continues to this day in the early 21st century. The hybrid linguistic practices of Puerto Rican migrants have dismayed many of the island's intellectuals. Some authors have even labeled *Nuyoricans* as «bilingual illiterates» (and even «semi-lingual» or «no-linguals») who are unable to express themselves adequately in either Spanish or English. Numerous studies have refuted this characterization of the diaspora, especially those descendants born and raised in the United States. Many Puerto Rican communities in the United States cling to Spanish, even in the second and third generation, and shift along a linguistic continuum between Spanish and English, as well as between multiple dialects of those languages. As a rule, alternation between linguistic codes does not reflect an impoverishment of communication, but rather an ability to combine two languages.

Ultimately, the language debate on the island and in the diaspora raises many questions about Puerto Rican national and transnational identity. On the one hand, Spanish remains the mother tongue of the vast majority of the inhabitants of the island. On the other hand, English has become the dominant language of the descendants of Puerto Ricans in the United States. This linguistic and geographical counterpoint leads to reconsider the traditional equation among national origin, place of birth, place of residence, language, culture, and nationality, which has dominated the nationalist canon. At the very least, one must reconsider whether being Puerto Rican is a (purely) linguistic issue. The linguistic diversity and geographical dispersion of the population of Puerto Rican origin make it necessary to include descendants of immigrants who speak English or Spanglish in the discourse on Puerto Rican identity.

Few countries in the Caribbean region—or the world, for that matter—have experienced population shifts as extensive as Puerto Rico's in such a short space of time. As a result, most Puerto Ricans value U.S. citizenship and the freedom of movement that it offers them, especially the unrestricted access to all fifty states of the American Union. At the same time, shared citizenship tends to erase legal distinctions between those living in their country of origin and overseas. Migration among the island and the North American continent over the last half a century complicates any easy association between place of origin, residence, and orientation. None of the traditional elements of nationality—territory, language, economics, citizenship, or sovereignty—are inalterable. All of these criteria are subject to constant fluctuation and intense debate in Puerto Rico and its diaspora, although the sense of belonging to a people separate from the United States has been extraordinarily tenacious.

Contrary to the views of some civil servants and Americans, I argue that Puerto Rico is a nation, not in the sense of a well-defined sovereign state but that of a translocal community based on collective awareness of a shared history and culture (for further elaboration, see Duany, 2002). Spanish continues to play a key role in this redefinition of national identity on the island but has seen its relevance to the Puerto Rican diaspora in the United States reduced. In any case, those who live outside the island must be a part of the academic and public discussions on the future of Puerto Rico, be it in Spanish or in English.

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## CHAPTER 6

# THE ENCLAVE, IDEOLOGY AND LANGUAGE PREFERENCE AMONG CUBAN-AMERICANS IN MIAMI: LANGUAGE AND THE EXILE IDEOLOGY

*Guillermo J. Grenier*

### 1. Introduction

During the past decades, Cuban Americans have attracted more than their share of attention from both the press and the scholarly community. Their visibility has exceeded the demographic reality. The slightly more than 1.9 million persons of Cuban origin or descent account for less than 4 percent of the Hispanic-origin population of the United States. Yet here are good explanations for the relatively conspicuous presence of Cuban Americans within the U.S. Latino population. Most of those explanations are rooted in three basic characteristics of the Cuban presence:

- Cuban Americans are primarily responsible for the growth and development of the third-largest Latino community in the United States. Their concentration in the greater Miami area has created a Latino presence that accounts for over half of the total population of a

metropolis that is frequently regarded as a harbinger of immigrant America in the 21st century.

- The socioeconomic selectivity of migration from Cuba during the past 50 years has created a community with relatively large numbers of professionals and entrepreneurs. This socioeconomic profile, although at times overstated, has had implications for the rise of the enclave social structure of Miami as well as the participation of Cubans in leadership positions within the American Latino population, especially in such visible sectors as media and government.
- As a self-defined exile community, Cuban Americans have developed a set of political institutions and political culture that are sharply differentiated from those institutions and culture among other Latino groups. Cubans are measurably more conservative than other Latino groups and this conservatism is reflected in the persistent preference of the Republican Party within the Cuban-American community

It is the political institutions and attitudes of Cubans immigrants that differentiate them from other Latino populations. These institutions and attitudes have developed in a very unique sociocultural environment—the Cuban enclave in Miami—and have given rise and sustained a unique ideological profile which differentiates Cuban-Americans from other Latino population. This «Exile Ideology» (Perez, 1993; Grenier and Perez, 2003) has been nurtured and reproduced by the insulating dynamics of the Cuban enclave and its institutions (Girard and Grenier, 2008). This chapter explores the relationship between ideology and language preference among Cuban Americans in the Miami metropolitan area. After presenting a

brief overview of Cuban demographic reality and migration waves to the United States relevant for the analysis, and presenting the characteristics of the «Exile Ideology,» the chapter will present an analysis of the ideological and language preference profiles of Cuban-Americans in South Florida. The analysis the 2004 FIU Cuba Poll sample of which the author is a principal investigator to present an exploratory analysis of language preference in news media.

## 2. Cubans in the U.S. Now: Exceptional Latinos?

The Cuban experience in the United States since the beginning of the waves of mass migration in 1959 is often characterized as being an «exceptional» immigrant experience. Not only are Cubans received in a less hostile fashion than other immigrants from Latin American and the Caribbean, thanks to the refugee benefits allotted to them through the Cuban Adjustment Act of 1966, but by concentrating settlement in an emerging metropolitan area, Cubans have been able to exert exceptional influence over the socioeconomic, political and cultural development of a «City on the Edge» (Portes and Stepick, 1994).

### 2.1. Demographic Profile

Any overview of U.S. immigration or of the Latino population is likely to have the footnote that the experience of Cubans has been different. The differences are evident along key demographic dimensions which differentiate Cuban Americans from other Latino populations in the United States. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, there are approximately 1.9 million Cuban Americans in the United States; approximately 3.7 percent of the Hispanic American population. Cubans are the

most geographically concentrated Latinos; over two-thirds of Cuban Americans (67%) live in Florida with smaller populations found in New Jersey, New York, California, and Texas. Because of the increase in immigration since the 1995 immigration agreement which assures a minimum of 20,000 U.S. visas for Cubans wishing to leave the island, nearly six in ten Cubans (59%) in the United States are foreign born compared with 37% of all Hispanics and 13% of the U.S. population as a whole. Half of the foreign born (52%) arrived in the U.S. and approximately 35% of all Cubans living in South Florida arrived after 1994.

As a group, Cuban Americans are considerably older than the rest of the Hispanic population in the United States. The median age of Cuban Americans is 40, which is comparable to the non-Hispanic American white population (median age 37) but below the median age of other Hispanic Americans (27).

The exceptional reception of Cubans is responsible for the high percentage of foreign born Cubans who are citizens. According to the Pew Hispanic Center (2012), about 55 percent of foreign-born Cuban Americans are U.S. citizens, which is double the rate for other Hispanic Americans (26%) and higher than for non-Hispanic Americans, foreign-born whites (56%).

In the 2004 Census data, about 86 percent of Cuban Americans identified themselves as white, compared with 60 percent of Mexican Americans, 53 percent of other Central and South American Americans, and 50 percent of Puerto Rican Americans.

The median household income for Cuban Americans is \$42,000, slightly higher than for all Hispanic Americans (\$41,470) but lower than for non-Hispanic American whites

(\$52,029). Native-born Cuban Americans have a higher median income than non-Hispanic American whites (\$50,000 vs. \$48,000) (Pew Hispanic Center 2006).

Poverty rates for Cuban Americans are generally lower than for other Hispanic Americans, but comparable to the U.S. general population. The share of Cuban Americans who live in poverty, 18 percent, is similar to that of the general U.S. population (15%) and below the 25 percent among all Hispanic Americans (Pew Hispanic Center 2012).

One out of four Cuban Americans 25 and older is a college graduate, more than double the rate among other Hispanic Americans (13%) but lower than among non-Hispanic American whites in the same age group (30%). Among native-born Cuban Americans 25 and older, 39 percent are college graduates compared with 22 percent among foreign-born Cuban Americans.

In 2010, almost half of all Cuban Americans (46%) 15 and older were married, about the same as the general U.S. population (50%) but higher than all Hispanic Americans (44%). In 2008, 13 percent of Cuban Americans 15 and older were divorced, higher than among other Hispanic Americans (8%) and about the same as the general U.S. population (11%). In 2008, 27 percent of all Cuban Americans had never married, compared with 38 percent of other Hispanic Americans and 31 percent of the general U.S. population.

The Pew Hispanic Center's 2006 National Survey of Latinos asked respondents whether they considered the United States or their country of origin to be their real homeland. More than half (52%) of Cuban Americans said they considered the United States their real homeland, again significantly

higher than Mexicans (36%), Central and South Americans (35%), and Puerto Ricans (33%) —the latter U.S. citizens by birth (PEW Hispanic Center 2006).

## 2.2. Cuban Migration to the United States

This demographic profile is a result of a practically constant flow of Cubans into the United States since the 1959 Cuban Revolution. In this continuity, there have been four major and distinct mass migration waves: (1) the early exiles, 1959–1962; (2) the «airlift,» 1965–1973; (3) Mariel, 1980; and (4) the Rafter Crisis, 1994.

The first wave of migration from Cuba to the United States involved about 200,000 persons (Pérez 1986a, 129). The U.S. government facilitated the migrants' entry by granting them refugee status, allowing them to enter without the restrictions imposed on most other nationality groups (Masud-Piloto 1988, 32–35). A program was established to assist in the resettlement and economic adjustment of the arrivals (Pedraza-Bailey 1985, 40–52).

In this initial wave Cuba's displaced and alienated elite tended to predominate among the migrants. The contentious transition from capitalism to socialism affected first and foremost the upper sectors of Cuban society (Fagen, Brody, and O'Leary 1968, 19–22). Consequently, families of upper socioeconomic status with children under 18 years old are overrepresented in this wave. As many as 14,000 unaccompanied children also arrived during this period.

The importance of this first wave in shaping the character of the Cuban presence in the United States cannot be overstated. The immigrants who came over during this time pos-

sessed skills and attitudes that would facilitate their adjustment to life in the United States and give their life an enduring political and economic hegemony within the Cuban American community (Portes and Stepick 1993, 123–49). Labeled the «Golden Exile,» it is the wave that has been most economically successful (Portes 1969). This is also the wave that established the Spanish language as a private and public language in Miami. Although the majority of members of this first wave learned English, Spanish remains the language through which ethnic solidarity is expressed. A Cuban coming to the United States during this period feels comfortable in English but prefers Spanish as the language of politics and business. Their entrepreneurial skills forged the foundation for the Cuban enclave and their political agenda linked the fate of Cuban émigrés to the geopolitical struggles of the age between the United States and the U.S.S.R. In brief, they forged the Exile Ideology and the linguistic and political institutions to reproduce it in subsequent generations.

The second major wave started in the fall of 1965 when the Cuban government opened a port and allowed persons from the United States to go to Cuba to pick up relatives who wanted to leave the country. Some 5,000 persons left from the port of Camarioca before the United States and Cuba halted the boatlift and agreed to an orderly airlift. The airlift started in December 1965 and lasted until 1973. The twice-daily flights from Cuba to Miami brought 260,500 persons during those years, making this period the largest of all the waves (Pérez 1986a, 130).

By 1980, the pressure within Cuba for emigration rose once again. On April 1, a group of six persons violently entered the Peruvian embassy in Havana seeking asylum, resulting in the death of one of the embassy's Cuban guards. The Cuban



government withdrew all guards from the Peruvian compound, an action that caused the embassy to flood with more than 10,000 people seeking to leave the country. The Cuban government responded to the crisis by opening the port of Mariel for unrestricted migration. In a manner uncontrolled by the United States, more than 125,000 Cubans came into the country. It was not as large as the previous waves, but it took place during only five months.

Throughout the rest of the 1980s and the early 1990s, only about 2,000 Cubans were admitted by the United States each year. The pressure for massive emigration rose once again during the first few months of 1994, when there were a number of dramatic and violent incidents as Cubans seeking to leave crashed into embassies; commandeered planes, helicopters, and boats to the United States; and departed in makeshift rafts. As happened in 1980, the unauthorized departures resulted in tragedy: a Cuban vessel attempted to stop a hijacked tugboat, and more than 40 of its occupants drowned, including children. Another hijacking resulted in the death of a Cuban police officer.

The Cuban government responded by announcing on August 11 that it would not detain anyone trying to leave Cuba in a raft or other vessel. As a result, nearly 37,000 Cubans were rescued by the U.S. Coast Guard in less than a month. The bulk of the arrivals were detained for more than a year in camps at the U.S. naval base in Guantánamo. The absence of alternative destinations for the rafters, as well as the deteriorating conditions in the camps, eventually prompted the United States to admit them into the country.

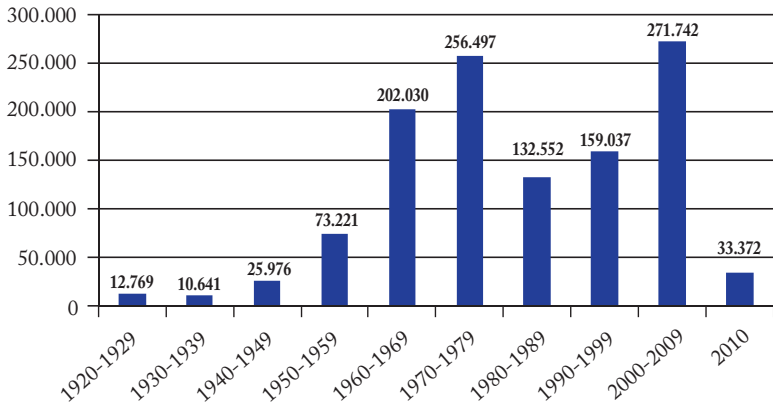
The Rafter Crisis of 1994 was halted after only one month when negotiations between the two countries resulted in an

agreement whereby the United States committed to admitting at least 20,000 Cubans a year through the normal visa process. For their part, the Cubans agreed to accept the return of any future unauthorized emigrants interdicted by the U.S. Coast Guard before reaching U.S. shores.

On September 9, 1994, the United States and Cuba agreed to «normalize» migration between the two countries. Cuba agreed to discourage its citizens from sailing to the United States, and the United States committed to admitting a *minimum* of 20,000 Cuban immigrants per year. A second agreement on May 2, 1995, established a new policy of directly repatriating Cubans interdicted at sea to Cuba. These agreements led to what has been called the «wet foot, dry foot» policy, whereby Cubans who make it to shore can stay in the United States—likely becoming eligible to adjust to permanent residence under the Cuban Adjustment Act— whereas those who do not make it to dry land are repatriated unless they can demonstrate a well-founded fear of persecution if returned to Cuba.

More Cubans have come to the United States in the first decade of the new century than during any of the previous major waves. According to the figures compiled by the Office of Immigration Statistics, over 303,778 Cubans gained legal resident status between 1999 and 2009 (Office of Immigration Statistics 2009, 12; see Graph. 6.1). These Cubans arrive into a fully bilingual and bi-cultural metropolitan region. They do not have to learn English, as did the first wave of migrants. Instead, they serve as low waged labor for mostly Cuban or other Hispanic businesses, a double-edged benefit which allows them to be exploited in their native language.

Graph 6.1  
*Cuban Migration by Decades (1920–2010)*



*Fuente:* Oficina de Estadísticas de Inmigración.

### 3. The Cuban American Enclave and the Spanish Language Media

The disproportionate number of early migrants with high human capital facilitated the creation of the much researched Cuban Enclave. Miami's Cuban community is regarded as the foremost example in the United States of a true ethnic enclave. An ethnic enclave is «a distinctive economic formation, characterized by the spatial concentration of immigrants who organize a variety of enterprises to serve their own ethnic market and the general population» (Portes and Bach 1985, 203). The foundation of the enclave is not simply its size or scale, but its highly differentiated nature. The sheer numbers, nonetheless, are impressive. By 1990, 42 percent of all enterprises in Miami-Dade County were Hispanic-owned, and the absolute number of Hispanic-owned businesses in the area was second only to Los Angeles, which has a much larger Hispanic population. Today, the

trend continues. Three-quarters of Hispanic-owned enterprises in Miami are controlled by Cubans.

The second and most important overall feature of the Cuban economic enclave is its institutional range. The variety of sales and services controlled by Cubans, as well as their penetration into the professions, is so extensive that some claim it is possible for Miami Cubans to completely live and deal within their own ethnic community. Pérez (1992, p. 91) succinctly states, «Cubans in Miami, if they wish, live out their lives within the ethnic community.» That is not literally true. Almost all Cubans interact extensively with mainstream American institutions, specifically the state, to which they pay taxes and which educates most of their children. But the claim does reflect something about the extensiveness of the Cuban economic and linguistic enclave.

Much of the analysis of the enclave effect has focused on how its all-encompassing character somewhat insulates the newly arrived Cuban immigrants against the usual vicissitudes of the secondary labor market (Portes, 1981, 1982). The literature also suggests that the enclave serves as an incubator for the exile ideology which differentiates Cuban-Americans from other Latino populations (Forment, 1989; Grenier, 2006; Pérez, 1992; Portes & Stepick, 1993). Critical in this regard are features of the enclave, such as language, which serve to bind together its members and buffer them from outsiders who do not share an exile identity. Portes and Bach (1985, p. 226) observe that «boundaries of the enclave are drawn fairly tight,» because participation in the enclave minimizes social relationships with Anglos and insulates the émigrés from the surrounding culture.» This cultural insulation reinforced by linguistic patterns insures that exile ideology is reinforced by a discourse restricted to Cuban American émigrés.

Linguistic and ideological insulation is principally enabled by the «institutional completeness» of the ethnic enclave (Pérez, 1992). This completeness is made possible by a diversified entrepreneurial activity of the enclave. This diversity facilitated the growth of the Spanish-language media, which became a major conduit for an exile ideology (Perez, 1992). Tabloids, newspapers, and magazines—totaling in the hundreds—were published by the exiles by the onset of the 1970s (Garcia, 1996). These Miami-based Spanish-language media are quite distinct from their English-language counterparts in that the central focus of their news is Cuba. This focus on Cuba is important because, as Knight (2001, p. 108) trenchantly observes, the press may not be able to dictate what people think, but «it is stunning successful in telling its readers what to think about» (quoted in Bailey & Gayle, 2003, p. 60). The audience for these media are dominantly first generation migrants of early or recent waves. The second generation does not receive a significant portion of its information from the Cuban enclave media, unless, as an informant commented to the author, «[one] wants to run for office.»

A particularly potent, tailor-made vehicle for disseminating the exile ideology has been political tabloids, or *periodiquitos*, distributed by Cuban businesses. These popular mini-newspapers, published in Spanish, sustain a fierce anti-Castro viewpoint. The cause of Cuba is the rationale for their publication, and they provide an emotional appeals to their readers to become active in the anti-Castro struggle. (Garcia, 1996).

Another important by-product of the enclave's diversified entrepreneurial activity is the non-print Spanish-language media which provided support for the exile ideology. The greatest influence has been exerted by Spanish-Language radio, which became a part of the daily existence of the exiles in

the 1960s and continues to dominate audience ratings in the South Florida market. These stations, with large and loyal audiences, have been staunch supporters of the trade embargo and equally strong opponents of any «soft line» Cuba policies. The most popular shows in Spanish-language radio stations are talk shows vehemently opposing any dialogue or softening of tone with the Castro regime (Garcia, 1996).

The focus on Cuba in Spanish-language radio was reinforced by the enclave's own Spanish-language television station, which in the 1960s and 1970s played the Cuban national anthem twice daily. By the 1980s, there were several Spanish-language stations (Garcia, 1996). Ultimately, Perez (1992) concludes that the enclave's Spanish-language media have played a central role in sustaining the exile ideology. These media outlets derived their strength from the insularity of the enclave and served as vehicles of ideological and language maintenance.

#### 4. The Enclave and Linguistic Acculturation

Largely as a result of the pervasive nature of the Spanish language media, the language of the enclave remains, fifty years after its creation, Spanish. The first Cuban émigrés retained the Spanish language to protect their identity from the contextual forces compelling them to surrender their *cubanía* in America and, thanks to the institutional completeness of the enclave, Cuban exiles relied on their home language in the public sphere and not merely within the confines of their private lives. The belief that language was part of their exile identity, whether clearly or tacitly expressed, found justification in the shared expectation of an eventual return to Cuba. In their temporary home, as exiles thought of Miami, they spoke Spanish routinely in their everyday lives. The Spanish language, as

well as the defacto ideological profile assumed of anyone who fled the newly established Revolutionary regime, became cultural capital within the Miami community.

The extended-family structure prevalent among the early exiles provided a constant reinforcement of the Cuban identity and language. In addition to its economic advantages, the three-generation family acquired cultural viability as a repository of popular tales, folklore, rituals, and myths, lending coherence to the collective actions of *el exilio* and deepening the cultural roots of the exile ideology.

While the young learned English in school and social interactions away from the enclave, for many of the older early migrants learning English was far from a priority, particularly given the institutional completeness of the enclave social structure. To them, in fact, English represented more than just a practical obstacle; it challenged the affective and symbolic underpinnings of a past they revered. English also threatened to estrange them from the world of their grandchildren. The fear of losing the young to the American culture caused grandparents to «push» Spanish on the grandchildren; consequently, the mother tongue—the grandmother’s tongue, in this case—remains the language predominantly spoken at home to this day. More than two-thirds (69%) of Cubans under 18 speak a language other than English at home, about the same as other Hispanics (67%). Among those 18 and older, about 89 percent of Cubans speak a language other than English at home, a higher rate than among Hispanics (80%) (PEW Hispanic Center 2006).

As the enclave and the demographic power of the community expanded, Spanish became a public language, challenging English for dominance. A Bilingual-Bicultural Ordinance passed in Dade County (now Miami-Dade County) in 1973,

made the County officially bilingual, mandating the translation of all county documents into Spanish. In the 1980s, countervailing forces organized the country's first English Only movement and the 1973 Ordinance was repealed and new regulations were passed making it illegal to use county funds for activities in languages other than English and for promoting any culture «other than that of the United States» (Garcia 1996, 74; Portes and Stepick, 1993, 167) . The English Only movement succeeded in mobilizing over fifty percent of the voters in the State to win an amendment to the Florida Constitution in 1988 specifying English as the official language of the State of Florida.

The demographic tidal wave from Cuba, and Latin America, would not be denied, however. In 1993, the Constitutional Amendment was revoked and Spanish continues to be the dominant public language in Miami-Dade County in the new millennium. The Cuba Poll conducted in 2004 found that less than one-fourth of the Cuban Americans in Miami-Dade County mostly spoke English in their public lives (Table 6.1). Indeed, seventy percent of Miami Cuban Americans indicated that their knowing Spanish facilitated job attainment. And the first arrivals, along with their US-born children were the most convinced. Eighty and ninety percent of them, respectively, felt that way. They viewed Spanish as cultural capital helpful in the work world. This transformation of the linguistic culture raises red flags for some analyses. Huntington (2004) notes that Miami is the first major metropolitan area where native, monolingual speakers of English are discriminate against in the job market. Bilingualism is rewarded more than Spanish or English monolingualism. (Huntington, 2004).

Linguistic acculturation does occur precisely because of the rewards available to bilinguals. By 2004, most US-born Cu-



bans lived their public lives mainly in English and felt more comfortable speaking English than Spanish (Table 6.1). Island born Cuban-Americans also incorporated English into their everyday lives. By 2004, those in the U.S. the longest relied heavily on English in their public lives while continuing to use Spanish in their homes.

Miami Cuban-Americans show that linguistic acculturation and homeland language retention are not necessarily mutually exclusive activities. Bilingualism and multiculturalism are the expected results of the migration experience. Only about one fifth of the respondents on the 2004 survey felt that most of their co-ethnics resisted learning English (Table 6.1). Even the new arrivals, who are living deep in the linguistic enclave, perceived few of their co-ethnics to be linguistically recalcitrant. And three-fourths of the interviewees were so anxious for their children to learn English that they wanted their schooling to be immediately in English, not in Spanish.

Because the identity of exiles is so deeply rooted in the current Cuban American population, they directly reject the motivations and behaviors associated with «typical» immigrants. Immigrants, in contrast to exiles, generally want to come to this country; that is, immigrants react to the seductive «pull» of America's society. Cubans, on the other hand, largely feel they were reluctantly «pushed» out of their homeland. Hence, as exiles, they always rejected for themselves the immigrants' mythical concept of the «melting pot.» To them, the process of melting ultimately would have led to the disappearance of their group's unique identity. Maintaining the language became a symbol of an identity that cannot be «melted» away. While second generation Cuban-Americans are losing vocabulary in the language, most are aware of the cultural capital exchange value of Spanish in the Miami region.

Table 6.1  
*Cuban American linguistic acculturation in Miami  
 (2004 Cuba Poll)*

	Year emigrated					Total
	1959- 1964	1965- 1974	1975- 1984	1985 +	U.S. Born	
Language primarily spoken at home	%	%	%	%	%	%
<i>English</i>	14	12	7	3	34	11
<i>Both about the same</i>	19	19	14	7	17	14
<i>Spanish</i>	67	68	80	90	49	75
Language felt most comfortable speaking						
<i>English</i>	16	13	6	3	70	16
<i>Both about the same</i>	21	17	10	4	19	12
<i>Spanish</i>	64	70	85	94	10	72
Main language spoken outside the home						
<i>English</i>	21	21	15	14	68	23
<i>Both about the same</i>	35	22	20	18	27	23
<i>Spanish</i>	44	57	65	69	5	54
Language preference for news						
<i>English</i>	25	24	11	5	79	22
<i>Both about the same</i>	29	21	10	14	14	18
<i>Spanish</i>	46	56	79	82	7	61
In general, ability to speak Spanish makes it easier to get a job						
<i>Easier</i>	80	76	62	57	90	70
<i>No difference</i>	12	14	17	10	6	12
<i>Harder</i>	8	11	22	33	5	19

Number of Cubans who have not tried to learn English						
<i>Many</i>	58	58	61	61	59	60
<i>Some</i>	22	22	20	20	27	21
<i>Only a few</i>	19	18	17	18	12	17
<i>None</i>	1	2	2	2	2	2
South Florida non-Spanish speaker tolerance of people speak- ing Spanish to each other						
<i>Almost always understanding</i>	31	36	36	45	13	35
<i>Usually understanding</i>	32	35	41	34	37	35
<i>Often not understanding</i>	26	22	18	15	40	22
<i>Almost never understanding</i>	11	8	4	6	10	8
Personally criticized or given dispa- ring looks for speaking Spanish						
<i>Yes</i>	35	32	31	26	51	32
<i>No</i>	65	38	69	74	49	68
Bilingualism in School: Best to start with Spanish or English?						
<i>Begin with Spanish</i>	21	22	31	25	39	26
<i>Begin with English</i>	79	78	69	75	62	74

Source: Cuba Poll, 2004.

## 5. Language Preference and the Persistence of the Exile Ideology

The forging and maintenance of the exile identity through language and the interactions of the enclave have contributed to the creation of a particularly «Cuban» way of looking at their social and political environment. Analysts refer to this vision of the world as the Exile Ideology (Pérez 1993; Grenier 2007; Grenier and Pérez 2003). In many ways, this worldview differentiates Cuban Americans from non-Cubans in both Miami and the rest of the country. Not all Cubans in the United States share this ideology, but it is a critical reference point that serves to define the identity of Cuban Americans. The exile ideology is a basic ingredient in the development of a «moral community» that serves to build political capital and a sense of solidarity in the enclave.

The exile ideology has four principal and interrelated characteristics: (1) the primacy of the homeland; (2) uncompromising hostility towards the Castro government; (3) emotionalism, irrationality, and intolerance; and 4) a political allegiance to the Republican Party. The FIU Cuba Poll, which has been conducted regularly since 1991 by the author and his colleague Hugh Gladwin, has been measuring the ideological transformation of the Cuban American community in its changing relationship with the exile ideology. The following analysis utilizes the 2004 sample of the Cuba Poll, which had numerous language related questions, to explore the relationship between language preference and ideology.

Given the importance of the enclave in creating a linguistic environment which simultaneously supports and insulates the Cuban-American population, the question becomes does linguistic preferences, particularly in receiving information

about Cuba, have a relationship with the maintenance of the exile ideology? In a thorough analysis of the forces shaping the exile ideology, a colleague and I postulated that not only living in the enclave but understanding its «language» is the dominant mechanism sustaining the exile ideology (Girard and Grenier, 2008). In particular, the Spanish language provides the vehicle for communicating and reinforcing the norms and values of Cuban exile ideology. Consequently, we hypothesized that receiving news through institutional mechanisms outside of the Spanish-speaking enclave, namely, through the English media, diminishes support for enclave ideology. For our present discussion, the logic of the analysis runs as follows:

- The enclave insulates Cubans from mainstream social forces by forging a linguistic environment where Spanish is a private and a public language;
- The enclave's entrepreneurial diversity facilitates the creation of a Spanish language media which assists in insulating the community;
- The «exile ideology» as a world view permeates the enclave and is communicated by the Spanish language media;
- Cuban-Americans who prefer Spanish language media as their news source will be more likely to view the world through the ideological lens of the «exile ideology;»
- Conversely, those who prefer their news in English, will be less likely to have such an ideological perspective.

### 5.1. Data

Data are taken from a 2004 telephone survey of 1807 Cuban-Americans in Miami Dade and Broward Counties (Institute for Public Opinion Research, 2004; Grenier and Gladwin, 2004) The dependent variables in this study are measures of anti-Castro «exile ideology.» Following Perez (1992), the exile ideology is identified by four dimensions: 1) a continuing focus on Cuba by Cuban-Americans, 2) immutable opposition to the Cuban government, 3) affiliation with the Republican Party, and 4) opposition to conciliatory views toward the Cuban regime.

We include nine dependent variables to tap the four dimensions of the exile ideology. The first dimension is measured by whether a candidate's position on Cuba is very important (as opposed to moderately, not very, or not at all important). The second dimension (immutable opposition) is measured by six items: (1) being in favor of continuing the U.S. embargo of Cuba, (2) being in favor of not allowing unrestricted travel to Cuba, (3) opposing diplomatic relations with Cuba, (4) agreeing that musical groups from Cuba should not be allowed to perform in Miami, (5) strongly or mostly opposing a policy that would allow U.S. companies to sell medicine to Cuba, and (6) strongly or mostly opposing a policy that would allow U.S. companies to sell food to Cuba. The third dimension of the exile ideology (Republican affiliation) is measured by the respondent indicating Republican registration. The fourth component (opposing conciliatory views) is measured by a single item: strongly or mostly opposing a national dialogue among Cuban exiles, dissidents, and representatives of the Cuban government.

Based on previous research (Grenier, 2006), we control for eight cohorts or «waves» of immigrants from Cuba: 1919-1958, 1959-1964, 1965-1973, 1974-1979, 1980, 1981-1989,

1990-1995, and 1996-2004. In a logistic regression analysis that assesses differences in support for the exile ideology among these cohorts, the omitted (comparison) category is the most recent wave (1996-2004). It would be expected that the greatest support for the exile ideology would be found in the earlier post revolutionary cohorts. The personal experience of loss —of property, traditional freedoms, or a way of life— caused by the triumph of the Revolution of 1959 would tend to fuel the exile ideology. At some point, distance from the revolution in 1959 would breed a new generation of Cuban migrants —migrants who were born in Cuba when the new system had become the status quo and would not share the exile ethos of the earlier groups. This ethos and the dynamics of the «moral community» that it solidified were the foundation stones of the exile ideology as well as the socioeconomic enclave (Forment, 1989).

Two variables closely associated with generation are hypothesized to have an impact on support for the exile ideology. First, birth outside of Cuba serves as a rough indicator of the second generation. Over 90% of the respondents who were born outside of Cuba were born in the United States. Second, the 1.5 generation, those respondents arriving in the enclave before age 15, are also assumed to have different support for the exile ideology than the earlier arrivals. Two independent variables employed as indicators of the hypothesized effect of cultural insulation on the exile ideology. First, there is the effect of Cuban immigrants living in the South Florida enclave —Miami-Dade or Broward counties— for at least half of the years since leaving Cuba. This «enclave effect» is expected to increase support for the exile ideology.

Second, and most significant for this discussion, we include a variable that would be expected to reduce support for the

exile ideology, namely, getting news in English rather than Spanish (DeSipio & Hensen, 1997). Our analysis includes several other predictor variables.<sup>1</sup>

## 5.2. Results

Table 6.2 shows logistic regression results for 20 predictors of the exile ideology. Not surprisingly, the most recent Cuban émigrés show significantly less support for the exile ideology than earlier arrivals. They are the respondents who have lived the least amount of time in the South Florida Cuban enclave. Maximum support is found in the earliest postrevolutionary waves, 1959-1964 and 1965-1973, with odds ratios that are 2 to 5 times higher than for the 1996-2004 cohort (the omitted category). The exception, where no statistically significant differences are found between waves, is with regard to Republican registration and the importance of a candidate's position on Cuba. Also, when controlling for other influences such as receiving news in English, being born outside Cuba (second generation) does not predict less support for the exile ideology than being in the most recent immigration wave (1996-2004).

1. Having relatives in Cuba or sending money to them are variables that would be expected to mitigate support for specific anti-Castro policies that could interfere with visiting or helping these relatives. To diminish the possibility of conflating the effects of cohort, income, education, and other sociodemographic influences, our analysis incorporates the following control variables: age, gender, being employed (part-time or full-time), having no more than a high school degree (possibly including some college or a technical or associate degree), having a 4-year college degree (or a higher degree), having a total household income of no more than \$20,000 per year, and being Black. If the enclave's supportive social networks cater more to Whites than Blacks (Skop, 2001), we would anticipate less support for the exile ideology among Blacks. Given that the nine dependent variables have been dichotomized, logistic regression is used to predict support for exile ideology.



Table 6.2 demonstrates the predicted enclave effect. For more than half of the measures of the exile ideology, a statistically significant predictor is having lived in South Florida (Miami-Dade County and Broward County) for most of the years outside of Cuba. This is particularly striking with regard to the odds of Republican registration, which are more than tripled for Cuban immigrants whose predominant exposure to U.S. life has been in South Florida. The enclave effect approximately doubles the odds of saying that a candidate's position on Cuba is very important and of supporting the travel ban, the musician ban, and no dialogue with the Cuban government. Especially relevant are the substantial enclave effects for Republican registration and the importance of a candidate's position on Cuba. This is because there is no wave effect or generation effect for these indicators of the exile ideology.

Most significantly for our discussion is the counteracting force of language preference in predicting support for the exile ideology. For seven of the nine dependent variables, receiving news in English is associated with a *lower* likelihood of support for the exile ideology. For example, the odds of Republican registration and support for the embargo, the musician ban, and no dialogue are reduced nearly by *one half or more* when the respondent reports that news is received in English. Moreover, this indicator reduces by 30% or more the odds of saying that a candidate's position on Cuba is very important and the odds of supporting the travel ban and no diplomacy.

According to our hypothesis, these results express indirectly the enclave effect, which would be expected to operate through Spanish-language media. English media are independent from the enclave and are not conduits of Cuban political culture.

Table 6.2  
*Support for the Exile Ideology: Odds Ratio from Logistic Regression*

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable									
	Republican	Embargo	Candidate's Cuba Position	No Music	Diplomacy	No Travel	No Food	No Dialogue	No Medicine	
Enclave	3.40**	1.53	1.75*	2.09**	1.71	1.89*	1.58	2.16**	1.38	
Arrive < 15	1.02	0.65	0.91	0.65	0.90	0.89	1.00	0.43**	1.28	
Relatives	0.72	0.99	1.12	0.90	0.80	0.62**	0.87	0.69*	0.99	
Sent money	0.83	0.73*	1.07	0.87	0.85	0.68**	0.63*	0.92	0.76*	
English news	0.53**	0.45**	0.70*	0.58**	0.63*	0.67*	0.87	0.41**	0.97	
Employed	1.01	1.01	0.86	1.26	0.83	0.98	1.18	1.09	1.10	
Age	0.99	1.00	1.00	1.01	1.01	1.02**	1.01	1.00	1.01	
Not born Cuba	1.87	2.83**	1.14	1.83	5.28**	7.22**	2.66**	5.15**	1.99	
Immigration:										
1919-1958	0.60	3.81**	1.53	2.50*	3.68**	2.85*	3.27**	3.62**	2.23	
1959-1964	1.47	4.28**	1.39	2.50**	5.44**	4.84**	2.52**	5.73**	2.13*	
1965-1973	3.02	4.84**	1.54	2.80**	6.90**	6.64**	3.66**	8.11**	3.13**	
1974-1979	1.30	4.01**	1.08	2.68**	4.75**	4.40**	2.33**	3.92*	1.31	
1980	1.06	1.76*	1.11	2.71**	3.21**	4.18**	2.45**	3.61**	2.66**	
1981-1989	0.69	2.29**	1.30	1.58	5.28**	2.76**	2.13**	3.77**	2.75**	
1990-1995	1.18	1.03	1.24	1.29	1.93**	1.87**	1.33	1.81**	1.24	
High school	1.52	0.88	1.02	1.11	1.34	1.54*	1.19	1.27	1.24	
Collage	1.18	0.75	0.82	1.20	1.26	1.60*	1.18	1.08	1.27	
Black	0.78	0.48**	1.18	0.65	0.46**	0.96	0.41**	0.80	0.61	
Male	1.01	1.25	0.92	1.41	1.10	1.52*	0.92	1.85**	0.76*	
Low income	1.29	1.24	1.10	1.14	0.94	1.00	0.98	0.89	0.98	
-2LL	968	1,559	1,756	1,735	1,621	1,645	1,754	1,633	1,605	
$\chi^2$	96.4	137.6	54.0	158.1	200.1	260.1	143.5	204.2	92.4	
<i>n</i>	927	1,284	1,307	1,353	1,323	1,379	1,374	1,329	1,384	

\* Statistically significant at .05 level. \*\* Statistically significant at .01 level.

## 6. Conclusions

The language of the South Florida enclave seems to play an important role in maintaining the exile ideology. According to this analysis, receiving the news in English—which is a source of information independent of the Cuban (Spanish-language) channels in the enclave—diminishes support for most measures of exile ideology. For example, while the longer Cubans live in the enclave, the more likely they are to be registered Republicans, the odds of Republican registration are reduced by one half if news is received in English rather than in Spanish. Likewise, receiving news in English reduces the odds of a respondent supporting the ban on Cuban musicians by almost one half.

The analysis supports the view that the language of the enclave assists in maintaining and reproducing the Cuban Exile Ideology. It is not surprising that the early migrants established institutions that maintained the boundaries of an exile identity determined to remain in the host country only as long as absolutely necessary. The maintenance of the language and the posture of resistance to the Revolutionary government became paramount in the process of establishing the enclave.

For the second generation and beyond, one of the salient points in the process of incorporation centers on the implications for the language of the enclave. As mentioned, the dynamics of the enclave established the parameters for linguistic, cultural, economic, political, and social integration of first-generation Cuban Americans into the U.S. system. How do these dynamics translate to second and future generations? One would expect that the influence of the enclave and the success that it has facilitated among first-generation

Cubans would be a positive one. One would also expect that the insularity of the enclave, along with its density of social networks, would reinforce the Cuban cultural memory and facilitate the transmission of Spanish as a public as well as a private language and its value as cultural capital. While the literature in immigrant incorporation would lead us to expect an eventual melding, if not melting, of Cubans into the social fiber of the United States, the Children of Immigrants project raises some interesting questions about the future of Cubans, at least those living in the Miami area (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

When it comes to ethnic identification, the researchers found, second-generation Cuban Americans were the most likely to identify themselves as hyphenated Americans than any other national immigrant group in the sample. Furthermore, they were more likely to identify themselves as American than any other group and least likely to identify themselves with a non-national identity (e.g., Cubans). Portes and MacLeod, analyzing the results of the first wave of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS) surveys (1996) argued that groups that are more advantaged and had lengthier stays in the United States exhibit a greater tendency to identify as American (Pérez 1996). Will this identification have an impact on the maintenance of Spanish as a private/public language among Cuban Americans?

The second possible interpretation, according to Pérez, is rooted in the dynamics of the enclave. The confidence of second-generation Cubans to succeed without extraordinary academic effort is rooted in their position as the dominant immigrant group in the Miami area. This dominance comes with the perception of control over the resources necessary for upward mobility. Those resources, specifically the availability of

employment within the enclave and the ability to speak Spanish, a valuable asset in the socioeconomic environment but achieved with little effort, give children the perception of viable options for upward mobility that do not require the educational route. As Pérez states, «The enclave . . . may function not as a golden springboard for the second generation but as a basic safety net» (2001, 122).

What is clear is that the linguistic adaptation process of the children of Cuban immigrants may be quite different from that of their first-generation parents. While Spanish maintains its importance as the language of an ever expanding enclave, continued integration into the American social, political, cultural and economic environment will have an impact on its endurance as a private/public language.

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## CHAPTER 7

# SPANISH BILINGUALISM IN THE UNITED STATES: CONTEXT, SCOPE, CHARACTERISTICS AND VIABILITY

*Rodolfo O. de la Garza<sup>1</sup>*

### 1. Introducción

The United States has been characterized as «a graveyard of languages» and is mocked as the only country in the world where a monolingual may be considered an intellectual. In view of the unparalleled historical willingness of the state and nation to accept immigrants from across the globe, this linguistic atrophy is indeed deserving of an explanation.

There are two major reasons why languages other than English, the language of the nation's founders, have been unsustainable. First, the nation was built on a political rather than historical or cultural foundation. As the first political nation-state, citizens manifested their patriotism by explicitly committing themselves to the new nation and rejecting their

1. I would like to thank Frances Negrón, from the University of Columbia, for his wise comments on a previous version of this chapter.

former loyalties. As Rumbaut (2009) argues, this included making language homogeneity the bedrock of national identity. «Immigrants were not only expected to speak English, but to speak English *only* as the prerequisite of social acceptance and integration.» The Founding Fathers feared that if immigrants maintained home-country languages they could threaten the nation. Benjamin Franklin was particularly concerned about German unwillingness to Americanize: «[W]hy should the Palatine Boors be suffered to swarm into our Settlements, and by herding together establish their Language and Manners to the Exclusion of ours? Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a Colony of Aliens, who will shortly be so numerous as to Germanize us instead of our Anglifying them.... (in Rumbaut 2009).

For political reasons, however, the Founding Fathers did not attempt to make English the Official Language. Instead, it became the national language, i. e., the language of public discourse. Efforts to make it the official language would have been opposed by Pennsylvania and would have jeopardized the Constitutional Convention and ultimately the creation of the United States. English, however, remained central to American identity. National leaders such as Noah Webster considered language essential to the nation's cultural independence. To that end he published the first *American Dictionary of the English Language* in 1828. Almost a century later, the political significance of language reemerged in response to the fear that German immigrants who retained their language also remained tied to the Fatherland. President Theodore Roosevelt voiced the widespread American alarm in 1918: «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, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boardinghouse» (in Rumbaut, 2009).

The second reason for this monolingualism reflects the nation's geopolitical history. Except for its earliest years the nation has been so economically dominant and self-sufficient that it had no need to deal with non-English speakers. If Chile or France wanted to do business with Americans, they had to do so in English. Moreover, the American market was sufficiently large that there was no need to sell abroad, and American consumers had no need to purchase foreign products. Additionally, the national territory was so large that all but the most exotic of tastes and interests could be accommodated by vacationing between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Thus, unlike Europeans who quickly encountered national and cultural borders and *per force* had to develop linguistic skills in order to enjoy varied vacations and sustain their economies and consumption, Americans could thrive without knowing any language but English.

Although the US is no longer the global hegemon, the nation retains much of its fear regarding multilingualism. Contemporary support for monolingualism whether in the form of English as the official language or in opposition to increased support for state-sanctioned multilingual education and other services reflects a negative reaction to recent increased immigration and the perception that today's immigrants are resistant to or unwilling to learn English. The intensity of this opposition is evidenced by the fact that more than half of all U. S. states, 27 of 50, have established English as the official language.<sup>2</sup>

Simultaneously, multilingualism is thriving as national policy. This is evident in court decisions mandating the development of teaching methods that will effectively educate non-English speaking students, in requirements regarding

2. Includes Hawaii where English and Hawaiian are both official.

providing Asian, Latino and American Indian citizens' access to electoral systems at local, state and national levels, and in guaranteeing these language minorities the assistance they need to deal with courts and other state agencies.

These contradictory patterns indicate that it unclear whether the nation's current mood is hostile to or supportive of Spanish becoming a viable component of U. S. culture. I am asking, in other words, whether Spanish will be more than the language of immigrants. If so, it must be more than the language of immigrants, which it has always been. The question, therefore, is will Spanish-speaking immigrants abandon it in the second and third generation? To be a viable national language, it must be spoken and lived by native born Latinos of the second and later generations representing all strata of society, including the least and most educated, and the poorest and most affluent. The remainder of this essay focuses on the likelihood of such viability.

## 2. Spanish-English Competencies of Native Born and Foreign Born Latinos

The nation's triumph in the U. S.-Mexico war benefitted the nation by greatly expanding the nation's territory, but it also laid the foundation for a political battle regarding the cultural incorporation of the Mexican-origin population that resided across the Southwest. This entailed the linguistic incorporation of the region's Spanish-speaking population. As U. S. institutions took root in the region, English became the language of the polity and of the dominant classes. The only exception to this was in New Mexico where political, social and cultural leaders had the resources to maintain Spanish as a competitor to English. Thus, when New Mexico joined the Union in 1912,

it was officially a bilingual state, a status it has maintained through today. Spanish was also an official language in California and Colorado when these territories attained statehood, but both changed their constitution shortly thereafter and terminated Spanish's official status.

In recent decades, the battle over Spanish maintenance has been reinvigorated. This is most evident in the efforts to make English the nation's official language and the continuing debate over bilingual services provided by government that has characterized education politics and other policy arenas for over 30 years. Now, however, scholars such as Samuel Huntington (1998; 2004; 2005) have entered the fray with the argument that Latinos refuse to abandon Spanish and learn English and thus threaten the nation's identity and undermine national security as well. These allegations have been refuted by numerous analyses based on U. S. census data (see Alba and Nee, Pew Hispanic Trust surveys (2007, 2011), national surveys such as the Latino National Political Survey (de la Garza et al., 1992 and the Latino National Survey (Fraga et al., 2012) and a unique multigenerational studies tracking Mexican American incorporation (Telles and Ortiz). All tell the same story: While some Latinos may retain Spanish as a secondary language, the overwhelming majority becomes either fluent bilinguals or English dominant over generations, and some lose all Spanish and become English monolinguals.

Observers such as Huntington seemingly base their mistaken view on images that suggest that Spanish appears to be thriving in the United States. As of 2010, there were 25.2 million individuals of limited English proficiency in the U. S, 66% of whom were Spanish speaking (Migration Policy Institute, 2011). Seen from another perspective, 41% of adult Latinos speak mainly Spanish, 44% speak both English and Spanish pretty well or very well, and

only 15% self-describe as largely English speakers. These figures blur the extent to English fluency among Latinos.

In 2009, just over 12 percent of the U. S. population age 5 and over spoke Spanish at home, and even with continued immigration, this is projected to only increase to approximately 16 percent of the population 5 years or older (Shin and Ortman 2011). In total, PEW surveys report that 97% of Latino adults speak some Spanish at home. However, only 41% speak mainly Spanish, compared to 44% who are fluent bilinguals and 15% who are primarily English speakers (Motel, and Patten 2007).

As Table 7.1 illustrates, the foreign born, and the young in particular, acquire English rapidly. Over two thirds of all Latin American immigrants under 18 years of age speak English either very well or have English as their home language. Those over 18 evidence an almost reverse pattern, however. Overall, among Latino immigrants, about a third (34%) says they speak both English and Spanish pretty well or very well. About 2% of immigrants are largely English speakers, although they may also have Spanish skills. The remaining 64% speak largely Spanish. Foreign-born Hispanics who arrived at ages 10 and younger are most likely to be comfortable speaking both Spanish and English and 77% say they are bilingual (Hakimzadeh and Cohn 2007).

Moreover, low levels of English competence characterize immigrants regardless of when they arrived but sharply increase between generations. As Graph. 7.1 shows, while less than 5% of Cuban, Dominican, Mexican and Salvadoran immigrants only speak English at home, 40% or more among the native born of three of the four nationalities do so. Additionally, Latino immigrants are more likely to resist switching to speaking only English at home compared to immigrant and native-born Chinese and Koreans.

Table 7.1  
*Language spoken at home and English-speaking  
 ability of the foreign born, 2011*

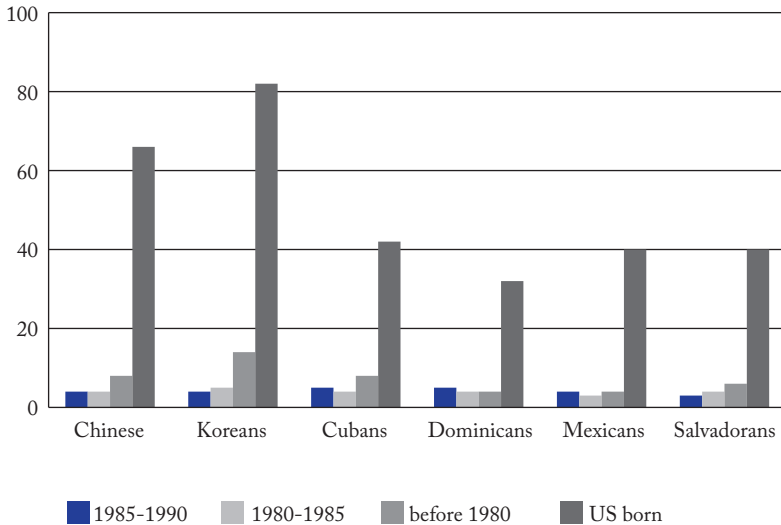
18>	TOTAL	ONLY ENG AT HOME	ENG SPOKEN VERY WELL	ENG SPOKEN LESS THAN VERY WELL	18<	TOTAL	ONLY ENG AT HOME	ENG SPOKEN LESS THAN VERY WELL	ENG SPOKEN LESS THAN VERY WELL
	Fb				Fb				
Mex.	798,764	18,285	522,013	258,446	10,247,854	399,358	2,480,568	7,967,314	
Cen. Am.	277,227	28,503	77,553	171,171	2,217,932	187,695	721,925	2,008,312	
South Am.	193,854	22,965	104,763	66,126	1,824,378	401,996	211,249	1,211,133	
18>	% TOTAL	% ONLY ENG AT HOME	% ENG SPOKEN LESS THAN VERY WELL	% ENG SPOKEN LESS THAN VERY WELL	% TOTAL	% ONLY ENG AT HOME	% ENG SPOKEN LESS THAN VERY WELL	% ENG SPOKEN LESS THAN VERY WELL	
	Fb				Fb				
Mex.	100	2.3	65.4	32.4	100	3.7	22.9	73.5	
Cen. Am.	100	18.7	50.7	30.6	100	6.4	24.7	68.8	
South Am.	100	14.5	66.0	19.5	100	15.9	36.3	47.8	

Source: Shin and Ortman, 2011



Graph 7.1

*% of immigrants by nationality who speak English at home by year of immigration and nativity*



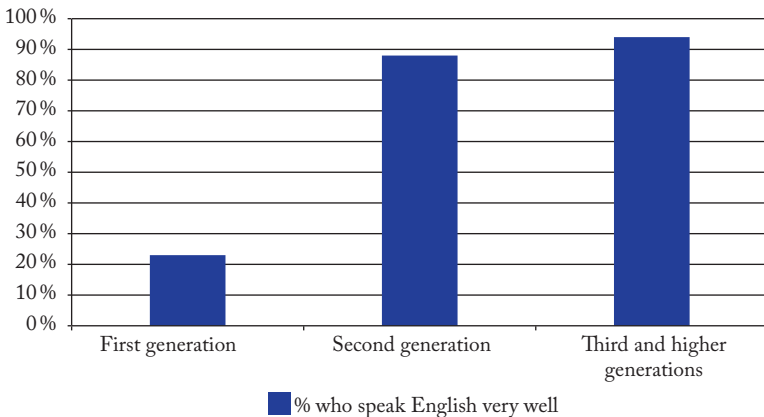
Source: Alba and Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream*, p. 223.

Spanish dominance ebbs greatly across generations. As Graph 7.2 shows, slightly less than 90% of the children of immigrant, the second generation, state they speak English very well, and this increases to 94% among later generations. Reading ability in English shows a similar trend.

The origins of this transition are evident in the language environment of the home. As evident in Table 7.3, the home language environment of the second generation is significantly different from that of the third's. Indeed, third generation Latino children are approximately 400% more likely to speak only English at home than are second generation children. The pattern is strongest among Cubans. It is again noteworthy that the transition to English is even stronger among the Chinese

and Koreans. Latino children are less likely to only speak English at home than are Asian children, but Cubans are much more likely than Mexican or Dominican children to so.

Graph 7.2  
*English competence by generation*



Source: Pew Hispanic Center.

Note: The estimates are derived from a combination of six national surveys of Hispanic adults conducted by the Pew Hispanic Center in 2002-06.

The linguistic transfer process is explicated in *Generations of Exclusion*, a unique analysis of intergenerational incorporation by Edward Telles and Velma Ortiz (2007). The research tracks change in various categories of values and behaviors across three generations of among Mexican Americans. The data illustrate changes in the linguistic patterns across three generations of families beginning with respondents who participated in the first major survey of Mexican Americans in 1968 from the original respondents surveyed in 1968 and including the next two generations. In other words, the subjects described in this study include immigrants and respondents who are from the third or higher generations.

Table 7.2  
*% of children who only speak English at home, by generation*

% 6-15 años que hablan inglés en casa		
	2nd Generation	3rd Generation
Chinese	30	90
Korean	56	88
Cuban	18	80
Dominican	10	52
Mexican	14	62

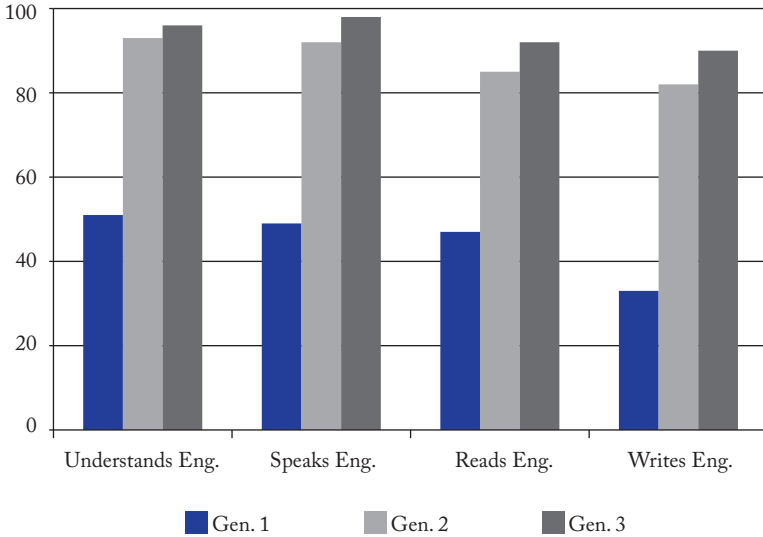
*Source:* Alba and Nee, 225.

As Graph 7.3 illustrates, all types of English language behavior increases greatly from the original respondent through the third generation, with the greatest increases visible in reading and writing English. The same graph indicates there is a parallel decline in the ability to use Spanish. Less than half of the 4<sup>th</sup> generation report understanding Spanish, and only 10% or less is able to read and write it.

The meaning of these findings is explicated by the demographics of those who use English vs. Spanish. Latino immigrants are more likely to speak English very well, and to use it often, if they are highly educated, arrived in the United States as children or have spent many years here. College education, in particular, plays an important role in the ability to speak and read English. Among the major Hispanic origin groups, Puerto Ricans and South Americans are the most likely to say they are proficient in English; Mexicans are the least likely to say so.

Graph 7.3

*English language proficiency by generation since immigration:  
Original respondents*



Source: Telles and Ortiz, 189.

Together, these results suggest two conclusions. First, Latinos become English dominant over time even though they retain Spanish language skills. Second, bilingualism will remain a characteristic of the Latino community even though very high percentages of the population will be English dominant or monolingual English speaker. Third, bilingualism will be strongest among immigrants and the less educated sectors. Consequently bilingualism will be a valuable resource assisting immigrant incorporation but it is maybe unlikely to play a significant role in creating and reproducing cultural products in Spanish. The major Latino voices such as Richard Rodriguez, Junta Diaz, Sandra Cisneros and Gloria Anzaldúa write in English.

Other outlets offer more Spanish but their impact and reach is unclear. Although there are small newspapers in communities across the country, the few that command a regional or national readership include *La Opinion* of Los Angeles, *El Diario* and *La Prensa* of New York and Miami's *El Nuevo Herald*. A major developing addition to print media is *The Nation en Español* which is being distributed in the U. S. Latinos as well as supplements to major newspapers in Buenos Aires, Caracas, Montevideo, Mexico City, Santiago, Quito, Lima and Bogota. The publishers hope to expand we hope to expand this program, perhaps eventually even publishing a Spanish-language edition of the magazine.

The Spanish language television networks have large audiences but in contrast to their news coverage which often focuses on U. S. developments, their cultural productions overwhelmingly consist of Mexican and South American *telenovelas*. The effect these have on creative work and language reproduction in the United States is unclear. Musically, the scene is much more dynamic with Latino influences evident in most musical formats, but, again, how this affects the vibrancy of Spanish is unknown.

A major exception to this pattern is evident in the activities of consulates and cultural institutes in major cities which sponsor productions in Spanish. In New York, which like Miami, may be unusual in the high proportion of well-educated Latin American immigrants, Spanish theatre is has been institutionalized through institutions such as the Repertorio Español, Thalia and the Puerto Rican Travelling Theatre which offer monolingual Spanish performances as well as bilingual productions. Additionally, consulates representing Spain and major Latin American states sponsor films, lectures and other cultural programs at locations across Manhattan. While other

large cities with large Latino populations like Chicago and Los Angeles support Spanish and bilingual productions, it seems unlikely that cities without the multi-national Latino communities that include Latin Americans and Spanish professionals who are fully bilingual or Spanish dominant such as Miami and New York would offer similarly rich cultural menus. The demographics of the audience for Spanish language productions are unknown, but it is reasonable to suggest it is more educated and affluent than that of the telenovelas, even if it is much smaller.

Clearly, continued immigration combined with Latino demographics and social processes predict to the continued presence and broadening scope of Spanish in the U. S. Whether it remains primarily a social language maintained and reproduced by immigrants and their families at home and at private and public celebrations rather than a language regularly used by long term immigrants and native-born Latinos for social, commercial and political purposes will be affected by exogenous factors such as state policies and market demands.

The available evidence invites contradictory hypotheses about the future status of Spanish.

The fact that that most immigrants are poorly educated, enjoy limited socioeconomic mobility and transition rapidly into English suggest Spanish will remain an immigrant language. However, given that the majority of the most highly educated Latinos, e. g., 53 percent of high school graduates and 67 percent of college graduates (Hakimzadeh and D'Vera Cohn, 17) describe themselves as bilinguals, there may be a sufficiently large base to establish Spanish as a social language. Only time will tell.

### 3. The Economics and Politics of Spanish in the US

The Hispanic population has grown from 4.7% of the nation's population in 1970 to 16.3% in 2010 when the census reported its size as 50,477,595. This growth produced an eruption in Latino economic clout. Latino purchasing power has increased from \$212 million in 1990 to an expected \$1.2 trillion in 2011. Overall, the Hispanic market, at \$1 trillion, is larger than the entire economies of all but 14 countries in the world (Fahmy, 2010). These figures indicate Latinos play a major role in the nation's economy. Furthermore, given that over 85% of all Latinos are either bilingual or Spanish dominant and that the nation's economic, social and political ties with Latin America continue to expand, we should expect Spanish speakers, especially bilinguals, to be rewarded in the labor market as is the case for bilinguals in countries such as Canada where «If you speak both French and English, you're likely to earn more than your unilingual counterparts... (a)nd depending on where you work in Canada, you don't necessarily have to use a second language on the job to reap the financial rewards; merely knowing it can translate into a higher income» (Leung 2010). This, however, is not the case.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), an independent federal agency tasked with enforcing laws against workplace discrimination, has determined a rule requiring employees to speak only English at certain times is valid so long as the employer can show that the rule is justified by business necessity. This includes a rule that is applied at all times so long as there exists a legitimate business justification for its implementation as in the case. Federal Courts of Appeals have, for example, ruled that:

- A) an employer's rule prohibiting employees from speaking Spanish on the job unless communicating with

Spanish-speaking customers was justified because English-speaking customers complained about employee communications in Spanish;

- B) that a hospital's rule prohibiting housekeepers from speaking Spanish for job-related discussions while working in the operating room was justified by business necessity because: (1) clear and precise communication between the cleaning staff and medical staff was essential in the operating rooms; (2) the cleanliness of the operating rooms was of paramount importance to the hospital and to the health and safety of its patients; and (3) most of the operating room nurses did not speak Spanish; and
- C) that requiring that only English be spoken at a bank, except where Spanish-speaking customer needed assistance, was sufficiently justified because the rule had been implemented in response to complaints that Spanish-speaking employees were ridiculing English speakers and making them feel uncomfortable.

In sum, so long as there is a legitimate business justification, an English-only policy in the workplace will generally be permissible.

Perhaps even more indicative of the labor market's response to Spanish speakers is how they fare in the labor market. Research by Fry and Lowell (2003) and de la Garza, Cortina and Pinto (2007) report that bilingual skills do not make a statistically significant contribution to weekly wages, once all workers' human capital characteristics are held constant. A FORBES blogger (Landis 2012) underscored this argument, noting that «I am not aware of any research study that proves



that learning a second language leads directly to higher income. That the labor market does not value foreign language competence and offers no incentives for acquiring or maintaining it helps explain the speed with which immigrants become English dominant.»

#### 4. Conclusions

There can be no doubt that Latinos are increasing central to national affairs. This enhanced status has been fueled by the increased immigration over the last several decades, but it also has been substantially influenced by the civil rights struggles that culminated in extending the Voting Rights Act's coverage to «language minorities» in 1975. VRA protections led to expanding the social, cultural, economic and political worlds of Latinos.

Intrinsic to this transformation has been the new status of Spanish. While historically Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans were punished for speaking Spanish, their civil rights struggles have used Spanish as a resource for politically mobilizing communities and waging educational battles. After they demonstrated how they were politically discriminated because they were Spanish-speaking, they used that characteristic as the measure to achieve political inclusion and elect Latinos, most of whom spoke Spanish.

This use of Spanish may carry the seeds of its own limitations, however. The successes of recent years are providing immigrants the opportunity to prevent discrimination and experience social mobility. As this paper has shown, the unanticipated consequence of such gains is the rapid loss of Spanish. Political and economic incentives promote English

language dominance. Success, in other words is tied to English fluency to the extent that it is reasonable to suggest that if immigration slows substantially, the use of Spanish will decline rapidly.

Barring continued high rates of immigration, this process may not be reversible. The future of Spanish in the United States, nonetheless, seems to depend on factors U. S. Latinos do not control. These involve changes in the global economy that lead to Spanish increasing its value as an instrument of business and a greater role for Spanish and Latin American states and leaders playing a greater role on the world stage. It could also result from the institutionalization of state-sponsored institutions within the United States promoting Spanish language usage. It is difficult to imagine such scenarios. What is much more plausible is that U. S. Latinos with the assistance of Spain and Latin American countries such as Mexico, Colombia, Chile and Argentina build the networks and social and cultural institutions that will stimulate the institutionalization of Spanish as a social language. Latinos can't do this alone. Unless this is achieved, Spanish will continue to be a marginal language that hard working immigrants use to survive until they know enough English to enjoy the upward mobility that they seek

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## CHAPTER 8

# LANGUAGE AND HYBRIDIZATION

*Ilan Stavans*<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Introduction

For years now I have centered my research on Spanish in America. This interest has yielded a series of essays where I have addressed, for instance, the arrival of our «companion to the empire,» in the words of philologist Antonio de Nebrija to describe our language, to the Spanish colonies from 1492 onwards, the spread of this language throughout the whole breadth of the American continent, and its use and abuse by modernists during the independence period in the late 19th century, and from then to our days. I have also held public discussions with scholars such as Iván Jaksic, Jorge J.E. García, Verónica Albin, Juan Villoro, Frederick Luis Aldama and Raúl Zurita, among others, about the complexities of Spanish in several fields, from aesthetics to translation, from politics to popular culture, and, of course, one of my main areas of interest—in fact, probably the most prominent—is Spanglish, a linguistic variant that I love. My translation of *The Quixote* into Spanglish in comic format, which I have been working on since 2001, will soon be hitting the bookstores.

1. Translation by Tick Translations

On this subject, I published *Spanglish: The Making of a New American Language* (2003). This book was written in English, and it includes a lengthy introduction that sheds light on this phenomenon from several different perspectives. However, I had not produced an equivalent in Spanish up to now. That is, therefore, the purpose of this chapter, which draws on the aforementioned studies. Its draft originated from an invitation from my friend Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, from the University of Texas at Austin, to collaborate with the *Revista de Occidente*, which is fitting because this forum was created by philosopher José Ortega y Gasset, well-known for his pragmatist zeal. Spanglish, like any language, owes its existence to pragmatism. I shall be referring to this draft throughout the coming pages.

## 2. Vitality

Let's start off with some examples, so that readers can compare the different strategies, both stylistic and morphosyntactic, used by Spanglish-speakers.

One of the most controversial texts in this field is *Pollito Chicken*, a story by Puerto Rican Ana Lydia Vega, who teaches French at the Universidad de Puerto Rico, in Río Piedras. This story is included in the book entitled *Virgins and Martyrs* (1994). Whenever she has been interviewed, she has stated that it was written to portray the speech of her people who had left the island to go to the United States and who later returned as tourists once they had acquired a certain wealth. From the moment it saw the light, Vega's story sparked a heated controversy in Puerto Rico and among the Puerto Rican population in the U.S. Some sectors accused the author of ridiculing their people. She was obviously upset about the attacks because she has refused to reprint it ever since. Below is a representative paragraph:

Lo que la decidió fue el breathtaking poster de Fomento que vio en la travel agency del lobby de su building. El breathtaking poster mentado representaba una pareja de beautiful people holding hands en el funicular del Hotel Conquistador. Los beautiful people se veían tan deliriously happy y el mar tan strikingly blue y la puesta de sol —no olvidemos la puesta de sol a la Winston-tastes-good— la puesta de sol tan shocking pink en la distancia que Susie Bermiúdez, a pesar de que no pasaba por el Barrio a pie ni bajo amenaza de ejecución por la Mafia, a pesar de que prefería mil veces perder un fabulous job antes que poner Puerto Rican en las applications de trabajo y morir de hambre por no coger el Welfare o los food stamps como todos esos lazy, dirty, no-good bums que eran sus compatriotas, Suzie Bermiúdez, repito, sacó todos sus ahorros de secretaria de housing project de negros —que no eran mejores que los New York Puerto Ricans pero por lo menos no eran New York Puerto Ricans— y abordó un 747 en raudo y uninterrupted flight hasta San Juan.

Another example is the poem *My Graduation Speech*, by Puerto Rican Tato Laviera. It is included in *La Carretera Made a U-Turn* (1989). In this case, the author readily switches between languages. Laviera calls himself a «Nuyorican» (Spanglish for New Yorker). In fact, he is one of the poets from the Nuyorican Poets Café in Manhattan, which was founded by poets Miguel Algarín and Pedro Pietri:

i think in spanish  
 i write in english  
 i want to go back to puerto rico,  
 but i wonder if my kink could live  
 in ponce, mayagüez and carolina  
 tengo las venas aculturadas  
 escribo in spanglish



abraham in español  
abraham in english  
tato in spanish  
«taro» in english  
tonto in both languages  
how are you?  
¿cómo estás?  
i don't know if i'm coming  
or si me fui ya  
si me dicen barranquitas, yo reply,  
«¿con qué se come eso?»  
si me dicen caviar, i digo,  
«a new pair of converse sneakers.»  
ahí supe que estoy jodío  
ahí supe que estamos jodíos  
english or spanish  
spanish or english  
spanenglish  
now, dig this:  
hablo lo inglés matao  
hablo lo español matao  
no sé leer ninguno bien  
so it is, spanglish to matao  
what i digo  
¡ay, virgen, yo no sé hablar!

And then there is the witty parody *T'was Night Before Christmas*, by María Eugenia Morales. It is included in the anthology entitled *Wáchale: Poems and Stories on Growing Up Latino* (2002). In this case, the English foundations are interspersed with middle-class Mexican words:

'Twas the night before Christmas and all through the casa,  
Not a creature was stirring - ¡Caramba! ¿Qué pasa?

Los niños were tucked away in their camas,  
 Some in long underwear, some in pijamas,  
 While hanging the stockings with mucho cuidado,  
 In hopes that old Santa would feel obligado,  
 To bring all children, both buenos and malos,  
 A nice batch of dulces and other regalos.

Outside in the yard there arose un gran grito,  
 and I jumped to my feet like a frightened cabrito.  
 I ran to the window and looked out afuera,  
 And who in the world do you think that it era?

Saint Nick in a sleigh and a big red sombrero,  
 Came dashing along like a loco bombero.  
 And pulling his sleigh instead of venados,  
 Were eight little burros approaching volando.

I watched as they came and this quaint little hombre,  
 Was shouting and whistling and calling by nombre:  
 »Ay Pancho, ay Pepe, ay Cuco, ay Beto,  
 ay Chato, ay Chopo, Maruco, y Nieto!»

Then standing erect with his hands on his pecho,  
 He flew to the top of our very own techo,  
 With his round little belly like a bowl of jalea,  
 He struggled to squeeze down our old chiminea.

Then huffing and puffing at last in our sala,  
 With soot smeared all over his red suit de gala,  
 He filled all the stockings with lively regalos,  
 None for the ninos that had been very malos.

Then chuckling aloud, seeming very contento,  
 He turned like a flash and was gone como el viento,  
 And I heard him exclaim, y ¡esto es verdad!

Merry Christmas to all, ¡y Feliz Navidad!

I have written several stories in Spanglish myself, such as *Nomah* (2005), where a stammerer confesses in Spanglish to the crime he committed against a Red Sox player. I also mentioned my translation of the first part of *The Quixote*. Its publication caused a stir all over the world. Since then I have completed the translation of the whole book. This is the first paragraph of chapter 74 of the second part. It is included in my personal anthology, *Lengua Fresca: Latinos Writing on the Edge* (2012), among others:

Since las cosas humanas weren't eternal, but are in declinación from its beginning until su último end, specially la vida of the hombres, and since Don Quixote had no privilege from el cielo to stop the course of la suya, the end llegó and he se acabó when he least lo pensó, because, either porque sentía melancholia for having been brought down, or por la disposición of the heavens, which preordains everything así como así, he was taken by a fever and was seis días en cama, in which lo visitaron muchas veces the cura, el bachelor, el barber, and his amigos, without Sancho Panza, his good squire, ever leaving su cabecera.

I insist: these are literary examples. Spanglish has been used for movies, theater plays and stand-up comedy. On TV, shows such as *Una Maid en Manhattan* were scripted in that language. But Spanglish is probably most prevalent in the music scene. At this point in the game it is impossible to list all the artists that use it, ranging from corridistas to salsa musicians, from merengue artists to crooners, from Jennifer López to Juan Luis Guerra. A Broadway production company set up a Spanglish version of *West Side Story*.

I have picked these examples from the many available because it is important to stress that Spanglish is not only a lan-

guage for the streets, kitchens, radio, dance halls or classrooms. It has shifted from an oral format to a written one. As I stated in my draft for the *Revista de Occidente*, or even if I had not, it is now time to pay it the attention it deserves. Personally, I started studying it for a multitude of reasons. I was born in Mexico City to a multilingual environment. I spoke several languages as a kid. I have reflected on this environment in my autobiography *On Borrowed Words* (2001), which was translated as *Palabras Prestadas* (2013). However, I was unaware of hybrid languages until I moved to the U.S. in 1985. The shock came in Manhattan, where I was studying while I worked as a correspondent. I knew a myriad of languages were spoken in New York, but it was only when I settled there that I realized these languages mix and, in doing so, live in a constant state of impurity. Impurity is a synonym for cross-breeding.

### 3. Definition

Over time, many people who are interested in Spanglish have often asked me about its role in the future. This question tends to come from the mouths of students, journalists, philologists and politicians. My reply to them is always straightforward, or at least that is my impression: since the future does not exist, we need to focus on the present, as it is the only thing we have. Our speech nowadays would be nightmarish for Rubén Darío. Cervantes himself would need a translator (some Arab from Toledo) to understand us, although I doubt he would be upset. In fact, I am sure this language would stir up his curiosity. *The Quixote* is an impure book, it is contaminated, and its style is sloppy, lazy, and unkempt.

My reply might be an easy way out. But it is not an alibi. Spanglish is currently an unstoppable force. We can find it

everywhere, in different shapes and forms: sitcoms, political debate, children's literature, classroom discussions, bank transactions, etc. Its value rests on its purchase power: it can be used indistinctly by corporations to market their products and by musicians to reach more listeners. However, what is the definition of Spanglish? I suggest seeing it as a means of communication for a nation or, better still, for a civilization. Saying that this civilization, the Anglo-Hispanic civilization, is being gestated is stating the obvious: it has come as a result of the intermixing of two specific standardized languages, English and Spanish. This intermixing did not come by accident. It is a result of specific historical processes, such as colonization, imperialism and immigration, all of which are inextricably intertwined. It is always hard to predict the path that civilizations will follow, and this case is no exception. It is easier to discern where they are coming from and what their current status is. That is the purpose of this chapter.

I have mentioned the controversies over Spanglish. Like I said before, none of them come as a surprise. The disappearance of a language brings about a series of recognizable responses: hurt, sadness and nostalgia, among others. On the other hand, the appearance of a language with specific characteristics generates mixed feelings, admiration as well as apathy in equal measure. In this case, the skepticism is evident. Is it really a language? Is it not merely a fleeting manifestation from the illiterate, the barbarians, the uncouth? If the answer is 'yes', would it be possible to outline its metabolism, its distinguishing traits? And if the answer is 'no', how can we provide a description? In short, who uses Spanglish, and in what contexts do they use it? As I showed above, it is not only an oral means of communication, since it has written manifestations too. It is clear that its spelling is not set in stone. In the *Revista de Occidente* I wondered whether there is a single form of communi-

cation or there is a plurality of them. What are their differentiating traits? What cultural areas are they manifested in? Is there a standard variant, with a dictionary to regulate it, plus a language Academy (with capital A, to distinguish it from university work) to acknowledge it, defend it and study it?

A little over a decade ago, I attended a radio chat show in Barcelona on the subject of Spanglish with a member of the RAE (Spanish Royal Academy of Language). He admitted a budding admiration for this subject, which is more than could be said for other members of this Academy. He acknowledged that it is a fascinating phenomenon, which arises in an environment with 'languages in contact.' This mirrors the situation in Catalonia, where Spanish (or Castillian, as some people in the region call it) and Catalan lead an impure coexistence, each of these languages the embodiment of patriotic pride. The scholar argued that Spanglish gets a disproportionate amount of coverage in the media. I asked him 'Why disproportionate?' and he replied that only a language that is capable of expressing profound and contradictory ideas and feelings is worthy of study, that the media generally got caught up in frenzies, and that the attention Spanglish is receiving is not indicative of its importance.

Strangely enough, from that moment on there has been a plethora of academic papers dealing with this subject from every possible angle. Beyond sociolinguistics, it has been analyzed from many different points of view (historical, economic, political, legal, religious, literary, sporting, culinary, media, musical, comedy, cybernetic, advertising, etc). In spite of this, its definition is still unstable, intangible, uncertain. I have suggested a description myself in the above paragraphs, and I would like to insist upon it once again: Spanglish is a verbal manifestation (in speech and writing) used by the Hispanic minority in the United States that is also used in other parts of

the world, especially in Hispanic areas, and that announces the emergence of a new cross-bred civilization. Its origins date back to at least 1848. This cross-breeding differs from the one in Latin America, which was mostly racial in nature. The characteristics of this cross-breeding are mainly cultural, and they include a linguistic dimension. Its habitat is Latinos, which are both an ethnic minority within the U.S. and a nation within a nation. Finally, it is important to state that Spanglish includes a wide range of variants, depending on the place of origin and age of the speakers, as well as their geographic location when they reach the Anglo-Saxon world.

There are, obviously, other definitions. Most of them disregard the existence of Spanglish outside the U.S. Some of them view it as an intermediate step towards the loss of Spanish as the dominant language among Hispanic U.S. immigrants in favor of English. Since I have already mentioned my Barcelona radio exchange, I would like to add one definition in particular: the one from the RAE. This institution took a long time to provide a definition, under the pretext that Spanglish never was and never will be a unique linguistic reality. Its official stance was that this linguistic manifestation was no more than the brainchild of a handful of scholars from U.S. universities who aimed to further their personal agendas with the support of the media. Surprisingly, this opinion changed in 2012, when the RAE included this word in the 24th edition of the *Dictionary of the Spanish Language*, with the following definition:

Form of speech of some Hispanic groups within the United States, which mixes and deforms lexical and grammatical elements of Spanish and English.

The reaction to this entry was ambivalent. Although the acknowledgement by the RAE was welcome, the suggestion

that Spanglish is a 'deformation' is ludicrous because all living languages are. All living languages are interdependent on the rest. Their vitality relies on their capacity for adaptation, on the art of forming, reforming and deforming their heritage in contact with their surroundings. This capability feeds off neologisms, barbarisms and other assimilation mechanisms. In other words, there is no such thing as a pure language: impurity is an inescapable attribute of culture. In any case, Spanglish, which is viewed in some quarters as an illegitimate, rotten, wayward language, is undeniably a form of national expression. Therefore, like any other phenomenon, it can only be objectively understood within its context.

#### 4. A Hybrid Language

The above definitions cover but do not exhaust the possibilities of Spanglish. Instead, they pose a number of questions. For instance, I mentioned that the basis for this verbal manifestation sways – or may sway – towards English or Spanish, depending on the location of the speaker and their background north of the Río Bravo (if we restrict the study to the U.S.): if the person is newly-arrived in El Paso, Texas, they will focus on different things than someone from Portland, Oregon, born of parents who were themselves born there as well. In other words, the language of immigrants is different from that of the first-, second- or third-generation Latinos in the country.

Regardless of the generation, Spanglish is always a hybrid language. Needless to say, it is not unique. There are other hybrid languages such as *Portunhol* (Portuguese and Spanish), *Franglais* (French and English), *Chinglish* (Chinese and English) and *Aravrit* (Hebrew and Arabic). This term is considered



equivalent to 'border languages.' All the above languages fit that definition too, in the sense that they are active in areas that mark boundaries between nations. Portunhol, for instance, is spoken on the borders between Venezuela and Brazil and between Spain and Portugal. Border languages have specific geographical boundaries. However, hybrid languages and border languages are not the same thing. They share the same ties, but differ in their origin. Hybrid languages are the result of two different traditions, whereas border languages are also hybrid, but are geographically restricted. Hybrid languages can therefore emerge in territories other than borders.

This distinction is the key to understanding the phenomenon of Spanglish, which is both a hybrid language and a border language but may incur in the former but not the latter. As set out above, this form of language is found on the border between Mexico and the U.S. However, it is also common in Puerto Rico, which can only be considered a border on a metaphorical level, or in neighborhoods such as Spanish Harlem (New York), Eastlos (Los Angeles) and La Villita (Chicago). The population in these municipalities grew as a result of successive waves of immigration, and their locations do not make them borders in the sense of territorial boundaries. The basic characteristic of all hybrid languages is a change in codes. In general, within each hybrid language there is a conflict between two codes (for instance, standardized languages), both on a spatial and temporal level. In the case of Spanglish, alternating between Spanish and English on a syntactic level, and of course on an ideological and aesthetic level, makes for a diverse mixture. In this negotiation, in the communication process there are no two speakers that do the exact same thing: one of them may automatically start a sentence in one language (in English, for example) and end it in the other (Spanish), switching repeatedly between them in the space of a sin-

gle sentence. Similarly, the other speaker can do whatever suits their fancy. The syncopated rhythm that is established in the dialogue is like jazz music: open, improvisational, spontaneous.

There are two other characteristics that are equally as important. The first one is simultaneous translating, which is often a representation of a mental state that could be related to what W.E.B DuBois, who authored *The Souls of Black Folks* (1903), called ‘double consciousness’: speakers think in one language but communicate in the other. Needless to say, this duality is prone to all manner of confusion, such as false cognates and syntactic abuse. The last noteworthy and relevant characteristic on a lexicographical level is the creation of Spanglish vocabulary or, in other words, the creation of terms that are both individual and collective at the same time. It is important to focus on these two dimensions because much of this hybrid language is ephemeral: some terms might be used by speakers at one point, but their durability is exclusively limited to the meeting with a given interlocutor.

## 5. Origins

The genesis of all languages involves a hybrid tongue. Let us use the example of Spanish: it originated as it broke off Vulgar Latin, Arabic and the regional language of Castilian. The *kharjas* and poems of the Mester de Clerecía (‘Ministry of Clergy’) bear witness to that contact. And what about English? It is the result of exchanges between Latin, Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, Norse languages and Germanic colonists. The progression of Spanglish is thus a microcosm that can be used to extrapolate other developments. At one point, this progression undergoes a standardization that involves a transition from the spoken to the written language. A literary tradition

that justifies its existence is born. This tradition includes translations from other languages, since every nation strives to keep pace with its neighbors and translations are a mechanism for contemporization. At the same time, this standardization joins forces with a national project. At one point, this project will establish institutions to protect its language. Once these efforts have been cemented, the language will cease to be considered a hybrid. In the coming sections I will be explaining how Spanglish is currently transitioning from an oral language to a written one. It already has a wealth of literature that dates back to the mid-19th century.

There are also several Spanglish dictionaries. I even authored one myself. I published the aforementioned *Spanglish: the Making of a New American Language* with the assistance of a select group of colleagues and students. The book included an extensive preliminary essay and the translation of the first chapter of *The Quixote*, and it was conceived as a bilingual Spanglish-English dictionary, with up to six thousand entries. These entries had to meet a series of requirements before they were accepted: they were collected by impartial researchers with the exclusive task of gathering and analyzing sociolinguistic data; they had been clearly and consciously uttered in at least four different and unrelated locations; they had the same meaning; and in the case of written Spanglish, they maintained a recognizable spelling. I have been collecting more words since then to publish a reviewed and extended version of this book and have an additional five thousand entries up to now.

The definition I submitted to the *Revista de Occidente*, and which I tweaked herein, stated that Spanglish is not a recent linguistic phenomenon. Its roots hark back to the mid-19th century, so it clearly has a busy history. This history is inter-

twined with imperialism, colonization and waves of immigration. I will now be addressing its heritage from the point of view of Latin America. In fact, the first historical traces date from even further back. Although there is precious little information on this subject, they were probably the result of English travelers crossing Spain in the 18th century and of English translations of novels and comedies of the Spanish *Siglo de Oro* (Golden Age) that were done in London. However, the initiation, the starting point, was the Mexican-American war of 1846-1848. This war culminated in the defeat of Mexican general Antonio López de Santa Anna and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, whereby the U.S. and Mexico agreed on the sale of almost two thirds of the Mexican territory to Washington for 15 million dollars.

There are no records of the population at the time in those territories that now make up the Southwest (which include all or part of Nevada, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado), but some historians estimate there were between 60,000 and 80,000 inhabitants. Others place that figure closer to 200,000. Many, though not all, were Spanish-speakers, although there was a significant amount of Native Americans from various tribes and who spoke aboriginal languages. Obviously, the sudden arrival of Spanish into the area saw a drastic change in the scenario. Almost from one day to the next, Hispanic culture, which had kept its distance from the affairs in the Mexican capital, had to face up to the presence of a competing force that was impossible to ignore: Anglo-Saxon culture. I am not going to state that the change was instantaneous; quite the opposite, its effect gradually seeped through different areas and social classes.

On a spoken level, we can only imagine the linguistic shock that the political transformation must have brought on. There is no documentation available that sheds light on how the population in the region handled this linguistic duality. There are, how-

ever, newspaper clippings, novels and poems in diaries from California, New Mexico and Arizona, and they provide the first tangible records of Spanglish. This exchange took root in the area at that moment. Even then, the U.S. was fast becoming a powerful neighbor. By the end of the 19th century, works by poets such as José Martí and Rubén Darío reflect a certain restlessness, fear even, when confronted with this giant. Martí used the journalistic reports on the New York social life, including his descriptions of Coney Island, the Brooklyn Bridge and the Statue of Liberty, that he sent to newspapers such as *La Nación* in Buenos Aires to portray the American rise as plagued with race- and immigrant group-based inequality.

Martí falls within a literary generation known as Modernism, which appeared in the late 19th century and brought a breath of new continental air where neopositivistic progress reacted to the scientific and technological advances of the time. The invention of electricity, the telegraph and the railway, the formulation of new medicines that prompted a rethinking of public health, among other things, triggered a debate among poets and scholars on the future of Latin America. They compared it with the development of the U.S., the country which best personified progress. In his essay *Ariel* (1900), José Enrique Rodó described the relationship between north and south, between the U.S. and Latin America, using the dichotomy presented by Shakespeare in his last work, *The Tempest* (1615), between the characters of Ariel and Caliban. The former represents the spirit, idealism, the life of ideas and feelings, whereas the latter symbolizes materialism, utilitarianism, the practical approach.

Rubén Darío, on the other hand, spoke in his poem *Los Cisnes* (*The Swans*) (*Cantos de vida y esperanza* (Songs of life and hope), 1905) of a future in Latin America where Spanish will lose impetus. There are three key quartets, and in the

middle one Darío expresses his fear of American linguistic imperialism:

Spanish America, like Spain as a whole,  
stands fixed in the East of its fatal destiny.  
I question the Sphinx that awaits the future  
with the question mark of your divine neck.

Will we be handed over to the wild barbarians?  
Is it our fate that millions of us will speak English?  
Are there no worthy nobles or manly knights anymore?  
Will we keep silent now only to weep later?

I have raised my cry, Swans, among you  
who have been true believers despite disappointment,  
while I feel the stampeding American colts  
and the death rattle of a spent lion.

Darío also uses another poem to address colonization: his *A Roosevelt (To Roosevelt, 1904)* suggests that the U.S., and especially its reckless president, do not understand their southern neighbors. The final two stanzas, plus the last verse, are as follows:

The United States is grand and powerful.  
Whenever it trembles, a profound shudder  
runs down the enormous backbone of the Andes.  
If it shouts, the sound is like the roar of a lion.  
And Hugo said to Grant: «The stars are yours.»  
(The dawning sun of the Argentine barely shines;  
the star of Chile is rising...) A wealthy country,  
joining the cult of Mammon to the cult of Hercules;  
while Liberty, lighting the path  
to easy conquest, raises her torch in New York.

But our own America, which has had poets  
since the ancient times of Nezahualcóyolt;  
which preserved the footprint of great Bacchus,  
and learned the Panic alphabet once,  
and consulted the stars; which also knew Atlantic  
(whose name comes ringing down to us in Plato)  
and has lived, since the earliest moments of its life,  
in light, in fire, in fragrance, and in love  
the America of Moctezuma and Atahualpa,  
the aromatic America of Columbus,  
Catholic America, Spanish America,  
the America where noble Cuauthémoc said:  
«I am not in a bed of roses» —our America,  
trembling with hurricanes, trembling with Love:  
O men with Saxon eyes and barbarous souls,  
our America lives. And dreams. And loves.  
And it is the daughter of the Sun. Be careful.  
Long live Spanish America!  
A thousand cubs of the Spanish lion are roaming free.  
Roosevelt, you must become, by God's own will,  
the deadly Rifleman and the dreadful Hunter  
before you can clutch us in your iron claws.

And though you have everything, you are lacking one  
thing: God!

One of the turning points for modernists and for the relationship between the U.S. and Latin America was the 1898 Spanish-American War. This was the key moment: the Spanish sphere of influence, a remnant of a decadent empire, was dwindling further and further. Its withdrawal in the Caribbean and in the Philippines left the door open for a new empire, the United States. Spanish therefore again came into contact with English.

Puerto Rico is a unique laboratory where many instances of one of the variants of Spanglish can be studied. This Caribbean island has been at a sociopolitical crossroads since the early 20th century (the Jones Act, which established its status as 'associated free state' was signed in 1917), so its status is anomalous. On the one hand, it is an independent country with Spanish as its official language, so it is therefore considered to be Latin American. On the other hand, however, Puerto Rico is an unincorporated territory of the United States. While this status does not grant it all the rights and privileges of a member of the Union, it does bring it closer to the American context while keeping it in an unusual situation (Puerto Rico is a commonwealth, just like Massachusetts and Virginia, although its population does not have a right to vote, unlike the populations of these two states and all the others, including Hawaii).

On this island, Spanglish permeates all social strata. Its characteristics obviously vary depending on the origin of the user. The Puerto Rican bourgeoisie is in constant cultural negotiations with its North American counterpart, so its speech is peppered with all manner of Anglicisms that correspond to this stratum. In turn, the lower classes are in tune with the popular culture of their equivalent classes in the U.S: music, sport, TV. The same goes for the middle class. I do not mean to say, however, that Puerto Rico lacks distinguishing features: that would be a gross mistake. There are several manifestations throughout the island that show that speech forms are adaptive: they fit external influences into local needs.

Apart from Puerto Rico, Latin American Spanglish appeared in a bevy of forms during the 20th century: advertising and marketing, business, sports, the media (cinema, radio, television, music, Internet). For a number of reasons, it is used by both the higher and lower classes, so it would be a terrible mis-



take to say that it is exclusively restricted to North America. It is true that Spanglish is used more fluently in the U.S. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, in 1848, and the Spanish-American War of 1898 were cathartic moments when the nation annexed large expanses of territory with Hispanic population in application of the Good Neighbor Policy. Suddenly, the Colossus from the North held a new minority with its own idiosyncrasies that would have a progressively greater bearing on the cultural fabric.

## 6. A Multi-Faceted Language

Now might be the best time to ponder how Hispanics ever became a minority in the U.S. This subject has been addressed in the above section, but from a Latin American point of view. Up until the 1980s, there were different national groups whose arrival came in response to unique historical events. They each had their own history, their leaders and cultural metabolism. The most important one of these has always been the Mexicans. In 2012, six out of every ten Hispanics in the U.S. were of Mexican ancestry. Although there has been some variation over time, this ratio has remained unchanged: there have always been more Mexicans than any other national group within the Hispanic minority in the U.S. It is incorrect to state that Mexicans, or at least not all of them, arrived in the U.S. The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the sale of the territories transferred many of them into the North American reality from one day to the next, without budging an inch from their homes. This situation left a scar that runs deep: the Chicano identity (this term, which appeared during the 1930s, is one of many used to describe this population) is closely connected to the territorial occupation. The struggle against this occupation was at the heart of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s

for people from this ethnic background. In any case, immigration certainly plays a key role in Chicano history. This migration was always affected by sociopolitical upheavals in both Mexico and the U.S. Each of these upheavals increased or reduced the number of Spanish-speakers among the English-speakers, thus opening a new chapter in the evolution of Spanglish.

One of these upheavals came as a result of the *Bracero* Program. This program was implemented prior to, during and after the Second World War to cover the shortage of labor in the northern neighbor during the war, when a considerable number of men between the ages of 18 and 40 had been drafted to the battlefield. Arms production could only be maintained with an influx of cheap labor into the metallurgical industry. The agricultural industry saw its labor force reduced as well. The U.S. government decided to implement a program whereby thousands of Mexicans would receive a temporary permit to work both in the fields and in the factories. Once again, socio-economic and political needs combined to make English and Spanish coexist on a daily basis. *Braceros* settled in states such as California, Texas, Arizona and Illinois. Their presence changed both the cultural scene in these regions and themselves. Some words in Spanglish, known as *pachucadas*, are a direct result of this situation.

The play *Zoot Suit* (1978) by Luis Valdez, provides probably the most thorough insight. Its subject matter is not the *braceros* themselves, but it nevertheless paints a wonderful portrait of everyday Chicano life during the 1940s. It focuses on the Zoot Suit Riots, the 1943 disturbances that broke out when a group of Mexican-American youths were accused of homicide, sparking riots in Los Angeles. Valdez provides an insight on both a lexical and morphosyntactic level.

The linguistic heritage from an American viewpoint also includes the Spanglish spoken by the Puerto Ricans that settled in New York. They migrated into the U.S. in the mid-20th century, after a series of economic policies almost caused the bankruptcy of the Caribbean island. The *Jibaro* population, which came from the provinces, left its home in search of work, and moved mostly to Manhattan. This historic moment is depicted in the autobiography of trade union leaders and journalists such as Bernardo Vega and Jesús Colón.

Cubans make up another of the national groups. Their presence has been felt in states such as Florida and New York since the times of Martí. The demographics of this group grew significantly after the Castro revolution. There are also Dominicans, whose arrival in New England (New York, New Jersey, Connecticut) came in response to the more than thirty years of general Trujillo's dictatorship. Many other groups (Colombians, Ecuadorians, Guatemalans, Salvadorans, etc) reached the U.S. at specific times, escaping from economic and political circumstances, and they all have their own linguistic variants.

It was not until the 1980s that the term 'Hispanic' first appeared in official government documents related to taxation and the census. This appearance is a sign of the homogenization, both on a semantic and social level, that arose at this time, and which helped Latinos (a 1990s alternative term to 'Hispanics') overcome (or at least that was the intention) their image as a self-sufficient group. The motto *e pluribus unum* (one from many) is transferred to this minority: the many congregate around the one and vice versa. This task was undertaken in schools, in the media and in public arenas. National differences, although obviously not completely erased, were merged into the whole.

Understanding the demographic pattern of the Hispanic minority is crucial to understanding the variants of Spanglish. In late 2012 there were more than 57 million Hispanics in the U.S. out of a total population of 310 million. This ratio is indisputably high. It is in fact the second highest concentration of Hispanics in the world, behind Mexico, which had a population of 110 million people, slightly more than a third of the U.S. population. For the sake of comparison, the populations of Argentina and Spain are of 40 million people each, while Canada has a population of 38 million. The U.S. Census Bureau estimates that by the year 2040 one in every three people in the country will be Hispanic. By the way, the above figure of the number of Hispanics does not include illegal aliens, which were estimated at between 10 and 20 million.

The major national groups have already been addressed. The total number of Mexican-Americans in 2010 was a little over 30 million, meaning that one in every six Mexicans lives in the U.S. In that same year there were a million Puerto Ricans and a million Cubans in the country. The second most important Mexican city in the world, behind Mexico City, is Los Angeles. The second most important Puerto Rican city in the world, behind San Juan, is New York, which also happens to be second most important city for Dominicans. Miami is right on Havana's tail as regards Cuban population.

My report in *Revista de Occidente* painted a similar picture of the Hispanic identities. This picture was started slightly earlier, in my 2011 book *¿Qué es la hispanidad?* (What is *La Hispanidad?*), in collaboration with Chilean historian Iván Jaksic. I would now like to deal with the variants of Spanglish. Latin America shares a single language with twenty-three different variants, one for each Spanish-speaking country. As a matter of fact, there are a huge number of sub-

variants within each of these countries. For instance, the Mexican variants of *Chilango*, *Jarocho*, *Chapaneca* and *Regio-montano* all differ greatly. Within a *Chilango* context, such as in Mexico City, there are several other variants: the speech of the bourgeoisie, of the working class youth, of colonies such as Netzahualcoyotl, of the underworld and prostitution, of soccer, etc. In Argentina, writer Jorge Luis Borges pointed out significant differences between the Spanish from Buenos Aires, from the *Gauchos*, the *Orilleros* and the *Compadritos* and between them and *Lunfardo*.

Similarly, Spanglish has a standard variant that is used in radio and television networks, plus a number of distinguishing variants of the aforementioned national groups, geographical locations and generations. The most representative are Chicano Spanglish, known as *Pocho*, *Cubonics*, *Nuyorican* and *Dominicanish*, but there are also TexMex, Nuevomexican, Californio, Floridiano, Nuyoqués, etc. The speech of 18-to-25-year-old Pocho-speakers in Dallas is different from that of Cubonics-speakers of the same age in Tallahassee. The book *Growing Up Bilingual* (1996) by Ana Celia Zentella reflects the speech of girls who speak Nuyorican, which is different from the New Jersey Dominicanish used by Junot Díaz in her novel *The Brief Wondrous Life of Oscar Wao* (2007).

Amherst College, where I work, has been the scene of unsettling experiments with these variants, such as when we invited several groups of Spanglish speakers to talk to each other for almost half an hour. Participants included a Chicano woman, a Dominican, a Cuban, a Puerto Rican from Puerto Rico itself and one from New York and an Ecuadorian, among others. The goal of the experiment was to analyze both their lexicon and their syntax. The outcome was that, apart from feeling comfortable with the language and finding humor in their ne-

ologisms, all the groups established channels that allowed fluent communication.

One of the factors with the biggest impact on the development of Spanglish in the U.S. is the Bilingual Education movement. These words are capitalized because I am referring to a federal government-funded program with specific goals. Although English has been the dominant language in the nation since its foundation, it has never been made official, or at least not on a federal level. A handful of states have passed bills to establish English as their official language in response to the perceived threat to the homogenizing character of English.

Since the country has grown thanks to the constant waves of immigration, other languages apart from English have been permanent fixtures in the country: French, German, Swedish, Italian, Yiddish, Welsh, Russian, Polish and various African languages have been imported by those reaching our shores for the first time. Immigrant settlements relied on parish schools to teach the immigrants' languages to children. These schools ceased to exist after two or three generations, when there was no further need for them because the children of immigrants were using English as their everyday language. This linguistic duality needs to be accurately understood. Germans, for instance, preserved those parish schools when they reached the U.S. Parish schools were private, meaning their upkeep relied on fees and donations. The syllabus followed federal guidelines, but they were allowed a great degree of curricular freedom. However, assimilation in the country depends on public schools. Since the mid-19th century, public education, under the auspices of the federal government, has been the tool used to keep English as the cohesive and homogenizing language.

On a generational level, the pattern is almost always the same: immigrant children reach the country using their native tongue, but by the time they reach adulthood that native tongue has been replaced by English. When this oscillation occurs, the immigrant language contracts and loses ground until it reaches a state that could be termed 'fossilization.' There is yet another aspect that affects the understanding of a bilingual education program: migration changes in the U.S. Up until the Second World War, most immigrants came from Europe, so they were of Indo-European ethnicity. The exception to this rule was the African population that was taken to the country during the colonial period. This population is viewed differently for one very specific reason: it never reached the country as immigrants, but as slaves. Obviously, not all modern-day African Americans fall within this classification, since many of them arrived as immigrants and not slaves, such as Barack Obama, whose Nigerian father reached the U.S. as an undergraduate student (Obama is biracial: his father was black and his mother white). Slaves nevertheless hold a special place. The mistreatment they had to endure until their emancipation set them apart from the rest of the population.

The period after the Second World War saw a different type of immigrant reach the country. As the number from Europe dropped dramatically, many now came from Latin America, Asia, India and Africa, so their ethnicity is therefore different. Multiculturalism, a social force that has made its presence felt since the late 20th century, has restructured the national milieu. By the early 1960s, the number of Hispanic immigrants had grown considerably, mostly as a result of the instability in Latin America: military juntas brutally repressed the populations and curtailed all levels of freedom. National economies were unstable or bankrupt. People strove for a better life by leaving their countries of origin.

Of course, some Hispanic groups, such as Puerto Rican Jíbaros, Mexican peasants and others, had settled before them in North America. New national groups arrived: Dominicans fleeing the oppression of general Trujillo's thirty-year dictatorship, as well as Cubans that escaped what was shaping up to be a leftist dictatorship when Fidel Castro reached power in 1958-1959 by deposing Fulgencio Batista. This migration turmoil and the unsettling of a coherent migration policy was a source for concern for the most conservative circles within the U.S. government. Acting upon a proposal from the Cubans, who were reaching the country not as immigrants but as refugees, to establish bilingual schools where their children could learn both Spanish and English while they waited for the communist government in Cuba to crumble, a government-sponsored federal education program was established in Florida and then progressively expanded to other states. The government itself would pay for Spanish teachers in public schools so that the children could learn history, mathematics and civic values while learning English.

The growth of bilingual education went through the roof. New models were established over the following decades in different parts of the country, and one or two generations of students reaped their benefits (or were hampered by them, according to their critics). The impact of this education on the development of Spanglish is impossible to minimize. The coexistence of both languages in a classroom environment and the fact that the federal government was paying for this duality legitimized its existence. As a federal program, bilingual education reached its zenith during the 1980s and 1990s. Its critics gained strength, culminating in a series of campaigns against it during the late 1990s and early 2000s that led to votes where the population of several states, including Arizona and Massachusetts, rejected it, contributing to its demonetization. Nevertheless, bi-



lingual education still plays a key role in the formation of Spanglish, albeit on a smaller scale.

## 7. Final Considerations

Linguist Max Weinreich once stated that the difference between a language and a dialect is that a language is a dialect with an army and navy. This distinction can serve as a basis to ask: is Spanglish a language or rather a dialect? The quote from Weinreich, who has studied the roots and development of Yiddish, the language spoken by Jews in Eastern Europe, from the 13th century to today, and who authored *History of the Yiddish Language* (1980) is certainly teasing. The difference between a language and a dialect lies in standardization. Languages have a set and stable syntax. Furthermore, they can rely on mechanisms of power (academies, dictionaries) to establish their parameters of action. Spanglish is a dialect on the path to standardization (we are at a crucial moment, when Spanglish is transitioning from the oral form to the written form), and it certainly has, in the words of Weinreich, an army and navy to defend it.

Its army is television. No migration group in the U.S. has ever had two TV stations (Univision and Telemundo) with original programming, viewing figures of 30 million people and an advertising machine that is so well-oiled, it is backed by large corporations. Each of these stations has its own personality: the backbone of the former is the Mexican-American population, although its area of influence is well beyond this, while the latter is geared more towards a Caribbean audience (Puerto Ricans and Cubans), and its influence similarly exceeds this group. They are Spanish-language stations, but their language is as impure as the language of their viewers. The Spanglish

that is used in these stations is diverse and consistent. There is a standard type, used by journalists such as Jorge Ramos and María Rosa Vilches, that aims to wipe away the differences. Other programs focus on one variant or other, depending on the subject or speaker.

The navy of Spanglish is radio. Spanish-speaking U.S. radio stations do not use a pure language either. Quite the opposite, in fact, since it is a hybrid language that reflects the particular circumstances of the listeners. The state of California alone boasts more Spanish-speaking radio stations than the whole of Central America. Every single one of them includes programs where listeners can call in, so popular speech is projected through the airwaves. Newspapers also have an important role. All the capital cities with a prevalence of Hispanic population (Miami, New York and Los Angeles) have a newspaper (*El Nuevo Herald*, *El Diario*, *La Opinión*) with a far-reaching political and purchase power. Again, the Spanish that is used in these newspapers is unstable, impure, which means it is close to Spanglish. Finally, one of the fastest-growing (in size and, hence, in importance) means of communication is the Internet. The Spanglish that is used in this context is known as Cyberspanglish. This channel increases the rate of development of languages to levels hitherto unheard of.

Finally, Spanglish, like I mentioned above, is like jazz: impulsive, spontaneous, arbitrary. Its most remarkable trait is its cross-bred identity: its genesis has relied on adaptation, assimilation and transculturation, terms that involve adding, not subtracting. It does not have a set syntax. The RAE scorns it because it belongs in the street, among poor people with no access to education or to political power. However, the RAE is less relevant than Spanglish and lacks the power to stop it. Ultimately, language is by the people and for the people or, in

other words, its life and death are entirely democratic, popular, from the bottom up and not from the top down. In this chapter, I have set out to prove that this bastard son of Spanish and English has its own personality, its pride, culture and way of living.

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## CHAPTER 9

# THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN THE PRESERVATION OF THE SPANISH LANGUAGE IN THE UNITED STATES

*Tomás López-Pumarejo*

### 1. Introduction

The roll of the media in the preservation of the Spanish language in the United States consists of more than just the effect of the news and entertainment industries on the Hispanic population. These contemporary industries are preceded by a multi-literary tradition that began in the fifteenth century, ranging from the chronicle (Kanellos, 2003), literary fiction, journalism (University of Houston, 2013); a tradition bred in consistent contact with Spanish-speaking countries. The technological advances of the industrial revolution turned the press into the first true mass medium, which energized the written and spoken Spanish of this vast, English-speaking country. Immigrants gained access to newspapers and literature in their native language, joining Spanish-speaking natives of the parts of Mexico that had been incorporated into the United States. Additionally, from within the United States, intellectuals and refugee heroes wrote texts that encouraged revolutions in their own countries. Such was the case of José Martí, who arrived in New York in 1880, and,

from there, promoted the independence movement in Cuba. The Spanish language has always been important in the United States, serving as a bridge of assimilation for immigrants, in addition to a language of business, politics, and international literature. Spanish has served as a scaffold in U.S. relations with other countries in America.

As television did in the fifties, the Internet has transformed the format and content of mainstream media: newspaper, radio, film and television. What is known as *new media* refers more than anything to the Internet, i.e. social networks and everything that new media encompasses. It has established a profound cultural change on the U.S. population, in addition to media management itself. As a result, work, social and daily life, will never be the same.

In my small apartment in New York there is no TV, telephone, radio or music playing equipment. I can acquire all of the media content I need with my *laptop*. As a Professor, I can conduct all of my courses online. Even my books are disappearing from the shelves and appearing in libraries as donations. I read books and articles on the iPad, and organize my academic affairs through Skype with colleagues in other countries. I do not have an account on Facebook, nor do I use Twitter or LinkedIn -for me, this is already a bit too much-but, in any case... even though I am not young, tech savvy, or eccentric, using the Internet has unwittingly changed my life. However, in terms of U.S. marketing, new media for the *Hispanic market* is simply not the same as it is for the *general market* (English speakers of European descent). Ironically, this difference has significantly increased the political, cultural, and commercial significance of Hispanics in the United States and in turn, the Spanish language. This is what this chapter is about.

We begin by returning to the fact that after Mexico, the United States has the second largest number of Spanish speakers in the world (with more than 50 million speakers). As it already exceeds 900,000 million dollars annually, it also constitutes the most affluent market of Spanish-speaking consumers in the world. This also explains the current economic and political attention to the Hispanic market, and concurrently, the presence of *Latin American Studies* in academia. *Hispanic* is understood as a primarily demographic category that has been instituted by the government and industry, and *Latino* as primarily a political category instituted by advocates of academic and community multiculturalism. Throughout the course of this chapter, I will first analyze the current situation of the Hispanic media in contrast to the general market. Second, I will comment on the role of bilingual education and the North American Academy of the Spanish Language (ANLE) on Castilian in the United States. Finally, I will refer to the use of Spanish in present discourse compatibility among dominant or *mainstream media*, party politics, the marketing industry, the federal government and universities.

## 2. An Overview of the Spanish Media in the United States

According to the Pew Research Center's annual report on the state of journalism in the United States, in 2011 the Spanish media had an edge over the general market in terms of growth, consumption, range, new enterprises and investment. Television stands out considerably in this growth, although contrary to the general market, newspapers and magazines (Tables 9.1 and 9.2), did not suffer much decline. There was even an increase in sales and titles. This affects the dailies (*daily newspapers*), weeklies (*weekly newspapers*) and other



less frequent publications (*less-than-weekly*). The data indicates that overall, Hispanic newspapers remain stable (although the circulation of dailies, according to the same report, begins to decline).

Table 9.1  
*Number of titles in Spanish press*

Press Titles	2010	2009
Dailies	26	25
Weeklies	428	428
Less-than-weekly	378	382
Total	832	835

Source: Project for Excellence in Journalism from the Pew Research Center. 2011 State of the media.

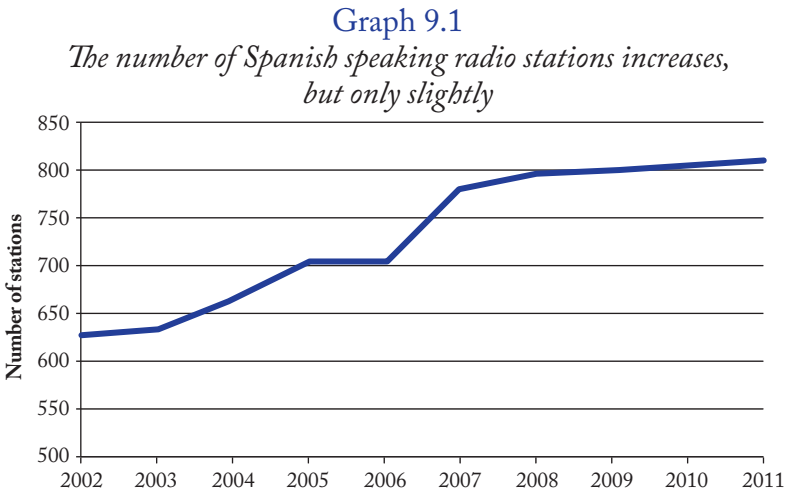
Table 9.2  
*Hispanic weeklies in circulation*

Weeklies	Circulation	City
<i>La Raza</i>	152,300	Chicago
<i>Vida en Valle</i>	151,933	Sacramento
<i>Hoy</i>	142,470	Los Angeles
<i>El Sentinel</i>	126,150	Fte. Lauderdale
<i>La Prensa Riverside</i>	107,500	Riverside, Cal.
<i>El Mensajero</i>	104,000	San Francisco
<i>El Sentinel</i>	100,878	Orlando
<i>Al Día</i>	96,836	Dallas
<i>RUMBO</i>	50,500	Houston
<i>La Prensa</i>	35,000	Orlando

Source: Project for Excellence in Journalism from the Pew Research Center. 2011 State of the media.

Radio continues to be a gold mine. Given its scope, portability and access to the illiterate population, and taking into account that California, Texas, New York, Florida

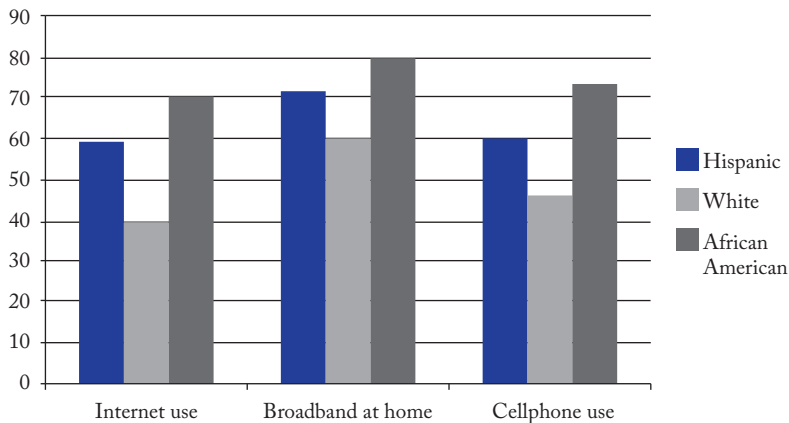
and other states have a large concentration of immigrants, commercial Spanish radio earns much more per minute and per scope than English radio (Guskin and Mitchell, 2011) (Graph 9.1).



Source: M Street Corp. / Inside Radio. Project for Excellence in Journalism from the Pew Research Center. 2011 State of the media.

The Internet (Graph 9.2) appears to be the only medium where Hispanics appear to be at a disadvantage. However, it should be noted here that there are more inhabitants per home (household size) in the Hispanic market than in the general market, and the Hispanic population is also younger. The first factor implies more Internet users sharing a single computer, and the second, greater mobile phone usage. It is unclear whether the study cited here takes these factors into account. However, even on the Internet, Hispanics register proportionally to the general market, and when taken together as a group, they come out ahead.

Graph 9.2  
*Internet Use Among Hispanics*



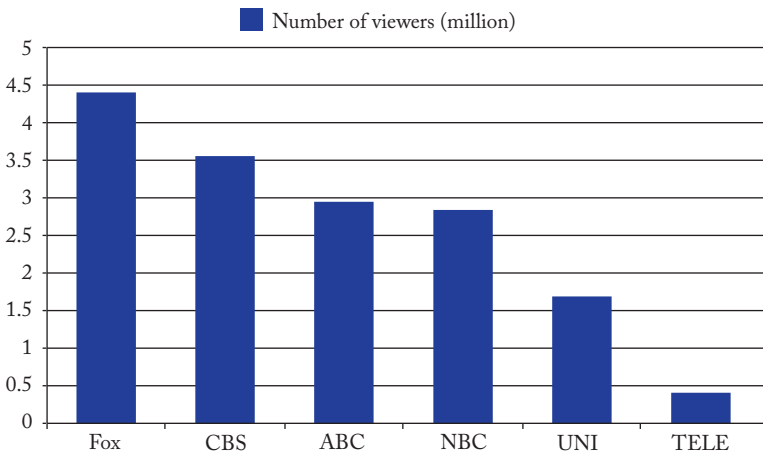
Source: Project for Excellence in Journalism from the Pew Research Center. 2011 State of the media.

Commercial film has not returned to the fore since the unexpected success of the first Hollywood film in Spanish, *Ladrón que roba a ladrón* [*To Rob a Thief*] (2007), produced by the president of the Hispanic television network, NBC-Telemundo. The protagonists were *telenovela* [soap opera] heart-throbs, and in many ways, the film can be considered more as a product of television than of the film industry (Lopez-Pumarejo and Mazzioti, 2011). Internet showed growth not only in number of users, but also in investment. However, aside from the film industry, this was the only area where the Hispanic market registered at a disadvantage in relation to the general market on the Pew Report.

Television is said to be the most influential media source in the preservation of the Spanish language. It also conveys a sense of identity to the Hispanic community in the U.S. In the following graph, we see how Univision, the leading Span-

ish-language television network, competes with the four *networks* that dominate the general market (Graph 9.3). Television offers the *telenovela* [soap opera], whose *star system* affects all television shows offered to this audience, apart from the news, variety *shows*, talk shows and/or gossip journalism. There are two principal mass media companies that seek to define the national market: Televisa (from Mexico) that provides *telenovelas* to Univision, the U.S. giant (with some exceptions, it has its own production) and NBC-Telemundo, the national *telenovela* network.

Graph 9.3  
*Viewers of the various networks*



Source: Nielsen Co. via Schechner, Sam: «Univision make more shows itself», *The Wall Street Journal*, May 19, 2011. Project for Excellence in Journalism from the Pew Research Center. 2011 State of the media.

The Mexican *telenovela* appeals to a decades-old preference. This is due in part to the economic hegemony of Univision and its partner Televisa. However, it is also influenced by the fact that most Hispanics in the United States (63 percent)

are from Mexico. Telemundo, wasting no time to challenge the hegemony of Univision, showcases a more neutralized Hispanic culture —modern, professional— full of swimsuits and convertibles. These shows actors fit into a somewhat European phenotype, their native accents are diluted and their characters live as if the official language of Los Angeles and Miami were truly the Spanish of Telemundo.

In this type of series, the Hispanic is a transnational product with *sex appeal*. The product is to be sold not only in the United States, but most certainly in the global market as well. The first highly distributed Telemundo series, *Pasión de gavilanes* (2003–2004), immediately took to the screens in all of major Spanish-speaking television markets in the world (given the expertise of the United States as an international distributor of media products). The general public, in many ways, thought *Pasión* was a Colombian soap opera. It simply traded in the sly executive for the brave cowboy and the latest BMW model for the sturdy horse. The prairie replaced Miami Beach, and the bars of South Beach for a canteen, and the urban immigrant was now a rural victim. In sum, *Pasión* is the typical Telemundo *telenovela* that sells on a global scale the concept of the perfect Hispanic who not only goes to the gym, but is also living the American Dream as their lingua franca, because fancy modern buildings, luxury cars and scantily clothed, gym-sculpted bodies require no translation... and neither does Kung Fu. In this manner, the U.S. took back a large part of the ground in the world market that they had lost since the 1980s with the Latin American *telenovela* as its competition.

Now, how does the Mexican *telenovela* work in the United States if it refers not to the American, but to the Mexican community? We explain this not through the *telenovela*, but through its Internet version: the *webnovela*. A webnovela is a sentimental

fiction series, produced by the television industry for the Internet. Hence, it feeds into the *star system* and the tired themes and style of traditional *telenovela* production. However, it is adapted to suit the Internet platform. Therefore, it is compressed, interactive, and primarily composed of close-ups and mid camera shots. They normally consist of fifteen episodes, five minutes each, released twice per week. They include pre-release forums, consultations with the public regarding the storyline and advertising competitions. In the end, with edited advertising, they last more or less an hour. Since 2007, Univision has been the only company to produce *webnovelas* through its new division Univision Interactive. With the *webnovela*, Univision made its first move into the production of fiction series in the U.S., while also producing some of its own *telenovelas*. At the beginning of 2013, Univision had launched three *webnovelas* (one every two years) and had three more in the making.

Here, I will refer specifically to *Vidas cruzadas* (2009), their second *webnovela*, since this seems to encompass the standardized format and embodies Univision's perception of what it means to be Hispanic. *Vidas* came to be, among other reasons, because the famous Mexican actress Kate del Castillo was residing in Los Angeles when Univision began to produce *webnovelas*. Guy Ecker, her friend and co-star in Televisa's successful *La Mentira* (1998) also happened to be living in Los Angeles. Del Castillo, who had a reputation as the worst paid popular actress in Mexico, decided to join Ecker, his wife Estela Sainz (the writer) and a producer who had proposed the concept of *webnovelas* to Univision, Carlos Sotomayor. Together, they founded Amistad Productions. *Vidas cruzadas* was co-produced by Amistad, Univision and the Dutch global production company, Endemol. Ecker and Del Castillo are Televisa talent, but Univision won the right in court to broadcast the series over the In-

ternet. Three weeks later the launch of *Vidas* was announced, for August 12, 2009, organized into 5-minute episodes for a total of 80 minutes.

*Vidas cruzadas* is a telling representation of sentimental fiction in the U.S. context in terms of theme, structure and speech modes. The parents of Mariana (Kate del Castillo), the protagonist, live off of their Mexican restaurant in Los Angeles. They speak very little English in their surroundings, and Mexican traditional values organize family life. Mariana is a journalist who longs to be a mother, but cannot find a suitable man. As a result, she decides to artificially inseminate, since her best friend works in a vitro-fertilization clinic. Mariana's friend secretly applies the sample of someone she knows, Daniel (Guy Ecker). Mariana then meets Daniel after already being inseminated and they fall in love. When he finds out that Mariana is pregnant, he immediately thinks that she has cheated on him. When he accuses her, Mariana slaps him and leaves the house without giving any explanations. In the end, her friend reveals to Daniel what she has done, and when Mariana is in the clinic on the verge of giving birth, Daniel gallantly comes in with mariachis and a ring, and asks Mariana to marry him on one knee. As she puts on the ring, her water breaks and she gives birth in the hallway with the help of one of the musicians, who happens to be a midwife. Throughout the course of the scene, the mariachis play «*Las mañanitas*.»

Through this example, we see traditional marriage and maternity values that seem to be threatened by the modern (and American) decision to be artificially inseminated. They are restored not simply when Mariana decides to marry, but also most importantly, when she decides to do it with the father of her child, with whom she later has more children. This tension

between modernity and tradition is always present in the sentimental narrative and takes on a very national twist in *Vidas cruzadas*. However, this twist is not necessarily national in the Mexican sense, but rather national in the American sense, since Mexicans constitute the majority of the Hispanic population, and Hispanics in the U.S. have gotten used to Televisa under the hegemony of Univision. This story, touching on artificial insemination, turned out to be right in tune with the Univision *webnovela*. Particularly, in the sense that clinical advancement, and also the Internet, are marked representations of modernity—the modernity they seek in order to access the American dream. However, this sense of modernity is dissolved within the cultural codes. In the end, to be happy, you must respect traditions... the Catholic traditions and in Spanish.

### 3. Bilingualism and Hispanic Identity

Television in Spanish-speaking countries showcases an interchange of the regional accents from main producer countries (despite the efforts of the industry to neutralize speech in order to globalize its market): Mexico, Venezuela, Argentina, Chile, Peru and Israel. Nevertheless, this influence leads to very superficial changes in national speech, which continues to evolve as usual, without losing its general character. In this sense, the U.S. Hispanics are no different from the Spanish, Uruguayans, Dominicans, Hondurans and other Ibero-American communities. The big difference is that the Spanish speakers of the United States do not constitute a nation, but rather a disperse variety of individuals bureaucratically coerced to appear under homogenizing taxonomies, when —ironically— their cultures of origin prescribe specific and distinct stratifications of social class, ethnic origin, language and racial and gender roles.



To conceptually unify Hispanic Americans using demographic terms, like *Hispanic*, or political terms, like *Latino*, leads to two opposite reductionisms that serve, on one hand, activism (academic and community) and on the other, the marketing. For the Manichean discourse surrounding the first, the Hispanic American exists as a race excluded from the American dream (Davila, 2001, 2004 and 2008); and for the advertising discourse of the second, it exists —when not as a voter— as an avid consumer that embodies this dream (Korzeny and Korzeny, 2005; Valdés, 2012). But this polarized binomial, like rates of economic growth that encourage Wall Street and the *ratings* that nourish the *broadcasting industry*, fuels the commerce and U.S. public policy that affects this population, in spite of the fact that it does not reflect what it claims to represent. The North American Academy of the Spanish Language (ANLE), tries to shed a philological light on this phantasmagorical topography, which I will discuss after my comments on immigration, bilingual education and the relationship between communication and transport in the United States.

The illegal immigration of Hispanics to the United States receives so much political, media, commercial and academic attention that it is easy to reduce this problem to the issue surrounding the Spanish language. However, in this manner, you lose sight of the fact that the language has been present in what is today the U.S. since the time of the conquest. It is also forgotten that part of this country consists of appropriated Mexican territory. In 2008, it was estimated that there were 11 million illegal aliens in the United States, 78 percent of which (in 2005) were of Hispanic origin and of these, 56 percent from Mexico (Passel, 2005). Illegal immigration is definitely a topic that has stirred up the recent debates about bilingual education and English as a national language.

It wasn't easy to consolidate the U.S. as a modern republic, particularly given its immense territorial expansion from coast to coast. Nor was it easy to unite a country that was expanding west, where independent settlers reluctantly responded to their government by heading into the unknown. Communication theorist James W. Carey postulated that, the United States consolidating itself as a republic after the industrial revolution, was synonymous with territorial expansion, through the construction of railways, roads, and especially telegraph lines. For this reason, media and transport were developed to serve both commerce and the government, more than serving U.S. communities (Carey, 1992). It can be deduced that the formalization of English as a national language responds to the same urgency of expansion and republican unity that organized the communication and transport systems in the United States.

Before the beginning of the twentieth century, the U.S. had already imposed the English language on the indigenous populations and inhabitants of what was the Mexican territory in the southwest of the country. However, it was not until 1906 that, by legal decree in Texas (Nationality Act), English became the only language used in schools. This was decided based on the direct connection that existed between English and national identity, and on the supposed empirical evidence that bilingualism negatively affected intelligence. Previously, the borders of new states had been drawn in a way to ensure that each area contained the largest quantity of English speakers possible. They were also not officially recognized until they contained sufficient populations of English settlers. It was not until 1968, when the Bilingual Education Act recognized for the first time the rights of linguistic minorities in the United States. Its approval not only served as a demonstration that bilingual teaching not only accelerated cultural assimilation, but that it also was a great benefit to the country, particularly

in international affairs. However, although it established incentives, this law did not force state implementation. States had the autonomy to enforce the law in a way that they saw fit. In some cases, this resulted in the creation of pilot programs (Nieto, 2009).

When speaking of mass media, books don't really come to mind, let alone textbooks. Nevertheless, I know firsthand that textbooks are one of the ways in which the press contributes to the preservation of Spanish in the United States. In the eighties, I worked in Minnesota as an editor and textbook translator for bilingual education programs in a company subcontracted by Scott Foresman, the great elementary education textbook publisher. We had a regional Spanish glossary for the east, west, and center of the country; each one determined by the largest immigrant group in the region. This brings me back to the challenge facing the North American Academy of the Spanish Language (ANLE).

ANLE is the youngest of all of the national language academies and the only, except for the academy in the Philippines, that operates in a country where Spanish is not the majority language. It was founded in 1973, and as part of its duties, in addition to its general mission that academies have to preserve and support the evolution of the language in Spanish-speaking countries, it also advises public and private institutions regarding the language standards required in official communications, bilingual education and in particular, the teaching of Spanish. ANLE has an agreement with the Federal Administration of General Services to advise each agency in the production of official communications and also on [GobiernoU-SA.gov](http://GobiernoU-SA.gov), the federal government's official site in Spanish. ANLE also creates educational norms on the use of Spanish in television, and their specialists frequently participate in radio,

press and television interviews. Thus, ANLE has an academic, governmental, and media presence. Annually, they give the Enrique Anderson Imbert or National Award of the North American Academy of the Spanish Language, which honors individuals or institutions that have contributed to the knowledge and dissemination of the language and Hispanic culture in the United States through their research and work.

ANLE has proposed the adoption of the term *estadounidismo*, to the Real Academia, which refers to expressions typical to a given country. (For example, this would be *argentinitismo* in Argentina). However, ANLE's greatest challenge is determining standard U.S. Spanish, which given the question of U.S. demographic categories, in addition to the political and market areas that make up this population, it is perhaps an insurmountable task. In any case, as a national academy, this is its most important mission. Its presence in the United States indeed provides the greatest evidence that the U.S. is a nation of Spanish speakers. At the same time, the presence of ANLE in the media confirms its significance in both the preservation and evolution of the language.

#### 4. Hispanics in the New Mass Culture of the United States

In Spain, even though the new government is right-wing, the media is clearly left-leaning; they *are liberals*, —a phenomenon that is quite common in the industrialized countries of the West. Whatever study you approach regarding how to pass on the values and aesthetics of the subculture to the culture of the masses, you have to stop and consider how what started off as commercial interest in novelty targeting young consumers, ended up on the standardized news and entertainment menu.

This is not because the industries that make this possible want to brainwash or corrupt anyone, but it is rather for pragmatic reasons. As a rule, the media market must always appeal to the lowest common denominator, and thus induce evolutions in public administration, education systems and the media itself to accommodate the resulting cultural changes.

Anyone who complains about the idealization of gangsters, ethnic and sexual minorities, and the incessant ridicule of the traditional family, refers to this state of affairs that some view as social deterioration while others see it as progress. There is no better evidence of Hollywood as a sort of global barometer of cultural change (at least at the level of mass culture) than Hollywood's reverence of President Obama. In fact, the First Lady, accompanied by a military escort, delivered the 2013 Oscar for best film. This can also be exemplified by Sean Penn's famous friendships with Fidel Castro and Hugo Chávez, or also in the films of Oliver Stone and Michael Moore. Although Fox, the most watched cable news network in the country, is openly conservative, it does not dictate the national news agenda. On the contrary, it is in fact ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, etc., who together, respond to the new dominant culture and are a greater ideological force. This would have been unthinkable in the Reagan era when *Dallas* reigned on the small screen and *Rambo* on the big screen... and we are not talking about prehistoric times here.

Contrary to what happens in Spain, in the United States at the moment, there is a sense of complicity between mass culture, marketing, partisan politics and teaching institutions. Patriotism and entrepreneurship are now less promoted values than social justice, and conservativeness has become in and of itself a bad enough sin to determine the results of presidential elections. The Democratic Party, a party that in its origins, op-

posed the abolition of slavery and in the sixties still had ties to the Ku Klux Klan, has dogmatically positioned itself in the public image as a sort of Robin Hood of multiculturalism. For decades, they have gained influence through a titanic conglomerate of philanthropic foundations (Horowitz and Laksin, 2012). This sense of ethics informs a great part of U.S. public policy, the news agenda, the education system, and media fiction. Although they exist to affirm the contrary, today, academic discourse, news discourse, the marketing industry and the world of showbiz operate a polyphonic symphony. In this environment, the subversive ironically results in the conservative. What does this have to do with the media preserving Spanish in the United States? Well, in principle, a great deal.

From a business and marketing perspective, and also through a multicultural lens, it would be convenient to define Hispanics as an ethnic market. And as victims, in spite of the fact that this market refers to a population larger than that of any Spanish speaking country, with the exception of Mexico. In fact, it is not a niche market, but a general market. Thinking of it as a market apart from the English-speaking market only facilitates the division that organizes the creation of specialized products and services, and specific selling strategies. In the last three decades, progressive segmentation has not only defined marketing, but also the orientation of the media itself. It is already outdated to think primarily in terms of the mass market. In fact, it is for this reason that Spanish television has become so significant in the United States, precisely because while the general market is fragmented by cable, satellite and the Internet, the Hispanic market still functions as a mass market for network television, achieving viewer ratings that exceed the rest of the population. It is not enough to simply imagine what networks earn by per minute and per scope to understand why the Spanish media is doing so well in the United States.

This cost effective mix of segmentation and massification also generates governmental and educational services that serve Hispanics, and whoever wants to learn about them. The cultural and linguistic assimilation that normally occurs among third-generation immigrants, used to dissolve the necessity for the things mentioned above. It is for this reason that big Spanish television networks in the United States openly protect the illegal immigrant in their news and television series. This is achieved through the illusion of humanitarian intentions, very much in keeping with the popularity of multiculturalism, but in reality, it comes down to defending the *modus vivendi* [way of life] not of the immigrant, but of rather the television networks themselves.

Something similar occurs in the political arena, given that the strategists don't see voters as citizens, but rather as a market. For this reason, they modify their speeches to appeal to groups whose vote is more crucial. As was demonstrated in 2008 and in 2012, there is no vote more crucial than the Hispanic vote. Perhaps Obama's marked interest in the Hispanic population and the Spanish language, in addition to his promises of amnesty for illegal immigrants, are all just more examples of demagoguery, or perhaps it is genuine interest. But whatever the case, anyone who proposes to win an election in this country must attempt the same, no matter how far to the right they are on the political spectrum.

Since the eighties, humanities and social sciences departments in academia have been filled with courses with the suffix Studies— studies that analyze the oppression of women, racial and sexual minorities. *Latino Studies*, with its subdivisions, also falls into this category. Pioneers in this

field are still relatively young and require students to take these types of courses in order to graduate. Therefore, the demand for professional training to teach these subjects, for textbooks, public events and other educational materials, is an economic force that benefits Spanish in the United States.

Although the population growth of Hispanics has started to shift more to those born in the U.S. versus those born abroad, for the moment, the immigrant community has not lost its force as an agent of cultural, political and economic change. This translates to at least three more generations of a strong Spanish presence in the United States, unless the discursive compatibility between the nation's most influential institutions, mentioned at the beginning of this section, generate the sufficient cultural separatism necessary to ensure that assimilation does not operate as it has in the past.

In his book *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson (2006), explained how modern nations emerged, above all in the nineteenth century, after the vernacular creation of narrative practices, specifically through the novel. Contrary to Spanish-speaking immigrants of the past, those of today can count on a media and political apparatus that is capable of changing the fate of the host country; a media device that used the *telenovela* more than anything else to, weave stories of people that are more or less like they (*telenovelas* from Latin America) or how they could be (*telenovelas* by Telemundo). I wouldn't place a bet on whether Hispanics will be incorporated into the American Dream in the future (which implies education and owning a business or a house) without assimilating to the dominant culture, or if on the other hand, they will continue to speak Spanish even though they no longer see themselves as Hispanic.



Marketing towards Hispanics seeks to appeal to them also in English, but in a culturally relevant manner, revealing that the industry's commitment to cultural identity is not only a matter of language.<sup>1</sup> The economic position of Hispanic English-speakers is normally superior, and it is estimated that, over time, there will be more Hispanics that communicate primarily in English. Hispanic advertising agencies have prospered because they convinced their clients that it was not enough to translate a campaign in English into Spanish, but that they also had to translate it culturally so that it makes sense in relation to the values and worldview of the receiving audience. We see how the Hispanic-targeted media and advertising agencies not only live on cultural preservation but, as is expected, also want to try to perpetuate it. This wouldn't make sense if, as in the past, immigrants integrated to the dominant culture in the third generation and no longer spoke Spanish. To think that the media and the marketing industry would accomplish this preservation task is perhaps naïve media determinism, but the world is not the same as it was before. Nor does history always have to repeat itself.

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